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The German colonial settler press in Africa,
1898-1916:
a web of identities, spaces and
infrastructure.

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University of Sussex
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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

Summary

As the first comprehensive work on the German colonial settler newspapers in Africa between 1898 and 1916, this research project explores the development of the settler press, its networks and infrastructure, its contribution to the construction of identities, as well as to the imagination and creation of colonial space. Special attention is given to the newspapers' relation to Africans, to other imperial powers, and to the German homeland.

The research contributes to the understanding of the history of the colonisers and their societies of origin, as well as to the history of the places and people colonised. This work furthermore makes a contribution to the field of media history regarding a time and place in which significant transitions were taking place. By employing a Foucauldian *dispositif* analysis, which encompasses Critical Discourse Analysis as well as the reconstruction of knowledge inherent in objects, a contribution is made to the development of methodology in the field.

This project demonstrates that the German colonial settler press functioned as a precarious, yet forceful web that was shaped by discourse, infrastructures and laws, as well as contributed to shaping these elements. The newspapers supported the settlers in pursuing their objective of *Kulturarbeit* as the transformation of land and people of the colonies according to racist principles in order to gain profit and to build a new German *Heimat*. The settler press played an important role in maintaining German national identities as well as developing specific settler identities. The discursive construction of settlers as victims of the colonised served as legitimisation of the violence inherent to colonial relations. Africans developed multiple techniques of intervention into colonial projects and created their own spaces. I argue that the German colonial settler press significantly contributed to shaping the colonial space as well as to creating notions of Germanness.

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Preface

It is a slow pace at which Germany is finally starting to deal with its colonial past. Slow, but fortunately steady. From 2004, the centenary of the beginning of the genocide in colonial Namibia, to the current negotiations with the Namibian government regarding the recognition of the genocide, the history of German colonialism has been increasingly present in the media. The announcement of the Tanzanian government in early 2017 that it is likewise considering holding Germany accountable for its atrocities in the colonial past suggests that the debate will not cease any time soon (Thielke, 2017). Pressure groups from places that were affected by German colonialism, mostly from Namibia, continue to highlight its disastrous effects, from which their communities still suffer today. And also today, Herero and Nama, who were the main targets of the genocide, have to fight against their marginalisation. Utjiua Muinjangu, head of the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, states: 'Anything about us without us is against us. The Hereros and Namas should be part of the negotiating process!' (Habermalz, 2017). So far, the negotiations between the Namibian and the German government are taking place without them. Herero and Nama representatives have therefore filed a suit against Germany at a court in New York in which they request the payment of reparations. The German government failed to send a representative to attend the first court hearing, scheduled for 21st July 2017, and is now confronted with the accusation of deliberately delaying the progress of the case (Dieterich, 2017).

The German public can follow these events through newspaper articles and programmes that often provide a historical context and refer to recent works of historians on the topic. The German Historical Museum in Berlin presented from October 2016 until May 2017 a special exhibition with the title 'German colonialism: fragments of its history and presence' (Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016). While this sounds promising, the path to dealing with the German colonial legacy is not as straightforward as it could be. Some historians represent a rather nostalgic view of Germany's colonial past, a view which also seemed to be present among some of the visitors of the German Historical Museum.¹ When I participated in a guided

¹ Horst Gründer, who has published widely on German colonialism, argues that the history should not be discussed in purely negative terms, but also be understood as a 'push towards modernity' for the colonised societies (Gründer, 2012, p.11). He was also responsible for the production of a TV documentary about German colonialism, which Zimmerer (2011, p.14) criticised as 'kitschy and partly apologetic,' a criticism that I share. The launch on 11th April 2017 of an edited collection on German colonialism, which Gründer co-edited with Hiery (*Die Deutschen und ihre Kolonien*, 2017, Berlin: be.bra), attracted the severe criticism of one of the attendees. She accused the editors of the 'continuation of a

tour of the exhibition in March 2017, the guide praised our little group of visitors for being one of the very few that did not insist that she mention the presumed benefits of German colonial projects for the colonised. According to her, among the most frequently voiced arguments was the claim that the colonised had apparently benefitted greatly from education and infrastructure that Germans ‘had brought to the colonies.’ This confirms the problem of the ‘longevity of a nostalgic perception of colonialism as an essentially developing and modernising project’ that Zimmerer (2015b, p.433) highlights. The violence that was inherent to colonialism is in this context framed as ‘the price to pay for progress’ (Zimmerer, 2015b, p.435).

While the public becomes increasingly aware of Germany’s colonial past, there is often still a lack of a critical approach to dealing with it. Dealing with history responsibly does not only mean demonstrating awareness of some dates, names and places; it also means tackling the colonial discourse that has, as ‘a river of knowledge flowing through time’ (Jäger, 2009, p.22), left its traces until today. The reader of this thesis will be reminded of these arguments in relation to the discourse of the German colonial settler press: Infrastructure and education were represented in the settler newspapers as exclusively European by nature. The colonised were supposed to be grateful that they were given the opportunity to participate in the presumed blessings of modernity. These notions persisted in discourse and reverberate until today. And the colonial past is present not only in debates, but tangible in public spaces in Germany, as well as in the former colonies: the ‘African quarter’ in Berlin, for example, still carries street names that commemorate colonists who have committed violence in the colonies (Schröder, 2017). The many German tourists in the Namibian town of Swakopmund can enjoy German shops and bars and buy books that indulge in colonial nostalgia, while hardly being confronted with the history of the colonial violence (as I have witnessed during my visit).

I hope that my work about the German colonial settler newspapers as one of the sites where the aforementioned discourse developed will contribute to a better understanding of colonial history, as well as of its legacies today. Such an understanding is important in order to deal with history responsibly on a social, cultural, and political level.

colonial way of thinking’ during their presentation, in which they, for example, praised the good deeds of the Germans who apparently brought ‘education’ to the colonies (Horst, 2017).

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1 Introduction

The written word of a newspaper does not merely reflect factual circumstances, but it is an accomplice in constructing realities. Settler newspapers in the German colonies contributed with their discourse actively to the creation of colonial space and subjects. The networked nature of the newspapers ensured that their discourse was not limited to the colonies, but was influenced by, as well as having contributed to, discourse in Germany and other places like the British Cape Colony that were connected through the network. Exploring the German colonial settler press means examining one of the many architects of the colonies, and indeed one of the creators of 'the Germans.' Within this research project I have not only conducted a comprehensive analysis of the settler newspapers in the German colonies in Africa, but the research has also taken me on an exciting journey, leading to an encounter with many histories of which the settler press was a component.

This is the first study that seeks to grasp the German settler press that was published in the colonies in Africa in its entirety. My specific approach employs Foucauldian *dispositif* analysis within the frameworks of Media and Cultural Studies, New Imperial History and Genocide Studies. Through these frameworks this research project offers new insights into German colonial history as well as into media history. It contributes to the understanding of strategies of legitimisation of colonial atrocities, explores so far unappreciated spaces of resistance created by the colonised, examines infrastructure as a form of communication, and reveals how settlers, in their quest to negotiate their identities with respect to the German national community, adapted the peculiar notion of *Heimat*. By working with the concept of *Kulturarbeit* I provide new vocabulary to identify the settlers' practical implementation of colonial objectives that were formulated in Europe.

In the following I give some background information on questions of 'when, where, and what.' The *Deutsches Reich* (in the following called 'Germany,' see discussion below), itself only existent since 1871, claimed colonial possessions in Africa and in the Pacific area from 1884 onwards (see map 1). By the end of the First World War, it was officially deprived of its colonies through the Treaty of Versailles. Areas that Germany had claimed as colonial possessions in Africa were German Southwest Africa (today Namibia), German East Africa (today Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi), Cameroon, and Togoland (today Togo and the eastern part of Ghana). In the Pacific the areas were New Guinea, including many of the islands to its

north, and Samoa. Furthermore Kiautschou became a German lease in China. The colonies had only a small resident German population. For the year 1912 Scriba (2014) provides the total number (without temporarily stationed soldiers) of 17,389 German inhabitants in all of the German colonies in Africa. German Southwest Africa had 12,135 Germans, German East Africa 3,579, Cameroon 1,359, and Togoland 316.²



Map 1: German colonies in 1914 (Schmidt and Werner, 1942a, appendix).

German colonial history was rife with armed conflicts between colonisers and those they were trying to colonise. The most decisive one was the Herero and Nama War from 1904 to 1908 in German Southwest Africa, which saw a genocide committed by the Germans and the erection of concentration camps. This was the largest war that Germany fought between 1871 and 1914, resulting in the death of at least 60,000 Africans, as well as of 1500 Germans (Conrad, 2002, p.160; Gründer, 2012, p.131). Similarly severe was the Maji Maji War in German East

² The numbers for New Guinea were 665 Germans and for Samoa 294 Germans (Scriba, 2014).

Africa from 1905 to 1908, resulting in the death of an estimated 200,000 Africans, while only 15 Europeans died (Iliffe, 1979, p.165; Becker, 2005, p.86).

The first German colonial settler newspaper was founded in 1898 in German Southwest Africa (the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, later called *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*), closely followed by one in German East Africa in 1899 (the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*).³ In both of these colonies the most diverse settler press landscape evolved (for an overview of all titles, see timeline and index in the appendix). But one settler newspaper also appeared in Cameroon from 1912 onwards (the *Kamerun-Post*), which was covering Togoland too. Samoa and Kiautschou likewise had German colonial publications (the *Samoaanische Zeitung*, the *Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten*, and the *Kiautschou-Post*), but these were of quite a different character and had emerged in circumstances that differed significantly from those in the colonies in Africa. This research project concentrates on the settler newspapers published on the African continent.⁴

When I speak of settler newspapers, it does not mean that the places they were published in were necessarily typical settler colonies in the way that Osterhammel and Jansen (1995, pp.17–18) have defined them. The only colony that was at the time, as well as in literature today, widely regarded as a proper German settler colony was the one of German Southwest Africa (Aitken, 2007a, p.187; Zimmerer, 2015b, p.442). Nevertheless, Germans also intended to settle permanently in the other colonies, albeit in smaller numbers, as for example in the Usambara area in German East Africa (Iliffe, 1979, p.127). I define German settler newspapers as a specific genre that developed during the time of formal German colonialism and was produced by those who were settling in the colonies. This is regardless of the size of the settler population in a place and their dominant source of income; whether they were farmers, craftsmen, traders or lawyers. The German settlers themselves had quite a narrow idea of who a proper settler was, and they idealised this model: a settler was understood to be a farmer, plantation owner, or trader with their own property. Colonial soldiers, officials, and missionaries were usually not referred to as settlers (Bley, 1968, p.110). In particular colonial government officials, but also missionaries who were often resident in the places long before they were declared a colony, were regarded by the settler press as adversaries rather than as

³ The titles can be translated as ‘Windhoek Advertiser,’ ‘German Southwest African Newspaper,’ and ‘German East African Newspaper.’

⁴ More newspaper titles that appeared in the context of the German colonies, and also titles of German domestic colonial publications, can be found in Junge (1985), who has provided a detailed bibliography.

partners pursuing a common project. While a narrow idea of the model settler as farmer existed, the range of professions of those who wrote the newspapers was much wider, and their readership was even more diverse.

1.1 Literature review

German colonial settler newspapers have been addressed in scholarly literature, albeit with a rather narrow focus that does not offer a comprehensive account. Two main types of approaches to the material can be identified. In the first type, settler newspapers appear in publications that address German colonial history more broadly and cite the newspapers selectively in order to support the argument that the author is making. This type of publication usually offers little or no contextual information on the settler press. An exception is Bley's (1968) foundational work on the history of German Southwest Africa. Three decades before the academic field developed an interest in German colonialism, he presented a thorough study on the colony's history. In the course of this, he also provided valuable information on the settler community in German Southwest Africa, including some contextual information on their newspapers. My work expands on his, and seeks to clarify some of the points he is making about the settler press. More recent research into German colonial history, as for example by Aitken (2007a) on German Southwest Africa and by Chall and Mezger (2005) on German East Africa, shows increasing interest in settler newspapers and includes samples in its corpus, albeit still without drawing onto the history of the settler press. In the context of rising interest for settler newspapers and their contribution to the German colonial project, my own research provides a valuable foundation for scholars to draw upon.

The second type of publication are studies that are likewise situated in the field of colonial history, but deal with one or two German colonial settler newspapers, or the settler press of one German colony, at the centre of their analysis. While these publications can serve as a valuable source for background information on 'facts and figures,' they predominantly focus on the relationship between editors and the colonial administration, but leave out a wide range of elements that were integral to the settler press (infrastructure, networks, identity construction, and many others), and that I will address. Of this type of literature, most useful is Redeker's (1937) account of German East African settler newspapers. More recent studies that focus on these newspapers, for example Osterhaus (1990), have mainly reproduced the findings of his analysis. Redeker's (1937) work, however, has serious limitations: it is firmly

situated in Nazi ideology. During the Nazi period, a number of publications emerged that presented rather excited and nostalgic studies on the German colonial settler press. Besides Redeker (1937), I am drawing on a number of them in my own research, including for example Dresler (1942). These publications provide valuable information on the structure of the settler press, and the authors rightfully emphasised how important its contribution was for the larger German colonial project. But their analysis of the colonial situation and in particular their representation of Africans reproduces the extreme racism of the time through the lens of Nazi ideology, and consequently needs to be discarded. A number of these publications had been written out of the motivation to prepare for the desired moment when the Treaty of Versailles would be overcome and Germany would have regained its 'rightful' colonial possessions (see in Redeker, 1937, p.v; Dresler, 1942, pp.106–107).

Likewise belonging to the second type of literature, albeit coming from a different political background, are the publications of Sturmer (1995) about the press in Tanzania and von Nahmen (2001) about the press in Namibia. Both offer some information on settler newspapers, but only as an introduction to the main subject of their analysis, which is the more recent press landscape in those countries. In his short article Pöppinghege (2001) gives a good overview of German colonial settler newspapers regarding their relation to the colonial governments and also touches on the important history of the German Colonial Press Law, but stops short of its analysis. Drawing on the existing literature, I 'dust off' and draw together the available information on the structure of the German colonial settler press, thereby making much of it accessible for the first time to an Anglophone readership. While early works like the one of Gallus (1908) mention the essential role of colonial infrastructure as precondition for the development of the settler press, the significance of this aspect seems to be increasingly lost in the subsequent historiography. This thesis puts this essential relationship between newspapers and infrastructure developments back onto the research agenda, especially through its analysis of colonial railways and telegraphs.

Quite surprisingly, none of the major works on the history of German newspapers that are situated in the subject of *Zeitungswissenschaft* (newspaper studies) mention the settler press. Detailed studies like the ones of Stöber (2012, 2014) give an excellent account of German newspaper publishing through the ages, but do not touch on the settler press at all. The German colonies do not seem to be a part of the frame of reference for historians of the German press. This is a problem which Conrad (2002, p.158) has identified regarding the more general understanding of German historiography too. There is, within this historiography, a

‘double marginalisation,’ in which not only is the importance of the colonial experience for the history of Europe neglected, but the period of formal German colonialism, assumed to be short and involving only a small number of settlers, is neglected in the history of Germany in particular. Conrad (2002) criticises such a limited approach and argues that the German colonial experience, as well as colonial fantasies that were present before and after the formal existence of the colonies, had a significant impact on German history. Within my research, I follow Conrad's (2002, p.169) call and adopt a transnational and postcolonial perspective. I will argue that the history of the German colonial settler press needs to be integrated into German newspaper history. Colonial discourses in the German press were constructed in the colonies and in Germany likewise, and they were reshaped through the constant exchange between these different places.

My approach, situated in Media and Cultural Studies, is inspired by New Imperial History, which examines the impact of imperialism and colonialism on both the societies of imperial powers and the societies of places that were targeted by imperial endeavours. In the focus are also the networks that developed as a result of colonial projects. With their proposition to ‘treat metropole and colony in a single analytic field,’ Stoler and Cooper (1997, p.4) laid a foundation for the New Imperial History approach. Lester (2009, p.179) elaborates that New Imperial History seeks to

bridge the divide between traditional imperial history and postcolonial scholarship. It does so by recognizing that colonialism was fundamentally constitutive of, as well as constituted by, culture, but also by acknowledging the need to ground such insight in contextual and critical archival enquiry.

Even though New Imperial History shares many principles and theoretical foundations with the Global History approach that Conrad and Eckert (2007) promote, the former is hardly present in the German academic field. By employing New Imperial History as a conceptual framework I am intending to demonstrate its usefulness for German historiography and for research projects such as mine.

Indicative for my own research is Lester's (2001, 2002, 2006) work on the British Empire and its networks that facilitated interacting, dynamic discourses which contributed to the development of concepts of Britishness. Important actors within these networks were settler newspapers that ‘helped to bind settlers located in different colonial sites into a broader collective imagination based on the idea of a trans-global British settler identity’ and at the same time ‘became a channel through which the metropolitan reading public created an

imagined geography of empire' (Lester, 2002, p.31). These discursive networks 'facilitated the production, reproduction and circulation of notions of "race" that played a significant role in the material dispossession, exploitation and partial eradication of indigenous peoples within each settler colony' (Lester, 2006, p.130). I contribute to this body of literature by providing insight into similar (though not identical) mechanisms in the context of Germany and its colonies. Furthermore, I discuss the exchange of newspapers between adjacent British and German colonies. Hereby I draw on, as well as expand on, Lindner's (2011) work which details the complex relationship between the two imperial powers. Exploring press networks leads me to include two colonial newspapers in African languages and an African-owned newspaper into the research corpus. Drawing on Sebald's (1987) work on the German colony of Togoland, I will examine the connection between the German settler press and west African newspapers. I am thereby expanding on the work of Sebald (1987), as well as providing new insights into African print cultures such as the ones that Newell (2013) researches.

My analysis rests on a large body of material from archives, as well as on the works of scholars from the field of Postcolonial Studies. Of particular interest here are the approaches of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha. With Said (1978 [2003]) I understand the colonised 'other' as an invention of the colonisers who constructed themselves as the superior ones that were carrying out a 'civilising mission.' In his book *Orientalism*, Said (1978 [2003], p.54) demonstrated how those who deemed themselves culturally superior imagined the 'others' and their space: "'they" become "they" accordingly, and both their territory and their mentality are designated as different from "ours".' In the course of this, 'difference' is dramatized and the 'truth' about a place and its people 'becomes a function of learned judgement, not of the material itself' (Said, 1978 [2003], pp.55, 67). In *The Location of Culture* Bhabha has critically appreciated Said's work and developed it further. He argued that identities are not fixed but ambivalent and always in the process of change. Bhabha thereby granted much more agency to the colonised than Said's analysis implied that they possessed (Sieber, 2012, pp.99, 103). In my own work I will follow Bhabha's concept by giving special attention to how the relationship between colonisers and the colonised was negotiated. This is a difficult task as the archival material mostly represents the colonisers' view and their representation of the colonised. But with my methodology that is based on Foucauldian *dispositif* analysis I am aiming to make some of the agency of the colonised visible. I will elaborate on my method in chapter 2.

As we will also see in chapter 2, through *dispositif* analysis, not only the discourse of the settler newspapers is in the focus, but the relevant infrastructures, technologies and legal regulations come to the fore. I draw on, as well as expand the work of van Laak (2004), who provides an introduction to German imperial infrastructure projects in Africa from 1880 until 1960.⁵ Valuable information is provided by the works of Müller and Tworek (2015) with their detailed studies on the global development of communication infrastructure during formal German colonialism. In their work they concentrate on geographical areas other than the colonies. These were however important sites for the implementation and development of new methods of communication like wireless telegraphy. Marvin's (1988) work provides a base for developing an understanding of the meaning of the introduction of certain technologies into the colonies and their impact on colonial relations. Schivelbusch (1980) and Kern (1983) are further invaluable sources for identifying the possible cultural meanings of technologies like telegraphs and railways in the colonies. As with many other scholars, they have hardly taken into account colonised spaces. My work can here serve to enrich the existing body of literature. I will highlight the importance of taking cultural meanings of technologies of communication and transport into account in order to come to an understanding of settler newspaper discourse, which constantly emphasised the importance of railways and other infrastructural projects for the colonies, and which simultaneously relied upon them for its promulgation. In the course of this I draw on a range of concepts and sources, and follow Gitelman's (2006) call to go beyond just analysing content in media history or the technologies that were involved. With Gitelman (2006, p.7) I understand media as 'socially realised structures of communication.' These included technologies, as well as the culturally informed social practices of their uses, which were specific to their location (Gitelman, 2006, pp.6–8). Following the comprehensive approach that I have established above, I not only examine infrastructures *of* communication, I also approach infrastructures *as* communication.⁶

An issue that my research touches upon in many ways is the connection between space and subjects. Following Massey (2005, p.10), I understand space as 'a product of interrelations. Space does not exist prior to identities/entities and their relations.' I will explore how settler newspapers contributed to shaping these relations, and therefore contributed to shaping colonial space. Relevant in this context is the newspapers' role in supporting the settlers' quest

⁵ Van Laak (2004, p.12) however explicitly refrains from analysing the role that Africans played in this context, an absence that I am aiming to alleviate.

⁶ McLuhan (1964 [2013], p.19) has first argued that 'the medium is the message.' His medium theory has recently been critically appreciated by Peters (2015, p.15), who makes a strong case for the need of media theory to recognise the importance of infrastructure (Peters, 2015, pp.33–38).

of building a new German *Heimat* (homeland) in the colonies. My research complements here the insightful study of Applegate (1990), who outlined how the notion of *Heimat* developed within Germany. She remarked that German domestic *Heimat* enthusiasts were usually not colonial enthusiasts, but rather rejected colonial endeavours (Applegate, 1990, pp.85–86). In contrast to this, my research shows that pro-colonial Germans who settled in the colonies became very enthusiastic about the notion of *Heimat*, even though the concept underwent some change in the colonial context. I will explore the newspaper discourse regarding the struggle of the settlers to define their relationship to the old *Heimat* and to maintain their belonging to the German national community, while at the same time creating their own settler communities. Anderson's (1983 [2006]) book on *Imagined Communities*, in which he traces the origins of nationalism, is a valuable source in order to grasp some of the mechanisms of community building. In particular his analysis of the role of newspapers in this process is insightful (Anderson, 1983 [2006], pp.35–36). He has, however, been rightly criticised by scholars like Newell (2011, p.29), who argues that an application of his concept in research on colonial situations reveals its shortcomings, since (imagined) communities often transcended the boundaries of a nation state.

The question of communities is, however, central to my work and gains importance in connection with the issue of notions of 'race.' Drawing on Genocide Studies, I offer an insight into the position of settler communities with regard to the genocide and concentration camps in German Southwest Africa. Welzer's (2005) study on 'ordinary people' as perpetrators and their strategies of legitimisation during the Holocaust has inspired me to analyse the settler newspaper discourse from a similar angle. This contributes to understanding the events that have already been thoroughly investigated and categorised in terms of colonial administration, actions of soldiers and missionaries, but not regarding the settler discourse. My research thereby complements the works of scholars like Zimmerer (2003b), Erichsen (2005), and Kreienbaum (2015). It furthermore offers an insight into constructions of victimhood and the role of settler anxieties as Lester (1998) has identified in the case of British settlers in South Africa. The above issues are relevant also for questions concerning the evaluation of this history in the context of the Nazi period. Zimmerer (2015b, pp.448–449) calls here for a postcolonial reading of the Nazi occupation policy in Eastern Europe, the roots of which can, he argues, also be found in the German colonies. The question of continuities from European colonialism to strategies and atrocities of the Nazi regime are, however, not a focal point for this thesis. Kühne (2013) provides a concise overview of this complex debate. With my own

work I am hoping to contribute a valuable source for debates about how to understand the role of Germany's colonial history within European historiography.

1.2 Research questions and chapter overview

In my research I focus on two main, interlinked areas: the structure of the settler press and its relations. I want to find out if the German colonial settler press can be understood as a precarious, yet forceful web, and to come to an understanding of its meaning for the German colonial project and beyond. As a web I understand a set of dynamic, ever-changing relations of power which are constituted by circuits of materials and ideas that bind different spaces into an interconnected whole. This leads me to asking questions about the settler newspapers' role in imagining, creating and connecting space, creating identities, negotiating the relationship with other imperial powers like Great Britain, and their contribution to shaping the relations between colonisers and the colonised. Special attention is given to hints regarding the agency of the colonised within this web, since it was never an exclusively white, European construction. I follow strands of discourse across the globe and pay attention to infrastructures that are relevant in this context.

These following questions guide my research:

- How did the German colonial settler press in Africa develop regarding its geographical spread, infrastructure, editors and readership?
- How did the settler press contribute to the creation of German and settler identities?
- In which ways did the settler press contribute to the imagination, creation, and interlinking of colonial space?
- How did the settler press and related infrastructures contribute to negotiating colonial relations with Africans and with other imperial powers, and in what ways was it affected in turn by those relations?

The next two chapters serve as further introduction to the topic and introduce my analytical approach. In chapter 2 I develop my research method. This is based on Michel Foucault's concept of *dispositif* and draws on Critical Discourse Analysis, after Siegfried Jäger. Chapter 3 maps the notions of 'race,' space and nationhood that were present in Germany in the run-up to, as well as during, formal German colonialism. The spatial concepts of *Heimat* (homeland),

Lebensraum (living space) and *Einkreisung* (encirclement) were present in Germany as well as in the colonies and reverberated in the discourse of the settler newspapers. I will discuss *Heimat* as a central concept that the settlers drew on, and that they altered in order to match their specific situation. The images that colonial discourse produced of the places to be colonised thereby often stood in sharp contrast to the realities on the ground. I provide a brief introduction to the history of the African territories before they became German colonies and outline the often violent establishment of German rule, as well as the resistance against it.

Chapter 4 explores the structure and networks of the German colonial settler press. The policies and laws of Germany had an impact on settler newspapers, as did the personalities of their first editors who migrated to the colonies. First connections become visible between the aggressive attitude of a German East African editor towards the colonial government and the development of the German Colonial Press Law. German national politics as well as global communication infrastructure and business influenced the situation in the colonies and vice versa. I follow the exchange of newspapers between different places – mostly between Germany and its colonies, but also with British colonies – and show how local discourses were transported to other places and reverberated in the local press of their destinations. In this chapter I also examine the exchange of settler newspapers from one German colony to another and start asking questions about the development of German settler identities.

Chapter 5 examines the importance of technologies and infrastructures of transport and communication for the development of the settler press, as well as appreciating the press as a site of discourse on these structures. The central position that the topic of infrastructure took in the discourse of the settler newspapers can only be understood by taking into account the meaning of technologies like railways in the context of European culture. I explore how the construction of colonial infrastructure was represented by the settler newspapers as panacea and seen as a marker of European supremacy. Railways served to alleviate the settlers' anxieties, which were a consequence of their precarious situation: they lived in the midst of an African majority that was mostly critical of German rule. But infrastructures also revealed the Germans' dependence on Africans in order to build and operate them, and opened up new spaces for anti-colonial action. In the course of this, infrastructures like railways became a form of communication themselves. From early on the settler press tried to lobby for more money to be made available by the *Reichstag* (German parliament) in order to build colonial infrastructures. An identity of the settlers as 'colonial experts' emerged that would become the source of constant trouble between the settler press and colonial as well as central

German government, but also between the different settler newspapers themselves. Multiple conflicts among colonists led to the expansion of the settler press landscape.

Chapter 6 explores the construction of colonial Germanness in settler newspaper discourse. Settlers emphasised their belonging to the German national community in particular during official holidays like the *Kaisergeburtstag* (emperor's birthday). Their newspapers communicated this performance of Germanness back to the homeland. But the discourse also revealed difficulties with performing this belonging over such a vast distance. While the settler newspapers were a site of debates about whether the spread of the German language in the colonies would successfully 'Germanize' them, the newspapers themselves contributed to marking the colonised space as a German space. Against the backdrop of a colonial 'other,' the correct form and performance of colonial Germanness was debated. This influenced the settlers' colonial practice and their relation to Africans. The newspapers promoted *Kulturarbeit* as the settlers' task, the transformation of land and people according to racist principles, pursued in order to make a profit and to build a new *Heimat*. Settler newspapers also served as a practical tool to organise *Kulturarbeit*: the newspapers were a platform for the exchange of advice on agricultural techniques. But while clear ideas about objectives of colonial endeavours and their model German protagonists were formulated, it became apparent that many settlers did not comply with these ideal images. This chapter traces the settler newspapers' struggle to negotiate tensions between colonial aspirations and realities, thereby contributing to an overall discourse on questions of Germanness.

Chapter 7 offers an analysis of the settler newspaper discourse during the Herero and Nama War. I trace the changing notions of 'race' articulated in the course of the war and the related discourse which contributed to legitimising atrocities committed by the Germans. The settlers thereby presented themselves as the 'victims' of the colonised. While an essential difference between colonisers and the colonised had already been discursively established before the war, the notion of 'race' now came to the fore as a colonial battleground. At the same time the newspapers mostly avoided reporting about the horrendous conditions in the concentration camps and at the construction sites that drew on forced labourers. Articles focused instead on settler communities and the presumed need to defend them against Africans. The settler newspapers maintained anxieties that led to their demand to avoid any kind of education for the colonised. In their anti-education discourse, they argued against the teaching of skills that would enhance the ability of the colonised to build networks. This discourse was reflected in the German Colonial Press Law that came into force in 1912 after being debated among

different colonial officials for years. The law provided the legal basis for colonial governors to prohibit any kind of publication by Africans. Simultaneously, newspapers published by colonists in African languages appeared, which sought to influence the colonised positively regarding German colonial rule and *Kultur*. No African-owned newspapers existed in the German colonies, but Togolese writers published articles in an African-owned newspaper in the adjacent British Gold Coast Colony. I close this chapter by appreciating their critical evaluation of the German colonial project.

Chapter 8 evaluates the concept of the German colonial settler press as a precarious, yet forceful web. I assess my approach and methodology, point out the surprises and challenges that I encountered during research, and make recommendations for further research. I will highlight the significance of my work for the academic field.

Last but not least, I need to address the always difficult issue of the terminology in use. Of course I want to avoid reproducing the disrespectful representations of the colonised that were common in the settler newspapers and generally accepted in German society at the time. The newspapers however usually spoke of *Eingeborene* (natives) without specifying the society/nation/group of which they were speaking. Where I have the relevant information, I use more specific names for the groups in question, but in most cases, I need to resort to a different solution. The term 'indigenous' that is often used in literature is not appropriate in this case because hardly any of the protagonists – with a few exceptions like the San – are understood to be indigenous to the territories that became German colonies. I have therefore decided to simply refer to them as 'Africans' when the settler newspapers spoke of 'natives.' I furthermore use the term 'the colonised' frequently, which admittedly comes with problems: here, the people in question are defined by their relation to Europeans, and not by features that exist independently of European interference. Nevertheless, albeit far from perfect, in a study that revolves around colonial relations, I find it acceptable to use this term. I have refrained from speaking about 'colonial subjects,' as usually just the colonised are associated with this term. But within my theoretical approach I understand all subjects as produced by discourse, and therefore the term 'colonial subjects' would also need to refer to the colonisers, whose identities are produced by the same discourse that constructs the colonised 'other.'

Similarly difficult is the translation of many German terms that play a central role within this research: their meaning tends to get lost in translation. While terms like *Heimat*, *Kultur*, and *Erziehung* can roughly be translated as 'homeland,' 'culture,' and 'education,' they have in the

colonial situation (and often more generally) very specific meanings and refer to concepts that (could) fill complete books. I have therefore decided to use some of the terms in their original. The name of the colonising country is also a complicated issue. First of all, Germany as a state with borders within the European mainland and as an ideological concept has undergone frequent changes, and was still in the making during formal German colonialism. For the period in question German historical publications mostly use the term *Deutsches Reich*. But this does not prove useful for an English text as it changes grammatically according to context. Neither can it simply be translated into 'German Empire,' as this would evoke the wrong associations: the British Empire for example encompassed the British mainland including the territories it had claimed around the globe. But contemporaries who spoke of the *Deutsches Reich* usually just referred to the German central state and did not include the colonies in this concept. For a better readability I use the term 'Germany,' although it resembles only a rough translation.

2 About exploring a precarious, yet forceful web

In this research project I approach German colonialism as a set of dynamic, ever-changing relations of power that move in certain directions. I understand discourse as a driving and structuring force of this dynamic. Discourse shapes, as well as is shaped, by this dynamic. I use Critical Discourse Analysis (to be elaborated below) as a tool to come to an understanding of the role of the settler press in German colonialism. But it is not sufficient to fill the frame of analysis only with the question of discourse. The settler press comprised of much more than the written word, and its effects went beyond the written and the spoken word.

Newspaper discourse rests on knowledge, which is equally produced through discourse. Newspaper discourse furthermore rests on paper, steel and copper, on technologies and laws. It depends on certain skills like reading and type setting that need to be learned and performed. In order to develop and to be disseminated, discourse requires public spaces, print offices and roads, and a political will to allow the expression of certain ideas. Discourse, actions, materials and laws: the German colonial settler press was constituted by these elements, as well as having an impact on them. Together, they built the web that is at the centre of my research: the precarious, yet forceful web of colonial relations that developed in the context of the settler press. In order to take all of these elements of the ensemble of the German colonial settler press into account, I am drawing on Foucauldian *dispositif* analysis, upon which I will elaborate below.

I first need to clarify what I mean by ‘discourse,’ which is a central element of *dispositif*. The French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) worked extensively with both of these concepts and played a critical role in developing them. In order to grasp the concept of discourse, I refer to the work of the German linguist Siegfried Jäger. He understands discourse in the tradition of Foucault as an ‘articulatory practice ... that does not passively represent social conditions but actively constitutes and organises those conditions as a river of knowledge flowing through time’ (Jäger, 2009, p.22). Jäger (2011, p.96) states that discourse is a means of production of societies that produce their subjects, who in return shape those societies. The emphasis is here on the productivity of discourse: the creation of the subject and of its social relations. This also creates a certain order: discourse determines what ‘can be said in a given society at a given time’ (Jäger and Maier, 2009, p.36). Within this order, subjects can act when they have access to and can make use of discursively constructed knowledge

(Jäger and Maier, 2009, p.37). This may seem abstract at this stage, but it will become clearer when I start citing from the settler newspapers. While they were able in their place and time to make extremely racist statements, an expression of empathy with the colonised seemed hardly possible in this context. Consequently, the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis after Jäger and Maier (2009, p.36) entails revealing

the contradictions within and between discourses, the limits of what can be said and done, and the means by which discourse makes particular statements seem rational and beyond all doubt, even though they are only valid at a certain time and place.

In my research I attempt to achieve this by analysing discourse against the backdrop of the works of Postcolonial and Genocide Studies that I have mapped out in the previous chapter.

When speaking about *dispositif* analysis in the Anglophone academic world I am occasionally met at first with puzzlement. On the one hand, this has simply to do with an academic culture that prefers other approaches over this one. But on the other hand, the concept of *dispositif* has a difficult status because of the way that the term is translated, which is far from consistent. While in the German context *dispositif* is usually translated as *Dispositiv*, and in the Italian as *dispositivo*, in the Anglophone context a number of different versions circulate. For the English version of *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1979), Robert Hurley translated the term as ‘deployment.’ One of the most common translations according to Bussolini (2010, p.85) is the one of ‘apparatus.’ But this comes with great problems, as the latter term is already occupied by a different philosophical concept. Foucault himself made a clear distinction between *dispositif* and *appareil*. He understood the latter as a more narrow concept that is connected to the issue of State power (Bussolini, 2010, pp.93–94). Bussolini (2010, p.96) states that both Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben associate ‘instruments’ with ‘apparatus,’ while ‘dispositive, on the other hand, may denote more the arrangement – the strategic arrangement – of the implements in a dynamic function.’⁷ Bussolini (2010) himself suggests the use of the term ‘dispositive.’ Other scholars like Jäger and Maier (2009) use ‘dispositive’ likewise. But in order to avoid any further confusion – and to be consistent with my own preference of using central terms in their original – I am going to use *dispositif* in my own work. In order to explain what I mean by *dispositif*, I will at first briefly explain how Foucault developed the concept, then take a look at its current use, and finally develop the concept further in order to apply it to my own research.

⁷ Confusingly, David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella have translated Agamben's (2006) essay *Che cos'è un dispositivo?* With *What is an Apparatus?* (Agamben, 2009).

Foucault is believed to have developed the *dispositif* concept out of his earlier one of *positivité*. He began to work with 'positivity' when he was writing *L'archéologie du savoir* (The Archaeology of Knowledge), published in 1973 (Agamben, 2009, p.3; Bussolini, 2010, p.101). *Dispositif* played a first major role in *Histoire de la sexualité 1. La volonté de savoir* of 1976. I draw on *The Will to Knowledge*, the first part of the trilogy of *The History of Sexuality*, within my own *dispositif* analysis. In this book Foucault (1977 [2014], pp.7–8) asked how patterns of sexual behaviour have come to be objects of knowledge, and in which way this knowledge was connected to different institutions and mechanisms of power.

Questions of knowledge and power were central in Foucault's thought and closely connected to each other. Under 'power' Foucault (1977 [2014], pp.93–94) understood a diverse correlation of forces that operate in a certain field (a specific time and place with its particular population). These forces can support each other or work against each other. They unfold their impact and come to bear in governmental systems, laws and hegemonies in societies. Power is always present, and it works in all relationships between different nodes of a network. Power is also integral to the production of knowledge, leading to a power/knowledge complex. Knowledge is according to Foucault (1978, p.53) not produced through a successful distinction between the 'real' and the 'non real,' but rather through a set of rules that determine how 'the true' is separated from 'the false.' Foucault (1977 [2014], p.94) concluded: 'Power is the name that can be given to a complex strategic situation in a society.' 'Strategy' is another key term and important in order to grasp the concept of *dispositif*. I will come back to it in a moment. But first, I will expand a little on Foucault's work on sexuality through which he first developed the concept of the *dispositif*.

The *dispositif* of sexuality emerged, according to Foucault, through the interrelation of discourse with different institutions and regulations. Foucault (1977 [2014], pp.29–30) argued that during the 18th century there was a 'political, economic and technical incentive to speak about sex' in a specifically regulated way. Sex was not a taboo, but there was a tendency towards administering its circumstances and fitting it into 'systems of usefulness.' Foucault (1977 [2014], p.29) introduced the term *dispositif* in this context:

First and foremost, discourse was attached to the sex, namely by virtue of a complex and manifoldly effective *dispositif*, which is not exhausted in one single repressive law.

Censorship of the sex? Rather, an apparatus for the production of discourses about sex had been installed.⁸

‘Apparatus’ here describes the institutions (in the widest sense) and regulations that become sites of production of discourses, and the ensemble of these elements becomes the *dispositif*. *Dispositif* is just as productive – or ‘effective’ – as discourse: it enhances the production of ‘true discourses’ that develop a life on their own (Foucault, 1977 [2014], p.71). Foucault (1977 [2014], p.35) described this as ‘the production of knowledge that slips from one’s control.’ The productivity of the *dispositif* yields according to Bührmann and Schneider (2013, p.24) not only further discourses, but also materialisations as ‘objectified knowledge.’

While Foucault’s *dispositif* initially seems to involve a degree of deliberate creation, it soon ‘slips from one’s control’ (Foucault, 1977 [2014], p.35), at least from the control of those who are the subject of a discourse. Foucault expanded on this phenomenon when he spoke about ‘strategy.’ According to him, a *dispositif* consists of a network of interlinking productive mechanisms that work together as a strategy and push the development of a certain population at a certain time and place in a specific direction (Foucault, 1977 [2014], pp.53, 93). But this strategy does not have a strategist behind it, even though in retrospect it can appear as an intended, uniform policy. Some intent can however be located in the tactics that are deployed in individual relationships and in the decisions taken at the nodal points of a network. Tactics and strategy are mutually dependent. Strategy influences tactical decisions that an individual takes and its actions again feed into and shape the overall strategy (Foucault, 1977 [2014], pp.95–99). It is important to keep this interplay of strategy and tactics in mind, because this enables the identification of agency without disregarding the force of the *dispositif*. Mann’s (2004, p.135) criticism, that *dispositif* analysis lets the perpetrators of colonial atrocities get away, can therefore be dismissed. *Dispositif* analysis seeks to grasp the relationship and tensions between dynamic elements of a power/knowledge complex.

This is how Foucault developed the concept of *dispositif* in *The Will to Knowledge*. Time and again he had been urged to clarify his concept, and I agree that he could be accused of inconsistency in the meaning he attaches to some of its main elements. For example, the distinction between discourse and *dispositif* at times appears blurred. In an interview with three psychoanalysts that was published in 1978, Foucault finally yielded to the pressure and defined *dispositif* (Jäger, n.d.). Scholars who intended to work with the concept keenly

⁸ This is my own translation into English from the German edition of the book.

adopted this definition and applied it to their own work. This is the case in the examples that I have been working with in this chapter (Agamben, 2009, p.2; Bussolini, 2010, pp.91–92; Jäger and Maier, 2009, p.40), and also Mann (2004, pp.116–117) rested his essay on the *dispositif* of violence of colonialism on Foucault's statements in the interview. The section of the interview that is quoted most frequently, here in the translation of Bussolini (2010, p.91), states that a *dispositif* is

an absolutely heterogeneous assembly which involves discourses, institutions, architectural structures, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific enunciations, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions; in short: as much the said as the un-said, these are the elements of the *dispositif*. The *dispositif* is the network which is arranged between these elements.

It is tempting to base a methodology on this tangible list of elements. But here, a problem arises: in many cases of its practical application, a clear distinction has been made between a 'discursive' and a 'non-discursive,' which Foucault did not employ in *The Will to Knowledge*.⁹ Given the productivity of discourse in the Foucauldian concept, such a clear distinction, as well as a definition of certain elements as 'non-discursive,' seems misleading. The 'un-said,' or the non-verbal, is not equivalent to a presumed 'non-discursive.' Inanimate things, like printing presses or railways that I will address in this study, are not simply 'non-discursive,' but they are rather a product of discourse, as well as involved in shaping discourses. The verbal or written word is inextricably interlinked with the material world. And as illustrative as it is to provide a list of elements that a *dispositif* consists of, the temptation is there to just focus on these elements, rather than on the fabric that spans between them (even though Foucault himself pointed out in the interview that the *dispositif* is to be found in the 'network'). Jäger (2001, p.85) therefore recommends for the analysis of material elements of a *dispositif* to focus on the knowledge that the objects rest upon, or that is built into them, rather than to focus on the physical structure itself.

It is not my aim in this research to identify individual *dispositifs* with their attributed elements and name them in order to work with them, but to analyse the colonial relations that the settler press was immersed in as well as created. This is not meant as a critique on Foucault's approach in identifying, for example, a *dispositif* of sexuality. But the reader will not find here a concluding sentence that says 'this is the *dispositif* of the German Colonial Settler Press.' My aim is rather to illustrate the networked character of the colonial press and to follow its

⁹ Such a clear distinction can for example be found in Mann (2004, pp.117–118), who bases his consideration on the works of Jäger. Jäger (2001) himself consequently uses this distinction.

reverberations by taking as many of its elements into account as possible. While this can of course never be exhaustive, it does not mean that it is not worth the attempt to capture the colonial press in its entirety. If I identified and named a specific *dispositif*, it would inevitably lead to the question where this *dispositif* ends, what this *dispositif* is *not*. This would on the one hand mean an unnecessary limitation of my approach, and on the other hand I would not be able to deliver what I had promised, because the ensemble of the settler press is just too complex. I use *dispositif* analysis as a *Haltung* (approach/ attitude/ position) in my research, and not as a closed concept.

