Globalising German Anthropology

Erhard Eylmann in Australia

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The German presence in nineteenth-century South Australia is associated primarily with the immigration of Prussian Lutherans escaping religious persecution in their homeland. Their settlement in the fledgling British colony aided its early, stuttering development; in the longer term it also fitted neatly South Australia's perception of itself as a "paradise of dissent."[1] These Germans took their religion seriously, none more so than the Lutheran missionaries who committed themselves to bringing the Gospel to the indigenous people of the Adelaide plains and, eventually, much further afield as well. In reality, however, the story of the German contribution to the history of this British colony extended far beyond these pious Lutherans. Among those who followed in their wake, whether as settlers or travellers, were Germans of many different backgrounds, who made their way to the Antipodes for a multitude of reasons. In South Australia as much as anywhere, globalising Germany was a multi-facetted project.

The intellectual gamut of Germans in South Australia is nowhere more evident than in the realm of anthropology.[2] The missionaries were not alone in displaying a keen interest in the Australian Aborigines. Anthropologists steeped in the empirical tradition that came to dominate the nascent discipline at the end of the nineteenth century also turned their attention to Australia. Indeed, in Germany and elsewhere, Australia occupied a special position in international discourse. The American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan had observed in 1880 that Australian aboriginal societies "now represent the condition of mankind in savagery better than it is elsewhere represented on the earth—a condition now rapidly passing away."[3] Among the fruits of this intense interest in indigenous Australians as prime examples of what German anthropologists labelled a *Naturvolk* was, as Nicolas Peterson has pointed out, a spate of influential works of anthropological theory in the first part of the twentieth century.[4]

German anthropological engagement with Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was clustered, then, around two poles. The older, established one was represented by the Lutheran missionaries, who stood in a humanist tradition that emphasised, implicitly at least, what Andrew Zimmerman has called "the utopian potential of hermeneutic interpretation, in which the humanity of both interpreter and subject of interpretation is recognized and elevated."[5] Through the

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sustained contact achieved by living among indigenous people in Australia, the missionaries acquired a detailed knowledge of the language, culture, and belief systems of their hosts. The other pole was that of the antihumanists, that is, of scientifically trained anthropologists, whose practice focussed on the material culture and physical characteristics of the peoples they selected as the objects of their studies. "For the empathetic interpretation characteristic of humanism," Zimmerman contends, "anthropologists substituted what they regarded as objective, scientific knowledge of a non-European other. Anthropology focused not on canonical texts of celebrated cultural people but on the bodies and everyday objects of the colonised natural peoples."[6]

The subject of this paper, Erhard Eylmann, stood firmly in the camp of the antihumanists. He fully shared their assumptions about the value of the close observation and description of a *Naturvolk*, but also about the inevitability of its demise as a result of sustained contact with Europeans, with *Kulturvölker*. Eylmann and his fellow empiricists therefore took it as axiomatic that their ethnographic fieldwork had to be completed sooner rather than later, lest an invaluable opportunity be lost forever. His story is illustrative of the inadequacy of any notion of a distinctively "German" approach to the study of aboriginal Australia, and on two counts. First, in both its ideological underpinnings and its methodology the approach Eylmann championed transcended national boundaries. This is especially evident in the relationship Eylmann developed in Australia with the Irish-Australian ethnographer Francis Gillen. Second, Eylmann's travels in Australia revealed how fundamentally his views differed from those of the German missionary anthropologists, above all Carl Strehlow, on whose help he came to depend heavily for the performance of his work, and yet whose work he forthrightly condemned.

