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Editorial

Even our view of our own surroundings is characterised by conventions. This applies all the more to foreign worlds and their inhabitants. They might have been 'explored' by 'discoverers', yet their view was neither objective nor unprejudiced. This was also true in Australia. The 'cartographic eye' measured the landscape according to the rules of conquest and appropriation.[1] This included categorising their original owners as savages who knew neither culture nor property.

The 'explorers' were well aware of the violent dimension of their actions. On an expedition through East Australia in 1831/1832, Thomas Mitchell described the situation of the indigenous inhabitants as "hemmed in by the power of the white population". He therefore regarded them as "unfortunate creatures" who "could no longer enjoy their solitary freedom; for the dominion of the white man surrounded them".[2] He was also aware that the violent atmosphere of colonial land seizure related even to his supposedly purely scientific ethnographic interests. This was reflected in a significant note:

Fig. 1: Cambo

"I met with a native but recently arrived from the wilds. His terror and suspicion, when required to stand steadily before me, while I drew his portrait, were such, that, notwithstanding the power of disguising fear, so remarkable in the savage race, the stout heart of Cambo was overcome, and beat visibly; – the perspiration streamed from his breast, and he was about to sink to the ground, when he at length suddenly darted from my presence; but he speedily returned, bearing in one hand his club, and in the other his boomerang, with which he seemed to acquire just fortitude enough, to be able to stand on his legs, until I finished the sketch."

The atmosphere described here as 'wild fear' of 'civilised studies' (see Fig. 1) was an expression of the social relationship of a settler society in which the relationship between the indigenous population and the foreign newcomers was determined by colonial violence.

It also characterised situations that artistic observers and creators of the events may have regarded as harmless posing for a portrait. In

1   Cf. Simon Ryan: The Cartographic Eye. How Explorers Saw Australia. Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press 1996.
2   T. L. Mitchell: Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia [etc.]. 2 vols. London: Boone 1839, p. 10; the following quote is from ibid., pp. 20 f.

fact, they were already 'manipu-
lated images' due to their gene-
sis.[3] This had structural reasons
and did not only apply where
they were transferred to the
studio and staged photographi-
cally, as by John William Lindt,
for example. His studio photo-
graphs show 'Australian Aborig-
inals' with painted backgrounds,
arranged plants and stuffed
animals. The image of a man
from New South Wales repeats
the arrangement of Mitchell's
sketch (Fig. 2).

Such staging did not prevent
contemporaries from catego-
rising the obviously arranged
pictures as "the first successful
attempt representing the native
blacks truthfully as well as artis-
tically".[4] This does not rule out
that "[t]oday, Gumbaynggirr
and Bandjalung people have
reclaimed the portraits as their
heritage" and that "[m]ore than
130 years after the photographs
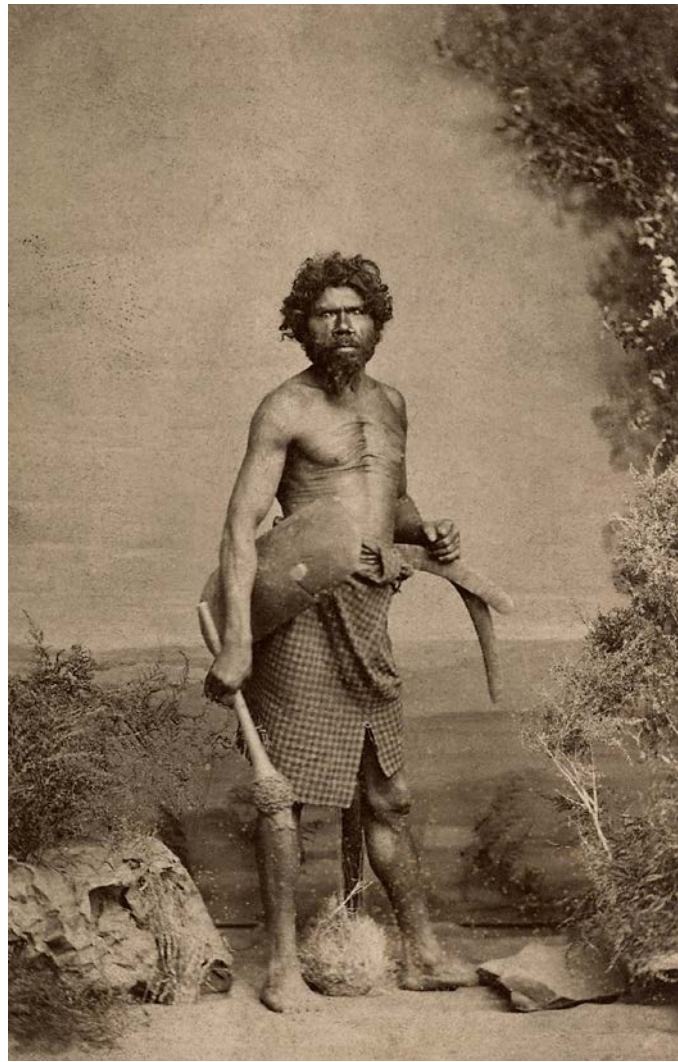
Fig. 2: In John William Lindt's studio

were taken, some members of the indigenous community feel a deep connec-
tion to the images: they personify relatives and family histories only now being
reconstructed". However, this is not because the images were taken without prej-
udice, but is the result of their cultural reconstruction. Nevertheless, the colo-
nial context of their creation does not disappear. They remain witnesses to a
colonial gaze.

Lindt, who was born in Frankfurt on Main (at that time a Free City of the
German Confederation) in 1845 and came to Australia at the age of 17, where he
made a career as a commercial photographer, is one of the many artists of German
descent not covered in this booklet.[5] For the period of the long 19th century alone,

3   Cf. Virginia Lee-Webb: Manipulated Images. European Photographs of Pacific People. In:
     Prehistories of the Future. The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism, ed. by
     Elazar Barkan, Ronald Bush. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1995, pp. 175-201.
4   Quoted from Jane Lydon, Sari Braithwaite, Shauna Bostock Smith: Photographing Indige-
     nous people in New South Wales. In: Calling the Shots. Aboriginal Photographies, ed. by
     Jane Lydon. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press 2014, pp. 55-75, p. 58; the following quote is
     from ibid., p. 60.
5   Cf., i.a., Rex Butler, Andrew D. S. Donaldson: A Cain of Ponds. On German and Austral-
     ian Artistic Interactions. In: German-Australian Encounters and Cultural Transfers. Global
     Dynamics in Transnational Lands, ed. by Benjamin Nickl, Irina Herrschner, Elżbieta M.
     Goździak. Singapore: Springer Nature 2018, pp. 193-208.
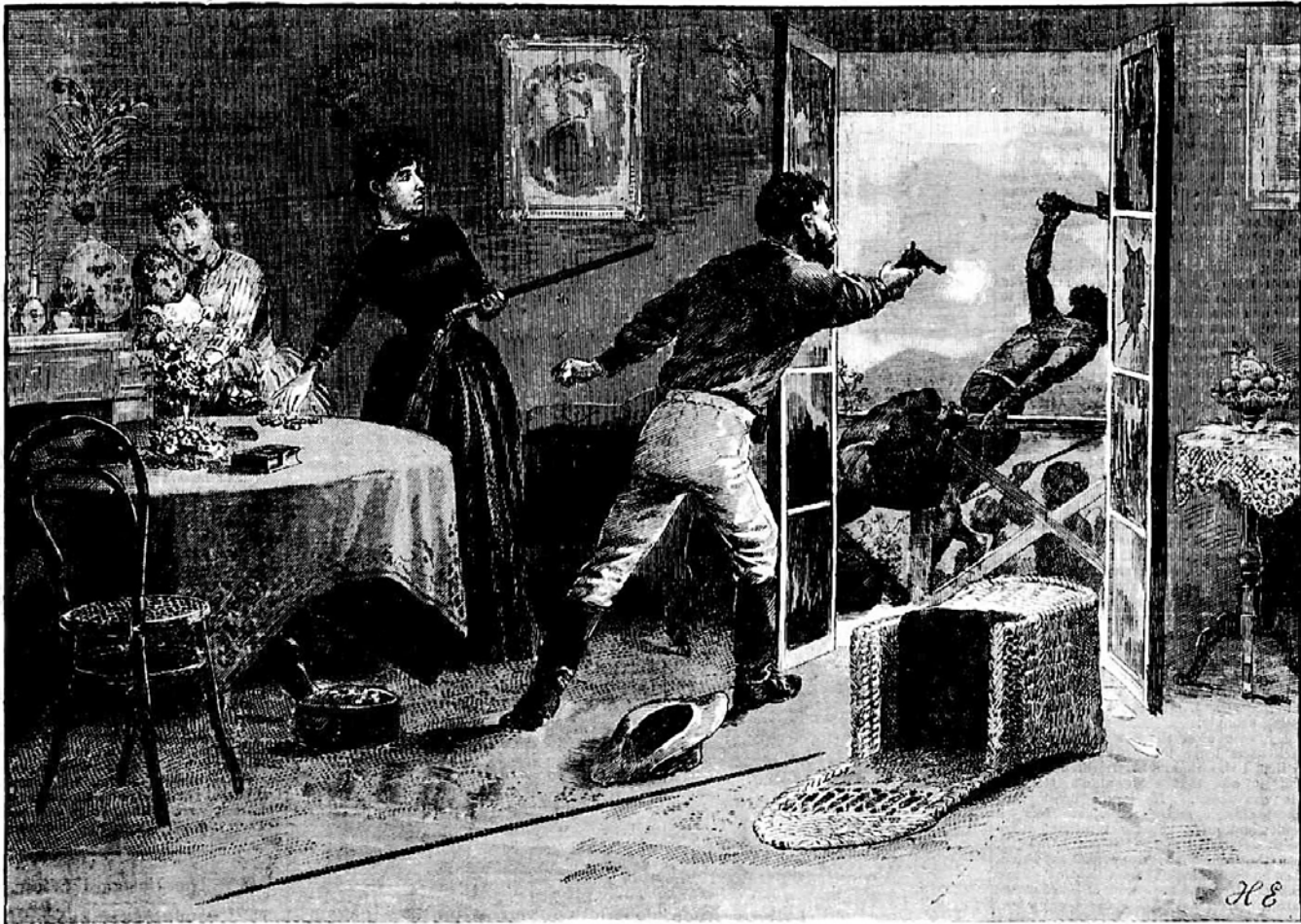
Fig. 3: Egersdorfer's illustration for 'Christmas Number 1887'

analyses of Carl Ehlers, Johann Ludwig Gerard Krefft, Fred Kruger, John Lindt, Charles Rodius, Gert Sellheim or Louis August Ludwig Tannert and others would have been worthwhile in addition to the contributions collected here.[6] In addition, Germans who were not artists also produced pictures of indigenous Australians as part of their research.[7] However, other respected artists of German descent were not at all interested in indigenous Australians, even though they lived in Australia for a long time.[8] And there were artists like the lithographer, painter and cartoonist Heinrich Egersdörfer (born 1853 in Nuremberg, Bavaria), who made a living during their stay in Australia with openly racist depictions.

6   It is not least due to the extensively economised scientific system that colleagues have not had the time and leisure to respond to requests in this direction.

7   One of them, the zoologist Wilhelm von Blandowski (born 1822 in Gleiwitz, Prussia), only stayed in Australia for ten years (1849-1859). Nevertheless, a fish with the name 'Blandowskiella agassizii' was still swimming in the local waters in the middle of the 20th century (cf. Gilbert P. Whitley: Ichtyological Notes. In: The Australian Zoologist, vol. 12, 1954-59, pp. 251-261, p. 255). The poor animal exists today as 'Agassiz's Chandra Perch', but Blandowski's name is still included (see https://biodiversity.org.au/afd/taxa/Agassiz%27s_Glassfish). For images of Indigenous Australians in Blandowski's work, see Harry Allen: Authorship and Ownership in Blandowski's Australia in 142 Photographic Illustrations. In: Australasian Historical Archaeology, 24, 2006, pp. 31-37.

8   Such as Emil Todt (born 1809 in Berlin), who arrived in Australia in 1849 to remain there until his death in 1900 (cf. Terence Lane: A Life Reloaded. Emil Todt, a German Sculptor in Nineteenth-Century Melbourne – https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/a-life-revealed-emil-todt-a-german-sculptor-in-nineteenth-century-melbourne).

As Heiner Egersdorfer he worked for the 'Bulletin' and for 'The Australian Town and Country Journal' he contributed an illustration to the 'Christmas Number 1887' showing a white settler family defending their home against attacking 'blacks'.[9]

The artists documented in this issue of the 'Zeitschrift für Australienstudien | Australian Studies Journal', on the other hand, have left behind images of indigenous Australians that are generally recognised as at least less corrupt, if not outright empathetic. The fact that they are nevertheless not free from the social circumstances of their creation is shown by the studies of Jane Lydon on Carl Walter, Susan Woodburn on Alexander Schramm, Ruth Virginia Pullin on Eugen von Guérard and our paper on Ludwig Becker.

Stefanie Affeldt and Wulf D. Hund

9   Australian Town and Country Journal, 36, 1887, 936 (17 December 1887), p. 1271.

Essays

Jane Lydon

Charles Walter, German Networks, and First Nations Australians

Abstract: German photographer Carl (Charles) Walter photographed the Kulin residents of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station during the 1860s for international and intercolonial exhibitions. He was networked into German scientific circles, and his work circulated around the world. Yet today we may see a more complex network of encounters and attitudes recorded in his portraits of the diverse group of First Nations peoples then living at the settlement. Here I review changing ways of understanding colonial photography as context for the significance of Walter's work in nineteenth-century Victoria. I briefly sketch his photographic career and networks and conclude by summarising his enduring value for descendants today. We can see Walter's work and its deployment by First Nations descendants as a form of 'visual citizenship', and a way of creating relationships between people and the state through dynamic visual practices. The changing value of the images, from science to family portrait, demonstrates the fluidity of visual meaning.

Once colonial photography was considered a destructive and oppressive medium, implicated in colonialism and its regime of surveillance and control. Within the dominant theoretical paradigm that emerged during the 1980s, photographs of First Nations Australians were understood solely as an expression of contemporary racial thought, which some believed should remain safely locked away in the archive. More recently, changing approaches toward interpretation acknowledge the mobility of images as they cross genres, appearing in diverse contexts which shape their meaning and impact.[1] Where the photograph was once analysed in semiotic terms, as a representation, attention has shifted to its social impact, asking what people *do with* images, and attending to the diverse material, social, and cultural circumstances in which we view them.[2] These ways of interpreting photographs emphasise the instability of visual meaning and value, as images move through phases of production and consumption, across visual forms, and through diverse cultural settings.[3] These shifts have allowed us to see how those

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1   See e.g., Thierry Gervais (ed.): The 'Public' Life of Photographs. I have explored these processes in relation to Coranderrk in more detail in Jane Lydon: Eye Contact. I acknowledge the deep generosity and kindness of many Kulin Nations people I have learned from over many years, and particularly senior Wurundjeri Elders Auntie Jessie Hunter and Uncle Bill Nicholson, Senior.
2   Some have even assigned the image agentic qualities in locating it centrally within the complex relations between humans and nonhumans, people, and things, although not in the field of visual citizenship. Key overviews include Elizabeth Edwards: Objects of Affect, pp. 221-234; Costanza Caraffa: Photographic Itineraries in Time and Space, pp. 79-96; Geoffrey Batchen: Vernacular Photographies, pp. 262-271; and see Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (eds.): Photography's Other Histories.
3   For recent discussion see Thy Phu, Matthew Brower (eds.): Circulation.

seeking recognition, and inclusion within imagined political communities use visual practices to assert an array of rights and claims, including citizenship.[4]

Such relationships in contexts of unequal power relations also apply to the 'post-colonizing' nation of Australia.[5] We can see interactions between photographer and Indigenous people express the historical process of cross-cultural exchange, as well as grounding the rich and vital meanings photographs have today. In the present, there is considerable evidence for Aboriginal people using photography for different purposes: photographs of people are valued as family portraits, and especially prized in the wake of assimilation policies known as the Stolen Generations. They document genealogies of kin and culture and can demonstrate the continuities that ground native title and other processes of acknowledgement and authenticity in the modern nation state.[6] In this overview of the work of Charles Walter in nineteenth-century Victoria I examine changing ways of understanding colonial photography as context for his significance. I briefly sketch his photographic career and archives and conclude by summarising his enduring value for descendants today.

Coranderrk Aboriginal Station was established in 1863 on the Traditional Country of the Woi-wurrung language group, at the junction of Badger Creek and the Yarra River, around 50 km north-east of Melbourne (Map 1). It was home to a wider group of First Nations Aboriginal people, from across the modern states of Victoria and New South Wales, who had survived colonisation and its impacts. Working with the station's first white manager, Presbyterian minister John Green, the residents successfully built homes, farmed, and educated their children; they were politically astute, and throughout Coranderrk's life advocated in powerful terms for their rights.[7]

An important aspect of the Coranderrk community's political strength was its understanding of colonial politics and its own place within colonial society. The residents' acute awareness of how they were perceived by settlers allowed them to represent themselves in ways that asserted their dignity and sovereignty. They also engaged quickly with photography and took opportunities to secure portraits of themselves and their families. In 1865 one visitor to the homes of Coranderrk residents noted that 'on most of the side mantelpieces were photographs of the ladies and gentlemen of the establishment'.[8] These were probably the first portraits made by Charles Walter, whose records of the station were published in the Melbourne illustrated newspapers.

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4   See Ariella Azoulay: Civil Imagination, 5; Ariella Azoulay: The Civil Contract of Photography; Jane Lydon: The Flash of Recognition; Darren Newbury, Albie Sachs: Defiant Images; Jennifer E. Telesca: What is Visual Citizenship?, pp. 339-343, 339. See special issue of Australian Historical Studies, 54, 2023, 2, pp. 183-382.
5   See Aileen Moreton-Robinson: The White Possessive.
6   See Jane Lydon (ed.): Calling the Shots.
7   For histories of Coranderrk see especially Diane Barwick: Rebellion at Coranderrk; Jane Lydon: Eye Contact; Jane Lydon: The Experimental 1860s, pp. 78-130; Richard Broome: There Were Vegetables Every Year Mr Green was Here, p. 43.1; Barry Judd: It's Not Cricket, pp. 37-54.
8   Board for the Protection of the Aborigines: Fifth Report, p. 4; Australasian (Melbourne), 5 May 1865, p. 135 (Country Sketches: The Blackfellows' Home).
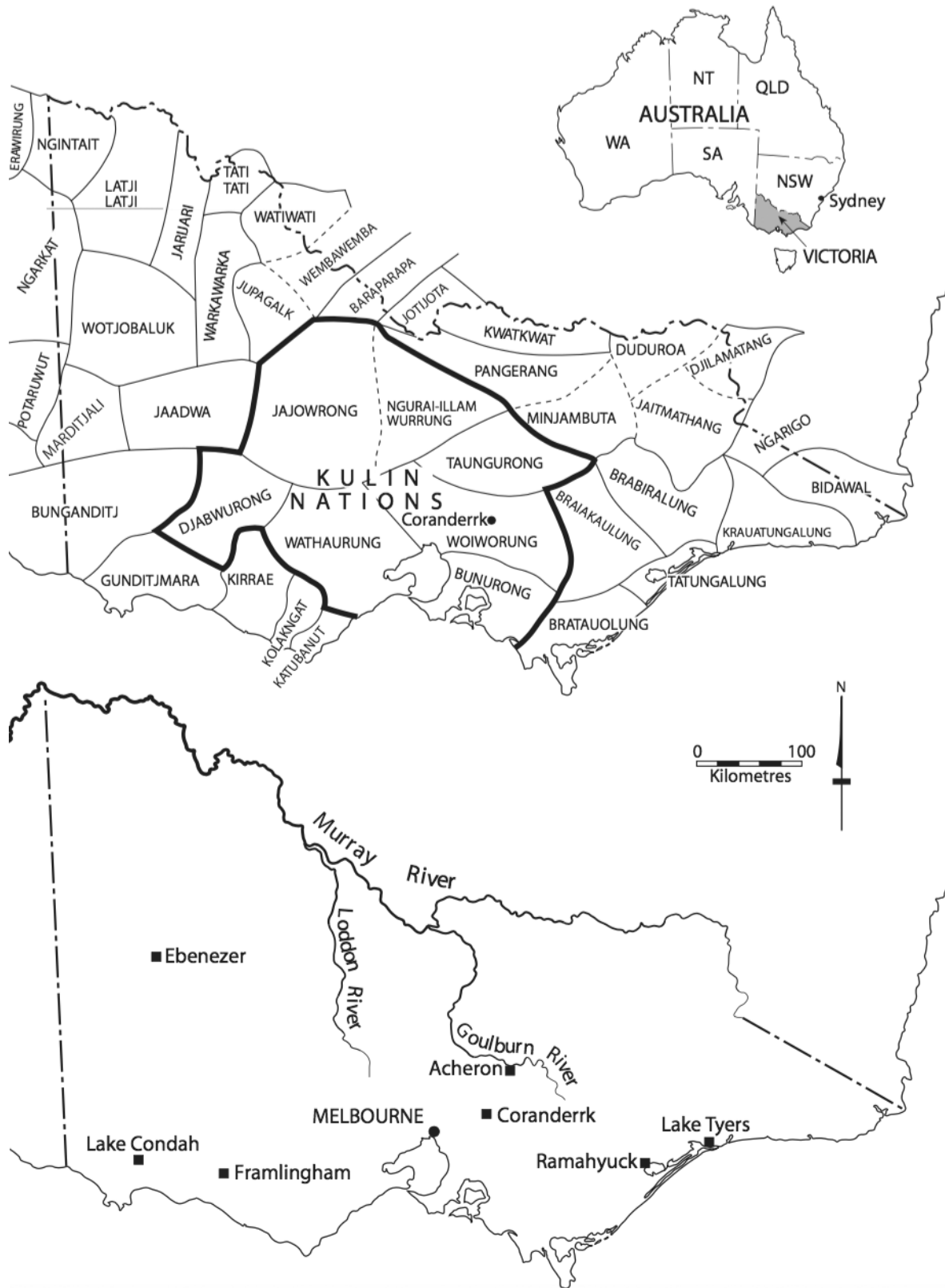
Map 1: Victoria, showing the Traditional Country of the Kulin.

German photographer Carl (Charles) Walter (1831-1907) was one of Australia's first professional travelling photographers, and his extensive work at Coranderrk with the residents formed the basis for numerous newspaper features, several photograph albums, and an exhibition panel. Walter was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, and travelled to Australia around 1856, where he worked as

a botanical collector and photographer. He collected plant specimens for Victorian Government Botanist, Ferdinand von Mueller (1825-1896, born Rostock, Mecklenburg-Schwerin), as well as accompanying other scientific expeditions.[9] Through von Mueller's active German scientific and imperial networks, Walter's work circulated globally. His outdoor photographs formed the basis for engraved drawings that were widely circulated by the colonial press, including landscapes, sights of geological and natural interest, and colonial 'progress'. Walter is largely remembered today because of his 1860s photographs of the First Nations residents of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station. These were commissioned for international and intercolonial exhibitions, within an increasingly racialized Western paradigm. However, for the Wurundjeri, Kulin, and other First Nations subjects of these photographs, they constituted powerful portraits of family. Today they provide important representations of Kulin Nations leaders which are displayed on websites and at public events.

Walter's photographic work with Aboriginal people circulated very widely throughout colonial and global networks and have remained influential public representations of First Nations Australians. From within a few years of the station's establishment, illustrated colonial newspapers published a series of stories about the new 'civilising experiment' outside Melbourne, accompanied by engravings based on Walter's photographs.[10] In 1866 the President of the Intercolonial Exhibition, Redmond Barry, commissioned Walter to make a series of 106 portraits of the residents, which was incorporated into a panel displayed in the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition of 1866. These images were also made into albums, such as for the family of John Green, the station superintendent.

Walter arrived in the country in 1855 from Germany and was collecting for botanist von Mueller by 1856. His earliest known photograph is dated 1862, and he was advertising as a 'Country Photographic Artist' by 1865. He was innovative in producing outdoor scenes of Victoria for the illustrated newspapers, who reproduced his photographs of remote and picturesque places.[11] He used a more portable stereo camera for most work but also produced half-plate and whole-plate negatives. He was an explorer who collected both plants and images, whose work satisfied an urban need to experience the bush. Walter became known in Victoria, then as now, for these early and powerful records of a significant moment in Aboriginal history. His personal relationship with Coranderrk and its residents points to mutual sympathy. Walter's work must be understood against the context of long-standing interest in photographing First Nations Australians. In the 1850s in Victoria photographers began to record the colony's Indigenous people still living on their Country, as well as undergoing transformation as they adjusted to white incursion. With the emergence of the cheap, palm-sized carte

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9   For biographical information see Design & Art Australia Online: Walter, Charles; see Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury: The Mechanical Eye in Australia.

10 Illustrated Australian News, 25 August 1865, p. 91 (The Aboriginal Settlement at Coranderrk). See for example Illustrated Melbourne Post, 24 March 1866; Australian News for Home Readers, 25 August 1865; Illustrated Australian News, 25 September 1865, pp. 1, 10; Illustrated Australian News, 11 June 1866, p. 8.

11 Bill Gaskins: Walter, Carl, pp. 834 f.; Gael Newton: Shades of Light, p. 50; Isobel Crombie: Victorian Views, p. 1; Linden Gillbank: Charles Walter, pp. 3-10.

de visite in the mid-1850s, portraiture became an international craze, permitting collectors to obtain examples, or 'types', of different peoples from around the world. Photographers recorded diverse Indigenous Australians in images that found their way into scientific collections across the globe. In Victoria the six major reserves established around 1860 became places of contact and exchange between black and white, generating thousands of photographs.

Walter took his first Coranderrk photographs before mid-1865, when one newspaper noted that the First Nations residents' homes "were tolerably well furnished, the seats and tables being made of rough bush timber, and the walls decorated with pictures cut out of the 'Illustrated London News' and the illustrated newspapers published in Melbourne. There were also several photographs, which were highly prized."[12] The following year another visitor noted that the huts "were all partially papered with that ubiquitous periodical the 'Illustrated London News', and on most of the side mantelpieces were photographs of the ladies and gentlemen of the establishment" – thus suggesting that Walter had passed on the results of his work at the station.[13] Other newspaper accounts of the station emphasised that it was an 'experiment' where the Aboriginal people of the region were adopting Western culture, learning to farm and support themselves, while their children were attending school.[14] Engravings based on Walter's photographs enhanced the message of order, but also provided a short biography of the settlement's Wurundjeri leader, Simon Wonga, as a cultural mediator.

Walter's Coranderrk images of around 1865 were collated in a commercial album titled 'Australian Aborigines Under Civilization' (AAUC), the title pointing toward its status in documenting cultural transformation. Like the popular newspaper reports, the album suggests the progress of Christianity and civilisation at Coranderrk and tells the story of hardships overcome by Aboriginal settlers whose attachment to a new home symbolises commitment to Christian values of religious devotion and hard work. As is common in missionary photography, tradition is contrasted with Western order and industry, attachment to place and their new home. At Coranderrk, panoramas became a popular way to emphasise the settlement's order and productivity, and here Walter chose to foreground the schoolhouse, and the missionary Green's home. Family groups standing outside their neat slab huts were accompanied by the Green family, imposing the European nuclear family upon the community – but also asserting that Coranderrk was their home.

One unique photograph re-enacts the story of establishing Coranderrk. 'The Yarra Tribe starting for the Acheron' (figure 1) commemorates the moment the Wurundjeri, led by Simon Wonga and John Green, set off from their camp at Yering in their traditional country to join the Taungerong, already settled at the Acheron, in February 1860. William Thomas, Guardian of Aborigines, told how "a deputation of five [Taungerong] and two [Wurundjeri people] waited on me

12   Board for the Protection of the Aborigines: Fifth Report, p. 4.
13   Illustrated Australian News, 25 August 1865; Australasian (Melbourne), 5 May 1866, p. 135 (Country Sketches: The Blackfellows' Home).
14   The Rev. R. Hamilton of Fitzroy was the newspaper's informant. See Illustrated Australian News, 25 August 1865.

Fig. 1: Walter, C. (1860). The Yarra Tribe starting for the Acheron. 1862

at my residence on 28th February 1859, their object was to have a block of land on a particular part of the Upper Goulburn, on the Acharon [sic] River, set apart for them."[15] The Acheron River headwaters rise on the north-west slopes of the Yarra Ranges, descending to the Goulburn River, in the north-central region of Victoria. In March, Thomas and the Taungerong set off to select 4, 688 acres, and on his return to Melbourne, Thomas met groups of Aborigines "wending their way to their Goshen." He saw a parallel with Moses leading the oppressed Israelites out of Egypt, through a period of exile in the desert, finally to Canaan ('Goshen'). The men assured Thomas that they would "set down on the land like white men."[16] But they were moved from the Acheron in August 1860 to another reserve, the Mohican, where they were joined by the Wurundjeri in 1862, and finally to Coranderrk in February-March 1863, as recounted by Simon Wonga. The photograph commemorates the Wurundjeri decision to join forces with another clan, adopting a settled, agricultural way of life as a response to invasion and colonisation (Fig. 1).

15 Aldo Massola: Coranderrk, p. 7; Board for the Protection of the Aborigines: First Report, Appendix.
16 Thomas to Brough Smyth, 20/7/1860, NAA: CRS B 312, Item 3, 6/912, cited in Jane Lydon: Eye Contact, chap. 3.

This historical recreation of the almost mythical story of the station's foundation reflects the extreme importance of this event to the Kulin residents of Coranderrk, and reflects an Aboriginal perspective. The line of men and women are posed as if in the act of taking their first step, led by Simon Wonga – including John Green, carrying a staff. The women in the background carry swags and children, wearing blankets in place of the traditional possum-skin cloaks. This story was translated into biblical figures of speech, predicated on Coranderrk as a 'Goshen', a land of light and plenty. Despite traditional links to different territories, as the speeches of Wonga testify, there was a firm alliance between the Kulin clans, the Taungerong, whose land at the Acheron the first reserve had been established on, and the Wurundjeri, whose territory Coranderrk lay within, and agreement to share the reserve. This early image, belonging to the experimental days of view photography, adopts a formal and symmetrical structure – like ceremonial performance, asserting knowledge, claiming rights, and legitimising and negotiating authority over specific countries.

Other photos show the residents in Christian worship, while portraits of well-known individuals contrast tradition, represented by Mrs Cotton and "Mr Cotton, the oldest Native in Victoria", with the younger generation's achievements in learning Western ways. Typical of missionary photography, the album's narrative structure emphasises domesticity and a western notion of the family, a settled lifestyle, the education of children, and material progress. The album combined a range of popular and local ideas about Coranderrk, framed by Christian rhetoric. The 1865 images produced by Walter celebrate Victorian Aboriginal people in this period, shaped by humanitarian perspectives.

Walter's 1866 Portraits of Coranderrk

In 1866, Walter was commissioned to make a series of 106 portraits for the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition, in turn intended as a practice run for the 'Exposition Universelle' in Paris in 1867. His remarkable portraits remain dignified portraits of the Kulin community.[17] The 1866 exhibition aimed to present "the various industries and productions" of participating countries, as its Official Catalogue proclaimed, designed to reveal "the richness of their resources and enterprise of their populations".[18] Walter responded enthusiastically to Barry's request, writing that he would be "most happy to comply to the wishes expressed by Sir Redmond Barry" and explaining that he planned to take single portraits of both sexes and all ages from infancy (6 month) "up to old age (80 years!)", and of the "different tribes". He explained that there were 123 First Nations residents of Coranderrk, "belonging to about 10 or 12 different tribes". They would be bust portraits each "the size of a half a crown piece", and could be "arranged according to the tribes ages & sexes on different large plates holding from 12 to 24

17   State Library of Victoria (SLV), Australian Manuscripts Collection H17247, Exhibition Commissioners' Letterbook, Intercolonial Exhibition 1866-7, p. 85.
18   Intercolonial Exhibition: Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia 1866, pp. 9 f..

different portraits, as might be suitable for framing". Walter signed himself, 'Photographic Artist'. In October 1866, the month the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition opened, Walter, presumably having overseen the installation of the series, wrote again to say that he had "Returned to my residence amongst the Natives here, I intend to make up now the Collection for Paris".[19] Walter requested that the Commission prevent his photos being copied, as he could not obtain Copyright for them: he wrote, "If desired by Parties interested in the Blacks, I shall be most happy to furnish duplicates of the whole collection at a moderate Charge, but I do not wish my black friends to be sold in every shop at the rate of 6d. each!"

Walter's surviving lists record the English name, native name, tribe, and age of each of the 104 sitters, starting with the eldest men, progressing through younger and younger men, to end with no. 50, baby Thomas Harris (sitting on his mother's lap), aged three months. Then it continues with the 'Female Sex', from the oldest woman (51, Old Mary, age 60, Jim Crow tribe) to youngest (80, Minnie, Yarra Yarra, nine months). Then there is a section headed 'Half Castes', starting with men (81, Dan Hall, Loddon, twenty years) descending in years to the boys (91, Alfred (Quadrone) 93, Lake Mering, five years – father a native of Ireland. Jemmy Davis), then "Female sex, half castes!", beginning with 92, White Ellen, Carngham, 21 years down to 104, Nelly Bly, Wimmera, two years.[20] The concern with these categories of 'tribe', 'blood', gender and so forth reflected contemporary ideas about human difference. Walter may have seen this collection of ethnographic information as similar to his botanical collecting for Von Mueller.[21]

The surviving exhibition panel is now held by the State Library of Victoria, and measures 176 cm wide by 123 cm high. A central title reads "Portraits of ABORIGINAL NATIVES Settled at Coranderrk, near Healesville, about 42 miles from Melbourne. ALSO VIEWS Of the Station & LUBRAS BASKET-MAKING". The small portraits are arranged according to 'blood', with older men occupying the top left hand quarter of the panel, boys below, and the adult women the top right. As the panel was 'read' downwards, it finished with the youngest and seemingly whitest residents, predicting the future of the race. In Paris, Walter's 'Portraits photographiques des naturels et des races mélangées' were displayed alongside sculptor Charles Summers' sixteen life-cast busts of Aboriginal people at Coranderrk, and a vocabulary of Aboriginal languages was also prepared.[22] Walter's portraits received merely an Honourable Mention, "For a collection of Aboriginal portraits, on account of the interest they possess, although exhibiting little merit as photographs".[23] However Walter's images were widely circulated, appearing also at the 1872 London International Exhibition and the 1873 Vienna

19   PROV: VPRS 927, unit 3, Notes and letters Oct-Nov 1866.
20   Album PRM.AL.56, Photograph Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. The second list includes only the 80 so-called 'full bloods'. See: Photograph Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. These two lists appear to have been sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum, but copies are also accessible through Museum Victoria's files.
21   Lydon?; Elizabeth Edwards: Photographic Types.
22   Gerald Hayes: London, Paris, Philadelphia … Victoria at the Great Exhibitions, p. 4; La Commission Impériale: Exposition Universelle de 1867 a Paris, p. 322.
23   The Argus Supplement, 14 February 1867, p. 2 (List of Awards): Newspaper cuttings MS SLV 13/8/99, 12900 Ms Folio Intercolonial Exhibition.

Universal Exhibition, celebrating imperial achievement.[24] After the exhibitions closed, Walter's photographs and Summers' busts were sent to Europe to participate in scientific debates about human evolution. The series was subsequently used by von Mueller as a token of exchange with colleagues around the world – this series is held in Russia, Italy, Oxford, and elsewhere.[25] As Walter's work demonstrates, the collection and exchange of photographs was central to the formation of anthropology and a disciplinary visual culture over the second half nineteenth century.

Walter and German networks

Walter's role within German scientific and collecting networks remained significant, especially through government botanist Ferdinand von Mueller, who had established a large network of collectors across Victoria. One example demonstrates the nature of these German-Indigenous connections: the young Anatole von Hügel collected in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, and Java from 1874 to 1878. Anatole had access to a network of influential connections forged by his father, the world-famous Austrian horticulturalist Karl Von Hügel.[26] Anatole was twenty years old when he arrived in Melbourne in September 1874 and spent around four months in the colony.[27] Von Hügel's travels in Victoria echoed that of many a scientific visitor before him – and, as Nicholas Thomas has suggested, was in part an 'act of homage' to his father Karl's extensive travels.[28] Anatole's connections were noticeably German and Catholic, and von Mueller played a particularly important role in his visit, supplying him with contacts, information and even lending him £165.[29] During his visit Anatole explored the natural sights surrounding Melbourne, later recalling, "I passed three pleasant months in Victoria, shooting and collecting among the beautiful Dandenong Mountains north of Melbourne." During this time Anatole's constant guide and companion was Walter, and as for many visitors to Victoria at this time, photographs of the tree fern forests of the Dandenongs constituted a lasting memento (Fig. 2).[30]

24   Louise M. Partos: The Construction of Representation, p. 60.
25   See Jane Lydon: Eye Contact.
26   Dymphna Clark: Nova Hollandia Huegelli, pp. 1-15. Karl had spent almost a year between 1833-34 travelling in Western Australia, Tasmania, New South Wales, New Zealand, and Norfolk Island, collecting botanical specimens.
27   VH1/2/23 Papers… 'Notes on various places … maps … Australia' Brown envelope: 'Notebook 1874 Voyage from Plymouth to Melbourne. Notes for 1874', Archives of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.
28   Nicholas Thomas: Von Hügel's Curiosity, pp. 299-314.
29   At this time Von Mueller was at a difficult stage of his career, having been replaced as Director of Melbourne's Botanical gardens in July 1873 in controversial circumstances.
30   VH 1/2/24 'Document – Blue box marked no. 4 MS1 Australia to Fiji, Levuka, Fison Row. 27/4-18/6/75. MS2 Rewa trip. 18/6 - 4/8/75 MS3 Nasova, Bau. 5/8 - 10/9 75 MS4 Nasova, Navuso and field book. 12/9 - 31/10/75', Archives of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. A rather turbulent relationship developed between the two, especially on their subsequent Pacific voyage together on the Wesleyan Mission barque, the John Wesley, which sailed to the Bismarck Archipelago in PNG via Fiji and Samoa.

Fig. 2: Charles Walter, Fern trees in Dandenongs

Anatole Von Hügel was later to become the founding director and first Curator of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University (MAA), established in 1884, donating his own collection of artefacts from the South Pacific.[31] MAA holds a large series of Walter's photographic work, including a handsome album commissioned by Anatole that he gave to his mother. This contains scenes of the nascent towns and landscapes of the colonies he visited – especially Melbourne – and complements the letters and diary entries he wrote for his mother and his fiancée. The album echoes Anatole's experiences, including visiting Coranderrk with Walter. On Monday 2nd October 1874, Walter and Anatole set off by Mail-coach from Melbourne, where he was staying at the Menzies Hotel, to Lilydale, arriving at noon.[32] After lunch, "we packed a few things in my cartridge bag & W's knapsack, & the latter insisted on my loading him like a packmule with my guncases &c", they walked through a rainstorm up the Dandenong range to Harmony Vale, where he saw his first wallaby, black cockatoo and tree ferns – of course deeply admired for their aesthetic qualities at the time.

