

II.

Collecting Strategies and Collectors' Networks

Museums, Missionaries and Middlemen

German Ethnographic Museums and their Lutheran
Missionary Collectors in Central Australia (1890 to 1914)

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Abstract

Two German Lutheran missionaries at the Central Australian mission station of Hermannsburg were particularly instrumental in supplying German museums with substantial collections of Aboriginal ethnographica: Carl Strehlow and Oskar Liebler.

Prompted by various reports on the Aranda people of Central Australia, German museum directors contacted, encouraged, and guided the missionaries to collect ethnographic information and materials for their museums from the early 1900s, until November 1913, when the Australian Government proclaimed an export ban on ethnographica.

By examining original correspondence between these two missionaries, museum directors and their middlemen, this paper outlines this German 'quasi-colonial' collectors' network.

Musées, missionnaires et intermédiaires. Les musées ethnographiques allemands et leurs collectionneurs missionnaires luthériens en Australie centrale des années 1980 à 1914 (Résumé)

Deux missionnaires luthériens allemands de la station missionnaire d'Hermannsburg en Australie centrale ont joué un rôle essentiel en fournissant aux musées allemands d'importantes collections d'ethnographie aborigène: Carl Strehlow et Oskar Liebler.

À la suite de divers rapports sur le peuple Arrernte d'Australie centrale, les directeurs de musées allemands ont contacté, encouragé et guidé les missionnaires afin qu'ils collectent des informations et des matériaux ethnographiques pour leurs musées à partir du début des années 1900 jusqu'en novembre 1913, lorsque le gouvernement australien a proclamé l'interdiction d'exporter des objets ethnographiques.

En examinant la correspondance originale entre ces deux missionnaires, les directeurs de musées et leurs intermédiaires, cet article décrit ce réseau de collectionneurs allemands «quasi coloniaux».

Setting the Scene

From 1838 German Lutheran migrants were among the first settlers to arrive in larger numbers in the newly proclaimed colony of South Australia, and early mission efforts by the Lutherans among the coastal Aboriginal population started as early as 1840.

Publicity surrounding inland exploration expeditions in the second half of the 19th century raised awareness of Aboriginal people in remote inland Australia. In the early 1870s the Lutheran synod in Adelaide applied to the government for land to establish a mission in the centre approx. 130km west of the newly established telegraph station at Alice Springs, and in 1877 the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Germany dispatched missionaries Hermann Kempe (1844–1910) and Wilhelm Schwarz (1842–1920) to establish the new Hermannsburg mission. They were later joined by Louis Schulze (1851–1924).

By 1891 Kempe, Schulze and Schwarz had left the Hermannsburg mission, and were replaced in 1894 by the Lutheran missionary Carl Strehlow (1871–1922), who would remain at the mission until his death in 1922.¹ Between

June 1910 to April 1912 Carl Strehlow left Hermanssburg for an extended holiday in Germany and was replaced by the young and inexperienced missionary Oskar Liebler (1884–1943), who would remain at Hermanssburg until late 1913.

Academic Interest in the Aranda²

The mid to late 19th century saw the beginnings of modern anthropology, the science of race and the application of Darwin's theory of evolution to cultures.³ This also influenced the German museum sector.

From the late 19th century German museum directors and academics were sending questionnaires to 'embedded' individuals in the colonies, trying to map the cultures of the world. Kempe's 1883 published paper on the Aranda, for example, was a direct response to such a questionnaire from anthropologist and doctor Heinrich Ploss (1819–1885) from Leipzig.⁴ Colonial impact and ensuing cultural change were an issue, as was the search for the 'original' human cultural form. It was the time of the 'human zoos', or human shows, touring Europe, the USA and Australia, to present the 'primitive other' to the cruel curiosity of civilisation,⁵ trying to justify the colonial oppression of the colonised by reflecting, intentionally or unintentionally, the 'primitive other' in the eyes of the civilised observers.

