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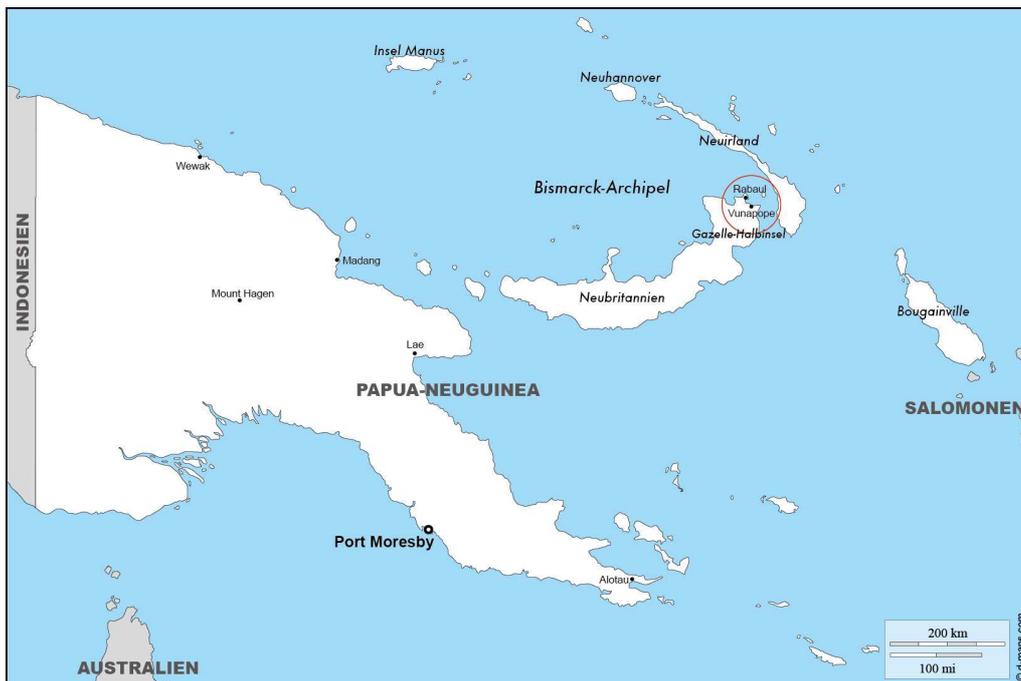
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Changing Frames *Identity and Citizenship of New Guineans of German Heritage during the Inter-war Years*



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Anmerkung der Redaktion:

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Her present research project, the ARC Future Fellowship Mixed-Race German Diasporas in Southern Hemisphere Mandates: race science, policies and identity transformation analyses overlapping colonial rule and legacies through the lens of a history of individuals and families of German multi-racial descent in New Guinea, Samoa and Namibia.

If you would like further information, or if your family was connected to the former German colonies and you would like to get in contact, please email: Christine.Winter@flinders.edu.au.

Das **Urheberrecht** des jeweiligen Textes liegt beim Autor.

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Introduction

IT IS AN EASY TRAP, WHEN ANALYSING THE PAST RACIALISATION OF INDIVIDUALS, to treat the categories of ‘race’ developed in the past as if they were stable entities and practices based on them as if they were coherent. That there is no logic or system in the framing of individuals according to ‘race’, and that the resulting entitlements or opportunities granted or denied are arbitrary and forever changing has to be said before embarking on the history of New Guineans of German heritage during the interwar years. Most of them born to New Guinean mothers and German fathers during the short period of German colonial rule of New Guinea, these children lived through dramatic political changes that impacted on their lives. Who they were, fellow citizens or enemy aliens, Germans, New Guineans, Europeans, natives, mixed-bloods or half-castes depended on the political circumstances and on who defined and framed their being and their rights.

Ode to Olga

Writing about colonialism and racial discourses and practices of the past, I started to appreciate anew the power of the use of 'I' that Greg Denning and Donna Merrick taught me about. It challenges the inherent power of past racial discourses to replicate in the present an objectification inflicted on others in the past. It allows me to step out of the action of gazing at others that these racial discourses create. The first person, the 'I', is for me a vital part of the moral space defined by Denning through the metaphor of 'the beach', where strangers met and their histories became forever intertwined.

My present research project, 'Legacies of the German Empire in Oceania', was born on a street in Seattle on the way to the fish markets. My colleague and friend Janice Wilson and I had a spare day to go sightseeing after presenting at a conference on 'Germans in the Pacific'. Janice had presented an installation video and accompanying exhibition on her own identity and heritage: '*Ich heiÙe Olga Hedwig Krause, Deutsche K¼nstlerin*', 'my name is Olga Hedwig Krause, German artist'. She had overlaid her own features with an image of her German great-grand father, arranged a number of blond girls' heads to bob up, and in between Olga, curly-haired and brown-skinned. Janice was drawing on her (at least) three identities, signified by three names that can be drawn upon depending on circumstances and relationships. Janice Wilson, the anglicised New Zealand resident, Leafa, a Samoan woman, and Olga Hedwig Krause, a German artist. The initial intent of the project was to probe and critique the essentialising of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand. She and I were both surprised, however, at the unexpected responses of some of the Germans in the audience. 'Why do you', she was asked, 'dichotomize your identity? Can you not synthesize it?' Leafa answered that if the questioner managed to change the world first, she would happily synthesize herself. My response was roaring laughter, which made me Janice's newfound friend. Two days later we were off to the fish market. Janice, always the performance artist, had put on a fourth

identity for the outing, tee shirt with slogans, necklace and hat forming a Pan-Pacific persona.

I went transnationally safe, in a mono-coloured top and jeans. By doing this, I unconsciously enacted a 'white' persona, invisible, able to blend in on the street without markers of otherness. It was a fantasy. Every gesture, my way of moving, looking around and smiling at passers-by, revealed that I was not from Seattle but a stranger.

A few streets from the markets we got lost, or rather we lost faith in our way. Janice approached a young Afro-American woman to ask for directions. A moment later she was engulfed in a big embrace. 'This is the first Pacific Islander', the young women exclaimed, 'who has ever spoken to me. Can I hug you?' Between hugging Leafa and crying she turned to me: 'and who are you?' There I stood, and suddenly all the training by Aboriginal mates paid off. Without a second's hesitation I answered: 'Me? I'm her cousin.' And then Olga and I continued down the street, and have been walking down a long road together ever since.

We both were active agents in our own framing, free to chose and change our identities as we saw fit within the circumstances and relationships we found ourselves in. In the circumstances we have been lucky to have had a great amount of freedom, and maybe one day we will run out of luck, and frames will be put around us, denying us access to opportunities, countries and people.

Who or what is German?

