



Philosophische Fakultät

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Suggested citation referring to the original publication:
Postcolonial Studies 21 (2018) 1, pp. 83–95
DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2018.1435149>
ISSN (print) 1368-8790
ISSN (online) 1466-1888

Postprint archived at the Institutional Repository of the Potsdam University in:
Postprints der Universität Potsdam
Philosophische Reihe ; 142
ISSN 1866-8380
<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:kobv:517-opus4-412942>

'A universal, uniform humanity': the German newspaper *Der Kosmopolit* and entangled nation-building in nineteenth-century Australia

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ABSTRACT

The focus in this article, through a reading of the German-Australian newspaper *Der Kosmopolit*, is on the legacies of entangled imperial identities in the period of the nineteenth-century German Enlightenment. Attention is drawn to members of the liberal nationalist generation of 1848 who emigrated to the Australian colonies and became involved in intellectual activities there. The idea of entanglement is applied to the philosophical orientation of the German-language newspaper that this group formed, *Der Kosmopolit*, which was published between 1856 and 1957. Against simplistic notions that would view cosmopolitanism as the opposite of nationalism, it is argued that individuals like Gustav Droege and Carl Muecke deployed an entangled 'cosmonationalism' in ways that both advanced German nationalism and facilitated their own engagement with and investment in Australian colonial society.

KEYWORDS

German-Australian entanglements; German colonialism; cosmopolitanism and nationalism; nineteenth-century newspapers; Carl Muecke

Reading a newspaper is like reading a novel, whose author has abandoned any thought of a coherent plot. (Benedict Anderson)

The histories of nationalism and cosmopolitanism intersect at various sites and at a number of different levels. This connection may seem odd given that in the last two decades of research, the ancient idea of cosmopolitanism has often been read as the antithesis of nationalism. In the wake of the twentieth century and its historically unprecedented upsurge in migration, affordable travel and enhanced intercultural connectivity, the power of the nation state as a container of belonging appeared to be on the wane. In this context, nationalist ideology was seen as the most morbid expression of the anachronistic world order of colonial subjugation, racism, violent xenophobia and religious fundamentalism. Cosmopolitanism in contrast was believed to embody a genuine form of universalism that would simply supersede and debunk the particularism of the nation state as a pathological way of thinking.

In considering the historical development of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism, however, the two concepts do not seem as antagonistic as previously believed.¹

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Historically, the idea of cosmopolitanism is significantly older than that of the nation state, but the two ideas share an undertheorised legacy of colonial entanglement that is especially visible in the transnational history of German-Australian colonial pasts. From this perspective, as I will show, cosmopolitanism does not appear as an opposing antagonist and definite successor to nationalism but rather as its historical precondition and ambivalent extension. This article investigates how, in the context of nineteenth-century colonial Australia, cosmopolitanism came to encompass a burgeoning imperial German nationalism while simultaneously providing an impetus for an anti-colonial, humanist Australian nation-building. In a selected reading of the German-Australian newspaper *Der Kosmopolit: Deutsche Zeitung für Australien* (1856–1857), I will illustrate that within the entangled histories of German-Australian colonial pasts, the notion of world citizenship helps us to understand that a critical cultural, historical and political hinge existed between the ramifications of European imperialism and the complex complicity of its – at times – revolutionary overcoming.

I will start with a brief analysis of the complex interdependencies between cosmopolitanism and nationalism in the nineteenth century and then project these findings onto the situation of German intellectuals in Australia and their cosmopolitan convictions. Ideas of cosmopolitanism expressed by German intellectuals in Australia, I claim, can be read as both complicit in colonialism and as conducive to the construction of an open, democratic and multicultural Australian nation of immigrants. The ramifications of this cultural and political ambiguity are manifold and wide-ranging. In studying the equivocal positions of German cosmopolitans in Australia, this article seeks to accomplish two things: first, a better understanding of the role German intellectuals played in the colonisation of Australia, and second, a more nuanced view about western cosmopolitanism and its entanglement with Anglo-European colonialism.

