

## From the editors of this issue

We are delighted to announce two major innovations: an additional title for our journal as well as its new electronic format. To fully reflect the bilingual content, our *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* now carries the English title *Australian Studies Journal* – thanks to the brilliant idea of the former editor of this journal, Adi Wimmer (University of Klagenfurt). In addition to that, the journal comes in a new design. The face lift of the periodical is not the result of a new concept. The editors continue to be committed to the journal's tradition of rigorous refereeing policies, while allowing room for review articles and reviews to inform European and Australian readers about trends and innovations in publications relevant to Australian Studies. However, in the face of dwindling financial resources, it was deemed necessary to change the production of this journal from a printed version to an electronically published journal.

It is important that editors of academic journals keep up with new technologies and altering reading habits. In the past, particularly our Australian readers were faced with restricted access to our journal. The *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* was available mainly in University and State Libraries, thus difficult to obtain for readers in rural and remote communities. In the Northern Territory and South Australia, for example, it was only accessible through inter-library loan. In Europe, readers beyond the German-speaking countries had similar difficulties to consult our texts. The electronic version thus offers a unique opportunity for scholars, students and enthusiasts across the world to share innovative research in Australian Studies.

Quite apart from the new format, our guiding editorial principle remains: "High quality at a reasonable price, unconditionally available for everyone". We are convinced that print copies are not a mere luxury. Having a book, a journal or a newspaper in one's library is not so much a form of nostalgia than a question of accessibility for anyone with restricted internet access or visual impairment. We thus stay true to those of our readers wishing to obtain printed editions, therefore continuing to provide the option to

purchase a soft-cover printout. Our journal can thus still be collected in personal libraries. At the same time, authors will discover the advantage of using the new electronic technologies which make direct access to web resources possible, such as pictures, articles, experts, and opinions in Government committees or State Archives, in academic institutions and discussion panels.

It is our pleasure to present another interesting issue with exciting perspectives of research. This year's contributions inspire discussions in different fields of interest. Once more, the interdisciplinary approach of this journal is reflected in a circle of contributors who, with their articles, present the latest knowledge in the field of Media and Film History, Indigenous Australian Literature, Peace Studies, Translation Studies, Cultural Criticism, Colonial History and Education.

John McGowan (Adelaide) considers the variety of ways in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been depicted in a selection of Australian motion pictures. In his article, he develops the idea of an "arc of acceptance" to indicate the progression of the representation of Indigenous people in the history of Australian cinema. Marilyne Brun (Université de Lorraine, France) addresses another sensitive issue in Australian society: The visual representation of Australian immigration history. In her colourful discussion of SBS's television series *Immigration Nation* (2010/11), Brun offers a sharp analysis of trends and approaches to the study of constructions and perceptions of Australian history in national TV documentary. In her article, she focuses on the power of images and their considered use in the context of historical storytelling. Oliver Haag (University of Edinburgh) presents an analysis of how German-speaking publishers have advertised and construed translated Indigenous Australian texts. Drawing on Gerard Genette's concepts of paratexts, Haag's study shows the bearing of the domestication of racial narratives and the still lingering exoticism on the production of Indigenous literature in translation.

In April 1915, the Australian public will be reminded of the ill-fated military campaign of the ANZACS in the Dardanelles. However, interdisciplinary research is not limited to the experience of war on the battlefield. Henriette von Holleuffer's essay explores the function and perception of the island of Lemnos as a time capsule – a place beyond the battlefields of Gallipoli which provided a space of recovery and contemplation within World War I, and this, in particular, for many Australian soldiers.

As editors of the journal, we attempt to foster the practice of Australian Studies as a multidisciplinary endeavour, thereby positioning the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / Australian Studies Journal* as a crucial forum for exchanging innovative scholarship. We regard the bilingual direction of the journal as one of its central strengths and unmistakable sign of plurality. We strongly encourage future submissions in both German and English language. Meanwhile, our Association continues to issue a bi-annual electronic Newsletter which presents news, reports and debates on Australia's current affairs. Australianists can visit the *e-Newsletter* on **[www.australienstudien.org](http://www.australienstudien.org)**.

As part of our ongoing editorial innovations, we have great pleasure to welcome two distinguished academics as members of the journal's Advisory Board: historian Victoria Grieves (University of Sydney) and Aileen Moreton-Robinson (University of Technology, Brisbane), an internationally known expert on critical whiteness and Indigenous studies. In close collaboration with the members of the Advisory Board we continue to position the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / Australian Studies Journal* as a central journal of Australia-related academic research in Europe. The production of this issue would not have been possible without the efforts of our authors, reviewers and anonymous referees. In particular, our gratitude goes to Elisabeth Bähr, Lindsay Frost and Guido Isekenmeier who helped in the final steps towards completion of the first online version. We really appreciate that! Thank you.

*Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (December 2014)*

## ESSAYS

John J. McGowan

From "Eve in Ebony" to a "Bran Nue Dae":  
The Representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander  
People in Australian Motion Pictures – A Synopsis<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

The year 2014 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the first transmission by the *Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)* television service of a remarkable series of Aboriginal-themed documentary programs. The six-part series, called *Six Australians*, was caesural in that it was the first time that contemporary Aboriginal people had been given an opportunity to tell their own stories on Australian national television in a series designed for that purpose. This was a television series that was neither dramatised nor ethnographic. It was about real people – three men and three women – recounting their own stories as people whose lives spanned two cultures.

I am proud to say that, as director of the series, I was honoured in 1984 with the inaugural Australian Human Rights Commission Media Award (McGowan). This essay, partly based on my own experiences as series director, reflects on the representation of Aboriginal Australians in Australian film and television.

The underlying aim of the series was to provide positive role models for young Aboriginal people. This broad aim had been the decision of an advisory committee of educators, including some who were Aboriginal, convened in the manner of the then standard procedure at the *ABC*. The committee agreed that the six programs would be

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a paper presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> Biennial GAST Conference, University of Stuttgart, September 2012.

gender balanced by featuring three men and three women, and that there would also be an attempt to achieve a cultural balance within the Aboriginal community by choosing people from the length, breadth and centre of Australia. It was also decided that the people chosen would not be individuals with especially high profiles in the wider community. This was done to encourage viewers to consider that the achievements of the people who appeared in the programs were on a scale that could, possibly, be emulated in everyday life.

As writer, director and interviewer, I was then given ultimate responsibility for the entire project: from the design of the programs through to directing and interviewing in the field and the supervision of post production. The six people chosen to participate in the series were selected after more than a year of consultations with Aboriginal organisations across Australia. I was involved in this entire process and had discussions with most of the people who were suggested as potential participants. Eventually, I guided the choice of participants towards those individuals who I believed had interesting stories to relate and who I felt would be able to convey those stories effectively to a general television audience. The budget allowed for just six programs and it had been decided that each program would feature only one individual which meant that many potential participants had to be left out. Filming for the series took place over the course of two years and included location shooting in a number of remote areas of the north, the west and central Australia. The recording medium used was sixteen millimetre colour film and all post-production was undertaken at the ABC facility in Adelaide, South Australia. From its first transmission the series was praised enthusiastically by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal viewers and the ABC chose to give the series repeat transmissions over a number of years.

During the ten years following the success of *Six Australians* I worked as a writer and director on a number of other Aboriginal-related television and video projects, including the *Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)* television current affairs series, *First in Line*, and other video productions for the federally-funded Aboriginal

Development Commission. Later, after the publication of my biography of Hollywood pioneer actor-director J.P. (John Paterson) McGowan in 2005, I turned my attention to writing about motion pictures.

This article arose from a fusion of my earlier television work with Aboriginal people and my current focus on motion pictures. Some of the material in this article has resulted from discussions I have had with directors Rolf de Heer - *The Tracker* (2002), *Ten Canoes* (2006) and *Charlie's Country* (2014) - and Warwick Thornton - *Samson and Delilah* (2009). Warwick Thornton's mother, Freda Glynn, was one of the people featured in *Six Australians* and, as a teenager, was auditioned for the role of *Jedda* in that groundbreaking movie which is discussed later in this article.

To assist in my consideration of the history of the representation of Aboriginal people in motion pictures, I developed the concept of the *arc of acceptance*. This is a visual tool designed to illustrate with its simple upward swing, the proposition that, since the release of *Jedda* in 1955, the depiction of Aboriginal people in motion pictures has been moving steadily upwards towards their acceptance as an integral part of the multicultural Australian society. The question of whether movies produced since *Jedda*, do, in fact, provide evidence to support this concept will be explored in this article.

In its audiovisual archive the *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies* lists more than six million feet of film footage and has also archived over five thousand video titles (AIATSIS 2012) so, in preparing this article, I have had to be selective about my choice of subject matter. I have therefore chosen to focus my discussion mainly on a group of eight movies which I regard as providing landmark indicators of the ways in which Indigenous people have been represented in Australian films. The eight key movies dealt with in this paper are: *Jedda* (1955), *Walkabout* (1971), *Storm Boy* (1976), *The Tracker* (2002), *Ten Canoes* (2006), *Samson and Delilah* (2009), *Bran Nue Dae* (2009), and *The Sapphires* (2012).

In terms of the representation of Aboriginal people in Australian motion pictures we are fortunate in being able to witness a remarkably significant moment in time. In 2012 a movie made *about* Aboriginal people *by* Aboriginal people was released into the international distribution mainstream. The movie is called *The Sapphires* and it relates the true story of four Aboriginal girls who formed a singing group back in 1968 and found themselves entertaining large audiences of American troops during the Vietnam War.

### *The Sapphires 2012*

This is a polished, well-made movie which celebrates the triumph of the human spirit and it is a vibrant celebration of Aboriginality. It tugs at the heartstrings, uplifts audiences and leaves them feeling good. It is a movie crafted almost entirely by Aboriginal people. The screenplay was written by Tony Briggs, an Aboriginal playwright whose mother was one of the original *Sapphires*. In addition, the director, choreographer and director of photography were all Aboriginal people. I regard *The Sapphires* as the single most powerful demonstration of the manner in which Aboriginal people can now be represented in contemporary motion pictures.

*The Sapphires* is set apart from most other Australian-produced movies in that it has not been limited to the so-called *art house* circuit but instead has gone straight into a mainstream theatrical release. Not only did it open on almost three hundred screens across Australia, but it has also been sold to major distributors outside Australia, including the *Weinstein Group* in the United States. In Germany, it was distributed by the Berlin-based *Senator Entertainment Group*.

The four young women who formed *The Sapphires* came from humble backgrounds, but they are depicted in the movie as feisty and humorous: confident about the qualities of their own personalities and proud of their Aboriginal heritage. But there is something else that makes this movie remarkable. The women are depicted as Aboriginal, contending with racial prejudice and

marginalisation, but they are also shown to be – at the same time – ordinary Australian women. In their terms, and in terms of what the audience accepts, they are shown to be a part of ordinary Australian life.

There are problems and issues to be dealt with, and back in 1968 there were even more racial issues than there are now, but, against the odds, these four women – in real life – managed to make something of their lives. There is a touching moment right at the end of the film, when a still image shows the *real Sapphires* as they are now: four happily-smiling grey-haired middle-aged women who have, between them, seven grandchildren. The caption notes that they “*still sing to their grandchildren*” (The Sapphires 2012 DVD).

### **The “Arc of Acceptance”**

*The Sapphires* is at the leading edge of a gradual, upward trajectory of positive change in the manner in which Aboriginal people have been represented on film. This change parallels a wider growth of understanding of Australia’s Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous Australians. This growth of understanding is reflected in legislative changes over the past 60 years and reached a high point in 2008 when Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, apologised to the “Stolen Generations”, those people who, as children, were forcibly taken away from their families under a variety of so-called Protection Acts from 1900 until the 1970s.

I have chosen to use the concept of an *arc of acceptance* to illustrate the gradual process of the development of an increasing understanding and acceptance of Aboriginal people as an equal element in Australia’s multi-cultural society. Within the Australian community there is still a vast amount to be done to improve attitudes toward the treatment of Aboriginal peoples. So, within the broad Australian community, the *arc of acceptance* still has a long way to travel. However, at least in the movies, there is increasing understanding.



During the past thirty years, Aboriginal people themselves have developed much greater control over the manner in which they are represented on screen, and this has led to much more diverse screen images of Indigenous people. This is not to say that, even with a much greater degree of control of the means of production by Aboriginal people, we will no longer see what may be called traditional images of Indigenous people on screen. The movie *Ten Canoes*, released in 2006, was largely conceived by Aboriginal people themselves and portrays an image of Aboriginal people which is grounded in a traditional context. However, with movies such as *The Sapphires* and *Bran Nue Dae* reaching large audiences, it seems likely that, in the future, audiences can expect to find much greater diversity in the ways in which Indigenous people are depicted on screen; and this development, perhaps paradoxically, will have been driven by the creative decisions of Indigenous people themselves. It is a strong part of what I call the upward trajectory of *the arc of acceptance*.

While the main focus of this paper is on the representation of Indigenous people on screen from 1955 to the present, some pre-1955 backgrounding is necessary. So, at this point, I will take a brief excursion back to a much earlier, but very significant, date. Australia's Indigenous peoples have been represented on film since the earliest years of cinematography. In 1898, just three years after the Lumière brothers astounded audiences in Paris with their demonstrations of pictures that moved, a British anthropologist, Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) recorded splendid images of the ceremonial dances and fire-making rituals of the people of the Island of Mer in the Torres Strait to Australia's north (Long and McKernan 2008). Haddon's images were recorded on 35 millimetre film and are said to have been "the first ever use of the medium as an ethnographic record" (ibid). Some of this very early material still survives and has been preserved by *Australia's National Film and Sound Archive* in Canberra.

## Charles and Elsa Chauvel

With regard to the earliest representations of Aboriginal people in dramatised films I need to introduce an Australian filmmaker – a true auteur – whose work eventually formed a turning point in the manner in which Indigenous people were seen on film. This man is Charles Chauvel (1897-1959). In a career of over 30 years, he made nine feature movies in Australia, on most of them working as producer, writer, director, publicist and, sometimes, as an actor as well. During this time he also made four long visits to Hollywood where he sought to inform himself about movie-making techniques and technology. Most of his films were made in a collaborative partnership with his wife Elsa (1898-1983) (Cunningham 1991:3).

Three of the Chauvels' movies, made between 1935 and 1955, included depictions of Aboriginal people, but there was great change in this twenty-year period. In the first two of these movies, *Heritage* (1935) and *Uncivilised* (1936), the representations of Aboriginal people closely follow the attitudes prevailing in the broader Australian community at the time. In *Heritage*, the Indigenous people appear as threats to the non-Aboriginal settlers. They are shown as the enemy that must be conquered and subdued by the European colonists. In *Uncivilised* a white man lives amongst Indigenous people in the manner of a Great White Chief and Aboriginal protagonists are shown as savages who make tribal war on each other. However, by 1955 the Chauvels' attitude towards Aboriginal people had undergone a vast change, and this resulted in the watershed movie *Jedda*.

### *Jedda* 1955

Writing in 1989, the Chauvels' daughter, Susanne Chauvel Carlsson, described her parents' decision to star two Aboriginal people in a colour feature film set in outback Australia, as being "like a step into the unknown" (Carlsson 1989: 151). Carlsson notes that "initial response to their (proposed) venture was incredulity" and that the Chauvels' usual financiers, *Universal*, "thought the *Jedda* concept too

unusual to succeed". The movie was eventually financed, according to Carlsson, by "various Sydney businessmen" (ibid).

The Chauvels' visionary leap was to construct a screenplay in which they gave their Aboriginal leading protagonists personalities and layered characters which set out to present them as real people with real emotions. *Jedda* herself is a person in conflict: a child-woman torn between two cultures. She has been raised as the adopted daughter of non-Aboriginal parents but has a desire to discover more about her own culture. It is this desire that initially attracts her to a tribal man, Marbuk. The character of Marbuk is also complex. He is a man of mystery and a person who is fully immersed in tribal culture. However, Marbuk is also an outlaw who has contravened European law as well as the precepts of his own people. This powerful mixture drives the plot of *Jedda*.

In the early 1950s there were no Aboriginal actors in Australia, so the Chauvels had to seek out untried unknowns and then coach them through their roles. It was a daunting task for both the Chauvels and the performers. A man from the Tiwi Islands, north of Darwin, Robert Tudawali (1929-1967), was chosen to play the tribal man Marbuk, while Rosalie Kunoth, a sixteen year old girl then still at school in Alice Springs, was selected for the title role of *Jedda*.

*Jedda* is far from perfect as a movie and this, perhaps, reflects the challenging task which the Chauvels had set for themselves in attempting to develop a story to "match the magnificent backgrounds" (Cunningham 157) of northern Australia, and then setting out to tell that story using untrained leading actors. The narration of the story is lacking in cohesion, and the development of the characters is uneven and melodramatic. In addition, its observations and attitudes toward Aboriginal people would be guaranteed to provide today's audiences with fuel for much debate and discussion over the nature of its racial representation. Indeed, the expression *Eve in Ebony* is one such point of possible contention. I have used this expression as part of the title of this paper because it appears in promotional material associated with *Jedda*, often as a

kind of subtitle for the movie. There are clearly Biblical associations with this subtitle. However, the Biblical story of Adam and Eve is in fact inverted so that instead of Eve leading Adam astray, in the movie it is the 'Adam' character – Marbuk – who leads *Jedda* or 'Eve' astray. This subtitle also carries some implication of nudity, conjuring up images of black people romping about naked in a kind of Garden of Eden: a titivating and enticing prospect, no doubt designed to lure potential audiences during the very conservative nineteen-fifties. Charles Chauvel, of course, was a student of the ways of Hollywood (Cunningham 40-41) and he knew only too well that, when it comes to advertising, 'sex sells'.

However, as drama, *Jedda's* value lies in its bold attempt to create layered characters for its Aboriginal stars as well as its determination to depict Aboriginal cultures – particularly in sequences showing the man's tribal group – as having their own validity and separation from the white world. *Jedda* broke new ground for Australian film production in a number of ways. Not only was it the first movie to give central roles to Aboriginal people, but it was also the first colour feature film shot in Australia. The Chauvels made fine use of the colour film to capture the rich ochre tones in the spectacular rock formations of Australia's north and the vast, untamed landscapes of the region which is now known as Kakadu National Park. Reactions to the movie were varied. A New South Wales magazine for Aboriginal people (*Dawn*, cited by Cunningham 159) praised it for instilling racial pride while the journal of cultural comment, *Overland*, wrote that it peddled "the worst kind of racist nonsense" (ibid). However, it received major theatrical release in Australia and was distributed overseas. It also became the first Australian motion picture to be invited to participate in the Film Festival at Cannes (ibid). Yet, it was the Chauvels' last motion picture. The year after *Jedda* was released, television arrived in Australia, and local feature film production fell into the doldrums for a period of around fifteen years.

However, by the time Australian motion picture production increased again in the 1970s, there was a new attitude toward the

representation of Aboriginal people in big screen movies. *Jedda* had pointed the way, and the next movies involving Aboriginal people would go a step further, depicting them more thoughtfully and representing them for who and what they are, tacitly acknowledging them as Australia's First People and as such, the true custodians of the land. This new attitude would effectively recognise that Aboriginal people have an impressive range of life skills as part of a deeply spiritual culture, developed over thousands of years of successful habitation of the often harsh Australian environment. The new attitude, expressed in these new motion pictures, also represented Aboriginal people as accommodating to white society, while still retaining their own culture. This I consider a major turning point and an important point of difference between the new attitude and the earlier, assimilationist view, which is seen in the Chauvels' *Jedda*.

With these new movies there emerged a genuine Aboriginal actor, a prodigiously talented performer whose image would become the instantly recognisable face of Aboriginality on the big screen right up to the present time. This man's name is David Gulpilil Ridjimiralil Dalaithngu.

### *Walkabout 1971*

The next three movies which I will discuss form a kind of trilogy, illustrating both the development of David Gulpilil's career and the development, over the past four decades, of a new attitude underlying the depiction of Indigenous people on screen. David Gulpilil has been described by director Rolf de Heer as Australia's "finest Indigenous actor" (*Interview: Rolf de Heer*). He was born in 1953 in Australia's Northern Territory and grew up in a tribal community in Arnhem Land. The *Australian Centre for the Moving Image* records that, "It was his talent for traditional dancing that led the 16-year-old Gulpilil to be cast in Nicolas Roeg's film *Walkabout* (1971) ... [and that] ... This performance turned Gulpilil into an international star overnight" (ACMI 2012). Following *Walkabout*, Gulpilil worked in television as well as appearing in a number of significant movies; in 2002, he was awarded Best Actor by the

*Australian Film Institute* for his role in Rolf de Heer's film *The Tracker*.

Gulpilil's first movie, *Walkabout*, is a challenging film, containing examples of the narrative eccentricities often encountered in movies from the early 1970s. Although its director and writer are British, the landscape and the casting of David Gulpilil make the movie unequivocally Australian. The story concerns two British children, a teenage girl and her seven year old brother, who are abandoned by their father in the Australian outback. In this wilderness, the children appear destined for certain death until they are joined by an Aboriginal youth, played by Gulpilil, who is on a journey, or walkabout, as part of his initiation rites. The youth emerges from the desert landscape as though he is a part of it. He is naked except for a loincloth. He has no name and speaks no English. Over the course of the movie, his impressive skills as a hunter-gatherer enable him to sustain himself and the children with food and water over many days while he navigates them back to safety.

In this, the first of the movies reflecting the new attitude to Indigenous people, the Aboriginal youth is depicted as the saviour of the helpless white children. It is his culture, and the skills he has learned as part of that, which make the difference between life and death for the brother and sister. There is no suggestion that the youth is a wild savage. He is purely and simply a young man who is at home in his natural environment: a person who lives in a symbiotic, harmonious relationship with the land – *his* land.

### *Storm Boy 1976*

Five years later, in the movie *Storm Boy*, Gulpilil again played the character of an Aboriginal man who becomes the protector of a white child. *Storm Boy* was one of the earliest productions of the Government-funded *South Australian Film Corporation*. It was based on a novel by the popular German-Australian children's author Colin Thiele who was also closely involved with the writing of the screenplay. This time, Gulpilil's character *does* have a name: he is Fingerbone Bill, one of the last of his tribe who, until white settlers

came, inhabited the coastal region of sand dunes and shallow lakes known as *The Coorong*, about one hundred kilometres southeast of the city of Adelaide.

