

Sven Mönter

Dr. Augustin Krämer

A German Ethnologist in the Pacific

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Hermann Joseph Hiery

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Preface

This book is about Augustin Krämer. Originally a German naval surgeon, Krämer became known as an expert and a prolific writer on indigenous traditions, history and legal rights in many South Pacific islands which had been colonized by Germany during the late 19th century. Born in Chile and educated at the universities of Tübingen, Berlin and Kiel in medicine and natural sciences, Krämer started his career on board SMS Bussard, a small German cruiser which toured the Pacific from 1893 to 1895 under the command of lieutenant Hugo Kinderling. Most of Krämer's time – twelve months – was spent in Samoa, where he learned the language and developed a keen interest in Samoan culture. Krämer's second journey to the Pacific islands (1897-99) took him to Hawai'i, the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, and Nauru. Once again, the major part of his time, another year, was spent entirely on Samoa. His main publication *Die Samoainseln* (2 vols., Stuttgart 1902-03) appeared at a time when Germany had just acquired the islands of Upolu and Savai'i as the colonial power in charge and, despite its very detailed description of Samoan traditions, met with immediate success among a wider German public. More and more Krämer became interested in ethnological and linguistic studies. On board SMS Planet he visited the Bismarck Archipelago in 1906. Later in the year and in 1907 he toured Western Micronesia. From the experience gained there, Krämer became the first to suggest that Palau should be correctly spelt and written Pelau, Angaur Ngeaur, and Yap Uap.

In 1908-09 he was the official leader of the German naval expedition to New Ireland and 1909-10 he presided over the so-called Hamburg-South Seas-expedition to the Caroline islands. Krämer noted indigenous stories and traditions at a time when European impact began to influence Pacific islanders' behaviour. He himself bemoaned that the knowledge of these [songs, traditions] is only left with a very few people on various islands so that I was obliged to make time-consuming boat-trips and expeditions to see these people. The indigenous knowledge Krämer collected was turned from oral into written history in Germany. Thus it survived the tragic consequences of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19. What the Samoans still remember as the great fa'ama'i destroyed not only a tremendous number of lives, but it left behind a cultural gap: many indigenous leaders took the family secrets to the grave, without having had the chance to initiate others into them. Thus, Krämer's works are nowadays the only means for many Pacific islanders to connect with the ways of their own past. This explains why Krämer's books hold prominence in many Pacific islands, in Samoa and Belau in particular and are presented in court to give evidence in matters regarding indigenous lands, lineages and titles.

A few words of caution have to be added. First of all, there is a consensus among researchers nowadays that many observations Krämer noted in New Ireland and Micronesia (not in Samoa) might have been made by his wife Elisabeth, a renowned anthropologist herself. Back in Germany, she argued vehemently that all of Palau

should be declared a nature reserve where fauna, flora and above all, the indigenous people, should be kept from contact with the outside world and Europeans in particular. Secondly there is much to suggest that both Krämers were not easy to get along with. The German Stationsleiter of Palau reported to his superior in Yap that both were unbearable and that they had treated their indigenous staff abominably. Thirdly, it should be mentioned that at the time there were quite a few voices who considered Krämer's statements as at least partly misjudged traditions. These claims came from people who had been in constant contact with Pacific islanders, missionaries and government officials. While jealousy might have played its part in criticizing Krämer, some judgments seem to have been substantiated. Erich Schultz, for instance, a severe critic of Krämer, had quite likely a more profound knowledge of Samoan customs and legal procedures than Krämer. Schultz was the European judge in the Land and Titles Commission and became Solf's successor as last German governor of Samoa. There is also an indigenous witness. Krämer's Palauan middleman and informant Aumong is said to have stated that he had given Dr Krämer all kinds of thinkable made-up information [because] he became scared of Dr Krämer's irascible temper and he went ahead responding just anything to please him. The fact that Europeans took for granted what they were told by "indigenous experts" probably happened in other regions as well and more often than we tend to believe.

Bayreuth, May 2021

Hermann J. Hiery

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ABSTRACT

This book examines the life of Dr. Augustin Friedrich Krämer (1865-1941), a key figure among early ethnologists of the Pacific. As a *Marinearzt* (Navy Surgeon) and naturalist and later as an ethnologist, Krämer visited the region on a number of occasions. Between the mid-1890s and 1911, he participated and engaged in five different and far-reaching expeditions to the Pacific. In doing so Krämer developed a keen interest in the peoples and cultures of Oceania. That interest found its expression not only in numerous publications and artefact collections on the region, but also in a lifelong interest in *Völkerkunde* (Ethnology) in general. The latter eventually saw him become Scientific Director of the Linden Museum in Stuttgart in 1911 and later lecturer for *Völkerkunde* and founder of the *Ethnologisches Institut* (Ethnological Institute) at the University of Tübingen in 1931. As such, Krämer has to be described as a pioneer ethnologist.

However, whereas Krämer's work is still held in high regards among Pacific Islanders and scholars interested in Oceania alike, his life and presence in the Pacific has escaped any wider attention. This fate applies also to Krämer's contribution to development of *Völkerkunde* in Germany.

