

Art Education Research No. 15/2019

Saskia Köbschall

GERMAN, NATURAL, NAKED? The Life Reform and its Colonial Entanglements

GROWING UP NAKED IN NATURE

*"History is not the past.
 It is the present.
 We carry our history with us.
 We *are* our history.
 If we pretend otherwise, we literally are criminals."*

James Baldwin, *I Am Not Your Negro*¹

There was a particularity that came with growing up in East Germany in the 1990s that often proves difficult to explain to anyone who did not: Being naked by the seaside, on camping sites, during sport activities or in family gardens was very common. Even the swimming pool in our East Berlin neighborhood did not allow textiles on Mondays, nor on Wednesdays. Being naked in nature together, one got a feeling of lightness and perhaps even more importantly, community: it was a welcome contrast to the alienating loneliness of the grey *Plattenbau* apartment blocks we grew up in. All I knew was that doing certain things with your clothes on, was not only 'very unhealthy' and most 'unnatural', it was also 'prudish' and certainly a limitation of one's 'freedom'. I grew up convinced that being naked is one's right, the right to be one with nature and enjoy the sunshine, water and wind on one's skin, the freedom to be 'as nature made us'. To me, this upbringing was a blessing, I had never thought of it as anything but progressive.

The only awkward memory I recall of my nudist past, consists of the wild and to me largely incomprehensible rituals called 'Neptune Celebrations': they were gatherings overseen by a man disguised as Neptune, the god of the sea, painted in dark green from head to toe and armed with a trident. He selected children and young people in the audience to be 'baptized' into the 'Neptune Empire' and his victims consisted of the most light skinned bystanders among the nudist crowd, those

who had clearly not yet spent enough time naked. The selected person was made to stand in the middle of the gathering and received a Neptune-baptismal-name, before attempting to flee the scene. After a nerve-wrecking chase they were captured by Neptune's henchmen, tied to a stake with robes, forced to drink a nasty brew, painted in blue or green, and subsequently carried to and thrown into the water in a rather rough manner. Afterwards the drenched baptizand received a certificate stating their 'native' name. One unfortunate day, I was the chosen onlooker and ended up re-christened as 'toothless algae devourer'.

The nudism I practiced is known as FKK (*Freikörperkultur*/free-body-culture) in Germany, and was an important part of GDR everyday culture. When I started researching the history of the German nudist movement, I was startled to find that the first nudist colony (the term 'colony' is often used in place of 'association' in nudism)² was an exclusive club of British colonialists established in India in 1891. My surprise was genuine. The idea that taking off one's clothes meant being closer to nature was not only more than half a century older than I had always thought, it was also first practiced in the colonies. This fact was the first in a long chain of information, footage, images, quotes and books, that made it evident that this correlation was all but a coincidence. It turned my understanding of what it meant to be free and naked in nature on its head.

This essay is personal, not only because it gives space to the inevitable shortcomings that arise when exploring the way imperial formations³ impact our everyday practices, but also because I do not mean to exempt

¹ Quote from the 2016 documentary *I Am Not Your Negro*, directed by Raoul Peck, based on James Baldwin's unfinished manuscript *Remember This House*.

² Starting from a critique of modern European society, the Life Reform "took up the notion of the colony and systematically placed it at the origin of the development of an alternative society" (Brasch 2017: 76).

³ I am referencing Ann Stoler's notion of imperial formations, who uses "'imperial formations' than at empire per se, to register the ongoing quality of processes of decimation, displacement, and reclamation. [...] Imperial formations are defined by racialized relations of allocations and appropriations. Unlike empires, they are processes of becoming, not fixed things." (Stoler 2008: 193)



Image 1: "To be naked is natural". Still from an advertisement for a nudist camping site by the Baltic Sea (2013).



Image 2: "You are part of nature". Still from an advertisement for a nudist camping site by the Baltic Sea (2013).

myself from the larger colonial amnesia that enabled me to never question practices like these. As much as I strive to take a distance from imperial history in order to reconstruct it and better understand our present, my own narrative never fully operates outside of it. Yet, while being aware of the limits of writing this history, I still consider it imperative to *attempt* to write it, for it might help us understand and question the forms of violence that continue to live with us.

COLONIAL NAKEDNESS, *WHITE NUDITY?*

The idea of 'being close to nature' and the ways of achieving this proximity are socially and historically constructed, as are notions of 'nakedness' and 'nudity'. Rather than being mere facts of 'unclothedness', nudity has a long and complicated history. During the colonial period, nudity and its supposed opposite, clothedness, "concretely functioned as instruments of racial domination" (Barcan 2004: 143). While there is no evidence that colonial subjects perceived of themselves as naked, nakedness became central to the colonialists' thinking, to their binary of the 'clothed' and the 'naked', which derived from and equalled the binary of the 'civilized' and those 'close to nature', therefore turning the level of perceived unclothedness a measurement of 'civilization': "In the early years of colonial rule, cloth thus served initially as a means for comparing levels of civilization among the colonized, and then as a colonial index by which to measure the march toward civilization of the 'wild' and 'naked tribes'." (Barcan 2004: 143).

At the same time the alleged 'lack' of clothes on the part of the colonized, and the many other 'lacks' it was made to symbolize, "were also sometimes understood as repositories of all those values and freedoms that these same societies were imagined to have squandered or lost – an authentic relation to nature, a simple untroubled life, a primordial innocence" (Ayto 1993: 154). Thus, nakedness could simultaneously "be understood

as 'natural' in a positive sense. In fact, euphemistic expressions for nakedness as 'natural' (...) date from the second half of the eighteenth century – a period of intense European colonial activity and the corresponding cults of primitivism and the noble savage" (Ayto 1993: 154). Voyeuristic images of the colonized circulated in anthropological publications, via post cards and newspapers, as well as in artistic and personal realms (C.f. Alloula 1987; Graham-Brown 1988; Edwards 2001). They "connected the symbolic and the real world to form an imaginary projection surface, which was determined by the gaze of the white subject" (Kien Nghi Ha, 2009, in Eggers, Kilomba, Piesche, Arndt 2009). But the turn of the 19th century was also the "era of human exhibitions" (Andreassen 2015: 1), which staged colonized people in 'African village' settings in European exhibition venues or zoos, corresponding to widespread racist images. As early as 1886 Carl Hagenbeck, the director of the Hamburg Zoo and one of the most infamous profiteers of this business, ran exhibits of what he called "purely natural" populations.⁴

In other words, the turn of the 19th century was a time of intense German colonial expansion and debate. But while Black and Brown bodies continued to be categorized, dominated, violated and exhibited based on their level of alleged nakedness and 'closeness to nature', the Life Reform Movement (*Lebensreformbewegung*) called for the liberation of the *white* body from the 'constraints of civilization', for its 'return to nature' via practices like nudism. As much as being 'one with nature' continued to be a criteria of 'backwardness' in the colonies, it emerged as a 'futuristic' and 'avant-garde' endeavor in the metropole.