31 See Victoria Ebin, Deborah A. Swallow: The Proper Study of Mankind. See also ms Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: History, St Edmunds College, Cambridge University.
32 'Document – Blue box marked no 3 scraps, cuttings, ?mekes. Notes on various places, letters in Fijian, sketches, Miss Gordon Cumming, meke notes, map of Nasaucoko. Australia and New Zealand', VH1/2/23, Archives of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 3: View of Lilydale

He noted "There I shot my first bird a species of wagtail but I lost it in the creek & in looking for it very nearly had a swim."[33] He described a wallaby hunt, sighting a native bear, the fern tree gullies, and meetings with various local figures.[34] By November, he was "feeling very miserable and blue", "but then there was Fernshaw with its giant trees to see & the Black Station (Natives) to go to and work to be done in both. Mr Walter too was getting fidgetty as he could be of great use to me in both places." On Monday 9 November Anatole organized a "German party", with Baron Von Mueller, Walter, the German Consul, and three German botanists, Carl Groener, Shafer and [?]Victor.[35] The group enjoyed a walk up Black Spur, admiring its "quaint timber and lovely gullies". Anatole saw his first kangaroo rats and several new birds. He described this gathering as a "German tea party", and concluded, "Evening very jolly."

Two days later, he rose early and walked through the bush to the 'Black Station', Coranderrk. Like many others before him, he saw Coranderrk as a site of ethnographic information – but his comments related more to his admiration for the settlement: his brief notes comment on the "Beauty of Blacks' village", and he noted in his diary, "night prayers and singing, shaking hands".[36] His mother's album holds this view of Lilydale, signed by Walter (Fig. 3). The black settlement of Coranderrk would have looked much the same at this time, flourishing in its picturesque location along the banks of the Yarra.

The relationship between the two was healthy enough for Von Hügel to commission Walter to accompany him to the Pacific. In 1875 Von Hügel took passage on the 'John Wesley', the Wesleyan Mission barque, sailing to found a new mission

33   'Document – Blue box marked no 3', VH1/2/23, MAA.
34   'Document – Blue box marked no 3', VH1/2/23, MAA. Brown envelope 'Notes and letters Australia Batavia' Bundle: 'Baron's diary – Australia/ Batavia'
35   Irmline Veit-Brause: Australia as an Object in Nineteenth Century World Affairs, pp. 142-159; Sara Maroske: Educational Exsiccatae, pp. 37-47.
36   'Document – Blue box marked no 3', VH1/2/23, MAA. 'Notes and letters Australia Batavia' Bundle: 'Baron's diary – Australia/ Batavia', MAA.
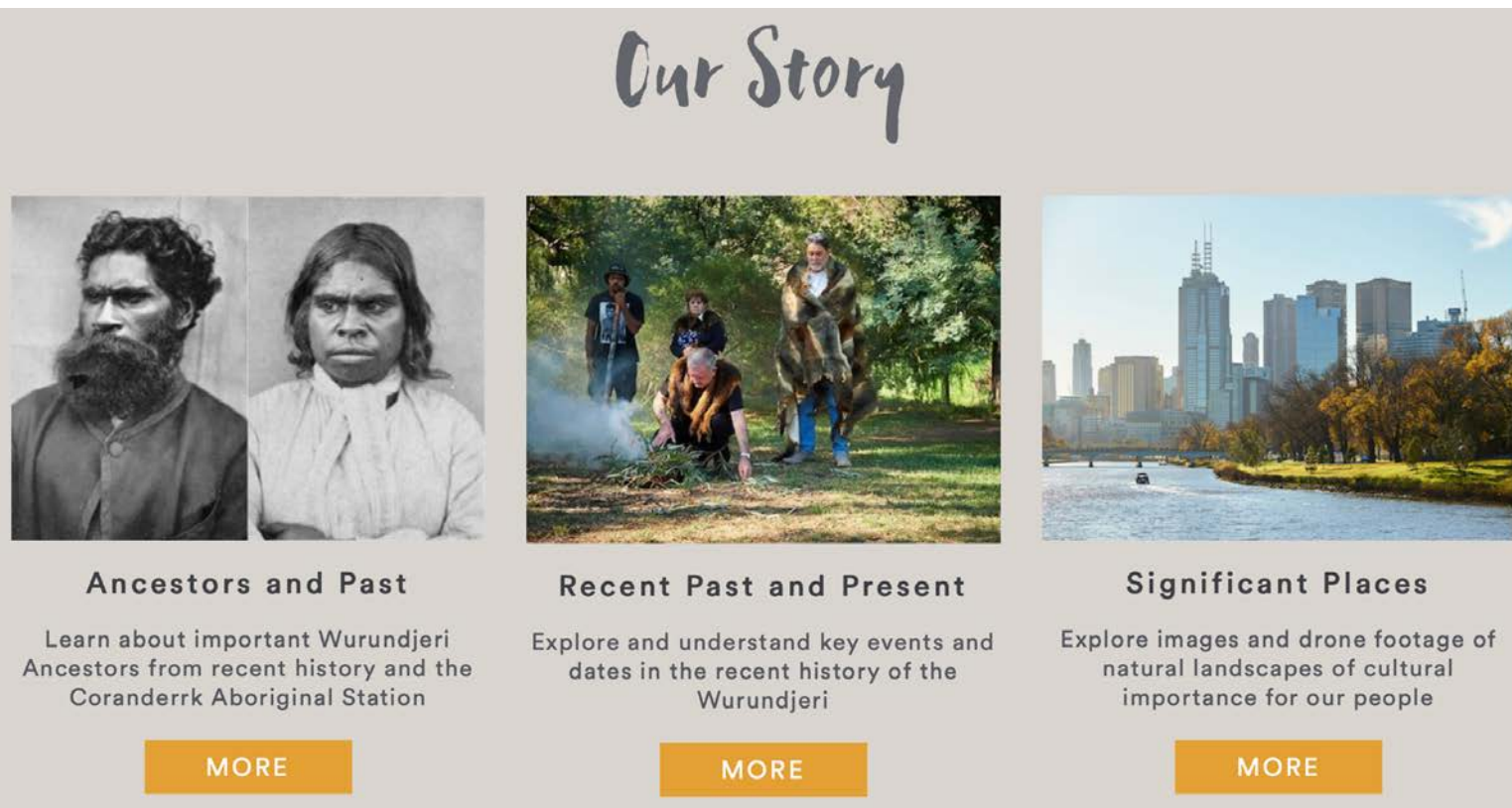
Fig. 4: 'Our Story', Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Organisation, 2023

in the Duke of York islands, and on the way visit Fiji, Rotuma and Samoa.[37] He took two assistants, Walter and the taxidermist Cockerell, but following a dispute with missionary Lorimer Fison, Von Hügel remained in Fiji, sending them on, "together with their equipment".[38] Walter collected in Duke of York Island, and in New Britain, subsequently passing on his botanical specimens to Von Mueller, who then sent them to colleagues such as British botanist Henry Trimen. It seems that Von Hügel tried to reclaim Walter's native collections, but the Baroness later annotated his diary to the effect that Walter had pretended he had not collected very much, "and refused to send him anything. It was only afterwards that Anatole heard fully how utterly false this was, and how much he had made by selling to others what belonged to Anatole. But he had made influential friends and he 'flourishes like a green bay tree' in consequence."[39] Sadly, this suggests the acrimonious end of their productive relationship, but also testifies to the enduring value of Walter's German scientific networks.

Today

Alongside such evidence for the contemporary value of Walter's photography as scientific data, we must also acknowledge the engagement of First Nations people with photography from its introduction, and their contemporary objectives in

37   'Document – Blue box marked no 3', VH1/2/23, MAA.
38   Jane Roth, Steven Hooper (eds.): The Fiji Journals of Baron Von Hugel, pp. xiii f.
39   Ibid., p. 438.

Simon Wonga   Wiliam Barak

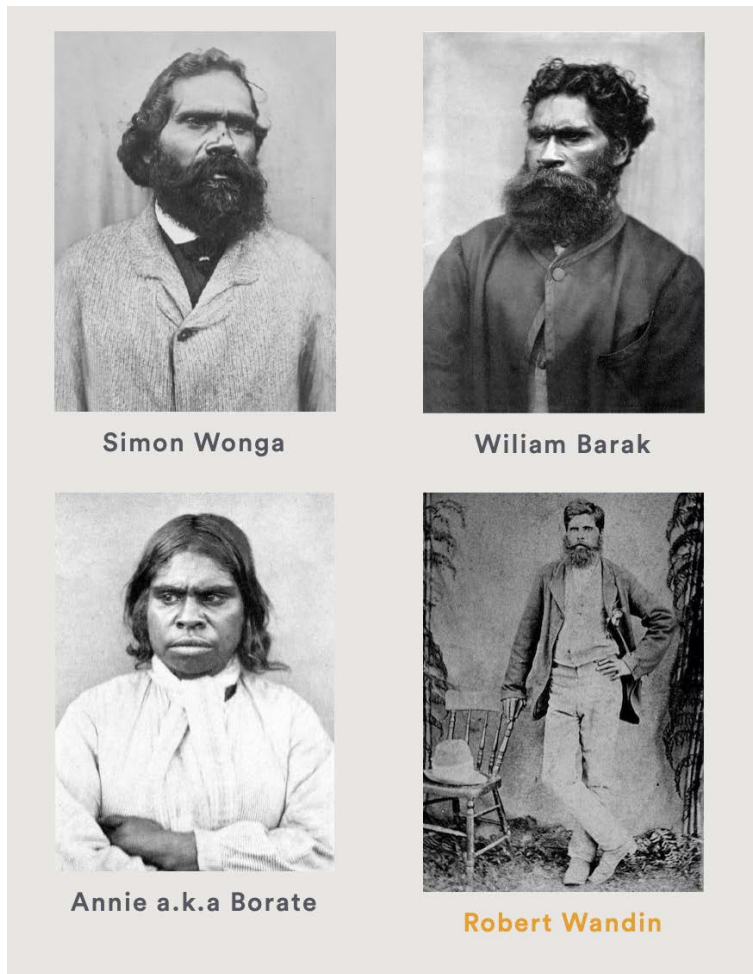Annie a.k.a Borate   Robert Wandin

Fig. 5: Website Walter portraits

sitting for photography, acquiring photographs, and using them for purposes such as family portraiture. Historically, it was often noted that the Aboriginal residents collected and treasured portraits of their community – such as when in September 1876 the 'Argus' reported that "some of the chief objects of desire" were "photographic representations of their own and their children's countenances".[40] It is therefore unsurprising that today this series has become an important form of cultural heritage for the many descendants of the First Nations residents of Coranderrk, "belonging to about 10 or 12 different tribes". The Wurundjeri, Taungerong, and other Kulin or First Nations descendants have incorporated them into family histories and cultural narratives. As a doctoral student during the late 1990s, I was privileged to learn about these practices from senior Wurundjeri Elders Auntie Jessie Hunter, and Uncle Bill Nicholson, Senior, as well as Aunty Joy Murphy-Wandin, Vicky Nicholson, Murrundindi, Ian Hunter, Judy Monk, and many others. The generosity of Kulin Nations people continues to see these historic images shared with the broader community. The Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Organisation, for example, hosts a website stating that, "We are the Traditional Custodians of Melbourne and surrounding lands." It explains these links to ancestors on a page titled "Our Story"; regarding "Ancestors and Past" the website advises the viewer, "[t]o learn about some our Ancestors from recent history, click their name and find out more" (Fig. 4).[41] Walter's portraits of Simon Wonga, William Barak, and Annie Borate are shown, linking to further biographical and historical data that connect past and present (Fig. 5). Wonga's portrait leads to further information, beginning "The son of Billibellary (c.1799-1846), Simon Wonga became Ngurungaeta (leader) of the Woi wurrung clans following

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40 Board for the Protection of the Aborigines: Fifth Report, p. 4; The Argus Supplement, 1 September 1876, p. 7.
41 Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Organisation: Ancestors and Past,.
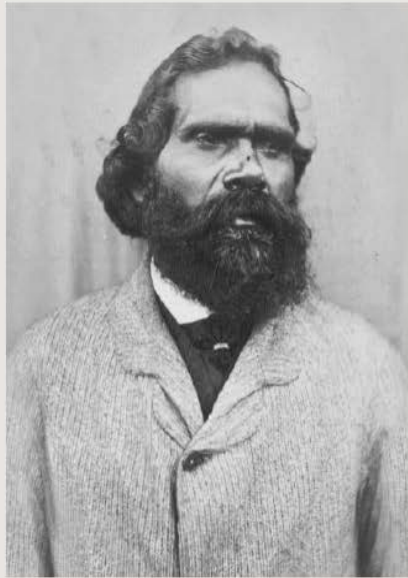
The son of Billibellary (c.1799-1846), Simon Wonga became Ngurungaeta (leader) of the Woi wurrung clans following the death of his father in 1846, at the age of 22. He was born near Arthur's Seat ("Wonga" being the Aboriginal place name for this area). In 1863, Wonga and his (maternal) cousin William Barak, who ultimately succeeded him as Ngurungaeta, led their remaining people across the Black's Spur Songline to the Upper Yarra and established Coranderrk Mission Station. Access to the land was granted, though importantly not as freehold.

The Melbourne suburb of Wonga Park and Wonga Road are named after him.

Simon Wonga

Fig. 6: Simon Wonga

the death of his father in 1846." (Fig. 6)[42] The photographs have become a public family tree that demonstrates the Wurundjeri organisation's rights to speak for land and culture. Like many descendants of these historical photographic subjects, the photos remain a way to document family, re-connect familial links and ties broken by the Stolen Generations (assimilation policies) and the devastation of invasion and colonisation. This series is also well-known and much-loved by Wurundjeri, Taungerong, and other Kulin descendants, who have incorporated them into family histories and cultural narratives.

List of Illustrations

42   Ibid.

Fig. 6:   Simon Wonga, Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal
           Organisation, www.wurundjeri.com.au/our-story/ancestors-past.

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Susan Woodburn

Acknowledging Presence

Alexander Schramm's Representation of Aboriginal People
in Colonial South Australia 1850-1864

Abstract: The Berlin-born artist Alexander Schramm (1813-1864) emigrated to the British colony of South Australia in 1849, where over the next fifteen years he produced paintings, drawings and lithographs that focused on representations of the local indigenous people in encampments, travelling and interactions with settlers. While this body of work was not large, it constituted the major part of his Australian oeuvre and was made at a time when the Aboriginal population had been drastically diminished and largely dislodged from the centres of settlement. Schramm appears to have had no intention of ethnographic documentation and his works are distinct from those of most contemporaries who employed the modes of portraiture of "representatives of the race" or figures included in the landscape for compositional or symbolic purposes. Rather they showed Aboriginal people per se, full-figured and individual, as they were currently seen around Adelaide. Schramm's reasons for this focus and his own attitude to these people remain obscure but the works he made provide a unique record of an indigenous group over a decade of dislocation and suggest both the vitiation and the accommodations made by them in response to the expansion of colonial settlement.

When Alexander Schramm left Berlin on the 'Prinzessin Luise' in August 1849 for the recently established settlement of South Australia he already had fifteen years practice as a portrait and genre painter and had exhibited paintings regularly at the Berlin Royal Academy of Arts. But in a crowded profession he appears to have had limited success[1] and while his departure at this particular time might suggest that he was disillusioned with the failure of the 1848 uprisings to achieve significant political and social change,[2] he was also likely seeking the greater economic opportunities promoted by emigration agents that prompted many of his fellow passengers. He declared himself a portrait painter on his subsequent application for naturalisation in 1850 and a number of portrait commissions signed by him survive. Yet his principal works over the next fifteen years would not be conventional images of local landowners, merchants and other settlers but representations of indigenous people living in and around and visiting the

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1   One hundred and forty portrait painters were recorded in the Berlin directories for 1845, when Schramm returned to Berlin from Warsaw and set up again as a portrait and genre painter. Despite regular exhibition entries, his works received no reviews and Schramm is not mentioned in Atanazy Raczynski's Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst (1836-41), the major survey of contemporary German artists that drew heavily on the Berlin exhibition and personal visits to ateliers, nor are there works by him in the inventories of contemporary private collectors and dealers or the various Kunstvereine.

2   Otto Schomburgk, the President of the Berlin-based emigration association that commissioned the Prinzessin Luise, and committee member Carl Muecke had been active participants in the uprisings and earlier political agitation. The initial aim of the association was to set up a formal Gemeinschaftlichkeit on a liberal political basis with ideas of economic self-sufficiency. (Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung, March 1849, no. 20, p. 75). A possible political/social motivation for Schramm's decision to emigrate has been discussed in most writings about him, from Ron Appleyard's pioneering articles to the 2011 study by Lally and Monteath (R. G. Appleyard: Alexander Schramm, painter, p. 28; Janice Lally and Peter Monteath: 'Essentially South Australian', p. 149)

settlement of Adelaide. It is this focus on a group already diminished significantly and increasingly being forced out of the principal areas of settlement, and the manner in which he represented them, that distinguish Schramm and give particular significance to his relatively small body of work.

Fig. 1: Adelaide, a tribe of natives on the banks of the River Torrens, 1850

Schramm's first publicly noticed major painting was of a large group of Aboriginal people in a temporary encampment of brush or bark shelters in a clearing along a river bank (Fig. 1). While a traditionally balanced landscape composition, with a beautifully rendered hollow gum tree dominating and framing the left boundary, the focus was its figural content. More than eighty people are individually distinguishable, men and women disposed in discrete groupings across the work, variously centred around a shelter, game, or other activity or conversing and smoking around a fire. Children play, youths and men compete at spear-throwing. A single naked male figure with a raised axe creates a striking silhouette in the fork of a distant tree, pictorially balanced by another who emerges, axe in hand, from a dry creek bed at the extreme right margin, where a third man is piling up gathered branches. In the background two men on horseback appear to have just approached the camp, one has dismounted and is in conversation with a woman who holds out her hand. Numerous dogs who sit or lie with the groups or play or fight among themselves add to the animation of the scene, and the limited palette of the rich brown of the bodies, the blue of the sky and the yellow brown of the terrain gives it cohesion and warmth. Figures

are meticulously painted, and there is a realist exploration of light and texture in skin and hair and clothing, in the smoke from the campfires and in the distinct form and materials of the shelters and the close observation of the shape and foliage of the trees.

The location of the scene, with its cleared ground and mature gum trees, accords with contemporary descriptions of camps and corroboree grounds at Kensington, an area where two creeks flowed into the Torrens river. With water, shelter, birds, game and travelling access from other areas, it was noted by settlers as a favourite meeting ground as early as 1840, and even a decade later Bishop Short recollected seeing "as many as three hundred … in their wild state".[3] Visually and in mood it accords closely with a description by early settler Mary Thomas of:

> an encampment containing nearly a hundred natives, men, women and children on my way to North Adelaide about a mile distant, where some of their 'wurlies' as they are called, were situated among the trees. These wurlies are constructed of the boughs and bark of trees in such a manner as to shelter the occupants and to allow the rain (or, as it is called in their native tongue, "Cowie') to run off. They were placed a short distance apart on both sides of an open space between some lofty trees. Here some of the men were throwing spears for practice or pastime and others were stretched at full length on the grass. Most of the women were seated round the fires outside the wurlies and, as I could plainly observe, made their remarks on me as I passed, though I did not understand a word they said. Some of the children were amusing themselves by running and leaping, at which they are great adepts, while others were apparently asleep with their wild dogs, of which there several.[4]

The painting, which Schramm must have commenced when he had been but a few months in Adelaide, was surprisingly confident in its depiction of a very different landscape and people. As a demonstration of his formal technical skills, it brought him to public attention as an artist for the first time,[5] reports in the local newspapers noting that:

> "A large and well executed painting by Mr Schramm of an encampment of aborigines is now to be seen at the Exchange. The foreground shows the different employments in which the natives are engaged. Some are throwing the spear, others net-making, while others are reclining in their wurleys; and one blackfellow is chopping branches from a giant gum-tree. The background is a grove of large gum-trees, which is well-executed ... Relief is afforded to the dusky figures of the blacks by two horsemen conversing with the lubras".[6]
>
>   "A masterly painting of an encampment of Aboriginal natives at Kensington, by Mr Schramm, is now exhibited at the Exchange. It is on a very large scale, and beautifully framed by Mr Cully. The expression of the blacks is well varied and faithfully delineated, and any person will readily recognise several sable countenances well known among the dingy promenaders of the metropolis. The scenery

3   South Australian Register, 7 April 1855 Observer, 2 June 1855; G. B. Wilkinson: South Australia, its advantages and resources, p. 326; J. Warburton (ed.): Five Metropolitan Creeks of the River Torrens, pp. 39 and 47; Sharyn Clarke: The creation of the Torrens, p. 5.

4   E. K. Thomas: The diary and letters of Mary Thomas p. 76 and as extracted in the South Australian Register, 21 August 1915, Observer, 28 August 1915, and quoted in Sharyn Clarke: The creation of the Torrens, p. 50.

5   He had been described earlier as an "artisan" when a witness to an assault on a fellow German (South Australian Register, 29 December 1849 p. 4)

6   South Australian Register, 25 December 1850, p. 3.

is also justly portrayed, especially the hazy thin smoke from the smouldering fires of the 'Gunyas', and the huge trunk of a neighbouring gum tree, burnt hollow by a bush fire".[7]

According to these notices, the painting had already been purchased: "The picture … is, we believe, the property of Mr C.S. Penny[8], who intends to take it to England with him, where it will doubtless attract much attention". Despite some reservations about Schramm's colouring as "perhaps too warm", "the sky more of a European than an Australian one", its endorsement as "well-executed" and "masterly" may have been influential in gaining Schramm subsequent portrait commissions and in his decision to apply for naturalization (months later than most of his fellow 'Princess Louise' passengers). The subject of this painting was not in itself surprising for a newly arrived artist, for depictions of Aboriginal people along the Torrens river bank, small groups fishing, collecting wood and around campfires on the Adelaide plains had been made by professional and amateur artists since the foundation of the settlement. Nonetheless, a major oil painting, with a substantial investment in the work and in the frame, dedicated to the people in the camp, shown in recognisable physiognomic detail and brought into an unusual intimacy with the viewer, was a departure. Beyond the praise for its formal qualities was an implicit suggestion of the oddity of Schramm's focus on these "dingy promenaders", unease at his considered attention to them, and perhaps mockery that the painting might be presented to the Queen "as a faithful representation of Her Majesty's South Australian sable subjects".

More than three years would then pass before public notice of a further offering of a similar major work by Schramm. Little is known of his output during the intervening period beyond a large oil painting now known as 'Madonna and child' that has so far eluded definitive explanation[9], a pair of portraits of an unknown man and woman, and some mediocre commercial lithographs.[10] As with the 1850 'Encampment', this second work was a large, highly finished oil painting of an Aboriginal camp, compositionally similar, with multiple small groupings scattered across the foreground and middle distance (Fig. 2). Again, there is clear delineation of individual people, and graphic depiction of diverse poses and actions. It is, however, less densely populated, with the number of people and dogs almost halved, and fewer shelters. There are no games taking place and no visitors. While many people occupy the foreground, and a number appear to be engaging directly with the artist — one child waving a stick in

7 Adelaide Times, 28 December 1850, p. 2.

8 Christopher Septimus Penny, who had arrived in South Australia in 1841, had earlier visited with the German missionary H. A. E. Meyer stations along the lower Murray frequented by members of the "Milmenrura tribe" (as then commonly known by settlers; a clan within the Ngarrindjeri nation) and subsequently given a public lecture on them in Adelaide that was unusually positive about their qualities and potential. Advertisements for the sale of his property and household goods in December 1850 suggests he was then in process of permanently leaving Adelaide (South Australian, 29 June 1841; Adelaide Times, 16 December 1850, p. 3)

9 Discussed by Ron Radford in Ron Radford and Jane Hylton: Australian colonial art 1800-1900, pp. 127 ff.

10 It has been speculated that Schramm might have tried his fortunes on the Victorian goldfields but there is no evidence for this in shipping records or, most significantly, his art production.

acknowledgment — they occupy a bare quarter of the work, and those in the middle and background are loosely sketched. More attention is given to representation of the physical landscape, with trees providing mid-ground focus as well as structural balance, and hills visible in the background. Set in cool late afternoon light rather than the bright heat of the day and introducing the soft purple tones of the hills, with a more elevated and remote viewing point, the mood conveyed is more subdued than in Schramm's earlier encampment.

Fig. 2: An Aboriginal encampment near the Adelaide foothills, 1854

On this occasion the local newspapers did not provide a detailed description of the work, noticing it more generally as "representing Australian scenery, with native figures" that was to be offered for sale through a raffle ("Fifty members at £2.2s each"), although it was commended as "very truthful, and will in the course of time possess peculiar value as a correct delineation of the form and habits of a race which must, ere long, either improve in both, or wholly pass away".[11] Disposal by raffle was not uncommon — it was a system with which Schramm would have been familiar through the Kunstvereine in his home city, and was employed by many local artists in the Australian colonies.[12] Schramm might have anticipated that this new work, conforming more closely to the landscape tradition, responding to the

11   South Australian Register, 8 and 14 July 1854, p. 2; Adelaide Times, 8 July 1854.
12   As by John Gilfillan in January 1844, S. T. Gill in January 1847, James Shaw in May 1852 and Eugene von Guérard in Melbourne in 1854 and 1855.

criticism of the colouring of his first painting, and with the encampment and people integral with the general scene, might have had appeal in the open market. Nonetheless, a two-guinea raffle ticket was ambitious when a lithographed 'view' could be purchased for less than one, and a hundred guineas was a substantial amount for a painting, especially as South Australia had not fully recovered from the mass exodus to the gold fields in the neighbouring colony of Victoria. Indirect evidence suggests that the venture was not a success, for the painting would be taken by the frame maker David Culley to sell speculatively and Schramm would only receive full payment after recourse to legal action.[13]

More disconcertingly, reports of this court case described Schramm simply as "an artist", with little suggestion that he had yet established a reputation (indeed, the 'Adelaide Times' allowed only that "from the plaintiff's statement it appeared he was an artist") and the experience seems to have dented his optimism and ambition. This 'Encampment' appears to have been his last large "set piece" painting offered publicly. Subsequently his work would only be known through much more modest paintings, drawings and lithographs, most exhibited at the annual exhibitions of the South Australian Society of Arts, established in December 1856, that created a new forum for the exposure and sale of the work of local artists.[14] Some were portraits shown by their owners, indicating that Schramm was still receiving commissions, but the majority of his works shown by their current owners and submitted for sale by Schramm himself were of Aboriginal people in landscapes, "native scenes" or genre works, although the limited descriptions and the generic titles create some difficulties in confidently identifying them against surviving works, which are rarely titled or dated.

'Bush Visitors', first noted at the Society of Arts third exhibition in October 1859 where it was described as "Blacks at a cottage door" and awarded the Society's highest prize, was Schramm's most substantial extant oil painting during this period. A work that attracted the most attention at the time (and the most reproduced in its various forms) it is essentially a genre scene, utilising Schramm's skills in this style (Fig. 3).[15] It shows an Aboriginal group of nine, five women (one with a baby on her back), two men and a boy, in conversation with a young settler couple, their child, and another woman who appears to be a maidservant, outside their cottage. The main Aboriginal party stands at a remove as two of the

13   Schramm initiated legal action against Culley for the recovery of £21.1.0, the dispute being whether four 'pictures' left with Culley had been sold direct to him or taken on commission, with a large painting entitled 'Native scene' valued by Schramm at £100 at the centre of the action. Schramm won his action and was awarded the disputed amount (South Australian Register, Adelaide Times, and Adelaide Observer 8 February 1855).

14   South Australian Register, 25 September, 5 November, 10 and 11 December 1856, 8 January 1857. The Society began largely as an initiative by Charles Hill, an experienced printmaker and engraver who had arrived in South Australia in 1854, with the objectives "to promote the cultivation of the arts, by means of lectures and conversaziones, a school of arts and design, a permanent gallery and annual exhibition of works of art generally, and such other means as may be devised". There is no evidence that Schramm took part in the formation of the Society or ever served on its committee.

15   At least two other genre scenes with colonists as subjects were noted: Morning, described as 'a girl at a cottage door, looking up with shaded eyes at a pair of pigeons' and Burnt out, depicting a settler family and dog by the ruins of their hut, destroyed by a bush fire (South Australian Advertiser, 26 October 1859; Adelaide Observer, 2 June 1860).

women engage with the settler woman at her washing, while another is shown in the foreground taking a light from the fire under a steaming pot of water. A letter of October 1858 found with a copy of a lithographic version of the scene provides a rare contemporary commentary on the painting's setting:

> The scene is a cottage in the North Park Lands, near the <u>Native Camp</u>, it is Washing Day – the Iron Pot, heating the Water out-side – The Group of Natives, just returning to Camp, from a day's begging in Adelaide, accompanied by a troop of Dogs – the principal character is <u>"Old King William."</u> The Woman on his right his Lubra (i.e. Wife) the others his family – the whole Dogs included is true to life.[16]

Fig. 3: Bush visitors [Coming in for tucker], c1859

It was a scene that had already appeared as a lithograph in or by 1856, though with some changes: the cottage roof and the timber fence are rougher, the bird cage on the house wall is omitted, and the hair of the woman at the tub is dressed in a plait rather than a loose knot. It is less 'finished' than Schramm's earlier 'Encampments', with crudities in the use of paint, white highlights introduced to

16   Letter of David Liston to Robt. Hart, Adelaide 10 October 1858, attached to a copy of the lithograph donated to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1998 (the underlining is Liston's). The writer was likely David John Liston, who had arrived in Adelaide in 1850, while Hart appears to have been in another colony or back in England, as Liston wrote that he was taking care in folding the print so it would not be damaged in transmission.

Fig. 4: A scene in South Australia c1850 [sic]

outline shapes and lift the brown tones, and splashes of red and blue not only to dramatize the fire and steam but more randomly in animals and clothing. Compared with the preceding lithograph the view has been opened up to the distant horizon, rendering it more a 'landscape with figures', and the faces of some of the Aboriginal visitors are less distinct. The recession of the encounter itself within the composition and the lack of clarity in the faces add to the ambiguity of the scene, where the proud and hostile stance of the Aboriginal elder, the conciliatory but defensive attitude of the settler at the door of his home, the importuning arm of the Aboriginal woman, the turned back of the woman at the tub, and the contradictory responses of the maidservant and the young boy, create a tableau that is much more complex than the friendly encounter interpreted by some later commentators[17].

Another considerably smaller version of this work in oils, acquired by the Art Gallery of South Australia in 1982, is closer in content to the original lithograph but in its bright colouration and the exotic dress of the woman at the fire is unlike any other "native scene" painted by Schramm (Fig. 4). On the basis of the palette and other stylistic characteristics it has been considered among Schramm's earliest South Australian works, when he was still under the influence of the aesthetic

17   Philip Jones: Bush Visitors, p. 2.

traditions that he is understood to have brought with him:[18] indeed, Schramm was described by the vendor as "a typical Biedermeier artist of his time", and there are perhaps early nineteenth century German painterly models for the settler family, with a strong resemblance in the distinctive back view of the woman at the tub to Caspar David Friedrich's 'Frau am Fenster' (1822). Rather than necessarily being the earliest representation of this scene, however, it was possibly a variant specifically made for the German market or returning immigrant, or even possibly for Schramm's own family[19] 'finished' with a palette appropriate to contemporary taste there: it was never mentioned in Adelaide at the time, even in relation to the controversy over 'Bush Visitors', and would re-emerge in Berlin only in the 1970s. This version (the most commonly reproduced of Schramm's works), known as 'Scene in South Australia' on the basis of the titled print, retains the close viewing point of the lithograph, although the specifically local characteristics of the scenery have been muted, the fence and roof materials changed to give a neater and more cottage-like appearance, the trees more verdant. Here the figure grouping occupies most of the scene, with the elder, the central woman clad in animal skins and the woman taking a light from the fire more physically dominant. In contrast with its passivity in 'Bush Visitors', the cat has its back comically arched while the chained dog is a different breed and more aggressive. The effect of these modifications is to create a work that conforms more closely with the idea that such visits were common but unwelcome to settlers.

Schramm's only other surviving depiction of interaction between an Aboriginal group and colonists is the work now known from its lithographic version as 'Civilization versus Nature', though it appears to equate with a work shown under the title 'Industry and Indolence' at the October 1859 Society of Arts exhibition (Fig. 5).

Less complex in composition than 'Scene in South Australia', and more light-hearted in tone, it depicts an Aboriginal couple with their dog, dressed for travelling, as they halt to observe a pipe-smoking settler who is examining rocks in or at the edge of a dry creek bed.

The title of the lithograph has influenced its interpretation as within the moralising convention of genre ("a piece of virtuous Biedermeier philosophising"[20]), with Schramm seen as contrasting indolent Aboriginals with industrious settlers, but the possibility of a more humorous intent should not be excluded. The couple's bemusement at such labour in the heat of the day is evident and the scene can be seen to convey the mutual incomprehension of the two parties rather than moral judgement by the artist, recognising the understanding articulated by a witness before the New South Wales Select Committee on the Condition of

18 Dating based on the palette is compromised as there was conservation work on the painting, including the addition of white highlights, after acquisition by the Gallery.
19 Peter Beck, a specialist tool supplier from New South Wales, who offered the work to the gallery for a significant $30,000 on the basis of Schramm being "ein typischer Biedermeier-Maler seiner Zeit", stated that "I bought this painting 10 years ago from a young man in Berlin, his name was Lothar Schramm, but I think he didn't now [sic] nothing about this painting".
20 Ron Radford introduction to Christopher Menz: Colonial Biedermeier and German art in South Australia during the nineteenth century, p. 2.

Fig. 5: Civilization versus Nature, c1859

the Aborigines in 1845, that "To the whole; they preferred their mode of living to ours … they pitied us that we troubled ourselves with so many things".[21] It may also be a quietly subversive commentary by Schramm on the contemporary mania for geology and the seeking for gold and other mineral deposits. Indeed, the figure wielding the rock hammer brings to mind the eccentric German geologist Johann Menge, whose be-hatted and pipe-smoking portrait 'cleaning his minerals' had appeared as a wood engraving in William Cawthorne's memoir published that year in Adelaide.[22]

There were other works showing contact between settlers and Aboriginal people, described in contemporary reviews, including 'Whist party', noted as "a group of blacks and whites playing at cards", and 'Blacks and Whites/Black and White Natives/Landscape and group – a Native selling a Cockatoo' depicting "an English lady with two children – a girl on foot and a boy on horseback – negotiating with some natives for the purchase of a cockatoo" and as "a group of blacks ... gazing intently on a party of whites … who are bargaining with one of their number for a lame cockatoo".[23] These paintings, which might have

21   Evidence of Reverend William Schmidt quoted Bill Gammage: The Biggest estate on earth, p. 310.

22   W. A. Cawthorne: Menge the mineralologist, title page illustration.

23   South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 15 February 1862 and 31 January 1863, South Australian Register, 23 April 1861 and 30 January 1863.

given further insight into Schramm's perception of relations between "Blacks and Whites", have unfortunately not yet been located.

In most of his remaining works, Schramm returned to Aboriginal groups as a subject in themselves, rather than in relation to settlers. In one untitled watercolour depicting a group of four adults with children and dogs resting at the edge of a dry river or creek bed, seemingly waiting for a woman walking along the bank, there is some evidence of dwellings in the distance, yet although the resting group are proportionally a small element in the scene it is they, rather than the settlement beyond, who are the pictorial core. In the small oil paintings 'Australian landscape' (where a single woman, dressed for travelling and carrying a

Fig. 6: Landscape with Aboriginal hunters

child, walks with three dogs along the edge of a shallow creek bordered by gum trees) and 'Landscape with Aboriginal hunters' (exhibited as 'Natives spearing kangaroos' in 1863), with two poised naked hunters and their unsuspecting prey, the figures are closer to romantic staffage in forest landscapes comparable with European and British artists of the period (Fig. 6).[24] In these works the real focus is the trees, the most remarked and praised component of Schramm's landscapes in contemporary reviews and the subject of separate studies by him.

24   Landscape with Aboriginal hunters also bears a strong resemblance to the lithograph of an opossum hunt that appeared as a title page illustration (v.2) to Charles Sturt's account of his expeditions into the interior of southern Australia, published in 1833.

Fig. 7: Aborigines on a walkabout, undated [by 1859]

The majority of surviving works, however, depict small groups shown variously around a single shelter, travelling or resting temporarily in the open landscape. In the oil now known as 'Aborigines on a walkabout' (the 'Travelling party' first exhibited in January 1859, then owned by the colony Governor, Richard MacDonnell) a core group almost identical to that in 'Bush Visitors/Scene in South Australia' is seen crossing an open plain on a hot day, with additional figures trailing in the distance (Fig. 7). The party is spread out across the canvas, but forms a cohesive unit centred on their shared act of travelling, rather than the diffuse 'employments' of the camps. As with 'Bush Visitors', this work captures a transient occasion, but is more freely painted, without laboured details, and suggests a more distant artistic engagement. There is a narrative implicit in the pointing arm of the younger leading man, and perhaps significance in his adoption of European dress (apart from shoes), but whether there is symbolic intention as well as observation in such details is unclear.

Fig. 8: The encampment, Adelaide Plains, [by 1859]

Another substantial oil painting of a family in front of a shelter, given the title 'Aboriginal encampment' on its initial re-emergence at auction in 1978, is comparable with vignette groupings and figures seen in Schramm's large 'Encampments' (the woman carrying a load of sticks on her head, the older man net-mending, the multiple dogs), but the sense of their situation is very different. This family are shown engaged in the necessities of setting up camp and survival, rather than at leisure and playing games. Their possessions, including a tin pannikin, are seen scattered in the foreground, and the setting is again a flat dry plain with dead and dying trees, rather than a picturesque enclosure with water and surrounding hills.[25] Similarly in the small watercolour (later misleadingly titled) 'The encampment, Adelaide Plains', where a comparable small group is seen resting in a depression, perhaps a dry creek bed, in an open plain against a hazy or dusty sky, there is not the relaxed interaction of the big Encampment paintings but the exhaustion of a hot day's trek, showing a "halt by the way" (Fig. 8). In both works there is wariness, even hostility in the return gaze of the family group, unlike the cheerful gesturing of people depicted in

25 This work was further sold, for a record price of $490,000, at the Sotheby's Sydney auction of 8 May 2012, under the title Native Encampment in South Australia but its current ownership is unclear, so no image has been copied.

Schramm's first 'Encampment'. In 'Aborigines with dogs on the tramp', the most intimate of Schramm's works in this vein, with unusually detailed facial features, where a single travelling couple with their child and dogs halt suspiciously as they come over a rise in the midst of an open sweeping landscape in the heat of the day, this sense of an unexpected encounter, where the artist's presence seems an unwelcome intrusion, is even more pronounced, even the dogs turning away (Fig. 9).