As with the Aboriginal youth in *Walkabout*, Fingerbone Bill is depicted as living in harmony with his environment. However, author Colin Thiele takes this notion a step further and gives this character a mystical connection with the elements which, in a dramatic sequence in the story, appears to enable him to summon up a violent storm by way of punishing a group of thoughtless white men who are despoiling the sand dunes and creating havoc amongst the wild creatures living there. The central core of *Storm Boy* – the issue of environmental protection – was given expression with this film far ahead of its time.

It is clear that the Aboriginal man, Fingerbone Bill, is the embodiment of Colin Thiele's views of the relationship that *should* exist between man and this pristine region. The Aboriginal man lives lightly upon the land, like his forebears did for thousands of years, nurturing it and taking from it only what he needs to sustain him, according to Aboriginal belief. It is the Aboriginal man who is depicted as the defender of this place of wild beauty. He is also the protector of those who live in harmony within it – the birds, such as the great pelicans, and the child, *Storm Boy*. He also instructs the white boy with his wisdom – a strong piece of symbolism indicating Thiele's view that European Australians have much to learn from their Aboriginal fellow citizens. And it is David Gulpilil who brings this character to life on screen to perfection.

### *The Tracker 2002*

In 2002, *auteur* director Rolf de Heer cast David Gulpilil in the leading role of his Australian Western, *The Tracker*, in which three policemen on horseback trek through a mountainous region of the outback in pursuit of an Aboriginal man who is suspected of the murder of a white woman. In this movie, Gulpilil's character again has no name; he is simply *The Tracker*, an Aboriginal man pressed into the service of the police in order to use his skills as a hunter to

track down the fugitive. It is clear from early in the movie that this man is serving the police reluctantly. The senior policeman is a brutal murderer who shoots Aboriginal people without provocation and hangs their bodies from trees as a warning to others of the fate which awaits them. At the beginning of the film *The Tracker* leaves the police camp without permission and this arouses the anger and suspicion of the senior policeman. As punishment, he uses the chain prepared for the fugitive to shackle *The Tracker* like a dog; and the Aboriginal man is depicted in this condition for much of the rest of the film.

As the story unfolds, the Aboriginal tracker gradually reveals that he is the moral and intellectual superior of his brutish white master – the white policeman. Despite the humiliation of having to wear a chain around his neck, it is *he* who cleverly beguiles the policeman, eventually leading him away from the path of the wanted man.

Rolf de Heer, the writer-director of this movie, was born in the Netherlands and migrated with his parents to Australia when he was ten years old – so he may not immediately seem like the most obvious person to be making a film on the theme of the persecution of Aboriginal people. In preparing this article I interviewed de Heer in order to establish why he was drawn to making movies about Aboriginal people. I first asked him why he had chosen to undertake *The Tracker*. His initial response came in one word: “outrage” (Interview: Rolf de Heer 2012). He said that during the 1990s, while researching another Indigenous project, he learned of a history which, he said, he “had not been taught in school”. As a result, he said: “I just felt this rage. Because it was horrible. And there was no real voice yet. And I was just drawn to it as a consequence – to help give voice” (ibid). He said that his next Aboriginal-themed film, *Ten Canoes*, flowed from the relationship he had developed with David Gulpilil while making *The Tracker*. He said: “David wanted me to make a film with him and his people on his land” (ibid).

### *Ten Canoes 2006*

In 2005 de Heer went to live for a time amongst David Gulpilil’s



people at Ramingining, in Arnhem Land, and the movie *Ten Canoes* was the result: a collaborative effort involving de Heer, Gulpilil and many Aboriginal people of the region. *Ten Canoes* conveys the feeling of a documentary depicting how the Aboriginal people of Arnhem Land lived their lives before the coming of the white man. However, it does have a dramatised narrative spine which unfolds two stories told in parallel. Both of the stories are set sometime in the past – before European colonisation.

This movie is at a high point on the curve of the *arc of acceptance* because it reveals Aboriginal people in the manner in which they express their wish to be portrayed, in this instance, recalling and celebrating their own history as skillful hunter-gatherers whose lives were conducted within an intricately structured cultural fabric. For non-Aboriginal audiences the movie has an educative role, informing the viewer about how Aboriginal people lived before the European invasion. *Ten Canoes* broke new ground in a number of ways, not least because of the respectful collaborative manner in which Rolf de Heer acted as facilitator in order to enable the people of Ramingining to be deeply involved in the process of making the film – from concept to completion. The film was also the first Aboriginal-themed movie to have a sound track entirely in an Aboriginal language, although, for its theatrical release, the dialogue was subtitled in English and the background story was narrated in English with David Gulpilil providing the voice-over.

In terms of the involvement of Aboriginal people in the process of production, *Ten Canoes* could be considered a cross-over film, a movie in which Aboriginal people had a great deal of input but which was, ultimately, under the guidance of a non-Aboriginal director. It is just over twenty years since Aboriginal author Marcia Langton issued a call for Aboriginal people to take greater control over media productions which impinge on their culture (Langton 1993) and indeed, Aboriginal directors, some of them *auteurs*, are now taking control and telling their own stories in their own way. This change raises the question about the role which non-Aboriginal directors might have in the future when it comes to presenting Indigenous

stories on screen. This issue has been considered by Aboriginal documentary producer and historian, Frances Peters Little, who, in 2002, wrote: "What I most hope for is for black and white filmmakers to become more courageous in their representations of Aboriginal people" (Little). I asked Rolf de Heer about the role of white directors on Aboriginal projects and he responded by saying: "I think there's only a role if it is asked of them ... I would never have done *Ten Canoes* except that I was asked to do it" (Interview: Rolf de Heer).

Subsequently, David Gulpilil again asked Rolf de Heer to collaborate with him in creating another movie. On this occasion, while David Gulpilil was serving time in prison for alcohol related offences, Rolf de Heer and he co-wrote the screenplay for the dramatic story of an ageing contemporary Aboriginal man caught between two worlds. Upon his release from prison David Gulpilil played the leading role in *Charlie's Country* (2013) which Rolf de Heer directed. For his performance, David Gulpilil won the Best Actor award in the *Un Certain Regard* category at the 2014 Cannes Film Festival.

### **The 'small screen'**

Before I move on to look at two movies which are almost entirely Aboriginal in origin and production I would like to take a brief sidestep into the world of the 'small screen'. Movies which are almost entirely Aboriginal did not just come out of the blue. The momentum for this has derived from a great deal of groundwork in the form of Aboriginal television production whereby the beginnings of this can be found in the establishment in 1980 of the *Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA)*. Initially broadcasting in radio, CAAMA expanded into television in 1986 and, two years later, formed a subsidiary, *CAAMA Productions Pty Ltd.*, to "perform the function of a commercial film and television production house" (CAAMA 2012). *CAAMA Productions* now claims to be "the largest Indigenous production house in Australia" (ibid). A number of other locally-based Indigenous production and broadcasting organisations have followed, and both of Australia's federally funded

television organisations, *ABC TV* and *SBS TV*, have also established Indigenous production units. In 2007, the Federal Government established the *National Indigenous Television Service (NITV)* and in 2012 provided additional funding to expand the service into a new channel which would have “its own distinctive identity, a high level of editorial independence and appropriate Indigenous representation” (Willis 2012:64). In 1993, Australia’s peak motion picture funding body, *Screen Australia* (formerly the Australian Film Commission), set up an Indigenous Branch specifically to promote “the quality and diversity of Indigenous films” (Screen Australia 2007). By 2007, in a publication entitled “*Dreaming in Motion – Celebrating Australia’s Indigenous Filmmakers*”, *Screen Australia* was able to profile 26 Indigenous directors, producers and cinematographers who had successfully engaged in film production as a result of the Indigenous Branch program (ibid). The 26 people mentioned include the director of *The Sapphires*, Wayne Blair, the director of *Samson and Delilah*, Warwick Thornton, and the director of *Bran Nue Dae*, Rachel Perkins. Clearly, over the past thirty years, there has been a large amount of Government funding expended to provide opportunities for Indigenous people to tell their stories and represent themselves in Australian electronic media and film. The results are there to be seen in television productions which are broadcast all over Australia every day of the year.

### *Samson and Delilah 2009*

*Samson and Delilah* has a direct connection back into Aboriginal television. This movie was released in 2009 and was the creation of Aboriginal *auteur*, Warwick Thornton. He is the son of one of the founders of CAAMA, Freda Glynn, and learned his craft as a camera operator while a trainee at *CAAMA Productions*. *Samson and Delilah* is a movie which simply could not have been made by anyone except an Indigenous filmmaker. Certainly, no white director would have dared, given the representation of domestic violence and degradation. The movie withholds nothing from the viewer in depicting the ragged, debased, and squalid world in which many Aboriginal people spend their lives. It is a world which Warwick Thornton was able to observe at first hand during his childhood in

Alice Springs in Australia's Northern Territory. Thornton says it was these close observations of the community around him which eventually led him to create the world of *Samson and Delilah* (Interview: Warwick Thornton 2009). Thornton thrusts this world onto the screen with every gut-wrenching detail: a world of tragic disorder which provides the backdrop for a love story about two teenagers who really have not got a chance. The movie thus becomes a plea for understanding and a cry for help. It depicts Aboriginal people in a manner in which *other* Aboriginal people *want* them to be seen and observed. The movie shows audiences that these Aboriginal people are an integral part of the Australian community – not set apart from it.

I chose to use the title of the movie *Bran Nue Dae* as part of the title of this article mainly because it seems to indicate a fresh beginning, a "brand new day", and a rejuvenation of the manner in which Aboriginal people can be represented on screen. In this movie which is an effervescent multi-racial musical, Aboriginal Australians are shown to be living their lives as part of the framework of the everyday Australian community. Their lives are far from easy and there are racial issues to be dealt with, but the Aboriginal people are proud and comfortable with their Aboriginality.

The ethos of the movie is best summed-up in the title of one of its headline songs: "There is nothing I would rather be – than to be an Aborigine" (*Bran Nue Dae* 2009 DVD). As with *The Sapphires*, *Bran Nue Dae* is based on a successful theatrical musical by an Aboriginal author and thereby reflects the influence of theatre and dance as a well-spring for Indigenous motion pictures.

## **Conclusion**

*Bran Nue Dae* did well at the Australian box office. By January 2014, it was ranked at #35 on the list of the Top 100 Australian films for box office returns (Screen Australia Research 2014) and could be seen as having opened the door for the success of *The Sapphires*. Both movies sit at the topmost level of the *arc of acceptance*:

Indigenous people depicting themselves and being accepted as themselves by the wider, multicultural Australian audience. In a comment on the box-office success of *The Sapphires*, its director, Wayne Blair, stated: "What does this mean to Indigenous Australia? Look, it's four black women on the big screen for the first time just having the same wants and needs as non-Indigenous women" (Swift 2012a). Australian box office returns quickly placed *The Sapphires* high amongst the top grossing Australian movies of all time (Swift 2012b) and, by January 2014, it ranked at #15 (Screen Australia Research). In addition, the movie has achieved many industry accolades – both at home and overseas. At the second *Australian Academy of Cinema and Television Arts Awards* the movie took six awards, including Best Picture (Blatchford 2013).

The question of Aboriginal representation has influenced me in my work with Aboriginal people and the observations I have made are, as outlined in this study, of an increasing self-determination and acceptance. In my 1984 television documentary series *Six Australians*, I set out to provide a program structure in which six Indigenous people could tell the stories of their lives on camera with a minimum of intrusion. The subtitle of the series stated that these people were: "*telling their own stories*" (McGowan 1984). Now, in their own motion pictures, Australian Indigenous people are confidently telling their own stories to the whole world, and on the big screen.

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Henriette von Holleuffer

“Lemnos: This Little Piece of Earth”<sup>1</sup>

Moments of Peace away from Battle 1915/16:

Australia’s War-Time Experience of an Aegean Arcadia

“Even rumours of war fail to penetrate this Aegean elisium [Elysium]” (Monash 23.9.1915, in: Niall and Thompson, eds., 158). Lemnos: Island of war or icon of peace? This article will focus on various representations created by Australians like General John Monash who stayed on the island of Lemnos during the Gallipoli campaign 1915/1916.

The military story of Australia’s relation to Lemnos has been told by eye-witnesses, historians, and novelists. However, most writing does not give attention to Lemnos as a space of cultural contacts or subject of reflection. Historians are interested in the question of how peace, within times of war, is represented in intercultural contexts, across international borders, and during different historical periods. Interdisciplinary research is not limited to the experience of war on the battlefield. It also focuses on peaceful places and interim periods of peace – locations and time periods beyond the trenches (Gibson and Mollan 3-4).<sup>2</sup> Scholarship has recently pointed to “a lack of sufficient engagement with issues of [social] representation” of peace (6). The critique is part of a discussion about the question of how representations of “peace and conflict have intersected in recent years” (4). Meanwhile, this has led to the establishment of an important field of research which examines “the notion of *cultures of peace*” in times of war (4). I will follow this discussion: This essay explores the function and perception of Lemnos as a time capsule –

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<sup>1</sup> This title is a quote taken from Cpl. Ivor Alexander Williams, *Diary of My Trip Abroad 1915-19*, 3.1.1916. The author of this essay gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Professor Jan E. Bender (Portland, Oregon) who commented upon an earlier version of the article.

<sup>2</sup> I will refer to Gibson and Mollan’s definition of peace “which simply involves the absence of direct violence”; labelled as “negative peace”.



a place beyond the battlefields of Gallipoli which provided a space of recovery and contemplation within World War I.

The island of Lemnos was the main transit harbour for the Gallipoli landings of the Allied Forces during the Dardanelles Campaign. An expanded view at “the impact of war on the iconography and organization of cultural space” in close proximity to battlefields such as Gallipoli deserves consideration, according to a group of interdisciplinary researchers (Baraban et al. 13). Moreover, the story of Greek-Australian encounters in the twentieth century cannot be written without referring to the island of Lemnos as an area for transcultural contacts (Percopo 100). During the Dardanelles Campaign, nearly 60,000 soldiers of the ANZAC Mediterranean Expeditionary Force passed through the military waters close to the harbour at Lemnos (Sweet 2013). Although the majority of the Australians stayed on board their transit ships, many were allowed to visit the island (Lemnos Gallipoli Commemorative Committee). These visitors from overseas entered an ancient space of intercultural contact. For a short period of time, Lemnos developed into a meeting place where Greek Orthodox islanders and their Turkish neighbours came together with a young generation of Australian men and women. Wartime Lemnos provided flexible approaches to foreign perceptions of an Aegean island – recorded in diaries and photographs left behind by many Australians who neither would have had the wealth nor the opportunity to travel in times of peace at the turn of the last century.

## **Introduction**

This article focuses on the island of Lemnos as a subject of metaphorical interpretation. It also draws attention to a group of Australians who discovered an island of tranquillity during times of war: Australia’s military personnel who took part in the Gallipoli campaign had different social and educational backgrounds. These men and women created a kaleidoscope of impressions which may verify the hypothesis that the experience of war does not always turn into images of violence. In other words, wartime narrative and

wartime photography is not necessarily limited to images of destruction, death or suffering. Soldiers, nurses or war artists always did take up pen or camera to document what they saw. Also the touristic places beyond the battlefields were of interest to Australian military personnel. A large number of photographic albums and diaries recorded their deployments in Egypt or France during World War I. But in the exemplary case of Lemnos it is the moment of peace away from battle which makes its documentation special. In this context, the following question begs to be answered: Did the Australian wartime experience on the ancient island of Lemnos reflect any traditional perceptions of a timeless Arcadia or Elysium? My essay will show that the perception of peace in times of war was an aesthetic experience already discernible in the classical reading of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and his doctrine of the *transcendental aesthetic* (Kant 65-73). I will argue that the *sensibility* to see Lemnos as it was, beautiful, even though it was not unaffected by war's ugly side, is a parameter for the appreciation of human life.

However, such theoretical approach must take the contemporary philosophical debate about the nature of aesthetic experience into account (Carroll). American philosopher and art critic Noël Carroll, for example, identifies "aesthetic experience as a matter of valuing", and by doing so emphasizes the emotional context of "a certain state of mind" as an important factor which determines the character of the aesthetic experience (165). The experience of war has an impact on the human state of mind as it is a traumatic event which causes physical and emotional pain. "Alongside physical suffering there was the inevitable problem of psychological trauma", the Dutch medical historian Leo van Bergen has written (205). He points to the fact that "numbness" which he diagnoses as a typical psychological war injury "could tip over into inhumanity and a complete lack of respect for human life" (215). This psychological injury (= *wound*) had already been paraphrased by Sophocles in his adaptation of the story of *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.) on Lemnos (Sophocles, *Philoctetes*). Historian Rhona Justice-Malloy argues that Sophocles' play *Philoctetes* is more accessible to modern performers

and spectators when we understand David B. Morris' cultural concept of "tragic pain" (Morris 244-266) as "a mediation on human pain and suffering" (Justice-Malloy 2). Justice-Malloy understands Sophocles as "an acute observer of the psychology of soldiers" (1) who, in the character of *Philoctetes*, described the warrior's psychic pain, "once [in the aftermath of WW I] known as shellshock, today known as combat Post Traumatic Stress Disorder" (2). Many of the Australian soldiers, especially those who stayed at the Australian Field Hospital were *in this certain state of mind* when they were transported to Lemnos. The convalescents had not expected to find nearly untouched villages, archaic landscape and lifestyle at places located so close to actions of war. This collective experience created the first 'popular' image of a Greek island in Australia. For most Australians the encounter with an ancient island culture during wartime was an ambivalent experience as they were confronted with sharp contrasts of events, symbols and metaphors: war and peace, ugliness and beauty, barbarism and humanity, darkness and light. These clashes between myth and reality, past and present, imagination and perception induced war correspondents, ordinary servicemen and women to reflect on the simple meaning of life. Their records reflect the encounter of "art and healing that lies at the heart of the [*Philoctetes*'] legend", according to Patricia Novillo-Corvalán (129) who does research work on the interface between art and medicine:

The story of *Philoctetes* reflects on the relationship between illness, storytelling, and healing, thus offering an ancient myth that shares the major concerns of the rising genre of narrative medicine. (130)

In 1915, diaries, letters and photographs reflected the healing effects of a space of recovery.

### **Between Myth and Reality: Lemnos – A Space of Sacred Time<sup>3</sup>**

From the beginning, the myth of the Greek hero Philoctetes and his imposed exile on the island of Lemnos inspired writers and visual artists to adapt the ancient legend.<sup>4</sup> Sophocles refers to it in his play when he tells the story of the wounded Philoctetes who was abandoned at the shore of “sea-washed Lemnos” (Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, Line 1). Philoctetes was a well-known warrior in the Trojan War and, according to Greek mythology, he was the son of King Poias in Thessaly. He owned Heracles’ bow and poisoned arrows (Homer, *Odyssee* 3, 190). The legend says that the Greeks left him stranded on Lemnos with a terrible wound which he had received before. The juxtaposition of myth and reality has a significant impact on the perception of the Aegean island, even nowadays: the Australian author Thomas Keneally refers to the ambivalent character of the island when he describes the visit of his novel’s protagonists to this refuge: “They could see Lemnos – by now reduced from myth to the level of any other dreary island” (130). Keneally draws on myth and reality to guide the view of the visitor when he approaches Lemnos and its culture. The events of World War I brought visitors from Australia to Lemnos who soon added their own imaginations.

Lemnos’ reputation as a mythological place suggests perceptions of the Aegean island which go beyond simple description. Norman Austin’s brilliant analysis of Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* offers an illuminating approach that enables us to reflect on Lemnos as a metaphorical site which contains the ambivalence of life – by referring to elements of myth and reality. Philoctetes’ ten years on the island were a time of pain, uncertainty and darkness – in a “divine timetable” (Austin 12). According to Austin’s translation of Sophocles’ play, accident and chance had no place in the cosmology

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<sup>3</sup> I refer to Norman Austin’s (10) interpretation of Philoctetes’ legendary stay on Lemnos which he translates as “living in sacred time”.

<sup>4</sup> It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss adaptations of *Philoctetes* in the context of literature and art. For problems of translation: Austin (7-16).

of the ancient thinker: "Philoctetes on Lemnos was living in sacred time" (10). His stay was imposed by a divine will.

Greece's mythological Troy and First World War's Gallipoli can be linked by interpretation: On Lemnos, ancient and modern age warriors had a rest between battles. Did the Australians perceive "the conjunction of human time and sacred time" (Austin 10) as part of the Lemnian legend? Certainly, the majority of the Australians did not know much at first about the island in the North Aegean Sea. They were soldiers and tourists at the same time. Those without school education shaped by classical lessons soon learned that Lemnos' history, culture, and demography reflected changing periods of Greek and Ottoman influence. Greeks and Turks had to live together on the island for a long time with changing rules. Not until 1912, after a long period of Ottoman rule over the island, did Lemnos become part of Greece. Did the Australian visitor notice that the Greek and Turkish populations of Lemnos had established a fragile social microcosm with resentments lingering on both sides? From the outside, Australia's view focussed on the political and military development in the hemisphere during World War I. The government of Greece had offered Lemnos as a navy base to the Allies to facilitate their military operations in the Dardanelles. The British Mediterranean Expeditionary Force had been charged with preparing the harbour at Moudros as a military support base for Gallipoli. Here, with the help of the islanders, the Australians established a recovery camp, a medical centre and a war cemetery.

In 1915, Lemnos was a place of refuge and one of the Aegean islands where Australian soldiers were taken after they had been wounded or had failed on the battlefields of Gallipoli.<sup>5</sup> Soldiers came for recovery or retraining. Nurses cared for the wounded, but many died of their injuries. This gave the Australian experience of Lemnos also an emotional dimension which had an influence on the later perception of the island and of the region: "There are three islands here', soldiers said, 'Lemnos, Imbros and Chaos'" (Rankin 63).

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<sup>5</sup> Writer Luke Slattery estimates that "some 4000 Diggers returned to convalesces on Lemnos and, oftentimes, to die".