Eylmann in Australia

Biographical information on Eylmann is patchy.[7] Born into a wealthy landowning family on Krautsand, an island on the Elbe not far from Hamburg, he attended a series of German universities, beginning with Leipzig, where he studied biology, zoology, physics, chemistry, and anatomy. In 1884, he moved to Freiburg, where he continued his studies of the natural sciences, graduating with a doctorate.[8] At the same time he commenced medical studies, which he went on to pursue in both Heidelberg and Würzburg, so that by 1889 he could add the title doctor of medicine to his name.[9]

That he practised medicine for three years in Cairo seems to be due to the putative benefits to his sickly wife of the Egyptian climate. After her death in 1894, Eylmann returned to Germany, having resolved never to practise medicine again. Instead he moved to Berlin to resume his studies, now devoted to geography, geology, and anthropology. He pursued all these subjects at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, but the last was nurtured also by the Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte).[10] The extent of Eylmann's involvement with the society is uncertain,[11] but he may well have found its president Rudolf Virchow a sympathetic figure, since Virchow, too, had come to anthropology via medicine. The society formed an important institutional base for German anthropology, especially as the discipline's

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presence within the university, where it attracted the suspicions of historians rooted in a humanist tradition, was at first tenuous.[12]

His devotion to anthropology would have led him to read one of the discipline's seminal works at that time, namely *Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen* (Guide to scientific observations on travels). Its editor was Georg Balthasar von Neumayer, who between 1857 and 1864 had himself undertaken a range of scientific projects in Australia. *Anleitung*, which served as both a theoretical and practical guide to participants in scientific expeditions, was first published in 1875.[13] It was a sign of the times that the expanded, second edition of 1888 contained two essays designed to help anthropologists such as Eylmann prepare for fieldwork. One was by Adolf Bastian—with Virchow a co-founder of the Society of Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory and first director of Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde—and discussed general ethnological concepts; the other, by Virchow, was devoted to anthropology and prehistory.[14] A common message across the great variety of disciplines united in Neumayer's compendium opened the chapter on linguistics: "The traveller must never forget the first rule, that the sole task of his journey is to collect material which can later be scientifically assessed at leisure by himself or by others. His job is to observe and record facts."[15]

While an interest in anthropology was widespread among scientifically trained Germans like Eylmann, in another regard—his mode of travel—Eylmann was not at all typical. In the last part of the nineteenth century German scientific expeditions to various parts of the globe had become commonplace. In the period 1873 to 1900, no fewer than 150 different expeditions were sent from Germany to Africa alone.[16] Eylmann's preference, however, was to travel alone, which he could afford to do provided he lived frugally. He followed the practice of collecting extensively on his travels, but he collected for the sake of his own research rather than to expand the collections of Germany's museums. It appears that Eylmann was temperamentally ill-suited to collaborative ventures and, moreover, was sufficiently confident in his mastery of a range of the natural sciences—not just anthropology—to consider himself equipped to write an account of Australia covering all branches of knowledge.

To this end he visited Australia not once but three times. His primary interest was the colony (from 1901, the state) of South Australia, which until 1911 included the Northern Territory. He first arrived in Adelaide in February 1896, then travelled north by train and on horseback to Palmerston (now Darwin), which he reached at the end of August 1897.[17] After spending most of the wet season a short distance east of Palmerston, he headed south once more in February 1898, reaching Adelaide at the beginning of the following year. After a brief rest he then headed east on foot, following the coast to Cape Otway before returning to Adelaide via an inland route and then sailing for Germany. By early 1900, Eylmann was back in Australia, travelling in both South Australia and Victoria, where undertook his third and final tour of Australia in 1912–13. Hopes of a fourth visit were quashed by the outbreak of World War I, and he died in 1926.[18]

In the book that resulted from the first two of these visits to Australia, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien* (The Aborigines of the Colony of South Australia), Eylmann reports that after his arrival in Australia he spent a month in Adelaide, "so that through study carried out in the public library, the zoological and

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botanical garden, and the various museums I could familiarise myself with the fauna, the flora, and the geological composition of central Australia, the destination of my travels."[19] Among those whom he could ask for advice were a number of his countrymen. By the 1890s, Germans were firmly integrated into the city's scientific establishment. At the museum, for example, the zoologist and assistant director was Amandus Zietz, who had brought with him to Adelaide experience gathered both at the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg and the University of Kiel's Natural History Museum.[20] Zietz was one of several German appointments made to the museum's staff by an earlier director, Johann Wilhelm Haacke, a zoology graduate from the University of Jena.[21] Zietz's willingness to extend the hand of friendship to visiting German scientists is suggested by his hosting, a year after Eylmann's arrival, the Berlin craniologist Professor Rudolf Krause.[22] The director of Adelaide's Botanical Garden at this time was Maurice Holtze, a Hanoverian who had studied botany in his home town before appointments in St Petersburg and Palmerston.[23]