The poet, novelist and academic Albert Wendt rejects suggestions that his German descent—one of his great grandfathers was German—has any importance for his identity as Samoan, but incorporates his ancestor into a complex exploration of origins entitled “inside us the dead”:

Inside me the dead: a German.
my great grandfather, booted
sea-captain in a child's
book, in a schooner ploughing
the fables of Polynesia from
a cold Europe, his glass eye
focused on exploding stars, selling
exorbitant wares for copra
and women. Bearded with luxuriant
dreams of copra fortune
and the 'noble savage', but greying
with each fading horizon -
the next atoll holding only
'thieving natives and toothless
syphilitic women'. Too late
for a fortune, reaped a brood
of 'half-castes' and then fled
for the last atoll and a whisky death.
His crew tossed him to the sharks
and sent home only his blue glass
eye - crystal ball of Europe - which
my grandfather buried under
a palm, a fitting monument
to his father's copra lust.

References to Wendt's German heritage abound in literature about him, and reflect an obsession to define non-Europeans through references to (mixed) ancestry, irrespective of what the person in question regards him or herself to be. In contrast, the Samoan politician and writer Misa Telefoni Retzlaff takes a different approach to his heritage. In a speech to a German audience in Berlin he set out his lineage, explained that his uncle had died fighting in the German army during the Second World War, but that he was Samoan, not German, and as such could have claimed family lands in Eastern Europe, which by treaty is denied German nationals:

I am Misa Telefoni, Deputy Prime Minister of Samoa. I was born Hermann Theodor Retzlaff on 21 May 1952 in Apia. I try to keep these two alter-egos as separate as I can. I publish my novel 'love and money' as H.T. Retzlaff – but when I attend international fora it is always as Misa Telefoni Retzlaff, and Invitations in our name go out from Honourable Misa Telefoni and Mrs. Sarah Retzlaff.ⁱ

It is because of Leafa Janice Wilson, aka Olga Hedwig Krause, Albert Wendt and Misa Telefoni Retzlaff that I am hesitant, even reluctant to put a figure on the number of Pacific Islander-Germans during the inter-war years. A head count solidifies and masks contradictions and fluidity of identity. Instead I am working with a definition of Germanness borrowed from the definition of Aboriginality developed by the Council for Aboriginal Affairs under H.C. (Nugget) Coombs: 'An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent who identifies as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and is accepted as such by the community in which he (she) lives'.ⁱⁱ

This definition defies racial categories of a 'blood quantum' and combines descent, self-identification and community recognition into a three-part whole. In my quest to complicate Germanness I am replacing the connecting 'and' of the original definition with 'or'. I am not setting out to define identity, but to explore conflicting notions of identity. A Pacific Islander German in my study is

anybody who was of German descent or identified as German or was accepted—or accused—of being German by others, such as the German government at the time, or the Mandate Administration of Australia. It thus brings racialized notions of (true) Germanness imposed by the Third Reich into the analysis of Pacific-German identity not as a defining, limiting given, but as a contested reality of what it is or was to be German. Lora Wildenthal has shown the impact of German colonialism on the development of increasingly racialized notions of Germanness, exclusionary visions of the nation, and (white) women’s role in both. By analyzing Pacific Islander Germans I want to add another layer to a transnational history of the legacies of German colonialism.ⁱⁱⁱ

I am joining a wider enterprise of re-examining the Third Reich and its ideological and political application of racial theories. Roal Hilberg’s analysis of the actions of competing agencies in *The Destruction of the European Jews* is an early and enduring challenge to question National Socialist self-representations.^{iv} In the imagination of many today, however, the National Socialist regime is still understood as a pyramid with hierarchical structures of command from the Führer down, and many museums exhibit National Socialist-created charts, thus allowing the Nazis to continue their narrative and obscure a nuanced understanding of the regime and the impact it had.



Figure 1: Show poster of the Nuremberg Race Laws, 1935

Cited in Frida Miller, *Broken Threads: From Aryanization To Cultural Loss*, Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre, Online edition [<http://www.chgs.umn.edu/educational/brokenThreads/nuremberg.html>].

In the imagination of many, it is also clear-cut whom the National Socialists regarded as German or 'Aryan' and whom not. The chart explaining the first of the Nuremberg race-law of 1935,^v which sets out racial categories based on descent, can seduce viewers to assume that there was an all-encompassing logical system. Of course there was a 'logic'—and a reality of exclusion, persecution and murder—but the system was, like citizenship entitlements of Indigenous Australians,^{vi} littered with exceptions, exemptions, contradictions, and conflations of 'blood' and culture. Taking the chart unquestioned at face value hinders an understanding of how people were actually defined and how this racial and legal defining impacted on individuals' lives. The system worked with a myriad of ever-changing exemptions, based on such things as past war service, or the racial category into which one's spouse was defined. A convert to Judaism of non-Jewish descent married to a Jew could find him or herself racially categorised as Jewish, while special appeals were possible through which Jewish descent could be declared negligible due to proven Germanic character. The apocryphal saying ascribed to Hermann Goering, 'I decide who is a Jew', overstates the arbitrariness of racial ex- and inclusion, but nevertheless makes the point that changing politics, personal connections—and sometimes chance—were part of the deadly National Socialist racial categorizing of Jewishness during the Third Reich.^{vii}

Sinti and Romani people in contrast were placed in a different context from people of supposed 'Semitic origin'. An imagined shared ancient history created a strange bond of sorts with a much defamed and persecuted ethnic minority. Sinti and Romani people were, after initially being persecuted as 'a-socials', declared to be most likely part of the Indo-Germanic migration and, as long as they had not mixed with non-Aryan peoples during their long wanderings, were deemed possibly to be Aryan-related. In 1942 Himmler ordered a suspension of persecution of 'pure Gypsies' until their racial origin was scientifically clarified. As purity of origin could not be established through family trees, racial measurements and looks were the German scientists' tools in establishing who was worthy to live and who would be murdered. On the basis of photographs

the fate of individuals was sealed, and families torn apart, many killed, some surviving.^{viii}

Studies of the history of Afro-Germans during the Third Reich have been excavating a likewise complex picture of persecution, forced sterilisations, murder and survival. I only want to make the point here that there were contradictory emotional spaces given to Afro-Germans, connected to different imagined pasts and futures. The children of German mothers and members of French colonial troops in the southern Rhine region had vicious propaganda and denigration directed towards them; they were called '*Rheinlandbastarde*', bastards of the Rhine, and they were emotionally linked with Germany's defeat in 1918, a shame to be erased.^{ix} In contrast, real or imagined connections to Germany's former or future colonial empire could mobilize support and open opportunities. Hans-Jürgen Massaquoi, the son of a white German nurse and a Liberian father, grew up in Hamburg with his mother in a tightly-knit working-class environment. Massaquoi narrated his growing up black in Nazi Germany as a roller-coaster of unpredictable applications of laws and regulations and changing racial stereotyping. Being denied membership in the Hitler Youth marked him as an outsider but his boxing abilities—at a time when Leni Riefenstahl's portrait of the Olympic champion Jesse Owens was screened in cinemas—saw him at the centre of the admiration of his peers who equated black skin colour with innate sporting talent. As a non-Aryan, Hans-Jürgen was denied a higher education. He had to leave school and seek an apprenticeship. Entering the office of the all-powerful career counsellor who would decide his future, Hans-Jürgen expected humiliation and a refusal of any apprenticeship place: the man behind the door was an SS officer. Surprisingly the SS man offered the young black German an excellent apprenticeship with a first rate firm, because future German colonies in Africa would require skilled tradesmen. SS officer Vett turned to Massaquoi: 'you would be ideal for such an assignment'.^x