The same people and scenes formed the basis of Schramm's lithographic offerings. Like many artists who visited and worked in the colonies, Schramm found that the local market for original art works was limited and competitive[26] while lithography was, as claimed by the inventor of the process Aloys Senefelder, "the cheap and easy way … every artist is enabled to multiply his original drawings"[27], and one that he was already familiar with from lithographic commissions in Berlin and in South Australia.[28] The series that he issued between c1855 and 1859 (most are undated) all relate to known paintings. The first to be noticed publicly, Scene

Fig. 9: Aborigines with dogs on the tramp
in South Australia, c1859

26   There were a surprising number of painters in Adelaide in the 1850s, and for a portrait painter there was the added competition of photographic 'likenesses', advertised for as little as 12/6.
27   Quoted in Roger Butler: Printed, v.1 p. 99. Penman and Galbraith set up as lithographic printers soon after arriving in Adelaide in December 1848 and between 1849 and 1851 had issued a range of works by S. T. Gill and other local artists, and there were a number of advertisements offering lithographic services, including by other immigrants from Germany.
28   A view of steamers at Swan Hill from a sketch by James Allen illustrating his account of the Lady Augusta's pioneering trip on the River Murray, a sketch of the Free Presbyterian Chalmers Church and [attributed] a portrait of the minister of that church, the Reverend John Gardner: his monogram also appears on the more substantial lithograph, The [South Australian] Company's Bridge. At least one (undated) portrait printed in Berlin signed 'Nat. gez. Alex. Schramm' is known but three others signed as drawn by 'Schramm' are, I believe, more likely to be by J. H. Schramm (1810-65), known at the time for his series of Portraits von Zeitgenossen.

Fig. 10: A scene in South Australia, c1856

in South Australia (Fig. 10) appears in fact to have predated the closely related major oil Bush Visitors, for a challenge at the 1859 Society of Arts exhibition to the award of the prize for best original oil painting to Bush Visitors stated that it was a copy of a print "sold by all the print sellers in the town for this last four years" and exhibited by the frame-maker Culley in the Society's Exhibitions of 1857 and 1858.[29]

A second large lithograph, 'Native Encampment in South Australia', contains elements of Schramm's 1850 and 1854 'Encampments' in oils. It includes details like the woman idly playing marbles and the abandoned axe in the foreground and the glimpse of a river depression at the far right, while the grouping that forms the focus of the left of the lithograph is very close to that seen in the Native

29   South Australian Advertiser, 24 October 1859, South Australian Register, 24 October 1859, South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 29 October 1859. The copy acquired by the Art Gallery of South Australia in 1955 was on a newspaper backing with a partly visible date of 'Ju..1858'.

Fig. 11: Native encampment in
South Australia

Fig. 12: South Australian natives
on the tramp, c.1859

encampment oil sold in 2012 noted above (Fig. 11).[30] The companion piece 'South Australian natives on the tramp', depicts a 'travelling party' with their children, dogs, and possessions, who enter the scene from the left in an extended line, approaching a couple seated on a log on the foreground seemingly waiting for them to catch up (Fig. 12). The walking group is closely related to that seen in the painting 'Aborigines on a walkabout' (Fig. 7) although it is a departure in terms of composition, with the main group of figures concentrated on the left, and the centre opened up to create a broad landscape view. Elements from this or a similar scene appear in two further smaller lithographs, 'Natives on the tramp' and 'Halt by the Way', issued in an oval format and probably as part of a series of four

Fig. 13: Natives on the tramp, c.1859

Fig. 14: Halt by the way, 1859

30   Undated and unsigned, this and Schramm's other lithographs have generally been dated as c.1859, the date of the signed and dated Halt by the way, though the emergence of a copy (National Gallery of Victoria Accession number 2016.60, collection work 118267) with the manuscript inscription 'S. A. Native Encampment 1854' suggested as in Schramm's own hand, has caused this to be questioned.

along with scenes entitled 'Civilisation versus nature' and 'Bushing it-Morning'. 'Natives on the tramp', showing a single couple and young boy with their three dogs (Fig. 13), is almost a vignette from the strung-out travelling party in 'South Australian natives on the tramp'. 'Halt by the way' (Fig. 14) is another aspect of this travelling group, here seen resting, in a scene again based on (or the basis for) the small watercolour subsequently entitled 'The encampment, Adelaide Plains', while 'Civilisation versus nature' is faithful to the 1859 painting of that name, in an almost identical setting to 'Halt by the Way'.

It is clear from these survivals and numerous contemporary references that Aboriginal people remained the focus of Schramm's oeuvre for at least the first decade of his life in Adelaide. It is less clear who they were, for Schramm never names any individuals or specific clan or language group in his titles. The only contemporary indication of the identity of the group who appear in 'Bush Visitors/Scene in South Australia' comes from David Liston's letter of 1858 (cited above), which specifically notes that:

> "The principal character is <u>"Old King William."</u> The Woman on his right his Lubra (i.e. Wife) the others his family – the whole Dogs included is true to life. "Old King William" is well known in Adelaide & is so named from his resemblance to that Monarch, he came to town every morning in a clean White Shirt and carried his spear, his hair White and gait stately, his Wife has a load on her head, some of the others at their backs, where one of the Women carries her Piccanini... In their rambles they are always accompanied by a large troop of hungry looking Dogs. The countenance of the "old King" is a little too severe – in begging he never takes less than a <u>silver</u> Sixpence, if less be offered, it is given to his Lubra or children".[31]

Members of this extended family group are seen in many of Schramm's surviving works but attempts to retrospectively identify them have been at best inconclusive, despite Liston's statement that "the characters are all Portraits, I know them all and can avouch for its correctness" and some other limited contemporary corroboration.[32] A King William as a brother or counterpart to Mullawillaburka (Encounter Bay John), who was commonly referred to as 'king' of the Encounter Bay tribe, is suggested in contemporary accounts of the Aboriginal tribes in the vicinity of the early colonial settlements and the native name Marroocha is given for William of Tandarnyungga (a district of the Adelaide tribe). However, only King John, Captain Jack and Tommy were recognised as leaders

31 Letter of David Liston to Robt. Hart, Adelaide 10 October 1858, as above. The name William bestowed upon those seen as 'chiefs' during the early years of the colony has been understood to be in parallel with (or in parody of) the name of the lately reigning English monarch William IV; although it seems equally to have been applied by Aboriginal people to settlers. (Peter Mühlhäusler: "Hermann Koeler's observations on South Australia in 1837 and 1838 in Peter Monteath: Germans; Nathaniel Hailes: Recollections, p. 31). Teichelmann and Schürmann's early work on the local Aboriginal languages records that Wilyaru/Willyaroo was the word for a fully initiated adult man; perhaps this, given in response to enquiry, was mistakenly taken as a specific name?

32 S. T. Gill's drawing of the rebuilt Trinity Church on North Terrace and Samuel Calvert's lithograph of the British Hotel at Port Adelaide, both dated c 1850, include a very similar shirted figure (in the latter carrying spears, smoking and wild haired), while a reference to Schramm's painting of 'a travelling party' when first exhibited noted the "fine hoary-headed chief of the aborigines who used a few years ago to visit Adelaide and its vicinity, and perhaps feasted on opossums on the site of the Institute long before the first white man stepped on Australian shores" (South Australian Register, 11 January 1859).

(elders) at the Governor's dinner to the 'Aborigines' in 1840 (where their traditional names were given as Mulla Wirra Burka, Kadlitpinna and Bukartiwillo), and King John was quoted subsequently as speaking on behalf of the Adelaide *and* Encounter Bay people.[33] Other Aboriginal men called 'Old Williamy' and 'Williamy' were noted in the local papers in the 1840s, occasionally favourably, but more commonly in court proceedings: a man named Williamy gaoled for a week in 1843 after threatening a servant with a spear after he refused a demand for a shilling; Mungorink(t) or Mungoringa, 'otherwise Williamy', charged for theft in May 1844, imprisoned for two months on the complaint that he had obstructed the door while four other men and a boy rifled a hut for food and stole a shilling, a pint pot and a spoon; King William, alias Targko Malaitya, 'a Gawler Town native' aged 29, charged in May 1844 with attempting to murder a shepherd at the station of J.B. Hughes.[34] The suggestions of aggression and group soliciting in these reports accord perhaps with Liston's description of the 'Scene in South Australia' lithograph and the visual narrative in the painting itself, but neither were described as always wearing a white shirt or reported as regularly begging.[35] Possible other contenders are the 'Old William' reported as one of the signatories along with (a later) King John to an address of welcome by 'the natives in and around Port Elliot' given to the Governor Sir Dominick Daly on his tour through the southern districts in December 1863, or the white-haired and bearded 'King [Billy] Poole' noted in 1867 as once 'king' and still a significant figure in relation to his people in the Encounter Bay area[36], though neither of these seems to have been residing principally in Adelaide in the 1850s.

33 C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann: Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide, pp. 4, 36; William Wyatt: Vocabulary of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay tribes and Some account of the manners and superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal tribes. In J.D. Woods, The native tribes of South Australia, pp. 179 f.; Rob Amery: Warrabana Kaurna! Reclaiming an Australian language; The Southern Australian, 26 May 1840 and South Australian Register, 30 May 1840, Adelaide Observer, 27 April 1844; Christine Lockwood in Peggy Brock and Tom Gara: Colonialism and its aftermath, pp. 69-85. An 'Old Williamy', together with Bob and Captain Jack, was reported in 1839 to have assisted settlers in fighting a fire and in pursuing a suspected (native) murderer, and "old blind Williamy" was noted among the mourners who "returned to their green encampments and commenced loud lamentations" after the execution in June 1839 of two Aboriginal men convicted of murder (South Australian Gazette, 11 May 1839, Southern Australian, 12 June 1839)

34 South Australian Register, 4 February 1843, 25 May, 1 June, and 3 July 1844; Southern Australian, 24 May, 2 and 9 July 1844; Adelaide Observer, 13 July 1844. Court reports are not a comprehensive record, for while begging was an infraction of regulations, it was not usually taken to court. (A.R. Pope: One law for all? Aboriginal people and criminal law in early South Australia, pp. 107, 182).

35 Philip Jones is inclined to associate King William with Targko Milaitye who, after release in 1847, served for a while as a court interpreter (Philip Jones: Bush Visitors, pp. 17 f.), but Liston's account does not make any reference to such notoriety. A recent article on Scene in South Australia/Bush Visitors, in the context of a discussion of illustrations of charity, suggests the central character might be the Tairmunda, alias Williamy, who was called as a witness to the murder of a young woman Watte Watte in 1853, although there is little in the court reports to identify him other than the brief descriptions "a venerable copper coloured native" and "of most wretched appearance" (South Australian Register, 11 May 1853; Stephen Graham: 'Open Doors' pp. 78 f.)

36 South Australian Register, 22 December 1863; photograph of the Poole family taken at Victor Harbor in 1867 (State Library of South Australia B26343)

Fig. 15: [Sketch of Australian natives – A group of natives], 1859

It is moreover unclear whether this group were some of the few remaining members of the local Adelaide/Cowandilla people[37] or visitors from areas to the north, south-east or the Murray River. The numbers and camp configuration of Schramm's 1850 'Encampment' indicate a gathering of many language groups, part of the regular movements and fluidity of Aboriginal society that long preceded the attractions provided by blankets and rations though by this time undoubtedly influenced by these, especially in the winter. Schramm's attention to characteristic body forms, poses, and groupings is evident in the few drawings by him that have survived, as in 'A native standing with folded arms' and 'A group of natives' (Fig. 15). His representation of form, expression, behaviours,

37 Most contemporary references were to the Adelaide or Cowandilla(h) tribe, Kaurna (or Kaura) only being generally used much later (see review of Howitt's Native tribes in Adelaide Observer 31 December 1904 and report of talk by T. D. Campbell on "Aboriginal occupation of the Adelaide Plains" in Advertiser 26, August 1926). The existence of different "tribes" was well recognised: "Constant fights" in the Park Lands between the Moorunda or Big Murray tribe against the Ramung or Lower Murray and Encounter Bay tribes and with the Adelaide tribe, in consequence of the former (Murray) taking away the women of the Adelaide tribe, were reported from the earliest years of settlement, and there was evidence by the late 1840s that the Cowandilla or Adelaide natives had been already driven away, their wives and daughters seized on, and men killed by "'hordes of wild Murray and even Darling natives who at this moment infest out streets and who were never seen this side of the mountains before the whites came". As early as 1843, the Adelaide tribe were seen as "degraded"; six years later their numbers were diminished to the extent that it was accepted that "they will become extinct". In 1859 a report on the Aborigines of the Murray and Lake districts noted the (re)location of the 'remnant' of the Adelaide tribe from Port Adelaide to Willunga, and William Oldham noted with regret the extinction of the Adelaide tribe at a meeting of the Aborigines Friends Association in 1863; subsequent histories commonly noted the "now lost or defunct Adelaide or Cowandilla tribe". The meaning of the name Cowandilla was stated by pioneer colonist Mary Thomas as 'plenty of water' and as the indigenous name for Holdfast Bay or its adjacent plains (Mary Thomas: Experiences of a lady pioneer, as extracted in South Australian Register, 27 December 1886)

stances, and groupings was considered "truthful", the figures "faithfully delin-eated" and highly characteristic of the 'race' in reviews of his exhibition works. But while they are comparable with the representation in near-contemporary photographs and some earlier paintings, there is equally no record of the par-ticular clans or language groups of the people in these other images to provide a benchmark.

Schramm left no record to indicate whether he had specific intentions in cre-ating this body of work. Unlike George French Angas and William Cawthorne who had extensively sketched and painted the indigenous people of the colony in the previous decade, or fellow German immigrants William Blandowski, Gerard Krefft and Ludwig Becker who made studies of the indigenous people of Vic-toria in the 1850s, he seems to have had no intention of formally recording a dying race.[38] He would be noted in his obituary as having "devoted considerable attention to the study of Australian scenery, and the manners and customs of the aborigines".[39] But in his representations, Aboriginal people are the subject unto themselves, with no obvious documentary or didactic purpose. He left no

38   Angas's South Australia Illustrated was predicated on the understanding that the Abo-riginal race would inevitably decline and undertaken "with the hope of preserving true and life-like records of men and scenes, so quickly passing away" (preface). William Caw-thorne, who had been unusually closely associated with members of the local Adelaide people in the 1840s and had made numerous sketches to illustrate his own planned work about them, proposed in 1858 that a collection be made of images and artefacts "before the race disappears from off the face of the land" and in a public lecture in 1864 on the man-ners and customs of the Aborigines stated unequivocally that the people of whom he spoke were largely gone (South Australian Advertiser, 19 July 1858, Advertiser and Observer, 8 and 9 April 1864). The stated rationale for the images created William Blandowski – in his private travels and studies and on the government sponsored expedition to the Murray and Darling, he led in 1856 "for the purpose of making investigations on the natural history of that district" – was to document "the natives by whom we are at present surrounded and who are now fast dying out", accepting the "strange and unvarying law" that "causes the dark and savage races of mankind to dwindle and wither before the whiteman's civiliza-tion", "the outcome of processes beyond human control". Although 'Die Ureinwohner Aus-traliens' were only part of a wider ambitious project conceived on the lines of Humboldt's Kosmos, in which indigenous people were intrinsically connected with the natural world and its flora and fauna, the sketches made by Gerard Krefft as Blandowski's assistant and artist to the 1856 expedition reflected the human interactions that were possible during the extended contact with the Nyeri Nyeri (Jarijari) people who provided many of the speci-mens. But he too believed that "Their days are numbered I think that in a very short time, like the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land they will only live in the tradition of the colo-nists" (South Australian Register, 1 October 1856 and Goulburn Herald, 26 September 1857; Krefft journal, entry undated but likely February 1857; Harry Allen: Australia; articles by Harry Allen, T. A. Darragh, Hannelore and Marie Landsberg, John Kean and Jenny Nancar-row; Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll: Art in the time of colony and Imaging nation; Kerry Heckenberg: Shifting terrain, pp. 383). The Darmstadt-born Becker (who like Schramm had worked professionally as an artist for at least fifteen years prior to his arrival in Tasmania in 1851, mainly as a miniaturist portrait painter, and would continue this as a basic living in Australia) painted some sensitive portraits of individual Aboriginal people in Tasmania and Victoria but either on commission or with an ethnographic intent, while those made as artist on the Victorian Exploration (Burke and Wills) Expedition in 1860-61 were intended to illustrate dress and customs or individual physical characteristics. (Marjorie Tipping (ed.): Ludwig Becker, artist and naturalist with the Burke and Wills expedition; Marjorie Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugene von Guérard; Martin Edmond: The supply party; I. D. Clark and Fred Cahir (eds.): The Aboriginal story of Burke and Wills) Each of these is dis-cussed in detail in Susan Woodburn: Alexander Schramm, pp. 131-142, 172-190.

39   South Australian Register, 25 January 1865.

written record of his attitudes to the people he depicted that might be compared with the images themselves. We do not know what preconceptions he might have brought with him, whether he was familiar with the writings on race of Johann Blumenbach[40] that placed the indigenous people of Australia at the lowest level of "human varieties".[41] But similar views permeated the promotional literature for prospective German emigrants to South Australia in the 1840s. Friedrich Gerstäcker's 1849 guide for emigrants to Australia concluded its account of the country's original inhabitants with the statement that "the end of this unfortunate race is, by the way, to be expected".[42] Quotes from emigrants' letters from the time of Pastor Kavel's arrival with the first significant group from Germany in 1838 generally described a people physically unprepossessing, without culture, good natured but lazy and importunate, petty thieves and harmless beggars already marginal in the developing colonial society, and destined to further decline and likely extinction as a race. The influence of Blumenbach's framework of conceptualisation and classification is evident in the vivid word picture by Carl Kaulvers, an emigrant in 1848 who published his own account on his return to Germany:

> "The natives of New Holland belong to the Papuan or Australian negroid (Australneger) race …are ugly in form, colour and features: because apart from the small, frail bony form, they have a flea-brown skin, wide round face with a flat nose, large mouth and thick long hair. This race of mankind will also scarcely last much longer, because cultivation is increasingly taking hold of the land in Australia and since they, as stated, are quite unreceptive to it, they will be displaced more and more".[43]

Had he been unaware of these perceptions before departure, Schramm would quickly have been confronted by similar widespread local views representing them as a 'doomed race' who might at best be given charity to ease their sufferings during their inevitable decline, a demoralised people who should be removed out of sight, whose presence engendered physical distaste, as reflected in Liston's comments on 'Scene in South Australia' ("the Men and Women but scantily clothed, you will notice their Arms and Legs are very thin and deficient of muscle, their hands and feet seem a grade between the Ourang Outang and a

40   J. F. Blumenbach, On the natural variety of mankind 1775 and De generis humanae varietate nativa, Göttingen, 1795. These views were much influenced by the widely published ethnological observations made by the naturalists Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg following their participation in James Cook's second voyage to the Pacific, with specific commentary on Aboriginal people of the Australian colonies also in Georg Forster's 'Neuholland und die brittische Kolonie in Botany-Bay' published in Allgemeines historisches Taschenbuch, oder Abriss der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheiten [1788?] quoted Leslie Bodi: Georg Forster, p. 358.

41   While not regarding them as separate species, in the comparison of societies in terms of the stage of advancement or culturation, with material development as the indicator of social progress, the peoples of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land were judged to "graduate away so insensibly towards the [lowest] Ethiopian variety that they may not unfairly be classed with them". J. F. Blumenbach: "Degeneration of the species" quoted E. C. Eze: Race and the Enlightenment, pp. 89 f..

42   Friedrich Gerstäcker: Nord und Süd-Australien. Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer, p. 170.

43   Letters of Pastor Kavel in South Australian News, May 1845; C. A. Sobels February 6, 1848, quoted in 'The emigrant to South Australia', p. 45; Michael Deutscher and Carl Ernst Kaulvers as translated in T. A. Darragh: Emigrants on the Alfred, pp. 39 and 57.

perfect human development") and in the description of a visit by amateur artist Edward Snell to sketch a family in their "hut' on the banks of the Torrens in 1849:

> "There was a double row of huts, perhaps 30 or 40 in all, built of bits of old matting. Tarpaulin, rags, bone, sticks, old shoes, grass, and in short everything they could pick up. The miserable wretches were squatted down inside many of them asleep, some of them ill and dying of disease, absolutely rotting away piece meal. Most of the women had their hair cut close off and their faces plastered round the eyes with white paint, their breasts hung down to their waists, they had great bellies all hanging in wrinkles, and miserable thin spindle legs, no calves whatever, their shoulders and breasts notched all over by way of ornament, and in short take them all together they were the most disgusting wretches I ever set eyes on, most of them quite naked. The men have large heads and shoulders, big bellies, and thin arms and legs. Great beards and monstrous heads of hair, some of their faces were smudged over with reddle and grease and many of them had their heads painted red".[44]

Schramm's representations do contain some suggestion of a similarly Eurocentric aesthetic: limbs elongated to the point of caricature[45], unshod feet resembling paws, wild hair. He painted no formal portraits of Aboriginal people — at least, no such portraits were entered in exhibitions, and no preliminary sketches for any such portraits have survived. Even in individuals shown in close-up there is not the intimacy of association seen in the well-known sketch 'Portrait of Dick the brave and gallant guide' by Ludwig Becker ("described as 'one of the most sympathetic portraits ever made of black by white")[46] and of other expedition guides. Often there is a vagueness or blurring to the faces that may owe something to the ephemeral nature of the encounter or hasty completion of a work (and perhaps later inept cleaning) yet stands in contrast to the clarity of the faces of the settlers in 'Bush Visitors' and the Gilbert family portrait of 1864. The "smudgy" and "ghostly" features of Schramm's subjects, criticised at the time[47] but little noted in subsequent art historical considerations other than Philip Jones's observations in his essay on 'Bush Visitors', were remarked by an anonymous visitor to the Art Gallery of South Australia who saw crudity and prejudice in Schramm's depiction of the facial features of what he/she called "the local Adelaide mob" in 'An Aboriginal encampment near the foothills' (Fig. 2) in stark contrast with his "cleverly adept" portraits of non-Aboriginals.[48] A number of works might also be seen to reinforce local perceptions and attitudes to the Aboriginal people depicted. 'Scene in South Australia' clearly shows a habit of soliciting. The focus

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44 Snell diary entry for 30 November 1849 (Griffiths, Tom (ed.).: The life and adventures of Edward Snell, p. 50)

45 There was contemporary criticism that he made his figures too "leggy" and "lean", although this particular aspect of physiology is also evident in G. F. Angas's earlier illustrations of the [Ngarrindjeri] people sketched on visits to the Coorong and Lake Alexandrina region.

46 Geoffrey Dutton: White on black, p. 48. This portrait derives particular poignancy from the retrospective knowledge of the privations endured by the expedition and Becker's own death at the base camp at Bullo on 29 April 1861. For Ludwig Becker, see also the contribution by Wulf D. Hund and Stefanie Affeldt in this volume.

47 South Australian Register, 27 January, 6 February, and 7 December 1863; Advertiser 26 December 1863, South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 12 December 1863.

48 Philip Jones: Bush Visitors, pp. 16, 19; unsigned and undated note headed 'Schramm's sham: Aboriginal Encampment Adelaide' in Art Gallery of South Australia acquisition file AC2/15.

on the women seen carrying the family's possessions in South 'Australian Natives on the tramp' and 'Natives on the tramp' illustrates the (critical) observation that "when on a journey, they bear the baggage, and the men stalk before them, only carrying their spears and other weapons", made in published accounts of South Australia by George Wilkinson and others.[49] 'Civilisation versus nature' might have resonated as an apparent commentary on the natural "indolence" of the Aboriginal race, particularly during the ongoing debate on the policy of issuing rations as against encouraging industry by requiring labour in return for provisions. The general feeling of 'Native encampment', with its parched ground, trees with dead branches, crudely drawn groups showing little of the self-contained animation of Schramm's original camp painting, and bare-breasted pipe-smoking young women in a prominent group in the foreground, is dismal. It prompted a rare public comment, with an anonymous letter in the local newspaper taking issue with its depiction of "the peculiar animal development of this remarkable race, no doubt much better able to withstand the baleful influence of civilization upon their vital energies … seen, almost alive, roasting themselves at a tremendous fire…".[50]

It is perhaps such ambiguities, together with the absence of specific identification of the people depicted, that have made Schramm's representations of marginal interest and value to Aboriginal people today as a resource for biography and genealogy, as well as for more general historical and anthropological studies, and there has been only limited and muted recognition in publications and websites devoted to Indigenous representation in Australia.[51] Given the general climate in which he worked however, what is remarkable about Schramm's representations is not the occasional suggestions of exaggeration in the physical characteristics of individuals or distance from them but how little evidence they show that he had taken on board a negative view of the race in general. His artistic exploitation of his subjects is tempered by respect and an awareness of imposing unwanted attention that is quite distinct from the confident imposition of the artist's purpose seen in Robert Dowling's paintings of posed compliant groups, or the intrusive intimacy reflected in the frontally posed group of giggling young girls at Mondellimin by Gerard Krefft, and is in stark contrast with the arrogance of Edward Snell. His "bush visitors" may wear a motley assortment of dress and solicit from settlers but the impression is different from that of Eugene von Guérard (who noted in his diary seeing "poor creatures demoralised

49 George Blakiston Wilkinson: South Australia, p. 323 (1983 edition with extensive marginalia sketches of Aboriginal Australians by J. M. Skipper)

50 "Homo' in Advertiser, 26 September 1859 and South Australian Weekly, 1 October 1859.

51 Schramm's Adelaide, a tribe of natives was used to illustrate Rob Amery's case study of the Kaurna language with the somewhat open caption "the Kaurna people were allocated an area on the north bank of the Torrens River that was known as the Native Location. This painting shows an unusually large camp of people, probably in this area" (Rob Amery: Encoding new concepts in old languages, p. 39). Scene in South Australia (in the form of the smaller oil painting version) was used as the cover illustration for one of the pioneering studies of South Australian Aboriginal biography (Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus: History in portraits) but not discussed anywhere in the text. The 2005 sale of the 1850 Encampment was noted, with an image, in the Koori Mail 1 June 2005 but without comment on the painting itself or the people in it. None of Schramm's works were included in Perkins, Rachel and Marcia Langton: First Australians, an illustrated history.

Fig. 16: Aborigines outside Melbourne, 1855

by the white man's influence … clad in the most ludicrous odds-and-ends of European wearing apparel, and nearly all in a drunken condition")[52] in his only representation of a group in a fringe setting. Here, in addition to the European dress of the men and the government-issue blankets worn by the women, von Guérard shows prominently a bottle in the jacket pocket of the leading man, while grazing animals and other indications of white settlement lie beyond the fence line which circumscribes the group's route (Fig. 16).

The distinctiveness of Schramm's focus on Aboriginal groups and the apparent absence of any overtly negative reference in his imagery have intrigued commentators since the initial research of Appleyard. Inevitably his nationality has been considered a contributing if not determining factor. Given that Schramm was thirty-five by the time he left Berlin and had spent his formative years in the cultural and political milieu of central Europe, he clearly arrived with artistic skills and predispositions and likely political and social views honed within that milieu, as well as formed personal attributes. It is difficult, however, to discern specifically European intellectual or aesthetic influences in his paintings. In contrast to von Guérard, there is limited pre-emigration work to compare stylistically, but there is little evidence of Humboldt's "grand theatre of nature" with its focus on dramatic geological and other natural features that has been demonstrated to have formed the landscape work of von Guérard both before and after

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52   Eugene von Guérard, journal 1852-54, entry 16 March 1854.

he came to Australia[53] (and seen in Blandowski's Australia Terra Cognita plates of 1855 and later Australien compilation). It is also hard to detect in his "native scenes" any reflection of the specifically German Romantic "landscape of the soul" of Caspar David Friedrich and Karl Schinkel. In what is known of his life in South Australia, Schramm appears to have had no special relationship with other local immigrant European artists and artisans[54] or contact with the vigorous community of German artists and scientists in Melbourne, who recorded indigenous people in various ways, even though Blandowski and the engraver Frederick Grosse began their Australian sojourn in Adelaide and von Guérard visited twice. Similarly, while it is tempting to infer that Schramm's own minority status as a German in a British colony and apparent lack of integration into colonial society might have coloured his seemingly non-judgmental representations of the disenfranchised indigenous groups, there is little to suggest that Schramm saw himself as German in any defining way or was perceived as such. The single notice of him in the local Adelaide papers as a "German artist" during his lifetime was not in reference to his style or subjects and is countered by the more common contemporary reference to him as a colonial artist or "old colonist". He is not recorded as taking an active part in any of the national associations established in South Australia by fellow Princess Louise passengers or later arrivals, or to have been the subject of their continuing interest. Before his death, he was noted only once in the German language Süd-Australische Zeitung, for his painting Lake Hope — a notice that gave more attention to the prestige of having a work commissioned by a wealthy colonist than to the painting itself – while his obituary was no more intimate or informative than that in the English language newspapers, even though the Zeitung editor was then Carl Muecke, a fellow emigrant.[55]

For art curators and historians, discussion of Schramm's particular sensibility since the re-emergence of his works into the mainstream of critical consideration after a century of neglect[56] has been influenced by the environment in which this occurred, a very different one from that in which the works were originally made and received. This was a time of reassessment of Australian colonial history and art generally, in which both representations of Aboriginal people by

53 Ruth Pullin: Eugene von Guérard and the science of landscape painting, pp. 4 and 62 ff.; see also her article in this volume.
54 As Hermann Schrader, T.H.G. [Heinrich] Weisendanger (art master at the Deutsche Schule), Max Weidenbach (artist on the 1842/45 Lepsius expedition to Egypt supported by Humboldt, reported to have made collections of images of Aboriginals and artefacts while in South Australia, and a fellow competitor for the Society of Arts medal design), or the silversmiths Julius Schomburgk and Henry Steiner, who incorporated Aboriginal figures in their epergnes, candelabra and other decorative ware.
55 The only modification to a notice taken verbatim from the earlier Advertiser report was to record him as "the German painter, Herr Schramm" (Süd-Australische Zeitung, 18 November 1864, p. 5)
56 Such posthumous neglect was common to mid-nineteenth century colonial artists (Eugene von Guérard suffered a similar fate) due to changing expectations and tastes and a preference for the work of the late nineteenth century artists who were regarded as bringing to fruition a long sought distinctively 'Australian' school of painting, which recognised the particular quality of the landscape and reflected nationalist ambitions: this is discussed in more detail in Susan Woodburn: Alexander Schramm, pp. 194-220.

expedition and colonial artists and the acknowledgement or denial of an Aboriginal presence in landscape painting as a political issue, intrinsically linked with colonial settlement and the historical treatment of Aboriginal people, would be a significant part.[57] This revisionism was reinforced by the broader stream of post-colonial critical theory in which the idea of visual imagery as a struggle in representation, "a battle for the power to appear", would resonate. In this context, most attention was given to those works that illustrated "encounters" between Aboriginals and settlers, the more general "bush scenes" in which the subjects are solely Aboriginal people engendering less interest. Comment on 'Scene in South Australia' was divided. It was seen on the one hand as "easy social interchange", a work in which a group of natives are mingling with a family of settlers in "a very jolly fashion", showing two groups who are "clearly … comfortable with each other",[58] but more commonly, in the spirit of post-colonial understandings, has been regarded as reflecting the "occupation of the colonised landscape" and as reinforcing perceptions of Aboriginals as "dependent, dispossessed and figuratively marginal"[59]. 'Civilisation versus Nature' also evoked its share of responses more influenced by modern arguments than by investigation of its specific time and context or recognition of possible humorous intent. Interpretation embedded in post-colonial terminology and ideas had some difficulty fitting Schramm into their discourse[60] but in eschewing the stereotypes of (ig)noble savage or cultural disintegration and an absence of any clear "rhetorical stance"[61] Schramm

57 Ian Donaldson and Tamsin Donaldson, Seeing the first Australians, p. 15; Christopher Allen: Art in Australia, pp. 19 and 148; Nicholas Thomas: Possessions, pp. 91 f.; Terry Smith, 'Writing the history of Australian art: its past, present and possible future', Australian Journal of Art, 1983, 3, p. 3; Terry Smith, Transformations in Australian art: the nineteenth century, p. 54; Andrew Sayers, Australian art, p. 28. In the initial frenzy of critique there was some more nuanced commentary, as by Anne-Marie Willis ("… how they were imaged depended upon the circumstances of depiction; the artist's perception of the intended audience; and the genre and conventions within which the artist was working. Regularity is not even assured across the work of a single artist […] the conventions of each genre determine the appearances, rather than the artist's attitude towards the subject. In the more artistically self-conscious medium of oil painting (as opposed to sketches, lithography, engraving, press illustrations) the chosen aesthetic was even more over-determining") and later Ian McLean and David Hansen (Ann-Marie Willis, Illusions of identity: the art of nation, p. 104; Ian McLean 'Post colonial: return to sender' Australian Humanities Review, 12, December 1998; David Hansen: 'Seeing Truganini', Australian Book Review, May 2010).
58 Daniel Thomas: Aboriginal art, p. 2; John McDonald: Art of Australia, p. 169; Jane Hylton: South Australia Illustrated, p. 134. As reproduced in a heavily illustrated French history of Australia it had the caption "After an initial period of conflict, Whites and Aboriginals cohabited 'parfois sans heurts' as here in Australie Méridionale [sic] on a farm of German colonists" (Georges-Goulven Le Cam: L'Australie, p. 62).
59 It was in this spirit that Blandowski had much earlier included a copy of Schramm's lithograph in his Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildingungen, (unacknowledged and re-engraved) with the caption "Aborigines visit the colonists, help them cook, wash and carry wood in exchange for the paltry amount of one pound of flour daily" (Harry Allen (ed.): Australia, p. 43)
60 As Rod MacNeil, in the only work since Dutton to attempt a broad survey of the representation of Aboriginal people in colonial painting, who saw Schramm as "sympathetic" but his paintings as implicitly foregrounding "the occupation of the colonised landscape" (R. P. MacNeil: Blackedout, pp. 38, 133, 117); a later article by him placed Schramm rather ambiguously as among those artists "depicting the translocation of aboriginal people into the landscape" (Rod McNeil: Time after time,, p. 58)
61 "A point of view, or attitudes, which the picture conveys towards the images inscribed there" as discussed by Eric Michaels: 'A primer of restrictions on picture-taking in traditional

would be largely exempted from the damning revisionism visited upon many fellow colonial artists. The interpretation when two of his works were included in the first survey exhibition of 'The Australian Aborigine portrayed in art', held at the Art Gallery of South Australia in 1974, was that he had a "desire to document … the devastating impact of Europe settlement on the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide plains"[62]. Subsequent to that exhibition there has been a gradual and progressive lionisation (to some extent coloured by parochial or commercial motives), asserting that he "depicted the Aborigines with great sympathy at a time when their tribal life was being disrupted by the colonists" [with] "an empathy unique in Australian colonial art", with claims for his work as "important visual documentation of the processes of cultural destruction and assimilation in early South Australia", a comment or critique of the shattering impact of colonial attitudes and policies, with the wandering groups in parched landscapes and untidy camps deliberate evidence of dispossession, the dying trees intended as symbolic.[63]

A broad survey of Schramm's oeuvre between 1850 and 1859 does appear to reflect a significant diminution of the life of Aboriginal people around the settlement, the dwindling groups in apparent perpetual itinerary, and the absence of the children suggesting Schramm's recognition of what was happening to them. His last major work, a composite portrait of the family of Thomas Gilbert on their estate at Pewsey Vale for which he spent some months making studies on site, included an Aboriginal man as groom as a significant element in the composition and a small camp with a number of shadowy figures around a fire on a distant hillside. While the groom might readily be explained within his commission, as a reference to Gilbert's renowned stable of racehorses, of which Schramm also made separate paintings (most other members of the family are also shown on horseback)[64] — there are parallels in Robert Dowling's 'Mrs Adolphus Sceales

areas of Aboriginal Australia', p. 197.

62 This exhibition had a specific intention to demonstrate "changing social attitudes" to Aboriginal Australians as reflected in visual representations and to redress what anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner in his Boyer lectures of 1968 had called "The Great Australian Silence about the Aborigines", with works selected within the framework of a new historical consciousness and acknowledgement of "the wrongs in the white settlement of Australia" and "the poor conditions in which the people represented were known to exist" (Geoffrey Dutton: The Australian Aborigine portrayed in art, pp. 35-41; Geoffrey Dutton: White on black, p. 74).

63 Tim Bonyhady: The colonial image, p. 54 and Images in opposition, p. 34; Ron Radford: Australia's forgotten painters, p. 95; Ron Radford and Jane Hylton: Australian colonial art 1800-1900, p. 116; Tracey Lock-Weir: Visions of Adelaide 1836-1886, p. 70; Philip Jones 'Alexander Schramm, A Scene in South Australia and Eugene von Guérard, Winter encampments in Wurlies...' p. 98; Janice Lally and Peter Monteath: 'Essentially South Australian', pp. 145-165; Jane Hylton: South Australia Illustrated, pp. 133 and 138; David Hansen (acknowledging Phillip Jones) in Sotheby's auction catalogue, Sydney, 8 May 2012; Philip Jones: Bush visitors; David Hansen: Another man's understanding, p. 116.

64 Recollections of Schramm's visit noted his "particularly good" animal studies and "some beautiful pictures of the racehorses" (The History of the Gilbert family of Abbaston Manor […] and Pewsey Vale, Lynedoch, South Australia, p. 134) as well as a rare personal anecdote relating Schramm's care of a young dog there. A contemporary review (Adelaide Observer, 4 June 1864, p. 4) noted the groom's presence only glancingly as among "some dependents grouped or disposed" across the work (these included the governess, also later painted out). He is not named in letters, but an undated photo of a group at Pewsey Vale includes an Aboriginal man identified as Charley Gaduggan.

with Black Jimmy on Merang Station' (1856) – it is possible to see the camp detail as a conscious intervention, referencing the marginalisation of the original inhabitants of the land. But was this, or any of his previous work, intended as a critique of the situation imposed on the indigenous people by expanding colonial settlement? Commentary some years after his death would state:

> "His love for his profession and the opportunity Australia gave him for studying nature in its new and varying forms induced him, to his serious loss, to abandon a more lucrative field in the Fatherland for a lengthened stay and untimely death at the antipodes, where his attainments as a painter of aboriginal life stamped his work as probably the most successful of all who have attempted that line up to the present time."

and that,

> "… small in stature, dark and somewhat retiring in disposition, he made but few intimates … lived … on the proceeds of his brush, often disposed of far beneath their real value, and died as he had lived – extremely poor."[65]

While these articles were generic in style and contained few details about Schramm (and some inaccuracies), they suggest that he had painterly rather than social intentions on arrival but that in the relatively young and unsophisticated settlement found a limited and competitive market for his work. After the first big paintings, there was a marked modification in his artistic ambition, much repetition in subject matter and work of uneven quality as his health declined. Rather than "empathy", his single-minded artistic focus on a limited group of people in a limited range of situations and locations may well reflect circumscribed opportunity to seek out new subjects during the years of "long and painful illness" referred to in his obituary[66] and his own artistic limitations.[67] Indeed, the impression of respectful distance and personal reticence conveyed by much of his work has been challenged by a recently emerged painting of a rather dashing figure on horseback conversing with an Aboriginal woman and child in a posture of ease and dominance, close to similar representations by his contemporaries S. T. Gill and J. M. Skipper, that has been claimed as a self-portrait (Fig. 17).[68]

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65   South Australian Register, 5 February 1891 and 7 November 1898.