Eylmann, Gillen, and the Practice of "Salvage Anthropology"

The preparatory period in Adelaide equipped Eylmann with not only a deeper scientific knowledge of what to expect in central Australia but also advice on potentially helpful hosts. One such host was Francis Gillen, the station-master on the Overland Telegraph Line at Alice Springs, but better known for his collaborative anthropological work with Baldwin Spencer, who held the foundation chair of biology at the University of Melbourne.[24] The two men had met in the course of the seminal Horn scientific expedition to central Australia in 1894 (named for its sponsor, William Austin Horn), for which Gillen's local knowledge had proved invaluable. The multi-member Horn expedition had made a wide-ranging scientific investigation of Central Australia, including anthropological studies.[25] After the expedition Gillen played the vital role of informant and facilitator in the field for the "armchair anthropologist" Spencer, with whom he maintained an extensive correspondence.

In April 1896, Gillen wrote Spencer about Eylmann's arrival in Alice Springs:

> We have had a visit from a German scientist MD and PhD, a geologist etc., he has gone on to Barrow Creek and will stay a week or two with me on his return. He was greatly interested in my Anthro photos and never tired of looking at them. He also evinced a curiosity as to native habits and Customs which I did not encourage, he mentioned the name of some great German anthropologist, I fancy it was Haeckel,[26] and the Geographical Society of Berlin as being anxious to learn something of the habits and customs of these blacks—A most interesting man this German, unmistakably a Gentleman, he has been a great deal in Egypt and the Soudan and is altogether an Emir Pasha[27] like individual.[28]

Initially there was a measure of suspicion of Eylmann, at least on the part of Spencer. We can infer this from a later letter by Gillen, who sought to allay his mentor's fear that Gillen might be led astray by a wily German: "I will bear in mind what you say about teutonic guile."[29] Gillen's own assessment was that his visitor was "a most interesting and really modest and unassuming man."[30] Spencer never met Eylmann. His reservations about the German may have arisen from a fear that

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Eylmann's anthropological work in central Australia might rival his and Gillen's, which at this time was still unpublished.[31] Though he could not have known it at the time, he had little cause for concern—the publication of Eylmann's book was still a dozen years away.[32]

Gillen could see the advantage of learning from the German's experiences, both as he headed north up the Overland Telegraph Line and then as he returned south. Indeed, Eylmann proved to be a fount of information on all manner of topics. One of Gillen's letters gives insight into his discussions with Eylmann on medical issues, in particular concerning a disease which in the language of the Arrernte was called *erkincha* or *irakuntjia*, but which is now generally known as yaws.[33] Eylmann was correct in distinguishing it from syphilis—but also wrong in concluding that it was a hereditary disease peculiar to the Arrernte.[34] Eylmann provided Gillen with a summary of his examinations of the hearing and eyesight of central Australians—part of the anthropometric work he carried out. His conclusion, reported by Spencer and Gillen in *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, was: "I found that both senses were not on an average better developed in the aborigines than in the Europeans."[35] On one particular occasion Eylmann went far beyond the call of reciprocal generosity to meet a request made by Gillen. He travelled to a cave some 40 kilometres north-west of Barrow Creek, where Gillen knew there to be a number of drawings. Eylmann's brief was to journey there and to make water colour copies of the drawings. Spencer and Gillen were sufficiently impressed with the copies and the accompanying notes that they reproduced them in *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*.[36]