This juxtaposition of simultaneous events is important, yet my intention is not to miraculously uncover a singu-

⁴ See Giudici, Gabriella: Deep Racism: the Forgotten History of Human Zoos, <https://gabriellagiudici.it/deep-racism-the-forgotten-history-of-human-zoos/> (retrieved on February 1, 2019)



Image 3, 4 and 5: Cameroon Celebration (GDR 1950s). Stills from "Als die Nackten an die Ostsee kamen"

lar, monocausal continuity between colonial propaganda and the emerging Life Reform Movement's philosophy and practice. Rather, it means to elicit questions about the manifold and complex ways in which the discourse of colonialism and the emergence of the movement overlap and juxtapose each other, not only in timing, but also in terms of how they conceived of the relationship between body, nature and 'civilization'. Juxtaposition is important, if only to understand that it is by taking the *white* body as a starting point (or really, the only point of reference), that one might even be able to think the Life Reform and its nudist culture as separate from imperial formations. At the time of its emergence, the relationship between one's body, nature and society evidently did not signify the same thing for people who were not afforded the privileges of those with a *white* body.

Apart from a few exceptions in literary and postcolonial studies,⁵ this discursive connection has remained an academic blind spot. In scholarship about the Life Reform itself an analysis of its coloniality is all but absent. Where the trope of the 'primitive' as inspiration for the movement's quest to "reunite with nature" is addressed, it tends to be portrayed as challenging "the racial dialogues which had been circulating in Europe at the time" (Morris 2009: 25) by drawing on the romantic image of the contemporary 'noble savage' as a representative of Germany's own past, rather than the trope of the immature, brute 'primitive'. Yet, the 'positive' tropes were racist fictions just the same, and formed part of colonial propaganda (C.f. Fabian 1983; Ellington 2001; Eggers, Kilomba, Piesche, Arndt 2009).

How can a major social movement in Germany at the turn of the 19th century be thought of separately from the colonial endeavor, which dominated German politics and public discourse at the time? This question is perhaps just as concerning as the discursive link to be explored itself. While it seems an almost painfully obvious connection to investigate, during the initial part of my research this link was entirely invisible to me as well. Had it not been for my personal experiences with (contemporary) nudism, paired with a coincidence, I might have never truly questioned it.

⁵ See here Ruth Barcan's (2004) hints at the interrelation between European colonial activity, the trope of the 'noble savage' and nudist practices, and Thomas Schwarz (2013) reflections on the representation of Samoa in literary practices.

EAST GERMAN 'CAMEROON CELEBRATIONS'

"How does one revisit the scene of subjection without replicating the grammar of violence?"
(Saidiya Hartman 2008: 4)

Nudism turned into a larger movement at the fin de siècle as part of the German Life Reform Movement, an umbrella term for a variety of movements that were calling for a 'return to nature' at the time. Some of its strands, like naturopathy and vegetarianism, date back to the middle of the 19th century (C.f. Conti 1984, 67 f.). It incorporated a wide range of diverse but interrelated beliefs, political and social agendas, from the *völkisch* (folkish-nationalist) right, to the socialist left, from the cult of light and air, the practice of nudism, the garden city movement, vegetarianism and the progressive education movement, to groups proposing alternative agricultural and economic structures in so called 'settlements' or 'colonies' outside of the city. Although the movement was supported by a social minority at first, it played a significant role in developing a new look at the body and "many of its ideas, such as organic farming, whole-food nutrition, as well as the cult of the sun, of the body, of fitness and of slimming, diffused into practical everyday life, although they are often portrayed to be modern trends today" (Merta 2003: 515).

My initial writings on the origins of the movement were perfectly in line with the existing body of literature: I argued that it was a counter-development to the growing modernization problems in Germany, as it came of age at the peak of industrialization and urbanization, a time of rapidly growing cities and their rapidly build tenement houses, dark backyards, heavy pollution and traffic. The overpopulation of the cities often resulted in desperate living conditions, with overpopulated flats without daylight, where malnourishment and the lack of UV rays became pressing health issues. The nudist movement then brought people into nature where they exercised, sun-bathed and formed new communities (Williams 2078: 4).

In one of my late night research sessions I watched a documentary on nudism in East Germany. I only half paid attention to the images flickering across the screen as I had seen the likes of them a thousand times: Happy, naked people in the 1950s were enjoying the sun, running along a Baltic Sea beach, playing volleyball, holding their toddlers or walking into the water. When questioned



Image 6: Cameroon Celebration, Prerow (GDR, 1954).

about their activities they answered that while being nude they “can feel nature closely on their skin”, that “being naked is natural” and makes you “part of nature”, that “through wearing clothes one denies nature”. For a few seconds, images of people dancing in the sand appeared on the screen, immediately arresting my attention for they seemed disturbingly out of place. Covered in tribal body paint, they were wearing shell necklaces and grass skirts, while holding spears and dancing around a white, dressed ‘captive’ who was tied to a stake with robes. Amidst the scary chants and howls of the seemingly out-of-control ritual participants, the captive was tortured and then thrown into the water.

The images were so familiar and yet so strange at the same time, it took me a few rewinds of the video to figure out what was really going on. At first glance it appeared to be a scene from a racist colonial movie depicting ‘wild natives’ capturing a colonizer. Except for the person tied to the stake, the participants of the ritual were so dark-skinned that at first sight I had read them as Black, yet at a second or even third glance, they were all *white*. Some appeared to have painted their faces and bodies with shoe polish, others were deeply suntanned and covered with imaginary ‘native’ paint. There were drums, spears, bows, headscarves and all sorts of other references to an eclectic imaginary African ‘tribal’ culture. The voice-over comment of the black and white documentary explained that the images showed so called ‘Cameroon Celebrations’ (*Kamerunfeste*) in the early 1950s on the East German Baltic Sea beach of Prerow, which were staged in protest of the socialist government’s ban on the nudist movement.