By focusing on his travels and research in the Pacific, this book aims to provide a deeper understanding of the genesis and value of what he has left behind. In doing so it will also reassess the German contribution to the ethnological knowledge of Oceania. It thus provides a case study of the contribution of one German ethnologist to the wider history of the discipline, examining the intersection between the scientific endeavour and the colonial reality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The year 2021 marks the 80th anniversary of Krämer's death, as well as 10 years from the final stages of submission to the finished publication. I would like to express my sincerest thanks to all those people who have contributed to the completion of this book in so many different ways. Special thanks thereby goes to Prof. Dr. Hermann Hiery for his encouragement and Frau Gabi Krampf for her technical support, as well as to my supervisors the late Dr. Hugh Laracy and Dr. Phyllis Herda, for their fine support and engagement, as well as their never ending encouragement. Special thanks also go to Dr. James Bade who, as adviser, has contributed much to the completion of the present work.

My ideas, as well as my determination to explore Krämer's life and work, have been shaped by interactions at conferences, as well as in conversations and discussions with many people. I have benefited greatly from conversations and correspondence with Dr. Cluny Macpherson (Massey University), Dr. Chris Ballard and Dr. Bronwen Douglas (both from the Australian National University [ANU]), Dr. Karen Nero (Canterbury University, former Director of the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies), Dr. Michael Goldsmith (Waikato University), Dr. Christine Dureau (University of Auckland), I'u Tuagalu (Auckland University of Technology), Prof. Friedrich Heller (Universität Potsdam), Dr. James Braund (University of Auckland), Dr. Sascha Nolden, Prof. Serge Tcherkésoff (former Director of the French Centre of Pacific Studies), Dieter Klein and Prof. Richard Moyle (University of Auckland).

I would also like to thank Dr. Volker Harms (Senior Lecturer and former Curator) who, as a successor of Krämer, provided much information on his predecessor. Special thanks also go to Dr. Eteuati Suilaefa Kilifoti (former Samoan High Commissioner to Australia) and Mr. Leota Ale (former Deputy Prime Minister of Samoa), for providing me with a Samoan perspective on Krämer's work and their early encouragement for the topic.

I am also most indebted to the archives and archivists who welcomed and assisted me in my research. Special thanks also go to the Museums, in particular the Linden Museum, as well as the Naturkundemuseum in Stuttgart, which both allowed me access to their archive and magazine.

Further recognition has to be paid to the librarians from the Library of the University of Auckland and the Library at the Australian National University (ANU) for their assistance and support.

Finally, however, a big thank you and all my love goes to my family, my wife Judith and our children Chiara and Kuba, who have not only supported me in my endeavour but who have also helped to keep me sane. I could not have completed this book without you travelling beside me.

Sankt Augustin, 5 January 2021

Sven Mönter

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Andree#/media/File:%D0%A0%D0%B8%D1%85%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B4_%D0%90%D0%BD%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B5.jpg

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1

Introduction

The present work examines the life of Dr. Augustin Krämer, a key figure among the early ethnologists of the Pacific. As a *Marinearzt* (Navy Surgeon) and naturalist, Krämer visited the region on a number of occasions. Between the mid-1890s and 1911, he engaged in five different and far-reaching expeditions to the Pacific. In doing so he developed a keen interest in the peoples and cultures of Oceania. That interest found its expression not only in numerous publications and artefact collections from the region, but also in a personal and lifelong interest in *Völkerkunde* (Ethnology) in general. The latter eventually saw him become director of an ethnological museum and lecturer in *Völkerkunde* at a university in Germany. Through his work and research, he soon became recognised as an expert on Oceania. This perception would also contribute to his lasting legacy. Krämer's writings, in particular his works on Samoa and Palau, are still held in the highest regard among scholars interested in these regions, as well as by the Pacific Islanders themselves.

This work is born out of a paradox. Whereas Krämer's work still receives much attention among scholars of the Pacific and anthropologists, his life and fieldwork, as well as his contribution to the development of *Völkerkunde* and the ethnological knowledge of Oceania have largely been forgotten or overlooked by historians of anthropology and the Pacific. This gap is even more astonishing given the fact that Krämer is still remembered among Pacific Islanders, in particular by Samoans and Palauans.

The commemoration of Krämer expresses itself in many different facets. Some Palauans can still recall the items and artefacts which were given to him during his visits.¹ Others have adopted Krämer's work as an essential part of their own history and culture, particularly in Samoa. Here Krämer's work is regarded, as the Samoan Deputy Prime Minister, Misa Telefoni Retzlaff, argues, 'as the single, greatest contribution to any in-depth study of all things Samoan'.² As such, Krämer's work is

1 In a personal conversation with Dr. Ingrid Heermann, curator at the Linden Museum, in November 2007 she recalled that on a visit from some Palauans to the Museum a few years back, they were able to recall certain artefacts that had been given to Krämer on one of his visits. A similar incident was also reported by Dr. Volker Harms, Senior lecturer and former curator at the *Ethnologischen Institut* at the University of Tübingen and curator of the ethnological collection.

