From the editors of this issue

In reference to the recent awareness of "the growing use of the idea of 'entanglement' as a key theoretical term in the humanities and social sciences" this issue reflects the increasing challenge "to move away from narrowly defined 'national' histories towards an understanding of [Australian] History [and presence] as an interlinked whole where identities and places are the products of mobilities and connections".[1] We take up this flexible approach to gain a deeper understanding of a spectacular experiment which ended in a clash of cultures but also led to transcultural collaboration. It was the result of European 'entanglement' overseas, that is, Europe's presence among Indigenous populations and its invasive influence on these societies. Like elsewhere, the colonial past is still present today in Australia and former colonial power relations continue to have an impact in the present. This causes never-ending intricate debates on the historical, political, social, cultural and legal circumstances of European settlement in Australia. Today's coexistence of Indigenous people and new Australians of diverse backgrounds is determined by hidden implications, outspoken arguments, and concessions not yet achieved within the fragmentary context of these debates. As a result, the colonial legacy remains in the widest sense a controversial issue for politicians and academics, and this in all her facets. Academic research, therefore, will always reflect contested views on the colonial era of intercultural encounter. This also applies to the perception of the Indigenous peoples' joint efforts to save their culture in a postcolonial context. Most notably, as this issue of the *Australian Studies Journal – Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* mainly will show, academic research on a global scale, i.e. across national, ethnic, social, religious, gender-related and disciplinary boundaries, but also across divided attitudes, might raise public awareness for shared values in an interlinked world.

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[1] 2017 conference committee of the *Australian Historical Association*.

This anniversary issue, the 30th, presents a wealth of interdisciplinary research in the areas of History, Indigenous Studies, Literature, Art History and Geography.

Regina Ganter's groundbreaking study on "Yolngu Conversations with Faith: The 'outward signs of conversion' to Christianity and Islam" emerges from the hypothetical question what might have happened if the Muslim contacts with the Yolngu people had not been forbidden and replaced with Christian missions at the beginning of the twentieth century. A well-known expert in this field of intercultural research, Regina Ganter provides a powerfully written insight view into the world of north-east Arnhem Land's Yolngu people by suggesting that before British colonization the Yolngu were engaging with Muslim life-worlds at a much deeper level than has previously been presumed. Learn more about this important and less known chapter of Australian cultural history.

The second article draws attention to another pattern of 'entanglement': the controversial and ambivalent historiographical interpretation of frontier violence in Australian literature. Geoff Rodoreda's brilliant analysis, "The Darkest Aspect: Mabo and Liam Davison's *The White Woman*", exemplifies the rejection of Australia's conventional historical narrative and the re-writing of this narrative to assert an Indigenous presence in the land and in history by focussing on one piece of historical fiction written in the wake of the Mabo decision. Rodoreda highlights a crucial aspect of Australia's historical (self-)understanding as result of his exploration: "Strong memories of frontier violence" and "a wilful forgetfulness as the nation of Australia is being formed" speak in an ambivalent way "to the contemporary reader: this history of the frontier is not a history that is wanted; it is not a past that anyone would choose to be proud of. But it is one that Australians are again being confronted with, post Mabo."

Another controversial issue is addressed by Kerstin Knopf in her analysis of the famous Australian film *Jindabyne* (dir. Ray Lawrence, 2006). The author stresses in an in-depth breakdown of the film the

delicate entanglement of colonial bio- and geopolitics, i.e. the appropriation and control of as well as violence committed against Aboriginal bodies and lands. She does this in symbolic images, extensive interpretations, and clear words. Her close analysis of gender, sexual violence and race show the intricate entanglement of different social and cultural categories that need to be understood in context and relation to each other. Knopf's text can be read as a cogent example of the decidedly *trans*national influences of racial narratives on national discourses.

Art historian Marthe Schmidt offers the reader far-reaching perspectives with a profound analysis of an artwork by famous landscape painter Conrad Martens, the *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern,* 1843. Her colourful essay seeks to highlight the implications and cultural significance of caves as an important subject of Australian art. Schmidt's article reveals the unique status of this artwork in the Australian and international context by comparing Conrad Martens' visual interpretation of Australia's 'terra incognita subterranea' with other well-known cave visualisations.

In the end, we learn that history reflects in two mirrors: The present and the future. In a period of strong suburban expansion and increased traffic intensity environmental problems grow – also in Australia. Therefore it appears necessary to focus on future problems and interdisciplinary research aspects: Geography provides new insights into innovative ideas, such as "Urban Consolidation" guidelines, which propose more compact residential development. Roxana Leitold's paper, which is an extract from her *GASt-Award*-winning thesis, analyses recent changes in the spatial patterns of residential development in the greater Brisbane area. The geographical study is based on secondary statistical data and supplementary expert interviews. Leitold's results highlight that consolidation processes are located in certain key areas. For example: the resulting architectural structures, such as multi-story apartment buildings, are not only determined by the intervention of planning authorities, but also by the strategies of real estate developers and, most of all, changing patterns of demand in a

period of new immigration. Leitold's practice-oriented research contributes vital impetus to the field of urban planning in Australia.

Our presentation of different intellectual approaches to the 'entangled' dimension of Australian Studies in a way is an unremarkable, i.e. 'unravelled' reference to traditional leader Blue Bob's (1916-2004) once vital plea for the perception of the Indigenous peoples' 'belonging' to their country: "Beginning with looking at stone tool fragments on the ground" [he said:] "And you got to look after this very important thing. This is here. All round, anywhere you see them [stone tools]."[2] It can be read as the prologue of our new issue.

As editors of the journal, we continue to foster the practice of Australian Studies as a multidisciplinary endeavour. The *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / Australian Studies Journal* is a crucial forum for exchanging innovative scholarship. Our policy to encourage interdisciplinary research and submissions by emerging scholars has led to a perceptible increase in interest to publish with this journal. We appreciate this continuing interest and strongly encourage future submissions in both German and English language. Moreover, the online submission form and the availability of articles and reviews for free have exerted an impact on the reach and diversity of our readers. We could sense increasing interest in this new format at institutions, such as the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, and at conferences across Europe and Australia. The *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien / Australian Studies Journal*, this issue shows, combines different disciplines and stresses the complex avenues – from geography over art history to literary studies – to engage with Australia in intellectually multifarious ways. Our Association also 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**.

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[2] Pamela Robson, ed., 2009. *Great Australian Speeches: Landmark Speeches that Defined and Shaped Our Nation*, Millers Point, NSW: Murdoch Books, p. 193.

The production of this issue would not have been possible without the efforts of our authors, reviewers and anonymous referees. We wish to thank all of them. In particular, our gratitude goes to Professor Beate Neumeier, Victoria Herche, M.A., Dr. Stefanie Affeldt, and Dr. Guido Isekenmeier who helped in the final steps towards completion of the online and print versions. We really appreciate that. Thank you.

Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (December 2016)

ESSAYS

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Yolngu Conversations with Faith:
The "outward signs of conversion" to Christianity and Islam

Some unmistakable allusions to "Allah" in the folklore of north-east Arnhem Land suggest that before British colonization the Yolngu were engaging with Muslim life-worlds at a much deeper level than has been presumed, because many references to Macassans became unspoken until the Christian mission period was over. This article emerges from the hypothetical question what might have happened if the Muslim contacts had not been forbidden and replaced with Christian missions at the beginning of the twentieth century. To sound the depth of that prior engagement with Islam and probe whether perhaps a gradual process of religious conversion was underway, it examines the "outward signs" of religious conversion used by Christian missionaries. These "outward signs" are borrowed from Norman Etherington (2002), who observed in his study of Christian missions in Natal that since it is not possible to look into the soul, observable behaviours and material indicators served to signpost progress in the acceptance of Christian faith.

The following is not an attempt to compare any presumed Islamic and Christian conversion experiences of Yolngu, when "conversion" is such a difficult concept. It merely resorts to the anecdotes and reflections of Christian missionaries, which are so numerous, to speculate about the prior encounter with Islam, for which the non-Indigenous sources available in English are so scarce. This endeavour arises from my two major research projects – one that explored Asian-Aboriginal contact in North Australia (Ganter 2006) and one that examined the agendas of non-English speaking

missionaries in Australia (Ganter 2017a; 2017b).[1] In a double-take on these two apparently disparate topics, it asks what picture emerges if the "outward signs of conversion" used by Christian missionaries are applied to this different historical setting. We find that the gauges of conversion applied by Christian missionaries were all registering high response rates in the Yolngu responses to Macassans. However, we also notice that these "outward signs" are highly unreliable indicators. What the missionaries took for signs of conversion might be better understood as evidence of intercultural conversation, hence the title of this paper (see also Jolly 1996). The indigenist framework offered by Karen Martin and Booran Mirraboopa in 2003 uses the term "enfolding" to understand the Indigenous engagement with outsiders.

To explore these questions it is necessary to delve uncomfortably deep into Indigenous cosmologies. Indigenous cosmologies are necessarily shifting terrains, where it is possible to get different, even contradictory, interpretations of deeper meanings. The disciplinary experts engaging with Aboriginal culture in the post-contact period practically all acknowledged some clear indications of cultural change, although some managed to put them aside after an initial acknowledgement in the search for a static, pristine, pre-contact culture. Today few would deny that Indigenous cosmologies are dynamic, or that Yolngu culture is deeply infused with the pre-British Macassan contact.

According to current knowledge, the trepang trade orchestrated out of the trading port of Makassar in Sulawesi to the north Australian coast, reached the Kimberley in the 1750s, and Arnhem Land around 1780. It was in full swing around 1800, always just a few paces ahead of the British assault on the south-eastern part of the continent. The long-standing contact came to an abrupt end in the wake of the federal White Australia policy when the South Australian government resolved to disallow further Macassan visits after 1906

in order to safeguard the economic dominance of Anglo-Saxon entrepreneurs who sought to establish themselves in the trepang industry (Ganter 2006:Chapter 2). As soon as contact with Macassans was severed in 1907, Christian missions began to emerge across Arnhem Land beginning with Roper River in 1908 and followed by Bathurst Island (1911), Goulburn Island (1916), Elcho Island (1921), relocated to Milingimbi (1923), Oenpelli (1924), Yirrkala (1935) and Croker Island (1941). In 1931 Arnhem Land was declared a massive Indigenous reserve to minimize contact with other outsiders. Ian McIntosh shows that the mission period left a lasting imprint on the conduct of culture, so much so that when a scientific expedition toured Arnhem Land in 1948 ritual leaders across Arnhem Land conducted a heated debate about what to disclose and what to "turn inside" (McIntosh 2011:Chapter 13). In the 1950s David Burrumarra at Elcho Island led an Adjustment Movement that disclosed much secret knowledge, particularly allusions to Macassan contact (McIntosh 1994).

The same cannot (yet) be said about the other regions of culture contact with Macassans, in the Kimberley, on the Tiwi Islands, and on the remaining coasts of the Top End, so that the discussions of Macassan/Aboriginal contact are (still) very closely focused on the Yolngu of north-east Arnhem Land, even though the Macassan contact zone ranged across a much wider area of Australian north coast (Ganter 2006:Chapters 2 and 3). The difference might lie in different levels of interaction, or it might lie in the subsequent religious colonization of the north, with a strong Catholic preponderance in the Kimberley (German Pallottines) and the Tiwi Islands (an Alsatian bishop supervising the French Missionnaires du Sacré Coeur). The language records (1846-1848) of the Italian Don Angelo Confalonieri at the Macassan trading port in Australia, Port Essington on Cobourg Peninsula, have been examined by the noted Australian linguist Nicholas Evans. He concludes that the earliest adaptations of Macassan loanwords in the Iwaidja languages of that region occurred over a millennium ago (Evans 1997). This sits well outside the now accepted timeframe of Macassan/Aboriginal contact, and will no doubt be either politely ignored or thoroughly attacked

by experts who have spent their lifetimes in the field and who might fear that their academic reputations could suffer if the frontiers of knowledge should advance beyond their own.

Researchers are still coming to terms with the implications of these different histories of connectedness. The linguists James Urry and Michael Walsh, who brought the profound influence of Macassan languages in Yolngu languages (*Yolngu-matha*) to renewed academic attention in 1981, warned that a mere register of loanwords fell far short of comprehending the profound cosmological and cultural changes wrought by Macassan contact (Urry and Walsh 1981; Swain 1993).

Perhaps we are now ready to ask whether Yolngu may have also been on a path of religious conversion. And if they were, how would such a process manifest? The best available comparison is the path to Christian conversion, which is much better documented. Regardless of what people claimed about themselves, Christian missionaries made their own judgements whether mission residents were progressing towards Christianity, and whether someone was deemed ready for baptism. Even asking for baptism was not enough, the request had to be encoded in terms that were recognisably Christian, and had to be supported by certain behaviours. The indicators, in the order in which they are discussed below, incidentally broadly follow the steps of competence from surface to deep learning outlined by modern educators (Biggs and Tang 2011; Biggs and Collis 2014):

(A) A demonstrated eagerness to learn, and the ability to recite prayers and hymns were good initial signs. Beyond this mimicry, any curiosity about the gospel: "How much food will there be in heaven?"; "Did Jesus die for me, too?" (Haviland 1980; Kenny 2007) was even more highly rated. (This loosely corresponds to the uni-structural level of understanding in John Biggs' SOLO taxonomy, the ability to name, identify and follow simple procedure.)

(B) Creatively representing Christian themes in song, dance, and art

was taken as particularly strong evidence for progress towards Christianity. (In the SOLO taxonomy, this sits between multi-structural competence – to describe, combine, etc. – and relational competence – to apply, contrast, criticize, relate and justify.)

(C) The acceptance of a Christian name, especially if acquired through ritual baptism, indicated a level of Christianisation. (This does not register in Biggs' SOLO taxonomy, but belongs in the category of "changing the way you think", a deep level of learning according to Entwistle and Ramsden 2015.)

(D) Adjusting customs and habits was a required signal. This included attendance at school and church service, dress code, abstention from alcohol and opium, the consumption of introduced, often home-grown staples instead of bush-tucker, participation in economic activities such as gardening, clearing, or the production of goods for consumption or sale, and living arrangements such as residence in the mission compound and particularly the construction of dwellings by males and evidence of housewifery by females, with a competent use of introduced tools and gadgets. Sexual activity had to be confined to the monogamous form of marriage. (This belongs at the deepest level of learning, "changing the way you act", according to Entwistle and Ramsden 2015.)

The "Christianising project" was manifested through indicators that were role-modelled by the missionaries themselves. As a result, "Christianising" and "civilising" were inseparable for the religious, although government support targeted only the latter according to Christine Lockwood's analysis of 2014. Conversion, understood as a voluntary process, was predictably gradual and slow, and often accompanied by relapse. Partial understanding of Christian principles, and partial misrepresentation, were acceptable and it was not expected of a convert to be able to accurately or reliably portray the fullness of Christian meanings, symbols, rituals, and metaphors. Rote learning was therefore highly valued as a means of acquiring a stock of theological knowledge, and acting *like* a Christian was the best way to show that one *was* a Christian. On a mission the

standard route to baptism, inclusion, approval, and reward, was sheer mimicry of the missionaries. This option was particularly appropriate for displaced children who were separated from the training and role models of traditional societies, which had competing concepts, explanations, behaviours and responses. Christian missionaries thought of children as their most promising targets of intervention.

As far as we know the Macassan seafarers did not come with Muslim proselytizers to attempt Yolngu conversions. They had no key performance indicators of religious conversion like baptism, they did not seek out the children, nor try to reorganize Indigenous societies. Still, if we examine the Yolngu representations of contact with Macassans, the same "outward signs" of conversion congeal into a remarkable signal that a meaningful process was underway. However, it takes a little digging and dusting to unearth such artefacts.

Telling and interpreting stories is an organic activity, just like language itself, so stories naturally change over time. Creative variations may be an attempt to bridge cultural gaps or render details relevant to the listener. For example, an expert in the field of intercultural contact between Yolngu and Macassan people, Ian McIntosh (2011) notes that when Elcho Island Elder David Burrumarra instructed the anthropologist Campbell Macknight after the much-publicized 1969 Apollo landing on the moon (which therefore became the most distant accessible place in the universe), he added that the Bayini (discussed below) came from the moon. Stories and rituals are part of the Indigenous trade and exchange circles, and they change in the process of travelling. They can therefore become contested. An example here is one of the ceremonies used for circumcision, the *Djungguwan*, an epic tale of two sisters, that came from Milingimbi to Yirrkala around 1918 and because of the distance it travelled, lost its precise references to places. By about 1966, when it was performed at Yirrkala, one observer from Milingimbi thought it was all "wrong" ("there are too many poles") and he left in disgust before the event finished

(McIntosh 2013).

Moreover, public revelations of Macassan allusions are uneven and somewhat controversial, and may incur social penalties. Often works that have known Macassan references are described in art galleries only at their most static level, leaving out explanations that are all too obvious for the initiated, much like Christian symbols such as the cross, the dove, or the fish, or references to places like "Bethlehem" require no particular explanation: their meanings are there for all to see, who see. But even devout Christians may not know the historical origin of the *chi-rho* monogram, or the Greek acronym of the fish, nor is the historically correct reference necessarily relevant: nobody reads the cross as an allusion to a particularly violent form of execution. For all these reasons there will not be a definitive encyclopaedia of Yolngu adaptations of Muslim influences — only some scratching of surfaces.

Type A Indicators: Memorising and Learning Texts

Learning songs from the missionaries was seen as a good indicator of readiness for the gospel. The missionaries at Zion Hill (Brisbane) confidently reported in 1839 that after the first Sunday service, one potential recruit promised that "they would soon sing like us, and we hope earnestly that this may be the case" (Lang Papers: October 1839). It was even supposed that just by singing hymns Indigenous people might be praying without intending to do so. Missionary Arthur Richter at Aurukun (1905) thought:

> The people are learning, though slowly, a number of spiritual songs, which they sometimes sing while working or in the bush. Without knowing their real meaning, they often praise their creator without meaning to.

Hymn singing might mean anything from unmindful imitation to deeply expressed faith. A particularly poignant anecdote with regard to singing was recorded at Lombadina in the Kimberley in 1916 where "Damaso buried an old human bone found at Namogon and sang the *Miserere* softly to himself" (Droste Diary: 10 December

1916). Gregorio Allegri's (1582-1652) *Miserere*, composed in the 1630s, was for centuries subject to restrictions about when, where and by whom it could be performed (not unlike Indigenous sacred performances). A highly complex text and tune, one wonders how much would be left of Damaso's mnemonic dexterity if contact with the bearers of that originating culture had been severed for twenty years or more.

In the late 1920s, some twenty years after contact with Macassans had been severed, American anthropologist William Lloyd Warner (1898-1970) recorded a *wuramu* ceremony and transcribed its texts, which he first published in 1937. Speaking neither Arabic nor a Malay nor an Aboriginal language, Warner could only phonetically approximate what he heard. Warner noted that the incantations included appeals to the God in heaven. The text he recorded contains expressions that sound like invocations of Allah and the prophet Mohammed. During a funeral ceremony where a dead body is moved up down as if lifting a mast the accompanying chant is

Oh-a-ha-la!

and afterwards

A-ha-la!! A-ha-la!!
Si-li-la-mo-ha-mo, ha-mo-sil-li-li

and ending with "Ser-ri ma-kas-si" (Warner 420). The latter is clearly derived from *terima kasih* – "thank you" in several Malay languages. But the first part of that line is not unlike the Arabic *shahada* (taken from *Religion Facts*):

La ilaha illa Allah wa-Muhammad rasul Allah.
(There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God.)

Given the time elapsed since the phrase was last heard, and the approximation introduced by Warner into the transcription, this *manikay* line might be minimally understood as an attempt to

reproduce what was heard, and needs to be read with some latitude for transcription error. Warner transcribed another line from the *manikay* as:

ra-bin-a-la la-ha-ma-ha-ma

This is very similar to one of the lines in the *Salat* (daily prayer) intoned while standing up:

rabbana lakal hamd

Even as late as the 1980s – eighty years after last contact – David Burrumarra told Ian McIntosh (1996a:7) how at the departure of the fleet at the end of the season the "sick man" (muezzin) would chant from the top of the mast, and at sunset resounding

ama

towards the setting sun, then bow his head to the ground and exclaim:

walata'walata!

The prayer conclusion of Amen or Āmīn suggests itself for the "ama". Moreover, the *Al-Fatihah*, the first *sura* of the *Qur'an*, which is included in the *mahgrib* (sunset prayer), ends with

ˈalayhim walā ḍ-ḍāllīn

The last audible syllables here sound like "walada-lin" and could well be related to the "walata" recorded by McIntosh. The "wala" syllable occurs in various Arabic prayers, such as the *Bismillah* (eating prayer):

Bismillahi awwalahu wa akhirahu
(In the Name of God at the beginning and at the end)

Ethnomusicologist Peter Toner (22) detects traces of classical Arabic religious music in the *wuramu manikay* (song cycle) genre cited above. He finds that Yolngu singers improvise with sacred texts, and among the important symbols are icons of Macassan contact like ship, anchor, sword and flag. This is not altogether surprising, since historically the *wuramu* song cycle is thought to derive from a ritual performed by Macassans at Cape Wilberforce for the burial of a group of Aborigines (McIntosh 1996b:70). However, its meaning has been reworked to blend Yolngu beliefs and Macassan rituals. This reworking results in multiple layers of meaning attached to the *wuramu manikay*, so each explanation is only partial. McIntosh observed that the *wuramu* song cycle refers to the law of Walitha'walitha, a creation spirit sometimes translated as "the most high God", or Allah. McIntosh (1996b) describes the ritual as extending over several days containing imagery reminiscent of exchanges with Macassans, such as a flag dance, a knife dance, a lung[g]urrma dance, a boxing dance, a smoking dance, an alcohol dance (dancers feigning intoxication while comically trying to wrestle and dance at the same time). The ritual also contains storytelling elements brought back by Yolngu who had spent time in Makassar, such as reminiscences of rice paddies, ship building and lily-ponds (McIntosh 1996b).

Remembering and using specialized terms is an important foundation for the acquisition of knowledge in any discipline. Yolngu elders have often demonstrated their familiarity with the specialised knowledge derived from Macassan contact. An informant for Berndt and Berndt in 1947 rendered 43 specialised expressions in relation to work on the Macassan boats, including fifteen terms for parts of the ship, six relating to firearms, and fourteen terms relating to food and cooking, such as *gwula*, for syrup, clearly related to *gula*, the Indonesian word for sugar (Berndt collection Nr. 7246, Mawulan, aka Mawalan Marika).

These terms, like the musical influences detected by the Australian ethnomusicologist Peter Toner and the dances mentioned by McIntosh, remain at a material rather than cosmological level of contact, and merely demonstrate remembering. The phrases recorded from the *wuramu* song cycle look like Yolngu were seeking to remember what the Macassans were chanting. But what does it mean to them to remember such phrases? And if it means nothing more than the ability to remember, why were such things "turned inside" in the mission period? Some deeper meanings have been suppressed, and the higher level ritual language, strongly inflected with a form of Malay or Macassan, is confined to respected knowledge bearers (Terry Yumbulul 1995). For instance, during an interview at Yirrkala in 1995, Rarriwuy Marika, who acted as interpreter, declined to repeat the ritual words spoken in that language by Bawurr Munykarryun. She preferred to circumscribe the expression with "that word he just said", an avoidance that could have any number of reasons. In 1986 her father Wandjuk Marika had told the historian Peter Spillett a whole verse in ritual language, which appears in his unpublished paper (16). This ritual language is the disappearing preserve of the highly learned, much like Latin among Western *literati*.

Type B Indicators: Creative Representation

Missionaries used images to convey biblical stories and European social norms, in the form of prints, lantern slides, photographs, and classroom drawings. At the newly established Aurukun mission, for example,

> The instructions commence, as in Mapoon, with a bible story, illustrated by some pretty and colourful images, which are sent to us by friends in the south (Richter 1905).

The missionaries felt that pictures spoke for themselves. But not always were they convinced that their pupils could decipher them correctly. Rev. Arthur Richter of Aurukun warned that:

everything they see on pictures appears new to them. They have to learn to look at pictures. Oh, how much preparatory work is often associated with discouragement and disappointment, how much patience and endurance seems required to bring them to the level on which even a poor heathen negro or [American] Indian naturally operates (Richter 1905).

All the more joyously did missionaries respond to Indigenous forms of representing Christian themes, especially if they involved symbolic imagery. Near Brisbane on Stradbroke Island in May 1843 Bishop Polding noticed that a cross had already been cut into the bark of a tree (Moran 1895:227). Unaware that this may be a traditional symbol, Polding felt it augured well for the new mission. (Incidentally he had also received an unmistakable sign from higher authority in the form of a comet pointing to the very spot where he had planned to locate the mission in 1843.) His Swiss and Italian missionaries accomplished nothing and fled the island three years later.

More than a century later on the opposite side of the continent, Balgo dancers with crosses gleaming from their conical ceremonial headgear appeared in the flickering fire glow for the Pentecostal celebration for which Kimberley artists produced paintings incorporating doves and tongues of flame with Indigenous designs. Their pregnant Virgin Mary took the form of a *wandjina* figure typical of the Kimberley. All these things may be read as evidence of an active engagement with the messages conveyed – ignoring the note of caricature introduced by the young Balgo dancers at the end of the performance, who used walking sticks to imitate their old German missionary (Kriener 2011). "Outward signs" can be ambiguous, symbols like the cross can be over-interpreted.

In the 1980s the German Catholic missionaries in the Kimberley encouraged painting as a way of representing ideas and commemorating occasions. The Australian Catholic Bishops' conference of 1978 had adopted a five-year trial of "inculturation of the liturgy" under pressure from state and federal governments that sought to ease them out of the anachronistic mission era. This

Inculturation policy allowed mass to be held in one or more local languages. It was an effort to approximate each other's ontologies, rituals and symbols to allow the emergence of an Indigenous church, on the strength of a shared commitment to metaphysics (Luemmen and Nailon 63-64). This engagement required some significant concessions from the missionaries.

The community art of the 1980s captured in the albums of Fr. Werner Kriener includes a large landscape painting representing the "most important influences in the region": pearling, natural phenomena, natural resources and the mission. One painting assembles icons of the Kimberley – barramundi, mud crab, boab, and saltwater crocodile – to identify the group sitting by a campfire as Kimberley people. The group is visited by the Holy Spirit in the form of seven tongues of flame.

These images might be showing many things besides Christian imagery, – they might merely depict the Kimberley people (identified by local icons) speaking many tongues given to them by their spirit beings. For example, the Beagle Bay church may denote a place for strangers, or the site of a significant community achievement in the form of its famous shell-decorated altar. However the late Father Werner Kriener, who treasured these images in his photo-albums, was there long enough to see many of them grow up, and he heard the artists explain what they *meant* with their images.

Precisely these interpretations from the artists themselves are inaccessible for much of the rock art at the Top End that show images of Macassan *praus* (from the Malay *perahu* for boat). Historians, anthropologists and archaeologists have used these to demonstrate the long association between Macassan seafarers and Yolngu people (Taçon and May; Clarke and Frederick 2008). But – to heed the warning of Rev. Richter – do we have to "learn to look at these pictures"? Do they "require some preparatory work to bring us to a level" at which perhaps Indigenous people of the world "naturally operate"? If we see these representations as empirical

measures of history, perhaps we are missing the more important message?

Such images are not just material representations of contact, they are also behavioural evidence of engagement with the intention to convey meaning. Perhaps the artists meant to report or record something they saw, or something they did, or something that someone else did. Maybe they awaited, longed for, or remembered something. Maybe they commemorated a separation, or a journey, or an arrival. Or maybe they used an image as a mnemonic device, perhaps for different parts of a ship, or a language. Whatever the intention, there must be meaning attached to the image, and there must be a purpose attached to the act of drawing. Like the cross carved into a tree at Stradbroke Island in the 1840s, the image alone does not signify either religious or secular symbolism, nor can that symbolism be discounted *prima facie*.

The ubiquitous Macassan *prau* is merely the most self-evident and unmistakable symbolic representation referring to Macassan contact. Another basic Yolngu symbol that alludes to Macassan contact is the *darabu* pattern, composed of pennant-shaped triangles like the ensign flags displayed on the former Dutch-licensed Macassan *praus*. Such patterns are also said to be reminiscent of the fabric patterns worn by Macassan captains. *Darabu* also refers to writing in general (the encoded visual representation of precise meanings) and slight variations in the pattern indicate different dialect groups. (For example compare Berndt Collection Item 931 by Mambur (aka Mick Marambur) and Artnet 'Rock of Tears' by George Ganyjibala, 1997.).

The *darabu* pattern is used to signify the two major seasons expressed as clouds or winds. These two seasons governed Yolngu lives as much as the Macassan journeys: *lung[g]urrma*, the northerly wind, bringing the wet season and the Macassans, and *bulunu,* the south-easterly bringing the dry season and heralding their departure. Whenever these winds or seasons are represented,

they also at some level invoke what we might call "Macassan Dreaming":

> The grief felt when Macassan trepangers departed back to Sulawesi with *bulunu* (the south east winds of the early dry season) is equated with someone's death. The return of the Macassans with *lunggurrma* (the northerly monsoon winds of the approaching wet) is an analogy to the rebirth of the spirit following appropriate mortuary ritual (Marrawilli 2001).

The *darabu* pattern also occurs on the carved *wuramu* figures produced during the research visit of Catherine and Ronald Berndt in the 1940s. According to these two well-known Australian anthropologists, the *wuramu* figures are characteristic of Macassan contact. Some of them represent Macassans, others Dutchmen and 'crook men' or customs officials encountered on trepang voyages and visits to Makassar. One such *wuramu* figure, representing a 'collection man' passed through the camp of onlookers to pick up anything he fancied (Berndt and Berndt 1954:265ff; Berndt 1964:403ff). This 'collection man' behaviour is reminiscent of the behaviour of a customs official picking over a trepang boat. Indeed the Collector of Customs stationed at Port Essington to police the Macassan traders, confiscated articles from the Macassan boats according to ever-changing rules. Among other things the Collector of Customs Edward Robinson collected large stocks of arrak for his personal store (Ganter 2006:22ff).

This 'collection man' *wuramu* figure seems like a caricature. Sigmund Freud's (1905) analysis of humour points out that the joke functions to process conflict and suppress (negative) emotions. For it to work, joke tellers must not laugh at their own joke because it is the shared cultural understandings (revealed by the appropriate response) that create a bond between teller and audience. Freud clearly underplays the way in which cultural boundaries are maintained by the social process of 'sharing a joke'. In my migrant experience humour is among the most intractable cultural conventions defining who belongs, and who is outside, and from my interactions with Aboriginal people since 1980 I find that humour is

a very important cultural convention and an effective subversion of power relations.

