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From the editors of this issue

The present issue combines two years of work, with the last one under heavy restrictions, postponements and loss. In early 2020, Australia was ravaged by fires that can be explicated not merely as the result of global warming but also as the effects of economic exploitation with all its implications of social and racial injustice. The following worldwide spread of SARS-CoV-2 has led not only to unprecedented restrictions in modern academic life – including the cancellation of the 2020 German Australian Studies conference – but it has also shown the intricacies between questions of ecological sustainability, social justice and the exploitation of resources. Persisting and tenacious yet equally malleable and adaptable, narratives of race and racism have infiltrated the debates around socio-ecological disasters and health protection, while at the same time exhibiting extant patterns of prejudice. Think of higher mortality rates among socially disadvantaged groups, for one, or the re-awakening of fantasies of nationalist protection. The fears of *imported* diseases, it can be argued, mirror the fears of a dissolution of national integrity.

Historically, references to physical health and disease indeed acted as integral devices to script racialised bodies, with the in-group considered the epitome of utmost health and the subjected out-group inscribed with plagues they were said to be carrying over centuries. To take an admittedly extreme example from German history, as Bernd Gausemaier outlines, Jewish people, since ostensibly exposed to tuberculosis in the past, were classified as resistant transmitters of tuberculosis under Nazism.[1] Although most contemporary debates deviate in tone and effect from such radical concepts, they can still hint at similar, if not common, origins. The unearthing of such origins as well as their resonance in the present can hardly be wholistic and straightforward, but rather partial. Race, gender, nation, sexuality, Indigeneity, dis-ability, to name a few, are not isolated socio-historical categories, but entangled. Their analytical disentanglement is a matter of complexity through time and space.

An innovative approach to the very disentanglement can be achieved through decidedly trans-national and trans-historical lenses. While the following articles do not systematically combine the three aforementioned subjects per se and while not all of them are strictly trans-national, it is their combined reading that can result in radical interventions in social categories. Contemporary bush fires, for instance, can be related to concepts of race and racism, as much as the translation of Indigenous literature can evince the national and historic shifts in racial narratives. And Australian discourses around the current pandemic, it seems, resemble those of the Spanish Flu of 1918/19 – rhetorics of nationalism and race included. Put succinctly, we invite our readers to also direct their attention to

1 Bernd Gausemaier, Rassenhygienische Radikalisierung und kollegialer Konsens, in: Carola Sachse, Die Verbindung nach Auschwitz. Biowissenschaften und Menschenversuche an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten, Göttingen: Wallstein 2003, p. 186.

subjects beyond their immediate research interest and, instead, to read across the individual articles – indeed to read across time, space and academic disciplines. We hope this may lead to a broadening not only of individual interest but also of insight to how much seemingly unrelated subjects can exhibit striking relatedness.

Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (December 2020)

Race and Racism in Australian-German Relations

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Wulf D. Hund, Stefanie Affeldt

'Racism' Down Under

The Prehistory of a Concept in Australia

Abstract: The conceptual history of 'racism' is hitherto underdeveloped. One of its assertions is that the term 'racism' originated from a German-centric critique of völkisch and fascist ideology. A closer look at the early international usage of the categories 'racialism' and 'racism' shows that the circumstances were much more complex. Australia lends itself for validation of this complexity. It once shared a colonial border with Germany, had a substantial number of German immigrants, and, during both world wars, was amongst the opponents of Germany. Even so, the reference to Germany is only one of many elements of the early concept of 'racism'.

Racism is older than its name.[1] Depending on the interpretative approach, the difference ranges from decades to centuries. Moreover, the conceptual history of 'racism'[2] is a desideratum. Despite the current omnipresence of the term, its etymological emergence and intellectual development are mostly unexplored. This has found widespread expression in the fact that, until today, 'racism' is often considered an exonerative term for a kind of racial thinking purportedly not affected by it.

This observation applies to early attempts of distinction between race theory and racism that were meant to rescue racial thinking as value-neutral scientific consideration. It also applies to later analyses that consider 'racism' as a reaction to the Nazis' discrimination of parts of the white race. The background of such discursive strategies is observable in the entry "Rasse" ['race'] in 'Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe' [Basic Concepts in History], a principal work of conceptual history.[3] It was edited by three conservative historians, Otto Brunner, Werner Conze,

1 In the current discussion of the history of racism (which does not deal with the conceptual history), the following positions are, amongst others, taken: – a. Racism is a reactionary ideology that emerged in the nineteenth century (cf. Detlev Claussen, Was heißt Rassismus?); – b. Racism has its theoretical roots in Enlightenment thinking (cf. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Race and the Enlightenment); – c. Racism is a white ideology that emerged in the context of colonialism and transatlantic slavery (cf., besides numerous contributions from 'Critical Whiteness' research, Joe Feagin, The White Racial Frame); – d. Racism dates back at least to the politics of the 'limpieza de sangre' in early modern Spain (cf. Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg, eds., Race and Blood in the Iberian World); – e. Racist thinking already existed in the European Middle Ages (cf. Geraldine Heng, The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages); – f. Racism was 'invented' in classical antiquity (cf. Benjamin Isaac, The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity); – g. Racism was already known to the ancient Egyptians (cf. Malvern van Wyk Smith, The First Ethiopians); – h. Racism also has a long history outside Europe (cf. Ian Law, Racism and Ethnicity). Moreover, these positions are interwoven with different attitudes towards the concept of race. They range from the assertion that (i) racism did not exist before the development of modern racial thinking (cf. David Theo Goldberg, Racist Culture) on the idea that (ii) race-like concepts had existed before and (iii) 'social race' and 'natural race' are not mutually exclusive constructions (cf. Robin O. Andreasen, A New Perspective on the Race Debate) until the point of view that (iv) racism would also have used other than racial, e.g. religious points of reference (cf. George M. Fredrickson, Racism).

2 'Racism' is put in single-inverted commas when we refer to the concept; in the cases we address racism as a social relation, it remains unmarked.

3 Cf. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck, Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe – the volume with the lemma 'race' was published in 1984. For English contributions by

and Reinhard Koselleck. The academic beginnings of the first two were influenced by National Socialism and antisemitism.[4] The third was younger, started his studies after the war but was influenced by conservative and fascist thinkers, not least by Carl Schmitt.[5] Later, Koselleck had the most far-reaching theoretical impact on the understanding of 'Begriffsgeschichte' and his work continues to serve as a central point of reference.[6]

Koselleck emphasizes the connection between conceptual history and social history. He even suspects that "the partisanship and ideology of modern vocabulary [...] are at the same time a priori constitutive of our current politico-social language".[7] But no such caveats were included in the lemma 'Race' in the 'Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe'. On the contrary, it provides a prime example for purposeful ideological misinformation.

This becomes dramatically obvious at the end of the entry. It culminates in an exculpatory conclusion and ends with a methodological acquittal. The conclusion claims that the word 'racism' had been "provoked by national socialism and denotes, in a derogatory sense, the misuse of the race term by its unjustified transmission to history and politics". The implicit acquittal ascertains that "word and term 'race' [...] obviously continue to belong to the conceptual language of the natural sciences, not only that of anthropology".[8]

This comprehension of the term 'race' serves its retrospective denazification, in the sense that it was allegedly misused by the Nazis, but did not forfeit any of its importance for anthropological research. Divergent opinions and initiatives remain unmentioned. The brief conclusive reference to the category 'racism' attempts to contain this circumstance.

However, at least for one case (that of Apartheid in South Africa), the lexicon entry cannot avoid discussing racism's still existing potential. Furthermore, it is suggested that the term was popularized through the critique of National Socialism. At the same time, it is conceded that it would probably lend itself as an analytical device "for the past when it was unknown".[9]

Koselleck, the projecting force of the lexicon, see Reinhart Koselleck, The Practice of Conceptual History.

4 For Brunner, see Hans-Henning Kortüm, Gut durch die Zeiten gekommen; for Conze, see Thomas Etzemüller, Sozialgeschichte als politische Geschichte; Jan Eike Dunkhase, Werner Conze.

5 Cf. Timo Pankakoski, Conflict, Context, Concreteness.

6 Cf. Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden, Javier Fernández-Sebastián, eds., Conceptual History in the European Space.

7 Reinhart Koselleck, Begriffsgeschichten, p. 85; for the relation of conceptual and social history see Reinhart Koselleck, Begriffsgeschichte and Social History. All quotes from non-English sources are translated by the authors.

8 Werner Conze, Antje Sommer, p. 178. The entry 'Rasse' was mostly authored by Conze, who, after 1945, had worked intensively on an apologetic image of German history. This mainly involved the extensive externalisation of national socialism, including the isolation of the persecution and the genocide of European Jews. This is why one seeks in vain for a reference by Conze to one of his co-editors, who had already published in the journal Rasse in 1935 (cf. Otto Brunner, Der ostmärkische Raum in der Geschichte). Likewise, the names of the two editors of this periodical, Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß and Hans F. K. Günther, are missing, as well as those of further representatives of national-socialist racial thinking. In turn, others who were able to further pursue their career after 1945, like Egon von Eickstedt and Ilse Schwidetzky or Walter Scheidt, were not only not criticized but rather even favourably mentioned.

9 Werner Conze, Antje Sommer, Rasse, p. 178.

Ample use has been made in the meantime of this possibility. Yet, this has not changed much of the negligence with which racism analysis treats the history of its own concept. This is demonstrated by an uncritical colportage that is perpetuated until today. It suggests that Magnus Hirschfeld was the first to publish a monograph with the title 'Racism' and that the concept of 'racism' only emerged after the Nazis applied racist methods against members of the "white race" (in particular Jews and Slavic peoples).[10]

Both assertions are inaccurate. Factually, the prehistory of the term 'racism' is ambiguous and was a transnational process. To emphasize this, we centre our discussion upon Australia. Its racist 'White Australia Policy' became state doctrine in 1901, that is roughly at a time when the new words 'racism' and 'racialism' emerged. Regarding the beginnings of a conceptual history of 'racism', Australia possessed some pertinent conditions.

Not only was it part of the most expanded European empire, it also sheltered a migration society consistent of different ethnic elements of the so-called 'white race', who considered another members of various sub-races of different value. Furthermore, this settler society had some typical characteristics of racist societalization: repression against the indigenous population including its violent and genocidal persecution; the inclusion of indentured or otherwise coerced foreign workforce in its economy; and the formation of a racially segregated and degraded social underclass subordinated to all other classes of the colonial society.

Geographically, Australia played a particular role. One the one hand, it was situated in the sphere of influence of two old Asiatic empires, China and Japan, and thus viewed itself as endangered by a 'yellow peril'.[11] The corresponding alarmism peaked at the same time as the concept of 'racism' emerged. On the other hand, until the First World War, Australia shared a border with Germany (in New Guinea) and accommodated a large number of settlers of German descent. This became especially important during the rise of German fascism and the corresponding applications of the concept of 'racism'.

Moreover, Australia was by no means a society of uninformed people of parochial attitudes. There was actually a close-knit network of newspapers that acted as weekly replicators of metropolitan news for regional and rural communities. In addition, literacy was common and even in remote areas of the country people made intense use of newspapers. At the end of the nineteenth century, Australia had three times more papers per inhabitant than Great Britain. Newspapers had become real mass media.[12]

10 Cf. Etienne Balibar, La construction du racisme, pp. 15 f.; Robert Miles, Racism, pp. 42 f.; see Magnus Hirschfeld, Racism.

11 The yellow peril was, of course, not an anxiety specific to Australia (see, for instance, John Kuo Wei Tchen, Dylan Years, Yellow Peril); but due to the geographic proximity, the purported threat seemed a real danger and took on particularly intense extents.

12 Cf. John Arnold, Newspapers and Daily Reading; Henry Mayer, The Press in Australia. Furthermore, the readers not only used Anglophone sources but had also access to German, Swedish, French, Italian, Greek, and Chinese newspapers. In addition, there was also a press with indigenous voices. Cf. Victor Isaacs and Rod Kirkpatrick, Two Hundred Years of Sydney Newspapers. For foreign-language press, see, inter alia, Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, The Foreign-Language Press in Australia 1848-1964; Mei-fen Kuo, Making Chinese Australia; for the indigenous press, see Michael Rose, For the Record.

In this context, the terms 'racialism' and 'racism' were utilized and diffused with differing contents and nuances. They make obvious that a constricted derivation of the concept of 'racism' falls short. We attempt to shine a light on this circumstance by tracing the far-reaching usage of 'racialism' and 'racism' in the press of the period. We precede our investigation with brief references to the early international history of both terms. Subsequently, we present two examples to demonstrate how both terms appeared early on in the Australian public discourse. They were applied, inter alia, in the context of the dispute between the Boers and the British in South Africa and aimed at German politics and settlers of German descent in Australia. Finally, we recapitulate our findings and compare them with other considerations regarding the early history of the concept of 'racism'.

'Heading for Racism' – Multifarious Beginnings

In the 'Oxford English Dictionary', the entries for 'racialism' and 'racism' contain mutual references. The earliest pieces of evidence for the two entries stem from 1880 and 1902 respectively.[13] Corresponding expressions can also be found early on in other languages. For instance, in 1888, the French anarchist Charles Malato relates them to transnational movements of pan-Slavism, pan-Latinism, and pan-Germanism and considers them an indication that "[p]reseeding from patriotism, today we are heading for racism".[14]

In the English language, the word 'racialism' surfaces in the outgoing nineteenth century. In 1897, the 'Columbian Cyclopedia' defined "nation" either as "the inhabitants of one country united under the same government" or as "a state or independent soc[iety] united by common political institutions". The term could also mean "an aggregate mass of persons connected by ties of blood and lineage, and sometimes of language – a race". The latter understanding stems from "the modern dogma of nationalism", interpreted by "extreme politicians" in a way "that a nation in the [...] race sense ought necessarily be also a nation in the [...] political sense". Such a type of nationalism "might be properly called *racialism*".[15]

From the outset, this ethnocentric dimension of racial thinking shaped the understanding of the new terms 'racism' and 'racialism'. By doing so, both could refer to a wide range of conflicts, simultaneously driving a wedge between the purportedly white and the so-called coloured races and splitting up the unity of the white race.

13 Cf. Oxford English Dictionary [online], s. v. 'racism' and 'racialism'.

14 Charles Malato, Philosophie de l'anarchie, p. 9. In the early discourse, race was always used in a genealogical manner: razza in Spain, race in France, and race in England – and the relatedness to descent and class was still existent in the nineteenth century. In the debate on social conflicts, it resulted in an intermingling of the categories class and race. Along these lines, Henry Mayhew, disparaging the poor, suggested that in the course of history "every civilized tribe had its nomadic race, like parasites, living upon it", Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, p. 321. With regard to racism the background was usually ethnic, sometimes with a classis undertone; an example is Gaston Méry, Jean Révolte.

15 The Columbian Cyclopedia, s. v. 'nation'.

In 1903, John Stephen Willison, long-time editor-in-chief of the Toronto 'Globe', discussed the "race quarrel in South Africa" and the "race quarrel in Canada" – that is between the British and the Dutch population in the one case, the British and the French population in the other case – in a book chapter captioned "Imperialism and Racialism".[16] In 1906, Rabbi Samuel Schulman, born in Russia, student in Germany, migrant to the USA, and a moderate anti-Zionist, criticized "Jewish racialism" in Palestine.[17]

Three years earlier, a newspaper chronicled the appointment by Theodore Roosevelt of William Demosthenes Crum, a friend of Booker T. Washington, as a collector of customs for the port of Charleston. Crum had a medical practice and headed the local hospital for African Americans. His appointment gave rise to severe white protests in the South and resistance in the Republican-dominated Senate. But, according to the newspaper report, the president "stated that he would not allow partisanism, racialism, or sectarianism" but would instead only be guided by the "individual ability" of candidates for "responsible positions".[18]

At the same time, the veteran of the "Indian Wars" and founder of an "Indian boarding school", lieutenant colonel Richard Henry Pratt, used the word 'racism' in a comparatively negative sense. Experienced in both physical and cultural genocide, his motto was "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man".[19] This expressed his radical assimilationist view of politics regarding Indigenous Americans. In view of them, he declared: "Segregating any class or race of people apart from the rest of the people kills the progress of the segregated people or makes their growth very slow. Association of races and classes is necessary in order to destroy racism and classism".[20]

The terms 'racialism' and 'racism' often had negative connotations. However, various positions could also use them in a positive sense. Already in 1897, Alexander Crummell explained that "the Negro himself is duty bound to see to the cultivation and the fostering of his own race-capacity" and in this context propagated a "devoted racialism".[21] He had lived for many years in Liberia before he returned to the United States, where he served as a pastor in Washington, taught at Howard University, and founded the American Negro Academy. Today, he is regarded as one of the founders of pan-African thinking.[22]

In the same year, the antisemitic French journal 'La Libre Parole' claimed "that truly French – truly racist – voices oppose their eloquence to the rhetoric of internationalist boastings".[23] Already two years earlier, Charles Maurras had declared: "Et moi aussi je suis raciste". He was a hard-core antisemite as well as a leading member of the ultra-right-wing 'Action française' and linked his statement to the

16 Cf. John Stephen Willison, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party, p. 320.
17 The Jewish Outlook (Denver), 3, 1906, 41, pp. 1 f. (Samuel Schulman, Rabbi and People), p. 2.
18 Sedalia Weekly Conservator, 29 August 1903, p. 2 (A New Phenomenon in American Politics).
19 Richard H. Pratt, The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites, p. 45.
20 Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians 1902, p. 134.
21 Alexander Crummell, The Attitude of the American Mind Toward the Negro Intellect: First Annual Address [December 28, 1897], p. 17.
22 Cf. Anthony Appiah, Alexander Crummell and the Invention of Africa; see also Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Alexander Crummell (Pan-Africanism).
23 La Libre Parole, 18 November 1897, quoted from Pierre-André Taguieff, The Force of Prejudice, p. 85.

"civilisation latine" and the "esprit latin". In this way, he emphasized that he did not understand 'racism' in the ethnical and biological sense, like the Germans, but in its cultural meaning as an "identité d'éducation et de tradition".[24]

About a decade later, in the 'Brooklyn Daily Eagle', an author chronicled "the development of society from patriarchalism through tribalism to racism and government in the history of Europe".[25] Another fifteen years later, the Japanese Masatarō Sawayanagi was reported to have claimed "a period of racialism (grouping of peoples of the same race)" for Asia, that is "a period of Asianism" as "a sort of Monroe Doctrine in favour of the Pacific nations".[26] Sawayanagi was a well-known pedagogue, who made a career as a bureaucrat, as a school director, as vice-minister of education, and as president of two universities. He took several overseas trips and represented Japan at numerous international conferences. In 1919, he published a book titled 'Asianism'. In this study, he compared an Asianism led by Japan with a pan-Germanism led by Germany or a pan-Slavism led by Russia and declared that Asianism was the only way for East Asia to resist the Western menace of colonisation.[27]

Similar to Crummell or Sawayanagi, Alain Locke commented on these issues. His usage of 'racialism' and 'racism' over a longer time period indicates that the textual horizon of the categories was a subject to historical changes, while it nonetheless kept its ambivalent substance.

In 1925, Locke declared that "[t]he racialism of the Negro is no limitation or reservation with respect to American life; it is only a constructive effort to build the obstructions in the stream of his progress into an efficient dam of social energy and power".[28] In 1942, in the context of the discussion on the racism of the Nazis in Germany, Locke talked about "fascism and its attendant racism". At the same time, he declared "[r]ace consciousness on the part of minorities" to be "an inevitable and pardonable reaction to majority persecution and disparagement" and added: "It is after all, however, potential minority racialism, and thus by no means exempt from the errors and extremisms of majority racialism".[29]

This international diversity regarding the early usage of 'racialism' and 'racism' is also found in Australia (even though the term 'racialism' by far outweighs 'racism'). In 1907, under the headline of "Eradicating Racialism", an article tells of attempts in China to curtail traditional privileges of the Manchu to undermine the "racial jealousies between the Chinese and their former conquerors".[30]

Under the keyword 'racialism', religious conflicts were already addressed early on. In 1898, a note about "Racialism and Religionism" referenced the fleeing of wealthy Muslims from Crete, and a piece of news about the "Racialism and Religion in Austria" dealt with the conflicts that could possibly start a war between

24 Quoted from Carole Reynaud Paligot, Maurras et la notion de race, p. 119.
25 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 19 September 1906, p. 27 (C.W. Mason, Books and Bookishness).
26 L'Ouest-Eclair, 12 October 1921, p. 1 (Les travaux de l'assemblée de Genève).
27 Cf. Tetsuya Kobayashi, Masatarō Sawayanagi (1865-1937) and the Revised Elementary School Code of 1900; Nobuo Fujikawa, Pädagogik zwischen Rassendiskriminierung und Vernichtung fremder Kultur; see Masatarō Sawayanagi, Ajiashugi (Asianism).
28 Alain Locke, Enter the New Negro, p. 633.
29 Charles Molesworth, ed., The Works of Alain Locke, pp. 334 ('racism'), 396 ('racialism').
30 The Register, 1 October 1907, p. 5 (Changes in China. Manchu Garrisons Disbanded. Eradicating Racialism).

Protestants and Catholics.[31] In 1910, a short notice was published on "Racialism in India", which reported an increase of "[r]acial feeling" that led to a "boycott" of "Mahomedan traders" by "Hindu Nationalists".[32]

Additionally, the header "racialism" appeared in a wide range of contexts in 1910. One newspaper addressed "racial antagonism" in South Africa, the intra-white conflict; and the confrontation between blacks and whites under the caption "racialism".[33]

Further, a short notice on "Racialism in America" informed readers about a denied marriage license for the "son of a wealthy Japanese Merchant" and a "white girl".[34] Headed "Racialism Let Loose", an article reported on the reactions to a boxing fight in which the black fighter defeated the white; this led to a situation in which "racial prejudice filled the lower classes of the white population with resentment" in the USA.[35]

In the same year, 'The Bulletin' demonstrated the extent of the category 'racialism' in two articles on said boxing fight in the USA and on the conflict between the Boers and the British in South Africa. Calling the one a "savage outbreak of racism" and the other a "resource" of the Boers as well as of the British.[36] The use of the term 'racialism' was highly diversified. It touched upon 'racial' as well as 'cultural' conflicts. It was biologically, religiously, or politically connoted. It comprised conflicts between whites and non-whites as well as those within certain races.

At the same time, there was no unambiguous lexical fixation of the wording. Though the use of 'racialism' predominated, the same incidents could be discussed by using the term 'racism'. This was demonstrated by a 1906 South Australian newspaper article that reported on religious conflicts in India by addressing "the Hindu religious fanaticism and racism".[37]

'Abolition of Racialism' – The South African Scenario

The coverage and discussion of the war between the Boers and the British in South Africa played an important role in the Australian public discourse. The main reason for this was that the participation of Australian soldiers in an overseas war coincided with the constitution of Australia as a nation-state in 1901.

31 The Bendigo Independent, 8 December 1898, p. 2 (Racialism and Religionism); The Bendigo Independent, 23 December 1898, p. 2 (Racialism and Religion in Austria).
32 Mount Alexander Mail, 30 March 1910, p. 2 (Racialism in India).
33 Cf. Evening News, 15 September 1910, p. 4 (Racialism).
34 The North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times, 30 September 1910, p. 3 (Racialism in America).
35 Kalgoorlie Western Argus, 12 July 1910, p. 28 (Racialism Let Loose); subject of the report was the fight between Jack Johnson and James Jeffries. For the reactions of the USA and the local press see, inter alia, Barak Y. Orbach, The Johnson-Jeffries Fight and Censorship of Black Supremacy.
36 The Bulletin, 14 July 1910, p. 30 (Sporting Notions); The Bulletin (Sydney), 30 June 1910, p. 10 (The Boer and the Capitalist).
37 Evening Journal, 3 October 1906, p. 1 (The Bengal King. Mohammedan Deputation. Loyalty to Great Britain).

Those involved went to war as soldiers and nurses of separate colonies; they returned as contingents of a new state's army.

Their participation in the war against South Africa was by no means uncontested. Soldiers from New South Wales had already lived through a colonial war in Sudan, and their service had not at all complied with their chauvinist expectations. In fact, there was a reputable opposition against the overseas deployment of soldiers caused by the fear that Australia would need them for its own defence against foreign military incursions.[38] The putative enemies Germany and Japan were identified as a threat. Together with China and Russia, they also appeared in fantasies that found literary expression in a wide range of popular 'invasion novels'.[39]

However, the imperial spirit prevailed; from the start, recruitment was accompanied by a growing patriotic euphoria. The enlistment of a separate bushmen contingent further inflamed the societal atmosphere.[40] Many Australians linked their deployment not only with presumed colonial virtues but also with the notion that the bushmen constituted a particularly hardy variant of the white race. Based on this belief, they were also ascribed a special role in the repulsion of 'coloured perils' and the preservation of 'white supremacy'.[41] The forces sent to South Africa were associated with these objectives. But particularly, their mission was to secure control over the Boers, an enemy who was considered to belong to the same race but was nevertheless accused of a massive 'racialism'. Depending on the respective state of conflict, this term was subject to varying trends.

In 1906, a newspaper heading asserted "Racialism Rampant"; the year after, regarding "the new trend of feeling in the Transvaal", it was reported that, "so far as the Boers are concerned, racialism is dead".[42] In 1909, "the absence of any sign of racialism" at the South African Closer Union Convention was addressed;[43] a year later, it was believed "that the little racialism still existing in South Africa was fast dying out".[44] In 1915, however, a revolt of powers not wanting to join England in its opposition of Germany was discussed as "an orgy of racialism".[45] In 1919, reports talked of a "struggle between th[e] surviving racialism and the true South African nationalism",[46] and, under headlines like "Racialism in South Africa", there were speculations about a possible disintegration of the union.[47] In 1925, "a marked increase in racialism" was witnessed;[48] later, the 1926 "Flag Bill" was labelled the "Torch of Racialism".[49] In 1929, it was simply stated that

38 Cf. Jeffrey Grey, A Military History of Australia, pp. 48 ff.
39 Cf. Catriona Ross, Unsettling Imaginings; David Walker, Anxious Nation; Stefanie Affeldt, 'White' Nation –'White' Angst.
40 Cf. Robert L. Wallace, The Australians at the Boer War, pp. 232 ff.
41 Cf. Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line.
42 The West Australian, 8 November 1906, p. 7 (The Transvaal); Darling Downs Gazette (Queensland), 6 March 1907, p. 4 (Boer Racialism Dead).
43 The Ballarat Star, 8 February 1909, p. 6 (South Africa. The Absence of Racialism).
44 The Border Morning Mail and Riverina Times, 17 February 1910, p. 2 (Racialism Dying Out).
45 Barrier Miner, 18 July 1915, p. 1 (An Orgy of Racialism).
46 The Telegraph, 22 November 1919, p. 13 (W.G. Davis, Racialism in South Africa. Will the Botha Politics Win?).
47 The Kyogle Examiner, 11 June 1919, p. 1 (Racialism in South Africa).
48 The Age, 3 April 1925, p. 10 (Racialism in South Africa).
49 The Daily Telegraph, 26 May 1927, p. 13 (Will There be a Civil War? South African Describes Flag Bill as 'Torch of Racialism').

"Racialism continues"[50] and in 1932, a report on a regional by-election chronicled "a victory for racialism", i.e., "Afrikaner racialism".[51] In 1938, a journal claimed that "[r]acialism [...] has ceased to appeal as a political creed to the average sensible South African".[52]

Despite the concentration on the conflict between the Boers and the British, the perception of racism did not exclude the race conflict between blacks and whites. Thus, in 1907, demands were reported to create "a gaol and a laager" for the "natives" because of the acute risk of a "general rising" under the title "Racialism".[53] Using the same heading, a report from 1911 dealt with "attempts to lynch natives".[54] At the end of the decade, entitled "Racialism in South Africa", the conflict between the Boers and the British was discussed, involving concerns that the "Indian considers himself oppressed" and that "[t]he native question is also looming big".[55] Nonetheless, such media coverage was published with keeping in mind a taken-for-granted 'white supremacy'. In 1910, it had already been explained that "(t)he racialism referred to is [...] British and Dutch, but it is inevitable that before long a bigger question of race will overshadow all these little jealousies, and drive Dutch and English together, to uphold the white supremacy against the black".[56]

Therefore, the addressed racism against 'natives' had a different significance to that amongst whites.[57] The ideology behind it was shown in a later contribution: reporting on the differing conditions of living for blacks and whites, it claimed that "no serious racialism" existed in this context in South Africa. It was a simple fact that "natives" were "in a primitive state", "[i]nter-marriage" was "virtually unknown" and also "forbidden by law", the "native leaders" knew "that the natives need European guidance", and apart from that "segregation" kept them away from the whites.[58]

Under the ideological escort of race theory, the scope of the linguistic creations 'racism' and 'racialism' could be broadly interpreted and focussed on intra-white conflicts at the same time. Without tripping over their own logic, a Tasmanian newspaper declared in 1906 that the "constitution of the new Transvaal National Association advocates federation, abolition of racialism, co-operation with the Boers, fair treatment of natives, complete self-government, no further importation of Chinese"; this would allow "South Africans to unite and create a white nation fit to rank with Canada and Australia".[59]

50 News, 17 June 1929, p. 7 (Racialism Continues. South African Elections).
51 The Argus, 20 August 1932, p. 9 (South Africa. A Victory for Racialism).
52 Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate, 21 May 1938, p. 10 (Racialism. No Longer Political Creed).
53 The Bendigo Independent, 19 March 1907, p. 3 (Racialism in Natal).
54 The Brisbane Courier, 24 May 1911, p. 4 (Racialism in South Africa. Attempts to Lynch Natives).
55 The Kyogle Examiner, 11 June 1919, p. 1 (Racialism in South Africa).
56 Evening News, 15 September 1910, p. 4 (Racialism). The addressed reciprocity of 'racialism' would reappear in later expositions – cf. W. Keith Hancock, Boers and Britons in South Africa, 1900-14, p. 18: "Milner, the British racialist, [...] turned Smuts [...] into a Boer racialist".
57 Cf. Effie Karageorgos, War in a 'white man's country', who demonstrates that Australian soldiers were able to sympathize with the local Boers despite British ideology campaigns directed against the latter, while they considered the Indigenous Africans a lower race.
58 News, 5 November 1925, p. 10 (South African Problems. No Serious Racialism).
59 The Daily Telegraph, 29 September 1906, p. 7 (The Transvaal).

Using the same ideological turn of phrase, in 1911, a New South Wales newspaper appreciated that a conference in South Africa had decided "to form a strong South African Party to consolidate the white races, eradicate racialism, and make South Africa a white man's country".[60] At the end of the same decade, nothing had changed in this regard. A Queensland newspaper demanded "that the two white races must work together". This would be the only "progressive and truly national policy" in South Africa, "where the brown people outnumber the white, five to one". It was, therefore, imperative to "gain a permanent victory over the forces of racialism, unless indeed the white man is to go down before the advancing coloured man". For this reason, the argument ran, it was essential that "the reactionary forces of Dutch racialism" were pushed back.[61]

The "advancing coloured man" of this period was no mere ideological fiction. Rather, the term reflected the historical concurrence of the farthest expansion of the colonial and imperial white supremacy with alarmist warnings of their endangerment by, as a 1920 monograph called it, "The Rising Tide of Color" as "The Threat Against White World Supremacy".[62] Three decades earlier, an internationally praised publication had already emphasized Australia's vulnerable geopolitical position as a white outpost and its lead role in the defence of the "whole civilised world" against the "swamp[ing]" by "inferior races".[63]

In 1919, a newspaper got het up about Japan's call for "a declaration of racial equality" at the Paris Peace Conference. That was not acceptable, in particular for Australia, which considered "Asiatic exclusion [...] a life and death matter". This was explained with the assumption that the mentally further-developed white race was procreating slower than the yellow race. Like the Chinese, its members were reported to be "nearer to the animal stage" and to show "a rabbit-like rate of fecundity".[64] Even so, the Japanese were praised for their quick progress and were attested that they had been effective and dependable allies during the war. Nonetheless, the reservations about their call for 'racial equality' remained on the agenda. It was claimed in a perfectly circular argument that Australia's "very life as a white man's country depends upon inflexible adherence to the principles of a White Australia".[65]

'An arrogant Racialism' – The German Threat

Australia and Germany were connected in several ways. There was a substantial number of German immigrants who, as one of the largest non-English speaking population groups, were from the start involved in the colonisation of the continent.[66] The British Commonwealth and the German Empire (together or as

60 Daily Advertiser, 24 November 1911, p. 2 (White South Africa).
61 The Telegraph, W. G. Davis, 22 November 1919, p. 13 (Racialism in South Africa. Will the Botha Politics Win?).
62 Cf. Lothrop Stoddard, The Rising Tide of Color.
63 Charles H. Pearson, National Life and Character, p. 16.
64 Chronicle, 5 April 1919, p. 31 (The Claim of Japan).
65 Daily Observer, 16 April 1919, p. 2 (Japan's Racial Demands).
66 Jürgen Tampke, The Germans in Australia.

enemies) were involved in a number of international conflicts. Additionally, Australia and Germany had a shared imperial border that transected New Guinea.

It is not surprising, therefore, that at that time the Australians' widespread invasion anxiety also pertained to Germany. During the First World War, the 'State Recruiting Committee of South Australia' illustrated such fictions with one of their posters. Here, Australia had become "New Germany", and Sydney was renamed "Nietscheburg" [sic].[67] In this specific context, a line of ancestors of 'racism' (in this case called "racialism") had been constructed early on. This ancestry refers to "the development of the spirit of modern Germany", to which "Fichte, Gobineau, Wagner, Nietzsche, Chamberlain, [and] Lichtenberger" had contributed: "They are the men who have so developed and applied the idea of 'racialism' in history as to till the modern German mind with its feelings of glory and its demands to capture a 'place in the sun'".[68]

Individual representatives of this development were strung together as agents of a united movement: "In 1809 Fichte [...] preached unity and liberty and especially racialism". The latter referred to Fichte's chauvinism. For him, the Germans were "the natural aristocracy of mankind".[69] Subsequently, it was stated that "Wagner became the successor of Fichte", and added that "when Wagner retired from the succession of racialism, Gobineau took up the message". The quintessence of this development was not so much race theory but rather the differentiation of the white race in a manner in which "the German comes out top". Though there were attempts to claim a "prerogative of the Anglo-Saxon race", "the true 'racialist' [...] puts the Teuton, the pure German, first".

As the "next apostle in this movement", "Nietzsche" was listed, "who represents the very spirit [...] of German racialism". He was deemed "so wild in his thinking" that his philosophy did not become popular. The work of Wagner's son-in-law, H. S. Chamberlain, was said to be much more effective. Regarding him, it was stated, "Chamberlain is by no means a mere repeater or imitator of Gobineau. [...] Yet their message is the same. It is an aristocratic racialism, with the 'German' at the top". Added to this was that "Chamberlain's racialism is as bitterly anti-Semitic as it is pro-Teuton".[70]

67 Cf. 'Australians arise', poster by the State Recruiting Committee: Adelaide, c.1918.

68 The Argus, Clericus, 30 August 1913, p. 8 (Racialism) ; there also the following quotes.

69 Though it is indisputable (see Gudrun Hentges, Schattenseiten der Aufklärung, pp. 110 ff.), Fichte's antisemitism remained unmentioned.

70 The sequence Gobineau–Wagner–(Nietzsche)–Chamberlain is a line of retreat for all scholars of the history of racism who, until today, want to exclude from the annals of racism the dialectics of Enlightenment as well as the role of eminent German philosophers and scientists. The discourse of the time saw similar voices – cf. The Advertiser, 7 October 1916, p. 13 (The Gospel of Super-Humanity. [Gobineau as] Nietzsche's Predecessor). The envisioned line of tradition was later extended with Nazi ideologists – cf. Recorder, 14 May 1940, p. 2 (Myth of Nordic Germany) with a line "Gobineau-Nietzsche-Chamberlain-George-Rosenberg-Hitler". It goes without saying that, already early on, there were Australian voices favouring Gobineau's race mythology and even reasoning that "the interesting doctrine put forward by de Gobineau [...] provides a most powerful argument in support of the White Australia policy" – The Daily Telegraph, 1 August 1911, p. 6 (Are All the Races Equal?). During the First World War, drawing the line "Gobineau–Nietzsche–Treitschke–Chamberlain" led to the conclusion that "race heresy has been the leitmotiv of all political controversies in the [German] Empire. [...] It has culminated in the triple dogma of the superman of the super-race and of the super-State. This triple dogma of the German Real Politik has worked for the enslavement of Europe" – Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay

With respect to this ancestry line's last representative, Lichtenberger, the author is not too certain and even believes that he "is more an impartial historian than any of the preceding racialists" and "seems to be a disciple of a moderate racialism". As a Nietzschean and admirer of German culture, he nonetheless ranked as "the last of the German racialists, who began the century with Fichte".[71]

In the course of the First World War, 'racialism' was increasingly applied to Germans. Eventually, it was stated: "Germany's patriotism has degenerated into an arrogant racialism" and is an expression of a "neurotic nationality". This was compared with Ireland, where "a similar departure from the normal is responsible for the Sinn Fein".[72] Also pertaining to the discussion was the critique of the German settlers' insistence on their cultural identity. This led to conflicts, in particular concerning religious education. The "German language", insofar as it was used in religious schools as a teaching language, was considered "the great divisive element in our midst", and its application was criticized as "racialism".[73]

However, in the further course of the debate, the category 'racialism' was employed not only regarding conflicts among white people. The 'Northern Star', for instance, reported on the deployment of coloured colonial troops in the Rhineland in 1920. "Amazing scenes occurred in the [German] National Assembly during a debate regarding the colonial troops", it said and continued, "Frau Zeetz (Independent Socialist) asked why there was no mention of the German immoralities and brutalities on women in Russia, Belgium and elsewhere" and exclaimed "'This is merely racialism against the blacks'".[74]

The newspaper misspelled the name of Louise Zietz, who had been a left-wing German social democrat until 1917 and then acted as a foundation member of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). In 1919–20, she was a member of the National Assembly of Weimar (and later of the Reichstag in Berlin). In her speech, addressed by the 'Northern Star', Zietz engaged in the debate of an interpellation "concerning the operation of coloured troops in the occupied territories".[75] The session treated the occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial soldiers, which was not only in Germany scandalized as 'black shame' or 'black horror'. In her speech, Zietz declared: "We Germans have indeed blemished our culture largely enough as a result of the racial hatred [Rassenhaß] prevailing

and Burnett Advertiser, 17 November 1915, p. 2 (German Race Heresy. Philosophy of Militarism. National Megalomania).

71 Henri Lichtenberger is incorporated in this line not least because he wrote two books on Wagner and Nietzsche in which he intensively and uncritically used the race term (cf. Henri Lichtenberger, Richard Wagner; id., La philosophie de Nietzsche). But, curiously enough, Lichtenberger is made a 'racialist' here, even though he critically wrote of "les activistes d'extrême-droite connus sous le nom de groupe 'germaniste' ou 'raciste' (deutschvölkisch)", (Henri Lichtenberger, L'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui dans ses relations avec la France). One year later, the English translation spoke of "the agitators of the extreme Right known as 'Germanists' or 'racists' [...] (deutschvolkische)" (Henri Lichtenberger, Relations Between France and Germany, p. 53). See Pierre-André Taguieff, The Force of Prejudice, p. 88.

72 Western Mail, 21 December 1917, p. 20 (Nationality and Racialism).

73 Observer, 26 June 1915, p. 53 (Racialism and Lutheran Schools). In fact, the proportion of such schools was rather small, and the Lutheran ministers deemed themselves utterly Australian (cf. Gerhard Fischer, Immigration, Integration, Disintegration).

74 Northern Star, 24 May 1920, p. 5 (German Colonisation).

75 Verhandlungen der verfassungsgebenden Deutschen Nationalversammlung, p. 177; Sitzung vom 20. Mai 1920, p. 5690; for the following quote, see ibid., p. 5695. Cf. Iris Wigger, The "Black Horror on the Rhine".

in our country". Here, she referenced "racial hatred" both to antisemitism and colonial racism. But she did not use the word "Rassismus" [racism / racialism]. The 'Northern Star's' translation of "Rassenhaß" as "racialism" shows the wide spectrum of the semantic field of 'racism' in the early stage of its usage.

Already in the course of the war, there were comparable statements in Australia. The commencement of the war had led to both the immediate mobilisation and, already in 1914, the deployment of first troops in German New Guinea. Even though the military disaster at Gallipoli in 1915 was rewritten as a heroic epic, there was a lack of volunteers during the war. The introduction of conscription in Australia was meant to remediate this circumstance and a referendum was scheduled for autumn 1916. There was extreme controversy about the preceding debates, dividing the country into two almost equally sized camps.[76]

Labour Party and unions linked their consequent 'No' to conscription to the race question. This was illustrated by a poster that proclaimed "Vote No" and that depicted Australia as threatened by a mass of pigtailed Chinese. It was entitled "Keep Australia White". This demand was underlined by a quotation of a proponent of conscription, which read: "Send every man out of Australia, even if they had to import black, brown or brindle labor to do their work".[77]

Although there were critical voices coming from smaller leftist organisations, the majority of the organized workers employed in their antagonism towards conscription racist arguments from the arsenal of White Australia ideology. One who saw the situation differently was John Adamson, a unionist, Labor[78] politician, minister in the Queensland government, and a passionate supporter of conscription. He would later resign from all these memberships as a consequence of the massive disputes. In his opinion, loyalty to the Empire and the task to defend Germany had top priority.

In the course of the debate, Adamson was berated as a "traitor" and a "sectarian devil" and was faced with racist slurs: racially suspect southern Europeans would flow into the country – and "[p]erhaps you would like to see your daughter married to a Chinaman".[79] Moreover, Japan would threaten Australia. In this context, Adamson referred to the circumstance that he "wanted a White Australia". This postulation, in truth, would be jeopardized by the opponents of conscription because "Japan has assisted us in this war, and saved Australia from being raided by the German cruisers".[80]

After the referendum, which the conscriptionists lost by a narrow margin, Adamson wrote: "Racial hatred and sectarian bitterness played a great part in the late fight [...]. There can be no doubt that selfishness, materialism, and racialism,

76 Robin Archer, Joy Damousi, Murray Goot, Sean Scalmer, The Conscription Conflict and the Great War.

77 Cf. Old Treasury Building, Propaganda and the Conscription Debate.

78 In the early years of the Australian Labour Party, the spelling of 'labo(u)r' was inconsistent; cf. Ross McMullin, Light on the Hill, p. ix: "The title page of the report of federal conference, the party's supreme policy-making body, refers to 'Labor' in 1902, 'Labour' in 1905, 'Labour' in 1908 and 'Labor' from 1912 onwards".

79 Daily Standard, 9 October 1916, p. 4 ("Liar! Traitor!" Mr. Adamson Heckled. Stormy Meeting in Rockhampton).

80 The Bundaberg Mail and Burnett Advertiser, 11 October 1916, p. 3 (Referendum Meeting. Disgraceful Scenes. Mayor and Speakers Refused a Hearing); Cairns Post, 12 October 1916, p. 7 (Mr. Adamson's Positon. Why I am a Compulsionist).

in one form or another, were the predominating causes which brought about the result revealed by the poll".[81]

The semantics of 'racialism' were intensified with the strengthening of the Nazis. In 1935, the antisemitic laws and incidents in Germany were subsumed as "racialism run riot".[82] The word did not only appear in connection with antisemitism. 'Nazi racialism' was also at work when, in 1941, Germans blew up the memorial of the black French soldiers in Reims because they viewed it "as an insult to the white race".[83] Along the same lines, it had already been conceded in 1938 that "[t]here may be a moral case for the return of the colonies" to Germany. Though in this case, there would be "a genuine disinclination to deliver millions of natives to a Germany imbued with fanatical racialist doctrines".[84]

At the start of 1939, a South Australian newspaper began to publish Hitler's Mein Kampf as a serial. It had before announced this intention with the headline "Hitler's conception of racialism".[85] At this time, the terms 'racialism' and 'racism' were intensively linked to German politics, German conduct, and German tradition. A quasi-definition of 'racism' determined it "as the cult of Germanism for the Germans".[86] Already at this time, the semantic horizon of the new concept was much wider. The discourse concerning the 'racialism' of the Boers continued and other contexts were likewise perpetuated, reports on the racist discrimination against Indigenous Australians included. The semantic field of 'racialism' / 'racism' was not fixed to a certain content.

Calibration

When the German historian Werner Conze claimed that the term 'racism' "was provoked by national socialism and denoted in a derogatory sense the misuse of the race term by its unjustified transmission to history and politics",[87] he was by no means alone. Already early on, Eric Voegelin spoke about "National Socialist racism". With the help of two racist books, he had attempted in vain to pursue a career in Nazi-Germany. When this proved unsuccessful, he dedicated himself to the support of Austrofascism. After he had fled to the USA, he referred to the Nazis as racists. At the same time, he excluded American race politics from his reproach. "[T]he classification of the human races", "the improvement of a given human population through eugenic measures", and "the problem of political and social relations between the white and the colored races" had, in his view, nothing to do with racism.[88]

81 John Adamson, The Referendum Campaign and After, p. 1; cf. Raymond Evans, Loyalty and Disloyalty, pp. 95–104.
82 The Daily News, 17 September 1935, p. 6 (Racialism run Riot).
83 Murrumburrah Signal and Country of Harden Advocate, 30 January 1941, p. 4 ("Insult to the White Race". Monument Blown up. Nazi Racialism).
84 The Sydney Morning Herald, 25 October 1938, p. 19 (Germany and Colonies).
85 News, 7 January 1939, p. 1 (Hitler's Conception of Racialism).
86 Southern Cross, 8 July 1938, p. 9 (Belloc on Austria. Bismarck and Hitler).
87 Werner Conze, Antje Sommer, Rasse, p. 178.
88 Eric Voegelin, The Growth of the Race Idea, 314 ('racism'), 283 ('classification' etc.); cf. Wulf D. Hund, The Racism of Eric Voegelin.

In the same year, 1940, Ruth Benedict made use of the perspective of the Boas school to distinguish between 'race science' and 'racism': "Racism is not, like race, a subject the content of which can be scientifically investigated. It is, like a religion, a belief which can be studied only historically".[89] This was a significant moment for the further development of the concept of 'racism'. Until then, it had embodied a wide range of nuances. These included in particular: – the overlapping of nationalism and racial thinking in the construction of 'state racisms' or 'pan-racisms'; – the self-racialisation that arose from various motives and found expression in the propagation of separate 'ethnoracisms'; – and the concerns for the devaluation of the term 'race' due to conflicts among whites and the endangerment of 'white supremacy'.

Furthermore, the understanding of racism was shaped by the fear of anthropologists and public intellectuals concerning an increasing delegitimisation of the race paradigm. This was intensified by the growing critique and resistance of those who were affected by imperial, colonial, and racist repression.

So far, attempts of analysis have strictly focussed their investigation of the development of the concept of 'racism' on this phase of its history. Pierre-André Taguieff concludes that 'racism' was "a name properly attributed to the enemy". Barnor Hesse maintains "that the racism concept was formulated on grounds that objected to Nazism, but not to the history of western colonialism".[90] In fact, the contemporary witnesses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were already fully aware that 'racialism' and 'racism' not only existed in the case of 'others' and were not only committed by whites against whites.

In the USA, Ruth Benedict's constricted use of the term was put into a broader context without any objection by 'The Crisis' (the magazine of the 'National Association for the Advancement of Colored People'). In a review of her book, 'The Crisis' explained: "Whether we like it or not, racism today is in the ascendant and none of us can avoid its repercussions and implications, whether Negroes in America, Jews in Germany, or Nisei in California".[91] Already in the year of the Nazis' seizure of power, Mark-Eli Ravage wrote about "Racism, American Style": "The condition of the Negro in the United States is only the most extreme case of the shape racism assumes in this country".[92]

In the German-speaking discussion, Hugo Iltis (who, like Benedict, distinguished between race science and racism) decisively countered Nazi racism. In the same text, he wrote about the discrimination and oppression of the "black race" in America: "Here we encounter for the first time the racism, the fight against a

89 Ruth Benedict, Race, p. 153.
90 Pierre-André Taguieff, The Force of Prejudice, p. 93; Barnor Hesse, Racism's Alterity, p. 145.
91 James W. Ivy, On the Meaning of Race and Racism, p. 389.
92 Mark-Eli Ravage, Le Racisme à l'Américaine, p. 5. Born as Marcus Eli Revici in Romania, Ravage migrated to the United States in 1900 and changed his family name. He studied at the University of Illinois and Columbia University, married a French woman, and became a successful writer. In 1920, he and his family moved to Paris, came back to the States in 1923, and went back to France in 1927. His writings against antisemitism occasionally had ironic and cynical overtones – to the point that (in the very sense of Karl Kraus) fascist readers did not understand their irony and reproduced them as purportedly unmasking documents on the Jewish undermining of the Christian world – also in Australia (see: id., The Sensational Confession of Marcus Eli Ravage (a Hebrew) Against Christianity.

human group based on their race, with all its injustices and brutality".[93] For the fight against racism, he issued as a motto a variation of a class-based formulation by Marx: "The emancipation of the oppressed races can only be the work of the oppressed races themselves".[94] This context was also addressed, albeit less radically, in Australia. The 'Southern Cross' printed John LaFarge's contribution "Racism and Social Unity". Though he observed that "[i]n Europe, Racism [...] is closely associated with anti-Jewish propaganda", he, simultaneously, discussed "American anti-Negro Racism", the "venomous elder cousin" of German racism.[95]

The new categories also served the concrete designation of the racist oppression of Indigenous Australians. In the same vein, 'The Workers Star' demanded in 1937 "Down with Racialism" and criticized an attempt to prevent the 'cohabitation' of a "half-caste" woman with a white man who already had four children together. He was forcibly separated from her and the children and arrested. Both went to court, where they were eventually granted the right to marry.[96]

A year later, a newspaper article discussed fascist Italy and Nazi-Germany under the term "racialism". In the following, however, it was self-critically noted: "Yet how many of our people, while emphatic in their condemnation of the new Germany, allow their own minds to be tainted with the same error of racialism". This pertained to immigration policies as well as to the "conduct towards our unhappy aborigines, show[ing] clearly that we regard them as sub-human creatures, to be preserved as curiosities or exterminated as vermin".[97]

Such statements remained the exception. Nonetheless, they exemplified that the narrowing of the use of 'racialism' and 'racism' was not due to a one-dimensional history of origins but drew upon an overlapping of several ideological and strategic interests. This indubitably included the externalisation of the problem in public discourse. The crimes of the settler society against the original inhabitants of the continent were subsequently redefined based on their alleged weakness. The discrimination of the White Australia policy was masqueraded as an expression of legitimate national interests in the protection of painstakingly obtained social achievements.

The early use of the categories 'racialism' and 'racism' had been comparably broad. In Australia, it could be intensively related to intraracial as well as interracial discriminations and applied to racial no less than to cultural issues. Focal points of the discourse were the supposed racisms of the Boers and the Germans.

