Zeitschrift für Australienstudien

Australian Studies Journal

Nummer 31 / 2017

Gesellschaft für Australienstudien
Association for Australian Studies

Im Namen der Gesellschaft für Australienstudien herausgegeben von

Published on behalf of the Association for Australian Studies by

Henriette von Holleuffer, Hamburg, Germany – adfonteshistory@aol.com

Oliver Haag, The University of Edinburgh, School of History Classics and Archaeology, Teviot Place, EH8 9AG, UK – ohaag@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

Bitte senden Sie alle **Korrespondenz** und **Manuskripte** an die Herausgeber. Manuskripte, die anderswo erschienen sind, werden nur nach Rücksprache zur Veröffentlichung angenommen. Eine nachträgliche, anderweitige Veröffentlichung ist nach Rücksprache mit dem Herausgeber möglich, wobei ein Verweis auf dieses Organ erwartet wird.

Please send all **correspondence** and **manuscripts** to the editors. Manuscripts that have been published elsewhere will, in special cases, be considered for publication. A republication elsewhere is possible upon prior consultation with the editors. It is expected that the subsequent publication carries a reference to this periodical.

Redaktionsschluss / Editorial Deadline: 1. Juli / 1 July 2018

Recommended length of Essay Contributions: 6,000 words

For Review Essays: 2,500. Reviews: 1,500 words. - No. 32 (2018)

Sale Price for an individual issue: € 5 plus P & P

Membership of the GASt includes a subscription to the ZfA | ASJ.

Layout & Satz: Stefanie Affeldt

Visit our website: www.australienstudien.org

Ziele der *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien (ZfA)*
The Journal's Aims and Editorial Policy:

Die *ZfA* ist die Fachzeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Australienstudien e.V. (GASt). Das Herausgebergremium und das Advisory Board setzen sich zum Ziel,

- wissenschaftlich und akademisch interessante Themen aus dem weiten Bereich der Australienstudien einer breiten Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen, den Dialog zwischen den Disziplinen und mit Australienexperten zu fördern;
- Anregungen aus der Lehre aufzugreifen und in diese hineinzutragen, wobei damit die Lehre an den Hoch- und Fachhochschulen, aber ebenso auch der schulische Unterricht gemeint sind;
- ein informelles Podium für den wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs bereit zu stellen;
- wissenschaftlich oder aus anderem Grund interessante und Australienbezogene Publikationen in der Form von Rezensionen einer breiten Öffentlichkeit vorzustellen;
- historische, politische, kulturelle, ökonomische, völkerrechtliche, sprachrelevante, geographische und naturwissenschaftliche Themen Australiens sowie den deutsch-australischen und europa-australischen Bereich zu reflektieren, wobei auf die aktuelle politische Auseinandersetzung Bezug genommen werden kann; ein besonderes Anliegen ist es, auf die mediale Berichterstattung Australiens und die wechselseitige Darstellung einzugehen;
- als Organ der Gesellschaft für Australienstudien, fachspezifisch relevante Aktivitäten für die Öffentlichkeit vorzustellen.

Mitglieder und Nichtmitglieder sind eingeladen, Beiträge für die *ZfA* einzusenden.

Verlage werden gebeten, Rezensionsexemplare relevanter Publikationen an die Herausgeber zu senden.

Alle **Leser** sind eingeladen, selbst Vorschläge für die Rezension von relevanten Publikationen, Ausstellungen, neuen Filmen und Webseiten an die Herausgeber zu richten.

Die ***ZfA*** ist offen für Weiterungen, die sich innerhalb der Australienstudien bemerkbar machen oder aus anderen Gründen sinnvoll erscheinen.

The **editors** of *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* / *Australian Studies Journal* assume no responsibility for the contributors' opinions.

Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / *Australian Studies Journal* is indexed in the annual **MLA International Bibliography** and **AustLit**.

Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / *Australian Studies Journal* is a fully **peer-reviewed** journal.

Inhaltsverzeichnis | Table of Contents

Rezensionen | Reviews

Informationen | Informations

From the editors of this issue

Australia is often deemed a European "outpost" in the southern hemisphere, treated like an island surrounded by Asian neighbours. This self-conception as insular combines geography with narratives of a stable and homegrown culture. As the first stanza of the national anthem, *Advance Australia Fair*, suggests in praising: "Our home is girt by sea". Although historically reductive – think of ancient relationships between Yolngu and Macassan cultures – this view has nonetheless produced ethnocentric and racialised ideas of the Fifth Continent: Australia as an ostensibly white nation came to be defined by principles of whitened hegemony, as with the White Australia Policy or Aboriginal affairs policies of assimilation. Contemporary perspectives seem to be increasingly inclusive of Asian-Australian encounters, thus letting Australia appear to be shaped less of solely European influence. Yet "Asia" seems to be in such constructions similarly homogeneous as "Europe", especially so if it comes to mutual cultural exchange.

In reality, cultural influences are far more fluid, complex and intricate than oppositional views suggest. This issue of the *Australian Studies Journal* looks at pivotal aspects of cross-cultural histories that break with any dichotomist and oversimplified notion of opposing Europe with Australia. As integral part of the Pacific Rim, Australia offers unique opportunity to explore the encyclopaedic field of cross-cultural exchange. Oliver Haag's extensive research and in-depth analysis offers a colourful and outstanding introduction to this issue as the author integrates European and Oceanic perspectives. Haag evaluates the multilingual outcome of the Indigenous Oceanic book publishing industry. His biblio-statistical study traces the complexity of European interest in, and reception of, Indigenous Australian literature. By comparing the publishing history of European translations of the Indigenous literatures of Australia, the Pacific and New Zealand, Haag shows how much European involvement in translations have differed regionally but also how much it has produced similarities and occasional overlapping. Neither has Australia been insular in this event, nor can Europe be regarded as a singular entity. Complexities are at work and more transnational and transregional analyses are needed to better understand the histories of cultural exchange between Europe and Oceania (of which Australia is as much an integral part as with Asia).

This complex field of research is followed by Regina Ganter's fascinating study about cross-cultural curiosity. The prominent scholar describes how a German missionary in Australia dedicated his life to an ethnographic project of immense size and complexity, for it dealt with sensitive information on Indigenous beliefs. At the edge of Indigenous and European life-worlds Pastor Georg Reuther tried to compile a cross-cultural encyclopaedia in the face of encounter – but also in the face of adversity. Together with Regina Ganter, a proven expert on this issue, we cross the red line between Indigenous spirituality and European science as we learn that Pastor Georg Reuther's deep commitment to the spiritual world of the Indigenous people failed in the end. As the author concludes: "Reuther's struggle with ethnography was a result of a preoccupation that, in his own estimation, brought him to the brink of insanity as he probed into the innermost secrets of the life-worlds of the peoples of the Coopers Creek area near Lake Eyre".

Alexandra Ludewig's article analyses the highly personal and often non-linear biographies of German émigrés – like Isaac Steinberg's – to Western Australia. German-Jewish claims to colonies in the Kimberleys were complex and involved different ethnic and racial categories in a transnational setting: Indigeneity, racialised ideas of Jewishness as much as whiteness. The displacement of people is a cross-cultural experience. Ludewig's article illustrates this very clearly. However, plans of resettlement in a new homeland may not justify the displacement of others. In plain words: The lack of an own homeland in the case of one ethnic group cannot be adjusted by violating the right to exist of another group – regardless of whether the *Displaced* (persons) are in immediate distress or driven by eclectic ideas of "chosenness". In a rather unexpected way, Ludewig's extremely well researched article is a lesson in human rights policy.

The last two articles deal with a highly abstract issue – although both authors work out the subject in a most illustrative way: the decoding of cultural codes. Stefanie Affeldt's essay, "'Making Black White': Sugar Consumption and Racial Unity in Australia", "looks at the processes of everyday 'production' and 'reproduction' of 'race' as a social relation. This regards not only the so-called White Australia policy but also a comprehensive white culture that stimulated participation of broad sections of the mainstream population", as the laureate of the GASt Dissertation Prize 2016 explains. Her analysis offers an amazing history of Queensland's sugar industry during a period of social transformation at the beginning of the 20th century which – quite literally – melted the traditional concept of *white* cane sugar harvested by people of colour and transformed it into an Australian icon, produced by white men in Queensland. The new concept, laid into every Australian consumers' mouth, reflected the idea that Queensland sugar should attain "a *double whiteness* – chemically and, most notably, ideologically".

In his essay, "'The Majesty of Concrete': Hume Dam and Australian Modernity", GASt award recipient Daniel Rothenburg, explores the ideology behind the far-reaching structural change of Australia's archaic landscape during modern times. Rothenburg outlines a vivid picture of the age of hydro-electricity by decoding the cultural code of a "civilized landscape". He argues that "the Hume Dam can prove useful to understand the promises, hopes, and fears – in short: the ideology – invested in the expansion of hydro-engineering for irrigated agriculture and hydro-electricity in twentieth century Australia". Moreover, he constructs a theory that "a highly specific and radical Australian blend of 'High Modernism' [existed which] amalgamated the settler nationalist dream of populating the arid inland with the modern confidence in the continued mastery of nature". Once again, readers will learn that Australia is a vivid example for the clash and harmonization of cultural beliefs: The 'social utopia' of "harnessing the waters and developing the 'useless' Australian land" may be defined as an European ideology but there were Indigenous people long before who followed own concepts of using water which allowed them to survive on a seemingly dry continent – girt by sea.

As editors of the journal, we continue in our effort to get into contact with Australianists in Europe and overseas. In cooperation with the newly established *Centre for Australian Studies* at the University of Cologne we foster the practice of Australian Studies as a multidisciplinary and transnational endeavour. The *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien | Australian Studies Journal* is a crucial forum for exchanging innovative

scholarship. Our policy to encourage interdisciplinary research and submissions by emerging scholars has led to a perceptible increase in interest to publish with this journal. We appreciate this continuing interest and strongly encourage future submissions in both German and English language. We are also delighted to welcome Helen Idle as a new member of the editorial advisory board. Helen's research interests relate, *inter alia*, to displays of Indigenous Australian art in Europe and theories of ego histoire. The online submission form and the availability of articles and reviews for free have exerted an impact on the reach and diversity of our readers. We could sense increasing interest in this new format at institutions. The *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien | Australian Studies Journal* continues to combine different disciplines to engage with Australia in intellectually multifarious ways. Our Association also issues a bi-annual electronic Newsletter which presents news, reports and debates on Australia's current affairs. Australianists can visit the *e-Newsletter* on **www.australienstudien.org**.

The production of this issue would not have been possible without the efforts of our authors, reviewers and anonymous referees. We wish to thank all of them. In particular, our gratitude goes to Professor Beate Neumeier, Victoria Herche, Dr. Stefanie Affeldt, who created the journal's brand-new layout, and Dr. Guido Isekenmeier who – once again – helped in the final steps towards completion of the online and print versions.

Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (December 2017)

Im Detail
In-Depth Coverage

Oliver Haag
University of Edinburgh

Oceanic Books in Translation

Towards a History of Indigenous Australian, New Zealand and Pacific Publishing in European Translation

Indigenous Australian, New Zealand and Pacific books in English and French – if defined as being co-authored by Indigenous persons (Heiss 25-26, 191, 196) – are a relatively recent phenomenon. A systematic politics of publishing Indigenous books in English and French evinced by the respective national presses can only be observed since the 1970s or so. To be sure, while such books had been produced long before the 1970s, such productions were sporadic and rare (Grossman 1-3; McRae 23; Goetzfridt 266; Brown 348p.). Since the 1970s, however, the production of books from this region has increased, thus exhibiting a systematic character, and translations overseas have proliferated. Yet, apart from general collections on the cultural exchanges between the European and Pacific region (e.g. Conrich and Alessio; Somerville and Marsh; Summo-O'Connell), little scholarly attention has been paid to the history of the production of such books overseas. In analyzing the history of translated Indigenous Australian, New Zealand and Pacific publishing simultaneously, the present article seeks to bring to the fore their obvious similarities. The results of the comparative approach also suggest the clear advantage of not automatically treating seemingly national and local book cultures as insular phenomena.

However, for all its advantages, the comparative approach also meets the difficulty of terminology. Considering the geographic dimension and cultural diversity of this region, there are different terms employed to refer to the first inhabitants of the respective regions such as 'Aboriginal' and 'Torres Strait Islander' in Australia; regional and national classifications like 'Hawai'ian' and 'Tongan' across the Pacific; and 'Maori' in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Moreover, different terms are used to refer to the Pacific region as such – 'Australasia', 'Pacific' and 'Oceania'. In the present study, I use 'Oceanic' when referring to the three book cultures in their mutual context of European reception, since this term is the most inclusive of the three broad regions of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. Furthermore, I employ the term 'Indigenous' when referring to the first inhabitants of Oceania in their reciprocal context of European reception. However, I use local and national designations – like 'Aboriginal' – when referring to specific groups and nations.

The present research presents and evaluates bibliographies of Indigenous Oceanic books translated into Continental languages. The bibliography includes books from three major regions: first, Australia, including the Torres Strait Islands; second, New Zealand, including the Cook Islands and Niue; and third, the Pacific Islands, encompassing all territories, colonies, and/or nations, including a special category of 'cross-regional' books for those writers who emigrated to Pacific countries. Thus, in such cases, 'hyphenated' categories like Samoan-New Zealand will be employed.

The Pacific translations, however, do not include East-Timor, the Japanese islands, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the Galapagos Islands.

The methods of evaluating the bibliographies are quantitative, whereby the statistical profile draws on the following variables drawn from the bibliographies: a) 'year of first publication' in order to establish a publication timeline; b) 'language' so as to analyze the distribution of the languages of translations; c) 'gender' for gaining a picture of the proportion between male and female authors translated; d) 'genre'; and e) 'information on the publisher', which means to differentiate between 'larger' (trade) and 'smaller' (independent/regional) publishers. All statistical data are taken from Tables 1-3 in the appendix.

Further to this, the present study should be understood as establishing a first insight into an underrepresented area in scholarship and thus cannot engage in a full analysis of the whole gamut of Indigenous book production. It perforce has to preclude issues such as the politics of funding, the influence of book fairs, editorial influence on translation productions, and promotional tours. The main objectives of the article are: (a) to present bibliographies, (b) identify similarities in the production of the books in question, and (c) scrutinize the similar development of the different Indigenous book cultures in Continental markets. These issues are, as this article argues, interrelated. The sources for the bibliographies are:

i) Bibliographies of Indigenous books in English and in Indigenous languages (e.g., Underhill; Heiss 220-234, 245-249; Williams *A Bibliography of Printed Maori*; Taylor; Simms 177-179, 181; Goetzfridt 317-319; Agence de développement de la culture kanak);

i) General and national bibliographies, as well as literary compendia (e.g., *Papua New Guinea National Bibliography*; Lal and Fortune 516-538; Stewart et al.; Williams *South Pacific Literature Written in English*; Sturm; Robinson and Wattie; Arnold and Hay; Jose; Prießnitz and Spies);

i) Bibliographies of translations (e.g., Haag 2009 and 2014; Karanfilović; Auerbach; Wolf);

i) Publication brochures and author profiles published by national/Indigenous presses (e.g., Huia Publishers, Institute of Pacific Studies, Aboriginal Studies Press, The Bishop Museum);

i) Journals of creative writing, such as *Mana, 'Ōiwi*, and *Landfall*

i) Bibliographic databases (e.g., Black Words; University of Waikato – Māori Bibliography; New Zealand Literature File).

The present bibliographies are inclusive of, on the one hand, book publications appearing from the nineteenth century until the year 2009 and, on the other hand, books that have either been authored or co-authored by Indigenous people of this region, or, in the case of anthologies, in which the Indigenous owners and narrators of the stories are acknowledged by name as co-authors of their stories. Books authored by Europeans about Indigenous people and cultures – like those authored by Marlo Morgan, Tancred Flemming and Louis Becke – are excluded, because such books are usually not regarded as Indigenous in their originating countries (Heiss; Underhill; Sturm). Nonetheless, the publishing of contemporary translations, this essay argues, needs to be understood as having emerged from what I term content-related

Indigenous publishing that did not account authorship for the defining criterion of Indigenous publishing. Content-related Indigenous publishing can be traced to the advent of European exploration, flourishing particularly during the height of colonisation and the emergence of what was dubbed colonial disciplines, such as social anthropology.

Evaluating the Bibliographies – Similarities and Differences between Oceanic Book Cultures

European interest in Indigenous cultures and literatures is often described as enormous (e.g., Feest; Hanstein). While this assessment is certainly not wrong per se, the findings of this study do not support such a view regarding the production and circulation of translated Indigenous books: up to the year 2009, 87 Australian, 96 Pacific and 124 New Zealand books had been issued in translation. These numbers are comparatively small in relation to the translation of non-Indigenous books from these regions, as the indexes of data bases suggest at least 5,000 to 8,000 book translations in this category (AustLit; Index Translationum).

Furthermore, the statistical evaluation of the bibliographies demonstrates that the history of Europe's production of Indigenous books reveals more similarities than differences between the Australian and New Zealand contexts. These similarities, as will be shown, are largely publisher-driven, relating to those areas and genres of translation publishing that stand under the immediate influence of what I designate target contexts, that is, the influence of translators and overseas editors and publishers. By way of contrast, the differences between the respective book cultures relate to those aspects of publishing that are not under the immediate influence of target contexts, but rather reflect what I term the source contexts, that is, the respective national contexts of book publishing, such as distribution of genres and gender-based relations in authorship.

The differences apply to two segments of publishing – the proportions of translated authors by gender and genre. Approximately 53% of the corpus of Australian and 64% of that of Pacific books are authored by women, but only 38% in New Zealand. While there are regional differences across the Pacific as regards genre distribution – the overwhelming majority of Samoan (100%) and Hawai'ian (90%) books are authored by women, whereas male authors predominate clearly in the cases of Papua New Guinea (77%) and New Caledonia (100%) – this difference nonetheless reflects the general tendencies of gender distributions of Indigenous writers: that is, bibliographies and statistical surveys suggest there are considerably more female than male Indigenous writers in Australia and Oceania (Cooper et al. 3, 12, 42; Goetzfridt) and, conversely, more male than female authors in New Zealand (Underhill). It seems that European presses have not influenced this gender-based difference between each of the Oceanic book cultures in translation. Rather, the gender-based differences in the European translations reflect those of the original or source contexts.

The second major difference inferred from the bibliographies relates to the genres translated. The pattern for genre distribution shows that nearly 82% of the New Zealand and 79% of the Pacific books are in fictional genres, whereas 56% of the Australian books are in fictional genres. Furthermore, while there are a few translations

of academic books by New Zealand (8%) and Pacific authors (4%), there is no single academic book translated from an Indigenous Australian pen. Thus, the genre differences, too, reflect the respective national patterns of genre frequency (fictional genres seem to be more popular among Māori and Pacific than Aboriginal writers; most astonishingly, there are more academic writings published by Māori and Pacific than by Aboriginal authors). This means that European presses are not guilty of creating genre discrepancies; the discrepancies between Oceanic book translations reflect the distribution of genres in each of the regional book cultures.

Apart from these differences, however, there are four major similarities discernible in the statistics, relating to i) the distribution of the languages of translation; ii) the relation between the original and the translation presses; iii) the structure of the presses of translation; and iv) the parallel development of the translations.

The first similarity relates to the overall number of translations and the distribution of the languages of translation. There are no translations of books initially written in Indigenous languages – the two source languages are English and French. Overall, 87 Australian, 96 Pacific and 124 New Zealand books have been translated. While the figures for New Zealand literature are higher in absolute numbers, the number of translations in relative terms is similar between Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific – only Hawai'i seems to be underrepresented. This difference in the case of New Zealand is mainly because the Māori share of population in New Zealand (approx. 15% in 2006) is much higher than that of the Indigenous people in Australia (2.6% in 2006). Further to this, a much greater percentage of New Zealanders have Māori ancestry, which makes it easier to be designated an Indigenous author in New Zealand than in Australia. The lower numbers of translations from the Pacific in turn are largely due to the generally lower numbers of Indigenous book publications in this region, with there being an economically less viable publishing landscape in the Pacific compared to Australia and New Zealand.

Thus, simply in terms of the *numbers of publications*, the European publishers have evinced an equal interest in the three book cultures. Moreover, the distribution of languages into which Indigenous books have been translated is almost the same. New Zealand books have been translated into 21, whereas Australian books have been rendered into 17, and Pacific books into 15 different Continental languages.

As Figures 1-3 demonstrate, German is the most frequent language of translation, being virtually the same percentage for New Zealand, Australian and Pacific books (32%, 30% and 26% respectively), followed by French and Dutch/Italian.[1] Thus, also from the perspective of the *languages of translation*, European publishers have shown a similar interest in issuing translated Indigenous books.

The second similarity between the Australian and New Zealand translations observable in the statistical profile relates to the structure and scope of the original presses, because in the publishing of translations of New Zealand and Australian works, there is a strong correlation between the source and translation presses. Between 1977 and 2009, no books were translated that had previously been published by a local, regional, or Indigenous publisher, or was self-published. Significantly, there were no translations of works originally produced by a leading Indigenous

1 'Multilingual' means books containing excerpts in the source language, along with translations into the target language(s). The Spanish market has produced more translations than reflected in the language-distribution, because of the different target languages, particularly Catalan.

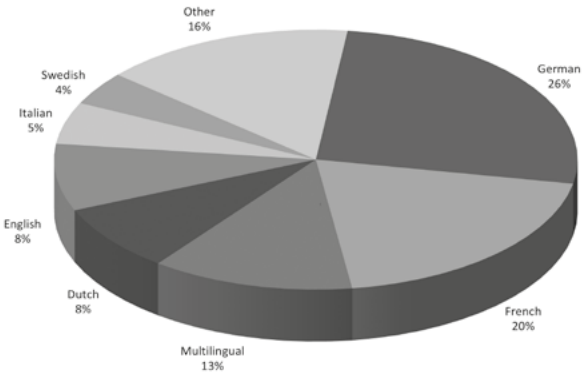


Fig. 1: Pacific Books
Proportion of Languages

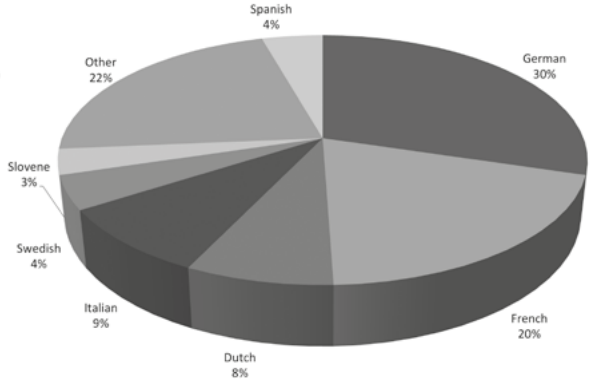


Fig. 2: Australian Books
Proportion of Languages

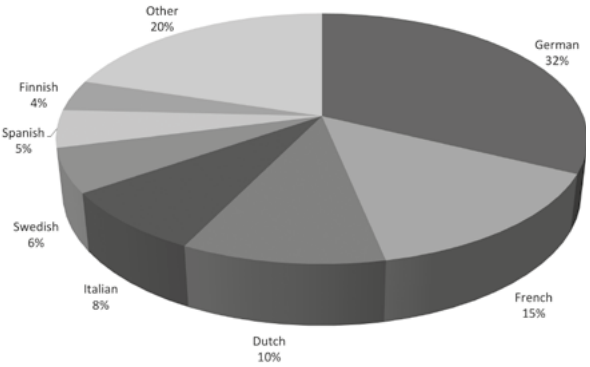


Fig. 3: New Zealand Books
Proportion of Languages

publisher such as IAD (Institute for Aboriginal Development) press in Alice Springs, Australia, Te Reo Publications in Opononi, New Zealand, or local publishers in the Pacific (Crowl 56-81). Instead, the European translation presses focused on books originally published by trade publishers – international publishing houses like 'Penguin'. As the statistics reveal, few translations have originated from books originally published by Pacific publishers. Quite the reverse: most of the Pacific books translated were originally published in either Australia or New Zealand. It is thus not merely the literary aspects and genre that influence whether an Indigenous book is publishable overseas, but also the economic structure, scale, and reach of dissemination of its source publisher. This correlation also explains the relatively low number of Hawai'ian books in English translation, as fewer have been published by larger trade publishing houses than Indigenous New Zealand and Australian books (Lal and Fortune 522).

The third similarity applies to the circumstance that the same European presses and translators have been engaged in the translated productions. Based on the program and structure of the translation presses in question, I differentiate between specialised and general presses, with the former being understood as focusing on a narrow readership or a special target subject (for example, feminist presses and publishing houses focussing on children's literature). General presses, on the other hand, are those publishing across multiple genres and themes, whether they are independent or trade companies. The statistics reveal that most (69%) of the press-

es that produced translations of New Zealand literature are of a general nature, while 76% of the Australian books were issued by companies that can be classed as 'general' publishers; the Pacific translations pose an exception to this, as more than half have been published by special presses (54%; see Appendix, Tables 1-3). Most of these special presses focus on children's literature, books on arts and culture and Christian presses. The higher percentage of special presses in the case of Pacific translations is largely because some of the Pacific book translations emerged from collaborations with (former) missionaries, particularly in Papua New Guinea, which explains the involvement of Christian publishers.

Further to this, numerous European presses have excelled in publishing Oceanic books from the three regions, such as Actes Sud (France), Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag (Germany), Unionsverlag (Switzerland), and De Geus (Netherlands), and the same applies to some of the translators (e.g. Regina Willemse – Dutch, Pierre Furlan – French, and Maria von der Ahé and Heinrich and Annemarie Böll – German). Hence, often the same publishers and translators have been engaged in the production of book translations from the three different regions.

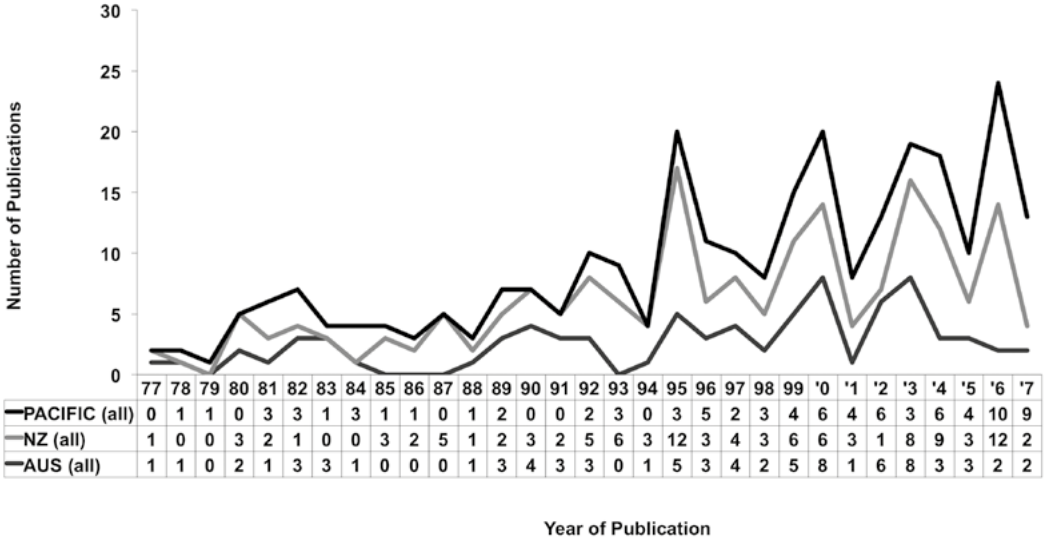
The data also show that European presses have not translated many different Indigenous authors; instead, they have tended to translate multiple books by relatively few authors. This distribution of authors substantiates that European presses have evinced a coherent publishing policy – they have not randomly published just any Indigenous author, but systematically established a canon of translated authors, or rather they have carried on an already existing canon of national Indigenous writers. Table 1 shows the most frequently translated Indigenous authors.

Australia	New Zealand	Pacific
1. Sally Morgan (12)	1. Witi Ihimaera (25)	1. Célestine Hitiura Vaite (15)
2. Dick Roughsey (7)	2. Patricia Grace & Keri Hulme (12 each)	2. Sia Figiel (10)
3. Doris Pilkington & Alexis Wright (6 each)	3. Alan Duff (11)	3. Albert Wendt (8)

Table 1: The Most Translated Authors
(Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of translations)

It is possible to infer from the range of translated authors that translation presses have tended to publish authors who are well-known in their respective countries. Thus, European presses, as the bibliographic statistics show, have been reluctant to take on younger and emerging Indigenous authors.

The fourth and most conspicuous similarity between the evolvement of Oceanic books on Continental markets is that the publications exhibit very similar trends in the annual amount of book production. In general, translations of Indigenous Australian books commenced later than those of New Zealand and Pacific books. In New Zealand, aside from a single publication in 1907, the first book-length translations emerged in the 1950s. In the Pacific, the first translation was into French of



	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	'0	'1	'2	'3	'4	'5	'6	'7
PACIFIC (all)	0	1	1	0	3	3	1	3	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	3	0	3	5	2	3	4	6	4	6	3	6	4	10	9
NZ (all)	1	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	3	2	5	1	2	3	2	5	6	3	12	3	4	3	6	6	3	1	8	9	3	12	2
AUS (all)	1	1	0	2	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	4	3	3	0	1	5	3	4	2	5	8	1	6	8	3	3	2	2

Fig. 4: Oceanic Books in European Translation

a Hawai'ian book, published in 1862. In Australia, by way of contrast, the first book translations commenced in the 1970s. However, publications in the 1950s and 1960s in the Pacific and New Zealand were sporadic, with no annual continuity in publication numbers. Hence it was not until the late 1980s that the publication of Pacific and New Zealand books was transformed into a systematic phenomenon, showing continuous development in the annual production of books. Remarkably, it is at this point in time that the production of translated Australian books too, entered into a systematic phase of annual continuity.

Moreover, the comparison between the New Zealand, Pacific and Australian translations substantiates that the trends in year-to-year production of translated Indigenous books have been statistically closely correlated since the early 1990s. Figure 4 gives a graphic illustration of this 'parallel' development, showing that the publication of translations of Indigenous books jumped simultaneously in 1995, 1999-2000 and 2003, and decreased markedly in 1996–1998, 2001 and 2005.

The statistical evaluation of the bibliographies has unearthed strong similarities in the history of Indigenous publishing in Europe: there is a tendency for Indigenous books to have been translated by the same translators, published by the same publishers (often produced as series), and there is a correlation between the original publisher and the possibilities of translations. These similarities are predominantly publisher-driven and have brought forward the parallel development in the history of Indigenous publishing.

The Parallel Development

A concatenation of circumstances has brought about this synchronous proliferation. Not all causes can be closely considered in the present study. However, I propose to differentiate between what I term 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' causes. By 'intrinsic', I mean those causes that have emerged largely within the national contexts of book production, that is, the whole structure for books to flourish, including the existence of a diversified publishing landscape, a socio-economic climate that allows creative

writing and publishing, and a wealthy system of funding opportunities. These 'intrinsic' factors then include the circumstance that it was not before the 1960s/1970s that Indigenous literary elites began to emerge across Oceania and began to publish *books*. This was made possible, among other things, by new funding policies, broader changes in the socio-political climate and broader access to Western education (Guldberg 144-148). Furthermore, this advancement of publishing on the respective national book markets entailed the creation of a canon of Indigenous writers. Without this canon, translations would not have been possible. As Pascale Casanova argues, national literatures and their writers start to enter the international literary arena particularly through translation and the awarding of internationally prestigious literary awards (Casanova 82-154). By definition then, each of the Indigenous book cultures has emerged on the international literary scene. However, before this could happen, a canon of writers and writings needed to be established. Significantly, as has already been argued, this canon has been upheld in the major languages of translation.

'Extrinsic' causes, by way of contrast, are all those circumstances not influenced by primarily national contexts of book production. This includes, for example, the interests of the translation presses, the broader European interest in Indigenous cultures, and funding by European agencies and organizations. The 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' causes are often interrelated. For example, some translations have been funded by both regional and European sponsors (e.g., Roe, Muecke and Merkatz 2000). However, the proposed differentiation is nonetheless a useful analytical tool. The proliferation of Indigenous book cultures on Continental markets has been instigated by the following 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' causes identified in Table 2.

'Intrinsic' Causes	'Extrinsic' Causes
• The development of national literary canons • National funding (e.g. through 'The New Zealand Book Council', 'The Australia Council', 'The Pacific Writing Forum at the University of the South Pacific') • Australia, NZ and Pacific Studies Centres in Europe	• The influence of international dissemination and inter/national literary prizes • The influence of films • Overseas funding • Inter/National events of broader significance • The help of mediators and translators

Table 2: Causes for the Proliferation

While not all causes can be scrutinized in the present article, the identification of these different factors should at least guide future research, particularly in relation to the issue of funding and the role of 'mediators' and translators in the proliferation of each book culture. In general, the proliferation of Indigenous books could not have been possible to this extent without the support of 'mediators' and translators. Often, this 'mediation' has been voluntary and motivated by ideals, as is observable, for example, in three German translations of Australian books (Roe, Muecke and Merkatz 2000; Unaipon and Merkatz 2005; Gilbert and Brezina 2003). Their initiator, Hubert Heine, a former undergraduate student at the University of Vienna, has acted

as mediator, aiming at "making accessible oral Australian literature to a wider (German-speaking) audience" (Roe, Muecke and Merkatz). Similarly for New Zealand, Cathy Dunsford has evinced a close collaborative bond with the German translator of her books, Karin Meißenburg (Van Nest). In the Pacific case, too, many books have been issued through the usually unsalaried engagement of mediators, such as a Christian mission that issued Pacific translations for a book club in former Western Germany (Mrossko 1984, 1985, 1989). In Papua New Guinea, a single person, Ulli Beier, has markedly influenced the reception of Papuan books in Germany. Beier, a Jewish-German émigré who set up writers courses in Papua, compiled and edited numerous anthologies, many of them eventually being translated into German (Beier 1980). Thus, such forms of editorial and non-profit collaborations have played a significant role in the history of the proliferation of translated Indigenous books.

Another evident reason for the rise in translations is the release of films as a trigger for subsequent translations. For example, Witi Ihimaera's novel *Whale Rider* was first published in 1987 and produced as a film in 2002. Significantly, as the bibliographies show, the translations of this book did not gather momentum before the release of the film. More precisely, they emerged in two waves in the year 2003 (5 translations) and 2004 (4 translations). This is similar to Alan Duff's *Once Were Warriors* (1990) that began to be translated only after the release of the film in 1994, with the translations appearing yet again in two waves in 1995 (4 items) and 1997 (2 books). In Australia, too, *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996) was not issued in translation just as a result of book print at home. In this case, as well, translations appeared in two waves, in 2003 (4 books) and in 2004/2005 (2 books), immediately after the release of the film in 2002. Both films, *Rabbit-Proof Fence* and *Whale Rider*, were released in the same year, 2002, and fared almost equally well at the box-office, with approximately 1,080,000 tickets sold in the 27 EU member countries for *Whale Rider* and 921,000 tickets sold for *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Lumiere). This influence of films on publishing is an imperative context for understanding the parallel development of the respective Indigenous book cultures, as each of them increased contemporaneously and markedly in the year 2003, hence after the simultaneous release of the films in 2002.

Another impetus for translations is what I term the 'internationalising effects' of particular Indigenous publications, meaning that it is statistically evident that Indigenous books begin to thrive overseas once their English editions have been disseminated outside the respective national markets. For example, after having been published by Fremantle Arts Centre Press within Australia, Sally Morgan's *My Place* (1987) was subsequently published in 1988 in the United Kingdom (the Virago edition) and the United States (the Seaver Books edition). Markedly, Continental presses first took on this book only after the release of the British and American editions in 1991. Célestine Hitiura Vaite's *Frangipani* (2004) offers a similar example, with translations having proliferated after the release of the original on the North American market. A similar nexus between internationalising effects and overseas publishing consists in the case of the internationally prestigious literary awards a book has received – for example, Keri Hulme's *Bone People* (1983) was awarded the Booker Prize in 1985 and only subsequently did this book come to be translated – six times between 1986 and 1988. This is very similar to Alexis Wright's novel *Carpentaria* (2006), which received the Miles Franklin Award in 2007, spawning the first translations in

the year thereafter. Such a correlation is also evident in Pacific book translations, as in the case of the awarding of the Commonwealth Writers Prize to Sia Figiel's novel *Where We Once Belonged* (1996) in 1997, which triggered five translations of this book in 1999 and 2000.

It also seems important to note at this point that the sales numbers in the respective national markets alone do not necessarily entail a translation; for instance, Kevin Gilbert's *Inside Black Australia* (1988) was reprinted in 1989 and sold comparatively well (approx. 17,000 copies), similarly to Ruby Langford's *Don't Take Your Love to Town* (1988), which was also reprinted in 2007 and sold approximately 32,000 copies (Indyk 2009). Yet neither book succeeded overseas – *Inside Black Australia* (1988) has not been translated at all, and *Don't Take Your Love to Town* (1988) has only been translated into Finnish. Consequently, as the statistics attest, the awarding of internationally renowned literary prizes as well as the prior dissemination of the books on the British and American markets have been the decisive impulses for the proliferation of Indigenous book cultures on Continental markets.

There is yet another reason for the overseas proliferation of Indigenous books, closely connected to the long-standing European interest in Indigenous cultures. As part of this interest, European presses throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century were engaged in publishing books *about* Indigenous cultures. Such books were written by either Europeans or settlers in their respective colonies. While such books cannot be designated as Indigenous, they nonetheless show two things relevant to the proliferation of contemporary books: first, publications and translations in Europe about Indigenous cultures have a long tradition (Feest). From this perspective, the Indigenous translations did not suddenly appear out of the blue on the European markets, but they rather complemented an already existing canon of books about Indigenous cultures. This tradition continues (e.g., Erckenbrecht), with European presses having marketed both the Indigenous translations under study and many European books *about* Indigenous cultures explicitly as Indigenous (Haag 2009). Thus, European presses have tended to define Indigenous books not according to authorship, but content, making it often difficult, if not impossible, for readers to differentiate between Indigenous and non-Indigenous books.

Considering this context, the second point of relevance to contemporary reception, which also partly explains the parallel development in the history of published translations by Indigenous authors, is that European publishers have often released books containing translations from multiple regions. This stands in the tradition of nineteenth century social anthropological writing about Indigenous cultures that often included different regions of Oceania. Emerging from this history of content-related publishing on Indigenous cultures, also texts published by Indigenous authors remained to be included in cross-regional catgeories, such as Oceania, the South Seas or the Pacific. I provide two examples. One is a collection of oral stories published in 1921 under the title *Südseemärchen aus Australien, Neu-Guinea, Fidji, Karolinen, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, Neu-Seeland u.a.* (literally: 'South Sea Fairytales from Australia, New Guinea, Fiji, the Caroline Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, New Zealand and others'). This collection contains Indigenous Australian, New Zealand and Pacific, i.e. regionally highly different stories, advertised under the rubric of the *South Pacific*. This form of cross-national and multiregional collection, as the bibliographies substantiate, has continued to be published by European presses, particu-

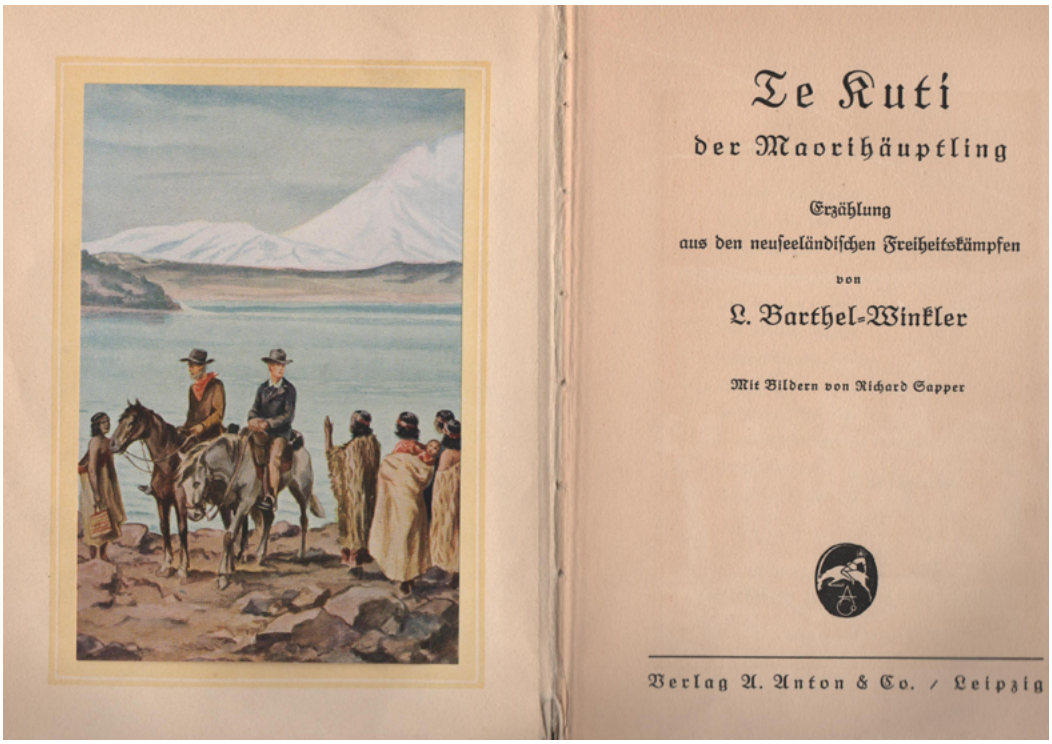


Fig. 5: Interior cover design on German book about Indigenous cultures (1937)

larly in the form of anthologies. Significantly, the same publisher of the 1921 edition, Eugen Diederichs, later re-issued similar stories both from Australia (Löffler 1981) and New Zealand (Jakubassa 1985) in the 1980s.