In re-narrating some of Massaquoi's positive experiences, my point is not to deny that for the whole of the Nazi period he lived in constant fear and danger. Rather I want to draw attention to these two events, encouragement for boxing and the allocation of a special apprenticeship position, because in both cases emotions of pro-Nazi Germans created support, not despite perceived racial difference but because of it. Especially, the linking of a person of colour with Germany's colonial past or future could generate surprising support within a wider framework of legal and practical persecution of people of non-Aryan heritage.^{xi}

The Pacific Islander diaspora in Germany

Hans-Jürgen Massaquoi's experiences mirror to some extent those of Else Klink, who was 19 years his senior, and had been living in Germany since 1913, when her father brought her from German New Guinea to Germany for her education.^{xii} Else was born on 23 October 1907 at Kabakada, in the then *Bismarckarchipel*, the oldest daughter of a German father, the colonial officer Hans August Lorenz Klink, and a New Guinean mother, Nawiamba Ambo. She was sent to an anthroposophic Steiner school, because it was assumed that her heritage made her unsuitable for science or mathematics, but predisposed for dance and rhythm. In 1926, Else devoted herself fully to studying dance and became a leading teacher of Eurythmie, anthroposophic dancing. In 1936 she and her colleague Monika von Miltitz managed to negotiate with the Reichskunstkammer, the organisation overseeing art in Germany, to reverse the prohibition of Eurythmie. Else Klink told her biographer, Wolfgang Veit:

It was an irony of fate that I with my un-Aryan looks, who really was the not-quite legitimate daughter of a German colonial officer and a Melanesian mother, had to defend the whole of the Eurythmie movement. The official reassured me emphatically that the race laws and regulations did not apply to me, even though it would

have been easy to categorize me as a coloured person, a bastard,
as life unworthy of living, as it was then called.^{xiii}

Like Hans-Jürgen, her experiences with Nazi racist propaganda and practice had created an expectation that she would be defined as not part of the German Volk and not worthy of courtesy or respect, and denied equal legal rights. Else's statement raises two important points: namely, the question of the legitimacy of her parents' relationship;^{xiv} and the racial definition of herself (and her siblings) by authorities.

Else's father, Hans Klink, certainly acknowledged paternity and made a special application to be allowed back into Australian administered New Guinea in order to be reunited with his family, referred to by Australian officials as 'four half-caste children'. Some Australian officials saw the Klink family situation as a 'special circumstance', and recommended – unsuccessfully – that he be allowed back.^{xv} Meanwhile Else Klink in Germany had been part of her German foster family and a tight-knit local Anthroposophic community which offered her, like Hans-Jürgen's extended support network, a context of belonging and the status of a local exception, a unique circumstance for the respective officials. Unlike the black children in the *Rheinland*, who were perceived as a group, there was only one black boy, called Hans-Jürgen, and one brown young women, called Else, in their respective local neighbourhoods.

Hans-Jürgen recalled that the non-local official he encountered for the apprenticeship posting had regarded his blackness as an asset for Germany. Else, by contrast, reports that the non-local official she encountered assured her, in a similar act of decision making on the spot, that in his opinion the race laws would not apply to her. In Else's account she infers that her case was not clear-cut and that her Melanesian heritage could have, or should have, placed her in the category of non-Aryan. These decisions had the effect of not bringing them to the attention of a wider bureaucracy charged with scrutinizing racial backgrounds and the implementation of race laws. Bryan Mark Riggs noticed

similar behaviour on the part of army officers dealing with soldiers of Jewish background. Their superiors, judging their character and conduct as laudable, sat on files, slowed down official procedures, and supported applications for racial re-classification. The army officers in Rigg's study did this not out of opposition to official race laws and practices, but out of an understanding that character was racially based and that their mixed-Jewish charges, by showing bravery, had proven a dominance of Aryan traits. The assessment of mixed-race descent was not as clear-cut as the Nuremberg laws of 1935 implied (Figure 1), but relied on additional moral and emotional judgments.

In addition to presenting herself as a middle-class educated woman, Else Klink used and enhanced the ambivalence of her biological heritage. In the context of German definitions of Aryan and non-Aryan, Else Klink and her biographer refer to her mother as Melanesian while the biographical piece by Else Klink's pupil Magdalene Siegloch, who studied dance under Klink during the Third Reich, described Klink as the daughter of a 'very young, graceful and dance-enthusiastic Polynesian'.^{xvi} Apart from racial stereotypes, which deny Melanesians grace and lightness, another reason for Siegloch's remark might be that passing as Polynesian was part of a strategy of self-representation and self-preservation by Else Klink during the Third Reich. Polynesian heritage, especially after April 1936, offered a certain degree of safety from falling under Nazi racial laws.

Since the beginning of the Third Reich, former officials of the German colonial service had been lobbying on behalf of 'half-white' children, especially from Samoa, who lived in Germany. Particularly active were the President of the *Reichskolonialbund* (German Colonial Society) (1930-1936), Dr Heinrich Schnee,^{xvii} and the last Governor of Samoa (1911-1913), Dr. Erich Schultz-Ewerth. Finally, in 1936 an official answer set out the decision by the relevant departments to postpone a racial classification of Polynesians for the time being, 'as the origin of the Polynesian race has scientifically not been clearly clarified'. Therefore the question whether racial laws would apply to

descendants of mixed marriages of German men with Samoan women, and also with Tongan women, who resided in Germany, would be decided on a case by case basis.^{xviii}

Polynesian-Germans in Germany were to some degree a privileged group. Their families had the means, the interest, and the connections to send them or take them to Germany. Laws and regulations introduced during the German colonial period in Samoa had created sharp divisions within the community of Samoans of German heritage by making some 'Europeans' and others 'Samoan'. The category of 'half-caste', 'mixed-blood', or 'half-German', had no official relevance. It was not possible to be 'either-or' or 'neither-nor', one had to be 'one or the other'. This does not mean that individuals did not subvert such classifications, or were not able to change their officially assigned identity depending on the specific benefits they needed at different times of their lives.^{xix} As part of a post-colonial Samoan community, freed from the colonially imposed boundaries, Misa Telefoni aka Hermann Theodor Retzlaff and Leafa Janice Wilson aka Olga Krause are asserting complex, parallel identities which are equally valid, claiming heritage in its messy, undivided wholeness. During German colonial rule, individuals of German-Samoan descent had to apply to be granted the status of 'European'. Anyone who fell short of the required blood quota, language skills, education, professional qualifications and even social networks, was categorised as a 'Samoan' and subjected to different regulations from those German-Samoans classified as 'Europeans'. In addition, it became extremely difficult to form a legitimate 'mixed marriage' after the introduction of new marriage regulations in 1912.^{xx} The suspension of the racial laws for German Polynesians residing in Germany was thus pitched towards individuals and their families who had previously been through a demanding selection process.^{xxi} The Nazi race laws added to an already complex web of citizenship laws, in which not only the legitimacy of the parent's marriage was essential, but also their place of birth and residency. On first glance, the suspension of the application of race laws for German-Polynesians potentially opened up recognition for all Pacific Islander Germans, but in fact its application was only

assured for those residing in Germany and did not necessarily include those of New Guinean descent, as the 1936 decision had been silent on the question of the racial classification of Melanesians.