Especially the paramedics complained about the destitute and dreary conditions of their work on Lemnos during the Gallipoli campaign. Thousands of wounded and sick Allies had been brought to the field (and ship) hospitals on Lemnos where British, Canadian and Australian paramedics cared for them. The nurses of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Australian General Hospital faced severe problems, especially at the beginning of the campaign<sup>6</sup>: They coped with short supply of food and housing, "The weather is terrible, bitterly cold, with a high wind and rain. We are nearly frozen, [...]. Last night five tents blew down, one ward tent and four Sister's tents" (Donnell 58). The Australians on Lemnos produced a large collection of testimonials preserved in the *Australian War Memorial* in Canberra. Diary notes and photographs were part of the documentation illustrating the difficult supply situation on the island where depots, hospitals and rest camps were needed to support the land campaign of the Allies. However, this documentation also shows another aspect of their stay on Lemnos: the cultural experience in the encounter between the people of Lemnos and the Australians.

Why did the Australian experience on Lemnos create such an amazing record? One reason certainly was the desire to communicate emotions in a suitable form. Words communicate feelings in a different way than pictures (Butler 69-70). Moreover, people cope with joy, sadness or the antagonism of their situation differently. The state of mind has a significant impact on their expression.<sup>7</sup> French philosopher Roland Barthes (1915-1980) revealed his "uneasiness" to be "torn between two languages, one expressive, the other critical" when describing the antagonism of life (Barthes 8). The distinct use of these *languages* as well as the focus on particular features has a significant impact on the aesthetic perception of life – especially in times of war. The Australian art

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<sup>6</sup> For more information see webpage: The "3<sup>rd</sup> Australian General Hospital, Lemnos Island, Greece", 1915.

<sup>7</sup> It may be a well-known historical fact that Sofia Tolstoy (1844-1919), the wife of the Russian writer, herself a talented author and photographer, had a clearly defined position with regard to this issue. She made use of her diary or camera in distinct ways. "If something saddened her she wrote a note into her diary. However, if she was happy then she used to take pictures" (Slátto 14).

historian Ann Elias finds that “describing the beauty of natural surroundings enabled soldiers to invoke feelings they could not otherwise articulate” (Elias 2007:4). The Australian Brigadier General John Monash (1865-1931) wrote a letter from Lemnos to his walking club in Melbourne: He accentuated the contrast between “the sudden transference from an environment of strife & clamour & the wreckage of war, to this peaceful island with its rolling landscapes” (Monash 23.9.1915). The perception of nature is important in the context of modern war and visual culture. Ann Elias has published widely on the symbolism of flowers as “they mediate the complexity of human emotions and relationships” (Elias 2008: 247). She emphasizes the “juxtaposition of beauty and violence” in the general context of peace and war (2008:243).

For many people who experienced silence as *the* essential aspect of peace, photography was a suitable way to have this important detail enter their mind and imagination (Arnheim). Philosopher Roland Barthes has underlined the importance of one astonishing aspect in his reflections on the medium of photography: “Absolute subjectivity is achieved only in a state, an effort, of silence” (55). In his triangle of operator, spectrum and spectator, it is the spectator who shuts his eyes “to allow the detail to rise of its own accord into affective consciousness” (55; and: 9-10). Barthes reminds us that photography has something to do with music (55). Although he does not specifically refer to the soldier as *operator* in the “formation of the image”, we can assume that the silence on Lemnos affected the resident soldiers’ visual perception. This calming experience, in particular, contrasted sharply with the excessive noise of Gallipoli or any other place at war. The sound of silence certainly had a curing effect on the soldier who, as a photographer, and according to Roland Barthes’ scheme, can be defined as the “subject observing ...” the space of peace (10).

Finally, historians have argued the “importance of the tourist model” (White 69) in the use of the soldier’s camera (Ritchie 96-97; Cochrane XV-XIX). According to the Australian historian Peter Cochrane who published on photography during World War I, “a

photograph was a tangible way of taking possession of places that soldiers visited – a classic tourist thing to do” (XVI). Soldiers left touristic pictures as “fragment[s] of an imperilled life” (XVI). A wide range of photographs illustrates the soldier’s way of life during the Gallipoli campaign.<sup>8</sup> The Australian journalist Luke Slattery, however, writes that “Lemnos” and the “incidental, though for Greek-Australian relations important, aspect of the 1915 photographic record [...] gets only a cursory mention” in the mainstream literature of Gallipoli (Slattery). This is astonishing, as Australia’s encounter with Lemnos’ culture is documented in impressive records.

### **The Soldier’s Narrative**

Lemnos was a place beyond the battlefield. In the years 1915/16, however, life on the island was drawn into close proximity of war. Most islanders on Lemnos did witness preparations for war. They also carefully observed the strangers on the island. Yet, the atmospheric picture was best described by John Monash in his letter from Lemnos: He characterized Lemnos as an “Aegean elisium” (Monash 23.9.1915). Others summarized what the description of a sunset at Lemnos reveals: the ambivalent beauty of an island which was chosen as a military base for the attack on the Dardanelles in 1915.

Beautiful as the sun-sets were in Egypt, they were nothing compared to those at Lemnos. As you watched, the whole sky and surrounding country was veiled in a deep rose colo[u]r, and the rugged mountains became quite soft, looking as they were veiled in tulle. As you gazed, the colo[u]r charged, tinting all objects to a pale mauve, shading to a deep violet. (Anonym, *Australian War Memorial, Nurses’ Narratives*)<sup>9</sup>

Readers will recognize this account as a picturesque description of a peaceful spot in the Aegean Sea. The unknown author was one of the many Australian Army nurses who served on the island.

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<sup>8</sup> For example: A photograph taken by Signaller James P. Campbell: “Evening, Lemnos,” May 1915, *NLA (National Library of Australia)*, nla.pic-an23217956.

<sup>9</sup> Nurses’ Narratives compiled by Matron A.M. Kellett; this quote is taken from the webpage “Through These Lines: Lemnos Island” (Chapter: “Descriptions”).



Corporal Ivor Alexander Williams was evacuated to Lemnos at the end of 1915. Williams was impressed by the ancient way of life on Lemnos. In his diary, he writes that he “will try and give you an idea of this little piece of earth” (I. Williams, 3.1.1916). He describes his first visit to a Greek village:

In the afternoon we went to a native village inhabited by Greeks. It is a very quaint little place. All one could buy was chocolates, figs, tea and oranges. The people are most courteous to us. (I. Williams, 22.12.1915)

William’s account reflects interest in the picturesque fieldstone architecture – maybe because it raised archaic images in his imagination: “These were quaint places built in the valley between two hills. A lot of the houses have only three walls, the fourth being the rocky face of the hill. They are like the old biblical pictures” (I. Williams, 2.1.1916).

The commander of the 28<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force, Herbert Brayley Collett (1877-1947), describes in his book, *A Record of War Service*, what it meant to the soldiers to be transported to Lemnos (Collett 137-147): “Removed, for the time being, from the everlasting noise and risk of battle, feeling also that the morrow would bring real rest and a life of comparative ease, the troops slept well ... After daylight the transport entered Mudros Bay” (137). The immediate experience of peace and rest after his arrival on Lemnos underlines his perception of the island as a place beyond war. And it was also exciting because the “males had a somewhat brigandish appearance in their dress of top boots, divided skirts, sheepskin coats, and astrak[h]an caps” (142). Collett writes vivid descriptions of the villages where the houses are “painted with colour of a violent blue” (143). He refers to parts of the cultural life which could be characterized as exotic, at least from the perspective of an Australian, such as “the sale and export of a certain red earth which, with much religious ceremony, was dug out at stated times of the year” (143).<sup>10</sup> Both William’s and Collett’s narratives were more

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<sup>10</sup> Collett refers to the *Terra Lemnia* which is used to cure slow-healing wounds.

than just a soldier's ordinary recollection of a visit at a typical Greek café "where the menfolk gathered and drank the thick sweet coffee" (Collett 144). Most accounts diverge from simple description by revealing feelings of comfort and ease which moved the visitors from overseas. It appears that the authors were emotionally impressed by this environment of silence, colour, and peaceful isolation.

### **The Metaphorical Language: Phillip Schuler's and Albert Savage's Photographs**

The camera had the ambivalent task of capturing both images of war *as well as* of peace. For the Australian war correspondent Phillip Frederick E. Schuler (1889-1917), peace was a subject of his emotions, the antithesis of the horror of war, which he described when seeing the battlefields at Gallipoli:<sup>11</sup> "I say that the feeling of peace on the scene took away some of the sense of horror that crept into one's mind with the memories of the blood that had poured out on the tops of the cliffs" ([Schuler] *The Age*, 4.10.1915). Schuler had been sent to Greece as a special war correspondent for *The Age* (Hurst).<sup>12</sup> He arrived in Gallipoli in mid-July 1915, but he sent his war reports back to the editors of *The Age* in Melbourne from Lemnos because he was not allowed to stay in Gallipoli for longer than one month ("Despatches from Gallipoli"). With time on his hands, Schuler wanted to discover the island. He accumulated an eclectic, yet comprehensive collection of photographs which highlight a world beyond war.<sup>13</sup> Among them are nearly 90 photographs of extraordinary quality. Schuler choose 'peace' as the overriding subject of his photography on Lemnos, carrying his camera to attractive locations that he considered worth documenting. It appears that Schuler was impressed by the ancient Greek countryside which existed beyond war's reach, and Lemnos showed, in Schuler's pictures, an aura of peace, purity and seclusion from modern war. His photographic work about the Greek mythological

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<sup>11</sup> See for Phillip F.E. Schuler's biography: NAA (*National Archives of Australia*): B2455, Phillip F.E. Schuler, World War I Service Record; AWM (*Australian War Memorial*) Database, "ANZACS online: Phillip Schuler".

<sup>12</sup> Schuler's German-born father was the editor of *The Age*, and himself a writer.

<sup>13</sup> *Australia's War Memorial* holds most of Schuler's photographs.

island is full of allusions to the ancient Elysium somewhere in the Archipelago of the Aegean Sea. Schuler's photographs show the rocky coast line, fishermen in their boats, old women, soft hills with old trees, herds of goats, orchards with olive trees and men riding their donkeys. So the island culture which appeared to be *authentic*, *timeless* and *aesthetic* captured the imagination of the visiting photo artist from Australia. We will see that photography is not limited to mere documentation; it also uses metaphors to communicate emotions.

Schuler's effort to create *authentic* pictures was one way for capturing the aura of an ancient island and its multicultural society. The portrait of several Turkish dock labourers exemplifies this in an impressive way.<sup>14</sup> A spectator looking at the photo is drawn into the scene: a Mediterranean fishing village full of vibrant life. One can hear the Greek or Turkish hails of the fishermen – as well as the shout of the artist at the right moment of posing: "Don't move!" As a result, the scene displays a carefully arranged shot immortalizing a moment in the life of an Aegean island with a history shaped by migration and transcultural contacts (Pèrcopo 100-103).<sup>15</sup>



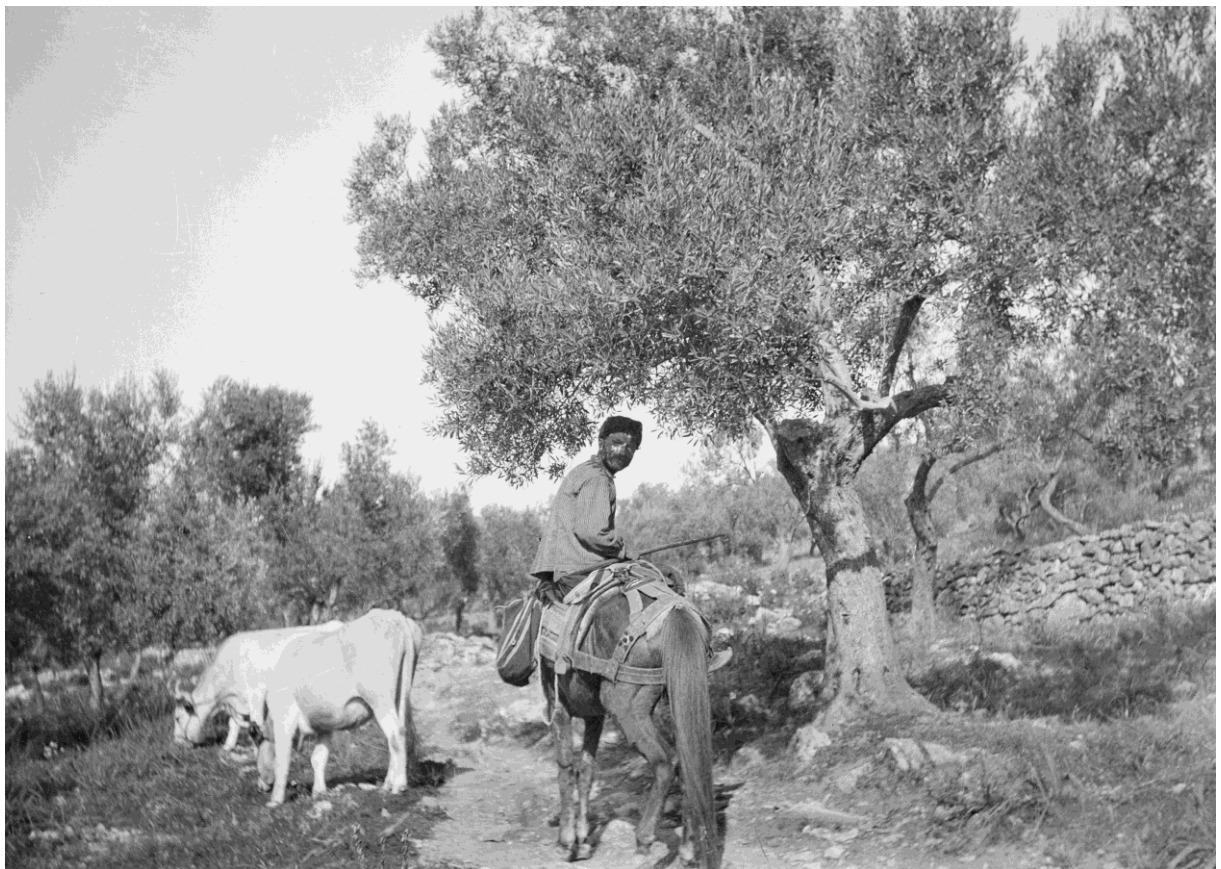
**Turkish dock labourers – Lemnos (Phillip Frederick E. Schuler 1915/16)**  
**By courtesy of the Australian War Memorial (PS 1985)**

<sup>14</sup> AWM, Photo Collection Phillip Schuler: PS 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Pèrcopo discusses the role of "cosmopolitanism" as a relevant aspect of the Mediterranean island cosmos.

Moreover, the image illustrates the historical significance of the moment: While the ANZACs were fighting against a Turkish enemy at Gallipoli, the military use of the island forced the Turkish minority of Lemnos to work for the Greeks and their Allies.

Schuler left us several photographs of pastoral scenes.<sup>16</sup> One in particular leads the observer to the subject of peaceful life on the ancient island of Lemnos.



**Pastoral scene on Lemnos (Phillip Frederick E. Schuler 1915/16)  
By courtesy of the *Australian War Memorial* (PS 1933)**

This photograph is a carefully arranged composition representing a world beyond all time – a well-balanced still life resembling an artful painting, a *timeless* Aegean Arcadia. In the centre of the photograph is a man on his horse.<sup>17</sup> The rider and his mount are resting amidst a herd of cows, the animals are grazing peacefully. Beautiful flowered meadows line the rocky path of the horseman and his

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<sup>16</sup> Elias reads the *pastoral moment* as a “distraction from the claustrophobia of warfare” (2008:247).

<sup>17</sup> AWM, Photo Collection Phillip Schuler: PS 1933.

herd.<sup>18</sup> It is a scene bathed in light. The horseman has stopped under a group of old trees, providing shade in the heat of the day. The photographer and spectator are connected in mind and in sight. The herder's head is turned around and he is looking straight into the camera. It seems as if the rider is patiently waiting for someone coming up behind him. Both composition and perspective encourage a silent dialogue between the Australian and the Greek, between the war reporter and the shepherd. It is a dialogue between people of contrasting worlds. The dread of dying in a vivid life, however, was an essential experience which indirectly linked with the life of the war reporter and the fate of the Arcadian shepherd. Schuler captured this symbolic moment thereby suggesting an iconic interpretation of the idea of Arcadia.<sup>19</sup>

The symbolism is found in the idea that "nature could point homeward, to a life of innocence and peace" (107), according to the German-American cultural historian George L. Mosse (1918-1999). Mosse called this imagery the "transcendent function of nature" and referred to it as Arcadia (107). Art historian Ann Elias, nevertheless, is pointing to limitations in time: In the context of war, only "temporary transcendence" is possible (2008:247). Eyewitness Schuler captures this very perception of temporary life in tranquillity. His image shows the perceived isolation of an idyllic landscape where herders pasture their livestock in harmony with nature – which is what Arcadia actually means (Meyers *Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 1:896-897). Altogether the still-life and its metaphorical interpretation of an *Arcadian* life summarize the perception of life on a peaceful island – but within the shadow of death.

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<sup>18</sup> Schuler created a horizontal and a vertical version of this motif. Only the vertical shot reveals this detail.

<sup>19</sup> Art historians offer controversial interpretations about perceptions of death and life in the utopian land of Arcadia: Nicolas Poussin's painting "Les bergers d'Arcadie" (Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris) is subject to interpretations which refer to the ambiguity of an Arcadian way of life. Happiness is confined by death – the ancient idea of a utopian Arcadia compromises this ambiguity; see Panofsky 1-9.

Schuler's picture of Lemnos' old capital Myrina shows a similar subject.<sup>20</sup> The view focuses on a tidy row of fishing boats in the foreground. From the centre, the view rises to the ruins of an old fort on top of a hill. On the left side of the central axis is the Aegean Sea. The panorama to the right presents a typical still life of a Mediterranean siesta: fishermen stroll or rest on the wharves while their fishing nets are drying in the sun. Homer's description of the *Elysian Fields* comes close to this portrayal of a site of happiness and tranquillity – a place where the surrounding waters of the Okeanos send a refreshing breeze to the land (Homer, *Odyssee*, 4, 563-568).<sup>21</sup> It appears that, with this view, the mind stops thinking of the rage of battle. Silence breaks the clamour of war. This is peace – perceived as an *aesthetic experience*, and, according to Noël Carroll's theory (165), contemplation allows this judgement: the "appreciation" of life, not yet "stripped of its value in times of war" (Van Bergen 215).



**Myrina – Lemnos (Phillip Frederick E. Schuler 1915/16)**  
**By courtesy of the Australian War Memorial (PS 1968)**

<sup>20</sup> AWM, Photo Collection Phillip Schuler: PS 1968.

<sup>21</sup> For more reading in a contemporary (German) context (as Phillip F.E. Schuler had a German-Australian biographical background), see the following entries: "Elysium," *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 6, 73; "Elysion," in: Irmscher, ed., *Lexikon der Antike*, 148.

French semiotician Roland Barthes would have perceived Schuler's photographs as "*habitable*, not *visible*" (Barthes 38). Schuler's pictures would have 'touched' him emotionally: "It is quite simply *there* that I should like to live" (38). This subconscious "longing to *inhabit*" has been described by Barthes as a journey backward or forward to a timeless sphere of subjective well-being (40). Whatever the idea had been, turning "men's minds toward a mythical past, toward the 'genuine'" [or] withdrawal to a "particular Arcadia" – with his photograph of Myrina or the view of the pastoral scene, Schuler turned his mind toward a space of peace where the time stands still (Mosse 125, 107).

Schuler created photographs of remarkable artfulness by concentrating on the island as a place of mythological origin. The Australian nurse Florence Elizabeth James-Wallace and the English-born photographer Albert William Savage, who was posted as a private to the 3rd Australian Hospital, followed a similar approach. Both, like Schuler, captured (or collected) iconic features of the island for an album: the sun flooded landscape, the patient herders, and the ancient villages. The nurse and the soldier had a particular interest in local people's life, and they focussed on examples of island culture, such as religion.<sup>22</sup> One iconic image shows an old priest, wearing the traditional robe of the Greek-Orthodox Church.<sup>23</sup> The man with his full beard looks dignified; he is standing amidst a group of women and children. The photographer presents a familiar view of an ancient Greek village – a community in which the church is at the centre of village life. One of the album's most beautiful photographs has the caption: "Village Folk".<sup>24</sup> Savage's view focuses on an old couple. The man and his wife have come forward from the

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<sup>22</sup> The images are part of the Picture Collection of Florence Elizabeth James-Wallace: The two albums which are held in the Manuscript Collection of the *Fryer Library/ University of Queensland* (Mss F831) include silver gelatine photo prints created by Albert Savage. (This collection may contain photographs taken by F.E. James-Wallace). Some images can be accessed online. Another album created by Savage is held at the *State Library of NSW (Mitchell Library)*, PXE 698: "Photographs of the Third Australian General Hospital at Lemnos, Egypt and Brighton (Eng.), 1915-17".

<sup>23</sup> Savage or F.E. James-Wallace, "A Grecian Padre & his flock": <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:706>

<sup>24</sup> Savage, "Village Folk": <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:708>

historic centre of the village in the background [in a metaphorical sense: from the origin] and they have stopped on the rocky path – patiently waiting for the visitor in front of them to take their picture. Their appearance has been shaped by migration across cultural borders and the colourful mixture of different ethnic groups which is so typical in the Mediterranean archipelagos (Braudel 150). Schuler's, Savage's, and James-Wallace's photographs can be seen as works of art because they serve their own reflections on the meaning of life, Lemnos' persisting world and its intercultural heritage. For them, Lemnos was a place of meditation not far away from countries under fire.