‘Cameroon Celebrations’ - I had never heard that term before, but I did not need to hear the off-comment to know what I had just witnessed: a racist version of the ‘Neptune Celebrations’ so familiar to me from my childhood summers. The commentator continued to explain that the Socialist government of the GDR had grown weary of the nudist movement (now termed *Freikörperkultur*, FKK, Free Body Culture), yet their ban of nudist practices proved ineffective and detectives sent to investigate soon learned, that even some politicians from the ruling party’s inner circles were among the practitioners,

staging those ‘rituals’ as a means of protest. The head of the East German police forces at the time, Karl Maron, vehemently opposed those gatherings, stating that “*the Cameroon celebrations are an unfathomable insult to the customs and rites of the N****people*”⁶. Cameroon, which was colonized by Germany from 1884 to 1916, was also the name of the most popular nudist beach, alongside the beaches “Hawaii”, “Samoa”, “Abessinien” and “Ethiopia”. “Cameroon” was to remain a synonym for FKK in the GDR until well into the 1970s. Perceived as a threat to the GDR’s official politics of friendship and solidarity with the formerly colonized African countries, the ‘Cameroon Parties’ were later re-modeled into rituals for the god of the sea, and the ban on nudism was lifted amidst an untamable movement calling for its legalization.

Catching me off-guard, the footage threw me into a state of confusion, irritation and nausea for many weeks to come. It made a relation visible to me, and more so palpable, that had been there all along, yet I had blatantly overlooked it during a good year of research and writing on the topic. I felt as if the relationship I had with my body was collapsing into the ugliest parts of German history.

LUKANGA MUKARA’S EXPEDITION INTO THE GERMAN HINTERLAND

While the social problems of industrialization, as well as the climate of preoccupation with health issues, are well researched as causes and catalysts of the movement (C.f. Ross 2005), I struggled to explain the specific *practices* of the Life Reform in this manner. Did not other European and North American countries at the time struggle with overcrowded tenement houses? Do people worldwide not still suffer from the health hazards of industrialization? Yet the idea of stripping one’s clothes as a means of stripping off civilization and reuniting with nature, or becoming a vegetarian, seemed very particular

⁶ See: <http://www.fkk-museum.de/strand/strand-006.html> (last retrieved January 15, 2019)



Image 7: Self portrait photograph of Hans Paasche in a besieged Maji Maji village, 1905.

to the Life Reform.⁷ It also seemed to speak to the fact that it emerged at a time of German colonial expansion and its discourses.

The life and work of Life Reformist Hans Paasche opens up many questions about this relation. The image above shows him as a German colonial officer, posing for a photograph in a besieged village of Maji-Maji fighters in German East Africa in 1905, where he participated in the brutal obliteration of the uprising (1905/06) that claimed the lives of nearly 200.000 people. His father, a high-profile politician who advocated for German colonial expansion, describes his son's implication in the military strategy known as *Strategie der verbrannten Erde* (scorched earth tactics) in his 1906 publication: "Hundreds of black people had lost their lives in the battle. There were more than 30 N**** who were struck down by his [Hans Paasche's] rifle (...) as painful as this was for him".⁸

Only 15 years later Hans Paasche was shot and killed by the Prussian military for promoting anti-militarism. Once a passionate game hunter, he later became a known nature conservationist, once a self-proclaimed explorer of Africa, he later became one of the most prominent advocates of the Life Reform, alcohol abstinence and vegetarianism. He warned of an immanent clash between "culture" and "nature" on the African continent, and criticized colonialism for ruining its *Urzustand* (original, primal state).

In 1912 he published a novel that was to become the 'bible' of the Life Reform movement. Titled *The Research Expedition of the African Lukanga Mukara into the Innermost of Germany* (*Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners*

Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschland), the book was a parody of the popular novels recounting (mostly fictional) expeditions into the "innermost of Africa" or the *Heart of Darkness* (Conrad, 1899). In the novel the main protagonist, Lukanga, an imaginary African character who hails from an imaginary African nation (Kitara), wanders through Germany on a mission to report back to his king about the life conditions and the political and economic system in Wilhelminian Germany. It is composed as a series of personal letters written by Lukanga to his king. In a dramatic tone, Lukanga reports the horrific social wrongs and nuisances he comes across, assuring his king that by all means, people of his kingdom Kitara are very lucky not to live in this country, whose inhabitants are so estranged from nature and drink and smoke all day, whose women are oppressed, whose workers live under inhuman conditions without natural light, and whose industry has destroyed nature. Life in Germany was just....degenerated. He writes that he,

"saw that the natives were wearing clothes, even when they were at work. [...] All natives always walk around all dressed, even when they bath they wear a thin dress. Nobody has the right to walk around naked, nobody even finds it indecent and vicious, to wear clothes. Even the king of this country subdues himself to this coercion. On his body he wears thick, sewn fabrics, he covers his head, and he covers his feet with sewn calfskin. How great and noble you are, Mukama, compared to him! Your dress is a bast fiber, adorned with two carved bushbock horns, striped goatskin covers the left side of your hip. Freely breathes your chest, the sun shines on your even skin and your naked foot touches the fertile soil."⁹

Finally, after a long and disturbing journey, Lukanga comes across something a little more encouraging: A group of healthy young men and women, singing and laughing as they walk a path through a forest, a group

⁷ The 1970s Hippie movement in California, which exhibits similar characteristics, had Life Reform roots as well. Some practitioners of *Lebensreform* such as Bill Pester, Benedict Lust and Arnold Ehret emigrated to California in the late 19th or first half of the 20th century and founded Life Reform groups like the *Nature Boys*, who influenced the later hippie movement (C.f. Kennedy 1998)

⁸ Paasche 1906, quoted in Brum, Detlev: "Ich verschwieg die Wahrheit" – Hans Paasche als Kolonialredner (1907-1912). Accessible at: <http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/pdf/hans-paasche.pdf> (last retrieved January 15, 2019)

⁹ Paasche 1912, translation by Chaos Production Unlimited 1992, available at: <https://gospelofthomas.org/the-journey-of-lukanga-mukara.html> (last retrieved January 15, 2019)

of Life Reform advocates. Their bodies are beautiful and healthy compared to the people he had come across so far, whose bodies were just about to “fall apart”. He writes:

“I saw the stature of young men and girls. I saw their eyes and the fiery glance in them. I saw, as a foreigner, the future of a nation [...]. Mukama, I witnessed the grand fire, which burns in the heart of these noble people.”¹⁰

Through the voice of Lukanga – the figure being inspired by an subordinate of Paasche’s in the colonies who went by the same name – he voices his critique of degenerated modern life in Germany and advocates for the Life Reform ideals of vegetarianism, land reform, nudism and the “love for nature”. All the social wrongs become apparent through his direct comparisons with the supposedly “nature-related” African way of life. In his 2011 article *Eine postkoloniale Lektüre von Hans Paasche (A Postcolonial Reading of Hans Paasche)*, Pierre Kodjio Nenguié quotes from Paasche’s book *Ändert Euren Sinn* (Change Your Mind) to demonstrate his ambiguity about the ethical nature of the colonial endeavor, particularly with regards to its approach to nature: “Why would I think I am better at than them? I doubt the value of what I bring, and I am in awe of what I find, and so I have a whole different goal: I do not think of trying to make people and countries better, but rather, I hope to improve myself through my encounter with the wilderness.” (ÄS 164, quoted in Kodjio Nenguié 2011: 37).