2 See Misa Telefoni Retzlaff 'An Enduring Legacy – The German Influence in Samoan Culture and History', Paper presented at the Conference *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee*, Berlin, September 2007, p. 6. Retzlaff's perception of Krämer's work is also shared by many other Samoans. I am most grateful to His Excellency Dr. Leiatua Kilifoti S. Eteuati, Samoan High Commissioner in Australia, for providing me with his view on Krämer's work and its relation to present day Samoa, during a personal conversation in Canberra in January 2006.

frequently used in the proceedings of the Land and Titles Court, due to its detailed genealogical information.³

It is this lasting memory and the steady usage of his work on one side and the neglect of biographical information on the other, which inspires a more detailed investigation of Krämer's life. By focusing on his travels and research in the Pacific, the present book aims to provide a deeper understanding of the genesis and the value of what he has left behind. In doing so it will also reassess the German contribution to the ethnological knowledge of Oceania. Therefore the book provides a case study, focussing on the contribution of one pioneer German ethnologist to the wider history of the discipline, while examining the intersection between the scientific endeavour and the colonial reality.

Surrounding Historiography

Despite Krämer's legacy as an expert of Oceania and the continuous use of his work, as mentioned above, his life, fieldwork and contribution to *Völkerkunde* in Germany have long been neglected by historians. This is a fate he shares with many other early German naturalists and ethnologists active in the Pacific by the late nineteenth century. These include the geologist and naturalist Otto Finsch; the geographer Karl Sapper, who participated on an expedition in the Bismarck Archipelago, and the many members of the various expeditions of the *Deutsch Neuguinea Kompagnie* which explored and researched much of the New Guinea mainland 1900 and 1914.⁴

This neglect certainly has a number of reasons. The first, a very mundane, but nevertheless significant reason is the language barrier. The writings, notes and publications of early German ethnologists are, not surprisingly, mainly in the German language, thus putting them 'out of reach' for most English speaking scholars. This is also true of most other sources in regards to Germany's initial contact and later colonial encounter with the Pacific and its people. A detailed investigation of the work of early German ethnologists, thus, requires either a knowledge of the German language or the publication of translations of their works.⁵ However, in regards to the

- 3 Ibid. For more details of the organisation and history of the Land and Titles Court in Samoa, see Sharon W. Tiffany 'The Land and Titles Court and the Regulation of Customary Title Succession and Removals in Western Samoa', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 83, No. 1, (1974), pp. 35-57.
- 4 For an overview of German ethnological expeditions in the Pacific, see Markus Schindlbeck's article 'Deutsche wissenschaftliche Expeditionen und Forschungen in der Südsee bis 1914', in Hermann J. Hiery ed. *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914: Ein Handbuch*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2001, pp. 132-155.
- 5 Given this limitation it seems not surprising that most scholars investigating the history of German colonialism and ethnological work in the Pacific are either of German heritage, like Peter Sack, Hermann Hiery, Philipp Schorch and Rainer Buschmann, or have a good understanding of the German language, like Peter Hempenstall, Andrew Zimmerman, Glenn Penny and George Steinmetz.

latter, it seems that there is still much work to do. This is true with regard to Krämer's work. His research on Samoa was published in English as recently as 1994, and his work on Palau is only presently being translated for publication in English.⁶

A second reason for the neglect of early German naturalists and ethnologists and their work is the fact that the history of German colonialism in the Pacific itself has received little attention among Pacific historians who have, for the most part, focussed on Britain and France's colonial exploits in the region. It was not until the late 1970s that historians, such as Peter Hempenstall, Stewart Firth, John Moses and Peter Sack, began to investigate the history and the impact of German colonial rule and consequently the history of German administration in the Pacific.⁷ Certainly, the above mentioned language barrier contributed to this lack. However, another explanation for this late interest among Pacific historians in the history of German colonialism is to be found in its short duration, as it lasted just a little over three decades, from 1884 to the First World War. Germany's early loss of its colonies, as George Steinmetz argues, contributed to the fact that "the decolonisation movements of the twentieth century (have) tended to ignore Germany".⁸

This neglect is further reflected in the available biographies of Germans active in the Pacific. Although there is now a number of biographies of German traders, administrators and *Sonderlinge* ('odd persons') available,⁹ there is yet no detailed