## **Conclusion**

In the comforting shelter of the nearby Greek island of Lemnos, the evacuated Australian soldiers from Gallipoli felt so intrigued by the scenic beauty and tranquillity of the island that they wrote notes and created pictures showing Lemnos as a peaceful island. Although for them, in the field hospitals death and suffering was part of daily life (and subject of documentation), most visitors experienced Lemnos as a remarkable place: It was not an island where, generally, people lived in happiness and harmony, but this foreign island was seen as a safe shelter in times of war. Removed from the battleground, the soldiers experienced moments, hours, or days of rest and relief from pain. Historian George Mosse referred to the contrasting emotions by saying that the soldier's "war experience was lifted out of daily life" (Mosse 125). It made time stand still. Lemnos' ancient history and archaic culture, its scenery and peacefulness turned the Australian mind toward an Aegean Arcadia and "toward a mythical past" (125). The Australians' wartime encounter with Lemnos illustrates that metaphorical interpretation is important in the perception of the Aegean world. Some Australian soldiers who were photographers managed to show what cannot be easily captured: the imagination of a world beyond war, during war time. Their photographs and accounts furnish proof of the power of imagination while searching for a metaphorical language of peace. Part of Australia's images of Lemnos can be regarded as personal reflections



depicting the Greek island in two ways: as a symbol for eternal ways of life, and as a capsule of peaceful and bucolic life. A number of Australians experienced Lemnos as an Arcadian island that brought "real rest" (Collett 137). Islands can be places with an ambivalent character, as Philoctetes had to learn. For Australia's wartime visitors, Lemnos was a 'sacred space' where "by our very present here *les extremes se touchent*", as John Monash observed (Monash 23.9.1915).

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**ANALYSEN / ANALYSES**

Oliver Haag

## German Paratexts of Indigenous Australian Literature

This article builds on my previous studies about German translations of Indigenous Australian books which are as follows (Haag 2009; Haag 2011a; Haag 2011b). Between 1981 and 2008, 27 books co-authored and authored by Indigenous Australian writers were translated into German.<sup>1</sup> Slightly more than 40 % of the German publishers of these works were trade publishers that disseminate these books broadly across a wide range of readers, including Rowohlt and Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. As far as the publishers are concerned, translated Australian Indigenous literature has thus not been marginalised, and, apart from the German translation of *Auntie Rita* (Huggins and Huggins 1994), *Die Stimme meiner Mutter* (2010), none of the translations have been published by a press with focus on esoteric literature. However, some of the esoteric presses publish German literature about seemingly Indigenous content, like *Traumzeit* (Engl. Dreamtime) (Lindner 2004). Such titles make these books appear 'authentically' Indigenous, as this article will discuss.

The present essay is a follow-up study that has its analytical focus on the blurbs, cover illustrations and introductions of these translated books. The texts surrounding the actual text, or what Gerard Genette calls the publisher's paratexts, are designed to influence how the actual text is interpreted and read (7-16). They thus proffer an ideal means to analyse parts of the publishers' marketing strategies. This study seeks to explore some aspects of the marketing endeavours used by German publishers, as well as the modes through which Australian Indigenous cultures have thus been constructed. It considers the ways these books are being

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<sup>1</sup> This article understands German in the sense of German-speaking, thus includes German-speaking Austria and Switzerland. All translations from German (except from Endriss and Scherer) are mine.

advertised and marketed to the German reader, how cover pictures relate to the blurbs and introductions, and how the Australian contexts of race and racism are being translated into the German context.

## **The Context of Reception**

The broader – that is, non-academic – interest in Indigenous cultures, particularly those of North America, has a long tradition in the German-speaking countries that has increased since the nineteenth century (Lutz 39). This interest is also evident in the case of Indigenous Australian cultures. In the second half of the twentieth century, their reception in the German-speaking countries has been framed by two opposing discourses, which I call *exotic* or *romantic* discourse, and *politicised* discourse (Haag 2009). The *exotic* discourse portrays Indigenous societies as fundamentally different to (white) German society. For instance, Indigenous cultures are seen as spiritual, whereas German cultures are considered rational. The exotic discourse has different characteristics. It can go hand in hand with New Age and esoteric images, attributing a higher sense of spirituality to Indigenous persons; it can also portray Indigenous cultures as linked to nature and Indigenous people as the ‘true’ environmentalists, living healthy lives, free of the scourges of so-called civilisation. The exotic discourse tends to represent Indigenous cultures and people as unchangeable, thus ahistorical, and constructs a particular kind of Indigenous person, who is seen to be representative of her or his race. Indigenous people are mostly depicted in German publications as half-naked, dark-skinned, decorated with body paint and holding artefacts like didgeridoos and boomerangs in their hands (see Figures 1-3). Correspondingly, only ‘classical’ Indigenous designs, such as dot-style painting, are portrayed on the book covers. By ‘classical’ designs here, I do not mean authentic pre-contact designs (that is, designs and art forms used before the arrival of the Europeans) but designs that are broadly associated in the German-speaking countries with Indigenous designs (Gigler 57) and thus constructed as ‘pre-contact’ or ‘classical’; these are often dot-style designs, images with

hatchings resembling rock-art figures, or images of the rainbow serpent (in 'dotted' formats). As the findings of this research will show, images not reflecting Indigenous artistic expression (for example, watercolour techniques and photographs) are not used as cover illustrations.

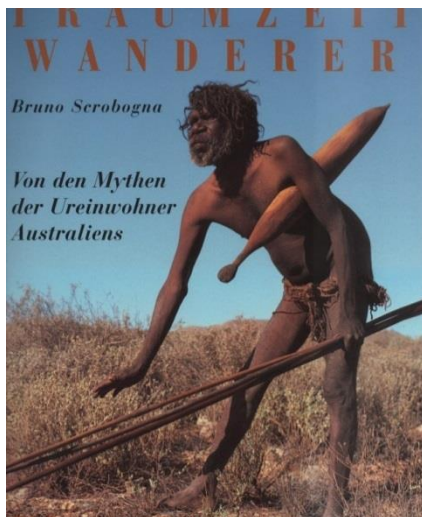
There are many examples substantiating this discourse, ranging from artefacts sold in German 'ethno'-shops to German books about Indigenous cultures. One such book is Bruno Scrobogna's *Traumzeit Wanderer* (Engl. Dreamtime wanderers), which revolves around Pintubi Dreaming Stories. The book reflects romantic visions of Indigenous cultures: in the introduction it is said that the Pintubi led a paradisiacal life up until the arrival of the Europeans (13). While the coming of the Europeans is interpreted as a caesura, European colonisation is not challenged as such – rather it is described as the coming of 'civilisation', thus having been a logical consequence of historical progression. Indigenous people, the author claims, possessed a "particular key to spirituality", which "we Europeans have lost over time" (19). The blurb in turn says that for the Pintubi, "the leap from the stone age into the atomic age meant a progression into nothing" (*ibid.*). This 'nothing' is substantiated by the claim that Pintubi cultures are nowadays vanishing, with the word "dying" being employed. The cover illustration shows the picture of an Aboriginal man in so-called traditional outfit (see Figure 1); it serves as a ready marker underpinning the Indigenous content of the book. While this book is relatively contemporary, it shows continuity with other non-academic German books about Indigenous cultures (e.g., Adler; Strehlow; Cerny). They share the following characteristics:

(a) Indigenous people are presented in a frame of timelessness; (b) the cover illustrations often show either photographs or drawings of Indigenous persons in classical appearance, wearing nothing except loincloths; (c) titles pander to romantic visions of Indigenous cultures, being captioned, for one, 'Desert Dance', 'Legacy of the Dreamtime' and 'Legend of the Boomerang'; (d) Indigenous people are thus linked and reduced to nature; (e) Indigenous cultures are

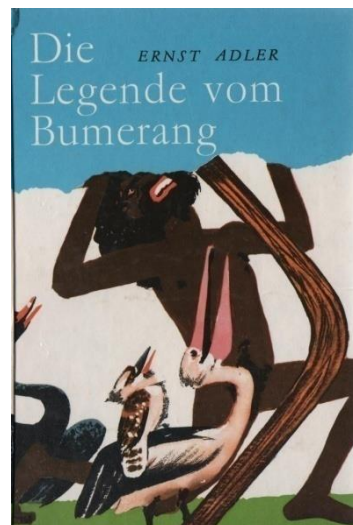


constructed not only as 'old' but also as 'pre-modern' – German readers, by way of contrast, are positioned as modern, willing to 'learn a lot' from 'pre-modern' societies; (f) Indigenous cultures are seen as nearly extinct, and the respective German author is legitimised as an intercultural broker who presents the 'marvellous' stories to the world. For example, the German book, *Wüstentanz* (1996) by Wighard Strehlow, the grandson of Carl Strehlow, purports: "the present book tells of the beauty of the sagas, fairy tales, myths, dances, songs and ceremonies of the Aborigines, which the German missionary Carl Strehlow collected one hundred years ago before the entire culture was lost forever" (16).

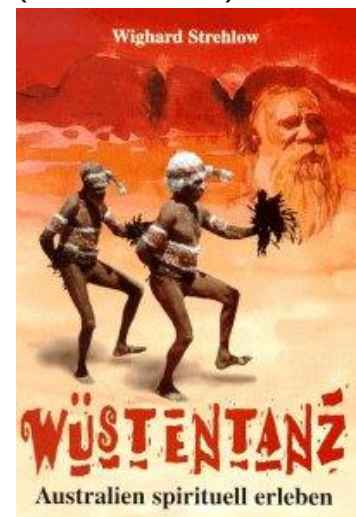
**Figure 1.** Cover illustration on German book about Indigenous Australian cultures (Scrobogna 1999)



**Figure 2.** Cover illustration on German book about Indigenous Australian cultures (Adler 1966)



**Figure 3.** Cover illustration on German book about Indigenous Australian cultures (Strehlow 1996)



The other so-called *politicised* discourse is focussed on contemporary political issues of Indigenous suffering and injustice. In its present form, it emerged in the 1970s with the rise of the then Australia-wide Indigenous protest movements and gained broader currency in the 1990s after the publication of the 'Stolen Generations' report in 1997. Significantly, many German TV documentaries, newspaper and online articles have drawn attention to the historic and present suffering of Indigenous Australians (see Haag 2009). Often they use confronting terms to refer to Australian interracial history, such as 'genocide' and 'mass murder'. For example, in response to Prime

Minister Kevin Rudd's official apology for the forcible abduction of Indigenous children from their families, one German newspaper article criticised the apology, on the grounds of the lack of financial compensation, as a "cheap apology for a history of murder, rape, and persecution" (Wälterlin 2009).

What I call the *politicised* discourse is seldom observable in the German literature *about* Indigenous cultures – academic literature exempted. This is in sharp contrast to the German translations of Indigenous books by Indigenous authors, most likely because translators of this literature are usually well acquainted with Indigenous cultures and politics, have lived in Australia and/or sustain direct relationships with Indigenous authors (for example, Juliane Lochner in the case of Jackie Huggins and Gabriele Yin in the event of Sally Morgan). Yet both the exotic and the politicised discourses coexist and, despite being contradictory, sometimes fuse with one another as happens with the German translations of Indigenous literature.

### **Indigenous Translations – Cover Illustrations and Titles**

The analysis of the 27 books under study reveals that in marketing Indigenous literature, all books are clearly advertised as 'Aboriginal' either on the blurb or on the cover illustration. This labelling classification certainly has its merits in pointing out the Indigenous ownership of the respective stories; however, it also discourages readers from considering Indigenous literature beyond the purview of Indigeneity. By contrast, for example, the German translations of Patrick White are marketed neither as 'gay' nor, in most instances, as 'Australian' literature, let alone as 'white' literature (Haag 2010). This freedom of non-categorisation does not apply to the German publications of Indigenous Australian literature. In an interview about Indigenous autobiographical writing, Frances Peters-Little expresses resentment about this over-categorisation. To her, categories may foster the popular misconception that individual writers are automatically representative of their community, race, or generation:



Australian Anglo-Saxon women are seen as just being individuals. That is a luxury that Indigenous people do not afford. So I think when Aboriginal people are writing autobiographies, I would like to see a time when we feel that we can write autobiographies without considering ourselves in the whole social, political and economic and cultural context of ourselves and that we do come to a point, where we can have freedom of individual rights and story-telling. (F. Peters-Little, personal interview, 13 August 2004)

Furthermore, the translations exhibit differences between the cover art, titles, and genre classifications on the one hand, and blurbs and introductions on the other hand. In most instances these translations employ classic illustrations and 'exotic' titles that do not fully correspond with the often highly socio-critical content of the books – neither do they fit the more political orientation of the introductions and forewords. There are three broad ways in which the translated books perpetuate exotic images of Indigenous cultures: through (a) titles; (b) genre classifications; and (c) cover illustrations. More precisely, 44 % of the German titles contain the terms 'Aborigine' and 'Dreamtime', or make reference to nature and fauna in order to advertise the respective book as 'Indigenous'. The word 'Dreamtime' in particular is used as a ready marker for the Indigenous content. Another 18 % of the translations have the genre-specific term 'fairy tale' in their title or subtitle. For example, an audio book about Dreaming Stories (Noonuccal 2000) is advertised as '*märchenhaft*', which has two divergent meanings: 'fantastic' in the sense of 'extremely beautiful' and 'fairy-tale-like'. Yet the genre of the fairy tale is not an accurate description of Dreamings as it implies something entirely fictional, directed to children. In the German cultural context, such genre designation denotes a romantic story, thus indicating the exotic discourse of a harmonious counter-world to the west.

The cover illustrations, in turn, serve as the most immediate signifiers of Australian Indigenous cultures. Table 1 draws on the distinctions between the politicised and romantic/classic discourse and uses the terms 'classical', 'political', and 'neutral' to describe the style of representation used by the respective translation. 'Classical' refers to the representation of Indigenous cultures solely according

to seemingly pre-contact and/or 'traditional' imaginings, while 'political' denotes references to contemporary political themes like oppression. The rubric 'neutral' applies to those instances invoking neither a political nor a classical standpoint:

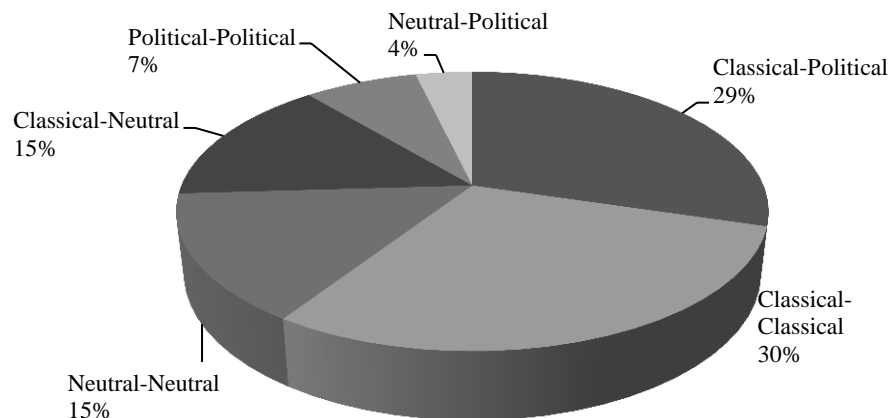
**Table 1.** Cover illustrations, blurbs, and introductions on German translations of Indigenous books.

<b>Author</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Cover Illustration</b>	<b>Blurb</b>	<b>Introduction / Afterword</b>
<b>Löffler</b>	<i>Märchen aus Australien</i>	Classical	Political	Political
<b>Boltz</b>	<i>Wie das Känguruh seinen Schwanz bekam</i>	Neutral	Neutral	Political
<b>Papunya Tula Artists</b>	<i>Ureinwohnermalerei</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Boltz</b>	<i>Märchen der australischen Ureinwohner</i>	Classical	Classical	Political
<b>Treize</b>	<i>Der Riese Turrumulli</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Sykes</b>	<i>Revolution, Liebe, Menschen</i>	Classical	Neutral	Neutral
<b>Wolf</b>	<i>Australien erzählt</i>	Neutral	Neutral	Political
<b>Morgan</b>	<i>Ich hörte den Vogel rufen</i>	Classical	Political	Nil
<b>Grawe</b>	<i>Frauen in Australien</i>	Neutral	Neutral	Political
<b>Hawthorne</b>	<i>Australien der Frauen</i>	Classical	Neutral	Political
<b>Yin</b>	<i>Der mit der Sonne kam</i>	Classical	Political	Political
<b>Endriss</b>	<i>Land der goldenen Wolken</i>	Neutral	Neutral	Political
<b>Markmann</b>	<i>Neue Traumzeiten</i>	Classical	Political	Political
<b>Mudrooroo</b>	<i>Die Welt der Aborigines</i>	Classical	Neutral	Political
<b>Noonuccal</b>	<i>Stradbrokes Traumzeit</i>	Classical	Neutral	Political
<b>Morgan</b>	<i>Wanamurraganya</i>	Classical	Political	Nil
<b>Mudrooroo</b>	<i>Flug in die Traumzeit</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Haviland</b>	<i>Rückkehr zu den Ahnen</i>	Classical	Political	Political
<b>Zimmermann</b>	<i>Schwarzaustralische Gedichte</i>	Classical	Neutral	Political
<b>Lucashenko</b>	<i>Außen eckig</i>	Political	Political	Nil
<b>Weller</b>	<i>Der Mondredner</i>	Neutral	Neutral	Nil
<b>Noonuccal</b>	<i>Märchen und Mythen aus der Traumzeit</i>	Classical	Neutral	Nil
<b>Doring</b>	<i>Gwion Gwion</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Roe et al.</b>	<i>Gularabulu</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Pilkington</b>	<i>Long Walk Home</i>	Political	Political	Nil
<b>Gilbert</b>	<i>Mary Känguru</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil
<b>Unaipon</b>	<i>Mooncumbulli</i>	Classical	Classical	Nil

**Annotation:** titles and author names are shortened; only books co/authored by Indigenous persons and anthologies where the Indigenous owners of the stories are acknowledged are included in this Table. Sykes and Mudrooroo are included despite the discussions about their Indigeneity because German publishers, at the time of publication, had no reason to assume that both authors might not be of Indigenous heritage. For the complete bibliography, see Haag (2009).

Figure 4 shows six different relations between cover illustrations and blurbs-introductions ranked by frequency: classical-classical; classical-political; neutral-neutral and classical-neutral; political-political; and neutral-political.

Figure 4. Relations between cover illustrations and blurbs/introductions

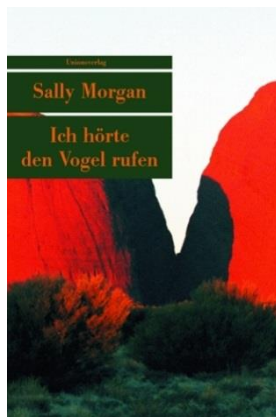


As this distribution substantiates, most books (74%) have classical designs on the cover. The use of classical designs such as dot-style paintings and photographs of places with cultural significance – like Kata Tjuṯa – suggest two main purposes: firstly, the pictures function as a means to authenticate the book as Indigenous, and secondly, they indicate to the German target reader that the book is about Indigenous Australia. While employing classical designs is not inappropriate *per se* – ‘dotted’ styles and bark painting designs are part of the diversity of Indigenous cultural expressions – they are nevertheless problematic if used as representative markers of Indigenous arts and cultures as such. This is because the dominance of classical designs (a) suggests that Indigenous cultures had not changed after contact and would not offer contemporary artistic expressions; (b) constructs German readers as being primarily interested in Dreaming Stories; (c) elides contemporary issues of socio-political relevance; and (d) fosters stereotypes that Indigenous cultures were homogeneous. The latter is discernible on Morgan’s book cover that shows a picture of Kata Tjuṯa (Figure 5), without neither Sally Morgan being a member of the traditional owners of Kata Tjuṯa nor the narrative plot revolving around this particular place. Although Kata Tjuṯa, and particularly Uluru, have become

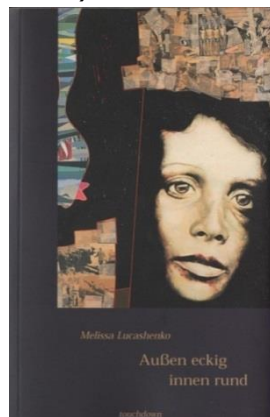
Australia-wide symbols of Indigeneity, in the context of the German target culture it nonetheless tends to construe cultural homogeneity.

Yet not all cover pictures make use of classical symbols. Aside from the neutral images, there are two cover illustrations making direct reference to political issues. Among them is Melissa Lucashenko's *Außen eckig, innen rund* (2000). The cover art, designed by two German illustrators, is entirely different from the original, which shows the plain title. The German version, by way of contrast, has a picture with a sad face in the right corner (Figures 6-7). It is surrounded by much smaller pictures showing, among others, four emaciated children and military equipment. The overall impression of the picture is ominous, reminding of the horrors of war. Particularly the weapons and the emaciated bodies evoke the association with concentration camps and the Second World War.

**Figure 5.** Cover illustration on translated Indigenous literature (Morgan 2007-edition)



**Figure 6.** Cover illustration on translated Indigenous literature (Lucashenko 2000)



**Figure 7.** Excerpt from Lucashenko (2000)



**Figure 8.** Cover illustration on translated Indigenous literature (Boltz 1989)



The blurb in turn tells of a young Aboriginal female trying to escape from a cycle of booze, violence and poverty. The text highlights contemporary social problems and dispenses with any romantic vision of Indigenous cultures, but rather suggests a nexus between these problems and Indigenous cultures: the fact that the protagonist is introduced as Aboriginal and the contemporaneous

mention of excessive alcohol consumption and internecine violence connects racial origin with social problem, or, in other words, racialises the very problem. Overall, however, the cover illustrations and titles are in most instances kept in 'classical' fashion and thus designed differently from the often politically charged blurbs and introductions.

### **Indigenous Translations – Blurbs and Introductions**

The reception of Indigenous literature in German translation, I argue, is influenced by the history of racial politics in the German target culture. This in particular applies to the themes of race and oppression in Indigenous literature. The reception of these themes becomes evident in the blurbs and introductions. Here I identify three major yet at times contradictory strands of this reception. They relate to (a) burdened terminology; (b) the establishment of cultural continuity; and (c) the stress laid on oppression. While the focus on oppression bears similarity to Australian discourses about interracial history, the specifics of German discourses about race play a vital part in many introductory texts.

Both countries, Germany and Australia, share a history of interracial violence. Yet in the two countries racism has – at least at policy level – functioned in fundamentally different ways. After the first years of violent displacement in Australia, racial policies against Indigenous people took shape at a bureaucratic level in the so-called Aboriginal Affairs policies, that is, the policy of segregation whereby Indigenous people were deported from their traditional lands and put into reserves and missions, which was followed by policies of biological and cultural assimilation. The latter aimed at absorbing Indigenous people into white Australian society. The main aim was to eradicate differences – by bringing up Indigenous children as whites and by enforcing interracial marriage. Partly as a reaction against these policies, self-determination tends to affirm Indigenous difference from settler society.