Cosmo-nationalism

What and where exactly are the convergences in the entangled histories of nation states and cosmopolitanism? The notion of cosmopolitanism dates back to the Cynic philosopher Diogenes of Sinope, who as early as 350 BC, claimed that his allegiance was to humanity as a whole rather than to one particular city-state. After Diogenes, cosmopolitanism was carried on by his disciple Crates. Crates' disciple Zeno, in turn, carried cosmopolitan ideas into Stoicism. After antiquity, it was Enlightenment thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, who, in the eighteenth century, developed a philosophical project of 'Perpetual Peace' (1795).² In his famous 'philosophical sketch', Kant explored the 'conditions of possibility' of a world citizenship based on the premise that each human being bears a universal right of hospitality. Writing in the time of feudal absolutism, Kant argues that only a federation of republics based on peaceful interaction and commerce could provide an alternative model to the injustices of absolutist serfdom and colonial subjugation. Such a universal federation of republics, per Kant, could only be 'formed in accordance with cosmopolitan law, in as far as individuals and states, standing in an external relation of mutual reaction, may be regarded as citizens of one world-state (*jus cosmopoliticum*)'.³ This cosmopolitan law, as Kant lays out in the 'Third Definite Article' of his treatise, shall coexist with individual state law and shall be limited to a general right to hospitality. Due to the limited space on earth, he argues, no human being should be treated

with hostility upon entering a foreign dominion if he or she remains peaceful. What Kant's vision of cosmopolitanism could not foresee, however, was that not much later the imperial nation states of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would use claims to universality and commercial benevolence to justify and structure colonial expansion. Subsequently, the idea of cosmopolitanism – as the German social historian Friedrich Meinecke stated in his 1907 study *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Cosmopolitanism and the National State) – did not simply dissolve following the emergence of the nation state. For nineteenth-century Germany, he claims:

Cosmopolitanism did not merely sink to the ground, pale and exhausted; and the new national idea did not then spring up in its place, unimpeded and victorious. Cosmopolitanism and nationalism stood side by side in a close, living relationship for a long time. And even if the idea of the genuine national state could not come to full bloom within such relationship, the meeting of these two intellectual forces was by no means unfruitful for the national idea. Indeed, the confrontation between nationalism and cosmopolitanism first lent this idea a life and character of its own.⁴

The modern German nation state as it was thus constituted and conceived in the nineteenth century was heavily influenced and shaped by a cosmopolitical sentiment of universalism and the connecting vision of a common German culture. Even before the official foundation of the first united German nation state in 1871, Germany existed as a cosmopolitan *Kulturnation* (nation of culture). Considering 'the absence of the state [Staatsferne]' at the time, the German social democrat Wolfgang Thierse recently historicised the origins of the term as well as the way in which, through 'its boundlessness [*Grenzenlosigkeit*], the German *Kulturnation* established its charm'.⁵ This 'boundlessness' of the German *Kulturnation*, I will argue, also assisted European colonial expansion during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, Thierse's statement – despite its historical accuracy and its benevolent intentions – reveals the Janus-faced ambivalence of German cosmopolitical nationalism and its entanglement with colonialism.

But how did this ambivalent cosmo-nationalism of the German *Kulturnation* come about? 'After the middle of the nineteenth century', Benedict Anderson notes, 'German increasingly acquired a double status: "universal-imperial" and "particular-national"'.⁶ In fact, the creation of administrative units through print-capitalism in conjunction with the failed liberal revolution of 1848 and a complex succession of so-called wars of unification (*Einigungskriege*) established an imagined community among German-speaking states which by 1871 had turned the German Confederation into the German Empire.

Historically, the genesis of the German Empire with its own colonial aspirations constitutes an interesting aberration that deviates from the imperial model of, say, Britain or France, in more ways than one. One is that the German Empire came relatively 'late' in the European conquest of the world and occupied comparatively small territories in Africa, the Pacific and China. However, German colonial forces did not rank behind England or France with regard to the atrocities and cruelties committed.⁷ Another is that the failed revolution of 1848 triggered the centrifugal 'dissemination' of a large array of liberal and social democratic intellectuals, which fostered the spread of various democratic ideals across the world. The dispersion of German intellectuals to the United States, South America and Australia is thus an interesting historical case by which to study the complicated past of colonial entanglements within the ambivalent co-evolution of

cosmopolitanism and the nation state. In what follows, I will approach this connection through an analysis of the different cosmopolitical mindsets of German intellectuals in nineteenth-century Australia, as expressed in the newspaper *Der Kosmopolit – Deutsche Zeitung für Australien*.

Der Kosmopolit, agency and entangled cosmopolitanics

Der Kosmopolit – Deutsche Zeitung für Australien was a Melbourne-based German newspaper that ran twice weekly from November 1856 until November 1857. In the aftermath of the Australian gold rush, the rapidly growing German communities produced eight different secular newspapers in Victoria alone.⁸ Competition among newspapers was high, and whereas most German newcomers to South Australia and the colony of Victoria were literate people interested in maintaining their German heritage, most newspapers were systematically underfunded. Due to the short time of its circulation, *Der Kosmopolit* did not leave a lasting impression. Nonetheless, the case of this newspaper is interesting precisely because it illustrates the entanglement of cosmopolitan ideas with the colonial foundation of the Australian states in the nineteenth century and – by extension – the Australian nation state in the twentieth.

