

THE IMAGERY OF POSTCARDS SOLD IN MICRONESIA DURING THE GERMAN COLONIAL PERIOD

Dirk HR Spennemann

Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University

The first picture postcards of Micronesia were produced for the German colonies. Starting in 1898, cards existed for the Marshall Islands, soon followed by cards for Pohnpei, Yap, Palau and the Marianas. In total three main series can be identified: generic lithographed cards with reproductions of drawing or paintings, early photographic cards with undivided backs and white space on the image side for messages, and full-face image cards. The motifs on the early cards are scenic and ethnographic, while those on the second and third series predominately reproduce symbols of German colonial power and achievement. Cards that are exploitative of women (along the lines of 'dusky maidens'), which were so popular in Samoa, are very rare in the German Micronesian setting.

In modern marketing, visual imagery is a powerful component to attract the attention and imagination of potential visitors. There is a perpetual cycle of reinforcement, where postcards and other imagery—today travel brochures, in the past textual descriptions or paintings/etchings—provide a representation of key attractions which already have or are in the process of attaining icon status; these induce tourists to visit these sites and then to reinforce the icon status by replicating the messages through postcards, taking their own photos, textual descriptions (in travelogues and today as blogs on the world wide web).

This paper will be concerned with the representation of Micronesia on postcards published during the German colonial period (1886–1914).

So far, only little work has been carried out on the imagery of Micronesia in general and on the imagery of the colonial periods in particular. The standard work on Pacific imagery, *European Vision and the South Pacific*,¹ does not adequately cover Micronesia. In part is due to

the relative paucity of pictorial material when compared to the South Pacific. For example, apart from the watercolours produced by Louis Choris on occasion of Kotzebue's voyage in 1816-17,² and the images produced for Dumont D'Urville's voyages, there are only very few lithographs available of Eastern Micronesia. One less well known set, that was influential among German circles however, were those included in the German traders Franz Hershheim's reminiscences published in 1883 (Figure 1).³

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TRAVEL IMAGERY

Travel imagery falls into two main categories. In the first category are images used in marketing and promotion materials, such as travel brochures, magazines and websites.⁴ In the Micronesian setting, some work has been carried out on travel brochures and magazines.⁵

Picture postcards are inseparably intertwined with the tourist experience of the places visited. The imagery in travel brochures and guidebooks/coffee table books sets up expect-

tations among the tourists as to the sites and sights to be seen, which are then re-‘broadcast’ to the tourists’ friends and family through postcards being sent. The receipt of these postcards by the addressee authenticates the sender’s presence at the attraction visited.⁶ The second category is comprised of images that are acquired by the tourists/visitors and transmitted to the visitors’ circles of family, friends and acquaintances. These images, which normally take the form of postcards and photographs⁷ taken by the visitors, shall be focus of this study.



Figure 1. Jaluit Harbour as depicted by Franz Hernalshausen in 1883

On one of the limitations of these observations on travel imagery for the case study under discussion is the fact that cameras were not as ubiquitous at the turn of the twentieth century as they are today.

Corkery and Bailey argue that postcards are a good indicator of a visitor’s interest, as the sending of a postcard image requires an active selection of the image by the tourist.⁸ This certainly holds true in localities where a range of postcards is available. In their study of two postcard series from Boston (1977 and 1990) authors demonstrate how images, in order to construct a meaning, are carefully selected and framed—and on occasion edited. In addition to variations of the same scene under different light conditions and viewing angles, the newer postcard series has an increased range of subject matter to satisfy the increasingly diverse needs and interests of the visitors.

Not much work has been done on colonial picture postcards. Mellinger argued that the main theme of late nineteenth and early twentieth picture postcards of African-Americans in

the southern USA was to portray the ‘otherness’ of the region and its inhabitants, evoking mental images of the ante-bellum South (one to two generations earlier). Importantly, so Mellinger, the choice of topics and framing positioned the African-Americans in the racial framework that pervaded US society at the time.⁹

In a similar vein, ethnic imagery on postcards allows the postcard viewer, both buyer and receiver, to ‘safely’ engage with an exotic community and view it through a number of gazes.¹⁰ Common to these are that the host community is de-personified and turned into commodity, especially in images that have voyeuristic under-tones. A specific subset of the colonial postcards is comprised of those that are exploitative of women. Situating local women, dressed or semi-dressed in real and imaginary local costume, set against a studio backdrop that evokes images of harems and exotic (sexual / romantic) adventure. While the main audience for these cards was male, Yee recently argued that some were also destined for the female collector.¹¹

Colonial era postcards are commonly used as historic evidence, in particular to interpret the spatial arrangement and appearance of buildings, as well as the chronology of colonial construction activities. However, as outlined by Quanchi in his examination of some French postcards from New Caledonia, the image selection and framing of the postcards conveys political messages to the viewer,¹² messages the audience of the time would have been well understood. Wehbe analysed some colonial era postcards of Beirut and demonstrated that the colonial images stereotyped the landscapes and points of view, documented and celebrated events and happenings as well as colonial infrastructure and other architectural developments as evidence of colonial power and as such archived in visual form as signs of (French) colonial control over Lebanon.¹³ Similar work has been carried out for Tahiti¹⁴ and Arabia.¹⁵

This present paper adds to that work by providing an overview on the pictorial content of the German-era postcards in Micronesia, the first sizeable body of public imagery to come out of Micronesia.

POSTCARDS

Postcards as a phenomenon commenced in late 1869 when they were introduced by the Austrian postal service. Several German states followed suit in 1870 by publishing official 'correspondence card's comprised of an address side with an imprinted stamp and a blank verso side for the message. Despite initial concerns about the privacy of messages sent on postcards, these cards became one of the mainstays of postal stationery worldwide and remained in production by almost all stamp-issuing countries until they were essentially superseded by e-mail in the mid 1990s (Figure 2). The first picture postcard was created in Germany in 1870 when a printer used official government postcards and printed images on the blank side. By the early 1870s picture postcards became popular items.¹⁶

Postcard publication is closely linked to a country's postal regulations. For example, in the United Kingdom privately printed postcards could not be mailed until 1894 when the post office permitted users to affix stamps to the address side. Prior to that date, British postcards had to bear an imprint of postage stamp, which limited the production to a few authorised publishers or required publishers to buy blank government postcards and print them on the blank side. The latter of course limited the opportunity to produce high quality picture postcards.

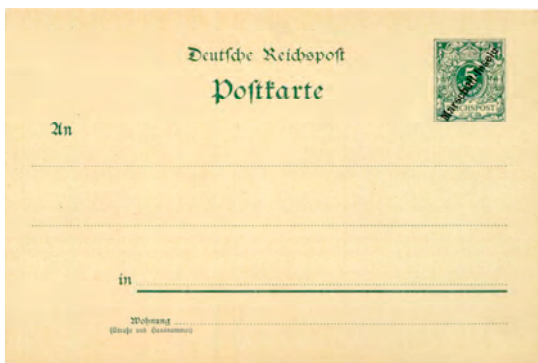


Figure 2. Government Postcard as the first official postal stationery item issued specifically for the Marshall Islands in September 1899.

All early postcards had an undivided address field as it was prohibited to write anything on the address side. Thus it was necessary to produce picture postcards where the

image side had various amounts of white space suitable for the conveyance of brief messages (e.g. Figure 15, Figure 16). In 1902 the requirement for an undivided back was dropped in the UK, in 1905 in Germany and in 1907 in the USA. This development allowed the creation of full size images on the front, leading to the development of picture postcards as they are in use today. Germany led the way in post card production, in 1872 allowing private publishers to produce plain correspondence cards, and by 1885 allowed the production and mailing of picture postcards without imprinted stamps.¹⁷ These soon created a collecting craze and created an avenue for tourists to broadcast where they had been. Understandably, the production of picture postcards was closely correlated with the markets they served.