It is hard to put a figure on the size of the German-Samoan, German-Tongan and German-New Guinean communities living in Germany during the Third Reich. Anecdotal and archival evidence suggests, however, that the German diaspora in Oceania had a transient presence in Germany. Its members were as keen as those of other German diasporas, for example in South Australia or Palestine, to send their children, especially the boys, to Germany for a limited period of higher school education and in some cases also university studies. The end of the German Empire in Oceania did not mean that personal and family connections were severed and the practice of sending children to Germany for schooling continued throughout the inter-war years.

A German traveller to pre-war Samoa, Dr Arthur Berger, provides some insight into the mindset of first generation German expatriates and their attitudes to identity and schooling. Berger narrates that he was drinking at the Apia Hotel when one long-term resident began to tell colourful and manly tales of past adventures in his life and his successful career as a plantation owner. He described his life as the only European in the area:

I felt at ease amongst the savages, lived like a native, but remained internally German. I often sang our songs from home, talked to myself in German, and the native I married learned my language to a large degree. Over the years children arrived, and I made them into little brown Germans. They are now in the home country going to school in order to learn something proper.^{xxii}

Some, like Else Klink or the older children of the Strehlow mission family, were caught in Germany by the outbreak of the First World War and remained there permanently, integrated into German society, while the younger Klink siblings

grew up in New Guinea and the youngest of the Strehlow siblings remained in Australia. During the Second World War, some of the Pacific diaspora in Germany, such as the German-Samoan Paul Hermann Retzlaff, shared the fate of so many German young men of his generation. He went to school in Berlin. In 1942 he underwent a special early matriculation examination at the age of 18 and joined the Wehrmacht, only to die for the German Reich on the battlefields of Eastern Europe.^{xxiii} It seems, however, that the German-New Guinean communities had a more limited presence in Germany than the Polynesian-Germans. This might be due to the fact that the Samoan and Tongan German communities were established for longer than the German New Guineans, dating back to the middle of the 19th century. In New Guinea, many German fathers were first generation arrivals, and fell under the deportation rules of the Mandate Administration.

Covering all eventualities: the Foreign Office's diplomacy of racial non-classification

The official decision not to make a decision confirmed the practice of the *Auswärtiges Amt* (Foreign Office) in citizenship determinations of people of German Pacific descent living outside Germany. In early 1936 the Foreign Office confirmed the German citizenship of a young man whose father was a German citizen and long-term resident of the Gilbert Islands, married to a local Islander woman. It also confirmed the German citizenship of a family of Tongan-German descent.^{xxiv} The Foreign Office consistently ruled that as long as no racial background was prevalent which was defined as non-Aryan, paternity determined citizenship.

From 1936, enquiries from people residing in Oceania about citizenship (by both people of German and of German-Islander descent) increased; and the timing of the ruling by German officials that at least Polynesian descent would be exempted from racial classification for the time being was no coincidence. After

the 1935 invasion of Abyssinia by Italy, the question of former German colonies was back on the agenda. The legitimacy or continuation of the Mandate System under which all former German colonies were administered since 1921 had been under a cloud since Japan left the League of Nations in 1933. After the Abyssinian take-over, the German Reich stepped up demands for a new 'Central-African Empire'-*Mittelafrika*- built around the nucleus of the former German colonies, but also including the Belgian Congo, most of French Equatorial Africa and British Nigeria, the port of Ada in the Gold Coast, Kenya and Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the ports of Dakar, Conakry and Freetown in Sierra Leone, Reunion Island, the Comoros, and Madagascar. These demands were in part to get the old colonies back, and partly to coerce Great Britain into concessions on the continent.^{xxv} The issue of a future German Empire in Oceania was more problematic, as on one hand Germany wanted to avoid alienating Japan, and on the other did not want to weaken its case against Britain by forfeiting any colonial claims. Germany thus decided to neither deny nor confirm colonial aspirations in the Pacific. This created an uncertainty in colonial networks interested in Oceania and local residents alike, who resolved that in the absence of any firm policy statements the wise thing was to be prepared for any eventuality. It was better to organise German citizenship and a German passport just in case colonial rule in Samoa or New Guinea would again change, and it was prudent of the German government to suspend a racial classification of German-Polynesians in case they were needed to legitimize German claims to Pacific possessions.^{xxvi}

It was during this period of uncertainty that the German consulate in Sydney sent a representative, Consul Dr Walter Hellenthal, to visit the Mandated Territory of New Guinea for a two-month period with the official purpose of gaining up-to-date first-hand knowledge of New Guinea in order to be able to answer enquiries.^{xxvii} Hellenthal, pro-Nazi and in a conflict with his superior, Consul General Dr Rudolf Asmis, wrote a somewhat exaggerated report on the pro-Third Reich mood amongst Germans in New Guinea, the failings of the Australian Administration, and the desire of local New Guineans to be back

under German rule.^{xxviii} Amongst several appendices to his report was a list of all Germans in the Mandated Territory who were not employed by Christian missions, the purpose of which, according to Hellenthal, was to update consular records held in Sydney. In the list Hellenthal named the male heads of families, noting if they were married and the number of children under 21 years of age. He also listed single men and women over the age of 21.

The concept of Germanness that Hellenthal applied is complicated by the fact that three models of Germanness are interwoven: German nationals, ethnic Germans, and Reich-citizens, who under the 1935 laws had to be of Aryan or related race and pro-Third Reich in attitude. Hellenthal seems to have listed those of the German community identifying as German, who were either Reich-citizens or German nationals, and made qualifying remarks if there was some doubt.^{xxix} About one man he wrote, for example, that he was probably stateless, another was described as a Jew from Thorn (an area outside post-Versailles German borders), and about a third man he remarked that he was Bohemian German. In the list were a number of German men married to Samoan, part-Samoan and New Guinean women, and nine individuals of mixed background over the age of 21, namely six German-Samoans and three German-New Guineans. The inclusion of Samoan-Germans as German nationals (and even Reich-citizens), was in keeping with Foreign Office practice and the German special ruling of early 1936. After careful analysis of Hellenthal's use of language in the list, I would argue that Hellenthal, despite having a rather low opinion of Melanesians,^{xxx} included people of mixed German-Melanesian descent in the same way as he did German-Polynesians.