What made the early Lutheran missionaries so valuable as informants on the Aranda people at the time, as indeed also today, was the Lutherans' training in language and cultural work as an integral part of their mission. Lutheran missionary training colleges, such as in Hermanssburg and Neuendettelsau, not only trained prospective missionaries in theology, but also in Linguistics and cultural awareness and sensitivity, as they had to rely on the welcome and acceptance by the 'host' communities. The Lutheran missionaries thus brought a relatively non-judgmental linguistic and cultural curiosity to the Aranda people at Hermanssburg around the time of, and soon after, first contact.⁶ Both Schulze and Kempe published early accounts on their contacts and observations of the Aranda, and it was Schulze who, in 1891, brought the religious significance of Aboriginal secret-sacred ceremonial objects, the *Tjurunga*, to the attention of the wider public.⁷

Carl Strehlow, von Leonhardi and the Frankfurt Connection

Much has been written on Carl Strehlow's time at Hermannsburg,⁸ so I will here only attempt to sketch out his association with the Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt⁹ in relation to his object collection.

Carl Strehlow's association with the Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt was established through Moritz Freiherr von Leonhardi (1856–1910) in 1901. Leonhardi, among other things, was an independent scholar who had his interest in Australian Aboriginal people triggered by Australian Lutheran missionaries' accounts in the Mission Society newsletters, including by Carl Strehlow. Already in 1899, Leonhardi forwarded an extensive questionnaire to the Lutheran Mission Society in Neuendettelsau/ Bavaria and asked for the questionnaire to be sent to missionaries in Australia.¹⁰ Whether Carl Strehlow had received this questionnaire is unclear, but by 1901 Leonhardi was corresponding directly with Strehlow.¹¹ In his first letters Leonhardi set the tone for the future research collaboration, asking Strehlow for specific comment and critique on aspects of Spencer and Gillen's 1899 publication 'Native Tribes of Central Australia', and explicitly placing value on the unique position of 'the missionary' as an informant due to his 'intimate acquaintance with the natives', as well as his ability to communicate in their language¹² (something both Strehlow and Leonhardi criticised Spencer and Gillen for not being able to do). The correspondence between the two, and Strehlow's manuscripts on Aranda culture and religion, culminated in Leonhardi editing, and the Frankfurt Ethnological Museum publishing, the first volume of Strehlow's *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*¹³ (the Aranda and Loritja Tribes of Central Australia) in 1907.

From at least 1906 onwards Leonhardi and Strehlow also discussed the collection of artefacts, as well as biological specimens, and in April 1907, the year the first volume of "Die Aranda" was published, Leonhardi received the first shipment of artefacts and insects, for which Leonhardi paid Strehlow 1000 Marks.¹⁴ Through Leonhardi's personal patronage for the newly founded Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt, an exclusive relationship developed, where Carl Strehlow collected artefacts, sent those to Leonhardi, who in turn sold or gifted them to the museum. Apart from a small number of artefacts sent to Germany by other Hermannsburg missionaries e.g. Nicol Wettengel (1869–1923) or Johannes Bogner (1860–1930) at the time, Strehlow became

the key collector of Aranda materials for a German institution, until at least 1910, when he was temporarily relieved by Oskar Liebler.

At least one other museum director attempted to get Strehlow to collect for them as well, but it was Leonhardi's insistence on being the sole contact for Strehlow, and Strehlow's commitment to Leonhardi,¹⁵ that cemented their exclusive relationship. Wilhelm Foy, then director at the Ethnological Museum in Cologne,¹⁶ also had approached Carl Strehlow directly from 1907 onwards, asking him for assistance to build an Aranda collection.¹⁷ However, Leonhardi repeatedly directed Strehlow not to share information or objects with anybody else but him, thus essentially developing a monopoly on Aranda ethnographica in Germany.¹⁸

As Frankfurt's Strehlow collection grew with further Strehlow consignments sent in 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1913, Leonhardi and, following his death in 1910, the Frankfurt Museum, increasingly traded in duplicates with other German museums. Still, Leonhardi insisted that Strehlow should deal with him exclusively, and that the competitive interest of other museums, particularly in his Aranda *Tjurunga*, should see Strehlow achieve good prices.¹⁹

Strehlow kept inventory lists of items he had sent to Leonhardi, the originals of which are held by the Strehlow Research Centre in Alice Springs, an archive established to hold most of Carl's son Ted Strehlow's documentary legacy. From those lists it can be estimated that, between 1907 and 1913, Carl had sent over 1000 ethnographic objects and more than 300 biological specimens to Leonhardi.