POSTCARDS IN THE PACIFIC

The major tourist destinations of the Pacific, such as Fiji, Samoa, Hawai'i and Tahiti had picture postcards from the 1880s onwards, copying the trends in Europe, Australia and the USA. The German Pacific colonies of Samoa and Qingdao ('Kiautschou') saw major post card issues published both by local photographers, such as John Davis and Thomas Andrews in Samoa,¹⁸ and Franz Schulz in Tientsin or Max Grill in Qingdao,¹⁹ and by overseas companies sending travelling photographers, such as King of Sydney.

The topics chosen by the Samoan photographers were landscapes and townscapes, but especially images of Samoan women in various clad and semi-clad poses (Figure 3).²⁰ The Samoan tourist trade benefited from the fact that Samoa was a stop-over location on the San Francisco to New Zealand steamship mail service, providing a steady flow of day-excursionists. In addition, both Samoa and Fiji were located on the Western Polynesia triangle route Auckland–Tonga–Samoa–Fiji–Sydney since the 1880s,²¹ which brought excursionists and short-term visitors to the islands.

Micronesia, on the other hand, was off the beaten track. While Spain maintained a steamer connection, running the route Manila–Guam–Yap–Pohnpei and back) on a three-monthly schedule, and while Jaluit was connected with Sydney or Honolulu by irregular sailing ves-

sel,²² neither service was not conducive to tourism. As far as overall numbers of people is concerned, the Spanish civilian and military presence was largely confined to Guam. There are Spanish-era postcards of Micronesia on record, which seem to have been produced *after* Spain established garrisons on Yap and Pohnpei in response to German expansion in the area. The imagery of the card available for examination is ethnographic (Figure 4). Even after German had acquired the rest of Micronesia from Spain in 1899, and after a regular shipping line had been established in 1902 connecting Micronesia with both Sydney and Hong Kong,²³ the amount of passenger traffic remained low. An examination of the arrival and departure records in Sydney²⁴ shows that between 1902 and 1914 only 221 passengers arrived in and 126 passengers departed from Sydney.²⁵ An examination of the passenger names shows that most of these were business people and their families and servants resident in the islands.



Figure 3. *Samoa Woman*. Picture postcard by Thomas Andrews (Apia) 1904

Despite the limited market, quite a few postcards were produced. The small market and the abilities of printing in the region meant that unless postcards were produced by photographers on photographic paper, as in the case of Davis, Andrews and Tattersall in Samoa, printing had to occur off-island. While

Samoa had a newspaper press and small printing establishment provided by the Erich Lübke and his *Samoanische Zeitung*,²⁶ that publishing house was not able to produce lithographed postcards.²⁷

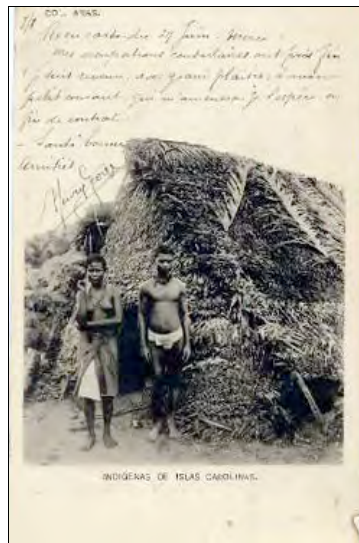


Figure 4. *Spanish-era postcard Natives showing a scene on Yap.*

METHODOLOGY

The methodology chosen for the analysis of the cards draws on broad content analysis of the main motif of each image on the postcards, drawing on minor motifs where present and deemed meaningful. The images reproduced here have been obtained from stamp auction catalogues and especially from on-line listings on the auction site e-bay, the magazine of a German colonial stamp collectors club (*Berliner Protokolle*) as well as the collections of several stamp collectors.²⁸ All postcards available for examination have been reproduced in the body of this paper. For some cards multiple copies were available. Of these the card with the best image quality was reproduced. Overall, the number of duplicates is quite small, thus not allowing for a quantitative analysis that could give insight into the popularity of a specific card design/motif.

Limitations

As the majority of images come from philatelists, who place emphasis on the postal aspects of the postcard and thus do not bias their collections by choice of imagery, we can assume

that any selection bias in the sample is non-existent or at least negligible. Even though the sample analysed here is based on over three years of data collection, it is not possible to claim completeness.

GERMAN POSTCARDS OF MICRONESIA

The body of postcards available for analysis can be categorised into three main groups: early lithographed images depicting paintings and drawings, early photo cards with copious amounts of white space and later photo cards with single full-sized images. The majority of the images reproduced on the post cards can also be found in publications of the time.

The early postcards show pre-printed address sides spelling out that these were formal postal cards under the World Postal Union or replicated the standard German postal stationary address sides but replaced 'Deutschland' with 'Deutsche Schutzgebiete' (German protectorates) again stressing that there were postcards as authorised by the World Postal Union. Later postcards had split backs, with some cards lacking any annotations.

The format of the postcards is predominantly horizontal, with vertical arrangements being uncommon. Of a total of 134 postal cards only fourteen (10.5%) used a vertical arrangement.

Availability

While the postcards were actually produced by various postcard publishers in Germany, most if not all of them were available for a sale in Micronesia as evidenced by the postmarks. Care must be exercised, however, in interpreting these postmarks. The fact that a postcard depicting one island group may be postmarked in another does not necessarily imply that the card was also available there. For example, on 30 December 1904 Pater Fidelis sent a postcard to Germany announcing his arrival on Pohnpei. The card, showing Kolonia Harbour in Yap (similar to Figure 37), would have been bought *en route* when the *Germania* stopped at Yap.

Early Lithographed Cards

The early postcards, usually colour, are depicting scenes from the German South Seas as

rendered by artists. Some of the cards depict the symbols of colonial power. In the early days, when a physical governmental presence in the islands was not yet established, these symbols of German might were represented more generically. Naval vessels were popular, such as the image of a German cruiser and gunboat raising the German flag (Figure 5) or the image of the cruiser SMS *Bussard* at an unspecified South Seas location (Figure 7). Later cards show the symbols of power such as the administrator's residence on Jaluit (Figure 118). General landscape scenes (Figure 118; Figure 121) are also popular. Intriguing among the latter is the use of the local Marshallese greeting 'Yokwe Yuk' (often spelled 'Jowke Juk') instead of the German 'Gruss aus Jaluit' adding exotic and local flair (Figure 121).

It should be noted that these postcards fall into a period when formal German annexation of Pacific Islands was limited to German New Guinea and the Marshall Islands. Thus apart from the generic naval imagery we can only expect images from New Guinea and the Marshalls.

The first card available for Pohnpei, which had become a German colony in October 1899,²⁹ carries a generic image of a group of men in canoes in mangrove forests, with an inset of men night fishing (Figure 42).

A number of commercial companies with trading interests in Micronesia produced postcard series to advertise their colonial connections. The sewing thread manufacturer Ackermann produced a card series 'Pictures of German Colonial Life' with showed *inter alia* the harbour of 'Ualan' (Kosrae) (Figure 8). The German magazine 'Von Haus zu Haus' produced as series of advertising postcards with colonial images on occasion of the turn of the century. One of them depicts Nolluk Village on Yap (Figure 9). Similarly, some companies produced collectible cards with scenes from the South Seas. While the German soup and meat producer Liebig only produced cards with a Samoan theme (Figure 11) the sewing machine manufacturer Singer produced advertising cards that depict the use of Singer sewing machines in a local 'Caroline Islands' setting (Figure 10). Common to these commercial cards in the use of exotic motifs, aimed at in-

triguing the public and demonstrating the reach of the company. The imagery on some of these cards is more imaginary than real (esp. the Liebieg cards).

The postcards produced by trading company Bruno Antelmann do not fit into that mould, however.

