

## Authorship and ownership in Blandowski's *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*

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*In 1862, William Blandowski published an illustrated account of his Australian expeditions, particularly the Philosophical Institute of Victoria's expedition to the Murray River, which Blandowski led. During 1857, this expedition spent nearly eight months camped near Mildura, obtaining many zoological specimens collected by Nyeri Nyeri and about which they supplied a considerable amount of information. These and the observations regarding the Nyeri Nyeri are of importance as many of the animals collected have subsequently become extinct and, while Nyeri Nyeri descendants still exist, little is known of the language and customs of this tribe. Blandowski was a challenging person and he fell out with the Philosophical Institute, the museum in Melbourne and his employer, the Victorian Government, shortly after his return. He left Victoria for Germany in 1859 and took many illustrations and specimens with him. As a result, Blandowski's publication, *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*, represents a major portion of the information available. However, Gerard Krefft, Blandowski's second-in-command, claimed that the illustrations were his and that Blandowski misrepresented them as his own. This article examines the illustrations and text of the *Australien*, the various claims made as regards authorship and ownership, and the circumstances under which the publication was realised. It is concluded that Blandowski should have stated that many of the illustrations were 'after Krefft', as Krefft was responsible for the original sketches.*

This paper considers questions of authorship and ownership of the illustrations in Blandowski's *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen* (1862). Most of the illustrations in this book are from the Philosophical Institute of Victoria's expedition to the Murray River led by William Blandowski, with Gerard Krefft as scientific officer and artist. It is clear that many of the sketches were drawn by Krefft. However, these were reworked by Gustav Mützel, organised into a narrative form by Blandowski and published under Blandowski's name. Through Blandowski's interest in photography, the book was reproduced using small photographic prints which were pasted in, a novel approach for its time. For these reasons *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*, referred to hereafter as *Australien*, presents an interesting case for considering questions of authorship and property rights. Potentially, the *Australien* offers a unique glimpse of Aboriginal life at the mid-point of the nineteenth century. Before it can be used in this manner, the questions concerning its originality and authenticity need to be settled.

The aim here is to analyse Blandowski's *Australien*, firstly, to identify the relative contributions made by Krefft, Blandowski and Mützel, and, secondly, to understand the circumstances surrounding its publication. I offer this way of looking at Blandowski's *Australien* as a tribute to Judy Birmingham. Judy Birmingham was one of my first teachers at the University of Sydney and I received my initial taste of historical archaeology at the Irrawang pottery site. Her lectures on the origins of village life and farming in the Near East have retained their value through my academic career.

### BLANDOWSKI, KREFFT AND MÜTZEL

The three major figures we are concerned with here are William Blandowski, Gerard Krefft and Gustav Mützel. Brief biographies, together with notes on the expedition to the Murray River and its outcome, appear below.

William Blandowski, a foundation and council member of the Philosophical Institute (now the Royal Society of

Victoria), was appointed the first scientific officer at the Melbourne Museum of Natural History (now Museum Victoria) (Paszkowski 1967:153–4). In 1856, the Philosophical Institute, with government backing, initiated a scientific expedition to the Murray River, led by Blandowski, with Gerard Krefft as second in command. The expedition travelled from Melbourne to Mildura Station between 6 December 1856 and 8 April 1857. A camp was located at Mondellimin (near modern Merbein) on the southern side of the Murray and, except for some side journeys made by Blandowski, the expedition stayed there for eight months. Nyeri Nyeri people camped with the expedition and supplied most of the natural history specimens. Blandowski left the expedition early, returning to Melbourne via riverboat and steamer at the beginning of August. Krefft returned to Melbourne at the end of November 1857.

The expedition was successful in terms of its collections and its observations of natural history and Aboriginal life on the Murray River. However, Blandowski's return to Melbourne and the initial publication of the expedition's results, particularly Blandowski's decision to name fish species after members of the Institute's Committee, created controversy (Allen 2001; Humphries 2003). Blandowski did not report back to work at the Surveyor-General's Office and, in March 1859, he left Victoria, taking with him the expedition notebooks, art work and some specimens. The Burke and Wills' Expedition in 1860, and its demise a year later (Bonyhady 2002), overshadowed this expedition to the Murray River, which is now largely forgotten.