Oskar Liebler

How and why exactly Oskar Liebler started collecting is not all together clear. I have found no documentary evidence yet to show discussions between Strehlow and Liebler on this topic. It seems likely, though, that the Aranda people, who were already trading objects for food rations with Strehlow, were at least willing to continue to do so with Liebler.²⁰

Correspondence between Oskar Liebler's father Georg Heinrich Liebler, and the Freiburg Museum²¹ in the first half of 1911 indicates that Liebler may have been initially encouraged by an acquaintance in Bohemia to collect

insects. It appears that this acquaintance had the insect collection sent to a friend of his, entomologist Arthur Speyer in Strasbourg, who asked Liebler's father to send him all zoological specimen, and also weapons, tools, jewellery etc., he could get, for which, he stated, Oskar could earn "many thousands".²²

It appears that Oskar Liebler had sent a first small consignment of Aranda objects to his father in January 1911, which his father then offered to various museums, and sold at least to Freiburg and Munich museums in March/ April 1911.²³ Obviously Strehlow's exclusive commitment to Leonhardi did not apply to the Lieblers. It may be that this initial collection, offered in small consignments to different museums at reasonable prices, was intended as a 'teaser' to test the market. After all, Georg Heinrich Liebler was a secular high school teacher, and Oskar had started his career in the wool and textile business before becoming a missionary.²⁴ In any case, the 'teaser' was successful, and at least the Munich Museum²⁵ was willing to purchase a systematic collection of Aranda objects,²⁶ possibly seeing an opportunity to compete with the Aranda collection in Frankfurt.

With the arrival of a larger Liebler consignment in early 1912, Liebler's father handed negotiations and museum dealings over to Oskar's father-in-law, Pastor Karl Küffner.²⁷ From here, all correspondence between the various museums and Oskar Liebler went via Küffner, and in March and April 1912, following some negotiations over price, this first collection of about 450 Objects was sold to the museum in Munich for 4600 Marks.²⁸

Munich seems to have been impressed by the Liebler collection, as well as Oskar's documentation attached to the objects. On 23 June 1912 Dr Lehmann sent Liebler a very extensive questionnaire, as well as detailed instructions on how to collect information,²⁹ which Oskar answered on 3 January 1913, at the same time offering to sell another consignment of 5 cases weighing over 350kg to Munich.³⁰

The relationship appears to have soured from there, and tough negotiations over prices ensued with Küffner and Oskar Liebler over the remainder of the year, with the museum arguing that the asking price was too high for objects presumably produced for 'trade'. Küffner in return argued for the value of the objects, particularly of the unique secret-sacred objects, as not many people were in positions of trust with the Aranda people to be able to collect them. After threatening to sell the whole collection to another museum if Munich was not willing to pay the requested 3,600 Marks,³¹ they finally settled on 2,500 Marks for the whole of the 1913 consignment in mid-1914.³²

During these negotiations, on 26 September 1913, the Munich Museum approached Karl Weule (1864–1926) at the Museum Leipzig, and Wilhelm Foy

at Cologne Museum for their assessments of the Liebler collections, as they also were in negotiations over Liebler objects. Fearing being played out against each other by Küffner to achieve higher prices (as indicated by Küffner previously when he threatened to sell the collection elsewhere), Munich asked for their willingness to inform each other in relation to Liebler purchases.³³

While it appears that at least Freiburg, Munich, Stuttgart³⁴ and Hamburg were supplied by Liebler/ Küffner directly, a different trail emerges for the Lieber collection at the Ethnological Museum in Leipzig.³⁵ Already in 1907 Director Karl Weule of the Museum Leipzig enlisted his personal contact Walter Schmidt in Australia to collect Australian artefacts.³⁶ Schmidt was a businessman and metals trader with close family links to Leipzig, who at the time was a director of the “Australian Metal Company” in Melbourne, a subsidiary company of the German Metal Company (“*Metallgesellschaft*”) with seat in Frankfurt.