- 6 See Augustin Krämer *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*; translated by Theodor Verhaaren, Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994-1995. In regards to his work on Palau, which is still regarded as one of the most detailed descriptions of Palauan culture and history, it was decided a few years ago to conduct a translation as a joint undertaking between the Macmillan Brown Centre in New Zealand, the Belau National Museum in Palau and Hermann Hiery from the University of Bayreuth in Germany. This translation is still ongoing. I am indebted to Dr. Karen Nero and Dr. Hermann Hiery for this information. The translation was digitally released on 1st July 2014.
- 7 See Peter Hempenstall *Pacific Islanders Under German Rule*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1978; Stewart Firth's essay 'German Firms in the Pacific Islands, 1857-1914', in John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy, eds. *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870-1914*, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1977, pp. 3-25; his article 'Captain Hensheim: Pacific Venturer, Merchant Prince', in Deryck Scarr ed. *More Pacific Islands Portraits*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1978, pp. 115-130; as well as his book *New Guinea under the Germans*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1982. Further see John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy, eds. *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870-1914* and the work of Peter Sack, who, together with Dymphna Clark, edited and translated a number of German colonial documents and memoirs, such as Albert Hahl's Governor in New Guinea, Canberra, 1980 and Eduard Hensheim *South Sea Merchant*, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1983.
- 8 George Steinmetz 'Decolonizing German Theory: An Introduction', in *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2006), p. 3.
- 9 As example, see Stewart Firth 'Captain Hensheim: Pacific Venturer, Merchant Prince', pp. 115-130; Peter Hempenstall and Paula Tanaka Mochida's biography on Dr. Wilhelm Solf, Germany's governor to Samoa, *The Lost Man; Wilhelm Solf in German History*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2005; and Sven Mönter's biography of 'drop out' August Engelhardt, *Following A South Seas Dream: August Engelhardt and the Sonnenorden*, Germanica Pacific Studies No. 2, The University of Auckland, 2008.

biography of any German naturalist or ethnologist working in the Pacific, at least not in the English language.¹⁰

A third reason contributing to the neglect of early German ethnologists and their work on the Pacific is based on the fact that after World War I German anthropology embarked on a so-called *Sonderweg* ('special path'). This *Sonderweg* theory refers to German ethnologists/anthropologists becoming closely associated and finally inseparably interwoven with the National Socialist ideas and their ideology of race and of race hygiene.¹¹ Their expertise was thereby instrumental in providing putatively legitimate 'scientific' grounds for the selection and elimination of Jews, Sinti and Roma and other *Fremdvölkische* ('people of foreign races').¹² Ultimately, it is the historical investigation of this close relationship, as the German ethnologist Hans Fischer contends, which has overshadowed other aspects of the earlier history of *Völkerkunde* in Germany and the Pacific.¹³

Given these limiting factors it is hardly surprising that early German ethnologists in the Pacific and their work have so far received little or no attention from

10 For biographies of early German or German speaking ethnologists active in the Pacific, see for example Marion Melk-Koch *Auf der Suche nach der menschlichen Gesellschaft: Richard Thurnwald*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag Berlin, 1989 and Andrea E. Schmidt *Paul Wirz: Ein Wanderer auf der Suche nach der "wahren Natur"*, Baseler Beiträge zur Ethnologie, Basel, 1998.

11 For the close relationship between German ethnology/anthropology and the National Socialist Regime, see Hans Fischer's study *Völkerkunde im Nationalsozialismus, Aspekte der Anpassung, Affinität und Behauptung einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin*. (Hamburger Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Bd. 7, Hamburg, 1990; Gretchen E. Schafft *From Racism to Genocide; Anthropology in the Third Reich*, University of Illinois Press, 2004; André Pichot *The Pure Society; from Darwin to Hitler*, London, 2009; and Hans-Walter Schmuhl *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics, 1927-1945*, Göttingen, 2003. See also Matti Bunzl and Glenn Penny 'Introduction: Rethinking German Anthropology, Colonialism, and Race' in M. Bunzl and G. Penny ed. *Worldly Provincialism*, pp. 1-31 and the article 'Anthropology at War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I', by Andrew D. Evans in the same publication. Furthermore see Robert Proctor's article 'From Anthropologie to Rassenkunde in the German Anthropological Tradition', in George W. Stocking, Jr. ed. *Bones, Bodies, Behaviour, Essays on Biological Anthropology, History of Anthropology*, Volume 5, Madison, 1988, pp. 138-179; Benoit Massin's article 'From Virchow to Fischer: Physical anthropology and "Modern Race Theories" in Wilhelmine Germany', in George W. Stocking, Jr. ed. *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic, Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, History of Anthropology, Vol. 8, Madison, 1996, pp. 79-154; Weindling, Paul *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989; and James Braund 'The German Anthropological Interest in New Zealand circa 1900 and its Subsequent Connection with the German Race Hygiene Movement', Paper held at the XVth Biennial Conference in Melbourne, 11-15 July 2005.

12 See, in particular, Hans-Walter Schmuhl's investigation on the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, in which he demonstrates how the institute provided the Nazi regime with a 'scientific basis' for the elimination of all threats to the Aryan race. Furthermore see Gretchen E. Schafft's study on the close relationship between German anthropologists and the Genocide.

13 See Fischer's introduction in his book *Völkerkunde im Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 1-24.

historians. However, this began to change in the late 1970s and early 1980s with a growing interest among anthropologists in the history of their discipline and in particular its relationship with colonialism. This interest “ultimately led to the establishment of the history of anthropology as a recognizable subfield”.¹⁴ Eventually it was this development which, in recent years, has contributed to an increasing body of investigations into the history of German *Völkerkunde* and its manifestation in ethnological museums, as well as in regards to the work of early German ethnologists in the Pacific, their collection and fieldwork practices and their contribution to the development of *Völkerkunde*.