93 Hugo Iltis, Der Mythos von Blut und Rasse, p. 10.
94 Hugo Iltis, Volkstümliche Rassenkunde, p. 80; see Wulf D. Hund, 'Die Befreiung der unterdrückten Rassen kann nur das Werk der unterdrückten Rassen selbst sein'.
95 Southern Cross, John LaFarge, 24 February 1939, p. 2 (Racism and Social Unity). LaFarge, a Jesuit priest, was editor of the magazine America, and founder of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York in 1934 – cf. David W. Southern, John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism, 1911-1963.
96 The Workers Star, 24 December 1937, p. 5 (Down with Racialism!); Sunday Times, 12 December 1937, p. 5 (Pathetic Half-Caste Case).
97 Advocate, 4 August 1938, p. 8 (The Heresy of Racialism). This context was also addressed by the indigenous press 'The Australian Abo Call', which, in the subtitle, called itself 'The Voice of the Aborigines' but did not use the words 'racialism' and 'racism'. However, it did put its critique in the historical context: "The treatment of Aborigines in Australia, for 150 years, and continued today, has been a worse example of racial persecution and race prejudice than the Jews in Germany have suffered" – The Australian Abo Call, 1 September 1938, p. 1 (Conditions at Collarenebri).

But as in the multilingual European and American discourse, this did not overwrite the farther-reaching meaning of both terms. However, with its increasing use and its simultaneous focus on the racial politics of fascist Germany as racist, the questioning pressure of the new categories became a growing danger for all form of discriminatory racial relations and race-thinking, in its everyday manifestations and in its scientific versions. In this situation, even critical thinkers reacted with an attempt to distinguish between scientific race research and ideological racism.

This reinforced the tendency to make "racism [...] a synonym of the enemy – Nazism".[98] Moreover, it prepared the ground for the subsequent resistance of numerous scientists against a discrediting or even abolition of the race concept. This was shown, inter alia, in the resistance against corresponding attempts made by the UNESCO at the end of the Second World War.[99] It also became obvious, about a quarter-century later, in the context of the "International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination" proclaimed by the UN for 1971. In light of this, a three-volume anthology titled 'Racism: The Australian Experience' was compiled.[100] The first volume began with a text of the anthropologist William E. H. Stanner.

He used the semantic history to distinguish between 'racism' and 'racialism'. Accordingly, "racism" propagates "the dogma that some races are, and will be perpetually, inferior to others" and directs its politics in this manner. Subsequently, he stipulates that such a "general racism is rare" and that it was rather the moderate forms that were widespread, in particular "a vague but unshakeable suspicion that there probably is something in the inferiority argument in relation to particular races". This concerned above all the treatment of the "Aborigines". "Racism", in Stanner's view, was "too strong a word to apply to it". Instead, the author suggested, "we might speak of degrees of 'racialism' rather than 'racism'".[101]

Subsequently, the category 'racism' was increasingly applied to Australian history and present. But, as a rule, the respective studies did not comprise reflections on the *history of the concept of 'racism'*.[102] This got to the point that relevant researches intensely using the category racism did not even mention one of the central elements of its implementation: antisemitism.[103] Hence, the history of 'racism' as a concept was not at an end after its constitution in the middle of the twentieth century. The ramifications of its subsequent development from the discussion of 'race relations' to the study of 'whiteness' need further research.

98 Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, p. 334.
99 Cf. Michelle Brattain, Race, Racism, and Antiracism; Anthony Q. Hazard Jr., Postwar Anti-racism. For the original documents and the different comments, see Unesco, The Race Concept.
100 Cf. Frank S. Stevens, ed., Racism.
101 Cf. William E. H. Stanner, Introduction, p. 8; see Melinda Hinkson, Jeremy Beckett, eds., An Appreciation of Difference.
102 For instance, a widely spread introduction to the topic, David Hollinsworth, Race and Racism in Australia, published in three editions 1988, 1998, and 2006 (the 1st ed. was written together with Keith McConnochie and Jan Pettman), comprised an informative chapter on 'Racism: concepts, theories and approaches" but did not expand on the history of the concept.
103 Cf. Alexander T. Yarwood, Michael J. Knowling, Race Relations in Australia.

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Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's 'Neuholländer'

Abstract: The colonisation of Australia, at the end of the eighteenth century, coincided with the birth of (physical) anthropology. In Germany, it was the Enlightenment naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach who began to utilise human skulls as scientific evidence for his hypotheses on human diversity and origin. He assigned selected skulls to be representative of each of his five human 'varieties'. Due to this very fact, Blumenbach's own historiographical representation is ambiguous – he has been depicted as both the forerunner of race sciences that were to follow in the 1900s and the humanist and universalist defender of human unity and universal value in the times of slavery. This article discusses how Blumenbach throughout his writing on humanity incorporated his notion of Indigenous Australians. In 1775, he outlined a sequence of human skulls, including those of 'New Hollanders', long before he began to assemble his (in) famous skull collection. Roughly fifteen years later, he obtained the skulls of two Indigenous Australian men which then represented the 'black race' of his diversified South Pacific 'Malay variety'. The 'Neuholländer' in Blumenbach's work, arguably, also reflects the tension inherent in his aim to scientifically prove humanity's unity on the basis of its diversity.

In 2020, two events spotlighted Germany's Enlightenment "father of anthropology",[1] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, with a view to his theorising on human diversity and the skull collection he used in support of his hypotheses: In February, Göttingen's Georg-August-University announced a research project investigating the "sensible provenances" of "human remains from colonial contexts" held in the university's collections.[2] This project reflects the growing concern about the historic circumstances of acquisition and scientific utilisation of such human remains. It further aims to investigate the responsibilities and possibilities of their repatriation to the (mostly Indigenous) communities of their origin on a global scale. In June, the busts of Blumenbach and of the German populariser of Darwinism, Ernst Haeckel, were torn down by "anti-racist" activist students of the university. Both busts, located in the Johann-Friedrich-Blumenbach-Institut für Zoologie und Anthropologie (which holds Blumenbach's still intact skull collection),[3] were, for the present, removed from public display.[4] In the activists' view, the politically motivated attempt at the destruction of these busts seemed justified by the need to revise Göttingen's "colonial and racist history". Branding Blumenbach a "racist", they alleged he laid the foundations for „race sciences", which justified the oppression of non-white people(s) and ongoing "systemic racism".[5]

1 For example, Peter J. Kitson, Coleridge and the 'Orang Utang Hypothesis', p. 103; Norbert Klatt, Klytia und die 'schöne Georgianerin', p. 70; Tim Fulford, Romantic Indians, p. 92. I would like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their constructive suggestions that helped make this piece a better article.

2 Georg-August Universität Göttingen, Provenienzforschung Sensible Provenienzen, 2020-2023.

3 Wolfgang Böker, Blumenbach's Collection of Human Skulls, p. 81; Joachim Reitner, Blumenbachs Sammlungsobjekte, p. 141.

4 Angela Brünjes, Kritik an Göttinger Gelehrten und ein Denkmal, Göttinger Tageblatt, 10 July 2020.

5 Basisgruppe Umweltwissenschaften, Stellungnahme der Basisgruppe Umweltwissenschaften zur Entfernung der Büsten von Haeckel und Blumenbach im Zoologischen Institut.

The charge of being "racist" is one of a number of quite disjunct perceptions of Blumenbach, his scientific work and ideas: As Nicolaas Rupke and Gerhard Lauer have recently shown, throughout the centuries scholarly consideration of Blumenbach's reputation oscillated between reverence for his polymathic teaching as an Enlightenment natural historian with a humanist abolitionist stance on human unity and monogenism, on the one hand, and his condemnation as a theoretical and material enabler of scientific racism and ensuing Nazism, on the other.[6] This range of opinions reflects, among other things, the inherent tension in Blumenbach's very work; or, as above authors have suggested, the possibility of co-existing "non-racist" and "racist" narratives.[7]

How do these considerations of the indisputably "most influential theorist of human variety of his day" relate to Australia;[8] that is, more precisely, to its First Peoples? First of all, two of the currently politically most prominent skulls in the Blumenbach collection are of Indigenous Australian men, acquired from the Australian colonies in the 1790s under suspected violent circumstances.[9] Their return has not been accomplished to date but will inevitably be part of the 'Sensible Provenances' research project.

Additionally, these "ancestral remains"[10] were pivotal for Blumenbach's considerations of human diversity in general and in the South Pacific in particular, insofar as they represented a human "variety" or "race" that challenged the mere possibility of categorising humanity.[11] Namely, Blumenbach thought of Indigenous Australians (then frequently referred to as "New Hollanders") as part of his fifth, or Malay, variety whose investigation yielded inconsistent results that called into question the idea of the fixity of races.[12] It presented a problem because of the broad variation of physical characteristics in the populations counted as belonging to this category. Variation in skin colour, for example, illustrated gradual varietal transitions, which was pivotal for Blumenbach's notion of an imperceptible transition between the varieties and his fundamental advocacy for the unity of the human species – despite all apparent differences and on a scientific basis.[13]

This variation further pointed to the great difficulty of conclusively identifying distinctive racial characteristics. That is why, as Bronwen Douglas has argued, "the tension between the rival imperatives of human unity, racial diversity, and

6 Nicolaas Rupke, Gerhard Lauer, A Brief History of Blumenbach Representation, especially pp. 3-10.
7 Ibid., 11. See also the respective university professors' response to the student activism in the local newspaper, Peter Krüger-Lenz, Blumenbach-Streit in Göttingen.
8 Peter J. Kitson, Coleridge and the 'Orang Utang Hypothesis', p. 103.
9 Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown, Honor Keeler, Introduction to The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation, p. 3; Antje Kühnast, Racialising Bones and Humanity, p. 164.
10 On the consistent use of this term for the skeletal remains of Indigenous peoples, especially in the context of repatriation, see Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown, Honor Keeler, eds., The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation.
11 I refer to Blumenbach's terminology as historic facts. For reasons of practicality, however, I put quotation marks at first mention, but omit them subsequently.
12 John Gascoigne, Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment, p. 153; see also Bronwen Douglas, Climate to Crania, pp. 38 f..
13 Thomas Junker, Blumenbach's Theory of Human Races.

the taxonomic impulse is an undercurrent in Blumenbach's discussion of the Malay variety".[14]

As John Gascoigne has pointed out, Blumenbach's "anthropological researches"[15] formed an integral part of his natural history.[16] His training as a physician in Jena and Göttingen, the contemporaneous German centre of academic research, emphasised the inclusion of the human in the studies of comparative anatomy and natural history – an approach to scholarly enquiry that he maintained throughout his life[17] and which is observable in his eminent work 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa' (On the Natural Variety of Mankind). By 1795, Blumenbach declared a system of five human races that many still regard as, in some sense, valid to our day (as, for example, the common use of the term 'Caucasian' as a descriptor for a 'white' person in the anglophone sphere indicates).

Blumenbach increasingly relied on anthropological evidence, particularly the description of human skulls, as a supplement to more traditional sources of information such as travel literature, for his influential theory.[18] And he only finalised the visual representation of his five-fold classification of humanity after receiving the skulls of a Tahitian woman and an Aboriginal Australian, which he thought accurately reflected the two extremes of the Malay variety.

I will take a detailed look at the way Blumenbach incorporated information about the New Hollander into his evolving human taxonomy. The inherent tension between, on the one hand, his understanding of race as being something indeterminable (because its potential physical markers were in constant gradual flux) and, on the other hand, his attempts to, nevertheless, provide characteristics for the concrete distinction of human races, becomes quite tangible through Blumenbach's evaluation of the New Hollander. Blumenbach acquired the first Indigenous Australian skull in 1793, with a second following in 1799. Curiously, he first attempted to categorise New Hollander skulls nearly twenty years earlier, in his doctoral thesis – in fact, without having a skull at hand. The astonishing fact about this initial consideration of the inhabitants of the Australian continent is that he set forth a sequence of South Sea skulls from the "Otaheitan" (Tahitian) to the New Hollander nearly a decade before he even began to assemble human skulls. How then did Blumenbach, in 1775, come to a decision about what I call "the cranial geography" across the Pacific Ocean, and on what empirical basis?

I will probe into Blumenbach's claim of a cranial race sequence in the absence of human skulls after shortly highlighting his methodological approach to the investigation and determination of racial difference as outlined in his doctoral thesis. I suggest that he delineated imagined skulls based implicitly on skin colour, combining both his own already established colour palette and the information

14 Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, p. 107.
15 John Gascoigne, Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment, p. 154.
16 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach to Joseph Banks, 1 May 1795 (Letter 903), in: Frank William Peter Dougherty, The Correspondence of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, p. 395. See also John Gascoigne, Beginnings of Anthropology, p. 93 and Tim Fulford, Theorizing Golgotha, p. 119.
17 John Gascoigne, German Enlightenment and the Pacific, pp. 141-171; John H. Zammito, Policing Polygeneticism in Germany, p. 44; John Gascoigne, Beginnings of Anthropology, p. 93.
18 Wolfgang Böker, Blumenbach's Collection of Human Skulls, pp. 85 f.; Tim Fulford, Theorizing Golgatha, p. 119.

gathered from the publications of contemporaneous travellers. Finally, through the investigation of the manifold altered editions of Blumenbach's three main publications on human nature, I will trace his equally skin-colour based division of the Malay variety into two elements.[19] Published between 1776 and 1830, these works reflect the addition and omission of arguments and evidence, the ongoing revision of his ideas about humankind and its diversity – including those referring to the New Hollanders.

Blumenbach's Four Varieties, 1775/1776

In 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa', one of Blumenbach's main concerns was the origin of human diversity: "Are men, and have the men of all times and of every race been of one and the same, or clearly of more than one species?" Arguing against polygenism – an "insufficiently considered opinion" – he accused its proponents of methodological ignorance.[20] The appropriate method to determine the significance of differences between human groups, Blumenbach maintained, was comparative anatomical investigation combined with the study of reliable travel literature.[21] This approach produced evidence that clearly pointed to the "unity of the human species and ... its mere varieties" whose similarities mattered more than their differences.[22]

The most notable physical difference between humans was the variation of their skin colour – essentially a result of environmental impacts and habit, which not only affected an entire variety but also the individuals within it.[23] Africans, for example, were generally "black" but their skin could and would, under certain circumstances, change to a lighter, more brownish tone. And the usually "copper-coloured" inhabitants of the Americas had been observed to be "almost as white as Europeans"[24] when they were living close to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, depending on the degree of sun and wind exposure, skin colour underwent an "insensible and indefinable transition from the pure white skin of the German lady through the yellow, the red, and the dark nations, to the Ethiopian of the

19 Blumenbach's thesis 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa' is dated 1775. Its first published edition appeared in 1776 in Latin, as were the second (1781) and third editions (1795). The latter editions were adjusted according to the evolution of Blumenbach's ideas. The 1776 and 1795 editions were translated to English in 1865, by Thomas Bendyshe, The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (dated 1775 and 1795). For reasons of practicality I refer to this translation despite its many contorting shortcomings. Blumenbach's 'Handbuch der Naturgeschichte' was first published in 1779 with eleven further editions published until 1830. The 'Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte' (1st ed. 1790, 2nd ed. 1806) are composed of two parts, of which the first addresses human varieties. All of these publications, incl. Bendyshe's, have been digitised and are available on the website of the Göttinger Digitalisierungszentrum at the University of Göttingen. Unless indicated otherwise, I have consulted these online digitised versions of Blumenbach's and Bendyshe's work. All translations of German sources are mine.

20 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, On the Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), pp. 97 f..

21 John H. Zammito, Policing Polygeneticism in Germany, pp. 46 f..

22 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 98.

23 Ibid., pp. 105-109.

24 Ibid., p. 107.

very deepest black".[25] It could also change through "diverse unions"[26] between members of different varieties, resulting in their offspring's blended colourations.

As mentioned earlier, the transitional nature of skin colour presented a fundamental obstacle to the concept of racial fixity, which Blumenbach seems to have acknowledged by evaluating skin colouration as an "adventitious and easily changeable thing [that could] never constitute a diversity of species".[27] But he thought it fit for use as a marker for different human varieties, even though the transition from one to another colour was essentially indeterminable. Building on Carl Linnaeus's classification of humanity, Blumenbach grouped four human varieties according to geographical distribution and outer appearance. The "first and most important" variety existed in Europe, but also included the populations of Northwest Asia, Northern America and North Africa because they, despite all their apparent differences, "as a whole ... seem[ed] to agree in many things with ourselves". From this "primitive" original and white variety all others had deviated, due to their migration and subsequent exposure to differing environments in their respective (new) geographical locations.[28] Climatic conditions exerted the most effective transformative power on human bodies, modifying skin colouration and influencing way of life. This is how, eventually, the three other varieties emerged after long stretches of time. While they presented a number of characteristics peculiar to them, these, nevertheless, still changed gradually – from variety to variety and within each variety.[29] Allotting these three varieties to the remaining continental locations, Blumenbach assigned the above mentioned "dark nations" to the second variety, whose peoples presented a "dark colour, snub noses" and "stiff hair". They inhabited the South Eastern parts of Asia "together with the islands, and the greater part of those countries which are now called Australian" – these Australian, that is, Southern, countries included New Holland. The third variety lived in Africa, and those belonging to the fourth were found on the American continents.[30]

Blumenbach then explored physical manifestations that could possibly be seen as distinctive of each variety.[31] Apart from skin colouration, he discussed characteristics such as hair texture, eye form, physiognomy and head form as potentially valid criteria for the distinction of nations and varieties (while he, as enlightened scientist, dismissed individual or pathological traits, "monstrosities" and myths conveyed by the exaggerations of too imaginative travellers).[32]

Similar to skin colour, the head was a malleable thing during its infant years until it became "perfectly solidified" to protect the brain.[33] The softness of infant bones made possible the intentional (and unintentionally) interference with the natural shape of the head. While the "Americans" had "wonderful ways" of wil-

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., pp. 110 f..
27 Ibid., p. 113.
28 Ibid., p. 99.
29 Ibid., pp. 98 ff..
30 Ibid., p. 99. See also e.g. Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, p. 107; Norbert Klatt, [Einleitung], p. 2.
31 Cressida Fforde, Collecting the Dead, p. 9.
32 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), pp. 101, 121.
33 Ibid., p. 114.

fully and permanently shaping their children's heads, the German custom to lay infants to sleep on their backs formed broad heads with flat backs.[34] These cultural practices, performed over generations, resulted in the similarity of cranial forms within a specific population: "For a considerable period of time singular shapes of the head have belonged to particular nations, and peculiar skulls have been shaped out, in some of them certainly by artificial means". It therefore appeared feasible to Blumenbach not only to "consider how far [peculiar skulls] constitute different varieties of the human race" but also to examine the idea of cranial characteristics "which in the progress of time become hereditary and constant, although they may have owed their first origin to adventitious causes".[35]

Listing all sorts of reports on differently shaped human heads, he thought it "unfair ... to draw conclusions as to the conformation of a whole race from one or two specimens". This was apparent from the very disparate descriptions of Chinese skulls included in his first variety. Additionally, considering the depictions of dog-like skull shapes found in Northern Americans (also of the first variety), he thought "too little of the history of that country and its inhabitants" was known "to be able to add the cause of that singular conformation" to his deliberations.[36] Thus, the "innumerable and simultaneous external and adventitious causes" for different "national" head shapes could only be determined on the basis of sufficient cranial evidence, which eliminated erroneous descriptions of travellers and unrepresentative monstrosities.[37] Further, they could only be explained through comprehensive knowledge of the cultural practices and living conditions of a variety.[38]

Blumenbach, on the one hand, insisted that most differences in the skull shapes were caused by the environment and human manipulation; therefore, they had to come into effect anew with each of a people's newborn in order to present a "national" peculiarity. On the other hand, he acknowledged at least the possibility of the (eventual) heredity of such traits, stating "that with the progress of time art may degenerate into a second nature".[39] Blumenbach thus did not entirely dismiss the possibility of hereditary skull characteristics, but in general, as John H. Zammito has stated, in 1775/1776 they "were not matters of natural endowment".[40] Whether hereditary or not, "the head and its conformations"[41] were indicative enough to be used as grouping criteria within his geographically and skin colour based taxonomy, although Blumenbach "had no clear criterion for variety, and indeed insisted repeatedly on the fluidity and arbitrariness of such classificatory schemes".[42] Observing this fluidity in relation to not only skin colouration but also the very concept of human varieties, he "relativized his findings so substantially as to lead one to question whether he had a firm theory

34 Ibid., pp. 120, 115.
35 Ibid., pp. 114, 116.
36 Ibid., p. 117.
37 Ibid., p. 114.
38 Ibid., p. 121.
39 Ibid.
40 John H. Zammito, Policing Polygeneticism in Germany, p. 48.
41 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 114.
42 John H. Zammito, Policing Polygeneticism in Germany, p. 48.

of 'race' in 1775".[43] Notwithstanding, he categorised humanity according to the physical traits of "different nations" in his doctoral thesis, including the New Hollanders and their skulls.

Blumenbach's Imagined Skulls, 1775/1776

New Hollanders appeared in Blumenbach's published dissertation in three instances: first, as an example for artificial skin colouration; second, in his delineation of race skulls; and third, in his deliberations on the formation of facial expressions in different races. In his elaboration on skin colouration, as a cultural rather than physical marker, he listed New Hollanders as one example among many for the "use of pigments and different kinds of paint", a practice which had been observed all over the world "amongst the most remote and different nations".[44] Although he did not speculate further on New Hollanders' natural skin colouration, it seems to have crucially informed his cranial taxonomy of the second variety.

The New Hollander formed part of Blumenbach's discussion of "peculiar skulls" belonging to "particular nations". To "consider how far they constitute different varieties of the human race" skulls appeared more reliable than superficial skin shade.[45] Delineating the head shapes of the second variety's "dark nations", he proposed that the skulls of "New Hollanders make such a transition to the third variety, that we perceive a sensible progress in going from the New Zealanders through the Otaheitans to the fourth".[46] In other words, he hypothesised a schematic gradual sequence from Africans to Indigenous Australians, Maoris/Morioris and Tahitians to Native Americans.

This arrangement of Southern Pacific human skulls is astounding because, as I have already indicated, Blumenbach had no New Hollander skull on which to base his cranial geography, and he did not provide his readers with alternative evidence for his claim. In fact, there existed not a single piece of cranial evidence, because in 1775 he had hardly begun to assemble the collection for which he later became famous.[47] There also existed no other scholarly work on New Hollander skulls, given that the acquisition of Indigenous Australian bodily remains only began after 1788, with the British settlement in Australia.[48]

The then sole available witness to Australia's inhabitants was the British world circumnavigator William Dampier, the then widely accepted "authority on the South Seas".[49] In 1688 and 1699, Dampier had stayed for several months respectively near the north-eastern shores of the, in his opinion unfavourable, southern continent and through his travel accounts the inhabitants of Australia

43 Ibid.
44 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 128.
45 Ibid., p. 114.
46 Ibid., p. 119.
47 Wolfgang Böker, Blumenbach's Collection of Human Skulls, pp. 81, 84.
48 Paul Turnbull, Anthropology and Ancestral Remains, p. 204.
49 J. Bach, Dampier, William (1651-1715).

first came to Europe's attention.[50] In contrast to his usually "fairly evenhanded assessments" of the various human populations he encountered throughout his travels, Dampier (in)famously described them as "the miserablest Peoples in the World" who possessed neither technology nor culture. Had their human shape not demonstrated otherwise, they "differ[ed] little from brutes", wrote Dampier. Their bodies and faces appeared to him appalling: "long-visaged", with "great heads, round foreheads, and great brows", "great bottle-noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths" – these people struck him as being "of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces".[51]

Nearly a decade later, Dampier described them as being of "the most unpleasant Looks and the worst Features of any People that ever [he] saw".[52] Douglas has pointed out, he thereby "evoked the most negative analogy available"[53] at the time by associating them with Africans: "Their hair is black, short, and curled like that of the Negroes" and "the colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal-black like that of the Negroes of Guinea".[54] Until the publication of the travel narratives from Captain Cook's first exploration of the South Pacific, around eighty years later, Dampier's descriptions of New Hollanders remained the predominant source, and a potent one, for European natural historians. For the next hundred or so years, they in the majority just reiterated his verdict.[55]

If Blumenbach thus knew little about the possibly "adventitious" head shaping of the New Hollanders, how, then, did he conceive of his cranial South Sea Islanders taxonomy? One answer to this question, I suggest, lies in his reliance on skin colour as a determinant for his cranial geography. Blumenbach too drew from Dampier's description (although, at this point in time, he completely ignored the information about their heads, foreheads, eyebrows and missing front teeth). Additionally, he made use of the accounts published after the return of Captain Cook from the first voyage to the South Seas on board the Endeavour in 1771.

This journey was undertaken in the spirit of Europe's Enlightenment exploration of the world, which fostered natural historians' empirically based interest in human diversity. Seeking to understand the differences and similarities between ever-increasing numbers of newly encountered peoples, their scientific enquiry included their ordering, classifying and comparing. According to Gascoigne, "the fact that the Pacific was, in European terms, largely virgin territory made it a particularly important instance of the capacity of enlightened thinking to make comprehensible a major section of the globe".[56]

As a consequence, the Pacific Ocean during the late eighteenth century became an important ground on which European Enlightenment discourse on what it

50 Ibid.; Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 7.
51 William Dampier, A New Voyage Round the World, p. 464. For more on Dampier's consideration of Australian Aborigines and Africans see Bronwen Douglas, Terra Australis to Oceania, pp. 200 f..
52 William Dampier, A Voyage to New-Holland, &c. in the Year 1699 (1703), p. 44 quoted in Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 7n21.
53 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 7.
54 Dampier, A New Voyage Round the World, p. 464.
55 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 8.
56 John Gascoigne, German Enlightenment and the Pacific, p. 149.

meant to be human was played out.[57] For these enquiries Europe's armchair natural historians predominantly relied on the travel literature published by the more adventurous world travellers.[58]

When he finished his dissertation on "the human body and its members" in 1775,[59] Blumenbach had a small number of sources on New Hollanders at hand; namely, the published accounts from two British visits to Australian shores: In addition to Dampier's A New Voyage Round the World (first published in 1697), he could refer to John Hawkesworth's "embellished narrative"[60] of Captain Cook's first exploration of the South Seas, titled An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere (published in 1773) and the chronicle of the same journey by Sydney Parkinson, A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour (edited and published posthumously also in 1773).[61]

In 1770, the Endeavour voyagers, in particular Cook, his knowledgeable companion, the gentleman naturalist Joseph Banks and the latter's draughtsman, Parkinson, were the first Britons to encounter, physically investigate and describe some of New Holland's inhabitants in detail, including measurements of body height, deliberations on skin colouration, hair structure, facial expression and behaviour. All of their accounts painted a picture quite different to Dampier's, especially with a view to his "Negroe analogy".

In their original journals, Cook and Banks strongly repudiated Dampier's disparaging characterisations. Neither of them equated New Hollanders with the despised "Negroes" from Africa and, as Douglas has put it, they "indulged in well-known primitivist nostalgia" regarding the contemporarily common trope of the "noble savage". They praised the merits of the happy existence of Australia's 'savages' against the destructive corruption of European civilisation. However, because Cook's and Banks's chronicles were not published until the late nineteenth century, Blumenbach had to rely on the heavily edited version, published by John Hawkesworth who transformed their testimonies into a single-voice captain's narrative.[62]

According to Hawkesworth, the peoples living on the eastern shores of Australia must look similar to those encountered by Dampier in the west. Therefore, he conveyed that Dampier was "in many particulars ... mistaken" in his descriptions. His narrator described them as uniformly "well made, clean limbed" people with long, straight to curly black hair and "bushy" beards. Their "countenances were not altogether without expression" and, while speaking with "remarkably

57 Ibid., p. 142.
58 Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, pp. 99, 106. On the significance of travel literature for the British Empire's Enlightenment natural history and the science of man see John Gascoigne, The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the 'New World(s)'.
59 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 129.
60 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 8.
61 The National Library of Australia has published an online edition of the journals of Captain Cook's first voyage, including Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, and John Hawkesworth, An Account of the Voyages. I refer to these online editions and their respective page numbers.
62 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, pp. 8 ff.. On Hawkesworth's editing and amalgamation of the Endeavour journals see Ronald L. Ravneberg, The Hawkesworth Copy, pp. 9-12.

soft and effeminate" voices, they behaved in a "remarkably vigorous, active, and nimble" manner. In stark contrast to Dampier's unpleasant faces, he attributed to them "features far from being disagreeable". Adding that "their noses [were] not flat, nor ... their lips thick", Hawkesworth at least implicitly rejected the notion of "Negroe" facial features in New Hollanders.[63] Parkinson's body descriptions matched Hawkesworth's. He, likewise, proposed no comparisons with Africans although his descriptions of "flattish noses" and "hair black and frizzled" might have easily enticed him to do so.[64]

Blumenbach had much praise for Hawkesworth's reliability and frequently cited his narrator captain's observations about South Sea inhabitants.[65] Yet, he made only little use of his and Parkinson's eyewitness reports on the New Hollanders. Strikingly, but possibly due to his conviction that skin colour did not have much differential value, Blumenbach made no reference to their actual skin colour although his sources were quite concerned with and speculated repeatedly about their complexion. My survey of Parkinson's and Hawkesworth's narratives of the peoples encountered throughout the Endeavour's passage from Tierra del Fuego to Australia reveals that Blumenbach's 1775/1776 cranial geography largely corresponds with their skin colour descriptions – with the exception of the New Hollander and the New Zealander.[66] Here Blumenbach appears to have used Hawkesworth's and Dampier's rather than Parkinson's colour estimations to order his imagined skulls.

Regarding Tierra del Fuego's population, Hawkesworth's narrator observed a colour that "resemble[d] that of the rust of iron mixed with oil"[67] – a label easily interpretable towards the "red" or "copper-coloured" skin of Blumenbach's Americans. Travelling west, Parkinson's and Hawkesworth's reports on Southern Pacific Islanders differed in some respects while they generally agreed on others. For example, the inhabitants of the Two Groups Islands, according to Hawkesworth, were "of a brown complexion" which Parkinson, in contrast, perceived as "almost black".[68]

Both, however, described Tahitians as having lighter skin shades: Parkinson perceived a "pale brown complexion" and Hawkesworth described their "natural complexion [as] ... clear olive, or Brunette".[69] They also agreed that the Huahine Islanders (Society Islands) had fairer skins than the Tahitians: Parkinson related that they were "not of such a dark complexion as those of Otaheite" and

63 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, pp. 632 f.; see also Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 8. Edited transcripts of Cook's and Banks's journals were published in the 1890s: W. J. L. Wharton, ed., Captain Cook's Journal During his First Voyage Round the World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-71; Joseph D. Hooker, ed., Journal of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks During Captain Cook's First Voyage in H.M.S. Endeavour.

64 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, pp. 134 (hair), 146 f. (noses).

65 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 122.

66 A comprehensive map charting the Endeavour's path is available on the National Library of Australia's website.

67 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 56. Parkinson remained silent about the skin colour of Tierra del Fuego's population.

68 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 77; Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, p. 12.

69 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, p. 48; John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 190.

Hawkesworth observed their "women were very fair, more so than those of Otaheite".[70]

The accounts describing the Endeavour's next destinations, New Zealand and Australia, largely diverged. In Hawkesworth's narration, New Zealand's population presented a variety of brown shades, depending on their northern or southern location.[71] He summarised the accounts of the travellers to the effect that "[t]heir colour in general [was] brown; but in few deeper than that of a Spaniard, who has been exposed to the sun; in many not so deep".[72] In contrast to this range of browns, Parkinson described New Zealand's Indigenous inhabitants continuously as "very dark".[73] Of most importance here is, that both contradicted Dampier's claim that New Hollander skin was "coal-black like that of the Negroes of Guinea". Hawkesworth's narrator initially described them as "very dark coloured, but not black"[74] but he later discovered that they covered their bodies with "dirt and smoke"[75] which made them "appear nearly as black as a Negroe" and made it "very difficult to ascertain their true colour". When "wetting [their] fingers and rubbing [their skin] to remove the incrustations" produced no conclusive result, he assumed that "according to our best discoveries, the skin itself is of the colour of wood soot, or what is commonly called a chocolate colour".[76] (What the locals thought of these strangers' investigative methods may be left to speculation.)

Parkinson initially described their skin like that of New Zealanders as "very dark". After several encounters he described them, repeatedly, simply as "dark"[77] but eventually New Hollander skin colour appeared to him also "like that of wood soot".[78] Parkinson did not associate Indigenous Australians with Africans, as a later comment on New Guineans reveals: "these people were not negroes, as has been reported, but are much like the natives of New Holland".[79] Hawkesworth's rendition of Cook's and Banks's journals on the same occasion again referred to the artificiality of New Hollander darkness, reporting that New Guineans were "not quite so dark; this however might perhaps be merely the effect of their not being quite so dirty"[80] (as the New Hollanders).

Given his doubts about the classificatory validity of skin colouration, Blumenbach presumably was aware that such descriptions demonstrated nicely the pitfalls of subjectivity in relation to skin colour estimation and comparison. This could be the reason why he also did not identify the Tahitians' skin colour but merely listed them as examples for his environmentalist argument for the alterable character of skin colour.[81] His source was Hawkesworth who stated "[i]n those [Otaheitans] that are exposed to the wind and sun, it is considerably deepened,

70 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, p. 69; John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 260.
71 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, pp. 287, 330, 356.
72 Ibid., p. 445.
73 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, pp. 86, 102 f.
74 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 502, see also pp. 488 and 502.
75 Ibid., p. 576.
76 Ibid., p. 632.
77 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, pp. 133 f., 141 f., 156 f..
78 Ibid., pp. 146 f..
79 Ibid., pp. 159 f..
80 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 655.
81 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 110 incl. n5.

but in others that live under shelter, especially the superior class of women, it continues of its hue".[82]

In figure 1 I have abridged the above illustrated skin colour descriptions for comparison with Blumenbach's alignment of South Sea Islander skulls and his existing skin colour palette of his then four varieties. It shows that his cranial arrangement within the skin colour category of the "dark nations" reflects his seafaring witnesses' testimonies to the skin colour of the Pacific Island populations. Thus, I suggest, that he placed the conceived New Hollander skull next to the Ethiopian's because both their skin colours were described in the darkest tones. The New Hollander's skin was described not as, but closest to, the "deepest black" of the Ethiopian.

	Negroes	**New Hollander**	**New Zealander**	**Otaheitans**	**Fuegians**
Dampier 1697	coal-black	coal-black			
Hawkesworth 1773	black	[very dark but not black]; wood soot, chocolate;	brown, but not very dark; brown, like Spaniard	clear olive brunette	rust mixed with oil
Parkinson 1773		(very) dark; wood soot	very dark	pale brown	

Blumenbach skin colour palette (1775)	**3rd Variety Ethiopian** deepest black	**(part of) 2nd Variety South Sea Islander** transitionally dark nations			**4th Variety American** red, copper-coloured
Blumenbach skull sequence (1775)	Ethiopian	New Hollander	New Zealander	Otaheitan	American

Fig. 1 – Skin colour and skulls according to Blumenbach and his sources, 1775

In summary, while Dampier likened New Hollanders with "coal-black Negroes", Hawkesworth and Parkinson distanced their skin colour and other physical features from those of Africans. Notwithstanding, both Dampier's descriptions and the Endeavour journey witnesses provided Blumenbach with information on the approximation of New Hollanders to the latter. Blumenbach's 1775/1776 series of imagined skulls thus also seems to recapitulate, and thereby systematise, the information on skin colour provided by the published Endeavour accounts. But he did so with reference neither to his witnesses nor their skin colour descriptions nor the respective varieties' assigned skin shades. Therefore, although Blumenbach nominally rejected skin colour as a racial marker (due to its transitional

82 John Hawkesworth, Account of the Voyages, p. 190 (Blumenbach referred to p. 187).

and environmentally alterable nature), he at the same time seems to have based his cranial categorisation upon it. Synthesising the available information about South Sea Islander skin colours with his already established skin-colour palette, Blumenbach in 1775/1776 created an imagined cranial sequence of "sensible progress" from the black Ethiopian through the very dark New Hollanders, to the dark to brown New Zealanders, light-brown Tahitians to red Americans.

The New Hollander countenance, 1775/1776 and 1781

Illustrating "sensible progress", Blumenbach's early cranial geography of the Southern Sea Islanders concurrently positioned New Hollanders and Otaheitans at opposite ends. This was underscored in his discussion of "the physiognomy and the peculiar lineaments of the whole countenance in different nations". Like skull shape and skin colour, Blumenbach thought of them as environmentally caused. He also appears to have considered the possibility of physiognomy and countenance as inheritable traits, suggesting that "in many [nations] they are sufficiently settled, and are such faithful exponents of the climate and mode of life, that even after many generations spent in a foreign climate they can still be recognised".[83]

Blumenbach's interpretation of these recognisable traits in the physiognomy and countenance of South Sea peoples set the New Hollander even further apart from the Tahitian than his cranial sequence, namely by juxtaposing somewhat savage New Hollanders with more appealing Otaheitans on the basis of his aesthetic and, to some extent, moral judgements.

With regard to the South Sea peoples' "sufficiently settled" faces, Blumenbach stated that "the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean retain evident examples of persistent physiognomy. Every one, for example, will recognize the fierce and savage countenance of the New-Hollanders and New-Zealanders by looking at the magnificent plates of Parkinson whereas the Otaheitans, on the contrary, looked at as a whole seem to be of a milder disposition, as also the many pictures of them by the same well-known author testify".[84]

Parkinson was among the few who Blumenbach trusted to produce "sufficiently faithful and accurately delineated ... likenesses of nations"[85] and here he referred to the famous engraving "Two of the Natives of New Holland, Advancing to Combat" (fig. 2),[86] published in Parkinson's travel narrative.

It depicts an incident during the initial landing in Botany Bay, dated 28 April 1770 in Parkinson's journal, when the locals appeared to make it abundantly

83 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 121.
84 Ibid. In n1 he referred to Parkinson's plates xvii ("The Manner in which the New Zealand Warriors defy their Enemies"), xxiii ("The Heads of six Men, Natives of New Zealand, ornamented According to the Mode of that Country") and xxviii (which does not exist in Parkinson's journal; he meant plate xxvii ("Two of the Natives of New Holland, Advancing to Combat"), reproduced here in fig. 2. In n2 he referred to Parkinson's plate viii ("Heads of divers Natives of the Islands of Otaheite, Huahine, Oheiteroah") as an example for Otaheitans.
85 Ibid., pp. 121 f..
86 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, p. 134 plate xxvii.

Fig. 2 – 'Two of the Natives of New Holland, Advancing to Combat'

clear that the foreigners were not welcome. Parkinson described the situation as follows: "On our approaching the shore, two men, with different kinds of weapons, came out and made toward us. Their countenance bespoke displeasure; they threatened us, and discovered hostile intentions, often crying to us, Warra warra wai. We made signs to them to be peaceable, and threw them some trinkets; but they kept aloof, and dared us to come on shore. We attempted to frighten them by firing off a gun loaded with small shot; but attempted it in vain. One of them repaired to a house immediately, and brought out a shield, of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes in it to see through, and also a wooden sword, and then they advanced boldly, gathering up stones as they came along, which they threw at us".[87]

The travellers did not feel discouraged from landing ashore and were then greeted by two lances, to which they responded with the shot of a gun, injuring one of the two men.[88] Parkinson's plate thus depicted a specific situation; namely, one of conflict.

He made it to illustrate both the weapons used by the Botany Bay people and their decisive approach towards the strangers. The artist cited the engraving again in his description of the peoples living near the Endeavour River in Queensland, who he regarded as "very merry and facetious" – this time it served

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid. On the first encounter with the locals of Botany Bay see Maria Nugent, Captain Cook Was Here, pp. 1-48. Descendants of the Dharawal speaking people today maintain that the Endeavour's approach was in fact considered as the return of the "spirits of the dead". Accordingly, their shouting of "warra warra wai" meant "you're all dead". Isabella Higgins, Sarah Collard, Captain James Cook's Landing and the Indigenous First Words Contested by Aboriginal leaders, 29 April 2020.

to illustrate that "their noses had holes bored in them, through which they drew a piece of white bone about three or five inches long, and two round".[89] Similarly, he described a previous encounter with New Zealanders who "made a mean appearance", "cut a despicable figure" in their canoes and were "very merry", giving them "several heivos, or cheers".[90]

It seems, therefore, that Parkinson described the "countenance" of these peoples according to a specific situation, which Blumenbach then took to be a typical characteristic. Douglas has interpreted the engraving as "ennobling the two men as 'classical heroes'", adding that it "in no sense demeans Aboriginal people".[91] Blumenbach's perception of Parkinson's athletic and heroic New Hollanders (and New Zealanders) thus might owe more to Dampier's unsympathetic remarks about their "very unpleasing" features than to Parkinson's positive descriptions of generally appealing Australian peoples.

This juxtaposition of the New Hollanders' and Otaheitans' countenances recurred in a different configuration in 1781. In 1779, in the 'Handbuch der Naturgeschichte', Blumenbach introduced a fifth variety to his human taxonomy by separating the "Australasians and Polynesians, or the Southlanders of the fifth part of the world" from the second variety. These Southlanders were "mostly black-brown, broad-nosed and strongly haired".[92] Writing for a broad audience ranging from educated specialists to amateurs, Blumenbach made sure to "avoid ... the splendour of citation".[93]

This lack of reference was redressed two years later in the second edition of 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa', when he had "more accurately investigated the different nations of Eastern Asia and America". In order to present a classification "more constant to nature", he suggested the fifth variety inhabited the "new southern world" and consisted of "men throughout being of a very deep brown colour".[94] Blumenbach then pointed to a racial distinction suggested by Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg who sorted the Southern Pacific peoples into a lighter and a darker group, in varying degrees attaching negative values to the darker peoples.[95]

Father and son were prominent figures in the German Enlightenment who "did most to implant in Germany an interest in the late eighteenth-century European encounter with the Pacific".[96] They participated as naturalists in Captain Cook's second exploration of the South Pacific (1772-1775) in search of 'Terra Australis', the hypothetical counterbalance to the continents on the northern part of the globe.[97] Their observations of the peoples and cultures they encountered were published shortly after their return to England and their travel accounts

89 Sydney Parkinson, Voyage to the South Seas, pp. 146 f..
90 Ibid., pp. 102 f..
91 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 10.
92 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Handbuch der Naturgeschichte (1779), p. 64.
93 Ibid., Vorrede. See also Klatt, [Einleitung], p. ii.
94 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 100 n4; Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa (1781), p. 52.
95 On both Forsters' views about Oceanic peoples or races see Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, pp. 102-106.
96 John Gascoigne, German Enlightenment and the Pacific, p. 145.
97 Ibid., p. 149.

provided Blumenbach with information about the physique and way of living of the Pacific Ocean Islanders.

Reinhold Forster distinguished between "two great varieties". First, the Tahitians, Society Islanders, Marquesans, the inhabitants of the Friendly and Easter Islands and New Zealand were "*more fair*, *well limbed*, *athletic*, of a *fine size*, and a kind of *benevolent temper*". Second, the South Pacific inhabitants, "confined within the tropics to its most Western parts" (New Caledonia, Tanna and New Hebrides) were "*blacker*, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body *more slender and low*, and their temper, if *possible more brisk*, though *somewhat mistrustful*"[98] (emphases added). Although New Hollanders were not included in his list of darker peoples (probably due to the unfamiliarity of the Forsters with the Australian continent),[99] he distinguished New Caledonians as "totally different from the slender diminutive" New Hollanders.[100]

A closer look at how Blumenbach made use of Forster's racial distinction between darker and lighter races of the Pacific Ocean seems enlightening, because this, in particular, provided him with empirical evidence for not only his own New Hollander-Otaheitan dichotomy but also his notion of the transitional character of human varieties.[101] He argued that "those who inhabit the Pacific Archipelago are divided again ... into two tribes".

Reciting Forster's Pacific populations, he described "men of *elegant appearance and mild disposition*, whereas the others ... are *blacker*, more curly, and in disposition *more distrustful and ferocious*".[102] Although New Hollanders were not listed among the South Sea peoples' second tribe, Blumenbach's characterisations clearly reiterated his earlier distinction between New Hollanders and Otaheitans. The above quotes also show that Blumenbach transformed Forster's more cautious phrasing into more definite terms.

Blumenbach further enhanced this distinction in the 1781 section on physiognomy. He now offered a general description of the facial features of the fifth variety, distinguishing their "strongly pronounced and angular" faces from "Chinese well-formed and flat faces". Although he cautioned that not enough information was available to determine a general rule, such restraint did not apply to his evaluation of New Hollander physiognomy. Omitting his reference to Parkinson's engravings, he restated the "fierce and savage" countenance of New Hollanders (and New Zealanders) and described Tahitians not only as of a "milder" but also "more human disposition"[103] by adding the Latin term 'humaine' to their identification. Thus, in the second edition of 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa', Blumenbach underscored his physiognomical and temperamental distinction between "fierce and savage" New Hollanders and more appealing Otaheitans. He also removed the cranial series of the South Sea Islanders.[104] The reasons for

98 Reinhold Forster, Observations, p. 228.
99 John Gascoigne, Banks and English Enlightenment, p. 153; Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, p. 105.
100 Reinhold Forster, Observations, p. 228.
101 Bronwen Douglas, Novus Orbis Australis, p. 103.
102 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1775), p. 100 n4.
103 Blumenbach, De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa (1781), p. 93.
104 Ibid., 87 f..

this deletion cannot be reconstructed; however, given that Blumenbach aspired to base his hypotheses on empirical evidence it is plausible to assume that its scientific foundation proved too insubstantial.

Until the publication of the third, most prominent, edition of 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa', New Hollanders vanished altogether from his deliberations about the fifth variety. My survey of his works on human diversity published between 1781 and 1795 points to the possibility that they were subsumed under the South Sea Islanders of various denominations in the fifth variety.[105]

Following Captain Cook's subsequent journeys to the Southern Pacific, Blumenbach acknowledged the necessity to (re)consign its peoples to "their proper place".[106] This refinement can also be seen as reflecting the puzzlement natural historians experienced when trying to systematise the overwhelming volume of information generated by the era's ongoing exploration of regions and encounters with peoples hitherto unknown to Europeans. And this uncertainty called for the constant reconsideration of their conclusions about racial typologies.[107]

Blumenbach's "Five Principal Varieties of Mankind", 1795

As Douglas has termed it, in 1795, the New Hollanders "embodied the key qualification to Blumenbach's [taxonomical] project".[108] By then Blumenbach took a much more systematic approach in all of his areas of investigation, basing his argument to a higher degree on his anthropological specimens, complementary to travel reports. From the mid-1780s onwards, he began to systematically collect and investigate human skulls as representations for human varieties.[109] As they "exhibit[ed] the firm and stable foundation of the head, and [could] be conveniently handled and examined, and considered under different aspects and compared together"[110] they presented objects appropriate for anthropological research. By 1795, he had acquired a significant number of human skulls and developed his own method of cranial investigation.[111]

Blumenbach was not the first to examine human skulls for reasons of classification. Already in the eighteenth century, the Dutch anatomist and artist Pieter Camper constructed and compared the 'facial angle' of a set of human skulls, albeit for facilitating the drawing of facial profiles.[112] Blumenbach, gathering "daily experience and ... familiarity" with his skulls, criticised Camper's method;

105 See, e.g., Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Handbuch der Naturgeschichte (1788), pp. 61 f. and (1791), p. 55; Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte (1790), p. 83.
106 Introductory Letter to Joseph Banks in: Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), pp. 149 f.; Tim Fulford, Romantic Indians, p. 92.
107 See for example Tim Fulford, Romantic Indians, pp. 91 f.; Paul Turnbull, Anthropology and Ancestral Remains p. 207; John Gascoigne, Banks and English Enlightenment, p. 149.
108 Bronwen Douglas, Seaborne Ethnography, p. 13.
109 See, e.g., John Gascoigne, Beginnings of Anthropology, p. 90; Wolfgang Böker, Blumenbach's Collection of Human Skulls, p. 82.
110 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 234. See also Paul Turnbull, Anthropology and Ancestral Remains, p. 214.
111 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), pp. 155 f..
112 On Camper's "discovery of the facial angle" see Miriam Claude Meijer, Race and Aesthetics, pp. 105-109.

firstly, because it classed "the most different nations" together while it separated members of the same. Secondly, the facial line considered only one aspect of the skull shape.[113]

Blumenbach therefore introduced the "norma verticalis" as additional craniological measure: Seeing the skull "from above and from behind" revealed "all that most conduces to the racial character of skulls, whether it be the direction of the jaws, or the cheekbones, the breadth or narrowness of the skull, the advancing or receding outline of the forehead &c. strikes the eye ... distinctly at one glance".[114]

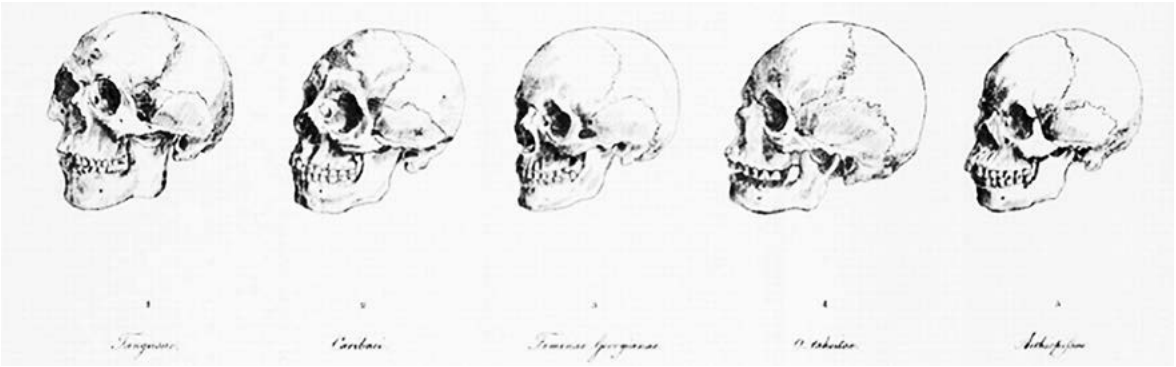
Until 1793, his cranial comparisons were limited to only four of his varieties. This made him "so anxious above all to obtain"[115] representative skulls of the South Sea Islanders that, in 1787, he sought the assistance of Banks to acquire some of these. Banks was the appropriate addressee for such a demand, as he had long established an extremely effective international network for the exchange of natural history specimens and information and had provided Blumenbach previously with a number of natural history items, including a human skull from the Americas in 1789.[116] In 1793, Banks finally presented the requested "very rare skull of a New Hollander from the neighbourhood of Botany Bay" and, a few months later, one of a "Tahitian female".[117] In a letter to Banks, Blumenbach expressed his delight about these eagerly awaited acquisitions, as he now held in his hands the cranial representations "of both the two principal Races which constitute this remarkable variety in the 5th part of the world; viz. of the black race & of the brown one".[118]

Following these acquisitions, Blumenbach settled on the cranial sequence of "five principal varieties of mankind" made up by the Caucasian, American, Mongolian, Ethiopian and Malayan. He represented each of these main varieties by a particular human skull (fig. 3),[119] and re(de)fined their positions in relation to each other following a reconsideration of his deviation hypothesis from an original white variety.[120] He maintained that the Caucasians (that is, Europeans) remained closest to the original ancestor from which all had deviated under the influence of specific environmental, foremost climatic, conditions.