As for Eylmann, he benefited from the relationship by drawing on the invaluable ethnographic knowledge Gillen had gathered over decades. The Gillens' residence at Alice Springs boasted the luxury of a library, to which Eylmann had access.[37] The two men renewed their acquaintance in 1898 as Eylmann headed south, and then again in early 1899, this time in Adelaide, where Gillen took the trouble to introduce Eylmann to Edward Stirling, the director of the South Australian Museum and former member of the Horn expedition.[38]

This cordial relationship comprised more than the mutually beneficial actions of a needy traveller and a generous host. Intellectually they had much in common, including the conviction that their discipline must be based on an empirical methodology and an inductive mode of reasoning. Both men were "salvation anthropologists," who set themselves the tasks of collecting, recording and analysing the material culture of the Australian Aborigines, on the assumption, which they both shared, that their extinction was only a matter of time. As Gillen put it:

> For a long time it has been growing upon me that these people were at one time more numerous—I don't of course believe that they have degenerated morally etc—and that their numbers have been decreased by the introduction of syphilis from outside—whether from North or South I cannot say—that syphilis in its most awful forms did exist amongst them for long years prior to the advent of the white man there is not the ghost of the shadow of a doubt and with their peculiar customs the rapid spread of the disease throughout the Continent would be only a question of a few years. My idea

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> is that with the introduction of the disease the decay of the race began—I mentioned this theory to Eylmann and he agreed with me.[39]

When Eylmann finally published his own long-planned book, his indebtedness to Gillen and Spencer was clear enough. Like their earlier works, Eylmann's book attempts an almost encyclopaedic anthropological survey encompassing both physical and social anthropology and covering such diverse topics as art, magic, religion, burial practices, weaponry, language, body adornment, weaponry, and disease. Where he engages in a broader analysis of his findings, he follows the same lines of interpretation offered by Gillen and Spencer, whose work he frequently cites.

Eylmann and the Missionaries

Soon after his initial visit with Gillen, Eylmann made his first contact with missionaries. In entering the world of the missions, as he did on a number of occasions over the years that followed, Eylmann was exposed to an understanding of aboriginal people quite different from his own. Central to the anthropological practice of the missionaries, a practice that went hand-in-glove with their pastoral duties, was the injunction "that the researcher be familiar with his flock and walk among the natives as a human being among other human beings who had souls, religion and language."[40] Linguistics was indeed the foundation of the anthropological practice of German missionaries in Australia, who went to considerable lengths not only to record but to learn indigenous languages and to translate the Bible into them.

In stark contrast, empirical anthropologists attached relatively little importance to language; theorists such as Adolf Bastian and Robert Hartmann cautioned against the use of language alone to characterise ethnic groups, affirming the importance of physical characteristics and customs.[41] Their main focus was on objects rather than on narratives; language in their view represented "an unacceptably subjective and mutable source of knowledge."[42] Eylmann was no different. He placed little emphasis on learning indigenous languages; much of the evidence he relied upon was thus dubious hearsay, and commonly his interlocutors were Europeans with an imperfect knowledge of the indigenous people and little motivation to cast them in a favourable light.

The deep differences in these two, co-existent paradigms were strikingly evident to Eylmann on his mission visits. Between 1896 and 1899 he twice visited the Lutheran Mission at Hermannsburg on the Finke River in the Northern Territory (from October 1896 to February 1897 as he headed north, and again from July to October 1898 on his way south to Adelaide), and he spent about a week (from late July to early August 1897) at the Catholic Daly River mission just south of Darwin. Here he made the acquaintance of Irish and Austrian missionaries, among them two, named Marschner and Schnarner, who were able to assist him with his ethnographic enquiries in his mother tongue.[43] During his second visit to Australia in mid-1900, Eylmann's ethnographic work was performed almost entirely on mission stations, first for a period of about a week at the mission run by the Congregationalist Church at Raukkan, south-east of Adelaide, and then for some six weeks at the Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna near Lake Eyre.[44]