Bruno Antelmann

Bruno Antelmann owned a prominent German colonial trading company in Berlin and was very active in the colonial movement in Berlin, applying economic and political pressure on the government to declare protectorates and colonies in Africa and the Pacific. Bruno Antelmann produced a series of colonial postcards in 1899. The cards differ from all others as one issue of these carries the imprinted stamp of the German colony and are thus classed a private print of official stationery, while the others have a standard back without the stamp imprint.

As mentioned earlier, the Antelmann card 'Greetings from Jaluit' (Figure 117) shows the symbols of German political and economic power in the Marshall Islands: the colonial administrative office ('Landeshauptmannschaft'), the post office and a house of a plantation owner. The Antelmann card is one of a series of cards produced for the colonies, such as German New Guinea (Stephansort: Figure 12; generic: Figure 13), and German East Africa.

These postcards were the second series of cards produced by the Deutsches Kolonialhaus. The first series, published in 1897 or 1898 shows similarly lithographed scenes of the German colonies, showing a locality and one or more of the administrators (eg German East Africa; Figure 14). Examples for this can be shown for German East Africa (Figure 14), German New Guinea (Figure 12, Figure 13) as well as for the Marshall Islands (Figure 119). The latter card shows a generic scene of Jaluit as seen from the lagoon with an inset of the German administrator Georg Irmer, who was Landeshauptmann from December 1893–March 1898 (Figure 119). The card draws on a watercolour by W. Kuhmert, a German artists who had produced a series of wall charts of German colonies for use in German schools.³⁰ That image in itself is an interpretation of a

Hernsheim image of 1883 with adjustments to the design of the canoe. (Figure 1)

Antelmann also produced a second, similar card showing German vessels in the lagoon of Jaluit, with insets of German administrator Georg Irmer and of the Samoan chief Mata'afa who had been exiled on Jaluit between 1893 and 1898.

Russian Cards

The Russian publisher Prosveshenie (Moscow) produced a lithographed card of Jaluit Lagoon, showing a sailing vessel off the islet (Figure 61) by the Vienna artist Otto Schulz. The image shown on the card is a graphic reinterpretation of an earlier German postcard showing the same scene in a larger setting (Figure 130) with another image copying the same concept (Figure 120).

Early Photo Cards (multiple images)

The early series of photo cards (with an undivided back) produced for the German Pacific follow the same formula: two or three photographic images and some white space for messages, commonly at the bottom right. That layout follows the understanding how the (European) human eye scans a page, from top left to bottom right. All of these cards were monochrome on whitish card stock with either black, green or dark blue print. Colour photograph postcards do not appear on the market until after World War I (Figure 18).³¹

G. Jacobsen's Kunstanstalt

A postcard series produced by the publisher G. Jacobsen's Kunstanstalt, in Altenburg (Sachsen-Anhalt) uses a formula of two photographic images set in a frame showing an ethnographic scene and tropical vegetation, with the post card's title "Greetings from xyz" set in ornamental, drawn letters. Examples for this are on record for Jaluit (Figure 130), German New Guinea (Bismarcks, Figure 15; Matupi, Figure 16), Yap (Figure 53, Figure 54).

The imagery for the Jaluit post card is ethnographic and scenic (Figure 130). It uses a photograph of three Marshallese in front of a canoe and augments this with a black and white image of German vessels off Jaluit. A cropped version of the same image (but re-

drawn) and attributed to the Vienna artist O. Schulz, was produced by a Russian postcard publisher (Figure 61). The two images are anchored by a drawing of a Marshallese man holding a spear and clad in traditional grass skirt dress. That image has been copied from Franz Hensheim's 1883 publication *Südsee-Erinnerungen*.³²

Both cards from Yap are likewise scenic and ethnographic. One card shows an oblique view of Malakal harbour and breakwater taken from an elevation and as an inset an image of a traditional men's house (Figure 53), while the other shows a Yapese in traditional dress and a view of Malakal harbour with a two people in a canoe fishing (Figure 54). The two cards from New Guinea follow the same pattern (Figure 15, Figure 16).

Marshalls

In addition to the cards produced by G. Jacobson's Kunstanstalt, there are a few multiple image cards from Jaluit. These cards have ornamental borders, either floral (Figure 122, Figure 125) or abstract Art Nouveau (Figure 127, Figure 128). The imagery on the cards continues the trend already observed of protecting symbols of German colonial power such as the district administration (Figure 125), the post office (Figure 122, Figure 125), a planter's home well laid out paths in plantations (Figure 127). The first regular steamer service connecting Jaluit with Sydney and Hong Kong also found representation through the inclusion of an image of the *Oceana* steaming through a pass into Jaluit Lagoon (Figure 122).

Local life in the Marshalls is depicted as insets of a group of women (Figure 125) and of *irooj* Nelu, one of the high-ranking chiefs of Jaluit (Figure 126), while images of natural scenery are rare (Figure 126).

Nauru

There is one single image card of that period on record for the island of Nauru (Figure 89). The three-image card shows the lake used for aquaculture,³³ the Catholic mission,³⁴ and the German government administration.

Marianas

A generally similar series was produced by the Meissen publisher Bruck and Sons for the Marianas (Figure 19, Figure 20). Both cards, showing three images each, provide a view of the German district administration office with the row of latte stones in front.³⁵ One card shows one of the Japanese trading schooners, which provided the mainstay of communication in these days, and an image of the local plantation industry (Figure 19), while the other included a view of the government's launch and of the workshop building (Figure 20).

Early Photo Cards (single images)

The initial wave of scenic/ethnographic cards was soon replaced—or at least augmented—by a second line of postcards (also with an undivided back). These were pure picture postcards with one or two photographic images, dispensing with ornate floral borders and other graphic embellishments.

Marianas

The publisher Max Stephani (Biedenkopf) produced a set of cards for the Marianas which had only a single image (Figure 23–Figure 26). Given the photos it is likely that both the single-image and the triple-image cards were produced at the same time. Like the images used by the Meissen publisher Bruck and Sons, the photographic images used for these cards would have been procured from Georg Fritz, the first district administrator of the Marianas, and avid photographer with entrepreneurial tendencies.³⁶

A comparison of the images chosen for reproduction as postcards with the wide range of images taken by Fritz³⁷ shows a biased selection by the postcard publisher. The imagery selected by the publisher is dominated by architectural themes and symbols of German colonial power, such as the (temporary) administration building (Figure 23, Figure 24), the new administration building under construction (Figure 19, Figure 20, Figure 26), the government workshop (Figure 20), locally trained police troops at the boat house (Figure 21), the government launch (Figure 20), and the (Spanish-era) church (Figure 22, Figure 26). Local, semi-ethnographic elements are brought in by

the inclusion of a caribou cart (Figure 22) and the depiction of a boy riding a caribou against the backdrop of the main street of Garapan (Figure 25). While the image of the boy on the caribou is somewhat quaint, it too has colonial undertones, as a German colonial official (Hermann Woitscheck) looks on.

All images either portray an air of development, be it completed or in progress, and project an impression that the Marianas are a colony of 'substance.' One of the images conspicuously absent is that of latte columns. Made famous by the illustrations in Freycinet's accounts, the latte columns of the 'House of Taga' on Tinian are without doubt 'the' iconic site in the Marianas and Fritz used them to his political advantage. Yet, none of the seventeen German-era postcards that were available analysed depict them.³⁸ In part, this can be explained by the fact that the German postcard publishers focussed on the manifestations of German colonial power and German colonial achievements (read: 'improvements'). In addition, the German administration was centred on Saipan, with Tinian being a largely uninhabited island.³⁹ Thus as few visitors as ever came to the Marianas, most of them were day excursionists, brought there by the German steamer *Germania* en route to or from Hong Kong. The *Germania's* stop-over only lasted a few hours, not enough to see much more than Garapan and, at most, Tanapag.