Another icon for Macassan contact is the outline of the characteristic *prau* sail. The Madarrpa clan has adopted this symbol to represent an important place, a safe all-weather harbour on Marrngarr clan territory and an old Macassan trepang site called Garray Mangalay. This Yolngu word derives from the Macassan name *Karaeng Mangellai* (King Mangellai) and at the turn of the century the harbour site was used by a direct descendant of Mangellai, the Macassan captain Hussein Daeng Ranka. It owes its English name, Gray's Bay to the later trepang camp of Fred Gray. Garray Mangalay as a place has ecological, historical, and cultural significance. It can be likened in the Christian tradition to Mount Olive, with defined historical and symbolic significance that does not require elaboration.

This symbol, the outline of the *prau* sail, frames a painting by Barulankay Marrawilli, an account of a boat journey. The description explains that a fleet of three *lipa-lipa* (sailing canoes with characteristic sail) travel together from the artist's home of Yathikpa beach in Blue Mud Bay to Ayalangula beach on Groote Eylandt, via Round Hill Island, then Woodah Island and Bickerton Island (all these places have Macassan allusions). At each section of the journey we see the currents, the sea- and birdlife, including tern nesting places, turtle, mackerel, tuna, giant trevally and trout. One person sitting in the back holds the paddle, the other in the middle the *baya-baya* (forked rope) and the one in front the *luluna* (straight rope). Marrawilli's work combines place-based ontology (Swain 1993) with a proficiency in Macassan maritime technology.

In the words of the Indigenous theorist Karen Martin (2003), it enfolds the outsider. It blurs any analytical boundaries between a traditional Yolngu story and a historical reference to Macassan contact. Marrawilli's explanation alludes to deeper levels of association embedded in the image through the shorthand of symbolism. Precisely such explanations are missing from more

ancient rock art that is inaccessible to oral history, so that we are left staring at the outlines of an old Macassan *prau*. We have to learn to look at these pictures.

Type C Indicators: Adoption of Names

The adoption of a name is a public announcement of identity, such as the adoption of a spouse's name upon marriage. The Yolngu naming system shows some elements of Macassan names, such as the 'Dayng-' or 'Dein-' which prefixes some Yolngu names, deriving from the Macassan title of *Daeng*, or the 'Christian' name Terry which derives from *Terijini*, the label by which the 'sea gypsies' of Sulawesi refer to themselves (Terry Yumbulul 1995).

One such name bestowal is narrated in a Milingimbi school text, used to teach *Yolngu-matha*, called "The Last Visit of the Macassans" (*Dhä-dhuditjpuy Mangatharra*). [In the following account the names in brackets were recovered by C. C. Macknight from the Australian customs records and fieldwork in Sulawesi.] Told by Djäwa, the story relates how as a young boy he and his uncle, fishing at the shore, were visited by the Macassan captain Gätjing (Daeng Gassing) on his last journey to Arnhem Land. As a final farewell gesture Gassing gave the young boy the Macassan name "Mangalay" (Mangellai). At this point the storyteller points out – almost as if it were an aside – that there is also a far-away place called "Garra-Mangalay". Captain Gassing tells young Djäwa to make sure to tell his mother and his father, and everyone, that he now has the Macassan name "Mangellai".

Recording this story for use in schools is the ultimate fulfilment of that promise. With each telling of the story Djäwa affirmed the relationship embodied in that final gesture. His Macassan name links him with a place, the trepang station of Hussein Daeng Ranka, who is the brother-in-law of Daeng Gassing. It also connects him with this Macassan family, because Daeng Ranka had a son and an ancestor called Mangellai. The story incantation affirms for Djäwa the status as a son of Daeng Ranka, much like the recital of a Credo

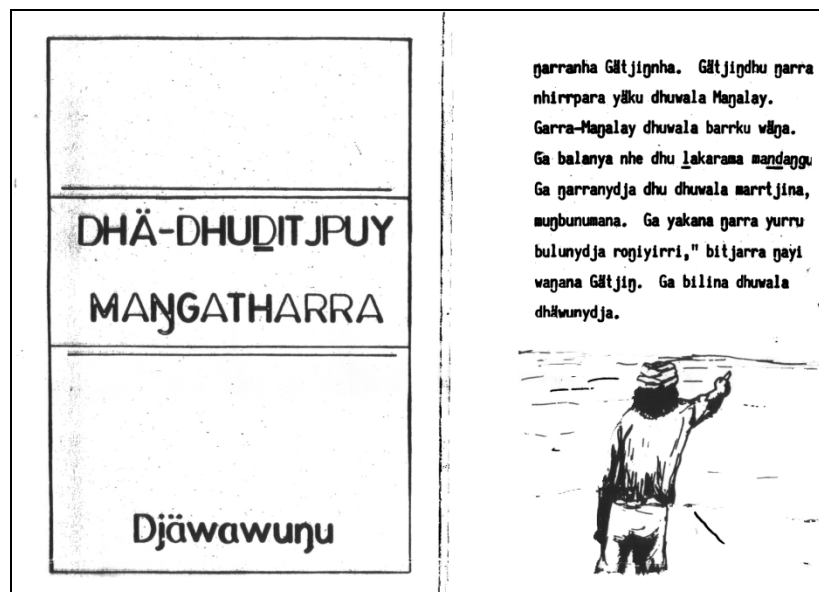affirms the Catholic speaker's faith in certain connections and meanings.

Fig. 1. The first and last page of the Milingimbi school text based on the story of Djäwa, showing the Yolngu storyteller himself as a boy farewelling the last Macassan captain, presumably in 1907. Djäwa's headgear as represented in this image functions as an allusion to his acceptance of a Macassan name and family in this encounter

The public bestowal of a name is a central ritual in the adoption into the Christian church. The so-called 'first sacrament' is usually performed in the presence of a sponsor (or God-parent). According to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, baptism "does not require a person to observe the whole law of Christ", and they are "not obliged to observe all the precepts of the Church, written and traditional". The initiation is executed "in the name of the father and of the son" (and of the holy spirit) and means the adoption as a 'son of God'. Baptism, with the bestowal of a suitable name, is also considered "the door of the church", a first step, in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. Djäwa's story offers remarkable parallels – the uncle present to witness, the name bestowed, the invocation of father and son relationships, the public dimension of the ritual.

Djäwa's story was recorded at Milingimbi in 1979, a time when missionary influence was already waning and the outstation movement was reasserting Indigenous sovereignty. McIntosh explains that the 1980s saw a revival of stories about Macassan contact, that had been "turned inside" during the mission period, not

only hidden from strangers but also from younger generations (McIntosh 2011). Djäwa's story might be read as a reaffirmation of prior connections that uses the symbolic narrative of Christians to produce meaning.

Type D Indicators: Customs and Habits

As early as 1767 the Scottish geographer Alexander Dalrymple (1767:92) referred to Aborigines of the north coast as "Mahometans". Dalrymple (1737-1808) gives no explanation for this assumption, other than having commerce with "Bugis". He also referred to many other peoples in the Malay archipelago as "Mahometans", in all of which cases he was either correct or proven correct by later developments. Charles Campbell Macknight (1976), the foremost historian of the trepang trade to north Australia, thinks that the practice of circumcision may have led Dalrymple to this conclusion. After all, circumcision has been understood as the most infallible "outward sign" of religion since at least the first century. Matthew Flinders observed what he interpreted as the "Jewish and Mahometan rite of circumcision" at Caledon Bay in 1803 (Flinders: 9 February 1803).

Indeed, there are various connections between circumcision ceremonies and Macassan contact. In north-central Arnhem Land the Ganalbingu group uses the Lungurrma design (north wind, associated with the arrival of Macassans) for circumcision ceremonies, according to the late senior artist Johnny Bulunbulun. During the mid-twentieth century ethnographers observed that the practice of circumcision was newly acquired in many regions. Birdsell (1953) and Berndt (1964) use Tindale (1940) as a baseline to suppose that in most inland areas circumcision and sub-incision was practised, whereas in north-east Arnhem Land and along parts of the Western Australian coast only circumcision was practised. There is no conclusive evidence that this practice spread from the north, or displaced sub-incision, but certainly a shared cultural practice such as this presents a commonality with Muslim outsiders and a point of difference from Christian outsiders.

Another deep cultural affinity was the shared cultural practice of polygamy. Polygamy was widely practiced in pre-contact Australia and became a major source of resistance to mission rule, the "chief evil" for Christian missionaries (Ganter 1999). Roman Catholic Father F. X. Gsell was only able to obtain permission of Tiwi parents to bring young girls into the mission in exchange for a gift of money to the parents, so that he was referred to locally as the "Bishop with the 150 wives", as if he had succumbed to Indigenous views on marriage. Shared marriage customs facilitated family formation across the Arafura Sea, resulting in many stories of Macassan/Aboriginal marriages in Australia and Makassar (Ganter 2006: Chapter 3). The Methodist (later: Uniting Church) Reverend Djiniyini Gondarra from Elcho Island related how his brother Danyjati visited Kampung Maluku in Makassar, Lailai Island, Lumbu Kassati and was greeted as family. Another well-known story is the one of Djalajari (or Djalatjirri), who formed a family in Makassar, first recorded by the Berndts. When Djalajari's son Bawurr met me at Yirrkala it could have been no coincidence that he was smoking a 'Macassan pipe' during our interview. It was a visible sign affirming his connectedness to Makassar.

Fig. 2. Bawurr Munykarryun, Elder of Yirrkala smoking a 'Macassan pipe'. His father had three children in Makassar. Photo/© by R. Ganter, 1995.

Berndt and Berndt observed that the so-called 'Macassan pipe' was another piece of unique culture stemming from culture contact:

> Another object peculiar to Arnhem Land is the 'Macassan' pipe, from one to four feet (about thirty centimetres to over a metre) long, and usually in the form the pithy stem of the *lungin* (pipe) bush. It is scraped clean and smooth, the mouthpiece tapered and ridged, and the whole covered with red ochre. (Berndt and Berndt 1964/1999:503)

Maggie Brady points out that pipe smoking was not customary among the Macassan crews, who were more likely to chew tobacco with or without betel nut. The long straight pipe now known as a 'Macassan pipe' was an adaptation of the Chinese opium pipe, initially used for smoking tobacco laced with opium ('madak'). Maggie Brady (2013) thinks that the pipe must have been introduced by Yolngu men returning from Makassar – men like Bawurr's father Djalajari. The local *pituri* tobacco, traded along major Indigenous trading tracks, was widely available for chewing with ash or smoking according to Dale Kerwin (2012). Such shared habits also formed a cultural affinity.

Another strong marker of culture and faith is dress code. Christian missionaries insisted on covering the body with dresses and pants to express Christian decency. Yolngu adopted pants, shirt and dress but retained their minimal headgear in various styles of red headband. Christian missions never encouraged the wearing of hats or priests' birettas, because headgear is not amenable to imitation – it is the most visible signifier of social status and often the most outward expression of a social role. The *wuramu* figures in the Berndt collection are topped by a *songkok,* or fez – unmistakably representing a Muslim Malay. A photograph in Berndt (1964:269, plate 23) shows a dancer wearing a tied headscarf reminiscent of the traditional Malay *tanjak*, a piece of folded (and often reinforced) fabric. A similar headgear is worn by the Yolngu boy Djäwa, drawn on the last page of the Milingimbi school text "The Last Visit of the Macassans". How close is the identification when the headgear is adopted?

Missionaries placed great emphasis on observing how closely the minute customs and habits of mission residents mirrored their own, such as sitting on chairs, the dexterous use of cutlery, hair combing and plaiting, and all manner of housewifery such as sweeping, dusting, laundering, arranging dishes on shelves, or handyman work such as furniture making, and particularly house building. At Mapoon on Cape York Reverend Nicholas Hey made it a condition of marriage for the groom to build a house first. At the Moravian mission Ebenezer in Victoria, the first convert, Nathaniel Pepper, built a one-roomed cottage for himself that became a solid symbol of conversion and news about it was widely circulated. Robert Kenny comments on this wooden hut in 2007:

> Its prominence in the engraving I had seen at Herrnhut [the mission society headquarters in Germany] was only one indicator of the importance given to it. It was this hut that had first brought Pepper and his friend Boney to the attention of the missionaries. The hut had also featured heavily in the early dispatches of Ellerman, Spieseke and Gillespie from the missionary front. (64)

Coming to live at or near a mission was also an encouraging sign that Aboriginal people were ready to hear the gospel, although they sometimes expressed that they had heard "enough already". Pastor Gottfried Hausmann at Beenleigh near Brisbane found in the 1850s that

> when I spoke to them of God, they replied, they knew all about God still because I had spoken to them about God some years ago and they have not yet forgotten it. (Hausmann: 10 July 1855)

Hausmann took this as an encouraging sign that "They do retain in their language what they have heard of God". But did they want to hear it again? At Hopevale in north Queensland it was put more bluntly. If Pastor Georg Pfalzer's sermons went on for too long, someone might interrupt with the suggestion, "do you want us to chop some wood, or dig the garden?", or more to the point, "are we getting something to eat now?" (Pfalzer 1887:55).

Missionaries tended to think that the more mission residents engaged voluntarily in digging wells, clearing scrub, planting gardens, watering plants, weeding, hoeing and using the appropriate tools, the more hopeful were the prospects for their soul – whether or not the residents performed these tasks in order to obtain food and rations. Hausmann at Beenleigh expressed the hope that "Jacky" (Bilinba or Bilinbilin) might become his "first fruit", the first baptismal candidate in Queensland because he diligently attended services and lessons. Another viewpoint claims that this man "charged the Lutheran missionary 5/- per week to sit and discuss religion with the tribe" (Steele 81).

Yolngu people also volunteered to engage in the economic activities of the Macassans. They collected firewood, carried water, helped to gather trepang, and traded food. Their motivations may have been very much like those of early mission residents – material and social advantages and a good deal of curiosity, including interest in spiritual matters. Some cultural elements may be taken as shared between the polyglot Macassans and the Yolngu, such as attending to spirits, giving gifts, storytelling through dance, polygamous marriage, circumcision, chewing tobacco or the custom of sitting on the floor. But there are also signs of cultural adaptation. The most evident is a profusion of Macassan loan words in *Yolngu-matha*, which linguists have so far examined only as a one-way influence (e.g. Urry and Walsh 1981; Walker and Zorc 1981; Evans 1992; Evans 1997).

The bestowal and acceptance of names, relocating camps to Macassan sites of activity (as documented at Groote Eylandt by Clarke in the year 2000), participating in their economic activities, observing and attending Macassan rituals with such interest as to be able to re-tell them, adapting tastes to Macassan articles of consumption, representing them in images, songs, dances, and showing an eagerness to learn from and about them – these are all behaviours that Christian missionaries would have rated highly as so-called "outward signs" of conversion.

Outward Signs of Conversion of the Stranger

The process is clearly more complicated than something that can be read off "outward signs". In the conquest of new territory, the religion itself gets transformed, just as myths or rituals change some of their meaning when they travel. We need only to think of the emergence of European Christianity that blended local practices with those from the Near East, where the bitter gum of the thornbush (myrrh) was used for medicinal purposes, or from Egypt, where Jewish expatriates learned the ritual of burning the resin of the Boswellia tree (frankincense). The burning of these substances as incense was transposed into the Catholic Church in about the eleventh century, the smoke now creatively interpreted as symbolising the rising prayer:

> Incense, with its sweet-smelling perfume and high-ascending smoke, is typical of the good Christian's prayer, which, enkindled in the heart by the fire of God's love and exhaling the odour of Christ, rises up a pleasing offering in His sight.
>
> (*The Catholic Encylopaedia* http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07716a.htm)

Rituals are dynamic and adaptable. Fasting during the forty days of Lent, for instance, underwent a series of re-interpretations in the Catholic Church from complete abstention, to eating but once a day, to some minimal food taboos, to merely abstaining from gluttony. According to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* "No student of ecclesiastical discipline can fail to perceive that the obligation of fasting is rarely observed in its integrity nowadays."

> (www.newadvent.org/cathen/05789c.htm)

Ritual adaptations were also made in the Australian missions such as when missionaries performed the Eucharist under the shade of a tree, perhaps with an old table serving as altar and a decorated plastic bucket as baptismal font. In Fr. Kriener's album we see the Catholic priest replacing the biretta with a traditional red head-band, so that now the stranger shows "outward signs of conversion".

Indeed cultural adaptation is unlikely to be an entirely one-sided process (Ganter 2006). The enthusiastic participation of the large Warmun (Turkey Creek) community in the Easter Passion play in the mid 1980s documented in that album was preceded by about eight days of fasting and accompanied by a smoke cleansing ceremony, both elements of local funerary rites. After its resurrection from the grave the symbolic body of Christ was laid out on a tree to signify the imminent tree burial.

Fig. 3. The German Pallottines Fr. Werner Kriener wearing a
red head band, and Bishop John Jobst accepting gifts at the
Beagle Bay Centenary 2001.
©Courtesy of Archives of the Pallottine Community, Rossmoyne.

The story was enacted through much dancing. It had to start in the small hours of the morning because the whole event had to be over and done with before the Halls Creek horse races began at ten o'clock – a competing cultural activity (Kriener 2011). Warmun people embraced, adapted and re-invented the Easter Passion in a process of transculturation. It is difficult to tell whether they were participating in a Christian ritual, or Fr. Kriener was participating in a local one.

An insistence on reciprocity shimmers just below the surface of missionary accounts from the earliest period. Many missionary anecdotes suggest, often with incredulity, that local diplomats trained missionaries to behave appropriately, frequently by teasing.

For example, at Zion Hill mission in the 1840s some local men adopted the missionary pioneers as brothers, travelled with them and encouraged them to attend festivals. During an excursion to a gathering at Toorbul (north of Brisbane town), Anbaybury challenged his adopted brother missionary Wagner by reminding him that back at the mission he did everything for Wagner – fetching wood and water, preparing clay, chopping wood, hoeing the ground – and therefore now at Toorbul it was perhaps time that Wagner did the same for him (Eipper: 2 August 1841). There is no doubt that the missionaries – who always understood themselves as the teachers of culture – learned many things from their Indigenous congregations. At the beginning of the mission period in Queensland, a visitor claimed about the Stradbroke Island missionaries that after four years they "had accomplished nothing except to learn how to hunt wild animals and to fish (andare alla caccia, alla pesca, etc.)" (Barberi, 17 April 1849 in: Thorpe 205). At the end of the mission era, missionary Geraldine MacKenzie at Aurukun frankly declared that "I had gone to teach but stayed to learn" (Cruickshank and Grimshaw).

Cultural anthropologist Howard Morphy in 2005 posited a process of mutual conversion between Yolngu and the Methodist ministers at Elcho Island. During the Adjustment Movement of the 1950s at Elcho Islanders erected a structure next to the church to house bark paintings representing various clans and ritual objects. Morphy interprets this as follows:

> they were among the clans' most valuable property, objects of ritual power, and in Yolngu terms the most important things they had to give. The intention of the leaders ... was not to reduce the power of the objects by releasing them from their shroud of secrecy but to assert to Europeans that Yolngu too had objects of great spiritual power and that they were willing to open these up to Europeans if Europeans were willing to reciprocate. (Morphy 1991:19)

At a minimum, the Yolngu were establishing a relationship between their own sources of power and the Christian Church with its sacred objects. If this was not a sign of conversion it was certainly an

opening of a conversation. Similarly, their commemorations of Macassan contact reach deeper than the observable material veneer. Ian McIntosh writes that

> Yolngu view the history and legacy of trepanging not just through the narrow lens of tamarind trees, pottery shards and the years 1780-1907, but rather through an entirely different and sacred lens. (McIntosh 2013:13)

This lens also directs their view of Christian contact. The Elcho Island church is located, by mutual consent, on a sacred site, and its walls contain special rocks (*bilma*) that are connected with the Yirrtja and Dhuwa moieties:

> it is said that one of the stone "bilma" or clap-stick rangga placed in the church wall replicated itself in the landscape of its own volition. As it was removed from the ground by Yolngu Christians another moved upwards to replace it. This was a powerful statement for ... the notion that the new was grounded in the old, and that the old could never vanish entirely from the world. (McIntosh 2011:50)

This is a powerful dynamic between tradition and Christianity that adopts, adapts and embraces new concepts but stops short of conversion. This cannot be read off the material itself, it requires interpretation from those who construct that meaning.

Conversion or Conversation?

McIntosh gained his insights from years of collaboration with David Burrumarra, who in turn was a close relative of mission elder Harry Makarrwola [referred to as Mahkarolla by Lloyd Warner, and as Magarwala by the Berndts, e.g. Berndt Collection, Item Nr. 438]. In the 1920s Makarrwola spoke of *walitha'walitha* as the supreme god (Allah) but "was struggling with what to disclose on this topic" (McIntosh 2011:3). As the missions were gaining momentum, certain dimensions of Macassan contact history were withheld from researchers and from younger members of the community. According to historian Geoffrey Gray (2007) fuel was added to the

fire when the Bayini artefacts collected by the Berndts were displayed in a Sydney gallery.

Bayini stories, referring to deep-time contact with "pre-Macassans", including "golden-skinned" women, have confused those seeking to understand them historically, because they were not historical in nature and perhaps were not fully revealed. McIntosh speculates that they were seen as conflicting with Christian teachings and finds that the information given about the Bayini changed considerably over time. During the American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land in 1948 Charles Pearcy Mountford garnered a "jumbled mix of myth and history", Catherine Berndt collected references to Bayini women in the 1950s, and in the late 1980s David Burrumarra disclosed the concept of Birrinydji, the more powerful and more secret male partner of the female Bayini, who brought the law long before the missionaries arrived. McIntosh sees this "Dreaming Macassan" as a way of resolving the tension between tradition and the growing strength of Christian beliefs in the Yolngu community: Christianity was not a new religion but an old Yolngu law (McIntosh 2006). Some Aranda at Hermannsburg, and people from the former Kimberley missions, have reached the same conclusion: the missionaries did not bring God, "God was here before the missionaries" (Matthews et al. 2003). The Yolngu had an even more complex spiritual and historical road to navigate than people who had no major exposure to Islam. McIntosh explains the function of this "Dreaming Macassan" creation figure, which opened the possibility that "God was a product of the Dreaming" (2011:6). McIntosh emphasizes that Bayini stories reflect much about perceived power imbalances and are fluid rather than static.

Oral culture not only undergoes changes through time, it also has regional variations (see also Kenny 2007:50). More recently, in 2013, Rebecca Bilous found a local version of the Bayini stories at Bawaka, which emphasises its relationship with that particular site. On the Finke River at Hermannsburg (Ntaria) the "footprints of Jesus" belong to the same phenomenon of indigenising the foreign by attaching it to a place.

The cultural disruption that ensued from the cessation of Macassan contact in 1906 required the reinterpretation of cultural practices in a society that was in a process of conversation with Islam. By the time Christian missionaries arrived, the Yolngu were already prepared for accommodating foreigners and their beliefs, including dealing with an ontology of time that is linear, a language fastened to writing, and the notion of a supreme God, as Anne Clarke (2000) points out. They had already developed ways of establishing a dialogue between such ideas and their own traditions, and opened themselves up to the spiritual enrichment and the material advantages to be gained from entering into a conversation.

In the process of revealing knowledge that had been "turned inside", David Burrumarra helped to forge a pan-Yolngu Christian identity capable of following Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal laws (McIntosh 2006). This break-through concept, like that of a "Dreaming Macassan", strikes a dialectical synthesis, something completely new, out of the tension between the traditional and the imported discourses.

The "outwards signs of conversion" from which this essay started out are constantly undermined with suggestions that they may be superficial: when the Balgo dancers caricatured the old missionary; when the Turrbal people said they knew all about God still because they heard it some years ago; when the Guugu Yalanji at Hopevale interrupted the sermon with the offer to dig the garden. Conversely, we can equally detect such "signs of conversion" in the missionaries (Ganter 2017b). It is by no means clear to what degree representations of Macassans, such as the *wuramu* figures or the song lines recorded by Warner, were caricature or dispassionate historical record, or sincere efforts to reproduce meaning, like Damaso's intonation of the *Miserere*.

These material and behavioural signs of conversion are merely suggestive, indicative, symptomatic, and yet they were the only guiding principles for Christian missionaries in their judgements

about the interior world of their congregations. Using the same register of signals strongly supports the notion that the Yolngu people had entered into a conversation with Muslim life-worlds when this historical process was interrupted by British colonisation.

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The Darkest Aspect:
Mabo and Liam Davison's *The White Woman*

In 1962, Douglas Pike, the Professor of History at the Australian National University, published a book called *Australia: The Quiet Continent*. As the title indicates, Pike describes a land only awakened from its historical slumber by the arrival of Europeans at the end of the eighteenth century. Aboriginal participation in the nation's story is quieted in Pike's work. Aboriginal people are barely mentioned in 233 pages of text, other than being referred to as "native people [held] in stone-age bondage" (1) or as "primitive food-gatherers [who] were no match for the white invader" (36). Passages stating that "the Australian communities took shape as peaceful outposts of British civilization" (3), ignore or suppress any suggestion that the land was taken from Aboriginal people by force. This was entirely in keeping with the fashion of Australian historical narrative for the time.

However, the years immediately following the publication of Pike's history saw loud critique of representations of Australia as a 'quiet' continent. Aboriginal protests for better wages and working conditions, citizenship rights, land rights and self-determination throughout the 1960s and beyond, challenged assumptions that Australia's indigenous peoples were a silent, 'dying' race. As well, in 1968, the anthropologist Bill Stanner famously critiqued the quietness inherent in much Australian history writing in his Boyer Lectures. Stanner coined the term "The Great Australian Silence" to describe the structural "inattention" paid to Aboriginal history in Australian history writing of the twentieth century (182, 188). He argued that such inattention had developed into "a cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale" (189). He said that a national history ought to consider "the other side of a story over

which the great Australian silence reigns" (189). Stanner's critique of Australia's wilful historical amnesia helped trigger the writing of what Bain Attwood calls "the new Australian history" throughout the 1970s and 80s (xv). This new history represented Australia's foundation "in terms of an invasion and not settlement" (Attwood 105).

This refashioned history about Australia was the historical narrative framework that was adopted by the High Court judges in the Mabo decision of 1992. Drawing on these stories of the colonisation of Australia, the judges determined that the nation's narrative of settlement, and the entire legal and political apparatus that had upheld that story, was founded on a "fiction by which the rights and interests of indigenous inhabitants in land were treated as non-existent" (*Mabo* 28). The continent was considered to have been uninhabited (a *terra nullius*) when the British first established a settlement, the judges declared. Indigenous Australians were not a part of this story of discovery and settlement. They were seen in legal (and cultural) terms as too "barbarous" and too "destitute […] of the rudest forms of civil polity" (*Mabo* 27) to have been considered proprietors of the soil. But in Mabo, the judges declared that such views "depended on a discriminatory denigration of indigenous inhabitants, their social organisation and customs" (27), and that such "unjust and discriminatory doctrine [could] no longer be accepted" (29). For the judges in Mabo, such discriminatory thinking was no longer in accord with international legal standards nor with "the contemporary values of the Australian people" (*Mabo* 29). In the Mabo judgement, then, the judges of the High Court sought to bring legal reasoning into line with "the historical sea change of the 1970s and 1980s in relation to Aboriginal rights" (Hunter 11). In effect, the Mabo judgement rejected the conventional historical narrative of the largely peaceful settlement of an empty land, and posited, instead, a new narrative: that "Aboriginal […] dispossession underwrote the development of the nation" (*Mabo* 50), and that this act of dispossession constituted "the darkest aspect of the history of this nation" (*Mabo* 82).

The rejection of Australia's conventional historical narrative and the re-writing of this narrative to assert an indigenous presence in the land and in history, is also a feature of much historical fiction written in the wake of the Mabo decision. This essay examines one lesser-known work of historical fiction, which, in retrospect, might now be read as the first 'post-Mabo' historical novel, as it was published in 1994: Liam Davison's *The White Woman*. I begin with a brief survey of shifts in the writing of the historical novel through the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, in order to explain what I mean by *post-Mabo* historical fiction, before turning my attention to Davison's text as an exemplar of post-Mabo narrative prose.

The Historical Novel and the "Darkest Aspect"

The violence attendant to the dispossession of Aboriginal people on the colonial frontier was, in the main, elided in historical fiction for most of the twentieth century, just as it was in historical non-fiction. Kerryn Goldsworthy notes that novelists of historical fiction in the earlier part of the twentieth century concentrated on three aspects of nineteenth-century Australia: convicts, pioneers and gold (109). In a similar vein, Susan Sheridan notes that most historical fiction of the post-World War II decades "reinforced the prevailing 'national story' of heroic pioneers and oppressed convicts" (9). Sheridan does name some exceptions to the norm, including Eleanor Dark's *The Timeless Land*, published in 1941 (8), and before I proceed I would like to add some other texts to this list. Thea Astley (whom Sheridan also names [9]), in both her 1974 novel *A Kindness Cup* and her 1987 novel *It's Raining in Mango*, seeks to incorporate Aboriginal histories into her fiction. As well, Robert Drewe's first novel, *The Savage Crows* (1976), tells the story of a journalist who quits his steady job to write a history thesis about the "hunting down, slaughter, rape, infanticide, betrayal [and] deportation" of Tasmania's Aborigines (Drewe 36). Mudrooroo Narogin's novel, *Doctor Wooreddy's Prescription for Enduring the Ending of the World* (published under the name of Colin Johnson in 1983), is also about the destruction of Tasmanian Aboriginal society. In Peter Carey's third novel, *Oscar and Lucinda* (1988), key characters are direct

witnesses to and/or participants in colonial invasion and the murder of Aboriginal people on the frontier. In this sense, Carey's historical novel, as well as the historical novels of Astley, Drewe and Narogin, function as poignant exceptions to the historical-fiction norm.

However, much more historical fiction published in the wake of the Mabo decision has acknowledged Aboriginal occupation of the land, and many novels have concentrated on reviving, re-telling or re-imagining stories of Aboriginal dispossession by 'white' settlers/invaders. What many of these novels are also doing is challenging the very *construction* of history as a discipline, as a credible story of the nation's past, such that 'History' as a hegemonic narration of nation is now open to more intense scrutiny in fiction writing. Linda Hutcheon calls such fiction writing "historiographic metafiction" (105). It is a writing that "problematizes the entire notion of historical knowledge" and "plays upon the truth and lies of the historical record" (89, 114). It seeks to refute "the natural or common-sense methods of distinguishing between historical fact and fiction," thereby asserting that "both history and fiction are discourses, human constructs, signifying systems, and both derive their major claim to truth from that identity" (Hutcheon 93). With regard to post-Mabo novels, Richard Flanagan's *Death of a River Guide* (1994) and Brian Castro's *Drift* (1994), both probe the denials, suppressions, silences and exaggerations that have gone into the creation of Tasmania's officially sanctioned past. Flanagan's 2001 novel *Gould's Book of Fish: A Novel in Twelve Fish*, offers, at one level, a "re-writing of the history of the penal system and of colonialism from the point of view of its underbelly, the convict class" (Devlin-Glass 179). At another level, *Gould's Book of Fish* is a comic and caustic interrogation of the credibility of history's makers, history as a written text, and the construction of historical accounts. Peter Mews' *Bright Planet* (2004), Kate Grenville's *The Secret River* (2005) and *The Lieutenant* (2008), Kim Scott's *That Deadman Dance* (2010), and Rohan Wilson's *The Roving Party* (2011), while all very different in scope and style, are other examples of historical novels that acknowledge the Australian colonial landscape as alive with indigenous peoples, stories, place

names and cultures. In short, Mabo's recognition of the fact that Indigenous Australians were always on the land and that they owned it has prompted a re-exploration of the terrain of first contact by authors of historical fiction.