There were, nonetheless, conspicuous absences from the list. None of the Klinks was listed, nor were some of the other New Guinea Germans, such as the Schneiders or Pflugs, though many of them were integrated in the German-European community and schooled at the European Lutheran school at Sattelberg or at the Catholic school at Rabaul. I first heard about them in interviews that I conducted with German Lutheran missionaries in the early

1990s. Talking through their lives, those few missionaries who were children of missionaries and spent their childhood in New Guinea recalled their schooling, the difficulty of being separated from their parents who worked at different mission stations, and the other children, their mates and substitute siblings, they grew up with at Sattelberg. When I saw some of the New Guinea Germans mentioned in government files and learned of their evacuation to Australia, or of their joining the Australian army, siding with the Japanese, surviving the war in New Guinea, or dying in the bombardments that rained down, I had an image of their childhood self, serious and playful, naughty and well behaved; Robby, not Robert. While some of their parents might not have been 'properly' married, their fathers acknowledged paternity and responsibility, and some, despite being forcibly deported from New Guinea, supported their daughters and sons financially (however limited it might have been), including their education.

Furthermore, some of these children of the German colonial era saw themselves, or at least represented themselves to Hellenthal, as German. Hellenthal attached to his report a letter by the spokesperson for local 'half-blood Germans' of the Rabaul area, but named neither the writer, Max Carl Schneider, nor others of the group in his list of Germans. Max Schneider's farewell letter thanked the parting German consul for his visit and wished him a safe trip home. He assured Hellenthal of his and his colleagues' loyalty and support and expressed the hope that German rule might return to New Guinea: 'Even if not much in life was given to us half-blood Germans, one treasure has remained: it is a "German-thinking" and "German-feeling" heart that we want to, and will, retain to the end'. Schneider finished with a 'cheer to the German fatherland and Heil to our Führer Adolf Hitler!'^{xxxix}

When it came to people of German-New Guinean descent, Hellenthal stuck to a narrow legal framework of Germanness as patrilineal descent within a legitimate marriage. The fact that he included two ethnic Germans, one of them Jewish, whose birthplaces fell outside post-Versailles German boundaries, however, points to another selection criterion: the children of both ethnic

Germans had married into successful German families of businessmen, plantation managers and miners. Class and their children's marriages to 'proper' Germans made these two men candidates for inclusion, while unwavering patriotism and a pro-National Socialist outlook was not enough for New Guinea Germans to qualify as Germans.

A shared history?

Past inclusions and exclusions have implications for the present. Not only did they create disadvantages for individuals and their descendants, but they also challenge me to re-examine and de-naturalise my own Germanness. The histories of German-Pacific Islanders and Germans, including me, are intertwined, but they are not automatically 'shared' histories. 'Shared' histories have to be forged, made and renegotiated continuously.

In 2006 I organised, together with Emily Turner-Graham, a colloquium on National Socialism in Oceania. I invited Janice Leafa Wilson to open the event with an exhibition and a performance installation. I contacted the German consulate in Sydney for funding. Frau Christiane Gruber not only approved funding for the German-Samoan artist Olga Hedwig Krause, but came to Brisbane to open the exhibition and the colloquium. Frau Gruber's generous and thoughtful speech validated Janice's heritage and I was elated. We had not only excavated, but also enacted a different Germany, inclusive, mindful of its history, and reaching out to our forgotten cousins. The forgetfulness, however, which enabled us two Germans to remember was at odds with Janice's story, whose family never forgot. In the final chapter of the volume *National Socialism in Oceania*, Janice Leafa Olga sets out her right to assert (and also blend) her heritages. She provocatively states that references to place are less significant to identity than are 'name and number':

Here I claim my 5.125% Germanness and do so without hesitation, for it is this part where Germany has extended her boundaries to encompass me.

Notions of the fixity of race are destabilised within this [my] work. Not for the purposes of attack or critique of colonial presence. Instead, the *Germanness* that was not afforded my Grandfather, Augustine Krause and my father, Charles Augustine Krause, is therefore being claimed in this work.^{xxxii}

In contrast, I have been privileged with an unchallenged heritage. I am Franconian. The gravestones of my ancestors scattered through the region are testimony to this, my birthright. Were anybody, however, to query my identity, I would be on shaky ground. The ancestors of my mother's side, through which dialect and local stories have come to me, are not locals, but from Southern Bavaria and from Pommerania. My father's side can trace their Franconian lineage back 17 generations to the 16th century. Before that, however, we find the family in what is today Poland and in Austria. My father himself was born outside Franconia and grew up a Berliner. 'A pig', he used to say, 'born in a cow's stable, is still a pig'. I have never been asked to account for my Franconianness. My declaration of heritage and belonging has so far always been accepted without further question. For the colonised peoples of Oceania and Australia, however, descent, heritage, and the mathematics of race have been an ever-present, ever-contested, influential reality as they navigated the minefields of disadvantage, privilege, opportunities and dispossession.

I recently mentioned my project to a colleague and Indigenous artist Gary Lee, who replied: 'my great-grand father was German, John Zumpfeldt'.^{xxxiii} Curious I embarked on an internet and archival search and found him, Johannes zum Felde, a northern German countryman of mine, who lived in Australia from the turn of the 20th century until World War I. He then moved via Fiji to the Dutch East Indies, where he had his British naturalisation taken off him during the War, and where he appears to have lived until his death in the 1950s.

Excitedly, I sent Gary an email about zum Felde and received a reply that stopped me in my tracks: 'Zumpfeldt (sic)'. Zum Felde might have been the name that his passport showed, a name I accepted as his real true (birth) self, but for Gary 'Zumpfeldt' was important. It was the birth name of his grandmother and granduncle and stood for a life-long pain over the loss of their father who had loved them and cared for them. It is the name the children carried when, after the (probably enforced) departure of their father, they were together with their mother removed from Broome and placed on an Aboriginal mission. It represents Gary's grandmother's assertion of Germanness and dignity in the face of a government machinery framing her as part of an Indigenous population that was to be managed, controlled and denied choices, opportunities and freedom.

The civilised European half-caste

Occupied in 1914 by Australia, New Guinea was turned into a Mandate of the League of Nations under Australian control in 1921. On 7 May 1921, German law ceased and Australian applied. However, it took the Australian government several years to put in place most of the replacement ordinances and regulations needed. The Mandate system was unprecedented, and Australia felt it could not simply apply the existing legal framework from its external territory of Papua to New Guinea without amendments. Instead it looked for guidance to the administration of Mandates, particularly in Africa by Britain and British Dominions, in order to avoid criticism from the League of Nations for violations of Mandate regulations.