Paasche was by no means an active advocate of the colonized, and drew on exoticizing and racist tropes to further his advocacy for the Life Reform. His work forms part of a literary tradition in Europe that criticizes European society and voices ambivalence about civilization by praising cultures ‘untouched’ by it (Sembene 1988). In his text *Die Kenntnis der natürlichen Lebensweise* (Knowledge of the Natural Way of Life) Paasche claims that the ‘real’ Lukanga Mukara was his inspiration for advocating vegetarianism: “It was the N**** Lukanga who introduced me to vegetarianism. When he observed German customs, he did not find it all too self-evident to kill animals, cut them in pieces and eat them. That’s when I started paying attention and (...) devoted myself to this issue” (Paasche, N.a., quoted from Sembene 1988: 32). Paasche’s novel bears similarities with a book which is still part of the Berlin high school curriculum: Erich Scheurmann’s *Der Papalagi. Die Reden des Südseehäuptlings Tuiavii aus Tiavea* (1920), a series of speeches, which the author claimed were translations of a Samoan king’s real speech notes, but which were indeed fictional. In the book the fictional character of Tuiavii expresses his discontent with European civilization and indirectly advocates Life Reform ideals like nudism and sunbathing, as well as less strict sexual codes of conduct. He

allegedly gained these insights into European society while voluntarily participating in a traveling human exhibition. Scheurmann quotes Tuiavii as follows,

“But let us rejoice, that our flesh can speak with the sun, that we can swing our legs like the wild horse, because no loincloth binds them, and no foot-skin weights them down, and we do not have to be cautious for our headgear not to fall from our head. Let us rejoice in the Virgin, whose body is beautiful and who shows her limbs in sunlight and moonlight. Foolish, blind, with no sense of true joy is the white man, who has to cover himself so much to be without shame.” (Scheurmann 2000 (1920): 16).

While the book was not a great success initially, it eventually achieved cult status during the counterculture of the 1960s and became the ‘green bible’ of environmentalism. This ongoing popularity is rather surprising, considering the fact that Scheurmann was an early advocate of Nazi ideology and joined the National Socialist party in 1937.

NAKED SPORT IN CAMEROON AND THE FIRST HIPPIE’S DARK SECRETS

One of the most prominent advocates of the Life Reform movement in the early 20th century was Hans Surén with his book *Der Mensch und die Sonne* (Man and the Sunlight). It was first published in 1924 and ran through 68 impressions (250,000 copies) in its first year of publication. It continued to be printed until 1945 and also became a bestseller in Britain in translation as *Man and the Sunlight* (C.f. Morris 2009), while the images in the publication dominated the visual discourse of the movement for decades. Surén invented a popular gymnastic system and was an advocate of physical exercise and the body’s exposure to air and sunlight. The second edition of his 1924 bestseller was republished under the new (sub)title *Mensch und Sonne – Aryanisch Olympischer Geist* (Man and Sunlight - Aryan-Olympic Spirit) after the Nazis seized power, including quotes from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*.

While there is an abundance of research on Surén’s contribution to the Life Reform movement, especially to its nudist strand, his previous career in Germany’s colony Cameroon is rarely mentioned. He was employed as a colonial officer in Soppo in 1913 and was later transferred to North Cameroon (Hoffmann 2007). After the outbreak of World War I, he fought on Lake Chad, but became a prisoner of war of the British on June 11, 1915, being held in northern and southern Nigeria. In the Donington-Hall camp, he used his free time for systematic gymnastic body training (Porte 1989: 130, Surén 1934: 15). Due to his (naked) gymnastic activity, his fellow prisoners described him as mentally ill, an attribution he later used to obtain his release (Spitzer 1983: 98, Surén 1934: 15). In 1934 he published his memoirs on his deployment during the colonial war on Cameroon between Germany and the British during WWI, titled *Kampf um Kamerun* (Battle for Cameroon), where he also laments the loss of the colony:

¹⁰ Paasche 1912, translation by Chaos Production Unlimited 1992, available at: <https://gospelofthomas.org/the-journey-of-lukanga-mukara.html> (last retrieved January 15, 2019)



Image 8: Collage, up: Hans Surén, *Man and Sunlight*", 1924.
down: "FKK is a feeling of freedom!"

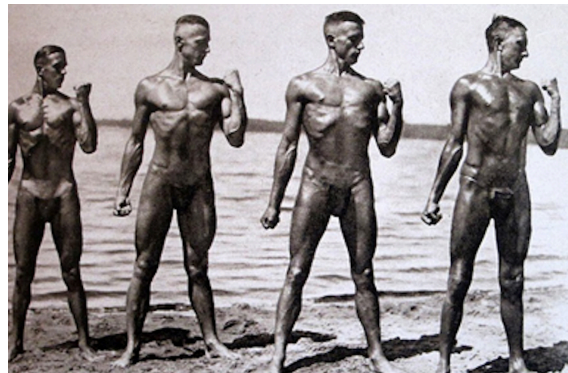


Image 9: Nudist exercise, Hans Surén "*Man and Sunlight*", 1924.

"Cameroon is a wonderful country! Every German can find his second home in its beautiful, rich and fertile lands. The vast mountainous areas are almost as healthy as European countries." (Suren 1934: 312)

The last chapter of the book is dedicated to the importance of physical exercise in nature as part of the colonial endeavor. According to Surén, it was his deployment in Cameroon that drew his attention to the importance of 'natural living' ideals and the striving for a natural, physically strong body, he later advocated as Life Reformer. To him, the end of the German colonial empire was caused not only by inadequate battle equipment, but also by a lack of understanding of the importance of physical exercise and bodily adaption to the tropical climate and nature. Thus he saw the emphasis on exercise during the Third Reich, more than a decade after Germany lost its colonies, as a preparation for future colonial endeavors: "In this manner [by practicing nudist exercise] we are holding ourselves ready, with health and the joy of working, to emigrate to a new colonial homeland, when the hour will come" (Suren 1934: 310).