How does this then crystallise as a methodology for my research project? In short: in order to thoroughly and comprehensively analyse the character and effects of the German colonial settler press, not only do I need to do a Critical Discourse Analysis of the newspaper articles, but I need to integrate some of the central elements of the network of the settler press into the frame of analysis. And I say ‘central’ not because I want to suggest that this network is finite and that there is only a certain number of elements that really matter for the analysis, but simply because I have limited capacities. It is never possible to grasp a *dispositif* as a whole, as it is not finite; it only gives birth to further *dispositifs*.

I approach the question of what is ‘central’ to the web of the settler press from three different sides. Firstly, I attempt to identify the topics that most frequently appeared in the newspaper issues which are part of my sample (on choosing the samples, see below). Secondly, I take Bruno Latour’s Actor Network Theory as an inspiration and ask ‘dumb questions’ (Latour, 2007, p.302): where and how was the settler newspaper produced? Who worked in the print office? In which way did news arrive on the editor’s desk? How were copies of the newspaper disseminated? Latour (2007, pp.24, 304) here recommends approaching the material as a ‘flat landscape’ and exploring it with the tiny steps of an ant, trying to take in all detail. Questions of location, infrastructure and personnel are here brought to the fore. Thirdly, I ask questions about economic, political and legal aspects of the elements of the settler press. Osterhammel (2010, p.60) argues that it is important to approach the material also from this side in order to fully grasp colonial relations.¹⁰ Integrating this perspective enables me to highlight further power relations that the settler press was embedded in.

¹⁰ Osterhammel (2010, p.60) here formulates a critique of the approach of New Imperial History. In his view, New Imperial History forgoes the necessary analysis of economic and political structures and instead concentrates on a ‘loose web of particularities, ... an amorphous connection of identities.’ This does according to Osterhammel not do justice to the complexity of histories of colonialism. While I agree that one needs to integrate these aspects into the frame of analysis, I argue that New Imperial

When I speak about the importance of the material side, of paper, steel and technology, one would maybe imagine – or even expect – me to travel to the formerly colonised places, to touch the old railway tracks, and to step inside an old railway engine in order to let the material tell me its story. But here, I have to back down and admit: my research is based on written text. And it is not that I have not tried: I have stood before the old printing presses in the Swakopmund Museum, and I have sat at home in front of the photographs I took, wondering what story the machine might tell me. But it does not work like that. The material is situated in a new context now, that of the museum. The web that I am (re)searching is not preserved in the machine, but fragments of it are preserved in historic discourse. Marvin (1988, p.8) has wisely remarked: ‘The history of media is never more or less than the history of their uses, which always lead us away from them to the social practices and conflicts they illuminate.’ The primary sources of my research are comprised exclusively of written texts. I have, however, taken care when choosing the texts that I do not only concentrate on the settler newspapers as such, but that I also take into account texts that developed in the context of many of the different elements that the settler press engaged with, and that reflect the social practices of the time.

A short visit to the National Archives of Namibia in Windhoek had revealed that in fact all German settler newspapers from colonial Namibia and their related documents are filed in archives that can be accessed in or from Germany. The same is the case for newspapers of other German colonies. I have collected ample samples of the settler newspapers and their related documents, as well as selected samples of other newspapers, from archives in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde), Frankfurt am Main (Universitätsbibliothek Senckenberg), Darmstadt (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek), London (British Library), and from an online archive (Readex World Newspaper Archive). While for most settler newspapers all issues are available in the archives, there were also some gaps: for the *Anzeigen für Tanga*, the issues between November 1903 and October 1904 were not available, and all issues of the year 1914 for the *Kamerun-Post* were missing. Also not available was the *Keetmanshooper Nachrichten*, the predecessor of the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*. Any extras have likewise mostly not been preserved. In the issues that I was able to view, not all articles were legible. This was predominantly the case with newspapers archived on microfilm.

History does take them into account. This has for example been demonstrated by scholars like Hall et al. (2014) and their research into the legacies of compensations paid by the British government to former slave owners, which developed the British financial system.

The only newspapers that can be accessed in a digital format online and searched by key word are the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* and the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, together with the *Windhoekster Anzeiger* and the *Swakopmunder Zeitung*. But this key word search turned out to be unreliable: a search for the same word just by skimming the issues one after the other yielded approximately three times as many hits. I have therefore viewed the issues of all newspapers one by one for the time frames that I had defined in advance. The time frames were the following: I viewed all issues of the first three months of production of each settler newspaper. Thereafter I viewed the issues of December and January of each year. I chose the months of December and January because these issues regularly contain articles that reflected on the closing year as well as presented hopes for the new one. An in-depth discussion of the situation in the colonies could often be found in these two months. Furthermore I viewed the complete issues of the years of 1904 and 1905 of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, the only two settler newspapers that were continuously published during these two years. Here I only read the headlines of the articles and based my decision if I should read the complete article on what the headline promised. And last but not least, I viewed all of the headlines of the *Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk/ Windhuker Nachrichten/ Südwestbote* over its complete life span from 1903 until 1914. The production of the newspaper was however suspended from January until December 1904. While these were the basic time frames, I also analysed articles outside of the frames when I came across relevant ones in secondary literature or if the newspapers themselves cross-referenced them.

Apart from the German settler newspapers in Africa, a number of other newspapers and magazines became part of the analysis. These are on the one hand newspapers that were produced in Africa but did not belong to the genre of the settler newspapers, as for example the African-owned newspaper *The Gold Coast Leader* that accommodated articles of writers from the German colony of Togoland. Produced by German colonists but mainly aimed at an African readership were the *Kiongozi* and the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, which are both part of the research corpus. On the other hand, I included samples of newspapers that were published in Germany and were either reporting about the colonies in general or even directly responded to the settler newspapers, as for example the *Tägliche Rundschau*. Also of great interest were documents of the colonial governments as well as of the German central government that dealt with the settler press. Furthermore I included a wide range of specialist publications on colonial infrastructure into the corpus. Less prominent, but nevertheless part of the corpus,

were records of missionaries and their schools, and novels and travelogues written by colonists.

I have subjected all primary sources that became part of the research corpus to a Critical Discourse Analysis. This meant in a first step identifying the context of production of the texts. This proved sometimes difficult because during the period of interest authors often did not provide their names with their texts. Against the backdrop of literature from Postcolonial and Genocide Studies I have in a second step asked questions about the representation of subjects in the texts, and also about their possible absences. Further important questions included the following: is it possible to reconstruct the message of the text, whether an intended or an unintended one? How did the writers imagine their futures? What spaces and places were represented in the texts, and in what way? Did they attribute a specific meaning to technologies or landscapes? Did they formulate any demands, directed at politicians or at their peers? Did the writers use any conspicuous terms, and can these be traced back to other sources?

This list is by no means exhaustive, but should demonstrate that I did not try to ‘mine’ the newspapers for facts, but that I am interested in the knowledge that they were based on, and in turn created themselves. I am less interested in questions of the feasibility of planned railway projects, for example, but rather in what cultural contexts and beliefs these were embedded. It is however necessary, in order to reconstruct the context of production of the texts as well as their further effects and dynamics, to gather some information in order to build a frame of reference. Wherever possible, I have tried to ground this information in multiple sources. In order to find out what kind of knowledge was built into those elements that did not directly incorporate written text, I needed to find other ways to reconstruct that knowledge. Because I could not conduct first hand observation, I needed to draw on historical texts that described these elements, knowing, that these descriptions were far from neutral, but for their part also entangled in discourse.¹¹ Nevertheless, sources like legal texts and specialist literature of the time proved valuable for reconstructing objectified knowledge.

As a last but important point of interest, I have given special attention to dynamics and effects between all of these different elements, of course with the same aforementioned precautions.

¹¹ A first-hand observation would however not make that much of a difference, but rather come with similar problems: I am entangled in discourse myself.

Questions of space were in this context of great interest. In particular, I considered the imagination, creation and (re-)appropriation of spaces, which could be tied to a physical place as well as existed in the form of discourse.

Critical Discourse Analysis after Jäger (2009) means more than a critical approach to historic discourse. It also means that researchers need to reflect their own position. This position is never neutral, but always embedded in discourse that has an influence on the research. In the context of my own project this means to acknowledge that I deliberately chose to analyse the settler press from a certain perspective, and that I am going to great lengths in order to identify the agency of the colonised in the context of the settler press. The primary sources that my research rests upon would possibly have provided the material to produce a glorifying story of German colonists who tried to make their dreams come true against all odds, and of settlers who stood up to their governments that constantly disappointed them. But due to the discourses that I am immersed in, I understand it as an imperative as well as my political responsibility to analyse colonial history from a more critical perspective. The wish to be critical does however not free me from my own history: as someone born in Germany who became a doctoral researcher in Great Britain I have grown up and still live in places that produced colonial culture and partly benefit from it, and I speak from a relatively privileged position. I therefore invite my readers to adopt a critical perspective themselves whilst reading this piece of work.

3 German colonial imaginations and African realities

In this chapter I provide an introduction to German colonial imaginations and the different notions and beliefs that they rested upon. These were present in Germany before as well as during its formal acquisition of colonies from 1884 onwards. Colonial fantasies (Zantop, 1997) stimulated colonising activities and shaped the way in which the colonists approached the territories that they claimed (Kundrus, 2003a, p.8). Those fantasies rested upon stories of earlier German colonising attempts, but also on more recently developed notions of 'race' that had appeared in scientific discourse. The idea of a European 'civilising mission' emerged, which was believed to bring *Kultur* (culture) and *Arbeit* (work) (terms elaborated below) to people outside of Europe. These notions were accompanied by a hope for economic profit through colonial ventures. Colonial enthusiasts and entrepreneurs likewise urged the government to secure Germany's place among European imperial powers. This would apparently also preserve the *Deutschtum* (Germanness) that was 'lost' every year with thousands of Germans migrating to the Americas and there mostly assimilating to the receiving societies. Questions of land and national belonging were of great importance in Germany as well as in the colonies. Three notions of space were fundamental for the German colonial project: *Heimat* (homeland), *Lebensraum* (living space), and *Einkreisung* (encirclement). The resulting discourses led to a colonial imagination that was very different from the realities in the places that became the target of German colonial endeavours. Imaginations and expectations of the colonists therefore often clashed with what they encountered upon their arrival in the prospective colonies. The different African societies looked back at a rich history and carefully protected their mostly successfully functioning economies. I will in the following give a brief introduction to these notions of space, as well as into the history of the places to be colonised, the enforcement of German rule, and the resistance to it.

3.1 Cultures of colonialism in Germany

Colonial fantasies had, according to Zantop (1997), been circulating in the loosely formed community of German speakers which preceded the foundation of Germany in 1871, and long before Germany had acquired its first colonies in 1884. These fantasies developed through the increasing popularity of certain literary genres like novels and travelogues. Anthropological publications likewise shaped the imagination of 'other' peoples and places (Zantop, 1997; Stone, 2001; Reimann-Dawe, 2011). While some of the writings were fictional, some also

reflected on the first, mostly unsuccessful colonising attempts by German peoples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1528-1555 the merchant house of Welser was active in Venezuela. But this early colonising attempt failed due to the strong Spanish influence in the region (Zantop, 1997, pp.19–20). Zantop (1997, p.29) argued that the story of this first colonial failure was later ‘transformed into the foundational fiction of Germany’s colonial origins, and of colonising as a specifically German calling.’ Other brief colonial ventures like that of the Great Elector of Brandenburg who was active in western Africa (today Ghana) 1683-1717 likewise inspired later German writers. The Brandenburgers had set up the fortress of Groß-Friedrichsburg where they traded slaves, arms and other goods. But this soon turned out to be unprofitable, therefore they gave the place up and left it to the Dutch (Zantop, 1997, p.28; Conrad, 2008, pp.17–18). A volume from 1847-1850 that examined this among other early German colonial ventures interpreted the effect of the presence of the Germans on the African population as a highly positive one. According to the author, the Germans turned the ‘animalistic apathy’ of the Africans living in the area around the fortress into ‘permanent productive activity’ (Stricker, 1848, p.170). Even after the Brandenburgers had abandoned the place, the local population supposedly ‘demonstrated a spirit of order and activity’ that proved the ‘efficacy of the admirable mental force of education of Prussia’ (Stricker, 1848, p.178).¹² This glorification of earlier colonial ventures gives a first glimpse of a main trope in German colonial imagination: the racist belief in German cultural supremacy and deriving from that the supposed value of a German ‘cultural mission.’

Colonial projects were based on, and legitimised through, the assumption of the existence of deep racial and cultural divisions between humans (Stone, 2001, p.35). Ideas about the existence of different races circulated – just like other colonial fantasies – in German societies long before the advent of formal German colonialism. Mosse (1978) showed that racist notions had already developed during the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. It was in this time, when rational thought and the sciences were celebrated as a liberation from former myths based on religion, that people believed they had discovered different ‘races of man.’ Anthropologists endorsed the classification of natural phenomena and the discovery of certain orders in nature as huge advances of their profession. Some of them believed to have localised Africans as the ‘missing link’ on the step of transition from the apes to the human race (Mosse, 1978, pp.8–9, 31). And of course they saw themselves at the top of this hierarchy. Rational

¹² In the German colonies the myth of a successful ‘civilising mission’ of the Brandenburgers was kept alive by articles in the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907a) and the *Kamerun-Post* (1912d).

thought – as Horkheimer and Adorno (1997) famously observed – fell back once more into myth. By 1900, the assumption was prevalent in Europe that black Africans represented either the most primitive kind of human beings or could not even be counted as human at all (Lindner, 2011, p.309). This kind of ‘science’ reached the German public also in the form of the *Völkerschau* (‘human zoo’) that presented supposedly indigenous people from around the world in exhibitions. They were forced to wear a certain outfit and display actions that would meet the imagination and expectations of the spectators, but did not represent their actual everyday life. Some of those ‘exhibits’ resisted this kind of presentation. They refused to wear the outfit and tried to engage with the spectators by debate, or even through rather successful flirting. But overall, the *Völkerschauen* deepened racist beliefs and contributed to the imagination of Africans as essentially different from Europeans (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.94–98; Baranowski, 2011, p.56; Lindner, 2011, p.298; Thode-Arora, 2013, p.252).

From the racist ‘sciences’ of the Enlightenment two strands of thought developed: on the one hand, a polygenist anthropology argued that there was an essential difference between the ‘races’ that could not be overcome. This Social-Darwinist approach deemed it necessary to defend one’s own ‘race’ against other, supposedly inferior ones. This strand of thought was not the dominant one in German colonial discourse, although it became popular among German settlers in the colonies after the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War (see chapter 7.1.1). The other strand of Enlightenment thought was a monogenist one that came to be more popular in Germany for the duration of formal colonialism. Here, the belief prevailed that Africans could, with the help of Europeans, ‘develop.’ The universal concept that was supposed to explain everything and solve every problem was that of *Kultur* (culture). *Kultur*, associated with Europeans, was believed to rule over nature, associated with Africans. But the latter could, according to this school of thought, be ‘educated’ through the ‘cultural mission’ of the Europeans, who ‘benevolently’ worked on the ‘improvement’ of those further down in the ‘hierarchy of civilisation.’ Two influential writers, Friedrich Fabri and Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, sparked colonial enthusiasm in Germany with their ideas of a ‘cultural mission,’ conveniently combined with an economic benefit. They introduced the imperative of teaching the ‘lazy’ Africans some *Kultur* through forcing them to work in a way that would benefit the Europeans. Under the name *Erziehung zur Arbeit* (work education/ training to do work) this concept became one of the main objectives of German colonial endeavours (Stone, 2001, p.35; Schubert, 2003, pp.50, 64, 71–80, 261; Conrad, 2006, p.79). Zimmermann (2006, p.429) explains: ‘For Germans, culture was not a universal human property, but rather the exclusive possession of Europeans and other “historical peoples” or “cultural peoples”.’ The double

meaning of *Kultur* as both moral improvement and agriculture allowed for the mission of a 'cultural elevation' of the Africans to effectively try to increase their agricultural output. Colonial economic aims could easily be connected to the legitimising tale of a 'cultural mission' (Zimmermann, 2006, pp.435–436). The *Kulturarbeit* that the settlers later attempted to conduct in the colonies was a 'translation' from the imperative of the 'cultural mission' that was the proclaimed objective of colonial projects in the debates in Germany (see also my discussion of *Kulturarbeit* in chapter 6.2.2).

Already before 1884 pressure groups emerged in Germany that wanted to bring German colonial projects forward. Their influence grew with the appropriation of the colonies. One of these groups was the German Colonial Society (*Deutscher Kolonialverein*), founded in 1882, which merged with the Society for German Colonisation (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*) into the German Colonial Association (*Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft*) in 1887. Initially it had 15,000 members, rising to over 42,000 by 1914. The Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*) was likewise founded as a colonial pressure group in 1890. The League had fewer members (20,000 in 1900), but some of them held influential positions in society. This association, that lasted until 1939, became the 'spearhead of the radical right' in Germany (Manz, 2014, pp.68–69). Among the higher social classes in particular, the acquisition of colonies was understood as a necessity to become truly and fully a nation after the unification in 1871. It was seen as a project of national pride and prestige that would bring Germany on course to becoming a world power (Kundrus, 2003b, p.2).¹³

Entrepreneurs tried to make use of the colonial enthusiasm for their own business. The *Woermann Linie*, a large shipping company in Hamburg, offered a shipping connection to west Africa from the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1880s its owner Adolph Woermann made good revenue by selling extremely low quality alcohol to African communities. He directly approached the German government and lobbied in favour of colonial possessions at the African west coast in order to have his business protected and be able to open up new markets. But Woermann not only tried to convince the government with the prospect of economic gains, but – as was common in German colonial discourse – argued that the region

¹³ Gründer (2012, p.281) argues that the colonial enthusiasm in Germany should not be overestimated. While the colonial associations had some very influential members, membership numbers remained small compared to other associations like the Fleet Association (*Flottenverein*) that counted for the same period over one million members. At the same time, colonial enthusiasts could be found across all social classes of society: colonial ideas circulated also in the working class in the form of penny dreadfuls, travelogues, and novels (Manz, 2014, p.59).

would benefit from a supposed ‘cultural mission.’ It was the initiative of businessmen like him that provided the grounds for the acquisition of first colonial possessions by chartered companies before those territories were declared a ‘protectorate’ by the German state (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.31–32; Kopp, n.d.; Zimmerer, 2015a).

The nineteenth century was a century of mass migration from Germany to other parts of the world. But the migrants did not necessarily follow those colonial fantasies. Rather, they were often pushed out of Europe by their hopeless economic situation, caused by a tense labour market as a result of the rapid growth of the population and its difficult transition from a predominantly agrarian to an industrial society. Most of the emigrants – about 90% or 5.5 million between 1816 and 1914 – migrated to the United States. Other destinations were Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Australia (Manz, 2014, pp.26–27). Those migrants mostly assimilated into their host societies.¹⁴ Far from celebrating this as successful integration, back in Germany the assimilation was perceived as weakness and regret was voiced about this ‘loss’ of German nationals. Even though numbers declined after 1893, the issue of emigration continued to be the subject of political debate. Acquiring colonies was in this context seen as a possibility to channel the stream of migrants to places where German language and culture would be preserved (Conrad, 2006, p.230; Baranowski, 2011, p.31; Manz, 2014, p.59). Periodicals like the popular family magazine *Die Gartenlaube* (The Arbour) that I will come back to in chapters 4.1 and 7.1.2 were responsible for a change in the terminology describing German emigrants: the *Auswanderer* (emigrant) became the *Auslandsdeutscher* (German abroad), indicating that this person still belonged to the German national community, albeit in a transnational setting (Conrad, 2006, p.234; Manz, 2014, pp.52–53). Naranch (2005, pp.26–27) notes that ‘in illustrated magazines such as *Die Gartenlaube*, travellers and journalists described the lives of ethnic German communities abroad in much the same terms as those used in contemporary, idealized accounts of German peasant life.’ Public discourse demanded that Germans abroad should stay in touch with their homeland and build a cohesive German community at their destination. The accomplishment of this objective was facilitated by the successive spread of communication infrastructure in Europe as well as in the colonies, and through the networks that developed between those places. I analyse these networks in chapters 4 and 5. In the following, I am going to outline notions of space that were relevant for the colonial imagination as well as colonial practice.

¹⁴ An attempt to turn Texas into a German colony in the 1840s had failed (Conrad, 2008, pp.17–18).

3.2 Notions of space

Notions of land and belonging were important on an individual level as well as for German national and international politics. Conrad (2006, p.234), drawing on Naranch (2005), emphasises that Germans were believed to be 'rooted' in German soil. Consequently, emigration created a fear of losing one's national identity. The semantic shift from the *Auswanderer* to the *Auslandsdeutsche* bore a promise that this national identity would not be lost anymore through emigration. Consequently, the colonies were supposed to become a new German *Heimat*. In the following, three strands of this discourse of nation, land and space that were common in German colonialism are introduced: *Heimat* (homeland), *Lebensraum* (living space) and *Einkreisung* (encirclement).

3.2.1 *Heimat*

For the *Auslandsdeutsche* who tried to preserve their Germanness abroad, maintaining bonds with their homeland was highly important (Manz, 2014, p.11). The specific German notion of homeland was expressed by and lived through the concept of *Heimat*. While *Heimat* can roughly be translated as homeland, its meaning is more complex and can easily be lost in translation. In the words of Jefferies (2003, p.13), it is a 'flexible and elusive concept of rootedness.' The settler newspapers drew heavily on the concept of *Heimat* and made frequent use of the term. They hereby referred to the German homeland, as well as discussed their objective of creating a new *Heimat* in the colonies (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907g; Südwestbote, 1913d).

Applegate (1990) provided a thorough analysis of the concept of *Heimat* for provinces within Germany. According to Applegate (1990, p.4), 'in the second half of the nineteenth century, *Heimat* identified the diverse and mostly local efforts ... to appreciate provincial cultures and, simultaneously, to celebrate German nationhood.' The concept oscillated between a conservative movement to preserve the community and its traditions against change, and to negotiate 'the proper relation between the locality and the nation' (Applegate, 1990, p.6). These negotiations became particularly relevant after the formal unification of Germany under Prussian leadership in 1871. Local traditions were created and 'tinged with a nostalgia for a past that never was' (Applegate, 1990, p.10). At the same time, the *Heimat* movement appreciated the larger concept of the nation. It served to bridge 'the gap between national

aspiration and provincial reality' (Applegate, 1990, p.13). Confino (1997, p.13) described the creation of a collective German memory with the following words:

Before 1871 there was a history of the Germans and German history, but no history of Germany ... Germans had national recollection before 1871, but the foundation of the nation-state conditioned a reevaluation of old memories as never before.

Local identities were not just fed by the distinctiveness of the German provinces: emigrants who preserved their 'essential' character affirmed the validity of that character. Stories about *Pfälzer* (Palatines) who went to the Americas were for example recounted in the province of Palatine and 'became a source of identity for those who remained at home' (Applegate, 1990, p.85). At the same time, in Applegate's (1990, pp.85–86) account, the protagonists of the *Heimat* movement were usually not colonial enthusiasts.

The concept of *Heimat* was strongly connected to the appreciation of its local environments. While *Heimat* idealised a rural lifestyle and typical German landscapes, it was not a synonym for pristine nature, but rather meant a landscape shaped by Germans. The environment nevertheless needed to be protected, which was understood as an act of protecting the German nation together with its *Kultur* and social order. The many *Heimat* associations that sprang up in Germany in the nineteenth century took on this task (Applegate, 1990, pp.63, 78; Steinbach, 2011, p.49).

The principle of conservation (*Naturschutz*) was not only of importance in Germany, but was also transferred to the colonies. This could have severe consequences for local communities if their hunting habits and forest uses were restricted. Sunseri (2003, p.437) shows that in German East Africa the African inhabitants were considered a threat to the forests due to their supposed 'practices antithetical to culture.' The German *Kulturwald* (cultivated or civilised forest) was contrasted with the African 'untamed' old growth forest, which demanded the action of the German 'cultural mission' (Sunseri, 2003, p.437). Colonists created a similar problem for the San in German Southwest Africa: in 1907 the Ethosha Game Park was proclaimed in their territory and in 1908 hunting was outlawed 'out of season or without a written license' (Gordon, 2009, p.48). This law targeted the livelihood of the San. The German forces that were thinly spread in the area, however, had trouble implementing the law.

3.2.2 *Lebensraum*

Lebensraum theory, associated with polygenist thought, was based on Social-Darwinist ideas that emphasised the necessity to defend the 'race' and 'culture' that was believed to be superior, rather than arguing with the need to 'develop others' who were believed to be inferior. While the 'cultural mission' as a monogenist strand of thought was the dominant ideology of German colonialism, among the settlers a *Lebensraum* approach also played a role. The expression as such was not, however – in contrast to the one of *Heimat* – commonly used (Schubert, 2003, p.368).

The term *Lebensraum* was coined by the renowned geographer Friedrich Ratzel in the 1890s (Smith, 1980, p.52). Ratzel understood *Lebensraum* as 'the geographical surface area required to support a living species at its current population size and mode of existence' (Smith, 1980, p.53). According to him, populations needed to expand their geographical boundaries as they grew through evolutionary success by adaptation. This theory did match the circumstances of the period: Ratzel developed his concept at a time when Germany was suffering from overpopulation, poverty, and at the same time from mass emigration (Schubert, 2003, pp.66–67; Conrad, 2008, pp.24–25). Baranowski (2011, p.23) points out that it was already fixed in the constitution of Germany of 1871 that the nation needed to expand its territory, making the search for new *Lebensraum* also a task of the state.

Smith (1980, p.54) highlighted that Ratzel identified colonialism as the most

effective occupation and exploration of new space by a species. Of the many forms of human migration, only that resulting in colonisation created historical change and encouraged the development and diffusion of culture.

The concept of *Kultur* played an important role in Ratzel's theory for the successful adaptation to a place. And he also understood *Kultur* to be directly connected to a physical interaction with the land, negotiated through the concept of 'work.' Ratzel deemed agriculture essential for a successful expansion of the *Lebensraum* of a people. Smith (1980, p.61) stated that 'Ratzel, like certain other conservative colonialist pamphleteers, believed that *Kultur* as civilisation and *Kultur* as agriculture were inextricably linked.' Again, *Kultur* was understood as something active that was in direct interaction with the land. In return, Ratzel concluded that a 'society without a large and dominant agrarian base was not, by definition, cultured' (Smith, 1980, p.61). The principles of *Heimat* and *Lebensraum* appear to be complementary. The drive

for more *Lebensraum* was perceived as a natural law that could only fully and successfully be put into practice by turning the newly acquired living space into a new *Heimat* through an interaction with its very soil and by applying principles of German *Kultur*.

This concept of *Lebensraum* survived all the way into the Nazi regime, where it became one of the dominant ideologies (Smith, 1980, p.62; Manz, 2014, p.75). But already in the German colonial movement there existed an obsession with the settlers' connection to the land. *Kulturarbeit* did not only apply to the 'cultural mission' of the colonists regarding the colonised, but it also expressed certain expectations that rested on the settlers themselves. The farmer who owns land became the image of the ideal settler; at least in German Southwest Africa, which was regarded a 'proper' settler colony. Settlers in the colonies as well as colonial theorists back in Germany held this ideal high (Kundrus, 2003b, pp.68–69). But, as we shall see in chapter 6.2.3, the realities in the colonies often made it very difficult for settlers to live up to these expectations and to prove that, with a connection to the land, negotiated through 'work,' they were the 'cultured' ones.

3.2.3 *Einkreisung*

The third notion of space only emerged in 1906: *Einkreisung*, the encirclement. It had its origin in parliamentary debates, coined by Chancellor von Bülow during a speech in the *Reichstag* on the occasion of the first Morocco crisis.¹⁵ The gist was that the Entente Cordiale (pact between Great Britain and France) was slowly encroaching on German territories and thereby on its *Lebensraum*. Von Bülow worried that 'a policy that aims at encircling Germany, at drawing a circle of powers around Germany to isolate and paralyse it, would threaten the European peace' (Reichstagsprotokolle, 1906). At the same time, he emphasised the commonalities between Germany and Great Britain and that there was no need for these tensions. This was quite characteristic for the relationship of Germany with Great Britain at that time: rivalry took turns with cooperation, the big enemy was often enough also the big brother (Lindner, 2011). Following von Bülow's speech, the notion of encirclement turned into almost a dictum and

¹⁵ The first (1904-1906) and second (1911) Morocco crisis were periods of high tension between France and Germany over the influence in Morocco. While Germany wanted to keep Morocco open to all interested parties and thereby get its share, France, with the support of Great Britain, tried to establish itself as the single local power. In the second crisis, Kaiser Wilhelm II authorised the gunboat *Panther* to be sent to Morocco as a threat. But this was unsuccessful and the 'leap of the Panther to Agadir' only tightened the bond between France and Great Britain further (Röhl, 2014, pp.126–128).

played its part in the outbreak of the First World War. The policies of Great Britain, France, and also Russia were perceived as unacceptable constraints on the supposedly rightful development of Germany (Kern, 1983, pp.238, 250; Röhl, 2014, p.xiii). The notion of encirclement was debated in the press in Germany as well as in the colonies (Lehmann, 1937, p.76; Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1912; Südwestbote, 1913f; Usambara-Post, 1914a). In fact, the *Einkreisung* was imagined to be taking place in the vicinity of German colonies in Africa just as much as in Europe. In the case of Africa the concept was even less abstract, and directly connected to the construction of infrastructure such as the railways (van Laak, 2004, p.138; Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1906c; Zimmermann, 1913). The discourse that developed regarding the question of infrastructure in the colonies will be examined in chapter 5, and the notion of encirclement specifically in chapter 5.1.1.

From the point of view of Great Britain and other European powers, the situation looked of course a little different. For them it was Germany that posed a threat to their possessions and to the political stability in Europe. The building of a fleet aimed at overpowering Great Britain was particularly provocative. Conrad (2008, p.26) emphasises that German imperialist actions were part of a more general territorial reorganisation of the world that was shaped by economic competition and the building of rival political blocks. During the 'Scramble for Africa' European powers perceived each other as competitors for economically profitable spheres of influence on the continent (Lindner, 2011, pp.9, 12). The Berlin Conference (in Germany also called the 'Kongo Konferenz,' 15th November 1884 to 26th February 1885) was in this context just another attempt to secure one's zones of influence. Chancellor Bismarck finally abandoned his formerly reluctant position on colonial endeavours and invited representatives of 13 states to the conference. None of them was from any of the affected African societies. Officially, the reason for calling the conference had been the unclear status of the mouth of the Congo River. But this issue had already been settled before the conference even started. King Leopold of Belgium was granted his private Congo Free State and the Congo Delta was declared a free trade zone. The fight against slavery in Africa that had been one of the official aims of the Berlin Conference was suspended soon after in order to not jeopardise economic profit for the imperial powers. During the conference, further zones of influence were negotiated and Germany was granted the territories that it tried to claim in Africa. As usual, plain economic interests were covered up by a supposed 'cultural mission.' The final resolution of the conference stated that it would be the aim of all participants to enable the Africans to 'catch up on civilisation' (Kopp, n.d.; Eckert, 2013, p.144; Zimmerer, 2015a). In the conference it was further stipulated that it was not sufficient anymore to just raise a flag in order to claim

foreign territories, but that imperial powers needed to engage with them properly (Zimmerer, 2015b, p.442).

Encirclement was not only something the colonists feared with regard to other imperial powers and their spheres of influence and economic exploitation: settlers in the German colonies were mostly surrounded by a large African majority that was more immediate than the presence of imperial powers. The appropriation of *Lebensraum* and the building of a new *Heimat* was supposed to happen in places where dynamic political and economic processes were taking place. In the following, I will give an overview of the African societies and economies in the different German colonies in Africa before and during the enforcement of German colonial rule.

3.3 African societies in the German colonies

The rich history of the different African societies cannot be done justice with the space available in this piece of work. The following part merely tries to give an impression of the situation in the places to be colonised by the Germans. As far as original African voices were available in English language, I have given them the space to tell their story by themselves. They stand in place of the many more voices that have never been included into any of the records that are accessible today through the archives.¹⁶ In the course of the following account, the extreme disparity between the German colonial imagination and African realities becomes apparent.

3.3.1 German Southwest Africa

The first people to inhabit the territory that became German Southwest Africa were most likely the San, also known as 'Bushmen.' The first immigrants into the area were the Ovambo who settled down in the north where they practiced agriculture. The next wave of migrants were the Herero who settled further south and engaged in cattle breeding and trade (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.20–21). The Nama, likewise nomadic cattle breeders, moved into the region in the 18th century. They had been displaced by Afrikaners (longstanding colonists mostly of Dutch descent) in the Cape region and were now settling in Herero land. Smaller in numbers,

¹⁶ Oral history projects like the one of Erichsen (2008) make an attempt to counter this lack.

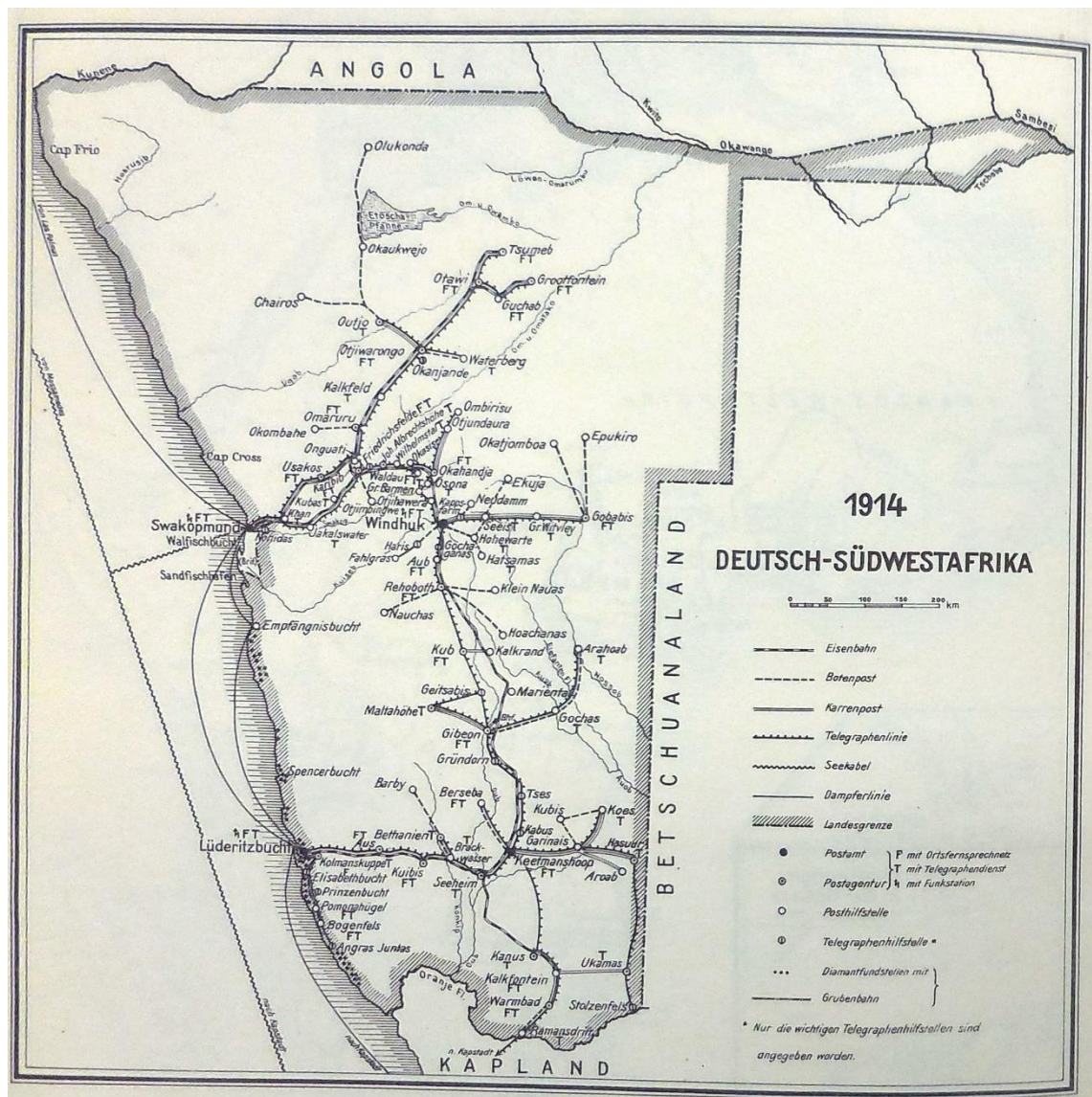
but armed and skilled in horse-riding, the Nama repeatedly fought the Herero over grazing land or for political reasons (Hillebrecht, 2003, p.121; Gründer, 2012, p.122). One of the most powerful Nama clans was the one of the Witbooi, their name deriving from white bandanas they wrapped around their hats. The Nama had already arrived as Christians in the area and became the first contact point for missionaries who were interested in moving there. But far from securing their position in Nama society through their spiritual service, the missionaries instead gained a foothold through trading with gunpowder (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p.24). Olusoga and Erichsen (2010, pp.25–26) remark that by the 1880s some Africans in southwest Africa were as much capitalists as the present European traders. In the nineteenth century, migration and trade between the Cape Colony and the territory that became German Southwest Africa determined the dynamic in the area much more than the arrival of the German colonists. These were only able to enforce their rule in the wake of the Herero and Nama War (Krüger, 2003, pp.17–18).

The realities in the southwest African territory were mostly quite different from popular imaginations that were present in Europe at the time. African elites wore elegant clothes in a European style, had an awareness of certain global political developments and had rhetorical skills at their command that matched those of the European businessmen and officials who tried to deal with them. At the end of the nineteenth century writing played an important role, in particular in the political sphere of Nama and Herero. Their leaders conversed with each other through letters, mostly in the Dutch language that had spread through the presence of Afrikaners. A large volume of writings of the Nama *Kaptein* Hendrik Witbooi still exists, as well as parts of the diary of the Guerrilla leader Jacob Morenga and letters of the Herero Chief Samuel Maharero.¹⁷ The latter's father likewise kept records, which he had stored at the house of a missionary in the Herero capital of Okahandja (Bley, 1968, pp.120–121; Krüger, 2003, p.15). The German colonial administration was initially reliant on the collaboration of local elites (Moses, 2008, p.16).

When the German Heinrich Vogelsang arrived at the coast of southwest Africa on 10th April 1883, he was not aware that he was about to enter a territory with a delicate political and economic fabric that the different parties tried to influence to their own advantage. As the emissary of the tobacco trader Adolf Lüderitz he had the order to buy a place called Angra Pequena and set up a trading post. With the help of the local missionary as interpreter and

¹⁷ *Kaptein* is the title of Nama political leaders.

advisor, Vogelsang negotiated on two occasions with the Bethanie Nama and their *Kaptein*, Joseph Fredericks, to buy Angra Pequena and a large surrounding area. The second contract was highly deceptive as the land was measured by 'geographic miles,' a measurement unknown in this area but five times the length of the common English mile. On 7th August 1884 the strip of coast was placed under the protection of the German state (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.28–40). The flag had followed the trade that had followed the missionaries. After the death of Lüderitz in 1886, Angra Pequena was renamed Lüderitzbucht (see map 2). Two decades later, this place would witness the many deaths of those (mostly Nama) incarcerated in German Southwest Africa's most notorious concentration camp off the Lüderitzbucht coast on Shark Island (see chapter 7).



Map 2: German Southwest Africa in 1914 (Schmidt and Werner, 1942a, appendix).

In the beginning, the German colonies were officially called *Schutzgebiete* (protectorates), indicating that they were supposed to be trading colonies, and that the trade was protected by the German state. The term was furthermore used for leading the African inhabitants into believing that the Germans would protect them against their rivals. But none of the details agreed upon in these *Schutzverträge* (protection treaties) were ever put into practice by the Germans, who essentially broke all of them. While the Herero had first signed a treaty in 1885 when their warfare with the Nama newly broke out, they terminated it in 1888 out of disappointment, only to sign a new contract in 1890 when the Nama under Hendrik Witbooi posed a threat to the Herero (Gründer, 2012, pp.121–122).

The ongoing conflict with the Herero did not stop Witbooi from warning the old chief Maharero about the duplicity of the Germans after Maharero had signed a new treaty in 1890.¹⁸ In a letter to him, Witbooi predicted what was to become reality. This letter, here in the version translated from its Dutch language original into English, is highly interesting from today's perspective because it offers to the reader an insight into Witbooi's analysis of international relations and colonialism at the time. He wrote:

This dry land is known by two names only, Hereroland and Namaland. Hereroland belongs to the Herero nation, and is an autonomous realm. And Namaland belongs to the Red nations, and these too are autonomous realms – just as it is said of the White man's countries, Germany and England, and so on, whatever these countries are called. These countries across the sea are also autonomous realms. And all the different nations have their own leaders; and each leader has his own people and land where he alone commands and rules. No other captain or leader has any right to force his will (Witbooi, 1890 [1995], p.50).

Insisting that no nation had the right to colonise another, Witbooi continued his letter by emphasising that he saw it as a grave mistake that Maharero had signed away his rights to the Germans. He predicted that this would end in war:

You will eternally regret that you have given your land and your right to rule into the hands of White men. For this war between us is not nearly as heavy a burden as you seem to have thought when you did this momentous thing. It is a war arising from finite causes and finite issues, which will in the fullness of time be brought to a proper peace ... But what you have done now, surrendering yourself over to government by another, by White people, thinking it wisely planned: that will become to you like carrying the sun on your back. I doubt that you have well considered, or fully grasp what it means to surrender to German Protection. I doubt that you and your Herero

¹⁸ Chief Maharero was the father of his political successor Samuel Maharero who would rise up against German occupation in 1904. The old chief died soon after Witbooi had written the letter to him.

nation will understand the rules and laws and methods of that government, and will accept them in peace and contentment for long (Witbooi, 1890 [1995], pp.51–52).¹⁹

Fourteen years on from this letter in 1904, the Herero indeed stopped accepting German rule and took up arms against the colonisers (details about the war below and in chapter 7). But already before the outbreak of the war the situation in the colony was far from peaceful. The first German negotiator of the treaties, Heinrich Ernst Göring (father of the influential Nazi Hermann Göring), fled the colony after realising that he had miscalculated his power games. He was replaced in 1890 by Curt von Francois who had already raided villages and traded slaves in Belgian King Leopold's Congo. Fanatical racist that he was, he was appalled to discover that the land mostly remained in the hands of Herero and Nama who considered themselves equal to the Europeans (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.56-57). Worried by von Francois' aggression, Witbooi turned to John Cleverly, the British Magistrate at Walvis Bay, seeking help and reminding him of what he understood to be agreements of the Berlin Conference. The letter shows how Witbooi was looking to solve tensions through diplomacy, and also illustrates his bewilderment regarding the actions of the Germans:

If any nation has earned privileges in this part of Africa, it is the British: they were the first to arrive and make friends through trade. They did not come with laws to rule us, but as traders; they did business and left. ... But now there is another White man who is truly alien to me. His law and methods are insupportable to me, incomprehensible and intolerable. That is why I am writing in the hope that you will give me a satisfactory answer about the coming of the Germans. The Germans are encroaching on my land, and are now threatening to destroy me with war. ... I am asking Your Honour to tell me what you know. You and the Germans have a treaty. And between the British and the Germans neither nation can do anything without the other knowing. I have heard that the British and the German Governments held a large meeting to decide who should make Protection treaties with the chiefs of which country in Africa; and that you the British let the Germans have this land. But you stipulated at the meeting that no chief shall be forced ...