The clearest and most sustained expression of Eylmann's views on the mission-

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aries is to be found in the final chapter of his book, which is devoted entirely to the missionaries' work among Aborigines. It opens with the words, "It appears that an ill omen has hung over the mission among Australia's Aborigines from the beginning. Nowhere have the missionaries achieved their desired success, but their efforts in some areas have certainly accelerated the death of the race [*Rassentod*]."[45] In Eylmann's view, the alleged failures could be attributed to multiple factors, not least the inappropriateness of Christianity for a so-called *Naturvolk* on the lowest rung of culture. "Can a human being such as the Australian," he asks rhetorically, "who has quite different views on good and evil than we and who engages in a tough, daily struggle for survival, be lovingly led to a God from whom he can expect no mercy because his weakness renders him incapable of following that God's commandments?"[46] Moreover the missionaries themselves were in large part to blame for the failures to convert Aborigines to Christianity. They did not want for enthusiasm, but they set about their task "without a knowledge of human nature."[47] Steeped in Christian notions of right and wrong, good and evil, they made demands that Aborigines in large part could not or did not want to meet. Polygamy was a case in point, as was the missionaries' intolerance of traditional ceremonies and rituals. "It is obvious," he claimed, "that a missionary cannot win the hearts of the Aborigines if he does not spare tradition. Above all banning participation in corroborees and secret ceremonies provokes great resistance everywhere."[48]

Eylmann proceeds to give an overview of the history of the missions in the colony of South Australia, and then conveys his own, unflattering impressions of Hermannsburg. He describes the adult Aborigines on the mission as "among the greatest blackguards in the land," while the children in his view "in their bad manners outdid the scum of our cities and in their uncleanliness fell behind the uncivilized Aborigines." As for the missionaries, they made the crucial mistake of attaching credibility to the word of the older converted Aborigines—or *Heidenchristen* (heathen-Christians), as Eylmann calls them—with the result that the missionaries were constantly deceived. Moreover, in failing to impose an appropriate work regime on their charges, while at the same time providing all their material needs, the missionaries unwittingly promoted slothful behaviour.[49]

The alleged naivety and ineffectualness of the missionaries are illustrated in Eylmann's account of a Sunday church service. When the missionary Carl Strehlow ascended the pulpit a silence descended over the congregation; all seemed to direct their undivided attention to his sermon, delivered in the language of the Arrernte. The moment the service was concluded, the atmosphere of gravitas lifted. When the members of the congregation had made their way from the church into the open air, loud laughter broke out, prompted by the linguistic errors Strehlow had made. When such attempts are made to preach in the language of the local community, Eylmann warns, "It is then inevitable that they make error upon error and consequently only cause laughter among the listeners but do not make the slightest impression on their hearts."[50]

Eylmann's antipathy to Strehlow was mutual. Strehlow had brought with him to Hermannsburg several years of missionary experience among the Dieri people at Killalpaninna on Cooper's Creek. When Eylmann made his acquaintance, Strehlow was just twenty-four years of age, married, and doing his utmost with negligible resources to secure the survival of the mission. What appears to have been an

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initially friendly response to the stranger descended into suspicion and distrust. Strehlow found it odd that a medical doctor would travel to that part of the world without his instruments; his story seemed inconsistent. The two men barely spoke with each other over the three and a half months of Eylmann's first visit. Strehlow is at best a marginal presence in Eylmann's journals. Moreover, the policeman Ernest Cowle observed that Eylmann, "has *not* been working in any way with Strehlow and in fact Strehlow appears to have been just as rabbitholey with him as with everyone else for he tells me he only spoke with him five or six times altogether."[51]

The relationship was no warmer during Eylmann's second visit from July 1898. At that time Eylmann administered some medicine to one of the women at the mission, but to little avail.[52] Strehlow wrote scathingly, "The travelling scientist who turned up again some time ago is the same man who claims to be a medical doctor…I have no great faith in him, since he is a real chatterbox who can't keep secrets to himself and who takes pleasure in maligning other people."[53] Not much later Eylmann left Hermannsburg forever. If Carl Strehlow ever read Eylmann's book, he would presumably have found no reason to revise his low opinion of the German scientist.