In response to Weule’s request for Australian objects Schmidt attempted to enlist the services of South Australian Lutheran missionary Johann Georg Reuther (1861–1914) in 1909. Reuther confirmed to Schmidt that *Tjurunga* are particularly difficult to get hold of, and only people of trust with necessary language skills may have a chance to acquire them from Aboriginal people. He suggested to undertake an expedition into the centre to collect artefacts and *Tjurunga* for Leipzig.³⁷ However, Leipzig was not able to fund such an expedition,³⁸ and Schmidt proceeded to procure objects from other parts of Australia through his other local contacts, among them Herbert Basedow (1888–1933),³⁹ and attempted to arrange a trade between Leipzig and the South Australian Museum,⁴⁰ who Reuther had previously sold his collection to.⁴¹

Word about Liebler must have gotten around, for by mid-1911 Schmidt was in correspondence with Liebler,⁴² and by January 1912 Schmidt had received a large collection of artefacts and *Tjurunga* from Liebler,⁴³ which he then shipped to Leipzig.

There is an interesting exchange between Schmidt and Weule concerning Liebler’s capacity to keep collecting following Carl Strehlow’s return to Hermannsburg in April 1912, as Strehlow “is the boss” and “only collects for Frankfurt”.⁴⁴ Weule nevertheless asked Schmidt to direct Liebler to keep collecting, despite Strehlow,⁴⁵ and by mid-1912 Schmidt had shipped two more consignments to Leipzig on German ships.⁴⁶

In 1913, following his return to Hermannsburg, Carl Strehlow was collecting again for Frankfurt, but, as Frankfurt directors Francis Sarg (1840–1925) and Bernhard Hagen (1853–1919) wrote to him, the German market for Aranda objects had effectively been “spoilt” by “his colleague Liebler” flooding the market with vast amounts of objects at dumping prices⁴⁷ (although, as we have seen, it appears that the museums themselves had been driving a hard bargain).

While the Strehlow collection appears straight forward through the exclusive connection with Leonhardi and Frankfurt, this is not the case with the Liebler collections. Until a full inventory of Liebler objects at all German, indeed European museums⁴⁸ has been conducted, it is impossible to know who he supplied, nor to estimate how many objects he exported from Central Australia. Crucial sets of correspondence, the letters between Oskar Liebler and his father and his father-in-law Küffner, as well as the Küffner correspondence with the various museums, appear to have been lost.

1913–14 and the Export Restriction

While the total number of Liebler objects in overseas museums is yet to be determined, it certainly was large enough, together with Strehlow’s and other German missionaries’ exports, to cause significant concern in Australian museum circles. Already in early 1913, in correspondence between Lutheran church officials in Adelaide and Oskar Liebler, there are indications of an Australian government move to restrict the export of “ethnological specimens”.⁴⁹ Key to this move appear to have been Australian museum directors who were concerned about the large number of ethnographic objects and human remains which were being exported to overseas museums, while they themselves struggled to compile their own collections.⁵⁰

Their lobbying resulted in the Australian government proclaiming an export restriction in November 1913, banning the export of Aboriginal artefacts without permission of the director of an Australian museum.⁵¹ The swift enforcement of this restriction lead to both Strehlow and Liebler each having a last consignment of Central Australian objects impounded at Adelaide port in January 1914. Strehlow’s shipment appears to have been destined for Cologne,⁵² while Liebler hints at St Petersburg as at least one of the destinations

of his shipment.⁵³ Both missionaries were essentially forced to sell their collections to the South Australian Museum at a much-reduced price of what they could have achieved in Germany.

Closing Remarks

The reading of original correspondence between museums, Central Australian missionaries and their middlemen shows that there was great interest and competition among German museums and academics in ethnographica from, and information on, the Aranda people, due to their perceived 'unspoilt' and 'primitive' status within the human evolution and Totemism debates at the time.⁵⁴

The German museum directors appear to have been instrumental in encouraging the missionaries to collect Central Australian artefacts and ethnological information, directing the missionaries in what and how to collect through questionnaires or direct instructions, and providing a lucrative market for their collections. As public employees, they established and maintained a quasi-colonial network of German collectors and middlemen, akin to those used in the actual German colonies, to procure the Aranda artefacts for their museums.