August Engelhardt (1875 - 1919) - also known as the first hippie, or the 'coconut apostle' - was another prominent Life Reformer of the early 20th century, who dedicated himself to taking the movement's practices to the German colonies. In 1902 Engelhardt bought an island, Kabakon, and its coconut plantation in the colony of German New Guinea, in order to found an equatorial nudist settlement community called *Sonnenorden* (sun congregation), where he advocated "nudist tropical cocovorism", a fruitarian diet based solely on the consumption of coconuts. He believed that if Europeans were to re-settle to tropical areas and were eating nothing but coconuts, they would reunite with nature and become immortal and divine (C.f. Huncke 2011). Yet the reality looked somewhat different: within a few years four of his followers died in Kabakon, many others had to leave the island due to poor health, and on the postcard pictures that Engelhardt sent to Europe to recruit new followers, he himself

looked rather unhealthy, almost reduced to a skeleton.¹¹

Similar to other Life Reform advocates of his time, he believed to have discovered the true recipe for human existence and a means of reuniting the sickly modern human with nature and thereby with god (to him, the sun). Engelhardt's old friend, August Bethmann, who joined him in Kabakon and helped him to promote his settlement, grew more and more critical of the ethics and practicality of the endeavor. He criticized Engelhardt's supposed cosmopolitan approach and its discrepancy with the reality on Kabakon, which was by all measures a profitable colonial plantation whose workers were treated inhumanely. In a letter to his family in 1906 he writes: "I for my part see it [vegetarianism] as cosmopolitan. A Life Reform advocate who has his heart in the right place, has to strive to help everyone" (Bethmann, quoted in Huncke 2011: 99). Bethmann was one of the followers who did not survive his stay in Kabakon, although rumor has it that he did not succumb to illness, but was killed in a physical altercation with the coconut apostle.¹²

Engelhardt's accountant had a similar stance with regards to the treatment of the local workers, whom the goals of the Life Reform did not seem to include. He writes,

"What about the noble goals of true humankind, which the first coconut apostle preaches in his writings? [...] This plantation is managed according to the same principles as any other: to generate money, quite a lot of money, at the expense of the native labour. The then about 40 black plantation workers - now significantly more - have to chop, plant, gather and crack nuts, from dawn - at 6 o'clock - until sunset - at 6 o'clock in the evening - under a hot tropical sun or in pouring rain. [...] Still, these natural humans are called the biggest loafers and get heavy beatings, if they are caught while resting, or if they rebel against the strict discipline." (Staudenmaier 1913, quoted in Huncke 2011: 99f)

¹¹ Opitz, Manuel (n.a.) *Aussteiger, Nudist und Vegetarier: Der Herr der Kokosnüsse*: <http://www.spiegel.de/einestages/aussteiger-august-engelhardt-der-herr-der-kokosnuesse-a-1195030.html>

¹² Opitz, Manuel (n.a.) *Aussteiger, Nudist und Vegetarier: Der Herr der Kokosnüsse*: <http://www.spiegel.de/einestages/aussteiger-august-engelhardt-der-herr-der-kokosnuesse-a-1195030.html>



Image 10: August Engelhardt and Max Lützow in Kabakon.

Often referred to as the first hippie and an inspiration to contemporary *Aussteiger*, a German term for someone who decides to consciously leave the social system and resettle in remote areas (for example Goa), Engelhardt was met with admiration as much as he evoked critique and ridicule among his contemporaries. The self-proclaimed coconut apostle himself died on Kabakon in 1919. Almost a century after his death, Swiss author Christian Kracht published his influential novel *Imperium* (2012), which follows Engelhardt's life in its comical tragedy.

In 1910, Life Reform advocate Carl Eduard Michaelis, a utopian in the spirit of Engelhardt, was practicing nudism in Samoa and was exploring the possibility of setting up a Life Reform cooperative settlement there (C.f. Schwarz 2013). He did not get very far in his endeavor, as he infamously caused an uprising amongst women of both Samoan and German decent in 1911, which resulted in him being expelled from the colony, when he condemned interracial relationships as a “lack of ‘racial hygiene’” in the German protectorate in an open letter to the Samoan daily newspaper (Stähler 2018: 289). Thomas Schwarz remarks that the case of Michaelis illustrates how “starting from the seemingly insignificant events on a South Sea island, an intersection between discourses of South Sea colonialism, the Life Reform movement and fascism emerged in the German public, inspired by racial hygiene” (Schwarz 2013: 2).

While the Life Reform movement initially tended to be rather democratic, cosmopolitan and pacifist, it also had a Social Darwinist, *völkisch*, racial hygiene and anti-semitic strand, which gained in popularity by the turn of

the century (Linse 1996: 398).¹³ From its very onset, its discourses had given a new weight to the body, which was discovered, (re)perceived, and given a new, partially mystically exaggerated meaning, while advocating the ideal of an essentially “white bourgeois body” (Möhring 2004 108). This concept of a normalized body, and its sudden visibility in nudist practices for example, also entailed the construction of its opposition, the “ugly”, “sick”, non-normative gendered and the racially different body, as an abnormality. While this tendency was always inherent in the practices of the movement, nudist culture became particularly ideologized in conjunction with a beauty cult and theories on racial hygiene in the first decade of the 20th century (Schneider 1996: 411).

Engelhardt and Michaelis were not the first Life Reformists to dream of realizing their mission in the colonies: As early as 1890 Theodor Hertzka, an advocate of the Austro-Hungarian-Jewish progressive movement, published his utopian novel *Freiland, ein soziales Zukunftsbild* (Freiland. A Social Vision of the Future), in which he “systematically intersects the Life Reform movement and colonialism” (Brasch: 77). In the style of a report the book describes the utopia of a free-enterprise settlement cooperative in today's Kenya, based on detailed economic considerations (C.f. Hertzka 1890). The piece quickly found many followers, among them Franz Oppenheimer, as well as Gustav and Otto Lilienthal. While an attempt to found a settlement in the proposed place in Kenya in February 1894 failed, the book inspired the emergence of dozens of *Freiland*-associations in Germany and Austria, some of which led to the the foundation of

¹³ The Voelkisch strand of the Life Reform intertwined ‘Deutsche Kultur’ (German culture) with nature and race and posited it in opposition to the supposedly harmful influences of ‘civilization’ (often in fact meaning ‘Semitic’): “The Voelkisch had a holistic [ganzheitlich] conception of the ‘body, spirit, and soul’ (or of body, reason, and emotion) and rejected the dualism of mind and body. Their emphasis on the body, however, was to balance its neglect in Western thought. (...) the material body itself was believed to take shape through cultural practice and environment. Practices such as vegetarianism, nudism, sports, dance, and ‘rune-gymnastics’ were “emotional practices” utilized to culturally produce racial nature in its emotionality, corporeality, and spirituality.” (Danilina 2017: 74)