Benedict Anderson refers to the synchronising temporality of newspapers to conceptualise the nation state as an ‘imagined community’. In connecting cotemporaneous actors and events with a large readership through ‘the steady onward clocking of homogeneous empty time’,⁹ newspapers become ‘cultural product[s]’ marked by a ‘profound fictiveness’.¹⁰ Coeval with the development of the novel, this literary quality creates a kind of collective imagination that imbues its readers with a sense of togetherness and sovereignty of quasi-religious proportions. The morning newspaper, Anderson reasons (following Hegel), has replaced morning prayers.¹¹ While Anderson’s argument is, of course, much more complex than this brief sketch allows, his notion of the nation as a shared sense of imagined togetherness opens an interesting perspective on German communities in Australia.

Despite its relatively small population, the German-Australian community in Australia, most of which lived in South Australia and Victoria, constituted the largest non-English-speaking group in Australia all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹² Even so, many of the German emigrants who settled in South Australia and Victoria developed ambiguous loyalties. Proud of their heritage and – in the case of intellectuals – proud of their legacy of belonging to the German *Kulturnation* of Hegel, Kant und Herder,¹³ the Germans were still eager to accept the colonial realities of their new home and openly aligned themselves with British rule. At the same time, however, most of the German-speaking populace maintained a rather strong sense of Germanness. In the years after the 1848 revolution, and especially after the German victory over France and the constitution of the German Empire in the early 1870s, nationalist sentiments loomed large in German communities and increasingly led to tensions between British Australians and their ‘Teutonic’ neighbours.¹⁴ Straddling both a ‘nostalgic German nationalism’¹⁵ and a future-oriented progressive cosmopolitanism, many German migrants were thus torn between (at least) two imagined communities and were looking for ways to make their various allegiances work together.

In the inaugural issue of *Der Kosmopolit*, chief editor Gustav Droege and the editorial board project the journalistic mission of the newspaper exactly along such lines. The paper, the editors claim, seeks to represent the growing number of Germans in the British colony and will strive to further the reputation of German-Australian communities. Even more, the newspaper will help to reduce prejudices about Germans among all ‘fellow colonialists’ (*Mitcolonisten*) and increase German participation in the political life of the colony. As a common ground between the established British settlers and the German newcomers, the editorial refers to the binding power of cosmopolitan ideas in the formation of a new nationality:

Die Colonie ist somit ein praktischer Boden für die große Idee des Weltbürgerthums, der allgemeinen einheitlichen Menschheit, des Kosmopolitismus. Wir werden festhalten an dieser glorreichen Grundlage der Existenz und der gedeihlichen Fortentwicklung unseres neuen Vaterlandes und ihr die weiteste Ausdehnung zu erwirken suchen.¹⁶

The ‘new fatherland’ that the editors talk about here deliberately operates with a precarious ambiguity. Built on the allegedly cosmopolitan ‘legacy of the colony’, the editors imply that the ‘new fatherland’ will be extended on the basis of a ‘universal and uniform humanity’. Of course, from the perspective of the contemporary moment, such a rendition of cosmopolitanism has an unmistakably imperial and Eurocentric undertone. To speak of an *allgemeinen einheitlichen Menschheit* (a universal and uniform humanity) in the context of colonial Australia leaves little doubt about the degree of openness to cultural difference that such a notion of cosmopolitanism actually yields. Indeed, this is especially so when read against the preceding sentence in which the editors strive to ‘hold on to the glorious existence’ of their ‘new fatherland’ in order to ‘enable its largest possible extension’. Here, a strong imperial sense effectively compromises the idea of world citizenship in a strictly humanist sense.

Of course, it is difficult to judge and evaluate the moral implications of specific historical concepts without falling prey to some kind of presentism. In the light of the *longue durée* of cosmopolitanism, however, the notion of a ‘universal and uniform humanity’ clearly foreshadows an imperial streak in the concept that seems to represent a transhistorical dimension. As David Harvey notes, ‘the individualism that it [cosmopolitanism] contemplates is deracinated, universal, given over in a true Kantian fashion, to a cosmopolitanism of reason and rational action. This remains as true today as it did in the eighteenth century’.¹⁷ In summarising a postcolonial critique of the term he adds: ‘contemporary cosmopolitanism is nothing other than an ethical and humanitarian mask for hegemonic neo-liberal practices of class domination and financial and militaristic imperialism’.¹⁸