The undercurrent of tension which existed between the two men rested not only on personal animosity but on fundamental differences in approach to anthropological work.[54] Although Strehlow's primary task as a missionary was to convert as many of the indigenous population as possible to Christianity, he was also, as far as resources would permit, dedicated to carrying out studies of his own, deploying in the process his linguistic talents. After the departure of Eylmann he entered correspondence with the German anthropologist Moritz von Leonhardi. In effect he played for Leonhardi the same kind of informant role that Gillen played for Spencer.[55] It was Leonhardi who edited Strehlow's anthropological writings and prepared them for publication. Based in large part on fieldwork conducted in central Australia, but on a different paradigm of anthropological enquiry, it offered interpretations which challenged those of Spencer and Gillen, especially concerning religion. Strehlow's work was never translated into English and remained uninfluential in Australia. As for Europe, in some quarters it was received sympathetically, but the response of Bronislaw Malinowski is indicative of the triumph by the early twentieth century of the scientific paradigm favoured by Spencer, Gillen—and Eylmann. In comparing the work of Spencer and Gillen with that of Strehlow, Malinowski wrote: "As far as breadth and soundness of the outlook go, anyone who knows the two works will hardly hesitate in choosing between the views of an eminent scientist like Prof. B. Spencer and those of a missionary who, though an excellent observer, does not seem to have the necessary scientific training."[56]

Conclusions

By the early twentieth century it was the scientific paradigm of anthropological endeavour, represented by the writings of Spencer and Gillen, which held sway. Beyond the realm of anthropological theory this paradigm was influential in practice. All over Australia, state-sponsored policies in indigenous affairs were informed by empirically-based notions of essential, biologically-programmed differences

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among races. In the face of competition from Europeans, representing as they allegedly did a more highly evolved people, the best that could be done for Aborigines was, in the words conventionally attributed to Daisy Bates, to "smooth the pillow of the dying race."[57] In Germany, too, that remained the dominant paradigm in anthropological thinking, and in state practice, well into the twentieth century.

In one sense, then, Erhard Eylmann stood with the forces in the ascendant in the history of anthropology. At another level, it is evident that Eylmann's own writings exercised little influence, either in Germany or in Australia. After his second visit to Australia he devoted himself to writing his book. It was seldom cited by German anthropologists, and, as it remained untranslated, found even fewer readers in Australia. The souring of the previously cordial relationship between Britain and Germany in the first years of the new century did not help; British and Australian scholars were increasingly disinclined to engage with their German counterparts.

In his personal life, too, things soured further for Eylmann over the following years. After his third and final visit in 1912–13 no further travel to the antipodes was possible. So parlous was Germany's and, indeed, his own financial plight in the wake of the war that all hopes of a return to Australia were dashed. He moved with his second wife to a humble abode in Farge, near Bremen. In 1922 both his mother and his wife died, the latter of weakness and malnourishment. Local rumours had it that when Eylmann died in December 1926 he was attempting to perform an appendectomy on himself.[58] It was a matter of good fortune that after his death his notebooks and his collection of 263 artefacts made their way to the Überseemuseum in Bremen.

The humanist paradigm of anthropological work represented by Carl Strehlow was not favoured in the early twentieth century, except of course by the missionaries themselves, who doggedly stuck to their task of bringing the Gospel to their flock, even if the great majority of that flock remained stubbornly unreceptive. Particularly striking was Spencer's and Gillen's contempt for the work of Strehlow, whom they regarded as unscientific and unreliable. Despite a shared, passionate interest in the Arrernte, Spencer and Strehlow never met or wrote to each other; Spencer indeed went so far as to persuade Sir James Frazer to expunge references to Strehlow from his seminal work, *The Golden Bough*.[59]

Yet in their ethnographic and linguistic work, the German missionaries were not without influence, especially in the longer term. While for the duration of his life Eylmann kept his *ethnographica* to himself, Strehlow and others made their collections available to museums in various parts of Germany. Largely through the efforts of Leonhardi, Frankfurt's Anthropological Museum acquired the most comprehensive collection of Australian aboriginal artefacts in the world.[60] Ironically, then, in practical terms Strehlow did much more than Eylmann to facilitate the research of German empirical anthropologists, work that was so heavily based on the collection and examination of *ethnographica*.