At this point special mention has to be made to the works of historians who have focussed on the establishment and collecting practices of German ethnological museums. Glenn Penny’s study on the emergence and development of ethnological museums in late nineteenth century Germany for example, has contributed greatly to a more detailed understanding of the history of the discipline. In his work Penny discusses and analyses the different motivations among ethnologists and the influence of the socio-cultural situation in Germany at the time, which contributed to the emergence of ethnological museums and collections across Germany.¹⁵ The work of historians and ethnologists, like Rainer Buschmann and Volker Harms, has focused on the underlying collecting practices of German ethnologists, traders and colonial administrator. Their work has not only helped to explain Germany’s fascination with Oceanic art and artefacts at the turn of the century, but also demonstrates the close connection between ethnology and colonialism. In doing so they demonstrate that this relationship was characterized by a mutual interest, with the colonial administration facilitating ethnological research in expectation for useful information.¹⁶

14 For quote, see Bunzl and Penny ‘Introduction: Rethinking German Anthropology, Colonialism, and Race’, p. 3. In regards to the growing interest among ethnologists in the history their discipline one has to mention, on American side, the *History of Anthropology* series edited by George Stocking since 1983 and the book *Die deutsche Völkerkunde und ihr Verhältnis zum Kolonialismus*, Institut für Internationale Angelegenheiten der Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, 1983 by Manfred Gothsch and *Die Hamburg-Südsee Expedition: über Ethnographie und Kolonialismus*, Frankfurt am Main, 1981 by Hans Fischer.

15 See Glenn Penny’s book *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, and his article ‘Municipal Displays. Civic self-promotion and the development of German ethnographic museums, 1870-1914’, in *Social Anthropology*, No. 6 (1998), pp. 157-168. Further see the introduction and his article ‘Bastian’s Museum: On the Limits of Empiricism and the Transformation of German Ethnology’ in Penny and Bunzl eds. book *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, pp. 86-126. see also Philipp Schorch ‘Two Germanies: Ethnographic museums, (post) colonial exhibitions, and the ‘cold odyssey’ of Pacific objects between East and West’ in Carreau, L. Clark, A., Jelinek, A., Lilje, E. and Thomas, N. (Eds.) *Pacific Presences Volume 2: Oceanic Arts and European Museums* (pp. 171-185).

16 See the works of Rainer Buschmann, who also edited a special edition on ‘Oceanic Art and Wilhelmine Germany’ in *Pacific Arts*, The Journal of the Pacific Arts Association, Honolulu, No 21 & 22, July 2000 and, in regards to German secondary literature to the topic, see Volker Harms articles ‘Die ehemals private Südsee-Sammlung von Augustin Krämer in der Tübin-

This close relationship between ethnology and colonial administration is also a key aspect in the work of the historian Georg Steinmetz, who demonstrates that the work of early German ethnologists had an important implication on the way Pacific Islanders were perceived amongst Germans and, subsequently, influenced German colonial policy in the Pacific.¹⁷

Within this growing corpus of writing about aspects of German *Völkerkunde* and German ethnological work in the Pacific, Augustin Krämer has become a frequently mentioned reference, as well as an example himself. His function as the latter becomes evident in the work of the historian Harry Liebersohn, who compares Krämer's travels to Samoa to the earlier travel of the German-French naturalist Adelbert von Chamisso in order to demonstrate how Germany's colonial aspirations had not only changed the ideological and intellectual climate, but also the research focus of German travellers to the Pacific.¹⁸ A similar point is also raised by George Steinmetz, who uses Krämer's material on Samoa as a key point in his investigation on the influence of German ethnological work on German colonial policy in Samoa, arguing that this material was subsequently used by German colonial administrators to strengthen their control by governing 'Samoa within a revised and codified version of their own culture'.¹⁹

Krämer's work on Samoa has also been an important aspect in the work of the American anthropologist Paul Shankman, who, in discussing the history of ethnological research on Samoa, highlights the importance and value of Krämer's contribution to the ethnological knowledge of Samoa. In doing so he stresses the credibility

ger Universität', in Dorothea Deterts, ed., *Auf Spurensuche; Forschungsberichte aus und um Ozeanien zum 65. Geburtstag von Dieter Hintze*, Überseemuseum Bremen, 2004, "'Südseebilder": zur Ethnographieggeschichte einer Fotosammlung aus den Jahren 1890-1910', in *Tribus*, v. 40, 1991, pp. 161-177 and his edited exhibition catalogue "*Südseebilder*"; *Materialien zu einer Ausstellung*,

Völkerkundliches Institute Tübingen, Tübingen, 1992. For further investigations on collecting practices see Andrew Zimmerman's article 'Selin, Pore, and Emil Stephan in the Bismarck Archipelago: A "Fresh and Joyful Tale" of the origins of Fieldwork', in the same publication, pp. 69-84.