Image 11: Maciré Bakayoko performs in front of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Sleeping Milly, Still from Milli's Awakening* (2018)

Life Reform settlements, among them the still existing fruit-growing cooperative settlement *Eden* (1893), whose founders were influenced by the ideas of the book. Eden was one of the Life Reform settlements who developed a strongly *völkisch*-antisemitic orientation during WWI and was therefore maintained by the Nazi regime, instead of being shut down like most others (C.f. Linse 1995). In the literary realm, Hertzka's economic utopia is "one of the most explicit examples that colonial discourse and Life Reform are strongly associated with each other around 1900" (Brasch 2017: 77).

NUDES IN NATURE AND MILLI'S AWAKENING

The intersection of German colonialism, anti-modernism, and the trope of the 'primitive' has probably been most thoroughly researched in the realm of German expressionism. Searching for a counter image to the modern world, expressionists famously drew on the appeal of the colonial trope of the 'primitive', which was not only an artistic style copied from non-western artists, but also a manifestation of a bohemian way of life that was grounded in colonialism (C.f. Lloyd 1991). Striving to "unite the human and nature" (Pechstein 1945/46: 50), German Expressionism is also one of the art forms that is most closely linked to the Life Reform Movement.¹⁴ It emerged at a moment when the movement had significantly grown in popularity, with the famous expressionist artist group *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) being founded in 1905, the same year Hans Paasche was pictured in the besieged Maji-Maji village. The artists' Life Reform inspiration is evident in the sheer multitude of paintings, drawings and sketches depicting naked people in nature. Life Reform hotspots like the nudist and vegetarian *Colony*

Monte Vèrita in Switzerland, were magnets for expressionist artist in the first third of the 20th century, and their stays in those colonies were often reflected in their art works. Only five years before *Die Brücke* was founded, Karl Woermann's influential art history book *Geschichte der Kunst aller Völker und Zeiten* (History of Art of all Peoples of All Times, 1900),¹⁵ set in stone the popular belief that the 'Naturvölker' (natural peoples) are inferior to the 'Kulturvölker' (cultural peoples) and that their artistic expressions can therefore never be considered art. Yet, perhaps similar to the Life Reformists "appropriation" of alleged nudity, the expressionists borrowed forms from African works they saw in German ethnographic museums, such as pottery, masks, and statues, and turned them into art works that were considered avant-garde. Today, they still sell at exorbitant prices, while the majority of African artists still struggle to achieve that level of recognition and pay, and while African art works of the past centuries still sit in European Ethnological museums.

Even before *Die Brücke* artists Emil Nolde and Max Pechstein actually traveled to the colonies to "live with the natives in 'primordial nature'" (Rüth 2008: 5), they sought contact with and knowledge about non-western art and people in *Völkerkundemuseen* and *Völkerschauen* (ethnological museums and human exhibitions). In a letter to Erich Heckel and Max Pechstein, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner wrote in 1910: "Otherwise there are no news, a circus is back and in the zoo and they will have Samoans, N****, etc. this summer!" (Rüth 2008: 126). Kirchner was a fan of the racist displays and created many drawings inspired by them, which became known as the "Marokkaner"-Skizzen (Sketches of Moroccans). Black models and artifacts were soon omnipresent in *Die Brücke* art studios.

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's oeuvre perhaps best demonstrates the overlap of Life Reform, colonial phantasies and art. Drawing on "nudist iconography" (Pfarr 2001: 251) depicting ball playing, boomerang throwing, bow shooting naked people in nature, he was also influenced by the racist images of colonial phantasy mass culture, as well as contributed to their dissemination through art-

¹⁴ "Modernity in the arts is a strongly and almost irrationally opposed to secular civilization and the developing industrial society. There is a line can be drawn from Symbolism from Art Nouveau to Expressionism and finally to Abstraction. In other words, if you ask artists like Ludwig von Hofmann, Ferdinand Hodler [...] Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, masters of the Bauhaus or even a temple designer like Fidus about the ideological, Life Reform parts of their visual thinking and their theoretical reflections, they move closer together than what is usually intended by art history." (Wolbert, 2001: 18).

¹⁵ German title: *Geschichte der Kunst aller Völker und Zeiten*

works like the “Marokkaner”-Skizzen. Women - outside, inside, lying down, standing, dancing, and often naked - dominate Kirchner’s oeuvre, among them are also more than 30 black women in works that he drew between 1908 und 1911 (Anika-Brigitte Kollarz 2017: 95). In 1910 Kirchner drew one of the most famous of his Black model portraits:¹⁶ *Sleeping Milly*. While many art historians are occupied with the aesthetics of this work, Natasha A. Kelly - academic activist, visualisationist, afrofuturist - decided to delve into Milli’s thoughts and feelings, and lets Milli awaken symbolically in her 2018 Berlin Biennale film contribution: *Milli’s Awakening*. In the trailer of the film she explains her approach:

“Who was Milli? How did she live? How did she get into the Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s atelier? All these are questions that I asked myself. (...) Where did she come from? What is her history? And, what is the continuity of her story? Who are her descendants? How do black women in Germany live today? Which positions do they have in the art world?”¹⁷

By focusing on Milli’s story, Kelly challenges her position as an object of Kirchner’s and the art world’s gaze and their projections of naturalness and sexuality onto her. By interviewing eight black women about their struggles and successes in Germany, she also draws a line between the 1910 portrait, its embeddedness in the colonial and racist ideas of the time, and the ongoing struggle of black women to assert a self-determined position in 2018. In the film, artist Maciré Bakayoko stands in front of Kirchner’s *Sleeping Milly* and challenges the centuries old projections on Black women in a performance:

“Black women. The Black woman is one of the lowest links in the chain. a steel bolt for the emotions of everyone around her - of Black cis-men, of white cis-women, of white cis-men, of white people beyond our ideas of male and female, of our sisters of colour. She is everything, carries everything, can do everything. For you and all your needs, I am there, for your exotic sexual experiences. [...] For all the comments you always wanted to make about Black bodies. [...] For all your emotions that you can’t handle. I carry them on me, with me, inside of me, every day. Upright, every day.” (Milli’s Awakening, 2018).