I beg you kindly to be so good and forward this letter to the Cape Government, so British politicians may hear about this, and hold another conference and deliberate about these Germans, to recall them if possible, from our country (Witbooi, 1892 [1995], pp.97–101).

But no help came. Instead, von Francois, together with 250 newly arrived German soldiers, attacked the residence of Witbooi in Hoornkrans in the night of 12th April 1893. They fired over sixteen thousand rounds of ammunition on the sleeping Nama. Witbooi ordered the men to retreat and regroup for the fight, while hoping that women and children would not be

¹⁹ 'Carrying the sun on your back' is a reference to a Nama fable in which a jackal burnt himself while carrying the sun (Hillebrecht, 2003, p.121).

targeted by the Germans. But it was a vain hope: they were butchered, first with bullets and then with bayonets. Von Francois' troop killed 9 men and 78 women and children (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp.65–69). Hendrik Witbooi was finally defeated. It was only thanks to the newly arrived Governor Theodor von Leutwein, who was following a more diplomatic – although still self-interested – approach, that Witbooi was not executed but rather allowed with his people to reside in a reservation and even keep their weapons. From that moment on the Nama supported the German rulers, even against the Herero when they took up arms against the colonisers in 1904 (Gründer, 2012, pp.125–126).

The attack of the Herero on 12th January 1904, resulting in 123 dead settlers, had come as a surprise to the Germans, even though they had shown unacceptable behaviour towards the Herero for years. Although the settlers in German Southwest Africa had at first been far from living the life of a colonial master that they had imagined, they nevertheless behaved according to their supremacist beliefs. Germans regularly committed rapes, and the Herero were not able to defend themselves within the colonial dual legal system that disadvantaged Africans. Until the end of the nineteenth century, however, the land largely remained in African hands. The Herero furthermore dominated the cattle trade, which was at the time the only profitable economy in southwest Africa. But in 1897 the Herero received a heavy blow: the *Rinderpest* (cattle plague) destroyed large parts of their live stock. And with this not only their livelihood but also their cultural and political self-confidence lost its foundation. The Herero were forced to accept badly paid jobs offered by Europeans and became increasingly vulnerable to merchants who were practicing usury. While the exact events of 12th January 1904 remain a question of debate as it is not entirely clear if the attack was really long-planned, it nevertheless marks the beginning of an initially rather successful military campaign of the Herero against the Germans (Bley, 1968, pp.165–168; Zimmerer, 2003b, pp.45–47).

Samuel Maharero even wrote a letter to Hendrik Witbooi on 11th January 1904, trying to convince him to join in the fight:

All our obedience and patience with the Germans is of little avail, for each day they shoot someone dead for no reason at all ... Let us die fighting rather than die as a result of maltreatment, imprisonment or some other calamity. Tell all the *Kapteins* down there to rise and do battle (Maharero in Sarkin, 2011, pp.108–109).

But the letter was intercepted and never reached its destination. Instead, more troops arrived from Germany, 14,000 soldiers in total. With them came the hardliner General Lothar von Trotha who, after beating the Herero at the Battle of Waterberg on 11th August 1904, issued

an extermination order against them on 2nd October 1904. Only in late September did Witbooi finally decide to fight against the Germans too (Zimmerer, 2003b, pp.50–51; Hillebrecht, 2003, p.124; Lindner, 2011, p.237). Witbooi, who maintained a regular correspondence with Governor Leutwein, wrote to him to explain his termination of the treaty. In the letter he expressed his feeling of guilt for not having acted earlier despite the many atrocities committed by the Germans:

I have for ten years stood in your law, under your law, and behind your law... For this reason I fear God the Father. All the souls which have for the last ten years perished from all the nations of Africa and from among all its chiefs, without guilt or cause, without the justification of warfare in times of peace, and under treaties of peace, accuse me. I will have to answer a great reckoning to God our Father in Heaven (Witbooi, 1904 [1995], p.193).

Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi was heavily wounded on 29th October 1905 in a battle against the Germans and died shortly after (Hillebrecht, 2003, p.129). In the course of the war, Nama and Herero were imprisoned in concentration camps that had been set up in several places in the colony. I will discuss these in chapter 7.1.2.

3.3.2 German East Africa

Within the last few thousand years the territory that today is Tanzania has been regularly populated by many different peoples, and all four major families of African languages are still present in the country today. Khoisan hunters and gatherers shared the space with the Maasai nomads as well as with pastoralists and early farmers who were predecessors of today's Iraqw people. The political organisations ranged from highly centralised kingdoms to small clans and communities. When in the eighth century first Arabian and Indian traders arrived with their ships, Swahili culture started to develop and took the soon to be thriving city states of the coastal region in culturally quite a different direction to the interior. Literacy was widespread in the Islamic Swahili culture. Their language, a mix of Bantu and Arabic, is still widely spoken today. Swahilis often looked down on the communities of the interior because these could mostly not read or write. Nevertheless, there was plenty of contact between them. As trade was central to Swahili societies, their caravan routes went deep into the interior as well as connecting harbour towns with the island of Zanzibar. Zanzibar itself had belonged to the sultanate of Oman since the eighteenth century and had thrived economically through the cultivation and trade of spices (Iliffe, 1979, pp.6–8, 38–39; Beez, 2005a, pp.17, 22–27).



Map 3: German East Africa in 1907 (Kolonialpolitisches Aktionskomitee, 1907, p.68).

The south of Tanganyika (mainland Tanzania without Zanzibar) was at first sparsely populated. Only in the 1840s did the Ngoni migrate north from southern Africa and populated this area. They fought their way into the new territory and were, at the advent of German colonialism, skilled in warfare with a large standing army. The Ngoni were only stopped on their march north by the likewise militarily strong Hehe, Bena and Sangu. Close to the Ngoni were the Matumbi who lived in the mountains around Kilwa. They similarly had a large army of several thousand soldiers at their command that they financed through trade in ivory. Both of these groups were later heavily involved in the Maji Maji War against the Germans (with the Matumbi initiating the war in 1905) and were able to deal them a few severe blows (Beez, 2005a, pp.18–22) (see below for details on the Maji Maji War).

When Germans started getting interested in eastern Africa as a potential territory for colonisation, they had no clue about the local conditions and the different people who the

land belonged to (Beez, 2005a, p.27). The first colonial initiative came from the private entrepreneur Carl Peters. At first without governmental support, he started tricking local leaders into signing *Schutzverträge* on the main land close to Zanzibar. Those 'protection treaties' contained the same empty promises as in German Southwest Africa: support for the signatories against their rivals. But Peters anyway had no effective control over his rather small territory. His main achievements were to fuel colonial enthusiasm at home through greatly exaggerated stories of success and convincing Bismarck to take him seriously. Bismarck declared after some initial reluctance the protection of Germany for Peters' venture and his company *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (German East African Association). Peters was a ruthless racist and other representatives of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* did not make any better impression on the local population. In 1888 the inhabitants of the east African coast tried to chase the Germans out of their area. This erroneously came to be known as the *Araberaufstand* (Uprising of the Arabians), an uprising of Arabic slave traders who were supposedly worrying that the colonists would close their businesses down. But the combatants did not come from the Arabic community alone. Bushiri bin Salim al-Harthi (Abushiri) and his fellow campaigners had taken up the fight against the Germans in order to put a stop to their ruthless actions (Wildenthal, 2001, p.16; Klein-Arendt, 2005; Conrad, 2008, p.31). The resistance was however crushed by Herrmann von Wissmann and his soldiers who had been sent by the *Reichstag* at the pretence to fight against slavery. After the fighters in German East Africa were defeated, the German state tightened its grip on the colony. Nevertheless, in the following fifteen years until the outbreak of the Maji Maji War, the colony was at no moment completely pacified and the Germans had their hands full crushing all the various outbreaks of resistance (Wildenthal, 2001, p.40; Gründer, 2012, pp.172–175).

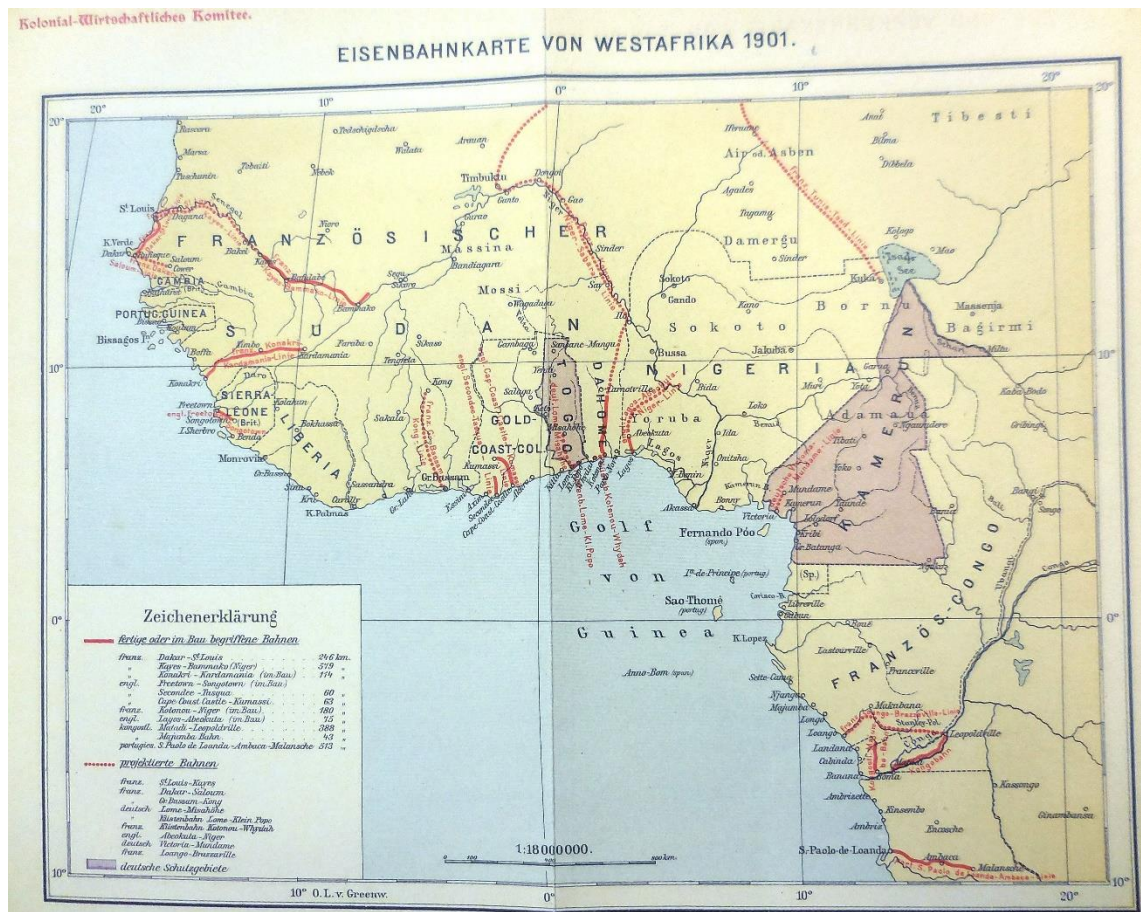
The Maji Maji War had started as a collaboration between twenty different groups of people in the colony of German East Africa. They gathered under the belief of the Maji Maji: the prophet Kinjikitile had proclaimed that specifically treated water would make combatants invincible against the bullets of the Germans. On 20th July 1905 the Matumbi were the first ones to begin the fight against the repressive and brutal German colonisers. Their first target was one of a strong symbolic meaning: they pulled up cotton plants which for them symbolised colonial domination, exploitation and oppression. When the authorities tried to stop them, the fighting began. Even after the combatants inevitably learned that the medicine did not make them invincible, Maji Maji remained a powerful call to gather and fight against the oppressors (Beez, 2005b, pp.61, 70, 73). Sunseri (2003) argues that the Maji Maji War had been triggered by colonial forest conservation policies as well as the forced cotton planting. In the course of the

war, however, more general anti-colonial objectives came to the fore. But even though the collaboration between otherwise politically and culturally very different groups had resulted in a strong mobilisation, the Africans stood no chance against European weapons, and in particular not against machine guns. Most fronts collapsed in 1906, and the last combatant was shot in July 1908 (Becker, 2005, pp.83, 85). But the largest part of the estimated 200,000 dead Africans in the wake of the Maji Maji War did not die in combat, but as a consequence of the 'scorched earth' tactics of the Germans: these had systematically burnt down villages and food supplies. Germans were furthermore hardly fighting against the Maji Maji combatants themselves, but they had employed Askaris and other Africans to do the fighting for them (Iliffe, 1979, p.165; Becker, 2005, p.86; Wimmelbrücker, 2005b, p.87).²⁰

3.3.3 Cameroon

The Duala, a major population group of Cameroon, had migrated from the Congo on waterways to the coast of Cameroon. There, they displaced the indigenous Bassa. Traditional economies of the Duala were farming, hunting and fishing. But they were also skilled in trade and did business with various Europeans who had been visiting the coast for centuries. They soon aligned their economy with the wants of the Europeans and began to accumulate significant wealth. The Duala made their fortune through trading slaves and luxury goods until they agreed on banning the slave trade in 1840. Their royal house was called Bele, or Bell to the Europeans. In 1814 it split into two houses, and now Bell and Akwa both ruled the Duala in geographically different spheres of influence. But these spheres were always in flux, and even though wars occurred frequently between the two houses, the Duala stood together against the Europeans who were increasingly trying to dominate the local trade. Until 1839 Europeans were not even allowed to touch the mainland but had to stay on so-called hulks: little house boats anchored at the mouth of the river. Only from there they were allowed to conduct business (Ndumbe III, 2005, pp.20–25, 39).

²⁰ 'Askari' is the Swahili word for soldier. Askaris were usually hired from Sudan and other places outside of the colony where they were deployed, in order to prevent them from showing solidarity with local communities. The Askaris often treated these communities brutally, also as a consequence of their own experience of a brutal drill through their German supervisors (Klein-Arendt, 2005, pp.32, 38–39; Lindner, 2011, p.197).



Map 4: West Africa with Togoland and Cameroon in 1901 (Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, 1901, p.12).

The Duala certainly did not represent what the Germans – who showed an increasing presence at their coast as traders and missionaries – had imagined the Africans to be like. Trade had brought them the wealth that they were – according to German colonial ideas – only supposed to acquire through hard labour that the Europeans ‘taught’ them: working the soil with their own hands and praying to God. Fabri called the Duala ‘lazy intermediaries’ who should be taught a ‘healthy work life.’ Adolph Woermann, who was heavily involved in the trade of that region, called for such a ‘cultural mission’ to push the Duala out of the trade (Schubert, 2003, pp.105–106, 129).

Violent conflicts between the houses of Bell and Akwa eventually had a negative impact on the Duala’s economy and fragmented their power. In order to end the conflict, the kings actually offered their territory for annexation to the British in several letters to Queen Victoria. But Great Britain was reluctant to accept the offer and was aware that the Duala would not completely sign away their sovereignty but were rather looking for a good deal. British

negotiators were still pondering the options when in 1884 the Germans slipped in and a treaty was signed. They promised to stick to all the conditions that the Duala dictated. The German government itself was under pressure from the big trading companies to formalise a German presence on the coast of Cameroon. The names of the Hamburg companies *C. Woermann* and *Jantzen & Thormählen* even appeared in the treaty as the official parties to which the Duala handed their rights of sovereignty. But not all the different Duala communities had agreed to sign a contract, and even though bribes had been paid by German businessmen, after a few months a first conflict arose. This was violently crushed by the colonists and so German rule began with significant bloodshed. The Hamburg companies in the meantime applied pressure on the colonial administration to break the treaty in order to gain full control of the market. German rule was finally fully established through numerous military campaigns. Officials on the ground acted repeatedly with brutality and broke the law, leading to several colonial scandals (Ndumbe III, 2005, pp.67–87; Gründer, 2012, pp.153–154).

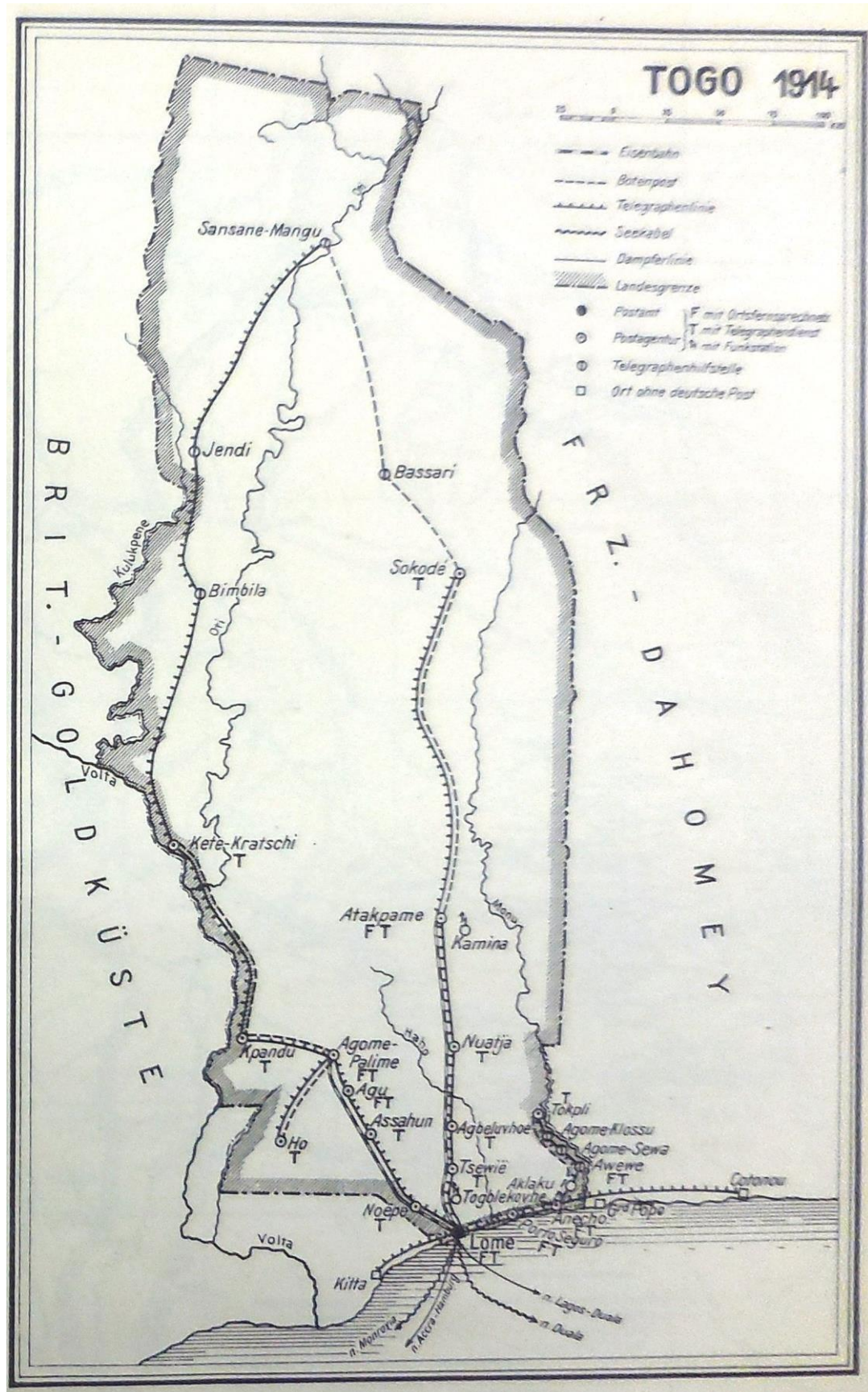
Most notorious was Governor Jesco von Puttkamer who ruled Cameroon from 1895 to 1907 and had already wreaked havoc in Togoland as a government official in 1887 and from 1889 to 1895. In Cameroon, he unlawfully confiscated land in order to turn it into large plantations and cultivate them by using forced labour. Puttkamer was known for his erratic behaviour and brutal governance (Gründer, 2012, pp.167–169). In 1905 some of the Duala chiefs issued a letter of complaint to the *Reichstag* (Gründer, 2012, pp.167–169). They wanted to report the ‘mischief’ of the colonial government under Puttkamer that ‘caused turmoil’ in the country. The chiefs asked for Puttkamer and all his officials and judges to be removed from the colony. The letter also reveals that in 1905 the Duala still insisted on a relative sovereignty, even though they seemingly had signed that away in the treaty with the Germans: they objected to the humiliation of their King, ‘who for us is still the leader of the country.’ The writers furthermore explained that they understood themselves as ‘German’ and they would ‘remain German until the end of the world.’ But they would never agree to become dependent on Germany, even though they wanted to be ‘loyal German subjects.’ The Duala stated very subtle differences in the perception of their relationship to Germany that the Germans were most likely not aware of or at least did not care about (see letter of complaint of the Duala of 19th June 1905, addressed to the *Reichstag*, in Gründer, 2012, pp.167–169).

Puttkamer was removed from his position in 1907, but only because German companies as well as parties of the left were complaining about his conduct in Cameroon. He and his employees’ violent sexual practices caused too much of a scandal back in Germany. Even

though the colonial administration employed more moderate officials after these scandals, life for the Cameroonians remained very tough under German rule. Rudolf Duala Manga Bell, one of the signatories of the letter of complaint, kept fighting against the displacement of the Duala. He and his secretary Ngoso Din were hung on 8 August 1914 at the onset of the First World War that soon also reached Cameroon. Manga Bell remains a national hero until today (Wildenthal, 2001, p.70; Gründer, 2012, pp.167–172).

3.3.4 Togoland

The pre-colonial situation at the coast of the future Togoland was similar to that of Cameroon: the African inhabitants – in this case mostly the Ewe people – controlled the coast and the trade with different Europeans. Ewe lived not only in the area that was to become Togoland, but also in the adjacent area that became the British Gold Coast Colony in 1878. As a result of the Berlin Conference, the Ewe territory was to be split in two colonies of different imperial powers (Eckert, 2013, p.142). Before formal colonisation, Europeans had founded small trading posts at the coast, but their reach was very limited and the Africans knew well how to play the different Europeans off against each other. The most important African place of trade at the coast became Little Popo, from 1905 called Anecho (see map 5). In the nineteenth century rival local kings (all larger villages had a king) increasingly tried to engage European powers to support them against their African rivals. And in Lomé, the biggest settlement that developed close to the Gold Coast Colony, the urban population grew increasingly reluctant to be governed by any local ruler at all. These inner political uncertainties also encouraged Germans to get involved. As in other places, German companies first engaged in business and then asked for protection of their enterprise by the state. They urged Bismarck to officially claim possessions, and the Chancellor finally responded by sending the diplomat Gustav Nachtigal to secure spheres of influence for Germany. On 5th July 1884 he signed a ‘protection treaty’ with the local King Mlapa of Togoville. He achieved this by taking advantage of local economic and political rivalries. This treaty – rather different from the one Nachtigal would bring on its way at his next stop in Cameroon – did officially not touch the sovereignty of the Togolese, but merely declared that the Germans were there to protect the trade at the coast. All signing parties thought they had outsmarted the other side and secured the best deal for themselves (Sebald, 2013, pp.11–35).



Map 5: Togoland in 1914 (Schmidt and Werner, 1942a, appendix).

The positive spirit among the Ewe regarding German involvement did not last long. When the colonists discovered that the Ewe produced high quality cotton in the interior, the Germans simply expanded the authority that they had gained from King Mlapa into the hinterland. But there they were less welcome. They ended up forcing treaties upon local kings and effected them through violence. So-called pacifying campaigns used terror to intimidate the population. To establish this 'colonial-racist dictatorship' (Sebald, 2013, p.67), the Germans employed African mercenaries and created artificial chiefdoms. Those 'chiefs' were put in power by the Germans and represented the foreign power in every village. The local kings were forced to subject to their rule. Corporal punishment was, as in other German colonies, often applied. Daily routines consisted of forced labour on German cotton plantations and at construction sites of houses for the colonists, unfair taxation, and always more flogging.²¹ On the other hand, the many missionary schools provided some academic instruction that enabled the students to later take up posts in government offices or merchant houses (see chapter 7.2.1 on the role of colonial schools). In towns in the coastal region lived Africans of a certain wealth and status. German colonists despised these 'white collar blacks' and accused them of laziness because they did not do any agricultural labour (Zimmermann, 2005, pp.1378–1384; Sebald, 2013, pp.67–75).

The Togolese people tried – just like the Cameroonians – to make use of the German institutions to fight the conditions that those very institutions had paved the way for. They wrote petitions to the colonial government, demanding to come back to a rule based on (fair) law. On the occasion of the visit of State Secretary of the *Reichskolonialamt* (Colonial Office), Wilhelm Solf, they wrote a letter of complaint and named seven areas of responsibility of the government that needed improvement. They were concerned about the dual legal system, corporal punishment, the chaining of prisoners, lack of representation of Africans in the government and their exclusion from the trade with other Europeans. It is not known if Solf received the letter at all, but in either case nothing changed (Gründer, 2012, pp.149–151; Sebald, 2013, p.171). As the petitions showed no effect, the upcoming resistance movement in Togoland turned to the media. Since they were not allowed to publish their own newspaper in the German colony, they regularly sent articles to *The Gold Coast Leader* of the adjacent British colony (see chapter 7). One of the first articles of many that denounced German colonial rule stated the following:

²¹ Flogging was common in all other German colonies in Africa too (Conrad, 2006, p.82).

I write these articles because I know from facts that we are gradually sinking into a mild form of slavery, and because I believe that we are not able to redeem ourselves from the aggression of the whites. ...

I am writing in the "Gold Coast Leader" with the sure hope of waking my people to a sense of duty which blinds them. They have sold their birthright and may I ask what price is being offered to them? What comfort and place of refuge would they expect the aggressors shall leave for their children when every land in this tropical clime of ours has been wrenched to satisfy their carnal aggrandisement and grabbing. ...

In fact every contract ... was annulled and trodden down. Everything says Bismarck must be ruled with blood and iron. The right arm of Bismarck which is called the mailed fist is being truly felt by the people in Togoland. Their honour prestige and liberty are forfeited and they are now remodelled as the blacks of South America, forgetting that they are in their own country. Heaven forgive that Togoland falls into the hands of the Germans. We are parcelled by Great Britain, by France, and by Germany. Alas what has become of the latter's possession, spoliation, cruelty and tyranny are what is reigning supreme there. Property of the black is unsafe. And yet you call this civilisation, a white man's fashion. The motive, the real motive of the Germans to acquire Togoland is to drive the natives from their elements. ...

Slavery has been abolished but I say from experience that we are under a new system of slavery (T., 1911).

The articles – aimed at informing about the events in Togoland, but also at inciting resistance on the ground – also found their way into Togoland itself where they were translated into Ewe language and read to the people. Togolese also published in the *African Times and Orient Review* of London and wrote a petition to the *Reichstag*. Sebald (2013, p.172) states that if the First World War had broken out only a few months later, then the people of Togoland might have made a strong example of an anti-colonial protest movement. I will come back to the Togolese writers and their analysis of 'civilisation' as a 'colonial fashion' in chapter 7.2.4.

German colonial imagination came into conflict with African realities in Togoland as much as in the other colonies. But far from adjusting their course, colonists sought to enforce their projects, thereby destroying livelihoods, political structures and cultures, and became responsible for atrocities and deaths. German colonial imaginations found with the emergence of the settler newspapers a new platform to be created upon and to be disseminated through. Through the networks of the settler press, newspapers and their discourse expanded beyond their places of production and also contributed to the further creation of colonial imaginations back in the homeland. In the next chapter I am going to explore these networks of the German colonial settler press.

4 The old *Heimat* in the new: press networks in the German colonies

The first settler newspapers were rooted in the politics, laws, economy and culture of the press back in Germany. The editors' characters and experiences shaped the development of the press in the colonies as much as questions of logistics and availability of necessary materials. The old *Heimat* lived on in the new one in Africa in terms of discourse, regulations and materials. At the same time, the colonial situation shaped the settler press in a unique way. Circulation of newspapers between the different places – the colonies and Germany, but also in between German and British colonies – shaped the discourse of both settler and German domestic press. This chapter is concerned with the beginnings of the German settler press and the physical and cultural exchange between the newspapers of Germany with its African colonies, as well as with the colonies of other imperial powers. Networks spanned between those places and enabled the forming of a common discourse that was embedded in local as well as global contexts.

4.1 Politics, press laws and the spectre of Social Democracy

Right from the start of the German Confederation (1815-1866), the leaders of its member states had discussed press policies. With the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819 the states of Prussia and Austria forced restrictive press laws upon the other member states in order to suppress liberal and nationalist political tendencies. This led to the regular censorship of print publications (Stöber, 2014, p.141). It was one of the demands of the German Revolution of 1848/1849 to end censorship. Slowly this demand was followed by actions and the official end of censorship was confirmed in 1874, only to be introduced again through the back door by the implementation of the repressive Anti-Socialist Law in 1878. As a consequence, it was very difficult for Socialist and Social Democratic groups and individuals to organise themselves in a legal way and to publish any of their political ideas. But despite this law, alongside the publications of other political groups and parties, in the 1880s the Socialist and Social-Democratic press began to develop, even though the government tried to restrict it (Prüfer and Raabe, 1994, pp.20, 54). Five years after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law in 1890, the German government still practised close surveillance of the Social-Democratic press and took

the publishers to court if it found content that was too radical in its eyes (Kampmann, 1995, p.206).

Questions of the freedom of the press and anti-Socialist policies in Germany had an influence on the discourse about German colonial endeavours: it was the Catholic Centre Party as well as the Socialists and Social Democrats who were critical of colonial projects. Publications like *Vorwärts* heavily criticised German colonial policies and military campaigns (Sobich, 2006, pp.74, 93). While Socialists and Social Democrats were under a lot of political pressure, the German Press Law (*Reichspressegesetz*) that had come into force in 1874 had set the legal basis for a free press. This law had also been introduced in the form of a directive in the colonies, although it did not enjoy full legal status. I will expand on the question of the Colonial Press Law in chapter 7.2.2.

These struggles of the German press influenced the emerging settler press in the colonies in ways that seemed to contradict each other. On the one hand, the newspapers of the colonies emphasised the importance of free debate that was not restricted by the authorities (Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk, 1903b). The newspapers also argued strongly for an increasing autonomy of the colonies independent from Germany and for colonies' own political parliaments, so basically for more democratic structures (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1910b). But on the other hand, they fought against Socialists and Social Democrats (who had a strong interest in a free press) back in Germany because these mostly maintained an anti-colonial position. Settler writers in favour of the old monarchical elite, led by the *Kaiser*, were highly critical of the *Reichstag* (German parliament) as a democratic structure (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905c).

Much to the dislike of the *Kaiser* and his affiliates, Social Democrats became increasingly influential in the German parliament. The *Kaiser* was fighting against the parliament's increasing power, although, as Kühne (2008, p.178) remarked: 'The *Reichstag* never assumed control over state policy, nor did the majority of its members even want to.' Nevertheless, Wilhelm II had a general contempt for parliaments and political parties, was hungry for ever more power and had strong bellicose tendencies (Goldberg, 2010, p.15; Röhl, 2014, pp.33, 59–60). To counter the power of the parliament, Wilhelm II rallied men around him who would be absolutely loyal to him, as in the case of Count Bernhard von Bülow, the German Chancellor from 1900 to 1909. The way in which von Bülow held office drastically deviated from the politics of the formerly strong Chancellor Count Otto von Bismarck, who lost his position due

to disagreements with Wilhelm II in 1890. Röhl (2014, p.67) writes: 'Ten years after Bismarck's fall the German Chancellor had in fact been reduced to the level of a courtier.'

The Social-Democratic Members of Parliament August Bebel and Georg Ledebour heavily criticised von Bülow's colonial politics, in particular in the face of the atrocities during the Herero and Nama War in German Southwest Africa. Together with Matthias Erzberger of the Centre Party that was likewise strong in the *Reichstag*, they demanded a drastic reduction of the number of German colonial soldiers. Finally, as a consequence of the dispute, the Centre Party and the Social Democrats blocked the supplementary budget for further war loans on 13th December 1906 in parliament. This was followed by the disbandment of the *Reichstag*. In the campaign for the new election, which was called the 'Hottentot election' after a derogatory name for Nama, von Bülow framed the 'rebels' in the *Reichstag* as traitors to the national cause.²² The Social Democrats lost many of their seats in the *Reichstag*. These events, in combination with the slightly more moderate colonial policies of the new Colonial State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg, led to the Social Democrats abandoning their critical position. From 1907 onwards, they argued for the continuation of the German colonial project with 'social' colonial policies. The electoral defeat that was directly connected to the Herero and Nama War had a lasting effect on the Social Democrats: in 1914 they voted nearly unanimously in favour of war loans, out of fear of again losing their position that had been strengthened in the *Reichstag* election of 1912 (van der Heyden, 2003).

The press in Germany was affected by these political debates, but at the same time it had its own battles to fight. Until the end of the nineteenth century there was a widely differentiated landscape of political newspapers that were either directly associated with a political party and functioned as its mouthpiece or were at least affiliated with a specific political direction (Stöber, 2014, pp.227–228). But during formal German colonialism, this kind of newspaper was on the decline: the market for it was saturated. This gave rise to newspapers like the *Tägliche Rundschau*, which shared appearance and style with the party organs, but tried to orient its content towards a broader readership with no specific political affiliation (Stöber, 2012, pp.153–154). Economic success became increasingly important for the newspapers to the detriment of critical political reporting. The more attractive a newspaper was for a broad readership, the more interested companies were in placing an ad in it (Dussel, 2004, p.84).

²² Already in the late 1870s Chancellor Bismarck had regarded Socialists 'as "fellows without a fatherland" because of their failure to support the Franco-Prussian war' (Jefferies, 2003, p.38).

In the area of magazines, 'non-political' story-telling was likewise becoming a success. The most prominent of the popular 'family magazines' was *Die Gartenlaube* (Stöber, 2012, p.139). According to Applegate (1990, p.54), the publication 'sought to appeal to tastes and aspirations held in common by German middle-class society.' But despite firm declarations of an apolitical course, *Die Gartenlaube* did of course touch on political topics and framed them in a specific way. The suggested readings of current political issues as well as historical events contributed to the discourse on such topics, just as the political press did. An example is the attempt of *Die Gartenlaube* to approach the issue of German colonialism in a non-political way and just provide 'travel stories' from its correspondents, as I will illustrate in chapter 7.1.2.

Notwithstanding the decline of the political press, the press landscape in unified Germany grew. In the year 1897, 3405 different titles were available. Their number rose to 4183 in 1906 (Dussel, 2004, p.89). The major ones usually printed several issues per day. With the aid of telegraphs from the 1850s onwards, the press became a fast medium to spread news (Vella, 2009, p.194). News agencies distributed information from around the world to local newspapers via telegraph cables. This process was deeply intertwined with economic and political questions. Three major agencies shared the global news market and soon formed a global cartel: the French *Agence Havas*, founded in the early 1830s, the German *Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau*, founded in 1849, and the *British Reuters Telegram Company*, founded in 1851. The costs of gathering the news were high for the agencies, and therefore they were keen to keep their 'product' exclusive in order to sell it to their customers, the newspapers. The agencies were dependent on the states that usually controlled the necessary infrastructures and provided them with subsidies as well as with exclusive official news (Tworek, 2015, pp.450–452).

Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau became particularly state-dependent. In 1869 it signed a contract with the Prussian government, and later with the German government. The now state-funded agency could offer its services to the newspapers for free, but in return the state had the opportunity to approve or ban political news before it was released (Stöber, 2014, pp.130–131). This proved as much a problem for the German domestic newspapers as for the settler newspapers in the colonies. The settler newspapers received either state-controlled *Wolff's* news or were served by *Reuters*, which largely disseminated information that would in one way or another benefit the British Empire. Potter (2007, pp.636–637) states that 'Reuters consciously styled itself a servant of the empire; it cultivated close links with officials around the empire and, in many ways, acted to support wider British imperial interests.' At the same

time, Geppert (2007, p.74) argues, *Reuters* was still more independent from its government than the German agency was. Gallus (1908, p.823), a former high-ranking soldier who had been stationed in the colonies and had published a detailed essay about the press in Africa, complained that the *Reuters* as well as the *Wolff's* news which arrived in the colonies were biased. He demanded the installation of a telegraphic service that would act to the benefit of the colonies and not according to its own economic and political interests.

Developments in the German press landscape as well as on the global news market had an impact on the German settler press from its beginning. The individuals who migrated to the colonies and started newspaper projects had their personal experiences with these conditions back home. These experiences shaped their ideas about what 'the press' was and how they wanted their own projects to develop. Both materials and legal frameworks accompanied them to their new places of activity. Not all the future editors initially left their home with the fixed idea to start a settler newspaper, but when they did, they could refer to this knowledge about the press.

4.2 A tale of 'daring pioneers:' first editors in the colonies

In 1914, referring to German domestic as well as settler newspapers, Külz (1914, p.272) wrote that 'the German press is the best pioneer of German culture and intellectual life.' The notion that the founders of the settler newspapers in particular were pioneers who would advance the colonial project was quite common (see also Zintgraff, 1930, p.106). These newspapers were however not the first ones to circulate in the German colonies. As I will discuss in detail below, newspaper imports from Germany, and also from the adjacent British colonies, were common. Gallus (1908) gave a detailed overview of the diverse press landscape of Africa at the time. The first German speakers to publish newspapers in the future colonies were missionaries who settled there long before the places were declared German 'protectorates.' In southwest Africa the first missionary station 'Bethanien' was founded in 1814, followed by the 'Rheinische Mission' in 1842, and the 'Berliner Mission' shortly after. The missionaries started schools for the purpose of spreading Christianity among Africans. To print their teaching material, mostly in local languages, they set up simple print shops. Later, the missionaries also printed religious circular letters for the German settlers (Dresler, 1942, p.49).

While various print products already circulated in the German colonies before the first settler newspaper emerged, their specific configuration of subjects, policies, technologies and infrastructure was new. The character of the settler newspapers was heavily influenced by the personality of their publishers and editors. Editorial boards, if they existed at all, consisted of only few members. At least in the early life of a settler newspaper, the chief editors wrote most of the articles themselves. In the following, I will introduce two of the first editors of German settler newspapers: Georg Wasserfall of the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (the later *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*), and Willy von Roy of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. While the former moved to German Southwest Africa already with the intention of founding a newspaper, the latter became an editor by chance in German East Africa. Both were confronted with similar challenges of difficult logistics and first troubles with the colonial governments.

4.2.1 Georg Wasserfall and the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*/ *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*

Georg Wasserfall was the kind of German immigrant into the colony of German Southwest Africa that the colonial government welcomed: educated, from a good social background, with some financial means, and with a plan (I will discuss these expectations in chapter 6.2.3). And although his supremacist pro-settler views were sometimes a little too radical in the eyes of the government, he still earned its respect and that of many other colonists for his contribution to the colonial project.

Wasserfall was born on 10th November 1858 in Thorn in Prussia (today Poland) into a family of civil servants. He went to school in Berlin where he later studied Law and eventually became a lawyer. His first contact with German Southwest Africa was in 1894 when he travelled there, also visiting the Cape Colony, Transvaal and German East Africa. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908b, p.1) stated that he had been inclined to move to the colonies and start a German settler newspaper, but had had no specific preference for a place at first. Wasserfall decided on German Southwest Africa because at that time the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* for German East Africa was already in planning, while German Southwest Africa was without a settler newspaper. In 1898 he moved to Windhoek permanently and started setting up the first settler newspaper of the German colonies. He continued to practice as a lawyer too and invested this income into his publishing project (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1908b, p.1;

Osterhaus, 1990, p.39; Dierks, 2003).

Wasserfall had already planned on founding a newspaper before he moved to the colony. He prepared himself accordingly and learned the trade of typesetting and printing. Furthermore he acquired some general knowledge in Germany about how the press operated (Dresler, 1942, p.27). Lange (1929, p.356) described the difficulties in setting up the print office in Windhoek: the first printing press that Wasserfall ordered from Germany was only a small hand printing press, but its transport alone cost 1000 Marks.²³ The journey of the printing press was lengthy and complicated. It arrived by ship on 24th April 1898 in the harbour of Swakopmund. In times before the railway was built, the delivery had to wait for a vacant space on the main means of transport at that time: an ox wagon. The printing press finally arrived over three months later in Windhoek on 2nd August and the first issue of the new publication was printed on 12th October 1898.

The inaugural issue of Wasserfall's newspaper went by the name of *Windhoeker Anzeiger* and had four pages; the second issue came out with six pages. It was published every fortnight. Its initial appearance and content was typical for the early days of a settler newspaper: smaller in size than the broadsheets in Germany due to its production with a hand printing press, but already printed in Latin alphabet. For newspapers in Germany it was still more common to use Gothic print.²⁴ Likewise typical was the content: a mix of ordinances of the colonial government, short news (both local and international) and announcements. The last page was completely taken up by advertisements. Although privately owned, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* partially fulfilled the functions of an official gazette. This made sense financially – the colonial government paid for the publication of its announcements – but it remained a constant source of tension for settler newspapers that they wanted to be independent or even represent a position that was opposed to the government, but at the same time were dependent on this income (Dresler, 1942, p.18).

Wasserfall, however, chose to withdraw to a certain extent from the access to – and support from – the government by moving from the colonial capital of Windhoek to the coastal town of Swakopmund in autumn 1901. The newspaper was renamed as the *Deutsch-*

²³ For getting an idea of the value of the money, see chapter 4.3.1 regarding newspaper subscription and other costs.

²⁴ It is not known why this was the case with most of the settler newspapers (apart from the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*). The choice of print letters may simply have had to do with their availability for a good price as the first editors in the colonies started on a tight budget.

Südwestafrikanische Zeitung and appeared in a larger format, printed in the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* (Swakopmund Bookshop).²⁵ The true reasons behind this move are unknown. But three different versions have been posited by different authors: Gallus (1908, p.832) and Redeker (1937, p.8) both stated that Wasserfall hoped to be able to work more independently of and unhindered by the colonial government. Osterhaus (1990, p.39) on the other hand emphasised that Wasserfall had moved in order to take advantage of the better international connections offered by the port of Swakopmund. Here, news would arrive from different places around the world. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908b, p.1) however stated that the *Windhoek Anzeiger* was in financial trouble early on and could only be saved by the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung*.²⁶ This argument is supported by the fact that the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* bought Wasserfall's print shop for 12,000 Marks in order to facilitate the move of his newspaper from Windhoek to Swakopmund (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1905b). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908b, p.1) emphasised that Wasserfall had not left Windhoek voluntarily and was worried he would lose touch with the political developments of the colony.

²⁵ To start small and then gradually adapt to the style of German broadsheets was a common procedure for the German settler press. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* for example underwent a similar development and from 5th October 1905 onwards it presented itself in a new, larger format.