Strained relationships between Blandowski and Krefft also contributed to the expedition's fall from grace. Krefft, who had military and scientific training in Germany, was second in charge of the expedition. Both members of Melbourne's German community, Blandowski met Krefft at the Public Library of Victoria when Krefft was copying Gould's sketches of Australian animals. It was on this basis that Blandowski engaged him as artist for the expedition (Whitley 1957:23). Following the return to Melbourne, Krefft was employed by Frederick McCoy as draftsman and collector at the Melbourne Museum, where he arranged the materials from the expedition

and produced a catalogue (Whitley 1957:23). This did not sit well with Blandowski, as he and McCoy had already had a serious falling out (Pescott 1954:9–10, 17). Further, Blandowski attempted to prevent Krefft from publishing any expedition material (Krefft, letter to McCoy, 7 August, 1860, Museum Victoria). Following the death of his father in Germany in 1858, Krefft left Victoria. He returned to Australia in 1860 to begin a fruitful museum and zoological career at the Australian Museum, Sydney. In later years, Krefft fell foul of the Trustees of the Australian Museum and this brought his scientific career to an end (Whitley 1957:24).

Gustav Mützel (1839–1893) was a German graphic artist who came into contact with Blandowski at an early stage in his career. During 1860 and 1861 Mützel reworked the sketches Blandowski had brought from Australia. Apart from the plates by Redaway, which Blandowski had previously published as *Australia Terra Cognita*, most of the illustrations in *Australien* are either attributed to Mützel or bear his signature. Mützel later became known for his anthropological and natural history illustrations ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustav\\_Mutzel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustav_Mutzel)). The human figures in *Australien* are in a classical romantic style (cf. Smith 1960:247–50). This raises the question as to the extent to which Mützel’s illustrations are based upon Krefft’s and Blandowski’s earlier sketches and how much is Mützel’s invention.

## WHAT MATERIAL HAS SURVIVED?

Blandowski’s *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen* is the principal source for the art of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria’s expedition to the Murray River. In this publication, the original 142 illustrations in large format were reproduced as small photographic reproductions (c. 70 x 40mm) presumably because of cost and of Blandowski’s interest in photography. The value of these reproductions is increased by the German language text. In addition, there are published and unpublished works from the expedition held in various libraries. These are listed in Table 1.

## ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIEN IN 142 PHOTOGRAPHISCHEN ABBILDUNGEN

The cover page of *Australien* identifies Blandowski as the author, claiming that he put the work together (*zusammengestellt*) on the basis of 10 years experience in Australia. The 142 ‘photographs’ are attributed to either Blandowski or to Mützel, with no mention of Krefft. However, a close comparison of the small photographic plates and the text of the *Australien*, reveals the complexity of authorship of this work. There are a number of layers of evidence:

- The German language introduction and the short descriptions accompanying each illustration. These latter cover the subject matter of the illustration, an occasional reference to the location or Aboriginal tribe involved, and an attribution for most of the artworks.
- Many illustrations are signed in one corner. Most signatures are for Gustav Mützel and consist of a GM with a date, either [18]60 or [18]61.
- Many illustrations have a Plate Number that does not tally with the illustration number in *Australien*. These numbers relate to an encyclopedia on the natural history of Australia which Blandowski planned to publish but did not have the resources to do so. The highest number is Plate 267 on *Australien* illustration 119. The plates engraved by Redaway, which Blandowski included in *Australia Terra*

*Cognita* (Blandowski n.d.) show similar plate numbers.

- Most of the illustrations are composites, where individual sketches have been assembled to illustrate a single aspect of natural history or Aboriginal life.
- The order and sequence of illustrations also reveal a pattern, a meta-narrative that joins individual illustrations and their texts to produce a unique picture of Aboriginal life in Victoria during the mid-nineteenth century. To assist this effect, copies from other works were included, sometimes without acknowledgement. An example is Illustration 24, a copy of Alexander Schramm’s *Scene from South Australia* (1850).

We can consider the evidence from two viewpoints. The first is to approach the work through the individual sketches which have been assembled together into composite illustrations. This approach leads us to identify the artist or artists of the original sketches. The second viewpoint is from that of the entire work. What were the circumstances of its production and how was it put together? These questions will be dealt with in turn.