One historical novel, which both documents the "darkest aspect of the history of [the] nation" (*Mabo* 82) at the same time as it critically scrutinises discourses of history – and which has received relatively little scholarly attention – is Liam Davison's third novel, *The White Woman*, published in 1994.[1] Davison (1957-2014) will write no more. In July 2014, he was on board Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 when it crashed after being shot down over war-torn eastern Ukraine, killing all 283 passengers and 15 crew. In a short obituary, the editors of the journal *Antipodes* mourned the death of "the novelist and short story writer Liam Davison" as an important loss to Australian literature (Editors 262). They made special mention of *The White Woman* as "one of the most subtle fictional explorations of questions of race, gender, identity, and colonialism in the Australian fictional landscape" (262), suggesting this particular novel may be the one Davison will be remembered for.

Frontier Violence in the Gippsland

The story of the captive white woman of the Gippsland, which forms the basis of Davison's historical novel, is an extraordinary tale of how rumour and myth can be used to invoke rage among isolated white settlers, and how it can ultimately be used to justify murder on the colonial frontier. Published just two years after the Mabo decision, *The White Woman* is a novel that seeks, in broad terms, to document stories of the violent dispossession of Aboriginal people from the Gippsland region of eastern Victoria. In this context, then, *The White Woman* can be read as one of the first historical novels published in the wake of the High Court's call in Mabo for an

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[1] Only one scholarly article has been published on this novel (see Fletcher). Beyond this, a few scholars have examined *The White Woman* in the context of wider investigations into other subjects (see Behrendt; Carr; Probyn 1999; and West-Pavlov), and Fiona Probyn has published an interview with Davison about the writing of his novel (Probyn 1996).

"acknowledgement of [...] past injustices" with regard to the "dispossession and oppression of the Aboriginals" (*Mabo* 82). According to Gillian Tyas, "Davison's work brings the past into a continuous present with an intensity that renders the white woman legend immediately relevant" (163). It is worth briefly recounting the establishment of the myth of the white woman of the Gippsland before proceeding with an examination of Davison's text.

On 28 December 1840, a letter appeared in the *Sydney Herald* – and was reprinted a month later by a Melbourne newspaper (Carr 3) – that was to irrevocably alter the lifestyle of the Kurnai, the Aboriginal people of what is now Gippsland. The letter was written by the noted Gippsland explorer and pioneer pastoralist, Angus McMillan, a man who was also later implicated in a number of killing raids on the Kurnai. (One Gippsland historian refers to McMillan, rather unceremoniously, as "Our Founding Murdering Father" [Gardner 1987: 1]). McMillan's letter reported his discovery of a large number of European articles at a Kurnai camp in bushland near the coast, including clothes "besmeared with human blood," towels, blankets, British money, a blacksmith's tools, bottles, a kettle and various newspapers. McMillan also reported finding "a large lock of brown hair, evidently that of a European woman" as well as the "dead body of a male child about two years old," which a doctor in his party had examined and "discovered beyond doubt its being of European parents" (qtd. in Carr 5).

McMillan wrote that as his party approached the camp, the "twenty-five black natives, chiefly women" all ran away. His letter continued:

> We observed the men with shipped spears driving before them the women, one of whom we noticed constantly looking behind her, at us, a circumstance which did not strike us much at the time, but on examining the marks and figures about the largest of the native huts we were immediately impressed with the belief that the unfortunate female is a European – a captive of these ruthless savages [...] we have no doubt whatever but a dreadful massacre of Europeans, men, women and children, has been perpetrated by the aborigines in the immediate vicinity of the spot [...] we were forced to return without being enabled to throw more light on this melancholy catastrophe. (qtd. in Carr 5-6)

As the Gippsland historian Don Watson points out, there was no evidence that a massacre had taken place at all. "But massacres of Europeans were to be expected of savages," writes Watson, "and it would have been more surprising if McMillan [...] had not deduced from the scene [he] described that a great bloodletting had taken place" (Watson 1984: 162). However, it was not the massacre that lingered on in the public mind but the more shocking thought that an innocent white woman had been kidnapped and remained at the mercy of "ruthless savages" (ibid.). In the years following the publication of McMillan's letter, as a "war over ownership of territory was waged" between Aborigines and British settlers, in a region where "European control of the land was tenuous" (Darian-Smith 1996: 105), parties of armed men scoured the Gippsland on various quests to find the elusive white woman. She was never found.

Gippsland historian, Peter Gardner, surmises that these search parties were merely "used as an excuse for the brutal hunting (with the overt support of the Government) of the Kurnai people" in the context of frontier war (1987: 49). A number of government officials doubted that the captive white woman existed at all. For Gardner, "The evidence seems to point to the affair being the creation of McMillan's fertile imagination and thus was a hoax of grand proportions" (1987: 48). Whether she actually existed or not, the white woman provided a pretext for raids on Aboriginal camps and for clearing the land of Aboriginal people. As Watson puts it:

> A white woman enshrined the highest virtues of civilization, the Aborigines of Gippsland the deepest vices of humanity. No doubt she occupied the minds of the lonely men of Gippsland in a variety of roles. The blacks had stolen one of their women. Nothing could have been so well calculated to bring out the warrior in a man. Civilized squatters became crusaders, and unoffending Aborigines their heathen prey. (1984: 163)

The historian Kate Darian-Smith notes that the story of the white woman of the Gippsland is typical of the kind of captivity narratives that were "a well-known, well-worn and formulaic genre in Western literary tradition" by the 1840s (1993: 17): "Stories of white 'captivity' in Australia emerged from, and reflected, settler anxieties

about racial and gendered interactions in Australia, and within the colonial world more broadly" (Darian-Smith 1996: 99). The White Woman of the Gippsland, says Darian-Smith, was a potent symbol for the citizens of Melbourne and settlers of the Gippsland:

> She encapsulated the basic fears underlying the experiences of travel to and colonization of an alien land: shipwreck, enslavement and possibly death at the hands of 'barbarous savages', miscegenation, and severance from and loss of Christian, European culture. She was to be mobilized by the white settlers of the region to further their conquest of the land and its peoples. (1993: 17)

Frontier Violence in *The White Woman*

Davison's *The White Woman* tells the story of a private expedition – known as the De Villiers expedition – that set out from Melbourne in October 1846 to try to find the lost white woman. The De Villiers expedition was the only search party, historians agree, that was not used as a justification for hunting down or capturing Aborigines (see Gardner 1988: 84; Darian-Smith 1993: 27). Davison's fictional narrator was a member of both the De Villiers expedition and a later expedition. He is telling his tale decades afterwards to the son of a man who also took part in the latter search mission. Although no search party ever finds the white woman, the unnamed narrator remains convinced she has always existed. Even as he recounts his story years later, his conviction of her existence has not diminished. In this sense, the white woman is "figurative only" throughout Davison's novel, remaining "the product of delusions of imperial proportions" (Probyn 1996: 59). As deluded as the narrator appears to be, he remains sincere, affecting a sense of righteousness, in wanting to condemn the killings carried out by others under the guise of the search for the white woman. As Davison suggests, in an interview, the narrator is a kind of "vigilante for the moral majority, at least that is what he believes" (qtd. in Probyn 1996: 63).

The narrator quotes from historical documents he has collected as he recounts stories of the various search missions, as well as discoveries of murder on the frontier. In this way, Davison manages to weave selected archival material, including McMillan's 1840 letter

(Davison 54-56) and newspaper reports recounting "the slaughter of the unoffending natives" via "shooting and tomahawking" (104, 105), into the fabric of his fictional narrative.

The most gruesome find made by the search party in Davison's novel is at the edge of a lake, in a cove the search party called Golgotha. Piles of broken bones lay

> half-submerged in the black water beneath our feet. There were more of them tangled in the scrub behind. It was like a charnel house. […] There was hardly a spot we could put our feet without a hand or a jaw-bone crumbling under us. (64)

The party realises it has stumbled across evidence of a huge massacre of people. All of the victims had been "shot or beaten to death with heavy sticks. There was a group of them locked together like a broken cage" (66). However, once the search-party members discover the bones are "black" (67), they merely take note of the discovery and move on. Thus, as Russell West-Pavlov points out, the members of the search party become "only too aware of their complicity in the atrocities committed by the local settlers" (83).

Evidence of a large massacre of Aboriginal people at the fictional Golgotha in *The White Woman* is an oblique reference to what is known as "Gippsland's most bloody massacre," the 1843 slaughter of a hundred or more Kurnai at Warrigal Creek (Bartrop 200). The massacre was carried out by a posse of settlers in response to the killing of a prominent Scottish settler by Aborigines. Angus McMillan is said to have organised the revenge attack, warning the party of about twenty "that their mission had to be carried out in utmost secrecy" (Bartrop 201). The son of an early pioneer of the district, William Hoddinot, later reported that McMillan's brigade, upon finding a large group of Aborigines camped at a waterhole, surrounded it and continued shooting for "as long as their ammunition lasted" (qtd. in Bartrop 201). Many who sought cover in the waterhole were shot as they came up for breath. Bodies were later dumped in the waterhole. Years later, the bones of some of the victims were still to be found there (Elder 87).

Davison's novel foregrounds these and other stories of the destruction of Kurnai society and specifically lays the blame for much of this destruction squarely at the feet of the first settlers of the Gippsland.[2] In other words, in Davison's frontier fiction, the Aborigines are not portrayed as merely having 'died out' due to the spread of European diseases; they are not portrayed as simply 'fading away' into the bush with the encroachment of pioneering settlers. Instead, the text points to settler complicity in frontier murder. In extended passages, the narrator reports on how the Kurnai were hunted down, in planned, calculated killing raids:

> Groups of men set out against the blacks – not spontaneous eruptions of violence, but calculated, well-planned expeditions. Sorties, hunts, call them what you want. They had a purpose. [...] They went well-armed: carbines, muskets, lengths of rope. All sworn to secrecy. Compatriots in arms. And they knew what they were doing. They knew the terrain: where to find the blacks, which way to drive them; the confluence of rivers, the sharp escarpments of stone which served as natural traps.
>
> Oh yes, despite the secrecy and pacts, word still got out. Some men can't help but boast. They tally up the numbers: a dozen here, thirty at the Ridge, a score at Lindenow (a good day out.) And the names: Boney Point, Butcher's Creek, Slaughterhouse; they echoed around Melbourne, resonant with cries and shots and screams, until we couldn't help but hear [...] *Massacre*, *Massacre*, passing from mouth to mouth in a persistent, unavoidable whisper. (Davison 37)

The stories the narrator is telling – he is telling his tale, within the framework of the novel, around the end of the nineteenth century – are stories that 'white' Australian society (at that time) was working hard to forget or suppress or was replacing with more ennobling stories of settler-pioneer achievement. But these "more unsettling" stories, the narrator reminds his younger listener,

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[2] This is not to say that the Kurnai were completely destroyed or have lost their connection to country. Julie Carr makes note of this in her book on narratives of the White Woman of the Gippsland (197). As well, Albert Mullett, an East Gippsland Aboriginal elder, in a preface to one of Peter Gardner's histories (Gardner 1988), stresses that "the Aboriginal race did not pass away as many people think. In spite of what happened, we survived" (Mullett).

> still linger after all these years, snippets of gossip, part hearsay, part conjecture, but always with the possibility of truth behind them; things about ourselves so far outside the realm of acceptability we couldn't hope to face them [...] Instead, they [run] like a dark, heretical undercurrent beneath us. (36)

At the time Davison's novel was published, in 1994, that "dark, heretical undercurrent" had been exposed by both the pronouncement of the Mabo decision, two years previously, as well as the Native Title Act passed by the Australian parliament in 1993. Both had officially acknowledged – first in legal and then in political terms – that Aborigines had been wrongfully dispossessed of lands they had originally owned. But Davison's novel is one of the first to so explicitly thematise the organised nature of the violence of that dispossession in fiction. 'White' Australian fiction writers, to that point in time, had not generally confronted their readers so directly with white-settler culpability in frontier murder. Indeed, the discourse of culpability to be found in Davison's novel ("Groups of men set out against the blacks […]. And they knew what they were doing") echoes that of Prime Minister Paul Keating's 1992 Redfern Park address, in which he famously declared: "We committed the murders" (Keating n.d.). In other words, the political discourse of Keating admitting to white murder on the historical frontier finds fictional voice, a short time later, in Davison's historical narrative. As Julie Carr notes, *The White Woman* "presents a critique of frontier violence which resonates in contemporary politics" (255).

Questioning History as Discourse

What Davison's novel also seeks to do, through its narrative structure, is to contest the ways in which histories of the frontier are constructed, remembered (or forgotten), and recounted for the benefit of national history. The first-person, old-man narrator still has memories, as well as a number of "yellowed clippings" from newspapers (144), in order to be able to recount his tale for his younger listener. At the very beginning of the novel the strength of eyewitness memory in history making is emphasised in emphatic terms: "You come here asking about your father […]. Do I

remember the things we did? The answer's yes, and yes, and yes again" (1). The narrator/eyewitness insists on the veracity of his tale for the next generation. But he is equally aware, also early in the recounting of his tale, that talking about the past is problematic, because despite the advantages of hindsight,

> [things] don't unfold before your eyes. You have to give it shape. And even when you think you've got it nailed – the right events in the clearest possible order – it squirms into the present and changes things. It should be settled but it isn't. (3)

History, in Davison's text, is *not* held up as "imperial" or "diorama history," to use Paul Carter words (xvi, xx), wherein history becomes "a theatrical performance […], which reduces space to a stage" (Carter xiv, xvi). Instead, in *The White Woman*, history is a tale given shape by a teller, a tale that will not remain set, neatly situated forever in time and place. Davison's projection of history thus emphasises history's indebtedness to *narrative*, history as emplotted story rather than as mere chronology of past events. The historian Hayden White outlines the spectrum of views on the "function of the imagination in the production" of history in his seminal essay, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory" (33). He argues that "narrativization" produces meaning "by means that are poetic in nature. Which is to say that the narrative code [in history writing] is drawn from the performative domain of poiesis rather than that of noesis" (19). Linking historical discourse so closely to the discourse of poesy is, as White concedes, hotly debated among historians (1). Of course, Davison's historical fiction does not need to attend to such debates. His novel "points to the constructedness of history and the unreliability of its accounts" (Probyn 1999: 53).

As the narrator nears the end of his story, he more openly concedes he has "tangled with the past" in his "searching for the truth," confronted by "the sleight of hand, the slow process of forgetting and inventing. History! Truth, you say. More the practised art of illusion" (Davison 105). It is significant that the narrator/eyewitness of this frontier history is passing on his story, at the end of the nineteenth century, to a generation who will be the founders of a

new Australian nation after 1901. The generation of the un-named, silent listener in Davison's historical novel will write the first official histories of Australia in the twentieth century. The old-man narrator knows that the tale he has recounted of an excessively violent frontier is unpalatable, unwelcome, unwanted, and is likely to go unheeded. His parting words to his young listener are:

> It's not the history you wanted, is it? Not the past you'd choose. Still, it's easily forgotten. I'm an old man; dementia in the family. You could write your own for all I care and, when it comes to it, no one need ever know […]. And when I'm gone … Yes, when I'm gone … Well, you've got your story … and when we're said and done, that's all there really is. (154)

Davison's novel is thus framed by a beginning that insists on strong memories of frontier violence and an ending that highlights a wilful forgetfulness as the nation of Australia is being formed. The "dementia in the family" of a generation who experienced the frontier becomes the structural dementia of a nation no longer willing to recount unsavoury, wholly inglorious tales of the robbery of land and indiscriminate murder. As well, the last paragraph of Davison's novel also speaks to the contemporary reader: this history of the frontier is not a history that is wanted; it is not a past that anyone would choose to be proud of. But it is one that Australians are again being confronted with, post Mabo.

Admitting to Committing Murder

There is another interesting link between Liam Davison's novel of Gippsland history and Paul Keating's historical Redfern Park speech: Don Watson. Watson is a historian who wrote one of the first critical histories of British settlement of the Gippsland (*Caledonia Australis*, published in 1984). In 1992, he became Prime Minister Paul Keating's speechwriter, and it was he who is credited with having written Keating's famous Redfern Park speech.[3]

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[3] It should be noted that Paul Keating disputes his former speechwriter's claim to "authorship" of the Redfern Park address. In a 2002 biography of Keating, Don Watson wrote that the Prime Minister read the Redfern Park

Watson's book about the settlement of the Gippsland by Scottish highlanders was a history which "emphasised the violent means by which Europeans [...] took possession of the land" (Carr 198). The role of the legend of the captive white woman of the Gippsland in precipitating the destruction of Kurnai society was a central theme in the chapter Watson devoted to Kurnai dispossession. Watson's history dispenses with euphemism to declare that the settlers engaged in murder:

> Far from being inevitable, the destruction of Kurnai society was gratuitous and grotesque [...] It was too often murder for the whites to call it war, which is why they called it nothing at all and preferred to forget than to contemplate treaties. (Watson 1984: 183)

It is this discourse of forgetting – and not only of destruction – that lies at the centre of Davison's *The White Woman*. Eight years after Watson's Gippsland history was published, his historical text became political speech in the form of the words he wrote for Paul Keating. An admission of white culpability in the killing of Aboriginal people and the stealing of Aboriginal lands was now to be uttered publicly by Australia's Prime Minister: "It was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life [...] We committed the murders" (Keating n.d.). It was the histories written by researchers like Watson that influenced the judges in the Mabo case, who then created the space for politicians like Keating to admit to the previously unmentionable. Davison's 1994 novel might now be read as the first post-Mabo work of fiction to make such similarly forceful utterances.

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speech that he, Watson, had written for him "and went to Redfern Park with every word intact" (Watson 2002: 290). In a 2010 newspaper article, Keating does not dispute that Watson wrote the words that he as Prime Minister read out, but he voices his annoyance at Watson's continuous and uncontested claims to have authored the speech: "The sentiments of the speech, that is, the core of its authority and authorship, were mine" (Keating 2010).

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Jindabyne and the Apology: Intercultural Relations, Violence, Ethics, and the Precarious State of Reconciliation in Australian Cinema

The Australian film *Jindabyne* (dir. Ray Lawrence, 2006) opens with a blurry shot of dry grasslands and a string of barbed wire in sharp focus horizontally across the screen (Fig. 1). The shot runs for 32 seconds before the camera tilts up, bringing into focus both the grassland and a cluster of huge boulders on a hill in the background – all in one take, no cut. Next the camera shows a pick-up truck, motor idling, with an older non-Aboriginal man behind the wheel hiding behind the rocks – the murderer of an Aboriginal woman, as we will learn later – followed by an extreme high angle long shot of the dry landscape below the hill where a car is approaching. Shots inside the car present a young Aboriginal woman, happily driving, while intercutting shows the man leaving his hide-out to intercept her.

With this strong beginning, Lawrence sets the tone for a film that explores the very complex cultural, psychological, emotional, and also political and economic relations in a neo-colonial Australia that struggles with its colonial past and future reconciliation. *Jindabyne,* based on the Raymond Carver short story "So much Water So Close to Home" (1981) and its other version "Where I'm Calling From" (1989), was released to much critical acclaim.[1] The film unrelentingly exposes the strained relationship between white and Aboriginal Australia two years before Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivered a national apology to Aboriginal people.

This article will discuss the film *Jindabyne* and its presentation of

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[1] For a discussion of the adaptation, see Brosch 2012.

intercultural and intracultural relations and conflicts in Australia with a focus on racist and sexist violence against Aboriginal women. It will use as a background discussions of the film as adaptation, for example Renate Brosch's fine study of dynamics of adaption and images increasing emotional effect (Brosch 2012). On the basis of Ian Buchanan's thorough analysis of the film's contextualization of the national apology to the Stolen Generations, it will further read the film as an allegory for the precarious and protracted process leading towards the apology to Aboriginal people in February 2008. These discussions are embedded in the theoretical ideas by Andrea Smith on the "rapability" of Indigenous women, Judith Butler on life existing through grievability and Julie McGonegal on postcolonial forgiveness and reconciliation. In order to show how films create meaning, and extending the illustrated review by Andrea Grunert, the article will connect the arguments to an analysis of cinematic employment of selected images and, to a lesser extent, camera work that produce plot narration and symbolic meanings, coupled with a look at the film's intermedial reference to Aboriginal painting.

Synopsis

We do not see a crime committed but will learn later that the young woman Susan, who was driving, has been brutally raped and murdered. After the opening shots, the film takes us to the small town of Jindabyne and introduces four friends and their families, the men taking leave to their annual fly-fishing trip to a remote river. They park their car on a mountain road and hike with their gear to their fishing spot. In the river, Stewart Kane and his friends discover the dead body of Susan, which appears to seriously move them. Their mobile phones do not have reception, but instead of hiking out and getting the police, they tie her to a rock and start their fishing; they will not have their weekend spoiled by a dead Aboriginal woman, apparently. After their return, uproar breaks loose in the small town: the men are accused of having enjoyed their fishing beside the young woman's body. The local police officer berates them: "We don't step over bodies in order to enjoy our leisure activities. You're a pack of bloody idiots. I'm ashamed of you. The

whole town's ashamed of you." Claire Kane is shocked over her husband's heartless behaviour, emotionally removes herself from him, and their marriage slowly disintegrates. Claire attempts to make her husband, his friends, and the community aware of the men's callous failure in order to seek some sort of reconciliation and justice, while some of her friends and fellow townspeople urge her to abandon the matter; they seem to want to displace their guilt and responsibility. She tries to contact Susan's family and collects money for the funeral but meets disapproval and even hostility on both the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal sides. The four men, like many in town, do not think that they did anything wrong and are surprised by the reproaches they receive and angry reactions of Aboriginal people.

Understanding and reconciliation seem difficult to attain in this community. Susan's family and friends gather in a small valley outside town to mourn, telling stories and singing songs to Susan. On her way to the mourning ceremony, Claire in her car is pursued and stopped by the killer, as Susan did; he also attends the ceremony, nobody suspecting him. Claire is not really welcomed at the ceremony. The focus on the Kanes' dealing with this traumatic event reveals numbing marriage routine, failed expectations, past failures, tensions, and contradictions in their relationship and within the spouses themselves, performed brilliantly by Gabriel Byrne and Laura Linney.

With this film, director Ray Lawrence and script writer Beatrix Christian take issue with high levels of racist and sexist violence against Aboriginal women in Australia, and with the attitudes and ethics that influence interactions between the largely non-Aboriginal mainstream and marginalized Aboriginal people. The film is not framed as a murder mystery, as we see the perpetrator at the beginning and recognize him several times as one of the townsfolk; rather it stresses the psychological components of ethics and justice located in the *liminal zone* between two cultures and life worlds.

Fig. 1: Opening Shot of *Jindabyne* © April Films

Jindabyne's Intermediality

Figure 1, the opening shot described above, speaks strongly to the Aboriginal painter Lin Onus's work "Twice Upon a Time" (1992). The piece presents serene lake scenery with a few trees and an abandoned simple wood shelter at sunset time in the Australian bush on a canvas with frilly edges, placed on top of an image of carved tree trunks with twigs and leaves, and a string of barbed wire across the image. Onus's work is a kind of postcolonial mimicry, *painting* back to the Empire in the sense of postcolonial 'writing back to the Empire', and this painting draws attention to the representational politics of the settler state that fortified the trope of Australian land as *terra nullius,* and the colonial notion of the Aboriginal Australian as either vanished or vanishing. The barbed wire pinpoints the historical dispossession, removal, and confinement of the Aboriginal population to certain places, as well as the violence of eradicating the Aboriginal presence from the national discourse and consciousness. In Onus's painting the colonial canvas seems to be literally ripped out of its frame, and figuratively out of the context of the settler museum. It is placed into the Australian landscape (onto carved tree trunks); in this sense the painting

symbolically re-configurates the landscape as Aboriginal, and the image of carved trees re-introduces Aboriginal presence into the national discourse. Bill Ashcroft sees a "meta-representational" aspect in the painting, with a tension between the tranquil mimicry of nineteenth-century Arcadian painting (Onus mimics H.J. Johnstone's 1880 painting "Evening Shadows, Backwater of the Murray South Australia") and the barbed wire's "'menace' of disruption and subversiveness" that uncovers the ideology behind colonial practices of representation (Ashcroft 2014: 36).[2] Onus deliberately erases the Aboriginal family that was present around the shelter in Johnstone's painting and in this way creates Aboriginal people as uncanny absence or haunting ghosts in the Australian landscape. He paints the barbed wire in the way that it throws a shadow across the complete width of his mimicked colonial canvas, symbolizing the long shadow of colonization. It thus also indicates that the carved wooden background and the barbed wire are a three-dimensional frame separated from the two-dimensional mimicking painting; the barbed wire marks both, the mimicked settler colonial and the Aboriginal landscape. While *Jindabyne*'s opening shot can be read as homage to the late Lin Onus and his anticolonial work, I argue that the shot has deeper meaning for the film itself and its self-reflexive scrutiny of settler Australia.

Figure 1 shows the still shot that presents the intermedial link between the painting and the film. Lawrence details only part of the landscape, long grass filmed in a blurry shot slightly moving in the wind; it becomes part of a more and more complete landscape with the following tilt, zoom in and next shots. Instead of Johnstone's complete 'pastoral' scene with minimal Aboriginal presence and Onus's gothic absence of Aboriginal people, Lawrence uses a blurry fragment of the Australian landscape for his opening shot, which is also marked by a barbed wire horizontally across the screen. It poses as a cinematographic response to Onus's work, where the blurry image and the barbed wire frustrate a clear view of the landscape. Two later shots present the killer's POV (point of view)

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[2] Ashcroft's "Hybridity and Transformation" (2013) contains a full reprint of the painting.

shot, in a black frame that imitates the killer's binoculars and his view of Susan's car in the landscape, and shortly after Susan's POV shot, framed by her car interior imitating her view of the landscape from out of the car. Only after these shots do viewers get an undisturbed extreme long shot of Susan's car on the road embedded in the landscape. The road also marks the landscape with settler presence. This visual introduction of the land as framed, fenced in or sealed off by Western practices (the barbed wire, the binoculars, the car, the asphalt road) visually brings to mind settler colonial presence and control of the land, and in analogy to Onus's work sets a context of settler colonial geopolitics.[3] The land is visually marked by barbed wire, supported by the fact that, as Figure 1 shows, the wire is in sharp focus and the grass land is blurred: like Onus's piece, I believe that Lawrence's opening presents the Australian landscape and, by extension, the Aboriginal population, as dispossessed and fenced in; as property owned by settler culture; and as bodies controlled, disciplined, and made subject to violence by settler culture. In analogy to the barbed wire in Onus's painting, I suggest that the wire here symbolically unsettles the colonial transformation – physically and discursively – of Aboriginal land and space into settler colonial land and space, which, indeed, has come to be seen as 'naturalized' white Australian land and space.

In contrast to the extreme long shot that embeds the Aboriginal woman and her car into the land and visually make her part of it, the killer is shown in medium and close shots as the ugly evil face of an extremely violent part of settler culture; he is presented as distinguishable, therefore separable from the Australian landscape. Indeed, the opening shots avoid any essentialism, and do not romanticize Aboriginal culture and connection to the land – popular and effective strategies for box office success. Aboriginal culture and the Australian landscape are presented as hybrid, marked by Eurocentric influences and colonial interventions. And the opening expresses the director's concerns about *his* country's issues of land

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[3] Cf. Melissa Lucashenko's novel *Mullumbimby*, where the protagonist Jo muses about wires, fences, boundaries and bitumen the settlers use to "bind their gift of a continent to themselves" (Lucashenko 133).

and dispossession, sexual violence, cultural rifts, inequalities, injustices, and ethical failures.

Racist and Sexist Violence Against Aboriginal Women

Aboriginal women in Australia experience unproportionately high levels of sexual violence committed by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men. "White Ribbon," Australia's campaign to stop violence against women, reported in 2013 that

> Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women experience higher rates of violence than other women: 20% of Indigenous women experienced physical violence in the last 12 months, compared to 7% of non-Indigenous women. Despite representing just over 2% of the total Australian population, Indigenous women accounted for 15% of homicide victims in Australia in 2002-03. Various state-based studies find that Aboriginal women experience rates of domestic violence between 5 and 45 times higher, and rates of sexual assault 16 to 25 times higher, than among non-Aboriginal women. (White Ribbon, 3; Mouzos/Segrave 2004; Lievore 2003)

Aboriginal women suffer from sexual violence committed by non-Aboriginal men when detained in police custody, for example, or in bars and public places (Thomas 141; Andrews 926). Violence perpetrated by Aboriginal men is also rampant in Aboriginal communities. Penelope Andrews explains its causes as a complex set of entangled factors, among them colonization and dispossession, the resultantly appalling socio-economic conditions of many Aboriginal people, cultural devastation as an effect of colonization and Western influences, alcohol and substance abuse and ensuing violence, the disruption of Aboriginal systems of kinship and law, the overturn of traditional gender structures, and the breakdown of traditional social control of younger men (922, 926-928).

While domestic violence against Aboriginal women within Aboriginal communities gained at least some academic attention, and triggered social action by governmental bodies, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal

organizations, and Aboriginal women themselves,[4] external violence committed by non-Aboriginal men, specifically in a contemporary context (the type contextualized in *Jindabyne*), has received less attention. This social phenomenon of violence to a great extent originates in the dispossession of Aboriginal people, the sanctioned brutality of white settler practices, and the after effects of colonialism; and it involves conditions such as the minority status and social and economic disadvantages of women, unequal access to societal resources, and the fact that they are the group in Australia that is "least well served by the legal system," as Andrews argues (918, 926). Carol Thomas makes clear that Aboriginal women often do not trust the police due to repeated cases of slow response and inaction, of racist and sexist views towards Aboriginal women, and even rape and other forms of sexual harassment perpetrated by police officers themselves (141). Likewise, the women might distrust the court system, on account of its history of legalizing colonial injustices and its equally low opinions of Aboriginal women, and are less likely to report sexual crimes (142).