- 1 An event described by his son, Strehlow, T.G.H. (1969): *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, Sydney; as well as in much detail by his grandson Strehlow, John (2019): *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, Vol. 2, London, pp. 1008–1057.
- 2 The current spelling of this language name is 'Arrernte', however, for consistency's sake I will use the previous spelling 'Aranda', as it appears in the original correspondence, throughout this text.
- 3 Darwin's "*Origin of Species*" was originally published in 1859 and translated into German in 1860; "*The Descent of Man*" was published in 1871 and translated in 1871.
- 4 Kempe, Hermann (1883): „Zur Sittenkunde der Centralaustralischen Schwarzen“, in: *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Halle*, Vol. 7, p. 52.
- 5 McKay, Judith; Memmott, Paul (2016): "Staged Savagery: Archibald Meston and his Indigenous Exhibits", in: *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 40, pp. 181–203; Jones, Philip (1996): '*A Box of Native Things: Ethnographic Collectors and the South Australian Museum 1830s–1930s*'; unpublished PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, p. 260, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/18923>, accessed 24/9/2021.
- 6 See e.g. Kenny, Anna (2017): "Early Ethnographic Work at the Hermannsburg Mission in Central Australia, 1877 – 1910", in: Peterson, Nicolas; Kenny, Anna (Eds): *German Ethnography in Australia*, Acton ACT, pp. 169–195.
- 7 Kempe, 1883, *Zur Sittenkunde*, pp.52–56, and Schulze, Louis (1891): "The Aborigines of the Upper and Middle Finke River: their Habits and Customs, with Introductory Notes on the Physical and Natural History Features of the Country, in: *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, Volume 14, pp.210–246.
- 8 See e.g. Strehlow, John (2011): *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, Vol. 1, London; Strehlow, 2019, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, Vol. 2; Kenny, Anna (2017): *The Aranda's Pepa – An Introduction to Carl Strehlow's Masterpiece Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Zentral-Australien (1907–1920)*, Acton ACT.
- 9 *Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde*, today *Weltkulturen Museum* Frankfurt am Main.
- 10 Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche Bayern, Nuremberg, 4.3, Vol. 1. 42/41: Letter April 1899;
- 11 See also Kenny, Anna (2005): "A sketch portrait: Carl Strehlow's German editor Baron Moritz von Leonhardi", in: Kenny, Anna; Mitchell, Scott (Eds): *Strehlow Research Centre Occasional Paper Number 4: Collaboration and Language*, Alice Springs, pp. 54–70.
- 12 Strehlow Research Centre, Folder: "von Leonhardi: Translations Chronological Order", Letter from von Leonhardi to Carl Strehlow, 10 September 1901.
- 13 Strehlow, Carl (1907): *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, Vol. 1, Frankfurt.
- 14 Strehlow Research Centre, Folder "German Corres. Von Leonhardi, Volker Notes", Letters von Leonhardi to Carl Strehlow, 23 April 1907 and 10 September 1907.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Folder "Carl Strehlow Correspondence, Shorthand Transcripts, Vol.1", Letter C. Strehlow to W. Foy, 11 March 1908.
- 16 Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum Cologne.
- 17 Strehlow Research Centre, Folder "German Corres. Von Leonhardi, Volker Notes": Letter W. Foy to C. Strehlow, 5 September 1907; *Ibid.*, Folder "von Leonhardi: Translations Chronological Order": Letter W. Foy to C. Strehlow, 7 January 1908; *Ibid.*, Folder "German Correspondence relating to the publication of *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme*; Photocopies and Translations": Letter W. Foy to C. Strehlow, 3 June 1908.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Folder "German Corres. Von Leonhardi, Volker Notes": Letters v. Leonhardi to C. Strehlow, 10 July 1907, 5 September 1907, 10 January 1908, 8 March 1908.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Strehlow, 2019, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, p. 194.
- 21 *Museum Natur und Mensch* Freiburg.