In Germany, by way of contrast, racial politics exhibited different forms, especially during the Nazi period and before. Particularly Jewish people, a religious group, were invented as a 'race' of lower rank and ultimately murdered. That is, with the rise of Social Darwinism and bio-anthropological research, a once religious group was re-categorised as 'racial'. The aim of such racial ideology was not to eradicate but to establish difference. The two main differences, the establishing and the eradication of difference, have thus several implications relevant to the reception of Indigenous literature.

First, the specifically German experiences of racial segregation have a bearing on the usage of particular terms in the context of Indigenous literature – particularly 'race'. Especially during the Nazi reign, the concept of 'race' served as a means to overcome class divides in German society – in making all members of a particular 'race' equals, 'race' had a strong unifying force (Aly 230-231). Especially in the aftermath of its misapplication by the Nazis, the classification of biological races has rendered the concept of *Rasse* (Engl. race) unacceptable. The term *Rasse* carries an exclusively essentialist connotation and thus exhibits an undoubtedly racist meaning. Correspondingly, the German equivalent of the term 'race' is no longer applied to humans but only to animals and has similar significance as the English term 'breed'; consequently, it is not used in the books under study. Instead of 'race', the words 'Aborigines' and 'ethnic'/'ethnicity' are used – both of these have different meanings than 'race'. Thus, 'race', a marker for deciphering racism and highlighting the perceived normalisation of whiteness (Cowlshaw and Morris 1997; Moreton-Robinson 2004) and which is often used in Indigenous literature, is rendered invisible instead of being explained to the German readers.

At the same time, while the oppression of Indigenous people is mentioned throughout the introductions, it is seldom referred to as a product of 'racism'. Thus, while the German introductions focus on violence, they do not contextualise this violence as based on racial disadvantage or as effects of racial politics. Instead, due to the

lacking contextualisation of racial politics, introductory texts ascribe this violence implicitly to cultural, ethnic, or economic 'injustice'. Moreover, concepts of Indigenous sovereignty – which ground on narratives of race – are left unexplained to German-speaking readers.

The approach to historically charged terms can also be observed in the special emphasis on 'culture', and this is an astonishing way. Indigenous cultures are praised as highly sophisticated, thus classified as 'high cultures' (e.g., Löffler 244, 253; Yin 9). One text describes Indigenous cultures as being highly developed because their economic system and material artefacts, like spears and boomerangs, are "perfectly tailored to the environment" (Boltz 10). This mention of the high development of cultures is not explained within a larger context yet clearly presupposes such a context, that is, the long held evolutionistic belief that Indigenous cultures were/are 'uncivilised' or 'stone age' but able to achieve a level of higher development. The text thus gives a contrast to this belief, which was as much established in Germany as it was in Australia. The term 'culture' should in this context also be understood as an antonym of 'nature', which has a burdened significance in German history; the German equivalent to 'primitive people' is, significantly, *Naturvolk* (literally 'people of nature'). The concept of nature, if referred to humans, was used to denigrate so-called illiterate and animistic cultures, seen to be linked to nature (and thus not equipped with reason) rather than to culture. As a consequence, links to 'nature' are not only discarded but, instead, the concept of 'high culture' is employed in the German translations. Yet the emphasis being laid on the high development of culture draws perforce on a binary understanding of cultures as either 'highly developed' or 'primitive'. The employment of 'high development' – well-intentioned as it is – legitimises the dichotomy of the hierarchical positioning of cultures, and it does not coincide with Indigenous worldviews of land and nature. As the culture-nature divide shows, German terminology does not always fully correspond with the Indigenous contexts of the stories. It seems to be rather an educational approach to German counter-discourses against racialisation.

## **Cultural Continuity**

As a consequence of Germany's history of racial segregation, there is a tendency in German historical discourses to downplay rather than reinforce (racial) differences, especially by emphasising 'common humanity'. This emphasis on commonalities can be observed in the introductions to German translations of Australian Indigenous literature. One text, for example, establishes cultural continuity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous story-telling: "Australia is a continent of story-telling. Aboriginal people have been telling mythical Dreamtime-stories long before the first whites discovered Australia. The white settlers only followed this tradition" (Wolf 225). In a similar fashion, another book, containing writing by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous women, translates the Indigenous past into a common past for all Australian women: "Australian women have more than a forty thousand year long history" (Hawthorne and Klein 1992, blurb). This focus on commonalities does not entirely coincide with Indigenous concepts of sovereignty, intellectual ownership and cultural property. In fact, establishing such continuity would be criticised in Australia as a form of appropriation, whereas the German reception, I argue, is less a product of appropriation than one of forging a form of common humanity by presenting a seemingly 'positive' picture of Aboriginal cultures.

## **Focus on Oppression**

In nearly half of the translations (41%), the blurbs and introductions are decidedly political, that is, they draw attention to socio-political disadvantages and oppression. In many instances, the editors have adopted controversial terms to refer to the historical fate of Indigenous Australians: "slave trade", "forcible conquest", "mass rape", and "genocide" to mention but a few (e.g., Grawe 170; Boltz 17-18; Yin 10). The political ambitions are at times so dominant that they obstruct any view of Indigenous agency: In saying, for instance, that "the inhabitants of the island of Tasmania were already exterminated by the middle of the last century" (Boltz 17-



18) the editor conjures up the historical myth of the complete extermination of the Indigenous Tasmanians after Trugannini's death. This neglects the cultural continuities and survival of Indigenous Tasmanians. Furthermore, the text homogenises settler Australians as a bunch of callous criminals, implying that all settlers were killers: "The massacres [of Indigenous persons] lasted up until the 1930s and only came to an end when the Australian settlers began to fear the extinction of their cheap workers and when humanitarian voices began to grow louder the world over" (*ibid.* 18). Finally, the introduction concludes that the "remaining survivors had been evicted from their lands" and thus "lost their traditional lifestyles" (*ibid.*). Another introduction suggests in a similar sense that Indigenous cultures are on the brink of disappearance:

Because of the contact with the whites, the majority of the Aborigines are alienated from the culture of their forbears, and now they have to live in poor conditions on the fringes of civilisation; only few can manage to live a better life. For many, the escape from misery and hopelessness is an escape to alcohol, for they have lost the link to the Dreamings and myths that once regulated the life of their forbears. The perishing of a highly-developed tribal culture is outlined on the following pages. (Löffler 243-4)

In a similar vein, the blurb on *Wanamurraganya* lumps together all white fathers of Indigenous children, advertising the book as "evidence of the exploitation of Black women and the cynicism of white fathers" (Morgan 1997). This engenders the impression that there was not a single white Australian father who was caring or loving.

This sole focus on oppression and destruction is problematic for three reasons. Firstly, it renders Indigenous people the passive victims of history, obscuring their active part in shaping present-day Australia. Secondly, it does not acknowledge the survival and continuity of Indigenous cultures. Significantly, one text draws a distinction between the "Australian Aboriginal people" and their "urban progeny" (Zimmermann and Noonuccal 1), implying that because of the destructive impacts of colonisation urban Indigenous people are somehow 'less' Indigenous. In this instance, the

overemphasis on destruction reinforces the stereotypical differentiation between the 'real' Indigenous persons living in remote areas, still connected with their Dreamings, and the urban dwellers who are assumed to have lost the links to their cultures. Thirdly, it homogenises white and Indigenous Australians – not in any cultural or linguistic sense, for the cultural and linguistic diversity of Indigenous Australians is stressed in most paratexts, but in the sense of attributing to them particular human qualities. In one text, for example, white people are uniformly portrayed as the exploiters of nature, whereas Indigenous people are seen as its protectors: "For the white newcomers the earth was seen as a commodity to be exploited. They laid their network of roads and railroad tracks and began to mine ore primarily to make the land arable and to render it accessible to humans" (Endriss and Scherer 1995, n.pag.). Thus, Indigenous people are attributed 'good' human qualities whereas whites are seen as 'morally corrupt'; one group are the true environmentalists and poor victims, the others are the destroyers and bad fathers. The politicised approach thus presents a great danger of simplification: in overemphasising the violent impacts of colonisation, Indigenous cultures are portrayed as being in decay, which reinforces, ironically enough, the 'dying race' dogma.

Yet there is one remarkable exception to the overemphasis on oppression, namely, a bilingual anthology which does not dwell exclusively on negative events. "It reports on the strength, the courage, and the confidence of the Australian Aboriginals yet also on the pain and suffering caused by the colonialists" (Markmann and Rika-Heke 1996, blurb). The foreword reflects a similar strategy: the text mentions colonial oppression but subsequently avoids focusing on 'destruction', going on to stress that "Aboriginal Australia is nevertheless not dead" (*ibid.*, 9). This book is one of the few examples testifying to the survival of Indigenous Australians.

Overall, in the German translations, the descriptions of Indigenous cultures are markedly sympathetic towards Indigenous people yet do not always represent the specific contexts of race and racism within Australia. Not clearly describing the issues of race, overemphasising

oppression, constructing notions of 'high cultures' and establishing continuities of action between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians are all phenomena reflecting the target culture's own historical discourses of race rather than mirroring the cultural contexts of the source culture. As this article has shown, the German translations construct four major types of Indigenous persons: (a) the victim of white oppression; (b) the spiritual being; (c) the environmentalist; and (d), far more seldom, the survivor.

## Conclusion

The analysis of paratexts gives the following results: Firstly, the contexts of reception are fundamentally different between the popular German literature *about* Australian Indigenous cultures and the German translations of Australian Indigenous literature. The latter dispenses with references to nature, draws more attention to contemporary social inequities, and appeals far less to esoteric interests. Secondly, the translated books are marketed differently by the German presses – their cover illustrations often show classical designs that do not correspond with the more political contents of the blurbs and introductions. Thirdly, the rendering of cover illustrations as classical is a marketing strategy evinced by the German publishers to advertise their products; classical designs, it is thought, are better suited to inspire German customers to read Indigenous books. Fourthly, the introductions and blurbs are different from the cover illustrations insofar as they engage in decidedly political issues, and this political emphasis often has more to do with racial discourses in the German target culture than with the realities concerning Indigenous Australians. For example, terms like 'race' are simply dropped, there is an emphasis on cultural similarities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, and the often one-sided focus on oppression renders Indigenous Australians the passive victims of history.

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## Images of the Nation in SBS's Immigration Nation

As works that propose to present, explain, and at times denounce events, phenomena, and/or lives, documentaries posit a special relation to the "real", since they pose as authentic representations of the "real". However, as major documentary theorist Bill Nichols has argued, documentaries cannot be regarded as straightforward mirrors of lives, events and phenomena (x), but are articulated by a double logic:

Documentary, like other discourses of the real, retains a vestigial responsibility to describe and interpret the world of collective experience, a responsibility that is no small matter at all. But even more, it joins these other discourses (of law, family, education, economics, politics, state, and nation) in the actual *construction* of social reality. (10)

A documentary necessarily constructs social reality, it is a "*discourse about the world*" (Nichols x, emphasis in the text). Such discourse is conveyed through the documentary's main narrative, but it is also created through images, which are often seen as guaranteeing representativeness. As a visual medium, documentary film bases much of its "discourse of the real" on images and visual representations. Documentaries may use an aesthetics of literalism, but they in fact actively construct reality through editing choices and the voices that give meaning to images. As Fitzsimons, Laughren and Williamson argue, documentaries are necessarily "a historically located field of practice" (10) and should be regarded as "a production of meaning from a particular discursive position" (14).

*Immigration Nation: The Secret History of Us*, a three-part documentary aired on SBS in January 2011, is no exception to this. The series proposes a history of the White Australia Policy from 1901 until the 1970s. As a film that addresses a sensitive issue in Australian society, *Immigration Nation* tries to reach a difficult

balance between the discussion of problematic points in early twentieth-century Australian history – the White Australia Policy and its exclusion of non-white immigration – and the presentation of more positive images of the nation. This article discusses the documentary's *visual* representation of Australia as an immigration nation, and seeks to deconstruct its aesthetics of literalism and discourse of the real.

The documentary has so far not been the object of much criticism. Beside reviews, one article has been written about multiculturalism and history in the documentary (Garnier and Kretzschmar). The present article therefore fills a gap in the scholarship on the series, and seeks to contribute to the study of documentary discourse. The discourse presented in *Immigration Nation*, which is deeply embedded in the multicultural context of 2010s Australia, offers a distinct visual representation of Australia that I will analyse in three main parts: *Immigration Nation's* visualisation of the past, the links that it draws between the past and the present, and its representation of contemporary Australia.

## **1. Visualising the Past**

*Immigration Nation* is part of a long tradition of Australian documentary production, and was in 2011 the first major documentary series on immigration for a decade on Australian television (Garnier and Kretzschmar 2). Commissioned by the Australian television network SBS, it was produced by Alex West, Lucy Maclaren, and Jacob Hickey, written by Alex West and Sara Tiefenbrun and directed by Ben Shackleford. Its three episodes are structured chronologically, with a first episode that discusses the White Australia Policy from Federation in 1901 until the beginning of the Second World War. The second and third episodes address the gradual relaxation of immigration restrictions from the 1940s onwards. While the second episode deals with the White Australia Policy in the 1940s and 1950s, the third and final episode discusses the progressive end of the White Australia Policy from the 1950s until the 1970s, and ends with the first unplanned arrivals of



immigrants by boat in 1976. Although the focus of the documentary is located in the past, *Immigration Nation* is clearly concerned with the relation between past and present. While it describes and explains the policy of restrictive immigration to Australia, it also draws direct links between the White Australia Policy and current anxiety over contemporary unplanned seafaring arrivals of asylum seekers in Australia.

*Immigration Nation* is rather classical in terms of form. Nichols identifies four major modes of representation in documentary film, which can exist simultaneously in a single documentary. He chronologically lists the expository mode, which contains voice-of-God commentaries; the observational mode, which seeks to attenuate the filmmaker's presence; the interactive mode, which often involves a conversation between the filmmaker and social actors; and the reflexive mode, where the viewer's attention is drawn to the form of the work itself (xiv). Such modes involve specific social, aesthetic and ethic challenges and constraints. The mode that is most relevant to discuss *Immigration Nation* is the expository mode, and its challenges and constraints need to be considered in a discussion of the documentary. The series' narrative is a rather classical alternation of voice-over commentaries and interviews with immigration bureaucrats, former migrants and academics. While the main narrative is carried out by a disembodied voice-of-God which addresses the viewer directly, it is complemented by interviews with academics such as Marilyn Lake, Andrew Markus and Henry Reynolds. The documentary's general narrative is illustrated by a number of images and footage. Images include paintings, archival photographs, and administrative forms such as certificates of registration; footage varies between archival footage, videos of contemporary locations, interviews, and extracts from fiction films. The documentary's visual aspect was complimented by most reviewers and rewarded by a number of awards.<sup>1</sup> Garnier and Kretzschmar, for instance, describe

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<sup>1</sup> *Immigration Nation* won the Gold Muse for Best Documentary or Factual Entertainment Promo, the Gold Isis for Best Design without Footage, the Silver Muse for Best Print Ad, the Gold Isis for Best Typography and the Silver Muse for

*Immigration Nation* as “visually impressive. It includes rare archival footage, precious interviews with immigration bureaucrats and several generations of ‘former migrants’, as well as high-quality academic expertise” (2).

The documentary series was received generally favourably by critics. While its visual aspect was widely praised, its representation of Australian history was the subject of a number of criticisms. As a three-hour documentary series, *Immigration Nation* necessarily offers a fragmentary, partial, and incomplete narrative on the White Australia Policy. Perhaps the strongest criticism that has been made is that its history of the White Australia Policy starts with Federation in 1901 – the motivations behind the implementation of the policy and the existence of similar laws in each colony in the nineteenth century are not mentioned. The documentary’s summary of the White Australia Policy and its demise indeed fails to provide the wider international context that influenced Australia’s immigration policies. Also absent from this narration is the complexity of the dynamics that led to the end of the policy, including the role played by international pressure and broader civil rights struggles in Australia and the world. Garnier and Kretzschmar thus point out that many of the political and social agents who played a role in the White Australia Policy (such as trade unions) are missing from the series’ narration. Many critics have also deplored that the documentary’s narrative ends with the first unplanned arrivals in the 1970s, and thus does not discuss multiculturalism and the issues surrounding it, such as the debate over Asian immigration in the 1980s and the political manipulation of the Tampa crisis by the Howard government (Garnier and Kretzschmar 4), although this aspect seems to have more to do with limitations of duration than with a deliberate choice to exclude such events from the series.<sup>2</sup>

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Most Outstanding Promo of the Year at the PromaxBDA ANZ Awards. It won Gold for Best Animation and Gold for Best News/Inform Program Promotion Campaign Using Integrated Media at the International Promax Awards. The program was also successful at the Webby Awards and was awarded the Australian Effects and Animation Festival (AEAF) Best Visual Effects in a TV Series.

<sup>2</sup> The most intense – and unfounded – criticisms formulated on the documentary were unsurprisingly published in *The Quadrant* (see Izzard, “The Deceit of *Immigration Nation*”).

Like many documentaries in the expository mode, *Immigration Nation* is articulated by an informing logic and operates in terms of problem-solving: voices and images are “woven into a textual logic that subsumes and orchestrates them” (Nichols 37). The series is structured by the logic of evidence, and its engagement with the historical world is rhetorical rather than poetic or fictive.

In line with its main argument, which discusses the White Australia Policy and its relation to contemporary issues, the series offers images that represent past as well as contemporary Australia. Its representation of the past is established through a number of devices. *Immigration Nation* uses archival footage, which functions as a conventional visual representation of the past. Archival images also appear on the screen to illustrate specific points or events. Other less conventional devices are used to visualise the past. The first of these devices is the visualisation of the past through monuments. In Episode 1, which deals with Federation and the White Australia Policy until the beginning of the Second World War, a number of footages and images illustrate the narrative. The documentary shows a combination of archival images and paintings, as well footage of contemporary buildings. For instance, the Melbourne Royal Exhibition Building, which hosted the first Australian Federal Parliament in May 1901, is repeatedly shown during discussions dealing with the Immigration Restriction Act and the Pacific Island Labourers Act. Contemporary colour footage of the exterior of the Royal Exhibition Building shows pedestrians – mostly people getting to and from work – walking alongside the building and the Carlton Gardens. Here, the Royal Exhibition Building can be read as a reminder of the presence of visible markers of the past in their present-day life, and therefore functions as a metaphor for the impact of the past on contemporary dynamics.

The visibility of historical heritage is also highlighted in the same episode through indoor footage of the Exhibition Building. The footage slowly zooms in and out of details inside the building, as if the edifice itself contained clues and images to unlock the complexities of the past. Close shots of the building’s *bas-reliefs*,

paintings and dome are shown, while the voice-over explains the main aspects of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. Both indoor and outdoor footage of the Royal Exhibition Building thus function as a metonymy for Federation and its importance in early twentieth-century Australian history: details are used to represent the wider decisions that were discussed and made in 1901. For instance, when the narrative voice discusses the status of Aborigines in the new Federation ("There is no place in this brave new world for Aboriginal people; the First Australians are beneath contempt" (5)), the camera zooms in on an Aboriginal face in the bas-relief of the Melbourne Royal Exhibition Building.

Such focus on details is also present in the series' general narrative on Australian history, which is mostly character-based. Nichols points out that there is no strict distinction between documentary and fiction:

Documentaries are fictions with plots, characters, situations, and events. They offer introductory lacks, challenges, or dilemmas; they build heightened tensions and dramatically rising conflicts, and they terminate with resolution and closure. They do all this with reference to a "reality" that is a construct, the product of signifying systems, like the documentary film itself. (107)

*Immigration Nation* has a clear narrative structure from its first to its third episode. Its narrative tends to emphasise *political* rather than social history in the "reality" that it represents (Garnier and Kretzschmar 1). The series focuses on a handful of actors in Australian history. The heroes of the narrative are politicians and public figures who were involved in the end of the White Australia Policy (for instance, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, Immigration Minister Albert Grassby, and Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser). On the other hand, responsibility for the shameful past is given to a number of negatively portrayed characters, including some of the early Prime Ministers of the Australian Commonwealth (for instance, Edmund Barton, Alfred Deakin, and Billy Hughes), but more importantly Charles H. Pearson, whose 1893 *National Life and Character: A Forecast*, is identified as a major reason for the implementation of a

restrictive immigration policy.<sup>3</sup> While there is no doubt that Pearson's theories did influence some national figures at the time (see Lake and Reynolds, Chapter 6 in particular), the documentary's emphasis on individual responsibility for the policy fails to consider the complex interplay of power relations in government and society, as well as the possibility that many ordinary Australians were receptive to his ideas. As Garnier and Kretzschmar propose, "the program often reduces Australia's immigration history to a struggle between leading political figures and non-British individual migrants fighting for inclusion" (4). *Immigration Nation's* representation of what seems today a shameful past is therefore based on a selective and individual approach to Australian history.

A similar logic of individualisation is at work in the documentary's alternation between stories of tolerance and intolerance towards non-white others. Stories of intolerance tend to be *individual* stories – the speech or attitude of individual politicians and public figures. Stories of tolerance – such as how white communities appreciated the Chinese that lived with them – are by contrast presented as decidedly collective and plural.

*Immigration Nation's* distinctive construction of, and discourse about, Australian society was probably driven by three main motivations. One first, and central, element in understanding the focus on individuals in the documentary is practical. There is no doubt that it is difficult, let alone illusory, to seek to generalise the attitude of ordinary Australians towards the White Australia Policy. As a documentary, *Immigration Nation* needs to *illustrate* its arguments. It is not difficult here to anticipate that it is difficult to

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<sup>3</sup> Charles H. Pearson (1830-1894) was a British-born Australian historian and politician. His 1893 *National Life and Character: A Forecast* sought to predict likely evolutions in the world and received wide international attention. While issues such as the decreasing influence of the Church, the increasing power of the State, and the decay of family were addressed in the work, one influential prediction made by Pearson was that the "lower" races (Africans and Asians) would come to dominate the "higher races" if white supremacy was not deliberately maintained through the creation of exclusively white countries. As Lake and Reynolds have demonstrated, Pearson's *National Life and Character* was cited in political debates on the White Australia Policy, and influenced a number of political figures at the time of Federation.

find witnesses willing to speak about xenophobic feelings, while historical records, which are in contrast readily available and less problematic to use, encourage a more individual approach.