²⁶ The *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* later expanded to other locations, printing more settler newspapers (the *Südwest* and the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*). The *Windhuker Nachrichten*/ *Südwestbote* shared the printing shop *Windhuker Druckereigesellschaft* (Windhoek Printing Association) with the official gazette. The only newspaper that had its own facilities in German Southwest Africa was the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* who had bought the Lüderitzbucht branch of the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* (Külz, 1914, p.266). Whether those big publishing houses of German Southwest Africa had any influence on the content or on other aspects of the newspapers cannot be determined from the available sources. The *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* still exists today. It is a place that distributes among other publications also some that are apologetic of colonialism and have a rather nostalgic view on it.

DEUTSCH-SÜDWESTAFRIKANISCHE ZEITUNG

früher
Windhoeker Anzeiger.

Das Blatt ist unmittelbar durch die Ausgabestelle in Swakopmund und durch jede deutsche Postanstalt zu beziehen. Der Bezugspreis beträgt beim Bezuge durch die Post und durch die Ausgabestelle in Swakopmund halbjährlich: a) für das Schutzgebiet, für Deutschland und die deutschen Kolonien Mk. 6, b) für die Länder des Weltpostvereins Mk. 6. Auslieferung für den Buchhandel: Wilhelm Baensch, Buchdruckerei und Verlagsbuchhandlung A. G., Berlin W, Köthenerstrasse 33.

Erscheint
wöchentlich.

Anzeigen kosten 20 Pfg. die vierspaltige Petitzeile. Bei Wiederholungen und grösseren Aufträgen tritt entsprechende Preisermässigung ein.
Annahme von Anzeigen und Abonnements in Hamburg durch Mathias Rohde & Co., Grosse Reichenstrasse (Afrikahaus); in Berlin durch den Verlag des „Linden 24“, Unter den Linden 24, und durch Wilhelm Baensch, Buchdruckerei und Verlagsbuchhandlung A. G., W, Köthenerstrasse 33.

Redaktion und Verlag: Georg Wasserfall, Rechtsanwalt in Swakopmund.

VI. Jahrgang.

Swakopmund, 19. Januar 1904.

No. 3.

Der Aufstand.

Swakopmund, 17. Januar 1904.

Die Lage hat sich in einer Woche vollkommen geändert. Aus der Empörung des Anhangs des Bondelzwart-Kapitäns Abraham Christian und dem daran sich anschliessenden Aufstande des Stammes der Bondelzwarts ist ein Brand des Damaraland geworden, der im Herzen des Schutzgebietes, in dem am meisten besiedelten Teile des Landes seit sechs Tagen verheerend wütet.

Was alles er bis jetzt dahingerafft, ist von hier aus auch nicht mit annähernder Sicherheit zu übersehen. Am letzten Montag früh kam die erste Nachricht von verdächtigen Bewegungen der Hereros in Okavandja; seit Dienstag vormittag ist die Verbindung der Küste nach dem Inneren über die Eisenbahnstation Okasie hinaus abgeschnitten. Gestern, Sonnabend, endlich kamen amtliche Nachrichten von Windhuk, die ein Rote durch das im Aufstande befindliche Land gleichfalls bis Karibib hindurchgebracht hatte und die von dort auf telegraphischem Wege hierher übermittelt wurden. Sie zeigten, dass die Flammen des Aufstandes um Windhuk ebenso lodern, wie um Okavandja. Von Okavandja selbst aber dem Mittelpunkt der ganzen Bewegung, dem Sitze des aufständischen Hererokapitäns Samuel Maharero, fehlt seit Dienstag früh jede verbürgte Nachricht; ebenso von der Abteilung, die Dienstag früh von Swakopmund abging, zunächst nur mit dem Zwecke, die Besatzung von Okavandja zu verstärken, erst durch die im letzten Augenblick vor der Abfahrt eintreffenden Nachrichten darauf vorbereitet, dass ihr vielleicht schon die Aufgabe gestellt werden könnte, Okavandja zu entsetzen. Wie weit sie damit gekommen, ist bis zur Stunde hier gänzlich unbekannt; dass ein von Windhuk aus unternommener Einsatzversuch gescheitert, wissen wir seit gestern.

Man ist also einstweilen wenig in der Lage, schwingenden Gerüchten mit verbürgten Tatsachen entgegenzutreten zu können. Indessen muss in einem Lande, in dem schon in ruhigen Zeiten die „Stories“ so üppig gedeihen, in diesen Tagen höchster allgemeiner Erregung doppelt vorsichtig in die Beurteilung solcher Gerüchte gegangen werden. Die innere Wahrscheinlichkeit ist sehr genau zu prüfen und diese Prüfung heraus gegen das kürzlich aufgetauchte Gerücht von dem Falle Okavandjas. So sehr man es nahezu als sicher betrachten kann, dass die Horden der Hereros in dem ganzen Umfange des Aufstandsgebietes die einzelnen Farmen zerstört und ausgeraubt und einzelne, gegen die Uebermacht wehrlose Weise ermordet haben, so unwahrscheinlich ist es, dass sie auf geschlossene und nun gar befestigte Plätze einen ernsthaften Sturmangriff wagen sollten. Das entspricht ihrer Natur nun einmal nicht. Aber sei dem, wie ihm wolle; auch wenn die geschlossenen Plätze wesentlich unversehrt blieben sollten, die durch den Aufstand verursachten Verluste an Menschenleben und Gut werden furchtbar genug sein.

Vom Süden, von dem man schon früher knapp genug unterrichtet war, weiss man seit den letzten acht Tagen überhaupt nichts mehr. Beim Mangel der Verbindung zwischen Windhuk und Swakopmund ist das nur erklärlich. Nur zwei einander entgegenstehende Gerüchte beschäftigen sich mit der Entwicklung der Dinge in dem südlichen Aufstandsgebiet. Eine gestrige Kapitän-Meldung teilt mit, dass die Kapregierung von dem erfolgten Friedensschluss wissen wolle. Es erscheint wenig glaubhaft, dass die Nachricht den Tatsachen entspricht. Schon die Tatsache des Aufstandes Samuel Mahareros im jetzigen Zeitpunkte spricht dagegen. Ganz zweifellos sind die Hereros von den Vorgängen im Süden genau unterrichtet und ebenso die Bondelzwarts von denen im Hererolande. Da wäre es doch sonderbar, wenn Samuel Maharero sich gerade in dem Augenblicke erheben sollte, wenn er besorgen müsste, dass infolge des Friedensschlusses im Süden ein Teil der dorthin geworfenen Truppen zur Verwendung gegen ihn wieder frei würde. Die von den Horden der Eingeborenen ausgehenden Gerüchte, dass der Aufstand im Süden sich über alle dortigen Stämme ausbreitet habe, hat leider die grössere innere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich.

Nach dem, was bisher bekannt ist, der Stamm des Kapitäns Zacharias in Otjimbingue noch ruhig, ebenso der Bezirk Omaruru; auch von Outjo und den weiter nördlich gelegenen Bezirken ist noch nichts von Unruhen bekannt geworden.

Das Schutzgebiet hat eine schwere Krise zu bestehen, die schwerste seit Begründung der Kolonie.

Es gilt sie möglichst schnell zu überwinden und deshalb ohne den geringsten weiteren Verzug mit festester Hand zuzugreifen und eine Neuordnung der Dinge zu begründen, derart, dass den Anführern ein für alle Mal Neigung und Möglichkeit zur Wiederholung des heutigen Tuns genommen ist. Ein Regiment und mehrere Batterien mit Gebirgsgeschützen oder Maschinengewehren sofort heraussenden, die Plätze und Stationen besetzen und, gestützt auf diesen starken Rückhalt, die hier bereits befindliche, landeskundige mobile Truppe, zusammen mit der Artillerie, die Arbeit der wirksamen Unterwerfung vornehmen lassen, dies Verfahren würde bei aller Höhe der sofortigen Aufwendungen immer noch mit den in Wahrheit geringsten Opfern an Menschen und Geld zum Ziele führen.

Die bittere Lehre aber, die die heutigen Erfahrungen uns gebracht haben, wird den rechten Weg weisen, auf dem dann in Zukunft die Politik vorzuschreiten hat, um die Kolonie zu entwickeln für uns zum Heil und zur Ehre des Vaterlandes.

Mobilmachung.

Swakopmund, 12. Januar 1904.

Oberrutentant v. Zülow geht morgen mit 50 Mann, zumeist Reservisten und Landwehrleuten, nach Okavandja ab. So wurde gestern kurz hier berichtet. Es wird dem Leser in der Heimat doch vielleicht von einem gewissen Interesse sein zu hören, wie eine solche Mobilmachung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika sich abspielt.

Schon seit einer Woche etwa war man in Swakopmund darauf gefasst, dass möglicherweise auch von hier Leute ihre Beschäftigung unterbrechen und zu d. Waffen werden greifen müssen, um die nach dem Süden abgerichteten aktiven Truppen zu ergänzen. Mit einer wohlkündigen ruhigen Sicherheit — die in Südafrika so überaus wichtig ist — und mit einem verständnisvollen Eingehen auf die Bedürfnisse des wirtschaftlichen Lebens hatte die Militärbehörde in Swakopmund jedes überhastete Handeln vermieden. Es wurde nur dafür Vorsorge getroffen, dass, wenn es zum äussersten käme, ein jeder darauf vorbereitet war, was seiner wartete, und dass dann ohne Verzug die Bereitschaft hergestellt sei. Deshalb war, als gestern früh die Nachricht von der bedenklichen Lage in Okavandja eintraf, die ein sofortiges Einschreiten erbeizte, Swakopmund, wie man hierzulande sagt, sehr bald klar. Die Gestellungsbefehle wurden ausgesandt, auch jetzt noch immer mit möglicher Schonung der wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Bevölkerung, und um 4 Uhr nachmittags trat die erste Abteilung der Einberufenen an, um eingekleidet zu werden. Da von der Einberufung auch Ersatzreservisten betroffen waren, die noch keine Übung gemacht hatten, so war es für manche der Antretenden etwas ganz neues, was jetzt vor sich ging. Aber auch von den gedienten Leuten zogen viele die echt kriegsmässige ausschauende afrikanische Uniform heute zum ersten Male an; ein Teil der Eingezogenen freilich bestand aus alten Leuten der Truppe.

Um 6 Uhr fand die Einkleidung der zweiten Abteilung statt und am Abend hatte Swakopmund 50 Soldaten mehr.

Heute vormittag 10 Uhr fuhr mittels Sonderzuges die Abteilung nach Okavandja ab.

Das Bild Swakopmunds war während der Morgenstunden bis zur Abfahrt ein ganz anderes als sonst. Der friedliche und für südwestafrikanische Verhältnisse betriebene Ort schien ein Feldlager in sich zu schliessen. Vor der Station traten die Mannschaften an. Um 10 Uhr wurde zum Bahnhof abmarschiert. Jeder Mann trug eine Decke, etwas mit sich. Eine grosse Kugel gab dem Zuge das Geleit, während eine andere ihn am Bahnhof bereits erwartete. Schnell waren die Mannschaften auf die zum Schutze gegen die Sonne mit Leinwandplanen versehenen offenen Wagen verteilt, ein letztes Abschiednehmen, ein Signal des Hornisten und unter dem brausenden Hurra der Zurückbleibenden setzte der Zug sich in Bewegung — ein städtischer Zug: ausser den drei Mannschafswagen enthielt er einen vierten Personenwagen, in dem u. a. der Führer der Truppe Oberst v. Zülow, ferner Stabsarzt Dr. Jacobs, Assessor Dr. Gesswald, der als Reserveoffizier einsetzende war, Veterinärarzt Rickmann, gerade von Kapstadt zurückgekehrt, Betriebsassistent Paschasius als begleitender Bahnbeamter fahren. Ferner war-

den drei Gepäckwagen und drei Güterwagen, auf denen Pferde verladen waren, mitgeführt.

Nach dem lebhaften Treiben, das bis zur Abfahrt der Abteilung am Platze geherrscht hatte, lag die Ruhe, die sich jetzt über Swakopmund gebreitet hat, doppelt fühlbar. Der Ort scheint wie ausgestorben. Kein Arbeitsgeräusch ist zu hören, kaum ein Mensch auf der Strasse zu sehen. Auffallend ist auch das Fehlen der Eingeborenen, die sonst die Strasse beleben, der im Sande hockenden, herumliegenden und spielenden Weiber und Kinder. Die kriegerischen Zerstörungen, denen die Schwarzen gestern nachmittag und heute früh mit gespanntem Interesse zugehoben haben, sind nicht ohne Eindruck geblieben. Im übrigen lässt das Aufheben alles Lebens und Verkehrs recht deutlich erkennen, dass eine solche Mobilmachung für die Plätze im Schutzgebiet bedeutet. Nicht ein Mensch zu viel ist in den gewerblichen und geschäftlichen Betrieben angestellt. Die Entziehung von 50 Kräften, zu deren Ersatz niemand anders da ist, verurteilt an einem Ort wie Swakopmund das geschäftliche Leben nahezu zum Stillstande. So wird das im ganzen Schutzgebiet sein.

Die Nachrichten aus Okavandja waren im Laufe des gestrigen Tages immer bedenklicher geworden. Aber man hatte doch immer noch nach Okavandja und selbst bis Windhuk telegraphieren können. Auch heute früh noch waren telefonische Gespräche mit Okavandja geführt worden. Was man dadurch erfuhr war Besorgnis erregend: Samuel Maharero, der Oberkapitän der Hereros, ein energieloses, desotrunke ergebenes, ganz minderwertiges Individuum, das auch bei seinem Volke persönlich nichts gilt, aber dessen Verhalten, als des Oberkapitäns doch immerhin Bedeutung hat, sollte sich auf die Seite der Aufständischen geschlagen haben. Samuel war von der Deutschen Regierung als Oberkapitän anerkannt und hatte fürwahr keinen Grund, sich über die Behandlung, die ihm von der Regierung zuteil wurde, zu beklagen. Er galt deshalb als eine zuverlässige Stütze der Deutschen Regierung, als ein „socius aequum animi populi Germani“. Im Jahre 1900 hatte er sich noch dem Zuge des Gouverneurs gegen Tjeto von Gobabis angeschlossen. Wenn er sich den Aufständischen gesellte, so konnte man daraus auf eine erhebliche Kraft des Aufstandes auf der Seite der Aufständischen schließen. Dann hörte man durch das Telephon noch die Mitteilung, es handele sich um eine sehr böse, aber auch zu erwartende Nachricht hatte der Telegraph noch melden können, dass die Nachricht von der Zerstörung der grossen drei hundert Meter langen Eisenbahnbrücke bei Okavandja die Hereros sollten die hölzernen Pfeiler der Brücke gekappt haben. Die Osonabrücke überschreitet ganz nahe bei Okavandja auf dem Wege nach Windhuk das Bett des Swakop. Durch die Zerstörung der Brücke war also die Verbindung zwischen Windhuk und Okavandja gestört. Aus der Zerstörung dieser Verbindung musste es den Hereros besonders ankommen, denn von Windhuk besetzt worden, von da aus besorgten die Hereros also gewiss auch eine Verstärkung der Besatzung. Eine solche, und zwar in der Stärke von 50 Mann mit einem Maschinengewehr erhofften andererseits die in Okavandja Bedrängten und zwar heute Abend. Von Okavandja hatte man am Morgen noch gehört, dass sämtliche Bewohner sich in die Feste begeben hätten. Einige hätten bei Tage noch zwischen der Feste und ihrem Hause verkehrt; andere hätten das Haus abgeschlossen und sich nicht mehr aus der Feste hinausbegeben. Die Berge rundum Okavandja seien von Hereros dicht besetzt.

Nachmittag.
Am nachmittag traf von Oberst v. Zülow aus Khan ein Telegramm ein, inbald dessen aus Anlass der Meldung des Distriktsamts Okavandja, dass die Station belagert, die Osonabrücke zerstört, gestern Abend der Eisenbahnzug bei Windhuk zurückgeworfen und die telegraphische Verbindung dort abgeschnitten sei, für die Bezirke Swakopmund und Karibib der Kriegszustand erklärt werde. Das Telegramm enthielt ferner die Mitteilung, dass auch sieben eingezogene Meldungen Waldau angegriffen sei. Die Lage ist also ernst, viel ernster, als man noch gestern vermuten konnte. Man hätte diesen Hereros nicht ein so energieloses Vorgehen zugestanden. Offenbar hat die Entlassung des mittleren Gebiets von Militär sie dazu ermutigt.

Figure 1: The Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung (1904c), reporting the attacks of the Herero.

Although Wasserfall's newspaper differed in opinion from the colonial government – not least regarding relations with Africans, which the writers criticised as not repressive enough (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904k) – the chief editor had the respect of the government. In a letter that the former Governor Leutwein wrote to Wasserfall, he praised the 'service' of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*: according to him, the newspaper was giving the settlers a voice (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905h). But Leutwein also expressed the wish that in future the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* would set 'personal interests aside' and 'work shoulder to shoulder' with the new Governor von Lindequist.

In 1907 Wasserfall returned to Germany due to ill health. On 25th December 1907 the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907a) reported that he had had a successful operation in the Bethanien Hospital in Hamburg where a liver abscess had been removed. But this did not save him: Wasserfall died in Germany on 21st April 1908. As a sign that Wasserfall had been highly respected even by his opponents, the *Reichskolonialamt* (Colonial Office) sent a bouquet for his funeral and the colonial government had the flag at half-mast in Swakopmund (Osterhaus, 1990, p.39). His rival newspaper, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908b, p.2), despite their differences, praised him in its obituary as a 'noble, true German man, an "old Afrikaner" in the best sense of the word.'²⁷ Redeker (1937, p.7) later called Wasserfall 'a daring, great German colonial pioneer.'

The story of Wasserfall is not untypical in the history of the settler newspapers of German Southwest Africa and also of German East Africa: radically supremacist and racist in thought, they frequently entered into conflict with the more moderate colonial government and with the missionaries. They were often also rude about their fellow settler newspapers (which I will discuss in chapter 5.2.2). But in the face of bigger events, unity among all colonists was emphasised to serve the greater purpose of succeeding in the colonial projects.

²⁷ *Afrikaner* or 'old *Afrikaner*' was given as a respectful name to Germans who had lived in Africa for a long time. The Afrikaners – mostly of Dutch descent and settling in the south of Africa – on the other hand were by the Germans called *Buren* (Boers), and the actual Africans, whose name translates in German language as *Afrikaner*, were usually called *Eingeborene* (natives) or *Neger* (Negroes).

4.2.2 Willy von Roy and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*

Although the first newspaper of German East Africa, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, was already in the planning when Wasserfall was looking for a good location to settle and start his own newspaper, its inaugural issue appeared a few months later than the *Windhoekster Anzeiger*. First published on 26th February 1899, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* became the second German settler newspaper in Africa. Just like the first one, its existence and character was closely tied to the person of its first editor, Willy von Roy.²⁸

Sheer coincidence brought von Roy to the colony: he was about to emigrate to North America when he met an old school friend at the pier in Naples. This friend convinced him to come with him to German East Africa. There, von Roy met the civil servant Otto Stollowsky, who motivated him to found a newspaper in Daressalam. Von Roy had already demonstrated some writing skills in Germany where he had published some articles and completed a degree in philology. Coming from a wealthy family he was able to provide the necessary capital to start the project (Redeker, 1937, pp.14–16). In return, Stollowsky assured him that the colonial government would place all of its printing orders with his new enterprise. Thereupon von Roy took up direct negotiations with Governor von Liebert and soon came to terms (Stollowsky, 1911). The government furthermore granted von Roy tax exemption for all the necessary goods that needed to be imported in order to get started (BAB R 1001/ 936, 1901c).

With a written statement by the colonial government in his hand that approved of von Roy's plans and assured its support, he travelled back to Germany to have a contract set up and signed. Years later – when the relationship between the newspaper and the colonial government had drastically deteriorated – an official in Berlin would be rushed to dig out the contract and check on what terms it could be terminated, even though this would mean that the government lost control over the newspaper (BAB R 1001/ 936, 1905b). But at the beginning of the story of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, enthusiasm reigned. Von Roy came back from his visit to Germany with all the necessary equipment and personnel that was needed to start a newspaper: printing machine and accessories, typesetters, printing experts, bookbinders and technicians (Stollowsky, 1911). Just as in German Southwest Africa, none of the requisite material or skilled personnel was available in the colony. It proved a major logistical exercise to get everything together for the print shop.

²⁸ Sometimes, in different publications, also referred to as Willy van Roy.

Once the print shop was up and running, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* developed well. The income from the government orders, together with the revenue from advertisements in the newspaper, provided a solid financial basis. The circulation of the newspaper rose steadily. When it was first established, 400 copies were printed, of which the government bought 250. By 1902 the circulation had risen to over 1000.²⁹ This is remarkable if one takes the very small number of Germans actually living in the colony into account: in 1895 there were 507 Germans, by 1913 the number had risen to 4107 (Dresler, 1942, pp.21, 33). It is however not clear how many of these copies were read in the colony and how many were exported, as the settler newspapers were also available in Germany (see details below).

The first shadows fell over the relationship between the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* and the colonial government as early as 1901, when the print jobs that the government had ordered were repeatedly not finished in time and were of an unsatisfactory quality. The Governor of German East Africa, at that time, Gustav Adolf Graf von Götzen, complained to von Roy as well as to the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin.³⁰ With the latter he was contemplating the possibility of placing printing orders with a company back in Germany rather than to continue having to deal with the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (BAB R 1001/ 936, 1901b; a). In the following years, the relationship between the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* and the colonial government went from bad to worse. Complaints shifted from the issue of low quality printing jobs to the actual content of the newspaper that was increasingly arguing against government policies. When the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* insulted the British consul of Zanzibar in one of its articles and later refused to apologise to him, the colonial government even feared an international diplomatic incident (BAB R 1001/ 936, 1905a).

²⁹ The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* is the only settler newspaper that circulation figures are available for.

³⁰ In May 1907 the Colonial Department was detached from the Foreign Office and turned into the more independent Colonial Office (*Reichskolonialamt*) (Conrad, 2008, p.45).

Problems turned more personal when Freiherr Albrecht von Rechenberg became the new Governor of German East Africa in 1906. Even while von Rechenberg was fighting for one of the main demands of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* – the construction of railways – another important topic was not handled at all to the newspaper's satisfaction: von Roy opposed the Governor's reform policies that aimed at granting more rights to the colonised and preserving their own economy. He attacked von Rechenberg through the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* on a regular basis (Redeker, 1937, pp.55–56). Most of the settlers in German East Africa and some German domestic newspapers supported von Roy's position. But solidarity with him declined when he started accusing government officials of homosexuality. This was just too much of a low punch even for the fellow editors of the *Usambara-Post* in the north of the colony (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1909; Redeker, 1937, pp.88–89).

The consequences of von Roy's struggle against von Rechenberg stretched from a financial boycott against the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* by the colonial government and its launch of a rival newspaper, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* (German East African Review), to sentencing von Roy to six months in prison after he had lost a libel suit. He was finally expelled from the colony in 1911 (Zintgraff, 1930, pp.107–108; Redeker, 1937, p.88). The conflict created a stir all the way to the *Reichstag*, where it was debated in March 1909 (Dresler, 1942, p.23). Calls from the colonial government in German East Africa for support from the central government in Germany grew louder and louder. In July 1910 the German East African government urged the Colonial Office to finalise the Colonial Press Law (that had been long in the making) in order to have a legal basis (other than libel) upon which to punish the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1910). I will discuss the scope of these debates and the finalised law in chapter 7.2.2.

For the remaining time before the outbreak of the First World War von Roy was not allowed back to the colony. In his stead, Alfred Zintgraff took on the editorial leadership of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. While the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* was discontinued in 1912 because the settlers rejected a government newspaper that simply copied the settler newspaper style, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* thrived, and its relationship to the government slightly improved (Redeker, 1937, pp.83, 115). It continued publication two years into the First World War until September 1916. Much later after the war von Roy returned to Daressalam and tried to found a new German newspaper. Although Tanganyika was now a British colony, it continued to attract German immigrants. But the

Tanganyika Zeitung that was founded in 1926 did not last long. Von Roy gave up after only a few weeks due to lack of financial support and also, apparently, a lack of personal energy (Zintgraff, 1930, p.112).

The manifold and recurring criticism against Willy von Roy did not keep his successor from expressing his deep admiration for him. The founding of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was to Zintgraff's (1930, p.106) eyes the 'deed of a cultural pioneer.' He attested to von Roy's 'great daring, a willingness to make sacrifices and a firm belief in the future of the protectorate.' The settler newspapers were regarded as an integral part of the German colonial project, even though their aggressiveness and their influence in various circles in the colonies as well as in the homeland frequently gave colonial officials cause for concern.

4.2.3 Contributors and non-contributors

In the early years of the settler newspapers, the chief editors usually wrote the lead articles, albeit without byline. This was common for newspapers during that time. In 1898, the *Tägliche Rundschau* was the first paper in Germany to introduce the regular signing of lead articles by its authors (Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon, 1909). Nevertheless, judging by the style and content of the articles, and taking into account that the settler newspapers generally had very few writers or other employees, it is safe to assume that the chief editors wrote most of them. But this does not mean that the articles just represented the views of these few writers; other voices were also present. The settler newspapers copied extensively from German domestic ones and also from newspapers from other colonies like South Africa. The cited articles were sometimes commented on, discussed or criticised; others were just reprinted without any lines added by the editors. Over time, more and more unedited short news that arrived via telegraph was printed as well. These provided condensed information without any suggestions of a specific reading of the news. I will trace these routes of discursive exchange and their contribution to an emerging common discourse later in this chapter. For now I am addressing the question of who amongst the inhabitants in the colonies made an active contribution to the settler newspapers, and who was prevented from doing so.

Contributions from readers were very important for the settler newspapers. The newspapers regularly published calls to send letters to the editor about personal experiences and knowledge they had gathered during their work on colonial projects like establishing farms and

plantations (for examples, see chapter 6.2.1). Contributions to ongoing discussions in the colonies were likewise welcome (see for example Windhoecker Anzeiger, 1898h; Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk, 1903b; Südwest, 1910a; Kamerun-Post, 1912a; Keetmanshooper Zeitung, 1913c). While the founders and editors of the settler newspapers usually came from educated and socially respectable backgrounds, writers of letters to the editor were more representative of the settler population. Many farmers contributed, but also travellers, soldiers and missionaries. As Germany had a high literacy rate, it can be assumed that most adult settlers had the skills to contribute to the settler newspapers, whether they made use of that possibility or not.³¹

These calls for contributions from 'everyone' by no means meant to actually include everyone in the colonies. Hardly any articles appeared in the settler newspapers that were written by settler women or by Africans. An in-depth article about the settler press, which had appeared in the *Tägliche Rundschau* and was reprinted by the *Südwest*, explicitly stated that only the 'male' and the 'white' population could be counted as a potential readership, let alone as contributors (Südwest, 1911b, p.5). Women usually only featured in the settler newspapers as subjects discussed by articles that confirmed their presumed role as keepers of 'German civilised culture' within the private home. They were seen as a female supplement to the male settlers who were apparently in need of a tidy home, and sometimes also finer manners (Kamerun-Post, 1913c; Südwestbote, 1913c). While this position was affirmed by many women who were active in female colonial associations in Germany, the lack of women's voices in the settler newspapers at the time seems to run contrary to their aim of gaining more influence in society through their engagement in the colonial project (Dietrich, 2007). Outside of the settler newspapers, women did publish in the colonial context, for example about their own experiences in the colonies (von Eckenbrecher, 1908). I will explore the representation of women settlers in the press further in chapter 6.2.3.

During this research, not a single text could be identified that was written by an African for the purpose of being published in a German settler newspaper. While the exact reasons for this circumstance remain unknown, there are two different possible explanations: Africans did either not attempt at all to publish in the settler newspapers, or they were prevented from doing so. In the first case, probably none of the colonised expected any gains from writing to

³¹ For the year 1910, the literacy rate for Germany was 95-99 per cent, compared to England and Wales with 90-95 per cent and France with 88 per cent in the same year (Flora, 1972, p.313).

the editors of settler newspapers. As I mentioned in chapter 3.3.1, Witbooi wrote to the British Magistrate of Walvis Bay and asked for help against the Germans. But it can be assumed that he was clear he would not get any help from German settlers against their fellow settlers. This argument also holds despite Witbooi's attempts to engage with Leutwein, as the latter occupied a mildly critical position towards the radically supremacist and destructive approach of the settlers. Hillebrecht (2003, p.125) states that the Nama elite regularly read German newspapers in order to inform themselves about what the colonists had in mind. They probably were aware that their own attempt to publish in such a newspaper would have led to a kind of framing of their article that was detrimental to their objectives. The same can be assumed for the situation of German East Africa, from where Redeker (1937, p.114) reported that settler newspapers were read by at least some individuals of the African population.

There were a number of cases where (supposedly) original African voices found entry into the settler newspapers in the form of letters, usually exchanged between the leaders of different African societies. These had not been written for the purpose of being published in a settler newspaper. During the Herero and Nama War, a number of such letters were printed. These were supposed to demonstrate the conspiracy of the Africans against the colonisers (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905i; Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907f). While such articles presumably did not encourage Africans to write their own texts for the settler newspapers, there is a good chance that editors would not have published such submissions anyway. Colonists – here not just the settlers but also the colonial authorities – were constantly worried that any writing and publishing activities by Africans could lead to the emergence or intensification of anti-colonial actions. One example of how colonists tried to prevent such activities is the following: during the Herero and Nama War there was a general censorship of private letters that were sent between Africans. In September 1904 the post office of Windhoek was ordered to intercept all such letters and forward them to the local military commander who would check their content (Mantei, 2007, p.36). It is unlikely that in a situation like this a letter written by an African would have made it to an editor's desk, unless it was hand-delivered.

Beyond the German speaking press, Africans who were affected by German colonialism did make use of the opportunity to raise awareness about their situation through newspapers. The famous guerrilla fighter Morenga for example, who was active in the later phase of the Herero and Nama War, gave an interview in May 1906 to the *Cape Times* and to other South African newspapers. According to Lindner (2011, p.269), this annoyed commentators in the German

domestic press, as well as the German Southwest African government, and put the German central government under pressure to stop Morenga.

There are a number of examples of critical texts created by Africans who were affected by German colonialism. I will analyse the articles of writers from Togoland who published in *The Gold Coast Leader* in chapter 7.2.4. The above examples show that, while the reasons for a lack of African contributions to the settler newspapers cannot definitely be identified, it is likely that this was either due to their rejection of these publications or by the repression that they experienced. It is an important part of the process of researching (colonial) history to ask how exactly a lack of certain sources, or how absences and silences in some of the sources, came about. It means to take discourse seriously as a structuring element that determines what can be said by whom in a certain place at a certain time, as Jäger and Maier (2009, p.36) have emphasised in reference to Foucault. Africans, and occasionally also German women, became a subject of the settler newspaper discourse, but they seldom had the opportunity to speak for themselves in these publications.

4.3 Bringing the message home: news exchange with Germany

The founders of the settler newspapers initiated a specific form of media in the German colonies. However, as stated above, these newspapers were by no means the first ones to be read in these places. Print products were regularly imported via ship from Europe and also from other colonies in Africa. The introduction of the settler newspapers complicated this circulation of printed materials and messages: copies of the settler newspapers were transported back to Germany. By tracing their patterns of distribution, I will show in the following what kinds of readerships could potentially be reached. The exchange of newspapers expanded the reach of their discourse. Furthermore, through their newspapers the settlers gained a forum in which they could discuss articles of the imported newspapers, and in particular those that referred to the colonies.

4.3.1 Newspaper imports and exports

Newspaper imports from Germany were quite pricey. In 1904 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* within Germany cost 15 Marks for six months when obtained directly in Frankfurt, 18 Marks for subscriptions from other places in Germany, and for international shipment to members of the

Universal Postal Union, which were also the German colonies, 36 Marks (Frankfurter Zeitung, 1904). In comparison, costs for the German settler newspapers in Africa ranged for a six months subscription from 3 to 9 Marks within the same colony and up to a maximum of 12 Marks for subscription from Germany. This meant that the settler newspapers were less than one third the price of the ones from Germany. It needs to be taken into account however that the latter ones had many more issues per week, sometimes up to three per day. Settler newspapers were published in a frequency ranging between one issue every fortnight and, most commonly, two issues per week.³² This meant, while the overall price for a subscription from Germany cost more than subscribing to a local settler newspaper, the price per issue for the latter was mostly higher.³³

The question of newspaper imports and exports and their transport within the colonies was tied to the availability of the necessary infrastructure. Settler newspapers from German Southwest Africa that were printed in a location with a good transport infrastructure like Swakopmund (ship) or Windhoek (train to Swakopmund) were more likely to gain importance beyond their local area and to also reach Germany. The newspaper of the relatively remote place of Keetmanshoop does not appear to have had much connection to Germany.³⁴ Transport facilities were also a factor in the development of the settler newspapers on a local level. Külz (1914, p.271) stated that the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* was published only once a week as a direct result of the infrequent connections of the place. Because the transport of the post to other parts of the colony as well as to South Africa and to Germany was only available once a week, it would have made no sense to publish the newspaper more frequently. The issues would only have piled up at the post office for days and arrived together with their subsequent issues at their destination. The publishing rota of the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* was therefore directly determined by the available transport infrastructure.

³² The frequency of issues of the settler newspapers grew usually over the span of their lifetime. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, for example, started with one issue per week, then increased to two, at the start of the First World War additionally produced up to three extras per week and towards the end of its life went back to just one issue.

³³ To give a further idea about expenses: Deeken (1908) stated that life in the German colonies was generally more expensive than in Germany. But that also meant that farmers could sell their products to a higher price. In 1908 a liter of milk cost 0.75 Marks in German Southwest Africa (Deeken, 1908, pp.21–22). In comparison, a liter of milk cost 0.12 Marks in a small town in Germany in 1900 (Lotz, 1900, p.572).

³⁴ Even though Keetmanshoop had been connected to the railway line from Lüderitzbucht in 1907, the place still did not have the same good infrastructural connections as Windhoek and Swakopmund. See also chapter 5.2.2.

From harbour towns in the German colonies such as Swakopmund and Daressalam the settler newspapers reached out beyond the colony to other readerships, mostly to be found in Germany. Dresler (1942, p.18) stated that in 1907 a total number of 24,000 copies of settler newspapers from all of the German colonies were shipped to the homeland. Even the first issues of the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, *Windhuker Nachrichten*, *Südwest*, and *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* were available for subscription from Germany.³⁵ The *Windhuker Nachrichten* and the *Usambara-Post* were regularly stocked at the bookshop *Wilhelm Süsserott* in Berlin, which also accepted small ads for these newspapers (Deeken, 1908, p.52; Dresler, 1942, p.29). Both Deeken's (1908) handbook for those interested in emigrating to the colonies and the official guide for emigration to German Southwest Africa (Anon, 1907) provided a list of places in Berlin where settler newspapers could be obtained. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1904b, p.5) stated that the type of its subscribers ranged widely from private persons, colonial associations and clubs to Members of the *Reichstag*.

German hotels and cafés were a special type of subscriber. At least some of the settler newspapers were available in these semi-public spaces where they were on display and free to use for all guests. In 1907 the *Windhuker Nachrichten* was available in over 100 such places, covering 90 different cities and towns in Germany (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907k). The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907c) published a similar list: in 1907 the newspaper was available in 55 semi-public places, located in 29 cities and towns in Germany. The list was completed with one location each in Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland and Egypt. While in the course of this research such a list has not been identified for the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, it is safe to assume that hotels and cafés also provided a similar service regarding this newspaper. The *Hotel Kölner Hof* at the central station in Frankfurt am Main, for example, tried to attract customers from German East Africa by advertising that the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was provided for guests of their establishment (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1911).

The establishments that offered the settler newspapers were often typical coffeehouses that had become very popular in Germany around 1900. While they were inspired by the coffeehouses in Vienna, some of the German ones were much larger than their Austrian

³⁵ Note that the different spelling of Windhoek/ Windhuk was the result of the attempt of the colonists to 'Germanise' the colony and eradicate names and words that had derived from the Dutch or English language. 'Windhuk' was the German version and had been introduced in exchange for the Dutch 'Windhoek.' I discuss the language issue in chapter 6.1.3.

originals. Such locations were named in the lists of the *Windhuker Nachrichten* and *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* for Berlin: *Café Bauer*, *Café Monopol* and *Café Westminster*. The latter two were frequented by actors and actresses. A smaller but no less important one was the *Café Josty*. In Ostwald's (1905 [2012], p.184) description it was characterised by its 'half-mixed, half-respectable clientele and its quiet memories of the elegance of late Empire style ... Josty is the rendezvous for small, cleverly conducted affairs.' The *Josty* was sometimes also frequented by politicians. The *Café Schiller* on the other hand 'was once the meeting place for leading Berlin journalists but now bears few traces of its former glory' (Ostwald, 1905 [2012], pp.185–186). Most famous of all was the *Café Bauer* of Berlin, located at the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstrasse. Built in 1877 in the style of the 'Belle Époque,' it featured a boudoir (a separate room for women) which made it possible for women to visit the coffeehouse in times when this was not deemed appropriate. It offered 800 national and international newspapers to its guests for free. The owners paid 30,000 Marks annually in order to provide this service. Prices for drinks were accordingly high. In 1884 the café was the first one to be fitted with electric light, enabling its guests to read the newspapers until late (mim, 2014).

The *Café Bauer* that opened that same year in Frankfurt am Main became just as famous as its Berlin namesake. It featured an extra reading room that offered 120 national and international newspapers and provided electric light from early on. Journalists, editors and brokers were among the most frequent guests (Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, 2004, p.29). An establishment with a slightly different character was the *Hotel Kölner Hof* at the central station in Frankfurt am Main. This large establishment was advertised as being absolutely 'free of Jews' (a sign in the dining hall promised this, as did the hotel's own stamp) (Michels, 2014). A hotel postcard from 1897 boasted that this was 'the only Jew-free hotel in Frankfurt am Main' (Deutsche Geschichte in Dokumenten und Bildern, n.d.). Decades later, a sticker or coaster from ca. 1935 advertised that the hotel had now been Jew-free for the last 40 years (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, n.d.). Interestingly, the advert in the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* advertised the hotel as the 'meeting place of all *Afrikaner* who visit the German *Heimat*' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1911). It gives the impression of a place where anti-Semitism and racism were equally welcome, though it is worth pointing out that anti-Semitism

was hardly ever expressed in the settler newspapers (for one of the rare examples, see chapter 7.1.1).³⁶

This range of places gives an idea of the different people who potentially came into contact with the imported settler newspapers: public figures, secret couples, journalists, politicians, and believers of misanthropic ideologies. Of course it is not possible to identify in any greater detail who really picked up one of those newspapers, read it and possibly discussed it in these semi-public spaces. It is however safe to say that to a certain extent the settler press contributed to the discourses about the colonies in Germany, as also the next section will demonstrate.

4.3.2 Copy and Paste during formal German colonialism

Another trace that the settler newspapers left was through paraphrased or reprinted articles in German domestic newspapers. A number of referrals and reprinted articles can be found in publications that explicitly addressed a readership that was interested in the German colonies (Chall and Mezger, 2005, p.150). Lindner (2011, p.65) remarks that such a domestic colonial press was extraordinarily well developed in Germany – in Great Britain, colonial policies were mostly just discussed in *The Times*. In Germany the most successful publication with a dedicated colonial focus was the newspaper of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft* (German Colonial Association, see also chapter 3.1), the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*. It reprinted, for example, articles of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* in order to provide background information about the wars that were going on in the colonies (Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 1904, 1905). The question now arises of whether and in what ways the discourses of the settler newspapers entered publications that addressed a wider readership which did not already have a focus on colonial topics.

A German domestic newspaper that most regularly referred to the settler press was the *Tägliche Rundschau*, published since 1881 in Berlin. It carried the subtitle ‘newspaper for non-

³⁶ While anti-Semitic utterings were an exception in the German settler press, Lindner (2011, p.444) has highlighted that the discourse of the German East African press about traders and shop owners from India employed similar statements as the anti-Semitic discourse in Germany at the time. Within Germany, the anti-Semitic movement was divided over the question of colonialism, and in particular struggled to find a position towards popular colonial protagonists with a Jewish ancestry, as for example State Secretary Dernburg (Davis, 2014).

politicians,' but at the same time touched upon political issues from the start. Its position was nationalist and it supported German colonialism in Africa and in the Pacific, as well as initiatives to expand Germany towards Eastern Europe (Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon, 1909). Friedrich Lange, one of the editors, even worked closely together with Carl Peters, the notorious early German colonist. Together they founded the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation* (Association for German Colonisation). Lange advertised Peters' colonial 'expedition' in the *Tägliche Rundschau* and managed to raise 17,000 Marks for the cause. With this money they appropriated their first 2500 square miles in East Africa and laid the foundation for the colony of German East Africa (Dresler, 1942, p.8).

Among the settler newspapers that the *Tägliche Rundschau* most frequently referred to were the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1905c, p.2, g, p.2; f, d, p.2, 1906c) and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1905a; e, 1906f; d; e). The samples I took cover the periods of December 1905 to January 1906 and December 1913 to January 1914. In these two sample periods, nearly all of the other German settler newspapers of Africa made an appearance too: the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1905d, p.3, 1906c), *Südwest* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1913, 1914c), *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1914c), *Kamerun-Post* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1914d) and the *Usambara-Post* (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1914a; b). It can therefore be assumed that the *Tägliche Rundschau* regularly used all of the news publications from the colonies that were available in Germany as a source of information, and that the newspaper valued the input of the settler press into the ongoing debates. In an article that the *Südwest* (1911b) reprinted, the *Tägliche Rundschau* emphasised that the settler newspapers were an organ of public opinion, not just for the colonies, but also in Germany:

It is their purpose to represent the interests of the colony or of one part of the colonial population in the *Heimat*, and they do this by serving as a means of orientation and collection of information for the domestic press (*Südwest*, 1911b, p.5).

Not only did the *Tägliche Rundschau* support the existing settler press, it was also hoping for its further expansion. Early on it reported about a planned new publication in Cameroon, years before its first issue appeared (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1907h). Some central settler positions – like the importance of colonial infrastructure (F.H., 1914) or the call for 'solidarity of the white race' (Schreiber, 1905, p.1) – were present in articles that did not even mention any settler newspapers. This suggests that these strands of discourse had been incorporated into its own position by the *Tägliche Rundschau*.

The *Tägliche Rundschau* was not the only domestic publication to engage with and quote from the settler press. For example, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was quoted in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, and *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* (Redeker 1937, p.27). While some German domestic newspapers cited the settler press critically, as did the *Vorwärts* (1904), for example, most of them supported their views. The *Kölnische Zeitung* (1904a; b, 1905b) quoted the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* during the war against the Herero, carrying the settler newspapers' extremely racist and supremacist discourse forward to their own readership. In some instances it detailed the demands of settler newspapers and took them on as its own, as was the case with an article it paraphrased from the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (*Kölnische Zeitung*, 1905a).

The *Kölnische Zeitung* referred to the settler press less frequently than the *Tägliche Rundschau*, but it shared their radical position during the Herero and Nama War (Schäfer, 2013, p.32). This shared discourse potentially reached influential circles in Germany: readers of the *Kölnische Zeitung* often held highly respected positions in society as academics, industrialists, bankers and officials. It was the overall aim of the newspaper to exert influence on this readership and have it agree with the government's foreign policies (Lehmann, 1937, pp.42, 128, 160). Already by 1870 the *Kölnische Zeitung* had transformed into a semi-official paper that was in close contact with the Foreign Office (Stöber, 2014, p.236).