The other example supporting the tendency of multiregional publishing is *Te Kuti, der Maorihäuptling* (1937), a German book by Lisa Barthel-Winkler. The novel revolves around a Māori chief, a North American trapper, and an Australian convict and, furthermore, portrays the Māori on the internal cover illustration as "Indians" (see Figure 5). The book thus lumps together different cultures and histories, and exemplifies my hypothesis that the European interest in Indigenous cultures has not necessarily been focused on a particular nation, but rather on 'the' Indigene per se. I suggest that the European focus on multiregional Indigenous publishing is a vital reason for the parallel development in the history of publications by Indigenous authors, all the more so because it has often been the same European presses engaged in the production of translations.

Moreover, the proliferation of Indigenous books on the Continental markets cannot be detached from the broader interest in Indigenous cultures in Europe – this interest has often been described as significant (Feest; Wernitznig). This interest has certainly undergone considerable change in itself and has been additionally influenced by the increasing visibility of Indigenous cultures in Europe. This visibility, I contend, also partly explains the rise in publications, since the contemporaneous emergence of Indigenous books in Continental markets in the 1980s coincided with the emergence of an Indigenous cultural renaissance that witnessed a proliferation of Indigenous cultural production across the Pacific and Australia (e.g., Kakahele). Further to this, it also coincided with emerging political agendas in the 1980s, such as land rights and reports on racial discrimination, which drew greater attention from European media. For example, Petra Schleuning, in an article on the portrayal of Australia in the German media identified systematic coverage of Indigenous

Australians in the German dailies commencing during the 1988 Bicentenary of settlement, followed by a considerable increase in the number of reports about Australia (Indigenous issues included) during the Sydney Olympics (71). This augmented European media interest thus coincided with and likely influenced the increased production of Indigenous books. The year of the Sydney Olympics, 2000, is reflected in the statistics as one of the most prolific years of Indigenous book publication, applying to all three regions.

Furthermore, as the statistics demonstrate, there is a contemporaneous increase in the number of translations in particular years, predominantly 1995, 1999-2000 and 2003. These years witnessed major socio-political and popular-cultural events in the Pacific that drew the attention of the European media, including the French nuclear weapons testing until the mid-1990s, the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and the release of the *Lord of the Rings* film series between 2001 and 2003. Thus, drawing on the statistical figures, I think there is a nexus between major inter/national socio-political and popular-cultural events and the increase in publishing. This is particularly evident if one considers the simultaneous increases in translations of the three regions (see Figure 4). Broader events of popular-cultural and socio-political significance have thereby influenced the rise in productions. Adam Shoemaker has already suggested such a correlation between national events and the rise in publications regarding the national markets of Indigenous Canadian and Australian books:

> It is that major social upheavals involving Native people have been accompanied by an explosion in literary production. This happens for a wide variety of reasons: international media exposure, government funding for special projects, changing school syllabi, the readiness of publishers to test and develop markets, and, above all, the ever present talent of indigenous writers. The interplay of these factors is fascinating. They can be observed peaking in importance at various times since the early 1980s: in Australia during and following the Commonwealth Games of 1982 and the Bicentenary of 1988. (75)

This correlation between cultural-historical events and book publications, I suggest, is also true of international markets and translation productions. This applies especially to the year 2000 of the Sydney Olympics that witnessed a general interest in the Pacific region to which publishers in their turn have 'responded' with an evident increase in publications. In a similar fashion, the year 2003 was also prolific, seeing the America's Cup yachting series in Auckland and the release of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. The release of the third and economically most successful *Lord of the Rings* film in 2003 (Mikos et al. 24) may have provided an additional impetus for European publishers to focus on New Zealand and the Pacific, not least because European audiences had become more acquainted with and probably also more interested in this particular region.

This article has identified crucial factors that have fostered the proliferation of translated Indigenous books, including the development of a national literary canon with an Indigenous string, the engagement of translators and mediators, national and European funding, the influence of Indigenous-produced films and the interplay between broader popular-cultural events and publishing. The evident parallel development between the respective book cultures is largely due to the engagement of the same translators and publishers, as well as the historical tendency of European publishers to treat the Pacific as one region of interest and to focus on 'the' Indigene

rather than a particular Indigenous nation or group. It is also due to the release of economically viable Indigenous films, and to a stratagem of publishing particular books during periods of socio-political and popular cultural relevance. The parallel development, I suggest, is thus largely publisher-driven, not least because it is often the same European presses that have released Indigenous books from different regions.

Conclusion

The comparative approach taken in this study has identified some strong similarities in the production of translations of Indigenous books. While statistics and bibliographies can only provide the basis for a first insight into an under-researched phenomenon, it seems nevertheless possible to draw several conclusions from the statistical approach. First, there is evidence of European presses having shown an equal interest in the three regions of the Pacific. Second, only books previously published by trade publishers have been issued in translation. Thirdly, the translated books have been largely issued by presses with a more general focus, sometimes decidedly multinational trade companies. Fourthly, there is evidence that the trends in the European history of Indigenous publishing between the three regions are highly correlated. The extent of this synchronization demands further investigation as to whether this nexus also applies to marketing and readers' reception of translated Indigenous books. Lastly, the analysis of similarities and differences reveals how the European presses have practiced a politics of book production that has resulted in considerable similarities in the devolution of the translated books, but also shows that European publishers are not responsible for the apparent gender imbalances or the genres produced in translation. In the future, European publishers could remedy this imbalance by actively promoting statistically underrepresented author-groups. It is conspicuous that the effects of 'synchronization' relate in particular to the economic spheres of book production.

The similarities (and differences) identified in this research merit further scrutiny of the marketing of Indigenous books in Europe and the politics surrounding editorial practices. A closer analysis of the politics of (overseas) funding of translations and processes of production is required to advance scholarship on Indigenous books in the international literary space.

Bibliography I: Pacific Books in Translation

Papua New Guinean Books Published in European Languages other than English (including Irian Jaya)

Beier, Ulli, and Georgina Beier, ed., 1996. *Lyrik aus Papua-Neuguinea*. Trans. Ulli Beier. Bayreuth: Iwalewa.

Beier, Ulli, and Barnabas India, ed., 1992. *Barnabas India & William Onglo: zwei Künstler aus Papua Neuguinea*. Bayreuth: Iwalewa.

Beier, Ulli, and Albert Maori Kiki, 1996. *Hohao. Das Überleben einer Kunstform im Golf von Papua*. Trans. Ulli Beier. Bayreuth: Iwalewa.

Eri, Vincent, 1979. *Krokodil: proza Papua Novoĭ Gvinei.* Trans. A.S. Petrikovskaia and R.L. Rybkin. Moskva: Izd. Nauka.
Jouwe, Nancy, and Marlise Mensink, 1993. *'Papua's? O ja, die bestaan echt, he?' Een inventarisatie van de positie van Papuavrouwen in Nederland, 1958–1992.* Utrecht: Wetenschapswinkel Letteren, Universiteit Utrecht.
Kiki, Albert Maori, 1969. *Ich lebe seit 1000 Jahren.* Trans. Margarete Spitzer. Berlin: Ullstein.
Kiki, Albert Maori, 1975. *Tiotusen år i ett liv: en självbiografi från Papua Nya Guinea.* Trans. Ants Viirman. Stockholm: Prisma.
Kiki, Albert Maori, 1981. *Desjat' tysjac let v odnu zizn'.* Moskva: Izd. Nauka.
Kouza-Dunar, Loujaya Mojii, 1988. *Fünf Gedichte von Loujaya Mojii Kouza-Dunar: mit deutscher Übersetzung.* Neuendettelsau: Missionskolleg.
Mrossko, Kurt-Dietrich, ed., 1984. *Literatur in Papua Neuguinea. Übersetzungen und Referate des ersten Workshops des Missionskollegs in Neuendettelsau.* Neuendettelsau: Missionswerk der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern.
Mrossko, Kurt-Dietrich, ed., 1985. *Literatur in Papua Neuguinea.* Übersetzungen und Referate des zweiten Workshops des *Missionskollegs in Neuendettelsau.* Neuendettelsau: Missionswerk der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern.
Mrossko, Kurt-Dietrich, ed., 1989. *Literatur in Papua Neuguinea. Übersetzungen und Referate des dritten Workshops des Missionskollegs in Neuendettelsau.* Neuendettelsau: Missionswerk der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern.
Soaba, Russell, 2007. *Maiba. Romanzo della Papuasia.* Milano: Excelsior 1881.

Vanuatu Books Published in European Languages other than English

Kalkot Matas, Kele-Kele, 1978. *Les problèmes du couple africain.* Paris: Editions-Saint-Germain-des-Prés.
Molisa, Grace Mera, 1997. *Pierre noire: poèmes traduits par Déwé Gorodé.* Trans. Déwé Gorodé. Nouméa: Ed. Grain de Sable.
Moses, Theto Wimae, 1997. *Kuk buk. Gudfala kakae blong Vanuatu. Recettes du Vanuatu.* Nouméa: Éditions Grain de Sable.

French Polynesian Books Published in European Languages other than French
(including multilingual books and English-to-French translations if source text is in English)

Brémond, Hubert, Henri Hiro, and Charles Manutahi, 1982. *Te mau aamu maohi=Poesie Tahitienne=Tahitian poetry.* Raiwaqua [Fiji]: Mana Publication.
Henry, Teuira, comp., 1951. *Tahiti aux temps anciens.* Trans. Bertrand Jaunez. Paris: Musee de l'homme.
Henry, Teuira, comp., 1993. *Mythes tahitiens.* Trans. Bertrand Jaunez. Paris: Gallimard.
Margueron, Francine, and Paparai Arapari et al., 1981. *L'origine du uru=Te a'amu no te uru=The origin of the breadfruit.* Papeete: Editions Haere Po No Tahiti.
Mateata-Allain, Kareva, 2008. *Bridging Our Sea of Islands. French Polynesian Literature within an Oceanic Context.* Saarbrücken: VDM-Verlag.
Morvan, Dominique, and Rouleau Hinarai, 2003. *Vallées de Tahiti= Valleys of Tahiti=Peho no Tahiti.* Trans. Evy Hirshon and Simone Grand. Papeete: Éd. Le Motu.
Morvan, Dominique, and Rouleau Hinarai, 2004. *Jardins de Tahiti= Gardens of Tahiti=Aua no Tahiti.* Trans. Evy Hirshon and Simone Grand. Papeete: Éd. Le Motu.
Morvan, Dominique, and Rouleau Hinarai, 2005. *Maisons de Tahiti=Houses of Tahiti=Fare no Tahiti.* Trans. Evy Hirshon and Simone Grand. Papeete: Éd. Le Motu.
Morvan, Dominique, and Rouleau Hinarai, 2006. *Marché de Papeete=Market of Papeete=Te matete no Papeete.* Trans. Evy Hirshon and Simone Grand. Papeete: Éd. Le Motu.
Morvan, Dominique, and Rouleau Hinarai, 2008. *Vanille de Tahiti= Tahitian Vanilla=Vanira no Tahiti.* Trans. Evy Hirshon and Simone Grand. Papeete: Editions Univers Polynésiens.
Spitz, Chantal, 2007. *Island of Shattered Dreams.* Trans. Jean Anderson. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Stewart, Frank, Mateata-Allain, and Alexander Dale Mawyer, eds, 2006. *Vārua Tupu: New Writing from French Polynesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Villierme, Marie-Hélène, and Dominique Morvan, 1996. *Visages de Polynésie=Faces of Polynesia*. Tahiti: Visages de Polynésie.

New Caledonian Books Published in European Languages other than French
(including multilingual books)

Gope, Pierre, 2001. *The Last Nightfall*. Trans. Baineo-Boengkih and Penelope Keable. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific.
Gope, Pierre, and Nicolas Kurtovitch, 2003. *Gli dei sono ciechi*. Trans. Micaela Fenoglio. Torino: L'Harmattan Italia.
Gorodé, Déwé, 2004. *Sharing as Custom Provides. Selected Poems of Déwé Gorodé*. Trans. and edited Raylene Ramsay and Deborah Walker. Canberra: Pandanus Books.
Gorodé, Déwé, 2004. *The Kanak Apple Season. Selected Short Fiction of Déwé Gorodé*. Trans. and ed. Peter Brown. Canberra: Pandanus Books.
Wélépane, Wanir, and Marie Jacqueline Begueu, 1993. *Aux vents des îles*. Nouméa: Agence de developpement de la culture Kanak.

Wallis and Futunan Books Published in European Languages other than French
(including multilingual books)

Huffer, Elise, and Petelo Lelevai, ed., 2001. *Futuna: mo ona puleaga sau= aux deux royaumes=the Two Kingdoms*. Trans. Cyrille Sanchez. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific; Sigave: Service des affaires culturelles de Futuna.

Fijian Books Published in European Languages other than English

Tausi, Vilsoni, 1981. *Art du Pacifique: la question de l'art dans Pacifique en plein évolution*. Trans. Eric LeMoal. Port Vila: Université du Pacifique Sud.
Veramu, Joseph, 2000. *Durch die Straßen von Suva*. Trans. Andrea Viala. Wetzlar: Verl.-Haus No. 8.

Samoan Books Published in European Languages other than English

Figiel, Sia, 1998. *Alofa*. Trans. Alexandra Böhm. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Figiel, Sia, 1999. *El lugar donde nacimos*. Trans. Ana Quijada. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
Figiel, Sia, 1999. *La petite fille dans le cercle de la lune*. Trans. Céline Schwaller-Balaÿ. Arles: Actes Sud,
Figiel, Sia, 1999. *L'indret d'on venim*. Trans. Gabriel Planella and Warwick Or. Barcelona: La Magrana.
Figiel, Sia, 2000. *L'île sous la lune. Roman*. Trans. Céline Schwaller-Balaÿ. Arles: Actes Sud.
Figiel, Sia, 2000. *Waar wij geboren zijn*. Trans. Regina Willemse. Breda: De Geus.
Figiel, Sia, 2001. *La muchacha en el círculo de la luna*. Trans. Adela Ausina Bonillo. Tegueste: Baile del Sol.
Figiel, Sia, 2002. *Zij die niet treuren*. Trans. Jos den Bekker. Breda: De Geus.
Figiel, Sia, 2004. *Le tatouage inachevé. Roman*. Trans. Céline Schwaller-Balaÿ. Arles: Actes Sud.
Figiel, Sia, 2005. *As mulheres que não choram*. Trans. Mário Dias Correia. Lisboa: Temas e Debates.

Tongan Books Published in European Languages other than English

Keyserlingk von, Linde, and Topou Posesi Fanua, 1982. *Erzählungen für eine Papalagi: die Legenden der Südseeinsulanerin Topou Posesi Fanua.* Hamburg: Papyrus.
Keyserlingk von, Linde, and Topou Posesi Fanua, 1983. *Sehnsucht nach den grünen Inseln: die Legenden der Südseeinsulanerin Topou Posesi Fanua.* Hamburg: Papyrus.
Thaman, Konai Helu, 1986. *Inselfeuer. Gedichte aus Tonga.* Trans. Renate von Gizycki. Nürnberg: Tolling.

Hawai'ian Books Published in European Languages other than English

Davenport, Kiana, 1995. *Figlie dell'oceano.* Trans. Carla Carcupino. Milano: Mondadori.
Davenport, Kiana, 1995. *Haifischfrauen. Ein Hawaii-Roman.* Trans. Margarete Längsfeld. München: Droemer-Knaur.
Davenport, Kiana, 1996. *L'île aux mirages: une saga hawaïenne.* Roman. Trans. Martine Desoille. Paris: Presses de la Cité.
Davenport, Kiana, 1999. *Kanaka: lied van de ballingschap.* Trans. Jan Steemers. Amsterdam: Van Ditmar.
Davenport, Kiana, 2000. *I krig och kärlek.* Trans. Jan Malmsjö. Stockholm: Forum.
Davenport, Kiana, 2000. *Tyynenmeren myrskyt*. Trans. Tiina Ohinmaa. Porvoo: WSOY.
Davenport, Kiana, 2001. *Gesang der verlorenen Frauen: Roman.* Trans. Ulrike Seeberger. München: Deutscher-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Davenport, Kiana, and Brita Sommer et al., 2007. *Feuergöttin: Roman.* Trans. Gabriela Schönberger. Schwäbisch Hall: Steinbach [audio book; 6 CDs].
Malo, Davida, 1862. *Ka Mooolelo Hawai'i. Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien (Îles Sandwich).* Trans. Jules Remy. Paris: Franck.
Yamanaka, Lois-Ann, 1996. *Wild vlees & bully-burgers. Roman*. Trans. Gerda Baardman. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

Belau (Palauan) Books Published in European Languages other than English

Krämer, Augustin et al., 1929. *Palau. Geschichten und Gesänge.* Vol. 4. Hamburg: Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

South Pacific Books (cross-regional) Published in European Languages other than English

Bürkle, Christoph, ed., 2006. *Pazifik: das Meer der Inseln.* Sulgen: Niggli.
Dé Ishtar, Zol et al., eds., 2000. *Lernen aus dem Leid. Frauen der Pazifik-Inseln schildern die Schicksale ihrer Völker.* Pazifik-Netzwerk: Neuendettelsau.
Hau'ofa, Epeli, 1998. *Rückkehr durch die Hintertür. Satiren aus Tonga.* Trans. Renate von Gizycki. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Hau'ofa, Epeli, 2006. *Petits contes du Pacifique.* Trans. Manuel Benguigui. La Tour d'Aigues: Ed. de l'Aube.
Hau'ofa, Epeli, Figiel, Sia, and Albert Wendt et al., 2003. *Ein Meer von Inseln – Literatur aus Ozeanien.* Berlin: DLR [audiobook].
Metcalfe, Rowan Pahutini, 2006. *Passage de Vénus. Roman.* Trans. Henri Theureau. Pirae [Tahiti]: Au Vent des Iles.
Molisa, Grace Mera, ed., 1992. *Woman ikat raet long human raet o no*? Port Vila: Sun Productions.
Reed, A.W. ed., 2002. *Mýty a legendy Tichomoří.* Praha: Portál.
Reiter, Susanne, ed., 2002. *Südsee-Kurzgeschichten.* Trans. Susanne Reiter. Hamburg: Abera.
Teaiwa, Teresia, and Vilsoni Hereniko, 2006. *La dernière vierge du paradis.* Trans. Sonia Lacabanne. Nouméa: ADCK-centre culturel Tjibaou, 2006.

Teissier-Landgraf, Marie Claude, 1995. *The Russian from Belfort. Thirty-Seven Years' Journey by Painter Nicolaï Michoutouchkine in Oceania*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific.
Teissier-Landgraf, Marie Claude, 2004. *Tahiti: Beloved and Forbidden. Tahiti herehia, Tahiti rahuia. A Novel*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2002. *L'arbre à pain. Roman*. Trans. Henri Theureau. Pirae [Tahiti]: Au vent des îles.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2002. *Unter dem Frangipani-Baum. Roman*. Trans. Carsten Mayer. München: Goldmann.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2005. *Il fiore del frangipani*. Trans. Adriana Colombo and Paola Frezza Pavese. Milano: Mondadori.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2005. *Tropisch fruit*. Trans. Karin Breuker. Amsterdam: Sijthoff.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2006. *Frangipanier.* Roman. Trans. Henri Theureau. Pirae [Tahiti]: Au vent des îles.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2006. *I kloka kvinnors sällskap.* Trans. Lisbet Holst. Stockholm: Bonnier.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2006. *Las hijas de Tahití.* Trans. Israel Ortega Zubeldia. Barcelona: Debolsillo.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2006. *Tahitin tyttäret.* Trans. Marja Helanen-Ahtola. Helsingissä: Otava.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Frangipani*. Trans. Karin Breuker. Amsterdam: Poema Pocket.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Kloke kvinner og troll til menn: mannen som ikke fortjente kona si, og alt some hendte etterpå.* Trans. Bente Rannveig Hansen. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Laken, løk og kokosmelk*. Trans. Bente Rannveig Hansen. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Tahitin kukka*. Trans. Marja Helanen-Ahtola. Helsingissä: Otava.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Tiare.* Trans. Adriana Colombo and Paola Frezza Pavese. Milano: Mondadori.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2007. *Tiare.* Trans. Lisbet Holst. Stockholm: Bonnier.
Vaite, Célestine Hitiura, 2008. *Tiare. Roman*. Trans. Henri Theureau. Pirae [Tahiti]: Au vent des îles. Studies, University of South Pacific, 2004.
Wendt, Albert, 1982. *Der Clan von Samoa*. Trans. Doris Pfaff. Wuppertal: Hammer.
Wendt, Albert, 1984. *Kroniek van Sapepe*. Trans. Tinke Davids. Weesp: Het Wereldvenster; Den Haag: Novib; Brussel: NCOS.
Wendt, Albert, 1984. *Velká tma Pouliuli*. Trans. Luboš Kropáček. Praha: Odeon.
Wendt, Albert, 1989. *Selv om vi elsker hinanden*. Trans. Søren H. Madsen. *København*: Høst.
Wendt, Albert, 1998. *Die Blätter des Banyanbaums*. Trans. Doris Pfaff. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Wendt, Albert, 2004. *Au fond de nous les morts.* Trans. Jean-Pierre Durix. Suilly-la-Tour: le Décaèdre.
Wendt, Albert, 2006. *Le baiser de la mangue. Roman.* Trans. Jean-Pierre Durix. Pirae Au vent des îles.
Wendt, Albert, 2008. *Les feuilles du Banian. Roman*. Trans. Jean-Pierre Durix. Pirae: Au vent des îles.

Bibliography II: New Zealand Books in Translation

Maori Books Published in European Languages other than English

Alpers, Anthony et al., ed., 1993. "Miti maori", in: Anthony Alpers et al., ed., *Fiabe dall'Oceania: miti maori e leggende delle isole Fiji*. Trans. Graziella Englaro. Milano: Mondadori, 361–640.
Anderson, Atholl et al., ed., 1994. *Kulturen der Neuen und Pazifischen Welt: Kulturen Amerikas, Asiens und des Pazifiks*. Trans. Derek Vinyard. Hamburg: Jahr-Verlag.
Anderson, Atholl et al., ed., 1995. *Avskilda världar: människor och samhällen i Stilla havet*. Trans. Göran and Niclas Burenhult. Höganäs: Bra böcker.

Anderson, Atholl et al., ed., 1995. *Beschavingen van de nieuwe wereld:* mens en samenleving in de nieuwe wereld 3000 v. Chr.–1500 n. *Chr.* Trans. Rob de Ridder et al. Utrecht: kosmos-Z&K; Maastricht: Natuur & Techniek.
Baker, Heretaunga Pat, 2000. *Die letzte Prophezeiung: ein Maori-Epos.* Trans. Anja Welle. Berlin: Mana-Verlag.
Ballantyne, David, 1982. *Neuseeland.* Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe.
Bengt, Dagrin, ed., 1982. *Mellan Två Världar. Prosaantologi med Maori författere.* Trans. Carin Holmdahl-Hacking and Bengt Dagrin. Stockholm: Författares Bokmaskin, 1982.
Bishop, Gavin, 1991. *Les trois petits cochons.* Trans. François Renaud. Richmond Hill: Scholastic Canada.
Bishop, Gavin, 1993. *Los tres cerditos.* New York: Scholastic.
Bishop, Gavin, 1995. *De bruiloft van mevrou Voss.* Trans. Nannie Kuiper.
Bishop, Gavin, 1995. *Le marraige de Lady Fox.* Trans. Michelle Nikly. Gossau: Editions Nord-Sud.
Bishop, Gavin, 1997. *En edderkop.* Trans. Jørn Jensen. Hellerup: Maaholm.
Bishop, Gavin, 2000. *Conejito y el mar.* Trans. Pilar Acevedo. New York: North-South Books.
Bishop, Gavin, 2000. *Den heldige elefant.* Trans. Lis Pøhler. Hellerup: Maaholm.
Bishop, Gavin, 2001. *Favoritdjur.* Trans. Boel Blomberg. Stockholm: Bonnier.
Bishop, Gavin, 2004. *Et dobbeltliv.* Trans. Torben Pøhler. Valby: Maaholm. Verschoten: De Vier Windstreken.
Bishop, Gavin, 2009. *Schlange und Eidechs.* Trans. Nicola Stuart. Berlin: Jacoby & Stuart.
Brailsford, Barry, and Peter Ruka Te Korako, 2006. *Song of Waitaha: das Vermächtnis einer Friedenskultur in Neuseeland. Nach den Gesängen der Ältesten erzählt von Te Porohau Peter Ruka Te Korako.* Trans. Winfried Altmann. Dornach: Pforte Verlag.
Buck, Peter Henry [Hiroa Re Rangi], 1952. *Les migrations des Polynésiens: les Vikings du soleil levant*. Trans. Jacqueline Folque-Villaret. Paris: Payot.
Buck, Peter Henry [Hiroa Re Rangi], 1959. *Moreplavateli solnecnogo voshoda.* Trans. L.M. Panshechnikova. Moscov: Geografgiz.
Buck, Peter Henry [Hiroa Re Rangi], 1961. *I Vichinghi d'Oriente: Le migrazioni dei polinesiani.* Trans. Elena Spagnol. Milano: Feltrinelli.
Buck, Peter Henry [Hiroa Re Rangi], 1963. *Vikingové jižních moří.* Trans. J. Cincibus. Praha: Orbis.
Buck, Peter Henry [Hiroa Re Rangi], 1969. *Vikingii de la soare răsare.* Trans. Aurelia Zub. Bucureşti: Editura ştiinţifică.
Campbell, Alistair, and Robin White, 2006. *Maori Legenden: Mythen und Legenden der Maori.* Trans. Kristina Scadden-Gentsch. Paraparaumu: Viking Sevenseas.
Chuchukova, Anelija, ed., 1995. *Novozelandska mitologija mitove: legendi na maorite.* Trans. Anelija Chuchukova. Sofija: Litera prima.
Davis, Tom, and Lydia Davis, 1956. *Praktik på Söderhavsöarna.* Trans. Börje Hoffsten. Stockholm: Bonnier.
Dittmer, Wilhelm, ed., 1907 [1983]. *Te Tohunga. Alte Sagen aus Maoriland. In Bild und Wort.* Hamburg: Janssen.
Duff, Alan, 1995. *Erano guerrieri.* Trans. Tullio Dobner. Milano: Frassinelli.
Duff, Alan, 1995. *Kerran sotureita.* Trans. Tuomas Kilpi. Helsinki: Like.
Duff, Alan, 1995. *Waren eens krijgers.* Trans. Onno Voorhoeve and Gerda Baardman. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff; Antwerpen: Kritak.
Duff, Alan, 1995. *Warriors.* Trans. Gabriele Pauer. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Duff, Alan, 1996. *L'âme des guerriers.* Trans. Pierre Furlan. Arles: Actes Sud.
Duff, Alan, 1997. *Krigarens själ.* Trans. Carin Svensson. Stockholm: Richters.
Duff, Alan, 1997. *Krigerhjerte.* Trans. Inge-Lise Jespersgård. Århus: Modtryk.
Duff, Alan, 1997. *Nuit de casse.* Trans. Pierre Furlan. Arles: Actes Sud.
Duff, Alan, 1999. *Guerreros de antaño.* Trans. Encarna Quijada. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
Duff, Alan, 1999. *Soturin varjo.* Trans. Juha Ahokas. Helsinki: Like.
Duff, Alan, 2000. *Les âmes brisées.* Trans. Pierre Furlan. Arles: Actes Sud.
Dunsford, Cathie, 1990. *Survivors. Überlebende.* [Trans. 'Studentische Arbeitsgruppe']. Münster: Wurf-Verlag.
Dunsford, Cathie, 1998. *Kia Kaha Cowrie: die Reise nach Hause: zwei Romane.* Trans. Karin Meißenburg. Hamburg: Rogner & Bernhard bei Zweitausendeins.

Dunsford, Cathie, 2001. *Manawa Toa: Roman*. Trans. Karin Meißenburg. Hamburg: Rogner & Bernhard bei Zweitausendeins.
Dunsford, Cathie, 2003. *Cowrie*. Trans. Funda Tatar. İstanbul: Okuyan Us Yayınları.
Dunsford, Cathie, 2003. *Selkie'lerin şarkısı: roman*. Trans. Funda Tatar. İstanbul: Okuyan Us Yayınları.
Dunsford, Cathie, 2004. *Evden uzakta*. Trans. Taşkın Ermişoğlu. İstanbul: Okuyan Us Yayınları.
Dunsford, Cathie, 2004. *Lied der Selkies*. Trans. Karin Meißenburg. Rüsselsheim: Christel-Göttert-Verlag.
Dunsford, Cathie, 2006. "Wahine Toa: Starke Frauen". In: Ulrike Janz, ed., *Verwandlungen. Lesben und die Wechseljahre*. Trans. Karin Meißenburg. Berlin: Krug & Schadenberg, 175-186.
Écrivains de Nouvelle-Zélande, 2006. Trans. Pierre Furlan. *Europe* 931–932 (Novembre–Décembre), 3–191.
Ford, John Bevan, 1992. *Te hono ki Zeelandia nova. De verbinding met Nederland*. Groningen: Galerie Kierondino.
Frank, Thomas Sebastian, ed., 1996. *Mythen der Maori. Legenden von* Neuseelands ersten Menschen, neu erzählt nach *authentischen Quellen*. Wien: Aarachne, 1996.
Frank, Thomas Sebastian, ed., 1998. *Maori sprookjes*. Trans. Uta Anderson. Elmar: Rijswijk.
Frisbie, Johnny [Florence], 1993. *Puka-Puka*. Trans. Tinke Davids [C.E. van Amerongen-van Straten]. Amsterdam: Atlas.
Götze, Ekkeland, and Hone Tuwhare et al., 1997. *Ruaumoko*. Trans. Michael Herd. München: Ekkeland Götze.
Grace, Patricia, 1990. *Potiki – pieni lintu*. Trans. Leena Tamminen. Helsinki: Kääntöpiiri.
Grace, Patricia, 1993. *Potiki*. Trans. Trans. Helmi Martini-Honus and Jürgen Martini. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Grace, Patricia, 1993. *Potiki: l'homme-amour*. Trans. Hélène Devaux-Minié. Paris: Arléa.
Grace, Patricia, 1994. *Potiki: roman*. Trans. Regina Willemse. Breda: De Geus.
Grace, Patricia, 1995. *Unter dem Manukabaum: Geschichten der Maori*. Zürich: Nagel und Kimche; Mödling: Verlag St. Gabriel.
Grace, Patricia, 1999. *Potiki*. Trans. Maite Mujica. Tafalla: Txalaparta.
Grace, Patricia, 2000. *La gente del cielo e altri racconti*. Trans. Antonella Sarti Evans. Latina: L'argonauta.
Grace, Patricia, 2003. *Anapuke, Berg der Ahnen*. Trans. Helmi Martini-Honus and Jürgen Martini. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Grace, Patricia, 2004. *Drei Cousinen*. Trans. Helmi Martini-Honus and Jürgen Martini. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Grace, Patricia, 2004. *Het verhaal van Dogside*. Trans. Henk Schreuder. Breda: De Geus.
Grace, Patricia, 2006. *Electrique cité: nouvelles*. [Electric city]. Trans. Jean Anderson and Anne Magnan-Park. Pirae: Au vent des îles.
Grace, Patricia, 2006. *Les yeux volés: roman*. Trans. Jean Anderson and France Grenaudier-Klijn. Pirae: Au vent des îles.
Grey, George, ed., 2007. *Maorik*. Trans. Szántai Zsolt. Budapest: Filagóra.
Hulme, Keri, 1985. *Kerewin: roman*. Trans. Anneke Bok. Amsterdam: Feministische Uitgeverij Sara.
Hulme, Keri, 1986. *Gevonden voorwerpen*. Trans. Anneke Bok. Amsterdam: Dekker.
Hulme, Keri, 1986. *Margfolket*. Trans. Kari and Kjell Risvik. Oslo: Pax.
Hulme, Keri, 1987. *Benfolket: roman*. Trans. Cai Melin. Stockholm: Bonnier.
Hulme, Keri, 1987. *Marvfolket*. Trans. Allan Hilton Andersen. Århus: Klim.
Hulme, Keri, 1987. *Mauriora: Maan voima*. Trans. Pirkko Talvio-Jaatinen. Jyvaskyla: Gummerus.
Hulme, Keri, 1987. *Unter dem Tagmond: Roman*. Trans. Joachim A. Frank. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Hulme, Keri, 1988. *De windeter = Te Kaihau*. Trans. Anneke Bok. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers.
Hulme, Keri, 1989. *Der Windesser Te Kaihau*. Trans. Christine Frick-Gerke. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Hulme, Keri, 1989. *Kamenní l'udia*. Trans. Otakar Korinek. Bratislava: tartan.

Hulme, Keri, 1992. *Stiltes bij verstek: gesprekken in Moeraki.* Trans. Anneke Goddijn-Bok. Breda: De Geus.
Hulme, Keri, 1995. *The bone people ou Les hommes du long nuage blanc: roman.* Trans. Françoise Robert. Paris: Flammarion.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1972. "Tangi", in: Frank Auerbach, ed., *Letztes Abenteuer und andere neuseeländische Erzählungen.* Trans. Frank Auerbach. Tübingen: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 251–260. (The same translation appeared in *5 Kontinente. Moderne Erzähler der Welt.* Ed. Heinrich Böll. Tübingen: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1972, 416–425.]
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1977. *Der Tag nach der Hochzeit.* Trans. Olga und Erich Fetter. Berlin: Rütten und Loening.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1980. *I Maori*. Wellington: Dipartimento del Turismo e della Pubblicità per il Ministero degli Affari Esteri.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1981. *Das neue Netz wird ausgeworfen: Erzählungen*. Trans. Olga und Erich Fetter. Berlin: Rütten und Loening.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1981. *Družina: roman*. Trans. Mart Ogen. Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1987. *Tangi*. Trans. Jean-Pierre Durix. Paris: Beldfond.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1992. *Tangi*. Trans. Nurit Levinson. Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 1999. *Aroha: Maori-Geschichten aus dem Jadeland*. Trans. Maria von der Ahé. Eggingen: Ed. Isele.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2003. *Het walvismeisje: een Maori-vertelling.* Trans. Elise Spanjaard. Rijswijk: Elmar.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2003. *La balena e la bambina*. Trans. Chiara Brovelli. Milano: Sperling & Kupfer.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2003. *Paï.* Trans. Francine Tolron. Paris: Thélès.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2003. *Valasratsastaja*. Trans. Mervi Hangasmäki. Helsinki: Like.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2003. *Whalerider: die magische Geschichte vom Mädchen, das den Wal ritt*. Trans. Sabine Schulte. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2004. *A bálnalovas.* Trans. Irma Ivancsics. Pécs: Alexandra.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2004. *Jahačica kitova*. Trans. Tina Antonini. Zagreb: Algoritam.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2004. *Legenda o jezdecu kitov.* Trans. Tamara Bosnič. Dob pri Domžalah: Miš.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2004. *La Leyenda de las ballenas*. Trans. Raquel Solà. Barcelona: Juventud.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2005. *Whalerider: die magische Geschichte vom Mädchen, das den Wal ritt. Hörspiel*. Trans. and inter. Céline Vogt. Berlin: Der Audio Verlag.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2006. *Jeździec na wielorybie*. Trans. Janusz Ruszkowski. Zakrzewo: Wydawnictwo Replika.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2006. *Ponesite me domov.* Trans. Metka Osredkar. Dob pri Domžalah: Miš.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2006. *The Whale Rider. Textband mit Annotationen*. Trans. and ed. Ingrid Drebenstedt and Maria Hüllmann-Passeick. Berlin: Cornelsen.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2007. *Banginių vadeliotoja: romanas*. Trans. Rasa Krulikauskienė. Kaunas: Obuolys.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2008. *Racconti neozelandesi.* Trans. Andrea Longo, Patrizia Managò, and Marco Romani. Roma: Kappa.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, 2009. *Bulibasha, roi des gitans*. Trans. Mireille Vignol. Tahiti: Au vent des iles editions.
Ihimaera, Witi Tame, and Holger Leue, 1998. *Zauberhaftes Neuseeland. Text von Witi Ihimaera*. Reed: Auckland.
Jäcksch, Hartmut, ed., 2000. *Maori und Gesellschaft. Wissenschaftliche und literarische Essays*. Berlin: Mana-Verlag.
Jakubassa, Erika, ed., 1985. *Märchen aus Neuseeland. Überlieferungen der Maori.* Trans. Erika Jakubassa. Köln: Diederichs.
Les Belles Étrangères, ed., 2006. *Douze écrivains néo-zélandais: anthologie.* Trans. Pierre Furlan. Paris: S. Wespieser [Centre national du livre].
Markmann, Sigrid, and Rika-Heke Powhiri, ed., 1995. *Nga Uri a Papatuanuku. The Descendants of the Earth Mother. Die Nachkommen der Erdmutter. Poems and Short Stories by Maori*

Women Writers. Gedichte und Kurzgeschichten von Maori Schriftstellerinnen. Trans. Anja Berning et al. Eggingen: Ed. Isele.
Mikaere, Buddy, and Stephen Robinson, 1992. *Bilder aus Neuseeland.* Auckland: Godwit Press.
Mikaere, Buddy, and Stephen Robinson, 1992. *Imagines de Nueva Zelanda.* Auckland: Godwit Press.
Ormsby, Raumoa, 2006. *Les rêves perdus ne marchent jamais.* Trans. Anne-Sophie Greloud. Monaco: Éd. du Rocher.
Pavlov, Evgeny, and Mark Williams, ed., 2005. *Zemlia morei: Antologiia poezii Novoi Zelandii.* Trans. Arkadii Dragomoschenko. Moscov: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.
Pere, Rangimarie Rose, and Nancy Nicholson, 1999. *Te wheke: eine Würdigung der unendlichen Weisheit.* Trans. Padma Brannolte et al. Berlin: C. Gunderson.
Pule, John Puhiatau et al., 2005. *John Puhiatau Pule [25. August – 22. Oktober 2005].* Zürich: Galerie Römerapotheke.
Rocca Longo, Marinella, ed., 1975. *Maori e Pakeha: due culture nella narrative neozelandese.* Trans. Marinella Rocca Longo. Bologna: Universale Patron.
Sostaviteli, L. et al., ed., 1980. *Novye rasskazy IUzhnykh morei: perevod s angliiskogo.* Trans. L. Sostaviteli et al. Moscow: Progress.
Stead, Christina et al., 1995. *Rose d'Oceania. Racconti di scrittrici Australiane, Maori e Neozelandesi.* Roma: Edizioni e/o.
Ta'unga, and Marjorie [Tuainekore] Crocombe, 2006. *Le témoignage de Ta'unga, ou, La Nouvelle Calédonie vue par un 'teacher' polynésien avant l'implantation européenne.* Trans. Georges Pisier. Noumea: Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Tangata, Tangata: Maori-Geschichten, 1999. Trans. Maria von der Ahé and Kate Reiner. Eggingen: Ed. Isele.
Tawhai, Alice, 2006. *Le festival des miracles: nouvelles.* Trans. Mireille Vignol. Pirae [Tahiti]: Au vent des îles.
Taylor, Apirana, and Lance Henson, et al., 2002. *Parole dall'orlo del mondo. Words from the edge.* Trans. Mauro Marra and Antonella Riem Natale. Udine: Forum.
Te Heikoko Mataira, Katarina, 1991. "Die Verantwortung der Erwachsenenbildung gegenüber den Kulturen der Ureinwohner und anderer Minderheiten: Die Situation in Neuseeland und das Volk der Maori", in: Hartmut Griese and Timo Toiviainen, ed., *Rolle und Verantwortung der Erwachsenenbildung heute: acht Länderberichte aus vier Kontinenten.* Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 65–72.
Te Kanawa, Kiri, 1990. *Land der weißen Wolke: Maori Mythen und Legenden.* München: Nymphenburger.
Te Kanawa, Kiri, and Udo Bleidick, 1993. *Neuseeland, Land der großen weißen Wolke: mit Mythen der Maori.* Dortmund: Harenberg-Edition.
Tuwhare, Honem, 1985. *Was wirklicher ist als sterben. Ausgewählte neuseeländische Gedichte.* Trans. Irmela Brender. Straelen: Straelener-Manuskripte-Verlag.
Whiting, Cliff, and June Melser, 2001. *Maui och solen.* Trans. Heidi Hedrenius. Stockholm: Bonnier.