Another main reason that explains the focus on the individual rather than the collective in the series can be found in the recent evolution of TV documentaries. Belinda Smaill argues that documentaries, and in particular diasporic ones, increasingly “focus on representing reality through the lens of personal experience” (273). She proposes that this focus on personal experience

challenged the direct or observational cinema movements of the previous decades that privileged the objective, and therefore seemingly “unauthored”, rendering of the historical world. [...] Thus, the inscription of the self that is at the forefront of the diasporic documentaries can be understood in light of the conditions of Australian independent documentary production, shifts in documentary practice and the way these are inflected by the broader flux of social change. (273)

Although Smaill’s object of study is diasporic documentaries, the same point can be made for mainstream documentaries such as *Immigration Nation*. Recent shifts in documentary production and practice as well as evolutions towards more individualisation in Western societies at large have resulted in an increasing concern with the self in documentaries. *Immigration Nation*’s individual approach to Australian history is partly a result of shifts in documentary practice and in Western society, which generally tends towards increased individualisation.

Finally, the documentary’s individual approach is a way of representing Australian history in a non-threatening and non-aggressive way. *Immigration Nation* lays blame for negative changes on individual politicians, which anchors responsibility for Australia’s past on the nation’s leaders and shifts accountability away from a generalised Australian population. Here, it is necessary to consider the primary aim and production context of the documentary. The fact that *Immigration Nation* was commissioned by SBS has a number of implications. In *Australian Documentary: History,*

*Practices and Genres*, Fitzsimons, Laughren and Williamson identify three clear phases in SBS documentaries: “the period up to the creation of SBS Independent in 1994-1995; the work produced by SBS Independent until 2006; and works commissioned by SBS after 2006” (171). According to them,

In the final period, a move to series, established formats (ironically for a multiculturally focused broadcaster, generally those derived from the UK) and hybrid documentary/light entertainment programming, resulted in material with a more consistent institutional voice and greater adherence to established generic conventions of televisual work. (171)

SBS’s identifiable “institutional voice” can be discerned in *Immigration Nation*. The series can be regarded as a “light” documentary that is concerned with building audience engagement. *Immigration Nation* is part of a new trend for TV documentaries to extend outside of the series itself through the availability of videos, forums, and extra information online (Fitzsimons, Laughren and Williamson 28): Its website, which includes four main sections – Videos, Interactive, Resources, and Your Say –, proposes further details on characters mentioned in the documentary, a list of immigration stories, and reactions to the series. Its associated website and online discussion thus seek to create a long-term event that lasts beyond the mere duration of broadcasting. *Immigration Nation* targets a wide audience, with a desire to reach all ages, and educational and cultural backgrounds. While its narrative on Australian history can be criticised, a fair critique of the documentary implies taking into account its format and audience, and therefore considering it as a primarily pedagogical, rather than historical, document, which seeks to encourage the audience towards more tolerance.

## **2. Past and Present**

*Immigration Nation*’s representation of the past is consistently combined with a simultaneous representation of contemporary Australia. The introductory theme tune is exemplary in this respect.

Each episode starts with a two-minute teaser that introduces the themes developed in the next fifty minutes. While the teaser is adapted to the contents of each episode, the series theme tune that follows is the same for all three episodes. The audio track of the tune is a dramatic-sounding and invigorating track played by strings, whose rhythm and melody convey a sense of excitement and foreboding. The theme tune also includes words, phrases or sentences uttered by politicians and journalists over the string melody. The visual aspect of the introductory tune is based on the theme of the archive. It presents film reels in the background, onto which a number of photographs, posters, official immigration documents, and short film extracts are distributed as if going through a photo album of Australian history. The alternation of political statements and visual representations of history through historical footage and archival documents provides images for the White Australia Policy and attempts to give a sense of the policy and of its impact on individuals.

The central achievement of the 30-second series theme tune, however, is that it systematically links past and present by alternating contemporary and past images of Australia. Viewers see Billy Hughes's triumphant return to Australia after 1919 and hear his words ("White Australia is yours"). The image that follows is a journalistic footage of the children overboard affair, which is made clearer through the words of a reporter ("Their children were thrown overboard").<sup>4</sup> Viewers are then invited to see the Melbourne Exhibition Building and hear the words "Let's celebrate a new life in this warm and friendly country", which evokes the optimism present at the creation of the Australian Commonwealth in 1901. This optimistic message is followed by a final image accompanied by words spoken by John Howard: "We will decide who comes into this

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<sup>4</sup> The "children overboard" affair was a political controversy that took place in October 2001. Australian Government ministers publicly announced that asylum seekers attempting to reach Australia by boat had deliberately thrown children overboard to secure rescue and therefore entry into Australia. A Senate Inquiry later established that no children had been thrown overboard, and that the Government had deliberately misguided the public in the lead up to the Federal elections.



country". The documentary therefore creates a direct link between the White Australia Policy – embodied by Hughes in the theme tune – and contemporary debates on unplanned boat arrivals in Australia. Enthusiasm for the high standard of living in Federation Australia is contrasted with Howard's determination to select the number and type of migrants coming to Australia. The exact alternation of images of past and contemporary Australia encourages viewers to consider parallels between both periods, as well as the continued impact of immigration restrictions in contemporary Australian society.

The final image of the theme tune crystallises this desire to establish connections between the White Australia Policy and contemporary anxieties about immigration. The image is divided into four parallel strips. The strips are diagonal, which associates the different images. From left to right, the image is composed of: a colour image representing contemporary ethnic variety, a black-and-white photograph of Billy Hughes, a colour footage that shows present-day ethnic variety, and a black-and-white footage of migrants getting off a boat with their belongings – presumably Eastern European refugees arriving in Australia after the Second World War. The four sections of the final image alternate between past (black-and-white) and present (colour) Australia, thus representing both the changes that have occurred in the composition of the Australian population since the end of the White Australia Policy and the possible legacy of the policy in contemporary anxieties.

This pattern of connecting the past with the present is also developed in the documentary itself. Image inlaying is used to anchor the past into the present throughout *Immigration Nation*. There are many such instances: a black-and-white image of Alfred Deakin is overlaid on the colour footage of the Victorian Parliament as it exists today. A similar device is used in Episode 2, where a montage combines a contemporary colour image of Westminster and a black-and-white historical photograph of a conference attended by Arthur Calwell during a trip to London after the Second World War. Here again, the image of the past is easily identifiable through the

contrasting use of colour and black-and-white, yet it is somewhat naturally present in contemporary buildings, fitting perfectly on part of a wall next to the Palace of Westminster.

The device is also used with videos. In Episode 1, the Royal Exhibition Building is gradually transformed: a painting representing the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1901 is inlaid on to contemporary colour footage of the building seen from the same angle. The colour video is gradually erased by the painting, and is finally fully replaced by it. The same pattern is used with a contemporary cane field, which is slowly replaced by a historical video of Kanaka labourers working in a cane field. This device suggests that while the shot angle may be the same, the gaze of Australians *has* changed.

Graeme Blundell describes the two devices as images that are “sometimes superimposed, at other times growing almost organically out of the stone”. As he argues, in both cases contemporary buildings are transformed into “vehicles for images of the past”. It is highly significant that *Immigration Nation* inlays *past* images or footage onto *contemporary* structures; the opposite is absent from the documentary. The decision to anchor the past into the present clearly highlights the desire of the creators of the documentary to emphasise the visual reminders of the past in an urban landscape that is today often solely dedicated to work or consumerism.

Another essential aspect of the series’ visual enactment of the link between past and present is what Blundell calls the “Victorian mansion”. The main arguments of *Immigration Nation* are presented by a voice-of-God commentator, but academics also intervene at various moments in the narration to repeat, or add detail to, the arguments of the voice-over. While this is a common pattern in expository documentaries, what is specific to *Immigration Nation* is that academics are all interviewed in the same location. As Blundell explains in his review of the series:

Where possible [Alex] West [one of the producers and writers of the series] and his colleagues artfully film the historians in a seemingly abandoned Victorian mansion painted white with high ceilings and polished floors and shot from different angles, usually with a wide-angled lens. They sit or stand in corners or quietly move into shot as they speak.

The decision to film all interviews with academics in a single location is significant. Unlike other interviewees in the documentary, who seem to be filmed in their own house, office, or at least in different locations, academic figures are not filmed in their office – which gives them a position of institutional authority – as is customary in many documentaries. The scholars' presence in the same Victorian mansion suggests a unity of purpose and argument, and encourages the assumption that they start with the same postulates and that their arguments converge with those of the documentary.

The choice of a Victorian house also evokes the past; the house's emptiness – academics sit on a chair in the middle of an empty room with high ceilings – encourages a focus on the interviewees alone. The emptiness of the mansion also serves a practical purpose. Academics are at times shown in tight close-ups that “establish an affective, poetic pattern of social representation” (Nichols 27). Long shots show academics sitting on a chair in a corner or in the middle of the room, whose polished floorboards, high ceilings and white walls are then apparent. In these wide-angle long shots, the walls of the mansion are used to project images of the past next to academics. The first page of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act is, for instance, inlaid on the wall to the left of Andrew Markus; Alex McDermott presents an argument while a photograph of Arthur Calwell welcoming 100,000<sup>th</sup> migrant Isobel Savery in 1949 is superimposed on the wall to his right.

As Blundell argues:

It's as if somehow they are occupying the past, participating while they comment, as around them images of the people and events swirl and sometimes accumulate on the walls and ceilings. Graphics and

even sets of figures somehow three-dimensionally eddy through the space while they speak.

The photographs projected onto the white walls of the Victorian house function as pedagogical devices that illustrate the main argument of the documentary, while at the same time encouraging a reflection on the links between past and contemporary Australia.

### **3. Representing Contemporary Australia**

*Immigration Nation's* representation of contemporary Australia is more restricted than its representation of its past. Beside footage of contemporary buildings, which are often devoid of human presence, and thus serve as abstractions for the historical processes that took place in them, contemporary Australia is represented through one main type of footage. The main image used to symbolise the present is seemingly commonplace: people walking in the street. The footage appears natural, as if a camera was posted in a street on a weekday, and simply recorded the familiar spectacle of people navigating an urban landscape. The city remains mysterious – there are no (or few) markers that could assist viewers in identifying a particular city. The anonymity of the city posits this image as at once typical and universal. The footage shows a widely populated street, which suggests that the political program to populate Australia has been met thanks to immigration. The ethnic diversity of the population being filmed combined with the fact that most pedestrians are walking in the same direction in the shots points to the harmonious integration of non-white migrants into Australia.

While the footage is posited as being common and unworked, it in fact involves a very specific perception and representation of the Australian population. The people in the footage generally seem to be under 50 years of age and are presumably going to work. Most important of all, these pedestrians walk in an urban setting, seemingly in the city centre of a state capital. The Australia that is represented in these images is therefore not universal but highly specific: the Australians who are posited as ordinary and therefore emblematic are *young, active, and urban*. *Immigration Nation* does

not offer images of rural Australia, residential areas or poorer neighbourhoods – the footage of ordinary people walking down a street is not a commonplace image but the result of a series of choices. As Nichols remarks, documentaries

prompt us to infer that the images we see (and many of the sounds we hear) have their origin in the historical world. Technically, this means that the projected sequence of images, what occurred in front of the camera (the profilmic event), and the historical referent are taken to be congruent with one another. (25)

Documentaries, then, should be regarded as “a metonymic representation of the world as we know it” (Nichols 28). This metonymic logic becomes apparent in the case of *Immigration Nation*’s representation of contemporary Australia, where a crowd in a street is posited as characteristic and emblematic of the Australian population at large.

Nichols has also argued that documentaries in the expository mode tend to “eliminat[e] reference to the process by which knowledge is produced, organized, and regulated so that it, too, is subject to the historical and ideological processes of which the film speaks” (35). *Immigration Nation*, like many expository films, “tend[s] to mask the work of production” (Nichols 56). Evidence of such historical and ideological processes can be found in the authors’ idea of immigration. Movements of immigration are only described as such when the documentary discusses post-1901 or non-white migration. Australians of English and Irish origin are not posited as the result of *immigration* but as being already in Australia, a highly problematic repetition of a historical construction.

The narrative of *Immigration Nation* focuses on the ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia as opposed to its (fantasised) homogeneity during the White Australia Policy. The seemingly ordinary footages of crowds in a street thus feature in the documentary as clear evidence of contemporary ethnic diversity. The way in which they are incorporated in the documentary’s argumentative logic encourages a focus not on elements such as

gender ratio, outfits, or street signs, but solely on race.<sup>5</sup> One can argue that *Immigration Nation* is informed by a 'racialising' gaze and encourages viewers to "read" race, thus reproducing the very logic that it critiques.<sup>6</sup>

Such ideological assumptions are even clearer in the final image of the documentary. Just before the final credits of the third episode of the series, the documentary gives information on what happened to former migrants interviewed in the series ("Nancy Prasad has been an Australian citizen for 30 years. She lives with her Greek husband and their four children in Sydney"), and provides figures on the Australian population ("Australia has one of the highest rates in the world of inter-marriage between different cultural groups") and on unplanned boat arrivals ("Since 1976 boat people have made up less than 1% of Australia's immigration intake"). The final slide states in white writing on a black background:

Today Australia is made up of 199 nationalities.

In less than a lifetime the country has transformed itself from one of the least multi-cultural places on earth to one of the most diverse.

The documentary closes with a statement that aims to demonstrate the progress made since the White Australia Policy. Australia is identified as a country that is "one of the most diverse" in the world, a declaration that celebrates the achievements of Australian multiculturalism. Yet the formulation of the celebratory statement reveals a number of ideological assumptions. The first sentence seeks to underline the ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. Its erroneous use of the term "nationalities", however, reveals a confusion between nationality and national origin. Here, it is difficult not to argue that the statement reinforces the idea that some

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<sup>5</sup> Here, I follow Pierre-André Taguieff's argument that the notions of race and ethnicity should not be considered separate. For Taguieff, ethnicity is part of a number of "non-explicitly biological reformulations of racism" that appeared after the 1940s (14, my translation).

<sup>6</sup> The documentary similarly decries the White Australia Policy, but the vast majority of interviewed academics are white, which reproduces the very legacy that is critiqued.

Australian citizens, because of their national origin, are not considered full Australian citizens. The term “multi-cultural” is also problematic in the statement. The sentence seeks to convey that Australia’s immigration policies have moved from being a racially intolerant country to being tolerant of all races and cultures. This idea of intolerance is not formulated in terms of racism, which has obvious negative connotations, but in positive terms, since the core of the phrase is euphemistic (“multicultural”), and the superlative “least” is added to grade this positive aspect. Australia was in fact far from being “one of the *least* multi-cultural places on earth” (my emphasis), since there was ethnic variety within white Australia, but more importantly wide ethnic variety within Aboriginal Australia.

## Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I would like to return to the genre of *Immigration Nation*. Perhaps what most strikingly differentiates documentary from fiction is the civic role that documentaries often play. This role is particularly present in *Immigration Nation*, whose narration, filming, and argument seek to encourage an engagement with Australia’s contemporary debates on unplanned boat arrivals through an evocation of the past. This engagement with the past is characterised by an approach that is essentially non-threatening. Sensitive issues in Australian history are not addressed in a confrontational way, but are rather smoothed over to make way for a celebratory vision of the nation. The final sentence of the series is a clear example of this, as is the tendency in the documentary to show individual rather than collective representations of the controversial past. This dissociates the legal apparatus of immigration – set up by negatively portrayed political figures and framed by immigration policies – from the attitudes and opinions of the Australian population, and this is largely achieved through the series’ *visual* representation of the nation.

In many ways, *Immigration Nation*’s suggestion to consider parallels between the white Australia policy and contemporary angst over unplanned arrivals is done through the feeling of pride. Australian

history is presented as a success story. Some of the final words of the documentary describe Australian multiculturalism as being “remarkable progress” and as being “achieved”, which construes Australian history in terms of accomplishment. The final image of the third episode similarly seeks to generate pride for contemporary Australia, and perhaps more importantly pride for multiculturalism. This recalls Ien Ang’s argument – an argument also made by Ghassan Hage – that multiculturalism “has operated as an ideological discourse designed to provide Australians with a favourable, flattering, even triumphant representation of the national self” (75). Ang argues that this flattering ideological discourse operates on two levels:

First, in historical terms, it tells the Australian people that with the adoption of multiculturalism the nation has discarded an important part of its shameful, racist past. Second, in symbolic terms, it presents the people of Australia with a public fiction that they live in a harmonious, tolerant and peaceful country where everyone is included and gets along. (75)

*Immigration Nation’s* representation of Australian history in non-threatening terms can be read as being part of both commercial and pedagogical purposes. In commercial terms, documentary series needs to incite viewers to watch all three episodes, which might have been jeopardised by an overly confrontational approach. The series’ pedagogical objectives and desire to intervene on present attitudes through an evocation of the past also necessitates an approach that leans more towards celebration than accusation, even though this might lead to an uncritical glorification of the government’s multicultural policies. In his review of *Immigration Nation*, Blundell remarked: “It’s an extraordinary story, and this series sucks you right in.” Blundell’s (perhaps unconscious) decision to call the documentary a *story* seems accurate, for the series tells an extraordinary story – but not history – of the nation’s success.

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**FORSCHUNG IM DISKURS / RESEARCH IN PROGRESS**

Theresa Schön

*Symposiumsbericht*

Knotenpunkt Botany Bay: Sozioökonomische Verflechtungen von Amerikanern, Briten und Franzosen in Australien, 1788-1800

*Symposium Review*

“Enlightened Powers: American, French & British Interactions in Botany Bay, 1788-1800,”<sup>1</sup>

Ausgangspunkt der Überlegungen des von Therese-Marie Meyer (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) für die *Gesellschaft für Australienstudien* (GASt) veranstalteten und organisierten, internationalen und interdisziplinären Symposiums “Enlightened Powers: American, French & British Interactions in Botany Bay, 1788-1800” war die Feststellung weitreichender Verbindungen (US-) amerikanischer, britischer und französischer Interessen im Zuge der Gründung der australischen Kolonien sowie der grundlegende Einfluss aufklärerischer Ideen und Werte auf das Leben in den ersten Siedlungen der *terra australis*. Das erklärte Ziel der Veranstaltung bestand in der mikro- und makrohistorischen Ausleuchtung dieser bisher von der Forschung wenig beachteten wissenschaftlichen, politischen, ökonomischen und militärischen Interaktionen. Das Symposium fand im Herbst 2014 in den Räumlichkeiten des *Interdisziplinären Zentrums für die Erforschung der Europäischen Aufklärung* (IZEA) der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg in Halle an der Saale statt. Ermöglicht wurde die Veranstaltung durch die großzügige Unterstützung der *Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur* sowie das *Mühlenberg-Zentrum für Amerikastudien*.

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<sup>1</sup> Das Symposium wurde am 27. September 2014 an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg abgehalten.

Mit der US-amerikanischen Unabhängigkeit in den Fokus der Europäer und Amerikaner gerückt, stellten die australischen Kolonien, zuvorderst die ersten Siedlungen in der Bucht von Sydney (Port Jackson) sowie Botany Bay, zentrale Orte der Aufklärung dar, wie die Organisatorin in Anlehnung an Dorinda Outram und John Gascoigne nachweist. Botany Bay sei nicht nur der Schauplatz eines sozialen Experiments gewesen. Die Kolonie habe darüber hinaus in gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Anlage zentrale aufklärerische Werte wie Fleiß und Eifer (*industry and diligence*) reflektiert, wobei strategisches Denken Basis des Handelns war. Der Handel habe eine zentrale Rolle gespielt, nicht nur in seiner Funktion, Güter des täglichen Lebens auszutauschen, sondern darüber hinaus als Vermittler von Wissen – eines Wissens über die Beherrschung der natürlichen Umgebung, dem in einer unbekannten Gegend wie dem australischen Kontinent eine überwältigende Rolle zugekommen ist. Das Symposium bot Gelegenheit, die vielfältigen Verflechtungen von Amerikanern und Europäern aus der Perspektive von Historiographie, Literaturwissenschaft und Kulturwissenschaft mikrohistorisch anhand einzelner historischer Akteure sowie editionsgeschichtlich und wissenschaftsgeschichtlich auf der Basis diverser wissenschaftlicher Publikationen (Reiseberichte, botanische Illustrationen) zu untersuchen.

In ihrem Plenarvortrag "Revolution, Rum, and *Maroonage*: The 'Pernicious American Spirit' at Port Jackson" begab sich die renommierte australische Historikerin **Cassandra Pybus** (Sydney University) auf die Spuren der ersten australischen *bushranger* und rekonstruierte drei Verbindungslinien zwischen dem australischen Kontinent und der jungen amerikanischen Nation: die Amerikanische Revolution, den Handel mit Rum und die Praxis der *maroonage*. Zum Inbegriff des australischen Charakters erklärt, waren *bushranger* Sträflinge, die vor einem Leben in Sklaverei und Gefangenschaft in den australischen Busch entflohen und auf diese Weise den Übergang von England nach Australien meisterten. Die Referentin zeichnete in dezidiert mikrohistorischer Manier die Wege zweier *bushranger* nach, nämlich die der afroamerikanischen Sträflinge

John 'Black' Caesar und John Randall.<sup>2</sup> Entgegen dem allgemein verbreiteten Standpunkt, der *bushranger* sei ein spezifisch australisches und dort einzigartiges sozioökonomisches Phänomen gewesen, argumentiert Cassandra Pybus, dass dieser australische Mythos vielmehr im Sinne ihres Vortragstitels über nordamerikanische Wurzeln verfügt. Durch sein Verhalten knüpfte der *bushranger* an die in Nordamerika bereits traditionelle Praktik der *maroonage* an, bei der Sklaven in den Busch bzw. die Wildnis entflohen und dort mit Hilfe der Eingeborenen eigene Siedlungen (von Gesetzlosen) aufbauten. Rum, ein grundlegendes Handelsgut amerikanischen Ursprungs, war weiterhin so bedeutsam in der neuen Kolonie, dass es u. a. im Fall 'Caesar' als Kopfgeld eingesetzt wurde. Die amerikanische Revolution schließlich brachte (entlaufene) Sklaven mit Soldaten zusammen, förderte persönliche Bande durch gemeinsame Erfahrungen im Unabhängigkeitskrieg und ermöglichte es z. B. John Randall, sich in der australischen Kolonie – nicht zuletzt durch Patronage – eine angesehene soziale Position zu erarbeiten.