In the history of Australian anthropology the place of German anthropologists is then an ambiguous one. They were deeply divided in both the practices they applied to their fieldwork and in the philosophical foundations of their approaches, as the contrasting cases of Erhard Eylmann and Carl Strehlow illustrate. Their findings were not disseminated broadly; what passed at that time for an anthropologi-

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cal establishment in Australia paid them little attention, and their influence on state policy was minimal. On the other hand, the amount of fieldwork Germans performed in Australia was enormous, first because in nineteenth-century Germany there was a great interest in Australia as the home of a *Naturvolk*, and second because educated Germans possessed the skills, the knowledge and the inclination to observe and record the land and its people. This is true of those, like Eylmann, who regarded themselves as dispassionate empiricists, but it applies equally to missionaries like Carl Strehlow, for whom ethnographic work served their primary, proselytising goal. If the contribution of German anthropologists did not receive the attention it warranted in its own time, in the longer term it provides a potentially invaluable resource—if tapped. The Germans' writings and their collections offer insights not only into the lives and culture of indigenous Australians at a particular moment in the history of contact, but also into the wide range of the European assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes that helped frame that contact.

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Notes

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1 The term was coined by the historian Douglas Pike.
2 This essay uses the term "anthropology" broadly so as to encompass cultural and social anthropology (corresponding to the German *Ethnologie*) and physical anthropology (*Anthropologie*).
3 Morgan, "Preface," 2.
4 Peterson, "Studying Man and Man's Nature," 5. The works referred to are Van Gennep, *Mythes et Legends d'Australie*; Lang, *The Secret of the Totem*; Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*; Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics*; Malinowski, *The Family Among the Australian Aborigines: A Sociological Study*.
5 Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, 1.
6 Ibid., 3–4.
7 For biographical details on Eylmann see especially the early essay by Bunzendahl, "Der Australien-Forscher Dr. Erhard Eylmann." A lengthier biographical treatment is Schröder, *Ich reiste wie ein Buschmann.* See also Courto,"The Tragical History of Doctor Eylmann;" and Hintze, "The Man the Anthropologists Forgot."
8 Schröder, *Ich reiste wie ein Buschmann*, 19–21.
9 Ibid., 21. His Würzburg dissertation was on the topic "Ein Fall von myelogenem Alveoärsarkom."
10 The society was founded in 1869, initially under the title *Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft.* Similarly the discipline of geography was supported institutionally outside the university through the *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, which counted Alexander von Humboldt among its founding members in 1828.
11 His name does not appear on the society's membership lists (this information courtesy of Nils Seethaler of the *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Berlin, 16 January 2013). He was later to publish one of his Australian studies in the society's journal. See Eylmann, "Das Feuermachen der Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien."
12 On the struggle in late nineteenth-century Germany between the humanists who stood in a hermeneutic tradition firmly entrenched in the universities on the one hand and the emerging antihumanism of an empirical tradition on the other, see especially Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*.
13 On the importance of the three editions of Von Neumayer's work (1975, 1888, and 1906) see especially Murray, "Georg Balthasar von Neumayer's Directives for Scientific Research." Von Neumayer's collections were, as Murray suggests, the German equivalent of the British E. B. Tylor's work titled, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilised Lands*.
14 Bastian, "Allgemeine Begriffe der Ethnologie," and Virchow, "Anthropologie und prähistorische Forschungen."
15 Steinthal, "Linguistik."
16 Penny, *Objects of* Culture, 27–8.
17 Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen*, 14.
18 On the last years of Eylmann's life, see especially Schröder, *Ich reiste wie ein Buschmann*, 216–32.
19 Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen*, 6. This and other quotations from this work are translated by the author.
20 Jones, "Colonial *Wissenschaft*," 225.
21 Ibid., 224.
22 Ibid., 228.
23 Kraehenbuehl, "Holtze, Maurice William (1840–1923)."
24 Mulvaney, "Spencer, Sir Walter Baldwin (1860–1929)."
25 The four-volume report of the expedition, edited by Spencer, was published under the title *Report on the Work of the Horn Expedition to Central Australia*.
26 It is speculation on Gillen's part that Eylmann mentioned the German naturalist Ernst Haeckel, "Germany's leading Darwinian" (Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 21), though it is not inconceivable. Given Eylmann's pursuit of his anthropological interests in Berlin, though, it is more likely that he discussed Adolf Bastian or Rudolf Virchow, the most influential of the anthropologists active in the capital at that time. Spencer had met Haeckel in Jena in 1893; see Mulvaney et al., *My Dear Spencer*, 115.