Marshalls

The single image cards of the Marshalls, in design similar to a card from Pohnpei (Figure 43), depict scenes of a lagoonal beach (Figure 123) and of atoll vegetation (Figure 124). It can be expected that this series comprised more than two cards, but these have not been located yet.

Carolines

A number of cards were produced for the Caroline Islands, both as generic cards (Figure 37–Figure 41; Figure 69) and cards specific to Pohnpei (Figure 43). The cards for the Carolines focus on ethnographic motifs and on landscape scenery, with fishing (Figure 37, Figure 38), and housing (Figure 39, Figure 41, Figure 69) as prominent motifs. Ethnographic comment with colonial undertones is made

through the inclusion of a small image showing islanders in traditional dress on either side or an islander with a Bowler hat and open shirt (Figure 39). One card replicated the oblique view of Malakal Harbour in Yap (Figure 40) but does not identify the location. The card from Pohnpei (Figure 43) shows a trading station built on a stone-platform set into the lagoon. It is a generic scene that has little relevance to the German presence on the island.

Later Photo Cards

After 1907 the Imperial German postal service dropped the requirement for an undivided address field and allowed for the publication of postcards as we know them today. As a result, a new series of postal view cards could be published that maximised the available printing space—although not all postcard series availed themselves to this (as is the case with a series published for the Marshalls and Nauru).

Pohnpei

A set of full-face, borderless postcards was produced in the 1910s for Pohnpei. The imagery continues the previous model. There are the symbols of German colonial power, such as the residences of the German district administrator (Figure 49) and government physician (Figure 50) and a stone bridge demonstrating German infrastructure development (Figure 48). All three images, however, make careful use of the surrounding vegetation to portray Pohnpei as a lush island replete with coconuts (the mainstay of German plantation economy in Micronesia) signalling commercial prosperity. Likewise, the distant vantage point chosen for the image of the German district administrator (Figure 49) somewhat diminished the details of the building (although it shows it towering over the surrounding vegetation), but it allows to convey an image of orderly development and improvement of the colonial conditions, symbolised by the well-kept gardens and driveway.

In addition there are a view of Sokeh's Rock, Kolonia's landmark;⁴⁰ two views of Kolonia as seen from the lagoon (Figure 45, Figure 46) and one view of part of the former Spanish fortifications (Figure 36). Ethnographica are the image of four Pohnpeian men

drinking *sakau* (Figure 51), the view of Kepi-rohi Waterfall with a Pohnpeian male in traditional dress (Figure 71) and an image of boys from the boarding school (Figure 44). The latter image, of course, has colonial undertones through its developmental implications by depicting boys dressed in part like Europeans, but set as a scenery with traditional food in what to the untrained eye would appear to be a traditional shelter.

Chuuk

For the purpose of this analysis only a single postcard from Chuuk could be drawn on. Although it is a real photo card, *ie* one that was produced from a negative rather than printed commercially, it is included here. The image shows the founding members of a Church Youth Group in 1911 (Figure 87).

Yap

A wide range of full-face, borderless postcards is available for Yap. The imagery covers the range from scenery to colonial and ethnographic. The symbols of German colonial power are much less prominent among the later cards than they were among the early series. While there are images of technological achievement, such as the offices of the German-Dutch Telegraph Station at Kolonia (Figure 52), and of colonial relations with those being ruled, as represented by a group photograph of the local police soldiers (Figure 57), the majority of the images have a different subject matter.

General scenic views are those of Tomil harbour (Figure 75, Figure 76), of a station building at the sea (Figure 77), or in a bay with the mountains reflecting on the still lagoon (Figure 55) conjuring up images of a exotic environments and idyllic conditions for those living there. Images of a streetscape (Figure 67) and of a traditional house (Figure 68) also fit into this category.

The human element is very prominent among the postcards from Yap. Ethnographic imagery of men and women in grass skirts both as group photos (Figure 58–Figure 60) and as portraits (Figure 62, Figure 63, Figure 66) reinforce the images, and, through the bare breasted nature and their prominent position-

ing in the group photos, add another, exploitative, dimension. That is reinforced by the caption to Figure 65 which identifies the young woman as a ‘village beauty.’

Carolines

Among the more generic cards from the Carolines is one that breaks the mould of all Micronesian postcards of the period. That card, entitled ‘Gruss von den Karolinen’ shows two young women with flower leis, clad in short dresses and exposed breasts (Figure 70). It is clearly a studio photograph. The image is so far the only one seen by the author where women are photographed in seductively alluring poses. There are a few other postcards with portraits of bare-breasted women, mainly from Yap (Figure 64, Figure 65), Saipan (Figure 74) and Nauru (Figure 72, Figure 137, Figure 138), but these are taken in ‘natural settings’ as are the group photos that include bare breasted women from Yap (Figure 58–Figure 60). Were it not for the caption ‘village beauty’ on two of them (Figure 65, Figure 137), they could have been classed merely as examples of insensitive imagery of the times.

While the latter cards are certainly exploitative in their presentation,⁴¹ the image reputedly from the Carolines differs fundamentally (Figure 70). Here the two women are set up as sex objects, each with one breast exposed and accentuated from the clothing by a border made up from a *lei*. What strikes the observer, though, is that the pattern of the dresses is not a pattern usual for Micronesia but resembles Samoan/Tongan bark cloth, and that the features and body shape of the two women resembles more Polynesians than it does any of the Micronesian communities. It would appear that a Samoan or Tongan stock photo from one of the studios was taken and furnished with a caption falsely locating the image in the Carolines.

Marianas

Like the other colonies, a new set of full-faced photographic cards was also produced for the Marianas (Figure 27–Figure 35). These cards based on new images taken after 1906,⁴² again project the ‘substance’ of the Marianas, and again the symbols of German colonial devel-

opment and power. The images project German power and education (Figure 29), development as in the case of a crowd thronging at the boat harbour and pier (Figure 27, Figure 33), scenes of well-laid out and *tidy* streets both in the build-up and commercial area (Figure 28, Figure 35) and further afield (Figure 31). The conditions of the German priests were realistically albeit somewhat romantically portrayed by showing the priest's residence at Tanapag in the midst of a coconut grove (Figure 30). Ethnographic information was conveyed through the image of a ball game (Figure 34) and through a comparison of Chamorro and Carolinians in traditional dress (Figure 32).

Conspicuously absent are photographs showing the landscape or scenery of the island. If we consider that Saipan was not the archetypical romanticizable South Seas Idyll (even during the German times), that selection becomes understandable. Compared to the earlier set of photographs (see above), this new series was well selected. All photographs are well composed and include a human element such as bathing school children (Figure 27),⁴³ well-dressed people on the roads (Figure 35, Figure 31). In addition, there are subtle hints regarding progressiveness, such as the inclusion of a bicycle in a street scene (Figure 28).

Marshall Islands

A series of postcards produced for the Marshall Islands in the 1910s maintains a narrow white margin, which carries the uniform inscription 'Gruss aus Jaluit (Marshall Inseln)'⁴⁴ The motifs chosen are much more varied than before. They are a scene of Jaluit harbour with sailing vessels and canoes (Figure 132), a good photograph or a traditional Marshallese canoe ('walap,' Figure 131), a view of a traditional Marshallese thatched house and yard (Figure 133) and a landscape scene showing the northern top of Jabwor (Jaluit) looking towards the pass (Figure 132). These cards are part of a series that also included images from Nauru.

In addition, there are two cards, both of which focus on Mile, showing the lagoon with Marshallese and Kosraean canoes and an inset of the *irooj* of Mile (Figure 135) and a card showing the Catholic (?) Church on Mile and a citation from the bible (Figure 136).