Apparently, the coinage of liberal cosmopolitanism has always been vulnerable to a certain kind of imperial and economic misuse. As the inaugural mission statement of *Der Kosmopolit* continues, it produces a significant and comprehensive conflation of concepts. In a brief sketch of how the German community seeks to realise the cosmopolitan potentials of their ‘new fatherland’, the editors reveal what is perhaps one of the most precarious and fatal ambivalences of cosmopolitanism. Focusing on ‘free trade’ (*freihandel*) in both of its German meanings – ‘free trade’ and ‘free agency’ – the editors finish their editorial with a strong emphasis of *laissez-faire* capitalism:

Die Durchführung des Prinzip des Freihandels, aufgefasst in seiner allgemeinen politischen und socialen [*sic*] Bedeutung und nicht bloß als den Zolltarif betreffend, wird den Grundgedanken unserer politischen Thätigkeit bilden. – Freihandel in diesem Sinne bedeutet freies Handeln, Entfaltung individueller Freiheit im weitesten Sinne, mit Ausschließung jeder Bevormundung und Einmischung des Staates. Die individuelle Freiheit ist nach unserer Ansicht die alleinige Basis, auf welcher wir eine sichere und dauernde demokratische Gestaltung der Gesellschaft erreicht werden kann.¹⁹

The confusion and conflation of free trade and free agency are interesting here as it is indicative not only of the schism that divided the revolutionaries of the 1848 revolutions (liberal democrats and social democrats), it also carves out a line of development along which the aporias of cosmopolitanism seem to have proliferated. Timothy Brennan has noted that cosmopolitanism has more often than not functioned as a relay for the values of market capitalism, ‘sublimating differences’ into ‘salable things’.²⁰ The welding together of free trade and free agency under the auspices of cosmopolitan values promoted by the editors of *Der Kosmopolit* has thus to be seen in the light of a rampant individualism that connects an always particular interest with a universal entitlement to freedom. Again, giving credit to the historical embeddedness of the concepts of trade and freedom, one should not be too hasty in diagnosing transhistorical processes. Yet the freewheeling privilege and tax-evading poly-locality of many self-acclaimed upper-class cosmopolitanisms of the present moment frequently uses a similar rhetoric.

As a matter of fact, the everyday life of most German migrants at the time was anything but privileged. However, for many of those Germans who made their way to Australia, the frontier societies of the fifth continent provided an attractive arena in which to practise their own ‘cosmopolitan rights’ of *Freihandel*, much to the dismay of the Indigenous population. Consequently, driven either by the secular pressures of nation-building in Germany or by the economic misery of early industrialisation, German settler colonialists contributed to the spreading of imperial rule under the banner of cosmopolitanism.²¹

Zum neujahr 1857 – the poetry of Carl Mücke

Within this wider picture then, how might the role and political positions of German intellectuals be evaluated? Only a small minority of German migrants in nineteenth-century Australia were intellectuals fleeing political oppression in the wake of the restoration. Most German migrants to Australia came either for religious or economic reasons, or both.²² Yet the contribution of the German ‘48-ers’ remains vital for the creation of imagined communities within Australia, Germany, and the entangled colonial space between both nascent nations. In what follows, I examine a poetic rendition of this particular aspect of German-Australian history and the predicament of the cosmopolitan within the colony as articulated by an influential member of the German-Australian intellectual community, Carl Wilhelm Mücke.

Born in Buden, near Magdeburg, Carl Mücke had been a journalist, editor and author well before he migrated to the fifth continent. He had studied classics and natural sciences in Bonn and Berlin, worked as a publisher, and became the director of the Norddeutsche Volksschriften Verein, publishing the *Pädagogische Jahrbücher*, a periodical for children and young adults. In 1849, Mücke, like many other intellectuals, migrated to Australia

to evade political persecution. Initially, the only form of work that the urban intellectual was able to find in the colony of South Australia was modest and restricted to farming. But Muecke (as Mücke came to be spelt in Australia) was soon elected pastor in a small German village in the Barossa Valley, an area settled by large numbers of Germans. Eager to carry on his political and public engagement in Australia, Muecke then also founded a newspaper.²³ In 1866, he published *National Schools for South Australia*, a monograph in which he suggested that the Australian colonists should stop mimicking the British school system and develop a distinctly Australian one. 'Each country', he wrote, 'must develop its own government and all other institutions from its own particular circumstances'.²⁴