Moreover, Victorian gender regimes, implicit in the legal system, coupled with the privileging of male Aboriginal views and voices in all community matters by settler officials (Andrews 923, 925), weakened Aboriginal women's traditional status and contributed to them being placed at the bottom rung of the emerging settler society. Additionally, there is a historical legacy of racist and sexist violence generated during the colonial period, when it was customary at stations for many white males, from proprietor, to stockman, to cook, to sexually abuse the resident Aboriginal women on a regular basis, seeing this "availability" of sexual opportunity as

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[4] Cf. Australian Government, Department of Social Services, "The National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010 – 2022" of 2011, 20-22; the activities of the New South Wales Women's Aboriginal Corporation, the Women Out West, Mudgin-Gal Aboriginal Corporation in Redfern, and Willa-Goonji Aboriginal Corporation Women's Crisis Centre outlined in Thomas 143-147; and local projects in Aboriginal communities in Australia with a holistic approach and heeding communitarian tendencies of traditional Aboriginal societies as described in Andrews, 939-940.

their right to take (Thomas 140). Such high levels of accepted sexual abuse within settler culture during the colonial period continue to this day to influence stigmatising attitudes towards Aboriginal women. Racist and sexist stereotypes – of Aboriginal women having lower moral standards, being sexually promiscuous or even enjoying sexual subordination – in turn nurture hegemonic and misogynist mindsets and frames of thought that do not perceive racist and sexist violence as violence in the general sense, and as the violence experienced by the concerned women.

In other settler nations, such as Canada and the USA, sexual violence against Indigenous and also Black women is rampant. In the US, rates of abuse of Native and African American women are among the highest of any other group; they are often causally connected to unemployment and substance abuse of the perpetrator (Taft-Dick 2013). Canada's epidemic cases of sexual violence against Indigenous women have called Amnesty International to action. In 2004 they released a report on the phenomenon of disproportionately high numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, sexual violence mostly committed by non-Indigenous males. The Native Women's Association of Canada estimated in 2004 that "over the past twenty years more than five hundred Indigenous women may have been murdered or gone missing under circumstances suggesting violence" (NWAC in Amnesty International 2004). This number has risen to 1181 by 2014 according to RCMP statistics and is still rising ("Missing and Murdered"). These women are called the "Stolen Sisters" of Canada. Like in Australia, this phenomenon appears to be the gruesome result of the confluence of many factors: colonialism and respective politics, cultural and gender power relations, economic, political, and social marginalization of Aboriginal people, hegemonic notions of the "colonial other," sexist views of women in a patriarchal society, classist ideas of extremely impoverished groups in a rich First World country, and misogynist and stereotypical perceptions of Aboriginal women.

Andrea Smith suggests that "sexual violence is a tool by which certain peoples become marked as inherently 'rapable,'" and that the colonial self saw the Aboriginal other as tainted, embodying a "*pollution* of which the colonial body must constantly purify itself" (3, 9). Since Aboriginal bodies are deemed "impure" they become sexually violable and "rapable" in the colonialist mindset, resulting in the controversial deduction that Aboriginal lands are by extension also inherently violable (10, 12, 55). In this line of thought, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin argue that "the idea of colonization itself is grounded in a sexualized discourse of rape, penetration and impregnation, whilst the subsequent relationship of the colonizer and colonized is often presented in a discourse that is redolent of a sexualized exoticism" (1998: 40-41). Aboriginal women are often caught in a paradoxical double bind: they are fetishized and craved as exotic lovers, and at the same time shunned and despised as belonging to a supposedly inferior culture. This is what Robert Young calls "the ambivalent double gesture of repulsion and attraction that seems to lie at the heart of racism" (115) and violence – a paradox that works quite well in the colonial logic.

Lawrence subtly embeds Susan's rape and murder in these historical, social, and psychological determinants. We see many shots of the vast land, at one point superimposed on an image of the dead Susan in the water (Fig. 2). This might recall the prevalent colonizers' trope of the "discovered" land as passive, female, motherly, and nurturing, or virgin and unknown as Annette Kolodny has argued in the context of American history. "The land as essentially feminine," being probably "America's oldest and most cherished fantasies" (Kolodny 4-9, 11-12). This unknown, dark, and female land could be scrutinized, invaded, conquered, dominated, raped, and impregnated through male agency – I suggest interpreting them in historical analogy as acts of European exploration, military violence, settlement, and cultivation of European seeds. The film's imagery is a highly interpretative kaleidoscope which shows images of (Aboriginal) lands and traces of settler intrusion. Aerial shots of the river and surrounding forest display the beauty of the land, which is nevertheless disturbed by

power lines that represent the invasive settler culture. Similar high angle shots of the arid land reveal roads that cut through them.

Fig. 2: Susan's body in the water superimposed on Lake Jindabyne landscape
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Figure 2 shows one frame of the superimposition of a landscape shot on a shot of Susan's body in the water, face down, her torso and legs filling almost the complete frame from left to right. This visual connection of the assaulted Aboriginal body with the water and the land supports Kolodny's notion and stresses the entanglement of colonial bio- and geopolitics, i.e. appropriation and control of as well as violence committed against Aboriginal bodies and lands. It is difficult to see shapes of Susan's body in Figure 2, partly because it is dark and partly because this frame is taken fairly at the end of the transition from one shot to the next, where viewers can barely make out Susan's body, an island in the lake in the left centre, and a stand of trees at the right hand side of the image. The screen shot is taken fairly at the end of the transition simply because the author did not want to repeat and disseminate the voyeuristic camera gaze at a woman's half-naked body and further contribute toward its objectification.
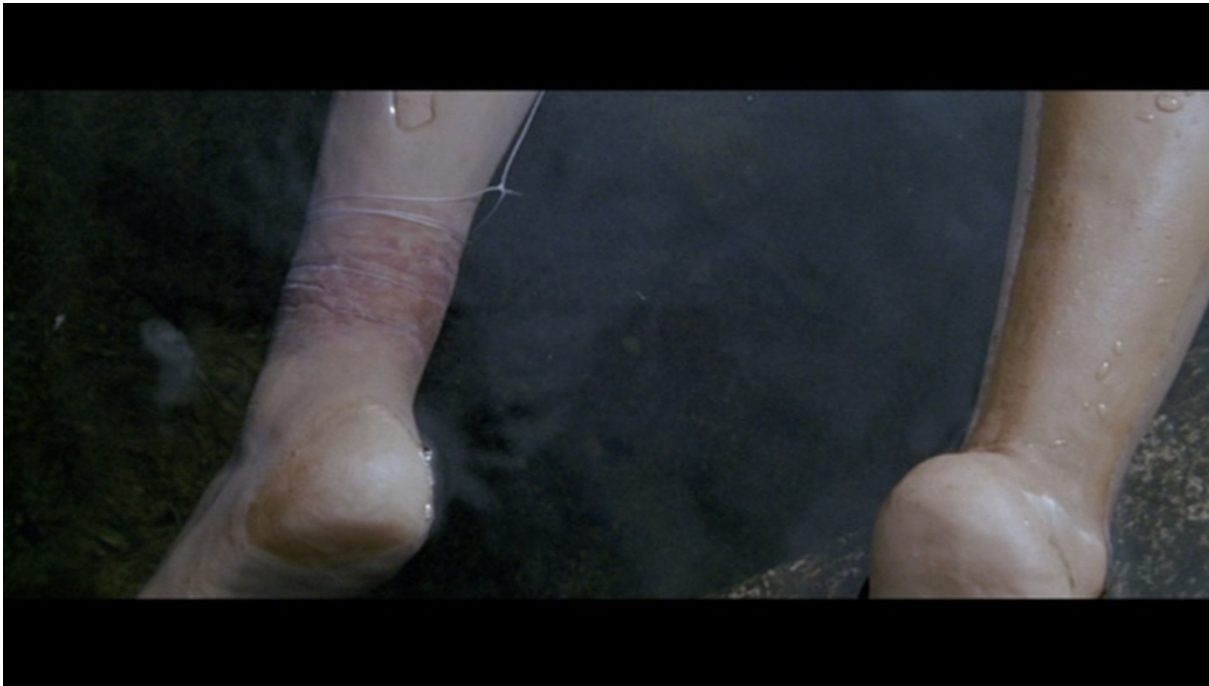
Fig. 3: Susan's body tied to a log and showing cut marks on her left ankle

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While Figure 2 is a highly symbolic image, Figure 3, which shows the thin string and its cut marks in close-up, is a direct visual presentation of twice-committed male violence, or better, the consequences of violence committed – first by the killer, raping, murdering, and discarding Susan and second by Kane and his friends, tying her body to a log, withholding ethical treatment of the dead woman, and causing additional cut marks on her lower leg. The close-up on her lower legs, shown in Figure 3, somewhat disturbs the voyeuristic gaze at the woman's body because of its fragmented presentation of one body part. Nevertheless, it repeats a cinematic objectification of the Aboriginal body; but here, I argue, it is precisely the point of the shot to visually stress the traces of male, and symbolically, of colonial violence. This shot, specifically, stands in connection to the discussed opening shot where the barbed wire represents geopolitical colonial control and domination of Aboriginal lands (displacement and confinement of Aboriginal people to certain lands). In Figure 3 the string and the cut marks represent biopolitical control of and violence against Aboriginal bodies. Both shots and their context, the story of rape and murder of an Aboriginal woman and the following unwillingness of some non-

Aboriginal men to act responsibly, cinematically enforce the linkage between geopolitical and biopolitical regimes in settler societies.

In general, the film presents cultivated landscapes and inhabited man-made areas in turn with landscapes seemingly without settler influence (albeit to a much lesser extent); specifically the setting of Susan's mourning ceremony is such a landscape. This cinematic design makes viewers aware of the constructed character of much of Australia's space, as Renate Brosch argues (2012: 93). But the film also works with upsetting cinematic oppositions: shots of Susan's corpse in the water, accompanied by an eerie lamenting melody sung by a female voice, are juxtaposed with idyllic shots of the river and the men fishing, accompanied by cheerful music. Most importantly, the camera visualizes the objectification of Susan: it shows the murderer dumping her half-naked and violated body into the river like garbage, and it shows Stewart tethering her to a rock in the water lest she float downriver, presenting close-ups of the string marks on her leg. The camera itself, and subsequently the audience, become complicit in a voyeuristic gaze upon the Aboriginal woman's body. In Robert Young's sense Susan's body is turned into an object of sexual and sadistic gratification, coldblooded disposal, and insensitive disregard at the hands of non-Aboriginal men. In addition, Lawrence includes shots of a dead guinea pig and dead bird that Tom (the Kanes' son) and his friend Caylin-Calandria have killed, as well as a dying trout Stewart has fished, to create a visual analogy to Susan. Lawrence thus draws attention to the disproportionally high and seemingly accepted violence against Aboriginal women. Susan in a sense represents all other victims of violence and murder in a white Australia that is largely unconcerned about this issue.

On the metaphoric level, the film works through the psychological make-up of a society in which a large part of the population sanctions the (symbolic) death of Aboriginal populations and does not take responsibility for it. Lawrence chose Jindabyne, a small town in South-east New South Wales named for its man-made lake. The lake was generated when the Snowy River valley was flooded

for the Snowy Mountain Scheme, an enormous hydroelectric project covering an area of 5000 square kilometres. It includes several rivers, a number of dams, aqueducts, water tunnels and hydro power plants, completed in the 1970s to secure power and water supply for Canberra and many adjacent rural communities. The old town of Jindabyne was flooded as well, and residents were relocated to a new site. Lawrence might have purposely connected this location with the dramatic account of the abuse and brutal murder of a young woman and following human indifference and lack of responsibility. In this sense, the analogy might be read as 'critical review' of Australia's industrial development projects with consequences of ecological destruction, such as the Snowy Mountain Hydroelectric Scheme or planned mega coal ports right along the coastline of the Great Barrier Reef. Such hydroelectric schemes, similar to mega ports, severely interfere with local ecosystems, destroy wildlife habitats, deplete fish populations, change landscapes, and cause shore erosion and severe ecological and economic deterioration (farming, tourism) due to lacking water in the natural river flows beyond the dams. It can be said that this setting in a national recreation area for hiking, fishing, skiing etc. – predominantly non-Aboriginal forms of recreation – with a sunken town stands in for settler Australia. The film metaphorically narrates submerged and displaced suffering and evils in a society that pretends harmony in interhuman and human-land relations. Claire's son Tom is afraid of swimming, not least because Stewart tells him about the sunken town, its church bell still ringing. Caylin imagines old townspeople as zombies with green slimy tongues, who attack unsuspecting swimmers. Tom nearly drowns when Caylin lures him into the water and later has a creepy encounter with a stranger, who accosts him as he waits on the beach when Claire takes a swim in the lake. Both, the lake and the river with Susan's body, hold evil, suffering, and destruction of bodies and land that come to the surface and haunt the Australian consciousness.

In this way, Lawrence configures the lake and submerged town as a version of Sigmund Freud's *Uncanny*, "that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been

familiar," and "applies to everything that was intended to remain secret, hidden away, and has come into the open" (124, 132). This 'Uncanny' metaphorically stands in for evil and suffering, the darker side of society or the human psyche, and for historical crimes and culpability that are known but displaced and covered from society's view, and that resurface in the form of evil and ghosts haunting the town. Renate Brosch holds that Tom's encounter with the stranger and near drowning suggests "that people are being 'pulled down' by the past which they are at pains to ignore" (2012:91). The murder of the Aboriginal woman triggers the eruption of simmering intercultural conflicts into open hostilities. Lawrence and Christian work race relations into the script that do not exist in the short stories, i.e. a non-Aboriginal man rapes and murders an Aboriginal woman and non-Aboriginal men act unethically. This could imply that director and script writer are very much concerned with Australia's intercultural relations and see simmering conflicts, displaced colonial guilt, lacking intercultural human respect, and lacking efforts to come to terms with colonial history as haunting the national Australian consciousness. All these are expressed in the plot, the haunting setting, and the haunting presence of the murderer.

Jindabyne's Take on the National Apology to Aboriginal People

From the arrival of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove Australia's dealing with the Aboriginal population is predominantly a history of colonial injustices, imperial appropriation of land, unilateral legal decisions, disenfranchising and brutal politics as well as military and representational violence. Australian settler history was not always violent and saw also collaboration and adaptation on the Aboriginal part. However, this does not change the overall picture of often violent colonial take-over and neo-colonial politics of assimilation and domination. These include the 1835 Proclamation of *Terra Nullius*, the Black wars on Tasmania and the mainland, relocation of so-called Tasmanian Natives to Flinders Island, the forceful removal of Aboriginal children from their families and homes, the assimilation

policies of the 1950s to 1960s, and the Northern Territory Intervention in 2007. While the 1992 Mabo decision supported the recognition of Aboriginal title to land, Aboriginal people still have no extensive access to, and control over, traditional territories and remain marginalized, underprivileged, and largely dominated in their affairs by the Australian government and society. The initial opposition of the Howard government to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, which was finally ratified by the Labor Party government, headed by Kevin Rudd in 2009, and the long-time refusal of the Howard government to issue an apology to Aboriginal people speak to neo-colonial power relations. Like Gail Jones in her novel *Sorry* (2007), Lawrence and Christian create an allegory between fictional events and Australia's general inability to take responsibility for colonial atrocities.

Susan's murder (and the callous behaviour of the men who find her) represent Australia's laborious and fraught attempt to come to terms with its colonial past, and its apology to Aboriginal inhabitants. The cultural theorist Ian Buchanan argues that *Jindabyne* reflects the cultural politics and problems surrounding the overdue apology (2012). In 1997 the national inquiry into the "Stolen Generation" released its report, "Bringing Them Home," about the fate and trauma of generations of children, chiefly mixed-raced who, between roughly 1910 and 1970 were systematically and mostly forcibly removed from their Aboriginal mothers and families and placed in mission schools, government institutions, and with white "foster parents," often as housemaids or workers. The notion behind this scheme was to "educate" these children according to Eurocentric religion, values, morals, and knowledge, and thus to obliterate Aboriginal culture, knowledge and behaviour in them – not unlike the boarding and residential schools systems in the USA and Canada. Gail Jones writes: "assimilationist eugenics, derogation or disregard for indigenous culture, and outright racism, combined to construct a state intervention aimed at eradicating, above all, Aboriginality itself" (163). The report, based on, among other things, 535 testimonies of "stolen children" recommended restitution, financial compensation, and apologies from involved agencies of the

church and government (Jones, 163-164). Since the report release the idea of a national apology to these displaced people was widely debated. Prime Minister John Howard and others reasoned that the present generation could not be expected to take the blame and apologize for earlier colonial politics it did not commit, a rationale that still occurs, as reactions to the apology on, for example, the "Sorry" website of Creative Spirits show.

In the film, the four men fail to act appropriately since they do not call the police immediately, nor do they take the woman's body out of the water and cover it, or grieve for a lost life – in short, they are unable to meet their ethical obligations, for the sake of their leisure activity. This appalling disregard for a dead Aboriginal woman, the film suggests, is symptomatic of Australia's larger disregard for Aboriginal people. Susan's presence in death does not trigger the ethical response (Buchanan 49) that it probably would, had she not been Aboriginal. This thought is voiced directly by a female member of Susan's family, framed as an interview in the local media. "They're animals," she says. "I don't know how any civilized human being could do what they did. And I really wonder how differently they would've acted if she were white."

The statement implies that Aboriginal women do not exist in the fishermen's perception of valuable life, and therefore stand outside of the structural frame of culturally accepted morals, and ethics. Buchanan astutely argues that such notion calls up Judith Butler's idea that life only exists when it is "grievable" (Butler 2010; Buchanan 49-51). If grievability does not exist, the person is culturally or socially dead.[5] In *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, Butler further develops her earlier argument in *Precarious Life* that lives have to be understood as living within the

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[5] Jared Sexton, who uses the term 'social death' to articulate "racial slavery as a matrix of social, political, and economic relations surviving the era of abolition in the nineteenth century" (22-23) argues in this line. The notion of the continuation of the slavery regime in North America may also be applied to the neo-colonial and neo-liberal settler states, where colonial geo- and biopolitics are continued in a modified way and thus may produce social death of their Indigenous populations.

frames of society's categories, conventions, and norms that render them recognizable subjects in order to be seen as precarious, injured, or lost (2010: 1, 5). "If certain lives do not qualify as lives or are, from the start, not conceivable as lives within certain epistemological frames," argues Butler, "then these lives are never lived nor lost in the full sense." The frames through which we recognize lives are politically charged, or better, are "operations of power" that produce life and its (dis)regard (2010: 1). Butler presupposes grievability for valuable life, or "life that matters" (2010: 14). "Without grievability," she concludes, "there is no life, or, rather, there is something living that is other than life [an exception that, she holds, normativity is bound to produce]. Instead, 'there is a life that will never have been lived,' sustained by no regard, no testimony, and ungrieved when lost" (2010: 8, 15). Susan's life is thus unregarded and ungrieved, and the film visually presents this disregard as seen in Figure 3 and fleshes it out from the perspectives of the rapist and murderer, the fishermen, and the townsfolk who want to sweep Susan's death and following non-recognition under the carpet; or, to use the film's gothic metaphor, underneath the lake's surface.

Politically, the American philosopher and theorist Judith Butler extends her observations to argue that

> such frames [of (non)recognition] are operative in imprisonment and torture, but also in the politics of immigration, according to which certain lives are perceived as lives while others, though apparently living, fail to assume perceptual form as such. Forms of racism instituted and active at the level of perception tend to produce iconic versions of populations who are eminently grievable, and others whose loss is no loss, and who remain ungrievable [There] ought to be a more inclusive and egalitarian way of recognizing precariousness, and […] this should take form as concrete social policy regarding such issues as shelter, work, food, medical care, and legal status. (24, 13)

The men's inability to accept that they behaved unethically and need to apologize to the bereaved family echoes a lack of culpability for colonial atrocities and neo-colonial injustices among descendants of settler colonists, as parts of the Australian society did not share Rudd's expressed feelings of remorse (Buchanan 46-49, 52-53). The

fishermen are not portrayed as exceptions of a well-functioning society, or as individuals who fall out of society's accepted values but, in compliance with Butler's arguments (2010: 1, 64), their disregard for Susan's life is shown as product of a society that does not engage properly with "naturalized" cultural hierarchies, with established power relations that influence all aspects that produce life, and with colonial atrocities and politics that render a large part of the population disadvantaged, traumatized, and even dysfunctional. This is what Judith Butler describes as normative frame that hinders recognition of Aboriginal people as coequal subjects. But the filmmakers know better than to simply victimize Susan as *unrecognized* life. Claire, Carmel (Rocco's girlfriend), and possibly some people in town (viewers are made to feel that the townspeople are divided about the ethics at issue), are concerned and outraged about the killing and the fishermen's behaviour, and ask inconvenient questions that also risk relationships. They thus *recognize* Susan's life as valuable and grievable; to them she is not invisible, nor socially dead. And of course, the film presents Susan's life, her life not lived, her *angst*, suffering, and pain as valuable from the Aboriginal perspective, testified through the mourning, hostility, and even outrage of the Aboriginal family and community.

And yet, Claire is the only character in the film's focus that insistently strives for reconciliation against all odds and disapproval of both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community in town. The film translates such "failed exchanges" (Brosch 2012 : 91) and emerging hostilities into visual images of windows and doors intercepting the gaze of Clair and Susan's family at each other after they slammed the door in Claire's face (ibid.); of hate slurs on Stewart's petrol station windows; his bloody nose after his friend Rocco hits him in the face, defending his Aboriginal girlfriend against Stewart's talk of "Aboriginal superstition;" and Carmel's angry face when she yells at Rocco that she can stand on her own. Renate Brosch argues that Claire is the representative of the supporters of the national apology and that she unconsciously identifies with Susan through her swimming in the river (in the short story) and in the lake (in the film), that triggers visions of herself as drowned

body – which is realized more directly in the story (ibid.: 91, 88). In addition, she is forced to identify with Susan's situation by also being targeted by the killer (the story and film remain ambiguous about what his motives are, regarding Claire). It is her determined insistence to accomplish reconciliation that actually achieves the first very cautiously successful encounter between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people in the film, when women welcome Claire at the mourning ceremony or, rather, call back a young man who tells Claire to leave. And this determined insistence and her threat to leave Stewart makes him and the men finally apologize during the ceremony, which reflects larger Australia's issues with culpability and collective responsibility.

The apology to the "Stolen Generations" of Aboriginal people on 13 February 2008[6] almost brought Australia to a halt for the duration of Rudd's speech. Aboriginal people from all over the country travelled to Canberra to witness this inspiring and uplifting moment in history (McGrath 47). Many people were moved to tears and Australia in general might have felt as one nation as it did never before. Aboriginal people gained a sense of belonging, of hope, of inclusion – possibly for the first time (47). For many, symbolic justice was achieved, and many non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Australians might have felt that finally acknowledgement of the colonial past and its traumatizing politics (Jones 165), i.e. symbolic amends and reconciliation, and recognition of Aboriginal people on equal footing was attained. Many Aboriginal responses posted on the "Sorry"-website of Creative Spirits attest to this general excitement throughout the nation:

> I feel great. I'm on top of the world, I'm floating on air. It's a big weight off my shoulders… It's the closure I need. […] [It's] an apology not just for me, but for my mother and for my father and for my children who carry the burden and carry the weight of what happened to us stolen kids. (Archie Roach, 52, Aboriginal singer and songwriter and member of the Stolen Generations)

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[6] For a comparison between Rudd's apology and Canadian Prime Minister "Stephen Harper's apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools" on 11 June 2008, see Mann (2014).

I fully welcome the apology to the Stolen Generation as a lot of people will now know what took place. (Alec Kruger, 83, member of the Stolen Generations)

I'm really encouraged and buoyed by the chance that has been taken here to really open the door to the process of healing. (Dr Alex Brown, Aboriginal doctor)

Non-Aboriginal responses go in the same direction:

When Prime Minister Kevin Rudd said the words 'I am sorry' a wave of emotion and a process of healing began across the nation. (Brett Solomon, executive director of community advocacy organisation GetUp)

Now I believe that the colour bar which I intuitively feel still operates and works against us, will start to fade away. (Deborah Ruiz Wall, Newtown, Sydney)

Not all Aboriginal people fully accepted the apology, however:

The apology will help to heal the scars but it will never heal my pain and hurt. (Mary Farrell-Hooker, 50, member of the Stolen Generations)

The word 'sorry' doesn't come near what [my father] went through. They can apologise in a thousand different ways without saying sorry. Actions speak louder than words. (Norman Stewart, son of a Stolen Generations member)

Non-Aboriginal people were also critical of the apology, and some expressed racist opinions:

The whole sorry thing is really to satisfy the white population, not the black population. Until whites give back to black their nationhood, they can never claim their own, no matter how many flags they fly. (John Pilger, expat Australian journalist)

If someone can prove to me that there were stolen generations, I could change my mind ... The children in most cases were given up by parents or guardians who were unable to look after them. (Barbara Witte)

> This is a disgrace. There are plenty of people out there who do not agree with the apology, […] Mr Rudd does not speak for me, my children or my ancestors. (Nicky, newspaper reader)

These statements illustrate the emotionality of the speech for many Australians, but also that this very sensitive and traumatic part of Australian history still meets with callous denial and displacement, similar to the reaction of the four fishermen in the film, and still triggers racist responses. As the apology seemingly united Australians as no other historical event did before, it also appeared to divide the nation as nothing did before (McGrath 48).

Much political criticism comes from non-Aboriginal thinkers, who believe the apology did not do enough for reconciliation. Buchanan argues that while the apology addressed the socio-psychological dimension, "the felt need to expiate guilt," it did not address the political dimension, "the acceptance of responsibility and the offer to make amends" (52). Furthermore, he holds that it avoided any question of financial reparations. The apology did not confront the foundational crime of dispossession, nor the removal of children from their families (46). Also the immediate response delivered by opposition leader Brendan Nelson marred Kevin Rudd's honest apology and was, in a sense, a slap in the face of the Aboriginal population. In Nelson's response he advocated recognition of the "good people" in Australian history – the pioneers, worthy white ancestors, and ANZACs – and continued to speak of Aboriginal men sexually abusing Aboriginal children – a quite unnecessary offense that, in analogy, would not be tolerated if on ANZAC Day someone spoke publicly about sexual war crimes committed by Australian war veterans (McGrath 50). Neither was this pathological consequence of colonial and neo-colonial bio- and geopolitics, which amongst others triggered the Northern Territory Intervention, put in its larger historical context that includes the traumatic and systematic child removal on a national scale. The fact that not only the nation was divided over the apology and historical guilt behind it, but also that Australia's most powerful politicians performed this divide in

parliament spoils the apology, the momentous moment, and possible reconciliation.

In her book *Imagining Justice: The Politics of Postcolonial Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, Julie McGonegal warns that settler nations' rhetoric of reconciliation might veil colonial crimes and responsibilities, serve predominantly to procure national consolidation and international sanction, and might deter "redistributive justice and redress" (2009: xiv, 32, 39). She pinpoints problems surrounding the concept of reconciliation as it etymologically presupposes a prior conciliation, and further that accepted reconciliation might conjure "the image of oppressed, marginalized communities capitulating to the violent and unjust conditions of contemporary life" (32). Furthermore, discourses and practices of justice and reconciliation are predominantly couched in Western understandings of these concepts (35); and complete recovery from colonial and neo-colonial traumas can only be worked toward but never achieved (36).

Some critics[7] argue that discourse and politics of reconciliation entail the loss of critical anti-colonialist thought and practice as well as the settler culture's relinquishment of responsibility for its colonial past (31). However, McGonegal proposes that structural inequalities of postcolonial societies cannot be overcome unless societies seriously engage an ethics of reconciliation and strive to realize a time and space beyond violence. In order to achieve this objective, she says, it is inevitable "to actively engage with the past, not in order to efface it from memory, of course, but for the sake of reprocessing it into something new, of recuperating it as a resource for superseding the injustices of the present" (31-32). Reconciliation, according to her, must establish new conditions of interactions "centered on the ideals of negotiation, collaboration, and reciprocity" and must battle relentlessly to create a state of justice that never existed before (33). Combining critical thought of Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida, Mahatma Gandhi, and Desmond Tutu, McGonegal suggests that potential reconciliation and forgiveness, if they can be achieved or

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[7] See Parry 1995 and During 1998.

granted, may also restore agency and social order to the oppressed and victims of state and other violence. In other words, the power to give or withhold conciliation or forgiveness may re-establish subjectivity, agency, and power to victims of former colonial politics (38).

In *Jindabyne,* the young men at Susan's burial ceremony do not accept Claire's attempt to mourn for Susan with them, while the women do, indirectly. However, when Stewart apologizes to Susan's father, the latter throws sand at him in a rejecting and contemptuous gesture. While we could read these cinematic events as a first step towards reconciliation between the female characters, the men do not achieve similar reconciliation and forgiveness. Instead, the cinematic analogy proposes that pre-apology Australia was still struggling with reconciliation, and that this process did not involve the necessary negotiation, collaboration, and reciprocity that McGonegal calls for. With this plot turn, I argue, Lawrence and Christian prefigure Rudd's apology as what it was according to Ian Buchanan: "too little too late." Buchanan makes the point that the film performs the pre-apology struggles:

> first, there was a refusal to accept that a wrong has occurred; when the stolen generations report made that position untenable, there was a steadfast refusal to accept responsibility for the wrongs documented in that report (58).

The film suggests that such an apology, although it may be received, might not be accepted. Susan's father rejects the fictional apology as incomplete, and the film lends him and the other Aboriginal men the authority and agency to deny reconciliation and withhold forgiveness. Echoing Buchanan's and McGonegal's reservations, the film leaves behind unanswered questions: What if Aboriginal people do not accept Australia's national apology, as is expected of them, in full knowledge of all the political and individual controversies surrounding it? What if they reject an apology that is not issued to all Aboriginal Australians and does not address fundamental injustices such as dispossession and brutal colonial politics? What if they reject it unless financial compensation and

concrete social action accompanies it? I believe that the filmmakers on purpose close with open questions. They have portrayed in anticipating analogy various reactions toward the apology and have pinpointed that much more dialogue and understanding is necessary should reconciliation ever be achieved. This indecisive ending very well reflects the postcolonial Aboriginal society where unilateral interpretations and all-encompassing, clear-cut solutions of complex historical and contemporary problems are neither available nor advisable.

An Ending without Conclusion

The ending of the film is especially disturbing. Not only is the perpetrator not brought to justice, the film shows no detective activity at all, which suggests that its focus is not only on the crime itself but on the ethics and issues of justice and reconciliation tied to it as reflection ground for Australia's national historical and political issues.[8] The last shot shows the killer seeking out his next victim, hiding behind the same boulders. He slaps a wasp, and with that image and sound the film ends abruptly – it is not a beautiful, romantic, dramatic, or at least hopeful ending, and it does not provide a satisfying sense of closure. This daring ending, which does not deliver the expected forgiveness, points to the fact that racist and sexist violence against Aboriginal women continues while not enough measures are taken to combat it. And as allegory for the apology, the ending implies that the basic "crime" at the heart of the nation, colonization itself, is not properly addressed and therefore continues to disturb and traumatize the nation.

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[8] In contrast the detective thriller *Mystery Road* (2013), directed by Ivan Sen (Gamilaroi), features Aboriginal detective Swan, who must solve the brutal murder of an Aboriginal girl in an outback town. This film is a classic murder mystery, involving more missing girls, drugs, and a final shoot-out.