Nauru

The establishment of the phosphate mines on Nauru in 1908⁴⁵ and the associated developments meant both an increased influx of (postcard writing) expatriates and visitors. As a result, Nauru saw the publication of a number of post cards. Some cards were part of a series on the German Marshalls, maintaining the 'traditional' white space. These cards are all inscribed 'Nauru (Marshall Islands).' The cards from this series that were available for examination depict traditional scenes, such as houses (Figure 91–Figure 94), landscape settings (Figure 97–Figure 101), local settings such as old fortifications (Figure 96) and sea-birding using tamed frigate birds (Figure 95), as well as girls in traditional (Figure 90, Figure 106, Figure 108) and European dress (Figure 105). Colonial imagery is rare in that series and limited to a photo of the church at Orru (Figure 93). The motif selection is thus similar to that of the Marshall Islands.

A second series of cards, all with a white border and an inscription line, also concentrates on scenic and ethnographic motifs, such as the well-kept path along the inner lake used for aquaculture (Figure 113), an image of the lake itself with a fishing hut (Figure 109), a coconut grove with children (Figure 116), a girl fetching water (Figure 138), and a group of children in front of a hut (Figure 110). A somewhat sexually exploitative image of a topless young girl, captioned 'Smiling Beauty' (Figure 137), also belongs to that series. One image shows the residence of the German administrator (Figure 114). Conspicuously absent from the imagery are pictures of the phosphate works or the technologically quite spectacular loading facilities. Of these only one image, from a third series of postcards, could be found (Figure 115).

Palau

Like Nauru, Palau was a colonial backwater for much of the German colonial period. This all changed once phosphate had been discovered on Angaur. Now Palau was a major source of revenue for German Micronesia, and became a major European settlement. While there are no early postcards of Palau, quite a few were published in the 1910s. The imagery of the Palauan

cards differs dramatically from that of the other colonies as they heavily emphasise local culture and architecture. Conspicuously absent from the imagery that could be compiled to date are pictures of the phosphate works on Angaur.

Without doubt, the iconographic buildings of Palau are the *bai*. It is not surprising then, that the *bai* figure prominently on six of the nine cards that were available for analysis (Figure 83–Figure 86). In addition there are images of smaller dwellings (Figure 82), part of a settlement (Figure 81) and the image of a canoe with Pater Raymund Laile, priest in Koror seen waving his hat (Figure 78).⁴⁶ Among the postcards available for analysis is one produced from a photographic negative, *i.e.* not commercially printed, showing a public meeting in progress (Figure 79). Some of the captions are designed to conjure mental images of exotic places, such as the caption for Figure 82 which reads ‘Palau. Residence, still built with stone axes’ and that of Figure 81 which reads ‘Idyll on the island of Palau in the South Seas.’

One of the Palauan cards hows the realities of postcard production: is an Australian printing (‘Empire Postcards’) with the text ‘Gruss aus Palau, Deutsche Südsee’ (‘Greeting from Palau, German South Seas’) applied with a rubber stamp on the image side (Figure 86).

THE GERMAN COLONIAL MOTIFS

A frequency analysis of the German colonial postcards from Micronesia (Table 1) shows that the centres of power are well represented, but that backwaters, such as Kosrae and Chuuk, do not figure. In term of imagery, colonial topics dominate (33%), followed by landscapes (26%) and ethnographic images (24%). Exploitative images of women (5%) and general images of colonial or local produce (1%) are rare.

In terms of postcard production, we can split the German colonial period into two periods with the year 1907 (the introduction of the split address side as the dividing line. As has been outlined in the section above, the earlier postcards tend to emphasise the manifestations and attributes of German colonial power. Government buildings and institutions, such as post office, as well as means of com-

munication with the outside world are of importance. It is not surprising, then, to note that the standard German colonial postage stamps (after 1901) depict the *Hobenzollern*, the German Emperor’s Personal Yacht, as a symbol of the far reaches of German colonial might.

Table 1. Frequency of motifs on postcards

	Colonial	Landscape	Produce	Local Architecture	Ethnography	Women	Total
Marianas	15	1	1	1	2	1	21
Palau		1		7	1		9
Yap	3	10		3	9	2	27
Pohnpei	7	3			5		15
Kosrae					1		1
Chuuk	1						1
Carolines					1	1	2
Marshalls	16	13		2	4		35
Nauru	5	11		4	12	3	35
Generic	2						2
Total	49	39	1	17	35	7	148

The imagery used on the later cards, on the other hand, on the whole focuses much more on the exotic nature of the Micronesian setting, heavily drawing on scenic and ethnographic images, with semi-clad women illustrated as part of local tradition. This holds certainly true for the Marshalls and Palau, but especially for Yap and Nauru. Exceptions are Pohnpei, where symbols of German colonial power remain the focus of representation, and the Marianas, where again subjects of ‘substance’ are depicted.

All postcard images shows Micronesia as seen through the eyes of the European residents and visitors (as photographers), a view which was again filtered by the postcard publishers, who chose images they thought would capture the imagination of the buyers.

When using these images as illustrations, we need to be conscious of both filters and recognise that the local view is absent altogether. It is only in rare occasions, such as through the work of the Marshallese photographer Joachim de Brum,⁴⁷ that this view can be obtained.



Figure 5. Postcard 'Cruiser and gunboat raising the German flag' (pmk 1907)⁴⁸



Figure 6. Postcard 'showing the Government steamer 'Seestern' (pmk 1906)



Figure 7. "German Cruiser SMS Bussard in the South Sea Islands' Generic postcard (pmk 1897)



Figure 8. "German colonial life. Harbour of Ualan, Eastern Carolines' Advertising card



Figure 9. 'Heartfelt greetings to the turn of the century. From the Caroline Islands, Nolluk Village, Yap.'



Figure 10. Collectible card distributed by the German sewing machine manufacturer Singer



Figure 11. Collectible card distributed by the German soup and meat extract producer Liebig in 1902



Figure 12. Postcard 'Greetings from Stephansort' produced by Bruno Antelmann in Berlin in 1899



Figure 13. Postcard 'Greetings from New Guinea' produced by Bruno Antelmann in Berlin in 1899



Figure 14. Postcard 'Greetings from Dar-es-Salam' produced by Bruno Antelmann in Berlin in 1898



Figure 15. Postcard 'Greetings from the Bismarck Archipelago' (pmk 1898)



Figure 16. Postcard 'Greetings from Matupi' (pmk 1898)



Figure 17. Kolonialkrieger Postcard 1915: Jaluit



Figure 18. Colour Picture Postcard of 1912.⁴⁹



Figure 19. Postcard 'Greetings from the Marianas' (pmk 1908)

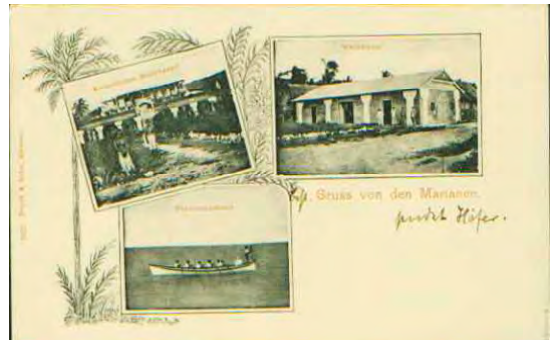


Figure 20. Postcard 'Greetings from the Marianas'



Figure 21. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. At the boat house' (pmk 1901)



Figure 22. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. Ox cart on Saipan' (pmk 1901)



Figure 23. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. Residence of the German Colonial Administrator' (pmk 1901)



Figure 24. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. Pater Francisco and residence of the German Colonial Administrator' (pmk 1901)



Figure 25. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. A rider on an oxen on Saipan in the Carolinian quarter' (pmk 1901)



Figure 26. Postcard 'Greetings from Saipan, Mariana Islands. Church and the government building under construction' (pmk 1901)



Figure 27. Postcard 'Saipan. Boatshouse'



Figure 28. Postcard 'Street in Saipan'



Figure 29. Postcard 'Saipan. School with Chamorro columns'



Figure 30. Postcard 'Priest's Residence at Tanapag on the island of Saipan (Marianas)'