66   South Australian Register, 25 January 1865.

67   Lake Hope, a commission in 1862 from the wealthy pastoralist Thomas Elder for a painting of the John McKinlay expedition, based not on Schramm's own observation but a sketch by the expedition surveyor and draughtsman William Hodgkinson, was criticised for its perspective, proportion, lack of integrated composition, representation of water and oversize birds, the only praised feature being "the figures of the exploring party and the natives" (Advertiser, 27 March 1862, 27 January and 3 February 1863, South Australian Register, 30 January 1863, South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 7 February 1863)

68   Bushman, native woman and child (likely the work 'A Bushman and Native Woman and Child' shown by Schramm at the Society of Arts exhibition in October 1859 and the 'Horseman and aborigines' sent by a dealer to the Art Gallery of South Australia for valuation and information in 1995) was offered at the Elder Fine Art auction held in Adelaide on 18 November 2018 without this claim; the inscription 'Self portrait with Natives' was only revealed on the verso of the canvas under examination carried out at the request of the purchaser in 2019. There is clearly a casual familiarity in the encounter that, if the "bushman" indeed be Schramm himself, somewhat confounds the picture of distance and reserve formed from study of Schramm's other extant works, and further studies may extend and perhaps disturb received ideas about Schramm and his representations as more paintings emerge.

Fig. 17: Bushman, native woman and child, 1859

As others have noted, "While any image or object can be fitted into many historical discourses, it cannot be at the expense of the historical discourse within the image itself". Art historians "need to distinguish our motives from those of the artist" and consider works apart from "that consideration of art as symptoms of something else'", with its attendant danger of misrepresentation by selectivity and ahistorical political and social assumptions.[69] Yet mindful of this, and regardless of the continuing mystery of Schramm's intentions and the elements of ambiguity in his representations, in continuing to make Aboriginal people central to his work despite the declining enthusiasm for his "native scenes", Schramm contradicts assertions made subsequently of a universal and conscious artistic obliteration of Aboriginal people from the landscape of colonial art from the mid-nineteenth century and of the inevitable complicity of colonial artists in that invisibility.

More importantly, in making representations with an artistic integrity to what he saw, Schramm created images that both reflect the impact of the colonial settlement of South Australia on the local Indigenous people and recognise a resilience in their response and a continued existence under changed circumstances. The scenes of extended family groups maintaining travel and camp practices

69   Anthony Pagden: European encounters with the New World, pp. 183 f.: Ian Mclean: Figuring nature. painting the indigenous landscape, p. 122; Ian Burn: 'Is art history any use to artists', pp. 1, 6 and 13.

can be seen as evidence of the persistence of an Aboriginal presence at a time when concerns about soliciting, drunkenness, stealing and attitudes to regular employment were increasingly prompting official and unofficial attempts to remove them from living near or even visiting areas of colonial settlement and against the general expectations that the 'race' must inevitably die out. Rather than reflecting dispossession or cultural degradation, a false nostalgia or romanticisation, the Aboriginal people in Schramm's representations can be seen to be making adaptations and interactions that challenged static notions of Aboriginal identity and culture: fringe camps as "hybridised" spaces constituted in relation to white settlement[70], the expectation of 'hand-outs' a means of survival in return for the disruption of subsistence practices, the rejection of fixed abodes and work or the acceptance of service on a station like the groom at Pewsey Vale as evidence of choice and 'agency'. Despite the absence of individual identification of the Aboriginal people he depicted, Schramm's works leave a lasting legacy to them in his rare attestation of lives that continued though pushed to the periphery of colonial consciousness.

References

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Fig. 1   Alexander Schramm, 1813-64, Adelaide, a tribe of natives on the banks of the River Torrens, 1850, Oil on canvas, 86.36 x 129.54 cm, National Gallery of Australia.

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70   Penelope Edmonds: The intimate, urbanising frontier, p. 144). Bob Reece, challenging the "powerful academic orthodoxy" of a general 'Aboriginal' identity and resistance to colonial settlement, made similar observations on the interactions of the Swan River people with early settlers, seen as characterised rather by "a series of accommodations and adjustments by people not basically hostile to European presence and aware of their ability to enforce their will by arms". Bob Reece: Inventing Aborigines, p. 22.

This article draws largely on work undertaken for my thesis 'Alexander Schramm (1813-64) and the visual representation of Aboriginal people in mid-nineteenth century colonial Australia' (2017) and an unpublished paper "Acknowledging presence: Alexander Schramm's lithographs" presented at the November 2018 conference "Graphic Encounters: colonial prints and the inscription of indigeneity". The acknowledgement of the work of others in my thesis, especially that of Ron Appleyard and Philip Jones, applies equally here.

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Virginia Ruth Pullin

Challenging the Paradigm

Eugen von Guérard in Colonial Victoria

Abstract: The well-travelled, Düsseldorf-trained landscape painter Eugen von Guérard arrived in the colony of Victoria (Australia) in 1852. He was fired by a deep curiosity about the 'new' world and committed to a practice based on the empirical methodology and the rejection of racial hierarchies espoused by Alexander von Humboldt, all of which informed his first depiction of Aboriginal people in Australia. Over the following years, the contradictions on which Victoria's colonial society was built played out in his art practice. The visual conceit of 'noble savagery', according to which Aboriginal presence was imagined in primordial, pre-contact landscapes, coexisted with works in which Aboriginal people were erased from portrayals of colonised territory. In response to his direct encounters with Aboriginal people – including a remarkable and significant exchange with the Gunditjmara artist, Johnny Dawson – as a travelling artist in the colonies, and informed by his friendships with the colony's most enlightened ethnological thinkers, von Guérard produced a group of unconventional and enigmatic compositions that speak enduringly of the impacts of colonisation on the colonised and on the colonisers. In the visual archive they are rare records of co-presence and of the lived realities of First Nations people in the colony of Victoria in the 1850s and 60s.

Eugen von Guérard's arrival at James Dawson's pastoral property in Victoria's Western District on 8 August 1855 triggered a cross-cultural artistic exchange unrivalled in the history of colonial Australia.[1] There the Düsseldorf-trained landscape painter met the young Gunditjmara artist, Johnny Dawson, and the two men, each undoubtedly intrigued by the other, connected with each other as fellow artists. The barriers that typically defined the terms of cross-cultural engagement in colonial Victoria fell away as, in a spontaneous act of artistic reciprocation the academically trained European artist and the gifted, self-taught Gunditjmara artist recorded each other's likeness, each according to his own style. Von Guérard drew two sensitive, highly finished pencil studies of Johnny, 'the Artiste', while Johnny registered his acute observations of the focused European artist, poised on his sketching stool, pencil and paper in hand, in deftly applied strokes of lively watercolour (Figs. 1 and 2).

This singular moment of cross-cultural artistic exchange took place in the unique conditions fostered by the enlightened James Dawson at his property, Kangatong. Dawson was a fierce advocate for the Aboriginal people of southwestern Victoria, a pioneering ethnologist, and a man with whom von Guérard went on to share a lifelong friendship. Von Guérard's understanding of Australia's Aboriginal people and their culture was extended and enriched by his

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1   Johann Joseph Eugen von Guérard used variations of his name throughout his career, often using 'Eugene' while in Australia and sometimes the French form of his honorific, 'de' rather than 'von'. One of Australia's greatest nineteenth-century landscape painters, he was born in Vienna in 1811, travelled and trained in Italy between 1827 and 1838, and studied and worked in Düsseldorf until 1852. He then spent twenty-eight years in Australia, travelling extensively from his Melbourne base. In 1882 returned to Düsseldorf before settling in London with his daughter and son-in-law in 1891. He died in 1901. Johnny Dawson was born at Tarrone, on Gunditjmara country in c. 1840. He died in 1883.

experiences at Kangatong, as the artist's correspondence with the Berlin Ethnological Museum reveals.[2] The artist's letters, in which, for example, he recognised Johnny Dawson as "the natural heir" of the country on which Kangatong was situated, stand as a valuable benchmark from which to gauge von Guérard's attitudes towards Australia's indigenous people.[3]

This paper considers von Guérard's portrayals of First Nations Australians in the context of prevailing colonial attitudes, notably as they were expressed in public exhibitions and communicated through the art market. It takes account of the roles played by the artist's friendships with the colony's more enlightened and informed thinkers in shaping his attitudes, along with his activities as a collector and curator, and his direct encounters with Aboriginal people. It explores von Guérard's responses to prevailing conventions and pictorial tropes and, significantly, the ways he found to shake loose from those conventions to produce some of the most original, direct, objective and compelling accounts of Aboriginal lived experience in the art of mid-century colonial Victoria.

Fig. 1: Eugene von Guérard, 'Johny [sic] the Artiste Kangatong 8 Aug. 55' 1855

Humboldt, objectivity and freedom from prejudice

Von Guérard's first encounter with Australia's Aboriginal people occurred just three weeks into his twenty-eight years in Australia. The experienced forty-one year-old artist, who had travelled and trained in Italy in the 1830s and studied at the progressive Düsseldorf Academy in the 1840s, had come to Australia, "an unexplored field for study", to pursue his career as a landscape painter.[4] But first he headed to the Ballarat goldfields where, along with the adventure promised by life on what was, in 1853, the world's richest alluvial goldfield, he hoped he

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2   See Thomas Darragh, Ruth Pullin: Eugene von Guérard and the Ethnological Museum Berlin: Correspondence 1878–1880; Ruth Pullin, Thomas Darragh: The Artist-Collector: Eugene von Guérard and the Berlin Ethnologial Museum; Anna Weinreich: Artists, Archives and Ancestral Connections.
3   Von Guérard to Dr Voss, 7 July 1879. Incoming register 1926/79, Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB).
4   [James Smith]: Men of the Time, p. 75.

Fig. 2: Johnny Dawson, [Portrait of von Guérard sketching], 1855

might have the lucky find that would support him while he established himself as an artist in the colonial city of Melbourne. As he and his party of fellow miners made their way along the dusty track from Geelong to the Ballarat goldfields, he was acutely alive to his new environment – the blueness of the sky, the dryness of the forests, glorious gum trees, parrots and a bird with "yellow wings and black eyes".[5]

On 11 January 1853, von Guérard and his party of fellow miners came across "a group of three or four mia-mias, the abode of some eight or ten Aborigines".[6] This encounter informed one of the first canvases that von Guérard painted in Australia (Fig. 3). It portrays a group of Wathaurong traders offering a large and luxuriant possum skin rug for sale. These rugs were highly valued on the goldfields for their exceptional warmth and durability. The painting records their strategic position at the point where the road to the diggings intersected with the Moorabool River, and where miners typically rested and watered their oxen.

5   Eugene von Guérard: [Bullock wagon and figures], verso. Fragment cut from von Guérard's sketchbook no, XIX, 1853, State Library of Victoria; See Ruth Pullin: Not Lost Just hiding, pp. 11; Ruth Pullin: The Artist as Traveller, p. 96.
6   Eugene von Guérard: A Pioneer of the Fifties, p. 11. The edited diary entries from von Guérard's 1853 sketchbook survive in English translation in this typescript document. It was almost certainly created by his son-in-law, Reginald Blunt, as a prototype for a proposed publication.

Fig. 3: Eugene von Guérard, 'Aborigines met on the road to the diggings', 1854

In von Guérard's composition the accepted order of colonial race relations is inverted: the miner kneels – ostensibly to examine the rug – while the standing Wathaurong man is evidently in command of the negotiations. Under the watchful eye of his female companion and with his grip on the rug firm, it seems unlikely that the miner's offer of £3 – as indicated by a raised thumb and two fingers – will be accepted. At the time good quality cloaks and rugs could fetch four or five pounds.[7]

Von Guérard's composition, painted in his Melbourne studio between July and October 1854, was unconventional for its depiction of a cross-cultural transaction taking place at an identifiable location and at an identifiably contemporary time. The parties meet on equal terms, their exchange apparently free of the prejudices that the artist would have encountered in the colony. In its conception this work reflects the views of Alexander von Humboldt on the subject of race. In his hugely influential publications the natural scientist had rejected "the depressing assumption of superior and inferior races of men", maintaining that the "ultimate and highest object of society" was for "all mankind, without distinction of religion, nation or colour, to be regarded as one great fraternity".[8] Von

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7   George Rowe, Artist and Miner, cited in Fred Cahir: Black Gold, p. 72; J. F. Hughes, Castlemaine pioneer recorded the standard price as 'five pounds a-piece', in: Fred Cahir: Black Gold, p. 72.
  8   Alexander von Humboldt: Cosmos, vol. 1, pp. 355 f.

Guérard was one of a cohort of eminent German-speaking scientists and artists who, inspired by Humboldt, arrived in Melbourne in the 1850s to pursue their disciplines in Australia. He responded to Humboldt's call for artists to paint the landscapes of the 'New World' with "sharpness and scientific accuracy", and here that commitment is evident in von Guérard's concern to record details of ethnographic interest, such as the joins in the possum-skin cloak worn by the woman seated near the fire.[9]

Von Guérard's portrayal of Wathaurong people as adaptable and enterprising challenged the assumptions that were often used to justify colonisation. According to the then widely accepted stadial theory, Aboriginal people, as hunters, sat on the lowest rung of human development. Commerce, with which European settler colonists were identified, was regarded as a higher-level activity. 'Aborigines met on the road to the diggings' is one of the rare works in the visual archive that portrays the now well documented participation of people of the Kulin nation in the colonial monetary system – as stockmen, guides, native police, labourers and traders.[10] However, much of the work's significance as a record of Wathaurong participation in money-based commercial activities was lost when it was exhibited as 'Barter' at the 1884 Victorian Jubilee Exhibition, a title which has stayed with it until recently.

Von Guérard's representation of a non-hierarchical cross-cultural commercial transaction as the subject of a major work in oil on canvas, shortly after his arrival in Australia, reveals the remarkable independence of his vision. As an apparently objective account of Aboriginal agency it has become a point of reference for academics and art historians. It is also important to take note of the warning sounded by Boucher and Russell that overstating the 'discovery' of Aboriginal agency at this time in colonial Victoria has the potential to severely underplay the realities of the suffering of a colonised people who were struggling simply to exist.[11]

The colonial lens

Although von Guérard was primarily a landscape painter – figure painting was not his strength – he produced three major works that portrayed Aboriginal people during his first few months in Melbourne. While 'Aborigines met on the road to the diggings' is a depiction of an identifiably contemporary encounter based on direct experience, the other two, 'Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat' and 'Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies' (both painted between August and December 1854), portray Aboriginal people as synonymous with pre-contact Australia. This may have been, in part, a response to perceived market conditions: 'Aborigines met on the road to the diggings', had received only mild praise in the

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9   Alexander von Humboldt: Cosmos, vol. 2, p. 438.
10   See Fred Cahir: Black Gold.
11   Leigh Boucher, Lynette Russell: Settler Colonial Governance, p. 23.

press when it was shown at the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition and von Guérard was forced to sell the painting by public lottery early in the following year.[12]

In October 1854, a few months after von Guérard settled in the city, Melbourne staged its first major public exhibition. It was mounted in connection with the 1855 Paris Exhibition, with one of its goals being to show examples of "native industry" and to "demonstrate how British settlement had improved upon Aboriginal people's technology".[13] For von Guérard the opportunity to see and study the comprehensive collection of Aboriginal artefacts on display was timely and invaluable – even if what he saw, and the way it was presented, was heavily mediated by the attitudes of British colonists. It was the first of the big colonial exhibitions, and one of the public events that, as Penelope Edmonds has observed, "provide insight into the commodification and appropriation of Indigenous culture and reveal how knowledge about colonized Indigenous people was constructed".[14] Although a diversity of material culture was on display, its presentation was fundamentally shaped by the reductive attitudes of the colonisers. For example, despite the fact that John Hunter Kerr showed a comprehensive collection of worked possum skins, women's woven baskets, tools and children's play sticks (weet weet) as well as spears and shields from the "Murray and Loddon Tribes" (the Dja Dja Wurrung), the bronze medal he was awarded was for "Native weapons and Natural History".[15] The diversity and complexity of the Aboriginal cultural material on display were effectively collapsed into the one category, 'weapons' – one that, significantly, emphasized savagery – and one which defined it as 'natural' rather than 'cultural'. With apparent equanimity "Examples of Native Industry" were displayed in one section of the exhibition while Aboriginal skulls were presented as "Specimens of Natural History" in another.[16] In those early impressionable months in Melbourne von Guérard was exposed to a highly constructed view of Aboriginal culture, one premised on the theories of racial hierarchies that were gaining traction at the time. Imperial narratives of progress and racial superiority played out in the exhibition, alongside a narrative of a race doomed by its perceived primitivism and savagery.

The 1854 Melbourne exhibition was also von Guérard's first opportunity to see a range of representations of Aboriginal subjects by European artists in the colony. The Darmstadt-born Ludwig Becker (1808-1861) showed two drawings of Aboriginal people, along with a pencil drawing "by an Aborigine", and "Part of necklace made of native seeds, worn by a Chief of the Murray Tribe".[17] Von Guérard had a personal connection with Becker, having studied with Ludwig's brother August, in Düsseldorf. One of the works he brought with him to Australia was August's 'Midnight Sun in Norway', which he showed at the exhibition.[18]

12 The Exhibition, Argus, 14 November 1854, p. 4.
13 Elizabeth Willis: Gentlemen Collectors, p. 130.
14 Penelope Edmonds: Urbanizing Frontiers, p. 170.
15 Elizabeth Willis: Gentlemen Collectors, pp. 131 f.
16 Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854.
17 Ludwig Becker: Cat no. 294, Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition. For Ludwig Becker, see also the contribution by Wulf D. Hund and Stefanie Affeldt in this volume...
18 August Becker: Midnight Sun in Norway. Exhibited by "De Guérard, John E.", Cat. No. 328 (2), Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition.

Von Guérard and Ludwig became central figures in Melbourne's tightly knit German-speaking community of artists and scientists.

Von Guérard was evidently impressed by Douglas T. Kilburn's daguerreotypes of Aboriginal people as, on 20 January 1855, soon after the doors of the exhibition closed, he made copies of two of them in ink and wash.[19] One of the drawings is dated and inscribed 'Eingeborne [sic] v. Victoria / Port Philip / Melbourne', and the other, 'Eingeborne [sic] v. New South Wales'[20] (Fig. 4). The latter was based on a Kilburn daguerreotype now held by the National Gallery of Victoria.[21] While von Guérard may have been seduced by the objectivity implied by the photographic daguerreotype process, Kilburn's daguerreotypes were in fact staged, romanticized and anthropologically-driven studio productions. They were informed by the photographer's concern to record "the curious race of Aborigines by aid of the Daguerreotype", before they disappeared.[22] The idea that the demise of the Aboriginal race was inevitable was one that von Guérard would have heard expressed even among his more enlightened contemporaries and also

Fig. 4: Eugene von Guérard, 'Eingeborne [sic] von New South Wales' [after Kilburn], [1855]

within his immediate circle of German-speaking scientists and artists. For the Prussian natural scientist, Wilhelm Blandowski (1822-1878), "it was a universal but mysterious law" that white settlement across the globe would sweep "the backward races from the face of the earth".[23]

Von Guérard kept the drawings made after Kilburn's daguerreotypes in a folio he called 'Australien Reminiszenzen', along with a comprehensive set of his
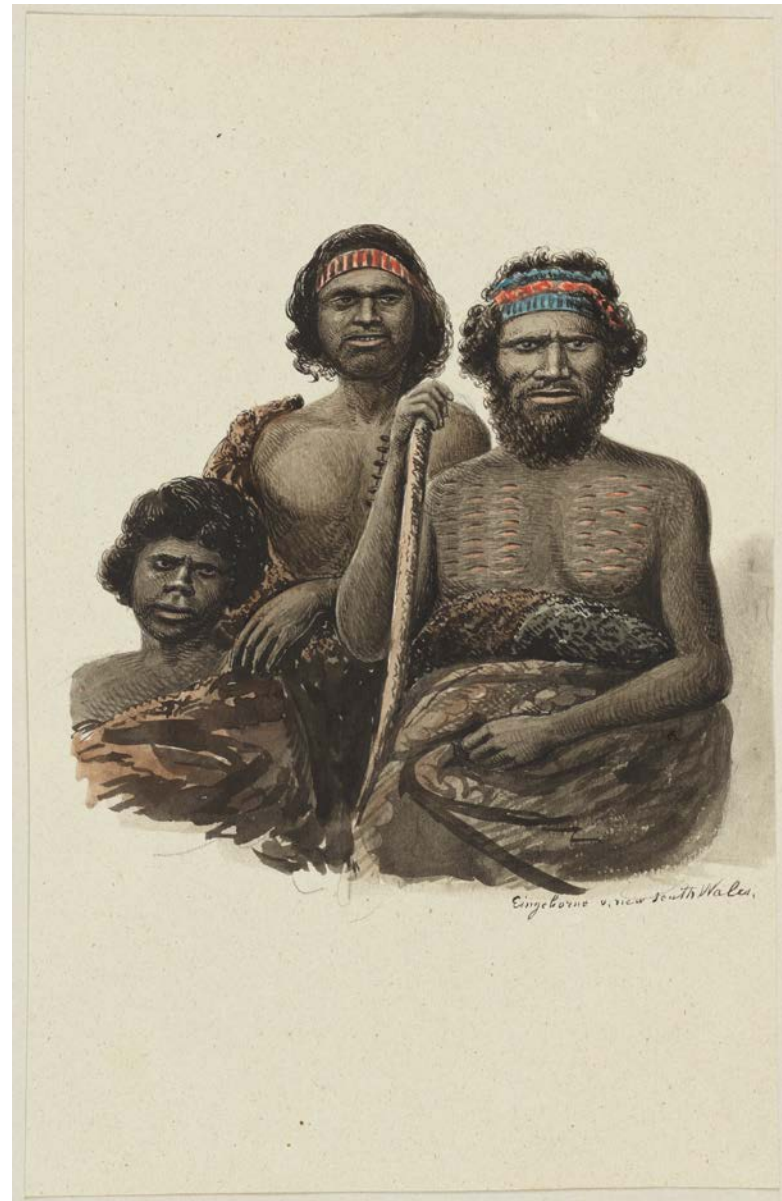
19 Nine Daguerreotypes by Douglas T. Kilburn were shown by Alfred Selwyn Government Geologist. Cat no. 312, Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition.
20 The same group is depicted in John Skinner Prout's Family Group, Australia Felix, 1846, Museum of Mankind, British Museum, London. See Sasha Grishin: Australian Art, p. 81.
21 Douglas T. Kilburn: No Title (Group of Koorie Men), c. 1847, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Isobel Crombie describes von Guérard's drawing as "largely faithful" and suggests that he misinterpreted the men's cicatrices as open wounds. See Isobel Crombie: Australia Felix.
22 Illustrated London News, 26 January 1850, p. 53, cited in Crombie: Australia Felix.
23 Blandowski, 1855, cited in Richard Broome: Aboriginal Victorians, p. 98.

Fig. 5: Eugene von Guérard, 'Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat', 1854

own copies of illustrations from T. L. Mitchell's publications, a pencil copy of a Thomas Hannay photograph of three Gunditjmara men in mourning, an engraving of 'Instruments used by the Aborigines of the Port Phillip District' published by Thomas Ham, and engravings of Aboriginal subjects by S. T. Gill and Ludwig Becker.[24] It was a reference collection of images that the artist compiled from secondary sources and through which he engaged with a distinctly European construct of 'Aboriginality'.

In this context, it is not surprising that 'Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat' and 'Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies', both painted in late 1854, were conceived within the ubiquitous framework of 'noble savagery'. With the frontier violence of the 1840s fresh in the minds of colonists, works which positioned Aboriginal presence on the other side of a "temporal boundary" defined by the moment of colonisation were reassuring.[25] In these works, Aboriginal people were imagined as existing in an arcadian pre-contact world. Identified with the past and with their demise considered imminent, they could be safely idealized and eulogised as 'noble savages'. As Greg Lehman notes, it was an idea that was too often used

24   Eugene von Guérard: Australien Reminiszenzen, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. The drawing, inscribed 'Schwarze von Victoria in Trauer', of three Gunditjmara men in mourning was copied from a photograph taken by Thomas Hannay, a travelling photographer who worked in the Portland region in 1858-59..
25   Russell Macneil: Time after Time, p. 49.

as "a form of benign recognition, when, in reality, it is a dense and ambiguous term used rhetorically to validate the destructive outcomes of British invasion".[26]

Von Guérard's 'Warrenheip Hills, near Ballarat' (Fig. 5) is an archetypal image of noble savagery: the classicized figure of the Aboriginal hunter and his fishing companion are portrayed as part of, and in harmony with, the idyllic and bountiful natural world they inhabit. It is an image that is totally at odds with what the artist must have seen on and around the Ballarat goldfields. On 5 February 1854, when he drew the study for this painting, von Guérard had escaped from the noise, dust and chaos of the goldfields – where he would have seen Wathaurong people working as "police, gold escorts, guides to new goldfields, bark cutters, prostitutes, trackers, posties, child minders, fur merchants, bushrangers, entertainers and prison guards"– to spend a few hours sketching in a secluded valley near Mount Warrenheip.[27] On an earlier visit to the area he reported having seen "many magpies, black cockatoos, parrots" and "much relished the exquisite clear water of the Leigh Creek".[28] His focus on this occasion was the landscape and the vegetation – the messmate stringybark, 'Eucalyptus oblique', the white-trunked 'Eucalyptus rubida', the Cherry Ballart, 'Exocarpus cupressiformus' in its local form and the tufty clumps of 'Poa labillardierei' at the water's edge – all of which were faithfully reproduced in the painting.[29] The grazing kangaroos and two Wathaurong men do not appear in the drawing. The contrast between the imagined figures, conceived within a Eurocentric concept of classical nobility and pictured as living harmoniously in a pristine natural setting, and the actual realities of life on the goldfields, is stark. It is possible that von Guérard did record the lived realities of Wathaurong people on the goldfields in his sketchbooks, but if so those sketches did not survive the dismantling of his goldfields' sketchbooks later in the century.[30]

In 'Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies' 1854 (Fig. 6), also known as 'Natives chasing game', von Guérard adopted the visual language of heroic European battle scenes to represent a subject he could never have witnessed.[31] While Aboriginal hunters typically relied on stealth to hunt prey, these men rise into clear view at the top of a rocky ridge. They are not painted for battle but the weapons they carry – the long spears lined with single rows of deadly barbs, the heavy war clubs and the narrow parrying shields, examples of which von Guérard had seen at the 1854 exhibition – are designed for combat.[32] Time is suspended in this theatrical composition, the two lead figures fixed in silhouette against the light of the setting sun and their heroic status emphasised by the low viewpoint.

26   Greg Lehman; Regarding the Savages, p. 28.
27   Fred Cahir: Black Gold, p. 2.
28   Eugene von Guérard: A Pioneer of the Fifties, 13 March 1853, p. 17.
29   Identified by Neville Walsh, Conservation Botanist, Royal Botanical Gardens, Melbourne, in conversation, 2006.
30   See footnote 5.
31   Von Guérard's 'Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies' was listed for sale by lottery in the Argus, 30 December, 1854, p. 8. The work is catalogued as 'Natives chasing game' by the National Library of Australia, Canberra.
32   I acknowledge and thank Wathaurong Traditional Owners for drawing my attention to the absence of body paint. Annual General Meeting of Wathaurong Traditional Owners, Ballarat, 17 April 2021.

Fig. 6: Eugene von Guérard, [Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies] 'Native chasing game', 1854

The animated interplay of expression and gesture between the jostling warriors behind them, like the chorus in a Greek play, underscores the drama of the moment. Von Guérard had seen the way his influential Düsseldorf School contemporary Carl Friedrich Lessing had, in works like 'Riflemen Defending a Narrow Pass' 1851, intensified the focus on the most dramatic moment of a narrative by reducing the elements around it.[33] Here, like Lessing, von Guérard brought the warriors up close to the picture plane while pushing the generalized forms of the landscape back into the distance. In its heroic and elegiac tone, it recalls Emanuel Leutze's treatment of a similar theme in 'Last of the Mohicans' 1849/1850, a work which was painted and exhibited in Düsseldorf prior to von Guérard's departure for Australia in August 1852.[34] The nobility of the great Native American chief on his rocky pedestal is emphasized by the low viewpoint, and the fading light of day alludes, metaphorically, to what, it was believed, was soon to be lost. In the context of the recent and ongoing frontier wars, the depiction of Aboriginal warriors preparing for conflict was a potentially confronting subject for the colonists. By framing his subject within the visual language of the European tradition, von Guérard effectively distanced it, locating it in a place where "the colonial 'us' could observe" – and even eulogise – "the colonized 'them'", assured that this was the past and that it presented no threat.[35]

Von Guérard continued to imagine Aboriginal presence in ostensibly uncolonised passages of the Australian landscape throughout his career. By implication Aboriginality was a "natural rather than a cultural phenomenon", both concomitant with, and a signifier of, precontact Australia.[36] The inclusion or erasure of Aboriginal presence had the power to completely shift the way a landscape was understood, as illustrated by the substitution of European tourists for the Aboriginal man in 'Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales'

33 Carl Friedrich Lessing, 'Schützen einen Engpass verteidigend' 1851, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie. See Bettina Baumgärtel: The Düsseldorf School of Painting, p. 42.
34 Kölnerzeitung, 27 August 1850, cited in Katharina Bott, Gerhard Bott: Vice Versa, p. 328.
35 Rod Macneil: Time after Time, p. 52.
36 Ibid., p. 55.

Fig. 7: Eugene von Guérard, 'Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales', 1862

1862 (Fig. 7). In the painting, the Aboriginal man is located in, and identified with, an ancient, elemental and ostensibly pre-contact landscape. By contrast, the European tourist-travellers who contemplate the identical view in the 1867 lithograph, 'The Weatherboard Falls' (Fig. 8), exist in the present, having probably just walked the short distance from the Weatherboard Inn where visitors to the site – including Charles Darwin in 1836 – had stayed from as early as 1830. For educated mid-century travellers the awe-inspiring panoramic vista framed by massive, eroded sandstone cliffs spoke of the recent discovery of deep geological time, the magnitude of which is here metaphorically suggested by the unfathomably deep valley that yawns below them.

The urban fringe

In 'Aborigines outside Melbourne' 1855 von Guérard engaged directly with the contemporary experience of Kulin people living on the "contested and highly transactional spaces" of the "urbanizing frontier" (Fig. 9).[37] Melbourne (Narrm)

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37   Penelope Edmonds: Urbanizing Frontiers, p. 11.

Fig. 8: Eugene von Guérard, 'The Weatherboard Falls' 1867

was expanding rapidly with the gold-fuelled population growth of the early 1850s. With their land stolen and their social structures "brutally altered", the Wurundjeri Woi wurrung and the Bunurong / Boon wurrung people of the Kulin nation had to quickly "develop ways to carve out an existence within a speedily transforming settler colonial social, cultural and economic system".[38] Despite the efforts of the Assistant Protector of Aborigines William Thomas to deter them, the Kulin returned to their traditional meeting places on Narrm and, in order to survive, they ventured into the metropolis in search of casual work, to beg, barter or to sell goods such as skins or lyrebird feathers.

Von Guérard may have encountered this party of eight men and women, two carrying infants, as they made their way along Port Phillip Bay towards Melbourne – possibly from the Mordialloc Creek Aboriginal Reserve – while he was sketching in the Brighton area in April 1855.[39] They are depicted navigating safe passage along the "incompletely colonised" corridor of a sandy path: a simple wooden fence declares that the Bunurong country on the other side has been claimed as private property.[40] A substantial colonial residence now dominates the headland and a ship at anchor in the bay signifies the ongoing influx of new arrivals.

38   Ibid., pp. 46 f.; Lynette Russell: Settler Colonial Governance, pp. 11 f..
39   Von Guérard sketched a group of nine Bunurong men setting off in a canoe, spears in hand, from Brighton beach, '2 miles from Melbourne' on 18 April 1855. Eugene von Guérard 'An der See bei Brighton'. In: 'Victorian Sketches 1855', National Library of Australia, Canberra.
40   Penelope Edmonds: Urbanizing Frontiers, p. 148.

Fig. 9: Eugene von Guérard, 'Aborigines outside Melbourne', 1855

This image was one of two selected by von Guérard to represent Victoria in an article published in the 'London Illustrated News' on 15 November 1856.[41] In the first, two Aboriginal figures are pictured drinking from a stream in one of the "primeval forests" of "towering" tree ferns found at Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges.[42] The text for the article was based on the artist's experiences and mediated by an unidentified English correspondent – most likely von Guérard's friend, the journalist, art and theatre critic James Smith. No mention is made of the Aboriginal figures in the text.[43] They are simply 'natural' presences in a primeval world.

By contrast, the passage that relates to the wood engraving of 'Aborigines near Melbourne' is, in effect, a catalogue of the attitudes towards Aboriginal people that prevailed in 1850s Melbourne.[44] It is a text that says as much about the colonisers as the colonised: in such writing, Russell observes, the colonisers "were themselves written and defined".[45] Here the Kulin are patronized as "children of Nature", their movement over Bunurong country misunderstood and derided as aimless "wandering from their wild encampments to visit the town".[46] In von

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41   A Correspondent: Sketches in Australia', p. 491.
42   Ibid.
43   Phrases like "a dash of the serio-comic" indicate the authorship of James Smith rather than von Guérard.
44   Von Guérard may have considered 'Aborigines in pursuit of their enemies' as a subject for publication in the ILN, as his Australien Reminiszenzen contains line drawings of both compositions.
45   Lynette Russell: Colonial Frontiers, p. 12.
46   A Correspondent: Sketches in Australia, p. 491.

Guérard's image, this "wandering" is set against the social stability represented by solid, domestic residences – the rewards of hard work, Christian values, and colonial enterprise. Dispossession could be justified by the perceived inability of the Kulin to keep "pace with the improvement of the territory which they once called their own".[47] Their "inclination for strong drinks" – signified in von Guérard's image by the bottle protruding from the coat pocket of the leading male figure – was, by implication, the result of the poor character that their "ready aptitude in imitating the faults and vices of the colonists" demonstrated.[48] According to the article, the women in their thin government-issue blankets were slightly less "ludicrous" than the men, who "present a motley aspect, being for the most part dressed in left-off clothes they have obtained from the European colonists, with hats and caps of every conceivable form".[49] As Greg Lehman has observed, "the Aboriginal man who wears an English coat" is considered to be "'mistaken' in exercising such agency", and so a "capacity for cultural change" becomes "an expression of foolishness – as if an Aboriginal person can never understand the value of clothing".[50]

An entry in von Guérard's goldfields' diary describes his encounter, on 16 March 1854, with a group of Wathaurong people outside Geelong. In the English translation of the diary entry they are described as "miserable", "clad in the most ludicrous odds-and-ends of European wearing apparel and nearly all in a drunken condition".[51] 'Despite the corroborating correlation between the two texts, there are suggestions of a more nuanced response to the complexities and ambiguities of the situation in his watercolour. Is there a proud defiance in the bearing of the lead man and an element of wit and mimicry in his jauntily tied kerchief and the walking stick he carries? However we read it, this work stands as a rare visual record of the impacts of colonisation and the existential realities faced by Kulin people on the urban fringes of 1850s' Melbourne.

Cross cultural encounters

Von Guérard's 1855 visit to Kangatong in Victoria's Western District was a pivotal event in his career. He arrived at James Dawson's pastoral property on 8 August, having disembarked at Port Fairy on the return voyage from South Australia. Over the preceding four weeks he had filled his sketchbook with drawings of the South Australian landscape and a series of studies of people from the "Lake Victoria tribe" (Barkindji) at their winter camp on the site of today's Adelaide Botanic Gardens. Each year people from Lake Victoria and the Murray River would gather there "for the annual Queen's Birthday distribution of blankets and rations".[52] Von Guérard's sketchbook drawing of the camp, dated 25 July 1855,

47   Ibid.
48   Ibid.
49   Ibid.
50   Greg Lehman: Regarding the Savages, p. 28.
51   Eugene von Guérard: A Pioneer of the Fifties, p. 41.
52   Philip Jones: [untitled catalogue entry], p. 99.

Fig. 10: Eugene von Guérard, 'Winter encampments in wurlies of divisions of tribes from Lake Bonney and Lake Victoria in the parkland near Adelaide', 1858

is direct and objective. He recorded the length and width of the "My my" or "wurlies", and he observed that they were "not a man's height" and covered with old cloths.[53] This objectivity was compromised, however, in the 1858 presentation drawing of the same subject with the introduction of "significant and fanciful additions", such as the "tree-climbing figure" and the "dead game lying near one of the wurlies" when, as Philip Jones notes, von Guérard must have known that game had "long since vanished from the city's parklands"[54] (Fig. 10). The drawing was commissioned by John Bakewell as one of a set to be taken back to England, and, no doubt, von Guérard was aware that such additions would increase the narrative interest of the drawing and appeal to his patron. On the two other visits he made to the camp von Guérard persuaded "Jimy", "Mary", and 16-year-old "Carlolin" [sic], "the most beautiful of the tribe", to sit for him while he drew sensitive pencil portrait studies of each of them.[55] A waddy, which he described as a "War club made from Mayal wood from a Tribe at Lake Victoria on the Murray River, South Australia", and which he later sold to the Berlin Ethnologi-

53   E. von Guérard, 'Blackfellows camp bei Adelaide', Sketchbook XXIV, 1855, State Library of New South Wales, DGB16, v. 3, p. 37. Cf. Berlin-born Alexander Schramm (1813–1864) 'Adelaide, a Tribe of Natives on the Banks of the River Torrens' 1850. NGA 2005.216.

54   Philip Jones: [untitled catalogue entry], p. 99.

55   Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XXIV, 1855, State Library of New South Wales, DGB16, v. 3, pp. 80-85.

Fig. 11: Eugene von Guérard, 'Tower Hill', 1855

cal Museum, was almost certainly purchased from the people he met there.[56] It was probably the first cultural object to enter the collection of thirty significant cultural objects that he acquired over the following years.[57]

On his August 1855 trip to Kangatong von Guérard produced the large preparatory drawing that was the study for Dawson's commission for a painting of the spectacular and environmentally significant lake-filled nested maar volcano, Tower Hill (Koroitj) (Fig. 11). The enlightened pastoralist recognised the unique environmental values of the site and he campaigned ardently for its protection.[58] It was both an important early commission for von Guérard and his introduction to the volcanic landscape of Victoria's Western District, the geological and artistic significance of which, as a result of his knowledge of the volcanic German Eifel region, he understood immediately.[59]

Dawson's respect for the Aboriginal people of southwestern Victoria and his recognition of their "intelligence, common sense, integrity", informed the research that he and his daughter Isabella undertook to record the languages and customs of the local people, not "on the word of a white person" but as received directly from them.[60] He was also, sadly, resigned to the view that the degradation exacted on Aboriginal people by the "white man" would "no doubt ultimately lead to their extinction".[61]

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56   Von Guérard to Voss, 7 July 1879, SMB.
57   See Ruth Pullin, Thomas Darragh; Thomas Darragh, Ruth Pullin.
58   Tim Bonyhady: The Colonial Earth, pp. 338-366; Ruth Pullin: Nature Revealed, p. 114.
59   See Ruth Pullin: The Vulkaneifel and Victoria's Western District, pp. 6-33.
60   James Dawson: Australian Aborigines, Preface, p. iii.
61   ibid., p. iv.

At Kangatong von Guérard was given the rare opportunity to engage with Aboriginal people in an environment of trust and respect. Dawson's property was a place of refuge for many Gunditjmara and Kirrae wurrung people during the years of continuing violence that followed the peak of the Eumeralla Wars. According to family history, the Gunditjmara artist, known today only as Johnny Dawson or Johnny Kangatong, had been entrusted to James Dawson's care by his father as a child to protect him from an outbreak of small pox.[62] The boy grew up to become Dawson's stock keeper and a self-taught artist who, with great originality, used European materials and techniques to depict European subjects.