But, instead of the linear sequence from 1775/1776, he now delineated two branches of deviation from the original Caucasian, each entailing an intermediate and an extreme element: One branch led via the American to the Mongolian; the other placed the Malayan between the Caucasian and the Ethiopian.[121] Thus,

113 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), pp. 235 f..
114 Ibid., 237. See also Wolfgang Böker, Blumenbach's Collection of Human Skulls, pp. 88 f.; Tim Fulford, Theorizing Golgotha, p. 123 and Peter J. Kitson, Coleridge and the 'Orang Utang Hypothesis', p. 98.
115 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 149.
116 Wolfgang Böker, Zur Geschichte der Schädelsammlung Johann Friedrich Blumenbachs, p. 12.
117 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), pp. 239, 162.
118 Blumenbach to Banks, 1 November 1793 (original emphasis) quoted in: John Gascoigne, Banks and English Enlightenment, p. 153.
119 The image appeared in Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa (1795), plate iv.
120 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), pp. 264 f..
121 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 209. See also Hanna Franziska Augstein, Caucasus and Beyond, pp. 62 f..

the Malay variety remained in an intermediate position, but its reference to the other varieties changed. It appears that in 1775/1776 Blumenbach regarded all skulls as segments on a continuum, with those of the Southern Seas connecting the third (Ethiopian) with the fourth (American) variety; and now he seems to have pronounced an arguably more hierarchical sequence of symmetrical mediates and extremes.[122]



Mongolian	American	Caucasian	Malayan	Ethiopian
Extreme	Intermediate	Original Mediate	Intermediate	Extreme

Fig. 3 – Blumenbach's cranial race classification

As is shown in figure 3, the Tahitian skull henceforth represented the Malayan variety, illustrating "the transition from that medial [Caucasian] variety to the other extreme, namely the Ethiopians".[123] In the third catalogue of his cranial collection Blumenbach finally illustrated the skulls of the "original barbarians inhabiting the Southern Ocean Islands; one of which is of course the New Hollander".[124] He found it was generally similar to the Tahitian skull, albeit the norma verticalis revealed a slightly narrower shape and thus "approach[ed] the Ethiopians very much".[125]

A missing tooth confirmed reports on the New Hollanders' habit of extracting the incisors (which Dampier had also mentioned).[126] In the 1795 edition of 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa' he referred to the New Hollander skull in his discussion about the causes for the "racial variety of skulls".[127] He maintained that, despite "all sorts of licence in individuals", human skulls demonstrated a "consistency of characteristics which cannot be denied".[128] The skull was shaped on the inside by the brain and on its exterior surface through the modelling effects of the facial muscles. While the climate remained the "primary cause"

122 See, e.g., Sabine Ritter, Natural Equality and Racial Systematics, pp. 102-116 or Stephen Jay Gould, Mismeasure of Man; and compare criticism of a hierarchical interpretation of Blumenbach's system by Thomas Junker, Blumenbach's Theory of Human Races, pp. 105-111.
123 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 275.
124 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Decas Tertia, p. 3.
125 Ibid., p. 12.
126 Ibid., p. 13. See also Paul Turnbull, Anthropology and Ancestral Remains, p. 218.
127 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 239.
128 Ibid., pp. 234 f..

for racial skull form, its impact was partial and indirect[129] as the most important "accessory" cause lay in "racial habit";[130] namely, the manipulation of particular areas of the skull.[131]

The New Hollander skull was "conspicuous beyond all others for the singular smoothness of the upper jaw". Explaining the feature in accordance with his idea about the eventual inheritability of artificial head formation, Blumenbach cited the New Hollanders' "paradoxical custom" of inserting wooden sticks through the nasal septum which exerted "perpetual pressure", gradually resulting in a racial characteristic.[132]

The New Hollander – a transitional race

The New Hollander subsequently (re)appeared in Blumenbach's works on human nature, predominantly as a testimonial to the transitional nature of racial characteristics, proving not quite Malayan but also not Ethiopian. Skin colour, as Blumenbach repeatedly assured, was transient as it seemed "to play in numberless ways between the snowy white of the European girl to the deepest black of the Ethiopian woman". It was, on the one hand, largely associable with the five varieties but, on the other hand, none of these colours were exclusively characteristic of their respective varieties.[133] Dark skin derived from the content of carbon in the human body and its chemical reaction with the atmospheric oxygen of specific climatic environments, such as the "torrid zones" of Africa which produced black Ethiopians. Therefore, the darkest hue also occurred in "others of the most different and most widely separated varieties"; among them "the islanders of the Southern Ocean, where, for instance, the New Caledonians ... make an insensible transition from the tawny colour of the Otaheitans, through the chestnut-coloured inhabitants of the island of Tongatabu [Tonga], to the tawny-black of the New Hollanders".[134]

Subsequent to the 1795 edition of 'De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa' Blumenbach introduced both the transitional colour scheme of the Malayan variety and his hypothesis on the extreme and intermediate varieties, to the 'Handbuch der Naturgeschichte'. From its sixth edition (1799) onwards, he explained the differences in the darkness of Ethiopians and New Hollanders by their slightly different climatic environments: "The Ethiopian race in burning hot Africa has degenerated [from the white Caucasian] to the other extreme in the stages of the human varieties, while it fades into the Malay race through the rather milder New Holland and on the New Hebrides".[135] The New Hollanders' transitional position however turned into a racial subcategory by 1806, in the second edition of the 'Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte'. Here, the Malay were "mostly" brown

129 Ibid., p. 239.
130 Ibid., p. 235.
131 Ibid., pp. 240 ff..
132 Ibid., pp. 239 f.; Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Decas Tertia, p. 13.
133 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 209.
134 Ibid., pp. 209-212.
135 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Handbuch (1799), p. 64n.

within the variety where there existed "one or another people" that differed from the other in their division. Accordingly, "the black Papoos on New Holland etc. are divided from the brown Otaheitans and other Islanders of the Pacific Ocean as separate sub classes" – a distinction Blumenbach henceforth carried on in all ensuing 'Handbuch' editions.[136] His differentiation between the Malay variety's "black race" and "the brown one", announced upon the receipt of his South Sea skulls, thus persisted in his discussions of skin colour.

Blumenbach named the New Hollanders' inconclusive, intermediary position most clearly in his delineation of four hair varieties, categorised by colour and texture. While most Pacific Ocean Islanders' hair was "black, soft, in locks, thick and exuberant", the Ethiopians' was "black and curly, which is generally compared to the wool of sheep".[137] Again, each of these characteristics was not unique to their respective variety because there were "races of Ethiopians" that had long hair while some "copper-coloured nations again ha[d] curly hair". Such was the case with a strand of New Hollander hair in Blumenbach's possession, which demonstrated "perfectly the middle place" between Ethiopian curliness and South Sea Islander locks. To Blumenbach, its intermediary position testified to the "wonderful difference in opinion" of his witnesses about the properties of New Hollander hair.[138] In his examination of racial physiognomy Blumenbach in 1795 emphasised the individuality and variance of facial traits within all human varieties, ranging from Europeans to the "barbarous nations". But he also insisted that "it is not less undoubtedly a fact that every different variety of mankind (and everywhere, even in the inhabitants of single provinces) all over the world has a racial face peculiar to each of them by which it may be easily distinguished from the remaining varieties".[139]

The causes for the formation of a variety's "national face"[140] were complicated. While attributing "much" to the mixing of races, Blumenbach conjectured that climate presented the "principal cause": different people(s) of the same race living in the same climatic conditions presented a consistency in their facial conformation, and the migration of peoples to regions with a climate different to their origin (for example, due to colonial endeavours) eventually adapted their faces to those of the peoples of that climate. The specific impact of a climate on the eventually fixed characteristics of a "racial face" appeared "extremely difficult" to ascertain.[141] In this context, Blumenbach referred to Dampier, tentatively suggesting "that accessory causes sometimes endemical to peculiar climates ... may do something towards contracting the natural face of the inhabitants" of that region. The additional causes were the "constant clouds of gnats" inhabiting the same climatic region as the New Hollanders, who therefore, according to Dampier, "never open[ed] their eyes like other people".[142]

136 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Beyträge (1806), p. 72. He transformed this passage of the 'Beyträge' into a footnote in the 'Handbuch' editions.
137 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 224.
138 Ibid., p. 225.
139 Ibid., p. 227.
140 Ibid., p. 226.
141 Ibid., pp. 229 ff..
142 Ibid., p. 232 incl. n4.

Whether Blumenbach thought that the contractions represented a fixed "national face" is unclear. He made no mention of either ferocious physiognomy and temperament or Parkinson's engravings (although he did refer earlier to the Botany Bay warriors' nasal adornments as example for artificial skull modification). This could be due to the methodological limitation to the examination and comparison that he introduced for the evaluation of faces as race characteristics. His discussion of the face only concerned the "proportion and direction of its parts ... peculiar and characteristic to the different varieties of mankind", whereas "looks, expression" were merely indicative of "temperament", and thus to be excluded from (anatomical) racial categorisation.[143] Thus, it can be argued that, in comparison to his previous considerations of the New Hollanders, Blumenbach's more systematic approach and change in methodology brought with them the elimination of the cruder comparison of New Hollanders with Tahitians.

Conclusion

Blumenbach's selective utilisation of his sources indicates the New Hollanders' racial position within a tacit continuum, as both an extreme element within one variety and the boundary-blurring element between varieties. From 1775 onwards, he distinguished between New Hollanders and Otaheitans as two ends of the human groupings living in the Southern Pacific region, which he would only later describe as the fifth variety. He thought of this distinction based on a diversity of characteristics and methodological approaches. Skin colour, although identified as transient and thus not a suitable racial marker, became increasingly potent for this distinction. In the first two editions of his dissertation Blumenbach distinguished "fierce and savage" New Hollanders from more appealing Otaheitans. In the original version, as I have argued, this distinction was based concurrently on Blumenbach's explicit interpretation of Parkinson's engravings and his implicit, underlying transient skin colour palette. In 1781, Blumenbach underscored this juxtaposition with reference to Reinhold Forster's differentiation of darker and fairer South Sea peoples. By 1795, the distinction had shifted through a change in methodology, from the interpretation of mild versus ferocious physiognomies to the clear identification of skin colours. From then on, Blumenbach upheld the New Hollanders' position as part of the Malayan, climatically caused, skin colour range although he also contended that they could be conveniently classed with the darker Ethiopians. And from 1806 onwards, Blumenbach separated New Hollanders as "black Papoos" into a separate sub-category within the Malayan variety, again in stark opposition to the "brown Otaheitans".

When Blumenbach, in 1775, created an imagined cranial sequence of the Southern Seas' "dark nations" by positioning the Otaheitan on the lighter end towards the American skull while the New Hollander skull presented a link to the "very deepest black" Ethiopian, this proposition lacked any empirical basis.

143 Ibid., p. 229.

Throughout the following twenty years, however, Blumenbach obtained significant numbers of human skulls as empirical evidence for his hypothesising. This shift towards examining and comparing human skulls has gained him the title of "father of physical anthropology" already in the late nineteenth century when early practitioners of the science in Germany looked to Blumenbach's cranial investigations as a starting point for their own, newly defined physical anthropological research. But Blumenbach's utilisation of Australian Aboriginal skulls in 1795 also points to his clearly environmentalist concept and his intentional inclusion of the non-physical sphere into his human taxonomy.

As Thomas Junker has argued, Blumenbach's primary concern was to scientifically prove monogenism rather than categorising humanity along racial lines.[144] And indeed, that was the ascertained objective and conclusion of his dissertation on human diversity. The incorporation of the New Hollander into his theorising on humanity, its variations and its fundamental unity, I suggest, reflects the struggle between Blumenbach's need to ascertain, indeed defend, the unity and universality of humankind, on the one hand, and his acknowledgement of human differences and individuality, on the other. This may be underscored by the way Blumenbach concluded his 1795 treatise: Pointing out that even within the Tahitians a distinction was possible between lighter and darker skinned races, he stated that the latter "then come very near those men who inhabit the islands more to the south in the Pacific Ocean, of whom the inhabitants of the New Hebrides in particular come sensibly near the Papuans and New Hollanders, who finally on their part graduate so insensibly towards the Ethiopian variety, that if it was thought convenient, they might not unfairly be classed with them".[145] This reiteration of the gradual transition of human characteristics (in conjunction with his ideas of racial deviation) led him to make the final statement – an unambiguous stance on the unity of the human species.[146]

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144 Thomas Junker, Blumenbach's Theory of Human Races, pp. 89-99.
145 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Natural Variety of Mankind (1795), p. 275.
146 Ibid., p. 276.

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The Tides are Turning

Reconciling the Hidden Pearling History of Broome

Abstract: In 2015 Yawuru people began the slow and emotional journey to repatriate their 'Old People' whose skeletal remains had been taken from their Country by collectors working mostly for museums. One group of ancestors were young pearlshell divers who had been sold to the Dresden Museum in Saxony, Germany, in 1895 by pearlers. Their bodily traumas revealed the brutal treatment they endured before their untimely deaths.

The journey brought the Yawuru and Karajarri elders and the curators of the Ethnographic Museums of Saxony together in their quest to find out what had happened to these people and to *rehumanise* our ancestors who had, for so long, been treated as objects in the museum collections. This article presents our reflections on the journey back to Germany to retrieve the ancestors, the development of our 'Wanggajarli Burugun' ('We are coming home') project and the findings from our research into the slavery of the early pearling days in and around Broome, Western Australia. It also reveals the emotional journey of our community as they delved into the trauma of this formerly unknown colonial practice of 'bone-collecting', and how, through the spirit of mabu liyan and a process of culturally informed engagement process we were able to address the dark deeds of the past to lead the journey to healing and reconciliation.

This article is written as part of the 'Wanggajarli Burugun' ('We are coming home') Repatriation Project of Nyamba Buru Yawuru (NBY), the organisation that represents the Yawuru native title holders of the country in and around Roebuck Bay on the northwest coast of Australia. Based in the pearling town of Broome, NBY is involved with the repatriation of ancestral remains that were taken from Yawuru country from as early as the 1860s, and has embarked on a project to provide a permanent resting place and memorial for our ancestors. NBY is also producing a film and travelling exhibition about our experiences in this work. Naomi Appleby and Lloyd Pigram were appointed by the Yawuru Cultural Reference Group to be their ambassadors for the project. We have written this article, for the most part, in the first person (or the first person plural). It is a piece written from the heart – straight from our 'Liyan' (inner spirit) – about understanding the journeys of our ancestors when they were taken from Yawuru country. It is also about the resulting emotional trauma that connects Yawuru and Karajarri people, and the culturally sensitive process we have developed as we guide the ancestors home. Sarah Yu is a senior research officer with 'Mangara' ('Forever'), the cultural heritage unit of NBY, and Dr Fiona Skyring is a historian who has worked with Yawuru on their native title claim and cultural heritage projects since 2000.

Warning – This article contains images of people who have passed away, and images of Aboriginal human remains.

Lloyd Pigram:

Our Australian colonial past is like a spring tide. If we reflect on our recent experiences regarding the repatriation of our Old People and the revealing of their truths, we could assume that the metaphorical 'spring tide' is going out, exposing hidden truths.

In this article, we refer to our ancestors as 'Old People'. It is in keeping with what this article aims to achieve, which is to re-humanise the de-humanised.

Being part of the early discussions regarding the return of our Old People from Germany, it was challenging for me to understand how and what was the right way to escort our Old People home, knowing the confronting nature of what was being uncovered. To ensure that the spirits of our ancestors returning were appropriately cared for, we were culturally sensitive in order to protect what we call 'liyan' (inner spirit). It was important to continue cultural practices, such as smoking ceremonies, and these were conducted by Yawuru and Karajarri people in the international delegation at Berlin and in Perth. The healing of our 'liyan' is a cultural practice that has never stopped.

Naomi Appleby:

> Our Old People have been labelled and studied as museum objects for over a century. Now more than ever, I feel it is important to challenge the western historical narrative and mentality, which was written on our behalf. Our Old People are not medical specimens, they are people from this Country. They were born here and they will be physically and spiritually returned to Country as is required, morally and culturally. For us, and for our ancestors, Country is so much more than just land or a geographical place. It is a living cultural landscape, to which we as Aboriginal people have a deep conscious connection. If Country is sick, we are sick. When we refer to Country, we are speaking of 'Buru' and the interconnected relationship between people and place through language, law, identity and spirituality. The 'Bugarrigarra' (dreaming/deep history) connects us to our Country, it connects us to each other through our cultural kinships, and continues to guide us through our ongoing cultural obligations to care for our birthplace, because that is where we will return after death. The theft of our ancestors from Country was a heinous crime against humanity and a disruption to our ancestors' spirits and our Country's health.

The reconciliation journey

For many years the people of the west Kimberley region have been repatriating their ancestors whose remains had been held primarily in state and national depositories. For the most part, these ancestral remains had been taken from lonely graves around the fringes of towns or in remote coastal locations. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, many human remains were taken to add to the collections of state, national and overseas museums.

To date, only a few have been returned. In 2015, Yawuru representatives met with Neil Carter, the repatriation officer for the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Committee (KALACC), the organisation that has been holding a number of our ancestors until such time as we had a place to lay them to rest. With very little information about each of the ancestors, Yawuru elders decided to seek support and funds to develop a communal memorial and resting place that could house all ancestors taken from their country and, if without provenance, from the general west Kimberley region.

What unfolded after 2015 was a succession of events that led to the location of several ancestors whose remains were physical evidence of the violent colonial encounter with European settlers, from the time of first contact in the 1860s, through to the pearling era of the 1870s and 1880s. This happened at a serendipitous time, when Yawuru people were able to negotiate with the Shire of Broome for a secure resting place for the ancestors to be located within the Broome cemetery.

For the Yawuru elders, the realisation and understanding of the immorality that lay at the root of the removal of ancestral remains began in 2016, when Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, of the Ethnographic Museum of Saxony, contacted Sarah Yu at NBY and provided a report that she had titled, 'The Old People of Roebuck Bay'. This report told the story of how, in the mid-1890s, the remains of several men, women and children had been taken from Roebuck Bay and sold by a prominent Broome pearler and businessman, Arthur Male, to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Dresden. From the forensic investigations detailed in the report,

it was evident that several of these people had been pearl shell divers and all had suffered physical trauma during their short lifetimes. This was the first time that our elders had come face to face with the one of the many harsh realities of the colonial encounter – the stealing and illegal removal of our ancestors.

What unfolded as our elders and community confronted the evidence of grave robbing on Yawuru country, an activity that had been mostly hidden from the public gaze, has been a remarkable emotional journey of healing so far. It is a journey that has brought the living community in touch with the trauma of their colonial past. By following cultural protocols that are founded in the Yawuru concept of 'mabu liyan' (good feeling, well-being) the community is finding resolution and reconciliation of this painful past.

As Neil Carter commented, when discussing the trajectory of the ancestors whom he has been responsible for repatriating to their home communities, "You know, we are not *bringing* them home. Our ancestors are *finding* their way home".[1]

Dianne Appleby, one of our elders who participated in the repatriation of our ancestors from Germany, recently reflected, "This is coming alive. They are people. I dream of them. They can smell us when we are there. We must bring 'gun-gurra' (smoke) so that they know who we are – we are countrymen".[2]

It was this understanding that our ancestors were speaking to us, that informed our sense of obligation to facilitate their journey home. We therefore named our project, 'Wanggajarli Burugun', meaning 'We are coming home'. This paper retraces this journey as we continue to find answers to the questions of how and why the removal of ancestors was allowed to happen. Our elders were genuinely confused about this, as they could not understand in any moral or cultural way why strangers would steal their Old People. Doris Edgar, now passed, asked her daughter, Dianne Appleby this question. Here is Dianne Appleby's account of that conversation:

> I said "mum, they took the 'ganyji'" (bones from our country). She gently turned to ask me "what for they take 'em away in the first place? What you mean they bring 'em back?" Her weary eyes had a gentle glance of despair as she paused for an answer, as my challenge became surreal to explain the unforgiving actions of the past.
>
> I was never going to bring closure for her as an elder. My mother was confused by this horrific behaviour and the evil intentions; to remove a loved one from their resting place is an unspeakable crime. A crime that went unpunished. A crime that was consented and encouraged for their glorious display on a mantle. To delight in a conversation on how such a journey would make them much more astute than the average sea farer or explorer, collecting our 'ganyji' as though we were flora and fauna. We have to talk about the tragedy and the trauma, and to make sense of these events.[3]

Finding our stolen ancestors

Scheps-Bretschneider, curator of the State Ethnographic Collections of Saxony, and the Anthropological Collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, was in charge of collections of about 5,000 human remains of Indigenous peoples

1 Neil Carter, KALACC, in meeting with NBY representatives, 2015.
2 Dianne Appleby, pers comm with Naomi Appleby, 2019.
3 Dianne Appleby, pers comm with Naomi Appleby, 2020.

that had been taken from around the world.[4] They were registered as objects in ethnographic and scientific collections.

Michael Pickering, curator from the National Museum of Australia, explained the process of what he refers to as translating 'subjects', that is Aboriginal people and their cultural heritage, into 'objects' in museum collections:

> Indigenous human remains in museum collections are often treated as if they are unique objects in their own right; their significance only beginning when they enter the precincts of the collecting institution. As Indigenous people are translated into museum objects the humanistic attributes of the remains, such as the history of the lives and cultures of the individuals, and the processes behind the collection and subsequent management of the remains, are ignored. The stories are lost.[5]

Scheps-Bretschneider began the task of what she termed 're-humanising' the collection and piecing together the stories of the ancestors in her care. Her first step was to have these remains re-classified as human beings rather than as 'objects' of the museum's scientific collection, to facilitate their deaccession. This then enabled the legal deregistration of the ancestral remains from the museum's collection, and for their repatriation to their home countries. She then began the slow process of identifying and collating all the materials associated with each of the remains and piecing together their life stories. In the museum archives, Scheps-Bretschneider found a record for the purchase of a collection of ancestral remains from Roebuck Bay from Arthur Male of Broome. The sale was registered with the museum in 1895.[6]

In the 1870s and early 1880s, as the pioneer pastoralists were beginning to occupy the fertile Fitzroy River country, pearlers from Cossack on the north west coast had located the pearling beds of 'Pinctada maxima', the largest and whitest pearl shell in the world, in Roebuck Bay.[7] Conveniently located adjacent to a ready supply of fresh water and wood, and the shelter of the mangrove-lined Dampier Creek, this area known as 'Burrgugun' to the Yawuru people, was destined to become the pearling port of Broome. Although we have not found written accounts of these first encounters between Yawuru people and the pearlers, one of whom was the notorious Duncan McRae, we can assume that McRae and other early pearlers would have been interested in getting Yawuru men to work on the pearling luggers, as well providing the luggers with a supply of water and wood.

At this time the pearlers operating out of Cossack and Roebourne were dependent on Aboriginal divers to collect the pearl shell. Many pearlers were engaged in blackbirding, or kidnapping, to get their 'native divers'. Roebourne-based Pearler Farqhuar McRae (Duncan's brother) explained in a letter in 1873 to his father in Victoria,

> the natives (sic) labour is very much sought after here as they are by far the best divers for pearl shell and do not cost so much to keep as Malays or any other divers that can be got.[8]

4 Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, pers comm with Sarah Yu, 27 October 2020.
5 Michael Pickering, Lost in Translation, p. 1.
6 See digital excerpt from Dresden Museum Registry for 1900, provided by Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, 27 October 2020.
7 See Edwin Streeter, Pearls and Pearling Life, p. 120.
8 Farqhuar McRae, Roebourne, to 'My dear Father', 6 April 1873, MN 2482.

On examination of the Aboriginal remains from Roebuck Bay, Scheps-Bretschneider noted visible traumas. In her effort to learn who these people were and to find out what had happened to them, she commissioned forensic experts and in some cases coronial enquiries to investigate the cause of death. She sought information about their ages, sex, evidence and causes of trauma, and their post-death treatment. After discussions with Yawuru elders, Scheps-Bretschneider's team began the process of identifying the individuals as best they could as women, men and children, and documenting their personal stories.

The findings were the following:[9]

Ancestor	Trauma	Review	Other
Nagula Wamba #1 Very young male [A2817]	otitis (r), potential infection at foramen magnum dorsal cranial lesions is likely from blunt trauma	It is plausible that a dull-edged object caused an injury to the skull. It can be inferred from the injuries to the bone that the wound would have been very bloody. As both injuries lie above the so-called hat brim line, it can be assumed that they were brought about by an external force or figure.	Signs of mounting Signs of ground deposition
Nagula Wamba #1 Young juvenile male (15-16 yrs) [A2826]	Healed blunt trauma of frontal + hair sample	This injury was likely the cause of violent contact with a blunt object, perhaps similar to a hammer. This blow may have broken the skull. Considering how the wound healed, it can be inferred that the individual experienced this injury about a year before death.	Pencil markings indicating measurements; signs of mounting
Nagula Wamba #2 Young adult man [2827**]	Healed trauma of right parietal; peri-mortal sharp trauma of left parietal	The skull presents several lesions on an area of 5 cm in diameter, which allows the theory that not only violence occurred, but also disease that effects bone structure. The thin bones in the base of the skull support this theory.	Pencil markings indicating measurements; signs of mounting Signs of ground deposition
Nagula Wamba #3 Adult man 30-40 yrs [2828**]	Chronic infectious disease	This injury also was likely the cause of violent contact with a blunt object, perhaps similar to a hammer. The skull was broken at contact. Judging from the stage of healing of the wound in question, the injury may have occurred many years before the individual died. A brain injury may have occurred from this injury, although the inside of the skull was not analyzed.	Signs of ground deposition
Several parts from 7 different people** [2828A – G]**	Finger bones Teeth Arm bones Hand		Signs of ground deposition

9 Cf. Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, Old People of Roebuck Bay; Ulrike Böhm, Report.

Ancestor	Trauma	Review	Other
Nagula Jarndu #1 Female youth <15 yrs [2829]	Otitis (l/r); Hypoplasia of incisors, suggesting 2 times of stress before the age of 6; Healed trauma of frontal + Hair sample	This injury was likely the cause of violent contact with a blunt object, perhaps similar to a hammer. The skull was broken at contact. Judging from the stage of healing of the wound in question, the injury may have occurred many years before the individual died. A brain injury may have occurred from this injury, although the inside of the skull was not analysed.	Pencil markings indicating measurements; signs of mounting; Green discoloration of parietal suggests ground deposition
Nagula Marrgardu #2 Juvenile, too young to determine sex <15 yrs [2830]	Hypoplasia of incisors, suggesting 2 times of stress before the age of 6 + Hair sample		Pencil markings indicating measurements; signs of mounting
Nagula Wamba #4 Adult man 30-40 yrs [2831]	Bad dental health (ante-mortem tooth loss, widespread caries, root infections; stomatitis); Hypoplasia of incisors (suggesting at least 2 times of stress before the age of 6); Tibial bowing + Hair sample		Pencil markings indicating measurements; Green discoloration of parietal suggests ground deposition

** denotes being found in the same box, and most probably from the same burial site.

The summary by the coroner stated,

> Of the skeletons with the corresponding inventory numbers of 2817, 2826, and 2829, the cause of the dorsal cranial lesions is likely from blunt trauma. Skeletons 2826 and 2829 have healed cavity or lamellar fractures in the skull cap. Skeleton 2817 shows signs of sharp force to the head. … All described injuries lie above the hat brim line, inferring that the individuals experienced violence from a third party in their lifetime.[10]

Individually and collectively, these ancestral remains expose the truth of the brutal treatment of Aboriginal 'skin' divers by the early pearlers.[11] Examination of the ancestral remains also showed how their bodies continued to be brutalised even in death. There were remains representing at least 15 ancestors who, although Scheps-Bretschneider refers to them as the 'old people of Roebuck Bay', were in fact mostly young men and women, and some children. Seven ancestors had almost full skeletons, two others had composite skeletons and for others

10 Ulrike Böhm, Report.

11 Variously called 'skin' or 'naked' divers, Aboriginal people were taken by pearlers to dive for pearlshell in deeper waters once shallow beds had been denuded. They had no breathing apparatus or any kind of protective gear, and were forced to stay in the water for hours, continuously diving. Those who came up without shell were often beaten or punished in other ways.

there were only body parts; arms, a hand, some teeth, or a skull. Several had hair samples. Some had been dug up from unnamed graves, others had been macerated, suggesting that they had died close to the time of sale in 1895, and their flesh then removed for transportation. In one instance two ancestors had been buried together with 'parts' of at least seven other individuals, indicating a mass grave of some kind.[12]

Several of the ancestors had suffered trauma to their heads above the hairline, caused by a 'sharp object', struck from above. Many had signs of otitis, a condition of eardrums that have ruptured, indicating that they had been divers. One man had a fracture to his femur that had healed under pressure, suggesting that he had been weight-bearing, or standing up, as the fracture healed. Most showed signs of malnutrition. Many were young adolescents, male and female, engaged at a time when it was illegal to have women and children employed in the pearling industry. They all died premature deaths bearing the scars of trauma and the forensic examination of their bones provides evidence of the brutal treatment they suffered. The final indignity to their lives was to have their bodies exhumed, stripped and stolen, then transported far from their home country, for European collectors and scientists to look at, study and mount for public display. What is also remarkable is that they survived ocean travel, two world wars – the second of which saw Dresden, where the collection had been held, nearly completely destroyed – to finally make the return journey home.

As there are so few records available to quantify how many people were taken and died in early days of the pearling industry on the Kimberley coast, it is in the bodies of our ancestors that the true story lies. They provide us with clues as to how to imagine the history of what really happened, so often romantically referred to as the 'roaring days' of pearling. Although our elders knew about blackbirding, they did not know that the pearlers, and others, were stealing the dead bodies of their Old People as well. The return of Old People from the museum in Saxony raised many questions for our elders; they knew the pearlers and their employees were violent towards Aboriginal divers, but they could not fathom why they dug up their bodies and sold them.

After the process of re-humanising the Aboriginal remains in the museum's collection, Scheps-Bretschneider then initiated the diplomatic process of returning the remains to their home countries. In Australia, an Indigenous Repatriation Program had been established in the 1990s and has supported the return of over 1,600 Indigenous Australian ancestors from nine countries.[13] This was later underpinned in 2007 by Article 12 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, to which the Australian Government finally, in 2009, became a signatory. Article 12 declares the right of Indigenous peoples which states:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the

12 Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, pers comm with Sarah Yu, 2018.
13 See Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications, Focus on: Indigenous repatriation.

> use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.[14]

Since 1990, the Australian Government has supported the return of over 1,600 Indigenous Australian ancestors from nine countries.[15] However, the Australian Government's policy is to send small delegations to return the ancestors. Our elders deemed this to be inadequate and set about raising funds to send their own delegation of Yawuru and Karajarri elders and young ambassadors to Germany to accompany the ancestors home. Having direct contact with Scheps-Bretschneider enabled a close relationship to develop between her team and the cultural delegation.

Lloyd Pigram, guided by the elders involved, was instrumental in ensuring that the cultural practice of respect was adopted when communicating with all who were concerned in the return of our Old People from Germany to Perth:

> This filled me with a huge sense of responsibility, as I knew that what we were aiming to achieve was for the right purpose but I couldn't have prepared myself for the emotional energy it required. I knew from the oral cultural transmission process through my childhood of some of the horrors that were done to our people, and it became clear that what was told to me was always true. How I am connected to this story from my ancestors will become a journey of healing for myself, my family, and all who have been hugely affected by this past.

As we made the necessary cultural preparations for the return voyage of our ancestors, the journey to recovery and healing for all parties began. Dianne Appleby explained, "We are bringing our young people with us so that they know the story. Our children and future generations must know their story".[16] For Naomi Appleby, the experience of being part of the delegation was life changing.

> We travelled the journey our Old People were taken on over a century ago, visiting the places they were hung up on display, stored on museum shelves, and re-boxed for their return home. There was a moment in Dresden that was indescribable. An emotional realisation of the truth became overwhelmingly real when we were escorted to the 'skeleton wing' in the Zwinger Palace (the Palace of the King of Saxony who collected skeletons to demonstrate the evolution of mankind). Tourists now flocked to admire sculptures and tall historical buildings built in honour of past monarchs. The 'skeleton wing' had now been transformed into a China porcelain gallery lined with gold trimmings and high ceilings, surrounded by glass windows that faced sophisticated landscaped gardens.
>
> The influx of visitors made it an invasive experience, which was a reminder of how far we were from home. It was during this moment we were grappling with the truth that not too long ago, they pinned our Old People up where we were standing. The immediate question I asked myself was, 'why'? Personally, I was not emotionally prepared to hear the answer about scientific-based race theories and human evolution studies. It was a lasting moment of insecurity, and anger. Our Old People were treated as prized possessions by collectors, dehumanised and objectified for science. To us, they are family, who were never given the due respect for a proper burial and died from unnatural causes.
>
> Through the repatriation process, we are ensuring they will never be exhibited or disturbed again, and their homecoming is done in the most culturally appropriate way possible. Despite the rising emotions, it was reassuring to learn that our Old People somehow made it through two world wars in Germany, including surviving

14 United Nations, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, p. 12.
15 See Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications, Focus on: Indigenous repatriation.
16 Dianne Appleby, pers comm with Naomi Appleby, 2019.

the 1944-45 bombing of Dresden. Our visit to Germany challenged us emotionally, however our hosts – Birgit, Miriam and other Grassi Museum staff – extended warm sincerity and support to their Australian visitors.

We are also grateful to the Traditional Owners in Sydney who met the delegation there, and welcomed the ancestors back to Australia (fig. 1). Then in Perth, which is on Noongar 'boodjar' (Country), Noongar leaders and the CEO of the International Airport helped with the logistics of welcoming the ancestors in a culturally appropriate way, as their remains were taken from the plane to the Western Australian Museum. The Karajarri and Yawuru delegation really appreciated the contributions from Richard Wally and other representatives of Noongar people, who are now caring for the ancestors in Perth until they can come to their final resting place in Yawuru Country. Others who gave invaluable support in facilitating the journey home were then CEO of NBY, Peter Yu, and Alex Coles, CEO of the Western Australian Museum.

Fig. 1 – Perth smoking ceremony

In the process of repatriating our Old People, it was also revealed through the newly developed 'Return, Reconcile, Renew' community database that other Kimberley ancestors were held in overseas museums. Gwarinman was a warrior who was killed, beheaded and taken from Yawuru country in 1865, as a result of violent conflict following the deaths of three colonial explorers trespassing on Karajarri country. His inscribed skull, probably taken as a trophy, ended up in the Natural History Museum in London.

Our delegation visited the museum and the British Embassy, but were given a cool reception. Our colleagues in Germany treated every aspect of the repatriation process with great care and were willing to do as much as possible to help, to educate, to train and to work with us. Unfortunately, this was not our experience at the Natural History Museum in London. The Yawuru and Karajarri delegation returned to Australia, determined to find out as much as possible about the stories behind these removals. We began our research in the archives under the guidance of historian Fiona Skyring to find evidence of and an explanation for the trafficking of our ancestors' remains.

The story from the written archives

Peter Pigram states "We are aware of the massacres on land, but no one really talks about the violence and killing at sea".[17]

17 Peter Pigram, Yawuru Native Title Holder, pers comm with Lloyd Pigram, 2018.

On 11 October 1864, the Roebuck Bay Pastoral and Agricultural Association was formed at a meeting of shareholders in Perth, the colony's capital and approximately 2,000 kilometres south of Yawuru country. The company sought to establish a sheep station south of Roebuck Bay, in Yawuru country. This short-lived enterprise, from 1864 to 1866, was the first and very violent contact between colonists and Yawuru people that stem from the events that took place in Karajarri country. The original shareholders were members of the colonial elite, and included wealthy pastoralists as well as men such as Frederick Barlee, who served as the Colonial Secretary in Western Australia between 1855 and 1875, and Robert Sholl who was, from 1866, the Government Resident Magistrate in the north of the colony.[18] In the documents created in the formation of the company, no mention at all was made of the Aboriginal people who already owned the land. Both the property rights and the human rights of Yawuru people, and their Karajarri neighbours to the south, were denied from the start of the colonising enterprise in the west Kimberley. Because of the extreme nature of the violence between rifle-toting colonists and their attack dogs, and Aboriginal warriors armed with spears and 'binyjara' and 'nowurl' (wooden clubs), this period in the mid-1860s is remembered by Yawuru and Karajarri people as 'the killing times'.

Naomi Appleby:

> I was introduced to the State Records Office and Battye Library in 2017, repositories which hold colonial records and journals, to learn about provenance research for stolen ancestral remains from the Broome region, and to retrace the movements of the early explorers who came to Yawuru country in the 1860s. The records revealed many names of settlers and pioneers who re-named landmarks, streets, towns, and people after themselves. It was at this moment I understood how places such as Broome, situated within Yawuru country, honours the historical figures who 'discovered' and brutally conquered. My understanding grew of how my family got our surname, Edgar, from the Thangoo Pastoral station owner. My grandfather Kurntika was re-named Tommy Edgar after the owner, Jack Edgar, and was taken from La Grange Mission in the Bidyadanga region in Karajarri country, which was also renamed by French explorer Nicholas Baudin as La Grange Bay. Stories such as my grandfather's are not recorded in the archives, they only remain a living memory within Aboriginal communities. Unfortunately, some will never know their true history due to the dispossession and renaming of their birth names and parents.

Aboriginal people across most of the Australian continent have trading pearl shell, gathered from the Kimberley coastline, through traditional exchange networks for millennia.[19] The colonial pearling industry along the north-west coastline of Western Australia dates from the early 1860s, and was initially centred around the ports of Cossack and Nickol Bay.[20] It is likely that pearlers visited Roebuck Bay, over 800 kilometres north along the coast, to obtain Aboriginal labour and to exploit the rich pearling beds along the Kimberley coast. Initially, pearl shell was so plentiful that it was gathered from the shore. John Dudu Nangkariny was a Karajarri 'pirrka' (elder and most senior lawman, now deceased).

18 Memorandum of Association of the Company Roebuck Bay Pastoral And Agricultural Association Limited, 11 October 1864, Mining Company Records (Roebuck Bay Pastoral Assoc.), Accession 5911A.

19 See Kim Akerman, Riji and Jakoli.

20 See Lois Anderson, The Role of Aboriginal and Asian Labour in the Origin and Development of the Pearling Industry, p. 11.

He was born early in the 20th century and his father would have witnessed the arrival of the pearlers along the Kimberley coast. He recalled that,

> Those old people had to show them (whitefellas) where to find the shell. They didn't just find it themselves. They came and took it without asking. In the early days people used to do dry shelling. Then the pearlers used to force them to dive, with no dress; kids and all. They used to force them down to get the pearl shell. Those poor buggers had to dive, naked. No clothes. When they come up, if they have nothing, they hit 'em on the head and make 'em go down again. It was cruel what those 'kartiya' (white people) did in those days.[21]

While the traditional trade in pearl shell had been sustainable over many millennia, the pearling industry under colonial capitalism was not. In one voyage alone, in 1861, pearler A. Gregory took several tons of shell and pearls, and the first export of pearl shell to European markets was in 1862.[22] The pearl shell lying on the shore was quickly depleted by the pearling masters, and by the mid-1860s the labour was done by Aboriginal divers who were taken out on luggers to the pearling beds off shore. As John Dudu Nangkariny said, men, women and children were made to dive naked, and were assaulted by the lugger captains and pearling masters if they did not collect enough shell.

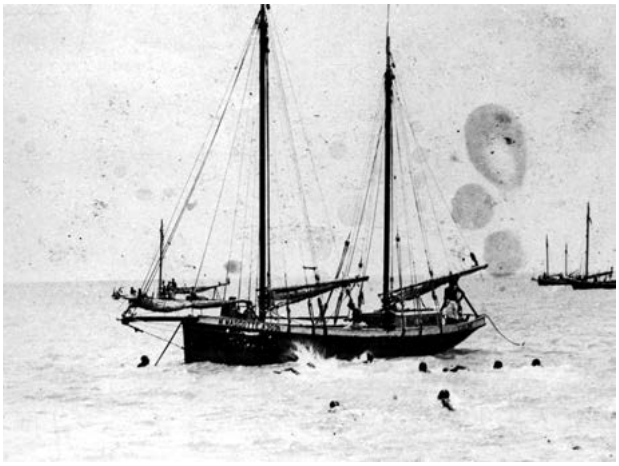

Fig. 2 – Forced diving from pearl lugger

Aboriginal divers were also denied food rations and water as punishment, and were forced to dive to dangerous depths. In 1878, Captain Pemberton Walcott, after returning from a voyage to the Lacepede Islands, off the Dampier Peninsula, reported to the Colonial Secretary, who was the representative to the Western Australian government of the British Colonial Office and responsible for all official correspondence between the government and the Colonial Office in London. Pemberton Walcott reported that Aboriginal divers were forced to work for ten hours straight and were made to stay in the water nearly all day. Further, that,

> There is no limit whatever with regard to depth of water … it is a common thing for natives to be dived in water from 8 to 9 fathoms or 40 to 50 feet – and from personal observation I can testify to the exhaustive and injurious effects of this deep diving.[23]

Members of the Western Australian government at the highest level were well aware that abuses against Aboriginal people were rife in the pearling industry. And they told the British Colonial Office in the Governor's despatches. People were kidnapped, and forced to go diving on the luggers (fig. 2), and there were reports of women and girls being forced to dive as well as being sexually assaulted

21 Interview with John Dudu Nangkariny, Bidyandanga, 16 February1999.
22 See Lois Anderson, The Role of Aboriginal and Asian Labour, p. 11.
23 13 July 1878, Captain Walcott to Colonial Secretary, Acc 527, Item 235.

by the lugger captains and their white employees.[24] The government introduced the 'Pearl Shell Fishery Act' in 1871 in order to "prevent the mischiefs" in relation to Aboriginal employment in the industry. The Act prohibited women from being on board pearling luggers, and required that Aboriginal divers be paid an agreed wage for a stipulated period of time, and that their employment contracts be signed in the presence of a Justice of the Peace.[25] The lugger captains were also required to take people back to their traditional country at the end of the pearling season.

But widespread corruption meant that the laws were regularly flouted. In a confidential despatch on 1 March 1873 from Frederick Weld, the Governor of Western Australia, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, Weld included information from Sup-Inspector Piesse, who had recently returned from the northern pearling beds:

> He [Piesse] does not doubt that native men and women are kidnapped being inveigled on board boats and carried off, that the agreements are only a sham and that practically they are taken into slavery, he even believes that natives are transferred by sale, and that if the natives tried to escape he doubts not but that they would be shot… Piesse has not been able to get proof sufficient to prosecute because the whites will not give evidence against one another … there can be no doubt atrocious crimes have been committed.[26]

But the abuses continued, and nearly a decade later, on 1 March 1881, the Governor again wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Governor reported that even making "allowances for exaggeration", the pearling industry in the north of the colony and the treatment of Aboriginal divers was "a state of things little short of slavery".[27] Humanitarian activist David Carley, an ex-convict who had arrived at Roebourne in 1872, claimed to be an eye-witness to "murder, rapine and slavery" in the north-west. He said that Aboriginal divers were kidnapped, then bought and sold, and that it was "a common thing" to sell a pearling lugger for three times its value because it included the price of the Aboriginal divers on board.[28]

Murder and assault of Aboriginal people in the pearling industry were able to continue unabated for nearly two decades because of corruption in colonial Western Australia. The pearling masters and the officials supposed to be regulating the industry were in collusion, and were often the same people. For instance, Resident Magistrate Robert Sholl at Roebourne, near Cossack, had the task of ensuring that Aboriginal divers were not coerced into working on the luggers. But he was accused of assisting the pearlers to force Aboriginal men to sign agreements. Sholl's two sons were pearlers, and in 1873 the Governor reported to the Secretary of State in London that Sholl threatened Aboriginal people with imprisonment if they did not sign agreements to work on his sons' luggers. Sholl

24 See John Bailey, The White Divers of Broome, pp. 25-28.
25 See Pearl Shell Fishery Act 1871, (34 Vict. No. 14).
26 1 March 1873, Vol I 1869-1885, Governor Weld to the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, London, Governor's Confidential Dispatches, Acc 390, WAS 1174, Item 47, p. 26.
27 9 March 1881, Despatch No 45 from the Governor of WA to the Secretary of State, in: Pearl Shell Fisheries Regulations, Cons 1067 1881/014 (2).
28 Papers Respecting the Treatment of Aboriginal Natives in Western Australia, presented to the Legislative Council, Acc 993; 344/1933.

resisted attempts to remove him from office because, as Governor Weld claimed, Sholl was making "a small fortune" from pearling with his sons.[29] In 1883, Lance Corporal Payne in the Kimberley reported that Special Constable James Kelly, the government official in charge of the Lacepede Islands, "gets some good presents from the Pearlers" to turn a blind eye to kidnapping of Aboriginal people and their imprisonment on the treeless island.[30] In 1884, F. Pearce, a Justice of the Peace responsible for upholding the pearl shell fisheries regulations, sold one of his luggers for more than double its value because the sale price included the ten Aboriginal divers on board.[31] Pearce was also accused of threatening Aboriginal people with imprisonment if they did not go diving. Fisheries Inspector Blair Mayne who, like Sholl and Pearce, was supposed to uphold the law in relation to Aboriginal employment in the pearling industry, was also a pearler. Mayne was in partnership with pearler John McRae, and far from protecting Aboriginal people he actually forced Aboriginal men to sign to work on McRae's lugger, the 'Dawn'.[32] In 1886, three Aboriginal divers were so desperate to escape McRae's beatings and ill treatment that they jumped overboard and swam to shore. Billy alias Buggegurra told Colonel Angelo, then Resident Magistrate at Roebourne, of men being tied to the lugger's rigging and denied food and water.[33]

The perpetrators of slavery and abuse in the pearling industry were not marginalised individuals, but leading citizens of the colony acting together. Thomas Lockyer and his sons had a station near Roebourne, and the Lockyer brothers were accused of selling Aboriginal men to the pearlers for £8 per head, and of kidnapping Aboriginal girls "as slaves for their own use". The Lockyers employed Thomas Mountain and Topin to "round up" Aboriginal men, "like cattle".[34] In 1880 a summons was issued for Mountain's arrest for kidnapping 16 Aboriginal men and bringing them to Roebourne in chains. But the police could not locate Mountain and considered it was too expensive to hold and feed the Aboriginal men as witnesses, so Mountain was never charged.

The Aboriginal men were then signed to work for pearler John McRae on his lugger, even though the police knew that the men had been kidnapped.[35] By 1883 Thomas Mountain was reported to be in the Kimberley, working for pastoral station owner William Marmion, and that he was "noted for kidnapping Natives".[36] Mountain was among the group of pearlers from Cossack who were reported in 1883 to, "have been in the habit of coming on the Fitzroy and Meda Rivers and

29 1 March 1873, Vol I 1869-1885, Governor Weld to the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, London, Governor's Confidential Dispatches, Acc 390, WAS 1174, Item 47, p. 26.
30 15 September 1883 Lance Corporal Payne Report, in: 'Detailed Police Reports from Stations in the Kimberley District', Cons 129, 1883/0856.
31 See 11 January 1886, David Carley Perth, Western Australia, to Secretary of State, in: Cons 993, 1933/0344, Part 1.
32 See Report from Colonel Angelo, Government Resident, Roebourne, 14 October 1886, Acc 1172; 24, Vol 3; C49/1886.
33 See ibid.
34 5 January 1905, from Eliza Tracey to Dr Roth, in: Ill treatment of natives.
35 See 12 Oct 1880 from Sergeant Houlahan to Roebourne Station, in: Roebourne – 16 Aboriginal witnesses released to go pearling due to inability to serve a summons on T W Mountain for bringing in Natives in chains.
36 25 June 1883 Report from Lance Corporal Payne, Cons 129, 1883/0856.

kidnapping the Natives and chaining them by the neck until they get them to the port".[37]

The McRae family, originally from Scotland, had land holdings in Victoria, and brothers Alexander, Duncan, John and Farquhar established stations on the Ashburton River in the Pilbara region, and at Roebourne and Cossack. It was from these ports that Duncan and John [Jack] McRae operated their pearling luggers, the 'Dawn' and the 'Amy'. Duncan McRae was credited by fellow pearling master Edwin Streeter with being "the fortunate discoverer of the wealth of Roebuck Bay", probably in the mid-1870s.[38] By early 1882 the McRae brothers were taking large amounts of shell from Roebuck Bay; in one trip Duncan had 30 tons of shell on the 'Dawn' and Jack much the same on his lugger, the 'Amy'.[39] Jack estimated their 1882 season tonnage of shell to be worth about £400, which was a huge sum at the time.

All of the diving work on the luggers was done by Aboriginal crew, and it seemed that the McRaes obtained their labour the same way that many of their fellow pearlers did – by force. Farquhar McRae at Roebourne wrote to his sister in July 1878 that Duncan was "out in the bush just now he is hunting up some of the natives for pearling".[40] Many of the divers on the McRae luggers came from the Ashburton area, but may have included men kidnapped from other areas. In the registers of 'native agreements' from 1881 and 1884, it showed that men from Roebuck Bay were signed to work on luggers, along with men from Beagle Bay, the Fitzroy River and La Grange Bay in Karajarri country. In 1881, there were 18 men from Roebuck Bay who signed agreements to work on pearling luggers owned by Henry Hunter and James Ellery. Yawuru man Mullabar alias Monday from Roebuck Bay, who worked for Henry Hunter in 1881, may have been the same Monday who was left to drown a year later, in 1882, by the McRae's employee Jack Wells.[41] (see below) Ellery signed eleven Yawuru men to work for him in the 1882 pearling season, and the following year he signed at least 20 Yawuru men to dive from his luggers.[42]

Most of the agreements for these men were witnessed by Captain Blair Mayne, whose reputation for forcing Aboriginal men to work on the luggers was addressed in the paragraphs above. Cowan and Co. signed 41 Karajarri men from La Grange Bay to work the 1883-1884 pearling season and one of these, a boy recorded as Gnobandejoora alias Charlie, was described by Fisheries Inspector E. H. Lawrence as "too young to dive but engaged to dive as pearl shell cleaner".[43] John McRae and his brother Farquhar signed 37 Aboriginal men to work for them in 1883, and John McRae in partnership with Clarkson signed 41 Aboriginal men, but where these men were from is not recorded in the archive.[44] Whether these archival documents tell the full story is debatable. No women and children

37 Ibid.
38 Edwin Streeter, Pearls and Pearling Life, p. 120. Though Duncan does not write about the event in his letters to his family, other correspondence suggests it was 1876.
39 See Duncan McRae to his sister Laura, 14 January 1882.
40 27 July 1878, Farquhar McRae at Roebourne to sister.
41 Register of Native Agreements for the Quarter ending 31.12.81.
42 See Government Resident Roebourne – Pearl Shell Fisheries Act.
43 Ibid.
44 See ibid.

signed agreements, since it was illegal, but evidence from the ancestors showed that women too were forced to dive.