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Australia's 'Terra Incognita Subterranea' as a Subject of Art: Conrad Martens' *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern,* 1843

In 1843 the landscape painter Conrad Martens went to the newly discovered Burrangallong caves (Abercrombie Caves), NSW, where he produced a series of sketches and paintings. The former draughtsman to the second expedition of HMS Beagle (1833–1834) and friend of Charles Darwin was inspired by the unknown giant limestone arches of the karst caves. The most extraordinary view is *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern,* held by the Art Gallery of New South Wales, which seems to be made on the spot and the earliest Australian *plein air* oil painting. The motif shows the cave's interior with a man investigating stones, an artist working and the artwork itself on an easel. With this unusual picture-in-picture composition, Martens addresses different methods of nature perception and acquirement of knowledge by art and by the increasing scientific disciplines of geology and speleology. This paper seeks to point out the less regarded contexts of such motifs in expedition and travel art as well as the cultural importance of caves in nineteenth century during colonisation.

One of the most renowned Australian landscape painters, London-born Conrad Martens (1801–1878) visited from 18 to 25 May 1843 a newly discovered impressive karst cave system, known today as the Abercrombie Caves, located in the Grove Creek, New South Wales. The Sydney-based painter was a former draughtsman of the second HMS Beagle expedition (Montevideo, July 1833 – Valparaíso, July 1834) and friend of Charles Darwin (Ellis 5-17; Dundas; Darwin Correspondence Project). The geological site which was likely known to Indigenous Burra Burra community and called "Burrangallong", "Burrangylong" or "Burrangilong" during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the artist employed the spelling

"Burragalong" for the work's title. Martens executed a series of cave views in different techniques which were quite extraordinary in mid-nineteenth century Australian painting: as a subject of landscape art in general and in particular as first visualizations of this place in style and as well as in their number. At least nineteen oil paintings, sketches and watercolours are referential to Abercrombie Caves (Hamilton-Smith 1997a: five with reference to Elizabeth Ellis, *Conrad Martens – Life and Art*, Sydney: State Library of N.S.W., CD-ROM edition). Martin Terry mentioned Martens' *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern*, dated to 1843 as the most remarkable pictorial invention in his series (48). Today, it is on display at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney (Image 1).

Image 1. Conrad Martens (England; Australia, b. 1801, d. 1878): *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern*, 1843, oil on cardboard, 40.6 x 53.3 cm, Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales, purchased 1964, OA1.1964, photo: AGNSW

The work shows in colourful contrasts the blueish rocks and red ceiling, ground and stalagmites of the caves' southern entrance. A painter is drawing on the spot and another man on his knees is investigating the rocks in the background. As a skilled landscape

painter, Martens must have found visualising subterranean worlds quite appealing. Considering his experiences with drawing for scientific documentation purpose and his interest in the Australian countryside, the main question this essay seeks to answer is how Martens coped with the opposing approaches of arts and sciences towards nature. Caves were initially analysed by art historical research as a part of an iconographical or allegorical setting or with focus on the visual staging of scientific disciplines by different protagonists in a regional scope. In Australia, they were less regarded as a subject of art historical interest until Martin Terry analysed *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern* amongst other cave visualisations in 1986 and considered Marten's artistic projection between picturesque aesthetics and Australian speleology. In the extensive biography of Conrad Martens, published in 1994, Elizabeth Ellis compiled the relevant sources concerning this particular oil painting from academic literature, private correspondences and newspaper articles. Her work helped in gaining insight in the artist's motivation and critics' estimation of the piece of art. This essay seeks to highlight the implications and cultural significance of caves as a subject of art. In this regard, a comparison to 'cave-paintings' produced in Australia and South America will be revealing for the placement of this extraordinary artwork in a broader international context. What are the similarities and how does Marten's imagination of 'terra incognita subterranea' differ from other cave visualisations?

'Cave Paintings' Drawn on the Spot

Martens, who had already drawn basalt structures as an artist participating in the Beagle expedition (Santa Cruz River and Tahiti; see Terry 47) had a strong interest in natural sciences. The giant cave must have been a fascinating and attractive subject to the artist. Earlier in 1841, he visited the Wombeyan Caves and also produced a view. Martens must have been very interested in the cave trip, like Elizabeth Ellis points out. Even in the face of the Australian economic depression, when the landscape painter lost many former patrons and customers, he tried his luck with a cave

motif at a time when it was difficult to sell "conventional views, let alone more adventurous subjects" (Ellis 43). Like no one before him, Martens showed a keen interest in caves, according to Hamilton-Smith (Hamilton-Smith 1997a: 5), and Ellis, who quotes a letter where he wrote to his brother Henry Martens on 24 February 1856, saying that one of these cave pictures had been his favourite and he refused to sell it (Ellis 43).

The impressive karst cave was presumably mentioned by colonial surveyors for the first time in 1821 in a notice in the *Sydney Gazette* indicating the discovery of a "cave, of considerable dimensions […] in the neighbourhood of Bathurst" with beautiful stalactites which were sent to town (*The Sydney Gazette*: 3). Officially 'discovered' in 1842 by assistant surveyor W. R. Davidson, further parts of the system were explored by another surveyor named Wells a year later. Davidson reported on 25 April 1843 to Gilbert Wright in an enthusiastic *Sydney Morning Herald* article from the "Burrangilong Creek" of the beauty and size of "this most magnificent sight, this metropolitan temple of nature" and that "no Raphael could imitate" the colours of the southern entrance (Wright 2). As Ron Radford assumes, Martens was maybe motivated by this article (Radford 49) and followed the recommendation "to make a pilgrimage to this sublimest and most fantastic of Nature's freaks" (Wright 3).

Martens' colourful oil paintings of caves are unique in his quite 'homogeneous' and rich *œuvre* which consists mainly of landscape and harbour views or illustrations of settlers' estates (Ellis 1994). The Abercrombie Cave views depict the spectacular geological features of the wide limestone arches, huge stalagmite columns and the interior with visitors as staffage figures. While sitting on the ground or on stones and taking a rest from the journey to the remote place, they talk or observe the impressive karst terrain.

The two paintings *Stalagmite Columns at the Southern Entrance of the Burrangalong Cavern*, owned by the Art Gallery of South Australia (Adelaide, 20065P39), dated to 1843, and as well the Art Gallery of New South Wales version are characterised by rough

brush strokes and an "uneven impasto". This can be interpreted, Radford argues, as a result of a quickly applied blended colour which caused a "muddy appearance" (50). Otherwise, as Fisher notes, this artistic technique emphasises spontaneity and furthermore, the authenticity and "fidelity of first-hand travel art" of the alleged drawn-on-the-spot-painting (12). However, when the works from Abercrombie Caves were exhibited in 1849, the critique published on 2 June 1849 in *The Sydney Morning Herald* was destructive:

> It is to be lamented that this clever artist does not keep his eccentricities under proper control. We have here, on a small scale, what might be four scenes for a play to be termed "Much ado about Nothing! The drawing in each is harsh and rude beyond necessity, and the shadows are mere darkness. The introduction of so outré an object as an artist's easel, apparently as a sort of advertisement is a piece of childish affectation.

The cave's depth is modelled by the contrast of areas with warm shimmery light and those with dark shadows and altogether characterised by the combination of reddish with bluish, greyish or greenish colours, which gives the spot a spectacular and extraordinary impression of the subterranean world. The colour qualities, as well as the variety of geological structures depicted in the Art Gallery of New South Wales version, can be regarded as an almost visual translation of Wright's report (Wright 3) which exemplifies the northern entrance as:

> fretted and festooned with stalactite of every species and form – the hard white, and the white shatter stalictite [sic], and the yellow, the pale pink and the green chrystalline stalactitae.

Afterwards in 1849, the artwork was exhibited for the first time at the *Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia Second Exhibition* as the *Return View of the Stalagmitic Columns* (Cat. no. 344) with three more views of the Burrangalong cave. A note in the catalogue mentioned that the paintings were produced "on the spot, and show the […] wild and romantic abode" of the artist (cited in Ellis 164).

The Cultural Significance of Caves as Landmarks

Eighteenth and nineteenth century visualisations of colonial landscapes provided detailed information about the topography, natural resources and specifics of the land. Even if Martin Rudwick observed that artistic depiction of "'natural-history' landscapes of geological interest was decidedly crude" (172), landscape painting played a vital role in acquainting people from the colonies as well as in Europe with the appearance of more or less known land. Particularly in Australia, such illustrations helped in an ongoing process of discovery of the vast interior to establish new relations also on the cultural level between the settlers and the environment. Explorers, surveyors and speculative geographers worked consequently to eliminate so-called white spots from the imagined map of Australia's terra incognita, the unknown land (Graves/ Rechniewski). More aggressively, they took possession of the supposed terra nullius, nobody's land, through negation and oppression of Aboriginal sovereignty (Reinhard 745; for further reading see Banner). To the colonisers, Aboriginal knowledge and traditions about caves were mainly relevant in the sense of topographical guidance to the locations and less in their religious and cultural relations, since there was a "common belief that Aboriginal people never entered caves", which was proven wrong as late as in 1956, as Hamilton-Smith explicates, by the archaeological excavations of Aboriginal artefacts and markings in the Koonalda Cave (Hamilton-Smith 2003: 148).

The practice of redefining territory on political, cultural and social levels was of considerable symbolic importance for the colonisers because it helped to establish a cultural relation between settlers and their new environment. In this context, not only travel reports, journals and other text based sources played a vital role, but also cartographic materials and in particular landscape illustrations. They conveyed detailed information about the topographical conditions. Especially, pictorial allusions provided by first-hand-information were highly influential in the public perception of a place's quality and amenity. Often immediately after the discovery or conquest of a

region, the renaming of landscapes and places was a common practice as well as the ascription of new meanings to such areas, sites or landmarks. Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones describes the intended effect with the example of Governor Lachlan Macquarie's naming of places in New South Wales according to English localities in 1815 as a creation of "pathways for the mind to travel from the familiar to the unfamiliar" (44). They determined places representing European cultural concepts of civilisation and ideologies. Elisabeth Ellis describes a similar process for landscape art and notes, "an understood visual framework" helped settlers in "their mental acclimatisation" (Ellis 96), whereas a quite homogeneous taste pattern in landscape art can be traced everywhere in the British colonies (ibid.). The first known European who 'discovered' an Australian limestone cave was William Lawson who went to the Ben Glen or Limekilns, New South Wales, on 18 November 1821 (Hamilton-Smith 2003: 151). As Hamilton-Smith alludes in the following, most caves were already known by local residents, before they were officially 'discovered' through a documentation by explorers or surveyors (ibid.: 154).

In this respect, caves served as fixed points of orientation and had a symbolic significance as landmarks. During the first half of the nineteenth century they gained stronger importance as a terra incognita 'subterranea', as research objects of the increasing disciplines of geology and speleology, mainly influenced by Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, first published in three volumes 1830-1833. In this context, visual representations of caves supported the spread of geographical or geological knowledge. Settlers became acquainted with the new colony through the media. Newspapers, in particular, reported about new discoveries. Compared to extensive book editions, they enabled with their quick production and low prices a faster and an often wider geographical as well as social reach. That geological sites like the Abercrombie Caves were also redefined culturally can be observed in the newspaper article about W. R. Davidson's alleged discovery. The report, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 25 April 1843, is characterised by various passages combining facts with comparisons to other known places or

histories. It describes the geological features and also refers to famous antique sites which were known from travel accounts or archaeological excavations:

> You might fancy that half a dozen cathedrals had here heaped their fonts and monumental effigies […] or you might imagine, that the Valley of Sepulchres, or Balbec or Palmyra, cities of the Dead, had here emptied their ruined palaces, and mausoleums – those ruinous galleries presenting the outlines of public places, and yonder prostrate pillars having once formed the majestic ornaments of a temple.

The impressive geological site is represented as a contemplative place of acquaintance of cultural knowledge as well as a place of eternity, inspiration and fantasy. This implies the cave is not only a tourist destination and place of leisure activities. Furthermore, Wright mentions in the *Sydney Morning Herald* report (1843) a stimulative effect on "the intellectual" (Wright 2). Such implications addressed mainly an educated and well-read audience familiar with the 'classical' knowledge of arts and architecture, for instance, Robert Woods' treatises. The author wrote influential works about the architecture of Roman ruined cities like Palmyra (*The Ruins of Palmyra; otherwise Tedmor, in the Desart*, London, 1753), nowadays known for murder, iconoclasm and destruction during Syrian civil war, and Baalbek (*The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria,* London, 1757). Since Aboriginal prehistory and environmental relations were not acknowledged by colonisers, and Australia was seen as a country without history, such implications concerning the 'highlights' of Western civilisation's history were stressed to create a pseudo-cultural importance of the cave and a colonial identification with nature.

Caves as Motifs in Art History

Cave motifs had a long lasting tradition in the European arts, especially in the Roman-Greek antique. Visualisations rooting back to histories or myths, such as the cave of Antiparos, and the Oracle of Delphi referred to Christian iconography, for example, as a place for hermits and divine revelation (Emslander 15-21; Crave/Fletcher

90-108). In *De consulatu Stilichonis,* the Latin poet Claudian (ca. 370-ca. 404) wrote about the Cave of Eternity as a metaphor for time. Cultural research on caves is based on the analysis of various iconographical or symbolic contexts and artistic settings in European traditions. They are mainly focused on their local importance and less in colonial pictorial adaptations. Wolfgang Kemp provides an overview of different iconographic subjects related to caves using examples of Italian and Dutch emblemata of the sixteenth century that represent the Cave of Eternity (Kemp 1969). In landscape art, various examples are known across Europe and Fritz Emslander compiles many of them in his study on visualisations of late eighteenth century Italian grottoes (Emslander 2007). Oil paintings depicting grottoes include works from the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century by influential artists like Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797) and John Robert Cozens (1752-1797) and also from less famous painters like Caspar Wolf (1735-1783) and Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737-1807). Both, the originals as well their print reproductions, and an even larger number of engravings by less known artists or engravers showing caves helped to make speleology popular in Europe as well as in the colonies.

One of the best known caves, and also one that received most attention by artists in eighteenth and nineteenth century is *Fingal's Cave* on the Island Staffa, Inner Hebrides, with its characteristic arch of basalt columns (Emslander 36-40; Rudwik 173-174; Pieper 136-141). Staffa became popular after Joseph Banks (1743-1820) visited the cave on 13 August 1772 and published his *Account of Staffa* in Thomas Pennant *Tours in Scotland*, 1774 (Pieper 137-138; Crave/ Fletcher 114-115). After this publication, various reproduced, modified or otherwise similar illustrations of Staffa were spread across Europe and became also popular in Australia. Terry mentioned – in regard to a comment to John Hunter's (1737-1821) 1788 description – that Khanterintee, a geological spot in Botany Bay, was seen as Staffa of the colony (Terry 46).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the use of metaphors comparing cave structures with architectural elements was common

and can be traced to the French traveller and geologist Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond (1741-1819). The author published his *Voyages en Angleterre*, in 1797 and connected single elements from Staffa with architectural master pieces like Saint Peters' Basilica in Rome, Palmyra or Paestum and considered caves as nature's artwork with origin in a time of harmony between humans and nature (Pieper 139). The architectural perception of caves also gained ground in paleontology and geology and can be discerned in the treatises of William Buckland (1784-1856), who established architectural outlines as visualisation method (Pieper 146).

One of the rare cave paintings produced in the context of James Cook's voyages is a *View on a Coast, with Upright Rocks Making a Cave* created by John Webber and dated to ca. 1780 (National Library of Australia, Canberra, PIC T505 NK6795). The geographical context is not clear and the small picture shows a rectangular entrance of a cave on a beach with an Indigenous person standing in front. Before 1843, pictorial documentations of Australian caves were shown as supplements to maps and reports by Henry Hellyer (1790-1832). During the 1820s, drawings and watercolours of caves were produced by the widely travelled artist Augustus Earle (1793-1838). Some views were made by discoverers and originated from the hands of Surveyor General, draughtsman and cartographer Thomas Mitchell (1792-1855), or were drawn by Captain Matthew Flinders (1774-1814) (Terry 46-47; Hamilton-Smith 1997a: 5).

In 1826, Augustus Earle, created some watercolours of the Mosman's Cave which cannot be localised. He shows two visitors in the darkness of the earth's interior which is illuminated by the large flames of their torches. The Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell was also a skilled draughtsman and illustrated the journal *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix and the Present Colony of New South Wales*, published in 1838, with visualisations of the Wellington Caves he made in 1836 (Heckenberg 2005). He depicted, at first on a sepia wash, a singular visitor of Cathedral Cave's so called *Altar*, a giant stalagmite, and gave an impression of

the sublime and overwhelming nature of this extraordinary geological formation. Heckenberg observed the person's silhouette which is characterised by their angled arms. He suggests this could be the gesture of a prayer (208). The illustrations from Earle and Mitchell express the curiosity and fascination for the subterranean world. As Terry criticises, the addition of more visitors in Mitchell's lithograph decreases the "implications of danger and risk" (46). Further drawings of cave motifs are known, as Terry mentions, for example of Narangullen Caves, Yass, made by Philip Parker King (1791-1856) in 1837 (48). In the second half of the nineteenth century, caves were popularised through engravings in different qualities which were published in illustrated magazines, such as the *Illustrated Sydney News*, in the *Illustrated Australian News* and yet in scientific literature (Hamilton-Smith 2003: 159-160).

Conrad Martens' *Stalagmites* Reflecting Arts

Lead by a diagonal composition from the lower left to the upper right, the observer's view follows the arrangement via an easel with a painting, a camping stool and finally to the illuminated entrance on the right. It shows a painter at work who is drawing on a sheet and one can assume that he is producing a landscape view of the terrain in front of the cave. The artist is depicted with his back to the observer and his face is hidden. He cannot be identified, but it is very likely that this figure is a representation of Martens. Due to striking similarities it is obvious that the painting on the easel repeats his 'real' finished work in composition, colours and in format as well. It seems to be the unfinished version of the artwork itself. In this very unusual composition Martens unfolds a bewildering interplay of internal and external vistas, illuminated and dark areas as well as optical tricks due to the simultaneously applied artificial construction of spatial depth through the picture-in-picture-technique. At the same time, he creates two realities by interlinking the medium and the representation of it in the medium itself. The combination of the apparent self-reference with the sophisticated medial cross-reference is unique in Australian art. This aesthetic practice is reminiscent of the *mise en abyme* technique with the

difference that the exact recursive repetition of smaller versions shown is actually not given, since the artwork on the easel is characterised by the absence of any sign of human presence. By showing an artist working on the spot next to someone who takes interest in geological research, Martens emphasises by the pictorial self-reference the documentary and aesthetic value of artistic work as well as the equality of both approaches towards unknown places and things.

Martens' pictorial invention is one of the very rare examples showing a picture-in-picture element in early Australian visual arts. With its decided artistic self-reference *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern* is, as Martin Terrys concludes "a painting less about caves or the picturesque than Art itself" (48). A similar method of artistic self-reference can be seen in Augustus Earle's oil paintings *Meeting of the Artist and Hongi at the Bay of Islands, November 1827* (National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington, G-707) and *Waterfall in Australia* (today Wentworth Falls), dated circa 1830, (National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, T272 NK 9). Both images show an artist encountering Indigenous people: In the New Zealand motif, he is talking to Maori with a sketchbook and tools as attributes, and in the Australian *Waterfall,* he is represented while painting an Aboriginal person in front of a panoramic landscape view with some cumbrous white climbers in the background. "The Meeting could be seen as a radical reworking of the conversation piece", Leonard Bell points out, "allegorizing an ideal or potential [between European and Maori], from a British viewpoint, for the future of New Zealand" (Bell 1999: 252). Bell argues with reference to Edward Said and explicitly to Marie Louise Pratt, who defined colonial travel writing as a construct of "a non-interventionist European presence" (Pratt 78). He notes that written sources can be characterised by the "separation of the observing self from the world being pictured" (Bell 1999: 248) and in this sense, the exclusion of the author is also a visual strategy which can be traced in pictorial documentations of unknown worlds. He sees Earle as the intercultural "go-between" and the artist as a "medium for communication between two different groups, negotiating the

grounds for further meetings" (Bell 1999: 252, see also 256). In a later essay, Bell classifies Earle's works as "further than the mere recording of fact" because he "departed from the conventional documentary roles that art had had for science" (Bell 2014: 70).

Pictorial self-references are known in European prestigious 'high' art. For example, the oil painting *Las Meniñas*, made in 1656 by Diego Rodrigo de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660) (Museo del Prado, P01174), shows Infanta Margaret Theresa and other members of the Spanish court in the Royal Alcázar of Madrid with the painter himself on the left working on a large canvas. Typically, such artistic self-references are represented either in iconographic or allegorical settings referring to ancient mythology or otherwise in decided artistic surroundings such as studios or galleries. Besides self-portraits of artists, subjects related to art exhibition and market also became more popular, especially in the eighteenth century. This can be demonstrated in the examples of Jean-Antoine Watteau's *The Signboard of Gersaint* (also known as *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, ca. 1721, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Schloss Charlottenburg, GK I 1200/1201) or Adriaan de Lelies' *The Art Gallery of Jan Gildemeester Jansz* (1794-1795, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4100). In Johann Zoffany's *The Tribuna of the Uffizi* (1772-77, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406983), the artist represents himself hidden behind the so-called *Niccolini-Cowper-Madonna* on an easel in the background. By showing the artist, another easel, brushes and a palette with colours and a knife on the right and the visitors talking about arts, this scenery is staged in a creative "process-like" situation, as John Anthony Nicholls argues (205).

Marten's *Stalagmites* is appreciated by Ellis and Radford as one of the earliest examples of Australian *plein air* oil painting before painting outdoors gained central importance for Impressionism (Ellis 164; Radford: endnote 12). Bernard Smith questions whether watercolours and sketches drawn by James Cook's expedition artist William Hodges (1744-1797) were actually produced outside or aboard the ship (111-134). In general, this is a critical issue for

images produced during travels, indicating they were drawn 'on the spot'. An overview of various colonial watercolours and sketches can be found in the National Library of Australia exhibition catalogue *Travellers Art* (Fisher, especially 10-11). Among others, John Lewin's (1770-1819), Augustus Earle's and John Skinner Prout's (1805-1876) works illustrated, through various techniques, the subjects and motifs of Australian landscape, locations, people, events or situations in everyday life that were considered worth to be documented.

Martens' 'cave painting' represents two ways of perception of knowledge about nature acquired through artistic and scientific work. As a result, the image can be seen as reflection of the characteristic nineteenth century "dualistic view", as Charlotte Klonk describes (617). It deals with the relationship between art and science which left artists and scientists in competition for the description and interpretation of their environment and discoveries. Martens' work as well can be seen as an artist's statement to the question of mediation competence. In fact, it is the pictorial reference to the accomplishments of the artistic approach towards nature, by which Martens defines his position against the increasing superiority of scientific knowledge. The geologist is focused on his research, while the painter is staged as mediator who produces knowledge about relations in nature in an accessible, comprehensible and aesthetic manner pleasing to a broader audience. In this respect, Martens' painting postulates artistic work as sustainable and in a social perspective less-exclusive source of wisdom.

The same year that Martens went to Abercrombie Creek, the German landscape painter Ferdinand Konrad Bellermann (1814-1889) followed Alexander von Humboldt's (1769-1859) former expedition and went to the famous Guácharo cave in Venezuela (Image 2), to which the researcher dedicated a whole chapter of *Reise in die Äquinoktial-Gegenden des Neuen Kontinents*.

Image 2. Ferdinand Konrad Bellermann: *Die Guácharo-Höhle* (Guácharo cave), oil on cardboard, 18.4 x 22.4 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. SZ Bellermann 179, photo © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

The Guàcharo cave became famous because of Alexander von Humboldt's discovery of oilbirds (*Steatornis caripensis*), which lived in the local caves and were unique in their behavior to feed only during the night time. Compared to Martens' artwork, Bellermann's composition and intention is a very different one (Achenbach 149-151, 208). The painting shows a frontal view of the interior to the green jungle and depicts a group of travelers lighting a fire which is framed by an impressive 'drapery' of stalactites. Due to this framework, the cave arches appear as staffage, decorating and leading the observer's view directly to the main scene with the visitor group. It suggests that the visit is more important for Bellermann than the extraordinary character of the geological phaenomena and one might assume that its memorial aspect has more relevance by mentioning Humboldt's scientific achievement, the curiosity and therefore the tourist interest in this site. In this sense, the Guácharo cave can also be understood as a place of contemplation like the Abercrombie caves. In the frontal composition

and descriptive view, Bellermann's work is similar to the described cave subjects of Augustus Earle and Thomas Mitchell.

In contrast, Martens' *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern* is remarkable due to the strong artistic self-reference defining the artist as a mediator between the yet unseen nature and because of the pictorial strategy to visualise the artistic process. Martens' work is unique: A comparable expressiveness can hardly be traced in Australian art and one of the rare examples showing an artist while painting is Robert Dowling's (1827-1886) *Early Effort – Art in Australia*, dated circa 1860 (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 218-4). Richard Read remarks the difficulties to find similar motifs also in the medium of Australian photography (973). Dowling depicts a young boy sitting outdoors in front of a house, depicting some Aboriginal persons on a canvas on easel. Surrounded by white men, women and children, the young artist is trained by an old teacher behind him. Read criticizes the work as a conflicting attempt "to record what can no longer be observed but merely commemorated as the euphemistic memory, idealised abstraction" (975) of the disappeared Aboriginal land owners. Compared to former works made by travel artists, he recognizes that the artist's "reversed canvas seems to betray an unresolved tension between the contending strands of scientific observation and classical naturalism". Although *Stalagmites, Burragalong Cavern* does not address intercultural misunderstandings and problems caused by colonial repression, the idea of a visual approach towards the unknown and the proud self-esteem of artistic work represented in art itself seems to be broken in the face of serious social as well as aesthetic and disciplinary gaps in a time of colonial consolidation. In this context, the "replacement of religious wonder or awe" is also a relevant aspect, as Heckenberg states, which in fact found some "imaginative response" but was forcefully "countered" by the development of scientific research (213).

For this reason, Martens' work appears as a last provocative attempt to visualize the "sublimest and most fantastic of Nature's freaks" (Wright 3) with the hybrid combination of curiosity, fine art and

sciences which was influenced by the long tradition of expedition and travel art. Such aesthetic settings could work out for illustrations concerning decided science motifs like Bellermann's *Guácharo cave*, which were related to pictorial documentations of adventurous expeditions and voyages. With the ongoing processes of disciplinary diversification, disappointment caused by disillusion about expected discoveries of water resources or ancient civilizations in the vast Australian interior (Graves / Rechniewski 62, 67-68, 73, 77-79) and with an increased degree of familiarity, contemporary landscape painting required a new aesthetic orientation. Due to the progressive development of the importance laid on hard facts, pictorial documentation experienced a "downgrade" and became a "side-product" even in the context of expedition and exploration, as Joachim Rees argues (397).

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FORSCHUNG IM ERGEBNIS / RESEARCH REPORT

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Nachhaltige Siedlungsentwicklung als Verdichtungsprozess – neuere Entwicklungen im Großraum Brisbane

Abstract: Residential areas in Australian cities are still characterized by low residential densities, a large share of detached single-family homes, and a frequent use of cars. The suburban expansion leads to increased traffic intensity that causes environmental problems and a high consumption of resources. Recently, planning policies have been focusing on Urban Consolidation guidelines, which propose more compact residential development. This paper analyzes recent changes in the spatial patterns of residential development in the greater Brisbane area, based on secondary statistical data and supplementary expert interviews. The results show that consolidation processes are located in certain key areas. Overall, a moderate change of the housing stock can be discerned. However, the resulting architectural structures such as multi-story apartment buildings are not only determined by the intervention of planning authorities, but also by the strategies of real estate developers and changing patterns of demand.

Siedlungsentwicklung in Australien

Seit den 1990er Jahren wurde das internationale Leitbild der nachhaltigen Entwicklung in die Siedlungs- und Stadtplanung integriert. Einhergehend mit der politischen Diskussion konzentriert sich die wissenschaftliche Forschung auf Debatten über die ideale Stadtstruktur und Wirkungszusammenhänge von ökologischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Faktoren. Überlegungen zu Wechselwirkungen zwischen Siedlungsdichte, Flächenausdehnung und Verkehr haben in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten auch in geographischen Diskursen zu einer Konzeption verschiedener Modelle nachhaltiger Siedlungs- und Stadtstrukturen geführt (vgl. Breheny 1996; Jenks/ Dempsey 2005; Hall/ Barrett 2012).

Compact City-Modelle (u.a. Burton et al. 1996; Neuman 2005; OECD 2012) sind hierbei die meist diskutierten Ansätze. Fünf zentrale Charakteristika einer kompakten Siedlungsstruktur lassen sich ableiten: Verdichtete Wohnstrukturen, durchmischte Landnutzung, Ausbau der Infrastruktur- und Nahverkehrssysteme, reduzierte Abhängigkeiten von motorisiertem Individualverkehr sowie gute Erreichbarkeit von Nahversorgung und Arbeitsplätzen (vgl. Neuman 2005). In erster Linie soll mit Hilfe eines schonenden Umgangs mit Flächen eine verkehrs- und energiesparame Siedlungsstruktur herbeigeführt werden. Dies gilt insbesondere für Verdichtungsräume, in denen neue Bauentwicklungen vornehmlich in bereits existierende Strukturen integriert werden sollen (Jabareen 2006; Chhetri et al. 2013).

Wegen der mit dem *Urban Sprawl*[1] verbundenen Probleme, der sich verändernden Bevölkerungs- und Haushaltsstrukturen und der internationalen Diskussion um nachhaltige Siedlungsentwicklung wurden in den 1980er und 1990er Jahren auch in Australien intensive Debatten um ökonomische Effizienz, ökologische Nachhaltigkeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit der Suburbanisierung geführt.

Der Großteil der Bevölkerung Australiens ist räumlich auf wenige küstennahe Metropolen konzentriert. Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth und Adelaide beherbergen rund 62% der insgesamt knapp 23,4 Mio. Einwohner des Kontinents (ABS 2014). Insgesamt wächst die Bevölkerung Australiens im Jahresdurchschnitt um 1,7% (ABS 2014, gemittelter Wert 2008-2013). Der Großteil der Bevölkerungszunahme findet weiterhin in neu entstehenden Vororten am Stadtrand und im Stadtumland statt. Während die Vororte eher von dispersen Siedlungsstrukturen, großzügig geschnittenen Grundstücken und einer starken Automobilabhängigkeit geprägt sind, ist innerhalb der australischen

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[1] Als *Urban Sprawl* (Zersiedlung) wird die großflächige Ausbreitung von Großstädten und ihren Vororten als Folge der Suburbanisierung und einer starken Zuwanderung bezeichnet.

Agglomerationsräume die Mehrheit der Arbeitsplätze in der Innenstadt lokalisiert (Braun/ Sonnenburg 2016). Folglich sind die beiden prägendsten Merkmale der fünf großen australischen Hauptstädte seit den frühen 1940er Jahren die starke Suburbanisierung der Bevölkerung und die im weltweiten Vergleich sehr geringen Bebauungsdichten.