But while some of the German domestic newspapers seemed to share a common discourse with the settler newspapers, apart from the *Tägliche Rundschau* it remained an exception that they directly quoted them. Even the *Tägliche Rundschau* (1905b; h) usually received its latest news about the colonies either via telegraphic services or directly from the authorities; it did not use the settler press for updates on current events, but rather when reviewing events in the colonies, or when trying to find reasons, for example, for why the Herero and Nama War had broken out. If some of the German domestic newspapers were clearly in favour of the positions and ideas of the settler press, or at least very interested in their views, why did they not refer to those newspapers more often? Why did they not quote them more regularly when events in the colonies caught the attention of the press and public in Germany?

A possible answer lies in the difficulty posed by the physical transportation via ship from the colonies to Germany: it simply took too long. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, for example, quoted an article of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* from 3rd January 1904 on 18th February

1904, from an issue which had, together with other issues, only just arrived at the editorial office in Cologne. Instead of providing an update on the events in the colony, the issue served to explain a phenomenon prior to the outbreak of the war. The quote from the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* was used to demonstrate that the settlers had not been aware of the impending conflict, and therefore had taken no precautions (Kölnische Zeitung 1904a). In short, the content of the settler newspapers was not directly used for the latest news from German Southwest Africa, but gave the editors an insight into its recent history.

The same pattern of reporting can be observed with the *Berliner Tageblatt* (1904b). The German domestic newspaper reported frequently about the war, but the major source of its information was the faster communication infrastructure of the telegraph. On 14th January 1904 the first report about the new 'uprising' in German Southwest Africa appeared on the front page (Berliner Tageblatt, 1904a). According to the article, first news had already arrived in the evening of 13th January at the office of *Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau*. This means that the events were reported in Germany only one day after they had taken place in German Southwest Africa. The settler newspapers on the other hand travelled by ship and possibly other means like ox wagons and trains for over a month before arriving at the editorial offices of the subscribing newspapers in Germany. It therefore made sense to use them not as a source of latest news but rather for completing a chronology and explaining events in retrospect.

While the voices of the settlers did not often appear as direct quotes or references in articles about the colonies, their statements must to some extent have informed the discourse of the newspapers in Germany. Whether the editors appreciated or rejected the settlers' views, it did not go unnoticed among the German press. Some of the editors had after all subscribed to settler newspapers and were evidently reading them. Their writers on the other side must have been aware that their articles would be read beyond the settler community and consequently also kept this extended readership in mind when drafting the articles.

An article of the *Deutsche Volkswirtschaftliche Korrespondenz*, reprinted by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909b), confirmed that settler newspapers had a specific function for the press in Germany; one that could not be replaced by other media and means of communication:

From the lead article to the advertisement section we encounter the strange life [of the colonies], which provides us with a better understanding than any travelogue. Without the mediation of the newspapers there is no proper connection between

colony and *Heimat*, and it is clearly visible how the lack of newspapers in Togo and Cameroon results in a lack of news from there, despite their relative proximity and good other connections.

This quote illustrates that settler newspapers were an important means to establish and maintain a connection between Germany and its colonies. The flow of newspapers in both directions was also appreciated by settler newspapers like the *Südwestbote* (1913d), which argued that newspapers formed a

powerful connection between colony and *Heimat*. What the newspaper tells about the *Heimat* works like a strong stimulant for the spirit of the individual and his path of life in distant parts of the world ... We believe that newspapers here likewise can offer something of value to the old *Heimat* that has an influence on imagination and decisions.

The writers of both settler and German domestic newspapers were aware that the exchange of their publications was about much more than just an update on latest developments. Through the exchange of newspapers, imaginations of the respective other spaces were engendered and a common discourse between colony and homeland emerged. I will discuss this connection between Germany and its colonies and also the settler newspapers' effects on community building in depth in chapter 6.

The practice of copy and paste furthermore meant that the settler newspapers gained access to information and debates of the other colonies that they would not necessarily have become aware of otherwise. The connection through infrastructures, be they of transport or of communication, was much more developed between the colonies and Germany than in between the individual colonies. Therefore it happened for example that the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907h) heard from the *Tägliche Rundschau* via a detour to the homeland that a newspaper project was planned in another German colony in Africa, in Cameroon. How far developed the exchange of newspapers between different colonies in Africa was, and how it affected local discourses is the subject of the next section.

4.4 Circulating news among colonies

In the case of British colonialism, Lester (2002, p.31) has argued that the circulation of settler newspapers 'helped to bind settlers located in different colonial sites into a broader collective imagination based on the idea of a trans-global British settler identity.' Within the British

Empire, newspapers circulated between colonies and homeland as well as between the different communities of settlers. Settler newspapers extracted extensively from publications from all of these places (Lester, 2002, p.32). The question in relation to German colonialism is therefore: how much of a discursive exchange took place between the German colonies in Africa on the one hand, and between the German and British colonies on the other? Did a common German settler discourse emerge that created a shared identity? How did the settler newspapers position themselves regarding the colonial neighbours?

4.4.1 Newspaper exchange between the German colonies

I have already established that there was a lively newspaper exchange between Germany and its colonies in Africa. Telegraphic messages flowed between colony and Germany, albeit with certain restrictions that I will elaborate on in the next chapter. But there were no direct telegraphic connections or railways running between the individual German colonies in Africa that could have transported news and mail (see map 6). Nevertheless, to some degree there was an exchange of settler newspapers happening between some of those colonies. There are no sources that specify how they were transported, but it is safe to assume that this took place on the established shipping routes around the African continent rather than over land.

Tafel 1.



Red.v.P.Sprigade u. M.Moisel.

Dem Wirtschafts atlas der Deutschen Kolonien entnommen.

Lithogr. u. Druck v. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), Berlin.

The settler newspapers were not just emphasising the importance of an exchange with the homeland, but to a certain degree they also aspired to an exchange with the other German colonies. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1899e) stated in its inaugural issue that its aim

was to inform 'all fellow countrymen' about German East Africa, thereby addressing Germans in any location. And indeed, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1899) excitedly announced on 11th May 1899 that it had received four issues of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*.³⁷ The *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1899, p.3) encouraged its readers to subscribe to the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* because it could only 'be of advantage if the African protectorates' knew 'as much as possible about each other.' The later form of the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, continued to occasionally reprint articles from the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* in its irregular section 'From other colonies,' which brought news from all kinds of colonies from around the world (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1902a). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* likewise was surprisingly quiet about 'other German colonies,' until it introduced an irregular section under this same name for the first time in September 1907 (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907b). But also in this newspaper, direct quotes from the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* remained an exception.

Most of the news about other German colonies that the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* printed stemmed from telegraphic news 'via London' or from newspapers from South Africa (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905d, 1902d). When the Maji Maji War broke out in German East Africa, these were the primary sources of information. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* itself was only quoted several weeks into the war. This is hardly surprising as the newspaper had to be transported to the colony first. But the article was reprinted without any comment and placed quite far back in the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1905e). The newspaper hardly discussed the war, even though it took place when the Herero and Nama War was still ongoing. A possible perspective that imagined two parts of a bigger German settler community under attack was not actively taken by the German Southwest African newspaper. Partly, this may have been owed to the fact that the Maji Maji War was not covered extensively by the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* itself. There were regular reports about the movement of troops, but articles that discussed the background of the war, as well as possible consequences, remained an exception. The Maji Maji War was

³⁷ The first four issues of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* appeared between 26th February 1899 and 30th March 1899, which means that they travelled for a maximum of six weeks from one colony to the other. In comparison, mail from Germany to Swakopmund took approximately four weeks to arrive (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898a, p.3).

even less present in the German press, where it was hardly mentioned (Chall and Mezger, 2005, p.143).³⁸

The German East African press on the other hand paid more attention to the colony of German Southwest Africa. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* published articles about the Herero and Nama War that went beyond the mere supply of information, but thoroughly discussed and evaluated the events. The newspaper asked how the happenings in the 'sister colony' should be evaluated with respect to the situation in German East Africa (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904h). Over the next few years, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* frequently referred to the events of the Herero and Nama War when it discussed policies that concerned the African population in its own colony. With respect to the war in German Southwest Africa the newspaper argued for a hard line against Africans, indeed to subjugate them to the fullest extent (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904d, 1905c, 1907a, 1908a; b). The news that the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* referred to at the start of the war arrived via telegraph and mostly through the *Reuters* agency (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904h; i). But the newspaper also received deliveries of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904j). Even though I did not come across any reprinted articles of other settler newspapers within my research sample, it is safe to assume that editors of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* at least occasionally picked up a newspaper from other German colonies. This becomes visible for example in the articles that discussed the war in German Southwest Africa in depth and with some emotional involvement: these appeared to be influenced by the writing of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (I discuss this in chapter 7.1.1).

Even though settler newspapers had been exchanged in each direction between German Southwest Africa and German East Africa, the colonies with the most developed settler press, there was a certain imbalance of attention to each other. While there was a strong connection of each colony with Germany, in its earlier phase the settler press in German Southwest Africa hardly focussed on events in German East Africa. The latter colony on the other hand incorporated much more of the press discourse that was produced in German Southwest Africa. This imbalance may have been due to the fact that German Southwest Africa was regarded 'as Germany's foremost settlement colony' (Aitken, 2007a, p.187) with its relatively

³⁸ Chall and Mezger (2005, p.143) suspect that the lack of interest of the German domestic press in the Maji Maji War stemmed from the fact that merely 500 German Colonial Officers took part in the war, while during the Herero and Nama War 15,000 German soldiers fought in German Southwest Africa.

large number of colonists; large at least compared to the other German colonies. There was generally a stronger focus on German Southwest Africa in public discourse than there was on the other colonies.

This slight indifference towards other German colonies and their newspapers changed slowly at the end of German rule in Africa. The *Südwest* that was founded in 1910 took a lively interest in the court case against von Roy, the editor of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (Südwest, 1910c). Also the *Kamerun-Post* reported regularly on other German colonies, and showed a particular interest in the development of other settler newspapers (Kamerun-Post, 1913b; d). The editor of the *Kamerun-Post* Waizmann (1912) addressed in the inaugural issue not just the colonists in Cameroon, but stated that he wanted to work for the interest and to the benefit of all German settlers in Africa. The short-lived newspaper project *Swakopmunder Zeitung* that appeared in December 1911 in German Southwest Africa likewise showed more interest in the other German colonies and cited for example the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* (Swakopmunder Zeitung, 1911a). The *Swakopmunder Zeitung* was however a specific case of a settler newspaper and needs to be briefly explained.

The *Swakopmunder Zeitung* not only took care that the other German colonies were represented in its articles, its main focus was actually to present news from all regions of the world to its colonial readership. The editors argued that in ‘times like these,’ with news flowing into the colony via telegraph and frequent newspaper deliveries by the many mail steamers, and everything generally ‘moving at a faster pace,’ readers needed help in order to manage this large amount of information. It was the aim of the newspaper to offer a ‘reader’s digest’ of all the news material available in the colony (Peters & Stolze, 1911). Next to providing international news for a local readership, the *Swakopmunder Zeitung* also wanted to inform the (German-speaking) world about events in the colony. The subtitle therefore announced ‘Independent news from and for German Southwest Africa.’ Consequently, the inaugural issue was a mix of local news, short telegraphic news, news from Italy and China, from South Africa and from Blumenau, the ‘capital’ of German immigrants in Brazil (Swakopmunder Zeitung, 1911b). The life of the *Swakopmunder Zeitung* was only short, and in September 1912 its last issue appeared before it was merged with the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*. But its disappearance as a stand-alone newspaper does not mean that the concept had failed. It was rather owed to some upheaval on the German Southwest African print market (Külz, 1914, p.270).

The settler newspapers of the different German colonies increasingly referred to each other just before the outbreak of the First World War. If the colonies had been occupied by Germany longer, this may have led to a more broadly shared discourse and a stronger collective imagination of a German settler identity that transcended the individual colonies. While these ambivalent findings make it difficult to draw a definite conclusion, the situation is clearer regarding the relationship to publications from adjacent British colonies. From the beginning, the German settler press engaged enthusiastically with the British colonial and the Afrikaner press and showed an overall great interest in the development of its neighbours.

4.4.2 Newspaper exchange with British colonies

As Lindner (2011) has demonstrated, the relationship between German and British colonies was complicated and oscillated between cooperation and rivalry. These debates were neither restricted to the colonies, nor did all of them originate there (see also chapter 3.2.3). A severe strain had been placed on the British-German relationship by the Krüger telegram sent by the *Kaiser* in 1896 to the president of the Afrikaner Republic of Transvaal to express support for the Afrikaner's push for independence from British rule. This had caused a stir in the press of both countries (Hoser, 2013). Geppert (2007, p.94) called the press relationship between Great Britain and Germany a regular 'press war.' In the German colonies, there was consequently a great interest in the newspaper publications of the British neighbours of South Africa and British East Africa. This was not just due to a certain solidarity with the Afrikaner resistance against the British Empire that the press of Germany demonstrated (Geppert, 2007, pp.95, 127), or to a simple curiosity about British utterances: this long operating imperial power was considered a standard. Already in 1897 the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* had argued strongly in favour of following the British model in Germany's colonising efforts (Lindner, 2011, p.40). The colonial 'knowledge' of Germany as an imperial newcomer was partially created by drawing onto the body of 'knowledge' of established colonial powers. The positioning in relation to the imperial neighbours became an important part of the creation of a German colonial identity (Lindner, 2011, pp.17–18).

The settler newspapers of German Southwest Africa in particular extracted heavily from British colonial and Afrikaner newspapers published in South Africa. This was facilitated by the existence of a transport infrastructure that made the pursuit of these interests possible in the first place. The routes of mail steamers and other shipping lines frequently served the ports

along the coast of both colonies, as illustrated by map 6. Mail from Germany often arrived with a British shipping line that discharged in Cape Town, from where it was picked up by the German *Woermann* line, and taken to Swakopmund. The journey from Cape Town to Swakopmund itself took six days (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898a). It was therefore easy to obtain newspapers from South Africa in German Southwest Africa that were only a week old and provided more recent news than newspapers that arrived from Germany along with the other mail (about the importance of timing, see chapter 6.1.2).

German East Africa was well connected to British East Africa through British shipping providers as well as the *Deutsche Ostafrika-Linie*. A British shipping line furthermore maintained a route running between Cape Town and Mombasa, thereby calling at the ports of German East Africa (Brode, 1911, pp.27–29). As the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* had less of a habit to name its sources, the lack of direct references to British colonial newspapers does not mean that their discourse did not inform that of the German settler newspaper. The latter, just like its German Southwest African counterparts, had a great interest in the actions of its colonial neighbours. The newspaper not only regularly published articles about British East Africa and South Africa, there was also the occasional note about the Portuguese neighbour (today Mozambique) (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1900b, 1901a, 1905b). It cannot, however, be determined how many such articles were based on newspapers from the neighbouring colonies, and how many were based on information that had arrived via telegraph or by other means. Therefore I will concentrate below on the case of German Southwest Africa.

In German Southwest Africa it was primarily the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, the later *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, and the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, that featured some news on South Africa in nearly every issue. They regularly referred to newspapers like the *Cape Times*, the *Cape Argus* and *De Zuid-Afrikaan verenigd met Ons Land* (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898f; d; Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1902d), and occasionally to others like the *Natal Witness* (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1906d). Sometimes a newspaper from British East Africa featured, like the *Advertiser* from Nairobi (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1909e). The question of whether the newspapers largely supported German colonial projects, like the *De Zuid-Afrikaan verenigd met Ons Land*, or rather criticised them, like the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus*, had no influence on the frequency of their citation. The German Southwest African settler newspapers however reacted quite defensively to critique, which often concerned the brutality of German colonial practice against the Africans. The British colonial press expressed worries that Africans in their own colony could be inspired to fight against colonial rule

because of the upheavals in the neighbour colony. German colonists in return accused the British of treating the colonised too softly (Lindner, 2011, pp.59, 120).

How the newspapers of the different places engaged in debate with each other can be illustrated with an example from the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1906d). The newspaper complained about the *Natal Witness* which maintained the position that British colonising efforts were superior to the German ones. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* reprinted parts of an article in which the *Natal Witness* had referred to various 'newspapers of Berlin.' These had apparently criticised the Cape Colony for thus far failing to demonstrate sufficient solidarity with its German neighbours in the course of the Herero and Nama War. The *Natal Witness* had replied to the 'newspapers of Berlin' that it hoped the Cape Colony would under no circumstances support the German colonists and their 'terrorism' against the Herero, but at the most function as a peace broker. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1906d) retorted that this suggestion was nonsense and only a jealous reaction to the might of Germany. Debates across newspapers of the German colonies, Germany, and the British colonies often revolved around the question who was the better coloniser, and who was more powerful. These debates were made possible in the first place through the exchange of newspapers in networks that rested on the said infrastructure.

Quite an extraordinary interrelation of German settler newspapers with South African ones developed through the circumstance that many Germans lived in South Africa. According to Dresler (1942, pp.102–103), at the start of formal German colonialism, there were about 15,000 Germans in South Africa (rising to 50,000 Germans in the 1940s), thereby exceeding the number of Germans in the actual German colonies. The South African residents of German descent were, on the one hand, consumers of the German settler newspapers, and on the other they produced their own publications. There was a sentiment present among some German colonial enthusiasts (with the Pan-German League at the forefront) who adhered to the *Lebensraum* ideology that in fact the whole of southern Africa should become a German colony. Those Germans already living there, including the newspapers they produced, were seen as the spearhead of the operation (Manz, 2014, pp.70–71). But the German settlers in South Africa were often criticised by their German Southwest African counterparts, and vice versa. Two examples illustrate that the settler press in the German colony saw some of the South Africans of German descent as traitors (called 'renegades' by the newspapers).

On one occasion, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907c) reported with indignation that the discontent which it had voiced towards the German Consul in South Africa had been seized as an opportunity by those Germans living in the Cape region to organise a rally against the *Windhuker Nachrichten* in defence of the Consul. While the rally had, according to the newspaper, turned out to be rather small, the South African residents of German descent had printed their speeches and forwarded them to the Foreign Office in Berlin and to several newspapers in Germany in order to build support against the *Windhuker Nachrichten* there. To the *Windhuker Nachrichten's* satisfaction, the German domestic newspapers largely dismissed the accusations and in return criticised the protestors in South Africa. The settler newspaper stated that it should now be clear to those 'gentlemen with the national sentiment of a chameleon that they forfeited their right to intervene in politics of the German *Reich* by changing sides to the British camp' (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1907c).

The second example concerns publications by South African residents of German descent. The settler newspapers of German Southwest Africa occasionally referred to such publications as the *Deutsche Nachrichten* and the *Deutsche Zeitung für Südafrika*.³⁹ These two had been published for a short period up until 1910 in Cape Town. Neither was well received by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909d, 1910a): the settler newspaper complained that the editors of the *Deutsche Nachrichten* and the *Deutsche Zeitung für Südafrika* did not represent the Germans in South Africa and their cause of proliferating *Deutschtum* (Germanness), but rather represented the opinion of the British settlers and their colonial administration. Particularly harsh was the verdict about the *Deutsche Nachrichten*. According to the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909d), this newspaper was not, as it claimed, edited by the German C. Hahn, but really published by a 'renegade' by the name of Meyersahm who apparently had written 'Germanophobic' articles during the Boer War. Rumours told that the 'anti-German' *Deutsche Nachrichten* was read by exactly such 'renegades' and financed by a British millionaire, while 'decent Germans' in South Africa on the other hand rejected the newspaper (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1909d).

³⁹ Dresler (1942, pp.102–105) provided a detailed list of German newspaper publications outside of the German colonies. For the period of formal German colonialism these were, apart from the aforementioned two, for South Africa the *Südafrikanische Zeitung* (founded 1890 in Cape Town), the *Süd-Afrika* (1913 in Cape Town), and the *Südafrikanische Woche* (founded shortly before the First World War in Johannesburg and soon renamed into *Die neue Heimat*). Several more newspaper projects in German language had been founded in South Africa before and particularly after the formal existence of the German colonies (see also 8.2).

Questions of Germanness were frequently debated in the settler newspapers, and their discourse contributed to the construction of this very Germanness. I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 6. For now I would like to emphasise that the discourse on a colonial Germanness was not confined within the borders of the German colonies. Newspapers and infrastructures played an important role in the creation of this transcending, common discourse. Strengthening the connection between colony and homeland was as much seen as a task of newspapers as the expansion of Germanness in the world. Through the exchange of, and engagement with, newspapers of the great rival and big brother, the British Empire, German colonists negotiated their own position in this colonial web. Regardless of whether they referred to Britain as friend or as foe, one effect of these debates stayed the same: the writers of the settler newspapers discursively situated themselves among the current colonising powers. This was by no means a matter of course for the young nation of Germany which was a colonial latecomer struggling to reach the position of world power to which it aspired.

5 Settler newspapers and infrastructure: imagination, creation and appropriation of colonial space

In the previous chapter I have demonstrated the importance of infrastructures for the initial development of the German colonial settler press and how infrastructure availability shaped patterns of distribution and discourse. But technologies of transport and communication were not only a precondition, they also became an important subject of colonial discourse. Cultural meanings of infrastructures like railways as objectified knowledge came to bear, and at the same time evolved. Railways furthermore became the bearer of messages themselves. Drawing on McLuhan's formulation that 'the medium is the message,' Kern (1983, pp.228–229) argued that 'the message of the railroad lay ... in the acceleration of movement and the dimensions and structures ... it created.' One of the questions that I follow in this chapter is what kinds of messages railways communicated in the German colonies. What is more, infrastructures had an impact on social relations. Marvin (1988, p.5) has highlighted how the introduction of technologies into a space impacts on the negotiations between its social groups and potentially challenges existing power structures. In this chapter I explore in what ways those technologies that the colonists introduced contributed to a negotiation of the relations of colonisers and the colonised, as well as of settlers and colonial governments, thereby shaping colonial space. Here I follow Massey (2005, p.9), who argues that space is a product of interrelations and constituted through interactions.

Colonists aimed at enforcing the kind of colonial space they had imagined and at displacing some of the other spaces that existed in the same territories simultaneously. Infrastructures, and railways in particular, played an important role as a tool for meeting certain targets like economic exploitation and implementation of German rule. Consequently, settler newspapers lobbied for the construction of colonial railways. They thereby developed an 'expert' identity that remained distinctive for them throughout their lifetime. The strong and permanent presence of the railway topic in the settler newspapers is astonishing and can only be explained by taking into account the profound cultural meaning of railways at the time, in addition to their practical value.

Starting out with an overview of the German colonial infrastructures in Africa that the settler newspapers most heavily focused on, as well as depended upon, I will in this chapter carry on to challenge the notion of those infrastructures as inherently and exclusively European, a

notion that dominated the settler discourse. The newspapers themselves thereby served as the settlers' infrastructure to carry their message. They functioned, as Edwards (2002, p.221, cited in Peters, 2015, p.31) has called it, as 'force-amplifying systems' that could potentially connect the settlers to the people and institutions they tried to reach. In the pursuit of this aim the settler press developed a specific dynamic, often driven by conflict, which accelerated its expansion.

5.1 Infrastructures in the German colonies

In the period of formal German colonialism, modern technologies of transport and communication were already well established in everyday life and culture in Europe. The necessary coordination of these technologies, and here in particular of the railways, had led to the introduction of a public standard time, and hence to a structuring of the rhythm of work and life according to the clock (Kern, 1983, pp.12, 34). Initial resistance against this, as described by Kern (1983, pp.24, 34), had soon given way to a normalisation of the presence of these technologies and of standard time. They even became the figureheads of European culture. In the following, I will show how it was on the one hand perceived by colonists as logical, as the only way forward to use technologies to appropriate places and create the spaces they had imagined. On the other, the lack of these technologies in the colonies could become a source of anxieties and exacerbated feelings of isolation from the homeland. The German colonial project entailed the attempt to 'compress' space and time through establishing infrastructure. Schivelbusch (1980, p.12) and Kern (1983, p.81) have both argued that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the proliferation of new technologies of transport and communication had led to the sense that space and time could be 'annihilated.' At the same time, so Kern (1983, p.81) continued, the possibility of simultaneity through electronic communication extended the present spatially. For the colonial situation this meant that, through the building of infrastructure, potentially intimidating spaces like the African landscape could be 'compressed' or bypassed, while the familiar space of the *Heimat* could re-enter the colonists' life.

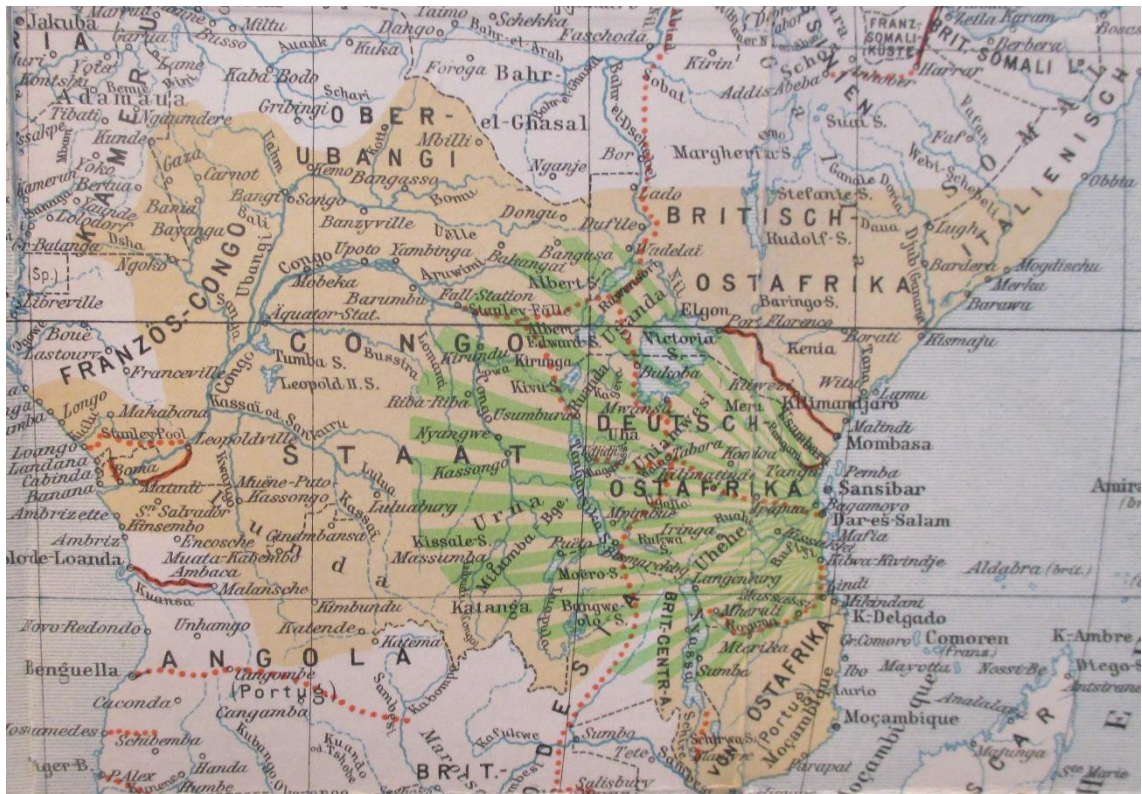
An observation of Marvin's (1988, p.8), which I have already briefly addressed in chapter 2, is specifically important for this chapter: 'The history of media is never more or less than the history of their uses, which always lead us away from them to the social practices and conflicts they illuminate.' The history of German colonial media and infrastructure is as much the

history of European presence in Africa as it is the history of Africans trying to deal with those Europeans. With this focus I am aiming to complete van Laak's (2004) work on German colonial infrastructure, who explicitly left out the African side from his account (van Laak, 2004, p.12). I will discuss in the following just how much colonial endeavours depended on infrastructures, what kinds of hopes were connected to the introduction of certain technologies, how these were challenged by the colonised, and how this all interacted with the settler newspaper discourse.

5.1.1 Technologies as precondition for colonial appropriation and communication

The availability of technologies of transport and means of communication were a necessary prerequisite for the success of imperial endeavours; in particular when the envisaged success was an economic one. Infrastructures were needed for the extraction of resources from occupied territories, but also for the logistics of the military that was often indispensable for making such operations feasible. In Germany it was above all the *Kaiser* who promoted the advancement of technology in the pursuit of his *Weltpolitik* (world policy): it was the *Kaiser's* desire to strengthen the position of the German nation in the world, culminating in fantasies of world domination. This led the *Kaiser* to build the German fleet, invest in the Baghdad railway and challenge the British advance in the area of wireless telegraphy (König, 2007, pp.18–19, 63, 202).

The other side of the coin of these power-hungry aspirations was the fear of encirclement that I have outlined in chapter 3.2.3. In view of the initiatives of other imperial powers, the journalist Arthur Dix (1907, p.70) warned that 'over the whole of Africa a web of railways will be spun.' He was particularly worried about Cecil Rhodes' plans for the Cape to Cairo railway, which would encroach on a potentially German sphere of influence in Africa. The only reasonable answer to this, according to Dix (1907, p.86), was to 'blast' through this encirclement with German railway projects. The influential colonial enthusiast and publisher Ernst Vohsen (1901 appendix) even illustrated such a vision in a map that showed how German colonial railway projects in East Africa could expand the German sphere of influence and economic exploitation (see Map 7).



Map 7: 'State of railway constructions in Africa 1900' (Vohsen, 1901 appendix). Beige area: free trade zone according to Berlin Conference Declaration. Green shaded area: potential sphere of economic influence of the planned German railways (red dotted line).

This discourse was also taking place in the settler newspapers. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1901f, p.1) argued that an extended railway network was needed in order to prevent encirclement through the 'tight grip of the iron lines' of the colonial neighbours and to stop the 'enforcement of the foreign corset of railway lines' around the colony (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904e). The newspaper expressed its concern that Britain was so much in the lead already through the Uganda Railway just north to the border of German East Africa that it would be difficult for Germany to catch up (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1901c). Fears of encirclement also existed in the German Southwest African settler press. Here, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907f) saw not only its own colony, but also Togoland and Cameroon as endangered by railway projects of Great Britain and France, which apparently tried to expand their 'spheres of influence' into German territory and extract its resources. The *Südwestbote* (1913f) voiced fears about being 'encircled and squeezed' by colonial rival's railway lines. Nevertheless, some settler newspapers expressed the hope that an expanded railway network would facilitate cross-border trade with South Africa and strengthen the German colonial economy (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905c; Keetmanshooper Zeitung, 1913b).

Among the infrastructures, railways stood out not only because of their importance for the claiming of territory and its economic exploitation. Next to the *Kaiser's Weltpolitik* that focused outwards, railways had an important function for the cohesion of society within Germany. From the 1840s onwards Prussia expanded its influence over the privately owned and operated railways of the different German states, successively introducing a national railway system. While there was at first some resistance to this – which played an important role in the outbreak of the German revolution of 1848 – by the time of formal German colonialism, the national rail system had become a symbol of and tool for national integration. It was the largest German service enterprise, biggest employer, and strongest economic force of Germany. The national railway was very popular as an employer, as it offered many benefits to its employees like secure and well-paid work, free or cheap accommodation, and from 1902 also kindergartens (Gall, 1999, pp.21, 53–55). This diminished the critique of the labour movement against the state, which conceded that the state after all adhered to its social responsibilities. Gall (1999, p.55) concludes that, while the fleet was understood as a symbol of national unity outwards, the community of the railway workers became a symbol of inner national unity and was seen as a model for the economic and social organising of a national community. A similar function on the social level according to Gall (1999, p.54) was performed by the national postal service, the *Reichspost*, whose role in the colonies I will examine along with that of the colonial railways.

While there was plenty of awareness in Germany that the development of infrastructure was important for envisaged colonial progress, the actual situation in the colonies up until 1907 left much to be desired by the colonists. Different authors who dealt with questions of infrastructure from a pro-colonial perspective complained that in the first twenty years of the colonies' existence not enough had been done in order to develop it (Lenschau, 1900, p.1; Puche, 1921, p.378; Thilo, 1942b, p.18). The dependence on British telegraph cables for the transfer of messages between Germany and the colonies in particular remained a problem up until the First World War. Only Togoland and Cameroon became connected to a German submarine cable in 1913; German Southwest Africa and German East Africa remained dependent on the cables of other imperial powers until the end (Thilo, 1942b, p.22). A demonstration of Britain's power over German communication took place during the Second Boer War when the British government ordered the companies who ran the cables not to transfer any more messages to and from South Africa. This was done in order to prevent the

Afrikaners from communicating, but it also cut off German Southwest Africa from international communication (Lenschau, 1900, p.1; Mantei, 2007, p.105).

A further restriction to the use of the submarine cables for sending telegrams between Germany and the colonies was imposed by the enormous costs of its use. While the increased infrastructural interconnectedness of Europe with other parts of the globe facilitated a 'sense of global connectivity' (Müller, 2015, p.449), due to the tariff policies of the predominantly private cable entrepreneurs the 'ocean telegraphs neither became a medium of mass communication nor did they supplant ordinary mail as a means for social interaction' (Müller, 2015, p.446).⁴⁰ The high costs resulted in the development of a 'telegram style' in which the messages were shortened to an absolute minimum (Müller, 2016, p.125). Codebooks were in use that allowed to en- and decrypt messages of an extremely condensed format (see for example Kretzschmar, 1904). The price even influenced the communication of German colonial officials, although they did not personally have to cover the costs. They sent letters between colony and homeland that would elaborate on the telegraphic messages and agree on specific short forms for expected telegraphic replies (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1907b, pp.69–70). News that reached the colonies via telegraph with agencies like *Reuters* or *Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau* (on the agencies see chapter 4.1) were reprinted by the settler newspapers in their distinctive condensed style. When the settler press increasingly made use of the services of the agencies, some of the newspapers started featuring whole sections with uncommented short news from around the world.⁴¹ These provided basic information without offering frames of interpretation for the readers, while longer articles usually offered such frames. With their service of printing news that had arrived via telegraph, the settler newspapers enabled their readers in a way to participate in this technology that many of them could otherwise not afford.

The development of telegraphy in the German colonies was enthusiastically promoted by officials of the *Reichspost* (German Imperial Post). Early on, they started setting up post offices in the colonies and ran their own inland telegraph lines. The *Reichspost* also promoted the

⁴⁰ The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1902c) reported that in 1902 one word from German Southwest Africa to Europe cost 2.75 Marks. A very high price, considering that a subscription to the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* cost 4.50 Marks for six months in that same year.

⁴¹ While the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* provided a selection of *Reuters* news from its very first issue onwards, the *Anzeigen für Tanga* (later *Usambara-Post*) only started one and a half years after its inaugural issue to print *Reuters* telegrams. But the *Anzeigen für Tanga* (1903) then went from zero telegrams to having them cover the first two pages from May 1903 onwards.

construction of railway lines and worked closely together with the stations regarding the transport of the mail. In the 1930s, when looking back at their role in colonial times, *Reichspost* officials claimed that their work had been a vital part of German colonising efforts. According to them, the infrastructure connected the settlers 'with the rest of the world and formed the nervous system that unified colony and *Heimat* as a viable, healthy organism' (Schmidt and Werner, 1942b, p.6).⁴² Next to providing this 'vital connection' for the settlers, the *Reichspost* also adopted a mission to promote the German nation. This was not only the case for the colonies: Jefferies (2003, p.77) argues that already soon after the unification of Germany, the buildings of the *Reichspost* became 'one of the few ways in which the Empire became present in every German city and town... it was through the post office that the new Empire became a reality for ordinary Germans.' The *Reichspost* hoped to have a similar effect in the colonies: according to Thilo (1942b, p.17), Heinrich von Stephan, the Post-Master General of Germany, saw it as his task to 'carry the flag of the German post with German ships across the seas.'

Three different types of cable telegraphs were present in the German colonies. The submarine cables that provided a connection to other places in the world were in the hands of transnational companies and also subject to different political strategies of imperial powers. The overland telegraph communication within the colonies spread through initiatives of the *Reichspost*, but its existence was at the same time a requirement for the coordinated operation of the expanding railway network (Baltzer, 1916, p.417; Schivelbusch, 1980, pp.37–38). The third kind of cable communication in the colonies was the *Feldtelegraph* (field telegraph) that was usually set up by communication units of the *Schutztruppe* (the German colonial military). In times of major armed conflicts telegraphic communication proved essential for coordinating the troops. The German colonial military official Boethke (1906, p.39) believed that in his days telegraphs and railways were essential tools for warfare. The setting up of the first field telegraphs had been triggered by the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War (Boethke, 1906). Beyond these, the war had led to a whole range of new infrastructure projects, such as the first successful use of mobile radiotelegraphy (van Laak, 2004, p.92).

The first permanent radiotelegraphy connection opened in German East Africa in 1911 between Muansa and Bukoba, covering 170 kilometres across Lake Victoria (Roscher, 1925,

⁴² The book of Schmidt and Werner (1942) on the *Deutsche Post* in the German colonies strongly embraced Nazi ideology and promoted a colonial revisionist position that underlined the presumed 'achievements' in the German colonies, the loss of which was, according to them, unjustified.

pp.14, 22). Much celebrated was the first radiotelegraphy connection between Germany and the colony of Togoland on 1 April 1914. The major radio station in Nauen (Germany) was able to receive Morse code from the station in Kamina (Togoland) (Roscher, 1925, p.41). The excitement did however not last long, as the German colonial endeavour in Togoland was ended by the British and the French soon after the outbreak of the First World War. The Germans destroyed the station in Kamina before it could be seized by the advancing enemy (Lindner, 2011, p.136). Nevertheless, radiotelegraphy had quite a high symbolic meaning for Germans regarding the 'felt connection' between colonies and homeland, and as a sign of their advanced technology, also in competition with Great Britain.

The Herero and Nama War had not only fuelled activity regarding the expansion of the telegraphy network, but also revived interest in the question of colonial railways. In German public and political debate, it was suspected that the war could have been prevented if railways would have been built earlier (van Laak, 2004, p.127). In the colony itself, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1905f) argued strongly for a further expansion of the railway network as necessary protection for the colony. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905k) even stated that because of the increased development of infrastructure, the war had its good sides for German Southwest Africa. Also in German East Africa, colonists realised that they depended on railways if they wanted to reach places of African resistance fast enough to crush it before it could spread (Brode, 1911, p.84). The traffic engineers Blum and Giese (1907, p.33) explained that the expansion of the railway network would allow for smaller contingents of soldiers to be stationed in the colonies because the infrastructure would increase their radius of impact. These insights finally also arrived in the *Reichstag* that had thus far been opposed to granting more money for colonial railway projects. State Secretary Dernburg took advantage of the fact that the newly constituted parliament was friendlier towards colonial investments (on the new elections see chapter 4.1) and, from April 1907 onwards, submitted a number of motions that concerned railway projects. For all of them, the monies applied for were granted by the *Reichstag* (van Laak, 2004, pp.137–138). Dernburg usually earned a lot of criticism from settlers in the colonies regarding his policies. These aimed at preserving and accelerating the African's economic systems rather than destroying them in favour of the settlers' systems. But the development of the railway network was for him just as important as it was for the settlers (Naranch, 2000, p.322). Dernburg (1907, p.10) regarded railways as 'the most important means of colonisation.' The *Kamerun-Post* (1912i) acknowledged that the otherwise controversial Dernburg had through the 'expansion of the railway done great things for the development' of the colony.

The expansion of colonial infrastructure had an accelerating effect not only on economic exploitation and the possibilities of deployment of soldiers, but also on the transport of all kinds of mail, including newspapers from Germany as well as the local settler newspapers. Mail steamers that headed for the colonies were owned by shipping companies like *Woermann* or the *Deutsche Ostafrika-Linie*, but they were coordinated and subsidised by the *Reichspost*. In 1896 it still took 40 days for mail to arrive in German Southwest Africa from Germany. Just before the outbreak of the First World War, delivery times had been reduced to 20 to 24 days (Krauß, 1920; Puche, 1920; Thomas, 1942, p.37). The transportation of mail in the colonies themselves had sped up and its security improved through the construction of railways. Prior to the opening of the railway line that ran from the port of Swakopmund to the colonial capital of Windhoek, the mail had been delivered predominantly by ox wagon. Transport took between twelve days and six weeks on this route (as was the case with Wasserfall's printing press, see chapter 4.2.1). And sometimes, the mail did not arrive at all: the wagons were at times ambushed and robbed. With the opening of the railway line in 1902, mail deliveries between Swakopmund and Windhoek were reduced to two days, together with an overall reduction of risk. Railway and *Reichspost* worked together closely: the latter could use the facilities of the former and did not have to build extra post offices. Often, the stationmaster also ran the post office (Mantei, 2007, pp.27, 33, 35).

Newspapers destined for (as well as published in) the colonies were closely linked to the services of the *Reichspost* which was responsible for delivering them. Subscriptions for newspapers from Germany were done through the *Reichspost* that provided a list of the publications that could be ordered (Reichs-Postamt, 1913, p.43). Settler newspapers were either delivered along with the other regular mail or through their own, regional delivery service (called the *Expedition*). The settler newspapers in return provided a service for the *Reichspost*: they functioned as its bulletin and published its schedules (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898e; Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1899d). The settler newspapers also took over the task of publishing schedules and price lists for other colonial infrastructure, as for example for the railways (Kamerun-Post, 1912g). The importance of infrastructure for the colonies in general and the settler press in particular was reflected in the latter's content. Railways, telegraphs and the *Reichspost* regularly featured in the articles. It was nothing out of the ordinary when the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1903h) started its review of the past year with praising developments in these three areas of colonial infrastructure. In the German colonies, infrastructure not only transmitted news, but often enough, infrastructure was the

news. This stands in contrast with newspapers today which allow its readers to be unaware of all the supporting infrastructure that makes their publication and distribution possible in the first place.

The different colonial infrastructures were heavily interlinked, and the settler newspapers played their part in the chain. The settler press made use of telegraphs, railways, mail steamers, and the overarching services of the *Reichspost*, and in return contributed to shaping these services. The dependence on these 'lines of communication,' to use Brode's (1911, p.25) slightly militaristic term, was demonstrated to the editors in particular when these lines were disturbed. This was for example the case at the outbreak of the First World War when the supply of necessary materials for the production of the settler newspapers was interrupted. Already on 8 August 1914 the *Usambara-Post* (1914b) informed its readers that from now on the volume of their publication had to be reduced because it was not foreseeable when the next delivery of paper from Europe would arrive. But the dependence on European supplies and support was by no means the only challenge that colonial infrastructures faced. In the next two sections I will explore colonial infrastructures as a site of negotiation of the relations between colonisers and the colonised. To fully grasp the technologies' meaning for the colonists in this context, it is important to understand their status in German and, more generally, in European culture at the time.

5.1.2 Railways as the 'great white hope'⁴³

In the German colonies, cultural aspects of infrastructure developed along the lines of two main principles: the principle of *Kulturarbeit*, and anxiety as a constantly underlying notion. Anxieties were mainly caused by the fear of the African majority amongst whom the settlers lived. I will go more into detail about settler anxieties in chapter 7. In terms of *Kulturarbeit*, railways were understood as an important tool for transforming the land and the people in the pursuit of fulfilling the 'civilising mission,' which served as legitimisation of colonial endeavours (on *Kulturarbeit* see also chapters 3.1 and 6.2.2). *Kulturarbeit* was performed from a position that assumed a cultural supremacy, a notion that was also based on the use of technologies.