- 17 See the works George Steinmetz, in particular his article 'The uncontrollable afterlives of ethnography; Lessons from 'salvage colonialism' in the German overseas empire', in *Ethnography*, (2004), Vol. 5 (3), pp. 251-288 and his book *The Devil's Handwriting: precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdon, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007. Further see Evelyn Wareham's book *Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonialism in German Samoa*, Peter Lange Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2002 and Andrew Zimmerman's book *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001. see also Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's global Histories: the ethnographic frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935*, University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- 18 See Harry Liebersohn's article 'Coming of Age in the Pacific: German Ethnography from Chamisso to Krämer', in H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism*, pp. 31-46.
- 19 See works by George Steinmetz. For quote see his book *The Devil's Handwriting*, p. 319.

of Krämer's work even if it was done before the rise of more academic inspired ethnological research in Samoa.²⁰

In his 1989 submitted *Magister Arbeit* (Master Thesis) Dietrich Schleip uses Krämer's life and work as an example to illustrate the close relationship between German ethnological work and colonial reality.²¹ His work is the only detailed biography of Augustin Krämer to date, a point which is reflected by the fact that it has been referred to by most authors in regards to their information on Krämer.²² In his work, however, Schleip's MA thesis made only use of a limited amount of Krämer materials.

Focusing, as this book attempts to do, in depth on Krämer's life, his fieldwork experiences in the Pacific and the history behind his work, Schleip's work, as well as the other above mentioned historical works all have some important significance for this book. They not only provide context and biographical information in regards to Krämer's life and work, but also provide valuable information in regards to an investigation of his lasting legacy as an ethnological expert on Oceania.

The German Colonial Empire in the Pacific

Krämer's expeditions to the Pacific, as well as the support for his research, were facilitated and influenced by the growing colonial interest Germany had in the Pacific, as well as by an increased interest in *Völkerkunde* which began to develop in the late nineteenth century. Whereas the latter found its expression in the growing number of ethnological museums and collections in Germany at the turn of the century, the former became apparent in Germany's growing *Südsee-Kolonien* (Colonial Empire in the South Seas). Thus, German colonialism and ethnological research in the Pacific were intimately linked from the beginning.

The German colonies in the Pacific included parts of Melanesia, namely Kaiser Wilhelmland in New Guinea; the Bismarck Archipelago; and the islands of Buka and Bougainville in the Solomon Islands, all of which became a German protectorate in November 1884. Alongside these areas the German colonial empire included parts of Micronesia, namely Nauru, the Marianas Islands, Palau, and the Caroline and Marshall Islands, which were mostly acquired by the German Empire from Spain

20 See Paul Shankman's article 'Virginity and Veracity: Rereading Historical Sources in the Mead-Freeman Controversy', in *Ethnohistory*, 53, 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 479-492.

21 See Dietrich Schleip's MA Thesis 'Ozeanische Ethnographie und Koloniale Praxis, Das Beispiel Augustin Krämer', Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1989. He subsequently published his main findings in an article entitled 'Ozeanische Ethnographie und koloniale Praxis: das Beispiel Augustin Krämer', in *Tribus*, v. 38, 1989, pp. 121-148.

22 See for example Steinmetz, Harms and Liebersohn who all refer to the work of Schleip in their works. In turn, as Shankman's reference to Liebersohn's article on p. 487 reveals, they themselves have been referred to as sources on Krämer's life.

in 1898. The Polynesian islands of Savai'i and Upolu in Samoa also became a part of this Empire on 1 March 1900, when they were declared a German protectorate.²³

Germany's colonial expansion in the Pacific went hand in hand with a growing interest among German naturalists and scientists in the area. This interest was initiated by the colonial reality, which allowed natural scientific and ethnological research to be carried out in these far flung posts of the Empire. Research of this nature was seen as an important contribution to promoting and helping Germany's economic and political expansion in the region. Thus it is not surprising that German firms active in the Pacific, such as Godeffroy & Son (which later was succeeded by the *Deutsche Handels- und Plantagenesellschaft* or D.H.P.G.) and the *Deutsch Neuguinea-Kompanie* (German New Guinea Company), as well as later the Navy and even the German colonial administration supported and encouraged natural scientific and ethnological research in the colonies, as it promised advantageous for their enterprise.²⁴

This context is important to understand the background of Krämer's development as an ethnologist, as he first came to the Pacific in his function as Navy surgeon. It was during this deployment that Krämer began to engage in natural scientific research, which was eventually replaced by his interest in ethnology. Stressing the importance of his research for Germany's colonial endeavour in the South Seas, as this work will illustrate, Krämer received much support from the Navy and the colonial administration for his work and publications.

Early ethnologists, the development of *Völkerkunde* in Germany

When Krämer set out for the Pacific in the late 1890s, the history of *Völkerkunde* (ethnology) in Germany was in the process of undergoing fundamental transformations. It was only in the decades prior, that ethnological societies and museums in Germany had begun to evolve. Prominent examples were the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory), which was established in 1870, as well as the *Völkerkunde* museums in Berlin and Munich, which had opened in 1868.²⁵ These socie-

23 For a detailed history on Germany's colonial expansion in the Pacific, see Achim Schyboll and Michael Trimborn's article 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien in der Südsee' in Volker Harms, Volker ed. "*Südseebilder*"; *Materialien zu einer Ausstellung*, Völkerkundliches Institute Tübingen, Tübingen, 1992, pp. 33-45; Charles Stephenson *Germany's Asia-Pacific Empire: Colonialism and Naval Policy 1885-1914*, Boydell Press, Rochester N.Y., 2009, pp. 1-12; Horst Gründer 'Die historischen und politischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Kolonialismus', in Hermann Hiery ed. *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914: Ein Handbuch*, pp. 27-57 and Paul Kennedy *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878-1900*, Irish University Press, Dublin, 1974.