In fact, this idea of a national school system independent of colonial England was part of a much larger political vision of an independent Australian nation based on freedom, education, science, free thought, philosophy and the arts. Muecke, it seems, was very much a generalist intellectual. Besides his political and pedagogical writings in both Germany and Australia, he also produced a considerable number of almanac stories (*Kalendergeschichten*), short stories and poetry, which have rarely received attention.²⁵ In his poem 'Zum Neujahr 1857', published in the New Year's 1856/1857 edition of *Der Kosmopolit*, Muecke continued his work of political engagement. The poem both represents and performs the thorny ambivalences of German cosmopolitanism in Australia in a remarkable way. I quote the poem in full here as it remains almost unknown.²⁶

Bange blickt heut' manches Schauen
 In die sturmbewegte Welt
 Fragt mit sorgenvollem Grauen
 So der Schwächling, wie der Held.
 Alle Völker sind in Gährung
 Alle Bande weiten sich
 Die Systeme früh'rer Meinung
 Wie des Wissens, lösen sich.
 Was ist Wissen was ist Können!
 Was ist Wahrheit, was ist Schein!
 Die sich heute einig nennen,
 Werden sie es morgen sein?
 Alles muss dem Zeitgeist weichen
 Und er schreitet rastlos fort
 Über Leben, über Leichen,
 Nicht gebannt an Zeit und Ort.²⁷

Written with an alternating rhyme scheme, four-lined stanzas and a trochaic tetrameter, the poem appears in the form of the old German *lied*, with some references to the form of romantic odes. The poem opens with a rather threatening view of a storm-shaken, changing world. The first two stanzas introduce strong semantic opposites: weakling/hero, truth/pretence, knowledge/ability, life/corpse, which seem to endanger unity, communality and togetherness. Undone by the restless *Zeitgeist*, all certainties, the poem seems to suggest, dissolve into intransigent contradictions.

The third and fourth stanzas then present a way to counter and mitigate the upheavals and the insecurity of the opening: cosmopolitanism. Learning to understand ‘the stranger’, Muecke indicates, can turn the threat into a blessing. Cosmopolitanism is even elevated into a divine entity: God himself is a cosmopolitan. The forth stanza then further exaggerates the combination of opposites. Concepts like ‘knowledge’ and ‘war’, ‘fraternity’ and ‘command’, ‘freedom’ and ‘fight’, ‘mind’ and ‘army’ are united in the new soul of a second, divine, cosmopolitan life:

Bangst auch Du? O, nicht doch! Lerne
 Du den Fremdling nur versteh'n,
 Und Du wirst ihn froh und gerne
 Segnend bei Dir weilen seh'n
 Aber Du musst für ihn werben!
 Wer für Heiliges erglüht,
 Kann für Heiliges auch sterben!
 Gott ist selbst Kosmopolit.²⁸
 Vorwärts! nennt er seine Waffen,
 Denken, Forschen, ist sein Heer,
 Licht aus Geist und reges Schaffen.
 Seine immer scharfe Wehr.
 Freiheit heisst des Kampfes Streben.
 Und ihr Feldherr Brüdersinn;
 Heisst darum das Erste Leben,
 Ist das Zweit' die Seele d'rin!²⁹

This euphoric aggrandisement of the cosmopolitan life of a German migrant then turns towards the realpolitik of South Australia's neighbour colony Victoria in the fifth and in the final, sixth stanza. Here Muecke celebrates the first Victorian parliament, held in 1856, and praises the euphoric possibilities of the colony of Victoria:

Das sei Gruß der neuen Sonne,
 Der man bang entgegen sah!
 Fülle Dich mit heiliger Wonne,
 Freies Land Victoria!
 Freiheit habt Ihr in Gesetzen,
 In der Berge Adern Gold,
 Brot, um reichlich euch zu letzen,
 Jeder mark'ge Arm Euch zollt.
 Darum Liebe, Glaube, Treue
 Sei der Gruss, den sie Euch bringt,
 Der, wohl kämpfend, doch durch neue
 Liebe Alle uns umschlingt.
 Poesie und Glück im Hause
 Wohne bei dem Golde da.
 Im Palast, wie in der Klausen.

Glücklich dann Victoria!³⁰

The final stanza unites the apparently insurmountable opposites of the beginning in ‘all-encompassing love’, ‘happiness’ and shared wealth. It is this pantheistic ‘embrace’ (*Liebe alle uns umschlingt*) that evokes the tone of Schiller’s ‘Ode to Joy’ (*Seit umschlungen Millionen!*) and turns the *lied* into an ode to cosmopolitan openness and the new democratic spirit of Victoria. What should not go unnoticed here, however, is the fact that this new ‘Victorian happiness’ is based on Victoria’s ‘gold’. The Australian gold rush of the nineteenth century had indeed attracted people from all over the globe.³¹ As an international and transversal commodity, gold adds a further cosmopolitical dimension to the poem, as gold is, and has always been, a global resource accompanied by cosmopolitical practices, including the freewheeling colonial self-entitlement to resource extraction and the ruthless exploitation of colonised land and people.