Bibliography III: Australian Books in Translation

Aboriginal Books Published in European Languages other than English

Boltz, Herbert, ed., 1982. *Wie das Känguruh seinen Schwanz bekam. Märchen und Mythen der australischen Aborigines.* Trans. Herbert Boltz. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Boltz, Herbert, ed., 1989. *Märchen der australischen Ureinwohner.* Trans. Herbert Boltz. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer-Tachenbuch-Verlag.
Clarke, Banjo, 2009. *Im Zeichen der Regenbogenschlange. Das Leben von Banjo Clarke, den die Aborigines "Wisdom Man"* nannten. Trans. Michael Wallosek. Müchen: Nymphenburger.
Crocker, Andrew, and Papunya Tula Artists, eds., 1983. *Papunya. Peintures aborigènes du désert de l'Australie centrale.* Cammeray: The Aboriginal Artist Agency.

Doring, Jeff, ed., 2000. *Gwion Gwion. Ngarjno, Ungudman, Banggal, Nyawarra. Secret and Sacred Pathways of the Ngarinyin Aboriginal People of Australia=geheime und heilige Pfade der Ngarinyin, Aborigines in Australien=chemins secrets et sacres des Ngarinyin, Aborigènes d'Australie*. Trans. Gabi Kempf-Aillié, Manfred Aillié, Apolline Kohen and Eric Wittersheim. Köln: Könemann.
Endriss, Beate-Ursula, and Bernd Michael Scherer, ed., 1995. *Das Land der goldenen Wolken. Literatur der schwarzen Australier.* Bochum: Renate Schenk Verlag.
Englaro, Graziella, ed., 1998. *Canti degli Aborigeni australiani.* Trans. Graziella Englaro. Milano: Mondadori.
Gilbert, Kevin, and Thomas Brezina, 2003. *Mary Känguru und ich: Eine wahre australische Geschichte*. Trans. Gabriele Yin. CD. Wien: Bilby-Hörbücher.
Grawe, Ursula, ed., 1992. *Frauen in Australien. Erzählungen*. Trans. Ursula Grawe. München: Deutscher-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Gulpilil, Hugh Rule, and Stuart Goodman, 1983. *De droomtijd. Verhalen van de Australische Aboriginals.* Trans. Willemijn van der Helm. Deventer: Ankh-Hermes.
Haviland, John, and Roger Hart, 1999. *Rückkehr zu den Ahnen: die Geschichte der Aborigines von Barrow Point. Erinnert von Roger Hart.* Trans. Roberto de Hollanda. München: Frederking & Thaler.
Hawthorne, Susan, and Renate Klein, ed., 1992. *Australien der Frauen.* Trans. Ursula Grawe. München: Frauenoffensive.
Heiss, Anita, 2005. *El diario de Mary Talence.* Trans. Anna Torrisi. Barcelona: Takusan Ediciones.
Heiss, Anita, 2008. *Qui suis-je? Le journal de Mary Talence, Sydney 1937. Roman.* Trans. Annie Coeroli-Green. Pirae: Au vent des îles.
Johnson, Colin, 1980. "Padenie dikogo kota", in: Sostaviteli L. Volodarskaiâ and A. Petrikovskaiâ, ed., *Novye rasskazy ûzhnykh morei.* Trans. Sostaviteli L. Volodarskaiâ and A. Petrikovskaiâ. Moscow: Progress, 29–142.
Johnson, Thomas, ed., 1998. *Paroles Aborigènes Australie*. Trans. Thomas Johnson. Paris: Albin Michel.
Kimber, R.J., Mário de Oliveira, and Fernando Libório, 1984. *Papunya: pinturas aborígenes do deserto central australiano.* Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. Serviço de Exposições e Museografia.
Langford Ginibi, Ruby, 2000. *Bonalbon musta Ruby.* Trans. Päivi Paappanen. Helsinki: Kääntöpiiri.
Löffler, Anneliese, ed., 1981. *Märchen aus Australien. Traumzeitmythen und –geschichten der australischen Aborigines.* Trans. Anneliese Löffler. Düsseldorf: Diederichs.
Lowe, Pat, and Jimmy Pike, 1999. *La bambina senza nome.* Trans. Francesco Ughi. Milano: Mondadori.
Lucashenko, Melissa, 2000. *Außen eckig, innen rund*. Trans. Johanna Ellsworth. Frankfurt/Main: Alibaba.
McLaren, Philip, 2003. *Nouveaux rêves.* Trans. Françoise Brodsky. Mouriès: Le fil invisible.
McLaren, Philip, 2003. *Tueur d'Aborigènes.* Trans. François Thomazeau. Marseille: L'Ecailler du Sud; LeMouriès: le fil invisible.
McLaren, Philip, 2007. *Utopia.* Trans. Philippe Boisserand. Nouméa: Editions traverses.
Maris, Hyllus, and Sonia Borg, 2008. *Gynaikes tou heliou*. Trans. Giota Krile. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.
Markmann, Sigrid, and Powhiri Rika-Heke, ed., 1996. *New Dreamings/Neue Traumzeiten. Aboriginal Stories and Poems/Geschichten und Gedichte von Aborigines.* Trans. Ricarda Altman et al. Eppingen: Edition Isele.
Meehan, Donna, 2004. *Mon enfance volée.* Trans. Danièlle Laurelle. Paris. Editions du Rocher.
Morgan, Sally, 1991. *Ich hörte den Vogel rufen.* Trans. Gabriele Yin. Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag.
Morgan, Sally, 1991. *Terug naar Corunna: de koppige reis van een Aboriginal vrouw op zoek naar haar verleden*. Trans. Eva Wolff. Amsterdam: Dekker.
Morgan, Sally, 1994. *Mijn plek. Autobiografie over drie generaties Aboriginals.* Trans. Eva Wolff. Amsterdam: In de Knipscheer.
Morgan, Sally, 1997. *La mia Australia.* Trans. Maurizio Bartocci. Roma: Edizioni Theoria.
Morgan, Sally, 1997. *Talahue.* Trans. Cécile Bloc-Rodot. Paris: Métailié.

Morgan, Sally, 1997. *Wanamurraganya. Die Geschichte von Jack McPhee.* Trans. Gabriele Yin. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Morgan, Sally, 2001. *Kayıp geçmişimin izinde.* Trans. Sinan Gürtunca. Ankara: Sistem Yayıncılık.
Morgan, Sally, 2002. *El meu lloc.* Trans. Victòria Alsina. Barcelona: Proa.
Morgan, Sally, 2002. *Mi lugar. Una infancia robada.* Trans. Manu Berástegui. Madrid: Maeva.
Morgan, Sally, 2002. *Sem patřím.* Trans. Vladimír Piskoř. Praha: Fraktály.
Morgan, Sally, 2004. *O meu lugar.* Trans. Duarte Reis. Lisboa: Edições Duarte Reis.
Morgan, Sally, 2007. *V objem korenin.* Trans. Tamara Bosnič. Dob pri Domžalah: Miš Založba.
Mudrooroo, 1992. *Hoe het einde van de wereld te verdragen: een recept van dokter Wooreddy.* Trans. Regina Willemse. Amsterdam: Bridges Books.
Mudrooroo, 1995. *Le maître du rêve-fantôme.* Trans. Christian Séruzier. La Tour-d'Aignes: Ed. de l'Aube.
Mudrooroo, 1996. *Die Welt der Aborigines. Lexikon zur Mythologie der australischen Ureinwohner.* Trans. Wolf Koehler. München: Droemer Knaur.
Mudrooroo, 1997. *Mitologia Aborygenów.* Trans. Mirosław Nowakowski. Poznán: Dom Wydawniczy Rebis.
Mudrooroo, 1999. *Flug in die Traumzeit.* Trans. Wolf Koehler. Zürich: Unionsverlag.
Mudrooroo, 2003. *Gatto selvaggio cade.* Trans. Lorenzo Perrona. Firenze: Le lettere, 2003.
Noonuccal, Oodgeroo, 1996. *Stradbrokes Traumzeit: Geschichten.* Trans. Maria von der Ahé. Eggingen: Edition Isele.
Noonuccal, Oodgeroo, 2000. *Märchen und Mythen aus der Traumzeit der Aborigines.* Narr. Doris Wolters. Audiocassette. Eppingen: Edition Isele.
Papunya Tula Artists, 1983. *Papunya: Ureinwohnermalerei aus der Wüste Zentralaustraliens.* Sydney: The Aboriginal Artist Agency and Papunya Tula Artists.
Papunya Tula Artists, 1989. *Papunya Tula: arte aborigen australiano.* México: Fundación Cultural Televisa.
Perry, Colleen Shirley, and Roberta Sykes, 1995. *MumShirl/Colleen Shirley Perry.* Trans. Tiziana Serafini. Roma: Sensibili alle foglie.
Perry, Colleen Shirley, and Roberta Sykes, 2004. *Barriera per conigli.* Trans Marina Rullo. Varese: Giano.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2003. *Çit.* Trans. Yılmaz Gūl. Istanbul: Nokta Yayınları.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2003. *Le chemin de la liberté: l'odyssée de trois jeunes Aborigènes.* Trans. Cécile Deniard. Paris: Éditions Autrement.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2003. *Long Walk Home. Die wahre Geschichte einer Flucht quer durch die Wüste Australiens.* Trans. Edith Beleites. Reinbek: Rowohlt.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2003. *Rabbit-Proof Fence. De vlucht naar huis.* Trans. Koen Scharrenberg. Rijswijk: Elmar.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2005. *Rabbit-Proof Fence.* Trans. Doe Mena-Berlin. Malmö: Bra böcker.
Pilkington, Doris [Nugi Garimara], 2008. *Zajčja ograja.* Trans. Andreja Blažič Klemenc. Nova Gorica: Eno.
Porter, James, 1979. *Fri som fuglen.* Trans. Berge Borrevik. Stavanger: Stabenfeldt.
Poulter, Jim, 1995. *Le secret du rêve.* Trans. Sylvie Caffarel. Paris: Seuil. Pribac, Bert, ed., 2000. *Konec sanjske dobe: antoloski prerez sodobne avstralske aboriginske poezije.* Trans. Bert Pribac. Ljubljana: Miš Založba.
Roe, Paddy, Stephen Muecke, and Karl Merkatz, 2000. *Gularabulu. Mythen und Legenden aus den West Kimberleys.* Trans. Gabriele Yin. Lienz: Waku word.
Roughsey, Dick, 1978. *Luna i raduga.* Trans. T. I. Nosakovoj and R.I. Alibegova. Moscow: Nauka.
Roughsey, Dick, 1980. *Regnbågsormen.* Trans. Ingrid Warne. Stockholm: Carlsen.
Scott, Kim, 2002. *Benang.* Trans. Pierre Girard. Arles: Actes Sud.
Scott, Kim, 2002. *Benang: Uit het hart. Drie generaties Aboriginals.* Trans. Henk Schreuder. Breda: De Geus.
Scott, Kim, 2006. *Le vrai pays.* Trans. Thierry Chevrier. Monaco: Éditions du Rocher.
Skartsis, Sokrates, ed., 1989. *Australesika tragoudia.* Trans. Sokrates Skartsis. Athens: Ekd. Kastanioti.
Sykes, Roberta, 1990. *Revolution, Liebe, Menschen: Gedichte=Love Poems and Other Revolutionary Actions.* Trans. Sigrid Markmann. Münster: Wurf Verlag.

Taylor, Alf, 2006. *Voz del pasado: relatos de la edad del sueño, del aquí y del ahora.* Trans. David Paradela López. Barcelona: Takusan Ediciones.
Trezise, Percy, and Dick Roughsey, 1982. *Femsingarna.* Trans. Ingrid Warne. Stockholm: Carlsen.
Trezise, Percy, and Dick Roughsey, 1982. *Femsingerne: en fortælling fra Australien.* Trans. Vagn Plenge. MåLøv: Hjulet.
Trezise, Percy, and Dick Roughsey, 1990. *Der Riese Turramulli: ein Märchen australischer Aborigines.* Trans. Annemarie Böll. Göttingen: Lamuv Verlag.
Trezise, Percy, and Dick Roughsey, 1990. *Jätten Turramulli: en australisk saga från drömtiden.* Trans. Susanne Almqvist. Vällingby: Hjulet.
Trezise, Percy, and Dick Roughsey, 1990. *Kæmpen Turramulli: en australsk saga fra drømmetiden.* Trans. Vagn Plenge. Frederiksberg: Hjulet.
Unaipon, David, and Karl Merkatz, 2005. *Mooncumbulli. Mythen und Legenden der australischen Aborigines.* Trans. Gabriele Yin. CD. Wien: Bilby-Hörbücher.
Walker, Kath, 1977. *Senne widziadła.* Trans. Anna Przedpelska-Trzeciakowska. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
Weller, Archie, 1988. *De donkere kant van de maan: Roman uit Australië.* Trans. Babet Mossel. Houten: Het Wereldvenster.
Weller, Archie, 2000. *Der Mondredner.* Trans. Peter Torberg. Stuttgart: Clett-Kotta.
Wolf, Volker, ed., 1991. *Australien erzählt. 18 Erzählungen.* Trans. Volker Wolf. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Wright, Alexis, 1999. *Les plaines de l'espoir.* Trans. Sabine Porte. Mayenne: Actes Sud.
Wright, Alexis, 2000. *Croire en l'incroyable.* Trans. Sabine Porte. Arles: Actes Sud.
Wright, Alexis, 2002. *Le pacte du serpent arc-en-ciel.* Trans. Sylvie Kandé and Marc de Gouvenain. Arles: Actes Sud.
Wright, Alexis, 2008. *I cacciatori di stelle.* Trans. Andrea Sirotti and G.L. Staffilano. Milano: Rizzoli.
Wright, Alexis, 2009. *Carpentarie.* Trans. Pierre Furlan. Arles: Actes Sud.
Wright, Alexis, 2009. *Karpentaria.* Trans. Krzysztof Pulawski. Poznan: Harbor Point Media Rodzina.
Yin, Gabriele, ed., 1995. *Der mit der Sonne kam: Erzählungen und Gedichte von Aborigines.* Trans. Gabriele Yin. München: Deutscher-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
Zimmermann, Hans-Joachim, and Oodgeroo Noonuccal, ed., 1999. *Schwarzaustralische Gedichte. Zweisprachig.* Trans. Hans-Joachim Zimmermann. Heidelberg: Mattes.

Works Cited

Agence de développement de la culture kanak, ed., 1993. *Bibliographie des auteurs kanak: consultables à la Médiathèque de l' A. D.C.K.* Noumea: Agence de développement de la culture kanak.
Arnold, John, and John Hay, ed., 1995. *Bibliography of Australian Literature Project. List of Australian Writers 1788–1992.* 2 vols. Clayton: National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University.
Auerbach, Frank, 1974. "Commonwealth Literature – Präsenz und Rezeption im deutschen Sprachraum: Zum Beispiel: Australien und Neuseeland", in: Ortwin Kuhn, ed., *Großbritannien und Deutschland. Festschrift für John W.P. Bourke.* München: Goldmann, 421-451.
AustLit. 03 Nov. 2017. http://www.austlit.edu.au.
Barthel-Winkler, L., 1937. *Te Kuti der Maorihäuptling. Erzählung aus den neuseeländischen Freiheitskämpfen.* Leipzig: Anton & Co.
Beier, Ulli, ed., 1980. *Voices of Independence. New Black Writing from Papua New Guinea.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
Black Words. 23 Nov 2017. http://www.austlit.edu.au/specialistDatasets/BlackWords.
Brown, Peter, 2003. "New Caledonia: An Emerging Literature as Social Project", in: Kamal Salhi, ed., *Francophone Post-Colonial Cultures. Critical Essays.* Oxford: Lexington Books, 345–355.
Casanova, Pascale, 2004. *The World Republic of Letters.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Conrich, Ian, and Dominic Alessio, ed., 2009. *New Zealand, France, and the Pacific.* Nottingham: Kakapo Books.

Cooper, Judi et al., 2000. *To Tell My Story. A Study of Practising Professional Indigenous Writers of Australia. Research Report*. Sydney: Australia Council for the Arts.
Crowl, Linda, 2008. "Politics and Book Publishing in the Pacific Islands". PhD thesis, University of Wollongong.
Erckenbrecht, Corinna, 1999. "Bestseller über die australischen Aborigines – eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme aus ethnologischer Sicht", *GASt-Newsletter* 13, 37–50.
Feest, Christian, ed., 1999. *Indians and Europe. An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Gilbert, Kevin, 1988. *Inside Black Australia. An Anthology of Aboriginal Poetry.* Ringwood: Penguin. Hörbücher.
Goetzfridt, Nicholas, 1995. *Indigenous Literature of Oceania: A Survey of Criticism and Interpretation*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
Grossman, Michele, 2003. "After Aboriginalism: Power, Knowledge and Indigenous Australian Critical Writing", in: Michele Grossman, ed., *Blacklines. Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians.* Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1–14.
Guldberg, Hans Hoegh, 2000. *The Arts Economy 1968–98: Three Decades of Growth in Australia*. Surry Hills: Australia Council.
Haag, Oliver, 2009. "Indigenous Australian Literature in German. Some Considerations on Reception, Publication and Translation", *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*. Special Issue *Australian Literature in a Global World*, 1–17.
Haag, Oliver, 2014. "A History of Indigenous New Zealand Books in European Translation", *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 16, 79–99.
Hanstein, Brit-Susann, 2010. "Aboriginal Art – Selling Out Aboriginal Culture: Yesterday, and Today?" 01 May 2010 http://www.eniar.org/news/art11.html .
Heiss, Anita, 2003. *Dhuuluu-Yala. To Talk Straight. Publishing Indigenous Literature.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
Index Translationum. 10 Sep. 2009. http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=7810&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
Indyk, Ivor, 2009. "The Commercial Realities of Australian Literary Publishing", Conference Paper, 30th ASAL Conference, Wollongong, Australia, 2 Jul. 2009.
Jose, Nicholas, ed., 2009. *Macquarie PEN Anthology of Australian Literature.* Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.
Kakahele, George, 1982. *Hawaiian Renaissance.* Honolulu: Project WAIAHA.
Karanfilović, Nataša, 2008. "Poezija Aboridžina (Aboriginal Poetry)". Ms. emailed to the author, 28 Aug. 2008.
Lal, Brij, and Kate Fortune, ed., 2000. *The Pacific Islands. An Encyclopedia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Langford, Ruby, 1988. *Don't Take Your Love to Town*. Ringwood: Penguin.
Lumiere. Data base on admissions of films released in Europe. 4 May 2010. >http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/search/<.
McRae, Jane, 1991. "Māori Literature: A Survey", in: Terry Sturm, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English.* Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1–24.
Mikos, Lothar et al., 2007. *Die 'Herr der Ring'-Trilogie*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.
New Zealand Literature File. 10 Aug. 2010. http://www.nzlf.auckland.ac.nz.
Papua New Guinea National Bibliography, 1981–2009. Waigani: National Library Service of Papua New Guinea.
Prießnitz, Horst, and Marion Spies, 1996. *Neuere Informationsmittel zur Literatur Australiens. Ein bibliographischer Essay.* Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
Robinson, Roger, and Nelson Wattie, ed., 1998. *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.
Schleuning, Petra, 2002. "Australiens Rezeption in den deutschen Medien", *GASt-Newsletter* 16, 70–80.
Shoemaker, Adam, 1995. "Does Paper Stay Put? The Politics of Indigenous Literature in Canada and Australia", in: Penny van Toorn and David English, ed., *Speaking Positions. Aboriginality, Gender and Ethnicity in Australian Cultural Studies*. Melbourne: Department of Humanities, 73–89.
Simms, Norman, 1991. *Writers from the South Pacific: A Bio Bibliographical Critical Encyclopedia.* Washington: Three Continents Press.

Somerville, Alice Te Punga, and Selina Tusitala Marsh, 2006. "Le Gauguin ne va pas te distraire, j'espère. Les littératures maori et pasifika d'expression anglaise". *Europe* 84.931-932, 46–63.
Stewart, Frank et al., ed., 2006. *Varua Tupu. New Writing from French Polynesia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Sturm, Terry, ed., 1972. *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.
Summo-O'Connell, Renata, ed., 2009. *Imagined Australia. Reflections around the Reciprocal Construction of Identity between Australia and Europe*. Bern: Peter Lang.
Taylor, Clyde, 1972. *A Bibliography of Publications on the New Zealand Maori: and the Moriori of the Chatham Islands.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Underhill, Bridget Valerie, 1998. "A Bibliography of Writing by Māori in English with partial Annotation". PhD thesis, University of Canterbury.
University of Waikato – Māori Bibliography. 15 Sep. 2017. http://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/portals/resources/databases/maori_bibliography
Van Nest, Samantha, 2010. "An Interview with Cathy Dunsford and Karin Meissenburg". *Asia Pacific Writers Network.* 4 May 2010. >http://www.apwn.net/index.php/edition/more/an_interview_with_cathie_dunsford_and_karin_meissenburg/<
Wernitznig, Dagmar, 2007. *Europe's Indians, Indians in Europe. European Perceptions and Appropriations of Native American Cultures from Pocahontas to the Present.* Lanham: University Press of America.
Williams, Esther, 1979. *South Pacific Literature Written in English. A Selected Bibliography.* Suva: University of the South Pacific Library.
Williams, Herbert, 1975. *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900, and Supplement.* Wellington: Government Printer.
Wolf, Volker, 1982. *Die Rezeption australischer Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum von 1845–1979.* Tübingen: Stauffenberg Verlag.

Appendix: Statistical Profile

Table 1. Statistical Data: Pacific Books in Translation.

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
1862	Hawai'i	Malo	M	History	General	Multilingual (Haw. and French)	--
1929	Belau	Krämer	M&F	Anthology	Special (academic)	German	--
1951	FP	Henry	M&F	Anthology (oral stories)	Special	French (from Engl.)	*Ancient Tahiti* (1928)
1969	PNG	Kiki	M	Autobiography	General	German	*Kiki* (1968)
1975	PNG	Kiki	M	Autobiography	General	Swedish	*Kiki* (1968)
1978	Vanuatu	Kalkot Matas**	M	Academic	Special	French	--

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
1979	PNG	Eri	M	Novel	General	Russian	*Crocodile* (1970)
1981	PNG	Kiki	M	Autobiography	General	Russian	*Kiki* (1968)
	Fiji Rotuma	Tausi	M	Academic	Special	French	*Art in the New Pacific* (1979)
	FP	Margueron	M&F	Anthology	Special	Multilingual	--
1982	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	Special	German	*Banyan Tree* (1979)
	Tonga	Keyserlingk	F	Anthology (oral stories)	Special	German	--
	FP	Brémond	M	Anthology (Poems)	Special	Multilingual	--
1983	Tonga	Keyserlingk	F	Anthology (oral stories)	Special	German	--
1984	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	General	Czech	*Pouliuli* (1977)
	PNG	Mrossko	M&F	Anthology (Stories)	Special (Christian)	German	--
	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	General	Dutch	*Banyan Tree* (1979)
1985	PNG	Mrossko	M&F	Anthology (Stories)	Special (Christian)	German	--
1986	Tonga	Thaman	F	Poems	Special	German	*Langakali* (1981)
1988	PNG	Kouza-Dunar	F	Poems	Special (Christian)	German	--
1989	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	General	Danish	*Sons for the Return Home* (1973)
	PNG	Mrossko	M&F	Anthology (Stories)	Special (Christian)	German	--
1992	PNG	Beier	M	Culte & arts	Special	German	--
	SR	Molisa	F	Anthology	Special	Multilingual	--

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
1993	FP	Henry	M&F	Anthology (oral stories)	General	French	*Ancient Tahiti* (1928)
	PNG (Irian Jaya)	Jouwe	F	Academic	Special (Academic)	Dutch	--
	New Cal.	Wélépane	M	Poems	Special	Multilingual (incl. Engl.)	--
1995	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	German	*Shark Dialogues* (1994)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	Italian	*Shark Dialogues* (1994)
	SR (Tahiti, Wallis)	Teissier-Landgraf	F	Biography	Special	English	*Le Russe de Belfort* (1995)
1996	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	French	*Shark Dialogues* (1994)
	Hawai'i	Yamanaka	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Wild Meat* (1996)
	FP	Villierme	F	Culture & arts (pictorial)	Special	Multilingual	--
	PNG	Beier	M&F	Anthology (Poems)	Special	German	--
	PNG	Beier	M	Culture & arts	Special	German	*Hohao* (1970)
1997	Vanuatu	Moses	F	Culture & arts	Special	French	--
	Vanuatu	Molisa	F	Poems	Special	French	*Black Stone* (1989/91)
1998	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	German	*Where We Once Belonged* (1996)
	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	General	German	*Banyan Tree* (1979)
	SR (Tonga, Fiji)	Hau'ofa	M	Anthology (satires)	General	German	*Tales of the Tikongs* (1994)
1999	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	French	*Girl in the Moon Circle* (1996)
	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Spanish	*Where We Once Belonged* (1996)

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Catalan	*Where We Once Belonged* (1996)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Song of the Exile* (1999)
2000	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Where We Once Belonged* (1996)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	Swedish	*Song of the Exile* (1999)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	Finnish	*Song of the Exile* (1999)
	SR	Dé Ishtar	F	Anthology	Special	German	--
	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	French	*Where We Once Belonged* (1996)
	Fiji	Veramu	M	Novel	Special	German	*Moving through Streets* (1994)
2001	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Spanish	*Girl in Moon Circle* (1996)
	Wallis and Futuna (Futuna)	Huffer	M&F	Culture & arts	Special	Multilingual (English and French)	--
	New Cal.	Gope	M	Play	Special	English (from French)	*Dernier Crépscule* (2001)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	General	German	*Song of the Exile* (1999)
2002	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*They Did Not Grieve* (1999)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	German	*Breadfruit* (2000)
	SR	Reiter	M&F	Anthology (Short Stories)	Special (non-European books)	German	--
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Breadfruit* (2000)
	SR	Reed	M&F	Anthology (Myths)	General	Czech	*Tales from the Pacific Islands* (1969)
	SR (Tonga; Fiji)	Hau'ofa	M	Culture & arts (Oral Stories)	Special	French	--

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
2003	SR	Hau'ofa	M&F	Anthology	Special (audio book)	German	--
	FP (Tahiti)	Morvan	M&F	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Multilingual	--
	New Cal.	Gope	M	Play	Special	Italian	*Les dieux sont borgnes* (2002)
2004	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	French	*They Do Not Grieve* (1999)
	New Cal.	Gorodé	M	Poems	Special (Focus on Pacific & Southeast Asia)	English (from French)	--
	SR (Tahiti, Wallis)	Teissier-Landgraf	F	Novel	Special	English	*Hutu Painu* (2004)
	New Cal.	Gorodé	M	Short stories	Special (Focus on Pacific)	English (from French)	--
	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Poems	General	French	*Inside Us the Dead* (1976)
	FP (Tahiti)	Morvan	M&F	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Multilingual	--
2005	FP (Tahiti)	Morvan	M&F	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Multilingual	--
	Samoa	Figiel	F	Novel	General	Portuguese	*They Do Not Grieve* (1999)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Breadfruit* (2000)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Italian	*Frangipani* (2004)
2006	SR (Kirib. & Rotuma)	Teaiwa and Hereniko	M&F	Play	Special	French	*Last Virgin* (1993)
	SR (Tahiti-Pitcairn-NZ)	Metcalfe	F	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Transit of Venus* (2004)
	FP	Stewart	M&F	Anthology	Special (academic)	English (from French)	--
	SR (Tahiti-Pitcairn-NZ)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Spanish	*Frangipani* (2004)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Frangipani* (2004)

Year	Country/ Origin	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	FP (Tahiti)	Morvan	M&F	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Multilingual	--
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Swedish	*Frangipani* (2004)
	SR	Bürkle	M&F	Anthology	Special	German	--
	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Mango's Kiss* (2003)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Finnish	*Frangipani* (2004)
2007	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Frangipani* (2004)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Swedish	*Tiare* (2006)
	FP (Tahiti)	Spitz	F	Novel	Special (indigenous)	English (from French)	*L'île des rêves écrasés* (2002)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Italian	*Tiare* (2006)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Norwegian	*Frangipani* (2004)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Finnish	*Tiare* (2006)
	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	General	Norwegian	*Tiare* (2006)
	Hawai'i	Davenport	F	Novel	Special (audio book)	German	*House of Many Gods* (2006)
	PNG	Soaba	M	Novel	General	Italian	*Maiba* (1985)
2008	SR (Tahiti-Austral.)	Vaite	F	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific]	French	*Tiare* (2006)
	FP (Tahiti)	Morvan	M&F	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Multilingual	--
	SR (Samoa, NZ)	Wendt	M	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Banyan Tree* (1979)
	FP (Tokelau Tahiti)	Mateata-Allain	F	Academic	Special	English	--

Annotation to Coding: Two asterisks (**) after name indicate that the content is not Pacific-related. 'FP'=French Polynesia; 'PNG'='Papua New Guinea'; 'SR'='cross-regional/transnational'; NZ=New Zealand; sex relates to gender of Indigenous co-author; 'M&F' stands for material with female and male Indigenous contributors.

Table 2. Statistical Data: New Zealand Books in Translation

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
1907	Dittmer	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	German	*Te Tohunga* (1907)
1952	Buck	M	Academic (history)	General	French	*Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938)
1956	Davis~	M	Autobiography NF	General	Swedish	*Doctor to the Islands* (1954)
1959	Buck	M	Academic (history) NF	Special (academic)	Russian	*Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938)
1961	Buck	M	Academic (history)	General	Italian	*Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938)
1963	Buck	M	Academic (history)	General	Czech	*Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938)
1969	Buck	M	Academic (history)	Special (academic)	Romanian	*Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938)
1972	Ihimaera	M	Novel	Special (foc. on adventur.)	German	*Tangi* (1973) [extract]
1975	Rocca Longo*	M&F	Anthology	General	Italian	-- [collection of different New Zealand writings]
1977	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	German	*Whanau* (1974)
1980	Sostaviteli et al.*	M&F	Anthology (short stories)	General	Russian	--
	Ta'unga et al.~	M	Autobiography	Special	French	*Works of Ta'unga* (1968) [translated extracts]
	Ihimaera	M	Culture & arts/ pictorial	Special	Italian	*Maori* (1975)
1981	Ihimaera	M	Novel	Special	Slovene	*Whanau* (1974)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
	Ihimaera	M	Short Story	General	German	*The New Net Goes Fishing* (1977)
1982	Dagrin	M&F	Anthology (short stories)	General	Swedish	--
	Ballantyne	M	Travel book/ pictorial	General	German	--
1985	Hulme	F	Novel	Special (feminist)	Dutch	*Bone People* (1983)
	Jakubassa	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	German	--
	Tuwhare	M	Poetry	General	German	--
1986	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Norwegian	*Bone People* (1983)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Lost Possessions* (1985)
1987	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	French	*Tangi* (1973)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Swedish	*Bone People* (1983)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Finnish	*Bone People* (1983)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	German	*Bone People* (1983)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Danish	*Bone People* (1983)
1988	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Windeater* (1986)
1989	Hulme	F	Novel	General	Slovak	*Bone People* (1983)
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	German	*Windeater* (1986)
1990	Grace	F	Novel	Special	Finnish	*Potiki* (1986)
	Te Kanawa	F	Anthology (myths)	General	German	*Long White Cloud* (1989)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
	Dunsford	F	Poetry	Special ['marginalised authors']	German	-- [bilingual edition]
1991	Te Heikoko	F	Academic	Special (academic)	German	--
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	French	*Three Little Pigs* (1990)
1992	Hulme	F	Poetry	General	Dutch	*The Silences Between* (1982)
	Mikaere et al.	M	Travel book/ pictorial	Special	Spanish	*Images of New Zealand* (1992)
	Ford	M	Culture & arts	Special	Dutch	--
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Hebrew	*Tangi* (1973)
	Mikaere et al.*	M	Travel book/ pictorial	Special	German	*Images of New Zealand* (1992)
1993	Grace	F	Novel	General	French	*Potiki* (1986)
	Frisbie~	F	Autobiography	General	Dutch	*Miss Ulysses* (1948)
	Alpers et al.	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	Italian	--
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	Spanish	*Three Little Pigs* (1990)
	Grace	F	Novel	General	German	*Potiki* (1986)
	Te Kanawa et al.*	F	Anthology (myths)	Special (calendars; encyclopaedia)	German	--
1994	Grace	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Potiki* (1986)
	Anderson et al.*	M	Academic (history)	Special	German	*New World and Pacific Civilisations* (1994)
	Anderson et al.*	M	Academic (history)	Special	Dutch	*New World and Pacific Civilisations* (1994)
1995	Chuchukova	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	Bulgarian	--

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
	Anderson et al.*	M	Academic (history)	General	Swedish	*New World and Pacific Civilisations* (1994)
	Duff	M	Novel	General	Finnish	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Duff	M	Novel	General	Dutch	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Duff	M	Novel	General	German	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Duff	M	Novel	General (focus on transl.)	Italian	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Bishop et al.*	M	Children's book	Special	French	*Wedding of Mistress Fox* (1994)
	Bishop et al.*	M	Children's book	Special	Dutch	*Wedding of Mistress Fox* (1994)
	Stead et al.*	F	Anthology	General	Italian	-- [collection of female writers from AUS and NZ]
	Hulme	F	Novel	General	French	*Bone People* (1983)
	Grace	F	Short story	General	German	*Waiariki* (1975)
	Markmann et al.	F	Anthology (short stories and poems)	General	German	-- [bilingual edition]
1996	Duff	M	Novel	General (focus on translations)	French	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Götze et al.	M	Poetry	Special	German	-- [terragraphics, including poems by Tuwhare in English and German]
	Frank	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	German	--
1997	Duff	M	Novel	General	Swedish	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Duff	M	Novel	General	Danish	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	Danish	*Spider* (1995)
	Duff	M	Novel	General (focus on translations)	French	*One Night Out Stealing* (1991)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
1998	Frank	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	Dutch	--
	Ihimaera et al.*	M	Travel book/ pictorial	General	German	*Beautiful New Zealand* (1997)
	Dunsford	F	Novel	General	German	*The Journey Home* (1997)
1999	Duff	M	Novel	General	Finnish	*Broken Hearted* (1996)
	Duff	M	Novel	General	Spanish	*Once Were Warriors* (1990)
	-- [n.a.]	M&F	Short story	General	German	-- [collection of several 'Huia Short Stories']
	Grace	F	Novel	General	Spanish	*Potiki* (1986)
	Ihimaera	M	Short story	General	German	-- [select short stories]
	Pere	F	Culture & arts	Special	German	*Te wheke* (1991)
2000	Baker	M	Novel	Special (focus on Oceania)	German	*Behind the Tattooed Face* (1975)
	Jäcksch*	M	Anthology	Special (focus on Oceania)	German	-- [collection of academic and fictional texts]
	Duff	M	Novel	General (focus on transl.)	French	*Broken Hearted* (1996)
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	Danish	*Good Luck Elephant* (1998)
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	Spanish	*Little Rabbit and the Sea* (1997)
	Grace	F	Short Story	General	Italian	*The Sky People* (1994); and other stories
2001	Dunsford	F	Novel	General	German	*Manawa Toa* (1999)
	Whiting	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	Swedish	*Maui and the Sun* (1984)
	Bishop et al.*	M&F	Children's book	General	Swedish	*Pets* (1988)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
2002	Taylor et al.*	M	Anthology	General	Italian	-- [bilingual edition]
2003	Grace	F	Novel	General	German	*Baby No-Eyes* (1998)
	Dunsford	F	Novel	General	Turkish	*Song of the Selkies* (2001)
	Dunsford	F	Novel	General	Turkish	*Cowrie* (1994)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Finnish	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Dutch	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Italian	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	German	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	French	*Whale Rider* (1987)
2004	Grace	F	Novel	General	Dutch	*Dogside Story* (2001)
	Grace	F	Novel	General	German	*Cousins* (1993)
	Dunsford	F	Novel	Special (feminist)	German	*Song of the Selkies* (2001)
	Dunsford	F	Novel	General	Turkish	*Journey Home* (1997)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General (focus on transl.)	Hungarian	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Bishop	M	Children's book	Special	Danish	*Secret Lives* (1997)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Croatian	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Spanish	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Slovene	*Whale Rider* (1987)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
2005	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General (audio book)	German	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Pule^	M	Culture & arts	Special	German	--
	Pavlov et al.*	M&F	Anthology (poetry)	Special	Russian	--
2006	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Polish	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Grace	F	Short story	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Electric City* (1987)
	Grace	F	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Baby No-Eyes* (1998)
	*-- [Écrivains de Nouvelle-Zélande] **	M&F	Anthology	Special	French	-- [collection of writings in different genres]
	Tawhai	F	Short story	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Festival of Miracles* (2005)
	Ormsby	M	Novel	General	French	*Dreams Lost, Never Walked* (2003)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Slovene	*Whanau II* (2004)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	German	*Whale Rider* (1987) [edited as schoolbook-text]
	Campbell et al.~	F	Anthology (myths)	Special (focus on NZ)	German	--
	Brailsford et al.	M	Culture & arts	General	German	*Whispers of Waitaha* (2006)
	Les Belles Étrang.*	M&F	Anthology	Special	French	--
	Dunsford	F	Academic Article/Essay NF	Special (feminist/ lesbian)	German	--
2007	Ihimaera	M	Novel	General	Lithuanian	*Whale Rider* (1987)
	Grey	M&F	Anthology (myths)	General	Hungarian	*Polynesian Mythology* (1855)
2008	Ihimaera	M	Anthology (short stories)	General	Italian	*Ihimaera: His Best Stories* (2003)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/Year
2009	Bishop et al.*	M&F	Children's book	General	German	*Snake and Lizard* (2007)
	Ihimaera	M	Novel	Special (focus on Pacific)	French	*Bulibasha* (1994)

Annotation to coding: Asterisk (*) after name indicates that not all contributors are Indigenous. The sign '^' means that the author is indigenous to Niue; '~' means that the author is originally from and/or that the plot is about the Cook Islands. Original titles have been shortened; sex relates to gender of Indigenous co-author; 'M&F' stands for material with female and male Indigenous contributors.

Table 3. Statistical Data: Australian Books in Translation

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
1977	Walker	F	Autobiogr.	Special (Children)	Polish	*Stradbroke Dreamtime* (1972)
1978	Roughsey	M	Autobiogr.	General	Russian	*Moon and Rainbow* (1971)
1979	Porter	M	Juvenile Literature	Special (Children)	Norwegian	*Swiftlet Isles* (1977)
1980	Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	General	Swedish	*Rainbow Serpent* (1975)
	Johnson	M	Fiction	General	Russian	*Wild Cat Falling* (1965)
1981	Löffler	M&F	Anthology	General	German	--
1982	Boltz	M&F	Anthology	General	German	--
	Trezise and Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	General	Swedish	*Quinkins* (1978)
	Trezise and Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	Special (Non-Europ. lit.)	Danish	*Quinkins* (1978)
1983	Crocker and Papunya Tula Artists	M&F	Culture/arts	Special	French	--
	Papunya Tula Artists	M&F	Culture/arts	Special	German	--

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	Gulpilil, Rule, and Goodman	M&F	Anthology	Special	Dutch	*Stories of the Dreamtime* (1979)
1984	Kimber, de Oliveira, and Libório	M&F	Culture/arts	Special	Portuguese	--
1988	Weller	M	Fiction	General	Dutch	*Day of the Dog* (1981)
1989	Boltz	M&F	Anthology	General	German	--
	Papunya Tula Artists	M&F	Culture/arts	Special	Spanish	--
	Skartsis	M&F	Anthology	General	Greek	--
1990	Sykes	F	Poetry	General	German	*Love Poems* (1988)
	Trezise and Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	General	German	*Turramulli* (1982)
	Trezise and Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	Special (Non-Europ. lit.)	Swedish	*Turramulli* (1982)
	Trezise and Roughsey	M	Juvenile Literature	Special (Non-Europ. lit.)	Danish	*Turramulli* (1982)
1991	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	Special (Feminist)	German	*My Place* (1987)
	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Dutch	*My Place* (1987)
	Wolf*	M	Anthology	General	German	--
1992	Grawe*	F	Anthology	General	German	--
	Hawthorne and Klein*	F	Anthology	Special (Feminist)	German	--
	Mudrooroo	M	Fiction	General	Dutch	*Wooreddy's Prescription* (1983)
1994	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Dutch	*My Place* (1987)
1995	Endriss and Scherer	M&F	Anthology	Special	German	--

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	Mudrooroo	M	Fiction	General	French	*Master of the Ghost Dreaming* (1991)
	Perry and Sykes	F	Autobiogr.	General	Italian	*MumShirl* (1981)
	Poulter	M	Juvenile Literature	General	French	*Secret of the Dreaming* (1988)
	Yin	M&F	Anthology	General	German	--
1996	Mudrooroo	M	Encyclopae.	General	German	*Aboriginal Mythology* (1994)
	Noonuccal	F	Autobiogr.	General	German	*Stradbroke Dreamtime* (1972)
	Markmann and Rika-Heke	M&F	Anthology	General	German	[Bilingual edition]
1997	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Italian	*My Place* (1987)
	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	French	*My Place* (1987)
	Morgan	F	Biography	General	German	*Wanamurraganya* (1989)
	Mudrooroo	M	Encyclopae.	General	Polish	*Aboriginal Mythology* (1994)
1998	Englaro	M&F	Anthology (Song poems)	General	Italian	--
	Johnson	M	Anthology	General	French	--
1999	Haviland and Hart	M	History	General	German	*Old Man Fog* (1998)
	Lowe and Pike	M&F	Juvenile Literature	General	Italian	*Girl with No Name* (1994)
	Mudrooroo	M	Fiction	General	German	*Master of the Ghost Dreaming* (1991)
	Zimmermann and Noonuccal	M&F	Anthology	General	German	[Bilingual edition]
	Wright	F	Fiction	General	French	*Plains of Promise* (1997)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
2000	Doring	M	Oral History	General	German French English	[Trilingual edition]
	Langford Ginibi	F	Autobiogr.	Special	Finnish	*Don't Take Your Love to Town* (1988)
	Lucashenko	F	Fiction	General	German	*Steam Pigs* (1997)
	Noonuccal	F	Oral History	General	German	--
	Pribac	M&F	Anthology	General	Slovene	--
	Roe, Muecke, and Merkatz	M	Oral History	Special	German	*Gularabulu* (1983)
	Weller	M	Fiction	General	German	*Land of Golden Clouds* (1998)
	Wright	F	Fiction	General	French	--
2001	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Turkish	*My Place* (1987)
2002	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Catalan	*My Place* (1987)
	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Spanish	*My Place* (1987)
	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Czech	*My Place* (1987)
	Scott	M	Fiction	General	Dutch	*Benang* (1999)
	Scott	M	Fiction	General	French	*Benang* (1999)
	Wright	F	Fiction	General	French	--
2003	Gilbert and Brezina	M	Juvenile Literature	Special	German	*Me and Mary Kangaroo* (1994)
	McLaren	M	Fiction	General	French	*There'll Be New Dreams* (2001)
	McLaren	M	Fiction	General	French	*Scream Black Murder* (1995)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	Mudrooroo	M	Fiction	General	Italian	*Wild Cat Falling* (1965)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	Turkish	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	French	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	German	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	Dutch	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
2004	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Portuguese	*My Place* (1987)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	Italian	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
	Meehan	F	Autobiogr.	General	French	*It Is No Secret* (2000)
2005	Heiss	F	Fiction	Special	Spanish	*Who Am I?* (2001)
	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	Swedish	*Rabbit Proof-Fence* (1996)
	Unaipon and Merkatz	M	Culture/arts	Special	German	*Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines* (2001) [1924]
2006	Scott	M	Fiction	General	French	*True Country* (1993)
	Taylor	M	History	Special	Spanish	*Long Time Now* (2001)
2007	McLaren	M	Fiction	General	French	--
	Morgan	F	Autobiogr.	General	Slovene	*My Place* (1987)
2008	Pilkington	F	Biography	General	Slovene	*Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996)
	Heiss	F	Fiction	Special	French	*Who am I?* (2001)
	Maris and Borg	F	Plays/scripts	General	Greek	*Women of the Sun* (1985)

Year	Name	Sex	Genre	Publisher	Language	Original Title/ Year
	Alexis Wright	F	Fiction	General	Italian	*Carpentaria* (2006)
2009	Alexis Wright	F	Fiction	General	French	*Carpentaria* (2006)
	Alexis Wright	F	Fiction	General	Polish	*Carpentaria* (2006)
	Banjo Clarke	M	Autobiogr.	General	German	*Wisdom Man* (2003)

Annotation to coding: Asterisk after name indicates that not all contributors are Indigenous; original titles are shortened where appropriate; sex relates to gender of Indigenous co-author; 'M&F' stands for material with female and male Indigenous contributors.