⁴³ Some of the arguments I make in this section as well as in the following one are published in my chapter 'Discursive colonialism: German colonial settler communities, their media and infrastructure in Africa, 1898-1914,' in: Ruth Sanz Sabido (ed.) *Representing Communities: Discourse and Contexts*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

This notion was not unique to the colonies, but common in European and North American culture around 1900, as Müller (2016, p.118) states:

At the time, technological progress was strongly intertwined with notions of civilisation, and development and technologies, such as the railways, steamships, and electric telegraphs, were contemporaries' proof of their own superiority over nature as well as the "rest," or the "uncivilised."

Within the German states in the mid-nineteenth century, Gall (1999, pp.17–18) argues, railways were important signs of modernity. Towns that were connected to the railway network and its circulation of people and goods were regarded as 'towns that have a future.' Railway stations were frequently described as 'Cathedrals of progress and modernity.'

This discourse of railways as symbols and bringers of development, progress and modernity, and as a sign of civilisation, was also led in the settler newspapers of the German colonies. The *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1898b, p.2) proclaimed: 'Every kilometre that the railway construction advances means an advance in development opportunities, and every similar news strengthens the hope that the country will develop.' The *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1898c, p.2) furthermore understood railways to be essential for those who settled 'in a completely non-cultivated land in the midst of hostile tribes.' Railways were regarded a tool for 'developing' the colonies and at the same time a means of protection from their African residents. At the other side of the continent, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* likewise emphasised the importance of railways for the development of the colony; first in its inaugural issue, as well as in many of the issues that followed (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1899f; b). Over the lifespan of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, the construction of railways remained one of the newspaper's most central concerns. It became interested in publications of specialists on colonial railways and referred to their work, as for example to a book of the government official Wilhelm Oechelhäuser who was committed to realising a central railway for German East Africa. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1899a) stated that 'of all the books that appeared in the last fifteen years about East Africa, none of them has been of higher practical value.'

Prominent German colonial 'experts' at the time such as Oechelhäuser frequently argued in favour of the construction of colonial railways in the context of *Kulturarbeit*. Dix (1907, pp.68–69) argued that, with the help of railways, the German influence in the colonies could be expanded into areas that had not yet been subjected to 'German order.' According to him, the production and consumption of the inhabitants of these areas could be increased, taxes raised,

uprisings prevented and the Africans ultimately 'rescued' from their own 'uncivilised' existence. In a later publication, Dix (1926) praised these presumed German 'achievements' in the now lost colonies and attempted to prove German 'colonising virtues' by giving examples of *Kulturarbeit*. Under the title of 'German *Kulturarbeit* in the colonies' he published pictures that showed among other things the construction and operation of railways in German Southwest Africa and Cameroon, the Swakopmund harbour, and a school in the Pacific area (Dix, 1926, p.8b, 16a, 16b). *Kulturarbeit* was here again a reference for the transformation of land and people, made possible also by the introduction of European infrastructures.

The settler newspapers picked up on these debates and made similar arguments. There was however one significant difference: the humanitarian arguments that the colonial railway 'experts' made were hardly discernible in the settler newspapers. It was the settlers' objective to develop their own projects, which often worked to the disadvantage of Africans. Their discourse focused on the idea of railways as means of aggressive conquest. Also this notion was present in the wider European discourse at the time. Schivelbusch (1980, p.58) observed that the literature of the mid-nineteenth century compared railways with projectiles and missiles. These representations, which persisted until the end of the century, reverberated also in publications of German colonial 'experts,' as for example in the one of Baltzer (1916). He introduced his book on colonial railways with a quote attributed to Cecil Rhodes, which described railways as the ultimate colonial weapon: 'In the colonies the railway is cheaper than the cannon and reaches farther' (Baltzer, 1916, p.15). Baltzer (1916, p.17) himself suggested the use of railways for the 'suppression of insubordinate tribes,' and for general conquest of colonial territories. He looked admiringly at other imperial railway projects that were used in this way, as for example in North America and South Africa. Baltzer (1916, pp.18, 111) stated that large parts of North America could not have been made accessible without the railway and would still be an impenetrable wilderness without them.

This 'knowledge' about railways as excellent tools of colonial appropriation was also present in the settler press. The *Kamerun-Post* (1912f) likewise referred to the example of North America when it stated, full of hope for the effect that railways would have in colonial Africa:

It will not take long and the modern man of culture will feel at home in the interior of the "dark continent" and spend his "holidays" there as it is already happening in the formerly feared homeland of the redskins.

The idea of conquest was in this quote yet again accompanied by a representation of the colonial space as potentially threatening prior to its subjugation by technology. And not only the fear of local residents triggered anxieties, but the colonial landscape as such was often represented as hostile. It was precisely the introduction and expansion of railway lines that the settlers associated with a protection from this perceived threat. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* printed the words of a railway engineer of the *Schutztruppe* who described the 'horror' he felt when he rode on horseback through an area of the Namib desert that he was surveying for the planning of a new railway: 'nothing but rocks, sand and stone ... all life seems to have died away' (Schulze, 1906, p.5). Vividly, he described the stench of animal cadavers in the air that had died in the 'labyrinth of rocks.' But there was hope: Schulze (1906, p.5) stated that the construction of the railway, in the process of which some of the rocks were to be blown away and cuts made through others, would make this landscape accessible. The construction of the railway line served as a means to defeat the hostile environment. A passenger of the Usambara Railway in German East Africa, who travelled through a completely different landscape, described a similar sensation:

The untameable natural force of an unparalleled vegetation swallows all *Kulturarbeit* in the shortest time if man does not perpetually force his will onto nature. The railway is an expression of this mastery which demonstrates that the civilised man rules and will continue to rule (Neubauer, 1903, p.575, cited in van Laak, 2004, p.125).

The railway turned a previously hostile environment into something that could be experienced with a reasonable amount of comfort. An article in the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1902b) about the maiden journey of the train from Swakopmund to Windhoek even described the landscape experienced from the inside of a railway wagon as something that could be 'consumed.' In the article, the 'difficulty' of the territory that the line ran through was acknowledged, but in the following rather described as a pleasant story that unfolded itself in front of the passenger: 'The images of the landscape that offer themselves to the eye of the traveller show the slow transition from the desert to a steadily growing vegetation cover' (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1902b). The article carried on to explain how cumbersome and tedious the journey between Swakopmund and Windhoek had been prior to the railway, and that this way to travel was now a whole new experience. This is reminiscent of a range of observations that Schivelbusch (1980) made in his history of the railway journey. He described transport systems that open up new territory to traffic as immensely productive; productive in the sense that they turned a formerly 'worthless (because inaccessible) wilderness' into a product of civilisation through cultivation (Schivelbusch, 1980, p.94). While the route in German Southwest Africa had been travelled before by other means, the railway

journey opened up a new space of experience. The panoramic view through the window of the train turned the landscape into something that the traveller could consume, but could at the same time withdraw from and avoid its direct impact (Schivelbusch, 1980, pp.186, 188). Foster (2003, p.665) has described similar effects for the colonial railways in South Africa. As a central effect he identified that the railways 'made it possible to grasp, for the first time, South Africa as a coherent and characterful whole.'

The described possibility to withdraw from an environment that was perceived as hostile hints at another property of the colonial railway, next to its uses for economic exploitation and subjugation of land and people: it could serve as a kind of buffer, inserted between the colonists and the landscape, as well as its inhabitants, as the above examples from the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1898c, p.2) and the *Kamerun-Post* (1912f) illustrated. A journey with the railway was not predominantly a way to experience the land, but a way to experience technology, and to be surrounded by European *Kultur*. Schivelbusch (1980, p.27) stated: 'it is ... that machine ensemble that interjects itself between the traveller and the landscape. The traveller perceives the landscape as it is filtered through the machine ensemble.' The ensemble thereby encompassed not only the train as such, but also the alteration of the landscape that it ran through in the form of bridges and cuts. Railways moved inside a series of alterations and were for the travellers an alternative space in itself that carried them through the land. This alternative space provided also an 'alternative' to the power relations outside of the railway wagon that were often not (yet) what the colonists aspired to: beyond European settlements, colonists had to be careful and were more openly contested. A railway running through such a landscape carried a space with a racist order that demonstrated the supposed European supremacy (as for example through the different wagon classes, see next section). In a 'strange' land, railways provided a sense of familiarity to the colonists and reinforced their claim for power.⁴⁴

Colonial railways not only altered the experience of the traveller on the train, but also left a message for those who observed the 'machine ensemble' in the landscape. Once the train had passed and the space was devoid of any colonists, the railway lines and accompanying telegraph poles still spoke to the witness. The message of course depended on the way in which it was received, but it was quite likely one of colonial appropriation that spoke about

⁴⁴ Unfortunately I did not come across any records during my research that indicate how Africans may have experienced the railway journey.

European supremacy through technology. The message, communicated through railways, inscribed itself directly onto the landscape. The colonists had built with their infrastructure countless 'monuments' that reminded those who passed by of the presumed German superiority. Railways turned the footprints of the colonists into a permanent form. They 'tagged' the African space as a colonised space, so to speak.

However, as Newell (2013, p.37) reminds us, such demarcation lines are never drawn quite as easily in reality. In the next section I am going to show that the praised technologies were far from perfect, and that they were also not, other than the settler discourse suggested, exclusively 'European.' Nevertheless, German colonists attempted to use infrastructures to enforce their desired relations of power.

5.1.3 Failure, segregation, and (re)appropriation

Railways as conqueror, 'buffer' and message were far from perfect. Reports about accidents appeared in the settler newspapers, next to other complaints about railways falling short of expectations. In German Southwest Africa, the undermining of the railway tracks by water was a frequently occurring problem and sometimes led to accidents (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1903b; j).⁴⁵ As another detriment, the first German colonial railways were narrow gauge ones that did not have much power or capacity for freight and passengers. Reactions to this shortcoming were mixed: the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1903g) at first merely remarked that the lesser capacity needed to be taken into account for the planning of traffic until a 'proper' railway network had been established. Until then, the narrow gauge railways would function as *Erschließungsbahnen* (development/exploitation railways) that were needed for taking possession of the country. In another article however, disappointment was expressed that the first completed German colonial railway line between Swakopmund and Windhoek did not accommodate a machine that was as strong as it could have been if more money had been invested (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904m). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1906c) likewise expressed its disappointment that this railway was only a 'weak *Feldbahn*' (narrow gauge) and criticised the financial policy of the government. But even

⁴⁵ Nature also tempered with colonial infrastructure in German East Africa: Giraffes that could become as tall as six meters got caught with their heads in overland telegraph cables that usually ran at a height of five meters and pulled them down (Thilo, 1942a, p.268).

though the discourse of the settler newspapers acknowledged that the railways were not impeccable, they were still treated as panacea for many of the problems in the colonies.

The *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* (1914) wrote about the completion of the central railway in German East Africa from Daressalam to Lake Tanganyika:

With proud joy can Germany as the youngest of the European colonial powers look at the completion of this great work of *Kultur* that is destined to carry European civilisation into the heart of the Dark Continent. Where before long caravans of porters carried the products of the land on arduous treks over months from the great lakes to the Indian Ocean, now the winged iron horse rushes through the same distance in 36 hours.

While the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* celebrated a piece of achieved *Kulturarbeit*, the article also highlighted a problem: the dependence of the colonists on the Africans. The porter system was an infrastructure too, and at that an immensely important one. Colonists sought to replace this African infrastructure with a colonial one (Brode, 1911, pp.30–31). But infrastructures like railways and telegraphs, which were in discourse represented as exclusively ‘European,’ in reality still depended on Africans, who in return made good use of them. Railways for example followed this principle from their construction to their destruction: the necessary parts for their construction were to the largest part not manufactured in the colonies but arrived via ship in the harbours.⁴⁶ The *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1898b) reported that eight complete railway engines had arrived with one ship.⁴⁷ In the port, the unloading was predominantly done by Africans, who were employed as cheap labourers. During the Herero and Nama War in German Southwest Africa, they also had to work as forced labourers, taken from the concentration camps where they were imprisoned (see details in chapter 7). After the unloading and transportation of the material to the construction sites, it was Africans who completed most of the construction works. This is illustrated by the many pictures in specialist books on colonial infrastructure of the time that depict railway construction, but also by the work routines at telegraph stations and post offices. These pictures usually show black people at work with only a few white people present who seemed to supervise, rather than do any of the work themselves (Arthur Koppel Aktiengesellschaft, 1907; Dix, 1926, p.16a; Peglow, 1942, p.192a; Thilo, 1942a, p.256d). *Reichspost* officials confirmed that they employed many Africans in the different colonies (Thomas, 1942, p.55; Peglow, 1942, p.198). In Cameroon, much of the parcel

⁴⁶ Von Eckenbrecher (1908, pp.19–20) described how shipping crews were dependent on experienced seafaring Africans to navigate through the dangerous surf in Swakopmund before the pier was built.

⁴⁷ Note that all material was imported; no manufacturing industry was set up in order to make the colonies independent of the delivery of parts from the homeland (Conrad, 2008, p.61).

post that arrived at the post offices was addressed to Africans, and Africans represented the largest group of customers of the newly introduced telephone lines (Peglow, 1942, pp.190, 217). While some Africans had to work as indentured or even forced labourers, others were actively seeking employment with providers of colonial infrastructure. It was for example more attractive to work for a railway company than on a plantation in German East Africa. Locals were actively seeking employment with the railway, much to the annoyance of the planters who depended on the availability of cheap labourers for their own businesses (Sunseri, 1998, p.565). Operators of colonial infrastructures often preferred to recruit non-Europeans in order to keep their costs down (Brode, 1911, p.77; Baltzer, 1916, p.417).

Some of the colonists found the increasing number of Africans operating the infrastructures quite worrying. After all, it could have severe consequences if something went wrong, for example with the railways. Colonists had to entrust their lives to people whom they believed to have only limited cognitive skills, and who furthermore quite possibly had very little sympathy for the colonists.⁴⁸ Following beliefs of the time in 'differences of the races,' Blum and Giese (1907, p.128) therefore suggested the employment of people from India or Arabia, or people of dual descent for the more complicated tasks in the railway service. According to their racist beliefs, these were located a little further up the 'cultural ladder' than those of 'purely' African descent. Detailed regulations for the operation of railways were likewise issued along these lines in order to 'minimise the risk' and to insinuate a certain level of control. Baltzer (1916, p.418) for example suggested that Africans who were involved in operating the railways should be supervised closely by Europeans. He furthermore argued that, since most of the operations and maintenance works were carried out by African employees, no equipment that would need to be treated gently should be fitted to the trains. Baltzer (1916, p.392) stated that with African employees 'careful and precise treatment cannot be expected.'⁴⁹ The discourse that constructed Africans as inferior to Europeans inscribed itself in the case of colonial railways into the regulations of their operation, and possibly even into their construction itself. The increasing obsession during German colonialism with segregation

⁴⁸ On a more profound level, Bhabha has identified an increasing unease that befell colonists with regard to the colonised who appropriated the presumed 'achievements of civilisation' and mirrored this culture to the colonisers, albeit in their own interpretation (Sieber, 2012, pp.105–106).

⁴⁹ Former German employees of the *Reichspost* in the colonies made similar statements. Thilo (1942a, p.260) argued that 'the white officials needed a lot of patience with the Black' when supervising their work in the post offices of German East Africa. About Cameroon, Peglow (1942, p.198) stated that in those of the post offices that were managed by Africans alone, no money orders were accepted in order to prevent the presumed misappropriations that were then apparently bound to happen.

according to 'race' (Lindner, 2011, p.309) was likewise reflected in the regulations of railway operation.

A system of different transport classes similar to the one that was in use in Germany was also introduced into the colonies. But there, the lowest class (the third class) was reserved for 'coloureds' (*Farbige*) only. This category included Africans as well as others that the colonists did not regard as white. Whites were not allowed to use third class wagons in order to take the presumed 'racial differences' sufficiently into account. As an exception, coloureds who belonged to a higher social class could apply to the railway authority for access to the first class wagons. In Togoland, missionaries were allowed to also travel in third class. But apart from that, mingling was only accepted in the second class. And here, usually a number of 'whites-only'-wagons were provided. Mingling only happened when the capacity of these wagons was exhausted. Further regulations stated that servants in the dining cars had to be 'coloureds,' while those handling the cash needed to be 'white.' Unlike the case of European passengers, it was permissible to transport Africans in open freight trains (Baltzer, 1916, pp.398, 424–245). Those regulations that organised space within the railways along the lines of notions of 'race' meant a devaluation of Africans and at the same time a potential social 'upgrade' for Europeans who were automatically exempted from the lowest class in the colonies.

However, infrastructures did not just manifest themselves as controlled spaces, but also as spaces of encounters where the relationship between all of its users was negotiated. Laws and regulations that government officials and colonists wrote in order to enhance and legitimise their control over the colonised not uncommonly only worked partially, as Zimmerer (2004) has demonstrated for example regarding the 'native ordinances' that had been introduced in German Southwest Africa after the Herero and Nama War. From the sources that my work is based upon it is difficult to tell if the regulations of railway operation and uses were adhered to by all parties or if they were ignored or, contested.⁵⁰ However, records of African interventions into German colonial infrastructure that contested their message do exist, mostly in the context of the colonial wars. Some of these events also fed into the discourse of the settler newspapers.

⁵⁰ There is a gap in the archival material, as the files concerning technologies and railways had been destroyed during an air raid in 1945 (according to information from the Bundesarchiv that is displayed when searching its database for the key word 'railways').

The cables and poles of the telegraphs were easy targets for African intervention, and every now and then they disappeared from the different colonies across Africa. Not all of the damage that was done to telegraph lines was necessarily an act of sabotage. Peglow (1942, p.217) suggested that disappeared telegraph cables in Cameroon were used mostly for the production of goods like jewellery. It is however in question whether the real motive behind these actions was actually sabotage. In British East Africa colonists were struggling with a similar problem regarding the Nandi who were taking parts of the railway tracks as well as telegraph cables. British colonists also assumed that this was done in order to make jewellery and weapons, but Lindner (2011, pp.106–107) questions this simple interpretation and suggests that deliberate sabotage should be taken into account.

Open, deliberate destruction indeed occurred in the German colonial territories: during the Herero and Nama War, as well as the Maji Maji War, African combatants cut telegraph lines in order to destroy their enemy's cable communications, which were vital for coordinating the movement of the colonial troops. Soldiers were deployed to repair and protect telegraph lines, but new destruction frequently occurred. The maintenance troops again posed a welcome target for the combatants. In German East Africa, the damage was so severe that it took ten months to repair the lines after the Maji Maji War had ended (Kunz, 1905, pp.12–13; Thilo, 1942a, pp.266–267). Settler newspapers in both German East Africa and German Southwest Africa covered the destruction of the cables, and also reported the dangers posed by their maintenance (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1905h; *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1907e). Colonists in German Southwest Africa were taken aback when Hereros destroyed railway lines and blew up the railway bridge at Osona on the line between Windhoek and Swakopmund at the start of the war (Bridgman, 1981, p.77). Bridgman (1981, p.77) explained that the cutting of the telegraph line in Swakopmund had isolated the entire colony from communicating with the outside world. The Swakopmund station usually connected the colony via Walvis Bay to the British cable that provided the telegraphic connection to Europe. This connection was also one of the news sources of the settler press (Mantei, 2007, pp.107–108). Major Kunz (1905, p.16) pointed out that the attacks against this infrastructure attested to the Herero's good 'strategic understanding,' and the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904g, p.1) commented with the following words a telegram that reported the destruction: 'So the situation is serious, much more serious than we still guessed yesterday. We did not think that the Herero would proceed with such a vigorous strategy.'

It cannot be determined whether infrastructures were targeted for purely strategic reasons or also for their high symbolic meaning. According to Drechsler (1966, pp.150–151), one of the main triggers for the Herero to take up arms against the Germans had been their anger about the planned construction of the Otavi Railway that was going to cut through the middle of their territory. The expected influx of settlers would have displaced them even further from their land. Railways therefore provided a good strategic as well as symbolic target. Then again, it is surprising that the Herero discontinued their attacks on railways so early in the war. It needs to be taken into account however that they generally did not take advantage of their initial military success. As a consequence, the Germans soon prevailed again (Zimmerer, 2003b, p.47). But regardless of whether there was an intended symbolic meaning in the destruction or not, in the same way that the railways inscribed a message onto the colonised landscape, this message was now contested by the Herero in the course of warfare. The combatants sent their own message of reappropriation of the colonial space.

Industrial action was another means by which Africans used the dependence of the colonists on infrastructure – and thereby a dependence on the Africans who constructed and operated them – to challenge the conditions in the colonies. In September and October 1910 a group of Xhosa from South Africa, who worked as contract labourers at a railway construction site in Wilhelmsthal just north of Windhoek, went on strike because they were not paid properly (Drechsler, 1966, p.277).⁵¹ The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1910, p.2) nervously spoke about a ‘railway worker movement’ that they feared could spread also among labourers that had been recruited locally.

On a smaller scale, but nevertheless very noticeable for the settler newspapers, their own African employees occasionally struck, for example at the print office of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. The former editor Heinrich Pfeiffer, quoted by Redeker (1937, pp.44–45), recounted an incident from 1908. According to the story, five of the African typesetters of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* had decided not to come in to work on a day when a particularly voluminous issue was due to be printed. Pfeiffer stated that they had done this in accordance with the typesetters of the *Usambara-Post* which was at the time in conflict with the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. Apparently the employees wanted to prevent yet another attack from the latter against the former. While this incident was

⁵¹ The strike action was violently ended by German soldiers who shot twelve of the eighty workers dead. Both the South African Union and the British Foreign Office in London filed an official complaint about the incident, which however resulted in no further consequences (Lindner, 2009, p.685).

identified by the editor as a form of strike by the employees, similar situations allow for such an interpretation from today's perspective, but were at the time often framed as an alleged 'laziness' of Africans. In this context particularly interesting is a note in the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1904b) from 30th January 1904: the newspaper apologised that this week's issue only contained four pages, mainly consisting of advertising and *Reuters* telegrams. The reason was according to the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1904b) the 'sudden illness of our first printer as well as of several typesetters.' Interestingly, this was the first issue that was due to appear after news about the attack of the Herero on the settlers in German Southwest Africa on 12th January had been disseminated in Daressalam (the place of publication of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*) in the form of extras. The only proper article in the issue of 30th January of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1904h) was the first (besides the extras in the previous week) to report of the beginning war. Maybe this work loss was really just the result of a wave of flu among the employees. But because of its timing, this incident could be interpreted as a strike action that was in some way connected to the events in German Southwest Africa.

Such incidents demonstrated to the settlers their dependence on the Africans, without whom they had insufficient capacities to operate the infrastructures. Technologies like railways, telegraphs, and printing presses were imagined by the colonists as inherently 'European,' but judging by the history of their construction, operation, uses, and also destruction, those technologies were in the colonial situation just as much 'African' as they were 'European.' This dependence fed into the settlers' anxieties, and they sought to prevent the colonised from building networks and getting organised (as I will elaborate in chapter 7). Within the colonial discourse, infrastructures themselves communicated a message, and one that could be contested by Africans who were otherwise largely excluded from an active contribution to the discourse of the settlers. Infrastructures furthermore provided spaces of negotiation of colonial relations. Their introduction challenged relations of power and offered a stage upon which tensions and conflicts were carried out. This dynamic again facilitated the further expansion of infrastructure. In the next section, I will explore the endeavour of the settler press to expand the colonial infrastructure, as well as its own expansion as part of this infrastructure in the context of the tensions among the colonists themselves.

5.2 Settler press as a matter of expansion

Conflict was a result of German colonial expansion as well as a stimulant for further expansion. This applies also to its infrastructure. In the context of the settler press, a letter of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* (German Colonial Association for Southwest Africa) of 13th May 1904 that addressed the members of its supervisory board demonstrated this quite impressively. The association had founded the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* in 1900. The print office of the book shop became responsible for printing some of the different settler newspapers of German Southwest Africa and opened several branches during the colony's existence (see chapter 4.2.1). The said letter stated that this had initially been a losing deal; the association had to increase the capital stock of the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* from initially 20,000 to 70,000 Marks. The problem, according to the association, was that there were not enough customers in the colony. It was actually contemplating selling off the facilities in December 1903. But then the Herero and Nama War broke out and brought an influx of soldiers to the colony who required newspapers, books, postcards and stationery, leading to a rapid increase of the revenue of the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung*.⁵² This even enabled the purchase of a motor for the printing presses. The *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* concluded, business-like and in complete disregard of the thousands of victims of the war: 'It is only thanks to the uprising in the protectorate which caused the sending of the troops and led to an increased number of consumers that the business currently flourishes' (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1905b).

The settler press was in many ways closely tied to questions of success or failure of German colonial expansion. As keen advocates of the construction of railways, settler newspapers actively fought for colonial expansion and in the course of this created their 'expert' identity. But their political activity and confrontational character was not limited to the railway question. In the following I will show how the settler press landscape expanded due to multiple conflicts between groups of settlers as well as between settlers, governments and (transnational) associations of different kinds. While individuals as well as economically motivated associations tried to gain influence over the different settler newspapers, new projects were founded as an alternative to and sometimes in open opposition to the existing newspapers.

⁵² Bley (1968, p.193) states that 14,000 additional soldiers had been deployed to fight the Herero. Before the war broke out, 700 soldiers were stationed in German Southwest Africa (Kreienbaum, 2015, p.59).

5.2.1 Settler newspapers as 'experts' on colonial railways

The topic of infrastructures – and of railways in particular – was ever-present in all of the settler newspapers from early on. They not only reported on the latest developments regarding colonial infrastructure, but they also featured in-depth articles that discussed possible next steps and options for the expansion of those infrastructures, and they ultimately tried to lobby for their fast construction. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* carried out this role most vigorously. From its inaugural issue onwards it argued that railways were vital for the colony and that it was the government's responsibility to ensure that envisaged infrastructure projects were realised. The newspaper tried to reach the *Reichstag*, which was responsible for allocating the money for colonial projects, directly through its articles. In the pursuit of this task, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* tried different tactics. In one of its lines of argument, the newspaper eagerly reminded its readers in Germany that the settlers in the colonies were part of the German national 'family' and that they deserved solidarity and support. While the newspaper promoted this argument continuously, it argued in particular in this way at Christmas-time. In the successive years of 1900 to 1903 the railway question was the central topic of the articles concerning Christmas and was at the top of the newspaper's figurative wish list.⁵³ It reminded the 'dear motherland' and the 'strict stepfather *Reichstag*' of their responsibility towards their 'child' German East Africa (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1900a). The newspaper here stressed the settlers' belonging to the community of the German nation and therefore the responsibility of the homeland to take care of them (for the settlers' specific relation to the German national community, see chapter 6). But the articles also reflected the settlers' fear of being abandoned without sufficient infrastructure that they needed in order to hold their ground as well as to appropriate new territory. As Gall (1999, p.18) has observed for nineteenth century Germany, to have railways meant to 'have a future.'

The second argument that the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* employed in order to lobby for the construction of railways was the provision of its presumed 'expert knowledge' to the *Reichstag*. In one article the newspaper came up with its own calculations and figures that

⁵³ In 1904 the railways were likewise the central topic of the Christmas article, but as some good news had arrived from Germany concerning the granting of support for the extension of the railway from Daressalam into the interior, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* for once did not complain about the government but declared that its wishes were now finally addressed in an appropriate manner (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904f).

were supposed to prove the profitability of colonial railways in Africa; in this case of a railway for the centre of German East Africa. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1901b) stated that it had ‘through many articles and geographical reports thoroughly proven’ the prospective profitability of the railway. The newspaper also presented a calculation of the costs and benefits of the British Uganda Railway, and suggested to try to learn from some of the mistakes that had according to its opinion been made during the construction (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904c) (see figure 2).⁵⁴

While settler newspapers understood themselves as experts also regarding other questions as for example how to ‘treat’ Africans, the railway issue was one of the earliest topics by the means of which the settler newspapers began to develop their identity as ‘colonial experts.’ The newspapers essentially made the argument that the government needed to ask the settlers how to proceed with colonial policies because they were the ones living in the situation, quite unlike the ‘armchair colonists’ back in Berlin. The relatively new technology of railways in the colonies (new to the place but not to the settlers) provided an opportunity for the settler newspapers to imagine themselves, together with some of the publicly acknowledged ‘railway experts’ that I have previously mentioned, as a group of ‘experts’ whose opinion the government was supposed to take into account. Marvin (1988) has explored the phenomenon of ‘expert’ communities that emerged in connection to ‘new’ technologies. She observed, as I do for the case of settler newspapers, that these communities attempted to define who was an insider and who an outsider of specific ‘knowledge’ about the technology (Marvin, 1988, pp.15–17, 45). While the settler newspapers did not go into much detail about technical specifications of railways, they discussed some of the technical details like gauge width and made suggestions about the suitability of the different models for the specific situation in the colonies (*Windhoeker Anzeiger*, 1898c; *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1903e). Marvin (1988, pp.63–64) furthermore observed that the ‘experts’ regarded the ‘new’ technology as a ‘transformative agent of social possibility,’ facilitating enormous gains for the ‘future of civilisation.’ The discourse of the settler newspapers indeed suggested that railways would bring security and economic prosperity to the colonies.

The settler newspapers changed back and forth between complaining that they were not heard sufficiently by the government, and being convinced that they played a vital role in

⁵⁴ A similar discourse was present in German Southwest Africa (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1903e).

shaping colonial policies. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905d) for example proclaimed excitedly that it had been cited in parliamentary documents that concerned questions of railway construction in German East Africa. And when the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907e) celebrated the decision of the *Reichstag* to grant money for the extension of the railway line between Lüderitzbucht and Aus to the town of Keetmanshoop, the newspaper was convinced that it had played a role in the decision (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1907e). From their perspective, it seemed like the settler newspapers' lobbying for colonial railway construction had significantly contributed to the actual building of railways. Within this research, an immediate effect of the lobbying of the settler press regarding railways could not be identified. But the construction of the desired railway projects was eventually started and the settler newspapers saw themselves confirmed in their 'expert' role.

The special role of the settler newspapers was also acknowledged by some of the German domestic newspapers. The *Deutsche Kolonien*, cited by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909c), regarded the settler newspapers as the 'lawyers' of the colonies. In the absence of established political parties, the settler newspapers represented the demands of the settlers to the colonial governments as well as to the German central government. The *Deutsche Volkswirtschaftliche Korrespondenz*, also cited by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909b), expressed its respect to the settler press for its expertise in colonial questions and its role as 'guardian of the common interests' of the settlers.

The settler 'experts' however had a habit of insisting on their position and communicating this in a sometimes rather rude tone to everyone whose opinion differed. This was not limited to disputes with the government, but also encompassed disputes within the settler communities. Conflict among settlers on the one hand and conflict between settlers and colonial government on the other led to a diversification of the settler press landscape in German Southwest Africa and German East Africa. In chapter 4.2.2 I have already addressed the issue of the pugnacious editor of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, Willy von Roy, and his conflict with the colonial government, which resulted in the temporary existence of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* that had been initiated by the government. In the following, I will examine the diversification of the settler press landscape of German Southwest Africa that was predominantly a result of tensions between different groups of settlers.

5.2.2 Newspaper wars

In September 1907 a headline on the front page of the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907j) read: 'Newspaper War in Southwest.' The following article cited the *Deutsche Zeitung* with the words: 'Where a few Germans are together, soon also parties will be founded, and if there are some journalists among them, there will be a major war.' How did a 'newspaper war' develop within less than ten years after the first settler newspaper had been founded in German Southwest Africa?

It all started with the *Bezirksverein Windhuk* (District Association Windhuk), an association of the German inhabitants of Windhoek that aimed at representing the needs of the settlers to the colonial government. Such associations were common in German Southwest Africa. They usually encompassed all major professions of the settlers: farming, craft and trade (Bley, 1968, p.224). The *Bezirksverein Windhuk* had regular assembly meetings, with minutes taken. These were then published as a report in the only settler newspaper of the colony at the time, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, the later *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*. The newspaper sometimes commented on the reports. This is where conflict broke out: the report that was published in June 1903 by the chairman of the association, Bail, contained a resolution that requested that government money which was paid into a settler fund should support those already living in the colony rather than serve as an incentive for new settlers to come (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1903a, p.2) (on the controversies of settler immigration, see chapter 6.2.3). The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* critically commented on the confrontational tone of the report, and also published a separate article that ridiculed the supposed naivety of the *Bezirksverein Windhuk* (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1903a; c).

In August 1903, after the exchange of several verbal blows between the two parties, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1903d) refused to print another reply of the *Bezirksverein Windhuk*. As a consequence, the association founded its own newspaper, the *Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk* (News of the District Association Windhuk). Initially it served mainly as an organ to publish the reports of the association. But since the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* had moved away from Windhoek to Swakopmund in September 1901, there was a vacancy for a newspaper in the colonial capital of the colony. With the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War in January 1904 the production of the *Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk* was suspended, but was taken up again in December 1904. Under the

new name *Windhuker Nachrichten* (Windhuk News) it became the second major newspaper of the colony and also developed a readership in Germany (see chapter 4.3.1). This was by no means the end of the conflict. In the next years the newspapers repeatedly argued over different matters, or rather, about the tone in which the other party voiced its critique. As a consequence, in September 1907 the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907j, p.2) published the article with the title 'Newspaper War in Southwest,' stating that it was forced to defend itself, and that such a defence was legitimate.

The *Windhuker Nachrichten* not only had trouble with the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, but also internally, struggles over power and control over the newspaper were taking place. The big question was: which of the different groups of settlers was able to use the newspaper as an organ to communicate their needs and demands? The different professions of the colony, and here mainly the farmers versus the traders, were seeking to use the colony's newspapers to their own advantage (Bley, 1968, p.225). In 1906 the *Windhuker Nachrichten* was transferred from the hands of the *Bezirksverein Windhuk* into the *Windhuker Nachrichten GmbH* (Ltd.). While the *Bezirksverein* still played a small role in the running of the newspaper, it was now under the control of a supervisory board that represented many different groups of settlers. The editor during that phase, Anton Passarge (1910), stated that he sometimes nearly despaired of the task of representing all different factions of the colony. Repeated power struggles led in 1910 to yet another change in ownership of the newspaper: the Farmers' Association of German Southwest Africa took over the *Windhuker Nachrichten* and changed its name in January 1911 into *Südwestbote* (Southwest Courier) in order to turn it into a 'real German Southwest African newspaper,' as Passarge (1910) expressed it. Settlers who lived as farmers, as I will elaborate in chapter 6, felt as if they were the only true backbone of the colony and therefore demanded their voice to be the loudest and most respected one. The *Südwestbote* as the organ of the Farmer's Association aimed at finally leaving its 'local character' behind and to develop under the editorship of Arthur Mylo into a newspaper that represented the whole colony (Passarge, 1910; Mylo, 1911).

In the meantime, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* developed into the organ of trade and commerce (Bley, 1968, p.225). The aforementioned *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* was a member of the association of the Swakopmund traders. The Swakopmund representation of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* reported to its branch in Berlin from a meeting with the traders where the purchase of a stake of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* had been agreed upon. The association stated that it was

not intending to play an active part in the publication, but that it was hoping with this purchase to prevent the newspaper turning against the traders one day. The association expressed the hope that the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* would instead represent the interests of trade, mining companies, industry, and 'big business' (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1910). In the later life of the settler newspapers of German Southwest Africa, commercial interest groups increasingly tried to exert influence on them, although major changes regarding their position on the 'treatment' of Africans or the building of infrastructure are not discernible.

Questions of representation led to the founding of further newspaper projects in German Southwest Africa. One emerged in Lüderitzbucht, a small place at the southern coast of the colony that consisted of only five houses in 1905. It grew slightly when a railway line was built during the Herero and Nama War to facilitate military operations, and rather dramatically when diamonds were discovered in 1908. The discovery resulted in conflicts over the access to and ownership of the diamond fields (Lindner, 2011, pp.388–389). In February 1909 the Lüderitzbucht Citizen Association founded the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* in order to represent its interest. The citizens wanted to get their fair share from the diamonds and not allow associations like the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwestafrika* (the same association that was involved in the finances of the settler press) or international companies to skim off the revenue (Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung, 1909b; a). The newspaper was produced as much for a local readership as for readers in Germany where it aimed to represent the interests of the citizens of Lüderitzbucht to the parliament (Külz, 1914, pp.270–271). At the time of the founding of the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*, officials had already had plenty of bad experience with settler newspapers and were suspicious. The colonial government of German Southwest Africa therefore conducted some research into the association that owned the newspaper. It came to the conclusion that all its members and also the editor, Anders, were respectable people and could be expected to run the newspaper in a 'decent manner and according to national interest' (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1909). The government therefore recommended that the Colonial Office in Berlin support the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* by giving it access to information.

Representation of a specific region was also the motivation for the founding of the *Keetmanshooper Nachrichten* in June 1910, in April 1913 renamed into *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* (Külz, 1914, p.270). Just as Lüderitzbucht, Keetmanshoop was located in the far south of the colony, but over 300 kilometres inland from the coast. The motivation of this newspaper project was to represent the interests of the 'economically disadvantaged south,' and to provide for the region a 'representation through newspapers' just like the centre of the colony

had at its command (*Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, 1913c). Unlike its fellow settler newspapers, the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* did not try to pick fights with the other publications.

Another newspaper that was founded in order to address questions of regional representations was the *Südwest* in December 1910. But in contrast to the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* and the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, the *Südwest* did not want to represent the interests of a small region, but rather the colony as a whole. It shared this aim with the *Südwestbote*, which turned them into rivals. Rudolf Kindt, a former editor of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, had founded this new project in order to counter the trend of the settler newspapers to increasingly represent single regions or professions. He gave the *Südwest* the subtitle 'Independent Newspaper of the Interests of the Entire Protectorate' and moved it from Swakopmund to the colonial capital of Windhoek. Kindt hoped that his newspaper would also meet the interests of a readership in Germany. It was his concern to give an 'accurate impression' of life in the colony to the policy makers back home. While the *Südwest* did not officially declare war on any of the other newspapers, its foundation was based on an explicit critique of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and the *Windhuker Nachrichten/ Südwestbote* (Kindt, 1910; *Südwest*, 1910e, p.1; Külz, 1914, p.270). The *Südwest* furthermore repeatedly exchanged blows with the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* (*Südwest*, 1913b).

The 'newspaper wars' that took place in German Southwest Africa had their origin in the pugnacious character of the settler newspapers, but soon came to be 'wars' over regional and commercial interests. In particular the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* seemed to enjoy a role as a (commercial) 'puppet master.' Settler newspapers were, among many other things, an important infrastructure for individuals and companies who were pursuing their particular interests in the colonies. Together, the different conflicts led to an expansion and diversification of the settler press landscape in German Southwest Africa. Such a diversification also took place to a lesser degree in German East Africa, mainly due to the conflict between settler press and government.⁵⁵ Even though different individuals and groups of settlers sought to gain influence on the settler newspapers, their main arguments concerning the topics that are in the focus of my research (relations with the Africans, infrastructures, and the German national community) seem to not have been influenced much by these changes. With their character as pugnacious 'advocates,' the settler newspapers were

⁵⁵ A detailed account of the German East African 'newspaper war' gave Redeker (1937). In chapter 7 I will elaborate on the consequences of this 'newspaper war' for all of the German colonies.

however a most productive element in German colonialism. They contributed to the production of the colonial space as well as to the production of 'Germans' as such: the discourse of what was 'German' and how 'Germanness' should be performed was also taking place in the settler press. Through the networks that I have explored in chapter 4 the discourse was not confined to the colonies but also transported into Germany and other places. Discourse and practices of colonial Germanness in the settler newspapers are the subject of the next chapter.

6 Variations of colonial Germanness and the settler newspapers' contribution

Settler identities were created and negotiated in relation to a German national identity that was likewise in the process of constant change and development. Debates over the nature of 'Germanness,' and about how a 'true German' should act, were transported through networks back to Germany, but also had a profound impact on the situation in the colonies. Identity and community building was attempted by the settlers through an increased performance of Germanness during public holidays, and furthermore through a direct interaction with the land and the working of the soil in their attempt to turn the colony into a new *Heimat*. 'Working of the soil' predominantly meant to try to make Africans work for the settlers who pursued their objective of *Kulturarbeit* that was based on racist principles. The focus of this chapter is the role of the settler press in the settlers' colonial practice, their performance of a German national identity, and fragmentations of this identity. Anderson (1983 [2006], pp.6–7) has established that the nation is an 'imagined political community' that, while members 'will never know most of their fellow members,' imagines itself as limited with other nations lying beyond its boundaries – or, regarding the case of colonialism, just 'others' – and as a community that encompasses a 'deep, horizontal comradeship.' To evoke this kind of community could prove a difficult task for the settlers, as this chapter will show.

6.1 Performing Germanness

In the following section I examine the settlers' attempt to preserve their belonging to the German national community and their performance of Germanness within the colonial space, thereby shaping that space. In Germany the belonging to the national community was a question of negotiating it with their older 'provincial' identities, as Applegate (1990) has established. In the colonies, beyond this, another task awaited the settlers: they needed to take care not to lose their community 'membership(s)' and be accused of 'going native,' or at least of losing some of the cultural traits that were associated with Germanness.⁵⁶ Beyond the question of identity, this also had practical reasons for the settlers: they were dependent on

⁵⁶ See also Aitken's (2007a) in-depth study on the 'graded nature of whiteness in the colonial setting' (Aitken, 2007a, p.144) of German Southwest Africa.

Germany for financial and military support. The belonging to the national community on a cultural level was not just given, it needed to be enacted and constantly repeated.⁵⁷ This belonging appeared less natural in the colonies as it was not immersed in the everyday life of the homeland of the nation, and its cultural performance (or performativity) became more apparent in the colonies (on performance and performativity, see Chambers and Carver, 2008, pp.42–43 who draw on Butler, 1999). The cultural performance of the everyday took place for example in the many associations like gymnastics clubs and choirs and rather bourgeois practices like *Kaffee und Kuchen* (having coffee and cake) on ornamented crockery. This on the one hand was supposed to demonstrate a permanent connection to the *Heimat*, and on the other the settlers 'wanted to function as an avant-garde of a renewal of Germanness' (Conrad, 2008, p.65). An increased performance of Germanness by the settlers took place in particular during national holidays. Some of it was represented in, or even directly exercised through the settler newspapers. The press network was essential for communicating the performance of Germanness back to the old *Heimat*. In the following I explore practices such as the complicated ritual of a special birthday party, going through troubles with the festive season, and the use of the German language as a tool within the colonial project.