Dies stellt erhöhte Anforderungen an die Bereitstellung erreichbarer Arbeitsplätze und höherwertiger Infrastruktur wie Verkehrserschließung, Bildungs- und medizinische Einrichtungen dar. Durch die Entfernungen zwischen Wohnort, Arbeitsstätte und Versorgungseinrichtungen steigt zusätzlich das Bedürfnis nach individueller Mobilität. So kommt es zu einer erhöhten Verkehrsintensität, die zu Umweltproblemen und einem hohen Ressourcenverbrauch führt (Braun et al. 2001: 57; Schüttemeyer 3). Nicht nur die Beeinträchtigung der Umwelt, auch soziale und ökonomische Probleme rücken zunehmend in den Blickpunkt der Kritik. Die teure Erschließung weitflächiger suburbaner Wohngebiete beispielsweise wird in Anbetracht der leeren öffentlichen Kassen zunehmend schwierig (Searle/ Braun 2012: 18). Diese Problematik wird durch den Urbanisierungsdruck auf die Küstenräume Australiens noch verstärkt. Wenn mittlere Prognosen eintreten und die Bevölkerungszahl Australiens bis 2050 auf über 35 Millionen steigen sollte, dann wird der Wohnraum innerhalb des existierenden sogenannten *Urban Footprint* der Metropolen knapp (Queensland Government 2005: 16; 2009: 15).

Obwohl die Bevölkerungsdichte der australischen Städte seit den 1990er Jahren leicht zugenommen hat, lassen sich auch in den 2000er Jahren intersuburbane Pendlerströme zwischen im Stadtraum verteilten Wohn- und Arbeitsstätten erkennen. Die aktuelle siedlungsstrukturelle Entwicklung wird von selektiven und kleinräumigen Dekonzentrationsprozessen zu Gunsten des erweiterten Stadtumlandes geprägt. Als Ergebnis verursacht die Erschließung ausgedehnter Flächen vielfach hohe städtische Kosten sowie großräumige soziale Benachteiligungen. Ein großer Teil des jüngeren Wachstums setzt die australische Tradition der

Stadterweiterung mit geringen Dichten und einer Dominanz von freistehenden Einfamilienhäusern fort (Searle/Braun 2012: 12).

Viele Planungsexperten fordern deshalb eine schrittweise Annäherung an kompakte, kontinentaleuropäische Siedlungsstrukturen (Searle/Bunker 2010). Der Gedanke von städtischer Verdichtung findet als *Urban Consolidation*-Leitbild Eingang in die Planungspolitik. Erstmalig wurde das Leitbild Mitte der 1980er Jahre in Sydney und Melbourne auf metropolitaner Ebene integriert. Generelles Ziel ist die Nachverdichtung von inneren und mittleren Vororten, um die fortlaufende Flächenexpansion der Städte zu stoppen, ökologische Nachhaltigkeit zu fördern und den motorisierten Individualverkehr zu reduzieren.

Urban Consolidation im Großraum Brisbane

Das Leitbild der kompakten Stadtentwicklung spielt auch für die bandartige "mega-metro region" Brisbane (Newton 2008) eine wesentliche Rolle. Im Großraum Brisbane stechen die im Vergleich höheren jährlichen Bevölkerungswachstumsraten von aktuell rund 2,2% (ABS 2014, gemittelter Wert 2008-2013) hervor. Räumlich erstreckt sich der Großraum auf einer Fläche von mehr als 10.400 Quadratkilometer und umfasst die Gemeinden Brisbane City, Gold Coast Region, Ipswich City, Logan City, Moreton Bay Region, Redland City und Sunshine Coast Region.

Seit der Aufstellung des *Brisbane City Plan* im Jahr 2000 ist eine planerische Fokussierung auf Nachverdichtungsmaßnahmen und die Integration der übergeordneten Kernideen der *Compact City*-Modelle in regionale und lokale Entwicklungspläne erkennbar. Unter dem strategischen Leitbild *Urban Consolidation* verfolgen alle regionalen Planungsstrategien in South East Queensland (SEQ) das Ziel der Erhöhung der vergleichsweise niedrigen Wohnbebauungsdichten. Trotz sinkender Haushaltsgrößen gehören Neubauten von Einfamilienhäusern im Großraum Brisbane, mit einer Wohnfläche von durchschnittlich 250m², zu den aktuell größten der Welt (Kelly 2010). Daher wurden auch in Queensland auf bundesstaatlicher und städtischer Ebene übergeordnete Planungsstrategien entwickelt, die

Verdichtungsziele als primäre Elemente der zukünftigen Stadt- und Regionalplanung sehen. Beispiele hierfür sind der SEQ Regional Plan 2005 und der Brisbane City Plan 2000 & 2014, welche Verdichtungsprozesse der Wohnstrukturen innerhalb der Innenstadt Brisbanes sowie der dynamischen Küstenregionen vorsehen. Die Orientierung an einem übergeordneten, strategischen Planungsparadigma lässt vermuten, dass sich dieses prägend auf die reale Stadtlandschaft auswirkt. Vor diesem Hintergrund gilt es zu analysieren, ob und wie sich Verdichtungsprozesse kleinräumig auswirken und welche ergänzenden Faktoren zur Erklärung herangezogen werden können. Welche Veränderungen der Wohneinheitendichte sind im Großraum Brisbane empirisch nachweisbar und welche möglichen Erklärungen dafür lassen sich identifizieren?

Methodisches Vorgehen

Um sowohl Entwicklungen im Wohnsektor als auch räumlich-strukturelle Effekte im Großraum Brisbane darstellen zu können, sind Veränderungen der Wohneinheiten im Bestand ermittelt worden. Die Grundlage der quantitativen Analyse bildet ein eigens zusammengestellter, bereinigter und aufgearbeiteter Datensatz auf Stadtteilebene. Die verwendeten Daten werden vom *Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)* im Rahmen von Volkszählungen in einem fünfjährigen Rhythmus erhoben (vgl. Tab.1).

Tab. 1: Datensatz der Untersuchung (Datenquelle: ABS 1991-2011, 2013)

1. ABS-Zensus 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011	
Anzahl und Art der Wohneinheiten	Freistehendes Einfamilienhaus
	Reihenhaus, Stadthaus
	Wohnung, Apartment, ein oder zwei Geschoss(e)
	Wohnung, Apartment, drei oder vier Geschosse
	Angebaute Wohnung, Apartment

	Andere Wohneinheiten
2. ABS-Baugenehmigungsstatistik 2001-2013	
Anzahl und Art der Baugenehmigungen für den privaten Wohnungsbau	Häuser (Ein- und Zweifamilienhäuser, Reihenhäuser)
	Wohnung (im Geschosswohnungsbau)

Die Bebauungsdichte ist das am häufigsten genutzte Maß für die Kompaktheit von Siedlungsstrukturen. Um sowohl generelle Entwicklungen der Bebauungsdichte als auch strukturelle Veränderungen im Wohnungsbestand darzustellen, erfolgt die Analyse und Auswertung der Daten in zwei Schritten:

1. Analyse der Wohneinheitendichte von 1991-2011 (Wohneinheiten pro Wohngebiet je Erhebungsjahr [Anzahl/km²])
2. Analyse der Wohneinheitendichte je Gebäudetyp von 1991-2011 (Gebäudetypen pro Wohngebiet je Erhebungsjahr [Anzahl/km²])

Zur Ergänzung der Datenanalyse und der identifizierten Entwicklungen im Großraum Brisbane wurden Experteninterviews mit Vertretern kommunaler und bundesstaatlicher Behörden der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung, Experten aus dem akademischen Bereich sowie Fachleuten aus dem Immobiliensektor geführt. Die befragten Akteure sind in Vorgesprächen ausgewählt worden.

Aktuelle Entwicklungstrends in der Wachstumsregion Brisbane

Obwohl konkrete Nachverdichtungsmaßnahmen erst durch den *Brisbane City Plan 2000* und den *SEQ Regional Plan 2005* in die strategische Planung Einzug erhalten haben, kann nach Michell & Wadley (2004) schon seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre eine stetige Erhöhung der Wohneinheitendichte im Großraum Brisbane festgestellt werden. Im Zeitraum von 1991 bis 2011 ist die Wohneinheitendichte insgesamt um 70% gestiegen (vgl. Tab. 2).

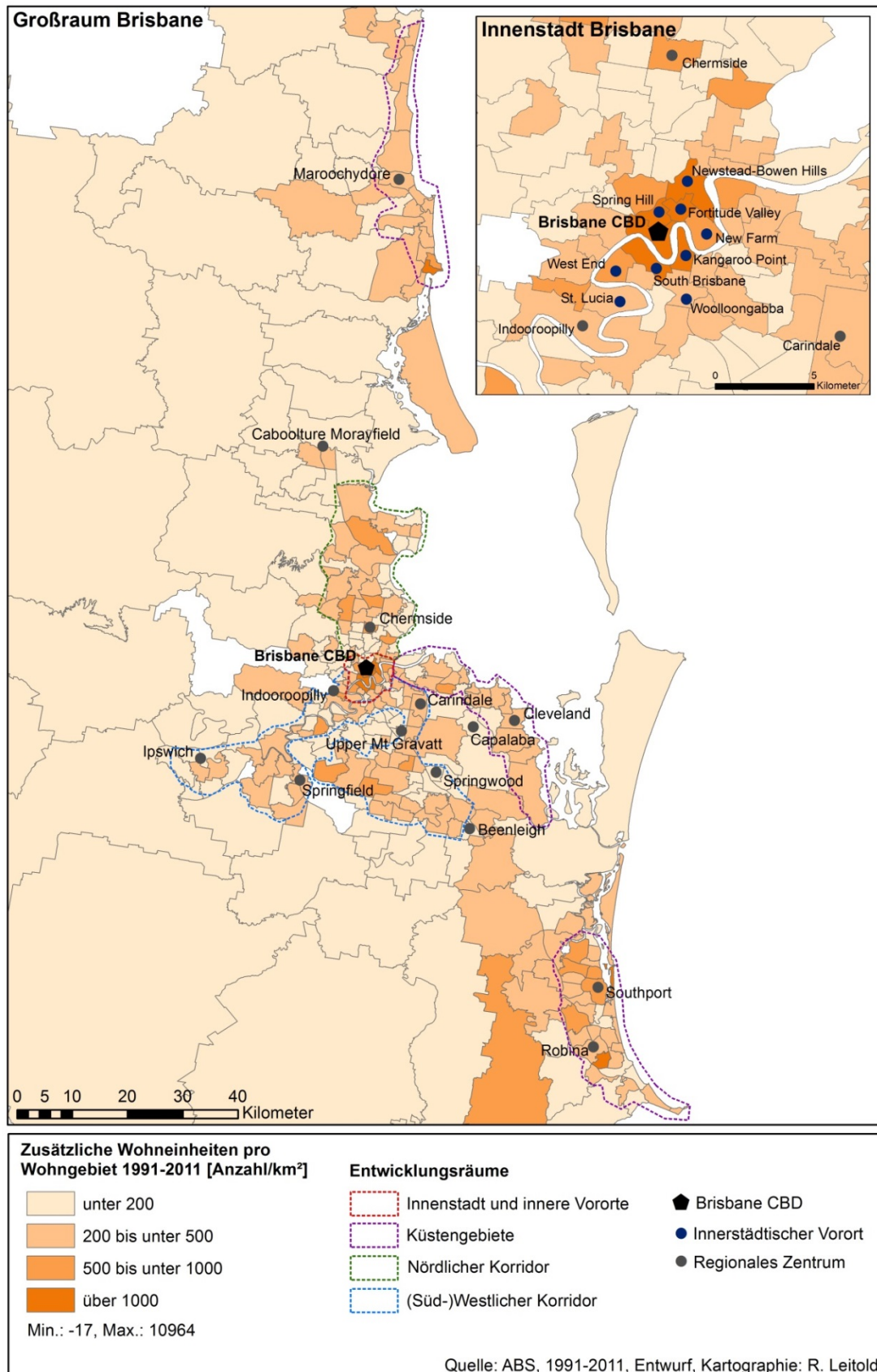Tab. 2: Wohneinheitendichte (1991-2011) (Datenquelle: ABS 1991-2011)

		Wohneinheiten/ Wohngebiete [Anzahl/km²]	Wohneinheiten/ Gesamtgebiet [Anzahl/km²]
Großraum Brisbane	1991	255	31
	2001	353	43
	2011	434	53
Stadtgebiet Brisbane	1991	550	191
	2011	819	285

In Karte 1 wird deutlich, dass der größte Anteil zusätzlicher Wohneinheiten in der Innenstadt Brisbanes (Brisbane Inner City, Fortitude Valley, Kangaroo Point, Newstead-Bowen Hills, Spring Hill) zu finden ist. Sowohl in den Küstenbereichen als auch in nördlichen (Chermside) und süd-westlichen Korridoren (Springfield) sind ebenfalls erhebliche Zunahmen von Wohneinheiten zu verzeichnen. Diese Gebiete werden daher als zukünftige Entwicklungsräume identifiziert.

Während in den Kernbereichen Brisbanes und der Gold Coast das Wohnen in neuen Apartmenthäusern eine große Rolle spielt, werden in den inneren Vororten nach wie vor überwiegend freistehende Einfamilienhäuser gebaut. Das traditionelle australische Wohnen im freistehenden Einfamilienhaus ist somit vielerorts noch vorhanden, unterliegt allerdings ebenfalls Veränderungen.

Im Jahr 2001 zählte der Großraum ca. 601.000 und im Jahr 2011 bereits ca. 757.000 Haushalte. Prognosen gehen davon aus, dass die Haushaltszahl bis zum Jahr 2031 auf insgesamt ca. 1.131.000 ansteigen wird (ABS 2013a). Die durchschnittliche Haushaltsgröße ist hingegen von 2,9 Personen pro Haushalt (1991) auf 2,7 Personen (2011) gefallen. Diese Trends werden sich in den nächsten Jahren fortsetzen und somit für einen weiteren Diversifizierungsbedarf der verfügbaren Wohneinheiten sorgen.

Karte 1: Entwicklung der Wohneinheitendichte im Großraum Brisbane (1991-2011, Entwurf u. Kartographie: R. Leitold)

Großraum Brisbane

Maroochydore

Caboolture Morayfield

Chermside

Brisbane CBD

Indooroopilly

Carindale

Cleveland

Upper Mt Gravatt

Capalaba

Ipswich

Springfield

Springwood

Beenleigh

Southport

Robina

Innenstadt Brisbane

Chermside

Newstead-Bowen Hills

Spring Hill

Fortitude Valley

Brisbane CBD

New Farm

West End

Kangaroo Point

St. Lucia

South Brisbane

Woolloongabba

Indooroopilly

Carindale

0 ... 5 Kilometer

0 5 10 20 30 40 Kilometer

Zusätzliche Wohneinheiten pro Wohngebiet 1991-2011 [Anzahl/km²]

- unter 200
- 200 bis unter 500
- 500 bis unter 1000
- über 1000

Min.: -17, Max.: 10964

Entwicklungsräume

- Innenstadt und innere Vororte
- Küstengebiete
- Nördlicher Korridor
- (Süd-)Westlicher Korridor

- Brisbane CBD
- Innerstädtischer Vorort
- Regionales Zentrum

Quelle: ABS, 1991-2011, Entwurf, Kartographie: R. Leitold

Wie im *Brisbane City Plan 2000* gefordert, wurde die Nachverdichtungsplanung in den letzten Jahren stärker auf mehrgeschossigen Wohnungsbau ausgerichtet. Dies hatte bislang aber eher moderate Auswirkungen. Die Verdichtungstendenz ist lediglich durch einen leichten Anstieg der Anzahl von mehrgeschossigen Wohneinheiten bedingt. Im Jahr 1991 lag der Anteil von mehrgeschossigen Wohneinheiten am gesamten Wohnungsbestand bei 17%. Bis 2011 stieg er auf 24% an. Die moderate Verlagerung in Richtung des mehrgeschossigen Wohnungsbaus lässt sich auch in einem generellen Anstieg von Baugenehmigungen im Geschosswohnungsbau erkennen (vgl. Abb. 1).

Abb. 1: Genehmigte Wohneinheiten im Großraum Brisbane 2001-2013 (Datenquelle: ABS Building Approvals 2013)
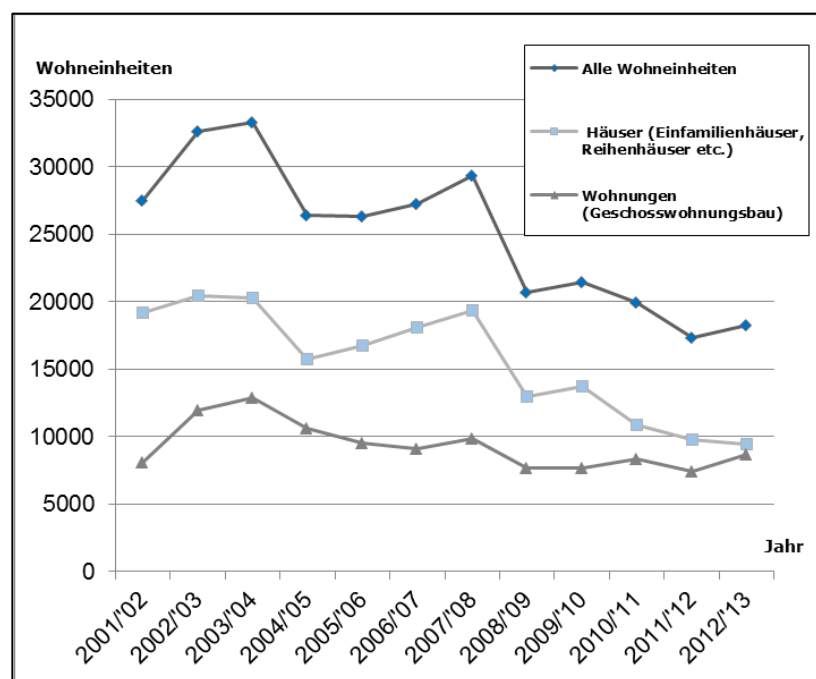
Der Anteil freistehender Einfamilienhäuser an der gesamten Wohnbebauung sank im gleichen Zeitintervall von 79% auf 74%. Die Anzahl erteilter Baugenehmigungen für freistehende Häuser von 2001 bis 2013 ist mit einigen marktzyklisch bedingten Schwankungen ebenfalls rückläufig. Dennoch machen Baugenehmigungen von freistehenden Einfamilienhäusern noch immer 62% aller Genehmigungen aus.

Neben einer erhöhten Wohneinheitendichte und der leicht

veränderten Zusammensetzung des Wohnungsbestandes, zeichnet sich der gesamte Großraum durch sinkende Grundstücksgrößen aus. Die mittlere Grundstücksgröße aller neuen freistehenden Häuser ist von rund 675m² (2004) auf 550m² (2012) zurückgegangen (OESR 2012). Dies liegt vor allem an den verpflichtenden Regelungen des *SEQ Regional Plan 2009*, dass neue Wohnsiedlungen in zentralen Gebieten 40-120, in suburbanen Gebieten 30-80 und in speziell ausgewiesenen Verkehrskorridoren mindestens 40 Wohneinheiten pro Hektar aufweisen müssen (Queensland Government 2009: 102). Trotzdem sind die durchschnittlichen Grundstücke sowohl im Stadtgebiet Brisbanes als auch im Großraum weitflächiger als in den größeren Verdichtungsräumen Melbourne oder Sydney (UDIA 2011).

Nachverdichtung innerstädtischer Räume

Nachverdichtungsprozesse in der Innenstadt Brisbanes sind vor allem ökonomisch getrieben. Die Grundhaltung gegenüber Investitionen in Wohnhochhäuser ist in der Innenstadt von Brisbane ausgesprochen liberal, sodass die Zonierung der Bauleitplanung erhebliche Freiräume für Investitionen in Wohnimmobilien erlaubt (Steele/ Dodson 143f.). In nördlichen inneren Vororten wie Newstead-Bowen Hills und New Farm werden in den letzten fünf Jahren Nachverdichtungsprozesse auf industriellem Brachland von den Planungsbehörden gefördert. Es handelt sich dabei oftmals um alte Hafenareale, die revitalisiert werden sollen. Neben solchen langfristig geplanten Entwicklungsgebieten findet sich ein Großteil der neu gebauten Wohneinheiten im innerstädtischen Bereich auf kleineren Flächen in den südlichen (Woolloongabba, West End, Kangaroo Point) und nördlichen Vororten (Spring Hill und Fortitude Valley). Im Stadtteil West End sollen in naher Zukunft direkt am Brisbane River mehrere Apartment-Hochhausblöcke entstehen.

Neben dem investorengetriebenen Wohnungsbau sind auch Veränderungen von Nachfragepräferenzen, vor allem ausgelöst durch die Pluralisierung von Lebensstilen und die zunehmende ethnische Durchmischung der Bevölkerungsstruktur, als Gründe für die zunehmende Verdichtung zu nennen. Die Nachfrage nach

mehrgeschossigen Apartments geht vor allem von internationalen Studierenden aus. Diese manifestiert sich in Stadtteilen wie St Lucia und West End, die jeweils sowohl universitäts- als auch innenstadtnah gelegen sind. Von 2007 bis 2012 kamen ca. 550.000 internationale Einwanderer nach Brisbane (ABS 2013a). Ungefähr ein Fünftel von ihnen sind asiatische Studierende, deren Eltern oftmals Wohnungen für ihre Kinder in innenstadtnaher Lage kaufen.

Vielfach werden ausländische Privatinvestitionen im Wohnsektor nahe dem CBD aufgrund des fortwährenden Anstiegs der Immobilienpreise rein spekulativ getätigt. Dies hat zur Folge, dass viele Wohnungen in den neuen Apartmenthäusern leer stehen oder lediglich ein- bis zweimal im Jahr für kurze Zeit genutzt werden. Ausländisches Investment von jährlich ca. 28 Milliarden AUD in den Wohnsektor der Städte Sydney, Melbourne, Perth und Brisbane zeigen, welchen Umfang solche Prozesse in innenstadtnaher Lage inzwischen einnehmen[2].

Verdichtetes Wohnen im (süd-)westlichen Korridor

Im Gegensatz zu den investoren- und nachfragegetriebenen Verdichtungsprozessen in innenstadtnahen Bereichen sind die Tendenzen im (süd-)westlichen Korridor des Verdichtungsraums stärker planungsgetrieben. Hier führt die Bevölkerungsentwicklung seit den 1990er Jahren zu einem großen Druck auf den Immobilienmarkt und die städtische Infrastruktur. Um den Druck von begehrten innerstädtischen und den küstennahen Wohngebieten zu nehmen, wird seit dem Jahr 2005 seitens der Regionalplanung versucht, eine Umlenkung des Bevölkerungswachstums zu erwirken und Wohnungsbau in küstenfernen Gebieten zu fördern (BITRE 2013: 53; Queensland Government 2005: 62f.). In den letzten Jahren rückten deshalb vor allem die Erhöhung von Bebauungsdichten am Stadtrand sowie der Bau von

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[2] Paraphrasierte Aussage: *"High rise developments are driven by foreign investment. Last year it was about 28 billion AUD coming into apartments in Australia: Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane"* (Experte 1, Brisbane, 06.08.2014).

Mehrfamilienhäusern rund um regionale Zentren und suburbane S-Bahn-Stationen in den planerischen Fokus (Buxton/ Scheurer 2007). Bereits Mitte der 1990er Jahre sind ca. drei Milliarden AUD als öffentliche Investition in den Ausbau einer Autobahn geflossen, welche die Innenstadt Brisbanes mit dem Vorort Ipswich verbindet. Zudem ist Ende 2013 eine Bahnstrecke bis zum regionalen Zentrum Ipswich ausgebaut worden. Die Verkehrs- und Infrastrukturanbindung der Gemeinden im westlichen Korridor ist damit im Vergleich zu anderen Gebieten im Großraum Brisbane gut. Durch die gezielten Infrastrukturinvestitionen sollte nicht zuletzt die Aufmerksamkeit des Marktes von den beliebten Standorten an der Küste hin zu infrastrukturellen Knotenpunkten im Binnenland gelenkt werden[3]. Der Ausbau der Infrastruktur förderte zwar die Entwicklung von zahlreichen Neubaugebieten, führte aber weniger zu flächensparenden Nachverdichtungsprozessen.

Ein historisch frühes Beispiel: Springfield ist die größte Gemeinde Australiens, die mit Hilfe eines Masterplans gestaltet und geplant wurde. Seit der Gründung im Jahr 1991 durch den Entwickler *Springfield Land Corporation* wuchs die Einwohnerzahl inzwischen auf gut 26.000 an. Wesentlicher Treiber für die Investitionen im Wohnsektor in Springfield ist die gute Verkehrsanbindung an den CBD von Brisbane. Im Dezember 2013 wurden vom Bundesstaat die beiden Bahnstationen *Springfield Central* und *Springfield* eröffnet. Trotz der forcierten Planungsintervention und der zukünftigen Planung von mehrgeschossigem Wohnungsbau handelt es sich bei den bisherigen Neubauten allerdings ganz überwiegend um freistehende Einfamilienhäuser. Selbst nahe dem Einkaufszentrum in zentraler Lage finden sich bislang kaum mehrgeschossige Wohneinheiten.

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[3] Paraphrasierte Aussage: "*The investment in infrastructure has made new land developments in the western areas more attractive. There was a three billion dollar investment in the western freeway and they have just opened the new railway extension to Springfield. They want to direct the market's attention away from the coast towards areas where we have developed land and good infrastructure services*" (Experte 2, Brisbane, 07.08.2014).

Diskussionen um bauliche Verdichtung

Bis in die frühen 2000er Jahre waren Wohnimmobilien im Großraum Brisbane im australischen Vergleich relativ erschwinglich. Danach führten die Aktivitäten im Wohnimmobilienmarkt, insbesondere durch ein hohes Wirtschaftswachstum und ein relativ niedriges Zinsniveau, zu einem erheblichen Anstieg der Immobilienpreise (Steele/ Dodson 143). Während in Melbourne und Sydney die Preise für Wohnimmobilien zwischen 80 und 100 % stiegen, ließ sich zwischen 2000 und 2005 im Großraum Brisbane ein Preisanstieg von 160% verzeichnen (ebd.). Dies führt dazu, dass große Teile der Bevölkerung, insbesondere junge Familien und Haushalte mit geringerem Einkommen, sich das Wohnen in innenstadtnahen Gebieten nicht mehr leisten können. Anwohner reagieren daher häufig mit Unverständnis auf die liberale Planungspolitik der Stadtverwaltung, welche den Bau von Apartmenthäusern in innenstadtnahen Wohnvierteln weiterhin fördert. Der drastische Anstieg der Immobilienpreise und das Verschwinden von öffentlichen (Grün-)Flächen werden als negative Begleiteffekte der Entwicklung von teuren Wohnhochhäusern gesehen (Walters/McCrea 368). Ferner befürchten alteingesessene Hauseigentümer eine negative Veränderung des Wohnumfeldes oder die Überlastung der vorhandenen Infrastruktur aufgrund der Verdichtung, was mittel- bis langfristig zu einer Wertminderung der Bestandsimmobilien führen könnte (Searle/Braun 2012: 16-18). Besonders im Stadtteil West End zeigen Unterschriften- und Protestaktionen, dass die geplanten Veränderungen des Siedlungs(ge)bildes auf Widerstand stoßen[4].

Auch in Neubaugebieten schaffen die Verdichtungsambitionen Akzeptanzprobleme. Die Kombination aus zunehmenden Hausgrößen und kleiner werdenden Grundstücken führt zu einem Verschwinden der Gärten, die bislang ein markantes Merkmal des australischen

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[4] Paraphrasierte Aussage: *"In West End the resistance to high residential development is pretty strong. Local residents have collected over a thousand signatures on a petition to stop the high rise developments. They are trying to keep the character of the main street and the existing structure"* (Experte 3, Brisbane, 04.08.2014).

Lebensstils waren.

Schlussbetrachtungen

Der schnell wachsende Großraum Brisbane hat sich in den letzten Jahren deutlich verändert. Wie in anderen australischen Metropolen sind räumliche Verdichtungsdynamiken erkennbar. Neue, verdichtete Bau- und Wohnformen setzen sich vorwiegend im innerstädtischen Bereich durch (vgl. Tab. 3). Die moderate Verschiebung der strukturellen Zusammensetzung des Wohnungsbestands hin zu mehrgeschossigem Wohnungsbau ist auch das Resultat einer strategischen Planung, die dem Leitbild *Urban Consolidation* folgt. Die strategische Ausrichtung des *Brisbane City Plan 2014* zeigt, dass auch in Zukunft auf innerstädtische Nachverdichtungspotenziale gesetzt wird.

Tab. 3: Zentrale Ergebnisse der Studie

Allgemeine Verdichtungstendenzen, Wohnungsbestand

- Anstieg der Wohneinheitendichte von 1991 bis 2011 um 70%
- Dominanz von Verdichtungsprozessen in zentralen Kernbereichen
- Moderate Verlagerung der strukturellen Zusammensetzung des Wohnungsbestands zu mehrgeschossigem und verdichtetem Wohnungsbau
- Die Nachfrage nach freistehenden Einfamilienhäusern hält im Außenbereich an

Innenstadtnahe Gebiete

- Ökonomisch getriebene Investitionen in Wohnhochhäuser
- Kleinräumige innenstadtnahe Gebiete entlang des Brisbane River bilden zukünftige Entwicklungspotenziale

(Süd-)Westlicher Korridor

- Förderung des Ausbaus des ÖPNV und verbesserte Anbindung an den CBD durch die Stadt- und Regionalplanung
- Im Siedlungsbild überwiegen eher gering verdichtete Wohnstrukturen
- Entwicklung von Neubaugebieten nahe den ausgewiesenen regionalen Zentren (kleinere Grundstücksgrößen)

Es wird deutlich, dass der Angebotsdruck auf Seiten der Immobilienentwickler die Planungspolitik als Bestimmungsfaktor für Verdichtungsprozesse im Großraum Brisbane ergänzt. Neben Erklärungsfaktoren auf der Angebotsseite sind jedoch auch treibende Kräfte auf der Nachfrageseite identifizierbar. Das starke Bevölkerungswachstum und Reurbanisierungstendenzen prägen die Diversifizierung der Nachfrage nach verschiedenen Wohnformen. Diese neuen Nachfragemuster begünstigen die Entwicklung von Mehrfamilien- und Reihenhäusern. Das traditionelle australische Wohnen im freistehenden Einfamilienhaus ist zwar vielerorts noch dominierend, unterliegt allerdings ebenfalls weitreichenden Veränderungen. Sinkende Grundstücksgrößen in Neubaugebieten am Stadtrand und ebenfalls sinkende Haushaltsgrößen stellen hierfür wesentliche Trends dar.

Generell ist in allen großen Ballungsgebieten Australiens eine Verdichtung der Wohnbebauung um den CBD und in den inneren Vororten erkennbar. In Brisbane fällt der entsprechende Gradient, ähnlich wie in Perth, jedoch stärker ab als in Melbourne und vor allem Sydney, wo auch in den Außenbereichen deutliche Verdichtungstendenzen festzustellen sind. Dies ist auch eine Folge der monozentrischen, noch immer stark auf den CBD bezogenen Strukturen der kleineren Verdichtungsräume (v.a. hohe Konzentration der Arbeitsplätze im CBD).