On the day they met, von Guérard produced two portrait drawings of Johnny, the young man he subsequently acknowledged as a descendant of one of "the original families who had possession of this stretch of country before the British seized Australia".[63] In a profile study he captured the striking features and steady gaze of an intelligent and confident young man (see Fig. 1) and in a beautifully realised full-face portrait, Johnny is portrayed wrapped in the luxurious furs

Fig. 12: Eugene von Guérard, 'Johny [sic] Kangatong 8 Aug. 55', 1855

of his possum-skin cloak (Fig. 12). Von Guérard kept the watercolour drawing that Johnny painted of him for the rest of his life (see Fig. 2). Mrs Dawson gave von Guérard a further four sheets of Johnny's drawings, two of which he gave to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin". I place great value on these artistic productions," he told the Museum's curators in 1878.[64] He was impressed both by the natural ability of the young artist, who had never "received the slightest instruction", and his dedication, noting that he usually drew "in the evening hours, after a hard day's work with the large herd of cattle".[65] He was fascinated by the creative process of his fellow artist, describing how Johnny's memories of the circus he had attended with James Dawson in Melbourne "whirled around like a mad dream in his imagination", compelling him to commit his impressions to paper

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62 Gilgar Gunditj Elder, Eileen Alberts, great great granddaughter to Johnny Dawson. Personal communication, 15 September 2022.
63 Eugene von Guérard to Dr Voss, 7 July 1879, SMB.
64 Von Guérard to Dr Adolf Bastian, 25 August 1878, Incoming register 2232/78, SMB.
65 Von Guérard to Voss, 7 July 1879, SMB.

Fig. 13: Johnny Dawson, 'Cavalry man and family with a crowd in the background', [1855],
[Circus audience and performers]

on his return to Kangatong (Fig. 13).[66] The 'circus' drawing is one of the two that
von Guérard gifted to the Berlin Ethnological Museum; the other five, on three
sheets of paper, were acquired by the State Library of New South Wales in 1913.
Together these drawings constitute the artist's entire known oeuvre. As a result
of von Guérard's foresight they have survived and, with them, our knowledge of
the Gunditjmara artist's practice.

In May-June 1856, von Guérard returned to Kangatong and during this extended
visit drew large portrait drawings of at least three of the other people living
there, one of whom, Kaawirn Kuunawarn, was one of the key informants for the
Dawsons' ethnological study.[67] The interaction between the artist and the senior
Kirrae wurrung man (also known as King Konewarre, Davey or King David)
extended to Kaawirn making handles "in the old and original manner" for two
stone axe heads – one "of great age" – that Dawson had given to the artist.[68] Von
Guérard sat and watched closely as the "wood from the young wattle (Acacia)"
was "stuck together with gum from this tree and bound with kangaroo sinews".[69]

66   Ibid.
67   This drawing is known only from the following catalogue entry: "Eugene von Guérard,
     "Portrait of King Kooneware [*sic*], Highly finished pencil and crayon drawing, Kangatong,
     9-in. × 11½-in. 26 June, 1856". Cat. no. 3752 in Francis Edwards, Booksellers: Supplementary
     Catalogue.
68   Von Guérard to Bastian 25 August 1878, SMB.
69   Von Guérard to Voss, 9 July 1879, SMB; The Berlin Ethnological Museum object identification
     numbers for the stone axes are: VI 2575 and VI 2576.

Von Guérard's account speaks of the Kirrae wurrung man's generosity and of the unhurried and respectful nature of the exchanges that were possible at Kangatong.

While he was based at Kangatong in May to June 1856, von Guérard set out on a fourteen-day sketching expedition to the northern end of the Gariwerd-Grampians. At Mr Carfrae's Station, Ledcourt, he made sketches of some of the Djabwurrung and Jardwadjali people who lived on the property. The drawings of 'Lady Missis [sic] Stuart' suggest that she was required to stand while being recorded in her government issue blanket, with her digging stick and a woven basket on her back (Fig. 14).[70] She is fixed in an anthropological gaze – which von Guérard may have felt aligned with Humboldt's empirical methodology. The scrutiny to which she was subjected is more disturbingly evident in his observation that: "Die Blacks von d. Grampians fand ich im Allgemeinen viele

Fig. 14: Eugene von Guérard, 'Lady Missis [sic] Stuart', 1856

heller in d. Hautfarbe als in irgend einer anderen Gegend v. Australien". [Overall I found the Blacks from the Grampians much lighter in skin colour than those from other areas of Australia].

Imagined absence / imagined presence

In the 1850s most Aboriginal people in rural Victoria lived on or near the pastoral properties that then occupied their traditional lands. However, they are conspicuously absent from the portrayals of the Western District properties that von Guérard was commissioned to paint for the then well-established squattocracy. On Djargurrdwurrung country (the Camperdown region), von Guérard spent time with the Manifolds at Purrumbete, Peter McArthur of Meningoort, John Lang Currie at Larra and the Ware family of Koort Koort-nong, all of whom

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70   Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XXV, pp. 31 f.

Fig. 15: Eugene von Guérard, 'Meningoort', 1861

commissioned paintings of their properties. Contemporary records confirm that Djargurdwurrung people were living and working as labourers, stockmen and domestic staff on these properties.[71] The travelling school inspector and writer James Bonwick observed "the Blacks" working at Purrumbete in 1857, and Tasmanian-born artist, Robert Dowling's 'King Tom and the Mount Elephant Tribe' was painted at Meningoort in 1856, shortly before von Guérard's first visit in March 1857.[72]

Von Guérard's portraits of Western District pastoral properties were painted for patrons keen to assert and legitimize their possession of the country they had seized, illegally and violently, less than twenty years earlier. Theirs was a colonised landscape: it was ordered and controlled, and it spoke of progress and the future, all of which is expressed compositionally in von Guérard's 'Meningoort' 1861 (Fig. 15). Axial trajectories, seen from an elevated vantage point behind and looking over the homestead, are established by the straight lines of the formal garden at the front of the house and extend out over the fertile volcanic plains.[73] Conceptually they anchor the homestead to the scoria cones of mounts Leura and Sugarloaf on the horizon: Djargurdwurrung country is here claimed and defined by a European linear and cadastral system that is seemingly embedded

71   Ian D. Clark: An Ethnology of the Djargurdwurrung people, p. 59.
72   James Bonwick: Western Victoria, p. 43; Robert Dowling: 'King Tom and the Mount Elephant Tribe,' National Library of Australia, Canberra.
73   On the garden design, see Timothy Hubbard, p. 246.

Fig. 16: Eugene von Guérard, 'Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite', 1857

in the landscape. The Djargurdwurrung people that von Guérard had seen at Meningoort in 1857 were erased from this view of claimed and colonised country.[74]

Bordering the open, light-filled landscape of von Guérard's Camperdown property, portraits is the rough, undulating terrain of geologically recent lava flows known as the Stony Rises. Strewn with basalt boulders and scrubby vegetation, this rugged region was the barrier that the Manifold brothers had to overcome to get their cattle to the "wished for" land that became their property Purrumbete.[75] During the 1840s the rugged and inaccessible Stony Rises became a locus for the squatters' fears of ambush and attack by the local Aboriginal people and, in the 1850s, a literary trope which saw von Guérard's contemporary, James Bonwick, describe its basalt boulders as rearing up like "waves petrified in their rise", and as creating, at twilight, "a most unearthly appearance".[76] It was into this dramatized vision of the landscape that – despite the objectivity of the sketches made as he travelled though the Stony Rises on 3 April 1857 on his return to Melbourne – von Guérard chose to project a constructed Aboriginal presence. He had not seen any Gulidjan people in the Stony Rises and nor did he see the exaggerated boulders that loom large in his 1857 composition, 'Stony

74   For example, a small group of people gathered around a campfire is visible in the middle distance of a large pencil drawing: 'Cloven Hills and Mt Elephant […] f. Meningoort', 12 March 1857, pencil, private collection, Victoria.
75   W.G. Manifold: Peter Manifold, Australian Dictionary of Biography.
76   James Bonwick: Western Victoria, p. 19. See also Harriet Edquist: Stony Rises, p. 72.

Rises, near Corangamite' (Fig. 16). While actual, visible Aboriginal presence was erased from the open, ordered, light-filled present of the colonised landscapes of Camperdown, it was identified with the dark shadows and irregularity of a primordial wilderness.

Co-presence on Country

Different realities converge in two of von Guérard's most enigmatic and original works, 'Mr John King's Station' (Fig. 17), and 'View of the Gippsland Alps from Bushy Park on the River Avon' (Fig. 18), both painted in 1861. Within the framework of the colonial property portrait, and in works painted for patrons who had been directly involved in the violent dispossession and murder of Gunaikurnai people, von Guérard found ways to address the contemporary reality of co-presence on Gunaikurnai Country. While apparently conforming to the expectations of the genre, von Guérard found ways to subtly subvert it and to bear witness to the legacy of colonisation on Gippsland's rural frontier.

Von Guérard reached John King's property, Snake Ridge, on 18 November 1860, early in his seven-week expedition on Gunaikurnai country. King was one of the first squatters to reach Gippsland, and by 1860 his run was one of the largest. The painting was commissioned as a celebration of his achievements and

Fig. 17: Eugene von Guérard,'Mr John King's Station, Gippsland', 1861

undoubtedly this was how it was received by King and his contemporaries. King and his gardener, in the middle distance, are bathed in light: the gardener tends a rose garden, his rake and watering can nearby, while King surveys the pastures on which his cattle graze. For colonists like King such industry spelt 'progress'

Fig. 18: Eugene von Guérard, 'View of the Gippsland Alps, from Bushy Park on the River Avon', 1861

and it justified their seizure of the land. Ironically evidence of the active management of Country that had been practiced by the Gunaikurnai for centuries prior to King's arrival – and on which his wealth was predicated – lay directly in front of him. Von Guérard saw and recorded, but could not have understood the significance of, the fertile 'necks' of grassland screened by promontories of bushland that are visible in the middle ground of the painting and that were the result of controlled burns carried out by the local Brayakaulung clan to regenerate the land, to encourage new growth and to attract game.[77]

The Gunaikurnai family and their dog occupy an anomalous position in the painting: their prominence in the immediate centre foreground of the composition is undermined by the shadows that fall over them. For colonists like King the group's shadowy presence would have been readily understood as a reference to the apparently "immutable law of nature that", in the face of 'progress', "such inferior dark races should disappear".[78] In its staged frontality the group has an emblematic – perhaps symbolic – presence.

Unsettling tensions play out in this work, firstly in the prominence given to the Gunaikurnai while King, von Guérard's patron, is relegated to the middle ground, with his back to the viewer. There is a disconcerting disconnect between the two groups in the painting: despite their physical proximity – within the boundary

77   See Bill Gammage: The Biggest Estate on Earth, 2011.
78   Westgarth, cited in Richard Broome: Aboriginal Victorians, p. 98.

of King's domestic garden – the Europeans and the Gunaikurnai family are each seemingly unaware of the presence of the other. The ambiguities continue with the Gunaikurnai man presented in traditional dress, wearing a possum skin cloak and white feathered headdress and holding boomerangs, a digging stick and a spear, while the woman and child are draped in the government-issue blankets that identify them as subject to the paternalism of one of the very men who had been involved in the massacres of their people. There are no records of von Guérard having met any Gunaikurnai people at Snake Ridge and at least one of the figures was imported from another source: the kneeling child is based on his sketch of "Carlolin", the Barkindji child he had met in South Australia in 1855.[79] The unresolved tension in this work mirrors the anomalies and ambiguities of its subject. The Gunaikurnai family may be cast into shadow, but Gunaikurnai presence on Country is, the painting suggests, enduring and immutable.

The emblematic reference to Aboriginal presence in 'Mr John King's Station' is brought emphatically into the realm of contemporary, lived experience in von Guérard's paired canvases 'View of the Gippsland Alps from Bushy Park on the River Avon' 1861 (Fig. 17), painted for Angus McMillan. When von Guérard met McMillan in November 1860, the Scot was revered as "the discoverer of Gippsland", "a successful squatter, and a citizen of whom the colony may well feel proud".[80] By 1860 he was an apparently benign Honorary Protector of Aborigines: the full extent of his involvement in the brutal massacres of hundreds of Gunaikurnai people (the Brayakaulung and the Brataulung) in the 1840s has emerged only in the last forty years.[81]

During the days he spent at Bushy Park, in November 1860, von Guérard engaged with Gunaikurnai people on the property, watching as in just "1 ½ Stunde" a canoe was made out of "Gum Rinde" [the bark of a eucalyptus tree].[82] As in 'Mr John King's Station', the focus of these works is the land, its expansiveness and the lushness of its grasslands. Into the foregrounds of each of the two canvases that form this panoramic celebration of property, von Guérard introduced a narrative vignette, each of which can be read as a reference to its contested history. The pair of fighting bulls, one light, one dark, in the first of the Bushy Park canvases, may allude to the destructive impact of cattle on Country and the conflicts generated by their introduction or, symbolically, to frontier violence between the European squatters and the Gunaikurnai.[83] In the second canvas von Guérard eschewed metaphor for a direct and objective account of the anomalous contemporary experience of Gunaikurnai survivors. The two men the woman and her child are depicted as both *on* Country and dispossessed of it. They move across it, negotiating a path between two worlds: a parrying shield and two spears sit alongside a man whose European dress suggests that he was

79 Ruth Pullin: Mr John King's Station, 2017, p. 55.
80 See A toast proposed by Dr. G. D. Hedley at a dinner in McMillan's honour, 3 March, 1856, in: Don Watson: Caledonia Australis, p. 209. McMillan's claim was complicated by Paul Strzelecki's exploration of the region.
81 See Peter Dean Gardner: Our Founding Murdering Father, 1987; Don Watson, Australis Caledonia, 1984.
82 Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XXXII, p. 5.
83 See Nicholas Thomas: Possessions, p. 74.

employed on McMillan's station. The woman and child who move towards them, wrapped in a blanket issued by McMillan, would have lived in a fringe camp on the property, where they would have received basic provisions. In this understated observation of Gunaikurnai people on colonised land that is Country, von Guérard exposed the ambiguity and fragility of their lived experience. It is a work that, Thomas states, "insists forcefully on co-presence as a historical fact".[84]

The number of works in which von Guerard addressed Aboriginal subjects is relatively small – perhaps twenty to thirty of the hundreds he painted in Australia. His sustained focus on the Aboriginal experience in colonial Victoria is, however, chronicled in his sketchbooks. For example, his drawings of the Mohican Aboriginal Station, near the Cathedral Range in north-eastern Victoria, are rare visual records of the short-lived and ill-conceived settlement on the cold, damp and unhealthy site to which Taungurong and Wurundjeri Woi wurrung people were moved in 1860. A double-page view of the camp drawn on 26 January 1862 was followed the next day by his sketch of an Aboriginal man, a shovel over his shoulder, leaving the Mohican 'Begräbnis Platz d. Schwarzen Eingeborene nahe von Mt Cathedrale [sic] Victoria' [burial place of Black Natives near Mt Cathedral Victoria].[85]

Von Guérard's practice as a landscape painter was predicated on his extensive sketching expeditions throughout Australia's south-eastern colonies, expeditions on which he engaged directly with Aboriginal people and accrued a collection of significant cultural belongings. His knowledge of Aboriginal material culture was informed by his close friendships with the colony's founding ethnologists and anthropologists, James Dawson and Alfred Howitt, and extended through his association with Robert Brough Smyth. In 1879, as the founding curator of the National Gallery of Victoria with responsibility for its ethnological collection, he worked with Brough Smyth on the National Gallery of Victoria's display of Smyth's recently acquired collection. Brough Smyth's 'Aborigines of Victoria', published in 1878, included an illustration of a kangaroo teeth necklace from von Guérard's private collection.[86]

Early in 1878, von Guérard received a letter from his fellow numismatist, Dr. Julius Friedländer in Berlin, asking whether the artist would be willing to purchase specific Australian Aboriginal cultural belongings on consignment for the Berlin Ethnological Museum Berlin, which was under the direction of Dr Adolf Bastian.[87] Von Guérard agreed and he also offered the Museum his own significant collection of Aboriginal cultural objects. He would have understood Bastian's drive to collect "everything possible", and his ambition, in the spirit of Humboldt, to build a library-like resource for future scientific research. Von Guérard was keen that his own collection be kept together and gratified to know that it would enter "the most important national Museum".[88] The information he was able to

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84   Ibid., p. 76.
85   Eugene von Guérard Sketchbook XXX, p. 51.
86   Fig. 27, p. 278, in Robert Brough Smyth, Aborigines of Victoria, Vol. 1.
87   Friedländer to von Guérard, 14 January 1878, SMB. Incoming register: 852/78. See Thomas Darragh, Ruth Pullin: Eugene von Guérard and the Ethnological Museum Berlin.
88   Von Guérard to Dr Bastian 25 August 1878, SMB. See Ruth Pullin, Thomas Darragh: Eugene von Guérard and the Ethnological Museum Berlin.

provide about the objects from his own collection, specifically their provenance, was unusual among collectors and particularly valued by the curators in Berlin.[89] As his correspondence records, the objects in his collection had been either purchased directly from their traditional owners or makers, or given to him by squatters, notably James and Mrs Dawson, who are likely to have received them in accordance with practices of cultural reciprocity and exchange.[90]

The complexities and contradictions that play out in von Guérard's portrayals of Australian Aboriginal people reflect the complexities and contradictions of the contexts in which his works were created. He arrived in Australia with a Humboldtian mindset, one shared by the German-speaking artists and scientists with whom he was closely associated in 1850s' Melbourne.[91] Like his fellow Humboldtians in Melbourne, Bastian in Berlin, enlightened thinkers such as James Dawson and most of his generation, he almost certainly believed that the demise of the Aboriginal people and their culture was inevitable. The narrative of noble savagery and the myth of the 'dying race', with Aboriginal presence written into ostensibly pristine, pre-contact landscapes, informed some of his earliest Australian works and continued to do so for the rest of his Australian career. At the same time, in a handful of unconventional, enigmatic and compelling works, von Guérard looked beyond the predictable tropes, and, with a singular clarity of vision he addressed the impacts of colonisation and the realities of the lived experience of Aboriginal people in colonial Victoria. As such, these works have opened up and supported significant lines of research for academics and the communites for whom they have significance. In the context of the power disparities of colonisation, von Guérard's exchanges with the Aboriginal people he met on his sketching expeditions – and his acquisition of their cultural belongings – can only be seen as "fraught" and problematic.[92] At the same time, his sketches, notes and letters record moments of cross-cultural connection of great sensitivity, reflecting a deep and respectful interest in people and culture. In the history of Australian colonial art, such moments were rare. His capacity for genuine engagement is nowhere more eloquently expressed than in his exchange with his fellow artist, Johnny Dawson, an artist whose visual imagination was so very different to his own. In the watercolour drawings that he valued so highly von Guérard witnessed a reversal of the accepted colonial world order, with a proud Gunditjmara man turning the lens squarely back towards the coloniser.

89   Dr Voss, Report to the General Administration, 12 November 1878, SMB.
90   Philip Jones: Reciprocity Artefacts of Aboriginal Trade and Exchange, pp. 38-49.
91   Leading members of the German community presented addresses in honour of Humboldt at the 'Humboldtfeier', Hockin's Hotel, Melbourne on 14 September 1859. Their speeches were published in full in the Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung, 9, 16, 23, and 30 September, 7 and 21 October 1859.
92   A term used by Nicholas Thomas: Possessions, p. 19.

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Wulf D. Hund, Stefanie Affeldt

'A Peculiar Odor is Perceptible'

Ludwig Becker and the Portraying of Indigenous Australians

Between Artistic Realism and Racial Labelling

Abstract: Born near Frankfurt in September 1808, the painter and naturalist Ludwig Becker is suspected to have been one of the 1848 democrats in Mainz. He also may have had this mindset when he arrived in Tasmania in March 1851. Springing from this suspicion of revolutionary background is the thesis of Becker's compassion for the indigenous people of Australia and the notion that his portrayal of them happened with a realism and respect that imparted to the portrayed dignity and individualism. Furthermore, most scholars writing about Becker consider his portrayal of the indigenous Australians to be largely free of the cultural bias and the aura of racism of the time. However, we examine some of his portraits in the light of the 'dying race' trope, the policy of protectionism, and the Bourke and Wills expedition, the colonialist endeavour that ultimately led to Becker's death. And we reached the conclusion that Becker's images of indigenous Australians provide complex evidence of the profound effects of contemporary racism.

Let us assume that Ludwig Becker had been one of the democrats in Mainz during the revolution of 1848.[1] Such an idea contains an enticing perspective in the context of his images of indigenous Australians: the European view of the 'the others' was not a closed system that was shaped by colonial interests and cultural ignorance but encompasses different points of view that could also be formed by empathetic attitudes.

Consequently, Becker would have migrated to Australia for "political reasons", as his biographer Marjorie Tipping writes. He "got caught up [...] with the political ideas of 1848" and "his revolutionary activity", although "somewhat obscure" due to a lack of information, "was enough to make him persona non grata" in Germany. The deficient source material on Becker's 'revolutionary activity' during the 1848 revolution is then substituted by the characterisation of the portraits he made of indigenous Australians. They are characterised by "individual likeness" and show "real people" "portrayed [...] with dignity" as "human beings and not savages".[2]

1 At least, this is claimed by Eckhart G. Franz: Becker, Ludwig. No sources are given. But Becker himself wrote to a German friend after his arrival in Tasmania: "ich gehöre zu den Unrechten aber nicht zu den Ungerechten (lit.: "I belong to the un-right but not to the un-just') and asked him: "If you should find any note from my letters worth having printed, do not choose a public paper which serves those who sit on the right in Paul's Church" – Ludwig Becker: Letter to Johann Jakob Kaup, 4 July 1852, pp. 521 ('Unrechte'), 512 ('public paper').
2 Marjorie Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugène von Guérard, pp. 83 ('political reasons'), 86 ('political ideas', 'revolutionary activity', 'obscure', 'persona non grata'), 101 ('likeness', 'real people', 'dignity'), 107 ('human beings'). While Becker's time in 1848 is obscure, that of one of Mainz's best-known democrats, Ludwig Bamberger, is well researched. This also applies to his later life, during which he worked successfully as banker, became a national-liberal supporter of Bismarck, to whom he came into opposition, joined the 'Liberale Vereinigung' (Liberal Union) and finally the 'Deutschfreisinnige Partei' (German Free-Minded Party). This is just one of the many political careers of former '48 radicals. Another, Johannes

This kind of assessment is found more frequent. Gerhard Fischer even reinforces the impression of Becker's revolutionary background by speculating that Becker might have been similarly resistant in Germany as Georg Büchner had been. He also points out that Becker had connections in Australia with Hermann Püttmann, who was a "colleague of Marx and Engels" and a "friend" of "Heine, Gutzkow and Weerth" before his emigration. This gives Becker just as much of a resistant image as the reference that he painted "a beautiful portrait [...] of Peter Lalor, one of the leaders of the rebels" of the Eureka Stockade in Australia.[3]

The thesis that Becker's "showed compassion for the native people" and that he "portrayed them as flesh and blood human beings with a realism and dignity rarely, if ever, surpassed in colonial likenesses of Aborigines" has been followed up on multiple times.[4] Antje Kühnast further reinforces this impression by writing that "Becker depicted Aboriginal people as individuals, showed respect for their culture and emphasised that they were wrongly treated as a low 'class' of the South Pacific's original inhabitants". In the end, she concludes: "Becker's Humboldtian humanist approach did [...] enable him to see Aboriginal people as individual humans in a specific historical and social setting". However, she adds somewhat perplexedly, this "did not prevent him from acquiring and measuring Aboriginal skulls" or from using his portraits of indigenous Australians "as racial representations".

Such description – which on the one hand (somewhat tortuously) approaches Marx and on the other (directly) refers to Humboldt – makes Becker appear an unbiased observer and flows into the interpretation of his images of indigenous Australians. The sketches and portraits are seen as realistic and unbiased images and are stripped of the contemporary aura of racism. A decided exception to such an assessment is found in Susan Woodburn's discussion of "visual representations of Aboriginal people in mid-nineteenth century colonial Australia". She, too, concurs that Becker's "views of Aboriginals seem to suggest a lack of racial prejudice and preoccupation" In his paintings, however, she sees "little evidence of Becker's interest in Aboriginal people as individuals". An "ethnographic intent" was inscribed in his painting and he had left no "representations that combined Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people or that showed interactions between them".[5]

Nevertheless, there are also irritations in the other accounts that run counter to Becker's positive assessment. They are, however, either ignored or lead to an aporetic assessment of his work. An example from Tipping's biographical sketch

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Miguel, had even been a member of the 'Bund der Kommunisten' (Communist League) before becoming a national liberal and even Prussian finance minister.

3   Gerhard Fischer: Von deutschen Revolutionären zu australischen Nationalisten. Zur Rolle der 48er Migranten und Kolonisatoren in Südaustralien, p. 133 (Büchner, Püttmann etc.), 131 (Lalor); for the portraits of indigenous Australians, refer to the assessment of Tipping (p. 132).

4   Marjorie Tipping: Becker's Portraits of Billy and Jemmy (Tilki), p. 1, quoted, slightly abbreviated, in Antje Kühnast: Signs of the Savage in the Skull, p. 108; for the following quotes, see ibid., pp. 113 ('respect for their culture'), 122 ('humanist approach', 'skulls', 'representations').

5   Susan Woodburn: Alexander Schramm (1813-64) and the visual representation of Aboriginal people in mid-nineteenth century colonial Australia, pp. 189 ('prejudice', 'interest'), 183 ('intent'), 186 ('interactions'); see also her article in this volume.

may suffice to illustrate what is at stake. On a single page, she attempts to make Becker simultaneously an academic doctor and a political resistance fighter. To this end, she has him "probably" meet Louis Agassiz in 1846, who by then had already acquired scientific renown, left for America the same year on Humboldt's recommendation, and shortly afterwards became a professor at Harvard. She then explains that it was "probable, though not certain" that Becker held liberal positions in 1848 and therefore had to leave Germany. In any case, "one of his closest friends in Melbourne, Hermann Püttmann, a known revolutionary and friend of Karl Marx, believed that Becker left Mainz that year to escape prosecution for seditious activities".[6]

In addition to the 'probabilities', this argumentation strategy is primarily concerned with the ideological effect. It is intended to put Becker in the light before his arrival in Australia, so that his images of indigenous Australians appear to be free of prejudice and full of empathy. In the process, racism is tacitly made into a conservative, prejudiced system of degrading non-white others, which enlightened, emancipatory positions would have been critical of. This insinuation collapses, of course, by invoking a mentee of Humboldt and later Harvard professor. For Agassiz became the co-author in America "of one of the saddest books in the canon of nineteenth-century racial thinking".[7] In his contribution to the polygenetic trash science of 'Types of Mankind', Agassiz clearly positioned himself on its side.[8]

Empiricism and realism protected as little from racism as critical philosophical or radical political attitudes. In fact, the implementation of the racial theory that scientifically legitimised modern racism was only possible at all because the critical minds of the era played a leading role in it. From a German perspective, this was evident from Immanuel Kant to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Neither thought much of the indigenous Australians. With regard to them, Kant was certain that the question "why human beings exist" at all, "might not be so easy to answer" – namely, not "if one thinks about the New Hollanders or the

6   Marjorie Tipping: The Life and Work of Ludwig Becker, p. 6; the here unmentioned reference to Humboldt is directly addressed in Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugène von Guérard, pp. 86 – here, Becker makes "a significant journey along the Rhine with one of Humboldt's protégés, Louis Agassiz".

7   Christoph Irmscher: Louis Agassiz, p. 239.

8   In doing so, he tried, at least superficially, to uphold scientific standards. But his conclusion, "that the laws which regulate the diversity of animals, and their distribution upon earth, apply equally to man" was reached in the face of a choice that was beyond question for him: "there are only two alternatives before us at present : – 1st. "Either mankind originated from a common stock, and all the different races with their peculiarities, in their present distribution, are to be ascribed to subsequent changes – an assumption for which there is no evidence whatever, and which leads at once to the admission that the diversity among animals is not an original one, nor their distribution determined by a general plan, established in the beginning of the Creation; – or, 2nd. We must acknowledge that the diversity among animals is a fact determined by the will of the Creator, and their geographical distribution part of the general plan which unites all organized beings into one great organic conception: whence it follows that what are called human races, down to their specialization as nations, are distinct primordial forms of the type of man" (Louis Agassiz: Sketch of the Natural Provinces of the Animal World and their Relation to the Different Types of Man, pp. lxxv f.).

Fuegians".[9] For Hegel, they played no role at all. His world history unfolded in the northern hemisphere – from east to west, culminating in Europe. Australia had not even achieved a decent geological existence: the "geographical immaturity" of "New Holland" could be seen from the fact that not all the rivers here had even made it to the sea.[10]

As far as the undoubtedly revolutionary-minded Karl Marx is concerned, the first volume of Capital, published by himself, does indeed end in Australia – but with the remark that "we are not concerned here with the condition of the colonies".[11] This applies all the more to their original inhabitants. Marx was familiar with some of the knowledge about 'Aborigines' at the time through his reading, but he did not comment more closely on them or their situation.[12] Otherwise, he would certainly have included them in his indictment of European colonial policy. The Enlightenment's concept of progress, which he perpetuated, would nevertheless not have accorded their way of life any continuing legitimacy. Finally, the most revolutionary of all the 1848-documents says of the historical role of capitalism that its leading class, "[t]he bourgeoisie" "draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation".[13]

What remains is Humboldt's rejection of a natural hierarchy of human races. It was quite ambiguous and combined such rejection with cultural differentiations that argued with 'more or less': "By asserting the unity of the human race", he wrote in 'Kosmos', "we also resist any unpleasant assumption of higher and lower human races. There are more educated, more highly educated tribes that have been ennobled by spiritual culture, but there are no nobler tribes". From this it is concluded: "All are equally destined to freedom" But the European Enlightenment thinkers and their disciples agreed that such a destiny had to be worked out. And it was the Europeans who had so far made the most intensive efforts to achieve this.

Thus, Humboldt's reflections can also be applied without hesitation to the usefulness of typological images of race: "Barbaric nations have much more of a tribal or horde physiognomy than one that would belong to this or that individual".[14] This casts a pale light on Becker's images of indigenous Australians. Given the social nature of contemporary racism and the consequent spread of racial thinking across all social classes and political camps, 'portrait' and 'racial image' were not contradictory. Moreover, their realism was virtually imperative. It guaranteed their further scientific usability. They therefore had to be oriented towards typification. This was reflected in their design, even if they were created with empathy for those depicted.

  9   Immanuel Kant: Critique of the Power of Judgment, p. 250 (§ 67); cf. Wulf D. Hund: 'It must come from Europe', pp. 69-98.
 10   Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, p. 100; cf. Daniel James, Franz Knappik: Exploring the Metaphysics of Hegel's Racism, pp. 99-126.
 11   Karl Marx: Capital, p. 760.
 12   Cf. Matthew Spriggs: Who Taught Marx, Engels and Morgan About Australian Aborigines, pp. 185-218.
 13   Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party, p. 488; cf. Wulf D. Hund: Marx and Haiti, pp. 76-99.
 14   Alexander von Humboldt: Kosmos, p. 385 ('race', 'freedom') and Alexander von Humboldt: Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden des neuen Kontinents, S. 14 ('physiognomy').

Against this background, we discuss some of Becker's portraits of indigenous Australians. At that, we proceed chronologically. For Becker's stay in Launceston and Hobart, the title of the chapter '*Tasmania or Extinction*' already indicates that this will not be a one-dimensional view of images. We then turn to Becker's time in Melbourne in the chapter '*Victoria or Protection*'. Since the racist dimensions of the 'Protection of the Aborigines' policy have been thoroughly investigated by now, it should be clear that this is not going to be a contradiction-free section either. In the concluding chapter, '*Queensland or Appropriation*', a corresponding dialectic is self-evident because it deals with Becker's work as a member of the Bourke and Wills Expedition, an enterprise that was not least aimed at the further development of the continent for colonial interests.

Tasmania or Extinction

Whatever Becker' convictions when he came to Australia, he landed in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) on 10 March 1851. Both in Launceston, where he first spent some time, as on his journey south, and finally in Hobart, he quickly and easily assimilated into colonial society. In Hobart, he was invited to stay at the Government House for several months. The Governor and his wife were delighted with his company. Wiliam Denison wrote in the late autumn of 1851: "we have got a German artist in the house. Becker, for that is his name, is a most amusing companion. He and I consort very well together, for he is a dabbler in all those sciences with which I am, to a certain extent, conversant, so that we meet upon common ground". His wife Caroline noted in her journal the positive impressions of "a Mr. Becker, a German artist, who is travelling in this country, and paying his way by taking likenesses, – miniatures, which he does very nicely indeed".[15]

The favourable impressions of the Governor and his wife were mutual. Before leaving Tasmania for Melbourne, he wrote: "For seven months I was the guest of the Governor of V. D. L., in whose house I received complete compensation for the friendship left at home". He also emphasizes that his hosts have been very supportive in helping him to get to know the island: "Sir William Denison was in every way helpful to me to provide me with information on the country and so on. We rode hundreds of miles together through the country and looked, painted and collected". In conclusion, he briefly characterized his artistic activity: "I painted him, Lady Denison and 8 children and much else".[16]

The phrase 'much else' is more telling than it seems. This is illustrated by a small sketch of the 1852 Hobart Regatta. It was a notable occasion for the colony, held annually "to commemorate the discovery of fair Tasmania", as the local newspaper proudly reported. Such an important social event was well attended: "The day was beautiful, and the ground filled with visitors from far and near".[17]

15   William Denison: Varieties of Vice-Regal Life, pp. 175 ('artist in the house'), 170 ('likenesses').
16   Ludwig Becker: Letter to Johann Jakob Kaup, 4 July 1852, p. 516.
17   'Hobarton Guardian, or, True Friend of Tasmania', 7 January 1852, p. 2 ('Hobart Town Regatta').

Fig. 1a: Hobart Town Regatta, Ludwig Becker, 1852.

Fig. 1b: Mount Wellington and Hobart from Kangaroo Point, John Glover, 1834.

If Becker's picture is anything to go by, every stratum of the colonial society was represented (as the sloping landscape, with the canopy erected on the highest point, discreetly suggests). However, none of the last remaining indigenous Tasmanians is seen to attend. This does not necessarily mean that there were none. For they are not mentioned in Becker's letter, although he painted and named several of them.[18]

The ideological shallowness of the image can be easily dissected through a comparison with a topologically similar scene (Fig. 1a+b), presented by John Glover's painting from 1834 entitled 'Mount Wellington and Hobart from Kangaroo Point'. This depicts a group of indigenous Tasmanians who still lay claim to the land, engaging in activities such as camping, dancing around a fire, lounging on the shore, or swimming. At the same time, it is symbolically made evident that this is a farewell festival – it is set in the darkness of history, whose light of progress falls onto the port of Hobart, which lies in opposite at the foot of the mountain. In contrast to Becker's realistic portrayal of the regatta, this is merely a figment of the imagination. The reality entailed the deportation of Tasmanians to Flinders Island, who were taken there incrementally in the previous years.[19]

The realism of both images does not negate their mendacity. Furthermore, the evident disparity between them reveals that Becker was untroubled by promoting the purportedly 'good society' of the settler colony – which warmly received him – during its celebration of 'fair Tasmania' by omitting the accompanying dark shadows of the genocidal politics against the original inhabitants.[20]

Becker's portraits of the 'natives' – or 'Aborigines' as they were referred to at the time – did not depict them in the context of the daily colonial life but constitute a distinct genre. It is surprising that he did not acknowledge this fact during his time in Tasmania, considering that the dire fate of the indigenous Tasmanian would have given ample reason for criticism and protest – in particular for a critical mind, newly arrived from revolutionary Germany. Shortly before his arrival, his hostess Lady Denison recorded in her journal the settlers' detrimental treatment of the "unfortunate aborigines" and their deportation to Flinders Island. Because they were miserable there, her husband was "determined on bringing them back again" and settling the few survivors in Oyster Cove near Hobart. Both felt it their duty "to make them as comfortable and as happy as we can, in

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18   Such partial silence is registered by Susan Woodburn: Alexander Schramm, p. 186, also for Becker's painting 'Melbourne from across the Yarra' (1854) and 'Old Princes' Bridge and St Paul's by night' (c1857). It is also found in the picture story 'Australisches Lied'. It describes how "a German lad" emigrates to Australia. He comes to Melbourne and then to the country, where he first becomes a shepherd and later a bullock driver. After that he "travels around the country as a musician". He describes, in depth, digging for gold in Ararat, Ballarat, Bendigo, Meyer's Flat, and Tarrangower. Eventually, he unearths "a golden treasure" and marries (El Bekr [Ludwig Becker]: Ein Australisch' Lied, passim. Cf. Marjorie Tipping: An Australian Song). During this tour de force, however, he meets neither Chinese prospectors nor indigenous Australians (cf. Gerhard Fischer: Von deutschen Revolutionären zu australischen Nationalisten, p. 132).
19   Cf. Gregory Patrick Lehman: Regarding the Savages, p. 261, who concludes: "The scene, painted in 1835, is a fantasy. The only place where Tasmanian Aborigines could gather in such numbers now was on Flinders Island. And there was little cause for celebration there".
20   For the debate around the question of genocide in Tasmania, cf., with further literature references, Lom Lawson: The Last Man.

Fig. 2a: (𝒮𝑎𝑟𝑎𝒽) Dinudarā
V. D. L. — 1852
Sarah was one of the
names of Ta[i]renootairer,
also called Tanganutara
(or Tangernuterrer) and Tib

Fig. 2b: Kānjāwērkie
1852 — V. D. Land
Kanjawerkie is said to be Calama-
rowenye or Warrermeer, known
as Tippo Saib or King Tippoo to
the colonists

Fig. 2c: Naplōmata (𝒽𝑒𝑛𝑟𝑖𝑒𝓉𝓉𝑎)
V. D. Land — 1852;
Henrietta was one of the names
of Thielewannan or
Purtilhewattroeyehaner,
also called Big Mary

their own way, for the remainder of their lives. They are decreasing and dwin-
dling away, as the dark races always seem to do before the white man".[21]

Becker had to be familiar with the 'dying race' trope. This was also suggested
by his biographer, who highlights that he had painted "an important series of
Aboriginal portraits" in Tasmania. Characterising them, she writes: "They are
sympathetic, if sad, representations of those who were among the last of their
race".[22] However, she does not address the underlying politics nor the associated
ideology and completely refrains from providing an according contextualisation
of Becker's images (Fig. 2 a–f).[23]

First of all, it must be presumed that Becker was already familiar with the
contemporary race-scientific 'findings' about 'Aboriginal Australians' before he
departed to Australia. This pertains to their position in the hierarchy of human
races as well as for the concept that they were a dwindling race. The prior detail

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21   William Denison: Varieties of Vice-Regal Life, pp. 66 ('unfortunate aborigines'), 68 ('dwin-
     dling away').
22   Marjorie Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugène von Guérard, p. 89.
23   Becker has given the people portrayed names that do not appear in the surviving docu-
     ments of those interned at Flinders Island and Oyster Cove. The reasons for this remain
     unclear. However, as he has added the English names of at least three of them (in German
     cursive script), references to the bearers of these names can be established. We have added
     other possible references from the literature (with collegial thanks to David Hansen,
     Kristyn Harman, Cassandra Pybus, and Lyndall Ryan for their support). The additional
     information comes from: British Museum: Daphne from Oyster Bay V. D. L; Julie Gough:
     Forgotten Lives, pp. 21-52; David Hansen: Ludwig Becker (1808-1861), Naplomata (Henri-
     etta), Dinudara (Sarah), Kanjawerkie; N. J. Brian Plomley (ed.): Weep in Silence; – Cassandra
     Pybus: [personal communication, 9 August 2023]; Gaye Sculthorpe: Tanganutara (Sarah);
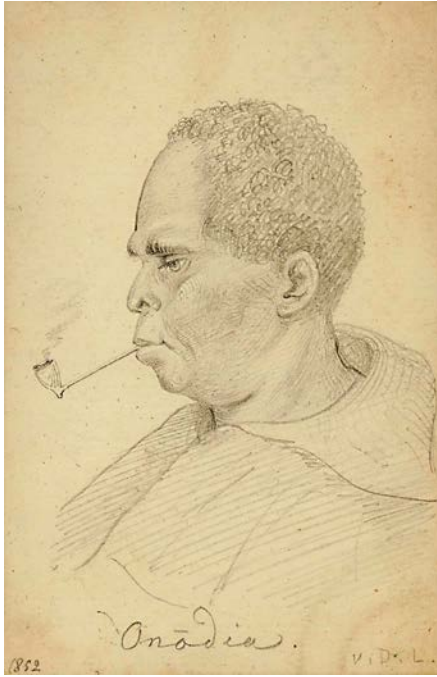   Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre: Mumirimina people of the Lower Jordan River Yalley.