John and Duncan McRae and their employees had a reputation for brutality towards Aboriginal divers, and John McRae was charged, though not convicted, in 1886 of forcing Aboriginal men to work on his lugger. Evidence from Aboriginal witnesses taken by government officials in Roebourne showed that Jack and Duncan McRae regularly beat their divers if they did not get enough shell, and punished them by tying men to the rigging. Billy alias Bangorra testified that Jack McRae on the 'Dawn' beat him with a rope, and on one occasion McRae,

> give me a hiding all day. [Fisheries Inspector] Captain Mayne saw it on several occasions… I used to get a hiding and then sent up the rigging … We never got enough to eat, only a little. We were kept without water up in the rigging.[45]

When Duncan McRae was skipper of the 'Dawn', an Aboriginal man called Charlie was flogged to death by McRae's employee Jack Wells.[46] This occurred in 1884, and several Aboriginal witnesses recounted the event to officials, but nobody was ever convicted of murder. Another Aboriginal man forced to work on the 'Dawn', Dandening alias Dan, said,

> I have been on the 'Dawn' and the 'Amy' plenty seasons pearling but did not like diving. I was in the 'Amy' (McRae's boat) the year Charlie was killed. Duncan McRae was boss of the 'Dawn' and John McRae was boss of the 'Amy'. Duncan and Jack McRae I have seen beating the natives plenty of times with rope and they have beaten me because we did not get plenty shell. All the white fellows on these boats beat the natives. Bob Palmer has beaten me Jack Wells has never beaten me but I have seen him beat other natives. They beat us on the back we have no shirts on…[47]

In another instance, in 1882, when the 'Dawn' was in King Sound, Aboriginal divers reported that three men had been deliberately left to drown. Jack Wells, along with McRae employees Harry and Jimmy made the men dive from dinghies, and one Aboriginal man called Monday was sick and was clearly drowning. Witness Yoanaree alias Jacob testified that Wells ordered the other Aboriginal men to leave Monday to drown, and his body was recovered dead from the water, and buried in the sand on the shore.[48] Yoanaree himself had to spend a day on the lugger, recovering from wounds inflicted by Wells, and that is when he saw another Aboriginal man, Johnny, drown. This was corroborated by Chilibul alias Friday, who described how McRae's employee Jimmy beat Johnny with a rope.[49] Jimmy also beat an Aboriginal diver called Cundy, who was then made to dive, but he also drowned.[50] No one was ever charged with these crimes.

Aboriginal people had very limited opportunity to insert their voices in the archive of the written record. Sometimes the Aboriginal witnesses were noted as speaking English, others gave their information through interpreters. None

45 11 November 1886, Billy alias Bangoora, signed 'X his mark', Transcript of Hearings, in: Government Resident Roebourne – Case of Three Natives versus John McRae.
46 See ibid.
47 See 15 December 1886, Deposition of Dandening alias Dan, in: Report of Investigation of difference between Colonel Angelo Govt Resident Roebourne and the Inspector of Pearl Fisheries.
48 Yoanaree alias Jacob Deposition, 29 July 1882, in: Geraldton – Reports of ill treatment of Aboriginal natives employed on the lugger Dawn.
49 See Chilibul alias Friday Deposition, 29 July 1882, in: ibid.
50 See Yoanaree alias Jacob Deposition, 29 July 1882, in: ibid.

were literate, and every deposition from an Aboriginal witness was signed with a 'X' mark. Anything they said was recorded by a white male colonist, and while some men were concerned with recording the truth, others were not. Some, like Fisheries Inspector Captain Mayne, simply lied and asserted that he had "never seen any ill treatment of natives" and that Aboriginal divers on McRae's lugger, the 'Dawn' (fig. 3), were "happy and contented".[51] No woman was ever recorded in the lists of divers who were signed to luggers from Roebuck Bay and other places in the Kimberley, but accounts indicated that women were held on board the luggers. Most colonist involved in the pearling trade sought to keep their illegal activities secret, and in 1883 policeman Lance Corporal Payne in the Kimberley reported that,

> The settlers are no doubt preparing for Pearling, and are getting Natives signed as general servants with a view of getting them signed for Pearling, but are very careful not to inform the Police of more than they are compelled.[52]

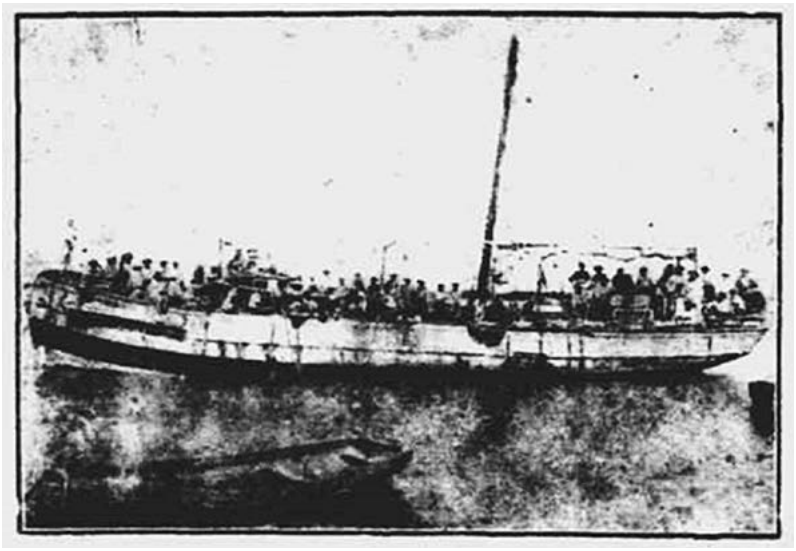

Fig. 3 – 'The Dawn'

Naomi Appleby reflects on the written accounts from her perspective today:

> The archives are a place where only one voice lives. Although told through one perspective, it is a reflection of the times and a reflection of the people who wrote the records. Aboriginal people were regarded and treated less than human. Some handwritten journals revealed the explorers were men of Christian faith, who murdered my ancestors in cold blood for greed of land and natural resources, which was not conducive to a Christian attitude.

Despite a litany of evidence of cruelty, beatings and murder, the colonial legal system did nothing to protect Aboriginal people forced to dive by men such as the McRae brothers. Indeed when John McRae was being tried at the courthouse in Roebourne, he had the opportunity to cross-examine the Aboriginal witnesses who had made the complaints against him.[53] John McRae's fellow pearlers and

51 Evidence from Captain Mayne Inspector of Fisheries, 12 November 1886, in: Government Resident Roebourne – Case of Three Natives versus John McRae.
52 25 June 1883, Report from Lance Corporal Payne, 'Detailed Police Reports from Stations in the Kimberley District'.
53 See Transcript of Hearings, 'Government Resident Roebourne – Case of Three Natives versus John McRae'.

colonists, Justices of the Peace Robert Sholl, J. B. Percy and John Edgar, who heard the case against McRae, dismissed the charges. The only dissenting opinion was that of the Resident Magistrate, Captain Angelo.[54]

It seems that Jack Wells was charged in 1884 for beating Aboriginal diver Charlie to death, but was granted bail. By 1886 Wells was back as Captain of the McRae's luggers, indicating that the case against him was never prosecuted. As Sup-Inspector Piesse commented in 1873, when returning from an investigation into the pearling industry, "the pearlers hang together as one man … they say a native is no more to them than a dog …".[55]

The bodies of the ancestors tell the story of the abuses detailed in the written records. All of the ancestors died unnatural and early deaths, and some died as children. The evidence of inner ear damage, or otitis, in some of the younger adults and teenagers was a material illustration of what Captain Walcott had witnessed in 1878 as the "injurious effects" of being forced to dive to dangerous depths.

The malnutrition note in some of the ancestors' remains corresponded to eye witness accounts, often from the captive divers themselves, that they were regularly starved by the pearlers. And the evidence of leg wounds that had healed under pressure illustrated the repeated stories from Aboriginal men of being beaten, then tied to the rigging of the luggers.

Some ancestors seemed to have been left to rot where they died, with no family and no ceremony to mourn their passing. Possibly they had the same experience as the Aboriginal man called Monday in the records, who drowned in 1882 while McRae's employee Jack Wells watched. Monday's body was later discarded by Wells, thrown under some sand on the shore.

The abuses and the kidnapping and the terrifying brutality would have affected a generation of Yawuru people around Roebuck Bay, from the mid-1870s to the 1890s, by which time most of the Aboriginal 'skin' divers had been replaced by indentured divers from east and southeast Asia. As a way of redressing these traumas, Yawuru have been committed to exposing the truth about the pearling industry through their travelling exhibition, curated with the Western Australian Museum, 'Lustre: Pearling and Australia' (2015) and other oral history projects such as 'Jetty to Jetty'. These projects aim to acknowledge and promote the Aboriginal values of pearling, both before and after European settlement.

Bone collectors and grave robbers

Even after death, the abuse of the ancestors' bodies continued. The story of what happened to their remains reveal the history of the international trade in Aboriginal bones, whereby the practice of 'bone collecting' by colonial gentlemen in Australia fuelled by the demands of collectors in the UK and Europe. As with the brutality and law-breaking of the pearling industry, the abuses of Aboriginal individuals and their families by bone collectors was not only perpetrated by the

54 See ibid.
55 1 March 1873, Governor Weld to the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, in: Governor's Confidential Dispatches.

men who robbed the graves, but by the members of the colonial elite who drove the demand for stolen human remains.

It was a grisly trade conducted openly, and in one account from 1909, explorer and adventurer Frank Hann told the police that, "Mr Brockman asked me if I could get him a perfect skull of a blackfellow as he had promised a friend of his in London that he would try and send him one for scientific purposes". [56]

The Brockman and Drake-Brockman families were members of the Western Australian elite, and included wealthy landowners and politicians. Frank Hann was horrified by the suggestion from a journalist that he might go out and shoot an Aboriginal man in order to provide the requested skull.[57] In 1905, Durack of Marble Bar applied to the Protector of Aborigines in WA for permission to "secure Aboriginal skeletons for scientific purposes".[58]

Correspondence over the ensuing weeks between the Protector's Office, the Under Secretary and the Premier of Western Australia revealed that Durack had already taken the bones, which had been removed from hundreds of kilometres away and brought in as evidence in a murder trial of two Aboriginal men. There was no objection from senior politicians and government officials to allow Durack to keep the Aboriginal remains, and the Minister approved his request.[59]

This trade in Aboriginal remains happened in the context of the development of theories of human evolution and so-called race science. As Scheps-Bretschneider wrote,

> In the second half of the nineteenth century, scientific research in both anatomy and ethnology became heavily involved in discussions on evolution. Different forms of culture around the world would be used to categorize different levels of human development, ranging from the least developed wildlings and barbarians to the last stage of development, civilization. Foreign cultural assets were scientifically organized …
>
> This information was used as a foundation for a proposed general chronology of humankind's history. The technical level of skill and productivity of a culture would serve as the measurement towards civilization. European society was considered the highest measure of civilization …[60]

This research fuelled an active trade in the remains of Indigenous peoples around the world, as Scheps-Bretschneider described:

> Research societies and institutions as well as anatomists, doctors, historians all over Europe and eventually, the United States all vied for a collection of rare bones. Well-known researchers such as Felix von Luschan or Rudolf Virchow encouraged anyone going abroad – colonial officials, missionaries, travellers, and military members – to collect remains from different cultural groups in order to better compare.
>
> Von Luschan even had an instructive guide for laymen going abroad, using the findings and collections in his text Physical Anthropology, publishing several editions. The instructions do not include the ethics of a removal, and the collectors are not advised to consider the morality of the situation. A network of traders and dealers began forming; publishing advertisements in sales catalogues and magazines. Additionally, museums sought patrons who financed the acquisition of human remains.[61]

56 15 April 1909, Statement by Frank Hann, in: 'Chief Protector of Aborigines – Paragraph…re encounter by Mr Frank Hann with natives… a Native's Skull'.
57 See ibid.
58 Telegram 25 August 1905, Dr Durack to H. C. Prinsep, Protector of Aborigines, in: Dr Durack, Marble Bar.
59 See Correspondence 28 August to 14 September 1905, in: ibid.
60 Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, correspondence with Sarah Yu, February 2019.
61 Ibid.

In Australia, the trade in Aboriginal remains entailed robbing burial sites and 'harvesting' bodies. The South Australian coroner in the early twentieth century, Scottish doctor William Ramsay Smith, was credited with providing "numerous valuable contributions" to the Anatomical Museum at his alma mater, the University of Edinburgh. A public inquiry in 1903 into practices at the Adelaide morgue revealed a trade in body parts – mainly Aboriginal – that flourished under Smith's tenure.[62] When he died over 100 human skulls were found in his house.[63]

Public institutions also amassed huge collections of Aboriginal human remains, and by the early 1930s the Australian Institute of Anatomy, under director Colin MacKenzie, had acquired thousands of human remains of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders. On MacKenzie's behalf, and for subsequent directors, Charles Murray Black "began ransacking sacred Aboriginal sites across southern Australia".[64] Black, as Paul Daley wrote,

> collected as many bones as he had crates to hold them. The anatomy institute would send a truck to transport them to Canberra (in 1949 the institute had three cubic tons of Aboriginal bones in cases, representing perhaps thousands of individuals, most collected by Black).[65]

In northern Australia it was a similar story of men ransacking Aboriginal burial sites. Heading a Swedish museum expedition in 1910/11, Eric Mjöberg on behalf of the Riksmuseum in Stockholm travelled through the Kimberley from Broome to the St George Ranges and back. In the published account of his journey, Mjöberg described raiding several Aboriginal burial caves, and trying to steal the body of a recently deceased man for his "collections", as he called them.[66] Mjöberg stole as many human remains as he could without Aboriginal people seeing him, as he knew that they strongly objected to his actions.[67]

Another example in Broome at the turn of the century, there was a Frenchman recorded only as Jules, who had a reputation as a "ghoul" who robbed Yawuru graves.[68] He was reported to have packed and sent a crate full of ancestors' bones to an address in France, and waited for the "fat remittance" in return. He was also reported to be hated by Yawuru people in Broome, and Jules disappeared after one of his "expeditions".[69]

Although the provenance of the ancestral remains of people of Roebuck Bay in the museum in Leipzig named Arthur Male as the person who had sold them in 1895, possibly Male had already purchased them from the grave robber Jules.

62 See Paul Turnbull's study: Science, Museums, and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia.
63 See Paul Daley, 'Restless Indigenous Remains'.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 Eric Mjöberg, Among Wild Animals and People in Australia.
67 See ibid., p. 226.
68 Mrs N Fielder, 'The ghoul of Broome', in: Westward Ho!, undated newspaper article, c. after 1978.
69 Ibid.

Coming home

The close relationship that developed between the Ethnographic museum and the Yawuru and Karajarri communities in the repatriation of our Old People had become a key part in changing the colonial thinking surrounding the Grassi museum classifications and their collection. Staff at the museum and the Australian embassy in Berlin were committed to this as an ongoing process that would go beyond the initial repatriation of the ancestors, to a broader relationship through which our stories can continue to be shared. Leontine Meijer-Mensch, the director of Grassi Museum, Leipzig, stated at the handover ceremony (fig. 4) in the Berlin embassy:

> I believe in the mobility of collections, that our 'objects' are not done. They come with stories and people. By receiving them into the museum, and now returning them, we opened the door to your community, your stories. The walls of our museum are becoming more fluid …[70]

Fig. 4 a & b – Berlin handover ceremony

The Grassi Museum management and curators have now committed to developing an exhibition with the Yawuru community and to training our emerging curators, as we recognise the importance of Yawuru people in understanding European colonial history.

Jimmy Edgar, Chairperson, Yawuru Cultural Reference Group, stated, "Our Old People are now making the journey home. It is important for our people to be back home for their soul to rest in peace in their own country".[71]

Nyamba Buru Yawuru are continuing to work collaboratively with the local Government Shire of Broome to develop the Memorial and Resting Place within the Broome cemetery. It is here that we will provide a safe burial resting place when we undertake repatriation of our Old People taken from Yawuru country. We are also developing a travelling exhibition, the first in Australia about repatriation of ancestral remains, so that we can educate people about the past and

70 Leontine Meijer-Mensch, Berlin, 11 April 2019.
71 Jimmy Edgar, during a Yawuru cultural reference group workshop, October 2019.

to share our emotional journey as we come to terms with the past. As Naomi Appleby explained,

> I want people to know that this is how I felt when I visited the Zwinger Palace, our Old People we put on display in a glorified glass cabinet of possession … a beautiful gallery of light and glass that was previously the Skeleton Gallery that exhibited our Old People.

In this memorialisation, our aim is not to focus only on the atrocities of the past, but to reconcile this history in a culturally respectful way, in the spirit of 'mabu liyan' – creating wellbeing within the community. Naomi Appleby and Lloyd Pigram stated,

> We understand from all the information regarding the study of these Old People that their physical remains show that they passed at a young age. Their story provides us with a glimpse of what horrible times they lived through. In trying to understand how colonial 'gentlemen' could undertake such inhumane practices, and justify their actions, we can only assume that they perceived us as less than humans and more like animals.

Chairperson of the Yawuru Cultural Reference Group, Jimmy Edgar says: 'They came here and said we weren't humans, but they were the ones doing inhumane things to us".[72] Naomi Appleby and Lloyd Pigram argued,

> As the Project Ambassadors working closely on 'Wanggajarli Burugun', we knew how essential it was to have a strong community-led engagement process to build a memorial resting place. We are all descendants of survivors, therefore this journey belongs to all Yawuru and Karajarri people and their neighbours. We wanted to address the spiritual healing of 'Liyan'. The memorial resting place will be an environment established in order to create 'mabu Liyan', (wellbeing) for all, always. This proposed space is so that we can respectfully ensure our Old People's spirits feel safe and can finally rest. The community, in their own time, have the opportunity to pay their respects while learning this history. It is important, however, that the memorial resting place is not a place to blame or generate hatred. It is a place for our Old People to come home, for others to understand their story and for their 'Liyan' to finally rest in peace.

As Yawuru elder Dianne Appleby said, "We must turn the bad into good. We have to show our cultural respect from our 'Liyan'. This is the first stage of healing".

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Oliver Haag

Translating the History of Race

Indigenous Australian Literature in German

Abstract: . German interest in, and reception of, Indigenous Australian cultures have a long and also burdened history. With the emergence of German translations of Indigenous literature in the 1980s – that is, literature not about, but penned by, Indigenous authors – one-sided politics of representations and thus also stigmatised images started to change. Yet, the translation of literature per se does not simply entail a representation free of clichés and prejudices. Cultural knowledge cannot be simply rendered 'correct' according to the regimes of the source culture, but need to be adapted to the regimes of the target cultures. This article focuses on the ways the manifold concepts of race have been translated into three German audiobooks. Important aspects of race, it shows, have been lost in translation, while the racial history of the target culture poses new challenges for a literature that is intricately enmeshed with race and that seeks to rebut racism.

Since the 1970s, Australian Indigenous books – that is, books authored and co-authored by Indigenous writers[1] – have not only increased in popularity in Australia, but have also thrived in translation in Europe. According to statistical surveys, up to the year 2008, 81 Indigenous books had been translated into Continental languages.[2] Indigenous literature has been more frequently translated into German than any other Continental language, constituting 32 per cent of the corpus of translations, followed by French (19 per cent), Dutch (9 per cent), and Italian (7 per cent).[3]

Despite an increasing body of scholarly literature on the translation of Australian Indigenous literature, scholarship has not yet explored the politics of racial representation that the process of translation entails.[4] The translation of literature is not only of literary concern, but also one of politics and history, particularly so if translations involve racial representation.[5]

The present research fills this gap in scholarship by presenting a comparative study of three German translations of Australian Indigenous books: Paddy Roe's oral narratives 'Gularabulu' (2000) (source text: 'Gularabulu' 1983), Kevin Gilbert's children's book 'Mary Känguru und ich' (2003) (source text: 'Me and Mary Kangaroo' 1994), and David Unaipon's collection of oral accounts, 'Mooncumbulli' (2005) (source text: 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines' 2001 [1932]).

There are many debates about the cross-cultural editing of Indigenous texts within Australia.[6] At the heart of these debates is the question of how far Indigenous texts may be edited in order to be readable for a non-Indigenous audience,

1 Anita Heiss, Dhuuluu-Yala, p. 26.
2 Oliver Haag, Indigenous Australian Literature in German.
3 Ibid.
4 Danica Cerce, Oliver Haag, European Translations of Aboriginal Texts; Oliver Haag, Indigenous Literature in European Contexts; Oliver Haag, German Paratexts of Indigenous Australian Literature; Oliver Haag, Indigenous Australian Literature in German.
5 Homay King, Lost in Translation.
6 Anita Heiss, Dhuuluu-Yala, pp. 47-82; Margaret McDonell, Protocols, Political Correctness and Discomfort Zones; Jennifer Jones, Oodgeroo and Her Editor.

and how far this editing distorts the Indigenous contents and thus has an effect on the racial and cultural representation of Indigenous people. The (usually white) editor's influence on an Indigenous text and the changes brought about by such editing is thereby a central concern, relating not merely to grammar and style, but also to the alteration and deletion of historical and political content. In the case of translations into foreign languages, Indigenous texts are perforce changed by the process of translation. Despite the circumstance of any translation entailing an alteration of the source text, there are nonetheless different nuances of editorial change in the process of translation. Possible problems resulting from such textual changes relate not only to the adaptation of the source text to the syntactical and stylistic standards of the target language, but also to how culturally foreign elements are rendered comprehensible to the target audience.[7] Culturally foreign elements can either be concealed, or rendered explicit through additional explanation of cultural and historical context.[8] Thus, for an Indigenous text to be successfully translated does not merely mean to remain as true as possible to the source text, but also to render the text fully comprehensible to the target audience. If the editor's role is indeed, as Margaret McDonell suggests, "to assist the writer to achieve the writer's intention",[9] this role is duplicated in translation. In this case, the translator not only has to preserve the writer's intention, but also to ensure these intentions are accordingly apprehended in target culture contexts. The commitment to maintain cultural and linguistic comprehensibility thus gives considerable power to the translator to change an Indigenous text. The question emerging from the study of foreign language translations of Indigenous texts is to what extent a translation changes an Indigenous text with regard to its content.

On the textual level, the translation of 'Gularabulu' posed more challenges than the other two texts, because 'Gularabulu' is a collection of verbatim transcripts of oral narrations with an evident Indigenous English spoken and recorded. The other two books, in contrast, are not based on transcripts of oral conversations. 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines' and 'Me and Mary Kangaroo' were idiomatically translated into German. This means that, while the structure and syntax of the original English sentences were adapted to a fluid German style, the words were translated with the closest German equivalents, with no omission of any original words.[10] All of the Indigenous words used in the original texts (like 'coolamon' and 'maban') are retained in translation and accompanied by a German equivalent. For example, in Unaipon's 'Mooncumbulli', the term 'corroboree' is maintained in translation, followed by an admittedly inaccurate gloss in German, 'Tanz' (English 'dance'). In a similar vein, many of the particularly Australian oral expressions, such as 'yeah', have been rendered into a colloquial form of speech. Thus, the translation is sensitive to changing the structure of the source texts and remaining as close as possible to the original.

7 Gunilla Anderman, Margaret Rogers, Translation Today; Basil Hatim, Ian Mason, The Translator as Communicator, pp. 121-135.
8 Leah Gerber, "If I've Arksed Youse Boys Once, I've Arksed Youse Boys a Thousand Times"; Lawrence Venuti, Translation as Cultural Politics.
9 Margaret McDonell, Protocols, Political Correctness and Discomfort Zones, p. 86.
10 Ian Mason, Text Parameters in Translation, pp. 176-179.

Such forms of idiomatic translation are observable in the majority of German translations of Australian Indigenous texts,[11] including 'Me and Mary Kangaroo':

> When I was a little boy, there were no Boeing 707 jet aircraft, spaceships or satellites whizzing around. Instead, the aeroplanes looked like big pelicans with propellers for beaks and double wing. The cars were old 'T' Ford and Chevs – all burping rattling smoking things, coughing their way through billowing clouds of red dust that formed the surface of the street like red face powder.[12]

This passage has been translated as follows:

> Als ich ein kleiner Junge war, schwirrten noch keine Boeing 707, Raumschiffe oder Satelliten umher. Stattdessen sahen die Flugzeuge aus wie große Pelikane mit einem Propeller als Schnabel und Doppeldeckerflügel. Die Autos waren alte Fords und Chevrolets – rülpsende, knatternde, qualmende Dinger, die sich ihren Weg durch wogende Wolken aus rotem Staub husteten, der wie roter Gesichtspuder die Straßenoberfläche bildete.[13]

Literally translated into English this translation reads:

> When I was a little boy, no Boeing 707, spaceships or satellites were whizzing around. Instead, the aeroplanes looked like big pelicans with propellers as beaks and double wings. The cars were old Fords and Chevrolets – all burping, rattling, smoking things, coughing their way through billowy clouds of red dust that formed the surface of the street like red face powder.

As can be seen, this translation remains close to the structure of the source text, departing only marginally from a few expressions ('Chevrolets' instead of 'Chevs') which, however, do not alter the content of the story. The German translation in this case is idiomatic and evinces a sophisticated language style. Thus, in 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines' and 'Me and Mary Kangaroo' the editorial changes to the source texts that resulted from the processes of translations have not changed the original meaning of the stories. The translator took great pains to remain as close as possible to the source texts, turning the original texts into a fluent and comprehensive German equivalent, while successfully preserving the original meaning of the stories.

This picture is different for 'Gularabulu'. As mentioned above, 'Gularabulu' consists of transcribed narrations in Indigenous English which, in contrast to the other two books, constitutes major challenges to the translator. The main difficulty is that the conversations recorded in Indigenous English – which does not mirror the syntactical and lexical rules of Standard English – cannot be literally translated into correct German. A literal translation of Indigenous English into German would need to reflect the main differences between Indigenous and Standard English, hence orality as well as syntactical and lexical differences.[14] The only way to render such differences comprehensible to a German-speaking audience is to use particular German dialects so as to reflect the orality, as well as the incorporation of grammatical errors, in order to highlight the lexical and syntactical differences. There are, however, two main problems associated with such a translation. First, it would entail the representation of Indigenous English as grammatically faulty English, instead of representing it as a sovereign

11 Danica Cerce, Oliver Haag, European Translations of Australian Aboriginal Texts.
12 Kevin Gilbert, Me and Mary Kangaroo, p. 1.
13 Kevin Gilbert, Thomas Brezina, Mary Känguru und ich, p. 1.
14 Susan Kaldor, Ian Malcolm, Aboriginal English.

and equally valid variant of English. Second, a grammatically and syntactically incorrect German is associated with foreign speakers. Moreover, xenophobic discourse tends to portray migrants and foreigners as intellectually incapable of speaking correct German. A translation into unidiomatic language thus would have represented Indigenous people not as autochthonous but equal to migrants and evoked racist prejudice. The words spoken by the Indigenous protagonists in the film 'Australia' (2008), for example, were translated into grammatically faulty German, to which German audiences responded negatively.[15]

In 'Gularabulu' the translator did not attempt to replicate the Indigenous English, but instead translated the text into Standard German. The grammatical specificities of Indigenous English have thus been adjusted to Standard German, with the distinctive character of Indigenous English being lost in translation. Whereas this constitutes a severe editorial intervention, this practice was only on the grammatical level, and did not change the meaning of the original stories. For example, the original story 'Mirdinan' begins as follows:

> Yeah -----
> well these people bin camping in Fisherman Bend him
> and his missus you know –
> Fisherman Bend in Broome, *karnun* –
> we call-im *karnun* –
> soo, the man used to go fishing all time –
> get food for them, you know, food, lookin' for tucker –
> an' his, his missus know some Malay bloke was in the
> creek, Broome Creek –
> boat used to lay up there –
> so this, his missus used to go there with this Malay
> bloke –
> one Malay bloke, oh he's bin doin' this for –
> over month – [16]

This passage is directly translated from Indigenous English into Standard German thus:

> Am Fisherman Bend in Broome lagerten einmal ein älterer Aboriginal-Mann und seine Frau. Der Mann ging jeden Tag fischen, damit sie 'was zu essen hatten und während er sich täglich um das Essen kümmerte, traf sich seine Frau mit einem malaiischen Fischer, der sein Boot am nahen Broome Creek liegen hatte. Anfang der zwanziger Jahre gab es viele Malaien, Japaner und Chinesen in Broome, die in der damals florierenden Perlenfischerei Arbeit fanden. Die Frau hatte also dieses Verhältnis mit diesem Malaien und das ging wohl über einen Monat ohne dass Mirdinan etwas davon ahnte.[17]

Literally translated into English this part reads as follows:

> An elderly Aboriginal man and his wife once camped in Fisherman Bend in Broome. The man used to go fishing each day so that they had something to eat. And while he was looking each day after the food, his wife met with a Malayan fisherman who had his boat lying at the nearby Broome Creek. In the beginning of the twenties there were many Malayans, Japanese, and Chinese in Broome who found work in the then-flourishing pearling industry. So the woman had this relationship with this Malay and this was going on for *well* [emphasised] over a month without Mirdinan having noticed anything about it.

15 Oliver Haag, Tasteless, Romantic and Full of History.
16 Paddy Roe, Stephen Muecke, Gularabulu, p. 3.
17 Paddy Roe, Stephen Muecke, Karl Merkatz, Gularabulu, p. 1.

As is apparent, there are grave differences between the original and the translation, particularly regarding the omission of Indigenous English, which has been translated directly into Standard German. Moreover, the historical context in Broome in the 1920s is not expounded in the original, but included in a footnote (f.n. 2). Neither is the name 'Mirdinan' mentioned in the original (it appears in the introduction).18 Yet, for all the differences, the content of the story is unchanged; the message, although not entirely reflective of the structure of the original text, is basically the same as in the source text. That is, the historical contexts of the narration (foraging and adultery in times of interracial contact) have been preserved in translation in the sense of having remained – in its essence – comprehensible for the foreign German target culture. This comprehensibility would have suffered severe change if the German translation had simply replicated Indigenous English given that the lack of German equivalents would have evoked codes of racial prejudice that would have ensued a more literary correct translation, true, but that would have, in the end, falsified the context of the source text (i.e. to portray a story of racial representation instead of one of foraging and adultery). The translation of texts, in other words, is not merely a literary but also a historical endeavour to adapt social-historical contexts from the source culture to the contexts of the target culture, which can be conflicting: to stay literally and contextually as true to the source text, hence to make at times severe literary interventions to properly convey the socio-historical contexts.

The textual representation of Indigenous people

A respectable amount of critical literature has been devoted to the portrayal of Indigenous people within Australia.[19] This literature has identified different forms of representing Indigenous Australians, ranging from the practice of rendering Indigenous people silent, over romantic views and new primitivism to the overemphasis of racial oppression and victimisation. The translation of Indigenous literature, too, affects the representation of Indigenous people. As has already been demonstrated, processes of translation can exert an influence on racial representation – a literal translation of Indigenous English with its distinctive styles of narration, for example, can entail a racist perception. Linguistically, the translations of the three books portray Indigenous people as positive: the sophisticated language style makes the authors appear in an intellectually sophisticated light, and the decision not to use unidiomatic language can be seen as reflecting a decidedly anti-racist stance.

From an historical view, however, there is a grave problem with the translation of David Unaipon's 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines', which was first published in 1932 and thus uses expressions no longer in current use because they are considered racist. These expressions caused major difficulties in the translation of the text, as they were translated literally, with no explanation

18 Paddy Roe, Stephen Muecke, Gularabulu, p. 2.
19 Eric Michaels, Bad Aboriginal Art; Gillian Cowlishaw, On Getting It Wrong; Jackie Huggins, Sister Girl, pp. 25-36.

of the historicity of the text and its outdated vocabulary. Thus, the translation of 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines' replicates racist terminology. Two of these terms that are employed in this audiobook are the German equivalents of 'race' ('Rasse') and 'full-blood' ('Vollblut'). Whereas the term 'Vollblut' is as racist as the English 'full-blood' and would have required at least a proper contextualisation for the target audience, the term 'Rasse', in contrast to 'race', has a purely biological connotation, referring to physiological criteria and skin colour.[20]

Apart from extreme right-wing contexts, the German term 'Rasse' is no longer employed, mainly because of its use during the National Socialist past, during which individuals of specific religious and ethnic groups were murdered as *races* of lower rank. Hence, it was the concept of race that legitimised mass murder.[21] From this history, the German equivalent of 'race' is undoubtedly a racist term. Anne Brewster has likened the term 'Rasse' to the English word 'breed',[22] and, significantly, in the other German translations of Indigenous literature, the word 'Rasse' is notably absent.[23] Its use in Unaipon's translated text would thus have required either rigorous explanation as to its historicity and different meanings in German and English or complete substitution with a neutral term, such as 'Volk' (people). As it stands in the translated audiobook, the word 'Rasse' represents Indigenous people in solely biological terms. The literal translation of politically sensitive terms has occasionally resulted in a problematic historical representation of Indigenous people.

Another problem of representation relates to the translation of subtitles and the use of the terms 'myth' and 'legend' therein. The translation of titles is in this event certainly influenced by the publisher's marketing strategies. As Gerard Genette argues, titles are an essential instrument which publishers use to guide and attract audiences.[24] Advertisements can thereby produce cultural and racial images that do not necessarily replicate the content of a publication. For example, David Unaipon's 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines' was published under the subtitle 'Mythen und Legenden der australischen Aborigines' (English 'Mooncumbulli. Myths and Legends of the Australian Aboriginals'). 'Gularabulu' demonstrates a similar tendency; whereas the original subtitle reads 'Stories from the West Kimberley', the subtitle in translation reads 'Myths and Legends from the West Kimberleys (sic)'.

The words 'Mythen' (myths) and 'Legenden' (legends) employed in the subtitles are inaccurate. They are drastically different from 'story' and 'legendary tales', respectively, since they do not merely imply a fictional account, but also have a ring of incredibility, particularly so in political parlance, when they are used in the sense of a 'lie'.[25] The notions of fiction and falsehood do justice neither to Paddy Roe's stories, nor to Unaipon's book, which contains decidedly non-fictional, that is, ethnographic material.

20 Peter Weingart, Rasse, Blut und Gene.
21 Michael Burleigh, Wolfgang Wippermann, The Racial State.
22 Anne Brewster, Teaching the Tracker in Germany.
23 Oliver Haag, Indigenous Australian Literature in German.
24 Gerard Genette, Paratexts, pp. 55-63.
25 Michael Aust, Schichtagitation in der Heckscheibe, p. 238.

The present analysis reveals an ambivalent picture of the three translations. On the one hand, the textual reproduction of the original stories is of high quality and represents the Indigenous authors in an intellectually sophisticated light. The translations are idiomatic and maintain a sophisticated German style, and literal translations have been avoided in the event of possibly prejudiced reactions among the target audience. This particularly applies to the rendition of Indigenous English. On the other hand, there are quite severe problems with the rendition of titles and sub-titles as well as the translation of historically sensitive terms which produces racially prejudiced representations in translation. As becomes obvious, translators need to pay heed not only to literary but also to historical criteria. Translation indeed is a highly political endeavour.

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From 'Plant Hunter' to 'Tomb Raider'

The Changing Image of Amalie Dietrich

Abstract: In the context of her bicentenary in 2021, Amalie Dietrich will again be celebrated as a feminist paragon or condemned as a racist culprit. Her stay in Australia will be central to these contrasting approaches to her biography. There, she gathered a remarkable amount of native plants, animals, ethnological everyday objects – and human remains. In this context, she was subjected to suspicions of incitement in murder early on and to allegedly critical investigations concerning her role in the anthropological desecration of corpses in recent times. In this paper, we contribute some arguments to the clarification of this controversial subject. It focuses on the treatment of image of Amalie Dietrich in the German discourse from the Kaiserreich via the Weimar Republic, the fascist 'Reich', the Federal Republic as well as the Democratic Republic to reunited Germany. As a result, we argue that a critical biography of Amalie Dietrich must integrate the appreciation of her contribution to botany and zoology with a critique of her role in the racist history of anthropological grave robbery and desecration of human remains.

If it were up to her first critical biographer, Amalie Dietrich had suffered serious injustice. While her recognition as a successful plant hunter and collector was reflected in the biological nomenclature, her public appreciation is said to have been accompanied by misogynous side blows and overtime had developed into a downright smear campaign in the present. It aimed to transform the image of an emancipated naturalist into the distorted portrait of an unscrupulous grave robber.

The upcoming bicentennial of Amalie Dietrich's birthday is regarded as an occasion to take action against such "demonisation" and "character assassination".[1] For this purpose, Ray Sumner set up a special website. In its header, she asks: "Who speaks for Dietrich"? The page has the Germanophone address 'dietrich-feier', which can be translated as 'celebration of/for Dietrich'. It is dedicated "to clear[ing] Dietrich's name" and protecting it from "an outstanding example of adaptional villainy". The author understands this to be a procedure by which "an insignificant aspect of a character" is used to discredit its significant aspects and "to make that person into a one-dimensional villain".[2]

Purportedly, the felons in this drama are predominantly men ("unwittingly" attended by two women): "every person" engaged in constructing a 'black legend' in respect of Dietrich "has been a (white) male".[3] Indeed, many male authors have contributed to this legend. A book by Philip Clarke on the relationship between botanists and Indigenous Australians mentions mainly male scientists. As an aside, however, it is noted: "In Australia, German collector Amalie Dietrich spent

1 Cf. Ray Sumner, The Demonisation of Amalie Dietrich, pp. 1 and 5.

2 A first announcement of the bicentenary celebrations in Siebenlehn, the birthplace of Amalie Dietrich, speaks a different language. There is no mention of the accusations made against her. Instead, a large number of events are to take place, including a musical, a play, concerts, and the planting of an 'Amalie-Dietrich-Linden'. In addition, a case with current contemporary documents is to be deposited in a memorial stone; cf. Freie Presse/Flöhaer Zeitung, 14 May 2020, p. 11 (Ein Festjahr für Amalie Dietrich).

3 [Ray Sumner], "But he that filches me my good name … makes me poor indeed" ('unwittingly'); [Ray Sumner], Media, Misogyny and Amalie Dietrich ('male').

several years in Queensland", "where she actively sought fresh Aboriginal skeletons for her European clients".[4] This is indeed an example of evil 'adaptional villainy'. The source used by the author presents Dietrich as a highly qualified botanist who had been "single-handedly forming a large collection". She "collected widely and methodically, amassing and accurately describing botanical and zoological specimens over a wide range".[5] While this remains unmentioned by Clarke, the story about the skeletons is adopted and the botanist is made a corpse desecrator with "gruesome interests".

Ray Sumner, too, does not call into question that Amalie Dietrich sent indigenous human remains from Australia to Germany. But she is too busy fending off alleged damage to her reputation to deal with the background of this action in detail. Instead, she chooses a strategy of relational damage control. According to this, Dietrich had collected, measured, and determined so many plant and animal exhibits that the small number of human remains was hardly significant. Conversely, male anthropologists have made a business for money and honour out of their collection and scientific evaluation.[6]

To illuminate this controversial scenario, we will first sketch the legend that presents Amalie Dietrich as the 'Angel of Black Death', a designation closely associated with her name until today. We then look at the reconstruction and deconstruction of this legend. Its core content is almost as old as the very reports about Dietrich. However, its evaluation varied at different points in time. To illustrate this, we will then concentrate on the image of Amalie Dietrich in six different Germanys: the Wilhelmine Empire, the Weimar Republic, the Nazi dictatorship, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and reunified Germany. In conclusion, we argue for a classification of colonial acquisition practices, which are still called 'collecting' in the name of anthropological science, as illegitimate appropriation within the framework of a political economy of human remains.

Scandalizing the 'Angel of Black Death': Amalie Dietrich and Scientific Colonial Violence

Concordia Amalie Nelle was born on 26 May 1821 into the family of a purse maker.[7] Shortly before her twenty-fifth birthday, she married the pharmacist

4 Philip A. Clarke, Aboriginal Plant Collectors, p. 144 (there also the following quote 'gruesome interests').
5 Rod Ritchie, Seeing the Rainforests in 19th Century Australia, p. 52.
6 See [Ray Sumner], Media, Misogyny and Amalie Dietrich: Amalie Dietrich "was competent and diligent. Her contributions to Australian science/natural history are therefore unparalleled. In Botany 350(+) species, of 20,000 specimens; in Entomology: 800(+) species; Arachnida: 103(+) species, incl. 400(+) specimens, which served as the source of major reference work on Australian spiders", etc. "Under orders from her employer, Dietrich obtained eight Queensland Aboriginal skeletons and two skulls". "In 1881 the Museum Godeffroy's anthropological collection comprised 53 human skeletons and 375 skulls". For the later information, see also Johannes D. E. Schmeltz, Rudolf Krause, Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg, pp. 546, 581-584.
7 See Georg Balzer, Dietrich, Amalie, p. 695.

Wilhelm August Salomo Dietrich, and two years later her daughter Charitas was born. At that time, the couple had specialized in collecting plants. In the end, it was mainly she who pursued this occupation (while her husband devoted himself to the further processing of her collected material). She had acquired some everyday knowledge about medicinal plants from her mother, learned the Linné system from her husband, and trained herself during years of work.

After the couple separated in the early sixties, Amalie Dietrich continued her occupation.[8] At that time, she delivered her finds to apothecaries, educational institutions, botanical gardens, and several other honourable customers.[9] In this way, she came into contact with the Hamburg merchant Johan Cesar Godeffroy. He sent a whole series of 'collectors' to Southeast Asia and Oceania, and offered Dietrich a ten-year contract that, in her view, was well-endowed. She left her daughter with foster parents and on 17 May 1863 took the 'La Rochelle' to Australia.[10] She stayed mainly in north Queensland and collected a large number of plants and animals. Her client was also interested in cultural artefacts of the Indigenous Australians and their bodies (especially bones and skulls), and she agreed to this claim. After her return in 1873, she was employed by Godeffroy in his Hamburg museum. Following the bankruptcy of the Godeffroy company, in 1879, she had to move to a municipal accommodation for elderly women. After an illness, she took up residence with her daughter, who had since married. Here she died on 9 March 1891. Her daughter finally wrote a biographical narrative about her, including several letters by her mother that were enriched with information either invented or copied from other sources. The book – first published in 1909 – was quite successful and has been reprinted many times.[11] The image of Amalie Dietrich was decisively shaped by this text.

From Bischoff's compilation of facts and fiction, it not only appears that Dietrich transported skulls and skeletons of Indigenous Australians to Hamburg. It is also clear that she was aware of disturbing the peace of the deceased and violating their memory for their survivors. But there are no reports of direct forms of violence. However, the suspicion that Amalie Dietrich might have pursued her scientific interests through a contract killing was formulated early on by Henry Ling Roth. In 1908, he wrote about "a collector" of the Godeffroy Museum "who made several ineffectual efforts to induce squatters to shoot an aboriginal, so that she could send the skeleton to the Museum".[12] In 1947, Charles Barrett took this up more or less literally.[13]

8 Cf. for this and the following the biographical notes in Mary R. S. Creese, Ladies in the Laboratory, pp. 40 ff.
9 See Helen Kranz, Das Museum Godeffroy, p. 19.
10 See Courier (Brisbane), 18 August 1863, p. 4 (La Rochelle).
11 Cf. Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich. Ein Leben, erzählt von Charitas Bischoff. Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1922, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937; Hamm: Grote 1940, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1955, 1958; Berlin [DDR]: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1977, 1979, 1980; Stuttgart: Calwer 1980; reprints: Hamburg: Tredition 2011, 2012; Paderborn: Salzwasser 2013. For the manipulation of the letters, see Ray Sumner, A Woman in the Wilderness, p. 8.
12 Henry Ling Roth, The Discovery and Settlement of Port Mackay, p. 81.
13 Charles Barrett, The Sunlit Land, p. 165: "Ling Roth states that she made several ineffectual efforts to persuade squatters to shoot an aborigine so that she might send a human skeleton to the Godeffroy Museum".

These narratives were eventually picked up by Ray Sumner, supplemented by further elements based on an alleged local oral history and imparted to her as "personal communication".[14] She introduces the corresponding passage of her work with a reference to "Dietrich's gruesome anthropological work" and then writes: "In making her dreadful request, Dietrich showed an attitude to the Aborigines which was not at all uncommon among Europeans at that time". Sumner also thinks it likely that Dietrich was this "lady scientist asking for the pelt of an Aborigine".

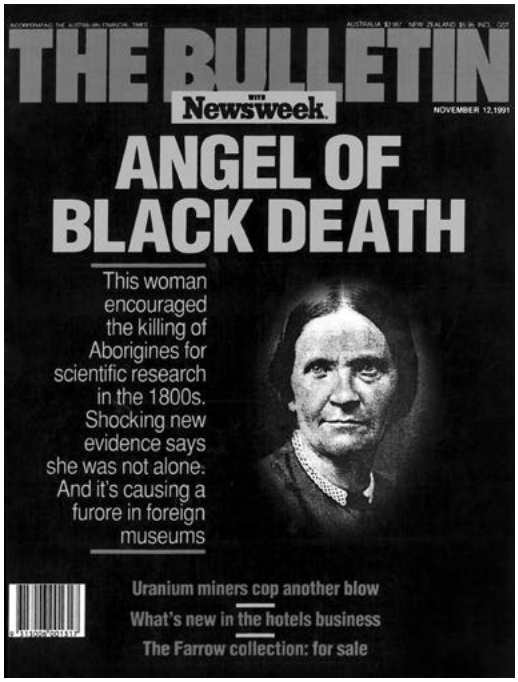

Fig. 1 – Cover story: scandalization as teaser

Actually, it was Sumner herself who contributed massively to the recent spread of the 'black legend' about Amalie Dietrich. In a review of her book, Linden Gillbank wondered why Sumner "accepts a story that survives as folklore – about Dietrich's request for an Aborigine to be shot for his skin or skeleton". She added: "Surely there are many possible reasons for the generation of such an unforgettable tale; it could arise from a genuine misunderstanding […] or ethnic, gender or class bigotry could be involved".[15] By this time, the suspicion nurtured by Sumner had already achieved a broad public impact. In 1991, the magazine 'The Bulletin' reported on the anthropological desecration of indigenous human remains. Amalie Dietrich served as the scandalizing hook in the story. Her portrait was emblazoned on the cover of the issue, and a glaring headline called her the "Angel of Black Death" (see fig. 1). The caption started: "This woman encouraged the killing of Aborigines for scientific research in the 1800s".

The author of the cover story, David Monaghan, had already filmed a documentary called 'Darwin's Body-Snatchers' and was now dealing with the subject of scientific body snatching in Australia. On the story's first page, it said that "British and Australian scientists ran one of the biggest grave-robbing networks ever organised". This had become a topical issue because "British and Australian scientists have found that their Aboriginal relics have left them cursed. The bones gathered by their predecessors have tainted scientists with racism, grave-robbing and, according to new evidence, murder".[16]

14 Cf. Ray Sumner, A Woman in the Wilderness, pp. 44 ff. For the following quotes, see pp. 44 ('gruesome'), 45 ('dreadful request', 'pelt'). Sumner's book published in 1993 was based on her PhD thesis 'Amalie Dietrich in Australia' (University of Queensland, 1986) which, according to her, has "served as source of many Dietrich articles" ([Ray Sumner], Who speaks for Dietrich?).

15 Linden Gillbank, [Review of] Ray Sumner, A Woman in the Wilderness [etc.], p. 192.

16 The Bulletin, 12 November 1991, p. 31 (David Monaghan, The body-snatchers); for the following, cf. p. 33 (Sumner, 'unclear').

The report also mentions Sumner who allegedly stated: "I'm certain Dietrich had Aborigines killed". Subsequently, the author refers to the rumours told by Sumner but then finds: "She got her remains, although exactly how is unclear".[17] Incidentally, the author quite rightly scandalizes contemporary approaches to the question of the return of human remains. The journalistic staging of his article, on the other hand, is undoubtedly lurid, turning the hearsay referenced in the text into fact on the cover and thus exposing the only woman mentioned as the main perpetrator.

As an additional bitter irony, Monaghan chose 'The Bulletin', of all places, for his report. For the longest time, this magazine was published under the racist motto 'Australia for the White Man' and defined Australianness as racist white cosmopolitanism. It decidedly excluded the Indigenous Australians, whose extinction its contributors predicted almost from its first day of publication. Already in 1883, 'The Bulletin' claimed that "[t]he aboriginal question is nearly played out". Subscribing to the notion that "only the master-races of the world are fit material for the ordeal of the civilisation", it saw "only one way to do real good to the aborigines": confining all of them to an "immense reserve in North-Western Australia" and having them "reduce their own numbers […] by internal quarrels" until the "black race" has "die[d] out easily and naturally".[18]

At any rate, film and journal article contributed to the further spreading of the 'black legend' about Amalie Dietrich that was, in fact, widely received. In the process, it also found acceptance in serious literature. Fiona Foley, a Badtjala artist from Fraser island, claimed in 1999, referencing 'The Bulletin' that Dietrich was "known to have offered financial incentives to local settlers in return for the shooting of healthy Aboriginal specimens".[19] Already one year prior, Robert Dingley declared that "Aboriginal bones, throughout the nineteenth century, were a marketable commodity" and added that "there is overwhelming evidence to confirm that living Aborigines were regularly slaughtered in order to provide curators with choice relics of the 'dying race'". In a footnote, he referenced Monaghan's article and Sumner's book.[20]

In 1997, Paul Turnbull merely referred to Sumner when he said: "It is unlikely that Dietrich asked […] to kill an Aborigine". The story of the 'skin', however, he reproduced without comment.[21] Cressida Fforde also referred to Sumner in 2004, reporting that Dietrich "may have believed that obtaining Aboriginal remains justified murder", "did acquire an Aboriginal's dried skin" and sent "Aboriginal

17 The presentation of the article is undoubtedly scandalous and Dietrich's placement on the cover has sexist dimensions. Nevertheless, to say that Monaghan has written "a sensationally inaccurate piece" is overstated, and the imputation that he tried to draw a "crude parallel" between Dietrich and a concentration camp guard who was called the "Blonde Angel of Auschwitz" is incorrect (Paul Turnbull, Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia, p. 16). This comparison does not exist, and 'angel of death' is a widespread term in English, which not only occurs in a religious context but is also used figuratively. Coincidentally, the Oxford English Dictionary cites an example from the Australian Gawler Times of 12 July 1872 (see 'angel', phrases: P2. 'angel of death', 2.).