In a way, in ‘Zum Neujahr 1857’, Muecke, thus, repeats a pattern he had already used in other poems. In ‘Watch on the South Sea Beach’ (*Wacht am Südseestrand*), for instance, a poem with a clear reference to Schneckenburg’s patriotic ‘Watch on the Rhine’ (*Wacht am Rhein*), Muecke had already put militaristic vocabulary into the service of knowledge and education.³² In ‘Zum Neujahr 1857’ he directs his emphasis on education to the notion of cosmopolitanism and the embrace of the unknown. In a time of social upheaval, political turmoil and rapid epistemological shifts, the poem pleads for acceptance and even the embrace of the new conditions via a bold but critical optimism. The third stanza is especially interesting for my present discussion as it takes up notions of alterity and strangeness. Muecke calls for an understanding of ‘the stranger/other’ whose presence can then be seen as a ‘blessing’. Here Muecke’s usage of the term *der Fremdling* retains an important double reference. On the surface, it works as an anaphor for the changing alterity of the *Zeitgeist* mentioned in the previous stanza. Read in the context of cosmopolitanism and colonialism, however, I would suggest that *der Fremdling* also works as a reference to the colonial ‘other’. A benevolent reading of Muecke’s text would understand this as referring to Indigenous Australians. This is possible, except for the fact that apart from Lutheran missionaries and explorers such as Ludwig Leichhardt and Ludwig Becker, very few German intellectuals in fact engaged with or displayed interest in the Indigenous peoples of Australia. And indeed, in the course of the entire lifespan of *Der Kosmopolit* Indigenous affairs are hardly ever mentioned. But certainly, the turn towards alterity in Muecke’s poem and his calling to understand ‘the colonial other’ is at least referencing the British inhabitants of the continent.

Conclusion

What are the lessons to be learned from the entangled cosmopolitanism of German intellectuals in nineteenth-century Australia? In the history of colonialism, the involvement of Germany in the period before the establishment of German South-West Africa (1884) remains to be studied in closer detail. Long before the era of German imperialism, German migrants, explorers, merchants and missionaries in the service of other nations participated in the conquest of the world and were thus complicit with the European history of colonialism. Already in the nineteenth century, German imperial engagement had provoked contested reactions across the political spectrum at home. Proponents

and adversaries were to be found at all levels in all parties, even the social democrats.³³ In nineteenth-century Germany, as in other colonial nations, the question of colonialism was entangled with domestic politics and seemed either to promise solutions to social problems or disrupt existing political and social designs. In fact, for many European countries, the horizon of colonialism always functioned as a kind of valve by which the pressures of social inequality or revolutionary aspirations could be mitigated or displaced to the colonial ‘periphery’. From this perspective, the exodus of the revolutionaries of 1848 was certainly not unwelcomed by the political forces of the restoration. By the same token, the political, pedagogical and social ambitions of the ‘48-ers’ were not always appreciated by the British majority, let alone the orthodox Lutheran clergy.

As I have indicated in reference to Carl Muecke’s poetry, the cosmo-nationalist enthusiasm of German intellectuals in Australia, despite all its pitfalls, constituted a political will that spurred intense discussions. Muecke’s political, artistic and educational struggle, which he had already outlined in his demand for an independent Australian school system, helped to initiate a larger Australian discourse about colonial emancipation, independence and democracy. Like many other German intellectuals, Muecke brought ambitious political goals from the failed revolution of 1848 to a new home and he had high hopes for the political development of the separate British colonies. They saw, as Gerhard Fischer has it,

Australia as a nation *in statu nascendi* and they recognized that it shared a common fate with the Germany they knew [...]. What Germany had [...] was what Australia lacked or did not yet possess namely a consciousness of its mission to become a nation.³⁴

What the newcomers were thus actively pursuing within their ‘new fatherland’ was the continuation of an old *Kulturnation* within the establishment of a new nation state. To a certain extent, this entailed the spreading of a subtle form of colonialism within colonialism. As a matter of fact, colonialism was marked by such a vast variety of different speeds, structures and practices of governance that, as Birthe Kundrus suggests, a ‘further desideratum in research on the German colonies’ emerges: comparative or transfer studies. ‘High imperialism’, she continues, ‘was a European project, so how did cooperation and exchange of knowledge influence colonial rule?’³⁵ Her question is insightful here for it raises the question of ‘epistemic violence’³⁶ within a framework of thinking that – as in the case of Muecke’s poem – explicitly links a rhetoric of war with categories of knowledge, Enlightenment progress, humanism and benevolence.