Essays

Regina Ganter
Griffith University

Too hot to handle

A German Missionary's Struggle with Ethnography in Australia

Pastor Georg Reuther (1861–1914) was the Lutheran missionary in charge of Bethesda mission at Lake Killalpaninna for eighteen years, from 1888 to 1906, precisely during the three decades when Germany joined the ranks of colonial empires with its own external acquisitions (1884–1915).[1] Reuther and his junior colleague Pastor Carl Strehlow accomplished the first Bible translation into an Aboriginal language, the Dieri of the Coopers Creek area of South Australia – also known as Diari, or Dyari. Reuther then continued to engage with Dieri language and customs, producing a massive manuscript that became a translation of Dieri religious texts into German, rather than the other way around. He was quite unaware that this move from missionary translator to ethnographic interpreter represented a paradigm shift: from teacher to learner, from cultural innovator to conserver of tradition. It was the ultimate *faux pas* of a colonizer, a form of 'going native', but of course Pastor Reuther could not conceive of himself as a colonizer – he was a saver of souls, an idealist consumed with the metaphysical, in his own estimation truly the opposite of a self-interested colonial settler.

Reuther struggled with ethnography, both in the sense of his engagement with the body of knowledge that he was trying to map, and in the sense of his relationships with significant others in his discipline: his employers, colleagues, the academic gatekeepers, and his Indigenous informants. Reuther's material legacy is so vast and, in fact, so half-finished that it is still largely untapped, except that his register of place-names has been published, and the intrepid linguist Luise Hercus (2015), now in her nineties, has been "looking at the detail" of his language records. In the South Australian Museum (SAM) Reuther's work occupies 3.71 linear meters of shelf-space (Heffernan and Zilio 2011). Its sheer quantity raises the question why he wrote so much, and for whom he was writing.

Anna Kenny has recently provided an intriguing answer to such questions by exploring the intellectual legacy of Reuther's colleague Carl Strehlow, who was better schooled and better connected to the German world of science. The following is an attempt to extend the same explanatory lens to Strehlow's senior colleague Reuther.

The South Australian Museum purchased first the vast ethnographic collection and later the accompanying ethnographic manuscripts of this self-taught ethnologist, that have been well-nigh impossible to publish. That the museum was interested in the Reuther material has two reasons as narrated by one of its current curators, Phillip Jones: Primarily it is due to the German imprint in the history of the SAM, which in turn reflects the strong German presence in South Australia at the time. In the early 1880s its director was the German zoologist Wilhelm Haacke, who recruited

1 The author gratefully acknowledges financial assistance for this research from the Australian Research Council Future Fellowship ARC FT 100100364.

Amandus Heinrich Christian Zietz (1840–1921), a former collector for the Godeffroy ethnological museum in Hamburg, and Zietz went on to become assistant director of the museum in South Australia from 1900 to 1910. Jones also mentions the exclusivist tendency of leading anthropologist of central Australia, Baldwin Spencer, that prompted Edward Stirling as museum director (1889 until 1912) to turn instead to the Lutheran missionaries for ethnographic material and information (Jones 2011).

From Reuther's own records we can see that he was aware of the value of his collection and that he played his cards well in this negotiation. He invited media attention to his vast ethnographic and botanical collection, made contact with German artefact buyers, and then offered his collection to the nearest museum (see also Jones 2011). In October 1907 assistant director Zietz travelled to the far end of the Barossa Valley to see the recently retired Pastor Reuther from Killalpaninna mission. Zietz reported that he "inspected" the collection, but Reuther's diary categorically states on 14 October 1907 that "Mr. Zietz packed the museum things" (Reuther Diary; *Advertiser* "Museum Report"). Presumably Zietz packed some specimens. The entire collection was much too vast to pack in one day. The two Germans must have reached an understanding quite easily once Zietz saw the massive and well-described collection. Reuther made no secret that he was also negotiating with Berlin and Hamburg. His agent was Frankfurt-based anthropologist Moritz von Leonhardi, who also facilitated Carl Strehlow's profitable sale of ethnographic material to German institutions that same year. The museum purchased Reuther's collection for £400, a sum that roughly equalled four years of salary for Reuther. In effect he had constructed his own early retirement package, of which he was now in dire need.

Reuther had fled from the Bethesda mission at Lake Killalpaninna in disgrace. Through his marriage to widow Pauline Stolz, Reuther had joined a family that was at the core of the South Australian Lutheran mission community (see also Lucas 2015). Pauline's father Pastor Julius Rechner (1830–1900) had been presiding over the mission committee, her first husband had been the pastor of the Strait Gate church, and later one of her sons became president of the South Australian Lutheran Synod. But at that moment of turmoil in Reuther's life, his 'Father' and patron, Pastor Julius Rechner, had already passed away, while the seven 'sons' of the couple, who were later to become ordained pastors, were still studying. No longer secure in the lap of the South Australian Lutheran community, the Reuthers were buying a property to make themselves an independent home at Eudunda, three miles from Point Pass, where some of their sons were schooling. At age 46 Reuther was at his lowest ebb in health, wealth, and spirit. How did he fall so hard?

When 27-year old Reuther arrived at Killalpaninna in 1888 the mission was well established with a substantial church and a thriving local economy. There were three other German couples on the mission and its outstations (Kopperamanna, Etadunna and Bucaltaninna). The mission staff had to pay school fees of £1 per child for schooling in German and English (Reuther to Kaibel, 2 January 1900 Correspondence, LAA and Immanuel Synod Minutes, 3 April 1902, 2 February 1905, 16 March 1905). The colonist Heinrich Vogelsang had been a pioneer of the mission and knew all the practical aspects of the station work, but very soon young Pastor Reuther, recently arrived from Germany, was put in charge as superintending missionary and station manager. From the start Reuther felt that he was working at the limits of his capacity and that he was out of his class. Just being an ordained pastor was a

deeply felt honour for him, and he struggled to live up to his own expectations of the profession and to the reputation of his esteemed mentors in the Neuendettelsau Mission Society. As mission superintendent, he felt that he was thrown into a challenging situation with little preparation, no English, and no idea how Australian society worked (Reuther to Kaibel, 20 March 1908, in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). Nonetheless he made his home in Australia, married an Australian-born woman in 1889, and was naturalised in 1896 (Reuther File NAA). There was no turning back.

An annual income of around £100 had this large family at the permanent edge of poverty. Georg and Pauline Reuther struggled to afford an education for their ten surviving children. Most of the boys schooled at the Lutheran college in Point Pass, where Pastor Leidig charged £20 for each student. To afford their enrolment in the missionary training seminary in Neuendettelsau, Reuther appealed directly to its director, Inspector Martin Deinzer, who took in four of the Reuther and Stolz boys free of charge (Reuther File Neuendettelsau).

The Reuthers in their turn also hosted long-term guests in the Killalpaninna mission house that became something like an unofficial sanatorium. Perhaps this helped to cover costs, though there is no indication that any of the guests made any financial contribution. The Reuthers continued this practice in their Gumvale home, which they liked to call the "pilgrim's rest" (Reuther at Gumvale (Julia) to Neuendettelsau, 19 April 1913 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). At Killalpaninna the English teacher Henry (Harry) Hillier stayed in the Reuther home for ten years, initially to recover from pulmonary disease while acting as the English tutor of the Reuther boys (Reuther at Gumvale to Deinzer at Neuendettelsau, 8 February 1910 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). Pastor Paul Löhe from Natimuk in Victoria also spent a while for recuperation from sickness. The Reuthers also took in Aboriginal long-term patients, such as 15-year old Maria Pingilina, who died there from consumption around 1895 (Stevens 1994: 123; for a biography of Maria's father Johannes Pingilina, see "German missionaries in Australia a web-directory of intercultural encounters" – http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/). Another Aboriginal girl afflicted with pulmonary disease spent the first half of 1904 in the Reuther home (Reuther, 1 June 1904 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). This may have been Frieda, who was to be Reuther's undoing at the mission, his fall from grace. The story of Frieda in Pastor Reuther's biography continues to mystify.

Frieda spent about three years in the Reuther household in her early teens. In a letter to his step-son Paul Stolz in September 1903, Reuther explained that Frieda was "Mother's adopted daughter", a mixed-race descendant suffering from "pulmonary consumption" (*Lungenschwindsucht* – presumably tuberculosis), and Reuther had little hope that she would survive for long. This suggests that Frieda must have moved into the Reuther household after Paul's departure for Germany in February 1903. Reuther said that Frieda "grew up" in their home:

> Ein halbweißes Mädchen, welches in unserem Hause großgezogen worden war und für eine Zeit bei unseren Kindern in Lights Pass diente, kam mit mir zurück nach der Station, wurde in ihrem Zimmer im Logiehaus genotzüchtigt, gebar ein dreiviertelweisses Kind und ich sollte, weil sie des angegebenen Vaters, weil Nacht unschlüssig wurde, zuletzt der Vater sein. Das Gerücht war schnell genug in die Welt hinausgeplaudert u. kam vor die Synode. (Reuther, 14 January 1907 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau)

He called her "our Frieda", as if she were a daughter, and "mei Mädle" (Bavarian for 'me lassie'). Reuther had a habit of speaking of domestics as part of the household family, for example if he referred to "Siebert's girls" he meant Siebert's Aboriginal domestics (whose approximate age in their early teens can be ascertained from a photograph held in the Lutheran Archives Australia, P02953 05908). This slippage between a "daughter" and a "domestic" arises from the German conventional concept of the "Haustochter", where young women who worked in a household were treated as members of the family. In a humble household, where the daughters performed labour rather than getting served like the genteel daughters of the upper middle class, such an arrangement did not evoke class distinctions, as the concept of 'domestic' does.

In early 1904 young Frieda (presumably in her early teens) spent a period at Point Pass with three of the Reuther boys who were sent there for education, Martin (age 14), Arthur (age 13) and Albert (age 12). Reuther brought her back to the mission to be accommodated in the *Logiehaus* (meaning either visitor accommodation or the mission house; Reuther, 14 January 1907 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). In 1905 she had a light-skinned baby in a childbirth that was conducted "in secrecy" according to some of Reuther's co-workers, who felt that he tried to cover up instead of investigating (Reuther, 14 January 1907, 1 June 1904, 17 June 1905, in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). Frieda maintained that she had no idea who the father was and explained her pregnancy as a night-time rape at the lodge (*Logiehaus*). Neither did she absolve 45-year old Reuther. Reuther was called to a hearing before the Synod, at which most of his confrères accepted his innocence, but he further implicated himself by leaving the mission in the midst of all these allegations. By January 1907 Frieda had passed away and the Reuthers adopted her baby Laura, who stayed with them like a dutiful daughter, so that twenty years later Pauline Reuther wrote that Laura "is a great help to us" (Rechner 2008: 235). Several photos of the Reuther family show an adult Laura Reuther ringed by her adopted uncles (ibid.). There seemed to be a general sense that Laura "belonged" to the Reuther family, though by what genetic or social particulars remains a mystery that Pastor Reuther took to his grave, leaving the strong impression that he was protecting someone.

In 1905, while the 'Frieda incident' was under investigation, Reuther consulted two physicians, Dr. Edward Stirling, professor of physiology at Adelaide University and director of the SAM, and his family doctor, who wrote:

> J. G. Reuther consulted me to-day [sic] for attacks to which he has been liable for twelve months in which he has convulsive jerkings of his limbs followed by loss of consciousness lasting for some hours. Under these circumstances I advise him to leave Killalpaninna and live in the cooler climate along the coast and give up his mental work and live where he can have a more varied diet (Reuther, 14 January 1907 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau).

Reuther felt that it was his ethnographic work that was driving him mad. He wrote that both physicians agreed that he had to "leave off from the books" or end up in a lunatic asylum:

> Seit einem Jahr habe ich keinen Nervenanfall mehr gehabt. Es dauerte über 3 Jahre bis die Nerven zur Ruhe kamen. Die Doktoren in Adelaide hatten Recht. Vor der Irrenanstalt, die sie mir prophezeiten. (Reuther, 8 February 1910 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau).

The 'Frieda incident' brought Reuther to the point of physical and mental collapse in 1905, but he had shown signs of strain for several years. In January 1902 he reflected on how many child funerals he had conducted that year. After long contemplation he concluded "*Es will Abend werden*" after Lucas 24. 29 "it is toward evening and the day is far spent" (Reuther Diary). This was the period of his intensive ethnographic investigations buoyed by visiting scientists and Reuther already felt overtaxed by his responsibilities and suffered from nervous exhaustion.

For years Reuther watched helplessly as the mission population dwindled. He could literally "smooth the pillow of a dying race" (Bates 1940) by taking some of them into his home, but he could not halt the population decline. He found purpose by trying to record their culture and spiritual life-worlds before it was too late. Thus the Reuther home became like a satellite dish of trendy Aboriginal policy slogans and fashionable scientific investigations.

In July 1900 Dr. Erhard Eylmann showed great interest in the Dieri grammar, and again, in 1901 Prof. J. W. Gregory and his students used Dieri legends to try and find diprotodon bones at Lake Eyre. In August 1903 Professor Alexander Yashenko (or Aleksandr Jashenko) from the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences spent ten days at the mission, during which visit it seems that their discussions delved into multifarious theories. Shortly afterwards Reuther expressed the conviction that the religious ideas (*Götterlehre*) of the Dieri stemmed from Mosaic teachings, and that local Aborigines had Phoenician origins. The ancient tribes had been pushed ever further into the interior, the argument ran, and their legends "led to the Jews" while their astrological knowledge could be traced to the Phoenicians, and their religion was an admixture of both. This imaginative theory, presented as agreed fact (though only in one letter to his step-son Paul Stolz) may have emerged from long evenings on the mission verandah with Yashenko. Yashenko left Reuther with the impression that he wanted to publish his ethnographic work, but Reuther protested it was far from ready. In 1903 Reuther already anticipated his own death and warned that one day one of his sons may have to complete his work. Reuther's ethnographic engagement with the Dieri had become an all-consuming passion:

> Nun ja, ist die eigene Seele geretted [sic] und, hilf's Gott, noch einige anderen [sic] dazu, dann ist die Tagesarbeit mit ihren Beschwerden nicht umsonst gewesen und mir nicht leid, gelebt zu haben. (Reuther at Killalpaninna to Paul Stolz at Neuendettelsau, 24 September 1903 in Reuther File, Neuendettelsau)

It had all started with the translation of the New Testament into Dieri, a proper task for a Lutheran missionary, and much commended. It ran to 600 pages and was the first complete translation of the New Testament into any Aboriginal language, considered a major achievement and receiving much praise. (The second, and last, New Testament translation by a Lutheran missionary was Carl Strehlow's Aranda bible soon afterwards.) There is some disagreement about the relative input from Carl Strehlow and Reuther, with Reuther claiming the larger share.[2] The mission

2 Reuther later claimed he had started this work before Strehlow arrived on 11 July 1892 but his diary shows that he began to translate the Gospel on 10 April 1893. According to the SAM's Guide to the Records, Reuther and Strehlow completed the Bible translation in 1895, but according to the Immanuel Synod Committee Minutes it took until 1897 to be sent to G. Auricht, the Lutheran publishing house in Tanunda where it was published with funding from the British and Foreign Bible Society in August 1898. (Minutes of 16 August 1898, 19 April 1900). It was only then that Reuther recorded in his diary, on 16 August 1898, that he had "finished the new Testament", four years after Strehlow had left Killalpaninna mission.

committee rewarded Reuther with £18 and Strehlow with £10 "in recognition of their excellent achievement in translating the New Testament into the Dieri language" (Immanuel Synod Minutes, 6 September 1899).

Reuther's ethnography was not so praised. After Strehlow was posted to Hermannsburg mission in 1894 and began work on the Aranda language (also known as Arrernte), Reuther continued with ethnographic and linguistic work on the Dieri, gathering myths, legends, beliefs, and objects, including a large fossilized tree that is still on display outside the SAM. Reuther produced altogether some 2,600 pages in dense German handwriting, bound into 14 thesis-sized volumes. The mission committee in South Australia castigated him for his excessive writing:

> Wenn Du für die dicken Stöße Lügenden & Fabeln, welche Du zurecht geschrieben hast, die keinem Menschen etwas nützen – wer wird das Geld zum Drukken daran wenden? – uns monatlich kurze Nachrichten zukommen ließest, erfülltest Du Deine Pflicht, befriedigtest und tätest etwas Nützliches.
>
> (If only you would send us some brief monthly reports instead of the fat reams of lies and fables which you write up and which are of no use to anybody - who will spend the money for printing that? - then you would be fulfilling your duty, satisfy us and do something useful.) Kaibel to Reuther, 18 February 1904, Box 19 Bethesda, LAA.

This irascible invective must have been very painful for Reuther. Reproach from their own ranks was always hardest to bear for missionaries, who often came under fire of criticism from settlers, police, protectors, reformers, and Indigenous people. There had also been tensions on the mission. In his later recollections Reuther gives the impression that he was labouring alone, when in fact he had assistant missionaries for most of his time at Killalpaninna. Most of them stayed only a couple of years: Carl Strehlow (1892 to October 1894), Otto Siebert (March 1894 to 1902), Nicolaus Wettengel (1896 to 1899), and Johannes Bogner (1900 to 1902, and again from about 1904). Reuther thought there was not enough work for two missionaries, but too much for one, yet he complained that Bogner was "only half in the saddle" ("Bogner sitzt hier blos (sic) halb im Sattel" – Bogner's wife was ill with malaria in the South, so he travelled back and forth frequently, with long absences from the mission; Reuther 1 June 1904 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). All of this suggests that Reuther was not a good staff manager.

Otto Siebert persevered the longest as Reuther's assistant, possibly because he created some room for himself off the mission station as a travelling missionary on the 750-square mile mission reserve. Siebert learned Dieri very quickly and reputedly preached in the language three months after his arrival. He also collected a vast amount of ethnographic material. When Siebert arrived on 11 March 1894, Reuther prayed "God grant that our trio [Reuther, Strehlow and Siebert] will work together in love and faith and humility" (Reuther Diary, 11 March 1894). But there was much friction between Reuther and Siebert. Even after Strehlow left, Reuther kept pleading that there was not enough work even for two missionaries, hoping that Siebert would be withdrawn. Neither the mission committee in South Australia nor the director at Neuendettelsau believed him. When Siebert fell ill in 1901 Reuther downplayed his condition as if Siebert was shirking. In early 1902 Reuther claimed that his colleague was "quite recovered", but only a few weeks later he had to admit that Siebert was spitting blood (Reuther, 3 February 1902, LAA.) Siebert was hastily

granted furlough to Germany with his wife and two-year old son. He left in May 1902 and fully expected to return to the mission one day, but Reuther had no intention of taking Siebert back. He even suggested that Siebert's possessions left behind at the mission should be put up for auction. Whatever it was between these two, the tension was palpable: a really bad match in the social isolation of a remote mission.

Siebert's opinion was to have a strong impact on the posthumous reception of Reuther's work. Siebert resented the way in which others eclipsed his own scientific contribution: Erhard Eylmann ascribed to Reuther the Dieri grammar which Siebert claimed as his own (though actually the Dieri Grammar ascribed to Reuther makes little advance on that of Johann Flierl according to Luise Hercus, pers. comm.) Alfred Howitt published joint work under his own name, Reuther allowed visiting Pastor Adolf Ortenburger access to Siebert's work, (after which Siebert no longer shared his work with Reuther), and what Reuther published on the Mura Siebert basically claimed to be his work (Tindale 1937). This claim raised questions of intellectual property that made Reuther's work too hot to handle for its posthumous academic gatekeepers.

Siebert's experiences were typical of the way in which missionaries were used as sources of field data in the unequal relationships that characterised the emerging fields of ethnography and anthropology. With Germany now in the ranks of colonial empires, interest in ethnography soared and ethnographic collecting reached a commercial peak: to graft onto the scientific networks that formed its international market, missionaries needed the support of respectable scholars as much as the armchair scholars needed the collecting missionaries (Quanchi and Cochrane 2007). This is the dynamic which Anna Kenny (2013) defines as central to the scientific work and academic reputation of missionary Carl Strehlow, who had a solid working relationship with one of these 'armchair anthropologists', Baron (*Freiherr*) Moritz von Leonhardi. Leonhardi first approached the Neuendettelsau mission institute in May 1899 to make contact with their Australian missionaries and to follow up on ethnographic comments in the mission newsletter. He submitted thirty open-ended questions and received responses from Carl Strehlow and Wilhelm Poland (Leonhardi to Deinzer, 1 Mai 1899 in Reuther File Neuendettelsau). Reuther, perhaps belatedly, addressed three of these questions with a 14–page essay on dreams, which he sent to Neuendettelsau in 1904 (Reuther File Neuendettelsau).

The interpretation of dreams was at that time in vogue at continental salon conversation, shifting the re-enchantment of the European imagination – manifested as spiritualism, séance meetings, spirit photography, mesmerism and a vast range of holistic healing practices from Kneipp's water cures to Hahnemann's homeopathy to Per Henrik Ling's Swedish massage – into the realm of respectable *Wissenschaft*, a transition linguistically facilitated by the non-distinction in German between 'arts' and 'sciences', i.e. both referred to as *Wissenschaften* (Veit 2004, Zantop 1997, Murray in Veit 2004).

Sigmund Freud's *Traumdeutung* (The Interpretation of Dreams) was published in November 1899, and in 1901 Loewenfeld and Kurella published an abridged version as part of a new German publication series on "Boundary Explorations of the Soul and Nervous System". This field of studies focussed on a psychoanalytical reading of dreams, including Aboriginal dreaming, which Freud took up with his *Totem and Taboo* (1913) as mentioned by Gingrich (2015). Reuther's observations on Aboriginal

dream interpretation, in other words, were at the cutting edge of scientific interest in Europe.

Inspector Deinzer at Neuendettelsau scribbled a polite "thank you" in the margins of Reuther's essay (presumably as an instruction to Reuther's step-son Paul Stolz to write a reply) and filed it away together with Reuther's other voluminous letters in the Reuther file, where it still remains in the Neuendettelsau archives (now part of the Landeskirchliche Archiv in Nürnberg). It is unlikely that Reuther's notes ever reached Leonhardi. Instead, Leonhardi began a very productive relationship with Carl Strehlow at Hermannsburg. This moment, more than any other, defines the subsequent misfortunes of Georg Reuther.

Reuther's letters to Neuendettelsau were long, self-absorbed, agonizing, and difficult to decipher. The Bavarian farm boy Reuther was less educated and less sophisticated than Carl Strehlow. Strehlow was able to build a lasting reputation on his ethnographic work, while Reuther failed to do so, and according to Anna Kenny the big break for Strehlow was his working relationship with Leonhardi who prodded and coached him towards the questions that occupied the European world of science.

In 1907 Leonhardi mediated the sale of some of Carl Strehlow's ethnographic material to Germany at a munificent price, and Reuther also began to negotiate through Leonhardi (Reuther to Stirling at SAM, 25 August 1907 stating that the Berlin museum is interested in purchasing his collection, but he is offering it to the SAM, AA 266/14/2, SAM).

Reuther had long known that there was commercial value in his collection. When Professor J. Gregory was visiting the mission in 1901, Reuther felt irritated because Gregory was visiting Siebert, rather than himself. He confided to the mission committee:

> Do not believe that I will bring my museum out (for that I should get a lot of money). It already cost me a lot of money out of my own pocket. The natives are not in a hurry to give anything away, as some of their pieces are rare. They say: *Kalala*. Many of their things are already rare, and they ask steep prices.
>
> (Reuther to Kaibel, 26 November 1901, Correspondence, LAA. Clara Stockigt (pers.comm.) kindly translated "kalala" as meaning "finished", "nothing is left".)

The notion of "bringing the museum out" – showing exhibits rather than allowing access to a dedicated room – suggests that in 1901 Reuther's collection was still reasonably modest. Five years later he had over 1,000 artefacts and drummed up press interest in his collection. The *Adelaide Observer* in February 1906 favourably reviewed his missionary work, his bible translation, his fossil tree and his enormous collection and supplied impressive photographs of the now colossal Reuther collection. In 1905 Harry Hillier had produced sketches and watercolour drawings of the toas (way markers) presumably to prepare for the sale of Reuther's collection. Hillier submitted a separate request for payment for his 400 sketches (Hillier to Stirling, 8 July 1916 SAM). The more that they were *kalala*, the more the Dieri artefacts themselves and representations of them, became valuable commodities on a market.

Reuther had sold his vast collection, but he still had the manuscript that actually deciphered it in detail. He had sent some of the watercolours and parts of his manuscript to Leonhardi in Frankfurt. Leonhardi used this material to publish on the Mura under his own name in 1909 (Reuther to Stirling at SAM, 14 November 1907,

AA266/14/5/1-4 SAM. See also: Leonhardi 1909). Siebert, who was now in Germany, at once went to see Leonhardi in August 1909 to discuss this publication and then followed up with a *Globus* article in 1910 to correct Reuther's statements as reported by Leonhardi (Völker 2001). Siebert (1910) argued that the Dieri legends did not permit the conclusion of a belief in a Higher Being, unlike the Aranda and Loritja (also known as Arrernte and Gogadja). He insisted that what Reuther claimed as a "high god" (*Mura*) among the Dieri, was merely an adjective, meaning sacred, and that the redoubling (*mura-mura*) was an intensification of that meaning (Boehmer 1928). Neither Leonhardi nor Wilhelm Schmidt, the highly respected editor of the journal *Anthropos*, agreed with Siebert's interpretation. Nonetheless Siebert's intervention meant that Reuther's standing as an authoritative source was undermined as soon as his name appeared on the publishing scene, and by one of his closest collaborators. By this time Reuther, on his Gumvale property, no longer suffered from panic attacks, but his mind was still clouded with depression, evident to his family. On the last day of the year 1913 the 52-year old Reuther entered in his diary:

> May the year of 1914 be my last year. I am yearning for the heavenly home. After all, there is no peace on earth, for alongside the joys of this earth there is much sorrow. Mother is very worried ... A long wished-for death would be my salvation and deliverance from this earthly sorrow (Reuther Diary, 31 December 1913).

He then sold the remainder of his life work, the Dieri manuscripts, to the South Australian Museum for £75. A few weeks later he drowned in a horse cart accident which meant that the seventy guests arriving for the Reuthers' silver wedding anniversary were instead attending a funeral. His whole estate was valued at £3,000, therefore the altogether £475 paid by the museum equalled 14% of his entire life savings – a substantial proportion. For the Museum, too, it was a considerable amount, an investment that had to be put to use. Reuther's 13-volume handwritten German manuscript ended up on the desk of the busy curator of the ethnographic collection, Norman Tindale, who had his own ambitious project of mapping all Australian tribes. Reuther had given up his struggle with ethnography and the Museum had bought into it.

The endeavour to translate the Reuther manuscript took longer than the twelve years Reuther had taken to write it (1894–1906). It began with Volume 12, Reuther's descriptions of toas, since these were of most direct interest to the museum, which now had the world's largest collection of these cultural objects unique to the Lake Eyre region (Jones and Sutton 1986). Zietz and director Stirling himself, assisted by Stirling's daughter T. B. Robertson, brought this volume to publication in the *Records of the South Australian Museum* (1919) accompanied by copies of Hillier's watercolour drawings.

It took another decade of inaction before the son of a Tanunda pastor, Paul Hossfeld[3], translated two volumes on religious ideas, Volume 10 (Religion: Myths and Legends, 1927, 1928) and Volume 11 (The World of Gods and Spirits, 1929). This was

3 Paul Hossfeld's father, Pastor Franz Hossfeld (1862–1937), studied at Hermannsburg and married Berta Richter in 1895, so he was related to Reuther by marriage. He was expelled from the South Australian Evangelical Lutheran Synod ELSA in 1895 for remaining faithful to the Hermannsburg Mission Society and joined the Immanuel Synod in 1909. He was pastor at Dutton from 1892 to 1928 and then assisting pastor of the Tabor Church in Tanunda, which means that he was available to help his son with the translations. (Weiss: 2001–2007).

the most promising part of the manuscript from a religious point of view. However these two translated volumes also languished without publication.

A few years later Norman Tindale, evidently under pressure to put the manuscript to some use, requested help. In 1935 he asked Ted Vogelsang, who had grown up and worked at Killalpaninna mission, and was familiar with Dieri and German, to "assess" the Reuther text with a view to translating the remaining nine volumes (Tindale to Hale, 28 October 1935, AA 266/5/10, SAM). Tindale began to edit Hossfeld's translations of Volumes 10 and 11 in preparation for publication and produced a list of all the different spellings of tribes in the Reuther manuscript. Tindale also turned to Carl Strehlow's son, the Rev. Dr. Ted Strehlow, for help with the many place names mentioned in Reuther (File note, May 1935, AA266/23; and Tindale, 16 November 1935, AA266/5 SAM). Tindale wanted a cataloguing clerk assigned to prepare the Reuther manuscript for publication (Tindale to Hale, 4 February 1935, AA266/23 and AA 266/5/5/1-2 SAM). He began to make inquiries in Germany, and in early 1937 he visited Otto Siebert near Hannover and Dr. Leo Frobenius and others in Frankfurt (Tindale to Hale, 2 May 1937, AA 266/5/13; Tindale, May 1937, AA 266/5, SAM). The correspondence between Reuther and Leonhardi could no longer be found in the ethnographic institute in Frankfurt (later the Frobenius Institute), and one of the volumes of the manuscript that Reuther may have sent to Leonhardi, is missing (Volume 14, Songs of the Dieri).

It was the discussion with Siebert that sealed the fate of the Reuther manuscript. Siebert described Reuther as "a good practical man" but "lame at languages". That "his work was confused and disjointed" accorded with the opinion Tindale himself had by now reached. More to the point, Siebert claimed part authorship, in particular of the Dieri grammar, but also of the legends (some of which he had published, but in less detail), and of the genealogies and social organisation of the Dieri. Tindale now asked Reuther's son Tom to look through the Reuther diaries to ascertain how much of the work was done by Siebert, Reuther, and Strehlow. Reuther's diary does not reveal such detail. Pastor Tom Reuther offered to translate his father's manuscript free of charge (Sheard 29 July 1937, AA 266/5, SAM), but Tindale (1937) by now judged the work as unworthy of further investment of time and effort – it was too bulky and disjointed for publication and needed condensing and re-writing.

The world of science had given up on Reuther's work, but Lutherans continued to express interest in it. The manuscript rested for another 37 years before Pastor Philip Scherer, the first archivist of the Lutheran Church of Australia (a national body formed in 1966), obtained funding in 1974 for a translation from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS formed in 1964 now AIATSIS). When the AIAS grant ended, Scherer continued unfunded. Meanwhile the young linguist Luise Hercus with the help of her German-speaking mother translated the four-volume Dieri grammar and Reuther's comments on the Wonkanguru and Yandruwanta grammars (AA 266/14/2, SAM).

Once Scherer's opus of translation was completed, negotiations between AIAS and SAM stalled as the Museum asserted its legal ownership of the original manuscript. Neither party felt in a position to fund a publication, so only a microfiche version was produced, more as a preservation than a publication of the manuscript. The suppression of this manuscript was well advised, since it contained too many

secrets: much of it is too hot to handle and needs protecting from public access, containing gender-specific and sensitive information.

Using Scherer's translation, two of the senior staff of the museum, Dr. Philip Jones and Dr. Peter Sutton, published *Art and Land* (1986) providing a scholarly discussion to accompany a much debated exhibition at the South Australian Museum in 1986. They refer to Reuther as an "untrained observer" which indeed serves as much to excuse as to accuse.

Reuther was certainly untrained, since there were no Australian anthropology departments in 1888 when he arrived at the mission. But his manuscript reveals an empathetic purveyor of knowledge, who respects those whom he describes, and attempts to show the internal hermeneutics of a sensible and decipherable *Lebenswelt* (life world). Only occasionally he distances himself from the assertions made, particularly when his own religion requires him to do so, but in general he does not pass judgement on what he writes. He records and narrates it, and most of all, tries to organise it into a cohesive system. Luise Hercus points out that he did so without any index cards, let alone the electronic devices that facilitate editing and information management nowadays. In most cases, he simply layered a more recent elucidation of an issue over those written up earlier. This results in an overall impression of repetition. For example, Volume 13 is a revised version of Volume 12. Hercus (2015) noted that Volume 10 was based on public versions of the stories told by the Dieri informants, whereas Volume 7 has a very similar content, but is based on restricted versions. This partly answers the question posed at the beginning – why Reuther wrote so much, and for whom.

Reuther must have misunderstood some of the information he was given by his informants, but he dedicated all his energies to systematizing the information. Apart from the grammar and the description of cultural objects, Reuther also renders the myths, legends and beliefs of the Dieri and relates these to names, places, spirit beings, and objects. He well understood the interconnectedness of all of these dimensions – the spiritual, the spatial, the personal, the social, and the material. Volume 7a explains 1,100 place names and has been digitised by the South Australian Attorney General's Department. Volumes 8 and 9, also digitised, describe the meaning of 303 personal names. Volume 10, on myths and legends, originally listed 175 *mura-mura* (spirit ancestors) and was condensed by Scherer to about 30, with some explanatory notes now forming separate chapters. Volume 11 on the "*Götterwelt*" (spirit world, or realm of the gods) describes 226 spirit beings and refers to six languages. It gives the forms for key terms in Dieri and in the five neighbouring languages to demonstrate the degree of variation between them, inspired by the *Kulturkreislehre* approach favoured by German anthropologists at the time. Volume 12 describes 383 toas and 591 items in the ethnological collection.

Sitting before this massive manuscript gives the clear impression that it represents an all-consuming life work, an obsession, an intellectual labyrinth that leads further and further into a life-world which resisted the author's stubborn intent to classify, order, number and understand it. Even without formal training, Reuther did understand much of it, since there is much that can be learned just from comprehending the grammar of a language. Reuther, in line with Lutheran thought, was convinced that his command of the Dieri language enabled him to think and feel with the Aborigines.

Magic, secrets and devils pulsate through the manuscript, even where it deals with grammar. Footnote 5 in Volume 11 lists the 24 grammatical forms of the personal pronoun "he", which are mirrored by the 24 forms of "she". To paraphrase, the form depends on whether "he" is (1) present, or (2) in the visible distance, or (3) at a remote distance, or (4) in the remote past (deceased), and whether the verb is (1) transitive or (2) intransitive, and whether it is (1) certainly him or (2) not quite sure or (3) not important. In other words, the personal pronoun has 4 x 2 x 3 forms. For example, *nauja* is "he" who is present, definitely him, in the intransitive form. *Kutji* is the spirit – and there can be benevolent and malevolent ones – and in combination *kutji nauja* is the spirit-who-is-present: actually, the devil in person (Reuther 1981). Just reading the grammar of the personal pronoun can strike the heart with fear.

The main informant on sorcery and spiritual beliefs was Elias Palkalina, one of the two top shearers at the Etadunna sheep station belonging to the mission. Palkalina narrated in detail the process through which he became a *kunki*, which means he was occupying the highest position of honour in his group. In the process of telling and recording, some kind of synthesis is taking place between the teller and the reporter. The process involves an ordering, formalisation, fossilisation, and therefore a creation in just the same way as writing down an oral language always does. Reuther recorded the 17 steps of the 3-day procedure and the 13 principles of the *kunki*, always seeking to create order and identify rules.

Addressing the question of an all-Father in Indigenous societies, a topic that was much debated at the time, Reuther explains that there are many *mura-mura* (spirit ancestors) who account for the linguistic diversity among the Dieri and their neighbours, because they each did their own naming of useful plants and animals. Their souls are stars and constellations. *Mura*, the all-being, creator of everything, is constantly petitioned by the *mura-mura* for edible plants, animals, rain, and other things necessary or desirable for life. These *mura-mura*, acting for different groups of Dieri, make conflicting demands, therefore not all demands can be met. The Dieri can submit such demands by enacting the biography of a particular *mura-mura*, including where he surfaced, where he travelled, what he met, and named, where he found water, food, and where he died. Of course, Reuther notes, instead of petitioning *Mura*, one can also just engage in trade in order to obtain the things that are necessary or desirable.

The Reuther manuscript clearly arises out of a dynamic between Reuther and his informants. Reuther was instructed in terms that made sense to him and that inculcated in him a respect for the system of thought he encountered: The bad and evil is the realm of the devil, but there is an all-powerful creator (much like the Christian God) who can be appealed to through the intercession of spirit ancestors, who really did once live on earth and have biographies (much like Christian saints). Chanting sacred texts will help a person in need or great fear (much like praying). Upon death the soul rises into the heavens, and there is a beautiful heaven above in the skies.

This is precisely the kind of narrative that gave rise to the allegation, raised for example by Alfred Howitt, that the missionaries invented the all-Father of Aboriginal cosmology. However, such accounts might be better understood as products of the contact zone that generated a mutual invention, in just the way that Richard White describes for the American north in his celebrated book, *The Middle Ground* (1991). Robert Kenny (2007) invokes a similar joint invention in one of the founding mo-

ments of the Moravian mission at Ebenezer (Victoria), where a group of missionaries and young local men colluded to produce a possible, but highly unlikely, connection between the evangelical written story of a Wimmera orphan boy, and the lived experience of the young Wimmera men present at the reading of the story. In the collusive process of telling and re-telling, a story written in England and read out to them at Ebenezer became a story of their real lives, and text became transformed as lived reality in an electric moment of substantiation. It was this moment that created a craving for what the missionaries had to teach at Ebenezer: reading and writing, a powerful tool for carrying knowledge across vast distances.

This craving for a new technology of power is also central to Anna Kenny's (2013) explanation of Strehlow's access to Aranda secrets.

Reuther also related that witchdoctors can save souls and act as intermediaries to the *Mura*. He recognised the parallels in this Dieri narrative with the teachings he was trying to impart on the Dieri, but here he felt compelled to insert one of his disclaimers. Witchdoctors differed from Western priests because they were associated not with the benevolent creator, but with the devil. As a matter of fact the contact cults such as observed by the Jesuit missionaries at the Daly River (see Rose 2000 on the tyaboi) and by the Pallottine missionaries in the Kimberley (Berndt 1974 and Petri 1950 on the Kurangara) cast the colonisers, including their priests, as the evil force, according to the anthropologist who later discussed them.