18 The Bulletin, 9 June 1883, p. 6 (Our Black Brothers).

19 Fiona Foley, A Blast from the Past, p. 46.

20 Robert Dingley, 'Resurrecting' the Australian Past, pp. 156 f.

21 Paul Turnbull, Ancestors, not Specimens.

skeletons taken from funerary sites" to Germany.[22] Quoting Sumner, Jürgen Tampke in 2006 wrote that Dietrich had demanded to "shoot an Aborigine for her so that she could have the skin mounted for display in Germany".[23] Still, in 2011, Regina Ganter declared – referencing Sumner – that "Dietrich suggested to an employee […] to shoot an Aborigine as a specimen". She further mentioned Roth and Barrett as early sources of this "anecdote" and added that "this incident", "in Queensland, particularly among indigenous researchers", "remains the dominant image of this woman".[24]

Collecting 'Skulls and Skeletons of Extinct Races': Amalie Dietrich in the Wilhelmine Kaiserreich

When Amalie Dietrich left Germany with destination Australia in 1863, Hamburg was a free Hanseatic city; when she returned in 1873, it belonged to the newly founded German Empire. Even before its colonial claims were officially registered, Hamburg merchants had long since begun to flank their economic ambitions with colonial policy. In this, Dietrich's employer Godeffroy played a leading role. He demanded state protection for his business in the South Seas, initially represented by a Hamburg consul, Theodor Weber, who then became consul of the North German Confederation and consul of the new German Empire.[25]

Weber had come to Samoa as an agent of Godeffroy's trading house and had acquired for the company an enormous estate of plantations for cotton and especially coconut palms, which were cultivated, among others, with forcedly recruited foreign workers.[26] Also, Godeffroy capitalized on the additional naturalistic business associated with the brisk colonial trade. Exotica were brought in by seamen not very systematically. This practice was replaced with a targeted procurement policy, regarding plants and animals as well as cultural objects. The latter was a "for-profit ethnography" that pursued a "commercialization of material culture".[27] Because this strategy also had in mind a growing anthropological demand, it additionally became part of the political economy of human remains.

With her employment by Godeffroy, Amalie Dietrich contributed to this business. From the very beginning, it was not only about building a private museum but also about marketing the objects brought in from afar. This was reflected in a whole series of catalogues in which doublets of the collection were offered for sale. The British Museum, for instance, listed 250 species from Brisbane ("collected by A. Dietrich; purchased from the Godeffroy Museum") as new acquisitions for its herbarium.[28]

22 Cressida Fforde, Collecting the Dead, p. 55.
23 Jürgen Tampke, The Germans in Australia, p. 55.
24 Regina Ganter, Career Moves, p. 112.
25 Cf. Kees van Dijk, Pacific Strife, p. 82.
26 Cf. Doug Munro, Stewart Firth, Samoan Plantations, p. 105.
27 Rainer F. Buschmann, Anthropology's Global Histories, pp. 35, 34; see also Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, Liberal Imperialism in Germany, pp. 83 ff.
28 House of Commons, Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons, p. 160 (see section:

Dietrich's contribution to anthropology was appreciated from the start. This not only concerned the esteem of the scientists, the international public was also informed. For instance, a natural science journal reported on the "Museum Godeffroy" in 1877. In the text a "German lady" is mentioned, whose "collections" included "skulls and skeletons of extinct races".[29] In 1880, the "Godeffroy Museum of Hamburg" was again praised – with a special emphasis on its "anthropological collection of skulls and skeletons, castings in plaster and photographs of natives" and the "eight skeletons of Australian negroes, of which in the whole of Europe there are only six others to be found".[30]

This 'rareness' of human remains from Australia was a permanent feature of the anthropological discourse in Germany since the times of Enlightenment. Already Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, the 'geometer of race',[31] was excited about his "very rare skull of a New Hollander from the neighbourhood of Botany Bay".[32] He had established an international network of scientific relations with colleagues and admirers. They provided him with bones from all parts of the world, which he piled in his home to such an amount that their storage place was called 'Golgatha' (Calvary) among his family.[33]

But the German scientific community was not only from the beginning involved in the international trade of Australian human remains. Together with the enlightened public, it also shared the international discourse on anthropological findings from the new continent.

Hence, in 1810 the geographer and biologist Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, in his two volumes on Australia, echoed the narrative of James Grant, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. The latter reported that "a complete set of bones belonging to a male, and an entire female skeleton"[34] were provided by William Balmain, assistant surgeon on the First Fleet and later Principal Surgeon of the antipodean colony in Sydney. Grant then reproduced a letter by Balmain, who had written to him on his anthropological studies of the Indigenous Australians of New South Wales. Zimmermann quoted from this letter and briefed his German readers with the results of the scientific 'mismeasure of man'. They learned what they had already heard before: that so-called primitive people had small craniums and, on the whole, were closer to apes.[35]

From then on, trading with human remains from Australia was an anthropological business on a market with short supplies. Its commodities were highly valued and priced accordingly. Hence, the skeletons in the Godeffroy selection were a prestigious acquisition. This was not least evident from the fact that Rudolf

Account 'of the Income and Expenditure of the British Museum (Special Trust Funds), for the Financial Year ended the 31st day of March 1875', p. 36).

29 Martin Eiche, The Museum Godeffroy, p. 172.

30 'The Museum Godeffroy of Hamburg', pp. 462 f. (the article refers to a contribution in 'Hamburgischer Correspondent', 9 December 1879).

31 Cf. Stephen Jay Gould, The Geometer of Race, pp. 65-69.

32 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, On the Natural Variety of Mankind, p. 239.

33 Cf. John Gascoigne, The German Enlightenment and the Pacific, pp. 166 f.

34 James Grant, The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery [etc.] in the Years 1800, 1801, p. 115.

35 Cf. Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde, p. 897. The phrasing 'mismeasure etc.' is from Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man.

Virchow, one of the most renowned German anthropologists, secured the right to be the first to examine the bones scientifically.[36]

Amalie Dietrich's collection of human remains must be understood against this background. It is then no surprise that this amalgam of contemporary science and gothic tale found its way into the memorial book of her daughter. Here, the bones and skulls taken from Australia were not only mentioned in writing but also graphically depicted.

All the chapters were decorated with vignettes by the painter and graphic artist Hans Kurth. He oriented himself on elements of the respective chapter that seemed to him to be characteristic for its content. These were mainly floral motifs (flowers, leaves, tendrils, berries, thorns); sometimes there were real (lizards, shells, locusts, birds), petrified, or sporadically fictitious animals (dragons), but occasionally also a landscape, a quill, or ships in the harbour. The second part of the book, which supposedly documents letters to and from Australia, begins with a jungle vignette. This is followed again mainly by plants and occasionally by animals but also artefacts of the 'natives' (boomerangs, spears) and finally, above a letter addressed to her daughter from Bowen dated 20 September 1869, tools together with a mask and three skulls (see fig. 2).[37]

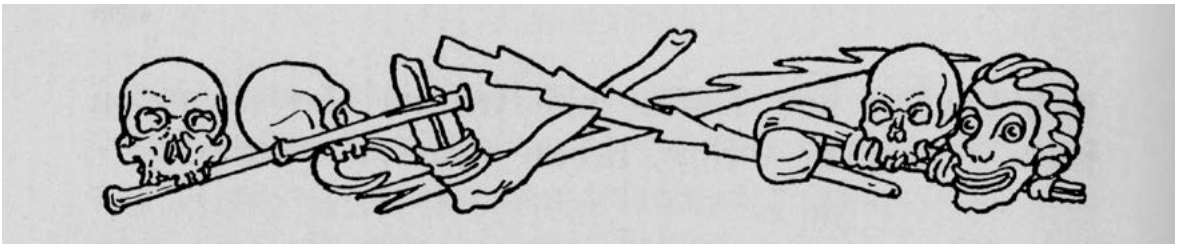

Fig. 2 – Illustrating the defilement of human remains

It seems that the illustrator was particularly impressed by one specific aspect of this chapter. Overall, however, he did not give it much space – exactly one vignette among many others, most of which show plants. The content, on the other hand, is provided by two (also white) women; and it is by no means fictional. Whatever the daughter has faked in the letters of the mother: the narration of the procurement and sending of indigenous skeletons by Amalie Dietrich from Australia correspond to the facts. In this regard, the 'black legend' is not a figment of male fantasy; rather, it has its origin in Dietrich's actions and has existed since the beginning of the construction of stories about her stay in Australia.

In the aforementioned letter, she informs her daughter about her encounters with Indigenous Australians and declares their "culture" to be "at a rather low level". She then writes about Godeffroy's long-held request that she procured "skeletons of the natives", stating it was not unproblematic for her to comply with his demand. Skeletons of children were easily obtainable since commonly they were "just stuck in a hollow tree" – other than "warriors" who were

36 Cf. Paul Turnbull, The body and soul snatchers, pp. 35 f. – for details see fig. 4 below and the related information.

37 Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich (1909), p. 386.

"ceremonially buried" in "flat mounds". Subsequently, Dietrich announces the sending of "thirteen skeletons and several skulls to Hamburg" to "hopefully satisfy the Godeffroys".[38]

It is suspected that this text, as well, has been manipulated by Charitas Bischoff.[39] Even the number of skeletons and skulls is wrong. According to the Godeffroy inventory, Dietrich sent two skulls and eight skeletons from Australia.[40] But the basic facts of grave robbing and the desecration of corpses are beyond dispute.

Though the remarkable element of the story was the fact that the collecting of plants, animals, and human remains was accomplished by a woman, it was not perceived as exceptional that human skulls and skeletons were among the collectibles. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when Amalie Dietrich's biography was narrated, the display of human remains was part of German everyday life (but also of that in other countries on the offenders' side of colonialism and imperialism). It counted among the elements of a racialized political economy of anthropological othering – clamped in a web of public museums, human zoos, colonial advertising, exotic adventure novels, and imperial propaganda.[41]

Aside from these mainstream circumstances, the rumour concerning Dietrich's murderous practice had made its way from Australia to Germany even before her letters were published. It was, however, neither scandalized nor circulated nor integrated into the narration of her antipodean stint. In a book review of one of the main sources of this allegation, the readers of the magazine 'Globus' of spring 1908 were informed that "a female collector from the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg" had sojourned in Queensland, "who constantly requested the settlers to shoot an Aborigine for her, so that she could send the skeleton home".[42]

'Preserved Human Skin': Amalie Dietrich in the Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic saw not only continuous republications of Amalie Dietrich's biography but furthermore, due to a few anniversaries and the death of Charitas Bischoff, appraisals of the two women's work. In 1919, a Hamburg newspaper recommended the book to the "ideal female reader of the present" and suggested

38 Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich, pp. 388 ('low-level'), 389 ('skeletons', etc.), 390 ('thirteen', 'satisfy'). All translations from German are done by the authors.

39 Cf. [Ray Sumner], Combinatorial Creativity and the Australian Letters of Amalie Dietrich – previously published in the 2016 Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, here pp. 202 ff.

40 Cf. Birgit Scheps, Die Australien-Sammlung aus dem Museum Godeffroy im Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, p. 197. Already in 1881, Johannes D. E. Schmeltz and Rudolf Krause had listed eight skeletons, two skulls, and one lower jar and noted that "all skulls and skeletons were collected by Frau A. Dietrich" – id., Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg, p. 581.

41 Cf. Andrew Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany; H. Glenn Penny, Objects of Culture; Alexander Honold, Klaus R. Scherpe, eds., Mit Deutschland um die Welt; David Ciarlo, Advertising Empire; Volker M. Langbehn, ed., German Colonialism, Visual Culture and Modern Memory; Jürgen Zimmerer, ed., Kein Platz an der Sonne.

42 [Review of] H. Ling Roth, The Discovery and Settlement of Port Mackay, Queensland.

that she should read it as one of the "wonderful examples how women have understood to form and deepen their lives".[43]

Almost two years earlier, the chauvinist and völkisch writer Gustav Frenssen,[44] telling about the many occasions he socialized with Bischoff, recounted how she understood it as her "duty to her mother and the German people" to retell the life of this famous woman. Frenssen valued the book as a "memorial" that "shakes the hearts of the Germans and in particular the hearts of the women".[45]

The narration of Dietrich's life was not only deemed an inspirational piece for women and other Germans but also an international success. Dietrich's centennial was remembered in an article that honoured her biography as "one of the most beloved and read books of the last ten years"; "high and low, young and old, Germans and foreigners admire and love the book" that has "found its way to every part of the world and was translated into several languages".[46] One year later, another article informed its readers that a school is using the book as teaching material for the intellectual formation of young girls, giving them a lasting "valuable memory" of the "eventful and strong-willed" life of Amalie Dietrich.[47] Her daughter's 75th birthday was taken as another occasion to remind the readership of her book about the "remarkable" woman who was "unique in her mixture of aptitude of sacrifice, urge for knowledge, scientific competence and perseverance" and her achieved "wide-praised name as a natural scientist".[48]

These newspaper articles did not mention Dietrich's osseous shipment. This was made up for in an obituary of her daughter Charitas Bischoff in 1925. It gave once again rise to a depiction of Dietrich's scientific endeavours and praised her work for the Museum Godeffroy, including "the skeletons, skulls, weapons, and tools of the natives" of Australia.[49] In 1927, a memorial site for Dietrich was established at her place of birth, Siebenlehn.[50] Two years later, Hamburg named a street after her, the 'Amalie-Dietrich-Weg'.[51] Given the fact that her contribution to anthropology was universally known at this time, honours like these also included her share in the Western 'bone trade'.

Only when the eyes of the eulogists roamed from plants, insects and human bones to human skin, the tone became slightly different. In 1932, a detailed and sensationalist newspaper article featured an interview with a contemporary of Dietrich's, the naturalist Alexander Sokolowsky[52] (who became an 'eye-witness' in the recent 'Angel of Black Death' debates). He has "known her well"

43 Neue Hamburger Zeitung, 27 December 1919, p. 9 (Die ideale Leserin der Gegenwart).
44 For Frenssen and his literary milieu, see Kay Dohnke, Völkische Literatur und Heimatliteratur 1870-1918; for his popular colonial novel 'Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest' (published 1906) see Medardus Brehl, Vernichtung der Herero.
45 Neue Hamburger Zeitung, 2 March 1918, p. 13 (Gustav Frenssen, Charitas Bischoff).
46 Hamburger Anzeiger, 28 May 1921, p. 7 (Amalie Dietrich. Zu ihrem hundertsten Geburtstag).
47 Hamburgischer Correspondent und Hamburgische Börsen-Halle, 30 April 1922, p. 13 (Lebensbilder als Unterrichtsmaterial).
48 Hamburger Nachrichten, 7 March 1923, p. 7 (Charitas Bischoff).
49 Hamburger Anzeiger, 27 February 1925, p. 5 (Charitas Bischoff).
50 Hamburger Anzeiger, 10 June 1927, p. 7 (Eine Gedächtnisstätte für Amalie Dietrich).
51 Hamburgischer Correspondent und Hamburgische Börsen-Halle, 21 July 1929, p. 10 (Weitere neue Straßennamen in Hamburg).
52 Hamburger Anzeiger, 12 November 1932, p. 20 (Erinnerungen an Amalie Dietrich), here also the following quotes.

and reminisced how he rambled through the Museum Godeffroy as a secondary school pupil and got into a conversation with Dietrich. "It has not always been easy for her to purchase skeletons and skulls of the natives. The austral negroes still practiced a lively ancestor worship and put the skulls of their ancestors on bamboo stands, from which they had to be literally plucked if one wanted to 'purchase' them".


Erinnerungen an Amalie Dietrich

Menschenhaut.

Fig. 3 – 'Menschenhaut': facts and fiction going viral

However, the real sensation of the article was not the collecting of bones but a "negro skin". It was pictured by the newspaper (see fig. 3) – though even the author of the article had its doubts about the veracity of the associated story. "Gracious heavens!", he proclaimed: "Should this woman, whose nerves had been hardened to the point of robustness by the rough life in the Australian bush, have even possessed nature to separate the skin from the body of a dead Papua negro and send it salted to Hamburg?".

This sensationalist story has been transported to the contemporary discourse by Ray Sumner. How she managed this by a collage of hearsay, offstage voices from primary sources, and, deduced from there, unproven assertions, is an argumentative stunt worth to be checked in detail. Contributors to "the local oral history […] refer specifically to a lady scientist asking for the pelt of an aborigine. The similarity with the German word *Pelz* (skin or fur) suggests that this was indeed Dietrich's wording". This linguistic argument was followed by an epidermic one: "further proof of this story lies in what must be regarded nowadays as the most bizarre item of her enormous Australian collections. Earlier this century, the Zoological Museum in Hamburg still retained and indeed displayed the tanned skin of an Australian Aborigine, collected by Dietrich".

Hereafter, Sumner referred to the newspaper article comprising the photography and mention of the skin and the interview with Sokolowsky and states: "The story of Dietrich's acquisition of the skin was not recorded in this interview". Finally, she ventilated a further conjecture: "Dietrich may have acquired the skin from a local […] Aboriginal group, since Finch-Hatton, for example, records skinning as a locale practice".[53] Whether an interpretation of this conglomerate of facts and fiction starts with the beginning or with the end amounts to the same

53 Ray Sumner, A Woman in the Wilderness, pp. 45 f.

misery. The word 'pelt'[54] was allegedly used by an Australian settler and, hence, may have been just as well part of the dehumanising language of the violent frontier racism – which the allegation by Harold Finch-Hatton, who lived as a settler and gold hunter for some years in Australia, most certainly was. He combined skinning and cannibalism in a lurid tale.[55]

The central section of Sumner's deliberations is of the same quality. They switch without hesitation from 'local oral history' to the presentation of 'facts' respectively of a 'skin collected by Dietrich'. There is, however, every indication that this is an artefact of fiction altogether. Birgit Scheps has reviewed the sources under this aspect.[56] A human skin is neither listed in the holdings of the Museum Godeffroy nor is it specified in the sales records of the Australiana from Hamburg to Leipzig. It is not referred to in publications on anthropological 'material' from the museum and goes unmentioned in the studies published in its journal. Its existence is therefore rather improbable – not least because 'skin trade' *was* a part of the political economy of human remains. It did not only belong to the scientific sphere of anthropology but also spanned common entertainment.

In Germany, this had public appeal particularly in connection with the popular 'redskin'-novels by Karl May, distributed en masse to the general public.[57] Completely invented by the author, he nevertheless pretended to deliver first-hand information on the 'Wild West' – the 'native' custom of scalping included. Scalps were also exhibited in the Karl-May-Museum after they had been given to May's widow in 1926. The donor also reported about their 'acquisition'.[58]

A special attraction were the mummified and tattooed Maori heads, so-called Toi Moko. They were 'collected' and exhibited by numerous western museums. In Germany, there were and still are such heads; in 2011 and 2018, Toi Moko were returned by museums from Frankfurt and Cologne,[59] and the ethnological museum in Hamburg also returned a Toi Moko.[60]

Indigenous Australians were also victims of this part of racist desecration of corpses. The interest in their skin was by no means always scientifically motivated. After the London Zoological Society had "appealed for specimens through the colonial press", they, inter alia, got some "skulls and 'the bones included in the dried skin of a female Native of Australia'".[61] After the death of William Lanne, regarded by the white Tasmanians as the last 'pure-blooded' man of the

54 Pelt has its place not only in German dictionaries (as 'Pelz'), the Oxford English dictionary also quotes its use as a designation of the "human skin, esp. when bare" in the English language. Cf. Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. 'pelt', no. 1, 6.

55 Cf. Harold Finch-Hatton, Advance Australia, p. 128: "When a warrior of celebrity dies, […] they skin him with the greatest care, and, after eating as much of him as they feel inclined for, they pick his bones beautifully clean and wrap them up in his skin".

56 Cf. Birgit Scheps, Skelette aus Queensland, p. 140.

57 Cf. Dieter Sudhold, Hartmut Vollmer, eds., Karl Mays 'Winnetou'; for the background, see Hartmut Lutz, German Indianthusiasm.

58 Cf. Patty Frank (i.e. Ernst Tobis), "Wie ich meinen ersten Skalp erwarb". Debates surrounding the repatriation of these human remains continue until today – see Robin Leipold, The 'Recommendations' in Practice.

59 Cf. Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 August 2018 (Judith von Sternburg, Eva Raabe); Julia Günther, Kunst der Kolonialzeit.

60 taz, 18 November 2014 (Petra Schellen, Exponate aus ehemaligen Kolonien).

61 Paul Turnbull, Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia, p. 206.

indigenous population, there was a dispute between rival doctors over his mortal remains. They desecrated his body several times and cut off his head, hands, and feet to preserve them for research. The scientists also provided themselves with personal trophies. One of them "had a tobacco pouch made out of a portion of the skin".[62]

When Tambo, a member of a group of Indigenous Australians from Queensland, marketed as 'Australian Cannibals' by a white impresario, died in Cleveland (Ohio), his body was left to the owner of a local dime museum. He announced in the press that he intended "to have the body embalmed" and "planned to exhibit Tambo behind glass".[63]

As these examples show, 'skin' was not only the subject of anthropological interest. As far as the racial science discourse is concerned, it had become more and more ossified since the beginning of the nineteenth century and concentrated on bones and skulls. However, the popular image of races was still dominated by skin colour. It was much more than the display of a superficial difference. Skin colour was considered an indicator of culture and ultimately of humanity itself.

In this sense, the German naturalist physician Lorenz Oken declared at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "The human being is the white man. His inner self shines through the skin because the skin is transparent, uncoloured. He who can blush is a human being; he who cannot do so is a Moor". To these, the author counted "also the brown-black Australians".[64] The gradations of humanity, which were designed by racial theory, should be readable from the shades of the skin. The different dehumanization strategies of a long European colonial history were reflected in this idea and continued to have an effect. What shaped the way non-white people were treated, applied all the more to their mortal remains.

'She was a German Woman': Amalie Dietrich in the Fascist 'Reich'

Charitas Bischoff's book about her mother was published in further editions during the time of German fascism. There were no objections to its distribution. The publishers were on the side of the new rulers anyway. The senior partner wrote already in 1932 to one of its authors: "My fervent wish is that the great movement in politics may lead to recovery and advancement". His son, who joined the publishing house in 1935, became a member of the SS.[65]

Besides the continuation of the daughter's legend, there were several other works on Amalie Dietrich. The journalist Gertraud Enderlein published a novel-like story about 'A Woman from Siebenlehn'. In the same year, she wrote an entry about Dietrich for an association protecting the Saxon 'Heimat' without

62 Lyndall Ryan, The Aboriginal Tasmanians, p. 217; see Stefan Petrow, The Last Man.
63 Roslyn Poignant, Professional Savages, p. 106.
64 Lorenz Oken, Lehrbuch der Naturphilosophie, p. 355.
65 Volker Griese, Die drei Leben des Gustav F., p. 204 ('fervent wish'); Benjamin Carter Hett, "This Story Is about Something Fundamental", p. 211 ('SS').

mentioning her anthropological efforts.[66] The poet and essayist Paul Appel wrote an article about Amalie Dietrich in the 'Kölnische Zeitung' and unsuccessfully negotiated with the publisher Goverts a biography dedicated to her.[67]

One author dealing with Amalie Dietrich was politically right-wing and, at least at the beginning, voting for Hitler, positively evaluated the National Socialists' seizure of power. However, the Nazis' racial laws declared Elisabeth Langgässer to be 'half-Jewish' and imposed a ban on publication in 1936.[68] Until then, she had still been able to publish. In June 1933, her radio play 'Frauen als Wegbereiter: Amalie Dietrich' ('Women as Trailblazers: Amalie Dietrich') was aired. Intended for young people, its broadcast was repeated in September.[69]

Dietrich's character must have interested Langgässer, if only because she was the mother of an illegitimate daughter and felt disturbed by the child in her work as a writer.[70] Besides, the girl born out of wedlock had a Jewish father, the Social Democratic constitutional law expert Hermann Heller. Since Langgässer herself had a Jewish father, her daughter was considered a 'three-quarter Jew' under the Nazis' racial laws. While her mother found relative protection through marriage in a so-called 'privileged mixed marriage', the daughter was hit by the full force of the racial laws, had to wear the Star of David, move to a Jewish house, and was eventually deported to Auschwitz.[71]

The fascist racial laws were not passed until two years after Langgässer's radio play was written. Contemporary antisemitism and other racisms associated with it, however, were already fully present in 1933. In Langgässer's play, this is reflected in the characterisation of Indigenous Australians as primitive "Papuaneger", who 'cackle', 'howl', 'bare their teeth', 'shout wildly', are predominantly busy with drumming, and are classified as "treacherous and malicious".[72]

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the anthropological body snatching is uncritically included in the description of her activities by the broadcasted Amalie. Her "mission is: Collect plants and animals of all kinds […], birds and their nests, weapons and skeletons of the natives. Collect, collect! Gather!"

66 Cf. Gertraud Enderlein, Eine Frau aus Siebenlehn (1937); id., Die Naturforscherin Amalie Dietrich (1821-1891), pp. 164 ff. Her 1955 recast of the novel goes much further in reporting her grave-robbing endeavours and the subsequent plans for the academic exploitation of the human remains by Virchow.

67 Cf. Anne-M. Wallrath-Janssen, Der Verlag H. Goverts im Dritten Reich, p. 421. Also not printed at first was a social history of the 'Bürgertum', the 'respectable German middle class', by Alice Berend, in which there is a chapter on Amalie Dietrich. The Jewish author commenced its creation already during the Weimar Republic and was only able to finish it after her migration into exile enforced by the Nazis. It was finally published in the Federal Republic – cf. Alice Berend, Die gute alte Zeit. Amalie Dietrich is portrayed as an emancipated woman and natural scientist. The subject 'bones' is only mentioned in a letter quoted from Bischoff's collection. Human remains are rated like mosses, snails, or spiders. They bring "recognition" through the "scholars" at home. Words of critique are missing.

68 Cf. Mathias Bertram, Literarische Epochendiagnosen der Nachkriegszeit, p. 23.

69 Cf. Anthony W. Riley, Elisabeth Langgässers frühe Hörspiele, p. 384.

70 Cf. Eva-Maria Gehler, Weibliche NS-Affinitäten, p. 261.

71 Langgässer's daughter Cordelia has later processed her youth in literature – see Cordelia Edvardson, Burned Child Seeks the Fire; cf. Dagmar C. G. Lorenz, Keepers of the Motherland, pp. 160-170.

72 Elisabeth Langgässer, Frauen als Wegbereiter, pp. 12 ('Papua-Negroes'), 13 ('gibber' etc.), 17 ('insidious and malicious'); for the following quote, see ibid., p. 7.

The 'collecting' adjured in connection with anthropological 'objects' was, in fact, part of a political economy of human remains. By the time Langgässer took up the term, this had long since become manifest in the form of a veritable 'bone trade' concerning the holdings of Dietrich's loot. The trading company Godeffroy declared insolvency in 1879. The museum was continued until it had to make way for the expansion of the Hamburg harbour. In the course of the museum's dissolution from 1882 to 1885, several parties were interested in its various holdings. The entire anthropological and ethnological collection finally went to the city of Leipzig, which purchased it for its new ethnological museum.[73]

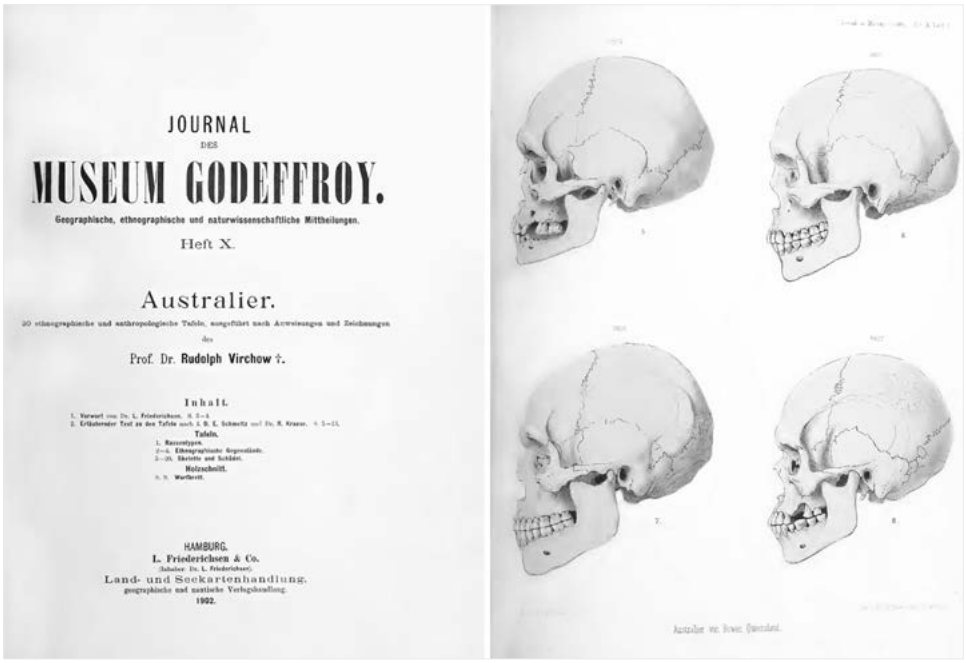
JOURNAL
DES
MUSEUM GODEFFROY.
Geographische, ethnographische und naturwissenschaftliche Mittheilungen.
Heft X.
Australier.
Prof. Dr. Rudolph Virchow †.
Inhalt.
Tafeln.
Holzschnitt.
HAMBURG.
L. Friederichsen & Co.
Land- und Seekartenhandlung.
1902.

Fig. 4 – Racial profiling

They were rated a considerable acquisition. Not only did they represent rare items, but they had also been made known in the scientific community by the renowned anthropologist Rudolf Virchow. His scientific examination of the skulls and skeletons was published after his death in a special issue of the journal of the Museum Godeffroy in 1902 – together with photographs of three skeletons and several skulls, all of them also graphically represented in profile, front view, top view, and bottom view. Two of them were even called by name, indicating that their mortal remains did not date back to bygone times. They must have lived (and died) in temporal and spatial proximity to Amalie Dietrich's stay in Queensland (see fig. 4).[74]

In Leipzig, the bones Dietrich brought to Germany outlasted the rest of the Empire, the Weimar Republic, and most of the so-called 'Third Reich'. They were

73 Cf. Birgit Scheps, Das verkaufte Museum.

74 Cf. Johannes D. E. Schmeltz, Eduard Krause, Australier. Fig. 4 is reprinted from ibid., plate 11. Schmeltz was the former curator of the Museum Godeffroy, Virchow was named as the originator of the measuring data and the plates on page 3. Amalie Dietrich is identified as the 'collector' of the human remains on p. 10 of the same issue; the (colonially assigned) names of two of the victims of Dietrich's grave robbery and Virchow's scientific desecration of corpses can be found on p. 11.

then destroyed during an allied air raid on the city in 1943. By this time German fascism had long since surpassed all previous forms of scientific desecration of corpses and murderous science. The Nazis' 'racial state'[75] did not only supply physicians and anthropologists with human material from its murder factories. It also enabled them to take anthropological measurements on living victims, select them according to their 'suitability' as 'racial specimens', then murdered them and exploited their corpses according to the methods of racial science.

This was, for instance, the practice of August Hirt, professor of anatomy at the 'Reich University' of Strasbourg, where he wanted to establish a 'Jewish skeleton collection' and a collection of 'Judeo-Bolshevik skulls'. In doing so, he assumed to continue a tradition of anthropological research; at the University of Strasbourg, there was a repository of skulls whose origins went back to the seventeenth century. He considered his project urgent, not least because the Jews were a 'dying breed'.[76]

The connection between violence and racial science could not be formulated more cynically. It was constitutive for all areas of scientific racism. There never was a non-racist racial science. Even its most liberal representatives took part in the hierarchical order of humanity and researched material from the colonial periphery.[77] This was done neither without disregard for cultural customs nor without violence and concern. Again and again, it reached as far as armed actions and genocidal massacres. Two years before Amalie Dietrich arrived in Queensland, a commander of the Native Police declared: "blacks […] only understand brute force".[78] The victims of such violence became the subject of anthropological interest.[79] This shows to the extreme that the category of 'collecting' in the context of racial anthropology is euphemistic, disguising, and trivializing.

The same holds also true of Amalie Dietrich's 'collecting' and 'gathering': it was *Leichenschändung* (literally: disgracing, humiliating corpses). In contrast to the English term 'desecration of corpses', which imparts the act a religious aura and understands it as a profanation, the German word refers to a social process and thus points out that even the dead can be dehumanized and posthumously robbed of their dignity.[80]

'A Real Woman': Amalie Dietrich in the Federal Republic of Germany

Many German racial scientists were able to continue their careers after 1945 without any restrictions. Among them were Egon von Eickstedt and his student Ilse Schwidetzky. Both had also pursued 'applied' research during fascism. It included racial studies that could decide on life and death. This did not prevent

75 Cf. Michael Burleigh, Wolfgang Wippermann, The Racial State.
76 Cf. Hans-Joachim Lang, Die Namen der Nummern, pp. 120 ff. and 210 ff.
77 Cf. Wulf D. Hund, Negative Vergesellschaftung.
78 Quoted from Noel Loos, Invasion and Resistance, p. 27.
79 Cf. Peter McAllister, Shawn C. Rowlands, Michael C. Westaway, The Blood and the Bone; Paul Turnbull, Anthropological Collecting and Colonial Violence in Colonial Queensland.
80 Cf. Wulf D. Hund, Die Körper der Bilder der Rassen.

the scientific community of the early Federal Republic of Germany from continuing to employ them prominently. Schwidetzky passed such knowledge to a circle of students. Among them was Rainer Knußmann, who became professor of human biology and director of the Anthropological Institute of the University of Hamburg.[81]

In his textbook, widely distributed by a renowned scientific publishing house, he wrote about the "Australids" that they were "the most theriomorphic recent group of people", meaning "closer to the animal primates". This dehumanization was further specified by the description of physical characteristics. It also included the attribution of a "relatively frequent splayed big toe" – which actually is considered a characteristic of ape primates. In humans it would only appear as "atavism": "especially in Australids" the splayed big toe "would make the foot almost a 'grabber foot'".[82]

Under such conditions, it was impossible to critically analyse Amalie Dietrich's contribution to anthropology. The memoirs of her daughter were published without any change. She, herself, also received public recognition. In the 1960s, a hall of residence for female students in Hamburg, sponsored by the Deutscher Akademikerinnen-Bund (German Association of Women Academics), was called 'Amalie-Dietrich-Haus' and a street, the 'Amalie-Dietrich-Stieg', was named after her.[83]

The honours expressed the implementation of a positive image of the researcher Dietrich, who could also serve as a female model. This included ambivalent elements associated with it. The role of women embodied by her was still characterized, as a book for young people stated in 1951, by the "outrageous step" of "sacrificing her domesticity to research". Her stay in Australia was seen as an indication of a "decidedly masculine and adventurous life". This was immediately smoothed out by the author, who assured that she would have remained "a simple, quiet and modest, a real woman" until the end of her life.[84]

Her 'collecting' was mainly focussed on plants. Concerning living creatures, the author let her explain: "I […] often have a heavy heart when I have to go after the lives of harmless animals. But it fulfils scientific purposes and is now part of my task". Whereas the 'collecting' here does not extend to human remains, this connection was explicitly emphasized by Gertrud Enderlein. Her fictitious treatment of Dietrich's research presented her in the already well-established tradition as a collector. Amalie Dietrich's portrayal was punctuated by the cover illustration of the book (see fig. 5), showing her with her handcart.

The text connects the 'collection' of plants, animals, and human remains because Dietrich would have been convinced that the spectator at home could only get "a proper perspective of the unknown part of the earth" if its flowers and animals are provided with their "ethnographically important surroundings".

81 Cf. Andreas Lüddecke, Rassen, Schädel und Gelehrte; AG gegen Rassenkunde, ed., Deine Knochen – Deine Wirklichkeit.

82 Rainer Knußmann, Lehrbuch der Anthropologie und Humangenetik, pp. 354, 326 ('theromorph'), 355 ('big toe'); 245 ('grabber foot').

83 Cf. Bärbel Maul, Akademikerinnen in der Nachkriegszeit, p. 114; Brita Reimers, Amalie-Dietrich-Stieg, pp. 14-17. For Dietrich in the context of colonial places of memory, see Stefanie Affeldt, "Kein Mensch setzt meinem Sammeleifer Schranken".

84 Renate Goedecke, Als Forscherin nach Australien, p. 125.

Fig. 5 – 'Collecting with a soft shiver of reverence'

The "piece of the life of the inhabitants" was thus made a real necessity of her gathering activities. Almost inevitably, she "had finally even returned to the light twelve Papua skeletons which had long been entrusted to the earth" – "with a soft shiver of reverence", contemplating whether she would "intervene in a sacred order", just as "during the killing of the first beautiful butterfly".[85]

More than ten years later, at the end of the 1960s, things had not changed. A compilation of biographies on 'Germans among other peoples' comprised a volume on 'Servants of an Idea'. Among the seventeen biographies collected there, Amalie Dietrich is the only woman – because, as the editor assures, she "remained so faithful to her idea that her idealism achieved what men's courage did not dare to do", namely "to master the dangers of the desert continent" with an energy to which "even the cannibals capitulated". Nevertheless, the chapter on Dietrich is the only one that does not have its own author but is a compilation of extracts from the book of her daughter. Here then, her letter reporting the procurement of "skeletons of the natives" is reproduced.[86]

Even in the context of the new women's movement, the appreciation of Dietrich's life did not find unclouded expression. This was also true when it originated from socialist Germany and was reflected in a publication that appeared in both East and West Germany at short intervals, such as Renate Feyl's literary and biographical vignettes on 'Women in Science'. Among them is a contribution on Amalie Dietrich. She "gladly accepts poverty", it says there, "provided that she does not have to give up her botanical interest". In its pursuit, she finds "fulfilment and meaning of life". This goes hand in hand with "obsession", which lets her fearlessly make long journeys in search of plants. She becomes a "plant collecting egocentric", a "science fanatic" setting off for Australia as an esteemed botanist. There, "her attention" is not only directed to plants but also "to anthropological and ethnographic objects" – and here, too, what should apply is what distinguishes her as a whole: "She collects, collects and collects".[87]

This biographical narrative has indeed overcome the chauvinistic tone with which, long before Amalie Dietrich set off for Australia, Thomas Carlyle had assured that "[t]he History of the world is but the Biography of great men" and with which, after her return, Heinrich von Treitschke was still certain that "men

85 Gertrud Enderlein, Die Frau aus Siebenlehn (1955), p. 124.

86 Kurt Schleucher, Deutsche unter anderen Völkern; the editor's introduction is on pp. 7-13 with the characterization of Dietrich on p. 12; the chapter on Dietrich is titled 'Die Eine-Frau-Expedition. Amalie Dietrich' (closely following Charitas Bischoff's book), ibid, pp. 172-214, the quote concerning the skeletons can be found on p. 203.

87 Renate Feyl, Der lautlose Aufbruch. Frauen in der Wissenschaft. Frankfurt: Luchterhand Literaturverlag 1989 (3rd ed.; 1st ed. Berlin (DDR): Verlag Neues Leben 1981; licensed ed. for Western Germany Neuwied [et al.]: Luchterhand 1983), pp. 103 ('interest', 'fulfilment'), 104 ('obsession'), 107 ('egocentric', 'science fanatic'), 114 ('objects', 'collects').

make history".[88] But the development of social and cultural historiography is ignored, and Dietrich's life is made into a puzzle of traditional biography. Like the 'great men' in the past, a woman now moves along a path determined by her character, follows her immanent 'collecting zeal' into the most distant regions of the world, and eventually extends it to human remains.

Although their unethical acquisition is well known, they are reified into 'anthropological objects'. Thus, access to critical reflection on Dietrich's activities is obstructed, and these become a legitimate part of scientific curiosity. Moreover, the basic rules of biographical historiography are disregarded. In this case, this simply concerns "the rule of entirety: Heidegger did join the Nazi party, Heisenberg did work on the German bomb, Wittgenstein did beat and slap his mathematics pupils in his brief stint as a school teacher"[89] – and Dietrich did defile human remains.

'Valuable Skeletons in Danger': Amalie Dietrich in the German Democratic Republic

It should not surprise that Amalie Dietrich was also honoured in the German Democratic Republic. Firstly, she came from Saxony; secondly, she originated from a simple background; and thirdly, she was a role model for energetic women. All this had found its expression in a poem of the famous writer Wulf Kirsten. He celebrated Dietrich as the "Beutlermädchen" (literally: purse maker girl) and praised the never-ending energy in her enthusiasm for plant collecting. Being of a lower social descent, for him, she was "gesegnet mit dem Privileg der Armut" (blessed with the privilege of poverty). She did not resign in her discriminated social position but followed her passion and developed her skills and knowledge. By doing so, eventually, she even acquired "Ruhm" (fame), as the poem was captioned.[90]

In this case, her celebrity status resulted solely from her plant gathering. The poet kept secret her desecration of corpses. This was not feasible, however, when a 'socialist' edition of her biography was published. Here, the author of the epilogue had to respond to Dietrich's contribution to scientific racism and solved this problem in a highly adventurous way.

First, he characterized his protagonist as the daughter of the "peasant family Dietrich" and her story as "lesson of the struggle for real humanity" and the "liberation of women under the conditions of the bourgeois society". Then, he made her an early precursor of anti-colonial attitudes. She had felt "sympathy" for the "natives" and thus defied the zeitgeist of "colonialism". But then, in an ideological faux pas, he referred to a publication of the Nazi era in which the persistence, thoroughness, and sense of order of the 'collector' Dietrich were explained simply by the sentence: "She was a German".

88 Thomas Carlyle, On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History, p. 47; Heinrich von Treitschke, Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert, p. 28.
89 Mott T. Greene, Writing Scientific Biography, pp. 730 f.
90 Wulf Kirsten, ruhm, pp. 85 f.

This praise of being German held also true for the handling of human bones. Among other things, Dietrich was said to aim for the "complete skeleton of a native". This she also "achieves" with her 'orderly' attitude.[91] Günther Wirth, graduate philosopher, party functionary of the bloc party 'Christian Democratic Union of Germany', editor and publisher of several Christian-oriented magazines in the German Democratic Republic, saw no problem in adopting this depiction without comment. Benevolence and desecration of corpses were not mutually exclusive when it came to 'natives'.

The corresponding background is an unreflective and uncritical approach to the ideological consequences of racial thinking. It developed in several variants. Among them were naturalistic concepts which denied all so-called 'coloured' races the possibility of ever reaching the level of the 'white' Europeans. But there were also historicising concepts, according to which the 'non-white' races (for various reasons) would have lagged behind the Europeans in their development. The basis of this variety of modern racism was the theory of progress established by the Enlightenment, according to which humankind would work its way up to true humanity by its own efforts in certain stages. It was in this way that the 'white race' made the greatest progress.

The 'coloured' races, by contrast, were compared to children. With Hegel and Schiller, this took on philosophical and literary form. The one did not consider 'Africa' to be a "historical part of the world" and its inhabitants a "children's nation", the other saw non-European peoples "camped around us […] like children".[92] This view was to prevail and further define the benevolent side of European racism, which did not aim at complete dehumanisation.

Amalie Dietrich, a few decades later, simply described the indigenous people of Australia as "uneducated children".[93] This remark is found in the same section of the very letter in which her biography documented that she had disregarded the remembrance of the dead, disturbed their rest, and desecrated their corpses.

However, the vignette with the skulls is missing from the edition published in the German Democratic Republic. This does not mean that in socialist Germany no image of this part of Dietrich's 'research' was created. Quite to the contrary: The narration was dramatically illustrated and published for young readers as a picture story in the 'Trommel' (drum), the weekly magazine for the 'Thälmann pioneers' published by the central council of the 'Freie Deutsche Jugend' (Free German Youth).

In reading it, the pioneers learned that natural research cannot be done alone. In this case two young 'natives' act as assistants, who are assigned to Dietrich by a 'chief', but in the end, only she receives the awards for her 'collections', here two gold medals from the 'Deutscher Naturforscherverband'. A part of her 'collecting

91 Günther Wirth's epilogue in the 1980 copy of Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich, pp. 312 ('peasant family'), 307 ('humanity', 'liberation'), 322 ('sympathy', 'skeleton'); Wirth took the last information from an article on Dietrich by Enderlein in the Dresdener Neuesten Nachrichten in 1935 – moreover, it is her 1937 biographical sketch 'Die Naturforscherin Amalie Dietrich' (p. 166), where the praise of Germanness can be found. For Wirth, see Helmut Müller-Enbergs, et al., eds., Wer war wer in der DDR, s. v. 'Wirth, Günther'.

92 For the historical and ideological background as well as for the quotes, see Wulf D. Hund, Wie die Deutschen weiß wurden, pp. 79-96, 87 ('Hegel'), 89 ('Schiller').

93 Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich, p. 389

work', she prefers to do alone and secretly anyway. It is connected with desecration of corpses and not free of risk because human remains are subject to the remembrance of the 'natives' and rest in "shrines" in which the deceased were buried. Obviously, "skulls and skeletons" may be secretly stolen when a "famous doctor and physiologist" "needs" them to take "skull measurements" (see fig. 6).[94]

This version of the 'black legend' was probably the most widely circulated – because the 'Trommel' as the journalistic organ of a mass organisation was used

Fig. 6 – 'The valuable skeletons are in danger'

in some places as teaching material and reached a circulation of up to one million copies.[95] It conveyed the positive image of a heroine who came to the honoured rank of a researcher from humble circumstances. The fact that the secret theft and removal of human remains was declared to be one of the venerated achievements did not detract from her positive image. The caption left no doubt about this. The "natives" were not allowed to see anything of the action, because then the "valuable skeletons" would be in "danger" – "valuable" for researchers in Germany, in "danger" because the "natives" would never have given them away voluntarily.

Still, in the mid-1960s, and in an ideological environment that continued to be in line with socialist principles, Amalie Dietrich was seen as the emancipated 'plant hunter' who had made it by her own efforts to scientific recognition. Here, too, the awareness of the extension of her activities to the procurement of human remains lay within the knowledge horizon of those who shaped and disseminated Dietrich's image. This did not shake the portrayal of her as an integer natural scientist. Seemingly, the acquisition of the bones of deceased 'natives' was still considered a legitimate part of her engagement.

94 The texts underneath the images read (from left to right): "Here is the spot she is looking for: spookily, the beam of her lantern flits over skulls and skeletons. In coffin-like shrines, they rest in the branches"; "These are wonderful finds: the famous doctor and physiologist Virchow needs them for skull measurements. Suddenly Amalie winces: Voices are approaching!"; "'The natives are dancing in the forest! They must not find me!' Amalie plunges into the thicket, strays from the path. The valuable skeletons are in danger".

95 Cf. the contributions by Klaus Pecher and Susanne Lost in Christoph Lüth, Klaus Pecher, eds., Kinderzeitschriften in der DDR, pp. 12 ff., and 152 ff.

The failure of critical thinking in this context may come as a surprise. Already the Third International had taken up the fight against colonialism – and included it in their programme, in which the old parole from the 'Communist Manifesto' was expanded to the slogan: "Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!"[96] After the defeat of fascism, this political perspective also became effective in the German Democratic Republic. In the second half of the 1970s, when the book about Dietrich was published, this had intensified in the context of systemic competition. Like other socialist states, the German Democratic Republic pursued an offensive policy of 'socialist economic aid'.[97]

Additionally, historical scholarship in socialist Germany commenced to critically investigate the colonial policy of imperialist Germany much earlier than the colleagues in the West. In this context, a study on colonial policy in Namibia was published in the mid-1960s and received international recognition. It assessed the persecution of the Nama to be a crime and characterized it as a genocide.[98] The colonialism discussed here was analysed (quite rightly) as the politics of capitalist monopolies and an imperialist state.[99]

From this perspective, the racists were (only) the others. In their own country, the "fascist racial barbarism" had been overcome, and they were on the right side in the struggle "against apartheid, racism and colonialism".[100] Such statements were not put into a broader context of racism analysis. In fact, no theory of racism at all developed in the German Democratic Republic. Though, admittedly, there were some initial approaches to this,[101] they were not enhanced and neither historically nor sociologically processed.

This also applied to the science of anthropology. Its representatives did not attempt to trace the recent racist past back to its origins and subject it to general criticism. Rather, race theory was continued in a widespread textbook, while the subject of racism remained untreated. Given the author, this was not surprising. He had learned his scientific tools from Nazi racial researchers during fascism.[102]

96 Cf. John Riddell, Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!.
97 Cf. Ulrich van der Heyden, GDR Development Policy in Africa.
98 Cf. Horst Drechsler, Südafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. Eventually, the study was translated into English – see Horst Drechsler, Let Us Die Fighting; one of the chapters has the heading 'The Battle in the Waterberg: The Genocide of the Herero' (pp. 154 ff.).
99 Cf. Manfred Nussbaum, Vom "Kolonialenthusiasmus" zur Kolonialpolitik der Monopole.
100 Gegen Rassismus, Apartheid und Kolonialismus, p. 702.
101 Cf. Stefan Heymann, Marxismus und Rassenfrage; Siegbert Kahn, Antisemitismus und Rassenhetze.
102 Cf. Hans Grimm, Einführung in die Anthropologie, pp. 64 f.; for the author, see Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung, Grimm, Johannes (Hans), and Holle Greil, Ingrid Wustmann, In memoriam Hans Grimm – this obituary does not contain a single critical word about Grimm's education during the Nazi period; quite the contrary, it praises the deceased for his adherence to the esteem of his superior: "After completing his doctorate […] Hans Grimm took up his first assistant position at the Anthropological Institute, which was headed by E. v. Eickstedt. It is characteristic for him that, contrary to the later spirit of the age, he never denied his respect for v. Eickstedt's scientific work" (p. 164); Eickstedt was one of the leading racial scientists of the Nazi period (and his disciples and grant-disciples, like Schwidetzky and Knußmann also made careers in West Germany – see above, f.n. 81), the 'later spirit of the age' was the criticism of his research (cf. Andreas Lüddecke, Rassen, Schädel und Gelehrte).

'White Grandmother' and 'Angel of Black Death': Amalie Dietrich in Unified Germany

In addition to her biography, there were other 'all-German' texts on Amalie Dietrich before 1989. Of them, Renate Feyl's 'Women in Science' outright omits the problem of scientific desecration of corpses. It appears only indirectly in one sentence: "Rudolf Virchow wants to evaluate the anthropological material she has collected".[103] Such handling of the topic of scientific body theft is no less problematic than its journalistic scandalization. The violent colonial background of Dietrich's contribution to scientific racism escapes the attention directed towards the emancipatory dimension of the life of an extraordinary woman. The human remains stolen by her are transformed into mere 'anthropological material'.

At the beginning of the 1990s, at a time when issues of repatriation and restitution of indigenous human remains are already problematized, and to some extent successfully negotiated, in Northern America and Australia, the German discourse on Dietrich's treatment of human remains was divided. On the one hand, it was explicitly addressed and even reached the German-speaking readership in Australia.[104] On the other hand, the anthropological dimension of Dietrich's 'collecting' was concealed.

Ilse Jahn (from the former German Democratic Republic) refrained from discussing the topic altogether. She quoted one of Dietrich's alleged letters to her daughter, telling her about all the "natural wonders". However, Jahn very clumsily chose to erase from the records six words important in this context: "whether it is inconspicuous mosses, slugs, spiders and millipedes or tools … all, all serve to connect me with my old home". But whose 'tools'? The very telling ellipsis held the truth – the Rockhampton letter from April 1864 stated that, besides the floral and faunal specimen, "tools, skulls and skeletons of the natives, all, all serve to connect me with my old home".[105] While Jahn lauded Dietrich's curiosity that caused her to "expand her areas of interest to anthropology and ethnology", her problematic contribution to these fields were obliterated.[106]

Not any better was an audio collage dealing with the problem of anthropological body snatching. In the radio play 'The Collector', Amalie Dietrich, framed by a 'Song of the Earth', is seen by the 'natives' as a 'white grandmother from the Dreamtime'. Her journey takes her "into the nurseries of humanity", where she also pursues her anthropological activities. This part of the audio collage is contested by various voices. They mention "freshly cut heads" and "cut off hands or feet"; an old man tells of "Pemulwuy's head" and Dietrich of "13 skeletons" which she intends to send to Hamburg. The broadcasting station profanely announced: "She will pack skeletons and skulls of aboriginal people in boxes, preserve them in barrels and jars and send them across the sea from Australia to Germany".[107]

103 Renate Feyl, Der lautlose Aufbruch, p. 116.
104 Cf. Henriette Treplin, "…schicke nun dreizehn Skelette und mehrere Schädel nach Hamburg".
105 Charitas Bischoff, Amalie Dietrich, p. 281.
106 Ilse Jahn, Amalie Dietrich, pp. 121 ('natural wonders' etc.), 122 ('anthropology').
107 Cf. Ursula Weck, Die Sammlerin.