6.1.1 Celebrating the *Kaisergeburtstag*

The settlers identified as German, but by no means did they regard just any German as an appropriate figure of identification. Germanness was subject to debate, and some public figures back home were seen as traitors of the national identity rather than as its representatives, for example Germans who were critical of colonialism. They served as persons to identify *against*, and not *with*. They were – among other places – present in the German parliament (the *Reichstag*), and here mostly in the shape of Social Democrats. In the first half of the period of formal German colonialism the Social Democrats demanded – for humanitarian reasons – a change of course in the German colonial project, if not its abandonment altogether (Sarkin, 2011, p.7; Kettlitz, 2007, p.177) (see also chapter 4.1). The settlers therefore regarded the *Reichstag* – the same institution that had to sign off any money

⁵⁷ On the legal level, boundaries were drawn: mixed marriages had been completely prohibited by the governments of German Southwest Africa (1905), German East Africa (1906), and Samoa (1912) (Lindner, 2011, p.323). In 1913 the German central government changed the right of citizenship from expiring after ten years absence from Germany to a lifelong legal membership to the German national community. This change was supposed to support the founding of new German territories overseas (Conrad, 2002, p.167).

that was allocated to the colonies – with suspicion. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1900a) called the *Reichstag* the ‘strict stepfather’ that had forgotten about his ‘child,’ the colony. But not all figures in the political arena were regarded as evil ‘stepfathers’ in the eyes of the settlers. They admired the German Emperor, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, as a shining light of Germanness. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1911) stated that the first symbol of national unity in the colonies was the German flag, but this was closely followed by the name of the *Kaiser*.

The *Kaiser’s* critical stance towards parliamentary politics appealed to the settlers (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1901d). And Wilhelm II offered even more to identify with. He embodied a long German national tradition; not in terms of existence as a state, but as a long line of rulers, coming from the noble family of the Hohenzollern. Röhl (2014, p.73) states: the *Kaiser’s* ‘identification with the warlike Hohenzollern heroes of yore ... convinced him that he had a duty to lead Prussia/Germany to new greatness.’ A past so long ago, yet ongoing, that its beginnings turned into myth was paired with the notion of a future in greatness and strength: a combination that according to Hall (1994, p.203) can serve as a potent recipe for the creation of a nation and the identification with it. Busse (1993, pp.12–14) has confirmed that in the case of Germany, having largely lacked a political movement that demanded democracy prior to its unification, an orientation towards historical myths of past grand leaders was key for the forming of a national identity.

An article in the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907i) demonstrates how the settler newspapers made use of this. It stated that, although an ocean separated the new from the old *Heimat*, the struggles in the colonies today would be similar to those fought centuries ago by ‘hard working Germanics’ under the leadership of the noble Hohenzollern. They fought against the rough nature of the old land and its hostile inhabitants. This same ‘German spirit’ would now attempt to conquer the new African lands and its ‘barbarian hordes’ that were hostile to any *Kultur*. This ‘noble cause’ had, according to the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, first been pursued by a Hohenzollern who had raised the Kur-Brandenburg flag on the African west coast.⁵⁸ The *Windhuker Nachrichten* proudly proclaimed that his honourable descendant Wilhelm II now carried on with the ‘healthy German drive for expansion’ in the name of these great ancestors

⁵⁸ This is most likely referring to Groß Friedrichsburg (see chapter 3.1). In another article, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* wrote about a presentation that the popular Pastor Anz of Windhoek gave about Groß Friedrichsburg under the title of ‘A German colony in Africa 200 years ago’ (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1907a).

(Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907i). Or, to use the topical term, they were pursuing the quest to secure more *Lebensraum*.

To identify with the *Kaiser* meant to identify with something much greater than the settlers' own brief existence which could be experienced as less significant, and, in the colonial situation in particular, as precarious. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* praised the *Kaiser* in the same manner as the *Windhuker Nachrichten*: 'As Kaiser Wilhelm I was the founder, so is Kaiser Wilhelm II the creator, the builder of the fleet of Germany, the leader in the course of global politics, the patron of our young power at sea' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1902b). This was not understood as aggressive militaristic culture, as Wilhelm II was repeatedly called the 'Emperor of Peace' (*Friedenskaiser*) for whom the whole world would envy Germany (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1906b). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908d) described this supposed shining light of Germanness as

... not only the most interesting, but even more so the most important and noble character on the rulers' thrones of the earth. A fortunate combination of an ideal philosophy of the world ... and a rational, practical world view ... made the *Kaiser* a blessed leader of the troops of his people on his peaceful military campaign to secure the position of a ruler of the world that he deserves.

Such a positive sentiment towards the *Kaiser* was not shared by everyone in Germany, nor did his military campaigns appear to be 'peaceful' to all. His anachronistic and erratic ways of thinking and practicing politics worried many of the officials that were working closely together with him (Röhl, 2014, pp.67, 85). Sections of the public also mocked Wilhelm II behind his back, wondering if he was actually 'mentally deranged' (Röhl, 2014, p.57). But critique of the *Kaiser* was not something that found any space in the lines of the settler newspapers. They always praised him highly and even defended him when criticism of his actions was expressed by the public back in Germany (Südwest, 1911d; Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1909). In particular on the occasion of his birthday, eulogies were printed in all of the settler newspapers along with reprints of the excited speeches that were held in public. Occasionally even a picture of the *Kaiser* greeted the reader on the front page (A.L., 1915). This was remarkable insofar as the settler newspapers usually included images only in some of their supplements and not on the front page, if at all.

The Emperor's birthday, the *Kaisergeburtstag*, was a key day in all of the German colonies and all settler newspapers reported extensively on the celebrations. It was Wilhelm II's birthday on 27th January, but the festivities in some places began on the 26th and sometimes went on until

the 28th. Celebrations in the different colonies in Africa were similar, although some regional variations existed. All of the settler newspapers described the general structure as celebrations starting in the evening of the 26th with a military parade and a festivity in a hotel or tavern. Early next morning, on the actual birthday, another military parade took place, followed by a camp service. In the afternoon there were more festivities. The local schools were usually heavily involved in the celebrations and held the closing events on their premises (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1901; Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904a; Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905g; Usambara-Post, 1906; Südwest, 1911a; Kamerun-Post, 1913a).

In Germany itself the *Kaisergeburtstag* was also an important festive day. Newspapers like the *Kölnische Zeitung* or the *Tägliche Rundschau* reported extensively, partly in a similarly enthusiastic way as the settler newspapers.⁵⁹ Both of the German domestic newspapers also reported from celebrations that took place outside of Germany, thereby emphasising that the integrating figure of the *Kaiser* had the power to connect Germans who lived all around the globe with each other (*Kölnische Zeitung*, 1906a; *Tägliche Rundschau*, 1906a). Places outside of Germany that the *Kölnische Zeitung* mentioned were Copenhagen, Sofia, Pest, Paris, Tangier and Algeciras (*Kölnische Zeitung*, 1906b; a). The *Tägliche Rundschau* wrote about celebrations in Vienna, Prague, Paris, Copenhagen, Rome, Petersburg, and Bucharest (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1906b). The latter stated that 'everywhere in the world where Germans live, the birthday of the *Kaiser* has been celebrated yesterday' (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1906b, p.6). And in a different issue the newspaper argued: 'Without the German *Reich* with its *Kaiser* at the front the thousands of Germans in foreign countries would lose their footing and be lost for the fatherland' (*Tägliche Rundschau*, 1906a). Neither of the two German domestic newspapers actually mentioned the colonies by name in this context (but were reporting about them in other contexts, see chapter 4). Nevertheless, the effect they described was confirmed by the settler newspapers. These emphasised that all Germans around the globe were connected to each other through their Germanness and united under the integrating figure of the *Kaiser*, the representative of all 'true Germans' (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1902b; *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1906b; *Südwestbote*, 1914b). The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1903b) described the *Kaisergeburtstag* as

an important holiday for all in the *Heimat* and abroad who have a true German heart beating in their chest and admire this strong character of a man whose ideas and

⁵⁹ In both the *Kölnische Zeitung* and in the *Tägliche Rundschau* five different articles on the topic appeared between 27th and 29th January 1906.

deeds demonstrate the combination of a true German mind with German force and German spirit.

The *Kaisergeburtstag* was such an institution that the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* still reported about such festivities in the middle of the First World War when all other normal business had already more or less come to a halt in the colony (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1916).

The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* even suggested that the way in which the *Kaisergeburtstag* was celebrated in the colonies would prove that the settlers were more German than the Germans back home, who apparently still had trouble adapting to the new situation after 1871. The German unification of 1871 had foremost been an economic one; the search for a common cultural identity was ongoing (Busse, 1993, pp.11–12). Although the *Heimat* concept helped to negotiate the identification with the previous smaller states and the creation of a larger German national identity, this process was far from completed during formal German colonialism (Applegate, 1990, p.11). The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1911) wrote in regard to this ‘problem:’

Shared memories of our youth spent in the *Heimat* and our common tradition ... bring us out here together in a national unity that is not quite as common for our compatriots in the *Reich*. Swabians and Saxons, Bavarians and Prussians, all of us who keep a colonial vigil are proud to be part of the great German people.

The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* continued to explain that the German national flag was far more often displayed by the public in German Southwest Africa than by that in Germany. According to the writer, individuals back home still frequently used the emblems of the smaller states instead. With their commitment to the German flag the settlers would demonstrate to the world that the Germans in the colonies stood together proudly in order to defend the power and the honour of Germany if it was threatened. The German nation was to be defended in the colonies. While using the concept of *Heimat* as a frame of reference, the settlers at the same time here deviated from the principles of the *Heimat* enthusiasts back in Germany and preferred the German nation over the particular identities of its provinces (for discussion of the concept of *Heimat*, see chapter 3.2.1).

A main difference between the settler newspapers in the different colonies regarding the *Kaisergeburtstag* lay in their reporting about the involvement of African communities in the celebrations. While in German Southwest Africa the newspapers made hardly any mention of

them, the ones of German East Africa and Cameroon gave the impression that Africans played an important role in the celebrations. According to the articles, in Daressalam Africans were an integral part of the military parade, although those actively participating usually came from further away: the Askari, hired mercenaries mostly from Sudan, Congo, or Zanzibar, marched in the parade and played the accompanying music. In 1904 the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* described a scene in which local Africans followed the parade. The newspaper called it 'one of the most fun events for our native population' (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904a). Two years later, after the Maji Maji War was mostly over, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1906a) described in a similar way a cheering African crowd that followed the parade, but added that they 'seemed to have forgotten all depressing memories of uprising and hangings.' The *Kamerun-Post* (1913a) likewise wrote about Africans participating in the celebrations and stated that this was a 'great day for them.' The newspaper claimed that the colonised used this opportunity to demonstrate their 'patriotism' in front of Germany and the *Kaiser*. With this way of reporting, the settler newspapers created an image of Germans as good colonisers: apparently they had earned the loyalty of their African soldiers who now joined in with praising the *Kaiser*. According to this narrative, colonists brought joy to local Africans, although they had to teach them a lesson first. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1906a) wrote about 'our native population' as if they were children who had done something stupid when they had challenged German rule, but the event of the *Kaisergeburtstag* apparently helped them to get over their 'mistake.' And what kind of Germans the settlers were, according to their newspapers: nothing like those weak, ever doubtful politicians that could be found in the *Reichstag*, but determined, strong and worthy representatives of the *Kaiser* and his noble ancestry. The *Kaisergeburtstag* celebrations appear in the settler newspapers as a dream coming true for one day of how German colonies and colonists were supposed to be according to German colonial imagination.

The *Kaisergeburtstag* as it was represented in the newspapers was a large-scale performance of Germanness. In the colonies it appears to have been a moment to reconfirm the German identity, to celebrate the 'membership' in the German community, and to underline the particular quality of the colonists' Germanness. But thanks to the settler newspapers it was also a performance in front of a public in Germany. It can be assumed that one of the reasons why the German domestic newspapers reported celebrations in European cities and in some places in northern Africa but not those in the German colonies was a lack of communication infrastructure. As I have elaborated in chapters 4 and 5, the telegraph network was only beginning to be developed in the German colonies and its use was expensive. Therefore

messages that were sent via telegraph were usually ones that were important for government officials or for businesses who possessed the necessary financial means. While over the course of formal German colonialism it became a tradition to send one telegram that functioned as representative of the whole colony to the *Kaiser* to wish him a happy birthday, details of the highlighted performance of Germanness could not be transmitted via this media (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905a). There may have been letters or the personal accounts of people travelling back to Germany, but a safer way to be sure that their performance reached at least a part of the German public was through the settler newspapers that were also shipped to Germany. The maintenance of Germanness was on a cultural level expected from the settlers, but, as I have mentioned earlier, they were also dependent on the continuation of their membership of the German national community because they were constantly in need of financial and military support. In order to fight the Herero and Nama, in total 14,000 soldiers had been employed and over 600 million Marks had been spent (Aitken, 2007a, p.40).

The *Kaisergeburtstag* posed not only an opportunity to perform one's Germanness excessively, but it could also be used for adding more meaning to the happenings in the colonies. When the *Reiterdenkmal* (Equestrian Monument) in Windhoek was unveiled on 27th January 1912, the settler newspapers were full of praise that this date had been chosen for the event. The monument commemorated the German soldiers that had fought against the Herero and Nama from 1904 to 1907 (Zuern, 2012, p.495). It consisted of a mounted soldier wearing a typical *Schutztruppe* uniform and rifle in hand, his firm gaze fixed on the horizon, as if he was always ready for the next fight, but at the same time calm and in control of the situation. The *Südwestbote* (1912) wrote under the headline 'Warlord and warrior. *Kaisergeburtstag* – Consecration of the war memorial:'

Today Germany's sons and daughters celebrate a dual patriotic festivity in Southwest: the celebration of the birthday of our monarch is joined by the consecration of a war memorial for the brave ones that died the hero's death in the battle over Africa's barren plains, but also in the battle for German honour. ... It was a beautiful idea to merge the commemoration of the dead victors with the highest national celebration of the Germans overseas, the *Kaisergeburtstag*. Thoughts and emotions of both festivities become richer and deeper through their chain.

The monument reconfirmed the colonists' version of history. It altered a small place in the colonial landscape to remind themselves of this version and ensure its permanence. Zuern (2012, p.495) has remarked that monuments 'represent the power and perspective of those who built them' and that they seem to 'project their presentation of the past into the future.' According to Zeller (2016), the *Reiterdenkmal* was meant as a symbol for the permanence of

German rule and a warning to the African population that they needed to fully accept this rule. With respect to the comment of the *Südwestbote*, I would like to establish that the erection of the monument on the specific day of the *Kaisergeburtstag* enriched the monument's meaning for the colonists: they imagined themselves as ranking among the noble ancestry and family of the *Kaiser*, and he became their imagined, invincible comrade in times of conflict and precariousness.⁶⁰

6.1.2 The festive season and other time-related problems

The *Südwestbote* (1912) had called the *Kaisergeburtstag* 'the highest national celebration of Germans overseas.' That day took up the most central position in respect of the public performance of Germanness. Not quite as publicly buoyant was Christmas, but this festivity too was handled not only as a Christian tradition but also as an important ritual that reconfirmed Germanness. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905j) stated, quite immodestly:

In the Christian world there is hardly any *Volk* [people] that is in such a way committed to the spirit of Christmas, for whom Christmas as a festivity has gained such an importance and is celebrated that much in the *Volk* tradition, as the German one.

While the *Windhuker Nachrichten* declared that Germans were the most committed Christians of the world, the *Usambara-Post* (1908b) confirmed the meaning of Christmas for a colonial Germanness a little more modestly:

We, who are still completely attached to our German *Heimat*, and will be in spirit among our relatives and friends at home during the coming festivity, should not lose the wonderful old Christmas spirit in the faraway German East Africa, it is after all a symbol of our *Volk* character, a sign of gratitude and loyalty that should also in a foreign country be preserved.

The festive season was another opportunity for the settlers to prove their Germanness, albeit in a more private setting, and to emphasise the connection to the old *Heimat*. Christmas in the colonies posed however one challenge to the settlers that did not seem to bother them in connection to other celebrations like New Year's Eve or the *Kaisergeburtstag*: It was the season itself. The climate and nature of the colonies blatantly refused to adhere to the German

⁶⁰ The *Reiterdenkmal* indeed outlasted formal German colonialism. It lost its immediate purpose during the First World War, but already in the 1920s the German community of Southwest Africa started to gather around the monument on various occasions in commemoration of the colonial wars and celebration of their Germanness. In more recent times the *Reiterdenkmal* was repeatedly at the center of a rather heated public debate in Namibia and was finally dismantled in 2013 (Zeller, 2016).

tradition of a white, or at least a frosty, Christmas. Quite a few articles in the settler newspapers complained that the African climate would severely hinder the celebration of Christmas in a good old German fashion. These complaints were particularly frequent in the early stages of the settler press. The newspapers were indulging in nostalgic memories of a Christmas in the cold German winter, when nature was frozen and quiet (Usambara-Post, 1904b). The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1901e) complained that the African nature refused to give the settlers its fir tree, and mangroves with Christmas lights would be rather depressing. Only from 1910 onwards some of the articles concerned with Christmas adopted a more positive tone, cautiously appreciating a warm festive season (Südwest, 1910d; Südwestbote, 1910). But more typical were articles like the one in the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1901), stating that due to the lack of ice and snow, 'whoever celebrates Christmas here will be reminded in a most vivid way that they are separated from the *Heimat*.' At the occasion of Christmas, settlers seem to have sensed that, after all, their German national community was an imagined one.⁶¹ The settler newspapers contributed to alleviating this problem by providing a forum to voice it. This assured the settlers that, while the old *Heimat* seemed to be even further away on Christmas, they were not alone with this sentiment, but part of a settler community.

Celebrations both in Germany and in the colonies were held according to the date that the calendar showed. It is safe to assume that at least some of the settlers possessed a calendar, or even a clock. These were important tools in colonial settings in the quest to prove and display a 'cultural supremacy,' as Nanni (2012, pp.3, 26) points out. Even without its materialisations, colonists carried a 'set of internal temporal values and beliefs' with them, preserving for them the 'feeling of belonging to a Christian, industrialised nation' (Nanni, 2012, pp.26, 27). I do not want to suggest here that it was the German settlers who first introduced the Gregorian calendar that was common in Europe, together with the measurement of time through a clock, as a complete novelty into the colonial space. Much exchange had already happened between some of the local communities and Europeans, Arabians, and Indians before Germany claimed these places as its colonies. But their declared aim to transform Africans into European style labourers in the course of their *Kulturarbeit* mission incorporated a German work ethic that was at this point in history already influenced by the temporal

⁶¹ In his work on imagined communities, Anderson (1983 [2006]) seems to not have considered a possible situation in which individuals become aware that their community is only 'imagined.' The troubles regarding Christmas in the colonies that were expressed in the settler newspapers can be taken as a hint that a moment of becoming aware may have taken place.

regime of the clock. The implementation of uniform, public time was gaining ground in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century (Kern, 1983, pp.11–12). Conrad (2006, p.52) states that the presence of clocks in the public of Germany peaked just before the start of the First World War. They were seen as symbol of modernity in Germany and in the colonies likewise. Tellingly, a clock manufacturer from Leipzig (Germany) advertised their products in the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* with the following words: ‘The modern man needs a clock as a first class precision instrument’ (Grau & Co., 1911).

Newspapers were one of the means that spread the principle of the calendar further, together with the concept of uniform, public time in the shape of timetables and schedules. This was already the case when the settler newspapers did not exist yet, but newspapers from Germany and other places were imported into the colonies. However, there was a problem with the newspapers that came from Germany and took at least three weeks to arrive in any of the colonies and sometimes much longer until they reached their final destination (Dresler, 1942, p.16). The date, printed on the front page, revealed that the news was, in fact, ‘outdated.’ While the readers could identify as participants of the European temporal order, they were at the same time constantly reminded that they were separated from the centre of this temporal culture. As Putnis (2010, p.154) has remarked, an experience of simultaneity could ‘only be attained in hindsight as a shared memory or history.’ The introduction of the settler newspapers was a solution to this problem, because the time that passed between events in the colonies and their reporting could be kept short. The provision of telegraphic news alleviated the same problem regarding international news. Publications from adjacent colonies like South Africa, which could be delivered within a week after their printing, were also attractive in this sense, as I have discussed in chapter 4.4.2.

6.1.3 German names and language in the colonies

Another characteristic of newspapers that provided the settlers with a sense of connection was the language that they were written in. Anderson (1983 [2006], p.44) has highlighted the importance of a shared language for laying the ‘bases for national consciousness’ and the forming of a ‘nationally imagined community.’ He explained that the dissemination of a common language through print products made their readers aware of the existence of others who belonged to the same language group. In the colonies where settlers were surrounded by a lot of different languages that they were often not capable of speaking, such an effect

through the circulation of German newspapers can hardly be over-estimated. Some of the titles of the settler newspapers like 'German East African Newspaper' (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*) and 'German Southwest African Newspaper' (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*) were statements in themselves, stating that those geographical areas were now German. It is likely that their regular circulation contributed to the normalisation of the idea that the colonial space was indeed German and that German was the common language of that space. Or at least, it was supposed to be the common language. But just like the process of appropriating land was in practice much more difficult than many prospective settlers had imagined, so the language question also proved to be less straight forward. Settlers were confronted with languages that had emerged from contact with other (imperial) powers and had established themselves for trade and other interactions. Some argued that they even 'polluted' the German language with foreign words. Common languages were Afrikaans and English in German Southwest Africa, Swahili in German East Africa and Pidgin English in Cameroon and Togoland. The struggle to establish German was also a struggle to eradicate the linguistic footprints of other rulers and imperial powers (Mühleisen, 2009, pp.98, 102).⁶² It has to be seen in this context when the *Südwestbote* (1912) proclaimed happily that during the inauguration of the *Reiterdenkmal* at the *Kaisergeburtstag*, everyone who attended for once made an effort to speak only German during the ceremony.

The German language as an anchor of German national identity did not establish itself naturally. If it was to become the common language of the colonies, it needed to be asserted against the existing other ones. It was however subject to debate if this was really the best option, in particular with respect to the Africans and their languages. The settlers were likewise divided over the question of whether replacing local names with German ones would be useful and appropriate.⁶³ The discourse that unfolded over these questions was influenced by notions of supremacy and national pride, but also driven by anxieties and the wish to create a colonial space that was safe for the settlers and would benefit the economic development (Engelberg, 2014, pp.311–314). The following examples show how these questions were

⁶² Overall, in the German colonies there were about 1300 different languages in use during formal German colonialism (Engelberg, 2014, p.309). According to Mühleisen (2009, p.102), there are today 12,827 German speakers in Namibia.

⁶³ While the discussion whether the renaming of places was a good idea was ongoing, individuals in the colony already practiced this, as documents of the colonial government of German Southwest Africa show (BAB R 1001/ 1508, 1906). The government was generally happy to approve such requests of settlers, 'as long as the Germanisation can take place without disadvantage for the geographical orientation' (BAB R 1001/ 1508, 1909).

discussed in the settler newspapers of the different colonies. I will further discuss the settlers' anxieties in chapter 7.

In German Southwest Africa, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1906a) regularly reported about the work of Pastor Anz in Windhoek who was the head of the local branch of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* (General German Language Association). In Germany this association was the most influential one of its kind and had in 1890 12,000 members. It was mainly concerned with conserving the 'purity' of the German language and preventing its 'pollution' with words from other languages. It was however also the declared aim of the association to strengthen the national identity of all Germans (Walkenhorst, 2011, p.64). The aims of the association's Windhoek branch were identical, as Anz declared at the first public event of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* of Windhoek (Anz, 1901). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907a) praised the work of Pastor Anz and spoke fondly of him. The newspaper printed one of his speeches with the title 'German language responsibilities for Southwest Africa' in full length. In his speech, Anz established that before the war against the Herero and Nama, German Southwest Africa had still been African land, despite official German rule. Only through the price of German blood that had been shed it became German. But the task to turn the 'barren, cultureless wilderness' into a truly German space still needed to be completed. In this spirit, *Kulturarbeit* was also a matter of nursing the German language and spreading it further. Anz argued that the language needed to be protected against any alien words, otherwise it would be 'Africanised,' its capacity as connection to the *Heimat* reduced, and German *Kultur* eventually lost. As a first step, Anz suggested to give German Southwest Africa a proper German name instead of calling it by its geographical location. And after this, many of the local names would need to be 'Germanised.' Interestingly, the pastor argued against simply eradicating all of the African names, but the changing of a name would need to be legitimised through the work of a German settler who had to transform a piece of land first: 'Places that have been subject to German work deserve a German name' (Anz, 1906, p.5). *Kultur* could not simply be declared, it had to be performed, and here through the principle of work that was seen as a German core value.

Other contributors of the *Windhuker Nachrichten* also debated whether to give German Southwest Africa a different name, and what name this should be. The articles illustrate how intensively this question was discussed both in the colony and in Germany. Apparently, many different names had been suggested or were already in use. One contributor to the *Windhuker Nachrichten* favoured *Neusass*, meaning 'the German new land' (G., 1906). Another writer

criticised that this was too artificial a name and would not prevail over a name like 'Damaraland' that was already widely used in the colony and also could be found on many maps. The writer pointed out that other artificial names like *Kaiser Wilhelm Land* for New Guinea did also not prevail (H.B., 1906). Indeed, the implementation of such language manoeuvres was not always successful. As much as the settlers seemed to be obsessed with praising the *Kaiser*, in the settler press the highest mountain of Africa that lay on the border of German East Africa and British East Africa was still called Kilimanjaro, and not *Kaiser Wilhelm Spitze* (Kaiser Wilhelm Peak), 'the highest German mountain,' as some colonial enthusiasts had tried to establish (Jaeger, 2009, p.467).⁶⁴

Promoting the linguistic national project indeed meant for Pastor Anz to also fight against ignorance in its own ranks: he criticised the 'pollution' of the German language by settlers with words from English or Afrikaans. From Afrikaans stemmed common words like Revier for river bed, Pad for road, and Orlog for war.⁶⁵ Anz (1906, p.6) expected the settlers to contribute to the project of forming the German nation also by taking care of the 'purity' of their language:

Because we out here want to be Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians, Frieslandians as little as possible, and as much as possible we want to be Germans, this is why we want to speak the all-German language out here, and that is since a few hundred years the High German and not the Low German.⁶⁶

In a similar manner as the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1911) argued in connection to the *Kaisergeburtstag*, Anz here likewise suggested that German nationalism would thrive best in the colonies. If the settlers only preserved their Germanness, here expressed through their language, in its purest form, they would be the better Germans.

In the settler newspapers of German East Africa the debate about the language question had a slightly different focus. The possible renaming of local places did not seem to be a priority. Instead, the emphasis was on the question of whether Africans should learn German or if the Germans should rather learn a local language. While in German Southwest Africa Anz (1906, p.5) was of the opinion that the Africans should learn enough German so that the Germans did not need to use Afrikaans or an African language to communicate with them, the *Deutsch-*

⁶⁴ I have not come across *Kaiser Wilhelm Spitze* as a name in use in the settler newspapers, but only Kilimanjaro (Usambara-Post, 1910, p.1; Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1914, p.6).

⁶⁵ These terms sometimes also appeared in the settler newspapers, mostly in reader's letter. See for example 'Pad' in Schulze (1906, p.5).

⁶⁶ 'Low German' is a reference to Afrikaans.

Ostafrikanische Zeitung and the *Usambara-Post* leaned towards the option that the colonists should have some command of Swahili. Several articles in the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* argued that it was dangerous to teach the Africans German: they would lose their respect if they were able to understand any trivial conversation between colonists. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* feared that the Africans would become aware that their German 'masters' had weaknesses too and sometimes also erred (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904g, 1905f). The *Usambara-Post* even printed an article over three pages that explained the orthography of Swahili, thereby further helping its spread among the settlers (Usambara-Post, 1904a).

I want to close this section by coming back once more to thinking about possible effects of the settler newspapers. Irrespectively of how the discourse about the German language was led in the newspapers, they contributed in their own way to turning the places of their distribution into *German* colonies. The settler newspapers simply did this by declaring themselves as a *German* newspaper of a *German* colony, a space that in this form had until recently not existed. For the imagination of their readers, the newspapers *wrote* the colonial space as a 'Germanised' space into existence. This is not to say that the colonies would have collapsed (earlier) without the existence of the settler press. But exactly because the language question seems to have been quite an ambivalent one in the colonies, the existence of newspapers in German language that were produced in the colonies further 'Germanised' the space as such, and if only on a symbolic level. This effect is likely to have been even stronger for readers who never set foot in the colonies. For subscribers in Germany, with every issue they saw it in black and white: there were places in Africa with German names, where people spoke German, and where they, according to their own reports, performed Germanness at its best. There were advertisements in the settler newspapers for hotels called *Continental*, *Waldschlösschen*, *Thüringer Hof*, and *Hotel Kronprinz*; all familiar names that were common for hotels in Germany too (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1904c). And while the public in Germany did by no means always agree with the actions of their fellow nationals in the colonies, and while the German domestic newspapers at times heavily criticised the settler press, on a more basic level, the sheer existence of the settler newspapers must have contributed to the belief that some parts of Africa were actually German, and that it was legitimate to rule over these places.

Germanness could not simply be declared, it had to be performed, and the settler newspapers were part of this performance.⁶⁷

6.2 Farming with newspapers

The performance of Germanness in the colonies did not only take place through language-based activities or the practicing of rituals during holidays. It also took place through a direct interaction with the land and its people, thereby following the principle of *Kulturarbeit* which was embedded in notions of *Heimat* and *Lebensraum*. In the following section I will show that the settler newspapers' involvement in this process was twofold: on the one hand, they provided a platform to disseminate information that could be useful for appropriation and exploitation of the land through agriculture. And on the other hand, the discourse in the settler press about how this task should be carried out had the potential to shape the ways in which the settlers interacted with colonial space and its people. Articles furthermore reveal that the settlers themselves struggled with the expectations that were formulated towards them in prevailing discourse in the colonies as well as by colonial enthusiasts in Germany.

6.2.1 Agricultural networks

Some of the settler newspapers in the early phase of their existence provided guidance on questions of agriculture and livestock farming. Most active in this field were the *Windhoeker Anzeiger/ Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and the *Usambara-Post*. The advice was either given by veterinarians and plant breeders in the form of guest contributions or came from the readers themselves as letters to the editor (with overlaps occurring between the different types of contributors). By providing this service the settler newspapers on the one hand contributed on a very practical level to the appropriation and transformation of the land and to the creation of an economic base for some of the settlers. They provided a platform to exchange knowledge and to build networks. On the other hand, they strengthened the self-image of the settler-as-farmer and as expert on the colonies. It was self-affirmation as well as representation of this image to a wider public.

⁶⁷ Just as Wildenthal (2001, p.16) has observed: It was not Carl Peters' smartest move that he tricked some East African leaders into signing a few papers, but it was smart to make Bismarck believe that this area was now in fact German and that the state needed to act according to this.

Because the German colonies in Africa lay in different climate zones, possibilities as well as expectations were partly different. In German Southwest Africa the model of a farmer prevailed who would – assisted by African labourers – develop the property with his own hands (Kundrus, 2003b, p.49). In the other colonies, where it was believed to be unhealthy for Europeans to do physical labour because of the tropical climates, the ideal of large plantations that were administered by Germans who employed African labourers prevailed. The former German Consul of Zanzibar and Mombassa Heinrich Brode (1911, p.87) argued in that way in favour of large plantations under German supervision in German East Africa. Nevertheless, German colonists also settled as farmers in some regions of German East Africa as for example in West Usambara, where the climate was cooler. They could profit from a preferential policy of the colonial government that reserved the land in demand for German small scale farmers (Iliffe, 1979, p.127).

In German Southwest Africa the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* frequently published calls to share farming experiences. The newspaper asked its readers to send detailed accounts of their various *Kulturversuche* (experiments in cultivation techniques), like livestock farming, horticulture or the construction of irrigation systems. The editor promised to pass on the experience and knowledge to the wider readership (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898h). How many of the articles in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* that concerned agriculture were based on letters to the editor cannot be determined. It is likely that the authors of the articles did not always acknowledge if their information came from a reader. The only farmer who published an article on farming experience under his name within the first few months following the initial call was Carl Schlettwein: he wrote about the well and irrigation system on his farm (Schlettwein, 1899). Over the lifespan of the newspaper he published more articles on farming (for example Schlettwein, 1910), as well as on other topics, to which I will return below.

The ability of the settler newspaper to provide useful information that would help to develop the colony's economy was also positively noticed by the German government. In 1902 the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin encouraged the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* to expand its service and publish a supplement that would deal exclusively with questions of agriculture. The Department expected that a platform for specialists (like veterinarians and plant breeders) of the colonial government and settlers to debate such questions would be 'of manifold benefit' (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1902). Less than two months later the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* announced that it was soon to start publishing the monthly *Landwirtschaftliche Beilage* (Agricultural Supplement). According to the

Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, it was 'the purpose of the supplement to serve as guidance and inspiration as well as exchange of experience' for everyone involved with (livestock-) farming and horticulture. As with the earlier call, the readership was invited to contribute (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1902f). In the first issue of the *Landwirtschaftliche Beilage* a reader encouraged other settlers to follow this call and work together for the benefit of the colony (Schröder, 1903). The publication provided the readership with constant news on the development and success or failure of farming techniques in the colony.

The advertisement section of all of the settler newspapers was likewise important for the forming of agricultural networks. Readers could learn about where to find the necessary equipment, seeds and livestock to develop their farms. Adverts from small scale sellers in the colony appeared next to those of larger companies located in Germany (distinguishable by the order address that the companies provided). Some companies from Germany, like the tent manufacturer *Rob.Reichelt* from Berlin, regularly advertised in settler newspapers across different German colonies (Rob.Reichelt, 1904a; b). In one issue of the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* people advertised locally available horses and chickens, and property for sale, and in another issue a German wind turbine manufacturer from Dresden published an enormously detailed advert over two pages on the range of their products (*Windhoeker Anzeiger*, 1898i; *Deutsche Windturbinen-Werke*, 1899). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* likewise contained such different adverts in its steadily expanding advertisement section. A seed merchant based in Erfurt (Germany) advertised in the same issue as a local supplier of irrigation system services (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1905m). Advertisements from the colonies and from Germany were juxtaposed. As emissaries of two places far away from each other these advertisements shared the common space of the newspaper, thereby representing a connection between the two places. Even the newspapers' advertisement section had a practical value as well as a symbolic meaning for the colonial project.⁶⁸

While this kind of advertising continued throughout the life of the settler press, a change in the main focus of the reporting of the newspapers in German Southwest Africa occurred with the outbreak of the Herero and Nama war in 1904. Reports about the war now took up most of the newspapers' pages to the disadvantage of other topics like farming. The

⁶⁸ Advertisements of companies that used racist images and appeared at the time of the Herero and Nama War in Germany, as analysed by Ciarlo (2011, p.84), were not present in the settler newspapers.

Landwirtschaftliche Beilage of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* ceased to exist.⁶⁹ The change also happened in the case of the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. Only when the war had ended, did the newspaper start a supplement called *Der Farmer*, published from 1907 to 1910. The settler newspapers that were founded after the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War (the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*, *Südwest*, and *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*) did not actively advertise themselves as platforms for the exchange of farming techniques, although they still occasionally printed such articles. In an interview with a visiting colonist from Sydney, for example, the *Südwest* asked what farming in German Southwest Africa could learn from Australian cattle breeding (*Südwest*, 1913a). Although the support of the forming of agricultural networks was not one of the main objectives of the *Südwest*, it did at the same time add an even wider international approach to the topic. This was also not uncommon for other settler newspapers: the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907b), for example, looked at South Africa for ideas about how to deal with locust infestations.

In German East Africa, in contrast, the economic focus was less on individual farming than on trade and the founding of large scale plantations (Brode, 1911; Iliffe, 1979). Nevertheless, the settler newspapers here also contributed to the colonists' agricultural ambitions. From the rather small settler press landscape in German East Africa the *Usambara-Post* stood out in relation to agricultural reports. In its early days when it was founded as the *Anzeigen für Tanga* (Advertisements for Tanga) this was not immediately visible. Only when the newspaper changed its name to the *Usambara-Post* did it start publishing about agricultural techniques. The change of name indicated that the newspaper tried to address a wider readership that was not only located directly in the district of Tanga, but was also either located at or showed interest in the Usambara area west of Tanga (see map 3). The settlers' increased interest in this region paralleled with the expansion of the Usambara Railway from Tanga westwards. An article in *Die Gartenlaube* described how new plantations and businesses were set up along the railway line following its progression into the interior (Strantz, 1905). Usambara was one of the places in German East Africa where colonial planting and farming projects turned out to be more successful than in other areas, resulting in the multiplication of such projects at the turn of the century (Iliffe, 1979, p.126). The *Usambara-Post* itself remarked, when reflecting on its role, that it started out as a local newspaper that was only interesting for the small German population in Tanga. But after German colonial efforts increasingly focused on the Tanga and

⁶⁹ Years later, in 1912, the colonial government published a farming supplement together with its official gazette. But after number 11 of the monthly issues the *Landwirtschaftliche Beilage des Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Südwestafrika* was discontinued.

Usambara area, the importance of the *Usambara-Post* grew and it proved to be a valuable tool for settlers and plantation owners to support their endeavours and exchange their experiences (Usambara-Post, 1905c).

In 1904 the *Usambara-Post* printed the 'Reports from the Biological-Agricultural Institute Amani,' providing first-hand information on the latest, scientifically developed agricultural techniques.⁷⁰ From 1905 onwards the newspaper provided these reports in the form of a supplement: the new monthly journal *Der Pflanze* (The Planter/ Plantation Owner). The Amani Institute published its reports between 1905 and 1914 and allowed the settler newspapers to copy and offer them as a free supplement. The *Usambara-Post* and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* both made good use of this possibility until the colonial government interfered in 1911: it gave the exclusive right to print *Der Pflanze* to its own newspaper, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau*, in order to provide it with an advantage over the rival settler newspapers of the colony (see also chapter 4.2.2). The plantation owners and farmers thereupon wrote a letter of protest to the government and demanded that the journal should continue to be reprinted freely. In this letter they argued that a prohibition would damage the colony as the settlers needed to learn about the latest research in agricultural techniques in order to avoid making mistakes. *Der Pflanze* was considered important because it passed on scientific knowledge that might otherwise have been inaccessible to colonists who were not used to reading specialist publications and had trouble understanding their scientific language (BAB R 1001/ 936, 1911). Eventually, a compromise was found in 1912. The *Usambara-Post* and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* were allowed to reprint *Der Pflanze* again and offer it as a supplement in exchange for a small fee (Redeker, 1937, p.85).

The *Kamerun-Post* that was covering both Cameroon and Togoland did not actively give any advice on agricultural techniques even though it showed a big interest in colonial expansion. Most frequently discussed in the newspaper were broad approaches to colonialism, including those of other imperial powers, and the expansion of the railway lines in the region. Only a few articles reported back from (often failed) attempts to cultivate different crops (Kamerun-Post, 1912c; j; k). The advertisements were likewise not tailored for German farmers, as hardly any lived in the colonies of Cameroon and Togoland. Nevertheless, a lot of hope for the

⁷⁰ The *Biologisch-Landwirtschaftliches Institut Amani* was founded in 1902 in East Usambara and was at the forefront of conducting research in biology and agriculture for colonial purposes. It became one of the globally most important institutes of colonial science at that time (Zimmermann, 2006, pp.436–437).

‘development’ of the region rested on cotton plantations in Togoland (Zimmermann, 2005, p.1388). The *Südwest* (1910b) quoted a doctor in Cameroon by the name of Külz who remained confident that in the near future ‘the day will arrive when also in Cameroon the German farmer ploughs German soil.’ It was however not necessary for the *Kamerun-Post* to provide practical advice for planting cotton. Expertise on cotton was already established in the colony a few years prior to the founding of the newspaper. The Tuskegee expedition that tried to transfer principles of cotton plantations from Alabama (USA) to the German colony of Togoland had set up trial plantations around Tove since December 1900. They also set up a cotton school in Notsé (German name: Nuatjä, see map 5) in 1904 where the colonial government required students from all over Togoland to attend a three year ‘education,’ thereby carefully avoiding any academic education but emphasising practical work (Zimmermann, 2005, pp.1383, 1388–1391). The *Kamerun-Post* (1912b) praised the work of the school as a good and necessary initiative to ‘teach the natives to work.’ Although such an argument was less frequently made in the *Kamerun-Post* than in the other newspapers, it joined in with a general discourse present in the German settler newspapers that accompanied the forming of agricultural networks with a legitimisation of their colonial practice. This discourse is the subject of the next section.

6.2.2 Doing *Kulturarbeit*

As I have illustrated in chapter 3, the expectations that the settlers had when they left their German homeland differed from the realities they encountered in the colonies in Africa. Often the emigrants hoped to be able to climb up the social ladder and acquire a status in the colonies that they could not attain in Germany (Bley, 1968, p.122). Kundrus (2003b, pp.66–68) demonstrates for the case of German Southwest Africa how important it was for settlers who planned an existence resting on agriculture to become farmers and not ‘just’ peasants and cattle breeders, or to enter any other kind of dependent employment. By becoming farmers they hoped they would be masters of their own property. Such images were also created by popular novels at the time, as for example by Gustav Frenssen’s *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest* of 1906. According to such popular images, the farmer was supposed to have ‘autonomy from the colonial administration, rule paternalistically over the African employees and domesticate the rough country with the technological progress of machines’ (Kundrus,

2003b, p.67).⁷¹ But, as Bley (1968, pp.110–111, 120) stated (and as I have elaborated in chapter 3.3.1), in the beginning of German colonial rule in German Southwest Africa inhabitants like the Herero did not approve of these plans and in many cases refused to sell land to the prospective settlers. These settlers stayed landless and had to seek employment elsewhere. In colonial discourse this fact was often ignored: during the first half of the period of formal German colonialism the term ‘settler’ in German Southwest Africa was used as a synonym for ‘farmer,’ although the biggest professional group of the colony actually consisted of craftsmen and handymen. While in Windhoek colonists were in the majority and could establish rule quickly, the situation in the countryside was at times quite humiliating for the settlers. They were therefore in need of a strategy to legitimise the expropriation of the Herero. A discourse emerged in the settler newspapers that stated that both the land and the Africans would benefit from expropriation. The settlers argued that they were bringing the blessings of European *Kultur* to the colony. For their own good, the argument went, Africans would need to be forced to do labour for Europeans. And in order to be forced into employment with the colonists, they had to lose their own possessions first. This idea was opposed by Governor Leutwein who preferred to keep the local economies intact until the Germans had strengthened their presence in the country. For this reason he was keen to put a stop to the usury of European merchants who were happily accepting the Africans’ land in exchange for their debts (Bley, 1968, pp.178–179). The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1902e) on the other hand approved of the merchants’ methods and heavily criticised Leutwein’s policies that aimed at restricting this opportunity of getting hold of Herero land:

Whites need to settle on this land. That means that the natives need to step aside and seek employment with the White or retreat to the designated reservations. With the passing of the land into the ownership of merchants a peaceful conquest takes place ... Economic independence of the native has presented itself ... as actual idleness. Due to their low position on the cultural ladder, already moderate possessions allow the native to lead a life without work. It is no wonder that under these circumstances they refuse to do work, but it is also clear that their economic independence has to dwindle away for good in the collision with a culture that rests upon the principle of work. Only when their economic independence is lost, the natives agree to do labour... If it is true that the native only does labour when forced through hardship, and if it is furthermore true that the White, in order to develop the land, is in need of the native labourers, one needs to conclude that policies which artificially try to preserve the economic independence of the natives are not on the right track. Later, exceptionally hard-working and diligent natives may acquire a certain degree of economic independence again through the success of their work. But then their increased needs [for consumer

⁷¹ Autonomy from the colonial administration was by colonial enthusiasts in Germany predominantly meant as financial autonomy, and not so much as the political autonomy which the settlers increasingly claimed (Kundrus, 2003b, p.69).

goods] will force them to continue with the labour. The natives have to undergo this transformation through development.