**Table 1: Descriptions and Institutions holding Blandowski and Krefft materials.**

Attributed to	Description and Holding Institution
Blandowski	<i>Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen</i> . Two copies of this work survive; one with German text in the Stadtsbibliothek, Berlin, the other, without text, at the Haddon Library of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge University.
Krefft	A folio of twenty nine ink and watercolours paintings. Mitchell Library of the State Library of New South Wales.
Krefft	Thirteen wood engravings and other prints in the Macleay Family Collection, Mitchell Library of the State Library of New South Wales (further copies held at the University of Kansas).
Blandowski	Thirty nine sketches or watercolors of mammals, nine of insects, thirty five of reptiles, all from NW Victoria and SW NSW; eleven prepared plates for a projected Birds of Australia (unpublished); also Blandowski’s drawings from elsewhere in Victoria and SA (non-expedition related material), Museum of Natural History, Humboldt University, Berlin (Jahn 1994).
Blandowski and Krefft	Original mammal and bird specimens from the expedition, together with catalogues, despatch notes, and letters, held by Museum Victoria.
Blandowski	Specimens preserved in spirit, including a Murray Cod, Museum of Natural History, Humboldt University, Berlin.
Krefft	An unpublished account of the expedition up to its arrival at Mondellimin, written by Krefft, at the State Library of New South Wales.
Blandowski and Krefft	Published shorter articles in journals, as listed in the bibliography attached below.

## WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ORIGINAL SKETCHES?

In his unpublished Narrative, and elsewhere, Krefft claimed responsibility for most of the art of the expedition. In the catalogue of stores for the expedition, Krefft noted that he was

allowed 5 pounds weight for drawing materials. In a general comment, he states:

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 [sic] 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 ... Everything the lubras brought in I had to take care of. If reptiles or fishes or frogs, they were dropped into the keg I was on but before a number had to be tied to each specimen and it was entered into the catalogue. Live stock was also in my charge but while at Gunblower, the menagerie was small and not to be compared with the Regent's Park in miniature which I kept at the Darling Junction. (Kreffft 1856–57:20)

In his correspondence to Frederick McCoy, held at Museum Victoria, Krefft again claimed to be the author of most of the expedition's artwork. In a letter dated 28 February 1858 (i.e. two months after the return of the expedition to Melbourne), Krefft noted:

I have found time to draw most all the specimens of natural history which came under Mr Blandowski and I beg to refer you to the Portfolio, which Mr Blandowski exhibited after his return at a meeting of the Philosophical Institute ... All these drawings were executed under difficulties, by a hard worked labourer...

The 'hard worked labourer' in this case was Krefft himself. One of his complaints against Blandowski was that he had to perform many different tasks, including cooking and driving stock, because Blandowski was unable to get or to retain servants. Krefft noted, somewhat disingenuously, that:

When at Keilor, I seriously thought of leaving the party, but my interest into our future investigations proved to be too great to be interfered with by trifles and this alone kept my spirit up. I have always submitted cheerily to any given order, if ever so unreasonable or apparently useless and I am the only person who set out and returned with the expedition to Melbourne. This is saying much, when the reader will be kind enough to consider that Mr Blandowski employed 15 (fifteen) different men during a period of eight months the greater part of, which left on their own accord disgraced [sic] with his management. (Kreffft 1856–57:6)

In his Narrative, when discussing a legless lizard that had been captured at Gunbower, Krefft complained that he would have liked to provide the illustration he had made of the animal, but could not because '... all my sketches made during the expedition are retained by Mr Blandowski' (1856–57:45). On the capture of a Deaf Adder at Lake Boga, Krefft noted that the snake had been pinned to a board and that he had made a minute drawing of it, seeking to capture its colours and to describe its peculiarities while it was still alive (1856–57, 8th March 1857, pages 54–5).

Kreffft also made a number of attempts to exhibit these works as his own. His biography notes that he showed examples of the expedition drawings at the 1858 Victorian Industrial Society Exhibition and he received the following review:

Mr Krefft's drawings have a special interest as they are illustrations from the life of some of the more curious animals &c. of the country ... the most striking is that of a native corroboree, at Gall Gall, and of a rare animal, the Chaeropus, about which there has of late been so much controversy. (*Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, 1858, quoted in Kerr 1993:437)

It is likely that these works comprised the watercolours and woodcut prints now in the collections of the State Library of New South Wales.