In October 1921, the Australian Administrator, Evan Wisdom, brought to the attention of the mainland bureaucracy an oversight in Mandate Ordinances. They were 'silent' on the status of what he called 'civilized half-castes, i.e., the numerous progeny of planters and black plantation women'. He wrongly assumed that there had been no legal marriages between Germans and New

Guineans during the German colonial period, and that therefore all offspring of German fathers and indigenous mothers had been illegitimate and were classified according to the 'status' of their mother, namely as 'natives'. Consequently, he wrote, all half-castes of part-European origin born before May 1921 were legally still 'natives', while the status of those born after May 1921 was ambivalent. The definition of 'native' applied to half-castes 'who lived native-wise', but no exemption clause was in existence for the 'civilized half-caste' to allow for a reclassification as 'European'.^{xxxiv} Wisdom supported the introduction of such an exemption clause to cover all half-castes of part-European origin: 'I am quite willing for the half-caste who lives European-wise to have a European status as I consider that he [sic] should have some goal to reach for if he is to be classed as a native in all events there is no inducement to rise'.^{xxxv}

This life-style exemption, however, was available only to 'half-castes' and not to 'full-blood' New Guineans. Wisdom's proposal combined biological origin with social and cultural requirements as pre-requisites for classification as 'European'. His main interest, he stated, was to 'preserve half-castes from "going bush"'.^{xxxvi} He advocated mission-education, and even considered the use of some funds from expropriated estates of German men, to finance the education of their illegitimate children in order to produce 'civilised half-castes'.^{xxxvii} The mainland bureaucracy explained to Wisdom that the relevant Ordinance, modelled on the Papuan Native Regulation Ordinance 1908, already allowed for all that Wisdom wanted. The privilege of European status for half-castes could be granted or withdrawn at anytime, based on an assessment of perceived life-style. As under the German system, the colonial children were categorised either as 'native' or as 'European', but instead of a legal entitlement that was theirs for life, as under the German colonial system, it became a temporary reward, a means of controlling behaviour. In addition, Wisdom defined the children of German fathers not as 'part-German' but as 'part-European'. Curiously, their racialised New Guinea descent led to a de-nationalisation and an erasure of the specificity of their German heritage. At the

same time as Wisdom was proposing the Europeanization of children of part-German descent, he (unsuccessfully) lobbied for a total removal of all Germans from the Mandate, including missionaries. His classification of the 'civilised half-caste' as 'European' was a moral and social construct, a binary opposite to the category 'native', which avoided concepts of citizenship.

Wisdom's reluctance to engage with citizenship was due at least in part to difficulties attached to the new legal entity of a Mandate of the League of Nations. In New Guinea, no naturalisation was possible and in regard to acquiring citizenship through birth or marriage international law applied, which at times was difficult to interpret, contradictory and confusing. The Mandated Territory's Acting Crown Law Officer, attempting to determine the legal status of New Guinean women who had married Chinese men during the German colonial period, wrote in exasperation:

The whole question of nationality is perplexed, owing to the peculiar terms of the mandate. No-one can attain any nationality by virtue of birth in the Territory.

Owing to the lack of text-books and recent authorities dealing with this subject, I am unable to give a more definite opinion.^{xxxviii}

It was the Crown Law Officer's preliminary opinion that marriage conveyed the husband's citizenship on his wife and that all her children, even if she left her husband to live in the village and gave birth to children which were not his, inherited her (new) nationality. The Mandate Administration sought clarification from the Commonwealth Solicitor-General who responded that a native woman marrying an alien, that is anybody having a nationality other than British, acquired, according to section 18 of the Nationality Act 1920 of the Commonwealth, her husband's nationality. This, however, did not exempt any native of alien citizenship or her children from the Ordinances of the Territory relating to natives.^{xxxix}

Citizenship, in other words, was irrelevant when it came to classifying a 'native' and her 'half-caste' children. The framing of the German colonial children, even those of legitimate German-New Guinean marriages, thus remained in the hands of the local Administration which had the power to grant or deny rights and opportunities according to its own moral judgements.

Evacuated as Germans, returned as half-castes

This double identity prescribed for the children of German fathers and New Guinean mothers emerged as a double burden during the Pacific war and the immediate post-war period, when they became enemy aliens but remained under the half-caste legislation.

When Japan attacked Papua and New Guinea, there was an epic evacuation of a group commonly referred to as white women and children. They were brought to the mainland in large and small vessels, double or single engine planes. Amongst them, however, were a number of German-New Guineans. In the hasty and patchy files which were created for these enemy aliens entering Australia, their nationality given was 'German' and their complexion was noted as 'dark'. Many also had a small black and white picture added. The number of women seems to have far outweighed the number of men, for the men were only those deemed a potential security risk. These male enemy aliens were interrogated in transit internment camps, such as Gaythorne in Queensland, and had to report to police after their release, like other German nationals who were allowed to remain in the wider community.^{xi} The women, in contrast, mostly came accompanying white families as domestics, and were placed under a different surveillance regime; they were also under the National Security (Alien Control) Regulations and had to report change of residence,^{xii} but their employers had to carry out additional reporting. They had to apply for an exemption from the Commonwealth Department of Territories to bring a 'native' or 'half-caste' from New Guinea to the mainland and at regular intervals renew

the exemption, which gave the department the opportunity to inquire further into the character and work habits of the person under their employ.^{xlii} Thus the women depended on the good will of their employers, especially when after the end of the war the Department of Territories and the newly established Department of Immigration pushed for a return of all 'natives' or 'half-castes' to New Guinea. It seems plausible that the war increased a gendered divide where the men were seen as potentially dangerous, and thus primarily dealt with as enemy aliens, while the women were subject to and controlled through subordination and rules primarily set out for 'natives' and 'half-castes'. After the war, however, when the danger of 'subversive male enemy aliens' ceased to be a problem, the men, too, were redefined according to their 'race' rather than their nationality.

By the late 1940s, Max Carl Schneider, living in the Blue Mountains, had established close links with the local community, and wanted to stay. He renounced his German citizenship and declared himself stateless. After his attempt to gain residency failed, one member of his church tried to intervene on his behalf with the Prime Minister (Ben Chifley who was the local member). She was told that Schneider's exemption visa had expired and would not be renewed. Without ever mentioning his race, the Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, elegantly advised that: 'I have given careful Consideration to the question of Mr Schneider remaining here but regret that the desired authority has not been granted as it would be contrary to the established immigration policy to do so'.^{xliii} At the same time, other (white) Germans from New Guinea, who wanted to return, were not given permission to do so because of their earlier pro-National Socialist allegiances. For Max Carl Schneider, however, whose letter to Consul Hellenthal in 1936 was by then in the hands of the Australian government, 'established immigration policy' overrode security concerns. As a 'half-caste' from New Guinea his removal from the mainland was the priority.^{xliv}

Cecilia Pflug came to Australia as a domestic. She then managed to switch from domestic employ to more independent work at the Canberra Hospital. Her quest for independence, however, was countered by the Department of Territories by bringing her file to the attention of her new employers and supervisors, such as the matron of the Canberra Hospital, who was asked to keep a close eye on her. Cecilia's strategy of resistance and quest for independence earned her negative character descriptions, such as laziness and a lack of intelligence. There was nobody fighting and arguing for her being allowed to remain in Australia and she was returned to New Guinea a couple of years earlier than Schneider.^{xlv}