24 For an overview of German ethnological and natural scientific expeditions in the Pacific and the influence of German firms, Navy and administration, see Schindlbeck, pp. 132-155.

25 In his article 'Geschichte der Ethnologie', in Hans Fischer and Bettina Beer, eds. *Ethnologie, Einführung und Überblick*, 3rd edition, 1992, pp. 36-37, Klaus E. Müller provides a list of eth-

ties and museums were an expression of a growing popular interest among Germans in far-off places and cultures. They had their origins in the increasing contact with indigenous people and the in-flow of ethnographical artefacts and reports in the mid nineteenth century, which were brought back by traders, merchants and travellers and later by colonial administrators and Navy personnel. Within this flow of artefacts and reports, it was in particular the people and cultures from the Pacific, which had a central influence on the development of *Völkerkunde* in Germany.

The term *Völkerkunde* (literally translated ‘science of people’ or Ethnology), as the ethnologist Hans Fischer explains, was set up as a conscious analogy to the term of *Erdkunde* (Geography), aiming to include a people or peoples into the focus of enquiry.²⁶ The term, as he points out ‘was probably first coined in 1770 at the University of Göttingen’, which lay at the crossroads between the ideas of the French Enlightenment and the British ideas of Empiricism and Scepticism.²⁷ Eventually these ideas had an important influence on the formation of the German Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, which was characterised by ‘its belief in the integration of all knowledge and its preoccupation with the universal history of humankind’.²⁸ The ‘new world of the Pacific’ thereby became the fertile testing ground for these ideas, and ultimately the ‘place of origin’ for German *Völkerkunde*.

This close relationship between the Pacific and the emergence of *Völkerkunde* in Germany is once more illustrated by Georg Forster (1754-1794) and the publication of his work *Reise um die Welt* in 1777, which is still ‘hailed as the German cradle of ethnographic writing’.²⁹ The work was based on Georg’s observations and experiences he had collected in the Pacific while accompanying his father, the naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster, on Captain James Cook’s second voyage around the world

nological societies and museums that sprang up in Germany, the USA and wider Europe. For more information on the development and history of *Völkerkunde* in Germany and Europe, see ‘Introduction’ by Penny and Bunzl, pp. 10-16; Fischer *Die Hamburg-Südsee Expedition: über Ethnographie und Kolonialismus*, pp. 10-12; as well as Josef Franz Thiel *Grundbegriffe der Ethnologie*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 5th edition, 1992, pp. 17-43. For a more detailed history on the development of German ethnological museums, see Penny’s book *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, and his article ‘Municipal Displays. Civic self-promotion and the development of German ethnographic museums, 1870-1914’, pp. 157-168.

26 See Hans Fischer ‘Was ist Ethnologie?’, in Hans Fischer and Bettina Beer, eds. *Ethnologie, Einführung und Überblick*, pp. 6-8.

27 Ibid, p. 6. For a further discussion on the development and origins of *Völkerkunde* in Germany see also Fischer’s book *Die Hamburg-Südsee Expedition*, pp. 8-10. See also Gascoigne, pp. 144-145.

28 Gascoigne, p. 171.

29 For quote, see Miriam Kahn and Sabine Wilke, ‘Narrating Colonial Encounters: Germany in the Pacific Islands’, in *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 42, Issue 3 (December 2007), p. 294. For a discussion of Georg Forster’s impact on the development of the German Enlightenment, see Gascoigne’s article. For a recent edition/translation, see Georg Forster *A Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, with Jennifer Newell, Honolulu, 2000. For a reprint of the German original, see Georg Forster *Reise um die Welt*, Frankfurt a. M., 1983.

(1771-1775).³⁰ Georg's work and his later teachings at the universities of Göttingen and Mainz, which placed special focus on the close connection between the natural history of a particular location and its manifestation in human culture, thereby provided an important framework for subsequent naturalists and the further development of ethnology in Germany.³¹

This influence of Forster's work becomes most apparent in regards to the work of the great German naturalist and traveller Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), who himself became a leading influence on German naturalist and travellers. Humboldt, who met Forster while studying in Göttingen, not only shared Forster's views, but also incorporated his ethnological accounts of the South Seas in his monumental work *Kosmos*. This work, as the historian John Gascoigne argues, 'in some ways carried into the nineteenth century some of the approaches and concerns of the German Enlightenment'.³²

It was this ideological background, which not only facilitated and influenced the development of *Völkerkunde* in Germany in the late nineteenth century, but which also helps to explain its close relationship with natural science and geography, at least in regards to academia. One reason for the close attachment was certainly the fact, as illustrated in regards to Forster and Humboldt, that it was geologists, geographers and naturalists, who were among the first persons to visit and explore the newly opened territories. With regard to the Pacific one has to mention the geologist and naturalist Otto Finsch (1839-1917), who was employed by the *Deutsch Neuguinea Kompagnie* (German New Guinea Company) to survey and explore the newly acquired protectorate.³³ The second reason, without doubt, was based on the accessibility of resources. By the mid-nineteenth century, geography was a well established discipline in German universities, with its own space allocations and resources.³⁴