After his return to Germany, Krefft attempted to publish his observations and drawings, but was prevented from doing so by Blandowski. In a letter to McCoy, dated August 7 1860, from the Museum Victoria manuscripts, Krefft complained that:

I had published an account of the Murray expedition at Perthes in Gotha for which place he [Blandowski] started immediately telling the publisher of the travels was nothing but a heap of lies, thus the plates I had engraved—were copies from his [Blandowski's] original sketches and that he would commence an action against Dr Petermann, the Editor, if he dares to publish the mss ...

Blandowski claimed that the artwork from the expedition belonged to him, as expedition leader. However, Blandowski was in the employment of the Surveyor-General's Department and this confuses the issue somewhat. In 1858, Blandowski received a letter from the Surveyor-General requesting him to surrender all drawings and memoranda relating to the Natural History of the country, made during the period he held an appointment in the Government Service. Blandowski's reply states his position, 'I deny ... the justice of this demand, and as I regard these papers and drawings my private property, I must decline to allow them to pass out of my hands' (Paszkowski 1967:160, quoting Blandowski letter of 23 November, 1858).

As Paszkowski notes, Blandowski prudently thought a more conciliatory line was needed. The next day he wrote:

My drawings and memoranda are contained in 16 large bound volumes and many loose papers they extended over 10 years, and are miscellaneously arranged. A very large proportion of them are derived from my private experience in South Australia, another considerable proportion are also the results of my own private experience of this country before I was connected with the Government of Victoria. The memoranda and drawings which I have made in any way connected with the subject of your letter during the period I have been an officer of the Government, were made by me without exception during my own private time and in my leisure hours ... I openly represented and considered them my private property and intended at some future period to present them to the Public as the fruits of my observations of the whole continent of Australia and not merely of this colony" (Paszkowski 1967:160, quoting Blandowski letter, of 24 November, 1858)

The point here is not exactly as either Blandowski or Krefft have portrayed it to be. Clearly Krefft was the author of many of the drawings from the expedition. Blandowski is wrong in claiming that he did most of this artwork in his spare

time. Blandowski considered himself Krefft's employer and that Krefft had done the drawings under Blandowski's direction. While Krefft was clearly the artist, it might be considered that the intellectual property of the expedition belonged to Blandowski. However, Blandowski cannot run this argument both ways, for he too was in the employ of the Government and it is clear that both he and Krefft were working on Government time and pay. The lack of leisure time was another of Krefft's complaints against Blandowski. In his Narrative (1856–57:10), Krefft notes that Blandowski was fond of travelling after dark, and later he added,

Sunday it was according to Lett's Diary but no Sunday for us, so to prevent being favoured with some manual exercise, I went down to the creek and caught a few frogs, of which I made sketches, this kept me employed all day. (Krefft 1856–57, 22nd December, 1856)

Blandowski certainly produced artwork before the expedition. Prior to December 1856, he travelled in South Australia and he made a number of scientific expeditions through Victoria (1855a, b & c, 1855–56 a, b). Illustrations of fossils, Aboriginal life and other scenes from these journeys, including early photographs taken either by Blandowski or by Brown, were engraved on copper or steel plates by James Redaway & Sons and 29 of these were published as *Australia Terra Cognita* in 1858 (Darragh 1993:72). Copies of these engravings are now in the Mitchell Library (SLNSW). Blandowski intended the engravings and the illustrations from the Murray expedition to form part of a larger work on the natural history of Australia, as he explains in a letter to the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly,

I ought to mention that I left a copy of 34 Plates being part of the work on 'Australia terra cognita' in the library of the Houses of Parliaments (sic) in Melbourne for the inspection of the members of Government and Parliament. It was originally intended to contain 200 similar Plates in one volume with about 4000 objects of Natural History of Australia for which I hold the Materials in readiness. The explanatory letterpress to those plates will occupy about two Octavo volumes ... (quoted in Paszkowski 1967:168).

The collection of materials at the Museum of Natural History in Berlin includes watercolours that are Blandowski's, illustrations of Port Phillip fish and rays done prior to the expedition. So Blandowski was not entirely wrong in claiming that some of the drawings pre-dated the expedition. Blandowski also did some of the artwork during the expedition. The problem is to identify who did what? Blandowski engaged Krefft on the basis of Krefft's ability to produce detailed drawings of natural history specimens and it is reasonable to accept Krefft's statement above that he had found time to draw, '... most all the specimens of natural history which came under Mr Blandowski'.