Bakayoko defies the impossibility of answering a question like “Who is Milli?”, for Milli might be at once herself and a million other women who shared and share her circumstances and who might have left less traces. Milli is Scheurmann’s Samoan “Virgin, whose body is beautiful and who shows her limbs in sunlight and moonlight”. In her performance she touches on the history of projections of desires onto Black subjects. They define many of the early Life Reform texts in their desires to “reunite

with nature” and to create the “new human”, while never affording Black people the same humanity. The story of Milli also poses questions for my own investigations into these realms: How do I think, write and talk about those projections without subjecting those who were projected onto, to yet another layer of violence? While there is no simple answer to this question, there are a few things that seem important. The *object* of research here, has to be the *white* body. In saying this, I do not mean to repeat the scholarship on the Life Reform Movement that has always made the *white* body and its relation to nature its focus. It was not in fact an *object* of research, but rather the starting point, the perspective from which the movement was perceived. What happens if we, instead, put it in the uncomfortable place of being examined in the light of the microscope of imperial formations? Kirchner, rather than Milli, has to be denuded, for us to understand the “toxic but less perceptible corrosions and violent accruals of colonial aftermaths” (Stoler 2013: 2).

“HISTORY IS NOT THE PAST, IT IS THE PRESENT”

When *Milli’s Awakening* draws the line between a 1910 portrait and 2018 life stories, it is a reminder that many more lines have to be drawn - some straight, some zig-zag, some circular - between the time of German colonial expansion and our lives today. This essay is an attempt to insinuate that understanding the coloniality of the Life Reform Movement, but also of its many cultural, architectural, diet, healthy living, nudism offshoots in our present, is an important puzzle piece to understand the less dramatic, and therefore less visible but not less violent, remnants of German colonial history. Some of the practices we consider progressive or even cosmopolitan, might need a second more critical, albeit painful, look.¹⁸

There is a growing body of scholarship that examines the continuities between Life Reform and nudist ideas and aesthetics, the racist, genocidal Hitler regime, and the post-1960s Green environmental and nudist movement (Brüggemeier, Cioc, Zeller: 2006). They indicate the problematic heritage of our ‘progressive’ and sustainable healthy life practices, but colonialism does not yet play a part in these considerations. Although this research importantly emphasizes that the Nazi regime was not an unexplainable historical exception, but rather embedded in modernity, drawing on a range of avant-garde movements, they do not include considerations on the inherent coloniality of the Enlightenment, of modernity and thereby of the movements that were taken up by the Nazis. Yet, particularly scholars, writers, artists and activists of color in Germany, have been tirelessly questioning German modernity’s entanglement with colonial expansion for decades (C.f. Eggers, Kilomba, Piesche, Arndt 2009). As Carmen Mörsch points out in *Ansätze für eine postkoloniale Geschichtsschreibung der kulturellen Bildung*

¹⁶ Other spellings: Milly and Millie.

¹⁷ Accessible at: <https://vimeo.com/284923785> (last retrieved January 15, 2019)

¹⁸ See also Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa’s, Anna Schürch’s and Andrea Hubin & Karin Schneider’s contributions on the coloniality of art education practices in this issue.

in *Deutschland* (Approaches for a Post-Colonial Historiography of Art Education in Germany), the research on the coloniality of German enlightenment continues to be marginalized and this marginalization is perhaps related to the lack of post-colonial scholarship on the discursive links between German colonial expansion and German art education for example, whose emergence is related to the Life Reform Movement. In fact, until the upsurge of international scholarly interests in German colonialism in recent years, it was a marginalized topic in scholarly and public debates altogether, deemed insignificant in comparison to the long histories of other empires.

My ongoing investigation into the coloniality of the Life Reform Movement owes its inspiration amongst others to the pioneers of German critical whiteness studies, to artists who have questioned these continuities in powerful ways, and to the research on how European colonies functioned as laboratories of modernity (C.f. Rabinow 1989; Stoler 1995), beyond the continuities that can be seen from the perspective of a history of violence (C.f. Césaire, [1955] 2000, Arendt 1955). More questions need to be asked in the German context. Why did the notion of the colony play such an important role in the Life Reform's effort to create a new society? What role did the German public's anxiety around people of mixed race in the colonies play in the intensification of the racist

is the fascination for the 'other' related to the brutalization of the 'other'? Some of these questions exceed the limits of the sayable, and I often feel my writing, too, bordering on these limits. Images can therefore play an important part. The footage of the naked Germans in blackface dancing on the Baltic Sea beaches made a relation visible, that I could not have put into words. Yet, they posed another question for me: Should they, as repetitions of racist imagery, be published? Is their presentation as objects, as insights into the intricacies of a perverse celebration of whiteness, worth the inevitable repetition of their mockery of blackness?

The exploration of discursive links between the Life Reform Movement and German colonialism - particularly in terms of how they conceived of the relationship between body, nature and 'civilization' - needs to be addressed and will pose many more of such uncomfortable questions. Yet, we have to find ways to address them, for this exploration is not a matter of scholarly fastidiousness, it is a question of how we will be able to shape our future. As Natasha A. Kelly and many fellow thinkers and artists have pointed out, this history has a profound effect on us today. Or as James Baldwin put it: "History is not the past. It is the present. We carry our history with us. We *are* our history. If we pretend otherwise, we literally are criminals".¹⁹