In the early 1960s, Marie Theresia, one of Karl Matthies' daughters from Manus Island, and her husband were still in Australia, trying to get naturalised. Her case illustrates the multitude of frames applied to people of colour, where, as in Germany, biological origin together with place of birth and location of residence combine into a minefield of rules and identity markers. Her husband, Babao, was of Filipino descent and therefore classified as an 'Asian' in the Northern Territory, eligible for naturalisation. Marie Theresia, however, through marriage was no longer a German national but because of her German father and New Guinean mother a 'mixed blood native' of European origin and therefore not eligible for naturalisation. Of their eight children, five were born in Australia and therefore Australian citizens by birth but their three New Guinea-born siblings were deemed 'quarter-castes' and like their mother ineligible for citizenship. The Department of Immigration therefore advised that Mr Babao be granted naturalisation but that his wife and three of their children be informed that they could not be granted citizenship. The department added that the normal procedure regarding informing mixed bloods be followed, namely to be coy and deceptive about the racial reasoning of the decision: 'it was decided to advise such persons ... that they were ineligible for Australian citizenship under the Government policy relating thereto and that no further explanation be given them regarding rejection of their application'.^{xlvi}

My desire to investigate beyond the unstable combination of racial constructions with notions of class, occupation, gender, appearance and situation has uncovered political opportunism and pragmatism, where people of 'mixed origins' became pawns in related (and unrelated) political strategies and aims. This domain, in which the instability of racial constructions is managed opportunistically by those with the power to do so, is both leaky and pervasive. When analysing the lives and struggles of German New Guineans I find myself struggling to avoid naturalising the language and normalising the thinking of past government agencies that defined and treated them on the basis of their supposed racial descent. Words of the past spilled over into my vocabulary and text and it took not only my own eyes, but those of readers and editors to pinpoint these ivy like outgrowths of the past and pare them back. One of the deeper layers of this past discourse and practice is to make people of 'non-European', 'non-Aryan', 'non-white' descent into 'the problem', the object to be defined, a reality towards which actions of governments were directed. This is why I called this article 'changing frames', to draw attention to the actions of racialised 'framing' of German Pacific Islanders.

Changing frames is a play on the German word *Wechselrahmen*, a clip-on picture frame that can easily be changed, pointing to the inconsistency of laws and actions within national (colonial) developments and between different colonising nations. For the children of German fathers and New Guinean mothers caught in a Kafkaesque web of ever changing political circumstances and legislation, the unexpected often eventuated: rights and opportunities they rightfully thought were theirs were denied them and rights and opportunities they had given up on were granted. Underlining all these seemingly rational actions on the part of government officials across eras and colonial or national regimes is the arbitrary application of race as a signifier. The political contexts created changing perceptions of what their racial origin was meant to signify and what they therefore were allowed (or forced) to be: fellow citizens or enemy aliens, Germans, New Guineans, Europeans, natives, mixed-bloods or half-castes.

ⁱ See Misa Telefoni Retzlaff, 'An enduring legacy: the German influence in Samoan culture and history'. Available online at http://www.mcil.gov.ws/minister_speeches/enduring_legacy_german_influence.pdf (accessed 10 July 2010).

ⁱⁱ See for example John Gardiner-Garden, 'The Definition of Aboriginality', Research Note 18 2000-01. Available online at <http://www.aph.gov.au/LIBRARY/pubs/rn/2000-01/01RN18.htm> (accessed 28 June 2010). See also Tim Rowse, *Obliged to be Difficult: Nugget Coomb's legacy in indigenous affairs* (New York 2000).

ⁱⁱⁱ Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1894-1945* (Durham, NC 2001). See also Dan Walther, Review of *German Women for Empire, 1894-1945*, *Journal of Social History* 36:4 (2003), 1073-5. Walther notes the shortcomings of Wildenthal's work for an understanding of developments in colonial spaces and for a transnational two-way historical engagement.

^{iv} See especially *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New Haven, CT 2003 [1961]) and *The Politics of Memory: the journey of a Holocaust historian* (Chicago 1996).

^v 'Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre' ('Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour') is one of three laws introduced in September 1935; it defined racial categories on the basis of descent (person of German blood, mixed blood of 1st and 2nd degree, and Jew) within the context of marriage prohibitions.

^{vi} See for example N. Peterson and W. Sanders, *Citizenship and Indigenous Australians: changing conceptions and possibilities* (Cambridge 1998).

^{vii} For an analysis of conflicting models of Jewishness as well as changing inclusions and exclusions of people of 'part-Jewish' descent in the German armed forces, see Bryan Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: the untold story of Nazi racial laws and men of Jewish descent in the German military* (Lawrence, KS 2002).

^{viii} See Guenter Lewy, 'Himmler and the "racially pure Gypsies"', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34:2 (1999), 201-214.

^{ix} See for example Clarence Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims: the historical experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi era* (New York and London 2003).

^x Hans J. Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: growing up black in Nazi Germany* (London 2001), 118-119.

^{xi} See Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators? Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika* (Berlin 2008), 42-45. Linne argues that there were conflicting policies issued and pursued by competing German government organizations. The German Foreign Office was in favour of exempting from German race laws those individuals of African descent living in Germany who were linked to Germany's past colonies or had fought on the side of Germany during the First World War.

^{xii} For a biographical introduction and further literature see Magdalene Sieglöcher, 'Else Klink', Forschungsstelle Kulturimpuls. Available online at <http://biographien.kulturimpuls.org/personen.php> (accessed 5 May 2010).

^{xiii} Quoted in Uwe Werner, *Anthroposophen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (München 1999), 158.

^{xiv} In Samoa, for example, inter-racial marriages were banned by colonial decree only as late as 1912. There were no marriage prohibitions in German New Guinea. Albert von Hahl, governor of German New Guinea (1902-1914), reported that there were, (in addition to a great number of illegitimate relationships), 26 legitimate marriages. Hahl listed 13 marriages of white men and mixed-blood women, 7 of white men and full-

blood women, 3 between mixed-bloods and natives, 1 between mixed-bloods, and 2 between whites and Quadroons. See Hubert Perlinger, 'Mischehen: "Rassismus und Verkäuflichkeit" als Zeitzuender', in Allgemeine Kolonialgeschichte und Journalistisches, Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Überseetruppen -Freunde der früheren deutschen Schutzgebiete e.V. Available online at <http://www.traditionsverband.de/> (accessed 24 May 2010).

^{xv} Chief of General Staff, Department of Defence, to Secretary, Department of Defence, 5 May 1920, National Archives of Australia (hereinafter NAA) A456, W6/23/17. The suggestion put forward was that no return to New Guinea be permitted. Instead, Klink and four other German men with local families should be settled in Java, or an island not under British control, and that 'arrangements be made for their families to join them, if they so desire'. Garran as Secretary, however, recommended that Klink 'in view of special circumstances, should be permitted to return to New Guinea'. Secretary to Department of Defence, 19 September 1920, NAA A456, W6/23/17.

^{xvi} Magdalene Siegloch, Klink, Else, Forschungsstelle Kulturimpuls. Available online at <http://biographien.kulturimpuls.org/personen.php> (accessed 5 May 2010).

^{xvii} Schnee's first posting abroad had been in New Guinea (as judge and deputy governor, 1898-1900) and he kept emotional attachments and continued to lobby in regard to German connections with the Pacific.