In a novel by Annette Dutton, a German-born, Australia-based journalist, reference is made to the narrative of the "Angel of Black Death" as "lacking any foundation".[108] It is explained that this is a rumour that has never been attributed to a man. In the fictitious narration of the novel, an Indigenous Australian absolves Dietrich from these allegations by stating: "She didn't do it. It was the man who worked for her". This is part of the novel's lengthy and tangled historical fabrication of the procurement of human remains. "[F]rom time to time, Amalie found single human bones or skulls in abandoned settlements of the blacks" – but this is not sufficient for Godeffroy's anthropological desires. He asks her to send "complete skeletons", "the more the better, but as soon as possible at least eight, also those of children". In a dedicated chapter, Dutton describes how Dietrich is unwilling or incapable of accomplishing such a "dark task". It is a completely invented (rather misogynist) employee of Virchow who sets out to acquire the skeleton of a child with the help of a cooperative indigenous farm servant.

Obviously, Amalie Dietrich was meant to be kept out of the controversy about human remains. But the debates surrounding their repatriation reached even ordinary German households, when, in March 2011, a documentary film took up the question of German involvement in the European 'bone trade'.[109] Its scientific advisor simultaneously published an article in the magazine 'Geo'.[110] Both publications dealt with the question of origins, colonial context, and future of human remains in German museums and institutions; both have in common that Amalie Dietrich, and in particular her acquisition of the skeletons, is the scandalizing hook of this topic.

Just as the Geo's version was richly illustrated with sensationalist imagery (amongst other things, the ominous skin and the skeletons), the expert interviews of the film were intercut with historical materials and re-enacted sequences. The heart of the documentary is the dealing with 'murder in the name of science' and the violent relations between Indigenous Australians and Europeans. It is a real textbook example of the mise-en-scène of a suspicion.

The initial setting is solely populated by men – known scientists in Germany and Australia and anonymous "strange men living on death" providing them with human remains from Australia. The dramaturgy is geared to this scandal and promises to present "evidence which calls the culprits by name". For this purpose, it sends an actress to the Queensland outback and refers to her as Amalie Dietrich. At first, she is shown dragging her hand cart through the bush, fiddling around in her cabin, looking through the microscope, feeding caged animals, and preparing plants. Then comes the watershed moment: a faded-in letter by Godeffroy asks her to collect skeletons and skulls.

Despite the admission that no reconstruction of the actual events was possible, the documentary then showcases an inculpatory chain of evidence. A descendant of the station owner who originally had accused Dietrich of asking him "to

108 For the following quotes, see Annette Dutton, Das Geheimnis jenes Tages, pp. 377 ('Angel', 'foundation'), 38 (rumour), 361 ('man'), 302 ('eight'), 311 ('dark task'), 310.

109 See Jens Monath, Heike Schmidt, Terra X: Mordakte Museum. In its online media library, the ZDF since added the subtitle 'Leichen im Museumskeller' (corpses in the museum cellar).

110 See Matthias Glaubrecht, Der Beutezug.

kill an Aborigine for her" is interviewed surrounded by family documents in his home. His allegation is "recorded" and, hence, certified. Afterwards, the Dietrich actress is depicted lurking in the shade of trees, spying on Indigenous Australians, and stealing their bones in the twilight of the Australian bush. This is referred to as "ruthless" and taken as evidence that she, because of that, could also have asked for or even commissioned murder. Employing a mixture of facts, fiction, and insinuation, the documentary has solved its self-imposed task, i.e. to name the offenders at the anthropological frontier. Their name is 'Amalie Dietrich'.

The television documentary and its printed complement not only caused a scandal but also had practical consequences. One of them was a street denunciation. Alarmed by the film, a city council found itself confronted with a street named after Dietrich. It was clear that the murder accusations were a rumour. However, the press posing the question "Street named after 'Angel of Death'?" was reason enough for a decision. A city councilwoman from the Green Party declared: "It's enough that now there's a bruit to it. We do not need that." The street was renamed.[111]

Since then, the rumour turned possible truth and was inexorably propagated. "Was Amalie Dietrich really 'just' a tomb raider", asked a tabloid under the headline "The Angel of Death of the Aborigines" (see fig. 7).[112] Its double-page layout with a stamp-sized Amalie Dietrich and a page-sized representative of those negatively affected by her 'collecting' activities seems like an identity parade.[113] She is depicted as an explorer who "advanced to areas that before hardly a white had seen" and diligently fulfilled her employer's

Fig. 7 – 'The Angel of Death of the Aborigines'

111 Cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 March 2011 (Fragwürdige Namenspatronin); Münchner Merkur, 23 February 2011 (Straße nach "Todesengel" benannt?); Münchner Merkur, 30 March 2011 (Aus der Amalie-Dietrich- wird die Linden-Straße). That the former 'Amalie-Dietrich-Straße' was renamed after the linden – a tree that was not only the centre of German village fairs and the location of romances but also oftentimes shaded the graves of beloved deceased – seems only appropriate; for the role of the linden in German literature, see Uwe Hentschel, Der Lindenbaum in der deutschen Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.

112 Hamburger Morgenpost, 29 September 2018, p. 15 (Der Todesengel der Aborigines).

113 As colonialism and its symbolic violence goes, this very photo that serves as a 'generic' Indigenous Australian depicts Jungun, a Western Australian man from Broome who was taken from his land in 1890 to be exhibited to the public in Melbourne. Neither the date nor the location is connected to Amalie Dietrich. However, the photo comes from the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum that also held photos taken by Dietrich. More importantly, this museum joined the 'Returning Photos Project' and restituted numerous photographs of Indigenous Australians from European collections to their cultural groups. This is one of them. See University of Western Australia, Returning Photos.

requirements – skeletons and skulls of the local inhabitants included. The article culminates in the historical accusation of murder and notes: "It will not be possible to clarify whether this is the truth or merely a legend". But in its caption, the article judges: when in doubt, against the accused.

A Political Economy of Human Remains: Discursive Polyphony or Critical Analysis of Anthropologic Grave Robbery?

Sumner ends her book with the sentence: "for Amalie Dietrich, nothing exists outside the representation".[114] For her activity as a 'collector' of bones and skulls, this is only partly true. 'Acquired' in the context of the colonial policy of the empire, they were destroyed in the wake of the fascist policy of aggression. Nevertheless, the evidence of their actuality proves beyond doubt that they did exist. The history of their evaluation in the various stages of German history alone shows that for the longest time they were considered exhibits of a legitimate scientific interest whose inhumane context of acquisition was justified by its noble aims.

At no time did the participants assume that their actions were without flaw. While they desecrated the corpses, they knew that the relatives and descendants of the deceased had ceremonially buried the dead and ritually remembered them. They deliberately violated moral rules that were well known to them and called their actions "sacrilege".[115] It was embedded in colonial violent relationships. This was clear to both the responsible people in power and the scientific consumers of human remains in the metropolis.

A decade after Amalie Dietrich returned from Australia, the British High Commissioner reported to the Prime Minister: "The habit of regarding natives as vermin, to be cleared off the face of the earth, has given to the average Queenslander a tone of brutality and cruelty". Even "men of culture and refinement", he added, talk "of the individual murder of natives, exactly as if they would talk of a day's sport, or of having to kill some troublesome animal".[116]

Rudolf Virchow showed a keen interest in the skeletons Dietrich sent. Only two years after her return to Hamburg, Virchow put the connection between colonial violence and anthropological research on paper in no uncertain terms. He formulated a detailed programme for "collecting" and "observing". The latter was to refer "best" to the "naked body" in terms of physical features, taking into account "the purity of race" and the "dark tribes" that could "lay claim to Aboriginality". The former should primarily consider "bones, hair, and skin", paying particular attention to "skulls" and increasing the "number of good skeletons". It was suggested that "in European colonies and ordered states" hospitals and prisons as well as in other areas "safe burial grounds" should be sought out and "severed hands or feet" or even "skin" should be collected on battlefields, at public executions, or in hospitals and prisons, which would be of "great interest

114 Ray Sumner, A Woman in the Wilderness, p. 97.
115 Helen MacDonald, Possessing the Dead, pp. 214 f.
116 Quoted from Raymond Evans, Fighting Words, p. 38 (in the quote, 'INDIVIDUAL' is written in capitals).

especially in the case of coloured races".[117] As a photograph shows (fig. 8) these instructions were markedly successful. Virchow is positioned in his cabinet of bones (like Blumenbach must already have figured on his 'Calvary').

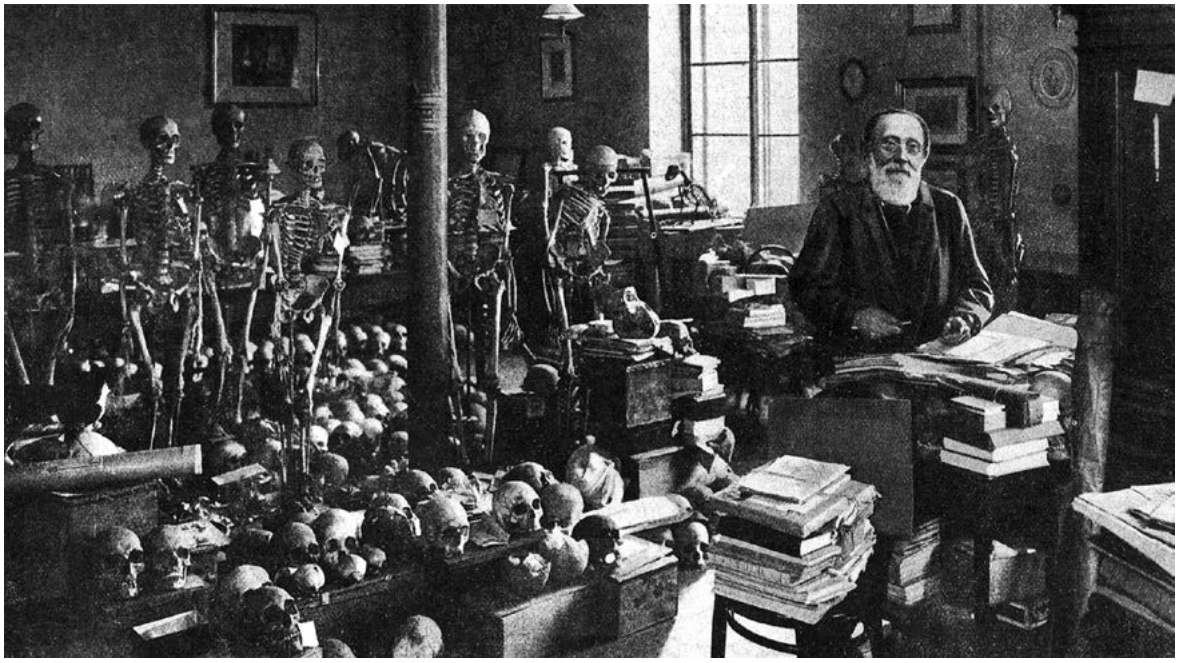

Fig. 8 – Anthropological racism: Rudolf Virchow and his 'bone collection'

Violence is inscribed in these references several times. In the case of 'safe gravesites', it is not a question of undisturbed rest for the dead but concerns the safety of the grave robbers. Occasionally, they did indeed come into danger, as the report of a Swiss botanist on a body theft in former German southwest Africa shows. He had to flee, leaving behind parts of his prey. At home, he was celebrated nevertheless. In May 1887, the 'Neue Zürcher Zeitung' characterized him as a "martyr of science, […] who in the interest of his skeleton collection even guilted himself of desecration of graves".[118] The adventurous semantics made it clear that his contemporaries were aware of the 'guilt' associated with such actions. Those who had accepted responsibility for it were nevertheless declared 'martyrs' who were prepared to disregard moral commandments because they believed in science.

Whether this also included disregarding the Fifth Commandment is disputed. But there is at least evidence that the scientists involved were unsure whether their excessive demand for human body parts was not satisfied in a murderous way. In 1905, Felix von Luschan, at that time professor of physical anthropology and head of the Africa-Oceania department at the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, during a trip to South Africa, urgently requested skeletons of 'bushmen'.

117 Rudolf Virchow, Anthropologie und prähistorische Forschungen, pp. 571-590, pp. 581 ('collecting', 'observing'), 584 ('naked body', 'purity of race', 'dark tribes'), 581 ff. ('bones, hair, skin' etc.).

118 Quoted in Dag Henrichsen, Die 'Skelettaffäre' und andere 'Geheimnisse', p. 126.

He then wrote in a letter that he would not be surprised if some of them died soon without having been ill.[119]

There exist reports from Australia that are even more drastic. Whether or not they are true in individual cases is not, however, the decisive question for the important connection between colonialism, anthropology, and violence. This complex cannot be resolved by individual scandalization. Paul Turnbull, therefore, rightly places the scientific desecration of corpses in the fundamental context of 'museum collecting and frontier violence'.[120]

In nineteenth-century Australia, violence against the indigenous population was part of everyday life.[121] The political economy of the settler society included expropriation, expulsion, resettlement, forced labour, deculturation, and desocialization. All these elements were associated with coercion and physical violence, which also repeatedly led to massacres.

The "political economy of bone collecting"[122] was embedded in these conditions and shaped by them. This becomes emphatically clear in the example of Charles de Vis, who had come to Queensland at the time when Amalie Dietrich was also staying there. In England, he had been deacon, rector of the Anglican Church, and museum curator and had become a member of the 'Anthropological Society'. In Australia, he soon served as curator (and later director) of the Queensland Museum.[123] There, he heard from a local physician, "that he could supply 'any amount of skulls & bones from the place where a massacre took place'" and immediately asked that as many human remains as possible be sent to him.[124]

Last but not least, the brutal actions of the 'Native Police' contributed to the fact that science was provided with the coveted human remains. Their commanding officers of European descent frequently combined their often deadly missions with a side-line as bone gatherers. Both occupations were de facto entwined but strictly separated morally and, above all, legally. The collected bones of Indigenous Australians were thought to come from dead people who had not been murdered for anthropological exploitation but had been killed in punitive and retaliatory actions. Their killing was covered by the cloak of justice, and the subsequent desecration of their corpses was passed off as a service to science.

Amalie Dietrich did her 'collecting' in this climate of open violence and racist disregard. Only two years before her arrival in Queensland, the 'Brisbane Courier' had printed a letter from a squatter who called for "the duty of government […] to abolish the absurd and false law which makes it murder to kill a wild beast" and added that "we are at war with the blacks, and all means of killing them are lawful". The writer was convinced that "[t]he very lives" of Indigenous

119 Cf. Andrew Zimmerman, Adventures in the Skin Trade, pp. 170 f.
120 Cf. Paul Turnbull, Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia, pp. 285 ff.; regarding the sources on targeted killings and their assessment, see ibid., pp. 279 ff.
121 Cf. the chapters on Australia in Lynette Russell, Colonial Frontiers and Patrick Wolfe, Traces of History.
122 Helen MacDonald, Human Remains, p. 108.
123 Cf. Lionel A. Gilbert, de Vis, Charles Walter (1829-1915).
124 Quoted from Paul Turnbull, Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia, p. 287; for the following, cf. ibid., pp. 288 ff. Concerning the 'Native Police' see chapter 3 of Raymond Evans, "The Nigger Shall Disappear…", pp. 55-66.

Australians "are unlawful" and that "all traces of an hostile, barbarous, and useless set of beings must be swept away by the torrent of Christian civilisation".[125]

Dietrich stayed exactly in this border zone that was marked by the violence of the white frontier society and in which even moral rules of humanity were doubted. She also defied these rules when she took possession of the mortal remains of Indigenous Australians. This was done consciously, and it was clear to her that there was both scientific and economic demand for it. She was part of a political economy of body-snatching, in which human remains were exchanged for money and reputation, and the resting place of those affected played just as little a role as the remembrance of their death by those surviving. The centre of this economy was accumulation; its results were no mere 'collections' but veritable banks of bones, skulls, skins, hairs, tissue, and other human components. They were not 'collected' but appropriated. The violent nature of this connection was unmistakable and marked all its components. A differentiation between crimes committed by individuals and the mere scientific ambitions of anthropologists would, therefore, be apologetic. The 'murder story' connected to Amalie Dietrich's stay in Australia urgently needs critical reappraisal and classification. But this cannot consist in taking justified doubts about directly murderous acts as a reason to separate her activities from the injustice of frontier violence. It is certainly not acceptable to set off the small number of human remains against the enormous quantity of plants and animals that she sent to Hamburg.

This is also a topic that needs to be critically analysed. Sumner writes about the natural scientist Dietrich that her collection "represents an enormous contribution to the knowledge of Australian plants, reptiles, birds, bryophytes (mosses and related plants), spiders, and insects".[126] Given the discussion about "'linguistic imperialism', a politics of naming that accompanied and promoted European global expansion and colonization", this is a one-dimensional characterization.[127] Even as a plant collector, Amalie Dietrich did not pursue an innocent profession in Australia. This circumstance has occasionally been intoned. In an opera that melodizes the 'Letters of Amalie Dietrich', she is not only interested in nature but also in her personal fame and sings: "With every shipment my reputation grows – | they have named two new species after me!"[128]

What remains to be done, then? Amalie Dietrich was 'blessed with the privilege of poverty', as the poet praises her social background and modest life. Her "independent stand reflects a radical feminism of its own", as the predominant part of the scientific discourse assures.[129] But in the interplay of the 'big three' of social discrimination – class, gender, and race[130] – Dietrich was situated on different sides: degraded by classism and sexism but upgraded by racism.

This, by the way, is the 'normal condition' of racist societalization. It allows a sense of social affiliation and even admits access to a feeling of superiority for

125 The Courier (Brisbane), 19 November 1861, pp. 2 f. (Killing no murder); cf. Raymond Evans, Genocide in Northern Australia, 1824-1928.
126 Ray Sumner, The Demonisation of Amalie Dietrich, p. 2.
127 Londa Schiebinger, Plants and Empire, p. 195.
128 Ralph Middenway (music), Andrew Taylor (libretto), The Letters of Amalie Dietrich.
129 Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie, Marital Collaboration, p. 108.
130 Cf. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Other.

all those whose social position is marked by inequality, disadvantage, and exclusion.[131] In the same year, when her daughter published Dietrich's biography and letters, this was phrased by the black American scholar W. E. Burghardt Du Bois (who, some years before, had stayed and studied in the German 'Kaiserreich').[132] He addressed the "hegemony of the white races" that made even "the slums of white society in all cases and under all circumstances the superior of any colored group" and legitimated "the right of white men of any kind to club blacks into submission".[133]

While Dietrich fought her way through the barriers of social relations, at least she had the advantage of being white in the wilderness of Queensland, and she did not reject the expectations attached to this status. Just as she disregarded the established boundaries of womanhood, she participated in white supremacy by dealing with the human remains of Indigenous Australians – which, in the final account of her journey to Australia, represented a part of her fame.

Her image has many facets. Among them is her contribution to anthropological racism by violating the culture and rites of Indigenous Australians. This does not obliterate her achievements as a plant collector. But a critical analysis of her activities has to deal with the fact, that and how she could integrate dehumanizing practices in an endeavour viewed by her and her contemporaries as 'collecting'. An investigation into the connection between scientific scrupulosity and racist unscrupulousness in the activities of Amalie Dietrich is clearly a desideratum.

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131 Cf. Wulf D. Hund, Negative Societalisation.
132 Cf. Kenneth Barkin, W. E. B. Du Bois' Love Affair with Imperial Germany.
133 W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Evolution of the Race Problem, pp. 153 f.

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Bush Fires and the Spanish Flu in Australia

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Australian Bushfires

Current trends, causes, and social-ecological impacts

Abstract: Bushfires are common events in Australia reaching their peak each summer season. However, the last bushfire season from July 2019 until March 2020 was unprecedented. An estimated area between 240,000 up to 400,000 km² burned, with the southeast coast being particularly affected. The images of burnt flora and fauna and the fires that raged for months went around the world. It became clear how vulnerable both Australia's communities and ecosystems are to this natural hazard, which is becoming more frequent and intense. Australia's southeast is increasingly vulnerable against the often sudden event of bushfires. This article discusses the current trends, causes for this extreme fire season, the socio-economic and ecological impacts, and the resulting adaptation processes.

Bushfires are common natural hazards in Australia. During the warmer summer months, many Australian regions have to cope with intense and often unpredictable fires. While most communities go through the summer holidays without major disruptions, others are facing disasters that threaten their lives and properties.[1] At the same time, bushfires are an essential component of the specific ecosystems with many native plants adapted to regular fires. Tree species such as banksias and eucalyptus are resistant to fire. Their roots and seeds can survive smaller fires and are usually able sprout again very quickly. Aboriginal people have used fires as a land management tool since pre-colonial times, and fire is still intentionally used to clear land for agricultural purposes and to protect land and buildings from uncontrolled fires.

Yet, the last bushfire season, which lasted from July 2019 until March 2020, burning for 240 consecutive days, was one of the most devastating the continent has ever experienced.[2] Estimates of the total burnt area reach from 240,000 up to 400,000 km² – about two thirds or more than the size of Germany (fig. 1).[3] Thirty-four people died in the fires, and the smoke affected the health of millions of people over weeks.[4] The southeast coast was particularly affected – in New South Wales alone, an area of 55,000 km² burned, which accounts for 6.7 per cent of the state's total area. 2,476 homes were destroyed in this area.[5]

The last two decades have shown that bushfires are becoming more intense and frequent, burning throughout longer time periods and affecting larger areas – e.g., parts of Canberra burned in 2003, the fires in Victoria in 2009 and in Tasmania in 2013. Therefore, there is an increasingly urgent need to understand the causes of these fires and to develop more sustainable disaster risk reduction strategies. The following questions arise: What caused this unprecedented fire season of 2019/2020? What were the socio-economic and ecological impacts? And

1 Stewart Lockie, Sociological responses to the bushfire and climate crises, pp. 1-5.
2 New South Wales Government, Final Report of the NSW Bushfire Inquiry, p. 1.
3 Royal Commission into National Natural Disaster Arrangement, Interim observations, p. 5.
4 Stewart Lockie, Sociological responses to the bushfire and climate crises, pp. 1-5.
5 New South Wales Government, Final Report of the NSW Bushfire Inquiry, p. xxi.

what lessons can be learned to develop adaptive measures to prepare for more frequent and intense bushfires in the future?

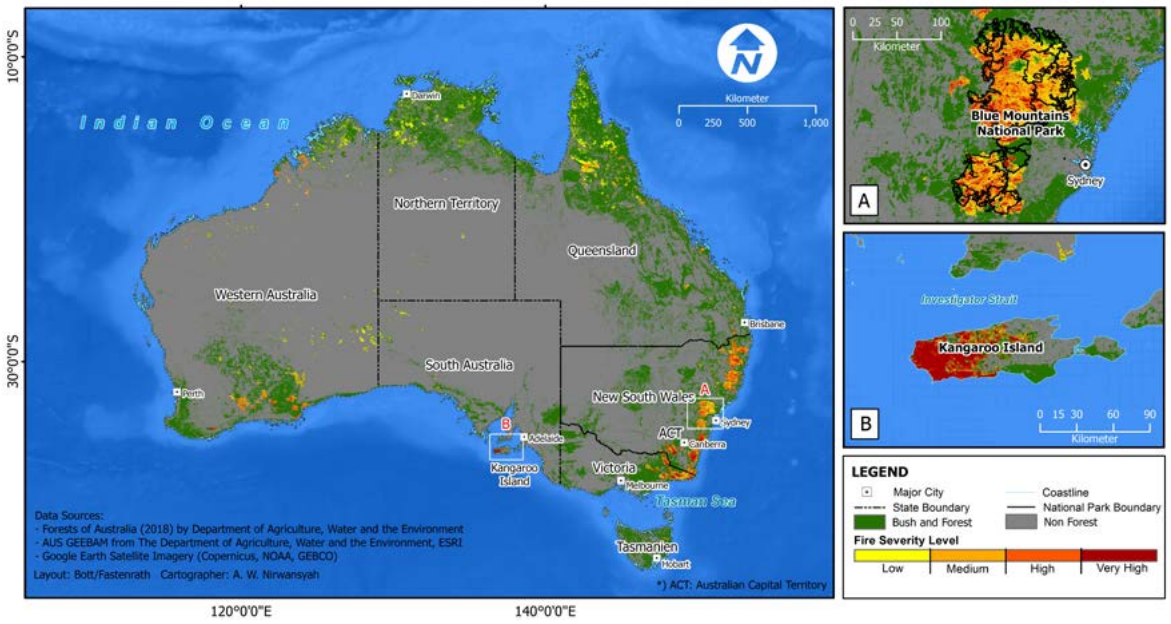

Fig. 1 – Overview of the Australian bushfires during the summer 2019/2020

Why do bushfires occur and what factors can explain the extreme bushfire season of 2019/20?

Bushfires are the result of specific weather conditions and are usually caused by lightning or human influences. The latter typically happens by accident, e.g. through the use of machinery in agriculture and forestry (e.g. a spark from a chain saw), but increasingly also through arson.[6]

Dry material on the ground, such as leaves, bark, small branches, and grass can catch fire and thus fuel major fires in forests and grasslands. The main determining factors are air temperature, humidity of air and vegetation, topography, and wind direction and speed. Most bushfires have an average speed of about 100 m/h in flat grasslands, but this speed increases in ascending terrain.[7] Usually the fires last only a few minutes, but they can also smolder for days and start burning again. The bushfire season 2019/2020 was characterized by unusually high temperatures, persistent drought, and strong winds, as analyses in the states of Queensland and New South Wales show.[8] The maximum temperatures in some areas were more than 10°C above the long-term average.[9] In addition, in some regions only 50 per cent of the usual precipitation was measured from January to August 2019, for some areas this was the driest period ever recorded.[10]

6 Janet Stanley, Alan March, James Ogloff et al., Feeling the heat.
7 Rachael Nolan, Richard Thornton, Bushfires 1. m/h = meters per hour.
8 Bureau of Meteorology, Special Climate Statement 71 – severe fire weather conditions in southeast Queensland and northeast New South Wales in September 2019.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.

As observed in the last fire season, extreme bushfires can cause cloud formations (pyrocumulonimbus), which show similarities to clouds that occur after

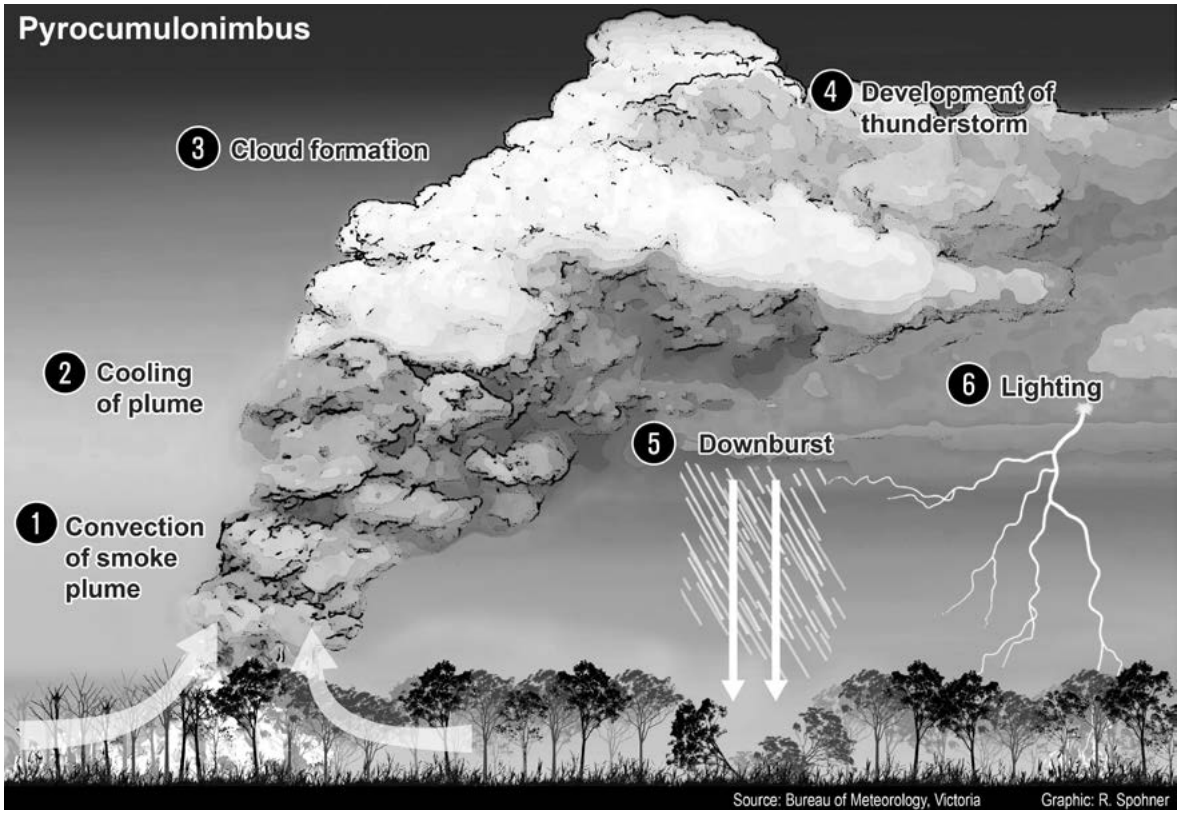

Fig. 2 – The formation of pyrocumulonimbus

volcanic eruptions (fig. 2).[11] This weather phenomenon can result in lightning, tornadoes, and firestorms, which can ignite new fires and potentially intensify already burning ones. These clouds of smoke can rise up to a height of 15 km. Satellite images from NASA show that during the last fire season smoke clouds even reached as far as New Zealand, 2000 km away.[12] It is estimated that the bushfires released 434 million tons of carbon dioxide.[13] This represents 84 per cent of Australia's annual CO^2 emissions in 2016 (approx. 519 million tons).[14]

Although the exact impact is unclear, the increasing frequency of extreme bushfires hints at a correlation with the changing climate in Australia,[15] a country whose own energy supply is 81 per cent reliant on non-renewable fossil fuels.[16] A decrease in precipitation of 61 per cent in southeast Australia has been observed

11 David Peterson, James Campbell, Edward Hyer et al., Wildfire-driven thunderstorms cause a volcano-like stratospheric injection of smoke, pp. 1-8.
12 NASA, NASA Animates World Path of Smoke and Aerosols from Australian Fires.
13 Copernicus Atmosphere Monitoring Service, Wildfires continue to rage in Australia.
14 Climate Watch, Australia.
15 Ritaban Dutta, Aruneema Das, Jagannath Aryal, Big data integration shows Australian bush-fire frequency is increasing significantly; Jason Sharples, Geoffrey Cary, Paul Fox-Hughes et al., Natural hazards in Australia, pp. 85-99.
16 Department of the Environment and Energy, Australian Energy Update 2019.

over the last decades, particularly in the autumn months of March to May.[17] It is not yet clear to what extent these changes are caused by climate change. It is likely that the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) is also exerting a strong influence on the precipitation pattern und thus the susceptibility to bushfires. ENSO is a complex coupled system of ocean currents and atmospheric circulations. During an El Niño event, weaker or absent trade winds lead to colder water temperatures along Australia´s Pacific coast, which result in less precipitation over east Australia. Regardless of the exact influence of climate change, it is likely that the climatic condition will become more favorable for more frequent extreme bushfires in the future. Further temperature extremes, more frequent heatwaves, longer periods of drought interrupted by heavy rainfall events are likely.[18]

However, weather extremes and changing climate are not the only factors that explain more frequent and devastating bushfires. Another reason for the increase in intensity and damage is the continuing land use change. The urban sprawl of Australian cities[19] contributes to a greater extent of damages through new residential property developments in fire risk areas. Bushland and residential areas increasingly overlap. This situation not only makes fire-fighting more difficult, as larger areas need to be covered, but also further increases the risk of fires ignited by human activities.

What are the socio-ecological and economic impacts?

Human consequences

Extreme fires have devastating effects on communities and the environment. In the 2019/20 fire season, 34 people died;[20] a higher number of fatalities could be avoided by early and extensive evacuations.

It is not yet possible to estimate the long-term health damage caused by heavy smoke development.[21] Smoke affected not only the inhabitants of small regional towns in the immediate vicinity of the fires, but also the metropolitan areas of Sydney, Canberra, and Melbourne. These cities were repeatedly shrouded in thick smoke for weeks. Measuring stations in Melbourne indicated health-endangering levels, comparable to smoking tobacco, and even smoke alarms in apartments were activated. On some days, the southeast Australian cities even had the world's most toxic air pollution levels.[22]

In addition to the effects on physical health, fires also have psychological impacts. Both survivors of extreme bushfires and firefighters often have to deal with anxiety and posttraumatic stress disorders. Losing homes, properties, and

17 Bradley Murphy, Bertrand Timbal, A review of recent climate variability and climate change in southeastern Australia, pp. 859-879.
18 Lesley Head, Michael Adams, Helen McGregor, Stephanie Toole, Climate change and Australia, pp. 175-197.
19 Boris Braun, Sebastian Fastenrath, Resilientes Melbourne, pp. 10-15.
20 Stewart Lockie, Sociological responses to the bushfire and climate crises, pp. 1-5.
21 Australian Academy of Science, Long-term health impacts of bushfires still unknown.
22 Sotiris Vardoulakis, Guy Marks, Michael Abramson, Lessons Learned from the Australian Bushfires Climate Change, Air Pollution, and Public Health, pp. 635 f..

items of personal memory as well as the destruction of familiar landscapes, not to mention the loss of lives, cause strong grief or even trauma. The Australian government authorized AUD 76 million for "mental health responses to bushfire trauma".[23]

There is broad agreement that the trauma, grief but also the traditional knowledge of Aboriginal people (e.g. about land care strategies) need more recognition. The cultural identities of Aboriginal people are strongly linked to the land. Thus, the burning of ancient forests, trees, and landscapes that are sacred to them as well as the destruction of totemic plants and animals result in unique experiences; their sorrow not only concerns human communities but also non-human relations. These facts need to be understood to support communities and to guide socio-ecological and economic recovery in a sensitive manner.[24]

Economic impact

The costs for the affected communities, the state, and the private sector are enormous. Every year, billions are spent on firefighting, reconstruction, insurance premiums, and health care systems. The 2019/2020 fires destroyed thousands of homes, agricultural land and critical infrastructure such as power lines, cell phone towers, and roads. The estimated damage to the economy is more than AUD 100 billion.[25] In New South Wales alone, the costs of infrastructure loss accounted for AUD 899 million and the destroyed telecommunication sites for AUD 43 million.[26]

In addition to numerous agricultural businesses, the tourism industry was particularly affected. Regions such as Gippsland in Victoria or the South Coast in New South Wales are popular destinations for residents of Melbourne and Sydney and international tourists during the warmer months. Due to the risk of fire and associated evacuations, tens of thousands of tourists stayed away.[27] With the Covid-19 pandemic since March 2020, this situation has worsened for those regions. Apart from lacking tourists, Victoria´s and New South Wales´ agricultural sector is also suffering due to lower demand of high-end products from restaurants in Melbourne and Sydney.

Ecological impacts

According to initial estimates by Australian biologists, more than one billion mammals, birds, and reptiles (including some endangered species) were affected. Many animals were burnt or suffocated. Some ecosystems have been completely destroyed or will take decades to recover.[28] Particular attention has been paid to the Blue Mountains National Park, 80 km from Sydney (fig. 1A). More than 80 per

23 Australian Government – Department of Health, Australian Government mental health response to bushfire trauma.
24 Bhiamie Williamson, Jessica Weir, Vanessa Cavanagh, Strength from perpetual grief.
25 Stewart Lockie, Sociological responses to the bushfire and climate crises, pp. 1-5.
26 New South Wales Government, Final Report of the NSW Bushfire Inquiry, p. xxi.
27 VisitVictoria, Gippsland Insights.
28 Michelle Ward, Six million hectares of threatened species habit up in smoke.

cent of the UNESCO World Heritage Site has been affected. The national park stands for a particularly high biodiversity (e.g., 91 eucalyptus species) and provides habitat for extremely rare and endangered plant species such as the Wollemie pine (Wollemia nobilis).[29] Images of Kangaroo Island, southwest of Adelaide in South Australia, also went around the world. Almost 50 per cent of the island´s landscape burned down (fig. 1B). The island is one of the last refuges for endangered species such as the Kangaroo Island dunnart.

However, first analyses also give hope for the future of the burnt nature and habitats. Single vegetation islands have been spared and provide a survival space for a core population of plants and animals. In addition, bacteria and fungi decompose the ashes and enable a restart of the ecosystems. Some endemic plants even depend on the high alkaline PH values of the burnt soils to germinate. The coming months and years will show whether a sufficient large number of individuals of endangered species have survived the extreme bushfires so that the populations can recover.[30]

Climate mitigation, adaptation to bushfires and learning from previous events

The increase in extreme bushfires clearly calls for mitigation strategies addressing greenhouse gas emissions, especially in a country which still heavily mines coal, both for domestic energy supply (60 per cent of all energy sources)[31] and for export trade (Australia ranks first worldwide in coal exports). A turn towards more sustainable sources and away from the so-called 'carbon lock-in' is needed.[32] In this regard, federal or state climate change litigations provide first measures for improving climate change and hazard management in Australia.[33]

Nevertheless, even the strictest greenhouse gas mitigation will not be sufficient to prevent extreme bushfires from happening. Mitigation needs to be supported by further adaptation strategies to deal with the impacts of fires and to address further root causes besides changing climatic conditions. These strategies include measures to prepare for future fires, to take action during fires, and to recover after them. Land use and urban planning, insurances, building codes, emergency management, and agriculture and forest management are just some target areas where reorganization and new practices are required.[34]

The first steps towards a more sustainable future are risk awareness and willingness to act.[35] In this regard, the initial apathy of prime minister Morrison

29 WHC – World Heritage Convention, Weltkulturerbe Blue Mountains.
30 Peggy Rismiller, Mike McKelvey, Field Fire Update from established data sites that were within the December 2019/January 2020 fire area.
31 Department of the Environment and Energy, Australian Energy Update 2019.
32 Karen Seto, Steven Davis, Ronald Mitchell et al., Carbon Lock-In, pp. 425-452.
33 Laura Schuijers, Margaret A. Young, Climate change litigations on Australia, pp. 1-26.
34 Stewart Lockie, Sociological responses to the bushfire and climate crises, pp. 1-5.
35 Neil Adger, Shardul Agrawala, Monirul Qader Mirza et al., Assessment of adaptation practices, options, constraints and capacity, pp. 717-743.

towards the extreme fires caused strong political controversies.[36] In the aftermath of the fires, the debate on climate change and energy politics revealed a noticeable change within the Australian public. According to a polling by The Australia Institute (2020),[37] 72 per cent of Australians saw the extreme bushfires of 2019/2020 as a wake-up call on climate change. The share of Australians who are very concerned about climate change rose to 47 per cent, a 10 per cent increase compared to July 2019.

Another important aspect of adaptation to natural hazards is learning from past disasters and their socio-technical and economic consequences, which is a central goal of Australian disaster management agencies. Since the 'Black Saturday' bushfires in Victoria in 2009, in which 173 people died, disaster management has received special attention.[38] The analysis helped to develop more effective mechanisms for preparedness, response, and reconstruction.

To connect all key actors and their expertise, the 'Bushfire and Natural Hazards Cooperative Research Centre' opened in 2013. It brings together all fire and rescue authorities of Australia and New Zealand, planning authorities, NGOs, and scientists. The aim is to research the causes, consequences, and containment options of bushfires and other natural hazards. In the event of bushfires, the population is now warned earlier – for example by SMS or app messages from the civil protection authorities. The protection of human life and land is the top priority, but increasing attention is also being paid to nature conservation and Indigenous cultural heritage.

The vulnerability of the energy supply is also being discussed. During the 2019/2020 fires in Gippsland, many rural communities were cut off from their power supplies for weeks due to destroyed power lines. Smart grid systems are now being tested to increase energy security. Such networks, powered locally by renewable energies, could sustain power and cooling systems during bushfire scenarios and supply energy for fire-resistant emergency shelters (Community Fire Refuges). These measures would have two advantages: adaptation to the natural hazard of bushfires and reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.[39]

The recovery process has already started in early 2020. In Victoria, a new state government agency, 'Bushfire Recovery Victoria' was established. Victorians who lost their homes during the bushfires were provided with temporary modular homes by the Victorian government. In addition, several Community Recovery Committees (CRC) were set up and supported across the bushfire affected communities. At the same time, a 'Local Economic Recovery Program' was initiated by the state and federal government. The goal is to support affected communities through a place-based, locally led recovery program that involves community groups, local businesses and governments.[40] The focus of these recovery strategies lies on supporting small businesses, infrastructure projects to stimulate

36 Nick O'Malley, The world has made the link between Australian coal, fires and climate.
37 The Australia Institute, Polling – Climate change concerns.
38 Lesley Head, Michael Adams, Helen McGregor, Stephanie Toole, Climate change and Australia, pp. 175-197.
39 Leo Goedegebuure, Bruce Wilson, Lars Coenen et al., Developing and Implementing a Smart Specialisation Approach for Gippsland, Victoria (2018-2020), pp. 1-36.
40 Victoria Government, Local Economic Recovery Program.

the economy, and building economic and community resilience through new communication infrastructure such as the expansion of the broadband network and mobile phone towers.

Conclusion

Bushfires are a common and natural event of the Australian ecosystem, one that many native plant species have adapted to or even require to sprout. However, there is a considerable difference between small fires, which only burn a few minutes in small areas, and extreme bushfires that devastated entire landscapes and communities. The extreme fire season of 2019/2020 can be seen as a wake-up call for more effective mitigation and adaptation strategies to save lives and properties as well as to conserve the unique local ecosystems.

Australia is not alone in the face of more frequent and more extreme wildfires. Around the globe, other regions such as the Amazon, California, Southern Europe and Indonesia have been affected by devastating fires during the last few years. While writing this paper (Sep. 2020), major wildfires are burning from California up to Washington State. Thus, urgent action is required on all scales – global, regional, and local, to prevent and to better prepare for more frequent and intense bushfires.

A remaining question is how Australia's extreme bushfire season of 2019/2020 will influence international and national politics around climate change, energy supply, and land use. There is hope that this disastrous event is a lesson that provides opportunities for political change and support for a transition towards a more sustainable future.

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10, pp. 10-15, https://www.westermann.de/anlage/4624907/Resilientes-Melbourne-Nachhaltigkeit-und-naturbasierte-Strategien-der-Stadtentwicklung-in-Australien.
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Die Demaskierung des Virus oder die Konstruktion einer historischen Analogie

Der Pressespiegel des Dr. John Howard L. Cumpston und die 'Spanische Grippe' von 1918-1920 in Australien

Abstract: At least 15,000 Australians died as a result of the so-called 'Spanish Flu' between 1918 and 1920. The administrative strategies for containment remained primarily the responsibility of the government authorities – successes and failures in fighting the pandemic correlated with the degree of harmonization between medical advice, official rules and civic responsibility. Dr. John Howard L. Cumpston who in 1921 became the first Australian Director-General of the Department of Health created a large volume of press cuttings on the influenza epidemic. This set 'appears to have been collected for use in the preparation of a series of official pamphlets'. Today, this press kit sheds light on Australia's contemporary view of the 'Spanish Flu'. The following analysis illustrates Australia's response to the spread of the virus (also with regard to the occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic after exactly 100 years) under the aspects of collective action and individual denial – without arguing for a historical analogy.

Mindestens 15.000 Australiern kostete die sogenannte 'Spanische Grippe', die zwischen 1918-1920 auch die südliche Hemisphäre erreichte, das Leben. Administrative Strategien der Eindämmung blieben vorrangig Aufgabe des Staates und seiner Organe – Erfolge und Misserfolge bei der Bekämpfung der Pandemie korrelierten mit dem Ausmaß der Harmonisierung zwischen medizinischem Ratschlag, staatlicher Anordnung und bürgerlicher Verantwortung. Dr. John Howard L. Cumpston, der ab 1921 erster australischer Director-General des in der Folge der globalen Pandemie neu gegründeten Department of Health wurde, hat der Nachwelt eine Pressemappe hinterlassen, die Australiens zeitgenössischen Blick auf die 'Spanische Grippe' facettenreich illustriert. Die folgende Analyse beleuchtet die australische Antwort auf die 'Spanische Grippe', auch hinsichtlich der Koinzidenz des Auftretens der COVID-19-Pandemie nach exakt 100 Jahren, unter dem exemplarischen Aspekt kollektiven Handelns und individueller Verweigerung – ohne eine historische Analogie einzufordern.

Geschichte wiederholt sich nicht. Diese Erkenntnis gehört zu den grundlegenden Lektionen der historischen Wissenschaft. Der Bedeutungsinhalt dieser Maxime liegt vornehmlich in der Ableitung, dass der Verlauf der Geschichte keinen mechanischen Regelwerken folgt. So weit, so gut. Wenn sich heutige Historiker als unmittelbare Zeitzeugen der Corona-Pandemie am Jahreswechsel 2020/21 Einblick in die Darstellung eines berühmten epidemischen Geschehens vor exakt 100 Jahren verschaffen, verblüfft zunächst allein der markante Zufall der chronologischen Einordnung: Ein Jahrhundert trennt die Geschichte der sogenannten "Spanischen Grippe", die zwischen 1918 und 1920 auch den Weg in die südliche Hemisphäre fand, vom Auftreten des COVID-19-Virus. Noch hat letzteres nicht jene überwältigende Quellenlage hinterlassen, die der globale Verlauf der historischen, auch als "pneumonische Influenza" bekannten Erkrankung von Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts aufwarf.[1] Es verwundert daher nicht, dass die historiographische Aufarbeitung der "Spanischen Grippe" unzählige Chronisten,

1 Zwei Fachbeiträge seien als Einführung genannt: Thorsten Maybaum, Spanische Grippe; für Australien empfiehlt sich die außerordentlich informative Lektüre eines interdisziplinär-komparativen Forschungspapiers, das sich am Beispiel des Auftretens von COVID-19 ausführlich der Problematik des historischen Analogie-Schlusses widmet, um in der Bilanz die Einzigartigkeit pandemischer Konstellationen und deren gesundheitspolitischen Managements durch den Staat herauszustellen: Parliament of Victoria (2020), Research Paper – Epidemics and Pandemics in Victoria.

Analytiker und Propheten bewegte, darstellend, erklärend oder warnend zu wirken (fig. 1).[2] Weil aber die wenigsten von ihnen bisher unmittelbare Zeitzeugen einer pandemischen Viren-Lage in der eigenen Gegenwart waren, werden spätestens jetzt einige nun den Moment gekommen sehen, komparative Studien vorzulegen. Immerhin mag es angebracht sein, das Zerrbild einer in anormalem Zustand befindlichen Welt im Damals und Heute exemplarisch zu verorten, punktuell lehrreich zu erhellen und partiell vergnüglich zu entzerren.

Fig. 1 – 'The Event of the Week'

Das pandemische Geschehen von 1918-1920 und 2020/21 animiert aufdringlich zu vergleichender Betrachtung durch den Zeitzeugen; eine Verlockung, der seit Beginn der jüngsten epidemischen Entwicklung Essayisten, aber auch vorpreschende Wissenschaftler nur allzu gern nachgeben. Dabei mahnt die originär von Zeitnöten unberührte Geisteswissenschaft zunächst vor allem und zuallererst zu rekonstruierender Darstellung und vergleichender Bewertung einzig in kritischem Abstand zum unmittelbaren Geschehen der Gegenwart – was meint: Bilanzierung in perspektivisch distanzierter Würdigung ausreichend vorhandener Quellen.

Das mag die Geisteswissenschaft von der Naturwissenschaft, die in Pandemie-Zeiten so sehr gefordert ist, wohltuend unterscheiden. Es gibt gleichwohl Überschneidungen zwischen beiden Disziplinen, nämlich dann, wenn es um die ambivalente Erkenntnis geht, dass wirtschaftliche, soziale und politische Verwerfungen einerseits die Folge von unbeherrschbaren Pandemien sein können, während zu solchen ausufernde Epidemien andererseits, im Umkehrschluss, ebenso Ergebnis von politischen Defiziten und damit verbundenen strukturellen Ungleichgewichten im sozio-ökonomischen Gefüge von Staaten sein können. Hier begegnen sich die Analytiker beider Disziplinen: reflektierende Kommentatoren der Zeitgeschichte und forschende Naturwissenschaftler.

Vor der Rekonstruktion allen Geschehens liegt die Recherche. Recherche ist Quellensuche. Doch bestimmen bereits die hierfür festgelegten Auswahlkriterien, jene variablen Größen im Koordinatensystem der (Re)Konstruktions- und

2 Jim (James) Thomas Case (1884-1921), in: The Daily Standard, 1. Februar 1919 [rekonstruiert] © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.

Sichtachsen, Ansatz und Bilanz des nachvollziehenden Blicks auf das Geschehene. So als unverrückbare Formel zig-tausendfach ins Messtischblatt historiographischer Kartierung gestanzt, findet sich heute in den National Archives of Australia eine unscheinbare, hingegen reich gefüllte Akte, die es lohnt, im Jahr 2020/21 (und weiterhin) aufgeschlagen zu werden: Dr. John Howard Lidgett Cumpston navigierte seine Sicht auf die Pandemie von 1918-20 nach dem Kompass der medizinischen Wissenschaft.

Cumpston, der ab 1921 erster Director-General des neu gegründeten Department of Health im Australischen Bund wurde, stand bereits seit 1913 an leitender Position im australischen Quarantäne-Dienst.[3] Seine umfassend belegte Publikationstätigkeit implizierte einen Blick nicht nur auf die eigene Disziplin, sondern ließ ihn auch im Auge behalten, was sich in der Politik und öffentlichen Meinung tat. Eine Mappe mit Presseausschnitten, die u. a. den Verlauf und das gesundheitspolitische Management der Spanischen Grippe-Pandemie in Australien aus Sicht der Printmedien beleuchtete, scheint wichtiges Utensil auf seinem Schreibtisch gewesen zu sein – vermutlich bestimmt für den Entwurf und die Publikation von medizinischen Informations-Broschüren.[4]

Dieses selbst redigierte Handbuch, in das der vielseitig interessierte Quarantäne-Arzt für ihn relevante Zeitungsausschnitte einklebte, archivierte nicht allein die Chronologie der Ereignisse. Mit Blick auf Möglichkeiten einer Eindämmung der Pandemie, die seit Anfang 1919 Australien mit Wucht erreichte, lag Dr. Cumpston vornehmlich daran, die öffentliche Stimmung im Land zu beobachten, zu belegen und zu analysieren. Dazu gehörte insbesondere das Interesse an der sozialen Situation in Australien. Neben Reportagen waren es vornehmlich Fotos und Karikaturen, die Eingang in die Pressemappe des Amtsarztes fanden. Auch wenn dieser beim Ausschnitt häufiger versäumte, die Zeitungsquelle anzugeben, rekonstruiert die Zusammenstellung ein Bild des damals noch unbekannten Virus-Geschehens, das uns aus Sicht des Jahreswechsels 2020/21 in unheimlicher Weise vertraut vorkommt.