Einen editionsgeschichtlichen Zugang verfolgte **Alison E. Martin** (University of Reading) in ihrem Beitrag zu "The Business of Books and Botany Bay: Publication, Dissemination and Knowledge Exchange". Am Beispiel der Publikationsgeschichte von Arthur Phillips *Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (1789) erläuterte die Referentin, wie sich im Publikationsbetrieb Wissenschaft, Politik und Handel verknüpften. Anhand der Untersuchung diverser paratextueller Materialien zeigte sie auf, wie britische und französische Buchhändler, Verleger und Übersetzer bewusst die Rezeption von Phillips botanischem Werk zu manipulieren suchten. So betonte das der britischen Edition vorangestellte Gedicht von Erasmus Darwin die Bedeutung des Werks für den *britischen* industriellen Fortschritt, das *britische* wissenschaftliche Genie und die *britische* koloniale Expansion und damit den Erfolg der *britischen* Siedlungsbemühungen in Botany Bay. Die französische Ausgabe von 1791 hingegen, herausgegeben

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<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch: Pybus, Cassandra (2006). *Black Founders: The Unknown Story of Australia's First Black Settlers*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

von Buisson und übersetzt von Millin de Grandmaison, repositionierte das Werk durch massive Eingriffe in dessen paratextuelle Ausgestaltung als internationalen Text. Millin, so die Referentin, strich nicht nur die dezidiert britischen Paratexte (Gedicht und Vignette), sondern setzte den Text durch extensives Fußnotenmaterial auch in Bezug zu Buffons, d. h. zu einem explizit *französischen* Klassifikationssystem. Mit ihrem Vortrag legte die Referentin überzeugend dar, wie sich die wissenschaftliche Publikationspraxis des späten 18. Jahrhunderts einerseits als rigoros nationales Projekt verstand und sich andererseits gleichzeitig an der globalen Erzeugung und dem weltweit vernetzten Austausch von naturhistorischem Wissen beteiligte.

In ihrem Vortrag "Enlightened Powers and 'Nature's Children': A French Colonial Encounter in the Time of Bonaparte" beleuchtete die Historikerin **Nicole Starbuck** (University of Adelaide) die anthropologischen Beobachtungen von Naturhistorikern, die 1802 im Rahmen der französischen Expedition unter der Leitung des Kapitäns Nicolas Baudin in Port Jackson landeten. Nach heutigem Forschungsstand war diese Expedition der zeitgenössische Beleg für – die Referentin argumentiert hier in Anlehnung an Claude Blanckaert – das in dieser Periode dringende Bedürfnis, die Kenntnisse über die menschliche Natur auszubauen. Unter den historischen Bedingungen einer post-revolutionären, früh-napoleonischen Situation näherten sich Baudin und sein Anthropologe François Péron, der den offiziellen Reisebericht nach Baudins Tod veröffentlichte, den Aborigines von Port Jackson in bewusst naturwissenschaftlichem Gestus. Zum Gegenstand ihrer Betrachtungen wurden sowohl die Aborigines selbst, mit denen sie nachhaltigen Kontakt hatten, als auch die Interaktion zwischen indigenen Völkern und den britischen Kolonisatoren, der die Franzosen in Botany Bay beiwohnten. Das Bild, das Baudin und Péron von den australischen Ureinwohnern entwarfen, ist außerordentlich idealisierend. Beeinflusst durch republikanische Ideale, warf Baudin die grundsätzliche Frage auf, ob sich Briten und Franzosen in ihren zivilisatorischen Bestrebungen besser auf die eigene Nation beschränken sollten. Für ihn waren die Aborigines von

Port Jackson nicht weniger wild als die schottischen Hochländer; Péron schätzte ihr Sozialverhalten höher ein als das der Tasmanier. Der Reisebericht (*Voyage de decouverte aux terres Australes*) stellt damit ein bahnbrechendes anthropologisches Werk dar, wegweisend im Bereich ethnographischer Feldforschung.

Mit den Wechselbedingungen von Politik und Wissenschaft, ebenfalls am Beispiel der Botanik, befasste sich die Historikerin **Henriette von Holleuffer** in ihrem Beitrag "The Transported Flowers of Botany Bay: Herbarium, Greenhouse, or Botanical Ark? – Early Representations of the Australian Flora in the Work of British and French Naturalists, Botanical Artists and Gardeners". Ausgehend von Judy Dysons These, die botanische Illustration repräsentiere einen kulturellen Text, der verwandte Wissensformen (z. B. soziales, psychologisches oder politisches Wissen) transportiert, untersuchte die Referentin die Kollaboration von britischen und französischen Botanikern der Jahrhundertwende bei dem Versuch, Wissen über die australische Flora zu produzieren, zu konservieren und zu kultivieren. Die botanischen Illustrationen reflektierten, so Henriette von Holleuffer im Rückblick, das Interesse von sowohl Wissenschaftlern als auch Amateuren am Unbekannten und Undefinierten. Die frühen Abbildungen der australischen Flora stellten dabei nicht so sehr ein taxonomisches Ereignis dar, sondern vielmehr eine emblematische Interpretation des Exotischen. In symbiotischer Verbindung verknüpften sich hier Bild und essayistische Beschreibung sowie das Wirken wissenschaftlicher wie sozialer Netzwerke. Botanische Forschung bildete damit einen Bereich, der trotz europäischem Kriegsgeschehen über politische Grenzen hinweg zugänglich blieb. Die Kultivierung australischer Pflanzen in Britannien und Frankreich diene laut der Referentin der Befriedigung wissenschaftlicher Neugierde, weniger ökologischen Belangen. Das australische 'virtuelle Gewächshaus' schließlich, mit dessen hypothetischer Gestalt die Referentin ihren Beitrag begann, erscheint im Ergebnis weniger als botanische 'Arche', sondern vielmehr als Experiment – ein Experiment, im Rahmen dessen Botaniker Wissen austauschten und als dessen treibende Kraft britischer Pragmatismus sowie französischer Ästhetizismus gelten kann.

Einem kulturwissenschaftlichen Ansatz folgend, wendete sich der Vortrag "Revolutions, Religion, and the Castle Hill Rebellion 1804" der Organisatorin des Symposiums, **Therese-Marie Meyer** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg), dezidiert gegen die unter australischen Historikern etablierte monokausale, säkulare Lektüre der Castle Hill Rebellion, die diese primär als Konsequenz der starken Position der United Irishmen unter den Strafgefangenen lesen. Stattdessen plädierte die Referentin für eine multikausale Betrachtung der Ereignisse und ihrer Folgen. Konkret beschrieb sie drei fundamentale Ursachen für die Rebellion der irischen Sträflinge: Erstens, die unmittelbaren (administrativen) Auswirkungen der Deportation; zweitens, das Justizsystem und dessen Verfehlungen in Botany Bay und, drittens, den Katholizismus. Beziehen sich die ersten beiden Punkte explizit auf die schiere Zahl der irischen Sträflinge und deren Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung in Port Jackson (ein Drittel) sowie die Aussetzung solcher juristischer Grundlagen wie des *habeas corpus* in der Kolonie, so stellt der dritte Punkt den derzeit unter australischen Historikern am wenigsten berücksichtigten Aspekt dar. Die Referentin hob hervor, dass die Rolle des Katholizismus als zentrale Kraft der Castle Hill Rebellion bislang erheblich unterschätzt worden ist. Nach Therese Meyer deportierten Briten eine spezifisch anglikanische (statt einer französisch geprägten, philosophischen) Version der Aufklärung nach Botany Bay. Damit erzeugten die Kolonialherren Systemzwänge und entsprechende Folgen. Wurden die irischen Katholiken beispielsweise durch den verpflichtenden Besuch von Gottesdiensten gezwungen, sich dem anglikanischen Ritus zu beugen, war es ihnen gleichzeitig durch die spezifische Form ihrer Glaubenspraxis doch möglich, ihre Religion weiterhin auszuüben. Der daraus resultierende Opferdiskurs, so das Forschungsergebnis der Referentin, zeigte sich u. a. in eindrucksvollen Erinnerungssymbolen wie William Davies' *Ecce-homo*-Statue.

Die das Symposium beschließende Podiumsdiskussion "Americans in the South Pacific" gab den drei DiskussionsteilnehmerInnen **Jennifer L. Anderson** (Stony Brook University, New York), **Andrew O'Shaughnessy** (Center for Jefferson Studies, Monticello, Virginia)

und **Cassandra Pybus** (Sydney University) die Gelegenheit, ihre Thesen zum Thema vorzustellen und mit dem Publikum zu erörtern. Alle drei TeilnehmerInnen bestätigten das im Laufe der Veranstaltung wiederholt festgestellte Defizit der australischen Historiographie, sich in ihrer Betrachtung der Kolonialgeschichte des Kontinents zu sehr auf das Empire zu konzentrieren – ganz im Sinne eines makrohistorischen Zugangs. Die Beispiele der ReferentInnen zeigten die Verbindungen zwischen US-Amerikanern, Franzosen und Briten im Zuge der Kolonialisierung von Botany Bay exemplarisch. Jennifer L. Andersons Forschungsergebnisse belegen anhand des (nordamerikanischen) Walfangs, wie stark der amerikanische und der australische Kontinent geschichtlich miteinander verwoben waren. Sie fand nicht nur Quellenbelege für amerikanische Ureinwohner auf den Walfängern, die in Botany Bay landeten, sondern auch für Afroamerikaner, also eine insgesamt kosmopolitische Struktur der Mannschaften. Andrew O'Shaughnessy argumentierte, dass die Erfahrungen, die die Briten sowohl in ihren indischen als auch in den (US-)amerikanischen Kolonien sammeln konnten, prägend auf die Gestaltung der ersten australischen Siedlungen einwirkten, insbesondere sichtbar in ihrem Verzicht auf die Gewährung von (politischer) Autonomie. Cassandra Pybus merkte Interessantes an: Die historischen Quellen belegen, dass sich unter den Mitgliedern der legendären *First Fleet* ein amerikanischer Ureinwohner befand. Obwohl dies zwar heute gemeinhin bekannt sei, habe aber bisher niemand die Frage gestellt, wer genau dieser Indianer war. Weiterhin wurden Ansätze zur Erschließung dieses bisher vernachlässigten Forschungsbereichs diskutiert. Neben einer grundlegend mikrohistorischen Herangehensweise schien sich eine Annäherung über den Begriff und das Konzept des Raums (*spatial exploration*) anzubieten.

## Fazit

Die Beiträge machen deutlich, wie eng die britische, französische und amerikanische Geschichte mit der historischen Entwicklung in den ersten Kolonien von Botany Bay verbunden sind. Diese Verbindungen finden sich beispielhaft im Bereich der Politik und



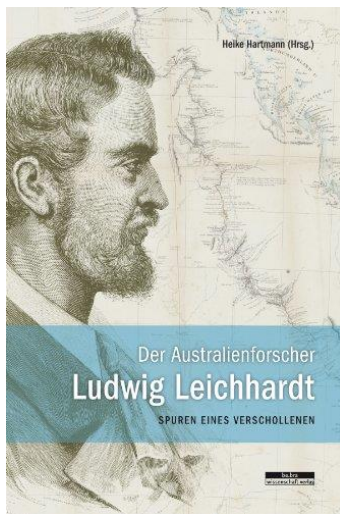
Ökonomie. Eine Erforschung der wissenschafts-, konfessions- und publikationsgeschichtlichen sowie anthropologischen Entwicklungen ist, wie die Diskussion belegt, äußerst fruchtbar und bringt auf mikro- wie makrogeschichtlicher Ebene wichtige Einsichten in die Art und Weise, wie die historischen Akteure in und um Port Jackson interagierten. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist dem von der Organisatorin ausgemachten und von den Teilnehmern bestätigten Desiderat zuzustimmen. In diesem Kontext bleibt auch die Rolle aufklärerischer Ideen genauer zu bestimmen. Insbesondere die exemplarischen Einblicke in die Publikationshistorie und Wissenschaftsgeschichte (Botanik und Anthropologie) decken grundlegende Prämissen der europäischen Aufklärung auf, die im Zuge der Erschließung und Kolonialisierung nach Botany Bay exportiert wurden. Gleichzeitig aber auch scheint die juristisch-militärische Vorgehensweise der in Port Jackson Verantwortlichen einen vollständigen Bruch mit den moralisch-ethischen Überlegungen des 18. Jahrhunderts zu offenbaren. Weitere Forschungen und deren Ergebnisse würden helfen, dieses Bild zu vervollständigen. Eine Fortsetzung der Diskussion und die Veröffentlichung der Beiträge sind vorgesehen.

### **Works Cited**

Pybus, Cassandra, 2006. *Black Founders: The Unknown Story of Australia's First Black Settlers*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

## REZENSIONEN / REVIEWS

**Heike Hartmann, Lars Eckstein, Helmut Peitsch, Anja Schwarz und Steffen Krestin, Hrsg., *Der Australienforscher Ludwig Leichhardt: Spuren eines Verschollenen*.** Berlin-Brandenburg: be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2013. 176 Seiten. ISBN 9783954100194. Broschiert. € 19,95. **Rezensiert von Gerhard Stilz**, Universität Tübingen.



Dieser ansprechende, reich illustrierte Band ist anlässlich der Leichhardt-Ausstellung im Schloss Branitz bei Cottbus (4. Mai bis 31. Oktober 2013) erschienen. Aber das Werk ist weit mehr als ein Ausstellungskatalog. Es enthält außer den freundlichen Grußworten des vormaligen australischen Botschafters, Peter Tesch, sowie der brandenburgischen Ministerin für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur, Sabine Kunst, eine Einführung, acht wissenschaftliche Beiträge, einen Anhang mit Lebensdaten Leichhardts, nebst einer ausgewählten Bibliographie zum Leben und Werk des vor 200 Jahren geborenen Forschungsreisenden, und schließlich die biographischen Kurzporträts der Beiträgerinnen und Beiträger.

Zunächst umreißt **Heike Hartmann** (Kulturwissenschaftlerin in Berlin und Kuratorin der Ausstellung) in ihrer Einführung unter dem Titel "Mit Dingen von Leichhardt erzählen" gleichermaßen die Irritationen und die handfesten Reliquien, mit denen die Vergegenwärtigung einer ins Mythische übergegangenen Forschergestalt wie Leichhardt heute zu tun hat.

**Lindsay Barrett** (Kulturhistoriker an der University of Technology in Sydney) eröffnet dann den Reigen der wissenschaftlichen Beiträge mit den "Vielen Leben des Ludwig Leichhardt". Er bezieht sich dabei auf die literarische Transformation des "Deutschen" in Patrick Whites

Roman Voss sowie auf das Leichhardt-Museum in Trebatsch, das noch 1988 in der damaligen DDR zum 175. Geburtstag des berühmten Sohns der kleinen Gemeinde in der Niederlausitz eingeweiht wurde. Dazu kommen Rückblicke auf Leichhardts verhaltene Anerkennung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich und auf den Leichhardt-Kult der Nazis, die den Trebatschern vorübergehend den Ortsnamen Leichhardt bescherten. Ergänzt werden diese Perspektiven aber auch durch die kontroversen Reminiszenzen seiner Zeitgenossen und Nachgeborenen zwischen Europa und Australien. Barrett gibt damit gewissermaßen den Titel vor für das Branitzer Symposium "Eintausendundein Leichhardt" (27. und 28. September 2013).

Sodann lässt **Helmut Peitsch** (Neuere deutsche Literatur, Potsdam) in seinem Artikel "I see expeditions, like Banquo's progeny, one behind the other in a long succession" (das gebildete Zitat stammt aus einem Leichhardt-Brief an William Macarthur, den australischen Botaniker) zunächst diejenigen Reiseberichte Revue passieren, die Leichhardt gelesen hat (oder haben könnte). Dann wendet sich Peitsch der produktiven Rezeption und rhetorischen Nutzung dieser Berichte in Leichhardts eigenen Aufzeichnungen zu. Leichhardts Journale erscheinen damit als kunstvolle, in ihrer Wirkung klug kalkulierte literarische Texte.

Dem folgt **Lars Eckstein** (Anglist, Universität Potsdam) mit einer übersichtlich informierenden Zusammenfassung der australischen Forschungsreisen Leichhardts auf der Grundlage seiner Briefe und Tagebücher. Das ist sinnvoll und notwendig trotz der umfangreichen Biographien, die Elsie Webster (1980), Colin Roderick (1988), Hans Wilhelm Finger (1999) oder John Bailey (2011) vorgelegt haben. – Das Werk von Finger ist übrigens jüngst in Kylie Cranes flüssiger Übersetzung nunmehr auch auf Englisch erschienen (*Ludwig Leichhardt: Lost in the Outback*. Sydney: Rosenberg 2013), was hier in der Bibliographie noch nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte.

**Ulrike Kirchberger** (Historikerin, Kassel) widmet sich dann, ausgehend von Leichhardts internationalem Werdegang (hatte er

doch nicht nur in Berlin und Göttingen, sondern auch in London und Paris studiert) den "transnationalen Gelehrten-Netzwerken", die der Erforschung des Britischen Empire im 19. Jahrhundert zugute kamen. Dabei werden auch andere Namen berühmter deutscher Australienforscher wie Ferdinand von Mueller, Amalie Dietrich, Georg von Neumayer und Richard Schomburgk hervorgehoben und in ihrem Konflikt zwischen nationaler (in erster Linie deutscher wie britisch/australischer) Inanspruchnahme und internationalen Verdiensten verortet.

Sehr konkret wird die manifeste Leistung solcher "transnationalen Gelehrter" dann in dem Essay "Australien sammeln" von **Heike Hartmann** (s.o.). Die fleißigen Kollektionen und der gewinnbringende Handel mit den aus dem Fünften Kontinent zusammengetragenen Herbarien, Bestiarien und Lapidarien füllten die europäischen Museen, die als "naturhistorisch" firmierten. Der Verlust umfangreicher Sammlungen, wie ihn Leichhardt beispielsweise auf seiner Expedition nach Port Essington zu beklagen hatte, lässt sich damit als einschneidende Tragödie nachvollziehen.

Eine Bildergalerie von Porträts ebnet den Weg zurück zum Bild Leichhardts in der australischen Literatur. **Susan K. Martin** (Kulturwissenschaftlerin, Melbourne) vermittelt diesen Überblick. Darin nennt sie als Autor nicht nur den Nobelpreisträger Patrick White mit seinem Roman *Voss*, sondern sie schlägt darüber hinaus einen weiten Bogen dichterischer und erzählerischer Werke, von Robert Lynd (1845) über Henry Kendall (1880), Carlton Dawes (1891) und Ernest Favenc (1895) bis zu Francis Webb (1947).

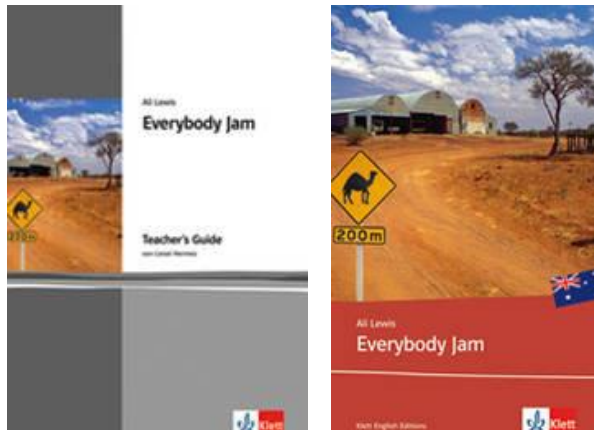
Auf Spurensuche in Leichhardts brandenburgischer Heimat begibt sich **Steffen Krestin** (Historiker und Museologe, Cottbus), wobei die Schwerpunkte im Geburtsort Trebatsch und in der Schulstadt Cottbus liegen. Die sorgsame Zusammenstellung ist ein überaus nützlicher literarischer Reiseführer für Menschen, die ihre Bildung im wörtlichen Sinne "erfahren" wollen.

Höchst sinnfällig für ein Leichhardt-Jubiläum schließt der wissenschaftliche Teil des Essaybandes mit dem Überblick von **Andrew Hurley** (Cultural Studies, University of Technology Sydney) und **Anja Schwarz** (Anglistik, Universität Potsdam) über die kontroverse Rezeptionsgeschichte Leichhardts, wie sie an früheren Jubiläen und biographischen Darstellungen abzulesen ist. Leichhardt erweist sich dabei als eine Ikone, die nicht nur eine Vielzahl von Gesichtern und Geschichten hinterlassen hat, sondern derer sich die jeweils herrschenden "Geschichtsschreiber" mit Eifer zu bemächtigen suchten.

Es wäre gut, wenn wir uns selber Gedanken machten, welches Bild Leichhardts wir heute aus welchen Gründen favorisieren. Das Buch gibt Anlass und Anleitung dazu.

Dabei ist das Ganze – das sei abschließend gepriesen – überaus lebhaft und höchst attraktiv ausgeschmückt mit Faksimile-Abdrucken von Briefen und anderen schriftlichen Dokumenten sowie von Ausstellungsstücken ganz unterschiedlicher Art. Der Charakter eines Einführungsbands und eines Ausstellungs-Katalogs ergänzt sich damit vorzüglich. Die anschauliche, vielseitige und unterhaltsam gestaltete Einführung zum Ladenpreis von € 19,95 ist mehr wert als ihr Geld.

**Ali Lewis. *Everybody Jam*. (Deutsche Übersetzung: *Es wird schon nicht das Ende der Welt sein*. 2011).** London: Andersen Press, 2011. 283 S. ISBN 9781849398855. £ 5.03. kindle version \$ 7.09. **Rezensiert von Liesel Hermes,** Karlsruhe.