Figure 31. Postcard 'Saipan' (pmk 1912)



Figure 32. Postcard [left] 'Carolinian' [right] 'Saipan's Chamorro' (pmk 1913)



Figure 33. Postcard 'Saipan, Pier with boat harbour'



Figure 34. 'Ball Game of the Mariana Islanders'



Figure 35. 'Street on Saipan' (pmk 1912)



Figure 36. Postcard 'Pohnpei, Fortifications' (pmk 1910)



Figure 37. Postcard 'Greetings from the Caroline Islands (South Seas)' (pmk 1905)



Figure 38. Postcard 'Greetings from the Caroline Islands (South Seas)' (pmk 1905)



Figure 39. Postcard 'Greetings from the Caroline Islands (South Seas)' (pmk 1905)



Figure 40. Postcard 'Greetings from the Caroline Islands (South Seas)' (dated 1905)



Figure 41. Postcard 'Greetings from the Caroline Islands (South Seas)' (dated 1905)



Figure 42. Postcard 'Greetings from Pohnpei' (pmk 1906)



Figure 43. 'Greetings from Pohnpei' (pmk 1905)



Figure 44. Postcard 'From the boys' boarding school on Pohnpei in the South Seas'



Figure 45. Postcard 'Pohnpei, Kolonia, District Office. (pmk 1912)



Figure 46. Postcard 'Pohnpei, Partial view of the colony'



Figure 47. Postcard 'Pohnpei, house of the government administrator'



Figure 48. Postcard 'Pohnpei, stone bridge' (pmk 1912)



Figure 49. Postcard 'Sokeb's Rock and Sokeb's landscape' (pmk 1911)



Figure 50. Postcard 'Pohnpei, house of the government physician' (pmk 1911)



Figure 51. Postcard 'Pohnpei Natives, German Micronesia' (pmk 1914)



Figure 52. 'Telegraph office of the German-Dutch Telegraph Co, Island of Yap, German Western Carolines'



Figure 53. Postcard 'Greetings from Yap'

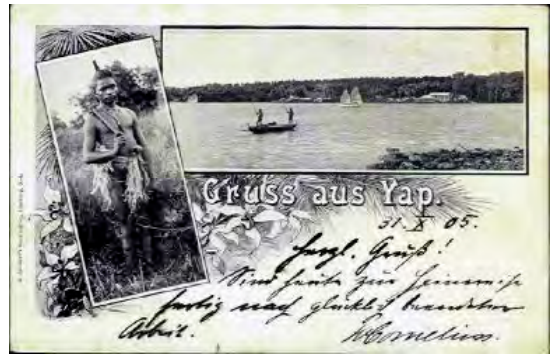


Figure 54. Postcard 'Greetings from Yap' (pmk 1906)



Figure 55. Postcard 'Greetings from Yap, German Western Carolines'



Figure 56. Postcard 'Greetings from the Island of Yap, German Western Carolines'



Figure 57. Postcard 'Police Troops of Natives, Island of Yap, German Western Carolines'



Figure 58. Postcard 'Greetings from the Island of Yap, German Western Carolines'



Figure 59. Postcard 'Natives from the island of Yap, German Western Micronesia' (pmk 1909)



Figure 60. Postcard 'Yap, Western Carolines. Women and Girls' (pmk 1913)



Figure 61. Postcard 'published by the Russian publisher Prosveshenie'



Figure 62. Postcard 'A high chief of Yap (Western Carolines)'



Figure 63. Postcard 'Yap, Western Carolines, Bride and Groom' (pmk 1912)



Figure 64. Untitled Postcard (pmk 1912)



Figure 65. Postcard 'Yap (Western Carolines). A village beauty'



Figure 66. Untitled Postcard (pmk 1913)



Figure 67. Postcard 'Greetings from the island of Yap, German Western Micronesia' (pmk 1909)



Figure 68. Untitled Postcard. (pmk 1910)



Figure 69. Postcard 'Greetings from the Carolines (South Seas)'



Figure 70. Postcard 'Greetings from the Carolines' (pmk 1912)



Figure 71. Postcard 'Pohnpei, Waterfall' (pmk 1912)



Figure 72. Postcard 'Nauru, Marshall Islands.'

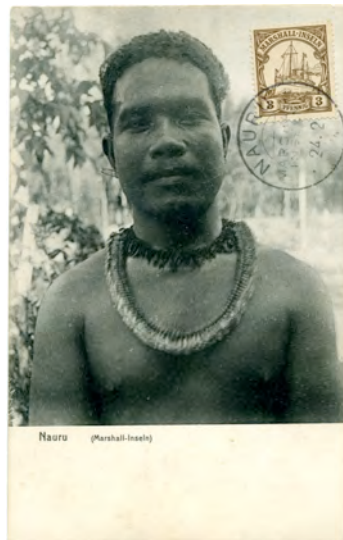


Figure 73. Postcard 'Nauru, Marshall Islands.'



Figure 74. Postcard 'Saipan, Carolinians' (pmk 1913)



Figure 75. Yap Island (Carolines). Tomil Harbour.



Figure 76. Yap Island (Carolines). Atoll in Tomil Harbour. (pmk 1913)



Figure 77. 'Yap, Western Carolines, beach scene' (pmk 1912)



Figure 78. Untitled Postcard. (pmk 1914)



Figure 79. Untitled Postcard (pmk 1911)



Figure 80. Postcard 'Angaur, Palau Islands'



Figure 81. Postcard 'Idyll from the island of Palau in the South Seas'



Figure 82. Postcard 'Palau. Residence, still built with stone axes'



Figure 83. Postcard 'Angaur, Palau Islands' (pmk 1910)



Figure 84. Postcard 'Angaur, Palau Islands' (pmk 1910)



Figure 85. Postcard 'Angaur, Palau Islands. (pmk 1913)

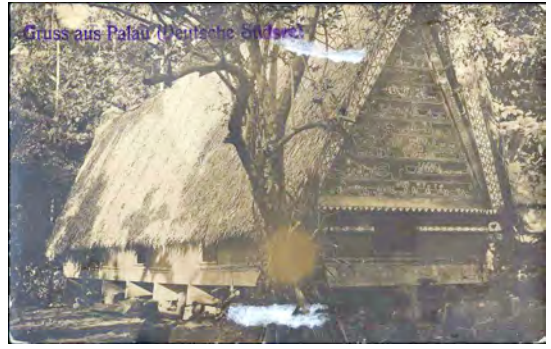


Figure 86. Postcard 'Greetings from Palau (German South Seas). (pmk 1909)



Figure 87. Untitled Postcard. The hand written sign reads 'Founding of the Youth Group of Chuuk 1911'



Figure 88. Untitled Postcard (pmk 1914)



Figure 89. Postcard 'Greetings from Nauru Island' (pmk 1907)



Figure 90. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)' (pmk 1913)



Figure 91. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)' (pmk 1914)



Figure 92. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)' (pmk 1914)



Figure 93. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 94. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 95. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 96. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 97. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 98. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 99. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 100. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 101. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 102. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 103. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 104. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)' (pmk 1913)



Figure 105. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 106. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 107. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 108. Postcard 'Nauru (Marshall Islands)'



Figure 109. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands Lagoon with hut'



Figure 110. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands Children in front of a hut'



Figure 111. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands Path near the Lagoon'



Figure 112. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands Native Girls'



Figure 113. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands. Part of the settlement Jangor. (pmk 1906)



Figure 114. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands. House of the Station chief.'