Schlagen wir die Akte auf und lernen, welches Auswahl-Kriterium die Archivierung leitete: 'Hygiene' lautet das alles verbindende Schlagwort. Es extrahiert sich als Kernaussage aus jedem Papier, das in den handgefertigten Registerband aufgenommen wurde. Kein Text, keine fotografische Abbildung, keine

3 Michael Roe, Cumpston, John Howard Lidgett (1880-1954).

4 National Archives of Australia (NAA Canberra): Press cuttings and photographs relating to the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-1920, quarantine issues, and other health-related matters – compiled by Dr Cumpston, CP 567/1 Box 4 Part A. – Die offizielle archivalische Beschreibung des Akteninhalts ist mit Blick auf die Entstehungsgeschichte und den Fund der Akte aufschlussreich: "Correspondence, reports, photographs, notes, memoranda, newspaper cuttings, sample forms and other papers. Much of the correspondence and reports has obviously been abstracted from the Public Health Archives of various Australian Colonial Governments. There is one large volume of press cuttings on the influenza epidemic of 1919. History Prior/Subsequent to Transfer: [...] This set appears to have been collected by Dr. J. H. L. Cumpston, the first Director-General of the Department for use in the preparation of a series of official pamphlets called 'Service Publications'. The Series was published between 1912 and 1935 [...] They were found when cleaning out a cupboard in the office of the present Director-General, Dr. Metcalfe [1895-1971]." – Wenn nicht anders angegeben, stammen alle zitierten Archivalien aus dieser Akte.

Karikatur, die nicht in ihrer Kernaussage auf den Aspekt der Hygiene fokussiert (fig. 2).[5] Dieser Fakt erscheint nicht verwunderlich, weil Dr. Cumpston als Quarantänearzt dienstlich im wesentlichen mit medizinischer Hygiene befasst war und zudem an eigenen Publikationen zu Infektionskrankheiten arbeitete. Dennoch scheint eines klar: Es herrschte auch außerhalb von medizinischen Fachkreisen publizistischer Konsens darüber, dass 'Hygiene' die alles entscheidende variable Größe war, die das epidemische Geschehen vor Ort beeinflussen konnte, solange eine Impfung nicht schützen konnte. Auch wenn seit dem Herbst 1918 erste Laborversuche in Australien unternommen wurden, um eine solche zu entwickeln, erreichte die Forschung keinen Durchbruch, insbesondere deshalb, weil fälschlich davon ausgegangen wurde, dass es sich um eine Krankheit handelte, die durch bakterielle Infektion ausgelöst würde.[6]

Fig. 2 – 'The inoculation depot at Hyde Park, Sydney, Scene soon after pneumonic-influenza was known to exist in N.S.W.'

Spätestens im Jahr 1919/20 geriet Hygiene zur Stellschraube sozialer und physischer Gesundheit der australischen Gesellschaft. Die von Dr. Cumpston ausgewählten Printerzeugnisse erfassten alle Bereiche des Zusammenlebens: Politik, Militär, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Religion, Kultur – und allenthalben zeigte sich, dass Selbstdisziplin in Fragen der Quarantäne und Hygiene gefordert sei. Es musste daher Gegenstand öffentlicher Meinungsbildung sein, dazu anzuhalten; fotografisch dokumentiert oder selbstironisch karikiert (fig. 3).[7]

Jenem, der in Corona-Zeiten den Blick durch diese historische Akte schweifen lässt, offenbart sich die Lage Australiens in der Pandemie-Phase des Jahres 1919/20 aufschlussreich vor allem in Kenntnisnahme menschlicher Unvorsicht: Weltkriegs-Teilnehmer, die im Februar 1919 mit der 'Argyllshire' aus Übersee nach Sydney heimkehrten, veranlassten die Gesundheitsbehörden von New South Wales zu strikter Durchsetzung von Sanktionen, als einige von den Männern die Quarantänestation unerlaubt verließen.[8] Es war der Konflikt zwischen Staat und Bürger, der hier beispielhaft aufkeimte und die Problematik einer effizienten Isolierung von Erkrankungsfällen beleuchtete. New South Wales profilierte sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in besonderer Weise als vorausschauender Akteur, der sich vom scheinbar sorglosen Handeln seines Nachbarstaats Victoria abset-

5 Reportage-Foto (Sydney, NSW), unbekannter Fotograf, o. Q., ca. 1919/20, © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A
6 National Museum Australia, Defining Moments; sowie ABC News, A short history of vaccination campaigns in Australia and what we might expect with COVID-19 (Script).
7 Reportage-Foto (Melbourne, Vic.), unbekannter Fotograf, o. Q., ca. 1919/20 © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A
8 The Sydney Mail, 12. Februar 1919.

zen wollte. In scharf-kantigen Kommentaren und beängstigend überzogenen Karikaturen entsteht das Bild eines mit voller Wucht an die Tür von New South Wales pochenden Todes-Keims [Virus], der als Sensenmann dieselbe aufzubrechen versucht, um seinen todbringenden Odem über die Grenze von Victoria nach New South Wales zu tragen.[9] In der publizistischen Kontroverse manifestierte sich 1919 ein scharfer politischer Gegensatz zwischen dem behördlichen Handeln in Melbourne und Sydney; Metropolen, in denen die Einschätzung der Gefahr einer für Australien entstehenden Epidemie augenscheinlich nicht gleichwertig bewertet wurde. Sydneys verantwortliche Ärzte bemühten sich klarzustellen, dass in Melbourne zu nachlässig agiert wurde, während man sich in New South Wales bemühen würde, eine Ausbreitung nach Queensland zu verhindern. Auch gaben die Quellen preis, dass New South Wales trotz Ersuchens durch den Bund nicht gewillt war, diesem die ausschließliche Entscheidung in Quarantänefragen zu überlassen. Wann und mit welchen Auflagen es erlaubt sein sollte, Grenzübertritte von Victoria, wo die Infektionsraten deutlich höher als anderswo lagen, etwa nach New South Wales zu unternehmen, wurde durchaus als eine einzelstaatliche Verantwortung angesehen.[10]

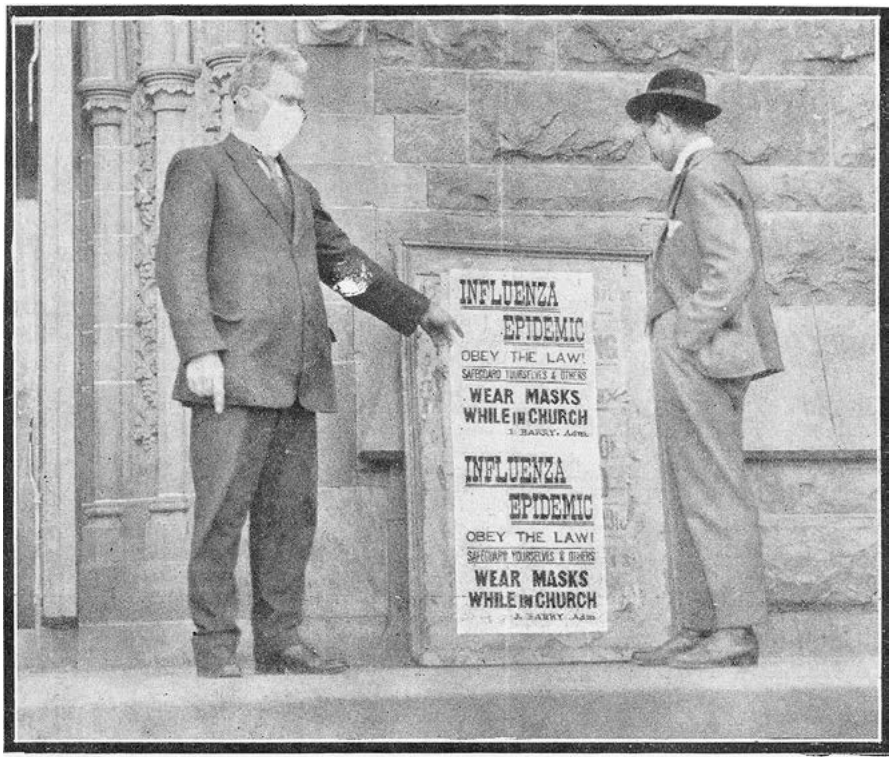

Fig. 3 – 'At the Entrance to a Melbourne Church'

Es kristallisierten sich im epidemiologischen Diskurs der leitenden Mediziner nicht einzig fachliche Kontroversen und organisatorische Widersprüche vornehmlich zwischen Melbourne und Sydney heraus, sondern zuvorderst auch politische Befindlichkeiten über die angebrachte Ausdeutung von Bürger- und Staatspflichten in einem demokratisch legitimierten, föderalen Gebilde. Der nicht nur publizistisch ausgetragene Diskurs warf überdies grundlegende Defizite

9 The Sun, 28. Januar 1919; Karikatur: "The Careless Door Keeper", ohne Zitation.
10 The Town and Country Journal, 19. Februar 1919.

hinsichtlich einer fehlenden Koordinierung von Vorbeugungsstrategien durch den Australischen Bund auf.

In Sydney sah man die Verantwortung und Pflicht des Bundes verletzt, Einzelstaaten wie Victoria zur nötigen Quarantäne anzuhalten – wie dies im November 1918 auf einer Konferenz in Melbourne vereinbart worden war, um der Ausbreitung der Seuche über die Grenzen der Einzelstaaten hinweg vorzubeugen.[11] In Brisbane organisierten Vertreter des District Labour Council "Monster Demonstrationen" gegen die "unvertretbare Feindseligkeit" der Bundesregierung, die der Durchsetzung notwendiger Schutzmaßnahmen und Restriktionen durch die lokalen Gesundheitsbehörden in Queensland offensichtlich deutlich widersprach.[12]

Der Quarantäne an der Staatsgrenze war jene an der kontinentalen Landesgrenze vorgeschaltet: In der publizistischen Schlacht um die richtige Wortwahl verblieb man in militärischer Begrifflichkeit und sprach taktisch von der "ersten Verteidigungslinie" an den Küsten Australiens, wobei der Hafen von Sydney eine exponierte Stellung einnahm. Auch hier gibt die Akte reichlich visuelle Information durch Bilddokumente und Zeichnungen: Fotografische Abbildungen zeigen Schiffe, die in der Bucht von Sydney auf Reede liegen, während nachempfundene Skizzen visualisieren, wie Passagiere an Bord ihrer Dampfer auf erhöhte Körpertemperaturen untersucht werden, in extra präparierten Inhalations-Räumen desinfiziert und im günstigsten Fall einer Impfung unterzogen werden, bevor den Reisenden aus Übersee der Landgang erlaubt wird.

Wenn die Autoren einer Bord-Zeitung, die, wie 'The Roto Gazette' im Mai 1919 gedruckt, belegt, nicht ausschiffen konnten, trotzdem jenem auferlegten Müßiggang von "neun Tagen Quarantäne" auf der 'Rotomahana' durchaus Spassig-Freudiges abgewannen, so mag dies verwundern. Immerhin illustriert der dort zitierte '(The) Song of the Quarantined' zugleich die beengten Verhältnisse einer streng eingehaltenen Festsetzung von Einreisenden aus Übersee: Das Wortspiel "cabined, cribbed, confined" beschrieb die lästige Seite auferlegter Quarantäne.[13]

Es sind vor allem Karikaturen, die das allgemeine Bedenken, das Unbehagen und die Situationskomik der zu Hause gebliebenen Australier im öffentlichen Umgang mit der schweren Influenza-Erkrankung bedrückend, aber auch aufreizend lehrreich oder grotesk zugespitzt widerspiegeln. Bekannte Karikaturisten wie u. a. Jim (James) Charles Bancks (1889-1952) oder Frank Jessup (1884-1961) näherten sich der Problematik auf unnachahmliche Weise an.

Eine verstörende Melange treffsicherer Überzeichnungen von unterschiedlich gearteten Angst-Potentialen charakterisierte die allgemeine Verunsicherung: Weder der renitente Masken-Verweigerer noch der arbeitslos gewordene Künstler, der Krisen-Gewinn*ler* oder die überforderte Öffentlichkeit entging der

11 Ebd.
12 Anzeige: "Keep Queensland Clean! Citizens' Monster Meeting of Protest against the unwarrantable hostility of the Federal Government towards the necessary restrictions of the Queensland Authorities", Brisbane Metropolitan District Labour Council, o. D.
13 The Roto Gazette, Mai 1919.

A PROTRACTED SEASON.

THE UNEMPLOYED PRO.: *"Gad, but he looks like being in for a cussedly long run, too."*

Fig. 4 – 'A Protracted Season'

UNDER SUSPICION.

"Poor old Johnny mashed his own wife. She had a new hat on, and he didn't recognise her through her mask."

"Now, I WONDER *if that is why Will is so against me shopping while this influenza is about?"*

Fig. 5 – 'Under Suspicion'

Karikierung. Diese scharfsinnigen Erzeugnisse genauer Beobachtung der historischen Krise "Pandemie" katapultieren den Betrachter auf eine Umlaufbahn, die ihn oder sie perspektivisch rotieren lässt zwischen den Parallel-Welten des Damals und Heute.

Visualisierte Mehrdeutigkeiten – wie jene Karikatur, die wohl Jim Bancks zuzuschreiben ist (fig. 4)[14] – titulieren das Seuchen-Geschehen als "Flu-monia": ein antikes Drama im "Theater Australien", das wortmalerisch ["grip(ping)"] eine wahrhaftig *ergreifende* Tragödie bewirbt, in der sich der armselig-verhärmte Protagonist, der Jedermann – das Individuum, in seinem Elend ganz und gar im *Griff* der *Grippe* wiederfindet.

Ein Trauerspiel, das lange währt, mag komödiantische Züge entwickeln. Im Kontext der Influenza-Pandemie kann das Tragen von Masken so auf amüsante Weise zum Thema werden, wenn flirtende Männer ihre Ehefrauen vermeintlich nicht erkennen und dabei ihr treuloses Verhalten buchstäblich demaskieren (fig. 5).[15]

Nicht zuletzt scheint Dr. Cumpston Gefallen an solcher Art allgemein-vergnüglicher Demaskierungen menschlicher Schwäche gefunden zu haben – und zwar ebenso reizvoll karikiert und treffend zu Papier gebracht von dem damals sehr bekannten Karikaturisten Mick Paul (1888-1945). Er arbeitete u. a. für die Zeitschrift 'The Bulletin', die sich der zwischenmenschlichen Implikationen der Pandemie immer wieder mit spitzer Feder annahm.

14 Karikatur: 'A Protracted Season', [Signatur entziffert als] Jim (James) Charles Bancks (1889-1952), o. Q. [vermutlich The Bulletin, ca. 1919], © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.

15 Karikatur: 'Under Suspicion' (Mick Paul), in: The Bulletin, 1919, © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.

Fig. 6 – 'The Prophylactic'

Fig. 7 – 'For Home Consumption'

Mick Pauls Sinn für erheiternde Beleuchtung der Pandemie-Problematik illustrierte dieser im Wortspiel der Phonetik. Die lautmalerisch naheliegende Verwechslung der Worte 'Oxygen' und 'O'Gin' lädt zu amüsanter Assoziation ein, wenn er seine Protagonisten, Volk und Klerus, – eine deftig-korpulente Australierin ohne Maske; ein feiner, schlanker Herr mit Maske – über sinnvolle Prophylaxe reflektieren läßt (fig. 6).[16] Derselbe Karikaturist führt Pfarrer und Alkohol-Verkäufer in imaginärem Einverständnis darüber zusammen, dass die in Pandemie-Zeiten gewachsene Inanspruchnahme ihrer Tätigkeit erfreuliche Rendite zeigt: Theologischer Beistand *zu Hause* scheint ebenso willkommen zu sein wie Konsum von Alkohol in den *eigenen vier Wänden* (fig. 7).[17]

16 Karikatur: 'The Prophylactic', in: The Bulletin, 1919. Die Zeitungskarikatur in der Akte wurde ausgeschnitten unter Verlust des vollständigen Namens des Künstlers: Mick Paul. Dieser zeichnete stets mit dem Datum "19".

17 Karikatur: 'For Home Consumption', in: The Bulletin, 1919, © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.

Bei Durchsicht der reichhaltig vorhandenen Reportage-Fotografien fallen insbesondere jene ins Auge, die die Masken-Vorkehrung illustrieren (fig. 8).[18] Dabei wird deutlich, dass sich Form und Materialien der Schutz-Masken seit damals nur wenig verändert haben – das modische Accessoire des vorbeugend Handelnden, der in der Pandemie-Gesellschaft so auch zum guten, verantwortungsbewussten, mündigen Bürger avanciert, kommt mäßig variantenreich daher, weil die menschliche Physis auch in 100 Jahren zwar wechselnden Anforderungen, aber keinen körperlichen Veränderungen unterworfen ist.[19] Die Mutation ist ein Wesensmerkmal allein des Virus.

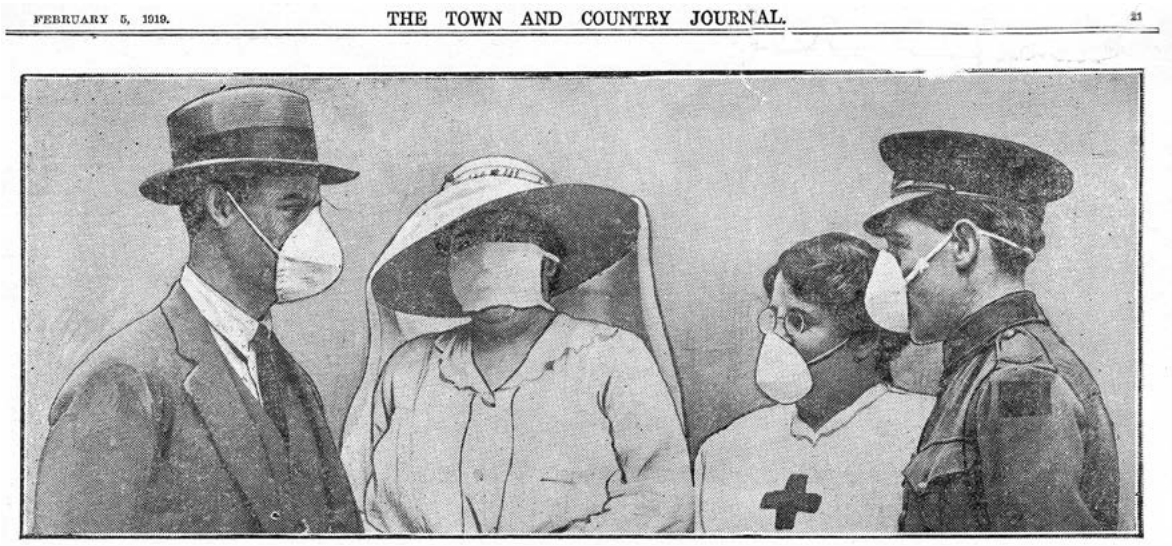

Fig. 8 – 'Various types of masks seen in the streets of Sydney'

Dieser wütet dort, wo Hygiene als lästige Pflicht erscheint und wider besseren Wissens lässig gehandhabt wird – *oder* aber grassiert dort, wo Hygiene unmöglich einzufordern ist. Insbesondere letzterer Missstand erschloss sich Dr. Cumpston als sozialpolitisches Versagen der vergleichsweise jungen australischen Nation. Der Arzt archivierte aufschlussreiches Material, das Beleg für derartige Bedenken war: Eine dramatische Schilderung der Wohnverhältnisse in den ärmeren Stadtteilen der Metropole Sydney lieferte die Reportage 'Where the Germs Grow – Influenza and Discontent'; dieselbe erschien im April 1919 in einer Sonntagsausgabe der 'Sun' und sparte nicht mit eindrücklich bildhaften Schilderungen der "verwahrlosten, abscheulichen, stinkenden Behausungen" in den Slum-Gebieten von Sydney, die der Autor als "Bruchbuden des untergetauchten Zehntels" bezeichnete.[20] "Zum Himmel schreiender Dreck" in den Strassen dieser Armenviertel von Sydney kristallisierte sich nicht allein als "exzellenter Nährboden für Krankheitserreger und den Influenza Keim" heraus, der hier sein "tödliches

18 Unbekannter Fotograf, The Town and Country Journal, 5. Februar 1919, © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.
19 The Town and Country Journal, 5. Februar 1919, S. 21: "Various types of masks seen in the streets of Sydney".
20 The Sun, 27. April 1919.

Werk" vollenden mochte, sondern auch als Hort der Unzufriedenheit und Ort potentieller Unruhen.

Die Ausführungen des Artikels illustrierten wortgewaltig soziales Elend: Ungeschönt berichtete der Autor über "schmuddelige, runzlige und von der Größe her unterentwickelte Kinder", die vor "baufälligen" Gemäuern draußen auf verdreckten Wegen ihr Spielzimmer haben; über deren Mütter, die von "ausgezehrter" Gestalt sind; über Vorgärten mit moderndem Müll, durch die sich "bewegliche Massen schwarzer Fliegen" als potentielle Krankheitserreger hindurch navigieren (fig. 9).[21] Der Reporter der 'Sun' rückte mit seiner Darstel-

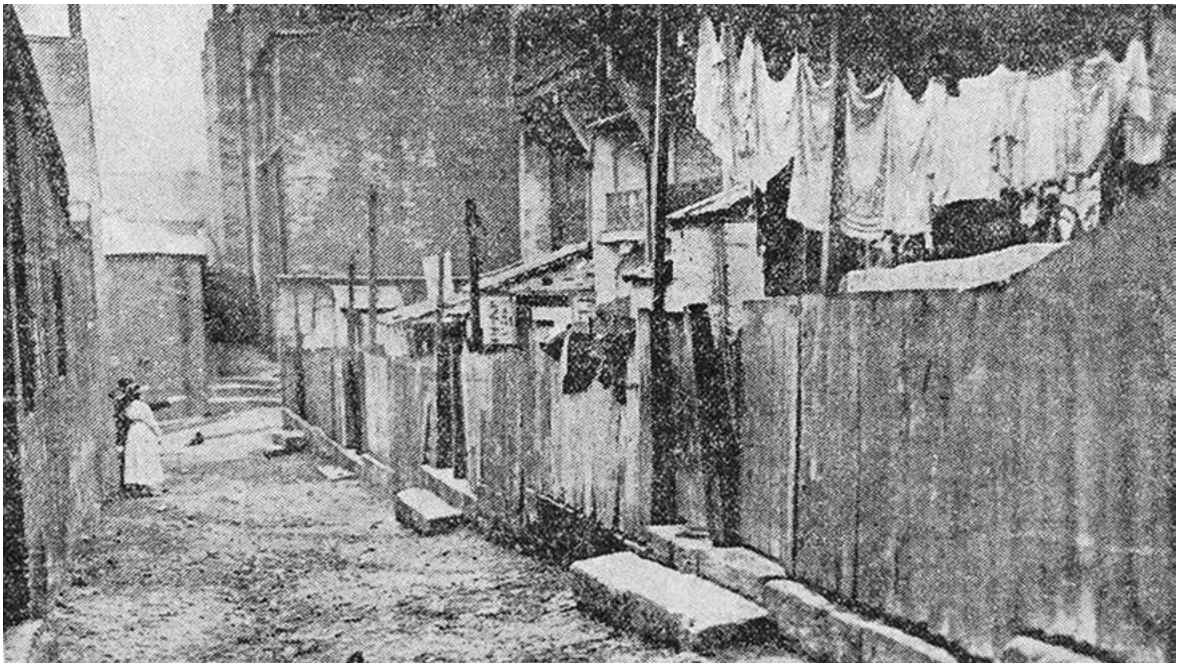

Fig. 9 – 'Back and front yards of a Surry Hills terrace (Slum areas in Sydney)'

lung einen sozialen und medizinischen Notstand ins Bewusstsein, der vornehmlich weite Teile der Stadtbevölkerung und ebenso "Halbblütler, Mischlinge, Neger, Chinesen"[22] einbezog – eindrücklich resümierend, dass in diesem "trostlosen Umfeld" in unmittelbarer Nähe zu den wohlhabenden Stadtgebieten die unhaltbaren Lebensumstände ihre Bewohner "jeglicher Freude und jeden Elans berauben". Vor allem hierin erkannte der unbekannte Autor der Reportage den gefährlichsten Keim, den die Entwicklung des Jahres 1919/20 in Australien zu Tage förderte.

Flankierend zu dieser Berichterstattung rückt wiederum eine Karikatur die prekäre Konstellation von sozio-ökonomischen Problemfaktoren unter das Brennglas der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung: In Anspielung auf die von John Daniel

21 Unbekannter Fotograf, The Sun, 27. April 1919, © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A.

22 Im Kontext der historischen Rassismus-Debatte ist dieses Zitat erwähnenswert: Es zeigt, dass der Autor in seinem Artikel eine nicht ungebräuchliche Unterscheidung zwischen 'half-caste' und 'half-breed' vornimmt; somit voraussetzend und zugleich illustrierend, dass es in Australien noch Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts gängig war, zwischen Kindern von weißen Siedlern und Aborigines zu differenzieren wie ergänzend zwischen solchen von weißen und vermeintlich farbigen 'Rassen'.

Fitzgerald, dem Minister for Public Health in New South Wales, stringent angeordneten Maßnahmen führte der renommierte Karikaturist des 'Smith's Weekly', Cecil Lawrence Hartt (1884-1930), gekonnt alle Aktions-Stränge der staatlichen Anti-Influenza-Kampagne unter seinen spitzen Federstrichen zusammen, wenn er diesen persiflierend als "Zirkusdirektor Fitzgerald" skizziert und die figürlich

Fig. 10 – 'Fitzgerald's Circus'

als lädierten Clown symbolisierte, armselig zögernde allgemeine Öffentlichkeit entschlossen anweist: "Nun Dummkopf, spring durch die Reifen!" .... es sind dies metaphorisch aufeinander gereiht: "Gesichtsmasken, Armut, Inhalation und Impfung, Spasslosigkeit und 'unsere' Kosten" (fig. 10).[23]

Doch auch diese Erkenntnis zeigt sich im Verlauf des epidemischen Managements durch die nationale Politik: Die Chronologie der Handlungsvorgaben erreicht bei fortschreitender oder wieder aufflackernder Ausbreitung der Krankheit einen Punkt, an dem sich Verantwortlichkeiten verschieben – zunächst vom Bund auf den Einzelstaat, der wiederum die lokale Behörde in den Vordergrund der Prävention rückt. Der Karikaturist der 'Daily Mail Brisbane' vollzieht diese Wahrnehmung auf der untersten Ebene graphisch eindrücklich, wenn er am 17. Mai 1919 Bürger und Ortsbehörden von Queensland sinnbildhaft Disput darüber halten läßt, ob "ein paar Verbote" letzter Ratschluss sein können:[24] Es

23 Karikatur: Cecil Lawrence Hartt (1884-1930), Smith´s Weekly, o. D., © Courtesy of the National Archives of Australia. NAA: CP 567/1, Box 4 Part A

24 Karikatur 'Disowned', in: The Daily Mail (Brisbane), 17. Mai 1919. Hier wird das Grippe-Virus als kleiner unerzogener und [nur] bis unter die kecke Nase maskierter Bursche persifliert, über den sich die Verantwortlichen unter den Erwachsenen [Behörden] mit der

war und ist die Liste des "Tue nicht", deren Beherzigung den Grad epidemischer Durchseuchung einer Bevölkerung bedingt. Wenn sich gleichwohl an den Ratschlag des "Niese nicht in der Öffentlichkeit" oder "Gehe nicht in Bars und meide Orte des Amüsements" als eine weitere Mahnung die Empfehlung anschließt, nicht auf die Hilfe der Regierung zu rechnen, dann offenbart die potentiell ambivalent auslegbare Karikatur mit dem bezeichnenden Titel 'Disowned' und der abweisenden Handhaltung des gezeichneten Protagonisten – der Staatsführung von Queensland – am Ende Eindeutigkeit in der Interpretation: Es ist die "verleugnete" (denn auch dies bedeutet das Wort 'disowned') Existenz des höchst virulenten Krankheitserregers [des Virus], die Gefahr bedeutet; auch deshalb, weil sie den staatlichen Organen jegliche Autorität abspricht, den zur Privatsphäre erklärten, aber exzessiv genutzten Aktionsradius des Einzelnen punktuell zum Schutze des Nächsten zu schmälern. Wer in der COVID-19-Gegenwart bei so viel gelungener Persiflage einer Parallel-Welt des vermeintlich nur Historischen auflacht, muss die Warnung erkennen können, dass politischer Vertrauenslust in ähnlicher Konstellation immer eine aktuelle Gefahr bedeutet, die das große Ganze – das erfolgreich Erreichte auf das Spiel setzt.

Die Akte erweist sich als ein Füllhorn für alle Wissenden und Unwissenden, die einen authentischen Einblick in die epidemische Lage Australiens während der Influenza-Pandemie nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg gewinnen möchten – zugleich jedoch auch mehr erheitert als ernüchtert erkennen wollen, wie und wo welche Regierungsmaßnahmen vernünftig ansetzen, um eine Pandemie substantiell einzudämmen oder ob Maßnahmen nur wirkungslose Teilstrategien eines geschickten Public Relations-Management darstellen, um Verantwortlichkeiten für soziale Missstände und nicht kalkulierbare wirtschaftliche Einbrüche zu kaschieren. Das zu jener Zeit labortechnisch noch nicht als solches isolierte Virus und seine todbringende Potenz erfasste den Fünften Kontinent im Zuge der globalen Repatriierung von Millionen von Weltkriegsteilnehmern. Im Kern verlangte die globale Mobilität desselben nach lokalen Gegenstrategien. Australiens Presse flankierte, kommentierte und dokumentierte dieselben umfassend: Agiert wurde zwischen Tasmanien und den Torres Strait Islands. Hier waren es Rot-Kreuz-Schwestern, die sich bei ihrer Arbeit für den Reporter der 'Tasmanian Mail' ablichten ließen; dort auf den Torres Strait Islands belegten private Aufnahmen eines Geistlichen, die im 'The Queenslander' abgedruckt wurden, dass medizinische Teams allerorten bemüht waren, das Radar ihrer epidemiologischen Beobachtung kontinental auszuweiten.[25] Entlang der verordneten Regel, "Vorbeugung ist besser als Ausheilung", reichte die Prophylaxe der australischen Behörden über die Landesgrenzen hinweg bis in das außerterritoriale Einflussgebiet. Nicht nur im eigenen Land, auch in Neu Guinea erhielten Einheimische erste Schutzimpfungen "gegen die Grippe".[26]

Bemerkung auslassen: "Here you are, you take him and do what you like with him. And if he doesn´t behave, they can blame you."

25 The Tasmanian Mail, 11. September 1919: "Influenza Epidemic: Workers at Red Cross Hostel"; The Queenslander, 3. April 1920, S. 21: "Fighting the Flu on the Torres' Straits' Islands" mit Fotografien von Rev. W. H. Mac Farlane.

26 Foto: E.E. Salmon, 'Doctors inoculating natives at Rabaul against influenza', o. D.

Aus der historischen Perspektive fällt die Lektion leicht: Mindestens 15.000 Menschen kostete die Pandemie zwischen 1918-1920 in Australien das Leben.[27] Das de facto bis 1933 noch unerkannte Grippe-Virus wütete, nachdem und u. a. auch deshalb, weil ein notwendiger Versuch der Eindämmung, und zwar die unverzügliche Abriegelung der bevölkerungsreichen Einzelstaaten Victoria und New South Wales voneinander, nicht rechtzeitig sichergestellt wurde. Doch es gab andere Defizite, die nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben dürfen – wie die lange negierten Missstände hinsichtlich der sozialen Verhältnisse von ärmeren Bevölkerungsgruppen, vor allem in den großen Städten. Diese umfassten dauerhaft schlechte Ernährung, begrenzte medizinische Versorgung, unzureichende Wohnsituationen, nicht vorhandene Kanalisation und daraus folgend beängstigend schlechte Hygiene in engen, überfüllten Haushalten.

Auch wenn in späteren Jahren andere Krankheits-Plagen ins Visier des australischen Quarantänearztes Dr. Cumpston rückten – wie etwa lokale Ausbrüche von Pocken oder Beulenpest innerhalb Australiens – und sich das fachliche Urteil des Mediziners über den Aspekt der Prävention in höherem Alter zur grotesk-sachlichen Erkenntnis verdichtete, dass dieselbe ursächlich Widersacher der biologischen Auslese sei, so fasziniert im Jahr 2020/21 der historische Blick auf das übergeordnete Handeln in Pandemiezeiten:[28] Es ist der facettenreiche Durchblick durch das Kaleidoskop einer medialen Sicht auf das globale Geschehen der sogenannten Spanischen Influenza und das hiermit verbundene Krisenmanagement vor Ort. Diese Sicht verführt zu gewagten, gleichwohl erhellenden Analogieschlüssen in pandemischen Zeiten – auch und ganz besonders nach 100 Jahren.

Wie aus zeitgenössischer Sicht generelle *Ein*sicht entsteht oder sich aus gründlicher Kenntnis pandemischer Verläufe weitschauende *Er*kenntnis extrahiert, kann als Maxime galant abstrahiert sein oder als schlichte statistische Bilanz daherkommen. Australiens Gesundheits-Management der Gegenwart zeigt auf, dass Lektionen aus der Geschichte sinnvolle Orientierungshilfe sein können. Eine historische Lehre aus dem Pandemie-Geschehen von 1919/20 war der Entschluss zur Gründung einer zentralen Gesundheitsbehörde für den Bund Australien: des Department of Health im Jahr 1921. In der fühlbaren Gegenwart von COVID-19 werden neue Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen sein. Eine Lektion, die erkennbar vor Ort (und global) Wirkung durch ihre Umsetzung zu zeigen scheint, ist das Ergebnis jüngerer Entwicklungen, wie etwa des Influenza-Ausbruchs von 2009 ("Swine flu").

Diese beinhaltet u. a. die Erfordernis zur Anpassung von statischen Konzepten, die abweichend von Ansätzen der World Health Organization (WHO), nationalen Gegebenheiten Rechnung tragen. Zur Quintessenz wurde 2009 der Ratschlag, mehr organisatorische Flexibilität in der Reaktion auf pandemische Entwicklungen zu zeigen. Gemäß des 'Australian Health Management Plan for Pandemic

27 ABC News, How border closures failed in 1919. Es existieren unterschiedliche Angaben über die Zahl der in Australien im Zusammenhang mit der Spanischen Influenza Verstorbenen; zwischen 'mehr als 12.000' und 'wenigstens 15.000' – 'bis zu 20.000'. See also: Peter Curson und Kevin McCracken, An Australian Perspective of the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic und für die letzte angegebene Zahl: Parliament of Victoria (2020): Research Paper.

28 Roe, Cumpston, John Howard Lidgett (1880-1954).

Influenza (AHMPPI)' und des 'National Action Plan for Human Influenza' galt der Vorschlag, flexibel, spezifisch und schnell auf Akutphasen der Pandemie zu reagieren, wonach die jeweilige Inzidenz der Seuche unterschiedliche Aktionspläne initiierte – abgestimmt auf die Beurteilung der Lage und dem Virus-eindämmenden, zugeordneten Handlungsprinzip: "Alert, Delay, Contain, [später dazu: Protect], Sustain, Control and Recover"; eine Kategorisierung, welche aktuell durch die Bestimmung der Virus-Potenz nach den Kriterien "mild – moderate – severe" ersetzt wurde und entsprechend zu einem wiederum flexiblen Katalog von Eindämmungs-Konzepten im Jahr 2020 geführt hat.[29]

Angesichts der ernsten Tatsache, dass die Menschheit jedoch bisher (Stand: Dezember 2020) nicht in der Lage war, die Gefahr des COVID-19-Virus substantiell abzumildern, sondern weltweit – wechselnd erfolgreich – versucht wird, diesem durch Verlangsamung (oder Beschleunigung: Schweden) der Verbreitungsgeschwindigkeit bzw. durch einen noch ausstehenden breitenwirksamen Impf-Erfolg beizukommen, richtet sich der analytische Blick immer auch auf die Statistik: Hier zeigt sich, dass Australien gegenwärtig im internationalen Vergleich (und unter Berücksichtigung seiner relativ kleinen Bevölkerung) niedrige Infektionsraten aufzuweisen hat.

Es ist wahrhaftig noch zu früh, darüber zu spekulieren, ob die vorteilhafte Geographie Australiens in isolierter Lage, die kontinentale Abschottung der Bevölkerung und/oder die im Kern strikte Politik einer Begrenzung von sozialen Kontakten im Inland und/oder das moderne Konzept flexibler und breitgefächerter Reaktionsmodelle dafür verantwortlich ist.[30] Es sei aber erlaubt, zu vermuten, dass sich zwar historische Analogieschlüsse auf Grund der Einzigartigkeit pandemischer Konstellationen verbieten, dieses Wissen jedoch nicht der Tatsache entgegensteht, dass sich historische Erfahrung bewährt. Dazu gehört die Erkenntnis, dass die Akzeptanz von wissenschaftlichen Tatsachen unumgängliche Voraussetzung allen Handelns ist. Aber es gehört auch das kollektive Einverständnis dazu, dass trotz einer weitaus besseren gesundheitspolitischen Infrastruktur im Jahr 2020, Politik und Gesellschaft gemeinsam auf ein fast archaisch zu nennendes Ziel hinwirken müssen: die Kontrolle über das Virus zu erlangen. Aus dieser Einsicht erwächst Prävention. Diese macht – Epochen-übergreifend – immer Sinn; vor allem solange, aber auch weil die medizinische Forschung nicht in der Lage ist, zeitgleich mit dem Auftauchen neuer, unbekannter Virus-Arten innovative Behandlungsmethoden anzubieten.

Die galante Maxime kommt ohne statistische Daten aus – letztere ist hübsch verpackte Essenz der Vernunft und Appell zugleich. Denn auch diesen besonderen Schatz offeriert die benannte Akte: Die Visualisierung von Einsicht – vermittelt u. a. durch mediale Hilfe. Eine moderne Maßnahme der Gesundheitsvorsorge war schon damals der öffentliche Aushang von Postern, die zur Vorsicht mahnten. Bekannte Künstler entwarfen im Auftrag von Regierungsstellen aussagekräftige Illustrationen, um über Verbote und Gebote im Rahmen

29 Parliament of Victoria (2020): Research Paper – Epidemics and Pandemics in Victoria: "Presently, there are eight publicly available national response plans for the current coronavirus situation."

30 Australian Government/Department of Health, Coronavirus (COVID-19).

der Virus-Prävention aufzuklären. Im Rahmen einer solchen Gesundheitskampagne (in New South Wales) entstand 1919 eine berühmte Farblithographie. Es ist ein anrührendes Stillleben der bekannten Illustratorin May Gibbs, die der Erkenntnis Ausdruck verleiht, dass der verantwortungsvolle gesellschaftliche Umgang miteinander in Pandemie-Zeiten eingefordert werden muss. Für diese Poster-Kampagne entwarf May Gibbs die legendär gewordene Illustration einer buchstäblich sagenhaften Begegnung. Die Künstlerin lässt ihre weltberühmten Kinderbuch-Protagonisten, mit denen sie der spezifisch australischen Natur schon zuvor Leben einhauchte, symbolhaft vorbildhaftes Verhalten an den Tag legen:[31] Auf einem Eukalyptusast sitzen sich ein Kookaburra und eines ihrer erdachten 'Gumnut Babies' gegenüber – als wahrlich zauberhaften Mundschutz tragen beide das Blatt des Gum Tree: Ist es die verschlüsselte ernste Mahnung, verzweifelte Resignation oder lehrreicher Analogieschluss, dass sich zwar das Virus ändert, doch nicht der Mensch mit seiner mangelnden Einsicht in den wissenschaftlichen Befund, was den Betrachter hier bewegt?

Es läßt sich nicht abstreiten, dass die Durchsicht der Akte des Dr. John Howard L. Cumpston erschreckende, aber auch erheiternde Parallelen der Sicht auf eine globale Pandemie zutage fördert. Vor allem ist es ein höchst virulentes Déjà-vu-Erlebnis – mit ansteckend heilender Wahrnehmung auf das Heute.

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31 May Gibbs, Illustration: "Hullo! How are you?". See also National Archives of Australia, May Gibbs Illustrations for a Public Health Poster.

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Reviews

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Katrin Althans

Geoff Rodoreda, The Mabo Turn in Australian Fiction

Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018. 268 pp., ISBN 978-1-78707-264-0, EUR 73,45

In his book 'The Mabo Turn in Australian Fiction', the first volume published in the newly established Australian Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives series by Peter Lang, Geoff Rodoreda examines what he calls a "'seismic shift' in Australian fiction writing" (p. 3). Analysing 19 novels published after the Australian High Court's decision in 'Mabo and Others v Queensland (No. 2)', which overturned the doctrine of 'terra nullius', Rodoreda argues for understanding "post-Mabo not only as a temporal marker but also as denoting new discourses [...] in contemporary Australian fiction" (p. 24). The Mabo decision, he writes, marks a turning point in Australian literary history (as it did in other fields, such as law, history, film, or politics) which nevertheless does not feature highly on the agenda of literary critics – a gap Rodoreda seeks to fill with his book, "the first to propose a typology of post-Mabo fiction for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal authored novels" (p. 4). This distinction structures the book as a whole and also is a key element of the double meaning Rodoreda attaches to the term "post-Mabo," which refers to both "writing *after* Mabo, by non-Aboriginal authors" and "fiction *beyond* Mabo, by Indigenous authors" (pp. 24 f.). Despite the obvious heterogeneity which you expect in a study of 19 novels by 17 different authors and a time span of 21 years (1993-2014), Rodoreda arranges them within four key thematic fields which form the four main chapters of his book. His taxonomy includes what he calls "core post-Mabo novels" (ch. 1), novels which re-write the past (ch. 2) and those which re-write the present (ch. 3), and novels by Indigenous authors which are concerned with questions of sovereignty (ch. 4).

While in his introduction Rodoreda presents a discussion of the post-Mabo Australian mindset and the wider discursive practices, in his first chapter he "examine[s] four high-profile, prize-winning novels" he classifies "as exemplary post-Mabo fiction" (p. 35). These novels are David Malouf's 'Remembering Babylon' (1993), Alex Miller's 'Journey to the Stone Country' (2002), Andrew McGahan's 'The White Earth' (2004), and Kate Grenville's 'The Secret River' (2005). Here, Rodoreda analyses the ways in which the representation and understanding of land and country is narratively questioned by inserting the Aboriginal presence in the text. The Aboriginal presence is thus made visible in the texts and challenges the white settler perspective of land and country as "the possession of territory" (p. 59). In this, the textual strategies are reminiscent of the impact of the Mabo decision itself, which similarly made the Aboriginal presence visible in contemporary Australia.

This Aboriginal presence is also the focus of the second chapter, which discusses five historical novels, Liam Davison's 'The White Woman' (1994), Debra

Adelaide's 'Serpent Dust' (1998), Peter Mew's 'Bright Planet' (2004), and 'Death of a River Guide' (1994) as well as 'Gould's Book of Fish' (2001) by Richard Flanagan. The emphasis here is on history as narrative (p. 79) and how those novels "acknowledge Australia's historical landscape as alive with Indigenous people, their stories, their place names and their cultures" (p. 72). Again, the choice of novels, as Rodoreda writes, is exemplary of a number of historical novels "now being written in post-Mabo Australia in which Aboriginal occupation of the land and Aboriginal dispossession from that land is being portrayed" (ibid.). Although Rodoreda identifies a variety of generic conventions within the analysed historical novels, he nevertheless finds their common denominator: the intersection of history, law, politics, and literary fiction. Furthermore, the author shows the extent to which, despite all their heterogeneity, the narratives of post-Mabo historical novels revolve around the two central issues of either 'terra nullius' or the Mabo decision.

Novels set in contemporary Australia, Dorothy Hewett's 'Neap Tide' (1999), Tim Winton's 'Dirt Music' (2001), 'The Multiple Effects of Rainshadow' (1996) and 'Drylands' (1999) by Thea Astley, and Michelle de Kretser's 'The Lost Dog' (2007) as well as Simone Lazaroo's 'Lost River: Four Albums' (2014) are at the centre of the third chapter. As far as the text corpus is concerned, this is the most diverse chapter in the book and also takes into account migrant writing. As Rodoreda writes, "my task in this chapter is to examine a number of novels published in the wake of the Mabo decision and set in contemporary Australia which reflect a post-Mabo imaginary in relation to discourses on land" (p. 108). Therefore, the focus in this chapter is not on the representation of "Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations" (p. 107) but on the acknowledgement of Indigenous occupation. The Mabo decision, if we follow Rodoreda's argument, has caused an epiphany of sorts and generated a coming of age story of Australia, one which was sudden rather than gradual and which spawned a new assessment of contemporary Australia in literature.

Those first three chapters comprise the first part of Rodoreda's study, which is concerned with non-Aboriginal authors and their post-Mabo fiction, writing *after* Mabo and as a reaction to Mabo. In the second part, which consists of chapter four, Rodoreda introduces the concept of 'sovereignMentality' and the ways in which this idea is central to his discussion of Indigenous authors as writing *beyond* Mabo. Therefore, a considerable part of this chapter is devoted to theorizing 'sovereignMentality' and to contextualize Indigenous sovereignty in the wake of Mabo, as "Aboriginal narrative prose in the new century has become a literature of sovereignty" (p. 161) and changed its terms of reference from White Australia to "land as Indigenous sovereign space" (p. 162). Rodoreda then analyses four Aboriginal-authored novels, 'Carpentaria' (2006) and 'The Swan Book' (2013) by Alexis Wright, Kim Scott's 'That Deadman Dance' (2010), and Melissa Lucashenko's 'Mullumbimby' (2013) to illustrate his point of calling them "Sovereignty Novels" (p. 161): novels which feature characters who "are shown to take for granted their sovereign custodianship of particular country *irrespective* of the legal status of their landholding in the narrative" – and thus exhibit "a way of thinking or a state of mind" which Rodoreda terms 'sovereignMentality'

(p. 162). Sovereignty therefore is the key aspect under which the four novels are analysed, as is its relationship to the Mabo decision, and Rodoreda shows the extent to which all of the novels juxtapose Western understandings of sovereignty (the nation and legal possession of country) and an Aboriginal mindset of sovereignty ('sovereignMentality').

'The Mabo Turn in Australian Fiction' is a thoroughly researched study which breaks new ground in the literary historiography of Australia and offers an innovative way of reading contemporary Indigenous literature. Although the reader realizes the book's origin as a German dissertation due to the very detailed literature review and because too much valuable information has gone into the footnotes, it is not only a survey of literature after Mabo, but also an introduction to a new way of writing Australian literary history. Especially Rodoreda's theory of 'sovereignMentality' and understanding of Sovereignty Novels as a "new genre of Indigenous narrative prose in Australia" (p. 5) are important contributions to the field of Indigenous literary studies. The immense scope of his book, however, also provides moments of weakness, most obviously so with regard to the clear-cut distinction the table of contents suggests: it is not made clear why the novels in chapter one, other than being "high-profile, prize-winning novels" (p. 35), are singled out as "*core* post-Mabo novels" (ibid.; emphasis added) when, thematically, they very much overlap with the following two chapters. What I will happily admit, though, is that they indeed form some kind of blueprint for what is being discussed in chapters two and three and that they, due to their prominent status in Australian literary history, are better suited to illustrate Rodoreda's point than lesser-known novels.

I would like to point out two sub-chapters in particular, that on Kate Grenville's 'The Secret River' (pp. 58-70) and that on Alexis Wright's 'Carpentaria' (pp. 171-192), for its analysis of narrating silences (pp. 65-68) and for its detailed narratological analysis of "the sovereignty of orality in the text" (p. 172), respectively. Those very nuanced and in-depth discussions make up for the limits in close reading in, for example, the chapter on David Malouf's 'Remembering Babylon'.

Rodoreda ends his tour de force through Australian literary history post-Mabo by making use of the model of cultural dominance. This allows him to slightly shift his own (thematic) taxonomy to a broader set of classifications, that of dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. At the same time, this opens up new directions for further critical engagement with Australian, especially Aboriginal, literary fiction post-Mabo, as Rodoreda refrains from going into detail when he writes "this cultural strain [Indigenous Sovereignty Novels] is almost as residual as it is emergent" (p. 237): if we do not take white Australian literary history and its anxieties as our terms of reference, we have to understand Sovereignty Novels as being written in a long tradition of Indigenous stories whose residues still resonate in contemporary literature.

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Ralph Body

Anne-Louise Willoughby, Nora Heysen: A Portrait

Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2019. 383 pp. ISBN: 9781925815207, AUD $34.99

The twenty-two-year-old artist, determined yet hesitant, stares earnestly from the cover of Anne-Louise Willoughby's biography 'Nora Heysen: A Portrait'. By the time she painted this 1933 self-portrait, Nora Heysen (1911-2003) had already sold paintings to three Australian state galleries and appeared to be on the threshold of a successful career. However, despite achieving two major milestones for Australian women artists, she fell into obscurity for much of her adult life. Willoughby describes Nora's story as "a case study in the demise of the woman artist and the social structures and world events that prescribed that demise" (pp. 133 f.). Fortunately, Nora lived long enough to witness the revival of interest in her art, prompted by second-wave feminism's recovery of overlooked women artists and revisionist accounts of Australian modernism. Lou Klepac's two monographs were particularly significant in stimulating an appreciation of Nora and her work, which has been further enhanced through publications by Jane Hylton and Catherine Speck.[1] Willoughby, who teaches on creative writing and biography at the University of Western Australia, has now contributed the first full-length biography of the artist, published to correspond with the National Gallery of Victoria's joint retrospective 'Hans and Nora Heysen: Two Generations of Australian Art'.[2] The author describes her book as an examination of "the events that shaped not only the approach [Nora] took to her art but also the way she consciously lived her life" (p. 14). It is in this second regard that Willoughby contributes most significantly to the existing literature and extends our understanding of her subject.

Nora was one of eight children of the prominent German-born South Australian artist Hans Heysen (1877-1968). Hans achieved popular, critical and commercial success for his landscape paintings which were regarded as quintessentially Australian, notwithstanding their basis in European academic conventions. Thus, Nora enjoyed the benefits of growing up in a cultured household where visitors included eminent figures from the visual and performing arts. However, being the daughter of a famous artist proved a mixed blessing for Nora, who asserted: "Because my father is Hans Heysen, I don't know if I exist in my own

1 Lou Klepac, Nora Heysen, Sydney: Beagle Press, 1989; Lou Klepac, Nora Heysen, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000; Jane Hylton, Nora Heysen: Light and Life, Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2009; Catherine Speck, Nora Heysen: A Tale of a Daughter and Her Father, in: Australian Feminist Studies 19, no. 43 (2004), pp. 55-73, 142; Catherine Speck, Contesting Modernism. Flowers, Portraits, Gum Trees: My Father and Me, in: Hecate 35, no. 1/2 (2009), pp. 108-123; Catherine Speck, ed., Heysen to Heysen: Selected Letters of Hans and Nora Heysen, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2011.