and völkisch strands of the Life Reform Movement? How

¹⁹ Quote from the 2016 documentary *I Am Not Your Negro*, directed by Raoul Peck, based on James Baldwin's unfinished manuscript *Remember This House*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alloula, Malek 1987: *The Colonial Harem*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Andreassen, Rikke (2015): *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays*. Routledge.
- Arndt, Susan; Eggers, Maureen Maisha; Kilomba, Grada; Piesche, Peggy (Hrsg., 2009): *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte*. Unrast Verlag.
- Ayto, John (1993) *Euphemisms: Over 3,000 Ways to Avoid Being Rude or Giving Offence*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Barcan, Ruth (2004): *Regaining What Mankind Has Lost Through Civilisation: Early Nudism and Ambivalent Moderns*, In: *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, Vol. 8, pp. 63-82
- Barcan, Ruth (2004): *Nudity. A Cultural Anatomy (Dress, Body, Culture)*. Oxford-New York: Berg
- Brasch, Anna S. (2017): *Moderne – Regeneration – Erlösung: Der Begriff der ›Kolonie‹ und die weltanschauliche Literatur der Jahrhundertwende*. V&R unipress GmbH
- Brüggemeier; Cioc; Zeller (2006): *How Green Were the Nazis ? : Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio
- Conti, Christoph (1984): *Abschied vom Bürgertum. Alternative Bewegungen in Deutschland 1890 bis heute*. Reinbek
- Edwards, Elizabeth (2001): *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford and New York: Berg
- Ekici, Didem (2008): *From Rikli's light-and-air hut to Tessenow's Patenthaus: Körperkultur and the modern dwelling in Germany, 1890–1914*, In: *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol 13, pp. 379-406
- Fabian, Johannes (1983): *Time and the Other How Anthropology Makes its Object*. Columbia University Press.
- Kennedy, Gordon (1998): *Children of the Sun: A Pictorial Anthology, from Germany to California 1883-1949*, Nivaria Press
- Klein, Dieter (2001): *Neuguinea als deutsches Utopia: August Engelhardt und sein Sonnenorden*. In: Hiery, Hermann Joseph (Hg.): *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914. Ein Handbuch*, Paderborn / München / Wien / Zürich, pp. 450-458.
- Kodjio Nenguié, Pierre (2011): *Eine postkoloniale Lektüre von Hans Paasche*, Monatshefte, Vol. 103, pp. 36-59
- Kracht, Christian (2012): *Imperium*. Kiepenheuer und Witsch Verlag.
- Linse, Ulrich (1999): *Völkisch-rassische Siedlungen in der Lebensreform*, in Uwe Puschner, Hg. u.a.): *Handbuch zur "Völkischen Bewegung" 1871 - 1918*, München, pp. 397-410
- Morris, Nina (2009): *Naked in nature: naturism, nature and the senses in early 20th century Britain*. In: *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 16, pp. 283-308
- Mörsch, Carmen (n.y.): *Ansätze für eine postkoloniale Geschichtsschreibung der kulturellen Bildung in Deutschland*, kubinaut, accassible at <https://www.kubinaut.de/de/themen/9-kontext-asyl/ansatze-fur-eine-postkoloniale-geschichtsschreibung-der-kulturel/> (last accessed: January 4, 2019)

—
Paasche, Hans (1921[1912]): Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschland. Goldmann Verlag

—
Pechstein, Max (n.y.), quoted from Reidemeister, Leopold (Hrsg., 1993): Max Pechstein. Erinnerungen 1945/46, 2. Aufl., Stuttgart

—
Pfarr, Ulrich (2001): Zwischen Ekstase und Alltag. Zur Rezeption der Lebensreform in der künstlerischen Praxis der Brücke. In: Ausstellungskatalog Die Lebensreform. Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900. Darmstadt, Mathilden-Höhe, pp. 251-256

—
Rabinow, Paul (1989): French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment. University of Chicago Press

—
Ross, Chad (2005): Naked Germany: health, race and the nation, Oxford and New York, Berg

—
Rüth, Andrea (2008): Auf der Suche nach der ursprünglichen Einheit von Mensch und Natur: Eine Untersuchung zum antizivilisatorischen Aspekt im deutschen Expressionismus am Beispiel der Künstlergruppe "Brücke". Munich (unpublished dissertation)

—
Scheurmann, Erich (2000 [1920]): Der Papalagi. Reden des Südseehäuptlings Tuiavii aus Tiaves. Tanner+Staehein Verlag, Horgen

—
Schwarz, Thomas (2013): Ozeanische Affekte. Die literarische Modellierung Samoas im kolonialen Diskurs. TEIA AG—Internet Akademie und Lehrbuch Verlag: Berlin

—
Sembene, Fatyme (1988): Das exotische Deutschland. Die Umkehr der kolonialistischen Sichtweise in der Satire "Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaers Lukanga Mukara ins Innerste Deutschlands" von Hans Paasche. Dakar (unpublished master thesis)

—
Stähler, Axel (2018) Zionism, the German Empire, and Africa: Jewish Metamorphoses and the Colors of Difference. De Gruyter

—
Staudenmaier, G. (1913): Vier Wochen auf Kabakon. In: Vegetarische Warte 17, quoted from Huncke, Sebastian (2011): August Engelhardt - Kokovorischer Heilsbringer oder dogmatischer Wahnsinniger?, In: Diskurs, Vol. 7, pp. 86-104

—
Stoler, Ann Laura (2008): IMPERIAL DEBRIS: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination. In: cultural Anthropology, Vol. 23, pp. 191–219

—
Stoler: Ann Laura (2013): Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination, Durham: Duke University Press.

—
Stoler, Ann Laura (1995): Race and the Education of Desire Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things. Duke University Press

—
Suren, Hans (1934): Kampf um Kamerun: Garua. Berlin

—
Rothfarb, Lee Allen: August Halm (2009): A Critical and Creative Life in Music. University of Rochester Press.

—
Wolbert, Klaus: Die Lebensreform - Anträge zur Debatte. In: Ausstellungskatalog Die Lebensreform. Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900. Darmstadt, Mathilden-Höhe, pp. 13-21.

IMAGES

—
Image 1: "To be naked is natural". Still from an advertisement for a nudist camping site by the Baltic

Sea, (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJ0ZRoK-AWI>, last retrieved: January 15, 2019).

—

Image 2: “You are part of nature”. Still from an advertisement for a nudist camping site by the Baltic Sea, (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJ0ZRoK-AWI>, last retrieved: January 15, 2019)

—

Image 3, 4 and 5: Cameroon Celebration. Stills from the 3Sat Documentary “Als die Nackten an die Ostsee kamen” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yb3mld06xTo>, last retrieved: January 15, 2019).

—

Image 6: Cameroon Celebration, Prerow. Private archive.

—

Image 7: Self portrait photograph of Hans Paasche in a besieged Maji Maji village, from: Paasche, Hans (1907): Im Morgenlicht : Kriegs-, Jagd- und Reise-Erlebnisse in Ostafrika, Berlin : Schwetschke: p. 97.

—

Image 8: Collage, up: Hans Surén, Der Mensch und die Sonne. Stuttgart: Dieck & Co., 1925. Down: “Freebodyculture is a feeling of freedom”. Still from an advertisement for a nudist camping site by the Baltic Sea, (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJ0ZRoK-AWI>, last retrieved: January 15, 2019).

—

Image 9: Nudist exercise. Source: H.Surén, Man and Sunlight. Translated by D.A.Jones (Slough, Sollux, 1927) p.163.

—

Image 10: August Engelhardt and Max Lützw in Kabakon, postcard, 21.07.1906, unknown photographer.

—

Image 11: Maciré Bakayoko performs in front of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s Milli Sleeping, still from: Milli’s Awakening, Natasha A. Kelly, 2018.