Further information on this question comes from a detailed examination of the artwork and textual information in the *Australien*, and a comparison of this with the information from the expedition from other sources. An example of this process is shown in Illustration 34, the removal of bark from a Eucalypt for a canoe using wooden wedges and levers (Fig. 1). The accompanying text states:

An area at the bank of the Murray River. In the foreground the Aborigines are making a canoe out of the bark of the red rubber tree. In the distance, right, is a tall Eucalyptus subulate, left, E. bicolor, which are to be found in swampy areas, whereas the first is found in dry areas along the river. On the river there is an Aboriginal family with dogs who are crossing the Murray River in a bark canoe. Drawn by G. Mutzel.



Fig. 1: Illustration 34 from Blandowski's *Australien* in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen, 'Natives making a bark canoe on the Murray River'. Reproduced with the permission of the Haddon Library of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

This illustration is signed GM 60. The detail in the accompanying caption above deals more with tree species and their ecology than with the subjects of the illustration. This is in contrast to the information available in Krefft, which is closely aligned with the subject matter of the illustration (1866b:362–3),

having found a suitable tree of this kind, a large forked branch is cut, and the tree being jammed between, it serves the native as a sort of ladder; he begins by making two incisions which first run parallel to each other, and then closing more and more join at the ends, the whole having the form of an elongate shield. The outer bark is then removed sufficiently to permit the introduction of a number of flattened sticks of tough wood, each about a quarter of an inch thick; these sticks are wedged under the piece of bark, which is to form the canoe; they bend easily and soon loosen it from the trunk. With a couple of grass-ropes around the bark, it is then allowed to slide down, and is put upon the stocks in a regular way. Dry leaves, grass, and small branches, having been collected and put into the still flat piece of bark, they are fired, and the sides soon begin to turn up ...

The specific nature of the information in Krefft's account suggests that Krefft actually saw the removal of bark for a canoe, but that Blandowski had not. Detailed descriptions, however, are not entirely limited to Krefft. This is particularly the case with the illustrations of Aboriginal ceremonial life and burial customs which appear to have been an interest of Blandowski's. An example is Illustration 104, showing competitive dancing between females (Fig. 2). While Blandowski's caption is quite short, further details are provided in his 1861 article. Blandowski (1861:108) notes that one of the young women throws dust at her opponent and taunts her, 'You are not even worth throwing sand at!' Given the relative lengths of time that Blandowski and Krefft spent with the expedition (6 months versus 11 months respectively), it is likely that the majority of detailed sketches of Aboriginal life and natural history are Krefft's. The rest are from Blandowski or are ones that Blandowski or Mützel 'borrowed' from existing sources.

Krefft complained of the weight of photographic materials Blandowski insisted on carrying with the expedition, and



Fig. 2: Illustration 104 from Blandowski's *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*, 'Native women using scurrilous language'. Reproduced with the permission of the Haddon Library of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

stated that the apparatus and chemicals 'would never work' (1856–57:2). Given this, illustration 26, showing three female and two male Aborigines of the 'Yarree-Yarree' [Nyeri-Nyeri] tribe in Mondellimin, is of particular interest (Fig. 3). It is attributed to a photograph by W. v. Blandowski. It is highly naturalistic and unlike other illustrations of Aboriginal persons. Clearly, Blandowski's photographic apparatus worked on at least this one occasion.

### AUSTRALIEN IN 142 PHOTOGRAPHISCHEN ABBILDUNGEN AS A PRODUCTION

Paszkowski (1967:164–69) describes Blandowski's attempts to publish the proposed encyclopedia on Australian natural history and to gain recognition for his achievements. Kreffit makes the following comment:

I further learn that your ex-curator is going to take steps in England to regain his lost place. He considers you [Frederick McCoy] the main cause of all his misfortunes and he hopes that by the aid of some ... friends in England to have justice done to him (Kreffit to McCoy 1859, Museum Victoria).

Blandowski's frustrations found their expression in a short pamphlet he published in Gleiwitz, entitled *The Opinion of Men of Science in London of Wilhelm Blandowski's Ten years of Labor in Australia 1849–1859* (Paszkowski 1967:164–7).