The whole Reuther manuscript reads as if Reuther was being recruited, or trained, into a Dieri way of knowing. Why else would he be told how to cast a magic spell on fifteen types of objects including waterholes, yellow ochre, brown ochre, the sun, and the rain? And was this an appropriate task for a missionary? The mission committee found it more appropriate for a pastor to manage a sheep station and send quarterly reports.

Anna Kenny's treatment of Carl Strehlow, *The Aranda's Pepa* (2013), offers a surprising answer to the questions I have been posing about Reuther: who was the missionary ethnographer writing for, and why did his informants share so many secrets with him? There are many instances of mission experience that show how magical powers were seen to be invested in the Bible and other kinds of paper. The Bible was the object in which resided the powerful law of Christians, it had to be handled with care and respect, because of its immanent meaning, force and power. Senior lawmen were interested in this new technology of power. *Pepa* was the address the Aranda used for Father Strehlow, so the Aranda's Pepa was Father Carl Strehlow. But *pepa* also meant paper, in particular this paper embodying the law, the Bible. Kenny suggests that the Aranda lawmen told Strehlow everything that was necessary to produce the authoritative law-book of the Aranda, the book of Aranda law in paper, the Aranda's Pepa.

Is it possible that the Dieri tried to get Reuther to write down the Dieri book of law to compete with the Christian book of law? Reuther became so lost in the Dieri lifeworlds that it affected his sanity. He increasingly suffered from insomnia, trembling and epileptic fits, to which he referred as his "nervous condition". In the end he believed that he would either have to leave it alone or face the lunatic asylum. According to Reuther's own account, when he left the mission in a great hurry in 1906, it was his ethnographic work that he was running away from, rather than the suspicions of his Brethren. Perhaps he realised that his Dieri informants had turned

the tables: he had become the student and they the teachers. They were colonising his mind and he was losing his.

Bibliography

Adelaide Observer, February 1906.
The Advertiser, 5 Nov 1908, 12, "Museum Report". Web. 8 October 2012. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5136510>
Bates, Daisy, 1940. "The Passing of the Aborigines", *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 91 (4), 515.
Berndt, Ronald M., 1974. *Australian Aboriginal Religion*. Brill Archive.
Boehmer, Julius, 1928. "Die südostaustralischen Dieri und Otto Siebert" (Review of P. Wilh. Schmidt, and a Response from Schmidt), *Anthropos*, 23 (1/2), 316–320.
Clarke, Anne, and Robin Torrence, eds., 2000. *The Archaeology of Difference: Negotiating Cross-Cultural Engagements in Oceania*. London: Routledge.
Gingrich, André, 2015. "German-Language Anthropology Traditions around 1900 and their Methodological Relevance for Ethnographers in Australia and Beyond". Paper presented at The German Anthropological Tradition in Australia, Nicolas Peterson and Anna Kenny, Canberra: ANU, 18–19 June.
Freud, Sigmund, 1901. "Über den Traum", in: L. Loewenfeld and H. Kurella, eds., *Grenzfragen des Nerven und Seelenlebens – Einzel-Darstellungen für Gebildete aller Stände*, Web. April 2015. <https://archive.org/stream/Freud_1901_Ueber_Traum/Freud_1901_Ueber_Traum_djvu.txt>
Heffernan, Luke, and Francesca Zilio, 2011. South Australian Museum Finding Aid. Web. March 2012. <http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/aa266/provlist.htm>
Hercus, Luise, 2015. "Reuther's Diari: Looking at the Detail". Paper presented at The German Anthropological Tradition in Australia, Nicolas Peterson and Anna Kenny, Canberra: ANU, 18–19 June.
Immanuel Synod Mission Committee Minute Book, 1895–1901, Lutheran Archives Australia.
Jones, Philip G., Peter Sutton, and Kaye Clark, eds., 1986. *Art and Land: Aboriginal Sculptures of the Lake Eyre*. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.
Jones, Philip G., 2011. "Colonial Wissenschaft: German Naturalists and Museums in Nineteenth Century South Australia", in: Peter Monteath, ed., *Germans – Travellers, Settlers and their Descendants in South Australia*, 204–236.
Kenny, Anna, 2013. *The Aranda's Pepa: An Introduction to Carl Strehlow's Masterpiece Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien* (1907–1920). Canberra: ANU E Press.
Kenny, Robert, 2007. *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.
Leonhardi, Moritz Freiherr v., 1909. "Der Mura und die Mura-Mura der Dieri", *Anthropos*, IV, 1065–1068.
Loewenfeld, L., and H. Kurella, eds., 1901. *Grenzfragen des Nerven und Seelenlebens – Einzel-Darstellungen für Gebildete aller Stände*. Wiesbaden: Bergmann Verlag.
Lucas, Rod, 2015. "Pulcaraurannie: Losing and Finding a Cosmic Centre with the Help of J. G. Reuther and Others". Paper presented at The German Anthropological Tradition in Australia, Nicolas Peterson and Anna Kenny, Canberra: ANU, 18–19 June.
Lutheran Archives Australia [LAA], Bethesda, Box 19.
Lutheran Archives Australia, Photographic Collection, P02953 05908 Pastor and Mrs O. Siebert (1894 to 1902).
Monteath, Peter, ed., 2011. *Germans – Travellers, Settlers and their Descendants in South Australia*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.
Murray, Barbara, 2004. "Georg Balthasar von Neumayer's Directives for Scientific Research", in: Walter Veit, ed., *The Struggle for Souls and Science – Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*, 130–142.
Petri, Helmut, 1950. "Kurangara – Neue magische Kulte in Nordwest-Australien", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 75, 43–51.

Quanchi, Max, and Susan Cochrane, eds., 2007. "Hunting the Collectors", in: *Hunting the Collectors: Pacific Collections in Australian Museums, Art Galleries and Archives*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2–14.

Rechner, Judy Gale, 2008. "G.J. Rechner and his Descendants: Rechner, Fischer/Fisher, Stolz and Reuther Journeys". Adelaide: Rechner Researchers.

Reuther File, Neuendettelsau. 1. 6. 35 Reuther, Georg, 1861–1912, Pers. Korresp. Vorl. Nr. 4.93/5, Neuendettelsau (now in the Landeskirchliche Archiv in Nürnberg).

Reuther, Johann G., [1981]. The Diari, Vols. 1–13. Translated by Philipp A. Scherer. Vol. 5 translated by T. Schwarzschild and L.A. Hercus. AIAS Microfiche No.2, Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Original Volumes in South Australian Museum, AA266.

Reuther, Johann G. Correspondence. Reuther Boxes. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives Australia.

Reuther, Johann G., [1970]. Diary of J.G. Reuther 1888–1914. Translated by R.B. Reuther. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives Australia.

Reuther, Johann G. File A711 3610 National Archives Australia [NAA].

Rose, Deborah Bird, 2000. "Signs of Life on a Barbarous Frontier: Intercultural Encounters in North Australia", in: Anne Clarke and Robin Torrence, eds., *The Archaeology of Difference: Negotiating Cross-Cultural Engagements in Oceania*, 221–244.

Siebert, Otto, 1910. "Sagen und Sitten der Dieri und Nachbarstämme in Zentralaustralien", *Globus*, 44–50, 53–59.

South Australian Museum, "Papers Relating to the Reuther Collection Purchased 1907", AA 266/14/2, AA266/14/5/1-4, AA 266/5, AA 266/5/10, AA 266/5/13, AA 266/5/5/1-2, AA266/23.

Stevens, Christine, 1994. *White Man's Dreaming: Killalpaninna Mission, 1866–1915*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Tindale, Norman, 1908. "Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien", Berlin 1908, 93–98, in: Tindale, Account of his Visit in Germany, May 1937, AA 266/5 South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman, 1937. Reporting on his Visit to Otto Siebert, Dr. L. Frobenius, and Dr. Niggemeyer in Charge of Strehlow Collection in Frankfurt, May 1937, AA 266/5, South Australian Museum.

Veit, Walter, ed., 2004. *The Struggle for Souls and Science – Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*. Alice Springs: Strehlow Research Centre Occasional Paper 3.

Völker, Harriet, 2001. "Missionare als Ethnologen – Moritz Freiherr von Leonhardi, australische Mission und europäische Wissenschaft", in: Reinhard Wendt, ed., *Sammeln, Vernetzen, Auswerten: Missionare und ihr Beitrag zum Wandel europäischer Weltsicht*, 173–185.

Weiss, Peter, 2001–2007. *Short General and Statistical History of the Australian Lutheran Church*. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives Australia.

Wendt, Reinhard, ed., 2001. *Sammeln, Vernetzen, Auswerten: Missionare und ihr Beitrag zum Wandel europäischer Weltsicht*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

White, Richard, 1991. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yashchenki A.L., 1951 [1985]. I ego puteshestyne v Avstraliyu (A.L. Yaschenko and his Journey to Australia, 1978). Translation by G. Barratt in 1985 of I. E. Iachenko's Journal of his 1903 Visit in Australia. MS1285 Box 2 Item 23 Nr. 9 and Box 3 item 2 Nr. 6. AIATSIS.

Zantop, Susanne, 1997. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Alexandra Ludewig
The University of Western Australia

Isaac Steinberg in Australien

Der Traum von einer jüdischen Kolonie in West- und Nordaustralien

In den 1930er Jahren war die in London ansässige Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonisation (Freiland-Liga der Jüdischen Kolonisation) verzweifelt auf der Suche nach einem neuen Zuhause für die verfolgten Juden Europas. Der Schriftführer der Freeland League, Dr. Isaac Steinberg, hatte dabei "vast undeveloped areas of the world" (Steinberg 1948: 7) im Visier und fand Gefallen an Australien, insbesondere an einer Landparzelle in der westaustralischen Kimberley Region. Aus dieser historischen Konstellation ergab sich eine unerwartet ambivalente Situation für die beiden Protagonisten aus Europa und Übersee – waren es doch zwei Bevölkerungsgruppen, die in spezifischer Weise von Vertreibung und Entwurzelung betroffen waren: die durch das Naziregime verfolgten Juden Europas und die Aborigines, deren Existenzrecht in der Kimberley Region Westaustraliens als Folge dieses Umstandes zur Disposition stand. Während die bisherige Forschung sich zumeist mit der Dokumentation von Steinbergs Plänen sowie jüdischen und australischen Reaktionen darauf begnügte (vgl. Hooper 1991, Alroey 2011, Lawrence 2014, The Kimberley Society 2016), nimmt dieser Beitrag erstmals die Situation der indigenen Bevölkerung mit in den Fokus und ist damit Teil eines größeren Projektes, welches sich kritisch mit der westaustralisch-deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte auseinandersetzt (Ludewig 2016).

Der folgende Artikel wirft ein Schlaglicht auf einen historisch außergewöhnlichen Moment im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, als ein humanitär ausgerichtetes jüdisches Siedlungsprojekt im Ergebnis eine weitere Zurückdrängung der indigenen Bevölkerung der East Kimberley-Region bedeutet hätte. Zuerst wird die Genese von Steinbergs geplanter jüdischer Kolonie in Australiens Norden nachgezeichnet, bevor das Unterfangen unter dem Gesichtspunkt des stetig anwachsenden Forschungsgebietes zum Settler Colonialism kritisch beleuchtet wird. In Anlehnung an die Verfechter des Eliminationsgedankens, allen voran die scharf formulierten Thesen von Tony Barta (1987) und Patrick Wolfe (2006), wird für den Steinberg-Plan abgeleitet, dass auch dieser zumindest das Potential zu einem ambivalenten, im Kern als Entwurzelungsstrategie ausdeutbaren Kolonisationsprojekts für jüdische Flüchtlinge in Übersee hatte. Denn für die jüdische Gruppe hätte diese Ansiedlung höchstwahrscheinlich Sicherheit vor Völkermord bedeutet, wohingegen es für die indigene Bevölkerung eine potentielle Gefahr weiterer Diskriminierung und Zurückdrängung durch Enteignung eingeläutet hätte, mit der erhöhten Wahrscheinlichkeit von Völkermord durch ebendiese Vertreibung und Enteignung in direkter Konsequenz. Patrick Wolfes Aussage "land is life" (2006: 387) trifft in diesem Fall nicht nur für die einheimische Bevölkerung der Kimberleys zu, sondern auch für die jüdischen Flüchtlinge. Es zeigt sich aber auch, dass die Umkehrung "kein Land, kein Überleben" gravierende, ubiquitäre Konsequenzen implizierte.

Isaac Nachman Steinberg wurde 1888 in Dünaburg im russischen Zarenreich (heute Teil von Lettland) in eine jüdisch-orthodoxe, jiddisch-sprachige Familie geboren. In seiner Jugend war er ein aktives Mitglied der sozialrevolutionären Partei (Alroey 2011: 19). Aufgrund seines Aktionismus wurde er verhaftet und nach Sibirien ins Exil geschickt, ehe ihm als 19-Jährigem die Flucht nach Zürich gelang. Bald zog er von der Schweiz weiter nach Deutschland, wo er im Jahre 1910 an der Universität Heidelberg sein Doktorat in Rechtswissenschaften mit Schwerpunkt auf den Rechtsvorschriften des Talmuds abschloss. Darauf kehrte er nach Moskau zurück, wo er sich als "a leading figure in the non-Marxist Left-Social Revolutionary Party" profilierte (Rovner 2014: 155). Nach der Oktoberrevolution von 1917 wurde Steinberg Lenins erster Justizminister und somit Teil von dessen Koalitionsregierung. Nach Steinbergs Rücktritt glückte es ihm nicht, Lenins politischem Terror zu entkommen. Er wurde zweimal verhaftet, bevor ihm 1923 die Flucht nach Deutschland gelang. Gemeinsam mit seiner Frau und seinen zwei Kindern ließ er sich in Berlin nieder (vgl. Alroey 2011: 19). Unter der wachsenden nationalsozialistischen Bewegung in Deutschland fand sich Steinberg als jüdischer Intellektueller in der Gruppe der unerwünschten Oppositionellen wieder. Schon kurz nach ihrer Machtübernahme versuchten die Nazis Steinberg im Jahr 1933 zu inhaftieren, doch hielt er sich zu dieser Zeit gerade im Rahmen einer Vortragsreihe in London auf. In einer Nacht- und Nebelaktion gelang auch seiner Familie die Flucht nach England (Rovner 2014). Dort gewann Steinberg rasch an Bedeutung, sowohl im britischen PEN – "Poets, Essayists and Novelists", einer weltweiten Vereinigung von Schriftstellern – als auch in der damals größten jüdischen territorialen Organisation, der Freiland-Liga, deren Komitee er im Jahr 1935 beitrat.

Über zehn Jahre hinweg versuchte Steinberg Unterstützung für eine "Jewish Colony" zu gewinnen und in der East Kimberley Region West- und Nordaustraliens Land zu erwerben, das die damaligen Besitzer, unter ihnen die aus Irland stammende Durack-Familie, veräußern wollte.[1] Das zum Verkauf stehende Land sollte 50.000 bis 75.000 jüdischen Siedlern ein neues Zuhause bieten. Obwohl die überwiegende Mehrheit der jüdischen Flüchtlinge aus städtischen Gebieten kam und wenig bis gar keine landwirtschaftlichen Kenntnisse hatte, war das so genannte "Kimberley Scheme" im Wesentlichen als landwirtschaftliches Unterfangen konzipiert.[2] Steinberg teilte sein Bestreben, aus Städtern Farmer zu machen, mit vielen Zionisten des späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, und sah darin die Möglichkeit, die osteuropäischen und russischen Juden aus ihren Ghettos zu befreien, in denen ihnen die Bewirtschaftung von Boden verwehrt wurde.

Im Mai 1939, als Steinberg schon in seinen frühen Fünfzigern war, erreichte er die westaustralische Hafenstadt Fremantle und war hochmotiviert, das Gebiet im äußersten Norden zu erkunden, das mit 28.000 Quadratkilometern in etwa die Größe von Belgien hat und fast identisch ist mit dem gesamten Bereich, der heute als Ord

1 Der in London ansässige australische Journalist Charles Henry Chomley versuchte bei den Engländern Auswanderlust nach Nordaustralien zu wecken und machte so auch die Freeland League auf das Land aufmerksam. "The portfolio of properties owned by Connor, Doherty and Durack was on the market, with [the politician] George Miles […] looking for a buyer. He approached Steinberg in 1938 and 'proposed that the Freeland League create a chartered or limited company with a capital of £200,000 and purchase the land rights, the cattle and the buildings of Connor, Doherty and Durack Ltd'. When interest was shown, Miles worked with Steinberg to create a package in which the League would buy the properties, settle many thousands of refugees there, and begin the conversion to orchards and farms. That work was to be facilitated by damming the Ord River and generating hydro-electricity". The Kimberley Society (2016).

2 Der Plan war es, "[to] convert the country from a pastoral into an agricultural area". Steinberg zitiert in "Jewish Settlers for North West Australia. Dr Steinberg States The Case", *Morning Bulletin,* 7. Februar 1940, 6.

River Bewässerungsprojekt bekannt ist. In Vorbereitung auf die "mass colonisation" (Steinberg 1948: 12) begab sich Steinberg, zusammen mit dem 22-jährigen Michael Durack, dessen 75 Jahre alten Vater Michael Patrick (M.P. genannt) Durack, sowie einem Agraringenieur der University of Western Australia, Dr. George F. Melville, auf eine Erkundungsreise durch die Gegend. Da die Exkursion in den kühleren und trockenen Monaten des späten [australischen] Herbstes und frühen Winters (Juni/Juli 1939) stattfand, erwartete Dr. Steinberg harte Bedingungen, war aber stattdessen angenehm von den milden Konditionen überrascht, "a country that was alive" vorzufinden.[3] Seine Bemerkung "alive" liest sich eher als eine Anspielung auf Fauna

Abb. 1 – Dr. Steinberg am Ord River (1939)
©Elizabeth Durack (Album 1936–1939)

und Flora als ein Hinweis auf die Bewohner des Landes. Das Projekt war auf einem Teil des Landes geplant, der ursprünglich den lokal ansässigen Aborigines gehörte und wo auch weiterhin Aborigines-Gruppen (insbesondere die Miriwoong, Kadjerong, Malngin, Kija, Gurindji und Ngarinman) lebten, die nun vor allem auf der Farm der Duracks arbeiteten. Steinberg nahm dies nicht ausdrücklich zur Kenntnis, obwohl ihm ihre Anwesenheit und ihr bedeutender Beitrag zur Wirtschaft in dem Gebiet bewusst gewesen sein mussten. Steinberg kommentierte explizit, dass er viele "Weiße" in der Bevölkerung, unter ihnen insbesondere Frauen, getroffen und befragt hatte.[4] Seine Formulierung verrät deutlich, dass er über die Anwesenheit von "Nicht-Weißen" Bescheid wusste; diese Tatsache wird auch von zahlreichen Fotos bestätigt, die entstanden, als Steinberg und Melville das Land erkundeten, auf dem damals 70.000 Rinder gehalten wurden. Nun sollte es eine mögliche Heimat für numerisch ebenso viele Flüchtlinge aus Europa zur Verfügung stellen. Der Konkurrenzkampf zwischen Ortsansässigen und Neuankömmlingen um Ressourcen und Arbeit würde in der Folge stark zunehmen. Eine Auflage der westaustralischen Regierung war es zudem, dass an den vielen neuen Schulen in der Kolonie nur vom

3 "It was winter here now and yet we found […] a country that was alive" (Steinberg 1948: 18).
4 Steinberg "saw and questioned many of the white folk living there, particularly the women" (1948: 23).

Bildungsministerium in Perth anerkannte Lehrpersonen und andere aus weiter entfernten Verwaltungszentren, die wesentlichen Dienstleistungen für die neuen Siedler bereitstellen dürften (Steinberg 1948: 11); die Aborigines des East Kimberley wurden von Steinberg auch in diesem Zusammenhang nicht erwähnt.

Obwohl den Ureinwohnern dieses Landes heutzutage große Teile der Fläche als Besitz zuerkannt werden, standen die Ansprüche der Aborigines auf das Land 1939 weder auf der australischen Rechtsordnung noch auf der Tagesordnung der von Dr. Steinberg geführten Erkundungstruppe (Gettler 1993: 143). Trotz der Erfahrungen seines eigenen Volkes in Bezug auf Vertreibung und Umsiedlung, Vernichtung und Ausrottung schien Steinberg seine Augen vor der Existenz, geschweige denn der Notlage der einheimischen Bevölkerung zu verschließen. Steinberg wies vielmehr darauf hin, dass auch andere Migrantengruppen bereits erfolglos versucht hatten, sich im äußersten Norden von Westaustralien anzusiedeln, und beschrieb Wyndhams "deserted streets with its tiny abandoned Chinese and Afghan shops" (Steinberg 1948: 17). Er verweist zudem auf die potentiellen Handelspartner jenseits der Meere: "[...] a splendid harbour giving ready access to the entire world and particularly to the uncounted coloured peoples of Asia" (ibid.).

Diese wohl kalkulierten Überlegungen kontrastierten mit der Tatsache, dass er den traditionellen Bewohnern des Landes, das er bereiste, keinerlei Beachtung schenkte. Stattdessen verwies Steinberg in seiner Vision nicht nur die Duracks des Landstriches; sondern verbannte sowohl andere Kolonisten wie auch Ureinwohner aus seinem Siedlungskonzept, wenn er sinnierte: "What could not Jewish colonists achieve here!" (Steinberg 1948: 17).

Es entsprach seiner idealisierten Vorstellung von jüdischer Siedlungskolonisation, dass diese erfolgreicher zu werden verspreche als die anderer Volksgruppen, was er am Beispiel der erfolgreichen Erschließung von Wüstenregionen in Palästina (ibid.: 10) bestätigt sah. Steinberg hatte die Vision, dass das Potential dieses "schlafenden" (21) oder "schlummernden" (22) Landes im Norden Australiens unter jüdischer Bearbeitung erstmals voll ausgeschöpft würde, und benutzte unwissentlich die gleiche ideologische Rechtfertigung für die gewünschte Besiedlung wie die kolonialen Siedler, die zuvor die Auslöschung der indigenen Völker bewusst einkalkuliert hatten; "that 'we' could use the land better than they [the original and subsequent owners, i.e. in this scheme's case the Duracks and the local Aboriginal peoples]" (Wolfe 2006: 389).

East Kimberley versprach unter jüdischem Pflug und Management eine wirtschaftlich produktive und gesellschaftlich prosperierende Region zu werden.[5] Steinberg argumentierte hier in Richtung *terra nullius*, da er von einem bislang nicht urbar gemachten und noch nicht kultivierten Landstreifen ausging.

Abgesehen von dieser impliziten Referenz wurde den lokalen Aborigines, trotz ihrer immer noch großen Anzahl und ihrer tief verankerten Traditionen (vgl. Curthoys 2014: 210ff.), kein Platz in Steinbergs Überlegungen eingeräumt. Es gibt weder Anhaltspunkte dafür, dass Steinberg eine Assimilationspolitik verfolgte, noch dahingehend, die Frage zu beantworten, ob er die Aborigines bewusst oder unbewusst

5 Mein Dank geht an John Docker, der mich auf Waswo (1997) hingewiesen hat. Waswo bezieht sich auf die in der *Aeneis* genannte Legende, in der jene, die als Kolonisatoren kamen, sich selbst als Kulturträger im Besitz von selbst ernanntem überlegenem Wissen in Bezug auf Landwirtschaft, Städtebau, Recht und Religion, sehen (siehe auch Docker 2008).

Abb. 2 – Begutachtung der Ernte - Argyle/Durack Estate (1939)
©Elizabeth Durack (Album 1936–1939)

unsichtbar machte, denn physisch blieben sie, wie auch die Fotos belegen, präsent. Das gleiche Paradox der 'abwesenden Anwesenden' gilt auch für den Schriftverkehr, den Steinberg mit den Duracks und der Regierung unterhielt. Das Schicksal der Ureinwohner wurde aus der Debatte ausgeschlossen. Die Aborigines selbst erhielten keine Gelegenheit zur Stellungnahme. Dieses Verhalten war nicht ungewöhnlich, berücksichtigt man die weit verbreitete Einstellung der Kolonialisten gegenüber den Ureinwohnern. Exemplarisch führt der Anthropologe und Historiker Patrick Wolfe aus: "Aborigines were accorded no rights to their territory, informal variants on the theme of *terra nullius* being taken for granted in settler culture" (2006: 391). Dies illustrierend wurde auch die Besetzung des Landes durch die Familie Durack von Mary Durack so beschrieben, als ob ihre Vorfahren in "a deserted camp" eingezogen seien (Durack 1959: 217). Nur an einem Punkt in ihrer Niederschrift lässt sie ein wahrheitsgetreueres Abbild der Wirklichkeit durchscheinen. Im Hinblick auf die wachsende Kritik an gewalttätigen Ausschreitungen (vor allem nach den Massakern in der Forrest River Mission und dem Ernest River Massaker im Jahr 1926, vgl. Gribble 1928) schrieb sie von der nahezu greifbaren Alternative, mit der die Siedler konfrontiert waren: "Were they to admit defeat, clear out and give the country *back to* the Aborigines […]?" (Durack 1959: 313). Es ist historiographisch gut dokumentiert, welche Einstellung die traditionellen Bewohner im Allgemeinen ge-

Abb. 3 – Indigene Bewohner (Argyle, ca. 1938)
©Elizabeth Durack (Album 1936–1939)

genüber der Kolonisierung hatten, seit die europäischen Entdecker und Siedler im neunzehnten Jahrhundert in ihre Gebiete vorgedrungen waren. Die Forschungen von Henry Reynolds und Noel Loos über die Gewalt in Grenzgebieten,[6] zuletzt in Reynolds' nuancierten Arbeiten zu *Forgotten War* (2013) und *Unnecessary Wars* (2016) dokumentiert, liefern genügend Beweise für die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Kolonialisten und den Aborigines, denn, in der Tat, "[...] the Kimberley tribes fought a long and savage war against the pastoralists" (Green 1981: 116).

Als Steinberg im Jahr 1939 in die Kimberley-Region kam, kommentiert er staunend: "It is an empty, spacious, sleeping land" (Steinberg zitiert 1948 im *Sydney Morning Herald*). Der Begriff "sleeping" ist eine sehr verräterische Wortwahl, da sie auf Steinbergs grundlegende Idee zurückgeht, dass allein die richtige(n) Person(en), also jene aus der jüdischen Diaspora, den schöpferischen Geist des Landes, d. h. sein landwirtschaftliches Ertragspotential, aus seinem Dornröschenschlaf erwecken und befreien müsste(n). Betrachtet man die heutige Besiedlungsdichte, erscheint es nicht weniger naiv. Zur gleichen Zeit sieht Steinberg in diesem "almost mysterious land" (Steinberg 1948: 14), diesem "land of mystery" (15), diesem "magic land" (17) etwas seltsam Vertrautes, wohl auch deshalb, weil er dieser Landschaft einige der Merkmale seines Heimatlandes sowie seiner Wahlheimat(en) zuschrieb. Er dachte zurück an Russland, als er Landstriche als "endless savanna" oder "steppe" beschrieben hatte, und fand den Boden "not unlike the Russian *chernoziom*, 'black earth'" (Steinberg 1948: 19). Er erkannte darin auch englische Landschaften wieder: "From time to time we came upon thickets of trees, plants and grass so fragrant and cheerful that I could have fancied myself on some exquisitely cultivated English estate" (ibid.). Offensichtlich sah er das, was er sehen wollte, etwas sehr Vertrautes und Angenehmes, und wünschte sich, den Besitz dieses Landes für sich selbst als ideal zu betrach-

6 Reynolds fokussierte auf das Schicksal der indigenen Bevölkerung, z. B. in *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience, 1788–1939* (1972); als auch in *The Other Side of the Frontier. Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (1981); *Frontier. Aborigines, Settlers and Land* (1987); *Why Weren't We Told?* (2000); *An Indelible Stain? The Question of Genocide in Australia's History* (2001) und vielen weiteren seiner Publikationen.

ten. Auf der einen Seite versuchte Steinberg, durch diese Beschreibungen das Land an seine gewohnte Umgebung bzw. sein gewohntes Umfeld narrativ anzugleichen und zu zeigen, dass er und andere europäische Juden auf einzigartige Weise in der Lage wären, das Land produktiv zu machen. Immer wieder macht er in diesem Zusammenhang indirekte Anspielungen darauf, dass dies weder von den Aborigines, noch von den Duracks erreicht worden sei. Auf der anderen Seite musste er Investoren und zukünftige Siedler davon überzeugen, dass das Land vielversprechend war, ausreichend fruchtbar und ertragreich. In seinem Buch über die Entwicklung der Siedlerkulturen beschreibt James Belich ähnliche Beschönigungen, die in der Auswanderungsliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu finden sind, als "boosterism" (2009: 85). Vivian Bickford-Smith diskutiert am Beispiel von Kapstadt die sogenannte "place selling"-Literatur und die narrativen und rhetorischen Konventionen, die in imperialen Texten benutzt wurden, um Kolonien zu fördern (2012: 133–151). Als solches greift Steinberg eine metaphorische Redensart des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts auf und beweist, dass dies auch im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert noch eine lohnenswerte Strategie für den jüdischen Kolonialisierungsdiskurs darstellt.

Das von Bickford-Smith beschriebene Phänomen der "Einzigartigkeit" lässt sich auch in Steinbergs Beschreibung wiederfinden. Steinberg bewirbt das von ihm explorierte Land als auf einzigartige Weise für das Siedlungsprogramm geeignet: "[...] this land has no savage beasts or venomous snakes, and that it knows no dangerous diseases" (Steinberg 1948: 22). Dies ist eine bemerkenswert hoffnungsvolle Aussage, da ein wenig Nachforschung das Gegenteil bewiesen hätte, und es wirft die Frage auf, ob Steinberg absichtlich falsch informiert wurde oder selbst die Absicht hatte, jenen, die er hier ansiedeln wollte, eine beschönigende Auskunft zu geben. Bei Steinbergs eigener Überquerung des Ord River hätte er Salzwasser-Krokodile vorfinden müssen (Durack Web) sowie die in diesem Gebiet zahlreichen einheimischen Giftschlangen. Zudem gab es auch Malaria, Dengue-Fieber, Lepra und Tuberkulose, um nur einige der gefährlichen Infektionskrankheiten zu nennen, deren Auswirkungen auf den Menschen in der Region bekannt waren.[7] Viehkrankheiten sollen hier erst gar nicht erwähnt werden. Alfred Crosby erläutert diese Form des Siedlerkolonialismus mit dem Begriff "ökologischer Imperialismus"[8] – denn auch in der Vergangenheit hatten Hoffnungsvolle vielerorts Land in Besitz genommen und gleichfalls betont, dass ihre Wahl- und Wunschorte frei von Krankheiten seien und eine günstige Umgebung böten. Die dann jedoch in der Folge eingeführten Krankheiten hatten schnell dramatische Auswirkungen auf die dort lebenden Menschen, die örtliche Fauna und Flora. Da manche neu kolonisierten Siedlungszonen klimatisch Europa sehr ähnlich waren, setzten sich zudem schnell europäische Landwirtschaftsformen und Viehzuchtrassen vor Ort durch; und dies oft auf Kosten der Ureinwohner und ihrer Kultur.

Während Steinberg beschönigend die indigene, nur scheinbar ungefährlich anmutende Fauna und Flora romantisierte, alle Bedenken über das Klima[9]beiseite

7 Die Mutter von M.P. starb an Malaria. Lepra und Grippeviren wurden unter anderem im Zuge der weißen Besiedlung von asiatischen Arbeitern eingeführt und auf die indigene Bevölkerung übertragen, die keine Abwehr dagegen hatte.

8 Australien war für diese Begrifflichkeit geeignet, während die meisten Teile Afrikas und Asiens bereits ihre speziellen Formen der Landwirtschaft und ihre endemischen Krankheiten hatten, wodurch sie oft weniger einladend für die Europäer waren und groß angelegte Siedlungskolonien verhindert wurden. Nordaustralien galt im Gegensatz dazu als ein unbeschriebenes Blatt (vgl. Crosby 1986).

9 Die Region gehört zu den heißesten in Australien und unterliegt den Auswirkungen verheerender Wetterextreme: der Dürre, gewaltigen tropischen Wirbelstürmen und Überschwemmungen.

schob und das Erntepotential der Region in seinem Bericht bewusst oder aufgrund falscher Informationen unbewusst als viel zu hoch ansetzte, zeigte die Bereitwilligkeit der Duracks, das Land für nur £ 180.000 zu verkaufen,[10] eine offensichtliche Kehrseite der Medaille. Dennoch ignorierte Steinberg die historische Überlieferung der von ihnen erfahrenen harten Prüfungen, sowie Probleme und Missgeschicke in der Region. Die anfängliche Besitzergreifung des Landes durch die Duracks erfolgte zu einem hohen Preis, sowohl für die lokale indigene Bevölkerung (Reynolds 1972; 1981; 2001) als auch für die Neuankömmlinge. Ein Rückblick illustriert dies: Im Juli 1882 schiffte sich eine Gruppe, die von M.P. Duracks Onkel – einem weiteren Michael – angeführt wurde, ausgestattet mit Pferden, Proviant und zwei Aborigine-Viehzüchtern aus Queensland, in Brisbane ein. Sie segelten zum Cambridge Gulf und King Sound, mit der Absicht, große Landstriche um den Ord River in Besitz zu nehmen.

> From Thylungra station Michael's brother Patrick, 'Patsy' Durack, organised the droving of 7250 head of breeding cattle and 200 horses on a 3000-mile (4828 km) trek, the longest undertaken by Australian drovers up to that time. They reached the Ord River in two years and four months with a loss of half the cattle and several men; the venture cost some £72,000. In 1886 [Patsy] Durack's two elder sons [M.P. and John] went by sea and set up Argyle station on the Behn River. (Durack 1972)

Im selben Jahr, als die Duracks im Zuge ihrer Pionierarbeit – oder, wie Tom Stannage es nannte, ihres "taking land"-Projektes (1985: 8) – weiter in die East Kimberley Region vordrangen, verloren sie ihren Cousin John (1849–1886), der von einem Speer getötet worden war (Anonymous 1886: 3). Ein ähnliches Schicksal ereilte ein anderes Familienmitglied. Jeremiah (1853–1901), der die Rosewood und Dunham Farmen gegründet hatte, wurde von lokalen Aborigines ermordet, als er auf seiner Veranda schlief. Mary Durack, eine der Töchter von M.P., hielt mehrere blutige Begegnungen schriftlich fest und beschrieb, wie sich belesene, gebildete Männer in rachsüchtige Viehzüchter verwandelten: "[...] once in the Kimberley they all more or less subscribed to the philosophy of 'us or them'" (1959: 314). Die darauf folgende Periode offenbarte ein Bild unfriedlicher Koexistenz oder, laut Marys Schwester Elizabeth Durack, eines der "mutual exploitation" (1935: 25). Dieser Umstand führte u. a. dazu, dass jenen Aborigines, die auf der Rinderfarm[11] arbeiteten, westliche Namen gegeben wurden, während Elizabeth, wie im Rahmen der Aufdeckung einer der berüchtigtsten Kunstbetrügereien dokumentiert wurde, sowohl Motive der Aborigines für ihre Bilder entlehnte als auch eine indigene Identität annahm (vgl. Durack Clancy 2009; Morrison 2009 sowie Snell 2009). Die Tatbestände der strukturellen Kolonisation erklären auf beispielhafte Weise die immer wiederkehrenden, oftmals banal anmutenden Handlungsprozesse, die im Ergebnis den Siedlerkolonialismus ausmachen und, nicht selten, die Tendenz zur Auslöschung indigener Völker beinhalten,[12] obwohl die Duracks den Ruf hatten, besser als andere Arbeitgeber zu sein. Nun, da das Land ihnen seinen Dienst erwiesen hatte, stand eine Veräußerung desselben im Vordergrund, keineswegs eine Rückgabe an seine ursprünglichen Eigentümer – die Aborigines.

10 Sie waren – zum Zeitpunkt des Kaufangebots – nach Jahren der Dürre massiv verschuldet.
11 Ob die Arbeit freiwillig war, oder ob es sich dabei um ein "system of forced labour on pastoral stations" handelte, ist weiterhin Gegenstand von Diskussionen (Green 1998: 449).
12 Tony Barta würde diese Vorgehensweise als "Völkermord" bezeichnen, da Völkermord für ihn eine notwendige Folge der Einrichtung von Siedlungskolonien ist (1987: 237–251; vgl. auch Docker 2014: 74–89).

In den späten 1930er Jahren waren die Duracks daran interessiert, sich im Rahmen eines lukrativen Geschäftes von dem erschlossenen Land zu trennen, und Steinberg hatte den Eindruck, dass "[i]t is not to be presumed that Australians or Englishmen will be prepared in the near future to settle in these regions, they do not seem to have the nineteenth-century urge to open up new lands" (Steinberg 1948: 22). Als ob die Haltung der kolonialen Siedler eine Angelegenheit der vergangenen Jahrhunderte wäre, versah Steinberg die geplante Übernahme des Landes durch sein Volk mit einer anderen moralischen und historischen Qualität – einer Qualität, die sich nur in seiner Sicht von den Absichten und Gewohnheiten früherer Kolonialisten unterschied. Er betrachtete die erwartete jüdische Besiedlung des Landes nicht als Landnahme und somit als eine Fortsetzung der strukturellen und systemischen Bedrohung für das Wohlergehen der Indigenen, für die jegliche Form des Landverlustes eine Frage des Überlebens darstellte. Da Steinberg die noch zahlenstarke einheimische Bevölkerung der Region nicht erwähnt, auch nicht im Hinblick auf ihre mögliche zukünftige Arbeitskraft, kann es sein, dass er angenommen hatte, dass der Prozess der Verdrängung und der Kolonisierung bereits von den Duracks durchgeführt worden war, so dass nach dieser Auslegung die jüdische Landnahme den indigenen Menschen nicht mehr schaden könnte, da diese bereits zuvor – wenn nicht "eliminiert", wie Wolfe es nannte – so doch zumindest *unsichtbar* gemacht worden seien, nicht zuletzt als Folge früherer Enteignung. Für Steinberg war also das Kimberley-Siedlungsprogramm nicht darauf ausgerichtet, die Menschen vor Ort zu integrieren, oder – wie in anderen Kolonialutopien – zu "zivilisieren" und zu missionieren (Osterhammel 2009). Steinberg träumte vermeintlich nur von einer besseren Nutzung des Landes, sowohl in Bezug auf das Erntepotential wie auch interessanterweise im Hinblick auf die von der australischen Politik oftmals diskutierte mangelnde Wehrhaftigkeit des Kontinents.

In seiner Lobbyarbeit für die jüdische Massenansiedlung in der East Kimberley Region machte Steinberg sich in seiner Rhetorik eine lang gehegte australische Angst zu Nutze: Dabei ging es um die Theorie, entweder den Kontinent zu besiedeln oder ihn zu verlieren, und dem damit verbundenen Wunsch, den Norden des Landes zu bevölkern, wobei Steinberg auch an die australische Solidarität appellierte und eine humanitäre Geste für das jüdische Volk forderte. Mit dieser doppelgleisigen Argumentation glaubte er Unterstützung für seine geplante Besiedlung von einer Vielzahl politischer und sozialer Gruppen zu gewinnen; in ihren Kreisen fanden sich mehrere Professoren der University of Western Australia, z.B. Fred Alexander und Walter Murdoch, sowie der Chefredakteur von *The West Australian*. Walter Murdoch, zum Beispiel, fühlte sich veranlasst, eine Stellungnahme für die Lokalzeitung zu schreiben und sich für das Programm einzusetzen: "On every ground, moral and material, I say that we should support the project with enthusiasm" (1939: 7). Murdoch prognostizierte, dass die Kolonie auch andere Bevölkerungsgruppen in die Region locken und ihre wirtschaftliche Entwicklung unterstützen würde; in diesem Teil des Landes kultivierte die öffentliche Meinung seit vielen Jahren die Angst, vom Norden her durch eine asiatische Invasion verwundbar zu sein.

Wichtig zu erwähnen ist auch, dass der zur Perth Hebrew Congregation gehörende 70-jährige Rabbiner D.I. Freedman, der in Ungarn geboren und in England ausgebildet worden war, ebenfalls Steinbergs Idee befürwortete. Steinberg wurde demnach in gleicher Weise von der kleinen jüdischen Gemeinde unterstützt, die

speziell im Zuge der verschiedenen Goldrauschzeiten in Westaustralien gegen Ende der 1880er Jahre deutlich gewachsen war. Die meisten Juden in Westaustralien stammten aus Großbritannien und Südafrika, während wenige aus Palästina kamen. Die jüdische Community Westaustraliens stand in starkem Kontrast zu den dominierenden jüdischen Stimmen auf der östlichen Seite Australiens. Dies zeigte sich in besonderer Weise mit Blick auf eventuelle Erwägungen einer jüdischen Masseneinwanderung: Hier waren letztere eher zwiegespalten, da sie keine Aufmerksamkeit als religiöse Minderheit auf sich ziehen wollten. Schließlich wurde die vorherrschende Gesellschaft Australiens als sehr homogen wahrgenommen, und der Versuch, sich davon abzuheben, wurde im Allgemeinen von der australischen Gesellschaft nicht positiv aufgenommen.