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27 Gillen means here Emin Pasha, who was born in Silesia into a German–Jewish family under the name Isaak Eduard Schnitzer. He studied medicine and became a doctor but then entered the service of the Ottoman Empire, travelling and working widely within it before appearing in Khartoum in 1875. There he practised medicine and pursued his scientific interests, hence the similarity to Eylmann. From 1878 he was appointed governor of the province of Equatoria in what is now Southern Sudan and Uganda.
28 Letter, Gillen to Spencer, 25 April 1896, in Mulvaney et al., *My Dear Spencer*, 115.
29 Ibid., 122, 5 June 1896.
30 Ibid., 248, 23 December 1898.
31 Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899). There soon followed Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904).
32 Eylmann's own book was not published until 1908. Eylmann's journal entry of 15 April 1899 records that he made a full copy of a review of *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. Eylmann, "The Australian Journals," 240.
33 For a discussion of the history and impact of the disease in Central Australia see especially J. Strehlow, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, 601.
34 Gillen to Spencer, 23 March 1897, in Mulvaney et al., *My Dear Spencer*, 152.
35 Cited in Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 24.
36 Ibid., 631. They acknowledge that for the provision of the figures—sacred rock drawings called *churinga ilkinia*—they were "deeply indebted to Dr. E. Eylmann, who, at our request and at considerable trouble to himself, most kindly paid a special visit to the spot which lies some distance away from Barrow Creek, and took careful copies and measurements of the designs."
37 In a letter to Spencer of 23 March 1897, Gillen reports Eylmann taking notes from the anthropology volume of the Horn expedition. Mulvaney et al., *My Dear Spencer*, 152.
38 Eylmann, "The Australian Journals," 241–2, entries 22 May 1899, 5 June 1899, and 6 June 1899.
39 Gillen to Spencer, 22 October 1897, in Mulvaney et al., *My Dear Spencer*, 190–1.
40 Veit, "In Search of Carl Strehlow," 110.
41 Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Anti-humanism*, 52.
42 Ibid., 53.
43 For journal entries made during his stay at the Daly River Mission see Eylmann, "The Australian Journals," 122–7.
44 Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen*, 23.
45 Ibid., 464.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 464–5. A corroboree is a ceremonial gathering.
49 Ibid., 474.
50 Ibid., 476.
51 Ernest Cowle to William Baldwin Spencer, 7 February 1897. Cited, unsourced, in J. Strehlow, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, 613–4.
52 J. Strehlow, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, 656.
53 Cited, unsourced, in J. Strehlow, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, 657.
54 On the differences between Strehlow as a practitioner in a German tradition of cultural ethnology on the one hand and Spencer as a proponent of a scientifically-based social anthropology in an Anglo-Saxon tradition, see especially Veit, "Social Anthropology versus Cultural Anthropology."
55 On the role of informants in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthropology, and of the knowledge networks established in this way, see especially Völker, "Missionare als Ethnologen," 173–97.
56 Malinowski, "Across Australia. Review," 278–9.
57 Reece, *Daisy Bates*, 125.
58 Courto, "Introduction," in Eylmann "The Australian Journals," 12–13.
59 Veit, "Strehlow, Carl Friedrich Theodor (1871–1922)."
60 J. Strehlow, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, 1149.

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