Fig. 2 d: Onōdia
1852 — V. D. Land

Fig. 2 e: Wata Kawodia
V. D. Land — 1852
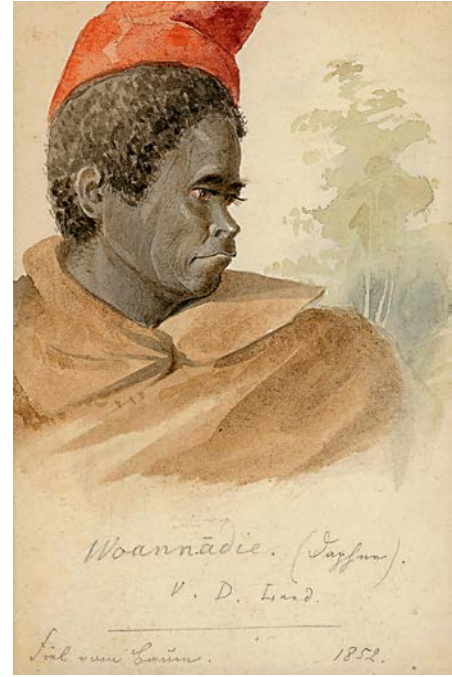Becker probably meant
Wotecowideyer,
also known as Harriet

Fig. 2 f: Woannādie (*Daphne*)
V. D. Land; Fiel vom Baum — 1852
Daphne was one of the names of
Parateer, also called Cranky Bet
or Dromedeener

could also be found in Germany and assigned the individuals frequently identified as 'Australneger' to the bottom rung of human progress. This is exemplified by Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, who authored a two-volume work on Australia and Oceania. The people of Australia were presented as primitive and cultureless beings.[24]

That they could handle contact with civilization was not entirely dismissed. Public discourse, however, which spread not only via newspaper but also through extensive and widely read travel literature, also posited that Australians would not survive the cultural contact. The literature, which also included emigration guides, was easily accessible for Becker, who had spent some time in England before his departure.[25] As early as 1820, one could learn that Tasmania resembled a 'little England' in the best possible manner and was also an "enchanting Elysium" in an "Australian paradise". However, it was not concealed that this paradise was not without its own fall from grace. There were references to armed conflicts, and, according to the author, "there is good reason to believe, that, whatever might have been their original disposition towards the intruders

24 Cf. Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann: Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde [etc.]: Australians are "negro-like humans" (p. 894) and have something "animal-like" (p. 895). Some of them even show "a striking approximation to the orang-utan" (p. 896). They are "raw nature people" (p. 902) and represent the "naked, raw, meagre human", who shows "no degree of culture anywhere" (p. 903). They "lack [...] diligence and industry" (p. 919). Concerning Zimmermann, see Jon M. Mikkelsen: E. A. W. Zimmermann, pp. 73-81.

25 Cf. Tipping, Becker, pp. 7 f.

on their peaceful lands, they do not at present entertain very favourable sentiments towards their new neighbours".[26]

This is just one evidence of the circumstance that, as Anna Johnston has argued, "the dark history of colonisation and dispossession haunted the […] travel narratives, and this was especially evident in writing about Tasmania". This also includes "a sentimental racism of mourning and memorialisation" in view of a 'dwindling race'. Baron Fields, Judge of the New South Wales Supreme Court, expresses in his book 'On the Aborigines of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land', published in London in 1825, his fear that "the Australian will never be civilized". The most humane approach towards them, he adds in verse, was to allow them to live out their wild live in peace: "As in the eye of Nature he has lived, | So in the eye of Nature let him die!"[27]

Since Lady Denison displayed a similar attitude, Becker acquainted himself with her here at the latest. His encounters with the Tasmanians were marked by the brutal and deadly impacts of colonialism on the indigenous population. This was accompanied by different feelings on the part of the colonial settlers, which included remorse at such merciless dominance of nature. However, even these voices were unwilling to make cultural and political compromises; they held fast to their prerogative and submission to their maxims.

At the very time Becker was staying with the Denisons, this became apparent in the governor's interactions with the inhabitants of the Furneaux Group. They (including a number of 'fullblood' indigenous women), who were considered mixed-race by the authorities, approached Denison to request recognition of their Aboriginality as well as aid along the same lines of that granted to the group that was brought from Flinders Island to Oyster Cove. This plea was flatly denied: "In his view there was only one official Aboriginal community in Van Dieman's Land – the Aboriginal station at Oyster Cove".[28] This also meant that the Governor was not willing to acknowledge the existence of an autonomous, selfsustained group of individuals who possessed an indigenous Tasmanian identity.

Becker may have viewed this as a conflict with his personal fate. From the start, his time in Australia was 'multicultural': he was willing to pledge his loyalty to Britain without sacrificing his German cultural identity, which he boldly expressed upon his arrival. One of his early letters from Tasmania was permeated with chauvinistic undertones. In 1851, he wrote to Johann Jakob Kaup stating that the "German [c]ould be the man of men, the lord of the world". At the same time, he asked about the current conditions in Germany and complained: "Shame! When I think of the sins of the few, who spilt the Blood of so many without remorse".[29]

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26 Quoted in Anna Johnston: Little England, p. 23; for the following see ibid, p. 28 ('dark history'), 25 ('sentimental racism').

27 Quoted in Russell McGregor: Imagines Destinies. Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press 1997, pp. 8 ('never civilized'), 13 ('die').

28 Lyndall Ryan: The Aboriginal Tasmanians, p. 224.

29 Ludwig Becker: Letter to Johann Jakob Kaup, 21 April 1851, pp. 512-516, p. 512; even after that, he did not abandon his paean to the Germans. Shortly before his departure with the Burke and Willis expedition, he composed and wrote the words to a 'march', which read: 'Fresh, whole company with joyful singing and song', we wander 'through the whole world,

It is not known whether the artist evaluated the destiny of the indigenous Tasmanians in a similar way. Even if the portraits are not compared with the later works and statements of Becker, they are therefore already in the twilight. Then, of course, it becomes apparent that they (at least as far as our present stage of knowledge is concerned) captured not only individual traits but also had a group character that allowed for lining them up.

It seems as if Becker travelled to Australia with the purpose of authoring a book on Tasmania and thereby making a name for himself. At least this is what the local newspaper, 'The Courier', reported in the context of a public dinner in honour of the Governor, during which the attendees also made a toast to the foreign guest "Mr Becker, the very talented German Naturalist and Geologist, who is at present actively employed in collecting materials in the wide field of Tasmania for a great and scientific work to be published".[30] It was appropriate that he gathered natural specimen as well as artefacts and devoted himself in writing and painting to recording the nature of the country, including its original inhabitants.

For images of indigenous Tasmanians, this would have meant interpreting them as racial images. Their realism would then also convey traits of the individuality of the portrayed but would be fundamentally oriented towards documenting their belonging to a type. Susan Woodburn, at least, believes this to be true. She comments on "[t]he portraits he painted in 1852 of Naplomata, Dinudara, Kanjawerkie, Woannadie, Onodia and Wata Kawodia, members of the much reduced community of indigenous Tasmanians at Oyster Cove": "While in the form of portrait miniatures and following artistic conventions, ethnographic intent is implicit in the focus on profile and in the making of groups of three of the same size and format".[31]

Such an assessment must, however, take into account that the profile view in portraiture has a long tradition (and was also a popular form of representation of rulers in the past). With the advent of phrenology, the facial angle, or cranioscopy, the profile acquired a dimension that was also incorporated into the creation of racial imagery. Carl Gustav Carus, an advocate of cranioscopy, who, like Becker, was involved in painting and nature research, was one of those who

wherever we please', and at the same time 'we live cheerful and happy' ("Frisch, ganze Kompagnie | Mit frohem Sing und Sang!"; "Durch die ganze Welt, | Wohin es und gefällt"; "Leben wir stets frei und froh!"). Germans could wander the world and seek their freedom – not least in Australia (Marsch, composed by Becker in the Deutsches Liederbuch für Australien, pp. 43 f.).

30 The Courier (Hobart, Tasmania), 4 October 1851, p. 3 ('Local. Dinner to His Excellency'). A letter by Becker reads, "My plan was to publish my diary in Germany, illustrated by my sketchbook". He had not yet carried out this plan because he had instead gone to Victoria to look for gold, and during this time his accommodation in Tasmania had burnt down – "and with it my large, beautiful collection of birds, skeletons, geological hand specimens etc." (Ludwig Becker: Letter to Johann Jakob Kaup, draft on undated leaves, p. 518).

31 Susan Woodburn: Alexander Schramm, p. 184; she depicts the watercolours in the order in which they were shown in the exhibition 'Colony: Australia 1770-1861' in the National Gallery of Victoria; Installation view of the exhibition 'Colony: Australia 1770-1861' at NGV Australia at Federation Square, Melbourne showing Ludwig Becker's 'Aborigines of Tasmania 1852').
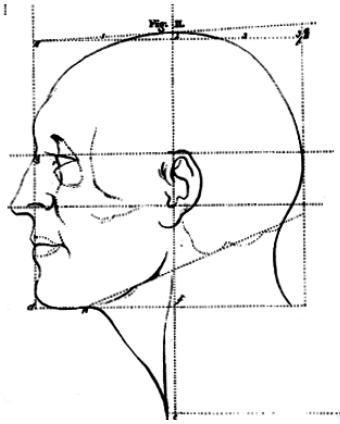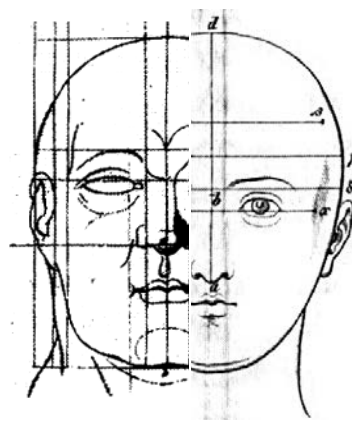
Fig. 3 a: Facial angles by
Petrus Camper

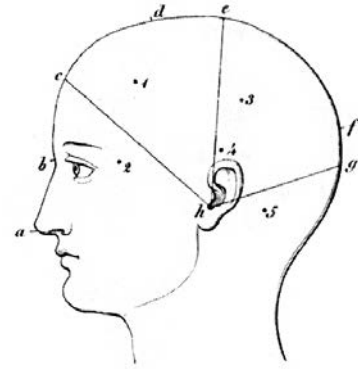Fig. 3 b: Facial angles by
Camper and Carus
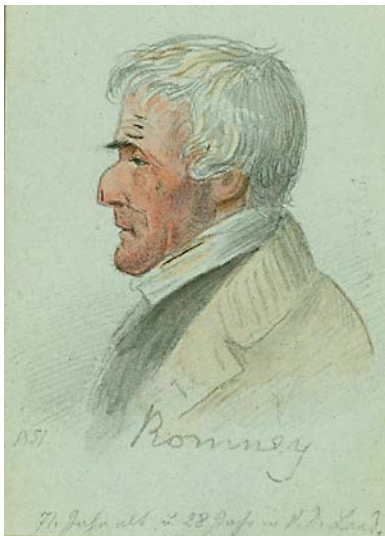
Fig. 3 c: Facial angles by
Carl Gustav Carus

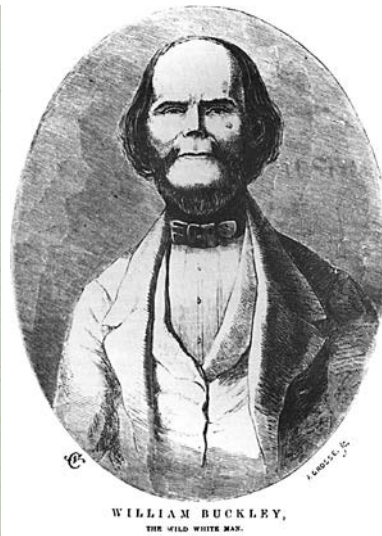Fig. 4 a: Portrait of Romney by
Ludwig Becker

Fig. 4 b: Portrait of William
Buckley, based on a sketch by
Ludwig Becker

Fig. 4 c: Self-portrait of
Ludwig Becker

disseminated corresponding instructions in pictures and writing (Fig. 3 b (right half) and 3 c).[32]

Carus was, above all, concerned with character heads. Becker was no stranger to them either. And he chose comparable views for them. In Tasmania, he painted the portrait of a certain Romney in a radical ninety-degree profile (Fig. 4 a). In doing so, he likened the head with that of Wellington.[33] With himself he dealt in

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32   Cf. Carl Gustav Carus: Grundzüge einer neuen und wissenschaftlich begründeten Cranioskopie (Schädellehre), annex.

33   Cf. State Library of Victoria: Romney. 71 Yahre alt v. 28 Jahre in V. D. Land; there also the notice: "Descriptive notes in German inscribed on mount: Ein farmer in V. D. Land, mit einem kopf gleich Wellington. [A farmer in V. D. Land with a head similar to Wellington]". It is likely that Becker has known paintings, miniatures, drawings, or caricatures hat emphasised Wellington's prominent nose and white mop of hair, often times in profile. Some of these have probably existed in Hobart, where the local mountain, previously known as Table Mountain, had only recently been renamed Mount Wellington in 1832. The comparison of the head of a simple colonial settler with that of the British lord, twice prime minister, victor over Napoleon, and, at the time when Becker painted Romney, commander-in-chief of the British army was certainly a physiognomic compliment.

Fig. 5 a: Woannādie

Fig. 5 b: Wata Kawodia

Fig. 5 c: Naplōmata

Fig. 6 a: Dinudarā

Fig. 6 b: Kānjāwērkie

Fig. 6 c: Onōdia

Fig. 7 a: Naplōmata

Fig. 7 b: Kānjāwērkie

Fig. 7 c: Dinudarā

a similar way. For an acquaintance in Germany, he painted his own portrait in profile in the margin of a letter (Fig. 4 c). For a portrait of William Buckley attributed to him,[34] he opted for a direct frontal view (Fig. 4 b).

Merely technically observing these images does not provide any information about their perspectival intentions, because contemporary iconography was oriented towards individual characteristics as well as typical commonalities. This can be symbolically illustrated by examining Carus' cranioscopy combined with

34   See Geelong Gallery: William Buckley; Marjorie Tipping: Portrait of William Buckley, attributed to Ludwig Becker. The wood engraving is by Frederick Grosse, based on a drawing by Nicholas Chevalier, based on a sketch by Becker — State Library Victoria: William Buckley.

the facial angles of Petrus Camper (Fig. 3a and 3b (left half)).[35] In both cases, the direct frontal view and ninety-degree profiles play a decisive role but are intended to serve different purposes. In the case of Becker's 'white' portraits, these consist in emphasizing individual traits. It was not his intention to position them within a typological racial image.

In Becker's known images of indigenous Tasmanians, there are no 'ideal' angles. Nevertheless, they apparently had a collective character and were intended to typify the group. Despite this, these depictions are still not classical racial images. This applies to the three watercolours (Fig. 5a–c) as well as to the pencil drawings (Fig. 6a–c), which are held by the National Library of Victoria, as well as to the three watercolours that had for a long time been in private possession and have only recently come to light (Fig. 7a–c).[36]

However, each of the three series presents the merging of two profile-oriented representations with a frontal view. Particularly, since the series character implies that they may be construed as attempts towards the creation of racial images, such a character cannot be read from the individual portraits alone. The fact that Becker was empathetic towards the individuals he portrayed does not preclude that he did so unaffected by the prejudices of contemporary racial thinking. Above all, it can be assumed that his sketches were created under the auspices of the 'dying race' trope. Their typological character, possibly connected to this, can be further tested by examining whether Becker continued to follow this hypothesis during his subsequent time in Australia.

Victoria or Protection

In his account of life at Government House in Tasmania, Becker reported that he and Denison not only "painted" but also "collected". The latter was not a new-found passion for Becker, as he had a long-standing interest in a wide range of subjects back in Germany. His chaotic pursuit of collecting led to the creation of a small personal curiosity cabinet. This occurred at a time when the previous mainly princely cabinets of curiosity had become outdated and were being transformed into systematically organized museums. The collection comprised stones from diverse geological strata, artefacts made of bronze and bone from earlier eras, aged woodcuts and copper engravings, coins dating to the Middle Ages and Roman times, inaugural printings (such as a volume of Luther's speeches), and,

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35   Cf. Petrus Camper's illustrations of facial angles in Miriam Claude Meijer: Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper, pp. 109, 97.

36   For the first, see the search results for "Ludwig Becker Aboriginal Tasmanians" of the State Library Victoria; concerning the latter, see David Hansen: Ludwig Becker (1808-1861), Naplomata (Henrietta), Dinudara (Sarah), Kanjawerkie. Cf. also David Hansen: Art in Van Dieman's Land, p. 138, who called Becker's works a "historically important series of fine, pathetic Aboriginal portraits". Of course, this does not alter the problems arising from the context of their creation, which are of interest to us primarily inasmuch as they have affected Becker's work and become 'visible' in it.

lastly, works of art, some of which were actually or reputedly created by Raphael, Cranach or Rembrandt.[37]

Correspondingly, Becker's scientific ambitions were extensive and wide-ranging. This led to a form of dilettantism that was as open-minded as undisciplined. However, even though his curiosity was boundless, it would be both naïve and legitimizing to associate this with "an elemental urge to leave home", that supposedly drew or propelled "exiles and emigrants and explorers" into remote areas.[38] The cosmopolitan mobility of this "species" was extrinsically determined by colonialism. As 'colonial collecting', it was the passionate pursuit of collecting anything from annexable or annexed environments. This also extended to territories previously beyond covetousness. Although Shakespeare's death mask was part of it,[39] Shakespeare's skull, hair, bones, or skin were not among the items collected.

It was not that the deceased bodies of people belonging to one's own ethnic group, culture, or race were forbidden. But they were subject to the principles of hagiography or the exploration of one's own history. As relics, they fell under the church's jurisdiction and were ceremoniously retrieved from their burial site (elevatio), then transported to their place of veneration (translation), featuring accounts of the miracles witnessed during the process and the deeds and martyrdoms of the deceased (hagiography), and, lastly, became the focus of public religious veneration, including pilgrimage. As fossil discoveries, they became the focus of palaeoanthropology and prehistoric anthropology. At Becker's time, these had no designated term, as they were only just being established after the discovery in the Neander Valley in 1856. However, they did not trouble themselves with the remains of recently deceased individuals.

It was different with the racial sciences. They used the remains of recently deceased people to measure their difference from the European anatomy, which had been established as the norm. They did this quite unscrupulously, as the example of Samuel George Morton shows (who died the year Becker arrived in Australia and whose writings would be edited shortly afterwards with the participation of Louis Agassiz, with whom Becker is said to have once walked the Rhine Valley). His 'mismeasurement of man'[40] has become synonymous with the whole of racial science.

In its gravitational field, even the most wicked distortions of the physique of purportedly primitive races invoked a supposed scientific exactitude through the actual measurement of mortal remains. By the middle of the 19th century, these had become a veritable commodity. They were not necessarily exchanged for money but often for honour or protection. In particular, the academic

37   Cf. Marjorie Tipping: The Life and Work of Ludwig Becker, p. 5.
38   This is seen by Evely Juers: Wild Things in a veritable "species of […] dreamers who (if we're looking for a nomenclature) might be dubbed *Homo qui reliquerit Germaniam*", some of them, like "Ludwig Leichhardt, Ferdinand von Mueller, Ludwig Becker […] even got as far as Australia".
39   Becker believed himself to be in possession of one and made many efforts to turn it into money. It was to be sold (together with a portrait of Shakespeare on this deathbed and two documents), as he had notarized before leaving England – but not "for less than five thousand pounds sterling" (Ludwig Becker: [Power of Attorney], p. 519).
40   Cf. Stephen Jay Gould: Mismeasurement of Man.

intelligentsia in the colonies could exchange body parts of the indigenous population for prestige (through mention in scientific journals or even the opportunity to publish in them) and support (for a son to study in England, for example). But in case of doubt, money also flowed.[41]

Overall, the market was governed by the normal rules of supply and demand. In Tasmania, this led to an increase in grave robbing due to the perceived extinction of the original population.[42] On the continent it was not much different, although the protracted frontier wars in the various colonies continued to supply bones and other human body parts. We do not yet know exactly how Becker was involved in these events. But it is certain that he was involved in the handling of human remains. As he wrote in an 1859 letter, he collected "skulls and skeletons" – and sold them.[43]

Moreover, he was involved in the racial scientific study of indigenous Australians. In doing so, he made a decision that shed a significant light on his understanding of the character of his portraits. He had no problems with inserting individually created works (Fig. 8 a+b) into a racial-typological context. The fact that this did *not* appear to him a contradiction reinforces the assumption that race-specific considerations were already taken into account when the portraits were created.[44]

Becker made extensive annotations to both portraits. In their present form, these were printed only five years after the pictures were taken, but they provide additional information not visible in the pictures themselves, implying that Becker made corresponding notes when painting the two Australians. The detailed anthropological descriptions contained in these annotations, combined with the pictures, form veritable racial profiles.[45]

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41 For the Australian example, see Helen MacDonald: Human Remains and id.: Possessing the Dead; and the papers in part 2 (Histories and worldwide networks) in Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown, Honor Keeler: The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation.

42 The remains of the indigenous Tasmanians interned there had already been stolen from Flinders Island. The colonial elite apparently made no secret of their wishes in this regard: "According to Robinson's journal, all visitors praised his administration of the settlement. They left as they arrived – in the evening, and in haste, with many administrative edicts, and several requests. Lady Franklin wanted a child or two, and the Governor, Lady Franklin and Captain Machonocie all wanted skulls of VDL people. These requests were certainly not bizarre by 1830s standards, and would [...] be fulfilled" (Leonie Stevens: 'Me Write Myself', p. 161).

43 Cf. Ludwig Becker: Letter to the Royal Society of Victoria, July 1859 and Marjorie Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugène von Guérard, p. 98.

44 Becker's racial image has been interpreted as contradictory because it mixes individual portraits of two Aboriginal people with craniological images made from the skulls of three others. But despite the fact that Becker "described the skulls as demonstrating 'the peculiar character of the Australian race'", the narrative of his unprejudiced attitude is perpetuated: "Nevertheless, Becker drew no conclusions from these peculiarities regarding their racial status, mental capacities or state of civilisation" (Antje Kühnast: Signs of the Savage in the Skull, p. 113).

45 Ludwig Becker: Explanatory Remarks on Plate, p. 88) says "Portrait of Billy, a native from Port Fairy. The likeness was taken by me from life in 1854. His age was eighteen years; height five feet two inches; complexion, light chocolate-brown; flat nose; jaws, very much projecting; mouth, large; lips, sharp, edged with a reddish hue; teeth, complete and pure white; chin, small and receding; well-shaped eyes, the iris nearly black, the white of the eye has a light yellowish tint; eye-lashes, long and black; head, well formed; forehead, rising nearly perpendicular from horizontal; black and busy eye-brows; hair, jet black and full".
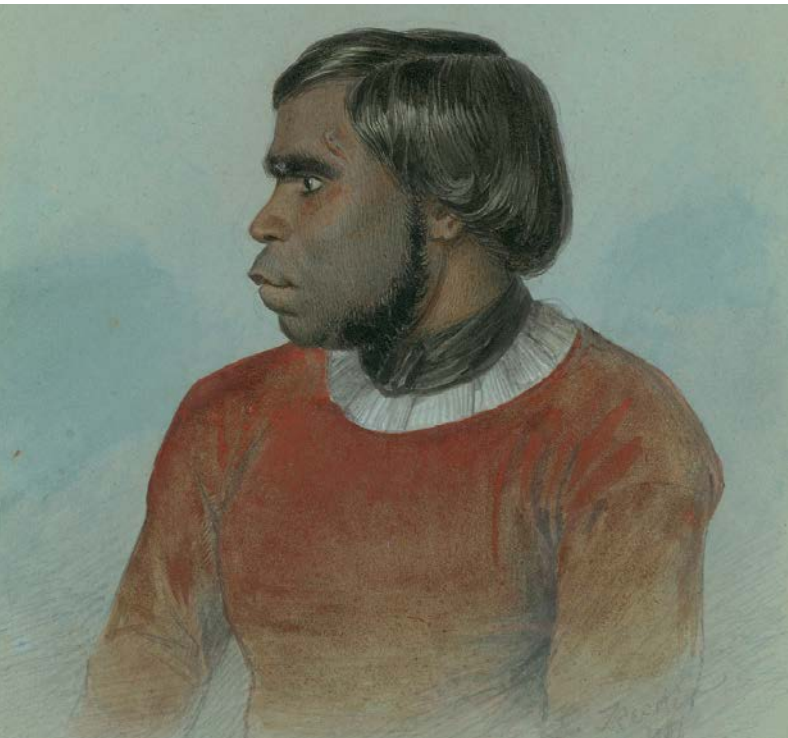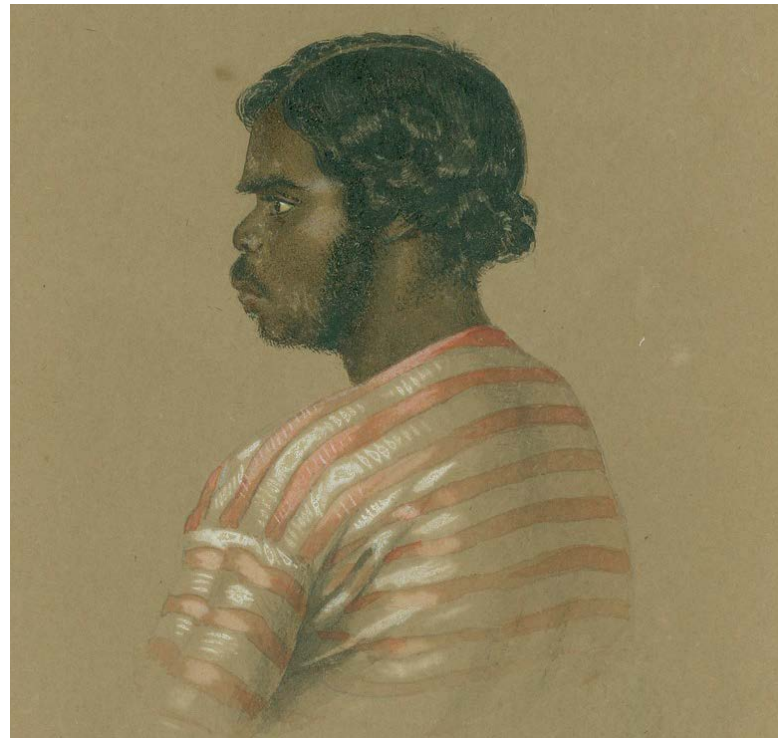
Fig. 8 a: Portrait of Billy by Ludwig Becker

Fig. 8 b: Portrait of Tilki by Ludwig Becker

Becker, therefore, had no issue using the two portraits as part of a racial tableau that he prepared in response to corresponding questions of the 'Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines'. The committee, amongst other things, sought information on "the general stature of the people" (including "some actual measurement"), inquiring whether "there [is] any prevailing disproportion between parts of the body"? It showed particular interest in data regarding heads: "The head is so important as distinctive of race, that particular attention must be paid to it. Is it round or elongated in either direction, and what is the shape of the face – broad, oval, lozenge-shaped, or of any other marked form?" Furthermore, "sketches of several typical specimens were required": a "profile, and also a front view should be given. In the profile particularly notice the height and angle of the forehead". In addition, it was requested that "[t]he form of the head may be minutely and accurately described by employing the divisions and terms introduced by craniologists, and the corresponding development of moral and intellectual character should, in conjunction, be faithfully stated". Not least, interest was directed towards skulls: "When skulls can be collected or examined, it would be desirable to give a view […] taken by looking down upon the head from above, so as to give an idea of the counter of the forehead, and the width

On the other hand, it reads, "Portrait of Tilki, a native from near the mouth of the Darling River. When I took his likeness, in 1854, his age was twenty years. His general appearance is like the former's, with the exception that the skin is a little darker, the hair more curly, nose shorter, mouth smaller. His height is five feet seven and a half inches. One tooth in front of jaw is missing, in consequence of a ceremony performed on reaching manhood", Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines; cf. Marjorie Tipping: Becker's Portraits of Billy and Jemmy (Tilki). In: The La Trobe Journal, 1978, 21, pp. 1-7.
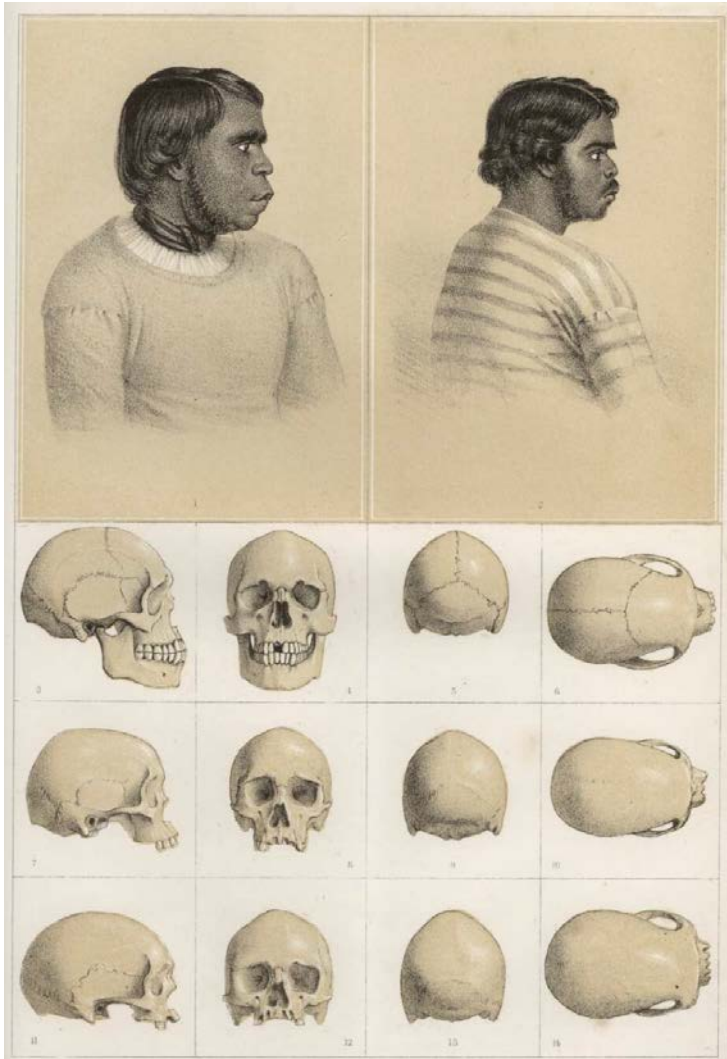
Fig. 9: Billy and Tilki as specimen,
racial tableau by Ludwig Becker

of the skull across from one parietal protuberance to the other".[46]

Becker replied in combing the engravings of Billy and Tilki with profile and frontal views as well as the elevations of three different skulls into a race table (Fig. 9). For all five individuals, he provided details that could be uses in race science. For two skulls, he furnished the facial angle. This information is at the same time superficial and revealing. For the three skulls under his examination, he wrote about the first one: "The upper jaw slants so much forwards that the facial angle is lowered to 85 degrees"; regarding the second skull, he briefly noted: "Facial angle, 85 degrees", and for the third skull there is no corresponding information.[47]

Becker does not specify who calculated the angle and how it was obtained. It is not likely that he relied on Camper, who reserved angles of 80 degrees or more for Europeans and of 85 degrees and more for Roman statues.[48] Furthermore, Camper's version of the facial angle had been questioned within the scientific community for its inadequacy early on.[49] However, due to its ideological convenience, it was still retained

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46   Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines; Together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices, pp. 45 f.
47   Ludwig Becker: Explanatory Remarks on Plates, p. 88.
48   Cf. Miriam Claude Meijer: Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper, p. 108.
49   Already Johann Friedrich Blumenbach: Über die natürlichen Verschiedenheiten im Menschengeschlechte, p. 146 complained "that on the skulls of very different peoples, which one might say differ from one another as day from night, the direction of the facial line is nevertheless the same; and conversely, on several skulls of one and the same people, which on the whole agree with one another and have the same habitus, the facial line is very different". This did not prevent later researchers from using the facial angle in the anthropological measurement of indigenous Australians although the results were mixed. In 1871, Wake wrote about "the form of the Australian skull" that it has "a profile much less animal than that usually associated with the West African native" – though "[i]t should be stated that the skull of the native Australian female is very inferior in form to that of the male, approaching much more nearly to the animal type" (C. Staniland Wake: The Physical

in different versions. It promised members of the white race a superior profile. And this is exactly what Becker conveys, when he explains that the facial angle he gave was 'lowered'.[50]

His comments on the physical and mental condition of the indigenous Australians do not paint a different picture. When asked, "What is your opinion of their general intelligence, and of their capacity to receive literary or moral instruction?", he replied: "Not below the average intelligence of all the other uneducated masses of nations, may they belong to the black, colored, or white races of man". And to the question, "Is there […] any perceptible peculiarity of odor?", he let the committee know, "A peculiar odor is perceptible […]; it is very much like the well known odor observed as coming from negroes, but not quite so strong".[51]

This combination of classist and racist arguments was by no means uncommon. First of all, physiologically connoted statements about body odour included social arguments concerning nutrition or cosmetics.[52] Additionally, the word fields 'class' and 'race' intersected during this period. Furthermore, numerous members of the bourgeoisie were reluctant to associate with the lower classes – as they deemed them a sort of indigenous 'savages', who appeared more akin to 'primitive races' then with their own lifestyle. And, last but not least, their noses often struggled to smell a difference between racial and classist others.[53]

Characters of the Australian Aborigines, pp. 266 f.). In 1928, Hrdlička found average values for the facial angle of 68 for mainland Australians and 69 for Tasmanians (Aleš Hrdlička: Catalogue of Human Crania in the United States National Museum Collections, p. 88). As late as 1947, Abbie gave an average facial angle of 78 for 50 female and 50 male skulls. The individual values vary between 72 and 86 (Andrew A. Abbie: Headform and Human Evolution, p. 234). Given the variety of racial classifications and measurement methods, it is not surprising that one of them was one that used the angle of the face for racial classification. But Becker's values would not have fitted either. Julien-Joseph Virey: Histoire naturelle du genre humain, pp. 318 ff., divided the "genre humain" into "deux espèces distinctes". On the first, he wrote "un angle facial qui s'ouvre jusqu'à quatre-vingt-cinq ou quatre-vingt-dix degrés" (85-90°), the second "un angle facial ouvert de soixante-quinze à quatre-vingts degrés au plus" (75-80°). This resulted in a racial classification for the 1st 'espace': "1. race blanche, 2. race jaune, 3. race cuivreuse, 4. racine brune foncée", and the 2nd 'espace': "5. race noire, 6. race noirâtre". Virey counted the inhabitants of New Holland amongst the latter race.

50   Becker's data were noted in contemporary race literature. In Australia, James Bonwick referred to them several times– cf. James Bonwick: The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria, pp. 30 f. and id.: The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians, p. 128. In England, Joseph Barnard Davis (in Thesaurus Craniorum. Catalogue of the Skulls of the Various Races of Men. London: printed for the subscribers 1867, p. 267) referred to Becker. In Germany, Johann Christian Gustav Lucae (Zur Morphologie der Rasse-Schädel, p. 28) lauded the "very excellent illustrations of New Hollanders" which "our compatriot, Herr Ludwig Becker in Melbourne" delivered. In Italy, Paolo Mantegazza (La Riforma Craniologica, p. 129) bibliographed Becker's contribution.

51   Ludwig Becker: [Answers], pp. 39, 46, 82.

52   Cf. William Tullett: Grease and Sweat, pp. 307-322.

53   At the beginning of the 18th century, a French perfumer is said to have suggested that different social classes should be provided with different scents: "a royal perfume for the aristocracy, a bourgeois perfume for the middle classes, but only a disinfectant for the poor" (Constance Classen, David Howes, Anthony Synnott: Aroma, p. 168). In the second half of the century, Henry Home, Lord Kames, the patriarch of the Scottish Enlightenment, was certain that "Africans generally could be seen and smelled" because they had a specific racial "rank smell" (Mark M. Smith: How Race is Made, p. 14). He may not have been aware of the linguistic conflation of class conceit and dislike. But he did rank, denigrate,

Fig. 10: Certificate for the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854

Becker's perspective on the intelligence of indigenous Australian was well within the racist spectrum of the Enlightenment. This varied from the belief that the non-white races were unlikely to survive to the hope that Europeans could educated them on the fundamental aspects of civilization. This would at least enable them to live under white guidance and civilization. Nevertheless, this would not grant them equality or social integration: their scent alone placed them outside of society.

Becker's viewpoint was similar. This was shown quite unmistakably in the certificate he created for the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854, which he did as per the regulations of European colonial iconography (Fig. 10).[54]

His allegory distinguishes between (inner) cultural and (outer) natural realms. The former is discernibly marked as European by the fact that it occurs in front of a Gothic window. The two upper circles of the window measure serve to establish the colonial context by depicting the two sides of the winners' medal, also designed by Becker (for which he received an award):[55] on the left are the figures of a digger, a pastoralist, and a farmer – with the digger, slightly bent forward, handing a gold nugget to a seated woman; on the right is the reverse of the medal, showing the Exhibition Building. None of the original inhabitants of Australia can be seen, but a ship, the maritime link to the mother country, can be observed in the background. The three colonial 'producers' then appear again in large format on the pedestals reserved for the heroes of colonialism: pastoralist (left), digger (centre), and farmer (right). They deserve the victor's wreaths, which Fama, the goddess of glory, has her hands so full of that she cannot hold her

and desocialize at the same time. The odour in question was at once inferior, repulsive, and segregating.