So war es durchaus überraschend, dass Steinbergs Idee von der Regierung Westaustraliens Ende 1939 befürwortet wurde. Allerdings kam von der Seite der Bundesregierung in Canberra zuerst keine definitive Unterstützung. Als Dr. Steinberg im Oktober 1939 von Perth nach Melbourne reiste, war der Krieg bereits ausgebrochen, wodurch seine Rückkehr nach Europa verhindert und weitere Korrespondenzen mit der Regierung unter Robert Menzies unbedeutend wurden, da diese sich auf wichtigere Dinge konzentrieren musste. Es dauerte bis zum 1. Februar 1941, bevor die australische Regierung offiziell bekannt gab, ihre Entscheidung bezüglich des Vorschlages aufzuschieben: "[...] the present was not an appropriate time to give consideration to the matter".[13] Als solches existierte der Plan, mit dem man jüdischen Flüchtlingen tatsächlich noch hätte helfen können, nur für einen Zeitraum von etwas mehr als einem Jahr; dieser wurde letztlich auf Eis gelegt und im Jahr 1943 durch die anschließende Regierung unter Premierminister John Curtin kategorisch abgelehnt, wobei es zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits vier Jahre zu spät gewesen wäre, um den europäischen Juden Zuflucht zu gewähren. Steinbergs eigene Mutter verstarb, wie so viele andere europäische Juden, in Auschwitz. Die indigene Bevölkerung der East Kimberley Region entkam hingegen vermutlich einer erneuten Verdrängung von ihrem angestammten Land, und ihr langer historischer Weg zur Anerkennung der eigenen Landrechte mag sich auf diese Weise verkürzt haben.

Damit legte die historische Konstellation der alliierten Verpflichtungen Australiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg die grotesk anmutende Versuchung und menschlich verzweifelte Hoffnung nahe, ein humanitär ausgerichtetes jüdisches Siedlungsprojekt umzusetzen, das im Ergebnis die Zurückdrängung der indigenen Bevölkerung der East Kimberley-Region bedeutet hätte. Steinbergs Traum von einer jüdischen Kolonie im Norden Australiens hatte zumindest das Potential zu einem ambivalenten, im Kern als Entwurzelungsstrategie ausdeutbaren Kolonisationsprojekt jüdischer Flüchtlinge in Übersee.

Danksagung

Mein Dank gilt Shino Konishi und John Docker, die einen früheren Entwurf kommentierten und so entscheidend dazu beigetragen haben, dass dieser Artikel aussa-

13 Senator Harry S. Foll für das Kabinett von Robert Menzies in einem Brief an Dr. Steinberg, vom 1. Februar 1941, erhältlich von der Kununurra Historical Society, Steinberg Ordner, eingesehen: 25. Juni 2013.

gekräftiger wurde. Außerdem danke ich Stephanie Schimkowitsch, Johannes Brunnschweiler und Iris Ludewig-Rohwer für sprachliche wie inhaltliche Anregungen.

Die Genehmigung zur Veröffentlichung der Photos aus dem Photoalbum von Elizabeth Durack (Formative Years II: 1936–1939) erfolgte mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Perpetua Durack Clancy (Curator/Executor – the Estate of Elizabeth Durack, Nov. 2017): http://www.elizabethdurack.com/

Literaturverzeichnis

Adhikari, Mohamed, ed., 2014. *Genocide on Settler Frontiers: When Hunter-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Alroey, Gur, 2011. "'Zionism without Zion'? Territorialist Ideology and the Zionist Movement, 1882–1956", *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, n.s. 18, no. 1, 1–32.

Anonymous, 1886. "Murder of John Durack by Natives at Kimberley", *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 11 December, 3.

Anonymous, 1940. "Jewish Settlers for North West Australia. Dr Steinberg States The Case", *Morning Bulletin*, 7 Feb, 6.

Anonymous, 1948. "Wasted Years", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 October, 6.

Barta, Tony, 1987. "Relations of Genocide: Land and Lives in the Colonization of Australia", in: I. Wallimann and M.N. Dobkowski, eds., *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, 237–251.

Belich, James, 2009. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, 2012. "Providing Local Colour? 'Cape Coloureds', 'Cockneys', and Cape Town's Identity from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 1970s", *Journal of Urban History*, 38 (1), 133–151.

Crosby, Alfred W., 1986. *Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe 900–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Curthoys, Ann, 2014. "Indigenous Dispossession and Pastoral Employment in Western Australia During the Nineteenth Century: Implications for Understanding Colonial Forms of Genocide", in: Mohamed Adhikari, ed., *Genocide on Settler Frontiers: When Hunter-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash*, 210–231.

Docker, John, 2008. *The Origins of Violence: Religion, History and Genocide*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Docker, John, 2014. "A Plethora of Intentions: Genocide, Settler Colonialism and Historical Consciousness in Australia and Britain", *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Dec., 74–89.

Durack, Elizabeth, 1936–1939. "Photo Album. Formative Years", Web. 2 Feb 2017. <http://www.elizabethdurack.com/photo_album.php?img_id=112&album_id=26&curPage=0>.

Durack, Mary and Elizabeth, 1935. *All-about: The Story of a Black Community on Argyle Station Kimberley*. Sydney: The Bulletin.

Durack, Mary, 1959. *Kings in Grass Castles*. Sydney: Bantam.

Durack, Mary, [1972] 2017. "Durack, Patrick (1834–1898)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Web. 1 Feb 2017. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/durack-patrick-3457/text5281>.

Durack Clancy, Perpetua, 2009. "Eddie Burrup – A Daughter's View", *Westerly*, Vol. 54(1), 72–76.

Gettler, Leon, 1993. *An Unpromised Land*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

Green, Neville, 1981. "Aborigines and White Settlers", in: C. Tom Stannage, ed., *A New History of Western Australia*, 72–123.

Green, Neville, 1998. "From Princes to Paupers. The Struggle for Control of Aborigines in Western Australia 1887–1898", *Early Days. Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 11, Pt. 4, 446–462.

Gribble, Reverend, 1928. "Royal Commission into the Killing and Burning of Bodies of Aborigines in East Kimberley, and into Police Methods When Effecting Arrest", Vol. 1, West Australian Proceedings of Parliament and Papers 1928, in: Sharmane Stone, ed., *Aborigines in White Australia*, 149–151.
Hooper, Beverley, 1991. "The Unpromised Land: A Jewish Refugee Settlement in the Kimberley?", *Aspects of Ethnicity*, 12, 85–94.
The Kimberley Society, "Tropical Agriculture Proposals & Endeavours – 1836–1941", 2016. http://www.kimberleysociety.org/images/kimbsoc---iujobohshe.pdf.
Lawrence, Dashiel, 2014. "To no Avail. Supporters and Opponents of the Kimberley Scheme", *Melbourne Historical Journal*, Vol. 42 (1), 197–228.
Ludewig, Alexandra, 2016. *Born German, Re-Born in Western Australia. Selected Stories 1841–2016*. Crawley: UWAP.
Morrison, Louise, 2009. "The Art of Eddie Burrup", *Westerly,* Vol. 54, 1, 77–83.
Mossenson, David, 1990. *Hebrew, Israelite, Jew: The History of the Jews of Western Australia*. Perth: UWAP.
Murdoch, Walter, 1939. "Our Opportunity. A Home For Refugees", *The West Australian*, 15 July, 7.
Osterhammel, Jürgen, 2009. *Kolonialismus. Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*. München: C.H. Beck.
Reynolds, Henry, 1972. *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience, 1788–1939.* North Melbourne: Cassell Australia.
Reynolds, Henry, 1981. *The Other Side of the Frontier. Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia.* Townsville: Department of History and Politics, James Cook University.
Reynolds, Henry, 1987. *Frontier. Aborigines, Settlers and Land*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
Reynolds, Henry, 2000. *Why Weren't We Told?* Ringwood: Viking.
Reynolds, Henry, 2001. *An Indelible Stain? The Question of Genocide in Australia's History.* Ringwood: Viking.
Reynolds, Henry, 2013. *Forgotten War.* Sydney: New South Books.
Reynolds, Henry, 2016. *Unnecessary Wars.* Sydney: New South Books.
Rovner, Adam L., 2014. *In the Shadow of Zion. Promised Lands Before Israel*. New York: NYU Press.
Snell, Ted, 2009. "The Fantasist: Elizabeth Durack and Eddie Burrup", *Westerly,* Vol. 54(1), 85–87.
Stannage, C. Tom, ed., 1981. *A New History of Western Australia.* Perth: UWAP.
Stannage, C. Tom, 1985. *Western Australia's Heritage. The Pioneer Myth.* Nedlands: University Extension.
Steinberg, Isaac N., 1948. *Australia – The Unpromised Land. In Search of a Home.* London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
Stone, Sharmane, ed., 1974. *Aborigines in White Australia.* Melbourne: Heinemann.
Wallimann, I., and M. N. Dobkowski, eds., 1987. *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Waswo, Richard, 1997. *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization: From Virgil to Vietnam*. London: University of New England Press.
Wolfe, Patrick, 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native", *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 (4), 387–409.

Forschung im Ergebnis
Research Report

Stefanie Affeldt
Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

"Making Black White"

Sugar Consumption and Racial Unity in Australia

My doctoral thesis[1] investigates as a central topic the racist societalization from the eighteenth to the twentieth century in Australia (Affeldt 2014). It looks, in particular, at the processes of everyday 'production' and 'reproduction' of "race" as a social relation. This regards not only the so-called White Australia policy but also a comprehensive white culture that stimulated participation of broad sections of the mainstream population. My study examines an issue that was literally in everyone's mouth at the beginning of the twentieth century: – sugar; to be precise *white* cane sugar, cultivated and produced in Queensland. It was white not only regarding its visible purity. Much more importantly, after some arduous demographic and social transformations, Queensland sugar attained a *double whiteness* – chemically and, most notably, ideologically.

The title of this essay is taken from a newspaper article in *The Worker*, one of the mouthpieces of the labour movement and the most vociferous, at least as far as White Sugar was concerned. "Making Black White. The Sugar Transformation in Australia" (*The Worker* 1909: 7) was published at a watershed moment in the history of White Sugar in Australia. The sugar industry was considered racially white, i.e., the deportation of the South Sea Islanders had paved the way to the recruitment of European, preferably British, workers. It was, however, not yet a "white man's industry" (Chataway 1921: 140), in the sense that the working and living conditions in the cane sugar districts were not deemed suitable for European standards and thus white workers' willingness to engage in the sugar industry remained low. The newspaper article further emphasizes the importance of White Sugar for White Australia by stating

> In no direction has the White Australia question had a more important bearing than with respect to the production of sugar. The solution of the black labor problem was one of the first difficulties confronting the Australian Parliament. But the national legislature boldly grasped the nettle. It passed measures to stimulate the production of 'white' sugar, and in the historic Pacific Island Laborers Act [sic] regulated and then prohibited the introduction of kanakas for work in the canefields. (ibid.)

This sets the scene for the investigation of a particular occurrence of racism – a racism that has its focus not so much on a financial profit but rather an ideological benefit. The benefit, however, was (quite literally) dearly bought by the Australians who, more often than not, willingly paid a high price for cane sugar. This disposition to bear the pecuniary burden as an acknowledgement of the allegedly superior status of white Australians was firmly rooted in an intensifying global discourse on white supremacy at the turn of the twentieth century. Furthermore, with the

1 This essay is a revised and expanded version of the talk given as laureate at the award ceremony for the Dissertation Prize 2016 by the Association for Australian Studies in October 2016.

consumption of "white" sugar, theoretical negotiations of racial hierarchies were translated into practices of everyday life.

The commonly narrow discussion of White Australia often evades the full spectrum of its embeddedness in the culture of the time. White Australia was omnipresent. Representations of its ideal found entrance into, amongst other things, stories and poems, movies and paintings, theatrical pieces and songs (including the national anthem *Advance Australia Fair*). The overwhelming importance of White Australia around 1900 (Affeldt 2010) makes obvious that the notion of whiteness is more than a purely political ideology inspired by crude economic motives. Rather, the phenomenon of Australia's desire for a racially homogeneous population has to be located within a broader context of culture and society. The case of White Sugar illustrates the intricate entanglement of colonialism, politics and daily routines that welded together an otherwise socially diverse society and invoked national consciousness in favour of the consolidation as a white nation.

"White" as a category in a racial colour spectrum had been developed throughout the eighteenth century. Only during the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, did it define the social status in the sense that even the lower classes of European societies could and would identify themselves as being "white" (Allen 2012: 10; Hund 2008: 175). As a social relation, therefore, whiteness had to be painstakingly constructed by class-spanning identity formation. World fairs and colonial exhibitions were occasions on which the unifying notion of whiteness was disseminated. These not only exhibited technological inventions and manufactured commodities but – with anthropological displays, live performances and human zoos – also contrasted European progress with an alleged backwardness of Indigenous people (Poignant 2004; Zimmerman 2001: 20). Such exhibitions were designed to illustrate "the progress that had led to modern civilisations" (Secord 2004: 140). The European commodity culture these exhibitions celebrated brought forth an institutionalized system of "commodity racism", which fostered the popularising of the previously developed theories of scientific racism (McClintock 1995: 33). The purported superiority of white people was set in contrast to non-white inferiority and popularized scientific racism by making material 'whiteness' available (as affordable commodity) for the masses. More than anything it was consumption of valuable (i.e. refined) colonial goods, like tea, coffee, cocoa and cane sugar, that reinforced notions of white supremacy in the everyday situations of all social strata.

At this, sugar played a particular role. It had been a luxury good for the upper classes in Europe for centuries (Mintz 1986: 140); but it was the interaction of European expansion endeavours (colonial land-taking) and cost-effective production conditions (slavery) in the so-called New World that enabled a rapid dissemination of the sweet good throughout the British society. In the course of the eighteenth century, sugar was consumed in ever greater amounts even by the lower classes. By the mid-nineteenth century – at the time of the first colonial exhibitions – it had virtually become a nutritional necessity for all members of British society (Mintz 2008: 94). This was an expression of sugar's socially cohesive character: its class-spanning and gender-bridging consumption united Europeans while the workers in the colonies had to do the arduous work. In this respect, sugar's chromatic whiteness was combined with the burgeoning concept of *social whiteness* – the exploitation of "blacks" stood opposite to the joint indulgence by "whites".

The thus ideologically charged sugar cane arrived with the First Fleet in Botany Bay in 1788 (Bell 1956: 7). At first its cultivation failed due to climatic circumstances – but the expansion of the British settlement towards the northern regions of the continent provided better cultivation possibilities. Consequently, sugar cane was already closely connected to the occupation of Australia. The seizure of the continent was based on the legal concept of *terra nullius* (Fitzmaurice 2007) – and thus on the original populations' alleged failure to put the soil to "good use". The expansion of agriculture then became the legitimation of the British land seizure, which, evidently, was accompanied by disastrous consequences for the Indigenous Australians (Tatz 1999; Markus 2001).

The ideological burden of sugar cane cultivation – its political and social charge as a product of "black", or at least unfree labour – was also imported. It had been the intention that the convicts, shunned and expelled from British society and transported overseas, would cultivate the sugar cane as a measure of social rehabilitation. However, at the time when sugar cane was about to be grown in economically relevant scopes, convict transportation to New South Wales had already been ended. Since these (forcedly) servile and inexpensive workers were no longer available, a substitute labour resource was sought for and found on the close-by islands of the New Hebrides (today Vanuatu) and the Solomon Islands (Banivanua-Mar 2007; Berry 2000; Moore 1985).

Starting in the mid-1860s, the South Sea Islanders (then known as Pacific Islanders or "kanakas") were – partly by force, partly by deception – recruited for work in the sugar cane fields (Saunders 1982: 20). With their help, the Queensland sugar industry soon became one of the most important industries of Australia, not least due to the Australians' penchant for sweetness. Opposition to the recruitment of South Sea Islanders was voiced from the beginning, in particular by the labour movement; but it was not until four decades later that an official implementation of legislation encouraging White Australia in the constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia ended the Islanders' employment. Subsequently, they were repatriated to their islands of origin (Tavan 2005: 8). Appearing to be based on humanitarian reasons, in truth these events unfolded due to a complicated network of nationalist, cultural and, first of all, racist reasons – all rooted in the ideology of White Australia and the desire to create a racially homogeneous society.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the assumed superiority of the "white race" was increasingly challenged (Lake 2004: 41–44). This was allegedly made all the weightier by Australia's solitary situation, as Charles Henry Pearson (1894) famously claimed. Alarmist studies cautioned against the so-called "yellow peril", which was also addressed in a popular genre of the time: the so-called invasion novel (Affeldt 2011; Walker 1999). In addition to the political and scientific discourse of the day, these dire literary predictions brought scare stories about the purportedly imminent "swamping" by "yellow hordes" into every Australian household.

Australia was culturally close to Europe. At the same time, it was geographically isolated in the immediate vicinity of Asian countries, which were considered to be culturally distant. This intensified fears of hostile take-overs by foreign powers. It was in particular the thinly populated areas of Australia's northern coasts that were thought to be the stepping stones for those deemed "racial Others" – i.e., initially Chinese and in the early decades of the twentieth century Japanese potential invaders.

Against this backdrop, the Queensland sugar industry was considered an important factor of population policy and the sole remedy to the so-called "empty North" (MacIntyre 1920) as a heightened engagement of Europeans in the cane fields would encourage white settlement in these regions. However, in view of the sugar capitalists' unwillingness to part with their profitable "black workforce", it was only by means of legislation prohibiting the recruitment of non-white cane workers that the sugar industry could eventually be turned into a "white man's industry" (van de Velde 1901: 12).

The cover of the labour movement's magazine *The Worker* (1897) shows a cartoon with the caption "The real reason why Queensland was not allowed to take part in the Federal Convention" (Fig. 1). It depicts the anthropomorphized and feminized

Fig. 1. "The real reason why Queensland was not allowed to take part in the Federal Convention", Cover of *The Worker*, 24.7.1897

Australian colonies of the time. All of them bear distinctly European facial features, hold hands and form a circle. They beckon Queensland to join them, but *she* is held back by a man, nominally identified and racialized as a "kanaka". The cartoon relates to the demand to abolish the Pacific Island labour trade expressed by the other colonies and depicts Queensland's continued use of "black labour" as a hindrance to Federation.

Underhandedly, it provides a broader perspective through its gendering of the protagonists. With Queensland portrayed as a white, innocent girl and the perpetrator as a black and brutish man, allusions are made to both miscegenation and the danger "black labour" posed for white women – and thus alluded to the relations between gender and nation (Yuval-Davis 2008). This was a tocsin, warning of the mere presence of "racial Others" in the colony and their often voiced ostensibly detrimental effects on the (white) labour market, i.e., undercutting by the black competition. Moreover, this cartoon explicitly points out the need for immediate action on behalf of securing the desired racially homogeneous society.

With regard to the steps that were necessary to reconstruct the sugar industry as one deemed suitable for White Australia, two transformations took place after the Federation of Australia in 1901.

The *first*, the demographic transformation, consisted of the deportation of the South Sea Islanders, who had significantly contributed to the establishment of the Queensland sugar industry to their home islands. This was regulated by the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901 and was ideologically justified not least by biologistic and culturalistic discrimination against the South Sea Islanders (Engerman 2000: 483) which, *inter alia*, depicted them as eugenic danger and uncivilized cannibals and declared Queensland a literal "black spot on the map of White Australia" (Lepherd 1901).

The *second*, the ideological transformation, effectively took place after this racist "refinement" of the sugar industry and concerned social changes in the work and living conditions of the sugar workers, urged by the labour movement. But its roots were laid well before Federation. Already during the 1890s, the employment of non-European workers in the northern part of the continent had been a thorn in the side of the trade unions. They had blamed the capitalists for being interested in nothing but their own profit, and especially for pursuing its maximisation to the detriment of both the white worker and the white nation (McMullin 1991: 46–47).

Another cartoon from *The Worker* (1892, Fig. 2), captioned "The Bushman's Future" shows the perceived labour situation in Queensland. It is depicted as a social landscape in which all available jobs are already occupied by either the South Sea Islanders (as cane cutters) or the Chinese (as miners). The depicted white swagman – as a stand-in for all white, predominantly British, men seeking work beyond urban boundaries – is further discouraged from applying as shearer or station hand, since all these jobs are already taken by non-European labourers. With the employers having renounced the "white alliance" founded on "race", which otherwise overrode class distinction, the bushman now has to face his inevitable yet undeserved fate: unemployment. The remedy to this is the racist cleansing of the labour market and, ideally, of the whole Australian society.

Fig. 2: "The Bushman's Future"
Cover of *The Worker*, 14.5.1892

Politically, this found expression in the Labor Party's propaganda. Here, for instance in "A White Australia", another cover cartoon by *The Worker* (1900, Fig. 3), at a time when the Party made the "racial purification" of Australia part of their programme. Standing on a plank labelled "federal platform", the "white worker" is about to cleanse Australia using "white labour". That its whiteness has to emanate from Queensland (i.e., the "whitening" of the sugar industry) is emphasized by the already shining north-eastern area of the depicted continent.

The first transformation – the repatriation of the South Sea Islanders – eventually generated demand for European workers. However, the ideological connection of sugar cane and unfree labour (even slavery) was still too strong and the recruitment of Europeans remained low.

The cited *Worker* article offers a glimpse at the social transformation that was about to intensify in the subsequent years. This pertained especially to the improvement of working conditions in order to ultimately sever the connections between

Fig. 3: "A White Australia"
Cover of *The Worker*, 27.1.1900

sugar cane cultivation and forced labour. "[T]he employees of 'white' sugar cane farmers should receive fair rates of remuneration for their labor", the article claimed (1909: 7). "Fair" has several connotations. Contemporarily, besides *beautiful* and just the crucial one was *white* (Kelen 2005: 218). Taken this into consideration, the labour movement was after "white wages for white workers"

Over the following years, extensive social conflicts in the sugar industry ensued, encouraged by the trade unions, which eventually peaked in the Sugar Strike of 1911 (Armstrong 1983). These conflicts show explicitly how the struggle for *white wages* and the striving for a *white nation* coincided. It was only by asserting their whiteness that the European cane cutters eventually succeeded in their fight for improved working conditions. This achievement was, of course, celebrated by *The Worker* (1911). Its cartoon "Strength United is Stronger" lauds the unions' united actions against employers and/or capitalists by depicting an anthropomorphized Solidarity, approvingly patting a sugar worker's back (Fig. 4). In the accompanying

editorial article, the victorious resistance against the "bitter servitude" associated with the "sweetening product" is taken as proof for a politically organized "spirit of mateship" (*The Worker* 1911: 6).

Fig. 4: "Strength United is Stronger"
Cover of *The Worker,* 19.8.1911

After the transformation of the sugar industry the notion of White Sugar was soon adopted by the sugar growers. They tied in with the racist ideology and emphasized the importance of their industry for White Australia by applying then already firmly established tropes of the "empty North" and underlying danger of invasion by non-European powers. They adopted these claims as part of their pro-White Sugar advertisements (Fig. 5).

In the early twentieth century, "white sugar" had become a ubiquitous yet provocative term. It did not aim at the chemical whiteness of sugar but explicitly addressed its social dimension. Other than British consumers, who profited from the forced labour of African sugar cane workers in the Caribbean, Australian commodity racism found expression in the "purification" of the Queensland sugar industry

Fig. 5: Advertisement by the Sugar Growers of Australia
The Examiner, 13.4.1932

from "cheap labour" in order to reap the ideological benefit of a *doubly white sugar*, not only refined white but also produced white.

White Sugar is ideologically located in the context of both White Australia and the class struggle in the cane fields. Furthermore, it comprises the whole thematic field of consumption. In the light of the plentiful usage of sugar despite its high price, this consumption did not remain without public discussion (Smart 2006: 24) and, as political consumerism, it translated politics and theories of white supremacy into every actions of the (white) Australian population (Affeldt 2018).

Thence, White Sugar refers to several important dimensions: labour policy, population policy and consumption policy. In terms of *labour policy*, the white workers fought for improved working conditions within an economy reminiscent of traditional (American) plantation societies. The issue not only addressed relations between the working and the property-owning class but also the relationship between differently racialized parts of the working class. In terms of *population policy*, the local economic questions were connected to national political questions. The sugar industry had become the touchstone of geopolitical claims and eugenic fears: Could white labour permanently cultivate the tropical part of the continent and at the same time reproduce itself in an extent, sufficient to legitimate the occupation of the northern shores once and for all? In terms of *consumption policy*, the issue was, at first sight, about industrial subsidies and costs, but at the core the concern was the racist societalisation of sugar consumers.

Though by this, White Sugar became the symbol of White Australia and "racial purity", the industry's special position had to be constantly legitimated. The embargo of foreign sugar to safeguard the Australian sugar against competition and the resulting price increase for Australian cane sugar – paid by all Australians – necessitated the moral support by the whole population.

This support was solicited, firstly, by specific advertisement campaigns on behalf of the Queensland sugar industry, which emphasized its defence potential. Secondly, the newspapers of the time also underlined the industry's unique feature of being a completely white endeavour: "Australia is the only country in the world where cane sugar is produced by white labor" (*Cairns Post* 1922: 4) and "Australians [are] prepared to pay for sugar produced by white labor rather than obtain cheaper sugar produced by black labor" (*The Recorder* 1930: 1). Another paper (*The Bundaberg Mail and Burnett Advertiser* 1912: 4) asked the rather rhetorical question: "is a 'White Australia' not worth paying for?", adding that

> The man who says it is not [sic] is either a fool, a lunatic, or a traitor to his country. Everybody recognises the importance of North Queensland being settled by a virile, prosperous and progressive white race. And what industry can take the place of sugar? None.

In the interplay of White Sugar and White Australia, racism was therefore not merely a contaminating attachment of the struggle between capital and labour, which was in essence aimed at improving the working and living conditions for those employed in the Queensland sugar industry. This social conflict was conducted in fundamentally racialized terms and was, at the same time, crucial to the survival of a nation that was idealized as being purely white and British.

The complex entanglement involving, *inter alia*, nationalist ideology, white culture and interests of the labour movement is put in a nutshell by an advertisement that combines the discursive threats and social cohesion based on *commodity racism* this article has analysed.

The advert (Fig. 6) was financed by the sugar industry and was published as full-page information in all major Australian newspapers in October 1930. It is divided into two parts: an image section and a text body. The latter contains a key phrase that conjures a unity between social partners – it proclaims the importance of the sugar workers for the survival of the nation: "At present our only bulwark is provided by the stalwart Sugar Workers in Queensland".

The image section illustrates the dangers that needed to be averted: White Australia is located in a dark ocean whose menace is additionally emphasized by the expression "The Rising Tide of Colour". This is the title of one (Stoddard 1920) of the many alarmist works, predicting the "coloured tides" as threat to the "white world" after the turn of the twentieth century. That East Asia played a particularly important part is here visually emphasized by the depiction of a physiognomically stereotypical moon. The latter sets in motion the "coloured tide", while the Australian society is unaware of the approaching enemies. Only the continued support of the Australian sugar industry safeguards the continent against the imminent hostile take-over. The last phrase of the advertisement therefore addressed those in whose hands the industry's fate lay – the sugar consumers – and requested them to "Think the Matter out".

In this context, the several discursive threads brought together in this advert granted freedom of thought only at first sight. The alleged overpopulation of the Asian neighbouring countries, the again and again emphasized endangered situation of the "empty North" and, not least, dystopian scenarios of land-taking "yellow hordes" allowed for only *one* conclusion. In this attitude the Australian consumers

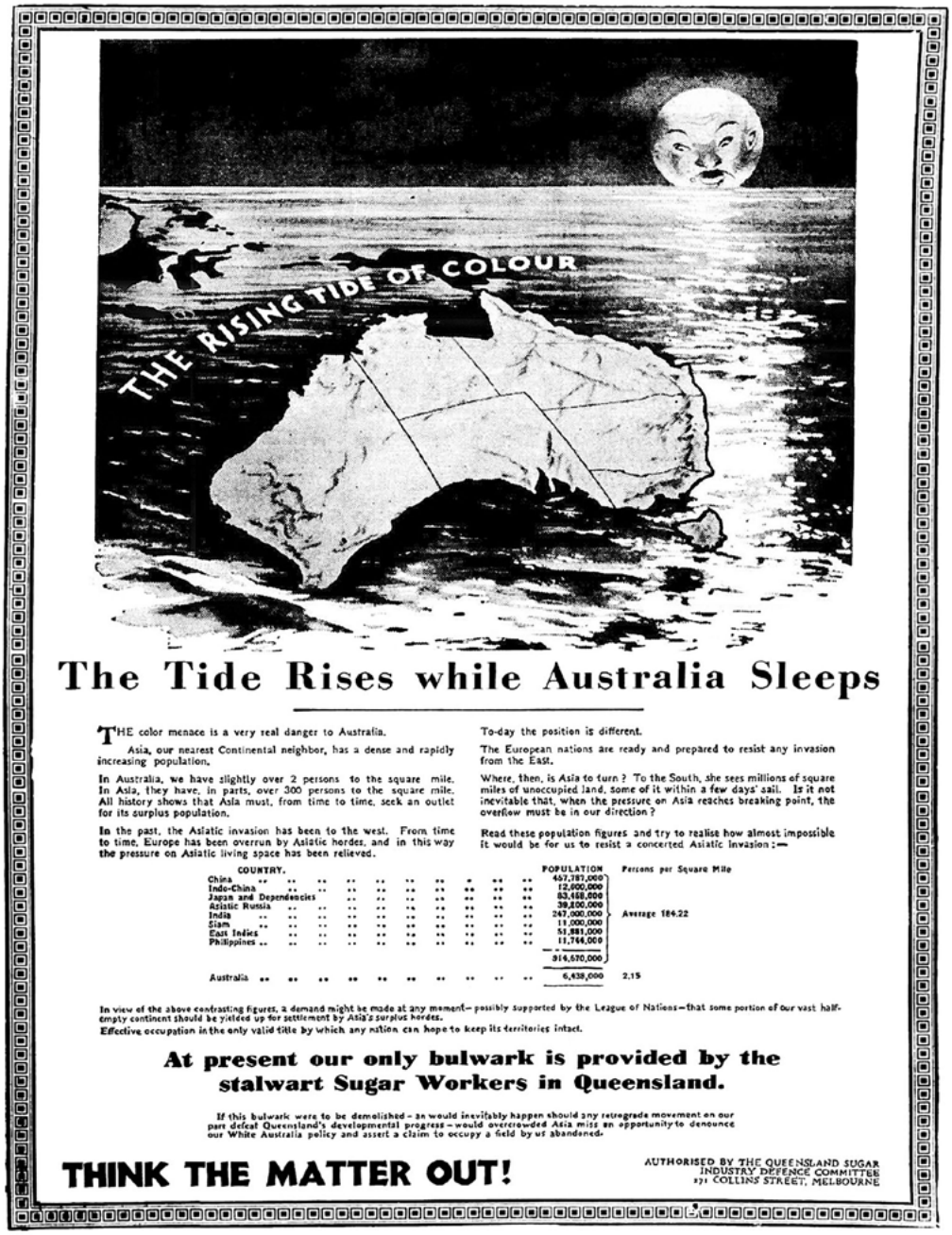


Fig. 6: "The Rising Tide of Colour"
The Advertiser, 18.10.1930

were, beyond any doubt and conflict, supported by their politicians. This was most poignantly phrased by the Prime Minister William Hughes in 1922, who explained to the Australian population that

> [Y]ou cannot have a White Australia in this country unless you are prepared to pay for it. One of the ways in which we can pay for a White Australia is to support the sugar industry of Queensland. (*The Argus* 1922: 29)

Such a solicitation from the highest authority and its appeal directed at the moral duty of every (white) Australian did not go unheeded. The governmental subsidies of the industry were financed by a system of bounties, rebates and excises and could only be implemented in connection with an embargo of all overseas sugar. Nonetheless, instead of refraining from buying the expensive sugar, or reducing in protest

its use to the bare minimum, the Australians had a significantly high per capita consumption and were for many years during the twentieth century even leading the global statistics (Affeldt 2014: 373, 514; Griggs 1999: 74).

The willingness to support White Sugar is the practical implementation of the theories of commodity racism, which had its origins, *inter alia*, on world fairs and in advertisements of British consumer society. These Western concepts were translocated to Australia. In the case of White Sugar, they were then shaped by the local politics of the day. Commonly, commodity racism referred to notions of white supremacy and was based on the exploitation of those deemed "racial Others". In Australia, however, attention was drawn to the jeopardizing and vulnerability of white supremacy in a geographically and culturally particular society. Additionally, this was embedded in an omnipresent discourse on whiteness as a crucial part of the Australian identity. In the context of White Sugar, expulsion of "coloured labour" was put above its exploitation. Moreover, beyond socio-economic considerations, the racist processes that drove forward the transformation of the Queensland sugar industry – making "black" sugar "white" – tied in neatly with broader ideals of making and keeping Australia "white".

Bibliography

Affeldt, Stefanie, 2010. "A Paroxysm of Whiteness. 'White' Labour, 'White' Nation and 'White' Sugar in Australia", in: Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital*, 99–131.

Affeldt, Stefanie, 2011. "'White' Nation – 'White' Angst. The Literary Invasion of Australia", in: Sabine Ritter and Iris Wigger, eds., *Racism and Modernity*, 222–235.

Affeldt, Stefanie, 2014. *Consuming Whiteness. Australian Racism and the 'White Sugar' Campaign*. Berlin [et al.]: Lit.

Affeldt, Stefanie, 2018. "'Advance Australia Fair'. Racist Political Consumerism Down Under", in: Magnus Boström, Michele Micheletti and Peter Oosterveer, eds., *Oxford Handbook for Political Consumerism*. (forthcoming).

Allen, Theodore W., 2012. *The Invention of the White Race. Racial Oppression and Social Control*. Vol. 1, 2nd ed. London [et al.]: Verso.

Armstrong, John, 1983. "The Sugar Strike, 1911", in: Denis Joseph Murphy, ed., *The Big Strikes*, 100–116.

Banivanua-Mar, Tracey, 2007. *Violence and Colonial Dialogue. The Australian-Pacific Indentured Labor Trade*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Bell, Arthur F., 1956. *The Story of the Sugar Industry in Queensland*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

Berry, Michael, 2000. *Refined White. The Story of how South Sea Islanders came to cut Sugar Cane in Queensland and made History refining the White Australia Policy*. Innisfail: Australian Sugar Industry Museum.

Boström, Magnus, and Michele Micheletti and Peter Oosterveer, eds., 2018 [forthcoming]. *Oxford Handbook for Political Consumerism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cairns Post, 1922. "Sugar's 14 Points", *Cairns Post*, 9.10.1922, 4.

Chadarevian, Soraya de, and Nick Hopwood, eds., 2004. *Models. The Third Dimension of Science*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chataway, Thomas D., 1921. "The Australian Sugar Industry: Economic Expansion and White Australia", *International Sugar Journal*, 1, 140–146.

Counihan, Carole, and Penny van Esterik, eds., 2008. *Food and Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Dare, Robert, ed., 1999. *Food, Power and Community. Essays in the History of Food and Drink*. Kent Town: Wakefield Press.

Engerman, Stanley L., 2000. "Slavery at Different Times and Places", *The American Historical Review*, 105 (2), 480–484.

Fitzmaurice, Andrew, 2007. "The Genealogy of Terra Nullius", *Australian Historical Studies*, 38 (129), 1–15.
Griggs, Peter, 1999. "Sugar Demand and Consumption in Colonial Australia, 1788–1900", in: Robert Dare, ed., *Food, Power and Community*, 74–90.
Hering Torres, Max S., ed., 2008. *Cuerpos Anómalos*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
Hund, Wulf D., 2008, "Die weiße Norm. Grundlagen des Farbrassismus", in: Max S. Hering Torres, ed., *Cuerpos Anómalos*, 171–203.
Hund, Wulf D., Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger, eds., 2010. *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital*. Berlin: Lit.
Kelen, Christopher, 2005. "Hymns for and from White Australia", in: Alfred J. Lopez, ed., *Postcolonial Whiteness. A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*, 201–231.
Lake, Marilyn, 2004. "The White Man under Siege. Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia", *History Workshop Journal*, 58, 41–62.
Lepherd, Jonathan J., "The Alien Labour Question", in: The Capricornian, 16.2.1901, 40.
Lopez, Alfred J., ed., 2005. *Postcolonial Whiteness. A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
MacIntyre, John Norman, 1920. *White Australia. The Empty North. The Reasons and Remedy*. Sydney: W.C. Penfold & Co.
Markus, Andrew, 2001. "Genocide in Australia", *Aboriginal History*, 25, 57–69.
McClintock, Anne, 1995. *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
McMullin, Ross, 1991. *The Light on the Hill. The Australian Labor Party 1891–1991*. Melbourne: Oxford.
Mintz, Sidney W., 1986. *Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books.
Mintz, Sidney W., 2008. "Time, Sugar, and Sweetness", in: Carole Counihan, Penny van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture*, 91–103.
Moore, Clive, 1985. *Kanaka. A History of Melanesian Mackay*. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
Murphy, Denis Joseph, ed., 1983. *The Big Strikes*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
Pearson, Charles Henry, 1894. *National Life and Character. A Forecast*. London, New York: Macmillan & Co. of Australia.
Poignant, Roslyn, 2004. *Professional Savages. Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Ritter, Sabine, and Iris Wigger, eds., 2011. *Racism and Modernity. Festschrift for Wulf D. Hund*. Berlin: Lit.
Saunders, Kay, 1982. *Workers in Bondage. The Origins and Bases of Unfree Labour in Queensland, 1824–1916*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
Secord, James A., 2004. "Monsters at the Crystal Palace", in: Soraya de Chadarevian, Nick Hopwood, eds., *Models. The Third Dimension of Science*, 138–169.
Smart, Judith, 2006. "The Politics of Consumption. The Housewives' Associations in Southeastern Australia Before 1950", *Journal of Women's History*, 18 (3), 13–39.
Stoddard, Lothrop, 1920. *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Sugar Growers of Australia, 1932. "Let us Sugar Growers talk to you, fellow Australians!", *The Examiner*, 13.4.1932, 11.
Tatz, Colin, 1999. *Genocide in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University.
Tavan, Gwenda, 2005. *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia*. Carlton North: Scribe.
The Advertiser, 1930. "The Rising Tide of Colour", 18.10.1930, 6.
The Argus, 1922. "Federal Elections. Mr. Hughes in Queensland", 11.11.1922, 29.
The Bundaberg Mail and Burnett Advertiser, 1912. "Editorial", 10.10.1912, 4.
The Recorder, 1930. "Sugar Industry. Relation to White Australia", 5.9.1930, 1.
The Worker (Brisbane), 1892. "The Bushman's Future", 14.5.1892, cover.
The Worker (Brisbane), 1897. "The Real Reason Why Queensland was not allowed to take part in the Federal Convention", 24.7.1897, cover.
The Worker (Brisbane), 1900. "A White Australia", 19.8.1911, cover.
The Worker (Brisbane), 1909. "Making Black White. The Sugar Transformation in Australia", 27.01.1909, 7.

The Worker, 1911. “Strength United is Stronger”, 19.08.1911, cover.
The Worker, 1911. “Editorial Mill. Unity Wins”, 19.08.1911, 6.
van de Velde, Clement, 1901. *Kanaka Labour and the Commonwealth Sugar Supply*. Melbourne: Sands & McDougall.
Walker, David, 1999. *Anxious Nation. Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
Yuval-Davis, Nira, 2008. *Gender and Nation*. 9th repr. London [et al.]: Sage.
Zimmerman, Andrew, 2001. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Daniel Rothenburg
University of Tübingen

"The Majesty of Concrete"
Hume Dam and Australian Modernity

The Meaning of a Dam

Optimism was in the air. On 21 November 1936, the then Governor General of Australia, Lord Gowrie, officially opened the Hume Dam near Albury – the "largest in the Southern Hemisphere" (River Murray Commission 1936: 3). In construction since 1919, it was to become the focal point of all water conservation schemes along the River Murray, and the endpoint of the "story of vision and enterprise" that was Victorian irrigation and agriculture. As such, it was met with almost universal acclaim, even enthusiasm. The Melbourne *Age* welcomed the dam as "nation-building work of the first magnitude", indeed as "the consummation of a fifty-year old ideal, […] the harnessing of the Murray and the Mitta Mitta", which had "converted arid and underdeveloped lands into prosperous, prolific gardens". In short: it was "a crowning achievement" (Age 20/11/1936).

However, the Hume Dam was not just a useful tool for bringing prosperity to the region and the whole nation. It was also considered a source of delight in its own right. The *Sydney Mail*, reporting from the construction site in 1929, exclaimed about the emerging "Majesty of Concrete":

> The aesthete might regret that scarring industry has intruded into this earthly paradise, […] but coming from his scenic viewpoint to the river level, he will become aware another form of beauty – the beauty of concrete in the mass. (SM 15/05/1929)

Perhaps then, it is no surprise that dams have been called pyramids, cathedrals or signifiers "of a thoroughly Australian confidence in the future" (Powell 2000: 61), but also "cathedrals of modernity" (Gestwa: 251). In the twentieth century, they became fascinating objects, which attracted the attention not only of politicians and engineers, but also of the public. Dams became popular destinations for tourists and powerful metaphors for progress and modernity, "signs and wish images of a better society that was yet to arrive" (Kaika: 296).