- 22 Ibid., Letter G. H. Liebler to Stadtrat [Fieke?], 8 June 1911.
- 23 Ibid., Folder „Lenders Liebler Marquart Meyer“: Letter G. H. Liebler to Freiburg Museum, 8 May 1911; Ibid. G. H. Liebler to Scherman, Munich Museum, 1 June 1911.
- 24 Strehlow, 2019, *The Tale of Frieda Keysser*, p. 19, 307–310.
- 25 *Museum Fünf Kontinente* Munich.
- 26 Ibid., Folder “Lenders Liebler Marquart Meyer“: Letter Scherman to G. H. Liebler, 26 March 1912.
- 27 Ibid., Letter G. H. Liebler to Scherman, Munich Museum, 31 March 1912.
- 28 Ibid., Receipt Pastor Küffner, 26 April 1912.
- 29 Ibid., Letter Lehmann to Pastor Küffner, 23 June 1912.
- 30 Ibid., Letter O. Liebler to Lehmann, 3 January 1913.
- 31 Ibid., Letter Pastor Küffner to Scherman, 18 February 1914 and 29 April 1914.
- 32 Ibid., Letter Pastor Küffner to Scherman, 10 June 1914.
- 33 Ibid., Letter Scherman or Lehmann to K. Weule, 26 September 1913.
- 34 See Schlatter, Gerhardt (1985): *Bumerang und Schwirrholz: Eine Einführung in die traditionelle Kultur australischer Aborigines*, Berlin, which discusses the collection at the Linden Museum Stuttgart, purchased from Lieber on 13 March 1913.
- 35 *Grassi Museum* Leipzig
- 36 Ibid., 1910/74: Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 5 February 1909.
- 37 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, incl. Letter by Reuther, 5 February 1909.
- 38 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 26 June 1909.
- 39 Ibid., 1912/35: Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 8 August 1911.
- 40 Ibid., 1910/74: Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 5 February 1909.
- 41 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 8 March 1909.
- 42 Ibid., 1912/35: Letter W. Schmidt To K. Weule, 28 August 1911.
- 43 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 22 January 1912.
- 44 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 1 March 1912.
- 45 Ibid., Draft letter, K. Weule to W. Schmidt, undated.
- 46 Ibid., Letter W. Schmidt to K. Weule, 17 July 1912.
- 47 Strehlow Research Centre, Folder: German Correspondence relating to the publication of Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme; Photocopies and Translations: Letters Sarg to C. Strehlow, 24 April 1913 [F51913-1-1]; Ibid., Letter Hagen to C. Strehlow, 10 September 1913 [BH 1913-1-1].
- 48 Liebler objects are known to exist in at least one Swiss collection, and there are indications that other European museums as far as St Petersburg may have been supplied, either by Liebler/ Küffner, or through museum trade.
- 49 Lutheran Archives, Adelaide, BoxN7, Folder “Imm Synod FRM Kaibel Correspondence Copy Book 1912–1913 (transcriptions)“: Letters Kaibel to O. Liebler, 11 February 1913 and 23 September 1913.
- 50 See Jones, 1996, ‘A Box of Native Things’, p. 250; for a more detailed discussion Fforde, Cressida; Aranui, Amber; Knapman, Gareth; Thurnbull, Paul (2020): “Inhuman and very Mischievous Traffic”, in: Fforde, Cressida; McKeown, C. Timothy; Keeler, Honor (Eds) (2020): *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation: Return, Reconcile, Renew*, London, New York, pp. 381–399.
- 51 Ibid., p. 389.
- 52 Strehlow’s copy of his inventory lists shows a consignment of 200 objects in 1914 marked as “Sent to Cologne”, which is identical to the list of Strehlow objects received in 1914 (marked 23 April 1914) at the South Australian Museum Adelaide [AA315_1].
- 53 *Museum Fünf Kontinente* Munich, Folder “Lenders Liebler Marquart Meyer“: Letter O. Liebler to Scherman, 6 February 1914.
- 54 The correspondence viewed by the author primarily relates to museum collections in Munich, Leipzig, Frankfurt and Freiburg. Possible correspondence in other museums, such as Stuttgart, Cologne, and Hamburg, have not yet been viewed.