^{xviii} See Wolfgang Liedtke, 'Die Überschreitung der "colour line": Mischehen und Mischlinge in der deutschen Kolonie Samoa', in *Bewegliche Horizonte: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Streck*, ed. K. Geisenhainer and K. Lange (Leipzig 2005) 283-308. Liedtke quotes the decision, using Akte BArch. R 1001/5433 Blatt 3-5: 'Da der Ursprung der polynesischen Rasse wissenschaftlich nicht einwandfrei geklärt ist, muss ich mir die Entscheidung ob auf Abkoemmlinge aus Mischehen mit Samoanerinnen § 3 des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 17. April 1933 (T.G.Bl. S.175) und § 1a vom 30. Juni 1933 (R.G.Bl. I S. 433) anzuwenden sind, im einzelnen Falle vorbehalten. Entsprechendes wuerde auch fuer die Tonganer gelten, In Vertretung gez. Pfundtner'.

^{xix} See for example Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*, 121-129.

^{xx} Ibid.; Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: traditional authority and colonial administration in the modern history of Western Samoa* (Suva 1987); J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa: the emergence of the independent state of Western Samoa* (Melbourne 1967).

^{xxi} See for example Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*; Cornelia Essner, "'Borderline" im Menschenblut und Struktur rassistischer Rechtsspaltung: koloniales Kaiserreich und "Drittes Reich"', in *Gesetzliches Unrecht: rassistisches Recht im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Micha Brumlik, Susanne Meinl, Werner Renz (Frankfurt 2005), 27-64.

^{xxii} Arthur Berger, *Talofa: Sturm- und Sonnentage auf Samoa* (Dresden 1919), 49.

^{xxiii} Paul Hermann Retzlaff, born 22 July 1924, was the uncle of the Samoan politician Misa Telefoni Retzlaff. See Misa Telefoni Retzlaff, 'An enduring legacy'.

^{xxiv} See Berlin, AA, R45376.

^{xxv} For a detailed discussion and further literature see Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators?*

^{xxvi} The Foreign Office argued from 1934 for the same reasons for similar exemptions from the race laws for Afro-Germans in Germany linked to former German colonies. See *ibid.*, 42-45; see also Christine Winter, 'The founding of the NSDAP stronghold in Finschhafen', in Emily Turner-Graham and Christine Winter (ed.), *National Socialism in Oceania: a critical evaluation of its effect and aftermath* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien 2010), 31-47. For an analysis of the centrality

of silence in local responses in New Guinea in regard to potential German colonial claims in 1933, see idem, "'A good will ship": the light cruiser Köln visits Rabaul (1933)' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 54 (2008), 44-54.

^{xxvii} For an analysis of the Consulate's politics see Winter, 'The founding of the NSDAP stronghold'.

^{xxviii} Ibid.

^{xxix} Of four brothers, Karl, Arthur, August and Hermann Batze, for example, Hellenthal only listed one. This is, in my opinion, not an oversight, but the following logic applies. The two older brothers were born in Queensland of a naturalized German-born father and were therefore British subjects. The two younger brothers, however, were born in German New Guinea where the father's naturalization, as it was granted in Queensland before Australian Federation in 1901, did not transfer to offspring. The youngest brother, however, was under 21 years of age and was therefore not listed as a German adult. Despite this logic and the fact that the two oldest brothers should not have been German nationals, the second oldest brother acquired Nazi party membership in 1937. See Walter Hellenthal, 'Politischer Bericht über das Mandatsgebiet Neuguinea', 22 September 1936, AA, A4311/1, 102/6; See AA, MP1103/1, PWNG1343, PWNG1344, PWNG1145, PWNG1347.

^{xxx} See Walter Hellenthal, 'Politischer Bericht über das Mandatsgebiet Neuguinea', 22 September 1936, AA, A4311/1, 102/6, 8: 'While the German native policy tried to fit the developmental stage of the natives and went ahead only slowly, the Australians attempt to jump over some hundreds of years of development of the Kanakas and to treat the natives of the Mandated Territory [in a way] which would perhaps befit a highly developed Polynesian'.

^{xxxi} Max Carl Schneider to Consul Hellenthal, 20 August 1936, AA, A518, BG836/3.

^{xxxii} Olga Janice Hedwig Krause (Leafa Wilson), 'Ich heiÙe Olga Hedwig Krause; Deutsche Künstlerin – My Name is Olga Hedwig Krause: German Artist', in Turner-Graham and Winter (ed.), *National Socialism in Oceania*, 234-238.

^{xxxiii} Gary Lee's work has challenged notions of identity as an artist, curator and scholar. In 1993 he wrote a play 'Keep Him My Heart: A Larrakia-Filipino Love Story' about his great-grandparents. He names as part of his rich heritage Larrakia, Filipino, Japanese, Scottish, Chinese and Wardaman backgrounds. See Francine Chin, 'The Lee Dynasty: a Darwin mix', *Off the Leash*. Available online at <http://theleash.com.au/2009/11/the-lee-dynasty-a-very-darwin-mix/> (accessed , 8 November 2009).

^{xxxiv} Administrator Wisdom, Memorandum for The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 27 October 1921, NAA, A1, 1925/4666. The following year, however, Wisdom contradicted his assumption that all half-castes had been classified as 'natives'. See Administrator Wisdom, Memorandum for The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 21 November 1922, NAA, A1, 1925/4666.

^{xxxv} Administrator Wisdom to The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 3 November 1921, NAA, A1, 1925/4666.

^{xxxvi} Ibid.

^{xxxvii} Administrator Wisdom to The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 6 May 1923, NAA, A1, 1925/4666. The Attorney-General's Department advised, however, that such a use of funds would be an infringement of the Treaty of Versailles. See Secretary, Attorney-General's Department to The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 12 June 1923, NAA, A1, 1925/4666.

^{xxxviii} Administrator Wisdom to The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 5 November 1924, NAA, A1, 1925/4666.

^{xxxix} Solicitor-General to The Secretary, Department of Home and Territories, 16 February 1925, NAA, A1, 1925/4666.

^{xi} See for example Max Carl Schneider's file, NAA: MP1103/2, Q407.

^{xii} See for example Cecilia Pflug's file, NAA, SP11/2, German/Pflug C; and Philomena Hilda Matthies, NAA, SP11/2, German/Matthies PH.

^{xiii} See for example NAA, A452, 1959/4469 Luise Taligatus and Cecilia Pflug, Evacuees - Papua and New Guinea; NAA A518, E840/1/1 Papua and New Guinea - Natives - General - Entry of half castes and native females into Australia.

^{xiii} Arthur Calwell to J.B. Chifley, 19 July 1949, NAA, M1455, 437. See also NAA, BP9/3, Stateless Schneider MC.

^{xiv} See Christine Winter, 'The long arm of the Third Reich: internment of New Guinea Germans in Tatura', *Journal of Pacific History*, 38:1 (2003) 85-108.

^{xiv} NAA A518, E840/1/1 Papua and New Guinea - Natives - General - Entry of half castes and native females into Australia.

^{xvi} Memo Department of Immigration, 17 April 1961, NAA A446, 1958/80651.