54 The local press had helpfully aided the art appreciation of its readers by providing the following description: "The Certificates awarded by the Commissioners of the Victorian Exhibition are at last ready for issuing. The prize for the design, was, it will be remembered, gained by M. Ludwig Becker, and it has been lithographed, we believe, in the Surveyor-General's office. The picture represents a mediæval portal, the space between the columns being filled with the written testimonial. Over the columns and inscription are three figures, emblematical of the three principal products of the colony, the centre figure being a gold digger, with spade, pick, and tin dish; and the others, a shepherd and a reaper, both characteristically dressed and equipped. The artist has ingeniously carried the allegory still further, having represented the shepherd as aged, the digger as in the prime of manhood, and the reaper as a youth; indicating thereby the relative position in point of antiquity and importance of our principal staples. At the base of those columns are two figures of aboriginal natives, in sitting posture; one being represented in his wild condition, and wrapped in his rug of opossum skins, armed with the rude spear of the Australian savage, and the boomerang lying at his feet, and the other as a bullock driver, attired in Guernsey, trousers, and high-lows, and exhibiting the effects of his contact with the civilisation of the white man. The arch is surmounted by a seated female figure, representing Fame distributing rewards in the shape of floral crowns. A tree of the Eucalyptus genus rises on the outer side of each column, and amidst the foliage are seen specimens of Australian birds and tree animals. Between the pediments of the columns is depicted a bird's-eye view of Hobson's Bay. The design is, on the whole, cleverly conceived, and the principal figures, especially those of the aborigines, are artistically and truthfully executed. The Gothic roof-work has a rather heavy appearance, and the attitude of the female figure is decidedly stiff and formal. The lithographer has performed his part with great efficiency" – 'The Argus' (Melbourne), 7 May 1855, p. 6 ('The Victorian Exhibition Certificates').

55 Cf. Marjorie Tipping: The Life and Work of Ludwig Becker, p. 13.

traditional trombone. But her angelic wings, strategically spread over the entire construction, enhance the scene's sanctity.

The monument's display of white triumph is complemented by a nature that already indicates its domestication through the straight lines of eucalyptus trees planted alongside the portal columns. The indigenous animals represented within are reduced to mere exotic adornments. The same can be said for the two indigenous Australians positioned at the monument's base, symbolizing colonial self-assurance.

One figure, on the right, remains in a primal state of wildness, posed as a primitive hunter, behind whom, in the grassland, two kangaroos and an emu can be seen. Meanwhile, the other figure displays a degree of civility, with a church visible in the background, enough for him to serve as a driver to aid in cattle breeding.

This does not go beyond what Friedrich Schiller had to say during his inaugural lecture at the University of Jena in the most revolutionary year 1789 about "[t]he discoveries which our European seafarers have made in distant oceans". They offered "a spectacle which is as instructive as it is entertaining". As "[t]hey show us societies arrayed around us at various levels of development, as an adult might be surrounded by children of different ages", they remind us of our own history by showing us the "embarrassing and dismal" picture of "savages", of which "[m]any have been found to be unacquainted with the most elementary skills: without iron, without the plow", without "the simplest marriage tie" and, even worse, having "no knowledge of property".[56]

It should be added that Becker created this hierarchical portrayal of civilization and savagery at the same time that the prototype of modern temples of World's Fair, the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park in 1851, was undergoing reconstruction in Sydenham. Its construction had been a direct model for the exhibition hall in Melbourne. For its reopening, the Crystal Palace had been significantly expanded, including a 'natural history department'. It was meant to provide an overview of the different regions of the world.

This also involves the presentation of 'savages', for which life-size plaster casts were constructed. "In the display for Australia", visitors "could see a platypus, a Tasmanian wolf, an emu, a cassowary, a group of Papuans, and two Australian men, one of whom was shown on the verge of hurling a stick".[57] This kind of mise-en-scène was destined to become the blueprint for future World's Fairs. However, there the use of artificial figures was no longer sufficient; instead, 'native villages' were enacted which were intended to provide the visitors with a direct experience in the style of Schiller.[58]

56   Friedrich von Schiller: The Nature and Value of Universal History, p. 325; Marjorie Tipping: Ludwig Becker and Eugène von Guérard, p. 96, mentions that Becker had been a member of two associations in Melbourne that "organized festivities in honour of the centenaries of the births of Humboldt and Schiller".

57   Sadiah Qureshi: Peoples on Parade, p. 195; see also Wulf D. Hund: Advertising White Supremacy, esp. pp. 52 ff.

58   It should be noted that Australian ideology faced particular problems in this context. The 'exploration' and appropriation of indigenous land was far from complete. The characterization of indigenous Australians as a 'dying race' therefore had a nefarious value that

Becker's colonial tale anticipates this development. In it, Humboldian spirit and his 1848 ethos are merged unproblematically with the contemporary racist world view, which, at best, accepted 'savages' as passive onlookers in a process of progress in which they were only then granted a subordinate role, if they were willing and capable of submitting and adapting to the process of civilization defined by the whites. The two images he showcased at the Melbourne Exhibition were part of his colonial exhibition designs. Fittingly, he also presented the neck ribbon of a "chief of the Murray tribe", a "collection of Australian insects", and "specimens of Australian algae and fish".[59]

Shortly before setting off on the expedition with Burke and Wills to North-East Australia, Dr Becker expressed his understanding of colonial science by designing a seal for the Royal Society of Victoria.[60] Its 'proceedings' recorded the seal's iconography in a way that requires no further analysis: "An exquisite plaster model of a seal for the Society, designed by Dr Becker [...] was laid on the table [...]. It [...] represents Art and Science advancing to the invitation of Australia (in the person of a nearly nude aboriginal), followed by Philosophy, and distributing light and civilization through the known, and, it is to be hoped, unknown parts of this Continent".[61]

could be used to legitimise colonial occupancy (see Patrick Brantlinger; Dark Vanishings). Tasmania was a veritable model for this, as the 'pure-blooded' 'full-blooded Aborigines' were considered extinct (and their land accordingly without natural heirs). The exhibition of William Lanne and Truganini as the 'last Tasmanians' therefore became an integral part of the exhibition business. At the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880, the Tasmanian court "presented remnants of their 'extinct' Aboriginal population, photographs and a plaster cast of William Lanne and photographs of Truganini". The Centennial International Exhibition in Melbourne in 1888 did not just celebrate one hundred years of 'White Australia'. It did not stop at the photographs of Lanne and Truganini. It also featured, as the local press reported, "a 'most interesting relic of the lost Tasmanian race', a plaster cast of Truganini's head with the 'addition of the real eyebrows' retained when casts were taken for the Hobart museum". Melbourne went one step further for the Australian Manufacturers Exhibition 1904. In the local museum "the 'clean[ed] and mount[ed] skeleton' of 'Truganini was placed in exhibition in a specially erected glass case in the Tasmanian room' [...] which also exhibited photographs of her death mask, her waddy and some of her former belongings" (Stefanie Affeldt: Consuming Whiteness, pp. 436 ff.).

59 Marjorie Tipping: The Life and Work of Ludwig Becker, p. 13. The author may have made a mistake here (she writes that Becker showed "a pencil drawing of an Aboriginal, and two other portraits of Aboriginals") – or the catalogue contains a typo, for there is the following entry: "Becker, Ludwig, Melbourne, Artist. – 1. Specimens of Australian Algæ and Fish, designed to furnish new designs for paper-hangings, &c.: 2. Part of a necklace made of native seeds, worn by a Chief of the Murry tribe: 3. Pencil drawing by an Aborigine: 4. Australian Insects: 5. Sketches of Melbourne and Bendigo: 6. Two Portraits of Aborigines" (Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in Connection with the Paris Exhibition, 1855, p. 29). Consequently, Becker's exhibits would have included a pencil drawing by an Aboriginal artist. As all these objects were in the fine arts section, they were probably paintings and drawings (apart from the necklace fragment). This would have placed two indigenous objects in the art section of the exhibition. Neither the drawing nor Becker's cultural assessment of it seems to have survived. (cf. Susan Lowish: Rethinking Australia's Art History, p. 159).

60 Becker was a member of this institute. In the literature, the following remark can be found: "Ludwig Becker emerged as one of the Institute's most versatile members. He maintained a world-wide correspondence, writing to Louis Agassiz in U.S.A. and John Gould in Britain with his queries and findings" (Michael E. Hoare: Science and Scientific Associations in Eastern Australia, p. 205).

61 Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria, p. XIV (Ordinary Meeting August 6th, 1860).

Queensland or Appropriation

The leaders of the Enlightenment, like their students, were of course aware of the dialectic of progress. They also deplored the alienation it imposed on those who drove it. At the same time, however, they were certain that there could be no progress without alienation. The 'savages' who had seemingly always rejected it were considered lazy – and therefore useless. No one expressed this more clearly than Immanuel Kant. For him, this conviction was combined with a fear, expressed not without melancholy, that all races except the white might perish.[62] As for many of the enlightened commentators on colonialism, this was linked to a critique of the violence against the 'natives'. Becker, too, was aware of the destructive impact of colonialism on Australia's nature and its indigenous people. Yet his ideas remained racistly characterized.

This was illustrated in words and pictures during Becker's stay (Fig. 11). The image displays how the gold miners of Bendigo overcame nature by destroying a previous scare grove of eucalyptus trees. A glimpse of what's left of the grove can be seen in the background on the left. Charred stumps of some of the trees that were destroyed by means of slash-and-burn remain; their shapes were intriguing enough for the miners to give them names such as bishop, monk, lubra, and philosopher.

This includes a description that also comes from Becker: "'Grass does not grow upon a miner's path', is a German proverb, very applicable to the diggings. Here flourished once the noble forest. Children of nature here found shelter and a home. Then came the peaceful shepherds with their flocks creeping slowly through it. 'Eureka'! Suddenly there comes from the south a storm of human beings – the peace of untold centuries is broken – the very frame of earth is bared for hidden treasure – the ancient trees are felled for the service of invaders, [...] sometimes yet a charred and sapless trunk is found still standing upright, like a shade of Hades".

Members of this, it continues, "race of giants, long since passed away", are the 'Notabilities of Bendigo', whose grotesque figures are only briefly interrupted by an indigenous woman, running across the foreground with a child on her back. She serves as a pictorial explanation for the name of the tree stump on her right, as its shape imitates hers. Therefore, she does not require specific mention but is depicted amidst the surrounding aura of death, although she is alive and moving, unlike the tree stumps.

Indeed, indigenous women and men were adversely affected by the dispossession of their land by gold prospectors. However, they did not succumb entirely to this attack, nor did they just watch idly as others prospered. They rather "demonstrated a great degree of agency, exhibited entrepreneurial spirit and eagerness to participate in gold-mining [...] and, at times, figured significantly in the gold epoch".[63] Becker, who spent a considerable time in the goldfields, apparently paid

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62   Cf. Wulf D Hund: 'It must come from Europe', pp. 69-98.
63   Fred Cahir: Black Gold. Aboriginal People on the Goldfields of Victoria, p. 1.

THE BISHOP OF BENDIGO.   MONK   &   LUBRA.   THE PHILOSOPHER OF GOLDEN GULLY.

NOTABILITIES OF BENDIGO.

"Grass does not grow upon a miner's path," is a German proverb, very applicable to the Diggings. Here flourished once the noble forest. Children of nature here found shelter and a home. Then came the peaceful shepherds with their flocks creeping slowly through it. "Eureka!" Suddenly there comes from the south a storm of human beings—the peace of untold centuries is broken—the very frame of earth is bared for hidden treasure—the ancient trees are felled for the service of invaders, the saplings become supports of dwellings; sometimes yet a charred and sapless trunk is found still standing upright, like a shade of Hades, and the fancy of the miners clothe it in romance, as it seems to look down upon the busy, never-ceasing strife beneath, as one of a race of giants, long since passed away.—LUDWIG BECKER.   [The view here depicted is taken from a point near New Chum Gully, Bendigo, looking north, towards Golden and Sheep's Head Gullies, in which the grotesque old stumps here grouped in the foreground were situated in 1853.—L. B.]

Fig. 11: Notabilities of Bendigo by Ludwig Becker

no attention to this. His writing reflects this regard, which does not consider indigenous Australians as owners of the destroyed forests but as their 'children'.

Furthermore, the artist, driven by intellectual curiosity, relays a blatant untruth in the caption of his artwork. His painting, created in 1853, depicts a scene from Victoria, which had only recently become an autonomous colony. During that period, over six million sheep roamed the area,[64] having been introduced by squatters only fifteen years prior.

During this period, there were frequent massacres of the native population who opposed the appropriation of their land. Rarely did they have the opportunity to achieve short-lived victories, as was the case in 1840 when a group exceeding 200 men, pillaged roughly 30 rifles from shelters belonging to shepherds.[65] But numerous individuals were affected by the brutality of 'frontier wars'.[66]

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64   Henry H. Hayter: Victorian Year-Book 1893, p. 244.
65   Cf. Chris Coulthard-Clark: The Encyclopedia of Australia's Battles, p. 16 (s. v. Heidelberg).
66   Cf. the overview on the website 'Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia, 1788-1930'; see also the chapter 'Dangerous frontiers' in Richard Broome: Aboriginal Victorians, pp. 69-93.

The conflicts arose because of Becker's description of 'peaceful shepherds with their flocks'.[67] They were not composed of blameless individuals but rather originated from the history of 'primitive accumulation'[68] that had occurred many centuries earlier in mainland England. During this time, persuasive grievances were expressed about "your shepe, that were wont to be so myke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saie, be become so greate deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp and swallow down the very men them selfes".[69] The sheep, previously known for their gentle and friendly nature, have developed an aggressive appetite and have even been known to consume humans. In England, this shift of behaviour had caused a displacement of the rural population, leading to a mass of disenfranchised, impoverished individuals who were deported to the colonies for minor offences. Additionally, in Australia, the sheep played a role in the colonial land acquisition, contributing to the policy of indigenous extermination, and affecting native wildlife and water resources.[70]

This policy was ongoing when Becker embarked on the expedition to the north of the country with Bourke and Wills. Despite his awareness, that previous European incursions into Australia had inflicted severe harm on its indigenous communities, and that symbolically, 'grass does not grow upon a colonist's path', he still proceeded. Indeed, from the outset, he recognized that violent encounters with indigenous Australians could occur. In advance of the expedition, he drafted a letter outlining his criteria for the ideal expedition leader. These specifications detailed that the individual "[m]ust have been a soldier to be able to maintain discipline and, if necessary, put up vigorous resistance to attacks by natives. A good shot".[71]

If colonial magic could replace violence, he would take it with a sense of humour. After the expedition had arrived "at Dr Rowe's station on the foot of the Terricks",[72] he noted: "The Bendigo Creek, on whose banks the station is

67   It is therefore astonishing that Becker's "drawing of the Bendigo goldfields", even in a work dedicated to the 'decolonization', is without question attested to "demonstrate his ability to listen Aboriginal people and the land" (Petra Jeffries: Becoming 'Brave and Gallant', p. 159).
68   Cf. Michael Perelman: The Invention of Capitalism.
69   Thomas More's 'Utopia'. The original Latin version was published in 1516; it was quickly followed by several editions, and it was not until 1551 that, eventually, 'A fruteful / and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Ralphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London' was published – quoted here after The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, p. 51.
70   These events have therefore found their way into the comparative history of genocidal politics – cf. Ben Kiernan: Blood and Soil, pp. 249-309.
71   Ludwig Becker: Letter to Ferdinand von Mueller, 9 March 1860.
72   John Pearson Rowe, who owned the station, was by all accounts a colonial jack of all trades. He was born in Aintree, Lancashire on 25 January 1813. He was educated at Stonyhurst, a Jesuit college, and then apprenticed as a surgeon/apothecary at the Liverpool Infirmary. He then sailed as a ship's surgeon to Hobart in Tasmania. There he became an assistant to Dr William Crowther in his public dispensary and practice. Business must have been good, even if Rowe could not invest to the same extent as Crowther, who owned sawmills and whaling ships. But at least his income was enough to buy land in Hobart and pastoral land in the Brighton area. In 1835 he married Mary Ann Lowe, whose parents had been transported as convicts. They were to have 13 children. About ten years later he sold his property in Hobart and moved to Victoria as a squatter. There he acquired large tracts of land and changed his property several times. All the while he continued his scientific pursuits. He was a member of the Melbourne University Council and was also on the committee

built, is […] a yellow coloured, floating mud, the effect of the washings at Bendigo. Dr Rowe dammed the water and by this process is enabled to support a greater number of sheep during the hot seasons". Subsequently, he reported on "4 natives" who had arrived at the station and were afraid of the camels that were part of the expedition: "Although no strangers at Dr Rowe's station, and notwithstanding our assurance that the camels were only harmless 'big sheep', they turned their back towards them and squatted soon round a far off camp fire of their own". Lastly, he remarked: "If this first interview between natives and camels might be used as a criterion when coming in contact with the blacks in the course of our future journeys, then, surely, we might spare the gunpowder as long as the mesmeric power of our […camels] remain with them".[73]

Becker captured this magical effect in a picture about ten days later (Fig. 12 a) and noted: "The natives did not deem it prudent to remain so close to us and notwithstanding our assuring them that they had nothing to fear, they removed their children and chattels a hundred yards away and, contrary to their custom, here they lay silent and concealed during the calm night, not even attracted by the produce of our cooks skill. I made a sketch of the native camp and the scenery around it, as shown in drawing".

While initially the presence of the camel promised a peaceful distance, during the expedition an armed altercation occurred between the supply party and locals at a camp on the Bulloo River. Becker was present at the time, although he was already in a state of dying. The report by William Wright, who led this particular part of the expedition, states: "Mr Becker, during the affray, lay in a tent pitched close to the stockade, but was perfectly unconscious".[74] Hermann Beckler, a German physician and naturalist who had emigrated to Australia and joined the expedition there, maintained: "He had taken no notice whatever of

that established the university's medical school in 1862. He also gained some notoriety for allegedly shooting at young Ned Kelly (without hitting him) at his Mount Battery Station estate near Mansfield in early 1870. He died on 16 May 1878 after falling from his horse at his 'Seven Creeks' estate in Euroa. Of course, someone like him had to be anchored in the colonial memory. This was done in a lasting way by naming Rochester. The town came into being after he took control of the 100,000-hectare Restdown Station on the Campaspe River in 1846 and started a pastoral business. Here he ran up to 50,000 sheep. To profit at least indirectly from the Victorian gold rush, he had a hotel built in 1853/54 to provide a resting place for Cobb & Co's wagons and the prospectors they carried, as well as for the many drovers and prospectors passing through. A small settlement grew up around it and became known as Rowe's Camp, then Rowechester and finally Rochester. By the time Becker visited his station, Rowe had moved on, to the north, at the foot of the Terricks. He was one of the honorary correspondents of the Central Board, appointed to look after the interests of the Aborigines. (The information above about Rowe comes from generally accessible internet sources and is therefore often not backed up by scientific standards. However, it seems worth doing some research. William Crowther's work, on the other hand, is extensively documented. This includes not only his intensive participation in the colonial political economy, but also in the associated "political economy of bone collecting", which was linked to the desecration of the human remains of indigenous Australians – Helen MacDonald: Human Remains, p. 108 and passim; see also id.: Possessing the Dead).

73   Ludwig Becker: First Report (from the Burke and Wills Expedition), 31 August 1860; for the following quote, see Ludwig Becker: First Report (from the Burke and Wills Expedition), 12 September 1860.

74   William Wright: Despatch to the Secretary of the Victorian Exploring Expedition, 20 June 1861 and Hermann Beckler, quoted from Marjorie Tipping: Becker, p. 28.

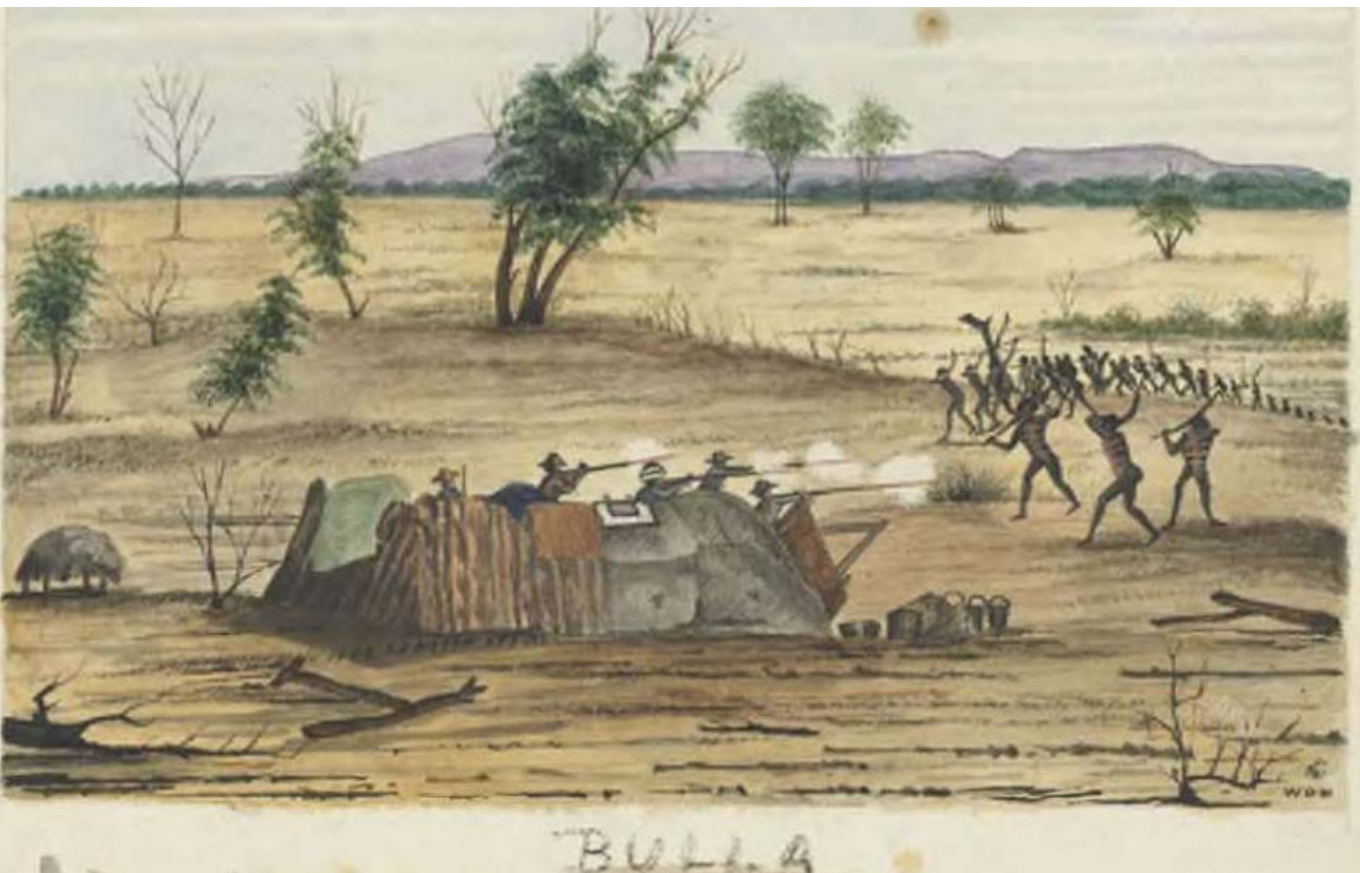Fig. 12a: Near our camp at Spewah, Sep. 12. 60 by Ludwig Becker

Fig. 12b: Bulla, William Oswald Hodgkinson

all our last encounters with the blacks. […] I told him about the events with the natives. He seemed to have no idea what I was talking about".

The confrontation was later captured in a painting by William Oswald Hodgkinson (Fig. 12 b).[75] What he portrayed as a legitimate defence against hostile warriors had a lengthier background. For several days, the members of the expedition had received numerous emphatic pleas to withdraw. Beckler recorded the actions of the 'natives' thusly: "It was clear that they had not the slightest wish to leave the soil which they with all justice called their own".

Both sketches, by Becker and by Hodgkinson, are similarly mendacious and cynical. In one scenario, the camel is depicted as a fetish, used to intimidate the 'natives'. When they choose to defend their country, they are portrayed as 'savages', necessitating the use of sharp weapons in self-defence. While those involved certainly have experienced a sense of injustice, or at least remorse, they did not doubt the justification of their civilizing mission. Whether their victims retreated or fought back, in both cases they were regarded as unteachable and responsible for the consequences. The only choices were to comply or perish due to their own – allegedly racial – obstinacy, as depicted in Becker's Gloriole for the Melbourne Exhibition.

Fig. 13 a: Women in Mourning
by Ludwig Becker

Fig. 13 b: Watpipa the "Old Man"
by Ludwig Becker

The portrait sketches created by Becker during the expedition exhibit the same spirit. Notably, the sketches feature racial imagery. Two examples are particularly illuminating; in one, Becker combined the faces of two mourning women into a typifying image (Fig. 13 a), and in another, he drew the purportedly typical profile of an old man (Fig. 13 b).

75   See National Library of Australia: Bulla, Queensland, 1861 by W. O. Hodgkinson.

Regarding the mourning women, he wrote: "faces were painted in such a manner as to give the head the appearance of a skull when seen from the distance: round the eyes was drawn with white paint, a circle, an inch broad, and the hair of on[e] woman tied up closely and covered with a piece of cloth, while the other lubra had her hair painted or rather smeared over with the same white color".[76] Evidently, he was not concerned with depicting distinct grieving individuals but with portraying culturally common behaviour. Consequently, he did not depict this in individual sketches, instead opting for a tableau structure reminiscent of contemporary racial imagery. It is apparent that he had no issue combining a frontal view of one person with another's profile.

Regarding the old man, he explicitly wrote: "I made a profile-drawing of the head of this man who seemed to me to be a fair specimen of an old but still hardy aboriginal of this district"[77] This profile, too, was obviously created with empathy; but its creation took place in a colonial environment that promoted racism, as Bronwen Douglas has succinctly summarised: "As foreign bodies in European representations, comparisons, classifications, and collections, indigenous Oceanian people were usually objectified and measured as specimens. Ultimately encompassed by colonial empires, indigenous bodies became colonial subjects and were often alienated from their own places – rendered foreign – especially in settler colonies".[78] Becker's artwork was not only embedded in the surrounding culture; but he also held the same belief in regarding the indigenous people as 'specimen' of 'another race'.

This also applies to his most renowned portrait. It has been asserted that "Becker's drawing of the 'brave and gallant' guide, Dick, is one of the most beautiful portraits of Aboriginal people made in the nineteenth century".[79] Such an assessment highlights the tension, in which the painting is placed due to its context. Becker's portrait dates from the 21 December 1860. This was a mere two days after Dick had returned to the campsite to seek assistance for two exhausted expedition members. He had to leave behind Myles Lyons and Alexander Macpherson due to their inability to continue. Hermann Beckler observed his arrival and wrote that his "face was sunken, his tottering legs could hardly carry him, his feet were raw, his voice hoarse and whispering. He was the shadow of a man. He laid himself at my feet and looked at me wistfully and soulfully".[80] Becker, himself, wrote on 25 December "that brave and gallant native guide Dick was still unable to walk".[81]

Becker depicted him in this scenario (Fig. 14). The inscription identifies him as "Dick, the brave and gallant native guide". The fatigue is as evident as the signs of his compelled trek on the soles of his feet. Without doubt, this portrayal was

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76   Ludwig Becker: Third report, Thursday, Sept. 20, 1860. In Marjorie Tipping: Becker, p. 198.
77   Ludwig Becker: Fourth Report, Monday, Sept. 24, 1869. In Marjorie Tipping: Becker, p. 199.
78   Bronwen Douglas: Foreign Bodies in Oceania, p. 13.
79   Andrew Sayers: Australian Art, p. 50.
80   Hermann Beckler, quoted from David Dodd: The Aboriginal Contribution to the Expedition, Observed Through Germanic Eyes, p. 93.
81   Ludwig Becker: To the honorary secretary Royal Society, 25 December 1860. In: Marjorie Tipping: Becker, p. 191; Becker added: "Mr. Wright thinks him worth the consideration of the Exploration Committee".

Fig. 14: Portrait of Dick, the brave and gallant native guide

created with empathy. This, however, is exclusively reserved for his selfless act of rescuing the two expedition members. It is not for the individual himself. Becker neither attempts to find out about Dick's past nor inquire his native name. Even under this circumstance, so not without empathy, he gazed at him also with the inquiring gaze of a race scholar.

This was emphatically underlined when Becker, in mid-January 1861, sketched the trek Lyons and Macpherson had taken together with Dick and which Dick, nearing complete exhaustion, had taken by himself to seek aid. With the aid of another indigenous guide, Peter, the two were eventually rescued, and Becker utilized their information as an orientation.[82] Furthermore, he labelled his sketch. This was conducted in such an extensive 'explorer mode' that Dick, who had accompanied, guided, and eventually rescued the two whites, was not mentioned at all.[83] Becker's portrait, painted only few weeks before, was no indication that considered Dick a full-fledged participant in the expedition. It was a colonial

82　Cf. David Gary Phoenix: 'More Like a Picnic Party', p. 229-231.
83　Becker's map sketch is published in Marjorie Tipping: Becker, p. 119; on page 118, the entries on the map are shown. In the "Remarks", it reads, "Lyons & M'Pherson traveled at the average rate of about 21 miles a day for 9 days & a half […]. The 2 men crossed likely Gregory's track". Dick has been written out and subtracted from this story.

enterprise of exploration and research into a largely unknown part of Australia, and its indigenous inhabitants were by no means active participants in this process but instead subjects of study. This was applicable even to the 'native guides' whose assistance was utilized intensively.

This concludes our analysis – at least with regards to Becker. He passed away on 29 April 1861 in the Balloo River camp. As far as the portrayed Dick is concerned; however, benevolent racism found a continuation. Already by the end of 1860, John Macadam, the secretary of the Exploration Committee, wrote to Wright: "The medal for Dick, the aboriginal guide, bearing a suitable inscription, is forwarded with this despatch, and the committee leave in your hands the bestowal of such additional reward as you may deem proper – not exceeding five guineas (say 5 pounds 5 shillings)".[84] At this point, the frugal secretary had already hit the jackpot in the business of colonial collecting, naming, and exploiting. Although it only brought him cultural capital, it ensured him worldwide recognition. In his honour, Ferdinand von Mueller named a genus of Australian Proteaceae 'macadamia' in 1857. The Europeans refrained from paying a similar tribute to indigenous Australians – just as they did not resort to the longstanding names that had been given to the native flora and fauna.

The award proposed for Dick indeed took place and was presented by Henry Barkly, the British Governor of Victoria himself. He held this position almost as a profession: prior to his appointment in Victoria, Barkly had served as Governor of British Guiana and Governor of Jamaica (and was to become Governor of Mauritius and subsequently Governor of the Cape Colony after his tenure in Australia). Barkly presented the brass plate that bore the inscription "Presented to Dick by the Exploration Expedition for assisting Trooper Lyons and Saddler McPherson, December, 1860". Still no one had deemed it necessary to inquire about the indigenous name of the recipient. And the monetary gift was not given to him without admonishment: "His Excellency on handing the dingy hero the five sovereigns expressed a hope that he would not spend it in drink, as too many of his race were prone to do".[85] The concerned governor knew to handle money carefully. After all, he was the heir to a large fortune. His father, a plantation owner, had exploited slaves; and after the abolition of slavery, he had been awarded a compensation for his 4.440 slaves of £132.000. Barkly inherited the plantations as well as the compensation claims.[86] Today, his likeness hangs in the

84 Quoted from William Wills: Successful Exploration Through the Interior of Australia, From Melbourne to the Gulf of Carpentaria.
85 Quoted from Bendigo Advertiser, 26 September 1861, p. 3 ('Presentation to Dick, the Aborigine'). It should be mentioned that in the same issue of the newspaper, immediately before this news, another stated: "The Half-castes. – In a recent issue the attention of the public was directed to the number of half-caste children, boys and girls, in these districts, with the object of enlisting some amount of sympathy for the children of the Australian wilderness. We constantly see parties in these colonies directing their philanthropic minds to the savages of the Fiji' Islands, while the offspring of the white men on the outskirts of Australian colonisation are allowed to grow up wild, and no effort made to reclaim them. The blacks themselves are fast dying away".
86 We have taken this information about Sir Henry Barkly from Wikipedia; of course, this cannot remain as it is. However, we would like to emphasize that our thoughts are intended as suggestions for further research. Please help yourselves. Ludwig Becker is suitable for this in several respects. First, his biography is incomplete. This is especially true of the part

National Portrait Gallery in Canberra. The portrait of Dick is stored by the State Library of Victoria.

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All links have been verified 6 January 2024.

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of his biography that takes place in Europe. Secondly, his wide-ranging interests and the contacts they engendered can provide an insight into the academic world of the time and the interconnectedness of its metropolitan centres with the colonial periphery. Finally, Becker's images of indigenous Australians provide complex evidence of the profound effects of contemporary racism. Yet the literature on Becker is as patchy as his biography. This is also true of Marjorie Tipping's meritorious and informative contributions. Her wealth of material is not matched by an equivalent critical analysis. In particular, her work lacks an analytical perspective on racism. Nevertheless, it has often been followed up, perpetuating the thesis of a link between German '48 sentiments and sympathetic attitudes towards indigenous Australians. This is untrue for two reasons. First, racism was not and is not a mere ideological concoction of humiliating discrimination. And second, a close reading of Becker's work shows that he must have shared essential basic patterns of the contemporary racist worldview. This does not preclude a "sympathetic attitude [...] towards the Aboriginal people he encountered and depicted". But it does not follow at all from this that he would have viewed the conditions "from the position of an outsider" (Kerry Heckenberg: '... bring-ing facts into some connection with each other ...', pp. 80 and 77). The contextualization of Becker's artistic work shows that he anchored it in colonial conditions, including the mar-ginalization of indigenous ways of life.

Fig. 3 b: Petrus Camper, 1791 (reprinted in Miriam Claude Meijer: Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper, p. 97); Carl Gustav Carus: Grundzüge einer neuen und wissenschaftlich begründeten Cranioscopie (Schädellehre).

Fig. 3 c: Carl Gustav Carus: Grundzüge einer neuen und wissenschaftlich begründeten Cranioscopie (Schädellehre).

Fig. 4 a: Ludwig Becker: Romney. 71 Yahre alt v. 28 Jahre in V. D. Land, 1851, watercolour; 8 x 6 cm, on mount 13 x 10 cm, State Library Victoria.

Fig. 4 b: Portrait of William Buckley, attributed to Ludwig Becker. The wood engraving is by Frederick Grosse, based on a drawing by Nicholas Chevalier, based on a sketch by Becker — State Library Victoria: William Buckley.

Fig. 4 c: Ludwig Becker, 1851, self-portrait, reproduced in Thomas Darragh: Ludwig Becker, a Scientific Dilettante, p. 514.

Fig. 5 a-c: Ludwig Becker: Aborigines of Tasmania, 1852, www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/4143441, courtesy of the State Library Victoria.

Fig. 6 a-c: Ludwig Becker: Aborigines of Tasmania, 1852, www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/183900, courtesy of the State Library Victoria.

Fig. 7 a-c: David Hansen: Ludwig Becker (1808-1861), Naplomata (Henrietta), Dinudara (Sarah), Kanjawerkie. In: Important Australian and International Art. Auction in Melbourne, 17 May 2011 (catalogue).

Fig. 8 a: Ludwig Becker, Billy, reproduced in Marjorie Tipping: Becker's Portraits of Billy and Jemmy (Tilki), p. 5.

Fig. 8 b: Ludwig Becker, Tilki, reproduced in Marjorie Tipping: Becker's Portraits of Billy and Jemmy (Tilki), p. 3.

Fig. 9   Becker's race table – Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines: together with the proceedings of Committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices, p. 96.

Fig. 10:   Certificate for the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854, Ludwig Becker, www.collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/246965.

Fig. 11:   Notabilities of Bendigo, Ludwig Becker, 1857, www.victoriancollections.net.au/stories/mapping-great-change – Drawing - Ludwig Becker, 'The Notabilities of Bendigo, from the Newsletter of Australasia, No. XV, 1857', 1857, Courtesy of State Library Victoria.

Fig. 12 a: Near our camp at Spewah, Sep. 12. 60, Becker, Ludwig, Sept. 12, 1860. www.viewer.slv.vic.gov.au/?entity=IE7215405&mode=browse, Courtesy of State Library Victoria.

Fig. 12 b: William Oswald Hodgkinson: Bulla, Queensland, 1861, www.nla.gov.au/nla.obj-147606769, National Library of Australia.

Fig. 13 a: Women in mourning. Sep. 20. 60, Ludwig Becker, 1860, www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/140048, Courtesy of State Library Victoria.

Fig. 13 b: Watpipa the "Old Man", our guide on Sep. 24. 60, Ludwig Becker, 1806, www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/140045, Courtesy of State Library Victoria.

Fig. 14:   Portrait of Dick, the brave and gallant native guide. Darling Depôt Decb. 21. 60, Ludwig Becker, 1860, www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/140050, Courtesy of State Library Victoria.

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Reviews

Stefanie Affeldt

Nicole Hoffmann, Wiebke Waburg (eds.): Eine Naturforscherin zwischen Fake, Fakt und Fiktion. Multidisziplinäre Perspektiven zu Werk und Rezeption von Amalie Dietrich.

Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2021. 250 pp. ISBN: 978-3-658-34143-5. EUR 49,99;
also ebook.

Born in May 1821, Amalie Dietrich reached particular fame through her exploration of the 'untapped wilderness' of Queensland onto which she embarked in the 1860s. She was the only female 'scientific explorer' her employer, a well-known merchant from Hamburg, sent to Oceania to 'collect' specimens from the flora and fauna of Queensland – an endeavour that was soon extended to anthropological and ethnological specimens. While, during her ten-year stay, she amassed a respectable number of botanical and zoological objects,[1] not many authentic documents regarding the life and activities of Dietrich seem to have survived the passage of time, nor has she published or left anything in writing. The foundation of almost all biographical texts and reports, fictitious stories and books, and other cultural outpourings (e.g.comics, poems, and even a play and an opera) that inform a broad audience of Dietrich's life are based (more or less loosely) on the 'Bischoff biography', published by Charitas Bischoff almost two decades after her mother's passing.[2] In it, Dietrich's stay in Queensland is mediated via the reproduction of letters between her and her daughter as well as the correspondence with a few other people. However – as contemporaries of Dietrich dunned, Ray Sumner credibly and meticulously proved,[3] and the present volume reiterates numerous times – the truth content of these letters is low; they seem to have been conceived by her daughter based on her memories (undoubtedly), while also drawing on the Australia literature of the time.

Amalie Dietrich's endeavours in Australia were challenged in the light of discussions about colonialism and its reverberations today, when, in the early 1990s, an Australian newspaper referred to her as the 'Angel of Black Death' and implied that she had encouraged murder in the name of science. Almost exactly twenty years later, this accusation was taken up in the context of an emerging German dispute over the handling of 'human remains' in German museums

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1   The here mentioned "Hunderte von Amalie Dietrich gefundene und präparierte Stücke" (1) not only underexposes the context of procurement but also underrepresents the actual number of material sent to Hamburg. Her botanical collection alone comprises "20,000" specimen, making her collection the "largest [...] of zoological and botanical material that was ever created by a single individual", Birgit Scheps: Amalie Dietrich (1821-1891) and Queensland. In: Andrew G. Bonnell, Rebecca Vonhoff (eds.): Germans in Queensland. 150 Years, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 201, pp. 47-60, p. 47.
2   See Charitas Bischoff: Amalie Dietrich. Berlin: Grote 1909.
3   See Ray Sumner: A Woman in the Wilderness. The Story of Amalie Dietrich in Australia. Kensington: NSW University Press 1993.

and institutions as well as their colonial context. These debates are only marginally (if at all) addressed in a publication that – published in the year of Amalie Dietrich's 200th birthday by the editors Nicole Hoffmann and Wiebke Waburg – locates her "zwischen Fake, Fakt und Fiktion" (1) and assembles ten essays that seek to take up (some of) the manifold, multifaceted publications on Dietrich and explore the "Multiperspektivität und das Oszillieren in der Wahrnehmung Amalie Dietrichs" (2) by shining a light on rules of authenticity-creating processes of ascription and discussing her position against the background of *biography* and *popular science* as well as *science history*.