Nicht nur in Brisbane, sondern auch in anderen australischen Städten regt sich gegen die bauliche Verdichtung zunehmend Widerstand. Die Umgestaltung des Siedlungsbildes wird vielerorts auch zukünftig nicht konfliktfrei verlaufen.

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REZENSIONEN / REVIEWS

Belinda Wheeler, ed., *A Companion to Australian Aboriginal Literature*. Rochester NJ: Camden House, 2013. 216 + xx pp. ISBN-13: 978-1-57113-521-6. EUR 25.00 **Reviewed by Kerstin Knopf, University of Bremen, Germany.**
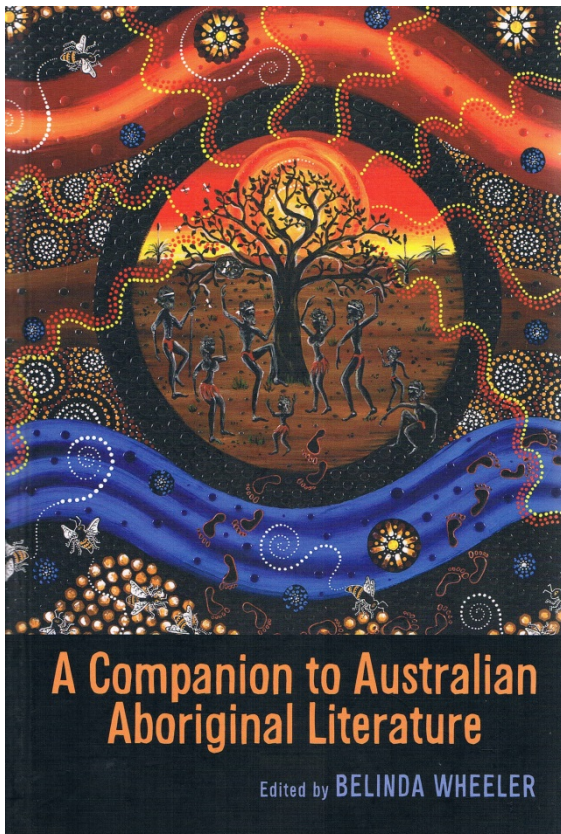
This book is a valuable asset to every library focusing on Indigenous Studies in general and Australian Aboriginal Studies in particular. It offers a comprehensive overview of Australian Aboriginal literature from its beginnings in print up to the present with a focus on a variety of topics and genres, including life writing, songpoetry, (young) adult fiction, gothic texts, drama, film and popular music. The book itself is aesthetically very enjoyable, with a beautiful painting on the cover mixing different Aboriginal artistic styles (it would have been nice to get information on the artist and title), a superb (copy)editing, a pleasant font, and general handling. The editor provides a very helpful twelve page-chronology of Australian Aboriginal history and a ten-page index.

This book is an important and necessary contribution to scholarly texts on Australian Aboriginal literature and other creative expression, which are still rather scarce with the exception of a few books by Adam Shoemaker (*Black Words, White Page: Aboriginal Literature 1929-88*), Mudrooroo Narogin (*Writing from the Fringe: A Study of Modern Aboriginal Literature*), Esosa Osaghae (*Mythic*

Reconstruction: The Study of Australian Aboriginal and South African Literature), Eva Rask Knudsen (*The Circle & the Spiral: A Study of Australian Aboriginal and New Zealand Maori Literature*), Katherine E. Russo (*Practices of Proximity: The Appropriation of English in Australian Indigenous Literature*) and Beate Neumeier and Kay Schaffer (*Decolonizing the Landscape: Indigenous Cultures in Australia*) in print. It appears that after these and Wheeler's book, which contains only one article by an Aboriginal author, scholarship on Aboriginal literature needs critical studies done by Aboriginal scholars in Australia and elsewhere.

In her introduction, Belinda Wheeler gives an informative overview of Aboriginal history in relation to the development of Australian Aboriginal literature as well as a passage guiding readers through the eleven single chapters.

Much attention is given to Aboriginal life writing – three chapters, all of which, however, with a different focus. In an excellent first chapter, Michael Griffiths reads Aboriginal life writing as syncretic practice, an act of preservation and transformation of tradition, criticising colonialism and fulfilling the task of community and kinship connection. He provides a detailed history of Aboriginal life writing in stages from colonial presentation of Aboriginal lives and collaborative texts to decolonial self-representation and discusses texts by Sally Morgan, Doris Pilkington Garimara and Angus Wallam. Embedded in sound theoretical approaches, Griffiths analyses Aboriginal life writing as embodying Aboriginal notions of 'life' and the 'human subject', blurring the Eurocentric binary of *poēsis* and *praxis* and countering biopolitical practices, such as assimilation, eugenics, population management and destruction of kinship systems. He writes: "By drawing together and restoring kinship and community with self and individual Aboriginal lived experience, Aboriginal life writing challenges the colonial biopolitical notion of life and insists on the maintenance of a concept of kinship and belonging vested in country" (19-20).

Jennifer Jones critically examines life writing collaborations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal authors. She offers a comprehensive history of Aboriginal life writing and such collaborations, including fine summaries and background information on many autobiographical texts. She then ventures into a careful analysis of cross-cultural cooperations of Charles Perkins, Margaret Tucker, Monica Clare, and Ella Simmon with non-Aboriginal editors, with varying degrees of mutual understanding and editorial interference. Jones looks at the changes being made to the original texts as well as the copyright violations that occurred in a neocolonial publishing industry. She even includes original oral and printed versions of single passages of Ella Simmon's text in order to illustrate the interference of white editorship and reorientation of Aboriginal texts that should "meet the projected needs of white, middle-class audiences" (49).

A different, decolonial, type of collaboration in the production of life writing is discussed by Martina Horáková: intergenerational collaborations. Providing an overview of the most important texts, the author outlines the manner of collaboration in extended families in which a "younger member typically records, transcribes, writes, and edits orally transmitted life stories of his or her community elders, relatives, or even entire families and clans" (54). Both analysed texts, Rita and Jackie Huggins' *Auntie Rita* and Kim Scott and Hazel Brown's *Kayang and Me*, are 'classic' as-told-to texts. Yet they radically digress from this subgenre by including a dialogic double voice of the teller and interlocutor presenting both subjective perspectives on the story of an Aboriginal life. The intergenerational dialogue brings out two distinct voices, two different positions in Australian history and society and two different modes of speaking of the elder and younger, university-educated researcher and family member. This technique also makes the gaps and silences of an autobiographical text more obvious – for example, the silence about the cruel regime in native settlements.

Danica Čerče and Oliver Haag deliver an eye-opening chapter on the translation of popular Aboriginal texts into European languages such

as German, Italian, Dutch and Slovene. Concentrating on the seminal *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Doris Pilkington Garimara) and *My Place* (Sally Morgan), they provide concrete text passages in English, the translation and a translation back into English. Through this excellent move, they expose the gaps between the English versions, give a sense of the contortions of the original meaning of certain phrases and draw attention to lexical translation issues, the missing colloquial style of the original text or the vanquishing of the oral character of a text passage. At times, Australian particularities such as 'vegemite' and the meaning of 'native settlement' get lost, or racist terminology and notions are introduced into the text translations. We also get examples of rather good translations – in general, however, "one of the gravest problems in the European translations" (86) is the loss of information on colonial history and Aboriginal culture. In his chapter on Aboriginal songpoetry, Stuart Cooke offers an enlightening discussion of the characteristics of traditional oral songpoetry and its performance before exploring this traditional heritage in contemporary Aboriginal poetry, e.g. Paddy Roe's *Gularabulu* (1983) and Lionel Fogarty's poetry. Oral poetry characteristics appear in modern texts, for example, through complex rhythms and repetition, cross-parallel phrasing, Aboriginal polyphony, dynamic movement and performative, multimedia semiotics.

With the example of John Muk Muk Burke's *Bridge of Triangles*, Melissa Lukashenko's *Steam Pigs* and Tara June Winch's *Swallow the Air*, Jeanine Leane offers rewarding discussions of young adult fiction – from an inside perspective, as she is an award-winning writer of Aboriginal young adult fiction as well. The Aboriginal Bildungsroman, according to her, brings to attention issues of identity construction, belonging, searching for a sense of place and other struggles of Aboriginal protagonists in complex (urban) settings. The novels challenge stereotyping, individual and structural racism and socially determinist views of Aboriginal people borne out through the characters' encounters with Australian society. Moving to adult fiction, Paula Anca Farca scrutinises humour in Aboriginal literature. Humor has sustained and helped Indigenous peoples throughout the

world to survive, deal with and overcome settler colonialism and its destructive impact on various aspects of Aboriginal life, cultures, social connections and economies. Novels by Vivienne Cleven, Gayle Kennedy, Marie Munkara and Anita Heiss closely look at women's and young adults' lives and complicate race relations by focusing on discrimination and violence based on gender, sexual orientation and age, including pointed criticism of representatives of Catholicism. Beneath the witticism, irony, parody and sarcasm lies a harsh critique of physical abuse and violence perpetrated by the settler regime as well as the damaging physical and psychological effects of stereotypes and determinist views that is transported with thought-provoking effect through humour.

Embedded in a discussion of European and Australian Gothic literature, Katrin Althans analyses gothic Aboriginal literature that turns the tables on the Gothic's demonizing abuse of Aboriginal culture by reversing colonial binaries, exposing gothic realities of everyday life and emphasizing subversive and transgressive elements. Man-eating beasts and vampire-like beings from Aboriginal Maban reality invade white Australian space, as much as a white vampire's attacks and infection of Aboriginal people serve to illustrate the settler colonial regime and its destructive impact. The pursued innocent maidens in the Gothic transform into raped and murdered Aboriginal women in the basement of a judge's home, and a murderer is compared to a perpetrator of the Myall Creek Massacre. The Kadaitcha and the mythical Red Feathers avenge unlawful deeds and actions against the wellbeing of Aboriginal society as much as blood-chilling ghosts manifest repressed settler colonialism, haunting the texts. Althans writes: "the Gothic tradition in Aboriginal literature turns to the many white shadows Australian history has attached to the life and experience of its Aboriginal people" (152).

Maryrose Casey engages with Aboriginal performance and drama, from first cultural shows performed for European settlers to a wealth of plays, starting in the 1970s, written and performed according to European theatre traditions as well as syncretic mixtures. She also

outlines the work of Aboriginal theatre companies and concentrates on monodramas, discussing a variety of plays that focus on consequences of the Stolen Generation policy, rural and urban experience, cultural clashes and tensions, homelessness, slave practices, poverty, violence and stereotypical notions. In an excellent chapter on Aboriginal Australian film, Theodore Sheckels outlines seminal non-Aboriginal films that deal with the Stolen Generations before entering into a discussion of the films and their critical contextualization of the Stolen Generations policy by two most influential Aboriginal filmmakers: Tracey Moffatt and Rachel Perkins. Also including information on their career and general work, Sheckels sees these films (mainly *Night Cries* and *Radiance*) partly as Aboriginal answers to non-Aboriginal films such as *Jedda, Rabbit-Proof Fence* and *Australia*, and as more effective in their indirect telling of the Stolen Generations story. Specifically *Radiance* speaks to white males' sexual exploitation of, and gender violence against, Aboriginal women that produced mixed-blood children that were taken away. In concert with Moffatt's unconventional short film *Night Cries*, Perkin's musical film *One Night the Moon* radically deviates from established feature film conventions, both films showing much influence from art, photography and music, engaging symbolic and metaphorical images, stark colors, songs contributing to the narration and the unconventional placement of song with sometimes jarring effects.

Finally, Andrew King provides an insightful outline of the history of popular Aboriginal music in three stages: the 1950s and 60s, the 1970s and 80s, and contemporary music starting in the 1990s. King connects an overview over the general development of the Aboriginal music industry, including music festivals, award shows like The Deadlys and radio and television as outlets with specific looks at seminal musicians. These are musicians in the areas of opera (Harold Blair), jazz (Georgia Lee), rock (No Fixed Address, Warumpi Band), reggae (No Fixed Address), music including traditional song and instruments (Yothu Yindi), R&B (Shakaya) and Hip Hop (MC Wire, Downsyde). Aboriginal music, he says, became increasingly political, specifically the rock bands, speaking about

sovereignty, land rights and political struggles. He also outlines personal struggles of the musicians, dealing at times with racism, police harassment and contempt as well as the major impact of some songs such as "Jailanguru Pakarnu", "Treaty" and "My Island Home", which, performed by Christine Anu at the 2000 Sydney Olympics closing ceremony, has now developed into "an anthem about Australia and an affirmation of Indigenous identity" (193).

This edition, looking at oral poetry, life writing, (young) adult fiction, gothic texts, drama, film and music indeed engages with different text forms and genres of Aboriginal literature. And yet from a companion to Australian Aboriginal literature one would have also expected a full-fledged discussion of seminal novels of the past two decades, such as Alexis Wright's *Carpentaria*, Kim Scott's *Benang* and *That Deadman Dance* and Nicole Watson's *The Boundary*. This input is wanted and could be part of a revised edition of this elegant and fine scholarly book.

Penny Russell, *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia.* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010. 406 + x pp. ISBN 9780868408606. AUD 34.95.
Reviewed by Danielle Norberg, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen.
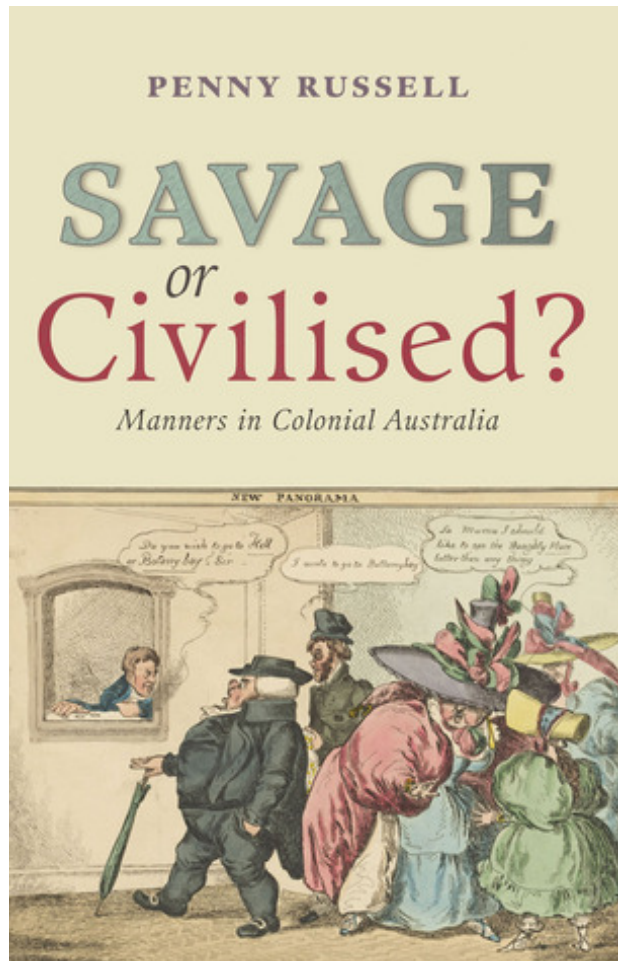
"In manners the colonial self was made, in all of its cultural uncertainty" (16); this statement is at the heart of a work which was already published in 2010 but leaves a lasting impression on the student of Australian history and culture. The introduction clarifies poignantly why manners were of particular significance in the colony: The question *Savage or Civilised?* posed on the cover is presented as a definitive one for nineteenth-century Australia. The author places manners squarely within the civilising project of colonisation and highlights how these ideas overshadowed relations between European settlers and Aboriginal people, but also between different groups within white society. "This book tells the history of Australian settlers for whom manners *did* matter" (1), especially the middle class and the elite who had the greatest stake in setting themselves apart by their measure of civility. The book is not about codified rules of etiquette; no such overview could elucidate the difficulty of behaving correctly in complex social situations in which there was no script to follow. Here manners are also understood in a broader sense as a form of conduct that shows consideration and respect to others. From the many contexts in which manners mattered the author presents four: "the pastoral frontiers, the uncertain elites of

convicts society, the domestic world, and the new public spaces of the modern city" (12). The book is divided into four parts; each of these contains three or four chapters that illustrate a different aspect. Many of the chapters are structured around the biographies of single people such as squatters, politicians, wives, doctors, or military men. Jane Franklin, wife of a Tasmanian governor, or the politician Henry Parkes are well-known. The stories of others, such as the Melbourne prostitute Annie Britton, are less famous but just as engaging. Although removed by more than a century, these examples highlight the intricacy of the successful enactment of manners in everyday life and the far-reaching consequences of a failed navigation of the social pitfalls.

The stories are "not typical of colonial experience [...] but may help to understand it better" (14). The result is a lively foray through Australia's colonial past. The sections seem to follow a rough chronological order, covering the time period from the founding of the Australian colony to Federation. However, too much information about other periods is given throughout to substantiate this first impression. In addition, the aforementioned contexts existed side by side at varying levels of significance.

Part I deals with encounters between colonists and Aboriginal people on the frontiers. The first chapter is an overview of the treatment of Aboriginal people as 'savage' from the time the 'civilised' British set foot on land till the end of the century. What is outlined in the introduction – civilisation as the justification for the dispossession of the Indigenous people of Australia – is investigated further. A detailed account of the significance of handshakes illustrates how manners shaped encounters between Aboriginal people and colonists. Aboriginal dress codes and body ornamentation as well as their food are also described; these were essential areas in which practices differed so greatly as to repel most colonists. This lays the groundwork for the stories of the land-agent Robert Dawson who attempted a "polite dispossession" (13) of Aboriginal people, and Niel Black, a Scottish squatter who aspired to the standards of a gentleman. The "manners of dispossession" (55) allowed both men –

albeit with very different strategies – to dissipate their guilt and maintain their self-perception as moral and civilised while asserting their superiority and power in the occupation of Aboriginal lands. However, manners as a mark of respect are also proposed as undermining and questioning this justification.

In Part II the focus shifts from the bush, where civilisation stood in danger of disintegrating into savagery, to the towns, where the danger lay in the chaotic confluence of social groups from sometimes nefarious backgrounds. In such a fluid society the understandings of what constituted civilised conduct were varied and standards unstable. This is contrasted with the structuring function of civility to differentiate between the different strata of society. The role of governors and their wives as social arbiters of respectability and status among the elite were fodder for the press. A woman's honour and purity also could be questioned in the papers; a man might have submitted himself to the scrutiny of the public rather than settle challenges to his honour in a duel: Jane Franklin, wife of the governor of Tasmania, was vilified in the press for stepping outside of her proper sphere as a woman by carrying her civilising endeavours too far, they ended up being construed as political. And the public showed their disapproval by their rude behaviour towards her; in one extreme instance she was sent a dead snake by mail. Doctor Farquhar McCrae aimed to defend his reputation but transgressed unwritten professional boundaries by the way he did public battle, also in print, with a colleague.

Part III begins with living conditions at the diggings in the gold-fields – an extreme example of the threat to the ideals of domesticity and propriety felt everywhere and ultimately perceived as a menace to civility. In marriages, manners indicated social status but also regulated behaviour between spouses. The gendered ideal of women as responsible for domestic harmony and raising well-mannered children is scrutinised here. This section follows the stories of three women who tried to live up to the exacting standards of their respective environments: Margaret Youngman was an impoverished governess who eked out a miserable existence by trying to instil

manners in the unruly children of a squatter. Polly Hardy had little power as a woman to inspire the necessary consideration due to herself and her children in an absentee husband. Isabella Ramsay was left with the sole care of her three children and a household under reduced circumstances; she was hard-put to maintain respectability and keep her children in check during the year her husband was abroad.

Part IV begins with the proper conduct of strangers during fleeting encounters in public spaces such as the street, the park, the theatre and opera, and the trams or railway – more specifically, how the close proximity of all classes heightened the importance of the proper sending and reading of signals. Questions of who to greet in the street, or of dress and comportment could give rise to misunderstandings. The other chapters of the section describe more complex and prolonged interactions that occurred in public: A scandal was ignited when the prostitute Annie Britton paraded the streets wearing the sword and cap of the volunteer officer Henry Gillbee on a bet; his public downfall would likely have been less deep if he had behaved more honourably towards his companion in the aftermath. Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes became an object of public derision and pity when he offered a handshake to a member of the Royal family in greeting and was refused (although who of the two really displayed worse manners is also discussed). Parkes became premier five times running but the disadvantages of his common background only gave him a tentative acceptance in the circles he moved in.

The conclusion reflects on manners denigrated as colonial that then became part of what formed an Australian national identity. However, based on her study, the author assesses celebrated national characteristics as mostly myth. She alludes to the current dangers of an "easy familiarity" (361) with national ideals such as egalitarianism, which privileged white men and was born from the asymmetric power relations in colonial Australia that are still visible today. Here Aboriginal Australians, whose existence was often ignored, and women's inequality are specifically referred to. The

author includes a brief personal appeal at the end for Australians to come to terms with all of Australia's cultural history – however unpopular or contrary to a national identity it may seem – arguing that the social and cultural legacies of colonial times have descended to "us" (362) today and need to be dealt with.

As Russell is well aware of, the book has one limitation that was probably difficult to avoid: The way the different sections are ordered appears to mirror the effect of the increasing marginalisation of Aboriginal Australians; in Part I they are given a primary position and more space is dedicated to this than to any of the other contexts, but in the three latter parts revolving around urban environments they almost disappear from view. However, Russell emphasises that she doesn't give a full or chronological account, and she also writes about later developments in this first section. In addition, focusing on such encounters that stand for many of the interactions in the centuries to follow is a logical choice. In the conclusion, this limitation is redeemed to some extent since Russell is very outspoken about the "most institutionalised" and "most brutal" (360) forms of 'civilisation' that Indigenous Australians were subjected to right into the twentieth century.

Overall, the mode of presentation is well-chosen: The almost anecdotal, detailed accounts make the biographies live and breathe. Russell is careful to present varied, even contradictory facets of the persons portrayed and so fleshes out the issues they represent. By connecting these with big themes in cultural studies – such as race, gender, status, and power – the colonial past is framed in terms that inform current discussions about Australian society. The knowledge revealed in the careful commentary or in the dense summaries of the origins of certain concepts might conceivably be overlooked by the uninitiated reader because of the author's fluent style. Currently, no other comparable work on manners in colonial Australia is available. The author does not revolutionise the common perspective on Australian colonial society, but certainly enlarges the view to a more contradictory, multi-facetted history. Working from the question of manners, the book shows that it is in everyday human

interactions that history is made. Thus, some of the underlying cultural values that drove social dynamics in colonial Australia can be understood better. In summary, the book is a rewarding read for both the novice and the scholar.

Kirsten McKenzie, *Imperial Underworld. An Escaped Convict and the Transformation of the British Colonial Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. 318 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-68679-3. Hardcover. AUD 34.99. **Reviewed by Steve Bahn, University of Heidelberg.**
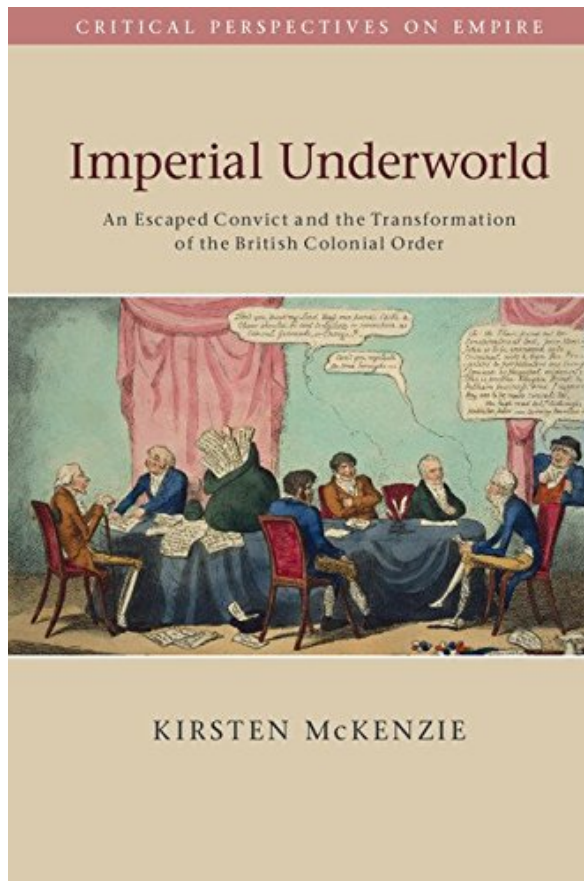
Die in der renommierten Reihe "Critical Perspectives on Empire" (Bd. 16) erschienene Monographie von Kirsten McKenzie, Associate Professor am Historical Department der University of Sydney, ist eine konzeptionell außerordentlich überzeugende Studie, in der sich die Autorin einer ambivalenten Biographie im Kontext der Kolonialgeschichte Australiens und Südafrikas annähert. McKenzie stellt die Person von Alexander Kaye bzw. William Edwards in den Mittelpunkt, um beispielhaft an ihr die grundsätzliche Einflussnahme von Einzelschicksalen und bestimmten Ereignissen auf Veränderungen in politischen, wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Bereichen im Britischen Empire im 19. Jahrhundert, speziell in den 1820er Jahren, aufzuzeigen. Geographisch konzentriert sie sich dabei auf New South Wales und die Kapkolonie.

Die kurze Zusammenfassung auf der ersten Buchseite der in neun Kapitel aufgeteilten Monographie hält fest, dass anhand der zentralen Figur von Alexander Kaye bzw. William Edwards (1791-1828) exemplarisch und methodisch eine Globalgeschichte konstruiert werden soll. Dies folgt der Intention, "a radical new account of the legal, constitutional and administrative

transformations" (McKenzie 2016: 1) darzulegen. Es geht McKenzie darum, vom Individuum ausgehend, zwischenmenschliche Netzwerke für diese Prozesse als Erklärungsfaktoren heranzuziehen. Die Historikerin spricht dabei von Kaye/Edwards als einem "'transnational' individual" (McKenzie 2016: 11). Nach dieser Positionierung und einer Schilderung des Forschungsstandes wird auf die Konzeption der Gliederung und die einzelnen Kapitel kurz eingegangen, deren Inhalt hier komprimiert wiedergegeben sei.

Im ersten Kapitel skizziert die Autorin zunächst die biographischen Hintergründe um Kaye/Edwards, einem britischen Sträfling, der nach New South Wales verbannt wurde. Eingehend berichtet wird über seine schwierigen familiären Verhältnisse sowie seine beruflichen Anfänge als Kanzleikraft. Diese Laufbahn sollte er nicht nur in New South Wales, sondern auch in der Kapkolonie wieder aufgreifen, seinem zweiten zentralen Wirkungsort. Auch auf seine prekäre finanzielle Situation, die vermutlich zu dem Vergehen eines Pferdediebstahls führte sowie die daraus resultierende Verurteilung am 31. März 1819, die die Verbannung nach Australien bedeutete, wird hierbei eingegangen. Nach seiner Ankunft in Sydney und Stationen in Newcastle arbeitete er für den Rechtsanwalt Thomas Wylde, nach dessen Tod ihm wiederum die Flucht aus Sydney gelang. Mit Stationen in Batavia (Jakarta) und der Insel Mauritius erreichte er 1823 die Kapkolonie. Hier arbeitet McKenzie deutlich heraus, wie nach der britischen Übernahme dieser ehemaligen niederländischen Überseebesitzung die administrativen Eliten in das neue administrative System der Briten integriert wurden. An dieser Stelle der Analyse fokussiert die Autorin erstmals ihr Augenmerk auf den Gouverneur der Kapkolonie, Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767-1831), der in der Konzeption der Monographie neben Kaye/Edwards eine zweite zentrale Figur darstellt. Die soziologische Gegenüberstellung beider Protagonisten ist Strategie der Analyse.

Kapitel zwei stellt das *Colonial Office*, das 1795 gegründet wurde, in den Fokus. Dabei wird auf die vom *Colonial Office* eingesetzten Untersuchungskommissionen eingegangen, die sich neben William Colebrooke und William Blair vor allem auf John Thomas Bigge

(1780-1843), den Verfasser des "Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales" von 1822, konzentrierten. Dieser Bericht sollte den gegenwärtigen Zustand der administrativen Situation in der Sträflingskolonie Australien in den Jahren 1819 bis 1821 bzw. in einer Ergänzung jenen in Kapstadt zwischen 1823 bis 1826 abbilden. Dabei geht McKenzie auf die zentrale Rolle von Lord Henry Bathurst (1762-1834) ein, welcher als *Secretary of State* von 1812 bis 1827 wirkte und das *Colonial Office* entscheidend prägte. Hierbei umreißt die Autorin beispielhaft die ambivalente historische Wahrnehmung von Lord Charles Henry Somerset, der seitens Bathurst aufgrund seiner umstrittenen Handlungsweise große Kritik erntete. Vor allem im Hinblick auf die öffentliche Meinung stellt McKenzie die repräsentative Funktion dieser Agitationen heraus. Die Autorin interpretiert diesen Zusammenhang folgendermaßen: "Bathurst's 1826 insistence on the importance of public opinion was not an isolated remark. It was part of a carefully orchestrated campaign to manage this most troublesome of colonial governors." (McKenzie 2016: 71).

Das nächste Kapitel widmet sich dem Umgang mit Informationen, die das *Colonial Office* offiziell erhielt, zugespielt bekam und taktisch verwendete. Dabei wird auch der Punkt Agenten und Spionage thematisiert, mit dessen Anschuldigungen Kaye/Edwards sich in der Kapkolonie konfrontiert sah; dies stellt die Autorin gleichzeitig in einen größeren Zusammenhang. Auch John Thomas Bigge und die Reaktionen auf seine Berichterstattung, die teilweise die wahren Begebenheiten verfälschend darstellte, werden im dritten Kapitel diskutiert.

Kapitel vier und fünf konzentrieren sich auf den Skandal um die sogenannten "prize slaves"[1]. Gegenstand dieses strukturell konzipierten Abschnitts sind die Behandlung der *prize slaves*, deren Status sich teilweise nur gering von dem des Sklaven alter Diktion unterschied, sowie deren schwierige Situation in der Kapkolonie.

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[1] Bei diesen handelte es sich nach Christopher Saunders um: "Africans captured at sea after the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807 and released in British colonies" (1984: 36).

Darüber hinaus wird die Rolle von Kaye/Edwards, seine kritischen Äußerungen bezüglich der *prize slaves* sowie seine Missbilligung der vorherrschenden Korruption in der Kapkolonie analysiert.