Thus, exploring the meaning, the embedded cultural code, of the Hume Dam can prove useful to understand the promises, hopes, and fears – in short: the ideology – invested in the expansion of hydro-engineering for irrigated agriculture and hydro-electricity in twentieth century Australia. I will argue that this ideology that developed in the early century was a highly specific and radical Australian blend of "High Modernism". It amalgamated the settler nationalist dream of populating the arid inland with the modern confidence in the continued mastery of nature and thus the further satisfaction of human needs. Harnessing the waters and developing the

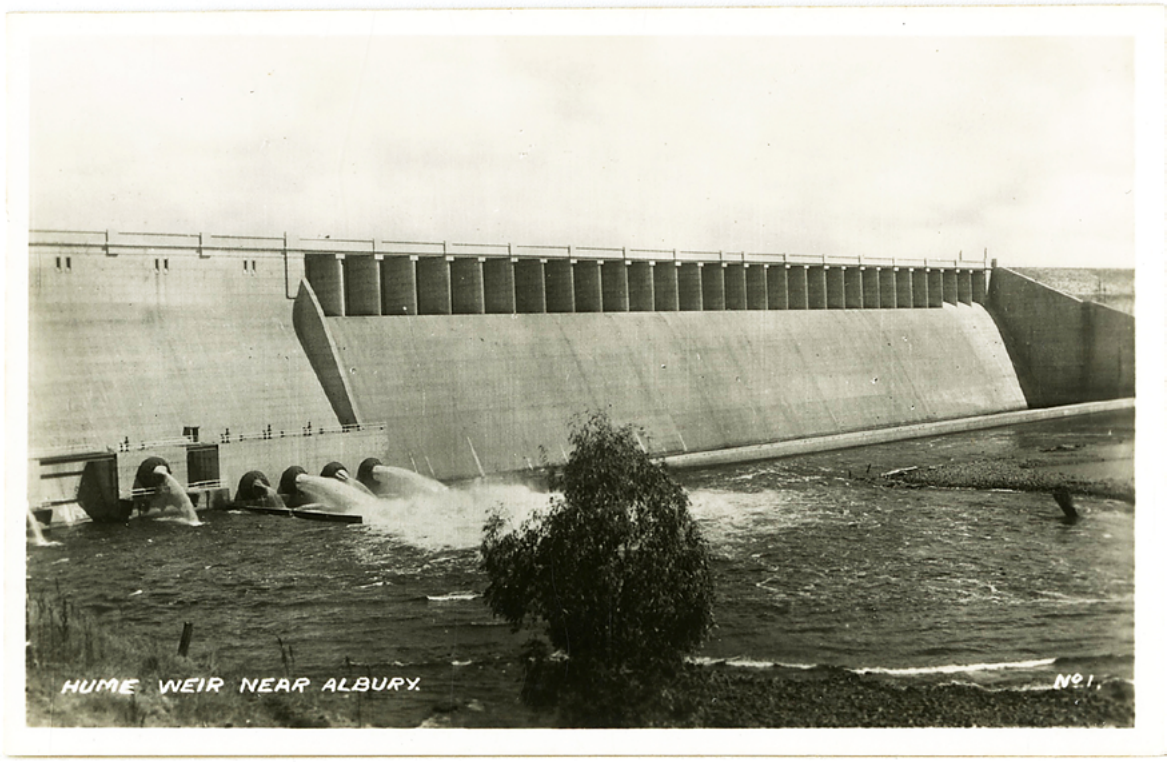


Fig. 1: Tourist photograph of Hume Dam, ca. 1940
©by courtesy of AlburyCity Collections

"useless" Australian land, putting it to the blade of agriculture, would finally turn it into a "civilized" landscape, thereby creating a social utopia.

While the dam's name honours Hamilton Hume and his party, the first white men who crossed the River Murray in the same area in 1824 (River Murray Commission 1986: 11), the Hume Dam proves to be both a 'cathedral' of White Australia and one of Modernity.

Irrigation, Agriculture and Dams

The twentieth century has been called "the era of dam building" (Gestwa: 17) with about 800 000 small and 45 000 large (over 15 m) dams built worldwide, so that, at the end of the century, two thirds of all rivers were regulated by some sort of dam. This 'redesign' of the world's rivers is one of the most severe environmental changes brought about in the twentieth century. "We used and diverted water on a scale no previous age could contemplate" (McNeill: 190). Dams were used to extend irrigation, for flood control, and hydro-electricity. Accordingly, between 1900 and 1995 the worldwide agricultural area under irrigation increased from 480 000 km² to 2.55 million km² (Ibid.: 180). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, 40 per cent of food products were grown on irrigated land (Barlow and Clarke: 60). Hydro-electricity supplied about seven per cent of the world's total commercial energy and 20 per cent of electricity in 1995 (McNeill: 181).

In Australia, dam building and irrigated agriculture saw massive expansion in the twentieth century. The River Murray, located in the *Murray-Darling Basin* (MDB), which became Australia's agricultural heartland, was turned into a regulated river

in just one generation. Between 1915 and 1974, Lake Victoria Reservoir, Hume Dam, the Snowy Mountains Scheme, five barrages on Lake Alexandrina, thirteen locks on the Murray, the Yarrawonga Weir with Lake Mulwala, and other works were completed (O'Gorman: 137). The Murray's seasonal cycle has been reversed for harnessing its resources. In their "natural" state, Australian rivers, except for those in the wet corners of the continent, are reduced to low and sluggish flows or chains of billabongs during dry seasons. In wet months, they flood huge areas of land and form wetlands. Now, the Murray, due to the regulation and diversion, runs nearly full in summer when the water is needed for irrigation and low in winter, when the reservoirs are refilling (Garden: 113).

In the MDB, irrigation expanded under the auspices of state construction and supervision authorities, such as the *Victorian State Rivers and Water Supply Commission* (SRWSC) and the *New South Wales Department of Public Works*. Under direction of the River Murray Commission, they collaborated to build Hume Dam. The total irrigated area grew from a mere 400 km² in the state of Victoria in 1914 to 5260 km² by the mid-1960s in both Victoria and New South Wales. By then, the area under irrigation had increased to 400 km² in South Australia. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the irrigated area in the MDB was about 14 722 km², over 70% of the total land used for growing irrigated crops and pastures in Australia, accounting for 40% of agricultural produce. Irrigation in the MDB also claimed about 70% of Australia's total water use and 95% in the Basin itself (Crabb: 97; Garden: 117).

The rise of irrigation, however, came at costs for the environment. "By the end of the twentieth century, the Murray River and the Murray-Darling Basin were in a state of ecological disaster" (Garden: 113). The "Mighty Murray" has been suffering from declining water quality due to salinization, siltation, fertilizers, pesticides, and decreasing water levels. The soils on agricultural and pastoral land have been severely degraded. In the 1970s and 1980s, salinity was the primary environmental issue, with ca. 42 000 km² affected in 1982. By 2001, this area increased to 57 000 km², and by 2050, 170 000 km² of salt affected land were predicted (Ibid.: 203–204). Though this pessimistic prospect has not eventuated and the MDB's long-term salinity target has been met every year since 2010, salinity remains a persistent problem in the Basin (Murray-Darling Basin Authority 2015: 22). Globally, salinity is now recognized as the downside of huge hydraulic systems, with about 10% of irrigated land worldwide seriously affected by salinity in the 1990s (Meyer: 77). Furthermore, the social costs of dam building have been severe: estimates on how many people had to leave their homes by displacement or relocation in the twentieth century vary from 40 to 80 million (Gestwa: 19; McNeill: 182). Reservoirs and canals also helped spread diseases because pathogens emerge and insects can breed in the water (McNeill: 182).

Modernity

Examining the meaning of the Hume Dam requires taking into account the two main ideological currents that structured the contemporary discourse of hydro-engineering: Modernity and Australian settler nationalism.

Modernity here is understood in a twofold way. Firstly, as a bundle of material processes of modernization which transformed the premodern world: "the excessive

changes in science, technology, and society in the course of the advance of industrialism in the decades around 1900" (Herbert: 11). During the period which Ulrich Herbert has called "High Modernity" from 1890 to 1914, these dynamics triggered profound change in all European societies, but also those on the periphery, with long-term consequences until the last third of the century. The lives of the masses and their living conditions were transformed by advancing industrialization, urbanization, mass emigration, technologization, and rationalization of nearly all spheres of life – especially the triumphal advance of the natural sciences and their model for explaining the universe (Ibid.: 10).

Secondly, modernity is understood as a mode of self-description. The profound changes in societies, as they became modern, were linked to equally profound changes in the realm of ideas. The increasing acceleration of technological innovations and industrial production was understood as an increase in possibilities to radically transform the world. "High Modernity" also meant an appreciation of the "Modernity of the present", which included schemes to master the rapid changes, while at the same time embracing the possibilities of an open future. This, in turn, led to the extraordinary boom of utopian social and political schemes and movements. Lastly, a history of "High Modernity" cannot overlook nationalism as a factor determining the refashioning of 'modernizing societies' by offering its own interpretation of the transformations (Raphael: 76).

Thus, James Scott's definition of a "High Modernist" ideology is useful for this analysis. He defines it as:

> a strong, one might even say, muscle-bound, version of the self-confidence about scientific and technical progress, the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and, above all, the rational design of the social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws. (Scott: 4)

The author emphasizes the dual core of modernity, the mastery of nature for the uses of humanity and the supreme faith in progress. The past is considered an impediment, and overcoming it is the way into a better future.

Additionally, Scott highlights how the power of the state merged with the scientific endeavour to tame and control nature: "super agencies" with state like authority like the Victorian SRWSC were formed in order to put the project of modernity into practice and to realize its goals. Those agencies were empowered to invest huge sums of capital, grant loans, expropriate private property holders, and resettle thousands of people (Scott: 94–95). It was the SRWSC's expressed goal to "establish the State in untrammelled control of all 'natural resources of water supply'" (Powell 1989: 147). As running water was declared public property, it was even allowed to establish irrigation districts without the affected landowners' consent (Ibid. 1989: 163–164).

With the Murray gradually being turned into a regulated river by those state agencies, the river's character also changed. Previously regarded as "natural" and therefore erratic, throughout the 1950s, it became to be perceived as an engineered system, under control and monitoring by state experts, who in turn also assumed responsibility for its correct functioning (O'Gorman: 137–138).

Settler Nationalism

Around the time of Federation, a new national faith was born in Australia, which Michael Cathcart has called "Water Dreaming". It combined the doctrine of *terra nullius* with the imperative to settle the seemingly "empty" inland, sometimes fuelled by fears of Asian invasion. The 'Water Dreamers' hailed the capacity of hydro-engineering as a means to facilitate this settler dream:

> Energised by the titanic achievements of civil engineering, the water dreamers championed the capacity of hydro-engineering to redeem and animate the great silences of inland Australia. […] [H]ydro-engineering [w]as an exercise in nation-building driven by an assurance that the emptiness could be filled – that human ingenuity would transform the sullen bush into a wonderland of orchards, farms, towns and cities. (Cathcart: 247)

The 'water dreamers" faith rested on the legal doctrine that the continent was *terra nullius* in the full sense of these words: belonging to no one. It was "one of the shared – almost unconscious – myths of white Australia" (Ibid.: 54). Thus, all Aboriginal land was considered property of the Crown. According to this view, Aboriginal Peoples could not be owners of this land, because they were neither Christians, nor ruled by Christians. But more importantly, they did not use the land's productive potential. "Tiling of land, breaking the soil, turning it over, became the point of difference" (Muir: 92). Australia was not just a country without owners, but also considered one without history: "The country we describe is as yet without a history, without traditions, and indeed without associations. Its past is a veritable blank" (quoted in Flanagan: 67), as the Tasmanian explorer James E. Calder put it in the 1840s.

With the arrival of the Europeans, history came to the ostensibly timeless land. In their view, the Australian continent and its inhabitants, caught in a cycle of unchanging nature, would finally be conquered by civilization; "historyless 'wilderness' [.] put to the cool, productive blade of agriculture" (Sinclair: 36). Accordingly, most Australians considered nature to be "absent" in the arid interior. Hydro-engineering was to develop these "raw elements" and refashion them into a "civilised, natural landscape" (Cathcart: 199).

However, *terra nullius* could be turned against the white settlers themselves, unless they occupied and used the land. According to Cathcart, the myth was undoubtedly self-serving, but not necessarily cynical. The European settlers considered it a fundamental rule of human affairs. Hydro-engineering was to solve this problem. Dams and irrigation channels would finally banish the spectre of drought, mitigate floods, and make Australia fit for white settlement. It would allow for radical social reform, break the squatters' land monopoly and enable ordinary citizens to work their own lands and run their own farms (Ibid.: 201).

Hydro-engineering was considered a key factor for Federation. "[C]onserving the flood waters by locking up the rivers with dams" became the "crescendo of a new song of nationalism" (Ibid.: 200). It received popular expression in the book *Australia Unlimited* (1918), a survey of Australia's primary industries, by journalist and writer Edwin J. Brady. It became the "bible" of the "boosters" of irrigation. In his view, Australians were engaged in a battle against the "last walls of nature" (Brady: 446).

They would storm them with an army of immigrants and settlers. He argued that Australia would need an increase in population to 100 to 500 million in just a few generations to defend the nation against the supposed ambitions of Asia. Hydro-engineering, Brady claimed, had turned the "useless" deserts of Australia into what they actually were – gardens. This was the *real* nature of Australia (Cathcart: 219–221). Similarly, the journalist and author Ernestine Hill championed river regulation and irrigation. In her popular book, *Water into Gold* (1937), a romanticized history of irrigation along the Murray, Hill wrote that with the "annihilation of deserts" (Hill: vii), nothing of value was destroyed, but on the contrary, the best was brought out of the land (Sinclair: 77–78).

By the 1920s, the "boosters'" gospel had become a patriotic faith for Australians. Later, World War II and widespread concern about a Japanese threat gave further impetus to the old slogan "populate or perish". The link of hydro-engineering, settlement and national salvation became an integral part of the national psyche, well outlasting the war (Cathcart: 236; Garden: 100–107).

From this point of view, huge hydro-engineering projects, such as the Hume Dam and later the Snowy Mountains scheme, which was commenced in 1949, can be seen as the realization of a century of 'water dreaming': "white Australia's triumph over the willfulness of nature" (Cathcart: 240).

Development as a Utopian Promise

Taking into account these two major ideological currents, the meanings embedded in the Hume Dam can now be read and analysed.

The Hume Dam was regarded not just as any dam, but as the most important Australian dam of its time. It was the "Key of Murray Works" (Argus 27/03/1925) and its opening was called "a further step in one of the greatest and most beneficent public undertakings that has been carried out in Australia" (Argus 23/11/1936). Contemporaries also did not fail to mention that the dam was "one of the foremost of the world's artificial devices for the conservation of water and the enrichment of lands by irrigation" (Age 20/11/1936). It thus became a symbol of national pride and Australian resourcefulness "that would advertise Australia on the world stage as effectively as the Sydney Harbour Bridge. […] [A] symbol of Australia's technically sophisticated future" (Sinclair 2001: 71;73). Given this high significance, it is valid to assume that the meanings invested in the dam show some of the key features of the ideology of hydro-engineering.

The central promise of the dam was to facilitate "development". This concept amalgamates both ideologies of modernization and settlement into an Australian style 'High Modernism', and encapsulates the promise of hydro-engineering *per se*: to convert "arid and underdeveloped lands into prosperous, prolific gardens" (Age 20/11/1936).

To understand the meaning of development, it is worth considering the self-conception of the *River Murray Commission* (RMC) as one of the agents of expanding infrastructure for irrigation and agriculture. Its 1946 manifesto reads:

> The real wealth of any country can be measured only by its production. The prosperity of a people depends upon the development of the country's resources, and the utilization of the natural resources of the Murray Basin by conservation and scientific application to the land in the form of irrigation, represents one of the greatest sources of wealth we have in Australia. (Ronalds: 24)

Here, the *River Murray Works* are presented as vital for the further development of the Basin states by supplying them with water. This claim is supported by proud reference to 18 million pounds' worth of agricultural products from irrigation in 1945. The RMC also claims that, without irrigated agriculture, this would have been a meagre two million and estimates that the Murray Basin was responsible for the production of nearly half of Australia's primary products and one third of its exports. In Victoria alone, two per cent of the state's area are said to contribute to 15 per cent of annual primary production – all thanks to the Commission's infrastructure. The RMC and the states' commissions are thus destined to play a paramount part in the development of the Murray Basin and the future prosperity of Australia:

> As a result of wise water conservation, the lands of the Murray Basin will continue to increase in national value, and will absorb an increasing number of people who will be able to attain a standard of living not possible in those areas without the harnessing of the waters of the Murray and its tributaries. (Ronalds: 25)

The primary *raison d'être* of the *River Murray Works* is their economic potential, quantified in their contribution to primary production, and thus to an increasingly affluent society.

Then Governor General Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson put forward an even more triumphant view in his address on the occasion of the turning of the first sod for the construction of the Hume Dam on 28 November 1919. As the Melbourne *Argus* reported, he proclaimed that the construction of the dam marked the dawning of a new era for the Murray Valley. The dam was the first step to bring the Murray's waters under man's control: "the waters of the Murray will be harnessed, like those of the River of Egypt, to the service of man". He called the dam a decisive means to redeem the shortcomings of nature by man's ingenuity: "[T]he less nature does, the greater the incentive to man to put forth all his strength and bring all his science in making good deficiencies". Humanity would free itself from the constraints of nature and "Australia will gradually become independent of the fickle rainfall and the haunting fear of drought will be banished from the land" by the works of engineers and their ability to "compel these waters to surrender themselves completely to their control". The Governor General even deemed "the measure of increased productivity given by man to the soil over and above its natural condition" to be the criterion for civilization itself (Argus 29/11/1919).

Civilization was also at stake for Ronald East, then chairperson of Victoria's SRWSC:

> Civilisation is built largely on the works of the engineer, and water conservation is one of his greatest tasks. […] [T]he destiny of Australia will be determined by the work of water conservation engineers. It will be water supply […] which will determine the ultimate limit to our development and population, and our streams may well be regarded as our rivers of destiny. (East 1944: 3)

By contrast, he evoked the "unthinkable" scenario of Australia returning to its dependence on the natural dynamics of erratic rainfall, which would ultimately lead to the downfall of civilization, as it had been the fate of great ancient realms, like Egypt, when it neglected its irrigation works (East 1944: 11).

In East's view, it was the engineer who upheld civilization by water conservation works. He was not alone. Those tasked with building the Hume Dam earned popular acclaim and admiration for their work. Reporting from the construction site in 1925, the *Argus* enthusiastically exclaimed about their perfect work:

> Unique engineering problems are encountered and solved every day, and minute care is taken to see that every section of the work is perfect [.] […] There were so many marvelous machines that a proud boast of one of the engineers seemed justified. Surveying the works on the hill he said: 'With this plant I could build the Pyramids in less than six months'. (Argus 27/03/1925)

Indeed, "the commission's engineers are removing mountains and [they are] stopping the course of two great rivers" (Argus 27/03/1925). In the same fashion, the dam was hailed as "[p]erhaps the most impressive engineering triumph in Victoria" (Argus 07/07/1938) and "marvel of modern engineering, although the direction of construction […] and the resident engineer […] consider it part of their ordinary work" (Argus 05/06/1937).

The meaning of development is, perhaps, best summed up in the phrases of "[*h*]*arnessing* the waters of the Murray and the Mitta Mitta for irrigation purposes" (SM 23/09/1931; my emphasis added) and for dams as means to "*conserve* the flood waters of our greatest river" (SM 02/05/1928; my emphasis added). On the contrary, "waste" of water was to stop. In 1946, the *Argus* lamented that "750.000 acre foot[1] of water that could have been conserved has gone over the spillway [of the Hume Dam] in recent weeks" (Argus 01/08/1946). This dramatic wastage could have been prevented, had it already been at its full capacity. Still, the then Victorian Deputy Premier MacDonald was optimistic that the dam would soon be enlarged and that "water that has been running into the sea will soon be harnessed for the service in three states" (Argus 20/10/1948). Water that runs into the sea without being used for irrigation is wasted. Water that goes over the spillway without being used for hydro-electricity generation is wasted. "Water conservation" and "harnessing the waters" thus grasp the essence of development: meliorating the raw and unproductive forces of otherwise useless nature to service humanity by the work of engineers with the promise of increased production and prosperity for human society.

However, development could also be put to use for other goals. A prosperous society was not an end in itself. Water conservation provided higher standards of living, but also supported a growing population in Australia. It was considered "absolutely essential" (Brown: 6) for the continent's continued occupation. According to the Governor General's prophecy, with the construction of the Hume Dam and subsequent development works, Australia would become as economically productive as France and Germany (Argus 29/11/1919). He did not forget to add that these countries then had a combined population of 100 million.

Hydro-engineering would create conditions suitable to settle hundreds of thousands or maybe even millions of people, who would be among the wealthiest farm-

1 About 925 gigaliters. One acre-foot is defined as the volume of water necessary to cover one acre of surface area to a depth of one foot.

ers in the world (Ibid.). Keeping with the spirit of this social promise of hydro-engineering, the *Argus'* special reporter dreamed that the Murray Valley would soon carry more people than the entire state of Victoria by means of the "River Murray Conservation Works" (Argus 27/03/1925). In 1934, the paper celebrated water conservation as an important contributor to the massively increasing population in the past decades, through agricultural production and power generation: "The water has brought agricultural prosperity, and light and power to boot!" (Argus 16/10/1934)

Development also became an imperative of national defence: "National strength and stability depend upon utilising the land to the full, so as to make it capable of carrying as large a population as possible" (Argus 29/11/1919). In the aftermath of World War II, Ronald East sought to promote developmental works by linking them to Japanese threat: "the dangers of a small population were never so much evident as they were in the past few years of menace from the invader". Therefore, he urged Australians: "Populate or perish!" (East 1946: 12).

On the Fringes of Progress

As with other great dams, hundreds of farms and several towns were submerged under the 1 522 gigaliters of water that formed the reservoir Lake Hume upon completion of the dam (River Murray Commission 1986: 8). The *Argus* shed no tears about the prospect, that "thousands of acres of good grazing land" would be submerged once the dam would be finished (Argus 29/11/1919). When the newspaper reported that 1600 km² "with hundreds of farms" (Argus 27/03/1925) would have to be submerged, the editors did not feel compelled to comment or to ask what would happen to the farmers and other people in the area. In fact, the towns of Bowna and Ebden, which were submerged by the waters (Argus 07/02/1924; SM 25/11/1936) seem to have vanished without a trace.

Only Tallangatta (Victoria) has left a curious chapter in the story of the Hume Dam. The town of 900 inhabitants was to disappear for the Hume Dam to be enlarged. A reporter for the *Argus* who visited Tallangatta in 1944, with the prospect on the horizon to raise the dam, found a distinctly calm attitude of "There it is" (Argus 14/12/1944). Yet a year later, a report from a town assembly in Tallangatta showed more conflict than that: people demanded to know if and when the dam would be raised. And if so, was there a way to save their town. If not, they demanded to be compensated and to decide for themselves where to move, to Bolga, Bulloh or Toorak. Some speakers called for a plebiscite, others for a weir around the town. Most of all, Tallangattians pointed out the constant insecurity of having to live with an uncertain future, which inhibited investment and progress, thus subverting the use of Hume Dam and irrigation (Argus 07/12/1945). In the end, Tallangatta was moved to Bolga, following the preference of the SRWSC, even though the citizens of Tallangatta had previously voted to move to Toorak (Argus 25/07/1950). New Tallangatta was officially opened on 27 June 1956 (River Murray Commission 1986: 7).

Regarding environmental costs, the media coverage reflected a controversial debate. The *Argus* related the construction of the dam to excessive algae growth in the Murray as early as 1930, which appears to have persisted, even though the SRWSC promised to resolve the issue quickly (Argus 10/01/1930). Still, in 1934, citizens of

Fig. 2: Site of Old Tallangatta at Lake Hume, July 2017
©photo by Daniel Rothenburg

Albury complained that their water was unfit to drink: "The odor which arises when the house taps are turned on is sickening[.] […] Residents are tired of the efforts of the weir authorities to clean the water, and are demanding the erection of a filtration plant" (Argus 12/02/1934). The *Sydney Mail* also identified the dam to be the principal cause of the continuing erosion of grazing land and siltation of the Murray in the previous years. Also, local graziers complained about lagoons and billabongs which were at risk of running dry, due to the absence of periodical floods. This was a "contradictory complex", the reporter found. After all, Hume Dam was a public necessity of the first order, on the other hand, it was obvious that it had severely disturbed the natural flow of the Murray. Albury could even lose its river. In a sceptical note, he concluded:

> Meanwhile 'old man' Murray continues its erratic course, reinvigorated by the enormous bulk of water put up behind the Hume Weir – oblivious to man's puny efforts to curb its whims and age-old habits. (SM 26/10/1938)

Still, compared to the enthusiastic acclamation that the dam received, those voices appear underrepresented. In the view of contemporaries, the benefits far outweighed the price of progress. This was the attitude of Mr Buchanan of Tallangatta: "[H]e believes the impounding of the dam will prove of greater value than the land he will lose" (Australian Women's Weekly 27/06/1951).

High Modernism, Australian Style

The basis for development, as is understood in contemporary discourse, is the technical mastery of nature. Its central figure is the engineer, the master of the art of manipulating natural systems for human needs. To "conserve" and "harness" nature means making it useful. Thus, as the alleged "useless" Australian nature is developed by means of engineering, it can fulfil its real purpose: to expand produc-

tion and increase prosperity. Consequently, the land can carry a greater population, which in turn contributes to national strength.

Development encompasses the emancipatory promise of modern technology, the rational model of the natural sciences and the utopian optimism in the advance of progress towards a better future. It also makes those driving forces useful for settler nationalistic ambitions and their goal to increase the Australian population. Reference to "development" in early twentieth century Australia evoked the promise of a social and national utopia, facilitated by channelling water to the barren deserts of the inland and turning them into densely populated gardens. This vision of the Hume Dam's engineers was the promise of hydro-engineering *per se*.

Australian style 'High Modernism', therefore, shows modernity at its most radical. With no evident appreciation of Australia's natural wonders, Aboriginal culture or land use regimes, the settler society redesigned Australia's nature. In their view, they destroyed nothing of value. On the contrary, development was going to create something that was worth keeping. Thus, the price of progress was not high, while the future promised affluence previously unknown. Furthermore, nationalism, frequently regarded as a factor impeding modernization, quite on the contrary, was a driver of development in the Australian case. Developing the land was the most powerful means to realize the ambivalent dreams of a one day closely populated Australia.

The environmental historian Emily O'Gorman has recently suggested, that whereas the 1950s were marked by "a mood of national faith in technoculture" and "self-conscious drive towards modernity" (O'Gorman: 143), by the 1960s, river engineering, especially dam building, was seen as a failure by various groups. The privileged position of irrigation and national development was questioned by dryland farmers, economists, and environmentalists (Ibid.: 229). This leads to the issue of the prevalence of hydro- modernist ideas in Australia throughout the twentieth century and its continuity in the present. Specifically, it raises the question how the growing awareness of the negative consequences directly associated with irrigation transformed this paradigm.

One of the most prominent environmental problems is soil and water salinity, which became a pressing issue for the public and the authorities with the drought of 1967/68, that caused temporary spikes in the river's salt content (Connell: 105). It triggered a series of studies and a 10-year Salinity and Drainage Strategy by the SRWSC in 1975, costing 40 million AUD (Russ: 149). In the late 1960s and 1970s, several groups emerged which dedicated a lot of effort into community education to raise awareness of salinity, promote better farming practices and introduce environmental education in schools (Ibid.: 141–143). Salinity, showing the damage that exploitative farming and irrigation practices combined with overuse of the river were doing, became a catalyst for a change of attitudes.

Arguably, these developments changed the perception of the Australian landscape as well. In 1987, the Victorian Government offered an explanation for the huge environmental damage since the beginning of European settlement in its *Salt Action* program. This appeal to ignorance is a far cry away from the triumphalist boasts of the subjugation of nature in the early century: "Australia's settlers tried to make a living off the land *the only way they knew* – by clearing trees and shrub, and farming the way they used to in Europe" (Government of Victoria: 2; my emphasis).

Bibliography

Newspapers Cited

The Age, 20/11/1936. "Hume Dam Will Enrich Three States".
The Argus, 29/11/1919. "Murray Water Storage. Colossal Undertaking. Fifth largest in the World".
The Argus, 7/02/1924. "Raising Hume Dam. What It Would Mean".
The Argus, 27/03/1925. "Hume Reservoir. Key of Murray Works".
The Argus, 10/01/1930. "Pollution of Murray. Excessive Algae Growth".
The Argus, 12/02/1934. "Albury Water Supply. Serious Complaints".
The Argus, 16/10/1934. "How Electricity came to Melbourne. Water and Power – A Romance of the Machine Age".
The Argus, 23/11/1936. "Great Hume Reservoir Opened. Thousands at Important Ceremony".
The Argus, 5/06/1937. "Water for a Thirsty Land. Huge Murray System taking Shape".
The Argus, 7/07/1938. "Quest and Triumph of Australian Engineers".
The Argus, 14/12/1944. "Tallangatta Will Grow Again. Town Faces Move Calmly".
The Argus, 7/12/1945. "Fate Of Tallangatta Township. What Will happen If Weir Raised?".
The Argus, 1/08/1946. "Decision Vital on Hume Enlargement".
The Argus, 20/10/1948. "Raising of Hume Dam 'tremendously important' to State".
The Argus, 25/07/1950. "Decision Made at Last. Tallangatta People Have to Move".
The Australian Women's Weekly, 27.06.1951. "Pretty Town Awaits Drowning".
The Sydney Mail, 2/05/1928. "Hume Reservoir: World's Second Largest".
The Sydney Mail, 15/05/1929. "Hume Weir: £5,800,000 National Work".
The Sydney Mail, 23/09/1931. "Harnessing the Waters of the Murray and Mitta Mitta for Irrigation Purposes".
The Sydney Mail, 25/11/1936. "Australia's Great Dam. Opened by the Governor-General".
The Sydney Mail, 26/10/1938. "Will the Murray Change its Course?".

Works Cited

Barlow, Maude, and Tony Clarke, 2002. *Blue Gold. The Fight to Stop the Corporate Theft of the World's Water*. London: Earthscan.
Brady, Edwin J., 1918. *Australia Unlimited*. Melbourne: George Robertson & Co.
Brown, Everard,1947. *Irrigation and Water Supply Development in Victoria*. Melbourne: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.
Cathcart, Michael, 2009. *The Water Dreamers. The Remarkable History of Our Dry Continent*. Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company.
Connell, Daniel, 2007. *Water Politics in the Murray-Darling Basin*. Leichhardt: The Federation Press.
Crabb, Peter, 1997. *Murray-Darling Basin Resources*. Canberra: Murray-Darling Basin Commission.
Dovers, Stephen, ed., 2000. *Environmental History and Policy: Still Settling Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
East, Lewis R., 1944. *Rivers of Destiny. Water Supply Development in Victoria*. Melbourne: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.
East, Lewis R., 1946. *Planning for Posterity. The Work of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission. Address to the Press Conference at Maryborough, May 18th 1946*. Melbourne: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.
Flanagan, Richard, 1985. *A Terrible Beauty. History of the Gordon River Country*. Richmond: Greenhouse.
Garden, Don, 2005. *Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. An Environmental History*. Santa Barbara, et al.: ABC-Clio.
Gestwa, Klaus, 2010. *Die Stalinschen Großbauten des Kommunismus. Sowjetische Technik- und Umweltgeschichte, 1948–1967*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag.

Government of Victoria, 1987. *Salt Action: Joint Action. Victoria's Strategy for Managing Land and Water Salinity*. Melbourne: Parliament of Victoria, Natural Resources and Environment Committee.
Herbert, Ulrich, 2007. "Europe in High Modernity. Reflections on a Theory of the 20th Century", *Journal of Modern European History*, 5(1), 5–20.
Hill, Ernestine, 1937. *Water into Gold*. Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens.
Kaika, Maria, 2006. "Dams as Symbols of Modernization: The Urbanization of Nature Between Geographical Imagination and Materiality", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 96(2), 276–301.
McNeill, John R., 2000. *Something New Under the Sun. An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York, London: W. W. Norton Company.
Meyer, William, 1996. *Human Impact on the Earth*. New York, et al: Cambridge University Press.
Muir, Cameron, 2014. *The Broken Promise of Agricultural Progress. An Environmental History*. London: Routledge.
Murray-Darling Basin Authority, 2015. *Basin Plan Annual Report 2014–15*. Canberra: Murray-Darling Basin Authority.
O'Gorman, Emily, 2012. *Flood Country. An Environmental History of the Murray-Darling Basin*. Collingwood: CSIRO Publishing.
Powell, Joseph M., 1989. *Watering the Garden State. Water, Land and Community in Victoria 1834–1988*. Sydney, et al: Allen & Unwin.
Powell, Joseph M., 2000. "Snakes and Cannons: Water Management and the Geographical Imagination in Australia", in: Stephen Dovers, ed., *Environmental History and Policy: Still Settling Australia*, 47–71.
Raphael, Lutz, and Ute Schneider, ed., 2008. *Dimensionen der Moderne. Festschrift für Christof Dipper*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing.
Raphael, Lutz, 2008. "Ordnungsmuster der 'Hochmoderne'? Die Theorie der Moderne und die Geschichte der europäischen Gesellschaften im 20. Jahrhundert", in: Lutz Raphael, Ute Schneider, ed., *Dimensionen der Moderne. Festschrift für Christof Dipper*, 73–91.
River Murray Commission, 1936. *Hume Reservoir*. Sydney.
River Murray Commission, 1986. *Hume Reservoir*. Canberra.
Ronalds, A.C.F., 1946. *Harnessing Australia's Greatest River. The Work of the River Murray Commission*. Sydney: River Murray Commission.
Russ, Peter, 1995. *The Salt Traders. A History of Salinity in Victoria*. East Melbourne: The Department of the Premier and Cabinet, State of Victoria.
Scott, James C., 1998. *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
Sinclair, Paul, 2001. *The Murray. A River and Its People*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

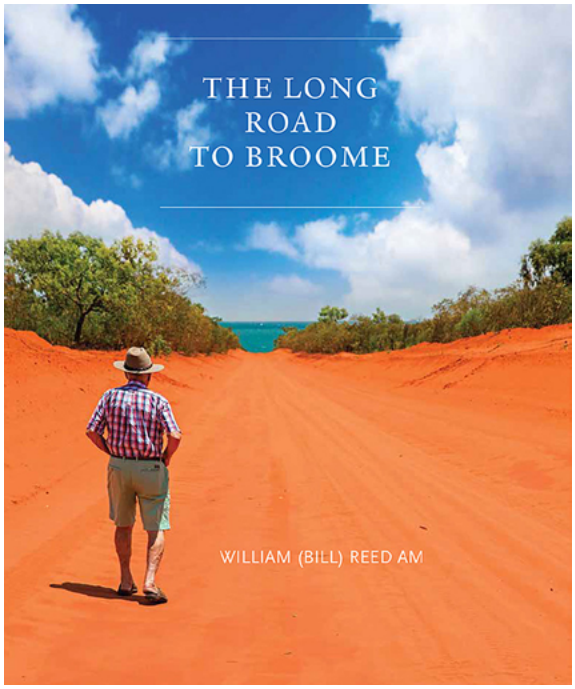
Rezensionsessay
Review Essay

Liesel Hermes
Karlsruhe

William (Bill) Reed AM

The Long Road to Broome

Broome: Allure South Sea Pearls, 2016. 136 pp. ISBN 9780994409928. AU$ 29,90.



What is so fascinating about Bill Reed? If you read my article in the *GASt e-Newsletter* (No. 17, July 2017) about the lovely little town of Broome in the northwest of Western Australia right on the Indian Ocean, and my brief comment on this remarkable man, marine biologist, pioneer, UN expert, pearl expert and modernizer of the pearling industry in Broome, you should not miss reading his autobiography, in which he writes about his equally fascinating and sometimes dangerous life in a number of countries, which finally led him to his ultimate destination, Broome.[1] The autobiography is introduced by two two-page comments about Bill Reed by long-term friends who express their life-long friendship with and veneration for him. A third short text, which serves as yet another introduction, is by Bill himself and contains a lecture about the history and reproduction of pearl oysters. Characteristically it ends with a punch line, which shows his sense of humour which pervades the whole book.

As a boy Bill Reed lived in a small place on the Sunshine Coast, as it is now called, of Queensland. His schooling was through the "School of the Air", at that time "with the aid of a pedal wireless" since there was no electric power (15). After studying zoology at a university in Brisbane he returned home and worked for a while as a skipper on his father's boat (17). But before long he took over a position with the Fisheries Department in Papua New Guinea. Flying there from Brisbane meant going to Cairns and then on to Port Moresby and took eight hours. His work there revolved round surveying pearl oyster stocks, but he had to leave the humid climate after contracting malaria.

Bill applied for a position with the Food & Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the UN and was sent to the Sudan, climate-wise the extreme opposite of Papua New Guinea, with temperatures rising above 50° in the summer. Working in Port Sudan

1 http://www.australienstudien.org/images/GASt/Newsletter/Newsletter_2017_06.pdf

for seven years he made not only the acquaintance of British colonialism and the lifestyle of their civil servants and expats in African countries, but also of the nomad tribal population as well as missionaries. Since he was embarrassed that he only spoke English, whereas others spoke as many as four languages, he started to learn Arabic and was able to follow Arabic news on local as well as on Israeli radio stations and assess the different perspectives.

During his years in the Sudan, he undertook projects to collaborate with local people and teach them to dive for pearl oysters in the Red Sea. He made numerous friendships and experienced the simple living conditions, the hardships of travelling under difficult circumstances and wide cultural differences, e.g. with regard to Islam and Ramadan, which he observed together with the Muslim men who worked for him. One of the most remarkable experiences was for him to meet Jacques Cousteau, the famous French conservationist, underwater explorer and film maker, who at Bill's suggestion shot an underwater film in the Red Sea that came to be known as "Le monde sans soleil".

After his contract with the UN came to an end, he worked for the Sudan Government to assist locals in setting up their own, i.e. private oyster farms (48). But in 1967 with the Arab-Israel War, in order to avoid suspicion of spying for the Israelis, he chose to leave the country within two days, thus ending seven exciting years. After another successful application to the FAO he was sent to Northern Nigeria to do a research project on fish and the fisheries of Niger and Benue rivers and to make recommendations on "how local fishing methods and conditions could be improved" (49). Two publications came out of this, one about the wide variety of fish species in the area, but then Bill found himself entangled in a civil war between the Igbo and the Muslim Hausa tribes that also affected the printing press of his publication. He was able to save most of his book, but again had to leave in a hurry to escape the atrocities of a civil war.

In the brief interim between two appointments with the FAO Bill Reed got married (56) and then headed off with his wife to Iran, again on a proposed project of pearl farming. But this brief stay proved to be a disaster. Not only were the officials he had to deal with incompetent and corrupt and did not pay him the promised salary, but also he eventually found out that his seeming search for good pearl farming areas was nothing but a search for strategic military sites. All of this happened a few years before the Shah's deposition (57). After managing to procure an Exit Visa for his British wife and get her out of the country he found himself in a quandary because Australia did not have an embassy in Tehran, and it took him some time till he managed to leave the country with the help of the British Embassy. Another adventure had come to an end.

After reuniting with his wife in London it was a stroke of good fortune that he was asked to go to Tahiti for a month (60) to set up a pearl farm and he made the invaluable suggestion to make the farm a success, for it should be possible to collect the post-larval stage of black-lip pearl oysters and rear them to adult size so as to have a reliable supply of operable oysters. Due to his findings, he was invited by the Tahiti Administration to apply for the scientific position to accompany the experimental and developmental work on a number of atolls. In spite of his limited French, he was selected for the job, and he and his wife spent the next seven years in Tahiti, first working for the Fisheries Department and later setting up his own pearl farm.

The family managed to settle and adapt to very simple living conditions on the tiny island.

After the government contract expired Bill started to set up his own pearl farm on the even tinier island of Mangareva in the Gambier group of islands, 1,000 miles southeast of Tahiti. The French at that time were still conducting atmospheric atomic bomb tests in the Mururoa Atoll (63), a couple of hundred miles away. Therefore a meteorological station and a tiny airport operated on the island. Mangareva, where the family set up home, was at that time inhabited by lots of different ethnic groups. Bill had to build the house for his family himself with the help of a few locals. Contact with the outside world relied on the French army, and when they abandoned the tests and pulled out all contact with civilization was cut, and the island had to rely on the few trading schooners that came by.

Unexpected help came through a Tahiti-Chinese businessman, who was looking for a pearl farm and bought Bill's who had the necessary licence (70). He then marketed the black Tahiti pearls very successfully world-wide. Bill and his family had to wait for another stroke of good luck, which came around quickly in 1975, when Bill was asked to look at a pearl farm around 370 km north of Broome, an extremely isolated location by Australian standards, where Bill found Japanese and Papua workers prone to violence on account of their loneliness, which Bill understood only too well. He was offered and accepted the position of a management consultant, and since there were no flights from Sydney to Broome at that time, he and his wife drove for 6,000 kilometres along Nullarbor Plain and up the West coast, with hundreds of kilometres of unsealed track (78).