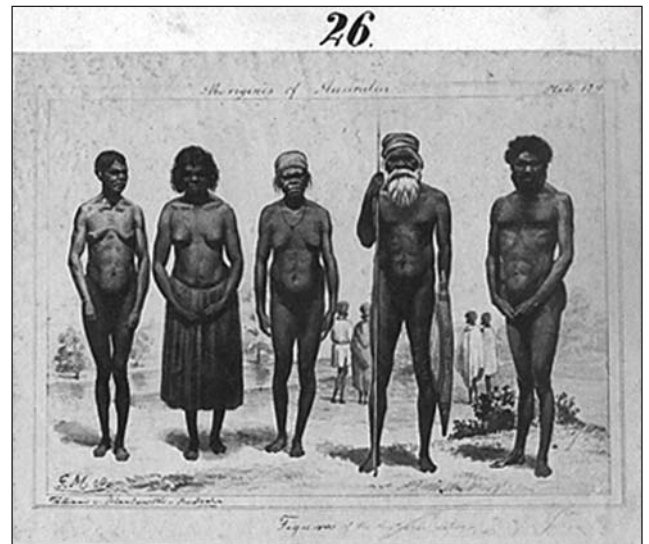


Fig. 3: Illustration 26 from Blandowski's *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*, 'Figures of the Australian natives'. Reproduced with the permission of the Haddon Library of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

Blandowski worked with Gustav Mützel during 1860 to organize the sketches into a series of Plates ready for publication. The complexities of this process are detailed in the formal attributions attached to each illustration. Where an attribution is given, this is either to Blandowski or Mützel. There are eleven variants of these attributions in the captions attached to each illustration. These variants are listed in Table 2 below.

What are we to make of the distinctions shown in Table 2. Blandowski clearly wanted his and Mützel's contributions to be individually identified in terms of whether each illustration represented a photograph, drawing, sketch, or composition, or was taken from a drawing or photograph. This suggests an emphasis on authorship and artistry that is somewhat out of place in a work that does not mention Gerard Krefft.

Blandowski made a further attempt to publish the encyclopaedia in its original format. In a letter to Sir Henry Barkly, dated Gleiwitz, October 5 1860, Blandowski states that he has an additional 200 plates ready to publish and asked for Government assistance. In a note attached to this letter, the Chief Secretary of Victoria commented that Blandowski, [has had] 'all he was entitled to', and that the intended publication was not fully relevant to Victoria as it concerned the, 'whole continent of Australia and not merely of this Colony' (Paszkowski 1967:168).

It was at this point that Blandowski made use of his photographic knowledge to publish the work in the form of 142 miniature albumen prints and text with Gustav Neumann

Table 2: Variations in attributions attached to the Illustration Captions in *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*.

Attribution in Text	Gloss
<i>Nach einer Photographie von W. v. Blandowski.</i>	After a photograph by W. v. Blandowski.
<i>Photographie von W. v. Blandowski.</i>	Photograph by W. v. Blandowski
<i>Nach einer Zeichnung von W. v. Blandowski</i>	After a drawing by W. v. Blandowski
<i>Nach einer Handzeichnung von W. v. Blandowski</i>	After a sketch by W. v. Blandowski
<i>Zeichnung von W. v. Blandowski</i>	Drawing by W. v. Blandowski
<i>Gezeichnet von W. v. Blandowski</i>	Drawn by W. v. Blandowski
<i>Nach einer Zeichnung von W. v. Blandowski, zusammengestellt von G. Mützel</i>	After a drawing by W. v. Blandowski, arranged or put together by G. Mützel
<i>Gezeichnet von G. Mützel</i>	Drawn by G. Mützel
<i>Zeichnung von G. Mützel</i>	Drawing by G. Mützel
<i>Zusammengestellt von G. Mützel</i>	Arranged or put together by G. Mützel
<i>Componiert von G. Mützel</i>	Composed by G. Mützel

of Gleiwicz. This publication is the only record of the original sketches of Aboriginal life produced during the expedition, as otherwise these have been lost. By good fortune, the original natural history sketches and watercolours, and the larger colour plates prepared for full publication have survived in the collections of the National History Museum of Berlin.

As mentioned previously, there is a narrative structure in the captions and illustrations in the *Australien*. The organisation of the work is detailed in Table 3 below. While this order is implicit rather than explicit, Blandowski's clear intention was for a comprehensive view of Aboriginal life for the Murray-Darling area. He succeeded. The *Australien* provides an account that is rivalled only by Eyre's Volume II of his 1845 *Journal of an Expedition of Discovery into Central Australia*, which details Eyre's life at Moorunde.