Das vierte Kapitel eröffnet mit einer Schilderung der Übernahme eines französischen Schiffes, auf welchem eine Gruppe ehemaliger Sklaven untergebracht war, die in die Kapkolonie kamen und zum Mittelpunkt des *prize slaves scandal* werden sollten. Auch hier arbeitet die Autorin heraus, wie die historische Person Kaye/Edwards in diesen Skandal eingebunden war, in dessen Verlauf er Lancelot Cooke, der einen *prize slave* bei sich als Koch beschäftigte, gegen etwaige Ansprüche von außerhalb rechtlich vertreten sollte. Dabei konnte Kaye/Edwards einerseits auf die bleibende schwierige Situation ehemaliger Sklaven nach dem Verbot des Sklavenhandels im Britischen Empire 1807 aufmerksam machen. Andererseits setzte er anhand der weiterhin unfreien bzw. eingeschränkten Handlungsfähigkeit ehemaliger Sklaven diese Problematik auch in Bezug zu Somerset, indem er seine von Korruption geprägte Handlungsweise speziell in der Kapkolonie aufzeigte.

Das sechste Kapitel beginnt McKenzie mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung. Sie kommt dabei zu folgendem Schluss: "Edwards had used the courts as a political theatre, exposing government corruption, defending national honour for the greater good of British abolition and casting himself in the part of 'undaunted patriot'" (McKenzie 2016: 159). Zwar von den Anschuldigungen der Verleumdung am 26. März 1824 freigesprochen, verfasste Kaye/Edwards im Folgenden zwei Briefe an Gouverneur Somerset im April 1824, die eine Ehrenbeleidigung des letzteren nach sich zogen und zur zweiten Inhaftierung von ihm führten. Diese Briefe werden detailliert besprochen, auch wird dabei die Wahrnehmung der eigenen Person diskutiert sowie gleichzeitig hinterfragt, ob er als Protagonist historischen Handelns die Auswirkungen seiner Argumentation abschätzen konnte. Ebenso wird der Prozess gegen Kaye/Edwards mit Beginn am 4. Mai 1824 besprochen, weiterführend auch im Hinblick auf die Anwendung britischen bzw. römisch-niederländischen Rechts, der englischen

bzw. niederländischen Sprache und damit einhergehender Verständigungs- und Übersetzungsprobleme während des Prozesses. Nur vordergründig verwirrend stellt sich die rechtliche Argumentation des Verteidigers dar: Die von ihm selbst gewählte Verteidigungsstrategie zielte darauf, plausibel zu machen, die Briefe verfasst zu haben, jedoch die Anschuldigungen in diesen als wahr zu betonen und damit seine Anklage als unrechtmäßig darzustellen. Die Verurteilung Kaye/Edwards erfolgte am 11. Mai 1824. Er legte sofort Berufung ein, jedoch auch diese konnte eine endgültige Verurteilung Kaye/Edwards zur Verbannung nach New South Wales am 18. Juni 1824 nicht aufhalten. Auch zwei Petitionen an den König und Bathurst, die bereits während der Verhandlung versendet worden waren, erreichten nicht ihre gewünschte Wirkung. Jedoch bewirkte diese Verurteilung, dass sich Gouverneur Somerset von Seiten Bathursts weitere Kritik gefallen lassen musste, ebenso von Bigge und Colesbrook, die das Urteil als fragwürdig erachteten: "(…) the evidence upon which he was convicted was in its nature presumptive, and that it did not constitute that legal and conclusive proof which is required by the civil law to establish the guilt of an accused person" (McKenzie 2016: 190).

Im siebten Kapitel rückt McKenzie ein weiteres Moment der historischen Transformation in den Mittelpunkt: Die Historikerin analysiert die Aufarbeitung des juristischen Prozesses durch die Presse und stellt dabei heraus, wie stark von Seiten des Gouverneurs interveniert wurde, diese an einer unabhängigen Berichterstattung zu hindern. Zudem geht die Autorin auf die begriffliche Unterscheidung zwischen "banishment" und "transportation" innerhalb des englischen und niederländischen Rechts ein.

Das achte Kapitel befasst sich mit einem weiteren Skandal in Kapstadt, in den sich Gouverneur Somerset zum wiederholten Mal verwickelt sah: eine vermeintlich unsittliche Beziehung unterminierte seine Reputation. McKenzie analysiert den Prozess, in dessen Verlauf sich Kaye/Edwards reziprok den Anschuldigungen Somersets

ausgesetzt sah, diesen durch ein Plakat und eine Karikatur der oben genannten Beziehung diffamiert zu haben.

Kapitel neun behandelt die letzte Phase des Lebens von Kaye/Edwards, der nach einem zunächst erfolgreichen Fluchtversuch am 19. November 1824 in Sydney ankam, wo er nach mehreren Umzügen und Fluchtversuchen nach Norfolk Island transportiert wurde und dort Selbstmord beging. Dabei geht die Autorin auf die besondere Situation jener Sträflinge ein, die vor ihrer Tat über ein gewisses Maß an "class, rank and power" (McKenzie 2016: 248) verfügten. Dies führte zur Herstellung von Hierarchien innerhalb der Gruppe der Sträflinge. Die Berichterstattung über den Suizid Kaye/Edwards wird ausführlich diskutiert, auch in Anbetracht seiner letztendlich erfolgten Identifikation als Alexander Kaye nach Rückkehr nach Sydney.

Im abschließenden Fazit werden diese Identifikationsversuche nochmals aufgearbeitet. Dabei geht die Autorin auf die Obduktion seines Leichnams ein, über die weitläufig in Zeitungen berichtet wurde. McKenzie schließt ihre Analyse mit einem treffenden Schlusswort, in dem sie den Protagonisten ihrer Analyse, sei es Kaye *oder* Edwards, umschreibt als eine aus bestimmten Geschichtskonstellationen erwachsene Biographie: "(a) personal and political drama that had set the claims of individual liberty and reform against the demands of state surveillance and security" (McKenzie 2016: 282). Nicht zuletzt unter Bezugnahme auf die exemplarische Rolle ihres Protagonisten positioniert die Historikerin McKenzie denselben im Widerstreit der strukturellen Kräfte historischer Transformation: "They were both actors in their own right and ammunition for other interests in a wider political struggle that encompassed both colonies and metropole" (McKenzie 2016: 282).

Kirsten McKenzie ist es gelungen, mit der Wahl eines biographischen Ansatzes eine globalgeschichtlich ausgerichtete Studie vorzulegen, in welcher Prozesse kolonialer Transformation exemplarisch veranschaulicht, strukturell analysiert und makrohistorisch

eingeordnet werden. Dieser methodische Zugang innerhalb der Globalgeschichte erfreute sich in den letzten Jahren besonderer Beliebtheit. Dabei zeigt die Autorin, wie sich das Einzelschicksal von Kaye/Edwards eignet, um von einer persönlichen Geschichte ausgehend auf Veränderungen im rechtlichen wie administrativen Bereich der Kolonialregierungen (Gouverneure) hinzuweisen, vor allem im Zuge systematischer, durch das *Colonial Office* beauftragter Untersuchungen, wie des *Bigge Reports*. Diesen ging es vor allem um die möglichst objektive Beurteilung der Situation vor Ort zur Anpassung bzw. Steigerung von Effizienz und Wirtschaftlichkeit und der Einflussnahme auf Gouverneure, auch zur Verhinderung von übermäßiger Machtausübung und Korruption. Solche Veränderungen konnten wiederum, so die Autorin, von der Einzelperson selbst beeinflusst werden und hatten damit eine große Tragweite. Gerade mit der Wahl dieses biographischen Ansatzes zeigt die australische Historikerin auf, dass beide ehemaligen britischen Kolonien nicht als abgeschlossene Bereiche, sondern vielmehr deren Interdependenz und globale Verbindung untereinander betrachtet werden sollten, auch im Hinblick auf den administrativen Umgang mit Sträflingen und der Strafe der "transportation", mit der sich Kaye/Edwards gleich mehrfach konfrontiert sah. In diesem Zuge gelingt die Verknüpfung zum *prize slaves scandal*, der wiederum den rechtlichen Umgang mit ehemaligen Sklaven erfasst und dabei Anknüpfungspunkte für weitere Studien bietet.

In diesem Zusammenhang soll auch auf die zahlreichen, bisher nicht berücksichtigten und ungedruckten Quellen verwiesen werden, welche Kirsten McKenzie für ihre Studie heranzieht. Die Auswählende nimmt eine Reihe von Quellen in den Blick, die unter den Kategorien "gossip, paranoia, factional infighting" gefasst werden können, wie ein kurzes Abstract zu Beginn des Buches betitelt. Dieser Quellenkategorie nimmt sich die Autorin nicht zum ersten Mal an. Sehr illustrativ beleuchtet dies ihre zuvor erschienene Analyse von 2004 "Scandal in the Colonies. Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850". Als eindrucksvolles Fazit bleibt die Empfehlung an den Leser, diese Studie zur Hand zu nehmen, zeigt letztere doch

überzeugend auf, wie sich Veränderungen innerhalb des Britischen Empires im administrativen Bereich sowie in den kolonialen Verbindungen des Mutterlands und der Kolonien untereinander durch die Betrachtung eines Einzelschicksals nachvollziehen lassen.

Zitierte Werke

McKenzie, Kirsten, 2004. *Scandal in the Colonies. Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Ritchie, John, 1971. *The Evidence of the Bigge Reports. New South Wales under Governor Macquarie*. Bd. 1 und 2. Melbourne: Heinemann.

Saunders, Christopher, 1984. "Between Slavery and Freedom. The Importation of Prize Negroes to the Cape in the Aftermath of Emancipation", *Kronos*, 9, 36-43.

Alexandra Ludewig, *Zwischen Korallenriff und Stacheldraht: Interniert auf Rottnest Island, 1914-1915*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2015. 281 S. ISBN 978-3-631-67021-7. Hardcover. EUR 59,95. **Rezensiert von Henriette von Holleuffer**, Hamburg.
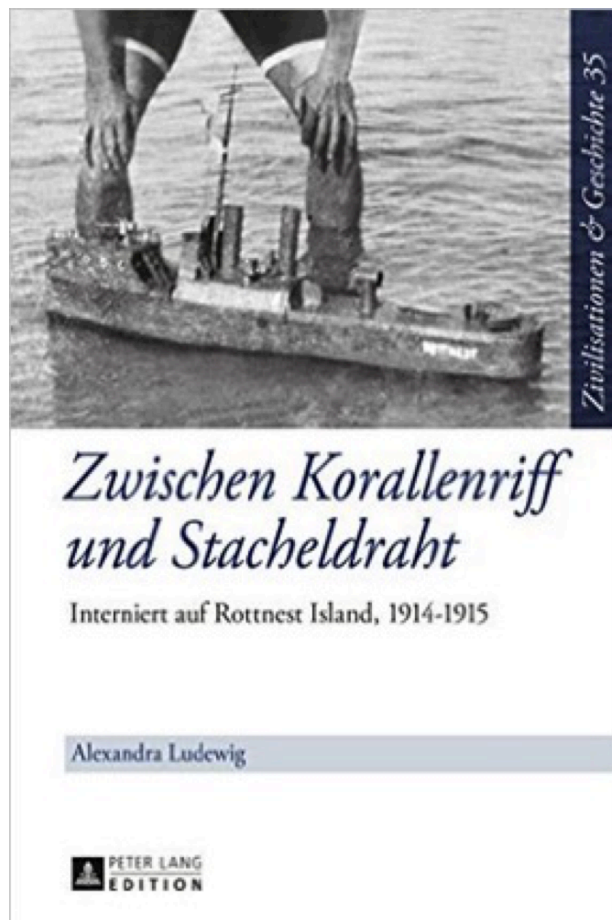
Mit Bedacht gewählt erscheint der Titel einer außerordentlich informativen Monographie: Das neue Buch der Germanistin und Kulturforscherin Alexandra Ludewig, *Zwischen Korallenriff und Stacheldraht: Interniert auf Rottnest Island, 1914-1915*, lenkt das Leserinteresse auf eine wenig beachtete Lokalität im komplexen Geschehen des Ersten Weltkrieges. Titel und Untertitel offenbaren die Ambivalenz der untersuchten Materie. In der Regie der Buchkonzeption wird der Blick auf eine geographisch abseitige Koordinate im dramatischen Szenenwechsel des Ersten Weltkriegs gelenkt; eine exotische Marginalie, die im flüchtig aufhellenden Licht der Jahrhundert-Retrospektive auf die Kriegsjahre 1914/15 exemplarisch beleuchtet werden soll: Rottnest Island – ein militärischer Außenposten vor der Küste Westaustraliens. Dies ist gleichwohl kein verengter Blick, der sich dem Neugierigen präsentiert. Das kognitiv verschaltete Auge des Lesers erkennt blitzartig, dass hier nicht bekannte Historie neu erzählt wird, sondern in einer Musterstudie Geschichte an der Basis ihres Geschehens aufgespürt werden soll, indem die psychologische und soziologische Dimension historischer

Wirkungskräfte auf die Agenda der Darstellung rückt und einzigartig charakterisiert wird. Es sind primär die Mechanismen von kollektiver Abgrenzung bzw. Annäherung unterschiedlicher sozialer und ethnischer Gruppen, die Alexandra Ludewig im Kontext interkultureller Begegnung anschaulich zu beschreiben sucht. Das vielschichtige Problem der Identitätssuche und der prekäre Diskurs über den Begriff der Heimat sind Forschungsfelder, in denen sich die interdisziplinär agierende Kulturforscherin auskennt. Auch bei ihrem neuesten Werk agiert die Autorin mit bewährt solider Empirie, um im Grenzbereich zwischen soziologischer und historiographischer Forschung globale Prozesse der Konfliktentstehung bzw. des Moderationsmanagement darzustellen und zu analysieren.

Der exemplarisch ausgewählte Schauplatz und vorgegebene Zeitrahmen schafft Raum für eine Detailstudie, die über sich hinauswächst. Mit ihrer Darstellung des mikrokosmischen Geschehens im Internierungslager Rottnest Island, das zwischen 1914-1915 bestand, hebt Alexandra Ludewig Erkenntnisse über das Verhalten einzelner Volksgruppen in der erzwungenen Gemeinschaft wie auch in der Isolation der Gefangenschaft auf einer Insel in die makroskopische Perspektive. Sie liefert im Ergebnis eine weitreichende Analyse psychologischer, interethnischer bzw. internationaler Konflikt- und Dialogmechanismen im Australien des Großen Krieges von 1914-1918.

Der Einleitung folgt eine Darstellung, die in zwölf Abschnitte unterteilt ist. In den ersten beiden Kapiteln verschafft die renommierte Forscherin in bewährt angelsächsischer Manier, narrativ und gelehrt, einen Überblick über den Stand der Historiographie zum Ersten Weltkrieg, die Verwicklung Australiens in diesen Globalkonflikt sowie die Geschichte des Eilands Rottnest von seinen Anfängen bis in die beschriebene historische Gegenwart, bevor sie ausführlich auf die Umstände der Einrichtung eines militärischen Internierungslagers am 14. August 1914, dessen kurzes Bestehen und baldige Schließung im November 1915 eingeht. Schon der Gliederung ist zu entnehmen, welcher Art das reichhaltig vorhandene Quellenmaterial ist, das den thematischen Schwerpunkt

des Werks nahelegt. Primär sind es die persönlichen Erinnerungen der Protagonisten, vornehmlich der Internierten, in Skript, Foto und Skizze festgehalten, die das analytische Augenmerk der Autorin auf drei Personengruppen und deren kurzfristig gemeinsam erfahrene Zeit im Lager Rottnest Island lenken: die zivilen (teilweise in Reserve stehenden) feindlichen Ausländer aus Deutschland und Österreich-Ungarn, die inhaftierten indigenen bzw. europäischstämmigen Strafgefangenen und das zivile/militärische australische Wachpersonal. Sie alle werden auf Rottnest Island in der einen oder anderen Weise von den vielgestaltigen sozio-kulturellen Verhaltensformen des Lagerlebens betroffen.

Das räumlich beschränkte Dasein spiegelt ein Wechselspiel von Annäherung und Separierung entlang nationalstaatlicher, ethnischer, sozialer und professioneller Perforationslinien, die im Internierungslager von Rottnest Island auf idealtypische Weise die flexiblen Muster empirisch nachvollziehbarer Gruppenbildung verdeutlichen. Alexandra Ludewig widmet diesem Aspekt, den sie in einem strukturell konzipierten Kapitel den Fallstudien zu den Akteuren im Lager voranstellt und umreißt, ihr wichtigstes Forschungsinteresse. Dabei ist sie gleichwohl bestrebt, die abstrakte Analyse durch die Schilderung konkreter Geschehensabläufe und menschlicher Einzelschicksale zu illustrieren. Die folgenden drei zentralen Kapitel, die die genannten Personengruppen in jeweils eigene Betrachtung nehmen, dienen diesem Anliegen. Ergebnis ist ein Werk, das historische Darstellung und strukturelle Analyse par excellence ist. Dabei besticht die Studie vor allem durch penible Archivrecherche und einen umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Apparat. Ludewig fügt ihrer Publikation zudem eine über 50 Seiten lange Liste aller Internierten auf Rottnest Island hinzu. Diese wird ergänzt um weitere wichtige Anmerkungen zu Beruf, Nationalität sowie dem Umstand der Festsetzung. Das Bild, das sich aus dem überaus geschmeidig geschriebenen Text, den vielen hier erstmals veröffentlichten Illustrationen und dem ausführlichen Anhang ergibt, ist ein Schlaglicht auf über 1100 Männer im Alter zwischen 15 und 66 Jahren, die der Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs im übertragenen Sinn an die peripheren Gestade weltpolitischer Verwerfungsachsen

spülte und aus ihren sehr unterschiedlichen nationalen, beruflichen und familiären Bindungen riss und willkürlich zusammenwürfelte: die kleinere Gruppe waren Seeleute, Matrosen und (Reserve-)Offiziere, die an Bord ihrer Handels-, Marine- oder Passage-Schiffe in australischen Küstengewässern kreuzten, als der Fünfte Kontinent in das Kriegsgeschehen einbezogen wurde, während die zahlenstärkere Gruppe jene in Australien neu beheimateten Immigranten umfasste, deren Herkunftsländer nun der feindlichen Allianz angehörten. Bemerkenswert am Internierungslager Rottnest Island blieb der Umstand, dass hier das slawische Bevölkerungselement überwog. Der Ausschluss aus einer willkommen heißenden australischen Gemeinschaft traf zudem auch jüngst aus Übersee hinzu gereiste Arbeiter, Unternehmer und Touristen.

In besonders eindrücklicher Weise arbeitet Alexandra Ludewig heraus, wie erzwungene Ferne der Heimat nationalistisch gesinnte Einstellungen auch (oder möglicherweise gerade) bei jenen Internierten hervorbrachte, die sich zuvor selbst als kosmopolitisch gebildete Reisende zwischen den Welten verstanden hatten. Nicht wenige von ihnen verfielen in der Zeit der Internierung oder spätestens nach ihrer Repatriierung in extrem nationalistische Gesinnungen. Unweigerlich wirft dieses Verhalten beim Leser Fragen nach dem "Warum?" und "Wieso?" auf: Die Verhältnisse im Internierungslager Rottnest Island waren vergleichsweise gut und privilegiert ohnehin der Status von Offizieren und Akademikern, human der Umgang mit den Gefangenen im Allgemeinen. Doch waren es vornehmlich die Isolation, die Eintönigkeit, Versorgungsknappheit, zunehmende Überfüllung und die ungewisse Zukunft, die Gründe zu dauerhafter Beanstandung darstellten und nicht selten gerade vorgetragen wurden durch die kleinere Gruppe der Privilegierten – einer rhetorisch geschulten Bildungselite, zumeist deutschsprachig, die ihre eigenen Zirkel pflegte. Bei der Suche nach Antworten auf die Frage, warum die kriegsbedingte Internierung nationale Identität(en) besonders scharf konturierte, nimmt die Autorin Bezug auf neueste historiographische Analysen, um einen weiterreichenden Blick auf die politisch-ideologische Situation Deutschlands in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit zu

eröffnen. Sie lässt den Leser dabei zu der Erkenntnis gelangen, dass "sichere Ferne" kein Garant für wertneutrale Beurteilungen von außen über den Begriff der Heimat ist. Das Fehlen unzensierter Berichterstattung und freien Postaustausches in Kriegszeiten, die erzwungene Positionierung als Angehöriger einer Feind-Nation im Internierungslager und die durch Sozialisierung militaristisch ausgedeutete Vaterlands-Ideologie vermochten den latent virulenten Keim (rechts)extremer Gesinnung auch bei jenen nicht zu unterdrücken, die die günstigen Umstände vor Tod und Verwundung schützten. Viele waren vor den Auswüchsen dieser Gesinnung nicht gefeit und wurden, wie Ludewig eindrücklich für einige der deutschen (Handels-)Marine-Internierten ausführt, wenige Jahre später zu Stützen des nationalsozialistischen Regimes.

Die Vielschichtigkeit der biographischen Konstellationen lässt gleichwohl kein einheitliches Urteil zu über nationalspezifische Verhaltensmuster oder Entscheidungsgänge der australischen Behörden: das zeigt diese Analyse beeindruckend lebendig auf; auch indem diese exemplarisch illustriert, wie in Australien *beheimatete* internierte Einwanderer nach dem Krieg unfreiwillig durch R*epatriierung entheimatet* wurden – nicht nachvollziehbare oder widersprüchlich erscheinende staatliche Entscheidungen verstreuten im Einzelfall so Familienangehörige über den Globus und hinterließen gespaltene Loyalitäten.

Gleichwohl lernt der sorgfältige Leser auch, dass Loyalität nicht zwangsläufig die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Nation meint. Der Umstand, dass in Westaustralien überdurchschnittlich viele slawisch-stämmige Angehörige der österreichischen Donaumonarchie interniert wurden, darunter anfangs auch die alliierten Serben, rückt Rottnest Island unvermutet in den Status komparativer Loyalitäten-Forschung: Außerordentlich viele von ihnen hatten in den Goldminen des westaustralischen Bundesstaates gearbeitet und wurden mit ihrer Festsetzung aus der Konkurrenz des lokalen Arbeitsmarktes verbannt. Im Lager stellte sich bald heraus, dass die ethnische und sprachliche Vielfalt der Donaumonarchie, in der Serben und Bulgaren eigene Kriegsallianzen schlossen, auch im westaustralischen

"Laborversuch" nicht soweit überwunden wurde, dass sich daraus ein gleichförmig gestalteter, aggressiv militaristischer Nationalismus formte. Einem erwarteten Pan-Slawismus schien in diesem Internierungslager vielmehr ein de facto aggressiv zur Schau getragener Pan-Germanismus gegenüberzustehen: Dabei belegen die von der Autorin hervorgehobenen Fallbeispiele, dass vor allem die deutschstämmigen/sprachigen Internierten ihre Separierung von den slawischen Sprachgruppen betrieben. Insbesondere die gebildeten Schichten bedienten sich der ethnisch ausgedeuteten ("pan-deutschen") Sprach-Allianz zwischen Deutschen und (deutschsprachigen) Österreichern. Doch Ludewig analysiert weiter und beschreibt plausibel, dass sich die Immigranten aus Habsburgs Vielvölkergemisch zumeist aus den armen Landstrichen des Balkan rekrutierten. Sie waren zumeist wenig gebildet, ohne weitergehende Sprachkompetenz, genügsam, arbeitswillig und vor allem anders gearteten Loyalitäten verpflichtet. Diese Loyalitäten wurzelten in Dorfgemeinschaften, ethnischen Gruppen und familiären Netzwerken und schufen immaterielle und materielle Abhängigkeiten, die nicht zuletzt aufgrund fehlender politischer Strukturen, eine Wahrnehmung von Heimat kultivierten, die abseits nationalistischer Gesinnungen und Bindungen wirkte. Nicht zuletzt dieser Umstand machte sie aus Sicht des australischen Wachpersonals zu vergleichsweise unkomplizierten Lagerinsassen – in deutlichem Gegensatz zu der Gruppe deutschsprachiger Internierter, die oftmals durch überhebliches Verhalten auffielen.

Doch auch dies gibt die Analyse abstrahierend zu bedenken: Ressentiments gegenüber anderen Lagerinsassen bzw. Verbrüderungstendenzen mit Internierten anderer Herkünfte und über unterschiedliche ethnische, nationale, politisch-ideologische, konfessionelle und professionelle Grenzen hinweg, unterlagen keinen festen Prinzipien: Aggressiv ausgetragen, friedlich moderiert oder von irrationalem Wechsel der Fronten gekennzeichnet, ergaben sich nicht Regelwerke der Abgrenzung oder Annäherung, sondern es entstand eine Koexistenz, die wechselhaft auf Unterordnung, Dominanz, Milieuabgrenzung, der Suche nach Gleichgesinnten, ideologisch erstarrten Überzeugungen, flexibel-rationalem

Pragmatismus oder tagesabhängigen Launen basierend, unkalkulierbare Verhaltensweisen des individuellen oder kollektiven Mit- und Gegeneinanders beförderte.

Das australische Wachpersonal, das durchaus seine multikulturelle Komponente besaß, stellte jene Konstante dar, an der sich die Belastbarkeit der wechselhaft wallenden Gruppendynamik maß. War anfangs eher ein auffallend friedliches, teilweise kooperatives Miteinander von Wachhabenden und Internierten zu beobachten, so resultierte aus der allmählichen Verschärfung der Kriegshandlungen an der Front und der Versenkung der *Lusitania* durch einen deutschen Torpedoangriff im Mai 1915, Skepsis gegenüber der vergleichsweise humanen Behandlung der "feindlichen Ausländer": diese wurde von außen in die Schicksalsgemeinschaft auf Rottnest Island hineingetragen und provozierte Verunsicherung auf Seiten der australischen Militärverwaltung. Die Autorin arbeitet behutsam und höchst informativ heraus, wie sich die Stimmung im Lager veränderte und vorhandene Ressentiments stärkere Konturen gewannen – mit dem Ergebnis, dass Internierte und Wachhabende ihre Interessen stärker vertraten. Auch hier gelingt es Alexandra Ludewig einmal mehr, den größeren Kontext nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren. Während der Leser detaillierte Einblicke in den Alltag, und dies heißt: die gemeinsam ertragenen Pflichten, Entbehrungen und kleinen Vergnügungen der internierten Männer und deren Aufseher auf Rottnest Island gewinnt, erhält er zugleich eine weiterreichende Lektion über die Kriegsstimmung in Westaustralien. Unwillkürlich beginnt er die tief sitzenden ideologisch-nationalistischen Vorbehalte, Ängste, Hoffnungen und daraus resultierenden Handlungsweisen seiner Bevölkerung und Soldaten im Getöse des Großen (Welt)Krieges nachzuvollziehen. Der Leser lernt am Ende auch, dass im irrationalen Szenenwechsel des Krieges militärisch-logistische Entscheidungen dominieren und das Einzelschicksal dramatisch verändern. Mit Schließung des überfüllten und zunehmend kritisch beäugten Lagers auf Rottnest Island, dessen Land viele Westaustralier lieber wieder als lukrative Ferieninsel genutzt sehen wollten, kam es zur Verlegung der meisten Internierten an die Ostküste Australiens Ende des Jahres 1915. Für

die Betroffenen hieß dies, dass die Erfahrung einer temporär erträglichen "Robinsonade" in weite Ferne rückte. Der Verlegung folgte erst 1919/1920 der Rücktransport der meisten Internierten nach Europa, doch nicht immer freiwillig. Als im November 1918 der Erste Weltkrieg endete, führte dies nicht zu einem Ausgleich bestehender Ressentiments zwischen deutsch-österreichischen und britisch-stämmigen Australiern. Bilanzierend gelangt die Analyse zu folgender Erkenntnis: Aus ganz Australien wurden weit über 5000 Deutsche und Deutsch-Österreicher repatriiert – viele von ihnen waren längst naturalisiert, oft glich die Ausweisung einer Zwangsdeportation und so markiert die beispielhaft zitierte "Episode Rottnest Island" auch die Zäsur der (Rück)Entwicklung Australiens hin zu einer primär britisch-stämmigen Nation.

Ergänzt wird diese insgesamt einfühlsam, gleichwohl immer objektiv gehaltene Darstellung durch ein abschließendes Schlaglicht auf die indigenen (und europäisch-stämmigen australischen) Straf-gefangenen, die zur gleichen Zeit im offenen Vollzug auf Rottnest Island ihren Arbeitsdienst ableisteten. Abermals gelingt es der Autorin, den Zeitmoment 1914/15 in den historischen Kontext einzubetten – insbesondere in ihrem Abriss über die soziale und rechtliche Entwurzelung der Ureinwohner Westaustraliens. Die auffallend hohe Kriminalitätsrate mündete für viele Indigene, oftmals wiederholte Male, im Lager auf Rottnest Island. Nicht zuletzt die Photographien des deutsch-japanischen Offiziers der Handelsmarine, Karl Lehmann, die die unerlässliche logistische Arbeit der Strafgefangenen für den Erhalt des (Internierten-)Lagers umfassend illustrieren, geben diesen Menschen ein Gesicht. Neuere Interviews mit australischen Zeitzeugen, die die Autorin verwendet, belegen aber ebenso, dass den Indigenen durchaus Gelegenheit blieb, traditionelle Lebensweisen zu praktizieren und nach Übersee zu vermitteln. Ludewig schließt auch mit dieser erweiterten Quellenarbeit eine wichtige Forschungslücke.

Es ist ein symbolischer Spalt in Zeit und Raum, den die Autorin für ihre Gesamtdarstellung beeindruckend aufreißt und betitelt, nicht zuletzt, um sich selbst und dem Leser fasziniert vor Augen zu

führen, dass es mitten im Weltkrieg Momente einer friedlichen Koexistenz von Menschen unterschiedlichster Herkunft, Sozialisation, Ethnie, Sprache und Nation gab. Es bleibt am Ende die Frage offen, in welcher Weise das erzwungene Experiment der gemeinsam ertragenen Internierung, Strafgefangenschaft und des Militär/Zivil-Dienstes auf Rottnest Island den Akteuren der Gegenwart Möglichkeiten aufzeigt, um ein auskömmliches Miteinander von Menschen mit scheinbar unvereinbaren Sozialisations-Hintergründen und konträren Einstellungen zu gewährleisten. Das gesteigerte Interesse an der Spekulation über diese Frage, die von transkultureller Bedeutung bleibt, ist der zentrale Gewinn für die Forschung, den die unbedingt zu empfehlende Lektüre dieses Buches erbringt. Dabei erstaunt es nicht, dass der Griff zu Ludewigs Werk zur weiteren Exploration der hier erstmals publizierten Quellen verleitet.

DIE BEITRAGENDEN/THE CONTRIBUTORS
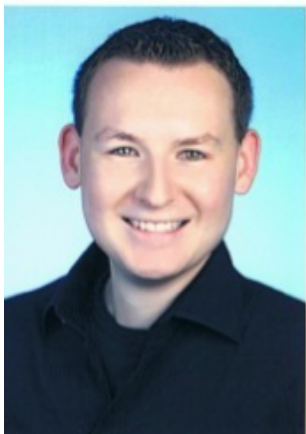
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