2 Angela Hesson, ed., Hans and Nora Heysen: Two Generations of Australian Art, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2019.

right or not."[3] In an effort to establish an independent artistic identity, it was decided that Nora would concentrate upon portraits and still lifes. She pursued further art studies in London before relocating to Sydney, but her father's long shadow proved difficult to avoid. In 1939 Nora became the first woman to receive the Archibald Prize for portraiture, Australia's most high-profile art award, but the ensuing publicity (and controversy) again defined her in relation to Hans. Willoughby also focuses attention on the pivotal role that Nora's mother, Selma, played in the lives of both Heysen artists through her organisational skills and concern for the family's public image.

In addition to Nora's Archibald victory, her second trailblazing achievement was serving as Australia's first female official war artist, commencing her appointment in October 1943. Nora had actively sought out this opportunity, using her father's influential contacts to help advance her cause. During 1944, she spent six months posted in New Guinea, where Australian and United States troops were battling the Japanese. Although not permitted in the immediate conflict zone, she still witnessed many of the horrors of wartime. Nora observed operations on the wounded, the air evacuation of servicemen with amputated limbs, and once discovered that she was sketching alongside the corpse of a Japanese soldier. She also encountered significant practical challenges, including the disruption of military movements and effect of humidity upon her materials. It is a testament to her dedication that during her two and a half years in this role she succeeded in producing a significant corpus of works recording the activities of women in the armed forces and the Australian Army Medical Services. Willoughby suggests that Nora's time as a war artist may have marginalised her profile within the Australian art world, as it removed her from view just as she was emerging to prominence (p. 220). Paradoxically, it is her wartime achievements that have significantly contributed to the revival of interest in her art during recent years.

While in New Guinea, Nora also commenced her relationship with her future husband. Dr. Robert Black was a promising medical researcher, six years younger than Nora and married with a young son. The two would live together in a de facto relationship before the belated dissolution of Black's first marriage allowed them to wed in 1953. Nora's disregard of social convention was particularly daring in view of her conservative parents' concern for propriety. Willoughby provides new insights into both earlier episodes of parental disapproval and the challenges of Nora's marriage. Black's research into tropical diseases enabled Nora to accompany him on several trips to the Pacific. The resultant works connect her to a diverse range of post-war Australian artists, whose art conveys an increased consciousness of Australia's location in the Asia-Pacific region. Ultimately, however, this relationship was detrimental to her art and the couple separated after Black left Nora for another woman. Willoughby considers how Nora "subjugated her work as artist to that of wife – to the needs of her husband, his profession and interests [and] the running of a home" (p. 304). Indeed, the works produced during their years together are arguably the most uneven of Nora's career.

3 Age, 6 October 1967 (John Hetherington, "I don't know if I exist in my own right").

Willoughby provides perceptive and sensitive assessments of Nora's interpersonal relationships, but is less successful when situating Nora in relation to her broader art historical context. On several occasions she makes broad generalisations or misuses terminology. The claim that "Sydney artists were more conservative, while in Melbourne, there was a willingness to engage with change" (p. 97) is one such oversimplification. Most of the first generation of Australian modernists commenced their careers in Sydney and the later Melbourne avant-garde encountered significant resistance from the conservative local art establishment. Similarly, the art of Bernard Meninsky, one of Nora's teachers at the Central School of Art, London, is described as "unappealing to Nora with its impressionistic and unbroken strong lines" (p. 136). However, Meninsky's art is scarcely impressionistic, nor is Impressionism characterised by the linear, but rather the dematerialisation of form under the effects of light and atmosphere.

Nora's marginalisation is partly due to the emphasis that accounts of Australian art history have placed upon the development of modernism. During the 1930s, contemporary art in both Australia and Europe was a diverse interchange of competing styles, objectives and philosophies. Willoughby alludes to this when she considers the manner in which different Australian artists all "claimed to be searching for the 'truth' in art. Truth is clearly a subjective matter, and each formulated their own version" (p. 102). Indeed, Nora was exposed to a range of modernist approaches during her studies in London between 1934 and 1937. She subsequently invigorated her traditionalist style by adopting a brighter palette, freer brushwork and the use of broken colour. However, much of Nora's art continued to engage with academic as well as modernist concerns, thus destabilising assumed binary oppositions between the two.

Nora's personality could similarly be described as reconciling seemingly contradictory qualities. Drawing upon the artist's letters and interviews with friends and relatives, Willoughby presents a nuanced and multifaceted picture of Nora. She emerges as determined and dedicated to her art in the face of considerable discouragement, yet also reluctant to engage in self-promotion. Likewise, Nora was capable of tremendous bluntness in her assessments of other people or art works, but also "respected people's opinions and ways of living even when markedly at odds with her own" (p. 49). This included friendships with a number of gay men, including the artist Jeffrey Smart. Perhaps they shared a sense of estrangement from conventional gender roles, relationship types and parental expectations. Surprisingly, Nora insisted that she was not a feminist. During her later years, she was uncomfortable with younger scholars who attempted to claim her as a feminist heroine, particularly if she felt they were criticising her father in the process. However, Nora's independent life choices and ground-breaking achievements for women suggest that she was a feminist through her actions, if not by self-definition. Willoughby also shows how Nora's love of nature, particularly flowers, infused both her life and art. Nora stated, "My prayers are drawn from nature not the bible ... picking a bunch of flowers and painting them is a prayer" (p. 322). This provides an insight into the personal imperative that underlay her dedication to floral still lifes, even as the genre became increasingly marginalised within the Australian art world.

Willoughby has approached her biography as a work of creative nonfiction, whereby literary techniques more commonly associated with fiction are employed to enliven the text. Consequently, 'Nora Heysen: A Portrait' is an accessible and engaging read, which will appeal to many general readers, particularly those with an interest in the lives (and struggles) of women artists. Her research is informed by a feminist consciousness, foregrounding the manner in which gender influenced Nora's lived experience rather than feminist theory. Willoughby has introduced significant, new information about Nora Heysen, but her biography indicates that there is still scope for further scholarship on the artist in order to better situate her within broader histories of twentieth-century Australian art.

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Bettina Burger

Xu Daozhi, Indigenous Cultural Capital: Postcolonial Narratives in Australian Children's Literature

Oxford: Peter Lang 2018. 231 pp. ISBN: 978-1-78707-077-6. EUR 74,90

Australian children's literature, written by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal writers,[1] has long been heavily invested in depictions of Aboriginality, be it in the form of Aboriginal protagonists, Aboriginal themes, or Aboriginal stories and epistemologies as a core inspiration. Xu Daozhi's 'Indigenous Cultural Capital. Postcolonial Narratives in Australian Children's Literature' analyses "books with Aboriginal themes" (p. 12n3), which is Daozhi's term for texts with Aboriginal content "across a wide range of genres including Dreaming stories, novels, autobiographies, picture books, textbooks and other reading material" (p. 5) regardless of whether their authors are Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. Xu Daozhi looks at these texts through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital'.[2] She mainly relies on Bourdieu's three key elements of 'cultural capital', namely "the embodied or internalised state", "the objectified form of culture or cultural goods", and "the institutionalised form" (p. 14) to guide her reading of Australian children's literature. Her work focuses on the use of Aboriginal culture and its consequences for the reception and impact of the books in question, but also draws on concepts of 'gift-giving,' both from a sociological and an Indigenous perspective.

'Indigenous Cultural Capital' is divided into three parts, the first of which covers the actual treatment of Aboriginal cultural material in children's books while part II deals with the way in which children's books with Aboriginal themes receive institutional endorsements through reviews, prizes, paratextual spaces and use in educational settings. Part III examines ethical questions with regards to the representation of Aboriginality by analysing both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal authors' ethical responsibility to traditional Aboriginal knowledge holders. The book's introduction provides a very clear and concise overview of this structure and states the aim of Xu Daozhi's argument: That Aboriginal-themed children's books can contribute to the empowerment of Aboriginal voices as well as provide cultural enrichment to young readers.

1 My usage of the terms 'Aboriginal' and 'Indigenous' mirrors the one employed by Xu Daozhi. Xu Daozhi uses the terms interchangeably due to their perceived fluidity in literature, but generally reserves 'Indigenous' for "overarching theoretical claim[s]" (p. 4n2).As with Xu Daozhi, 'Aboriginal' here also includes Torres Strait Islanders.

2 Bourdieu is a twentieth-century French sociologist and philosopher whose "theory has been criticised for economic reductionism" (p. 14) but whose terminology continues to be cited and employed to this day – Google Scholar provides an approximate estimation of his ongoing popularity as the search term "Pierre Bourdieu cultural capital" yields 7.190 entries for 2020 alone.

Additionally, Xu Daozhi uses her introduction to give a short chronological overview of Australian children's literature and its connection to Aboriginality, starting with Charlotte Barton's 'A Mother's Offering to Her Children' (1841) and its stereotypical portrayal of Aboriginal people, proceeding to collections of Aboriginal myths and legends, the most famous of which is arguably Kate Langloh Parker's 'Australian Legendary Tales' (1896), and covering previously highly acclaimed and now controversial authors such as Patricia Wrightson. Wrightson, though well-intentioned, appropriated Aboriginal beliefs for her children's fantasy novels and has been widely criticised. Daozhi's "chronological sketch" (p. 5) culminates in the rise of Aboriginal children's writers such as Wilf Reeves and Olga Miller, Oodgeroo Noonuccal, and Dick Roughsey. She then goes on to locate her work within postcolonial studies as a wider context, drawing on renowned postcolonial scholars such as Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin, Graham Huggan, and Mary Louis Pratt. Among the selected scholars is also Clare Bradford, who is particularly relevant for Daozhi's research, as she also focuses on Australian Children's Literature with a pronounced interest in Aboriginal issues. While Daozhi's situating of her monograph within postcolonial studies is convincing, a brief discussion of other (postcolonial) scholars of children's literature might have been interesting. Perhaps an engagement with Perry Nodelman's not entirely uncontroversial "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism, and Children's literature," which suggests that children's literature itself may be implicated in the imperialist oppression of childhood, or Roderick McGillis' essay collection 'Voices of the Other: Children's Literature and the Postcolonial Context', which covers a wide range of both colonial and postcolonial children's literature, could have added some additional depth to Xu Daozhi's argument. Chronology and critical context are followed by a concise and helpful explanation of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital as well as Xu Daozhi's use of the term in the context of (Aboriginal) children's literature. Xu Daozhi ends her introduction with a number of guiding questions, and explanation of her structure and her main thesis.

Chapter 1, 'Decolonised Landscape: Aboriginal Connection to Country' analyses the depiction of an "Aboriginal perception of the human-land relationship" (p. 44) in three main texts – two novels by white writers, Kate Constable's 'Crow Country' and James Moloney's 'Gracey', as well as the collaborative picture book 'Jimmy and Pat Meet the Queen' by white writer Pat Lowe and Aboriginal artist Jimmy Pike. The chapter starts with an explanation of the Aboriginal concept of 'country' as well as a brief introduction to the colonialist framing of Australia as an empty space or 'terra nullius', which in turn provide a suitable context for the following discussion of Xu Daozhi's primary literature.

Chapter 2 is mainly concerned with life writing texts that address the lives of children, who were taken away from their Aboriginal families and are thus considered part of the Stolen Generations. While interesting on its own, the chapter seems to be the weakest in Xu Daozhi's book, as its connection to children's literature and the use of Indigenous cultural capital in books marketed towards children remains relatively flimsy. Xu Daozhi does make reference to "O'Donoghue's autobiography where the top right corner of nearly every page with text provides for young readers the explanations of specific terms" (p. 89) in detail and to a graphic novel more specifically geared towards children and young adults in passing. However, there is

no discussion of how autobiographies may address child audiences in particular to pass on the Indigenous cultural capital produced through such memoirs. While Xu Daozhi acknowledges in her introduction that her corpus includes books "written for or *about* children" (p.5, my emphasis), the chapter still stands out from the others, which are all addressing books specifically written for children, albeit sometimes in connection to their reception from adults.

Chapter 3 and 4 go into more detail as to how Indigenous cultural capital is produced and then disseminated. Chapter 3 contains a fascinating study on the reception of children's literature with Aboriginal themes through three different approaches: Xu Daozhi focuses mostly on the third aspect of cultural capital identified by Bourdieu, namely its 'institutionalised form' and discusses how Aboriginality-themed children's literature can gain literary legitimation through reviews, literary prizes, and paratextual endorsements. To this end, Xu Daozhi looks at various historical developments; for example, the reviewing history of 'The Legends of Moonie Jarl', the first children's book by Aboriginal Australian authors, serves to show how attitudes towards Aboriginal people have changed and Indigenous cultural capital has been accrued over the years. Chapter 4 takes a similarly historical approach by looking at the presence of Aboriginal material in schools. Xu Daozhi discusses both the history of Australian curricula, which went from an almost complete absence of Aboriginal material in education to Aboriginality as one of several cross-curricular subjects, as well as the changes in a variety of school readers. She charts the development of reader content from mainly British material to Australian, but racially highly problematic texts, and finally towards "the recently published series of 'Indij Readers'" (p. 164), which specifically serves to distribute Aboriginal writing to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal schoolchildren.

In Chapter 5, Xu Daozhi addresses a highly controversial topic – the representation of Aboriginal themes and characters by various authors of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal heritage. Her negative examples include the well-known writer Patricia Wrightson and the controversies surrounding her fantasy writing as well as the conflict surrounding the realist young adult novel 'Deadly, Unna?' by white author Phillip Gwynne, which revolves around the shooting of two Aboriginal teenagers. However, she also highlights the positive example of white author Kate Constable employing a Dreaming figure (Waa the Crow) as a narrative device while not only acknowledging the traditional knowledge holders but also cooperating with them to ensure a final product that is accepted by the Aboriginal group from which the Dreaming figure originates. Xu Daozhi's approach is particularly interesting because she acknowledges the dangers and pitfalls as well as the ethical dilemma that comes with representing Aboriginal stories while not being Aboriginal but does not endorse a blanket ban. Instead, Xu Daozhi turns to the practice of gift-giving. Crucially, she does not frame Aboriginal stories as a gift to be appropriated by white writers, but as a potential of creative source material that Aboriginal people may choose to share. Such a gift, of course, requires not only communication with the Aboriginal group involved but also reciprocal action, that may manifest, for example, in working towards improving the living conditions of contemporary Aboriginal people.

Xu Daozhi's 'Indigenous Cultural Capital' is an in-depth study on a specific subsection of Australian children's literature, namely those texts that revolve around Aboriginal themes. As such, it is a valuable read not only for scholars of Australian literature but also for a wider audience of children's literature specialists, particularly those with an interest in postcolonial matters. Concisely, Xu Daozhi delineates how children's literature can produce and distribute Indigenous cultural capital, gain institutional legitimacy, and acknowledge its ethical responsibilities.

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Victoria Herche

Jennifer Debenham, Celluloid Subjects to Digital Directors: Changing Aboriginalities and Australian Documentary Film, 1901-2017

Oxford and New York: Peter Lang 2020. 229 pp. ISBN-13: 978-1789974782. EUR 67,90

The moving image plays a central role in the representation of Aboriginality. In her seminal essay 'Well, I Heard It on the Radio and I saw it on the Television' (1993), Marcia Langton has underlined the power of the visual medium as a means of knowledge-creation and has addressed the demand for practices which transform the dominant modes of representation of Aboriginality. Film in Australia, in Langton's words, has a "dense history of racist, distorted and often offensive representation of Aboriginal people" (p. 24). Aboriginal life provided a source of fascination for the ethnographic gaze and the visualisation of Aboriginal life took part in the common construction of the Aboriginal 'Other', of a primitive world both challenging and seductive. However, Aboriginality is not a static modality, since it is "remade over and over again in a process of dialogue" (p. 33) between the subjective experience of both Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people, "whether in actual lived experience or through a mediated experience" (p. 31).[1]

These "changing Aboriginalities" are central in Jennifer Debenham's 'Celluloid Subjects to Digital Directors: Changing Aboriginalities and Australian Documentary Film, 1901-2017'. By exploring Australian documentary films from the beginnings of the medium to 2017, Debenham reinforces Langton's appraisal of the social and cultural dynamics in the representation of Aboriginality. The films discussed in this monograph are "emblematic of the conditions in which Aboriginality was constructed, negotiated and comprehended in the public sphere, simultaneously driving and reflecting these changes" (p. 3). Debenham postulates that documentary films are particularly valuable cultural and historical artefacts to demonstrate the continually shifting relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians and the relationship between ideology and technology due to the genre's connections with science, education and social responsibility, as well as its potential to create emotional responses. Documentary films about Aboriginal people or by Aboriginal people, as a space of intercultural experience, therefore demonstrate how at different times Australians understood Aboriginality differently and hence how the films anchor the discussion of race relations in Australia. The longue durée approach chosen by Debenham, namely selecting films from across an extended timeframe and by a vast range of filmmakers and institutions, proves to be quite revealing in tracing

1 Marcia Langton. "Well, I Heard It On The Radio And I Saw It On The Television...": An Essay for the Australian Film Commission on the Politics and Aesthetics of Filmmaking by and about Aboriginal People and Things. North Sydney: Australian Film Commission 1993.

changes in the representation of Aboriginal peoples, "from early ethnographic films to a recent and critical phase in the trend towards decolonisation of the documentary screen" (p. 5), it however reduces the potential for concentrated and in-depth analyses of particular shifts.

The book, presenting the second volume in Peter Lang's new Documentary Film Cultures series, follows a lineal chronological order, structured in four parts, consisting of three to four short and readable analysis chapters respectively. Each film analysis explores the following aspects that influenced the film's production: (a) when a film is produced, (b) the development of the film technology, (c) the broader shifts in technological and scientific paradigms at the time, (d) sources of funding, (e) the role of the films in the formation of stereotypes and attitudes towards Aboriginal people and lastly, (f) their availability for audiences at the time of their release and today. Hence, each chapter contextualises the film from a political and technological point of view, and within debates of Aboriginality at the time (e.g. the tent embassy, Keating's Redfern speech, as well as media-specific aspects such as the establishment of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) and the television broadcaster NITV). While the study sometimes gets slightly lost in details such as biographical information about filmmakers, cast and crew (e.g. the somewhat dispensable information whether the narrator of a film was married to Jacki Weaver), the interdisciplinary approach of this study invites a diverse readership. It offers new insights for those interested in documentary film and film technological developments but who are unfamiliar with Australian politics and Aboriginal issues; as well as those proficient in Aboriginal history, but who have not previously engaged with the specificities of the medium film before.

Starting with the film 'Aboriginal Life in Central Australia' (1901) by Walter Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen, one of the first films featuring Aboriginal Australians, 'Part I: Exotic Subjects, 1901-1966' discusses four documentary films with an ethnographic attitude towards Aboriginality. Deeply entangled with the scientific discourses of the time, the 'doomed race' theory and Social Darwinism, the imperative of the filmmakers to produce these films (often biologists and anthropologists themselves) was based on the concerns about Aboriginal peoples as a "dying race". Assumptions of the rapid demise of Aboriginal peoples, at least in their "authentic" and "'pure' form of culture" (pp. 15 f.), gave an urgency to collect as much knowledge and visual evidence about them as possible. It was the ambition of filmmakers such as Walter Baldwin Spencer (1860-1929) to shoot "with a scientific lens" (p. 26) and to make – in his case – "an accurate record of Arrernte ceremonies and activities" (p. 22) for posterity. In the second example, the film 'Life in Central Australia' (1931) commissioned by the South Australian Board for Anthropological Research and the South Australian Museum, documents the collection of biometric data and the praxis of scientific research conducted on Aboriginal people in the name of eugenics to provide a visual record of the methodology employed in the field and what was believed to be "scientific objectivity" (p. 39). The films endorsed a Eurocentric construction of Aboriginal 'primitivity', influencing the way how Aboriginal people were 'seen' by non-Aboriginal Australians and which attitudes towards Aboriginality developed at all

levels of Australian society (p. 17). The popularity of these early films shows that (particularly urban) audiences were eager to experience the 'exotic' Aboriginal image (sometimes for the first time) as much as they were interested in the exciting new technology of moving film: "the introduction of moving film in the early twentieth-century media environment profoundly affected how Aboriginal Australians were understood" (13-14).

The films of 'Part I' frame Aboriginal peoples as objects of ethnographic inquiry, ancient relics believed to be on the brink of extinction, and reinforce the view that Aboriginal people living in remote places were the only truly 'authentic' Aboriginal people despite the lived realities of Aboriginal traditions already being substantially disrupted by colonial interests such as mining. Documentary film was employed as an intermediary between science and popular culture, popularising anthropology by using film. Despite the fact that these films intentionally subsumed Aboriginal people as objects to be "observed, studied, watched, or to provide titillating entertainment" (p. 26), Debenham also alludes to the evidence of active negotiation between filmmakers and the film's subjects. Diary entries and records show that the filmmakers were surprised by the curiosity of the Aboriginal communities during the filming, e.g. the Arrernte communities not only allowed the filmmakers to record their ceremonies, but showed a keen interest in the technologies used, or even provided assistance with using resin and spinifex grasses to plug the gaps in the wooden camera body (p. 23). Their willing co-operation and eagerness in displaying their skills as well as their acute awareness of performing for the camera, Debenham reads as considerable agency on the side of the Aboriginal participants, despite the fact that these films enabled the continued subjugation and objectification of Aboriginal people. Debenham's consideration of the development of film technology and its connection to the underlying racism of the time offers revealing observations, such as the filmmakers' difficulties in capturing black bodies in the early colour film of the 1950s. Because the colour film stock used Caucasian skin tones as a baseline it needed different lighting conditions for the representation of darker skin tones. This is one reason why Ian Dunlop's 'Desert People' (1967) used monochrome film stock although colour film was readily available.

'Part II: Voices of Change, 1957-1972' presents a group of three documentary films, 'Warburton Aborigines' (1957) by William Grayden, 'The Change at Groote' (1968) by Stefan Sargent and 'Ningla-A-Na' (1972) by Allesandro Cavadini that represent the shift from an emphasis on ethnographic representation of the 'Other' to political concerns about the lived realities of Aboriginal communities. Debenham calls these documentaries 'advocacy films' with one crucial innovation: the aural shift to direct dialogue. This technological advancement of sound film (earlier films mainly included auctorial voice-over narration) gave an "aural identity to the once silent image of Aboriginal participants prompting shifts in the emotional engagement of audiences with the Aboriginal image on documentary film" (p. 75). By giving a voice to the Aboriginal peoples on screen, the films addressed political concerns about racial equality, the first film challenging the Australian government's poor duty of care for communities of the Ngaanyatjarra and Ngatatjara people, the second, the policy of assimilation and

how it affected a small remote island community in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and the third recorded the last weeks of the first stage of the tent embassy protest in 1972. The latter, 'Ningla-A-Na', represents Aboriginal protesters as engaged and confrontational political agents challenging the dominant political discourse of the time. The filmmaking became more collaborative between the non-Aboriginal filmmakers and Aboriginal participants in front of the camera, enabling a larger Aboriginal involvement in the decision-making about their representation. Debenham mentions en passant that people living in Warburton (location of the first film) continue to be upset about their families' representation in the film which they believe has operated to confine and stereotype their lives. Debenham only rarely alludes to these negative outputs of the 'advocacy films' but adheres to her overall positive claim that documentary films increasingly contribute to radical changes in attitudes towards Aboriginal Australians (p. 93).

A development that continues in the films of 'Part III: Counting the Cost, 1978-1987', highlighting the growing collaborative relationship between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal film crew as well as the thematic shift to issues of social justice. For example, 'My Survival as an Aboriginal' (1978) directed by two women, Essie Coffey and Martha Ansara, presents with Coffey one of first films directed by an Aboriginal person. The film's accomplishment is promoting Aboriginal self-representation by focussing on the life story of an Aboriginal woman. A trend that Debenham sees in general for this group of films: "they place greater emphasis on personal stories, exposing the trauma experienced by many" (p. 124). The films 'Lousy Little Sixpence' (1983) by Alec Morgan and Gerald Bostock and 'Link-Up Diary' (1987) by David MacDougall, documenting oral history of victims of the Stolen Generations and being mentioned alongside the 'Bringing Them Home Report' (1997), are regarded as earliest examples screened to a popular audience that presented personal accounts from an Aboriginal perspective. They have been vital sources to challenge and expose little known or hidden histories of Australia. Some of the filmmakers' choices, e.g. David MacDougall's' problematic autobiographical approach in 'Link-Up Diary' to position himself as subject of the film, i.e. experiencing a sense of collective mourning with the Aboriginal people he films, could have been challenged more by the author, despite the film's undisputed relevance in creating awareness for the Stolen Generations.

Considerably stronger is Debenham's account of the more recent Aboriginal documentary filmmaking in 'Part IV: Digital Directors: Decolonising Documentary Film, 2002-2017'. All films addressed in this part are directed by Aboriginal filmmakers who have profited from the establishment of CAAMA film schools as well as the shift to digital film technologies that have made film production more accessible and cost effective. The democratisation of documentaries through technological developments and screening options have led to greater accessibility for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal filmmakers and audiences alike. The increasing numbers of film productions and the commissioning of films by Aboriginal people to record their histories, necessitated the establishment of Aboriginal cultural protocols for filmmaking. Protocols for telling oral histories have successfully transferred to film production employing the concept of story

managers and story deliverers. One stylistic device used by the documentary films 'Whispering in Our Hearts: The Mowla Bluff Massacre' (2002) by Mitch Torres and 'Willaberta Jack' (2007) by David Tranter is the extensive use of Western archival records of colonial authorities and juxtaposing this evidence against the community's oral history accounts (often in traditional language). Debenham argues that documentary therefore takes part in rewriting Australia's historiography, providing a visual testimonial record in order to uncover hidden histories of colonial occupation. Since the importance of television broadcasting of the respective films is addressed frequently, I was surprised that there is no mention of the highly successful documentary television series 'First Australians' (2008, produced by Rachel Perkins for Blackfella Films), which incorporated similar material and used similar cinematic techniques.

The study closes with a retrospective on the 2017 Sydney Film Festival that for the first time in its history opened with a documentary film, significantly with a documentary film by an Aboriginal filmmaker, Warwick Thornton's 'We Don't Need a Map'. The festival further included a retrospective programme, screening among others Essie Coffey's 'My Survival as an Aboriginal' and documentary films commissioned by NITV/SBS. Debenham concludes her study by pointing to the challenges of contemporary documentary filmmakers (and Australian filmmakers in general), facing cuts in funding, particularly from government sources.

Jennifer Debenham's 'Celluloid Subjects to Digital Directors' is a study about the documentary genre as much as it is about political debates and race relations in Australia. Film plays a significant role in not only providing information about the society in which they are produced but also in actively constructing a picture of that society. The study demonstrates that a decolonisation of the documentary film is only made possible by a shift of perspective towards a collaborative structure of filmmaking with Aboriginal filmmakers engaging with all aspects of film production, hence telling their own stories about their experiences from their own perspective, "making more self-assured decisions about how they appeared in films" (p. 145). Films then have the potential to be catalysts in changing the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people themselves (behind and in front of the camera) have created discursive strategies in reshaping the representation of Aboriginality. Debenham's study conclusively demonstrates and makes one rethink the power dynamics illustrated by and inherent to a medium such as film. There is no such thing as an 'innocent' medium, in correspondence to Marshall McLuhan's seminal claim, "the medium carries the message". It was the ideology of a 'dying race' that has increased an interest in screening Aboriginality at first, to preserve that what is allegedly already lost. It is an ironic and beautiful twist of history that despite these beliefs it is now Aboriginal filmmakers in charge of Australian documentaries, proving and showcasing their resilience and continuance.

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Renate S. Meissner im Auftrag des Nationalfonds, Hg., Exil in Australien, Erinnerungen: Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Nationalsozialismus, Bd. 5

3 Bücher im Kartonschuber (deutsch/englisch) Wien: Nationalfonds der Republik Österreich für Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, 2018. 976 S. ISBN 978-3-9504794-8-5. EUR 26,00

Selten wurde das Schicksal von Flüchtlingen authentischer rekonstruiert als in dem soeben erschienenen Werk 'Exil in Australien – Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Nationalsozialismus': In drei voluminösen Teilen liegt nun eine beeindruckende Dokumentation über das Vertriebenenschicksal österreichischer Opfer des Nationalsozialismus vor, die den Leser exemplarisch lehrt, was Flucht und Verdrängung bedeuten. Aufgelegt wurde das Werk von dem Nationalfonds der Republik Österreich, der sich seit 1995 der Aufgabe widmet, diese besondere Personengruppe von offizieller Seite anzuerkennen und zu unterstützen. Zur verantwortlichen Wahrnehmung der Mitschuld an der Vertreibung gehört der Bericht über den Opfergang der Betroffenen. Solch klare Erkenntnis mündet folgerichtig in der Erinnerung – somit der geeignete Titel der 2011 begründeten Reihe "Erinnerungen". Im Ergebnis handelt es sich bei diesem ambitionierten Projekt um den höchst lobenswerten und in dieser Form selten unternommenen Versuch, die Lebenspfade von österreichischen Holocaust-Flüchtlingen aus der angestammten Heimat nach Übersee zu skizzieren. Nach Afrika und Asien steht nun in der jüngsten Publikation dieser Werkserie Australien als Fluchtpunkt im Fokus des Rückblicks.

Den Herausgebern ist es vorzüglich gelungen, die schicksalshaft wie auch geographisch oftmals komplex verwobenen Lebenswege einer exemplarisch ausgewählten Gruppe von 21 Befragten zu entwirren und wiederzubeleben – ihre Biographien stehen stellvertretend für die mindestens 2000 österreichischen Flüchtlinge, die, wie viele Millionen Menschen, zu Gejagten des NS-Regimes wurden und denen allein das Entkommen in die Fremde, hier nach Australien, ein Überleben ermöglichte.[1] Vor allem die jüdisch-stämmige Bevölkerungsgruppe der Vielvölker-Republik traf seit 1938, dem Jahr des "Anschlusses" Österreichs an das Deutsche Reich und dem Jahr des November-Pogroms, die systematische Verfolgung der Nationalsozialisten. Wie dieser existentielle Druck und die psychische Belastung dazu führten, dass vergleichsweise wenige Menschen, von denen sich die Allermeisten seit Jahrhunderten der österreichischen Volksgemeinschaft verbunden fühlten, für ein Verlassen ihrer alt angestammten Heimat entschieden, berichten Betroffene und Angehörige aus der Retrospektive. Dank

1 Renate S. Meissner, "Von Österreich nach Australien: Wege des Exils in einen fernen Kontinent", ebd., S. 13 (Tl. 1).

der außerordentlich lebendigen Erzählung unterschiedlichster europäischer Lebensgeschichten auf der chronologischen Spur in und aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg entsteht ein bewegendes Bild der Opfer in der Epoche des Nationalsozialismus – und in der Folge. Doch dies ist nicht Alles: Historiographisch höchst aufklärend wird die zeitgenössische Perspektive australischer Geschichte einbezogen und durch ungewöhnliche Quellen dokumentiert. In der Zusammenführung unterschiedlicher Blickwinkel und Quellen vereinen die Herausgeber narrative und analytische Dokumentationsformen. Im konturenscharfen Kaleidoskop der Retrospektive spiegelt das rekonstruierte Puzzle von europäischer Holocaust-Geschichte, habsburgischer Biographie, globaler Migrationshistorie und australischer Assimilationspolitik. Als eindrückliche Bilanz und in den Kontext gerückter Kulminationspunkt erkennt der Wissbegierige widerspruchslos, was jüdische Flüchtlinge und australische Indigene miteinander verbindet: Die Bindung an ein Land, das einem Heimat gibt, ist ein zutiefst existentielles Empfinden; der willkürlich verursachte Abriss solcher Bindung verletzt Menschen jeder Herkunft an Psyche und Physis.[2] Rassismus ist eine Kultur-übergreifende Ursache solcher Verletzung. Dieser universalen Erkenntnis stemmt sich das vorgelegte voluminöse Werk, 'Erinnerungen', als buchstäblich indizierte Trauma-Behandlung entgegen.

Ein kurzer Überblick über Aufbau und jeweilige Schwerpunktsetzung der Bände verdeutlicht die Vorgehensweise des disziplinär ungewöhnlich breit gefächerten HerausgeberInnen-Teams. Der erste Teil des Werks bietet neben offiziellem Gruß- und Vorwort zwei fundierte Einführungen, jeweils in Deutsch und Englisch verfasst: Die Artikel bereiten den Leser (a) thematisch auf die spezielle Thematik der Bände und die Lebenswege der Protagonisten vor, um nachfolgend (b) Unkundigen einen akademischen Abriss über die übergeordnete Problematik der australischen Asylpolitik anzubieten. Man erkennt die geschickte Hand der Ethnologin und Judaistin, Renate S. Meissner, die das Weltbild der australischen Indigenen als hintergründige Projektionsfläche nutzt, um das Aufeinandertreffen zweier uralter Kulturen, die eine aus Europa, in Australien anzukündigen. So werden gleich zu Anfang, in Meissners thematischer Einführung in die europäischen Lebenswege nach Übersee, Abbildungen von Aborigines-Kunst dem Text beigefügt. Dieser visualisierte Prolog beeindruckt (und findet seine symbolische Entsprechung zur europäischen Kunst im Folgeband mit einer fotographischen Auswahl zu Bildhauereien des Künstlerehepaars Karl Duldig und Slawa Horowitz). Souverän flankiert die Kulturanthropologin Margit Wolfsberger denselben mit ihrer Bild-Text-Antwort auf die Frage, in welch vielfältiger Weise eine Übersee-Nation wie Australien von Flucht und Vertreibung anderenorts, aber auch vor Ort im eigenen Einflussbereich profitierte.

Es folgt der erste inhaltlich-strukturelle Schwerpunkt: Flucht aus Österreich und Ankunft in Australien. Wie eine zuvor zerbrochene Fayence entsteht aus der Rekonstruktion des Gewesenen, Verlorenen, Erinnerungswürdigen und niemals zu Vergessenden ein facettenreiches Mosaik, das zunächst die organisatorische Loslösung von der Heimat illustriert. Anhand von fünf repräsentativen

2 Hannah M. Lessing, Generalsekretärin des Nationalfonds, 'Vorwort', S. 9 (Tl. 1).

Biographie-Ausschnitten werden im ersten Werk-Teil Einzelaspekte der leidvollen Erfahrung "Flucht" – Verwurzelung in der Heimat; Gefangenschaft im Konzentrationslager; Verlust von Angehörigen; Entscheidungs-Konstellationen für den Fluchtpunkt Australien; Wegstationen auf der Flucht nach Übersee – personalisiert. Es ist kein Verhöhnen der Not, sagen zu dürfen, dass bereits dieser erste Teil-Band fesselt in der Schilderung vielfachen Leides, aber auch häufigen Glück des Entkommens. MigrationshistorikerInnen und Australien-Experten verfangen sich beim Aufschlagen schon dieses ersten Bandes gleichermaßen fasziniert wie erschüttert in den Aufzeichnungen der Betroffenen: Beide lernen Neues über die individuellen Konstellationen, die zu einer gelungenen Flucht vor den Nationalsozialisten beitrugen: etwa die zufällig bestehende Vernetzung von Familien und Geschäftsfreunden, die nach 1938 Angehörigen oder Bekannten Hilfe bei der Einreise nach Australien – vielfach über Zwischen-Aufenthalte in England oder Singapur – leisten konnten, um unabdingbare Voraussetzungen zu erfüllen: Wie viel Geld war aufzubringen, um nicht gleich bei der Ankunft auf dem Fünften Kontinent zurückgewiesen zu werden? Und wie viel Reichsmark durfte jeder Ausreisende nur mitnehmen? Wie lange brauchte es, um Universitätsabschlüsse und Berufs-Lizenzen neu anerkannt zu bekommen? Und welche Beeinträchtigungen brachte es mit sich, trotz gelungener Übersiedlung, nach Eintritt Australiens in den Zweiten Weltkrieg zur Gruppe der "feindlichen Ausländer" gezählt zu werden?

Anhand des Berichts über die ersten zaghaften Eingliederungsversuche eines Kindes in seiner neuen Schule in Sydney erfährt der Australien-Kundige scheinbar Banales, aber gleichwohl Neues: Sollte die Schreibschrift in Wien aufrecht stehen, mahnten australische LehrerInnen einer Primary School in Randwick den vorwärts geneigten Schriftzug an.[3] Andere Länder, andere Sitten. Immer war Lernen und Anpassung gefordert. Ganz exemplarisch gibt jeder Artikel, untermauert durch einen außergewöhnlich reichen Fundus an persönlichen Dokumenten, Antworten auf Nachforschungen zu Fragen des Migrationsverlaufs; vor allem aber beantworten die zitierten Fallbeispiele die wohl wichtigste historische Frage: Wie veränderten sich die Lebensumstände von Menschen in Österreich, die aus alteingesessenen habsburgischen Familien stammten und allein durch ihre jüdische Herkunft oder Heirat mit einem jüdischen Ehepartner nationalsozialistischer Verfolgung ausgesetzt waren und sich spätestens 1938 gezwungen sahen, eine ferne neue Heimat zu suchen, um der absehbaren Vernichtung zu Hause zu entkommen.

In dem umfangreichen Erinnerungswerk nimmt der zweite Teil mit 360 inhaltsschweren Seiten eine Sonderstellung ein: Hier werden Lebensgeschichten im Spannungsfeld der Kriegsallianzen und Militärfronten rekonstruiert – fokussiert auf den Aspekt eines Schwebezustandes, den viele der Betroffenen einnahmen, solange sie als Flüchtlinge in England, im kriegsbedrohten Britischen Commonwealth oder anderen Feind-Staaten Deutschlands und Österreichs lebten. Unzählige von ihnen wurden in der Folge zwangsweise nach Australien verbracht. Auch im vermeintlich sicheren Exil in Übersee drohte Deportation

3 Ernest Weiss, How Lucky we are, S. 201 (Tl. 1).

und Internierung in Lagern, denn mit Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs fielen die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus unterschiedslos in die Gruppe der "feindlichen Ausländer". Zudem lernt der Leser beiläufig, dass in der Folge die meisten Australier Flüchtlinge aus Österreich, die sehr schnell Englisch lernten, oftmals kaum als Angehörige einer eigenständigen Nation wahrnahmen: Deutschsprachig bedeutete Deutscher zu sein.

Aus jeder der Lebensbiographien lernt der spät Geborene: Wo feindliche Spionage möglich war, handelte vor allem die Britische Regierung bürokratisch und ließ Täter (Nationalsozialisten) und Opfer (Juden) in denselben Lagern auf Ausweisung warten; auch scheuten die Entscheidungsträger nicht vor entwürdigender Behandlung auf Schiffspassagen ('Dunera'-Transport) zurück. In Australien angekommen erschienen die Probleme lösbar: Internierungslager zeichneten sich durch vergleichsweise primitive Lebensumstände aus, die hier ausführlich illustriert werden.

Da sich auch Künstler unter den internierten Österreichern befanden, gewinnt die Dokumentation durch den Abdruck insbesondere von Bleistiftzeichnungen aufschlussreiche Einsichten in die Lager Hay/New South Wales und Tatura/Victoria, deren Bewohner und Lebensumstände. Speziell Frauen, Kinder und alte Menschen spürten Erleichterung, als ihre Ehemänner, Väter und Söhne 1942 die Gelegenheit bekamen, in Versorgungs-Einheiten der australischen Armee einzutreten: Japans Kriegsfront im Pazifik forderte jeden Mann und entließ die Familien langsam in eine neue Freiheit: Wenige kehrten nach dem Krieg aus Australien (oder Palästina) in ihre zerstörte Heimat zurück, um dort ein demokratisches Österreich mit zu begründen; und jene, die es wagten, merkten oft schnell, dass das Land sich "nicht wirklich verändert" hatte;[4] weitaus mehr aber blieben entschlussfest in Übersee, um sich mit ihrem kulturellen Erbe einen Platz im australischen Gesellschaftsgefüge zu suchen.

Auf die Ausgestaltung dieser Freiheit nimmt der dritte Werk-Teil umfassenden Bezug – nicht ohne die Retrospektive auf das Gestern aufzuzeigen, aber auch den Blick auf die Gegenwart einer neuen jüdisch-australischen Generation zu werfen. Wie einstmals fest gespleißte Lebensstränge entflechten sich hier zerfaserte Familien-Biographien vor den Augen des Lesers in fesselndem Bild- und Wortbericht. Immer handelt es sich um Familien, die alteingesessen, Österreichs Republik der vielen Völker entfliehen mussten, um zu überleben. Wie gelang es ihnen, sich an anderem Ort neu zu verwurzeln? Ihre in Australien geborenen Kinder und Enkel haben lange verwahrtes Material der Eltern und Großeltern gesichtet und geben Antwort. Sie lassen uns teilhaben am Erfahrungshorizont von Einwanderern, die sich an Klima, Gewohnheiten und Anforderungen eines neuen Landes herantasteten, sich zugleich aber auch an den Möglichkeiten ihrer neuen kontinentalen und sozialen Umwelt erfreuten. Exemplarisch seien hier die fotographisch rekonstruierten Familiengeschichten der Ärztin Cora Renata Singer und ihres Mannes, dem Kaffee-Händler Ernest Singer, zur bewegenden Betrachtung empfohlen – oder zur Lektüre der über 103 Jahre gehende Erinnerungsbericht von Richard Raubitschek (Roberts).

4 Margit Korn, zitiert, ebd., S. 25 (Tl. 1) und 256 (Tl. 3).

Sehr anschaulich lässt sich hier u. a. auch nachempfinden, dass im urbanen Gefüge Österreichs und Australiens in den 1930er, 1940er, 1950er und 1960er Jahren durchaus unterschiedliche Uhren im Regelwerk der sozialen Anpassung "tickten". Die Koexistenz unterschiedlicher Lebensstile im Einwanderungsland Australien war in der Vor- und Nachkriegszeit gleichwohl kein Hindernis für das Gelingen des im Kern auf gegenseitige Annäherung ausgelegten Integrationsmodells: Das zeigt dieser Werk-Teil farbenprächtig und belegreich.

In der Bilanz bleibt Folgendes zur Lektüre dieser beeindruckenden Zusammenschau vom jüdischen Exil in Australien anzumerken: Der Leser wird durchgängig und unwillkürlich in die Zeitzeugen-Perspektive einbezogen; eines Blickwinkels, der immer komparativ fokussierte: Früher – Heute; Verdienter Habsburger – verfemter Jude; Bürger – Rechtloser; Warten – Fliehen; Hoffen – Resignieren; Verfolgt – Befreit; Entkommen – Nicht angekommen; Jude – "Reffo"; Australier – Neu-Australier; Wehmut – Lebenslust; Alte Welt – Neue Welt; Österreich: Sublimes Kultur-Relikt aus vergangenen Zeiten – Australien: Rustikaler Kontinent der Zukunft; Verlorene Heimat an der Donau – Asyl im Südpazifik; Erinnern – Hinter sich lassen; Alte Heimat – Neue Heimat. Im Gerüst dieser nicht ausgleichbaren, im Kern zu Lebzeiten der Flüchtlings-Generation unvereinbaren Gegensätze bewegen sich die Erinnerungsberichte, die die Projekt-ManagerInnen für diese Präsentation in glanzvoller Recherche nach Interview-Partnern und Nachlassverwaltern zusammengetragen haben. Es ist die Wahrnehmung des Gegensätzlichen und Unvereinbaren, die alle drei Teile einer unsichtbar übergreifenden Struktur des Diametralen unterwirft: Fast symbolisch fügen sich Fäden der Erinnerung zu ausgetretenen Lebenspfaden an das andere Ende der Welt. Das eigene Erleben von Ausweisung, Flucht und Einwanderung vernetzt sich zu oftmals übereinstimmender Erkenntnis, dass die Antipoden Antagonismus blieben – und doch Heimat werden konnten, ein fernes Asyl, an dem spätestens die Sprösslinge dieser Entwurzelten Fuß fassten.

Alle Bände bestechen durch zweisprachige Zeitachsen und spezielle historische Begriffsklärungen im Anhang, sodass dem Leser der Zugriff auf den historiographischen Kontext erleichtert wird. Überdies enthalten die einzelnen Beiträge geographische Karten, die die Fluchtrouten der Zeitzeugen visuell nachvollziehbar machen und zugleich verdeutlichen, in welchem Ausmaß Familien entwurzelt und zerrissen wurden. Unfassbar reiches Bild- und Dokumentationsmaterial – beispielsweise abgebildete Briefe, Geburts- und Trau-Urkunden, Schul- und Berufs-Zeugnisse, Vermögensverzeichnisse, Patente, Behördenbescheide, Zeitungsartikel und Fotos aus Privatarchiven – hauchen der Erinnerung an Heimat und Vertreibung, Flucht und Integration Leben ein und verleihen dem Abgedrucktem Authentizität sowie die Erkenntnis, dass jede Fluchtgeschichte von einem bewegenden Schicksal begleitet ist, das auch kundige Leser lernen lässt und emotional berührt.

Ein weiterer Vorzug der Dokumentation: Mehrere der Beiträge sind dankenswerter Weise in Deutsch *und* Englisch abgedruckt. Vielleicht ist es für den Leser nicht immer ganz leicht nachzuvollziehen, dass Teile der Generationen-übergreifenden Erinnerungen *einer* Familie über alle drei Bände verstreut skizziert werden, doch bei behutsamer Sichtung stört diese Marginalie den Lesefluss nur

unwesentlich. Allein problematisch erscheint es, dass bei dem sehr dankenswerten, gleichwohl ein wenig erzwungen wirkenden Versuch, die Aborigines in den historiographischen Bericht über das Geschehen der behandelten Historie einzubinden, übersehen wird, dass im Einzelfall drückender Not jüdische Siedlungsprojekte (wenngleich diese von keinem Erfolg gezeitigt waren), nicht zwangsläufig und nicht immer das Interesse und harmonische Miteinander mit den Aborigines im Auge hatten.[5] Eine Folgeauflage könnte hier auf die neueste Forschung verweisen – und zudem eine geringfügige Ungenauigkeit bei der statistischen Angabe zur Geschichte der First Fleet tilgen.

Ungeachtet dieser minimalen Auffälligkeiten ist das vorliegende Werk eine grandios gelungene Recherche-Leistung und Quellensammlung. Es fällt daher sehr leicht, diese Forschungs-Dokumentation allen historisch interessierten Lesern zu empfehlen, im besonderen aber solchen, die noch wenig wissen über die österreichische Perspektive einer Flucht aus dem Zugriff der Nationalsozialisten. Nicht zuletzt unter Nutzung vieler Optionen der modernen Mediengestaltung ist ein im Layout überaus attraktiv gestaltetes Werk entstanden, das u. a. Schlüsselzitate und biographische Bilanzen aus den Erinnerungen herauszieht, um diese gesondert auf Zwischenseiten, die als Unterfläche Wellen und Wasser abbilden, abzudrucken. Es steckt Symbolik hinter dieser redigierten Regie: Gedanken als Essenz eines Lebensweges in die Freiheit – Reflexionen gespiegelt wie das Licht auf dem Wasser des Ozeans, der Gerettete in die Freiheit trug. Gerade auch solchen Lesern, die bisher keine Gelegenheit hatten oder naturgemäß wohl kaum noch haben werden, Zeugen dieser Zeit zu befragen, sei das Konvolut an die Hand gegeben.

Die Lektüre der Augenzeugenberichte reißt den Leser mit: Ohne die Tragik der Auswirkungen geschichtlicher Prozesse auf das Individuum aus dem Fokus zu verlieren, müssen sich Beide, tiefgründig Analysierende und faszinierte Schnellleser, eingestehen, dass die biographische Sicht auf diese Geschichtsperiode leichtfüßig daherkommen kann und doch oder gerade deshalb klare Einsichten in die Schwere des Einzelschicksals eines Flüchtlings eröffnet. Dies und die Fülle an visualisierten Quellensammlungen, die das Gesagte und Erinnerte lebendig dokumentieren, sind das besondere Verdienst eines Werks, das als Kompendium für den einführenden Schulunterricht und die Quellen-orientierte Seminararbeit an der Universität hervorragend geeignet ist.

Ein gründlich recherchierter Fußnoten-Apparat bietet zusätzlich wertvolle Hinweise auf die rasant wachsende akademische Historiographie zu verschiedenen Aspekten der Thematik; einem historischen Geschehen, das dank dieser vorzüglichen Dokumentation von Lebenszeugnissen fast sinnlich nachvollziehbar wird. Hier erhalten die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus eine Stimme; Fotos erwecken ermordete Holocaust-Opfer zu Leben und konturieren die Entkommenen als Facetten – 'New Australians' – eines vielschichtig multikulturellen Australien; und aus der Retrospektive weht der Wind der Freiheit: Auch der tief in die Materie eingetauchte professionelle Leser wird ganz sicher den Duft der

5 Vgl. Alexandra Ludewig, Isaac Steinberg in Australien: Der Traum von einer jüdischen Kolonie in West- und Nordaustralien, S. 81.

ersehnten weiten und sicheren Welt spüren. In diesem Nacherleben des individuellen Weges in die Freiheit besteht der besondere und einzigartige Gewinn des Kompendiums.

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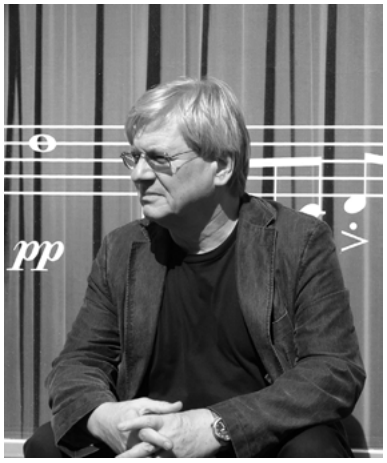

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Sarah Yu has worked with Kimberley aboriginal organisations for over 40 years as researcher, anthropologist, teacher/trainer curator and heritage consultant focusing on relationships between people and their connections to country. She has worked with Nyamba Buru Yawuru for over 10 years producing the award-winning Yawuru Cultural Management Plan; the Yawuru IPA plan. She helped to establish the Yawuru Cultural Reference Group and the Yawuru Mangara (living) archive. She has trained several emerging curators in the fields of cultural heritage management and interpretation with whom she curated a number of successful interpretive and exhibition projects: 'Lustre: Pearling & Australia, Jetty to Jetty and Opening the Commongate'.

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Chapter from edited volume: Surname, FirstName (at least one full name), Title: Subtitle, in: Editors, eds., EditedVolume, Location (one location, if more, write [et al.]): Publisher Year.
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Example: Smith, Alan B., Affluence and Identity, www.weirdwebsite.co.au (accessed 12 August 2020).
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