30 For information on Georg Forster's experiences during his South Seas travels, Dieter Heintze 'Mit Georg Forster in der Südsee', in *Ritual-Macht-Natur, Sonderband TenDenZen*, Überseemuseum Bremen, Bremen, pp. 35-56. For further information on G. Forster, see Steinmetz 'The uncontrollable afterlives of ethnography; Lessons from 'salvage colonialism' in the German overseas empire', p. 256; Gascoigne, pp. 145-171, Dieter Heintze 'Georg Forster (1754-1794)', in Wolfgang Marschall ed. *Klassiker der Kulturanthropologie*, München, 1990, pp. 69-87 and Nicholas Thomas, and Oliver Berghof 'Preface' in Georg Forster *A Voyage Round the World*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

31 See Gascoigne, p. 170 and Heintze 'Georg Forster (1754-1794)', pp. 82-87.

32 See Gascoigne, pp. 169-171. Further see Buschman 'Oceanic Carvings and Germanic Cravings: German Ethnographic Frontiers and Imperial Visions in the Pacific, 1870-1914', in *Journal of Pacific History*, p. 303. Alexander von Humboldt's work *Kosmos*, which he published between 1845 and 1862, consisted of five volumes.

33 For information on Otto Finsch and other German natural scientists who explored and surveyed Germany's South Sea territories in the mid nineteenth century, see Markus Schindlbeck, pp. 132-155. For more information on Finsch and in particular his ornithological work, see also Oliver Harrison 'The Paradise of the Southern Hemisphere'. *German and Austrian Visitors to New Zealand 1876-1889*, Germanica Pacific Studies No. 3, The University of Auckland, 2008, pp. 62-89.

34 Fischer 'Was ist Ethnologie?', pp. 6-7. See also 'Introduction' by Penny and Bunzl, pp. 10-16.

Indeed, this relationship is once more illustrated by Krämer's own career, as the *Ethnologisches Institut* (Ethnological Institute) which he founded in 1931, remained part of the Geography Department at the University of Tübingen for financial and organisational reasons.³⁵

The close connection of geography and ethnology was further entrenched by the fact that it was geographers and natural scientists who, alongside their collection of natural specimens, were keen collectors of ethnological artefacts. These artefacts, in turn, ended up as exhibits in museums and collections of Natural History.³⁶ A similar connection can again be seen in Krämer's own career, as he started out collecting natural specimens along with some ethnographic artefacts for the *Naturalien Cabinet* (the predecessor of the Natural History Museum) in Stuttgart. Some of these items later formed part of the original collection of the Linden Museum, an ethnological museum which opened its doors in 1911 with Krämer as the Museum's first *Wissenschaftlicher Director* (Scientific Director).

It was this kind of collection and exhibition of ethnographical artifacts which not only led to the foundation of ethnological museums, but also characterized the development of *Völkerkunde* at the end of nineteenth century. The focus on ethnographical artifacts was influenced by Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), Germany's leading ethnologist and the founder and director of the ethnological museum in Berlin. Bastian, who himself had been influenced by Humboldt and Forster, saw material artifacts as an important aspect 'to provide new answers about humanity' and to prove the unity of humankind.³⁷ However, at the same time as Germany's increasing economic, and later colonial contact with the Pacific and Africa contributed to an ever increasing flow of artifacts, this contact was identified for its destructive force, changing and even destroying indigenous cultures and societies.³⁸ Thus it was of primary importance to

35 See letter from the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty to the Minister of Culture from 9 November 1931, held at the archive of the University of Tübingen, Sig. 117C/505. For more information on the foundation of the Institute, see Chapter Seven.

36 A good example can be found in the German geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter, who visited New Zealand as part of the Austrian scientific expedition on board the *Novara* in the late 1850s. Apart from collecting geological and natural specimens, Hochstetter also collected ethnographical artefacts, which subsequently became exhibits in the Natural History Museum in Vienna. A few of these later ended up in Krämer's collection at the Hohenschloss Museum in Tübingen. They were given to him by Hochstetter's daughter, who was married to the ethnologist and director of the *Völkerkunde* Museum in Berlin, Felix von Luschan. For information on Luschan, see Appendix II. I am grateful to the participants of the Hochstetter Symposium, held in Auckland on 1-2 September 2008, in particular to Dr. Sascha Nolden, and Dr. Volker Harms, for providing me with this information.

37 For information on Bastian and his influence on the development of *Völkerkunde*, see Buschmann 'Oceanic Carvings and Germanic Cravings: German Ethnographic Frontiers and Imperial Visions in the Pacific, 1870-1914', pp. 302-307; Penny and Bunzl 'Introduction', pp. 12-13 and Penny *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, pp. 18-29.

38 This realisation, as the historian Buschmann argues, was already foreshadowed by Forster who highlighted the possible destruction the increasing contact of the civilised world would