Der Roman, der hier vorgestellt werden soll, ist 2014 als annotierter Originaltext für den Gebrauch im Englischunterricht beim Klett Verlag, Stuttgart, erschienen.<sup>1</sup> Dieser wird begleitet von einem *Teacher's Guide*, der ein flexibles Unterrichtsmodell mit Zusatztexten, Kopiervorlagen

und Klausurvorschlägen für den Einsatz in einer 10. oder 11. Klasse vorstellt.<sup>2</sup>

Der Erstlingsroman der englischen Autorin spielt im australischen *outback*, genauer: auf der fiktiven Timber Creek Station ca. 300 Kilometer westlich von Alice Springs im Northern Territory. Alle *place names*, die sich auf die *cattle station* beziehen, sind nach Aussage der Autorin ebenfalls fiktiv. Ich-Erzähler ist der dreizehnjährige und noch recht kindliche Danny Dawson, der ca. sechs entscheidende

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1 Ali Lewis, *Everybody Jam* (Originaltext mit Annotationen und Zusatztexten). Stuttgart: Klett English Editions, 2014. 228 Seiten. ISBN 9783125781238. EUR 8,50.

2 Ali Lewis, *Everybody Jam*. *Teacher's Guide* (mit Kopiervorlagen von Liesel Hermes. Empfohlen für Niveau B2). Stuttgart: Klett, 2014. 88 Seiten. ISBN 9783125781245. 14,99 EUR. Das Unterrichtsmodell thematisiert die Unerbittlichkeit und Andersartigkeit des Lebens im australischen *outback* und nimmt gleichzeitig die Identifikationsmomente auf, die der Roman durch die einfühlsame Darstellung der Charaktere bietet. Der *Teacher's Guide* enthält zu diesen Themen:

- 22 problemorientierte Unterrichtseinheiten für 25-31 Unterrichtsstunden
- Arbeitsteilige Verfahren beim Lesen des Romans
- Zahlreiche landeskundliche Anknüpfungspunkte und Hinweise
- 10 Kopiervorlagen zum Textverständnis und zur Wortschatzarbeit
- 2 Klausurvorschläge mit Erwartungshorizonten

Monate seines Lebens schildert. Drei Ereignisse prägen das Leben in seiner Familie in der erzählten Zeitspanne: die ungewollte Schwangerschaft seiner vierzehnjährigen Schwester Sissy, die sich weigert, den Vater ihres Kindes zu benennen, der tödliche Unfall seines älteren Bruders Jonny, der zu Beginn der Handlung ca. ein halbes Jahr zurückliegt und der in der Familie wie ein Tabu behandelt wird, und die Erwartung des jährlichen *mustering*, also des Zusammentreibens der Rinder, das einen Höhepunkt des Lebens auf der *station* darstellt und an dem Danny als nunmehr ältester Sohn teilnehmen wird, da er ein Jahr später in einem Internat in Alice Springs sein wird.

Da vor allem die Mutter spürt, dass die Arbeit im Haus zu viel wird und Sissy weniger und weniger hilft, beschließt die Familie, in einem *backpackers' hostel* in Alice Springs einen Hinweis anzubringen, dass man ein englisches Mädchen zur Mithilfe im Haushalt und auf der *station* sucht. Es meldet sich eine junge Frau namens Liz, die von Danny grundsätzlich nur "the Pommie" genannt wird und die von der Schwester der Mutter, Aunt Veronica, von Alice Springs zur *station* gefahren wird. Liz erweist sich zunächst aus Dannys Sicht als völlig nutzlos, zumal er jeglicher Veränderung auf der *station* abhold ist, weil er vor allem seiner Erinnerung an Jonny nachhängt. Entsprechend versucht er, Liz in drastischer Weise zu schockieren und sie zum Aufgeben zu bewegen.

Liz hält aber durch, und es entwickelt sich eine vorsichtige Freundschaft zwischen beiden, die zu einer Art Symbiose wird. Liz lernt durch Danny das harte und arbeitsreiche Leben auf der *station* kennen, fährt mit ihm in einem Land Rover durch die Wüste und spürt im Laufe der Zeit, dass es ein Familiengeheimnis gibt, nämlich Jonnys Tod. Danny, der intensiv um seinen Bruder trauert, fühlt sich durch Liz' vorsichtiges Fragen ermutigt, über ihn zu sprechen, so dass Liz behutsam das Tabu aufbricht, während Danny merkt, dass er eine Art Erleichterung empfindet, über seinen Bruder und dessen tödlichen Unfall sprechen zu können.

Die Ereignisse verweben sich zum einen mit der Vorbereitung für das *mustering*, zum anderen mit Sissys fortschreitender Schwangerschaft.

Jonny bekommt ein junges mutterloses Kamel (Buzz) geschenkt, das er in seine Obhut nimmt und das er mit viel Liebe trainiert, da es für ihn wie ein Freund in seiner jugendlichen Isolation ist. Liz dagegen erhält ein junges mutterloses Kalb, das sie gleichermaßen weniger einsam sein lässt und für das sie sorgt, das aber vom Vater, Mr. Dawson, getötet wird, als er merkt, dass das Jungtier nicht überlebensfähig ist und zu viel Geld an Medikamenten kostet, ein Schock für Liz, der sie umso einsamer zurücklässt.

Vor dem chronologischen Hintergrund der Monate bis zum *mustering* wird deutlich, dass sich das Northern Territory in einer Periode extensiver Dürre befindet, die sich auf die finanzielle Situation der Familie auswirkt. Das *mustering* beginnt mit Helfern, die jedes Jahr um dieselbe Zeit nach Timber Creek Station kommen und verläuft zunächst positiv. Liz lernt durch ihre Mithilfe, wie hart und intensiv die Arbeit ist und dass die Prozedur für das Vieh eine Phase von großem Stress bedeutet. Der Ablauf wird sehr breit und ausführlich geschildert, zumal Danny hier seine Chance sieht, in den Kreis der Männer hineinzuwachsen, also eine Art Initiation auf dem Wege, ein *stockman* zu werden.

Das Blatt wendet sich, als Wasserstellen wegen der Dürre rasch austrocknen und zahlreiche Tiere verenden bzw. erschossen werden müssen, weil sie nicht mehr überlebensfähig sind, sodass der Vater den Bankrott befürchtet. Die Viehbestände, die verendet sind, müssen verbrannt werden, um eine Vergiftung der Wasserstellen zu verhindern. Genau in dieser Zeit bringt Sissy in Alice Springs ihren Sohn zur Welt, und die Mutter, die ihr zur Seite steht, fällt als Arbeitskraft gleichermaßen aus, was vom Erzähler Danny mit Unverständnis quittiert wird, da er, was eine Geburt anbelangt, immer noch unaufgeklärt ist. Wenig zuvor ist ans Tageslicht getreten, dass der Vater von Sissys Baby ein junger "Aborigine" of *mixed descent* ist, ein früherer Freund Jonnys. Es handelt sich also



um eine Kumulation an inneren und äußeren Konflikten, die für die Familie eine tiefe Krise bedeuten, zumal sich der Vater indirekt die Schuld an Jonnys Tod gibt.

Der Vater versucht, die psychologische Krise und das wirtschaftliche Problem der Dezimierung seines Viehbestandes durch die Dürre ebenso zu bewältigen wie die Tatsache, dass sein Enkelkind einen farbigen Vater hat. Die Mutter ist – erwartungsgemäß – sehr viel mehr auf Kommunikation und Versöhnung bedacht. Beide sind aber bereit, nach Sissys Rückkehr mit ihrem Baby dem jungen Vater offen zu begegnen, zumal er es war, der sie als Erster auf die ausgetrockneten Wasserstellen aufmerksam machte und so ein noch größeres Desaster verhinderte, während es Danny viel Überwindung kostet, seine Abneigung aufzugeben.

Danny wird mit seinen Problemen vor allem durch die psychologische Hilfe von Liz fertig, die ihrerseits ihre Probleme als Außenstehende in einer fremden Kultur mit Unterstützung Dannys bewältigt. Sie bricht das Tabu um Jonny und lernt sich auf der *station* zu bewähren. Danny lernt, erwachsener zu werden und sich in verschiedenen schwierigen Situationen zu behaupten, und er erkennt Liz' Lernprozess an. Hinzu kommt sein Triumph, dass es am Schluss sein junges Kamel Buzz ist, das dem Zusammentreiben des Viehs zu einem erfolgreichen Abschluss verhilft.

Das Romanende ist etwas abrupt. Bei der Party zum Abschluss des *mustering* erfährt Danny, dass Liz die *station* verlassen muss, da sie nicht mehr gebraucht wird und Aunt Veronica ihre Stelle einnehmen wird. Der Abschied kommt plötzlich und unvermittelt. Das Ende ist somit konzeptionell eher enttäuschend.

Der Roman gehört in die Kategorie "young adult novels": Dieser ist chronologisch angelegt, aber dennoch analytisch strukturiert, weil das Geheimnis um den Unfall des ältesten Bruders Jonny durch Liz sowie die Vaterschaft von Sissys Baby schrittweise aufgedeckt werden. Der Ich-Erzähler Danny ist mit seinen 13 Jahren in mancherlei Hinsicht recht naiv, kennt aber das Leben und die Arbeit

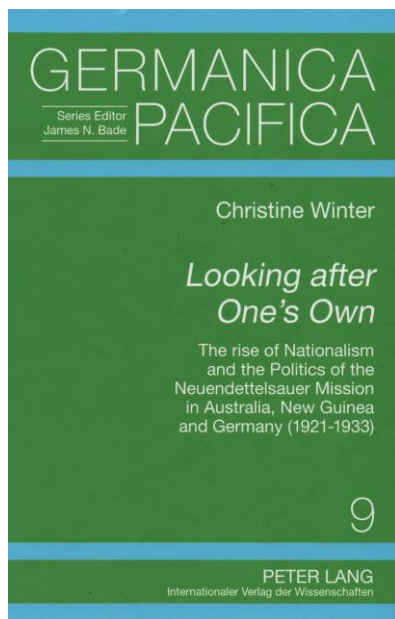
auf der *cattle station* seiner Eltern, so dass er der Engländerin Liz Hilfestellung geben kann. So erläutert er ihr immer wieder Begriffe und Vorgänge auf der *station*, die gleichzeitig für die Leserschaft, die als Nichtaustralier ebenfalls "Außenseiter" sind, ein besseres Verstehen des Lebens im *outback* ermöglicht. Liz wiederum findet als kulturell Außenstehende im ca. zehn Jahre jüngeren Danny eine Art Partner, der sie "einweihet", während er sie unausgesprochen als psychologische Mentorin anerkennt. Beide sind auf unterschiedliche Weise einsam und gehen daher eine Art heilsame Symbiose ein.

Das Leben auf einer *cattle station* ist der Autorin durch eigene Arbeit auf einer solchen während einer Australienreise sehr vertraut. Man erkennt das an der detailreichen und sehr breiten Darstellung des *mustering*, die auch vor drastischen Schilderungen nicht zurückschreckt (Kastration von männlichen Kälbern, Verbrennung verendeter Rinder, Unfälle beim *mustering*). Dagegen bleibt die Darstellung der schwangeren Sissy und ihres Schicksals als *secondary plot* etwas blass, wohingegen die Konfliktsituationen der Eltern angesichts des Todes des Sohnes, der frühen Schwangerschaft der Tochter und den Problemen des *mustering* mitten in einer Dürreperiode psychologisch sehr anschaulich geschildert werden.

Danny als Ich-Erzähler ist in seiner Naivität sympathisch. Seine Sprache ist altersgemäß, sein häufiges "I dunno" zeigt, dass er noch viel lernen muss. Leben und Tod, Einsamkeit und harte Arbeit im *outback*, klimatische Probleme und existentielles Überleben, aber auch der Prozeß des Sich-Bewährens, sind Themen des Romans, der mit Sicherheit jugendliche Leserinnen und Leser ansprechen wird. Hinzu kommen die beiden möglichen Identifikationsfiguren Liz, "the Pommie", und Danny, die beide überzeugend geschildert werden und die mit Sicherheit im Kontext des gymnasialen Englischunterrichts nicht nur Kenntnisse über Australien erweitern und vertiefen, denn die erste Begegnung mit Australien findet in allen Schulformen in der Regel in der 9. Klasse statt. Mehr noch: Der Roman eröffnet auch neue Perspektiven über die Weite des Landes, über die klimatischen Extreme und damit verbundene wirtschaftliche Risiken und –

vermutlich für Schülerinnen und Schüler von besonderem Interesse  
– über Schule und Lernen im australischen *outback* und in dem  
Zusammenhang über die weltbekannte *School of the Air*.

**Christine Winter, ed., *Looking after One's Own: The Rise of Nationalism and the Politics of the Neuendettelsauer Mission in Australia, New Guinea and Germany (1921-1933)*.** Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012. xii + 238 pp. ISBN 978-3-631-60320-8. € 43.70. **Reviewed by Oliver Haag,** University of Edinburgh.



This book is a political history of the Lutheran Neuendettelsau mission in the period between the loss of Germany's colony in New Guinea and the onset of National Socialist reign. The time frame is well chosen and reflects the scope of investigation: why did the Neuendettelsau Mission abandon the initial politics of cross-ecumenical co-operation in favour of an increasingly isolationist policy? The entanglements between 'Nazification' of the Bavarian branch of the Neuendettelsauer Lutherans, the embracement of National Socialism by individual mission

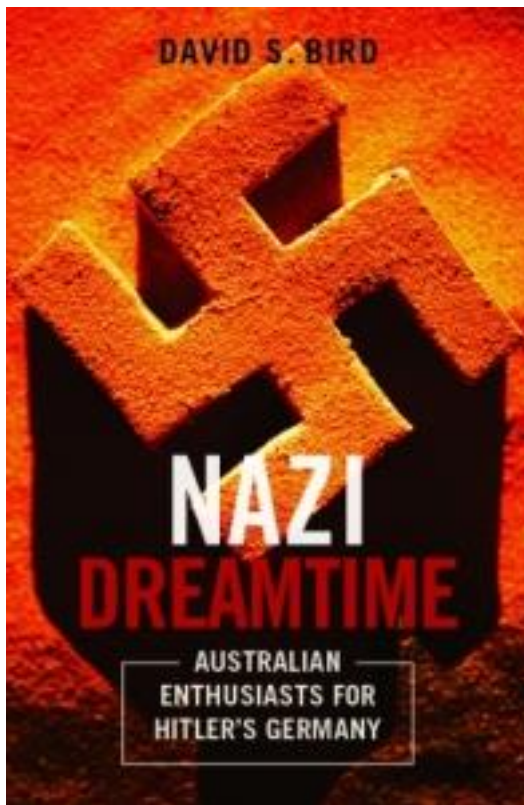
employees, as well as the pragmatic re-positing of the New Guinean mission impacted on the mission's fatal move towards National Socialism. In stark contrast to the Lutheran doctrine of the 'two kingdoms' that promulgated a separation between church and state affairs, mission societies, the author shows, did not stand beyond national politics but were intricately enmeshed in the formation of nationalism. This nationalism was also reflected in financial, particularly donor politics which became increasingly nationalised.

The book is divided into four chronological parts, starting with the reorganisation of the 'orphaned' German missions after the loss of the colonies and is followed by the efforts of aligning with National Socialism, the separation of working fields between American- and German-controlled missions and finally the Neuendettelsau control of the New Guinean mission field under National Socialism. The

latter development, the author unearths, went unnoticed by the Australian government. Winter's study shows that the formation of nationalism was not necessarily straightforward and a mere matter of personal identities but also a matter of calculated power politics by specific social groups. Part of this formation was also a process of 'diplomatic' negotiations with Australian Lutherans and authorities which, in the process of increased national divides, became severed. This severance of transnational ties ultimately rendered Neuendettelsau less immune from Nazi political infiltration. The embracement of Nazism appeared as a logical consequence of the dilemma which nationalism had brought about: 'forced' to compromise with Nazi reign in order to prevent complete Nazi control (*Gleichschaltung*). The initially transnational networking between Australian, German, and American Lutherans was doomed to fail under increased nationalism, not merely by impact from Germany and Australia, but also by utilitarian motivation: "The transnational collaboration of Lutherans had turned out to be an interim solution, a compromise, which had been bearable only as long as the better option – sole control of the mission by German Lutherans – was unachievable". (145)

*Looking after One's Own* is a thrilling read which shows that nationalism permeated the seemingly transnational spheres of missionary activity, especially so under National Socialism. The book rests on original archival research but also offers a rich theoretical outline of nationalism and missionary activity. The author refrains from moralising accounts and also reflects on her family's involvement in this history. Rudolf Ruf, director of Neuendettelsau between 1921 and 1928, was the author's great-grandfather, a situation which rendered her research easier and more complex at the same time (5). The author could have engaged more fully with this biographical complexity, elaborating on how exactly her great-grandfather's past impacted on the research and writing processes. Christine Winter presents a cogent analysis for Australian and German historians alike.

**David S. Bird, *Nazi Dreamtime. Australian Enthusiasts for Hitler's Germany*.** London and New York: Anthem Press, 2014. xviii + 448 pp. AUD 44. ISBN 978-1-921-87542-7. **Reviewed by Oliver Haag**, University of Edinburgh.



Engaging in the history of German National Socialism and Australian nationalism of the 1920s to the 1940s is a challenging task, requiring insights into Australian, German, as well as European history. David Bird has taken up this challenge in a meticulously researched study of the 'enthusiasm' for Nazism shown by right-wing groups of Anglo-Celtic Australians. First published in 2012 by Australian Scholarly Publishing, the book falls into two parts, the first dealing with the influence of Italian Fascism and Nazism on Australian nationalists before the seizure of Nazi power in 1933 until

the outbreak of World War II. The second part is devoted to the spread and continuous dissemination of Nazi ideas during the wartime, with an epilogue covering the juridical and social consequences for Australian Nazi enthusiasts after the defeat of the Third Reich.

Drawing on biographical analyses of influential Australian nationalists of the 1930s and 1940s, the author retraces carefully the political and social heterogeneity of Nazi enthusiasts. Some proponents of nationalist ideas were followers of National Socialism and ardent anti-Semites, while others tried to appropriate *völkisch* concepts of a 'blood and soil' theory, trying to reformulate a specifically Australian version of pan-Aryanism, *völkisch* unity and blood-based relations to

land. Particularly the nationalistic literary movement of the *Jindyworobak* and the journal *The Publicist* attracted authors who tried to construe a nativist Australian identity. This identity, the author shows, hearkened back to ideas of native cultural origin that exposed Australia as a place different from the United States and Britain, but based on Aboriginal cultures. Aboriginal Australians were not only praised for their cultural sovereignty but also hailed as the 'oldest' Aryan race and thus linked in phylogenetic commonality to Anglo-Celtic settler Australians. The critique of Aboriginal exploitation and idealisation of "tribal" traditions is explicated as a "paternalistic and *völkisch* belief" (71) that geared towards proclaiming a distinct version of Australian identity, autochthonous yet notionally connected to National Socialism.

Despite legal constraints, this enthusiasm, including the fervent anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism (with the U.S. having been equated with international Jewry), continued to infiltrate Australian nationalist circles until the end of WW II. The sheer number of followers, Bird's research substantiates, was small but intellectually influential. In a fascinating chapter on the experiences of Australian travellers to the Third Reich, the author retraces their often enthusiastic perception of *Hitlerite* Germany during the peacetime between 1933 and 1939.

For all the meticulous research, there are a few shortcomings. Being too descriptive, the author has lost the unique opportunity of revisiting the malleability of seemingly tenacious racial narratives that, in a transnational setting, could engender complex nationalist demands and patterns of diverging identities. The study could have unearthed more clearly how the transnational related to the national and eventually transformed in a nationalist environment, without losing its chauvinist grip. Nationalist ideas of race were more transnational (and less unique) than the study occasionally suggests, as with the author's pondering over the absurdity of Aboriginal Aryanism:

It is interesting to speculate what the Nazi racial philosopher and literary czar Alfred Rosenberg would have made of this theory and of

the politico-literary alliance whereby Australia's Nazi dreamers, both political and literary, espoused theories of Aryan superiority alongside those of respect for the indigenous people of the continent. This was perhaps the most significant 'flight from reality' of them all in an extraordinary year. (71)

True, the idea of common Aryanism was appropriated by Australian nationalists and thus evinced a particularly national direction, that is, to claim Australian sovereignty in Aryan 'blood brotherhood'. However, concepts of Aboriginal Aryanism were not an exceptional claim, but reflected part of (international) anthropological theories which also flourished in both academic and popular publications during the Third Reich. Austrian Nazi writer Colin Ross, for one, praised the First Australians as ancient Aryans and criticised the British destruction of Aboriginal cultures (1940:249-250). 'Australian Aryanness', in Ross' writing, is understood as an expression of primitivism that construed Aboriginal Australians not as 'cultureless savages' but, due to their fictitious primitiveness, as the ancestors of humanity. Indigenous Australians were read as a synonym for phylogenetic origin, still trapped in childlike state and therefore requiring paternal guidance.

Other German writings in nationalistic journals, such as the *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, reported – especially since the loss of the German colonies – on British atrocities against Aboriginal Australians, thereby idealising Aboriginal people as a once high-standing race (e.g., Kolbe 1919:65; Johann 1938:148-149). A more rigorous comparison with different racial theories could have added proper contextualisation to what was not necessarily a 'flight from reality'. In a similar fashion, the interplay between anti-Semitism and the backing of nativism could have been more elaborately theorised in its relationship between the disdain for (racial) migration and what might be called idealised Indigeneity.

There are also a few minor shortcomings. Although most of the German translations are immaculate, the term *Deutschesschwärmes* (27; apparently intended to describe the enthusiasm for Germany) is a serious mistake which should have been redressed in the process



of copy-editing. The use of *Herr Hitler* is also an awkward formulation. Furthermore, the labelling of Nazism as “insane racialism” (7) exposes racial hatred under Nazism as pathological (implying that all racists were insane). The connotation of abnormality, moreover, suggests the potential existence of a ‘sane’ racialism. A more careful copy-editing, particularly of the occasionally quite figurative language, could have benefitted the book.

Overall, however, *Nazi Dreamtime* produces new and valuable knowledge to the spread and appropriation of National Socialist discourses around the world and is certainly a most recommendable read for anyone interested in the history of National Socialism and its impact on foreign societies.

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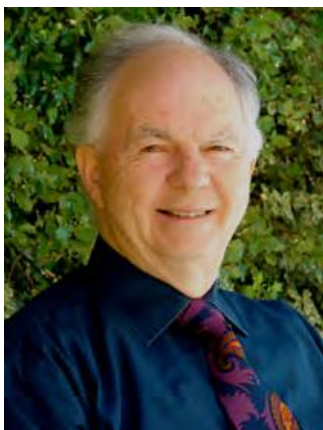
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