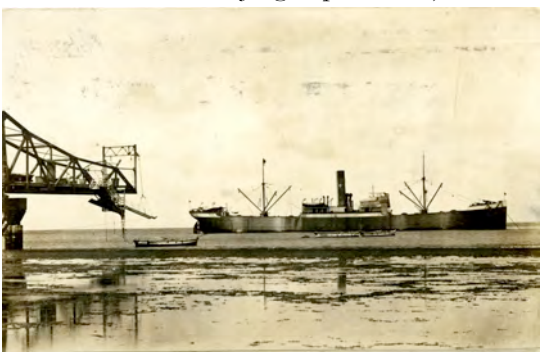


Figure 115. Postcard showing ship at the cantilever for loading guano

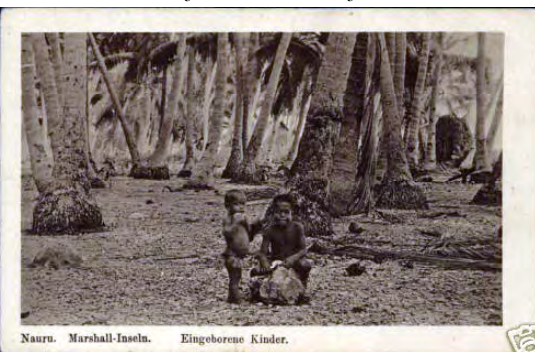


Figure 116. Postcard 'Nauru. Marshall Islands. Native Children'



Figure 117. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit' produced by Bruno Antelmann in Berlin in 1899



Figure 118. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit'



Figure 119. Postcard 'Marshall Islands, Jaluit' (pmk 1900)



Figure 120. Postcard 'Yokwe Yuk jen Jaluit. (Greetings from the Marshall Islands (dated 1906)



Figure 121. Postcard 'Yokwe Yuk'



Figure 122. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands. Yokwe Yuk jen Jaluit' (pmk 1904)



Figure 123. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit' (dated 1904)



Figure 124. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit'

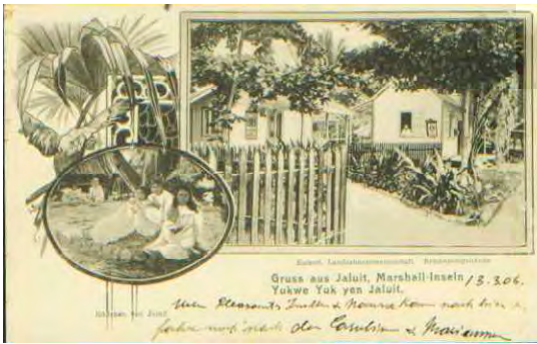


Figure 125. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands. Yokwe Yuk jen Jaluit' (dated 1906)



Figure 126. Postcard 'Yokwe Yuk jen Jaluit' (date 1906)



Figure 127. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (pmk 1909)



Figure 128. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (dated 1910)



Figure 129. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (dated 1907)



Figure 130. Greetings from Jaluit' produced by G. Jacobson's Kunstanstalt, Altenburg, S.A. (pmk 1898)



Figure 131. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (pmk 1912)



Figure 132. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (pmk 1912).



Figure 133. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (pmk 1913).



Figure 134. Postcard 'Greetings from Jaluit, Marshall Islands' (pmk 1912)

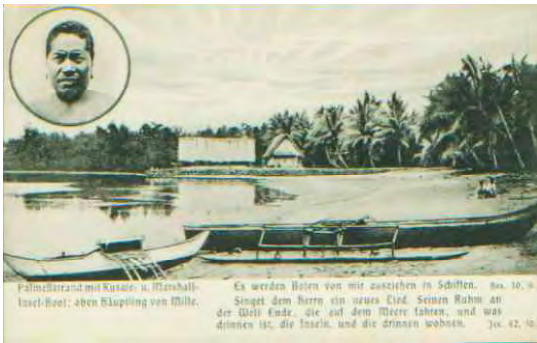


Figure 135. Postcard 'Palm beach with Kosrae and Marshall Islands boat. Inset: chief of Mile'



Figure 136. Postcard "Church on Mile, Marshall Islands (German South Seas) (dated 1911)



Figure 137. Postcard 'Nauru, Marshall Islands. Smiling beauty'



Figure 138. Postcard 'Nauru, Marshall Islands. Girl fetching water'

ENDNOTES

1. Smith 1984.
2. Choris 1820.
3. Hemsheim 1883.
4. eg. Ateljevic and Doorne 2002.
5. Sayers & Spennemann (2006) investigated the provision of information on cultural attractions to Japa-

nese Tourists in the CNMI. That work examined the imagery contained in travel brochures and magazines produced for the tourist market in the Northern Mariana Islands. These images were geared at the commercialisation of the tourist product and specific opportunities

⁶ Markwick 2001.

7. While postcard consumption seems poised to be on the decline due to personal digital, and hence instantly transmittable, photography via e-mail or blogs on the Internet (pers obs.), they still form a mainstay of the visitor experience (eg. Markwick 2001). Jenkins argued that imagery in travel brochures and on postcards shapes the perception of visitors, causing them to replicate the imagery in their own photographs (Jenkins 2003). This is disputed, in part, by Larsen (2006) who argued the images differ in some way.
8. Corkery & Bailey 1994.
9. Mellinger 1994.
10. Thurlow, Jaworski and Ylänne-McEwen 2005.
11. Yee 2004.
12. Quanchi 2004.
13. Wehbe 2006.
14. Kahn 2000, 2005
15. Burns 2004.
16. Hille 1988, Altonaer Museum 1965.
17. Hille 1988, Altonaer Museum 1965.
18. Some commentators have noted how “in the tiny backwater of Apia...[a] small...population could sustain commercial photography.” (Nordström 1995, p. 26). The reason rests in the allure of the South Pacific in general and the concomitant interest in imagery from the region. That element doubtlessly fuelled the demand for exotica.
19. See various issues of *Berliner Protokolle*.
20. Most of the customers demanded the standard motifs of exotica and ethnographica, Davis advertised these cabinet sized cards at the price of 6s per dozen (Advertisement. *Samoa Times* (Apia) starting with vol. 4, no. 195, 23 July 1892, p. 1 col. 5).
21. Spennemann 2002.
22. Spennemann 1999; 2003.
23. Spennemann 2005.
24. Spennemann in prep.
25. We do not, at present, have the arrival and departure statistics for Hong Kong.
26. Spennemann 2006; 2007.
27. A number of postcards were ‘published’ in Samoa in 1898 but printed on behalf of the German trading company Grevsmühl by the Hamburg publishers L. von Reiche (*Berliner Protokolle* 81 [2006], p. 115, fig. 4).
28. I am indebted for kind assistance and the provision of images to Wolfgang Herrmann (Berlin), Michael White (Saipan) and Robert Stein (New York)
29. Spennemann 2003b; 2006b.
30. Originally published by Wachsmuth (Leipzig) in 1902
31. That image was taken from Scheel 1912.
32. Hershheim 1883, plate 9; righthand image.
33. See Spennemann 2003c for context.
34. established in April 1903 (Erdland 1903).
35. See Spennemann 2006c for symbolism.
36. Spennemann 1999, 2006c, in press.
37. See Spennemann 1999 for a few. The Fritz’ collection is held in copies by the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam and the University Library of Frankfurt, Germany.
38. It should be noted that several postcards were available for analysis in numerous copies held in collectors’ hands.
39. Spennemann 1999.
40. The postcard was produced before the Sokeh’s Rebellion.
41. And some, but probably not all may have been photographed with that intention.
42. As the second version of the administration building, then used as a school is depicted in Figure 29.
43. See Spennemann 1999, p. 144 for a similar image.
44. ‘Greetings from Jaluit (Marshall Islands)’
45. Anon. 1908.
46. That image was supplied by the Catholic mission. First published in Müller 1908, p. 11.
47. See Lindborg & Lindborg 2006.
48. pmk–postmarked.
49. Published by Hans Reitz Verlag.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albers, Patricia C. and James, William R. (1983) Tourism and the changing photographic image of the great lakes Indians. *Annals of Tourism Research* vol 10, n° 1, pp. 123-148
- Albers, Patricia C. and James, William R. (1988) Travel photography. A methodological approach. *Annals of Tourism Research* vol 15 n° 1, pp. 134-158
- Altonaer Museum (1965) Die Bildpostkarte in Deutschland. Auch ein Spiegel. der Kulturgeschichte, Ausstellungen Katalog. Hamburg: Altonaer Museum.
- Anon. (1908) Die Phosphatlager von Nauru. *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* vol. 25, pp. 110-111.
- Ateljevic, Irena and Doorne, Stephen (2002) Representing New Zealand. Tourism Imagery and Ideology. *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 648-667.
- Burns, P. (2004), ‘Six postcards from Arabia: a visual discourse of colonial travels in the Orient’. *Tourist Studies* 4 (3), pp 255-275.
- Choris, Ludovik York (1820) Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, Avec des Portraits de Sauvages d’Amérique, d’Asie, d’Afrique et des Iles du Grand Ocean; Des paysages, des vues maritimes et plusieurs objets d’histoire naturelle; Paris, De L’Imprimerie de Firmin Didot, Imprimeur du Roi, De L’Institut et de la Marine, Rue Jacob, N° 24
- Corkery, Celia K. and Bailey, Adrian J. (1994) Lobster is big in Boston: Postcards, place commodification, and tourism. *GeoJournal* vol. 34, n° 4, pp. 491-498
- Erdland, Augustin (1903) Freud und Leid auf den Marshall-Inseln. *Hilfruper Monatshefte* 20:489-491.
- Hershheim, Franz (1883) *Südsee-Erinnerungen (1875-1880)*. Berlin: A.Hofmann & Compagnie.
- Hille, Horst (1988) Postkarte genügt. Ein kulturhistorisch-philatelistischer Streifzug. Heidelberg.
- Hoelscher, Steven (1998) The photographic construction of tourist space in Victorian America. *The Geographical Review* vol. 88.
- Jenkins, Olivia H. (2003) Photography and travel brochures: the circle of representation. *Tourism Geographies* vol. 5 n° 3, pp. 305-328.
- Kahn, M. (2000) Tahiti intertwined: Ancestral land, tourist postcard and nuclear test site. *American Anthropologist* 102(1), pp. 7–26.