Bill Reed had come to Broome at a time of major changes both in pearl cultivation, which came about with the assistance of Murdoch University, Perth, and diving techniques and equipment. Again, after his contract had come to an end, he started to set up his own company of pearl farming with the help of men who, like him, wanted to be independent. His brief and sketchy account of his adventurous life at this time is peppered with reminiscences of funny characters and anecdotes of unconventional individuals among whom was his fascinating friend John Lowe, whom my husband and I met a few times in Perth.

By a quirk of bad luck Bill broke his leg and had to rest it for a number of weeks, which gave John the idea that Bill should sit in their shed on Dampier Terrace in the little CBD of Broome selling pearls, and since they did not observe the usual two hour siesta like other Broome retailers, their sales were highly successful (97). And in this way another seemingly unfortunate incident turned into good luck and was the beginning of his highly successful retail pearl business. John persuaded some Broome businessmen to invest in their newly founded company, which they did and after two years' time Bill was able to stand on his own feet. John also helped Bill later to get out of big trouble when Bill invested again in a project in the Sudan and only came away with a substantial financial loss.

But when John wanted to move on and they sold their pearl business another opportunity came up through Alan Linney, who together with Bill started a jewellery business including South Sea Pearls, which in a short period of time proved to be extremely successful. Eventually Bill moved to Broome for good and lived in and later bought an old house, the Quarantine Station next to the harbour, in the mid-

dle of nowhere, but close to nature. With the help of a Japanese friend and pearling technician, Keiichi Mizuno, he introduced a Japanese technique of seeding the Australian South Sea Pearl, which is much larger and harder than Japanese pearls. And this project again proved to be highly successful.

Bill was proud to receive the Order of Australia in 2012 for his contribution to the pearling industry and its development in Broome. Subsequently his partnership with Linney came to an end, and together with his business partner Lindsay Youd he set up another jewellery and pearl business in Broome, "Allure South Seas Pearls", in 2014. Bill's autobiography ends with descriptions of the most wonderful little town of Broome on the Indian Ocean, its vicinity to the Kimberley outback and all the opportunities for travelling there, as well as with his gratitude to all the people he met in his long and eventful life.

This review is a summary of his adventurous life which is full of fascinating experiences. Bill's narrative is peppered with funny incidents and situations and the book abounds in coloured photos, which make their own vivid and illustrative contribution to the story. Moreover, the straightforward chronological narrative is interrupted every now and then by one or two pages of descriptions of individual occurrences or of explanations, which are printed on light gray pages to set them off against his life story proper. They do not only offer additional information but go to show, just as the narrative does, Bill Reed's vast knowledge and experience, and – above all – his sense of humour and pervading optimism. The autobiography is a fascinating reading but most of all, it is a lesson of Australian cosmopolitism.

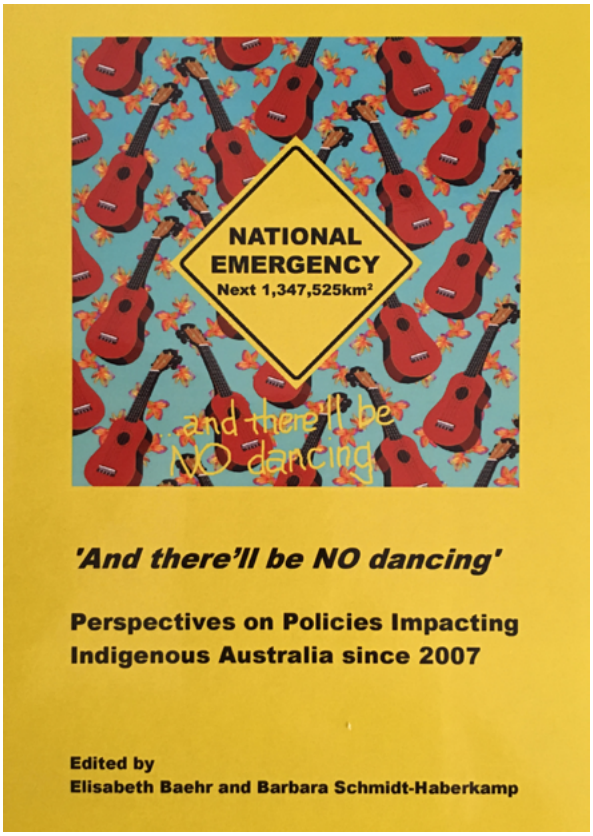
Rezensionen
Reviews

Oliver Haag
Edinburgh University

Elisabeth Baehr & Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, eds.

'And There'll Be NO Dancing'. Perspectives on Policies Impacting Indigenous Australia Since 2007

Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. 354 pp. + xi.
ISBN 9781443898638. GBP 64.99.



"Sexual abuse of children is inexcusable. So why is there such a fuss about a state intervention? Should we shut up and do nothing just because there is racism? No child or woman must be molested, irrespective of who the perpetrator is!" Thus my recollection of what one of my Scottish colleagues said in an informal conversation about the 2007 Northern Territory Intervention, a set of legal and political measures to curtail domestic violence in Indigenous Australian communities. "Yes", I replied, "racial heritage should not be an issue when talking about crime". Not least because domestic violence happens everywhere, including Scotland. I wouldn't have heard anyone talking about a specifically *Scottish*, *White* or *European* propensity for domestic violence. Yet there is abundant talk about *Black* violence. Generalisation is the hallmark of racialisation. Blackness is scripted as inherently violent – a tenacious trope deriving from colonial concepts of ferocious animalism. Blackness is juxtaposed with Whiteness, the latter being normalised as non-violent and civilised, thus becoming the final arbiter of Indigenous destinies. The idea of racially typecast violence legitimises to intervene not merely in matters of domestic violence but also in Indigenous life and sovereignty – hence to take far-reaching measures, so to speak, for the sake of securing a seemingly non-violent whitened social order. Put succinctly, to save Indigenous children in order to erode Indigenous sovereignty. "You should read *'And There'll Be NO Dancing'*", I told my colleague. It discusses such readings of Indigenous sovereignty and the various forms of racialisation ensuing from the Intervention.

The edited collection of essays has its basis in results of the workshop, 'The Intervention and its Consequences', held at the University of Bonn in 2015. The focus is on the Intervention, formally termed 'Northern Territory National Emergency Response', and its consequences for inter-racial relationships in Australia. The book offers a wide range of cross-disciplinary analyses – including legal studies, history, literary and whiteness studies. For all their diverse approaches, the chapters hang together very well, with major threads discernible.

The chapters differentiate cogently between the Intervention policies and their actual incentive, the *Little Children Are Sacred Report* (2007) that was concerned with sexual abuse of Indigenous children in Northern Territory communities. While the report served as the basis for subsequent political measures, its findings and recommendations were, from the outset, misrepresented and placed in falsified context. Michelle Dunne Breen, for one, shows that none of the report's recommendations were implemented in the course of the Intervention. Instead, many restrictions were imposed on Indigenous communities – such as rigorous alcohol bans – that were initially not advised. Scrutinising newspaper articles, the author argues that the language and findings of the report were generalised, almost fabricated, in subsequent media coverage. Terms such as 'rampant' and 'every community' remained undifferentiated, estranged from context and referenced excessively, evoking the impression that sexual violence would have been ubiquitous in Indigenous communities. The thus construed image of Indigenous cultures as fundamentally violent formed a ready argument to legitimise legal and political sanctions.

Another common finding is that the measures designed to benefit Indigenous communities largely failed or proved detrimental. Providing an extensive factual overview of racial disadvantage in the Territory, Lindsay Frost's chapter illustrates that – in stark contrast to what was intended – Indigenous unemployment rates increased after the Intervention, while Indigenous communities in general became socio-economically more disempowered. Moreover, the book shows that the Intervention was also legally problematic. As Shelley Bielefeld argues, the legal foundation of the Intervention not only suspended extant antidiscrimination laws but also violated basic human rights, for example, through imposing exorbitantly high fines for minor offences that led perforce to higher Indigenous incarceration rates: "The alcohol penalties [in Indigenous communities; O. H.] ... are grossly disproportionate to penalties for possession of alcohol in alcohol restricted areas in places populated predominately by non-Indigenous people where there are also social problems associated with excessive alcohol consumption" (159). Leon Terrill's legal analysis shows that the Intervention did not strengthen Indigenous rights but corrode Indigenous self-determination and control over land, as with the erosion of housing: "This was not the introduction of individual ownership or private property, as had been suggested by the Australian Government. It was a shift to government ownership of housing and control of housing management, through long-term leases and subleases" (141).

Most chapters highlight the historical continuities in state interventions for humanitarian ends, as with Alexander Bräuer's analysis of "protection" measures in Western Australia in the first half of the twentieth century. Stefanie Affeldt's contribution to imperial images of Indigenous Australians also argues that the Intervention should be considered a contemporary element of historic policies. Yet, for-

tunately, the chapters do not portray Indigenous people as passive victims, but try to bring in their agency and protests against the Intervention, as with Elisabeth Baehr's analysis of Aboriginal art and Dorothee Klein's study of Alexis Wright's writings. Retracing the manifold and far-reaching effects of the Intervention, Barry Judd's contribution outlines the increase in racial prejudice against Indigenous football players as an effect of stigmatising views emanating from the Intervention. Judd understands the Intervention not as a solitary event but one out of many steps towards abolishing the post 1967-policy of self-determination.

Victoria Grieves' contribution is perhaps the profoundest venture to decipher the efforts of the Intervention as curtailing Indigenous sovereignty. Applying the concept of *Homo Sacer,* the author understands the underlying purpose of the Intervention as an effort to position Aboriginal people further into an exceptional role of belonging to the state as objects yet not as citizen subjects. The Intervention, the argument runs, excludes and thus re-creates notions of *White* citizenship: "Citizens have rights only because those in the state of exception have no rights. *Homo Sacer* has no citizenship rights, no human rights, as the law is suspended in this 'external' sphere" (92).

'*And There'll be NO Dancing*' comprises theoretically nuanced and well-researched contributions that do not fall into the trap of moralising and considering the Intervention an isolated incident. Instead, they interpret it as a 'whitened' effort to restrain Indigenous sovereignty. In this, the book itself makes an intervention by moving far beyond the narrow event of the year 2007 and by rigorously examining the intersections between race, gender, whiteness and Indigeneity. The Intervention was indeed less unique than symptomatic for an age-old practice of securing whitened hegemony – it conjured up colonial tropes of savage animalism that is seen as a danger to women and children as well as tropes of savage childlikeness that presupposes the need of protection.

The transnational component could have been taken up in the Introduction, especially in a theoretically deeper discussion of the intersections between gender and race and similar events throughout history – think of racialised misogyny or the fears of miscegenation. Furthermore, the editors mention the geographical distance of the workshop to be of relevance, but, alas, do not take this presumption any further: "We expect that the bitter irony of a workshop in Germany analysing racism in Australia will raise hackles, but we also hope it will raise the alarm concerning the interventions" (4). Notwithstanding the fact that German (or American, British and French) manifestations of racism have been studied extensively from abroad, the authors seem to fear a parochial attitude that forbids foreigners to meddle with Australian policies. But, quite apart from this minor concern, '*And There'll be NO Dancing*' is a very engaging and analytically sharp study that can be highly recommended to students and scholars alike.

Henriette von Holleuffer
Hamburg

Alexandra Ludewig

Born German, Re-Born in Western Australia. Selected Stories 1841–2016: Celebrating 175 Years of German Settlement in Western Australia

Perth (Crawley): The University of Western Australia Publishing, 2016. 120 S. ISBN 978-1-74258-917-6. Hardcover. AU$ 30.

Gleich zu Anfang dieser Rezension mag die gewohnte Gliederung einer Kritik aufgelöst und die Bilanz vorweggenommen sein, denn erneut liefert Alexandra Ludewig eine faszinierend illustrierte Einsicht in die kollektive und individuelle Erfahrung des Neu-Auffindens von Heimat auf dem Fünften Kontinent. Es wird gleich zu zeigen sein, warum die Lektüre dieser äußerst gelungenen Auswahl-Dokumentation über die deutschstämmige Einwanderung nach Westaustralien Wissende erfreut und Novizen der Materie bereichert.

Wie auch in ihren früheren Veröffentlichungen greift die deutsch-australische Kulturforscherin Alexandra Ludewig eine Quellen-reich dokumentierte, gleichwohl oft übersehene Thematik auf: Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Westaustralien. Dieser Umstand mag verwundern angesichts der Tatsache, dass für andere Teile des Fünften Kontinents allerhand umfassende Analysen und Darstellungen zur deutschsprachigen Migration vorliegen. Doch Alexandra Ludewigs Recherche behebt ein Forschungsdefizit aus jüngster Zeit: Ein aktueller Abriss der deutschsprachigen Einwanderung nach Westaustralien liegt nun erstmals seit 1993, als Mary Mennicken-Coley ihre Analyse präsentierte, wieder vor.[1] Mit ihrer jüngsten Publikation richtet Alexandra Ludewig – nach langer Zeit freudig erwünscht – nun erneut das öffentliche Interesse auf diese Thematik. Geschickt terminiert gab den Anlass zu dieser Auswahlstudie ein Jubiläum: die 175. Jahrfeier der ersten Einbürgerungen deutschsprachiger Siedler in der ehemaligen Kolonie am Swan River.

Bereits vor 1841 hatten deutschstämmige Reisende die Küsten Westaustraliens gesichtet oder waren durch Schiffbruch an den vorgelagerten Riffen auf Strände

1 Mary Mennicken-Coley, The Germans in Western Australia - Innovators, Immigrants, Internees. Lawley, WA: Edith Cowan University Press, 1993.

gespült worden: Manche erlitten die Härten des Überlebenskampfes ohne das Land hinter dem endlosen Horizont kennenzulernen; wenige der Gestrandeten mögen die Unbilden der Natur hinter dem kontinentalen Landstrich überlebt haben, doch es kam die Zeit für jene, die glücklicher situiert, dessen Potential zu erkunden vermochten, um sich, als Ergebnis daraus, nach 1829 im Kontext eines sich etablierenden angelsächsischen Gemeinwesens am Swan River niederzulassen. Der Entschluss zu dauerhafter Ansiedlung in fremder Heimat kennt viele Gründe und bedarf spezieller Konstellationen. Für die Kultur-Historikerin am ehesten aufzeigbar kennzeichnet der Rechts-Akt der Naturalisation den Zeitpunkt der individuellen Willensbildung, sich einer neuen Heimat zuzuwenden – zumindest nach heute anerkannter Diktion. Aus diesem allgemeingültigen Verständnis der historischen Sachlage erwachsen symbolkräftige Daten, die den Beginn einer regulären Einwanderung aus deutsch(-sprachig)en Landen festlegen: Im April 1841 erhielten Johann August Ludwig Preiss und Fred(e)rick Waldeck die Einbürgerung als Untertanen der britischen Krone, ausgestattet mit den "innerhalb der Grenzen der Kolonie Westaustralien" gültigen Rechtsprivilegien eines Siedlers. Dieses denkwürdige Datum eröffnete Raum für mannigfaltig auseinander klaffende Lebenswege an den Swan River oder aber auch wieder heimwärts: Der aus dem Harz kommende Naturforscher und Botaniker Johann A. L. Preiss verließ 1842 Australien; der vor dem Militärdienst entwichene F. Waldeck, der sich, aus gutem Hause stammend, als Laien-Prediger und Schneider ein neues Leben aufbaute, blieb in der Kolonie am Swan River. Was also unternahmen Einwanderer wie Frederick Waldeck, um sich Westaustralien zur Heimat zu machen?

In ihrer bildreichen Veröffentlichung verliert sich Alexandra Ludewig nicht in der komplexen Fragestellung nach den soziologischen Mechanismen Heimat-schaffender Integration und gibt gleich Antwort: Sie liefert ein farbenprächtiges Kaleidoskop höchst spannend zu lesender Kapitel der deutsch(sprachig)en Zuwanderung nach Westaustralien. Die Publikation ist eine professionell geraffte Antwort auf die allgemeine Frage, wie Menschen sich Heimat in der Ferne schaffen. Im konkreten Fall ist hier eine zeitraffende Dokumentation entstanden, die Zuwanderung im Spiegel der Entwicklung der neuen Heimat Westaustralien aufzeigt. Durch die Sichtung umfassender Literatur- und Quellenbestände sowie die Auswertung aktueller Interviews ist der Autorin eine inhaltlich und visuell äußerst attraktive Zusammenstellung repräsentativer deutscher Einwandererschicksale im westlichen Australien gelungen. Mit geschultem Blick wird der historisch interessierte Leser gleich zu Beginn der Lektüre dankenswert erkennen, dass über das reichhaltig abgedruckte Bildmaterial partiell der Zugriff auf Quellen gewährt wird, auf die dieser sonst keinen Zugriff hätte. Schon dieser Umstand weckt Interesse an der Lektüre. Doch mag hier eine kurze Übersicht über den Inhalt des wertvollen Bandes die Entscheidung zum Erwerb desselben erleichtern.

Aus Alexandra Ludewigs Recherche ist eine klar strukturierte Dokumentation zur Thematik deutsch(sprachig)er Immigration in Westaustralien entstanden. Diese soll nicht allumfassende Darstellung eines historisch bedeutsamen Aspekts der westaustralischen Geschichte sein, sondern exemplarische Einblicke in ein noch nicht abgeschlossenes Kapitel derselben gewähren. Die souveräne Beherrschung des reichen Quellenmaterials durch die Autorin zeigt sich vor allem in dem umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Apparat des farbenprächtigen Bandes. Facetten-

reich wie die berufliche und soziale Betätigung der deutschstämmigen Einwanderer ist auch die Suche nach repräsentativen Fallbeispielen ausgefallen. Die Gliederung der Publikation orientiert sich an den Leistungsspektren der zugewanderten neuen *West-Australier* – und mag als dankenswertes Zugeständnis an den Kooperationspartner des Werks gelesen werden. (Der Band ist das Ergebnis einer ausnehmend günstigen Zusammenarbeit zwischen der University of Western Australia und dem deutschen Honorarkonsulat in Perth.) Drei Kapitel unterteilen das im Layout elegant gestaltete Buch: Für die Pionierphase der deutschen Siedlungsversuche zwischen 1841 und 1914 beleuchtet Ludewig vornehmlich das Werk und Auskommen von Naturwissenschaftlern, Agrar-Unternehmern und urbanen Freiberuflern. Der Chronologie logisch folgend rückt die Autorin für die Jahre 1914 bis 1945 die übergeordnete Frage nach dem Grad der Ausprägung transnationaler Loyalität in den Mittelpunkt des Abrisses über das Migrationsbezogene institutionell-biographische Geflecht zwischen (West)Australien und Deutschland. In einem dritten Kapitel, das den Zeitraum ab 1946 bis in die Gegenwart einbezieht, liefert Alexandra Ludewig Einblicke in das Netzwerk deutschstämmiger Unternehmen in Westaustralien.

Mit galanter Leichtigkeit beschreibt die Autorin, wie sich die ortsgebundene Präsenz in und/oder die intellektuelle Verbindung zu Westaustralien durch Deutschstämmige manifestierte: Ansiedlung, Besuchs-Aufenthalte und dauerhafte Kontaktpflege über Kriegszeiten hinweg stell(t)en Optionen der *Anwesenheit* einer Volksgruppe in der Fremde dar. Eines zeigt die narrative Darstellung jahrelanger Studienergebnisse auf: Migration definiert sich nicht allein über den Begriff der Ansiedlung, sondern umfasst in gleicher Weise das vielgestaltige Eindringen von Gedankengut.

Der Leser lernt viel Interessantes über die unerwartet günstige historische Konstellation zwischen zwei gegenüberliegenden Horizonten: dem sich langsam als Nation herauskristallisierenden Deutschland und dem – in kolonialem Kontext – angelsächsisch geprägten Westaustralien. Diese hat trotz anfänglich deutlich schleppender direkter Zuwanderung aus deutschen Landen erfolgreich gewirkt. In der aktuellen Bilanz zeigen sich markante Konturen deutschstämmiger Besiedlung Westaustraliens, auch wenn es weniger der Umfang als die Tiefenwirkung sein mag, die die Präsenz dieser Volksgruppe belegt. Das hat seine Ursache u.a. darin, so zeigt Ludewig gleich zu Beginn auf, dass sich die Kolonialverwaltung am Swan River anfangs wenig geneigt zeigte, nicht-britische Siedler aufzunehmen. Größere Gruppen erreichten den Westteil Australiens erst gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts – und zwar als Ergebnis einer *inner*kontinentalen Zuwanderung aus den deutschsprachigen Siedlerkommunen Südaustraliens und der Kolonien an der Ostküste. Weniger gezielte Werbung in Übersee als Gelegenheit zum Ortswechsel vor Ort scheint den anfänglich eher minimalistischen Prozentsatz deutschstämmiger Migration an den Swan River zur sichtbaren Blüte gebracht zu haben. Westaustralien bot durchaus verlockende Optionen zum Standortwechsel von Werten und Existenzen, von Ideen und Talenten, die sich am Rhein, der Elbe, an Spree oder an der Oder nicht länger zu Hause wussten. Dieser Austausch nutzte die bewährte Handelsroute zwischen den Seehäfen Nord-Europas und Fremantle. Das zeigen die vielen Einzelbeispiele, die Alexandra Ludewig aus den Akten und Erzählungen resümiert und koloriert. Hier können allein Skizzen derselben zur Lektüre des Bandes animieren: Ein pragmatischer Impetus zum Abenteuer ließ beispielsweise den Handelsmariner George

Lüllfitz (Lullfitz), einen jungen Mann aus Pommern, 1904 in Fremantle von Bord gehen. Seine Nachfahren tragen heute mit ihrer ererbten Baumschule, die sich auf die einheimische Flora Westaustraliens spezialisiert hat, zum Erhalt eines wichtigen ökologischen Erbes dieser Erdregion bei. Ein anderes Beispiel: Die 1911 gegründete University of Western Australia verpflichtete gleich zu Beginn ihres Bestehens mehrere Professoren mit deutschem akademischen Abschluss – absolviert hatten diese ihr Studium an der berühmten Göttinger Universität; auch in den Naturwissenschaften griffen die nach Europa blickenden Universitätsinstitute damals auf Lehrmaterialien und Geräte aus deutscher Fertigung zurück, um den neuesten Forschungsstand aus Übersee zu gewähren.

Die Historie einer Einwanderungsnation ist partiell und fluktuierend immer auch mit der Geschichte der Herkunftsländer verbunden. Das deutet diese Darstellung an: Alexandra Ludewig nimmt sich der wechselvollen Zeiten in den Beziehungen zwischen Westaustralien und Deutschland in kompetenter Weise an. Sie führt den Leser an die Erfahrungen von Internierung und Repatriierung während des Ersten Weltkriegs heran; für die Zwischenkriegszeit belebt sie das Schicksal der Flugpioniere Hans Bertram und Adolph Klausmann, um zugleich aufzuzeigen, dass es Aborigines waren, die die Verschollenen im Outback vor dem Tod erretteten; die Zuflucht der Malerin Elise Blumann mit ihrem Mann wird zum Symbol der Asylsuche von Intellektuellen aus Nazi-Deutschland, bevor Ludewig überleitet in die Nachkriegs-Ära, in der Perth erstmals in größerem Umfang gezielte Anwerbungen außerhalb Großbritanniens betrieb, um junge Männer und Frauen – nun auch aus dem kriegszerstörten Deutschland – nach Westaustralien zu holen. Ebenso lernt der zunehmend schneller Lesende, dass im Nachklang der deutschen Wiedervereinigung 1990 ein Ausschlag auf der Amplitude der Zuwanderung zu erkennen war, auch wenn nicht erkennbar ist, ob diese vermehrt aus Ost oder West erfolgte. Es ist kein angestrengter Parforceritt, den die Autorin durch die Geschichte deutschstämmiger Migration an den Indischen Ozean unternimmt; die Lektüre des Buches ist ein Hochgenuss, weil die dargestellten Einwanderer-Biographien lebendig geschrieben sind. Im aktuellen Kontext transnationaler Sozialgeschichte ist dies eine vorzüglich gelungene Illustration des Migrationsphänomens. Auch vermag die Autorin, den stets mit Recht eingeforderten Blick auf die indigene Präsenz vor Ort sowie auf den Gender-Aspekt im Zusammenhang australischer Migrations-Historie zu gewähren. Allein kritisch zu sehen sind die unbeantwortet bleibenden Fragen nach der Aufnahme (oder Zurückweisung) jüdischer Flüchtlinge oder Holocaust-Überlebender, die ebenso deutscher Herkunft waren. Gleichfalls würde der Leser sicher gern wissen, wie sich die politische Gesinnung mancher Segmente der deutschen Volksgruppe über die Zeit des 20. Jahrhunderts gestaltete. Hier könnte ein weiteres Kapitel Antwort geben und in einer sicher bald erwünschten Neuauflage veröffentlicht werden.

Den biographischen Fallstudien des Ankommens am Indischen Ozean folgt der Epilog: die institutionelle Abstraktion deutscher Anwesenheit in Westaustralien. Auch hierzu lernt man ganz nebenbei Neues. Wer hätte gewusst, dass die heutige Bestuhlung im westaustralischen Parlament von einer ortsansässig deutschstämmigen Firma angefertigt wurde. Diese beiläufige Anmerkung macht Sinn: Dem spezifisch deutschen Phänomen des *Mittelstand-Unternehmens* widmet die Autorin am Schluss ein besonderes Augenmerk. Zum einen arbeitet Alexandra Ludewig hier-

mit das klassische Erfolgsmuster deutschstämmiger Einwanderung nach Übersee heraus; zum anderen ist das erfolgreiche Zustandekommen des hier besprochenen Bandes auch sehr erfreuliches Ergebnis eines engen unternehmerischen Netzwerkes zwischen Deutschland und Westaustralien, das bis in die Gegenwart Geschichte schreibt, wie dies auch das Vorwort des deutschen Honorarkonsuls in Perth, Torsten Ketelsen, aufzeigt. Die geschäftlichen Verbindungen, die zwischen Perth und vielen deutschen Handelsmetropolen bestehen, haben neue, flexiblere Formen von Zuwanderung beschert: Heimat muss nicht zwangsläufig ein ortsgebundenes Phänomen bleiben; die existentiell-kulturelle Verwurzelung vermag sich in der Epoche der Globalisierung verstärkt auch Heimat zu schaffen *zwischen* dem statischen *Hier* und *Dort.*

Zuletzt ein Wort zum perfekt gelungenen Layout des Bandes. Selten bilanziert dasselbe so aussagekräftig die Aussagen einer Publikation, denn Buchtitel und Umschlagbild sind mit Bedacht gewählt. Leser blicken bekanntermaßen zuerst auf den Titel. Hier ist es ein Foto, das eine überschwänglich-erwartungsvoll blickende Einwanderin auf ihrer Schiffspassage nach Westaustralien zeigt. Die Titelansicht ist Visualisierung und Paraphrasierung des berühmten Zitats von Hans Bertram aus dem Jahr 1932: "I was born in Germany, but reborn in [Western]Australia".[2] Was lernt der Leser aus alldem? Einwanderungsstatistiken decken das Geflecht von Ursache und *Wirkung* nicht immer voll umfänglich auf – anders als gelebte und wiederbelebte Biographien. So hat die Schwingungsweite deutschen *Wirkens* in Westaustralien ihre dezent *wirkungsvollen* Fäden in den multiethnischen Kokon einer wirtschaftlich höchst potenten Teil-Gesellschaft der australischen Nation gewoben, ohne dass dies einen dramatischen Ausschlag auf der statistisch induzierten Kurve bewirkt hat. Allein dieser Erkenntnis wegen lohnt es, das neueste Werk von Alexandra Ludewig als Geschichtslektion der besonderen Art zur Hand zu nehmen. Im Kontext der aktuellen Migrationsdebatte beflügelt diese Zusammenstellung gelungener Lebensläufe und Firmengeschichten zu neuem Nachdenken wie einst – und immer wieder neu – der Ozeanwind die Hoffnungen und Träume von Immigranten in eine bessere Zukunft fern der alten Heimat.

2 Hans Bertram in: "Bertram in Melbourne. Tribute to Kimberley Aborigines," The West Australian, 10. October 1932, 8.

Informationen
Information

Die Herausgeber | The Editors

Henriette von Holleuffer is a historian. She holds a PhD and M.A. from the University of Hamburg. Her academic research focuses on Australian (Commonwealth) history and the global displacement of refugees. In the past she has worked as a journalist in Sydney, as a research assistant at the University of Hamburg, and as a public relations adviser at the Ministry of Nature and Conservation Kiel. She held a DAAD research scholarship for Australia. Henriette has published work on emigration and Australian history. The author is in the executive board of the *German Association for Australian Studies*. She is editor of the Web-published Newsletter of the *GASt* and co-editor of this journal. Contact: adfonteshistory@aol.com

Oliver Haag holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh and a M.A. from the University of Vienna. He is Teaching Fellow at the University of Edinburgh and Research Fellow at the Austrian Center for Transcultural Studies. His research interests are in the areas of European reception of Indigenous New Zealand and Australian literatures, the history of publishing and critical race and whiteness theory. Oliver has authored numerous articles in journals, such as *Continuum*, *National Identities* and *Antipodes*. He is co-editor of a book on ego-histoire and Indigenous Studies, *Ngapartji Ngapartji: In Turn, In Turn* (Australian National University Press, 2014). Contact: ohaag@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

Die Beitragenden | The Contributors

Dr. **Stefanie Affeldt** has studied Social Economics at the University of Hamburg and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology from the Macquarie University, Sydney. Subsequently, she did her post-graduate studies in Cultural and Social History at the University of Essex and obtained her doctorate in (Historical) Sociology from the University of Hamburg. Her most recent publication, *Consuming Whiteness. Australian Racism and the 'White Sugar' Campaign*, examines the entanglement of the political history of Australian nation building with economic, cultural, and social processes and investigates mechanism of inclusion/exclusion and questions of socio-political organisation in the settler society, with a particular interest in the role of mass media and popular culture in the everyday (re)production of ideology. Currently, she is a Visiting Fellow at the Heidelberg University, Transcultural Studies, with a project investigating 'multiculturality' and conflict in the Broome pearling industry against the backdrop of the 'White Australia policy'.

Professor **Regina Ganter** (Griffith University) is a historian specialising in interactions between Indigenous, Asian and European peoples in Australia. She is the multi-award winning author of *The Pearl-Shellers of Torres Strait* (MUP 1994) and *Mixed Relations* (UWAP 2006) and published widely in the field of cross cultural encounters including contributions to a number of broadcasts, museum exhibitions and curriculum materials. Regina migrated to Australia in 1979. She is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, an elected member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and Director of the Harry Gentle Resource Centre at Griffith University. She had just completed an ARC Future Fellowship to produce *The Contest for Aboriginal Souls: Missionary Agendas in Australia* forthcoming with ANU Press and its accompanying website *German Missionaries in Australia* – A web-directory of intercultural encounters: http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/

Professor Dr. **Liesel Hermes** was president of the University of Education, Karlsruhe, Germany from 2002–2011. Before coming into office she was a professor of English literature and didactics. From 1997–2004 she was the editor of the journal *Neusprachliche Mitteilungen aus Wissenschaft und Praxis*. She is a member of the *German Association for Australian Studies*. Professor Hermes was a visiting scholar at the University of Western Australia in Perth in 2001 and 2002 and at the John Septimus Roe Anglican Community School in Perth in 2012. Her research interests are 20th century Australian and English literature, EFL methodology, especially teaching literature, Action Research and Learner Autonomy in Higher Education. She has published widely in these areas. Moreover she is instrumental in the development of English course books as an adviser and has published numerous teaching materials herself.

Alexandra Ludewig, Professorin für German Studies an der University of Western Australia und Institutsleiterin der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät. Forschungsschwerpunkte: Heimat, Migration und Mobilität. Wichtige Veröffentlichungen: *175 Years of German Settlement in Western Australia* (UWAP, 2016), *Interniert auf Rottnest Island 1914–15* (Peter Lang 2015), *100 Years of German Heimat Film* (transcript, 2011).

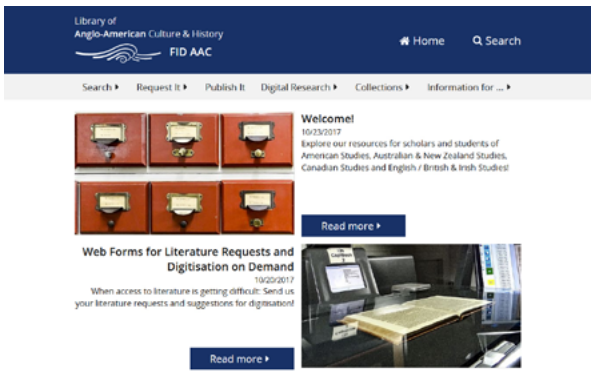
Daniel Rothenburg is a Research Associate at the Collaborative Research Center 923 "Threatened Order" at the University of Tübingen, Germany. He is working on a doctoral thesis about the social and environmental transformations of farming communities in the Murray-Darling Basin, Australia, due to salinity problems, with a focus on civil society and ecological ideas.

Zeitschrift für Australienstudien Style Sheet

1. All papers will be **peer-reviewed**.
2. **Length**: For an essay: 6,000 words recommended (including bibliography). Reviews: 1,500 words. A Review Essay is allowed 2,500 words. Please include a scan of the reviewed book's cover (300dpi at 75 mm at the shortest side).
3. **Format**: Please keep text formatting to an absolute minimum. No underlining or boldface, for emphasis please use *italics*. Please do not indent new paragraphs and do not paginate.
4. **Font**: for the *text*: Spacing: 1.5, Font: Arial 13; for the *footnotes*: single spacing, Arial 10. Footnotes are to be numbered 1, 2, 3 etc. (not i, ii, iii, iv), for *captions*: Arial 10, please green-highlight both the reference in the text (e.g. Fig. 1) and the caption to signal the approximate position of the illustration.
5. **Quotes of more than 3 lines**: single spacing, indent by 1 cm, no indentation at the right margin, font: Arial 12.
6. **Footnotes:** No endnotes please. Footnotes should be used for additional information only (not for bibliographical purposes) and should be kept to a minimum. Wherever this is possible, your footnotes should be incorporated into your main text.
7. **Referencing in the text** (example): Citations in the text are followe by a reference like this: (Smith 2001: 234) or if there is only one Smith reference, like this (Smith 234). Or: As Smith (2001: 234) notes … Or: The point was already made in 1972 (Brown 432). No commas in the in-text references please. All your references must relate to an appropriate full citation at the end of your essay, i.e. in an extra section: "Bibliography" or "Works Cited".
8. **Bibliography / Works Cited**: Keep your bibliography within a limit of 2–3 pages. Font: Arial 12, single line spacing. *Web-based references*: If there is an author, then the reference is placed with all other references. Anonymous web references should be listed separately after the main bibliography under "Websources". Citing a *monograph*: Smith, John C., year. Title. Place: Publisher. Additional page references (e.g. for a chapter) optional. A *journal article*: Smith, John C., year. "Title". Journal Name, Volume (Issue), page reference (e.g. 55–67; no "p." and no "pp." before the page reference). An *article* in an anthology must be cited in this way: Smith, John C., year. "Title", in: Brown, Susan F., ed., title. Place: Publisher, page reference.
9. **Inverted commas**: The convention in Europe is that all quotations from cited sources are placed in double inverted commas, of this "…" type. Single inverted commas are used to achieve an ironic tone, or might be described as 'so-called'. (Example: The clarinetist 'Fatty' George ...) This distinction is important as in Australia the inverted commas are generally used in the exactly opposite way.
10. **Illustrations / photos / reproductions**: Please provide your illustrations in an adequate quality as a *separate file* (TIFF, JPG or PSD). Based on the print target dimensions, the *minimum requirement* regarding resolution is 300 dpi for grey scales. 400 dpi for colour images, and 600 dpi for line drawings, reproductions of tables and charts.
11. **Author**: Authors submit their papers together with a 5–6 line bio and a portrait photo (300dpi). Please attach your contribution as *Word file* (DOC, DOCX, or RTF) to: ad-fonteshistory@aol.com or ohaag@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

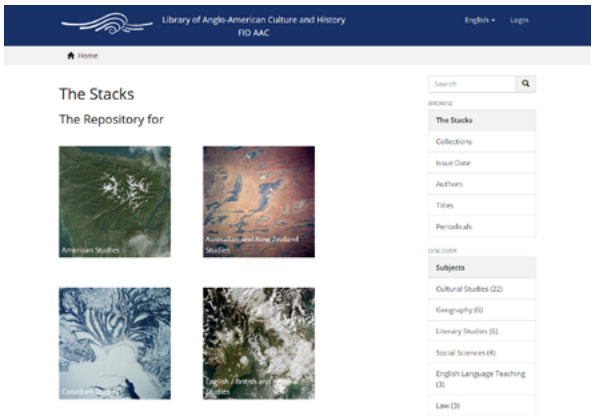
Library of Anglo-American Culture & History

Im November 2017 wurde die neue Webseite der *Library of Anglo-American Culture & History* freigeschaltet: https://libaac.de. Hier finden Sie neben dem Suchportal, das Ihnen vielleicht bereits von der vorherigen Webpräsenz her bekannt ist, viele neue Angebote und Dienste für Wissenschaftlerinnen, Wissenschaftler und Studierende der Fächer Anglistik / Großbritannien- und Irlandstudien, Amerikastudien, Australien- und Neuseelandstudien sowie Kanadastudien.



Wir möchten Sie ganz besonders auf die Möglichkeit hinweisen, Literatur bei uns zu bestellen, die in Deutschland über die gängigen Lieferdienste nicht erhältlich ist. Auf der Unterseite "Request It" https://libaac.de/request-it/ können Sie über Wunschformulare Bücher, TV-Serien auf DVD oder BluRay, Zeitschriftenartikel, Comics und Graphic Novels zur Erwerbung vorschlagen und diese dann fernleihen, kostenfrei Digitalisate aus den urheberrechtsfreien Beständen der SUB Göttingen bestellen oder Datenbanken zur Lizenzierung vorschlagen.

Ferner bieten wir zahlreiche Tipps zur Literaturrecherche an. In der Regel nutzten Wissenschaftler, Lehrkräfte, Studierende und Medienschaffende bewährte Recherchestrategien, doch in Zeiten, in denen sich die Landschaft der Nachweissysteme und Publikationskulturen laufend ändert, kann es lohnenswert sein, von Zeit zu Zeit diese Strategien zu reflektieren und anzupassen. Stöbern Sie in unseren "Search Tips", die wir auch spezifisch auf die von uns betreuten Fächer zugeschnitten haben – so auch für die **Australien- und Neuseelandstudien**: https://libaac.de/search/search-tips/australian-new-zealand-studies/. Gerne können Sie diese Inhalte, die unter einer CC-BY-4.0-Lizenz stehen, z.B. auch für die Lehre weiterverwenden. Wir freuen uns über Feedback!



Wenn Sie wissen möchten, was wir darüber hinaus an Inhalten speziell für die Australien- und Neuseelandstudien anbieten, schauen Sie auf unsere **Australian & New Zealand Studies-Seite** https://libaac.de/collections/australian-new-zealand-studies/. Von hier aus können Sie auf alle *Library AAC*-Inhalte zugreifen, die sich speziell auf Ihr Fach beziehen, von Informationen zu den entsprechenden Sammlungen der SUB Göttingen über die "Search Tips" bis hin zu kurzen Beiträgen, mit denen wir einzelne Bücher mit Relevanz für die **Australien- und Neuseelandstudien** vorstellen. Auf unserer Startseite finden Sie regelmäßig solche kleinen Artikel zu verschiedenen, auch fächerübergreifenden Themen.

2018/19 wird das Open Access-Repositorium "The Stacks" freigeschaltet werden. Dort können Sie Zeitschriftenaufsätze, Blogartikel, Rezensionen, Monographien, Zeitschriften und andere Periodika elektronisch publizieren bzw. archivieren, sofern Sie im Besitz der Rechte sind. Hier können Nutzer Veranstaltungen dokumentieren und z.B. Calls for Papers, Konferenzberichte, Seminar- und Workshop-Programme und Abstracts of Books einstellen, die dann dauerhaft abrufbar sein werden.

Die Library AAC ist eine Kooperation zwischen der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (SUB Göttingen) und der Bibliothek des John-F.-Kennedy-Instituts für Nordamerikastudien der Freien Universität Berlin (JFKI). Die Library AAC wird durch die DFG-Förderlinie "Fachinformationsdienste für die Wissenschaft" finanziert.

Sollten Sie schon jetzt Interesse haben, etwas in "The Stacks" zu archivieren, melden Sie sich gerne bei uns! Über den genauen Termin der Freischaltung werden wir Sie rechtzeitig informieren. Weitere Informationen zu: https://libaac.de/publish-it/

Almut Breitenbach & Dorothea Schuller
Kontakt: fid-aac@sub.uni-goettingen.de

Zeitschrift für Australienstudien
Australian Studies Journal

31 / 2017

Annual Journal published by the
Association for Australian Studies (GASt)

Editors:
Henriette von Holleuffer, Hamburg, Germany
Oliver Haag, Edinburgh, UK

ISSN 1617-9900