In this respect, Muecke’s cosmopolitan desire to turn the old weaponry of colonialism and nationalism into weapons of knowledge and reasons (*Denken, Forschen, ist sein Heer, Licht aus Geist und reges Schaffen. Seine immer scharfe Wehr*) is also rendered problematic. Just as much as weapons are substituted by knowledge, knowledge itself can be sublated into an even more powerful weapon of domination and appropriation. The inherent danger then of any form of *Kulturnation* – driven by cosmo-nationalism – is that it might facilitate an even stronger form of colonial violence. A cosmopolitanism of this kind would surreptitiously promote a very particular – which is to say European – form of engaging with the world and a very particular European image of humanity.

To be sure, while studying colonialism, as again Birthe Kundrus has warned, one should always be careful not to ‘succumb to the fantasies of omnipotence created by colonizers’³⁷

and underestimate the diverse forms of agency of the colonised. However, if the kind of cosmo-nationalism practised by German intellectuals is perhaps what distinguishes German colonial entanglements from the colonial history of other empires, its politico-imperial power could be even more subtle, and could therefore be even more difficult to disentangle.

Notes

1. Pheng Cheah, 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical Today', in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah (eds), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1998, p 20.
2. Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay*, M. Campbell Smith (trans), New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972.
3. Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, p 119.
4. Friedrich Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, Robert B. Kimber (trans), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970, p 94.
5. Wolfgang Thierse, 'Die Kulturnation – Von Schiller Lernen', Deutschland Radio Kultur, 3 April 2005. Available at: http://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/die-kulturnation.982.de.html?dram:article_id=1531133 (accessed 1 March 2015). My translation.
6. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York: Verso, 2006, p 85.
7. Despite the ambitious work of activist groups in Namibia and Germany and a growing body of scholarship on this chapter of German history the abhorrent genocide of Herero and Namaque People at the beginning of the twentieth century is still largely unacknowledged by a wider public and the German government.
8. Cf. Gabrielle McMullen, 'Getting to Know Dr. Müller: Accounts of Ferdinand von Müller in Victoria's Mid-Nineteenth-Century German Language Newspapers', *Historical Records of Australian Science* 11(3), 1997, pp 325–334.
9. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p 33.
10. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p 33.
11. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp 14–33.
12. Cf. Thomas A. Darragh and Robert Wuchatsch, *From Hamburg to Hobson's Bay: German Emigration to Port Phillip (Australia Felix) 1848–51*, Heidelberg, VIC: T.A. Darragh, R.N. Wuchatsch, Published in Association with the Wendish Heritage Society Australia, 1999, p 25.
13. cf. Gerhard Fischer, "A Great Independent Reich and Nation": Carl Muecke and the "Forty-Eighters" of the German-Australian Community of South Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies* November 1989, p 88.
14. In the years after 1855 and the foundation of a 'responsible government' independent from the British Crown in London, many German-Australians began to demand equal access to parliamentary representation and political participation. This demand for 'German rights', however, sparked intense debates about the position of Germans within the British-Australian settler community. The English-speaking press reacted with suspicion when German-Australian newspapers greeted the end of the Franko-Prussian war and the foundation of the German Reich with affirmation and joy (Gerhard Fischer, 'Von deutschen Revolutionären zu australischen Nationalisten: zur Rolle der 48er Migranten und Kolonisatoren in Südaustralien', in *Koloniale Vergangenheiten – (post)imperiale Gegenwart*, Jörn Leonhard und Rolf G. Renner (eds), Berlin: BWV, 2010, pp 140–143). The beginning of World War I further deteriorated the relationship between the British Australians and the German communities. Germans, who worked in public service were put out of office, pronounced German nationalists were placed in internment camps or treated as enemy aliens. While the overall reputation of Germans rose again in the 1920s, many Germans communities were