- Kahn, Miriam. (2005). Postcards from Tahiti: Picturing France's colonial agendas, yesterday and today. In Nigel Morgan and Mike Robinson (Eds), *Cultures through the post: Essays on tourism and postcards*. Clevedon: Channel View.
- Larsen, Jonas (2006) Picturing Bornholm: Producing and Consuming a Tourist Place through Picturing Practices. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, vol. 6, n° 2, pp. 75-94.
- Lindborg, R & Lindborg, C (2006) The Joachim deBrum Photograph Digitization Project. *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5 (1-2), pp. 319-330.
- Markwick, Marion (2001) Postcards From Malta. Image, Consumption, Context. *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 28 no. 2, pp. 417-438.
- Mellinger, Wayne Martin (1994) Toward a critical analysis of tourism representations. *Annals of Tourism Research* vol 21, no 4, pp 756-779
- Müller, Kilian (1908) Bericht über die Missionen der rheinisch-westfälischen Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz auf den Karolinen, Marianen, und Palau-Inseln. Jahresbericht 1908. Limburg: Limburger Vereinsdruckerei.
- Nordström, Alison D. (1995) Photography of Samoa. Production, Dissemination and Use. in: Edwards, Elizabeth; Mesenhöller, Peter; Nordström, Alison D.; Webb, Virginia Lee; Von Reiche, Momoe M.; and Blanton, Casey (Editors) *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875 to 1925*. Daytona Beach: Southeast Museum of Photography. Pp. 11-40.
- Quanchi, Max (2004) Postcards from the Colonies. Are postcards valuable as historical evidence? The National Centre for History Education.
- Scheel, W. (1912) Deutschlands Kolonien in achtzig farbenphotographischen Abbildungen. Nach eigenen Naturaufnahmen von Dr. R. Lohmeyer, Kunstmaler Br. Marquardt und Photochemiker Ed. Kiewning. Mit erläuterndem Text von W. Scheel. Berlin: Verlagsanstalt für Farbenphotographie Carl Weller.
- Smith, Bernard (1984) *European Vision and the South Pacific*. Sydney: Harper Row.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (1999) *Aurora Australis. The German Period in the Mariana Islands 1899-1914*. Division of Historic Preservation Occasional Historical Papers Series No. 5. Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands: Division of Historic Preservation.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2002). 'Steam to Tonga and Samoa' The Norddeutscher Lloyd Mail Service 1886 to 1893. Albury, N.S.W.: Letao Press.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2003). Mail Run Times between Micronesia and Germany. *Vorläufer*. n° 131, June 2003, pp. 34.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2003b), Rudolf von Bennigsen (1859-1912) The German Take-Over of the Caroline, Palau & Mariana Islands. Translated, annotated and introduced by Dirk H.R. Spennemann. *Division of Historic Preservation Occasional Historical Papers Series No. 6*. Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands: Division of Historic Preservation.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2003c) Traditional Milkfish Aquaculture in Nauru. *Aquaculture International* vol. 10 n° 6, pp. 551-562.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2005) Time Table & Brief History of Service of the Jaluit Gesellschaft Mail Steamer Germania 1904-1914: A Contribution to the Communications History of Micronesia. *Micronesian Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences* 4(2) pp. 158-175.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2006a) *Fiction Published in Emil Liibke's Samoanische Zeitung and Samoa Times (1901-1916)*. Canberra. Mulini Press
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2006c) Combining Curiosity with Political skill. The antiquarian interests of Georg Fritz. *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* vol. 5, n° 1-2 pp. 463-472.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (2007) 'Gedruckt in Samoa' A bibliographic Analysis of the Samoanisches Gouvernements-Blatt (1901-1914) and other Printing in German Samoa. Suva, Fiji: Fiji Museum.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (in prep) The Jaluit Line. The Backbone of Communications in German Micronesia 1901-1914. Albury, NSW: {retro|spect}.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. (in press) Edge of Empire. The German Period in the Mariana Islands 1899-1914. Albury, NSW: {retro|spect}.
- Spennemann, Dirk HR (2006b) A Micronesian Multiple First Day Cover. The Postcard that chronicles the German Take-Over of Micronesia. *The Collectors Club Philatelist* vol. 85 n° 3, pp. 163-173.
- Thurlow, C., Jaworski, A. and Ylänne-McEwen, V. (2005) 'Half-hearted tokens of transparent love': 'Ethnic' postcards and the visual mediation of host-tourist communication. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*. 5(2), pp. 93-104.
- Till, Wolfgang (1994) *Alte Postkarten, Sammlerkatalog*. Augsburg.
- Waitt, G. (1997). 'Selling Paradise and Adventure: Representations of Landscape in the Tourist Advertising of Australia' *Australian Geographical Studies* 35 (1): 47-60.
- Wehbe, Rana (2006) Seeing Beirut through Colonial Postcards: A Charged Reality. SRC-ArD-01.pdf
- Yee, Jennifer (2004) Recycling the 'Colonial Harem'? Women in Postcards from French Indochina. *French Cultural Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 5-19.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY AND CONTACT

Dirk HR Spennemann is Associate Professor in Cultural Heritage Management at Charles Sturt University, Albury, Australia. His main research interests are German colonial heritage in Oceania, in particular Micronesia, and historic preservation issues in Micronesia in general. His second focus rests in the area of heritage futures, examining issues such as the conceptual understanding of emergent heritage(s) and the relationship between cultural heritage values and the influences of management processes as they play out between heritage professionals and the general public.

CONTACT: A/Professor Dirk H.R. Spennemann, Charles Sturt University, P.O.Box 789, Albury NSW 2640, Australia e-mail dspennemann@csu.edu.au