The first contribution dealing with Amalie Dietrich under the perspective of *biography science*, Uta Schaffers' 'Ein Leben erzählen: Literarische Verfahren und narrative Muster in "Amalie Dietrich. Ein Leben" (1909)', analyses the 'Dietrich biography' as fundamental to the her image. Given the doubted facticity of Bischoff's writing, Schaffers rather treats the opus as novelistic and thus discusses Dietrich as a textual construction in the context of an "Erzähltextanalyse" (11), as a series of "Reiseerzählungen" (16). The 'Bischoff biography' conveys her stay in Queensland in thirty-one letters; for Schaffers, these letters (mostly addressed to her daughter) are a prime example of "Reiseschreiben" (23) and are meant to invoke both overall authenticity as well as mother-daughter-intimacy. They impart first-hand knowledge about Dietrich's stint in Australia and intimate knowledge of her surroundings, thus solidifying her importance as a scientist. Further, Schaffer examines the narratives 'reading' and 'travelling' – with the former being replaced by the latter over the course of Dietrich's life – and discusses these against her educational and class background and the restrains of the time for a woman entering the "tradierte männliche Raum" of science (22).

Thorsten Fuchs' 'Amalie Dietrich – Modellage einer Biografie in Annette Duttons "Das Geheimnis jenes Tages". Literarische Reflektionen über lebensgeschichtliches Lernen' takes Amalie Dietrich as an example for "pädagogische Romanlektüren" (34) and "biografisches Lernen" (53). Paradoxically, he does so not by looking at any of the pedagogic works about Dietrich that address girls or young women but by seeking intertextual connections between Dutton's relatively recent novel and the 'Bischoff biography'. Comparing both authors' descriptions of the respective protagonists and their Australia sojourns, he analyses the differing constructions of Bischoff's and Dutton's 'Amalie', her life story, and her endeavours in Queensland. Unfortunately, even though he sees the subject of 'human remains' as central to Dutton's novel and even briefly mentions two other novels focused on Dietrich's life, he relinquishes the chance of discussing a specific intertextual nodal point: both Gertrud Enderlein's 'Die Frau aus Siebenlehn' (1959) and Renate Goedecke 'Als Forscherin nach Australien' (1951) take a position on the circumstances under which Dietrich acquired indigenous human remains.[4] Instead, Fuchs resorts to merely reiterating the fictitious murder

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4   This is not the only instance of sloppy (research) work in this volume: the novel by Enderlein that Fuchs refers to as "Gertrud Enderlein (1959 [1937])" was originally published in 1955, four years later the 3rd edition was published (This original date is honoured by another contributor to the volume but likewise misstated as being a republication of Enderlein's 1937 book). But more importantly, except for the protagonist (and her story being based on

of six Indigenous Australians commited by an equally fictitious German scientific assistant through which Dutton, as Fuchs claims, "rehabilitiert" (52) Dietrich from the real-life allegations of encouraging or even committing murder. He concludes his contribution with a meticulously prepared table comparing the dates and locations of the letters in Dutton 's story to those from the 'Bischoff biography' – the reason for this remain unclear.

Last in this segment, Sigrid Nolda engages in questions about 'Image editing and image building. Zur Rolle der Bearbeitung von Bildporträts bei der Vermittlung biografischen Wissens am Beispiel von Darstellungen zu Leben und Werk der Amalie Dietrich' and the extent to which the different versions of Dietrich's photographic likeness, and derivatives thereof, have shaped her life story and its reception. First, Nolda focuses on the most renowned portrait of her, "eine Atelier-Fotografie im Stil der Zeit (um 1872)" (72).[5] Depending on the creative manipulation – cutting, softening, or outright retouching – the differing versions of the portrait emphasize attractiveness or deterrence, while the textual and visual representations mutually reinforce or contradict eachother in their respective depiction of Dietrich. On the quiet (i.e. without addressing it), she identifies a 'visual turn': portraits accompanying relatively recent articles, which discuss the allegations waged against her, are identified as rendering Dietrich a "dämonische Frau" (78).[6] However, she merely sees this change as a "Modernisierung" (78); therefore, she forgoes a discussion under this perspective and rather turns to the description and interpretation of another portrait by the same photographer as well as a drawing by a renowned Hamburg painter,[7] an action portrait from a biographical text, and a reference to a recent (portraitless) art installation. The essay concludes with the claim that Dietrich has "(bisher)" not been depicted in "familiäre, berufliche und politische Zusammenhänge" (95) – could this have been assuaged by an expansion of the research frame to comic depictions, which, again, are merely mentioned without being addressed?

The first to explore Amalie Dietrich against the background of the *history of science*, Eberhard Fischer's 'Amalie Dietrich und ihre Bedeutung für die Erforschung der Flora von Australien' provides a detailed register of the plants collected by her and gives an insight into her contribution to the botanical exploitation of the continent. Though he justly addresses the gender imbalance in

Bischoff's biography), it is a completely different book from the 1937 one, which bears the title 'Eine Frau aus Siebenlehn. Die Geschichte einer großen Liebe' and is exactly that. In the same year, Enderlein also published a more factual yet national-chauvinist article on Amalie Dietrich in Australia.

5   This time estimate is almost spot on, though with a bit of research the exact year, location, and photographer could have been identified.

6   By the way, the portrait of Dietrich which reminds Nolda of the style of the opening credits of a German police procedural television series had been published two years prior in its entirety in another text by the same author. The earlier article was a major contributor to the German discussion about Dietrich's connection to colonialism and the trade of human remains. Five years later, the very same topic had been taken up by a Hamburg newspaper which staged a kind of identity parade involving a male Indigenous Australian. This would have made for a nice discussion of a picture story.

7   Both are mentioned – Allers by name, the photographer remains anonymous – without any historical or other contextualizing introduction, an 'approach' that (with few exceptions) runs like a red thread through this edited volume.

botanical 'collecting' by referring to a compendium of short biographies that lists "neben 206 Männern gerade einmal 10 Frauen" as "Sammler[ ] und Botaniker[ ]" (103) and states that the "sorgfältige Pflanzensammlerin" "niemals etwas selbst publizierte oder benannte" (113), he does not further pursue this perspective of epistemologic problematization, e.g. the gendered power relations in the evaluating, documenting, and naming of the specimen.[8] Instead, he provides a detailed source exegesis to evidence the reception of Dietrich's collections and the further (but yet unfinished) exploitation of them by (male) botanists.[9]

'Amalie Dietrich und die Konstruktion von Wissenschaft in der Portraitliteratur' by Ursula Engelfried-Rave investigates ways in which Dietrich is constructed as a scientist and how 'science' is conceived in four popular-scientific publications of the mid-1990s and early 2000s.[10] As a field explorer in Australia, her regular shippings of botanical and zoological specimens and artefacts[11] reached the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg; she thus amassed a considerable collection of objects from the colonial frontier. For this, Dietrich is lauded as a "Naturforscherin, Entdeckerin, Botanikerin und Zoologin", her activities are interpreted "als wissenschaftlich" (125). Based on the theories of Alois Hahn, Engelfried-Rave discusses the meaning of 'collecting' in science; employing Max Weber, Dietrich is promoted to the rank of "Wissenschaftler" (141). However, she does so without problematizing connections between botanical 'collecting', other activities in the name of science, and colonialism/imperialism – though she seemingly found such in the discussed literature. She concludes that, as a "Belegexemplar" of female contributions to science and a "Vorbild" for women, the portrait literature discussed makes Dietrich a "Lehrstück emanzipatorischen Aufbruchsstrebens" (142).

Hannah Rosenberg is 'Auf den Spuren des Falls Amalie Dietrich vor dem Hintergrund einer Heuristik im Anschluss an Ludwik Fleck' with a multilayered approach to the central figure. Taking Fleck's deliberations on natural science as a social activity and science as sociologically and culturally shaped phenomena as well as his identification of "Denkgemeinschaften" (148) and their professional activities as a heuristic, she addresses the multi-perspectivity of Dietrich in popular publications. In the field of botany, only a "klein[er ...] Kreis an Expert*innen" (152) acknowledges Dietrich and her endeavours;[12] in popular

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8   Overall (another red thread), Fischer seems to invoke an 'Unschuld der Erkenntnis' – otherwise only represented by the Vatican – which in discussions of both the history and sociology of science can at most pass as a curiosity: a naïve representation of 'discovery' and 'collection' of plants indigenous to other continents as a process happening in a space both free of ideology and interests and entirely untouched by social and political questions.

9   Without further addressing it, Fischer, too, stumbles across a source that evidences the conceptual conflation of botanical and anthropological 'ambitions': a necrology that refers to her botanical collection while praising her "belle collection de squelettes australiens".

10 Commendably, she not only mentions the authors but introduces them regarding their respective professional and publicist backgrounds.

11 In yet another instance of the 'innocence of cognition', these are referred to as "aufgefundene Artefakte" (124).

12 Rosenberg, however, refrains from actually looking at both quality and quantity of what experts of botany write about Dietrich; instead she quotes sources (mainly two – the afterword by a graduate philosopher and party functionary and the historian that wrote the central study about Dietrich in the nineteen-nineties) that claim how small her degree of

circles, a larger audience was reached by the 'Bischoff biography'. She concludes that the "unscharfe[ ], sich vielfach überlagende[ ] Bild der Amalie Dietrich" is utilised in popular circles for various purposes;[13] but it has to remain a "Bild über Amalie Dietrich", the nuances of which are shaped by the respective creators and perspectives (158).

It is in the *popular-science* segment, not the section on the history of science, that Amalie Dietrich's connections to colonialism and debates on human remains are (almost) addressed. Wiebke Waburg's '"The Body-Snatcher". Eine Filmanalyse zu Amalie Dietrich im Kontext der Human-Remains-Debatte' aims at doing exactly this by introducing the readers very briefly to an issue that is in actuality conversely discussed on the global level.[14] She then proceeds to a likewise abridged locating of Dietrich within the debate and touches on a narrative that had already been voiced twenty years prior in Australia.[15] In 2011, a German television documentary introduced its German audience to the question "was genau sie sich im Auftrag der Wissenschaft zuschulden kommen lassen hat" (167). In the following, Waburg meticulously dissected Dietrich's representation in the documentary, which obtained a semblance and authenticity through the appearance of experts. Taking into account means of dramaturgy, re-enactments, technical realization, and visual symbolisms, she sees the documentary's construction of Dietrich as oscillating between her as "willfährige Grab- und Leichenschänderin im Auftrag Godeffroys, deutscher Anthropologen und somit des europäischen Kolonialismus" and "fachkundige und geschätzte Sammlerin" (182).[16] While the documentary produces no evidence of the means through which she procured the human remains, both visual and auditory messages communicate that "Dietrich

'fame' was. Yet Fischer, in the volume at hand, talks about her significance for the faunal exploration of Australia, quoting not only several scientific sources discussing her 'collections' but also listing a number of plants named after Dietrich.

13   Her listing the several 'roles' of Dietrich but – despite having mentioned the connections – generously skiping the 'agent of colonialism' testifies, again, to the general underexposure of this topic.

14   Conservatively, the origins of the debate date back to the very early 1990s – actually, indigenous people have voiced demands of repatriation beforehand (see Paul Turnbull's work), but this is the point in time where "eye of the storm" (see Colin Pardoe) is chronologically located – Waburg's introductory words on the 'human remains debate', however, make it seem that the debate unfolded this side of the 2010s.

15   This is not the only segment that contains factual errors: on no account has the cited Australian journalist come up with the term "Body-Snacher" [sic] "für Amalie Dietrich und andere Sammler"; likewise the German evolution biologist is *not* the source of the "angel of black death" (167) – this is one of the downsides of a research based on the explanations of an art installation that misspells the name of the central figure and resorts to artistic auto-da-fés. One of the recent extensive publications on the repatriation of human remains that fathoms the concomitant nuanced debate can be found in the reference section of this article; seemingly, only the short segment explicitly mentioning 'Amalie Dietrich' has received Waburg's attention.

16   This is an often-diagnosed dichotomy that finds expression in the image of a Janus-faced Dietrich – either she is praised as a heroine of science due to her contributions to the botanical and zoological exploration of northeastern Australia, or she is discredited as a graverobber or even a murder instigator. Usually, this does not lead to a discussion that sees both the 'collection' of human remains and botanical as well as zoological specimens as parts of the larger systematology of colonialism – rather, it commonly leads to exculpatory statements that set off the reprehensible (but in keeping with the alleged zeitgeist) activities against the supposedly purely scientific aspirations.

Leichenfelder und Grabstätten schändete" (183) – it does so not least to cater to central aspects of the 'human remains debate', like the uncovering of corrupt scientists' past injustices and their assuagements by repatriation in the present.

Christine Eickboom's '"[D]ie Australneger sind nämlich von finsterem Aberglauben besessen." Zur Fortschreibung von Rassismen im deutschsprachigen Australiendiskurs des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel von Veröffentlichungen zu Amalie Dietrich' investigates the perpetuation of an early German discourse on Australia in the literature of the last sixty years. Then, the continent was seen as a "dunkle[r] und gefährliche[r] Ort" where peculiarities of flora and fauna evidenced a "Stillstand in der evolutionären Entwicklung" (191) and whose inhabitants were identified and demarcated through the "Konzept der Anthropophargie" (193). This 19th-century image of a dark and dangerous, hostile and inhospitable continent inhabited by Stone Age people – who are purportedly alien, uncultivated, childlike, and suspected of cannibalism – is reiterated in numerous works that take Dietrich as an example to introduce the continent down under to a German audience.[17] According to Eickenboom, the examined modern texts provide the very same information about Australia that had already been accessible during Dietrich's lifetime. She concludes that, without seizing the opportunity for a "historisch-kritische[n] Bewertung der europäischen Expansion", 19th-century "Rassismus [wird] unverändert dargestellt und weitergegeben" (208).

In '"mindestens Kleopatra"? Amalie Dietrich als Rollenmodell in Mädchenlektüren aus der Zeit der jungen BRD', Nicole Hoffmann investigates selected young girls' books published in the early Federal Republic of Germany under the perspective of gender roles. She explores two "Jungmädchenbücher" with regard to their depiction of Dietrich as a "weibliches Rollenreflexionsmodell" (215) and their contribution to the societal memory of the culturally remarkable. Hoffmann suggests that further exploration of such text sources could not only contribute to investigations of 'doing gender' and 'doing biography' but also be extended to perspectives of science, literature, and history – with the source-poor 'Dietrich case' challenging the boundary between fiction and non-fiction and the means through which authenticity is created.

Jens Oliver Krüger's '"Die war doch son' Kräuterweiberl." Populärkulturelle Bezugnahmen auf Amalie Dietrich. Ein Reisebericht' considers her as an 'Erinnerungsort'. Taking 'place of rememberance' literally and into account only a few select sites, this journey in the footsteps of Dietrich remains a local stroll through south-eastern Germany (Grassi-Museum, Leipzig – Siebenlehn – Wilthen – Dresden-Görbitz). While explicitly mentioning *not* having gone to the (no longer existent) Amalie-Dietrich-Straße in Germering, he also did *not* visit, for instance, Hamburg as her place of professional action (neither the Speicherstadt, nor her

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17   Authors of the discussed texts are merely mentioned but not thoroughly introduced, this is a definite analytical shortcoming. Taking the statement "Der Zoologe Hans Petzsch veröffentlichte 1948 in der in der ehemaligen DDR erscheinenden Zeitschrift" (193), for instance: Petzsch was a Nazi, whose ideological learning was certainly still in process when the German Democratic Republic was established in October 1949 and whose professional career after the war was temporarily hindered due to this very past.

biological collections)[18] or Rendsburg, as her last abode and final resting place (the ultimate place of remembrance featuring the often-quoted 'Efeu auf dem Grab') – this certainly enables him to conclude that the "lokale Bezugnahme" also constructs a "Bedeutsamkeit dieser Lokalitäten" (249).

Altogether, it *is*, of course, possible to investigate and discuss Amalie Dietrich and her various ways of reception from several perspectives. However, it is an *inexcusable omission* to leave underexposed, or even bypass, the central issue associated with her name – and this includes historicizing the political and academic environment in which she acted.

That the exploitation of colonies and knowledge about them mutually defined and affected each other is undeniable.[19] In their introductory words, the editors of the volume at hand list Dietrich as a "Beispiel für die Gräueltaten des europäischen Kolonialismus" (2). Over the last decades, this perspective has become a focal topic in the light of debates concerning the repatriation of human remains and cultural objects and has led to an apologetic relativisation in the course of which Dietrich's 'bone theft' is enclosed in the 'zeitgeist' and additionally charged up against contribution to the natural sciences. In the present volume, 'colonialism' remains a buzzword that is mentioned sparsely throughout the volume[20] – albeit without ever actually making it a central point of discussion. Here, botany and zoology are not seen as colonizing endeavours,[21] nor is the 'collecting' of indigenous artefacts. A discussion of Amalie Dietrich should neither consider the various subject areas separated from each other nor set them off against each other, but rather develop a critical overall view of Dietrich and the reproduction of her various images in relation to the respective temporal, socio-cultural and political backgrounds.[22]

Some contributions briefly mention connections to colonialism or the 'human remains debate' without any attempt at historicizing or contextualizing the

18 For this concept, Amalie Dietrich offers a multitude of linkages that transcend the literal "Ort" of remembrance, see Stefanie Affeldt: 'Kein Mensch setzt meinem Sammeleifer Schranken'. Amalie Dietrich zwischen Herbarium und Leichenraub. In: Jürgen Zimmerer, Kim Sebastian Todzi (eds.): Hamburg: Tor zur kolonialen Welt. Erinnerungsorte der (post-)kolonialen Globalisierung, Göttingen: Wallstein 2021, pp. 213-228.

19 See Regine Sarreiter: "Ich glaube, dass die Hälfte Ihres Museums gestohlen ist". In: Annette Hoffmann, Britta Lange, Regina Sarreiter (eds.): Was wir sehen: Bilder, Stimmen, Rauschen. Zur Kritik anthropometrischen Sammelns, Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2012, pp. 43-58.

20 For instance: "In den zeitlichen Horizont ist zudem der europäische Kolonialismus einzubeziehen"; this is followed by two sentences consisting of the quotation of a statement on the "politisch-soziale Spannungsfeld, auf das das singuläre Schicksal Amalie Dietrichs bezogen war" and another of the claim that the "Pflanzenjagd war im 19. Jahrhundert 'zu einem organisierten Unternehmen geworden'" (all on page 157).

21 Though the "Exotismus als Wunsch nach ausgefallenen Pflanzen" and "Kolonialismus" are mentioned as going hand in hand as parties involved in the "Versklavung der Ureinwohner*innen und dem Raubbau an der Natur" (137), subject areas like 'ecological imperialism' (Alfred W. Crosby: Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009) and 'colonial bioprospecting' (Londa Schiebinger: Plants and Empire. Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press 2007) that have been debated for more than a decade remain completely untapped.

22 For an argument in favour of a critical biography, see Stefanie Affeldt, Wulf D. Hund: From 'Plant Hunter' to 'Tomb Raider'. The Changing Image of Amalie Dietrich. In: Zeitschrift für Australienstudien | Australian Studies Journal, 33-34, 2019-2020, pp. 89–124.

differing constructions of Dietrich against this background. Occasions were numerous: one essay foregoes examining intertextual connections under this perspective; another leaves out any localisation of Dietrich's 'collecting' within the topic of imperialism (botanizing as 'discovering') and sexism (botanical naming policies). There is only one essay that directly addresses the repatriation discourse and almost embarks on an examination of her activities in the light of 'colonialism'. However, it gives a mere three-page, very abbreviated insight into the "Human-Remains Debate" (164) and a locating of Dietrich within said debate before shifting the discussion to the minute reproduction of a television show concerned with discussing human remains in German museums in general and depicting Dietrich as a graverobber in particular.

While the diverse literature on Amalie Dietrich reiterates her 'collecting endeavours', and a number even address her anthropological endeavours, her alleged benevolence expressed towards Indigenous Australians and her desecration of corpses were never mutually exclusive nor did these lead to ruptures in the respective narratives. Her daughter's biography describes a woman who was appreciative of the Indigenous' support and kindness – but who, nonetheless, not only send human remains to Hamburg but was also aware of the associated violation of both the peace of the dead Indigenous people and their memory for their kindred and acquaintances. At the time when Dietrich worked in Queensland, bone material from Indigenous Australians were desiderata in German scientific circles, and though his findings were only posthumously published, Rudolf Virchow ascertained his rights to examine the human remains acquired by Dietrich. The display of human remains was an everyday occurrence and one of the elements of a racialized political economy of anthropological othering in Germany and other colonial and imperialist countries. Thus, it is not surprising that even though the 'legend' of Dietrich's murder-for-hire was circulated in Germany already before the letters came to the attention of a broader audience in 1909, there never seems to have been recorded any protest or problematization of these possible circumstances of procurement. Due to meticulous research into the massacres of the colonial period,[23] the full extent of violence at the colonial frontier as the background to her Queensland stint comes to light.

Raymond Evans thus argues that to procure the bones of Indigenous Australians it was "not necessary in Dietrich's colonial Queensland to find sacred locations where Aboriginal peoples had been 'ceremoniously buried' and 'ritually remembered'" since "[m]assacres were commonplace" and bodies piled at their sites;[24] this is a circumstance that, like the colonial frontier violence she must have thus encountered – seems to have remained unmentioned by Dietrich. Was she an accomplice to the 'conspiracy of silence'?[25] Paul Turnbull, too, discusses 'collecting' at the colonial frontier in Dietrich's times and the involvement of

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23 See, as a visually impressive example, the 'Colonial Frontier Massacres, Australia, 1788 to 1930' map, https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/map.php.

24 Raymond Evans: Picking Over the Bones. Amalie Dietrich and Colonial Queensland, comment on Affeldt, Hund: From 'Plant Hunter' to 'Tomb Raider', doi: 10.35515/zfa/asj.3334/201920.14, p. 7.

25 For the background, see Timothy Bott, Raymond Evans: Conspiracy of Silence. Queensland's Frontier Killing Times. Sydney: Allen & Unwin 2013.

the Native Police. He reasons that "her sense of her humanity and that of Birra Gubba and other peoples of coastal Queensland did not go so far as to quench her desire to secure their bones for science" and that there is a need to "explain the complexity of the connections between scientific collecting of the Indigenous dead and settler colonialism".[26]

The authors of the edited volume, in contrast, abstained from engaging in such debates. Surprisingly, in many cases, the authors have not even looked at the pertinent discourse or the primary sources (though numerous are even available online) but have resorted to citing or paraphrasing the secondary literature – so to say, a prime example of "Materialfundus" (159), so to say. For instance, doubts uttered by Dietrich's German contemporaries regarding the veracity of the 'Australian letters' are indirectly referenced through an article by an Australian historian rather than the original German source (2); then there are 'quotation-daisy-chains' in the course of which an early 20th-century gentleman (with a name but without a context) is quoted from a book published in the GDR that is quoted in a recent biographical publication (104). In the case of the phrase 'Angel of Black Death', the reluctance to consult primary sources leads to the impression that the phrase originates from the German debate on Dietrich in the colonial context in 2013 (167); elsewhere, the phrase dates from somewhen "im Lauf des 20. Jahrhundert" (41).

But there are other instances of irritation for the attentive readers of this volume: problematic terms as well as textual and factual errors that speak to a disparity in academic rigour and editorship. These are supplemented by annoyances – that are not least blameable on today's publication culture, which favours individually downloadable, mechanically readable, and internationally portable articles – create a hodgepodge of eyesores that start with an unsightly partitioning of each contribution's first page, continue with superfluous translations of the title, abstract, and keywords, and do not stop at blue publication dates and links.[27] Redundancy as a mannerism and the folly of doubled titles and keywords culminate vicariously in one contribution that lists "Schlüsselbegriffe: Populärkultur – Inszenierung – Gedenken – Popular Culture – Representation – Commemoration", only to be followed up by "Keywords: Popular Culture – Representation – Commemoration" (240). Redundantly, every article seems to mention in more or less detail, either that the number of sources on Amalie Dietrich is sparse or that the veracity of the 'Australia letters' has been called into question but (like the rest of the 'Bischoff biography') are the main source for publications on her or all of the above. The fact that the same publications on Dietrich are mentioned over and over again definitely calls for an intertextual analysis of its own.

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26   Paul Turnbull: Amalie Dietrich and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Queensland, comment on Affeldt, Hund: From 'Plant Hunter' to 'Tomb Raider', doi: 0.35515/zfa/asj.3334/201920.15, pp. 10, 12.

27   The individual contributions – all written in German – are irritatingly preceded by a title, a summary, and keywords in English. Why? This is as inaesthetic (at several instances ruining the book design) as inconsequential (the introductory contribution and the section titles all omit this translational convention). This is outdone only by the vacuous habit of pretending that each contribution could be individually decoupled in their digital form.

There is a problematic usage of terms and names in this volume. One of the editors rightfully states that the term 'Aborigines' is regarded as "derogatory"; hence, her contribution employs the "politisch korrekten Bezeichnungen Aboriginal People und Aboriginal Australians" (165). Nonetheless, this term is used throughout the volume. It is even used by one contributor who justly debunks 'Papua' as "subsuming" people of diverse backgrounds "under one umbrella term" (195) but promptly fails to realize the singularity-producing characteristic of its historical replacement. Another contributor carries this issue to its conflictual peak by unnecessarily yet explicitly citing that the fictitious professor "das Wort 'Aborigines' […] strikt ab[lehnt]" (43) and thus seemingly attempting to 'excuse' his usage of 'indigenous population' when speaking about the "Stammesälteste[ ] der indigenen Bevölkerung"; this is immediately followed by the surfacing of a "Stammesführer" (45) and "Eingeborene" (61). In another contribution the passé "Ayers Rock" (184) makes an appearance.

Lastly, textual errors are as diverse as numerous in this volume and include misspelt names as "Peiffer" (28) instead of Pfeiffer and "Johann Cesar Godeffroy" (twice 103, 124, 139) instead of Johan[28] or "Bromme" (165) instead of Broome and "Germaring" (166) instead of Germering; missing characters as in "eine zusätzlich 'Korrektur'" (77), "sicht und erfahrbar" (95); typing errors like "dir Ostküste" (166), "Landschafsaufnahmen" plus "Volkerkunde" (both 176), and "Scienece" (185); in addition, one finds absent blank spaces as well as superfluous punctuation marks.

It remains to be noted that, overall, the volume contributes but little to the current discussion regarding colonialism, 'human remains', and the dealing with 'dark' cultural heritage – though, especially for the latter, Dietrich would have been a prime case study on multiple levels. While it does not actually promote research on Amalie Dietrich, this collection of essays also does not harm it or set it back.

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28   This very misspelling of Godeffroy's forename is of particular irony: in what leads to an 'orthographic boomerang effect', one contribution discredits one of its discussed text as "giving the impression of poor research" based on the "consistent misspelling" of the name Godeffroy (205).

Henriette von Holleuffer

Elisabeth Bähr, Lindsay Frost: Erzählte Welt. Zeitgenössische indigene australische Kunst[*]

Berlin, Tübingen: Wasmuth & Zohlen 2022. 496 S. ISBN: 978-3-8030-4038-1. EUR 64,–.

Aufschrei und Appell in einem ist dieses einzigartige Werk: Ein Übersehen wäre Frevel am Diskurs in der Debatte um die Darstellung der außereuropäischen Kunst. Selten las sich ein Werk zu kunstgeschichtlicher Thematik so eindringlich aufklärend, tiefsinnig-hinterfragend und faszinierend illustrativ wie das im Wasmuth & Zohlen Verlag erschienene Buch von Elisabeth Bähr und Lindsay Frost. Nicht allein der voluminöse Umfang des Gemeinschaftswerks zweier renommierter Experten zur zeitgenössischen indigenen Kunst Australiens beeindruckt. Auf unfassbar informativen 494 Seiten findet sich nun der aktuelle Stand der Forschung zur Thematik allumfassend dokumentiert – und, das lässt sich für den deutschsprachigen Raum uneingeschränkt behaupten: Endlich existiert ein längst überfälliges Werk über die zeitgenössische indigene Kunst Australiens auf Deutsch. Buchstäblich vor den Augen des Betrachters entfaltet sich bei der Lektüre und Betrachtung des Bandes die auf Papier, Leinwand und Naturmaterialien gebannte Welt eines Australiens, das sich – losgelöst von den konventionell einengenden Zeit- und Begriffs-Konstellationen der europäischen Welt – vielschichtig in der Artikulation seiner Kunst manifestiert hat. Zeitlos und nach westlicher Diktion einer mannigfaltig kreativen Schöpfungswelt entsprungen wie zugleich auch der Symbiose von außen kommender Einflüsse gegenüber tolerant, spiegelt sich in der indigenen Kunst Australiens das Weltbild eines hinsichtlich der Größe und ethnischen Vielfalt seiner Bewohner verkannten Erdteils: Es ist das farbenprächtige Kaleidoskop der australischen Hemisphäre – analysiert und abgebildet in der derzeit umfassendsten und wohl so schnell nicht wiederholten Darstellung.

Der wahrlich schwergewichtige Band „Erzählte Welt. Zeitgenössische indigene australische Kunst" nimmt wissende wie auch bisher wenig instruierte Leser und Betrachter an die Hand, um in eine hierzulande wenig beachtete Materie analytisch einzuführen, diese farbenprächtig zu illustrieren und annähernd greifbar darzulegen. Selten lagen Optik und Haptik in der Vermittlung einer Aussage so nah beieinander: Die zeitgenössische Kunst Australiens erfühlen zu können, ist zweifelsohne eines der Anliegen von Elisabeth Bähr und Lindsay Frost, um zur Reflektion über diese Thematik anzuregen. Es fällt nicht schwer, der Magie dieses Vorhabens zu verfallen. Dabei hilft unzweifelhaft, dass beide Autoren über viele Jahre ihre sehr weitreichende Expertise und ebenso ihre eigenen Ressourcen

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[*] Die Besprechung ist bereits in der Herbst-Ausgabe des 'Art Aurea: Arts & Crafts Magazine', S. 44-53, erschienen und wird hier mit der freundlichen Erlaubnis der Rezensentin und der Redaktion der Zeitschrift veröffentlicht.

genutzt haben, um eine beachtliche private Sammlung zeitgenössischer australischer Kunst aufzubauen; diese hierzulande noch weitgehend unbekannte Privatsammlung, die vor allem – aber nicht ausschließlich – Werke aus den 1990er und 2000er Jahren umfasst, würde geeignet sein, das Thema bekannter zu machen. Das jetzt vorgelegte Kompendium zur Darstellung von zeitgenössischer indigener Kunst auf dem fünften Kontinent ist gleichwohl nicht allein Ergebnis der Sammelwut zweier ausgewiesener Experten zum Thema, sondern vornehmlich dem Anliegen geschuldet, eine eklatant bestehende Forschungslücke zu schließen. Gelungen ist dies in jeglicher Hinsicht.

Einige Stichworte summieren Struktur und Verlauf der Analyse: Nach der terminologischen Abgrenzung im ersten Kapitel umreißen die Autoren in sieben weiteren Kapiteln zentrale Themenbereiche der indigenen Kunst. Diese betonen Aspekte der Individualität und Gemeinschaft, weisen auf Quellen der Inspiration bei der Erschaffung genuin australischer Kunst hin und akzentuieren die Deutung und Sicht auf eine vielgestaltige „Erzählte Welt". Dabei lassen sich wichtige Erkenntnisse gewinnen über charakteristische Techniken und Materialien; eine kurze Geschichte der indigenen Kunst erläutert bisher unbekannte Zusammenhänge, und die resümierende Stellungnahme zur (In)akzeptanz indigener australischer Kunst in Deutschland wird in Bericht und Analyse kritisch hinterfragt.

Von der holistischen Weltsicht des indigenen Denkens ausgehend, findet sich „Jukurrpa" als Schlüsselbegriff im universalen Denken des indigenen Australiens: Es erweist sich als der alle Dinge, Lebewesen und die Kunst bestimmende Code, der das Denken über Land, Identität, die Transformation des Seins oder die Perzeption von Wahrheit sowie die Deutung von Zeit als faktisch nicht fassbares Phänomen und Ausdruck des nicht-linearen Begreifens in einem imaginären Archiv des Wissens abspeichert. Erst die Decodierung dieses Schlüsselbegriffs ermöglicht den Zugang zum Verständnis der zeitgenössischen Kunst Australiens. Das zu vermitteln versuchen Bähr und Frost in ihrer faszinierenden Auslegung. Wer bisher glaubte, dass der fünfte Kontinent wenig an originär zeitgenössischer Kunst zu bieten hätte, sei spätestens jetzt eines Besseren belehrt: Er wird anhand dieses großartig illustrierten Bandes zuvor jedoch realisieren, dass die Rezeption australischer indigener Kunst bisher in Deutschland überaus bescheiden ausfiel. Dass dieses ein Irrweg ist, versuchen die Autoren spätestens durch ihre grandiose Strategie auszugleichen, Anschauung und Lehre zu verbinden: Exemplarisch verdeutlichen diese Intention jene 147 Gemälde und Grafiken indigener Kunst aus der Sammlung Bähr/Frost, die in dem vorgelegten Band exklusiv abgebildet werden, sowie weitere 200 Abbildungen verschiedener Stilrichtungen einschließlich sogenannter „Urban Art". Da das Werk die Balance zwischen Demonstration und Analyse eindrucksvoll austariert, halten Lernwillige wie Experten nunmehr die in Bildern „Erzählte Welt" Australiens in Händen.

Das Buch besticht durch eine hervorragende Bibliografie, die den Stand der aktuellen Forschung zusammenfasst. Eine außerordentliche Bereicherung ist das fast 50-seitige Verzeichnis der wesentlichen Ausstellungen und Sammlungen der in der Sammlung vertretenen Künstler*innen, das die zeitgenössische indigene australische Kunst exemplarisch erschließt. Es ist nicht zuletzt dieses beeindruckende Verzeichnis und die Fülle von Informationen, die dieses Buch zu einer

Pflichtlektüre für Kunsthistoriker, Galeristen und interessierte Laien macht. Eine geografische Karte gibt Auskunft über die Verteilung der im Text erwähnten Ortschaften. Es fällt schwer, diesem glanzvollen Forschungsertrag ein Wort des Bedenkens an die Seite zu stellen: Vielleicht hätte man sich gewünscht, dass die Sammlung noch weitere Perioden der indigenen Kunstschaffung umfasst hätte. Es ist höchste Zeit, dass die Kunstszene hierzulande der zeitgenössischen indigenen Kunst Australiens überhaupt einmal Aufmerksamkeit zukommen lässt und ihren Stellenwert anerkennt.

The Editors

Managing Editors

Stefanie Affeldt (*Lead*) is a post-doctoral researcher at the Heidelberg Centre for Cultural Heritage, Universität Heidelberg, as well as a member of the GASt executive board, the Specialised Information Service Anglo-American Culture advisory board, and the Centre for Australian Studies team. With a BA in Sociology (Macquarie University), an MA in Cultural and Social History (University of Essex), and a Dr. rer. pol from the Universität Hamburg, her area of research is racism analysis focussing on the history of whiteness in Australia; her publications include 'Consuming Whiteness. Australian Racism and the 'White Sugar' Campaign' (Lit 2014), ''Buy White – Stay Fair'' (Oxford Handbook of Political Consumerism 2019), 'Conflicts in Racism' (Race & Class 2019), ''Racism' Down Under' (ASJ | ZfA 2019/20), and ''Kein Mensch setzt meinem Sammeleifer Schranken'' (Tor zur kolonialen Welt 2021). Her DFG-funded project 'Exception or Exemption?' analysed multiculturality and racist conflict in the Broome pearling industry. As a fellow at the Trierer Kolleg für Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Stefanie researched the German contribution to colonialization in Australia – the project remains ongoing.

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The Contributors

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Text contributions

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Jane Lydon is the Wesfarmers Chair of Australian History at the University of Western Australia. She is interested in the ways that popular and especially visual culture has shaped ideas and debates about race, identity and culture that persist today. Her work has contributed to decolonizing heritage and academic practice, with a strong impact on debates regarding colonialism and Australian legacies of imperialism and slavery. Her most recent books include 'Imperial Emotions: The Politics of Empathy across the British Empire' (Cambridge University Press 2020) which examines the role of the compassionate

emotions in creating relationships spanning the globe, and 'Anti-slavery and Australia: No Slavery in a Free Land?' (Routledge 2021), which explores the anti-slavery movement in imperial scope, arguing that colonization in Australasia facilitated emancipation in the Caribbean, even as abolition powerfully shaped the Settler Revolution.

Virginia Ruth Pullin is an Honorary Senior Fellow of the School of Culture and Communications, The University of Melbourne. She has curated two major exhibitions of Eugene von Guérard's work: 'Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed', the National Gallery of Victoria's major 2011 touring exhibition, as co-curator, and 'Eugene von Guérard: Artist-Traveller' at the Art Gallery of Ballarat in 2018. She is the author / co-author of three books: 'Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed' (lead author and commissioning editor), 'Eugene von Guérard: Artist-Traveller', and, with Thomas A. Darragh, 'Lieber Freund! The Letters of Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast'. Her research has been published widely in Australian and international journals and anthologies, including Yale University Press, the Terra Foundation for American Art and the Christoph Heilmann Stiftung am Lenbachhaus München. Recently published papers, with co-author Thomas A. Darragh, include an annotated translation of von Guérard's correspondence with the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria 135:1-2, 2023), and a study that aligns von Guérard's collecting of Aboriginal cultural material with sketching expeditions, his career as an artist and collector in colonial Melbourne (Australian Historical Studies, 54:4, 2023). Ruth has held research fellowships at the state libraries of New South Wales and Victoria, in 2009 and 2012. Research undertaken on Eugene von Guérard's engagements with, and depictions of, First Nations Australians, has been supported by an Art Association of Australia and New Zealand / Australian Institute of Art History grant. Ruth lives and works on Wurundjeri Country.

Susan Woodburn has worked for many years as an archivist and special collections librarian and pursued a range of interests, including in medieval, Pacific and book history, associated with the collections for which she has had curatorial responsibility. Her current interest in the visual representation of indigenous Australians by artists builds upon earlier studies in colonial Australian history and art, stimulated by the contested debates of post-colonialism in these fields.

Contents | *Jane Lydon* Charles Walter, German Networks, and First Nations Australians | *Susan Woodburn* Acknowledging Presence. Alexander Schramm's Representation of Aboriginal People in Colonial South Australia | *Virginia Ruth Pullin* Challenging the Paradigm. Eugen von Guérard in Colonial Victoria | *Wulf D. Hund, Stefanie Affeldt* 'A Peculiar Odor is Perceptible'. Ludwig Becker and the Portraying of Indigenous Australians Between Artistic Realism and Racial Labelling | Reviews