- renamed, many German families anglicized their names or renounced their German heritage (Jurgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia: The Story of the Continent's German Speaking Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
15. Johannes H. Voigt, *Australien und Deutschland – 200 Jahre Begegnungen, Beziehungen und Verbindungen*, Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1988, p 68.
 16. *Der Kosmopolit*, editorial, 1856. My translation: The colony is thereby a practical soil for the great idea of world citizenship, a universal and uniform humanity, of cosmopolitanism. We will stay true to this glorious foundation of existence and the prospering development of our new fatherland and will seek to enable its largest possible extension.
 17. David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, p 37.
 18. Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism*, p 84.
 19. *Der Kosmopolit*, editorial, 1856. My translation: The implementation of the principle of free trade, understood in its most general political and social meaning and not just referring to customs, will constitute the foundation of our political activity. Free trade in this sense means free agency, evolvment of individual liberty in its largest sense, excluding any kind of tutelage or interference of the state. Individual liberty, in our view, is the only basis on which a secure and enduring democratic formation of society can be realized.
 20. Timothy Brennan, *Wars of Position: The Cultural Politics of Left and Right*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, p 206.
 21. A similar argument with regard to the appropriation and fetishizing of ethnic difference to the disadvantage of Indigenous rights in Australia has been made in the context of multiculturalism and the Mabo decision in the twentieth century. As Elizabeth Povinelli, for instance, has argued: 'multicultural discourses, apparatuses, and imaginaries defuse struggles for liberation waged against the modern liberal state and recuperate these struggles as moments in which the future of the nation and its core institutions and values are ensured rather than shaken'. At such points, cosmopolitanism like 'multiculturalism become[s] the ground for a new form of national monoculturalism'. Elizabeth A. Povinelli, 'The State of Shame: Australian Multiculturalism and the Crisis of Indigenous Citizenship', *Critical Inquiry* 24(2), 1998, pp 579, 598.
 22. Darragh and Wuchatsch, *From Hamburg to Hobson's Bay*, p 25.
 23. The *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*, which was subsequently renamed *Australische Deutsche Zeitung*, later merging with the *Süd-Australische Zeitung* to become the *Australische Zeitung*.
 24. Quoted in Fischer, *Independent Reich and Nation*, p 87.
 25. Relatively few comprehensive studies of Muecke exist. Fischer's work on the '48-ers' and Alan Corkhill's chapter on 'The Creative Work of Carl Mücke' in his book *Antipodean Encounters* provide valuable analyses of his life and work, but more work needs to be done. See Gerhard Fischer, *Independent Reich and Nation*; Fischer, 'Von deutschen Revolutionären zu australischen Nationalisten'; and Alan Corkhill, *Antipodean Encounters – Australia and the German Literary Imagination 175–1918*, New York: Peter Lang, 1990.
 26. The largest collection of his poems, excluding 'Zum Neujahr 1857', can be found at the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide.
 27. Anxious is today the sight, /of the stormy, shaken world, /so there doubt with worried fright /weaking, hero just alike. /All the peoples in ferment, /all the bonds are widening, /of the system's sentiment /as of knowledge become undone. // What is known yet, what is likely? /What is truth and what is show? /Those who call themselves united, /will tomorrow they still be so? /To the zeitgeist we all yield /and it relentlessly proceeds /Beyond life beyond death /nor confined to space and time.
 28. Are you also trembling? O, not yet, learn! /How to understand the stranger here, /and you'll gladly see him in sojourn, /blessing you without much to fear. /But you must strive for him! / Those who for the sacred shine /can also for the sacred perish! /God himself is a cosmopolitan.

29. // Ahead! He names his weapon, /thinking, research, are his army, /light from spirit and creativity, /form his standing soldiery. /Freedom is the battle's goal, /its commander fraternity. /Thus it calls your first life, /the second is the soul within!
30. Be this the greeting of the sun, /that we used to see in fright. /Fill it up with holy bliss, /free country Victoria! / Freedom you have in your laws, /in the mountain's veins of gold /Bread to eat that richly fills, /and each strongarm pays manifold. // Thus Love, Belief, Faithfulness /shall be the salute, that it brings, / He, well fights with newness /Love entangled, each one ringed. /Poetry and happiness within the house. / May it live with gold gone far, /in the palace as in the country shack. /Happy then Victoria.
31. Cf. Gerhard Fischer, 'The Governor-General's Apology: Reflections on Anzac Day', *Cultural Studies Review* 18(3), 2012, pp 220–239.
32. Cf. Fischer, *Independent Reich and Nation*; Fischer "'A Great Independent Reich and Nation'"; Corkhill, *Antipodean Encounter*, p 135.
33. Cf. Hans Fenske, 'Ungeduldige Zuschauer. Die Deutschen Und Die Europäische Expansion 1815–1880', in *Imperialistische Kontinuität und Nationale Ungeduld im 19. Jahrhundert*, Dittmar Dahlmann and Wolfgang Reinhard (eds), Frankfurt Am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991, pp 87–123.
34. Fischer, *Great Independent Reich and Nation*, p 88.
35. Birthe Kundrus, 'German Colonialism Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations', in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, Volker Max Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (eds), New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p 35.
36. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds), London: Routledge, 1995, p 281.
37. Kundrus, 'German Colonialism', p 35.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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