**Table 3: The narrative structure of captions and illustrations in *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*.**

Section	Illustration numbers	Subject
1	1–18	Scientific introduction, geology and ecology
2	19–25	The journey, camps, first meetings with Aborigines and scenery
3	26–33	Physical appearance and activities of the Aborigines
4	34–42	Fish, Aboriginal fishing and Aboriginal use of the river
5	43–59	Birdlife, in groups e.g. waders, parrots etc., and Aboriginal birding methods
6	60–72	Mammals, organised into kangaroos, Dasyurids, bandicoots, Bettongs, and details of Aboriginal mammal hunting
7	73–95	Aboriginal initiations, body marking, dances and ceremonies
8	96–112	Aboriginal meetings, competitive sports, dancing and combat
9	113–127	Aboriginal sickness and curing, death, burials and treatment of the dead in the Murray river and Coorong
10	128–142	Comparison of grave monuments in south eastern and northern Australia

Nearly thirty illustrations (113–142) deal with the subject of Aboriginal death and burial customs. These provide an example of Blandowski's structured approach to the material. Part of his treatment is comparative and to this end, Blandowski reproduced illustrations from other works, including those by Mitchell (illustrations 131 and 138), Oxley (137 and 140), and Juke (141). These were included to complete the picture available from the expedition's own works. Together with Blandowski's own observations from the Coorong and Encounter Bay, Darling River, central Victoria, Gippsland and Cape York, they provide a comparative treatment of the subject that is both useful and highly original. Additional details on mourning customs are provided in the captions, such as a note on the levirate bestowal of a dead man's wives on his brother. Such information is not illustrated or discussed elsewhere.

The structure shown in Table 3 is clearly not the same as the one Blandowski intended for his larger encyclopaedia. The Plate numbers which appear on the top right hand corner of the originals are quite different to the numbers in the *Australien*. As an example, illustrations 19 to 32 have the following Plate numbers (in order, Plates 51, 161, 137, 130, 129, 147, 201, 183, 102, and 127). We will probably never know what Blandowski intended for this larger work.

## CONCLUSION

Analysing Blandowski's *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen* has enabled us to strip off a number of layers within this work to answer some of the questions posed at the beginning. The first of these concerns its originality. It is almost certain that the majority of sketches of Aboriginal life and natural history were by Krefft. On the other hand, Mützel's and Blandowski's contribution took a number of forms. Some of the original artwork is by Blandowski and he commissioned Mützel to rework both these and Krefft's originals into composites. Furthermore, Blandowski gave the work an order by arranging the illustrations and captions into sections, each providing information on a single aspect of Aboriginal life. Thus Blandowski, Mützel and Krefft each made contributions and questions concerning authorship should take these contributions into account. At the least, however, it should have been recorded that many of the illustrations were based on Krefft's sketches, and were therefore *after* Krefft. Blandowski's *Australien* is silent on this point.

A further question concerns whether the illustrations provide an authentic and reliable view of Aboriginal life in 1857? Authenticity and reliability here depends on the original source material and how these have been reworked. This requires analysis of the text and illustrations on a case by case basis, a task beyond the scope of the current examination. The work is not uniform, some of the illustrations are copies, and most have been interpreted by Mützel. However, considering the time and place of the observations, and the obstacles in the path of publication, Blandowski did well to produce a book that is as useful as this one is. Published diaries have usually been selectively reworked and yet are considered reliable accounts.

Blandowski appears to have had a closer affinity with the Aborigines than did Krefft. Blandowski was interested in Aboriginal ceremonial life and he attempts to provide information on Aboriginal meetings, competitions, burials and mourning ceremonies. It was also Blandowski's energy, despite great obstacles, that brought Mützel the artist, himself as photographer, and Neumann the printer together in Glewitz to create the *Australien* and ensure the survival of the ethnographic artwork, at least in miniature form.

The work, however, remains inaccessible. It deserves to be made available to a wider range of scholars and a new assessment made of it. With proper acknowledgement for the artistry of Krefft and to Mützel, it might yet enable Blandowski to 'regain his lost place'.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Lillian Barton for the working translation of German language captions from the *Australien* and Claudia Grosse for checking the attributions. I acknowledge the Haddon Library of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for permission to reproduce the illustrations. This research was supported through the University of Auckland Research Committee and a University of Melbourne Edward Clarence Dyason Universitas 21 Fellowship held in the School of Earth Sciences. Simon Holdaway, Judith Littleton and two anonymous reviewers commented on an earlier draft.

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