The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* here employed a racist line of argument to legitimise expropriation and exploitation of Africans. The newspaper argued that the assumed little needs of Africans who had their own economic base were inherent to their supposedly inferior 'culture,' which could only be changed over a long period of time and only by European settlers. Expropriation and exploitation were not only legitimised in the discourse of the settler newspaper, but these actions were presented as a good deed and as a first step to a necessary transformation of land and people. Schlettwein, otherwise known for his articles on farming techniques, expressed a similar view in a letter to the editor of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*. He complained that the policy makers would ignore the colonial 'expertise' of the settlers and not sufficiently appreciate the 'service' of the merchants who were forcing the Africans to sell their land. Instead, so Schlettwein (1904) complained, 'irrational, humanist ideas' of certain politicians would impede any progress. Moreover Schlettwein (1904) argued in favour of land expropriation and dispossession of the Africans:

The native who lost his possessions, who became poor, starts serving the White; through getting to know the blessings of labour, the change becomes a blessing for him too, he becomes a part of the human race, becomes entitled to be called a human.

For the settlers doing *Kulturarbeit* in the colonies meant first taking the land off the Africans. In order to 'develop' the land, they then needed to be retained as cheap labourers. This was constructed as a benevolent act that the Africans would benefit from culturally. The above quotes reveal that the *Kultur* the settlers intended to bless the involuntary recipients with equated with the awakening of their yearning for consumer goods that had not been desired prior to the colonists' intervention: it meant culture as consumption. *Kulturarbeit* in this sense aimed at transforming the Africans into consumers who depended on employment that the Europeans offered. The higher the Africans' level of consumption and therefore incentive to work, the further they would climb up the presumed 'cultural ladder.'

The more the position of the Herero in colonial society weakened – at first through the catastrophe of the cattle plague in 1897 and then in the wake of the lost war against the Germans (see chapter 3.3.1) – the stronger grew the settlers' hold on the land. They successively took possession of the land while the Herero were forced to seek employment with Europeans (Bley, 1968, pp.165, 192). An article in the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1907g, p.1) about newly established German farms in German Southwest Africa argued that it was only

thanks to the war that the fertile but 'under-developed' land could finally be 'taken care of' by German settlers:

The former supreme chiefs of the Herero knew very well why they took residence at Okahandja. They could not wish for better grazing grounds than this place offers. The soil is good, even prime land for horticulture and agriculture, with magnificent forest stands; and plenty of water can be found all year around. ... The colonisation with Whites was slow before the uprising ... Only through the confiscation of the Herero land as crown land has the path to *Kultur* development been opened up and taken advantage of.

The article went on to describe the 'model farm' that German settlers had established on the confiscated land:

Here we have a settlement that appears like a rich German farm and reminds us of home. From afar the German flag that blows in the breeze is visible. ... At the centre of this farm, which is kept most clean and where no weed is tolerated, there is the residential building, built large and beautiful, with a shady porch, to which leads a beautiful avenue of mulberry trees (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907g, p.1).

This description would suggest that the German colonial dream had come true in German Southwest Africa. For readers both in the colonies and back home the article drew an image of the good life, including the assets of a raised social status. The old *Heimat* was present in this image, even though the settlers lived far away from their homeland. Terms like 'beautiful', 'pretty', and 'neat' were used so frequently throughout the article that the author could have been accused of writing in a rather poor, repetitive style. The author strongly emphasised how only the German settlers were able to appreciate this fertile land to the fullest and make it bloom. And I would argue that it is not too far-fetched to suppose the reference to the 'weed' that was 'not tolerated' allowed for the reader to interpret the weeds as Africans who had been removed from this place and would not be allowed to gain possession of it ever again. Only as docile workers were Africans wanted, forced to support the new owners of the place in their effort to turn it into a new German *Heimat*.

While in German East Africa the discourse of building a new *Heimat* on an individual level was not quite as prominent as in German Southwest Africa, the task of bringing *Kultur* to the Africans as a strategy for legitimising economic exploitation was also evident in this colony. Zimmermann (2006, p.436) confirms 'a double meaning of "Kultur"' allowed the settlers to 'claim to improve simultaneously the ethics of the Africans and their agricultural output.' With respect to the aforementioned Amani Institute that was highly important not only for scientists but also for settlers and plantation owners, he writes:

From the beginning, agriculture science in German East Africa was bound up with labour discipline ... The process of creating agricultural knowledge entailed political subordination and discipline of Africans, so that their activity could count as commodified, abstract labour power that could reproduce and expand German capital invested in plantations (Zimmermann, 2006, p.436).

The settler newspapers of German East Africa were contributing to the discursive construction of a colonial 'other' that was made to fit the economic needs of the settlers. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* wrote about the supposedly 'unbelievable laziness' of the Africans and called on the colonists to 'teach the Blacks both law and labour' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1899c, p.1). In another article, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1902a) stated as an objective for farmers and planters of German East Africa the need to 'pull the natives out of their natural state of apathy and laziness so they can become hard-working peasants who strive for gains.' While the 'laziness'-narrative was just as widespread in German East Africa as it was in German Southwest Africa, arguments for the expropriation of Africans to make them seek employment with Europeans were not quite as common or clearly phrased in the settler newspapers of the former. Nevertheless, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* presented it as a problem that some Africans had their own farms. Because they were working their own land they were not available as the much needed labourers on European plantations. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was outraged that the plantation owners needed to offer 'decent' wages in order to get any labourers and therefore suggested to force Africans to work on the plantations (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1907b). Only three weeks later, another article stated that for a satisfactory 'development' of the Africans,

... long years of *Kulturarbeit* are necessary. German East Africa is a plantation country. Only when plantation is set next to plantation, and when the Negroes have learnt how to do work just like the white workers do, and then slowly become free peasants who can do work independently – only then will we be able to feel a step closer to the target of moulding the Negro into a useable *Kulturmensch* [human of culture] (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1908a, p.1).

In short, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* argued across two (in parts contradictory) articles: the existence of Africans as free farmers needed to be ended in order to teach them how to become free farmers. The *Kulturarbeit* discourse reveals the supposedly benevolent delivery of German *Kultur* as a strategy to reach a most effective exploitation. And not in all of the articles this appeared merely as subtext, but was also stated quite frankly. Referring to the lack of African labourers that so far had not even been solved by raising taxes, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1906b) stated:

The economic situation of our colony has never been a really good one, but if its last advantage is taken away, cheap and numerous labourers, then we, the businessmen, plantation owners and settlers, the real colonists, can pack up and go home.

Writers in the *Usambara-Post* likewise commented on the problem of a shortage of cheap African wage labourers. A reader's letter stated that the colonised would need to be made poor in order to create an incentive to work for Europeans. The writer suggested artificially raising the prices on consumer goods that were popular among Africans, and raising taxes. The 'natural laziness' of the colonised could according to the writer only be overcome by turning them into desperate consumers, artificially brought about through colonial intervention into local markets (H., 1905).

As in German Southwest Africa, the racist discourse in German East Africa equated the delivery of *Kultur* with turning Africans into consumers, and economic exploitation appeared as the (unofficial) objective of *Kulturarbeit*. But there were even more messages carried within this discourse. While speaking about teaching the Africans how to do work, how to become good labourers and consumers in order to climb up a 'ladder' that was defined by *Kultur* and 'race,' the discourse also implied a statement about the settlers themselves: they were supposedly speaking from and inhabiting the position of the diligent worker. By calling Africans 'lazy,' they implied that they themselves, the German settlers, were not. By stating that Africans lacked *Kultur*, they implied that they themselves possessed *Kultur*. Said (1978 [2003]) has demonstrated how colonial discourse produces colonisers and the colonised at the same time. The discourse of the settler newspapers not only contributed to constructing Africans as the colonial 'other,' but also made statements about the settlers, thereby creating their identity. This could turn into a double-edged sword: not only did the settlers express what they expected from the colonised, but the settlers themselves were the subject of expectations from their colonial fellows and also from the public in Germany. The *Kulturarbeit* discourse contributed to the production of all the subjects that it touched.

Kulturarbeit not only shaped the life of the colonised, it also had an impact on the situation of the colonisers. In the following section I explore some of the implications this had for Europeans in the colonies. The presence of this discourse in the settler newspapers was by far the strongest in German Southwest Africa, although in the newspapers of other colonies the discourse reverberated as well (see for example *Kamerun-Post*, 1912e; *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1905g). The next section, however, focuses on German Southwest Africa.

6.2.3 High expectations and profound disappointments

No doubt, the *Kulturarbeit* discourse had negative consequences for the colonised. Through their newspapers, the settlers tried to apply pressure on colonial officials to pass laws that were supposed to pave the way for an extreme exploitation of the Africans. Even though the officials often took decisions that ran counter to the demands of the settlers, they could not completely ignore them (Conrad, 2008, pp.56–57). While some of the German employers in the colonies may have not agreed with everything that the settler newspapers wrote, they were nevertheless entangled in or at least exposed to this racist supremacist discourse which contributed to the shaping of the relations between the different parties in the colonies. Prospective settlers could be exposed to this discourse even before leaving Germany for the colonies, thereby shaping their initial attitude towards Africans: settler newspapers were available in public places and through subscription (see chapter 4). Books that gave advice to those willing to settle in the German colonies recommended that emigrants read the settler newspapers as part of their preparation (Deeken, 1908, pp.51–53; Anon, 1907). But the settlers could also be affected by this discourse in ways they had probably not anticipated: Europeans were also judged according to their ‘usefulness’ for the colony and the labour and capital they were contributing (Bley, 1968, pp.144, 149). Aitken (2007a, pp.16–17) has demonstrated that notions of racial and cultural differentiation were not just in use for creating and maintaining a hierarchy between the colonisers and the colonised, but the colonisers themselves were subjected to a hierarchy that determined who was a desirable settler.

According to Conrad (2006, p.17), since the 1880s there was an increasing tendency in Germany to define the social status of a person in reference to the work they did. Already in the mid-nineteenth century a belief in a specifically German approach to work had developed. This was closely connected to the German national identity: according to this belief, Germany was the ‘land of labour.’ The myth of a distinctive *Deutsche Arbeit* (German work/ labour) gained its maximum expression around 1904 and was also present in the German colonies (Conrad, 2006, pp.284, 301). In this spirit, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1902e) stated, the German settlers belonged to ‘a culture resting on the principles of work.’

Being a diligent worker was an integral part of the settler's identity.⁷² This identity needed to be performed, and not just by discursively creating the colonial 'others' and making them work the land for the profit of the Europeans. Diligence was a quality that the settlers themselves needed to prove they possessed. In the case of conflicts between them it was one rhetorical tactic to suggest that the counterpart did not fully embrace the principle of work. The farmer Schlettwein accused the German population of Windhoek of indulging in the amusements that the town offered, thereby avoiding the 'bitter work.' According to Schlettwein (1903), this was part of the reason why many inhabitants of Windhoek were struggling with financial problems in their businesses and ended up turning to the government for financial aid. The *Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk* as the representative association of the European inhabitants of Windhoek published a counter-statement in the *Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk*. The association criticised Schlettwein for calling work 'bitter' and accused him of having a negative attitude towards work. The article claimed that a positive concept of work was a characteristic feature of the inhabitants of Windhoek (*Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk*, 1903a). The concept of the hard working settler was here used in order to discredit an adversary. The importance of the notion of work as part of the settler identity persisted also in the later years of the colony. The editor of the *Südwest* for example expressed the opinion that it would be the right of those settlers who 'earn their bread through honest work' to define how the colony should be developed (Kindt, 1910).

Even though the notion of work was sometimes a weapon in the discursive battles the settlers fought with each other, in front of third parties they presented themselves throughout as hard workers who featured a number of characteristics that were in their opinion indispensable in order to succeed in the colonies. An article in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* (1898g) that commented on a debate between legal experts in Germany about whether it would be feasible to use German Southwest Africa as a penal colony, listed these characteristics as health, diligence, endurance, robustness in the face of deprivations and furthermore a 'decent moral.' According to the newspaper, convicts would not thrive if they were to be settled as farmers because they lacked the 'means and the particular diligence' that was needed. The *Windhoeker Anzeiger* concluded that this would quite likely lead to some of them falling back into criminal activities in order to make a living. And that meant the colonists 'would have artificially imported the same mass of criminals as exists at home' (*Windhoeker Anzeiger*,

⁷² Armbruster (2010) has demonstrated that this identity persisted among Germans in Namibia at least until the end of the twentieth century.

1898g, p.2).⁷³ The newspaper thereby opened a dichotomy, attributing the occurrence of criminals to Germany and defining the colony as largely free of such subjects, and respectively the settlers as being free of 'criminal energy.'

Colonists of German Southwest Africa saw themselves as decent, non-criminal, able-bodied, diligent workers and expected any newcomers to the colony to meet these standards.⁷⁴ In their representation of the ideal settler the newspapers were exclusively speaking about white men. Expectations they had from women were different and not necessarily congruent with the ideas that German women had about a possible life in the colonies. Male colonists, both in the colonies and in Germany, mostly argued strongly in favour of women emigrating to the colonies. They were seen as a potent remedy against sexual and at times even romantic relationships between Europeans and Africans. Furthermore, they were supposed to stop German men from 'going native' (Kundrus, 2003b, pp.80–81). The women themselves on the other hand had often different ideas and motivations. They were seeking to escape the constraints of society back in Germany and hoped to be able to earn more respect for their work in the colonies. Nationalism and patriotism likewise played a big role (Walgenbach, 2005, pp.142–145, 151). In the foreword to her book about her time in German Southwest Africa, Margarete von Eckenbrecher (1908, p.vii) appealed to German women who considered emigration to the colony:

Of course, you will give up a lot in the *Heimat*, but you will gain much, much more over there. You are young and strong and German. Only with strong women the colony can once more blossom and thrive! Support the fatherland in this great, wonderful task!

Von Eckenbrecher's pro-colonial activism after her return to Germany did not go unnoticed by the *Südwestbote*. The newspaper cited from a pamphlet that it attributed to her:

So much blood has been shed for our African colonies. So many bitter tears have been cried. The German *Volk* has chained its heart to this land; shall we women stand back in this? Courageously we want to take up the fight for the new Germany, be strong true supporters of our men. Contributing to this great national task is the honourable duty of all women who feel German (Südwestbote, 1913c).

⁷³ Kundrus (2003b) illustrates how this debate has been led in Germany during the formal colonial period; also for further topics that this section addresses she gives examples in her book for the ways the discourse has developed in Germany.

⁷⁴ There was a related debate on Afrikaner immigration into German Southwest Africa. Aitken (2007b) has presented a thorough analysis that illustrates the quest of Governor Leutwein to selectively encourage those Afrikaners to settle in the colony who were willing to invest much work and money into their new home, while trying to discourage those Afrikaners from entering who pursued a more nomadic lifestyle. Ultimately, due to the lack of sufficient German settlers in the early stages of the colony, the 'policies were literally aimed at turning Afrikaners into Germans' (Aitken, 2007b, p.360).

If a similar call had been written by a man, the *Südwestbote* would surely have fully embraced such a statement. In fact, many (male) contemporary writers referred to the image of German blood being shed on African soil as a national founding myth of the colony and as proof of undisputable German entitlement to the land (Kundrus, 2003b, p.56). But the settler newspapers had a different idea about the role of women in the colonies. The *Südwestbote* (1913c) commented that von Eckenbrecher's view was 'a little one-sided' and that the question of women moving to the colonies was foremost not one of nationalism, but

... predominantly an ethical and cultural one, and this sums up the tasks that women have to fulfil in this country. ... Contributing to forming genuine German *Kultur*, and explicitly that kind of *Kultur* that was practiced, valued and held sacred by our puritanical ancestors; the cultivation and affirmation of conception and understanding of morale, domesticity, the joy of home and hearth, fear of God and devoted performance of duty as a faithful partner of the husband, and ideal mother to the child, dutiful caretaker of the household... in short, a priest of her house and a shining light of her sex in public life ... Because in a colony like German Southwest the temptation is great to aspire to roles that distance themselves far from what is called true *Kultur*.

From this article clearly spoke the fear of women's emancipation and the wish to preserve social hierarchies that were at that time being challenged in Germany and in the colonies likewise (Dietrich, 2007, pp.238, 276). The *Südwestbote* tried to put women back into the place where it thought they belonged: a neat appendage to the male settler who needed to be reminded of the fine German *Kultur* and longed for a home like in the old German *Heimat*. While the settler newspapers for the most part ignored the presence of women in the colonies, accounts like the one of von Eckenbrecher (1908) and the colonial lives of women like Frieda von Bülow, about whom Wildenthal (2001) writes, exemplify how women pursued their chosen paths in the colonies, sometimes also outside the roles they were expected to fulfil.

The settler newspapers participated in creating an image of the ideal settler and forming a positive settler identity. But German immigrants did often not meet the high expectations. State Secretary Dernburg claimed that the crime rate in German Southwest Africa in 1910 was four times that of Germany (Aitken, 2007a, p.81). In a reader's letter to the *Windhuker Nachrichten* a lawyer from Windhoek argued that Dernburg's calculation was wrong and in reality the crime rate in the colony would only be half as high as the one in Germany (Meyer, 1910). But the settlers could not indefinitely close their eyes to the problem and in 1913 the newspaper, now under the name *Südwestbote*, published details about a report on the rising crime rate in Windhoek. The report, issued by the Windhoek branch of the *Deutsche Kolonial-*

Gesellschaft (see chapter 3.1), stated that it was mostly young people who came to the colonies looking for adventure and hoping to make a fortune but ending up in desperate need of money and turning to illegal methods. According to the report, popular novels like those of Carl May that resonated with youthful carelessness in search of a free life were to blame.⁷⁵ Several young offenders claimed they had been incited to act carelessly by such novels (Südwestbote, 1913e). And one might want to add that the settler newspapers themselves had contributed to creating an image of the colonies that promised experiences far more exciting than a life in Germany could ever offer. The *Südwestbote* therefore deemed it necessary to declare – possibly more to the readership in Germany than to the one in the colony – that German Southwest Africa was no place for ‘dodgy characters’ and young people who had been turned adrift. These people should be sent back to where they came from, or best be stopped from leaving Germany for the colonies in the first place (Südwestbote, 1913e).

A further problem, which the settler newspapers chose to not address, was the high level of alcohol consumption among colonists. In particular the existence of poor Whites who were drunk in public ‘offered a poor example of European culture and civilisation, notions upon which colonial rule and imagined superiority rested’ (Aitken, 2007a, p.83). Aitken (2007a, p.84) states that

the administration and colonial proponents greatly feared the development of a white proletarian underclass within the German protectorates and alcoholism was also seen as being intricately linked to criminality and poverty. ... It was the African alone who was to form the unskilled colonial working class.

In the narrative of the settler newspapers, however, drunk were usually only the ‘others.’ The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904g) called Samuel Maharero a ‘wretched drunkard,’ and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905c) complained that ‘the Greeks’ (a reference to all south European immigrants into German East Africa) were drinking with Africans, and not taking care to sustain the class difference between black and white. But the settler newspapers kept quiet about the existing alcoholism among German colonists, and mostly also about class differences that existed within the white settler community.

Besides cultural markers, financial means that prospective settlers should bring with them became increasingly important. In 1898 the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* wrote that the employment

⁷⁵ May wrote between 1874 and 1912 a large number of novels about frontier adventures in North America and the Arabic world. As one of the most widely read authors, he profoundly influenced the German imagination of encounters with an ‘exotic other’ (Borrudd, 2012).

market in German Southwest Africa was much better than in the big cities of Germany. Every German who was willing to work would find employment in the colony (Windhoeker Anzeiger, 1898g, p.2). In the early years of formal German colonialism, the focus was on trying to divert the stream of German emigrants away from America in the direction of the German colonies (see chapter 3). But already in 1902 the Deputy Governor of German Southwest Africa, Tecklenburg, wrote to the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office that the conditions for employment in the colony had recently changed: 'While in the past every white worker had been welcome here, now one can only warn against the emigration of destitute people without an extant agreement for a permanent employment' (BAB R 1001/ 1152, 1902). Broadly in line with the government's position, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1902g) stated that it could not be emphasised thoroughly enough how important it was not to send people without sufficient financial means to the colonies. A few years later, in the same spirit the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1908) enthusiastically welcomed a publication of the German central information office for emigrants that summarised the latest legal provisions for prospective settlers. The regulations stipulated among other things that anyone could be denied immigration into the colonies who was not defined as white, could not prove sufficient financial means, was not able-bodied enough to provide for themselves or who might disturb the peace of the colony.

The main shipping company for the colonies *Woermann* only allowed emigrants on board if they carried at least 400 Marks. Of that sum *Woermann* kept 252.50 Marks as deposit in case the passenger was not allowed to disembark in German Southwest Africa and had to go back home (Anon, 1907, p.39).⁷⁶ The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* endorsed in particular the recommendation to calculate between 20,000 and 25,000 Marks for setting up a farm in German Southwest Africa and repeated its warning against attempting to settle without sufficient financial means: 'To say it again, we need well-funded settlers who are eager to work, no feeble, destitute people out here' (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1908). The appeal however seems to not have worked as well as the newspaper had hoped for, and so in 1913 it reported on several failed settlers who were 'in need of deportation' from the colony back to Germany (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1913, p.5).

⁷⁶ A similar order was in place in Togoland: New immigrants to the colony had to prove they possessed 500 Marks and needed to leave 350 Marks as deposit with the shipping company, otherwise they could be refused entry to the colony. Alternatively, if employment had been arranged prior to arrival, the employer was responsible for covering the fare in case a return home was necessary, even up to two months after the employment had been terminated (Zech, 1909, p.2).

All of the five cases described had occurred within one month. In most cases, the prospective settlers had not been required to produce the usual deposit because they had been either promised employment in the colony or a certain sum of money from relatives was apparently waiting for them, to be collected upon their arrival. Some of them had, according to the newspaper, been deceived by others, and some had deliberately wasted all their money and lost their jobs on purpose. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* said the biggest problem was that the colonial administration in the end had to pay for the deportation and associated costs. An inquiry via telegraph whether those failed settlers had any securities left in Germany that could be used to reimburse local administration for the deportation fees alone cost 50 Marks (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1913, p.6). The language the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* used in the article reporting about the deportees was not derogatory, but at the same time largely lacked any empathy for the failed settlers. My findings support Aitken's (2007a, p.232) conclusion that 'cultural and economic markers ... differentiated between desirable and undesirable settlers. This led to the political and discursive exclusion of white settlers from settler society.'

The five cases that the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* reported were quite dramatic ones that left the deportation costs to the local administration. It can be assumed that there were many more prospective settlers for whom the experience of life in the colony turned out to be quite different from what they had imagined, and therefore returned to Germany. The dream of the ideal farm that would become their new *Heimat* did not by any means come true for all German immigrants into German Southwest Africa. It is remarkable that at least from 1902 onwards Europeans found it increasingly difficult to find employment and to support themselves, while the demand for African labourers remained high throughout nearly the whole period of formal German colonialism. This illustrates once more just how much the colonial economic system depended on extreme exploitation and unfair working conditions.

7 Anxieties, genocide and resistance: colonial relations in the settler press

The Herero and Nama War, entailing the genocide committed by the Germans, was a decisive event in German colonialism. It turned the tide in more than one way: in German Southwest Africa, the colonists could finally take possession of the land in the way they wanted (for initial obstacles, see chapter 3.3). The war was opportunity as well as means of legitimisation for the confiscation of the land and a fresh attempt to force Herero and Nama into colonial labour. It gave the aspirational New Germany its founding myth through 'German blood' that had been spilled in its defence (see chapter 6.1.3/ 6.2.3). Migration to the colony increased and the German population grew. The *Reichstag* was dissolved because of a conflict over the supplementary budget for the war expenses and became more supportive of the colonial project after the new elections (see chapter 4.1). But the war was also a moment that demonstrated their own weakness to the colonists; a moment of fears coming true. While a narrative of heroism was told about members of the *Schutztruppe*, the war increased the settlers' feeling of precariousness. Schaller (2008, p.311) writes that 'German settlers felt unsafe and were afraid to lose their existence.' Anxieties in one colony triggered fears in the others, leading to particularly harsh counterinsurgency measures in German East Africa during the Maji Maji War. After the major wars had ended, the feeling of precariousness persisted, together with the fear of further anti-colonial uprisings (Schaller, 2008, pp.309, 315).

In this chapter I explore the position of the settler newspapers during the Herero and Nama War and their discourse regarding its protagonists. With this I am following Schaller's (2008, p.311) suggestion to focus on 'ordinary' settlers and not just government officials and soldiers, in order to understand the 'unbounded violence during colonial wars.' The newspapers provide insight into the narratives that settlers constructed regarding the war, thereby continuing to create a certain image of the colonial situation for their readership in the colonies as well as for readers abroad. Of special interest in this context is the narrative of the settler as victim of the Africans; a narrative whose origin is not as obvious as it at first may seem. I am furthermore going to demonstrate with the example of the settler press that anxieties played an important role in shaping the German colonial situation. With this I am complementing Mann's (2004) argument, that colonial situations were usually structured through a *dispositif* of violence, by arguing that anxieties among colonists informed these structures. Mann (2004, p.116) himself has suspected that the propensity to violence can be

traced to the precarious situation of the colonists. And last but not least I will argue that, within the unfolding, dynamic web of power relations, Africans managed to use some of the structures created to subdue them as starting points for resistance.

7.1 Extermination campaigns and the contribution of the settler press

In this section I concentrate on the discourse about the Herero and Nama War in German Southwest Africa from 1904 to 1908 and the representations of its protagonists in the settler newspapers. Aitken (2007a, p.16) has shown how during German colonialism a 'hierarchical system of privilege based on notions of racial and cultural differentiation was erected.' Difference was established both through the legal system and through discursive means (Aitken, 2007a, p.19). This did not only concern a distinction between Europeans and Africans, but also among the colonists, since hierarchies were established, as Aitken (2007a) has demonstrated and as I have discussed in chapter 6.2.3. My own analysis however shows that during the war, difference between settlers was levelled out in the newspaper discourse to create simplified categories of friend and foe. To the latter category belonged on the one hand Africans who were largely represented in a dehumanised way and reduced to a threat to the settlers. On the other hand, the already existing critique against the colonial as well as the German central government intensified. The narratives of Africans as aggressors and governments as irresponsible and incapable were joined by the narratives of the brave German soldier and the settler as victim that needed to be protected. The 'victim narrative' plays a crucial role, as it provided the ground for the specific attitude that the settler press developed regarding the genocide and also regarding the concentration camps in German Southwest Africa. While racist representations of Africans have been thoroughly analysed in the historical literature,⁷⁷ and understood as a precondition for justifying violence against them,⁷⁸ those strands of discourse that construct German settlers as victims of Africans so far have been neglected in research and are of special interest in this section.

⁷⁷ See for the German colonial context for example Schubert (2003) and Scheulen (1998).

⁷⁸ For the German colonial context: Brehl (2004).

7.1.1 Representations of war

In chapter 3 I have outlined the notions of difference in *Kultur* and 'race' that were prevalent in German culture at the time and structured the relations between people in and beyond the colonies. The discourse in the settler press was influenced by, and also contributed to, this process. Before the major German colonial wars, the settler newspapers picked up on debates about 'race' that were led by colonists in German Southwest Africa. Both Deputy Governor Tecklenburg (Zimmerer, 2004, p.26) and the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1903i) were for example wondering in 1903 how differences and boundaries between Africans and Europeans could be secured and how children of dual descent should be categorised and treated. But before the Herero and Nama War and the Maji Maji War, the language that the settler newspapers employed to debate such questions was less derogatory than during and after these wars. Before the wars, settler newspapers were generally more concerned with the larger economic situation, the building of colonial infrastructure and their relationship to the colonial government. Relations to the original inhabitants of the colonies seemed secondary. In the case of problems between colonists and Africans, the newspapers in German Southwest Africa often put the blame on the government and missionaries rather than on the Africans (see for example: *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904m; Schlettwein, 1904). In the first issues of the early settler newspapers, Africans in any case only featured sporadically.

This changed significantly with the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War. After the initial attack of the Herero on 12th January 1904, reports of battles with the Herero featured in nearly every issue of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, accompanied by articles discussing the events. The same was the case with the *Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk* as soon as it re-appeared in December 1904 under the name of *Windhuker Nachrichten*. But the regular sections of both newspapers that contained news about the war were usually not named 'war,' but 'uprising.' With this choice of terms the warring parties and its members were represented as not equal. The fact that African combatants who had fled into British colonial territory had in the beginning of the war been treated like a regular warring party and granted certain rights, was seen by the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907e) as a betrayal among members of what the newspaper called the 'civilised world.'⁷⁹ The newspaper

⁷⁹ Quite untypically for a conflict in a colonised territory, the British granted the Herero asylum as refugees of war in the way it had been established in the *Haager Landkriegsordnung* of 1899. This code of conduct of war determined that warring parties had certain duties and prisoners of war had certain

complained in this context about a preferential treatment of 'natives, robbers and murderers.' The British had, according to the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907e), forgotten the 'duties of the colonising peoples:' the preservation of the 'unity of the white race.' Articles like this drew an image of a simple 'good' against 'evil': on the one side was the community of colonists of a superior 'white race,' on the other side the Africans who were by default 'robbers and murderers.'

The representation of Africans as vicious, criminal and of general low value was distinctive in many of the articles that appeared during the war. Hereros were furthermore hardly represented as individuals, but mostly as a dangerous mob that threatened and outnumbered the settlers. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904c) described for example at the outbreak of the war a 'Herero mob' that 'destroyed and robbed farms and murdered individual Whites who were defenceless against the excessive power.' In the article, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* chose dramatizing words to illustrate the situation. It wrote that the 'flames of the uprising' flared up around Windhoek and Okahandja, hitting with its fire the 'heart of the protectorate' (see figure 1). In an article commemorating the 12th January a year later, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905b) likewise used dramatic words, remembering how the 'hellcat of war lit its torch and threw the fire in the quiet hermitage of the settlers.' The settlers were represented as innocent victims who had lived in peace before the Herero attacked them. There was no mention of the everyday violence of the colonial situation that had preceded the war. The representation of the settler as victim was in the above cases directly deduced from the discourse about the war. The 'victim' narrative, which grew stronger during as well as after the war, was however fed from more than one strand of discourse. I will come back to this point later and now explore further the dichotomy in representation of the settler as individual and the Herero as mob.

Those who died as a consequence of the war on the German side were named individually by the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904j). The 'List of the Dead' of 28th December not only gave the names of the deceased number 163 to 203 who were 'murdered' or 'killed in action' since the publication of the last list on 2nd July 1904, but it also stated their profession and the date and place where they had died.⁸⁰ The names listed were mostly German. Behind

rights. But it was usually not applied in colonial conflicts where the opponents were not granted the status of a warring party that represented a sovereign group of people (Lindner, 2011, p.192).

⁸⁰ As examples: Number 164 (on the new list number 2), Boek, farmer in Kaitsabis, in the same place, 3rd October. Number 166 (4), Willy Bürger, farmer, on the journey from Koes to Gibeon, October.

a few of them it stated 'Afrikaner' (*Bur*) or 'English.' The next article in the same issue provided a long list of all members of the *Schutztruppe* and other military personnel who had received a medal for their service and bravery in the war (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904h). The newspaper presented 'victims' and 'heroes' side by side, the actions of the latter thereby directly legitimised through the fate of the former. While the dead were irretrievably gone, after nearly one year the war had also yielded a long list of 'brave Germans' who had fought for their fellow countrymen and women. Settlers and soldiers were both represented as individuals, inviting the reader to be empathetic with them. Hereros on the other hand were described as a looming mass.⁸¹ One of the few who was named in person was paramount chief Samuel Maharero; and he was described as a wretched, inferior individual (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904c).

Regarding the question of who was to blame for the war, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* had one eye on the governments; on the colonial one as much as on the central government in Berlin. The newspaper supported the claim of the settlers that they were entitled to receive compensation. It argued that the government should be held responsible because it had, in order to encourage settlement, continuously stated that the colony was 'pacified,' but then had not been able to protect the settlers (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904f).⁸² Accusations of some German domestic newspapers, that the outbreak of the war was the fault of the settlers, were contested angrily. Even where the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904l) admitted that the process of colonisation posed a hardship for those to be colonised, it argued that this had to be done for the greater good. A reader's letter, which reacted to an article that had originally appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, stated that it should be left to the settlers as 'experts' of the colony to judge whose fault the 'uprising' was (v. Michaelis and Heilbronner, 1904). According to the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904b), there was even a settler community meeting that took place in the *Hotel zum Fürsten Bismarck* in Swakopmund; held in order to debate the said

⁸¹ Butler (2009, pp.18, 22) identifies similar mechanisms of representations of war in the context of more recent wars. Lives of the opposing side are not mourned because their right to exist has been denied to them in discourse beforehand for the sake of defending the own group. The effect is enhanced when the opposing party is defined as 'illegitimate insurgents,' and not as a warring party. As in the settler newspapers, also in Butler's example the dead of the own group are granted a media presence with their names, families, and histories. Through this process of public mourning they become iconic for the nation.

⁸² A delegation of settlers, who went to Berlin to personally speak to the *Kaiser* about compensation after the war, insisted that the government was liable. While the *Kaiser* heard the settlers, they were at this first attempt unsuccessful with their request for money and were only promised loans on good terms (Bley, 1968, p.221).

article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. This article, which stated that settlers and traders with their practice of usury were responsible for the attack of the Hereros, had apparently been copied by a number of other newspapers. According to the assembly report in the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904b, p.2), the settlers found it crucial to contest such ‘false accusations’ in the press that could ‘mislead’ the public as well as relevant authorities in Germany.

This means that, far from considering a responsibility of the settlers for the war, the settler newspaper once more accused its favourite enemy, the government. But whereas before this was usually identified as the main culprit of everything that went wrong, now a second explanation was produced: reasons for the war were supposedly also to be found in the Hereros’ ‘character,’ which was, according to the settler newspapers, inherent to their ‘race.’ The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904b, p.3) quoted Schlettwein with a statement during the settler assembly that the Hereros were ‘masters in the art of lying and cheating.’ In its next issue the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904l) stated, when contemplating possible reasons for the ‘uprising,’ they could mainly be found in the fundamental difference between the ruling ‘white race’ and the ‘black race’ that had to be ruled. The idea of ‘race differences’ as an explanation for the war persisted also in later articles with titles like ‘For the white colour’ (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904e) and *Rassegefühl* (‘race feeling’/ ‘race instinct’) (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904i). In both of these articles, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* criticised the *Vorwärts*, an important Social Democratic newspaper in Germany at the time. Apparently, the latter’s critique of the German colonial project and the blaming of the settlers for the war unmasked the writers of the *Vorwärts* as traitors of their own ‘race.’ According to the settler newspaper, the *Vorwärts* completely lacked an appropriate ‘race awareness’ (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904i) and ignored that the ‘sense of community through colour and race’ was ‘deeply rooted in nature’ (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904e). While racist assumptions had already structured the reporting of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* before the outbreak of the war, explicit statements about ‘race’ as a colonial battleground were only established after the outbreak of the war.

Although the *Windhuker Nachrichten* only took up its work when the Herero were largely defeated, this newspaper also deemed the notion of ‘race’ to be a useful category for attributing meaning to events. In an angry reply to an article that had appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* even combined its racism with Anti-Semitism, a notion

not often expressed in the settler newspapers. In the article, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908a) complained that the *Berliner Tageblatt* defended State Secretary Dernburg's course. For their taste, Dernburg focused too much on the wellbeing of Africans and too little on the needs of the settlers. The fact that both Dernburg and the founder of the high-circulation newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*, Rudolph Mosse, had a Jewish background, seemed highly suspicious to the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. It speculated that the reason for the solidarity of the newspaper with Dernburg was either a result of the shared

race community with the State Secretary, or the knowledge to be an unwanted race themselves and therefore only serve their own cause when pressing the Nigger hypocritically to the heart as a brother and defending him lovingly against the Germanic "blonde beasts" (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1908a).

Apparently, the *Berliner Tageblatt* had called the settlers who rejected Dernburg's course 'blonde beasts.' The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908a) stated that such a 'mean characterisation of our Germanic race' was a 'Jewish impudence.' When the settler newspaper believed itself to be under attack from both a widely read German domestic newspaper and a high ranking politician, it retreated to the idea of the existence of a 'Germanic race' as the basis for the German settler identity (see also my discussion of the settler's (national) identity in chapter 6.1.1). Towards the end of formal German colonialism the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, then under the name of *Südwestbote*, still argued strongly for the segregation of the 'different races' of the colony (*Südwestbote*, 1913b).

The above quote furthermore illustrates that the frames of interpretation that the settler newspapers offered to its readers were embedded not only in national colonial discourses but also in discourses that transcended national boundaries. The term 'Nigger' was here used in its English original and hints at the writer's contact with imperial discourses in English language. While it is not possible to identify where the allegory in the article exactly stemmed from, the term 'Nigger' in its combination with the idea of the 'brother' strongly reminds of debates that took place in the British Empire and in North America in the middle of the nineteenth century. The anti-slavery movement used an iconic symbol that showed a kneeling black person in chains who asked 'Am I not a man and a brother?' While abolitionists insisted on a 'brotherhood of man,' the British writer Thomas Carlyle argued that a 'white kinship' should be pursued instead and that black people were 'born to be mastered' (Hall, 1993, pp.217–219). His widely disseminated text of 1849, *An Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question*, which was in 1853 republished as *An Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*, earned reactions of praise and hostility likewise (Kinser, 2012, p.139). The writer of the *Windhuker Nachrichten*

(1908a) offered a frame for interpreting the article in the *Berliner Tagesblatt* that was quite likely informed by British and American discourses, which debated questions of 'race' and 'brotherhood.' The kind of vocabulary that the contributors to settler newspapers made use of in order to express notions of differences in 'race' often depended on the texts they had been in contact with and the discourses they were immersed in.⁸³ The reference to these discourses connected the German nation of 'colonial newcomers' to established Empires and figuratively closed ranks with them in order to tackle shared 'questions of race.'

The fact that the settler newspapers frequently complained about the way that some newspapers in Germany reported the war could easily lead to a misconception: it may seem as though newspapers like the *Vorwärts* or the *Frankfurter Zeitung* represented a position that could contribute to a profound counter-discourse against the racist assumptions of the time. But, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Schäfer, 2013), even those leftist or left-leaning, democratic newspapers contributed to the discursive construction of Africans as the 'other' that needed to be ruled. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* stated in a book about its own history that it had heavily criticised the German colonial practice during the war (Verlag der Frankfurter Zeitung, 1906, pp.691–692). The newspaper's articles did indeed argue that trade with the Hereros needed to be conducted in a fairer manner, but this 'fairness' could only be introduced through Europeans. The discourse in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* granted no agency to the Hereros and regarded them as inferior to Europeans (Schäfer, 2013, p.36). An even stronger position critical to colonialism than the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was occupied by the *Vorwärts*. It offered well-grounded information and encouraged its readers to criticise the German colonial project on this basis. But the representation of the Herero was, at best, ambivalent: although the newspaper tried to take their side, it also classified them based on notions of 'race' and denied them agency. The call of the *Vorwärts* to protect the Herero had a rather paternalistic edge to it (Schäfer, 2013, p.39). Needless to say that, while these democratic newspapers were already struggling to develop a position that was anti-colonial in every sense, other German newspapers, which were positioned politically more to the right, were often supporting a hard course against the Herero and contributed to a pro-colonial racist and supremacist discourse. The liberal, highly influential *Kölnische Zeitung* can serve as

⁸³ The use of the English term 'Nigger' was an exception in the settler newspapers and a clear pattern of its use cannot be identified. The term did however not only appear in a settler newspaper of German Southwest Africa, but it was also used in an article of the German East African *Usambara-Post* (1908a). In the latter article, the term might have not so much originated from publications debating questions of 'race,' but, judging by the colloquial language of the article, possibly stemmed from direct contact with English speaking colonists.

an example. It portrayed the Hereros as inferior and vicious, and disseminated unverified news that wrongly accused them of atrocities. According to the newspaper, colonists needed to be protected from the Herero by all means: the enemy had to be 'crushed' (Schäfer, 2013, p.32).

The representations of war provided the ground for a discourse that further dehumanised the African side and allowed for readers of the settler newspapers to identify deeply with the German side. Welzer (2005, pp.14–16) has established in his psychosocial analysis of the Holocaust that war provides a reference framework which categorises killings as necessary work. Racism as a prevailing standard of the time adds to this framework. This mechanism is also visible regarding the settler newspaper discourse in German Southwest Africa during as well as after the Herero and Nama War.

While the main focus of this section rests on German Southwest Africa, I want to take a brief look at how the colonial wars were discussed in the colony of German East Africa. The only other German settler newspaper that was published in Africa during the outbreak of the Herero and Nama War and is today available in archives, besides the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, was the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*.⁸⁴ First news of the attacks in German Southwest Africa arrived on the editor's desk through the English *Reuters* news agency (for the issue of communication between the colonies, see chapter 4.4.1). The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* first published it as an extra, and then a week later discussed the news in an article in their main issue. The tone of the article was indignant and derogatory towards the attackers. It expressed worries about the 'sister colony' and stated that many colonists in German East Africa would like to go west and help the 'threatened fellow countrymen to revenge the infamous actions' that would surely have come about because the 'barbarian' 'black mob' had been treated too 'gently' so far (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1904h). The notion of a German settler community across colonies was invoked and at the same time government officials and missionaries were blamed for their 'gentle' treatment of Africans. The settler newspaper also used – just like its Southwest African counterpart – dramatic words to represent the attacking Herero: the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1904d, p.1) called them 'murderous and bloodthirsty insurgents.' Such strong words were so far uncharacteristic for the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. Before the war, it wrote about Africans in a paternalistic way that employed a notion of cultural difference, but one that could

⁸⁴ Of the *Anzeigen für Tanga* the relevant publishing year 3 from November 1903 to October 1904 is missing from archives.

be alleviated through *Kulturarbeit*. This kind of representation also continued with respect to Africans in German East Africa after news of the war in German Southwest Africa had arrived. The strong language was at first limited to articles about the Herero and Nama War. But when the Maji Maji War broke out in German East Africa one and a half years later, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905i, p.1) also used terms like 'murderous' to describe Africans in its own colony and demanded drastic measures. According to the newspaper, a 'ruthless approach' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1905i, p.1) needed to be taken, because only violence would make an impression on people who were apparently 'at the bottom of the cultural ladder' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1905a). The 'black game,' so the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905a) argued, had to be hunted down by brave soldiers until 'it' unconditionally surrendered. Otherwise, it was necessary to conduct 'warfare until annihilation' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1905e). The newspaper stressed that no mercy should be shown. Peace agreements should not be the aim but a most severe punishment of the combatants (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1905e). Years later, the *Usambara-Post* (1908a) still stressed that 'strength,' and not a 'weak benevolence,' needed to be demonstrated in front of the Africans in order to prevent new 'uprisings.' A dehumanised, animal-like representation of Africans in the settler newspapers was in the discourse followed by direct demands for drastic action, up to annihilation.

Discourse in its capacity to produce 'knowledge' and structure the social environment created an image of Africans as essentially different to Europeans, naturally vicious and as a threat to the presumed superior 'race.' The call for drastic measures against Africans seemed within this discourse like a logical consequence. Welzer (2005, p.30) has described a similar mechanism regarding the Holocaust: the notion of an essential difference between people was constructed and maintained, and this difference then represented as a threat for the own, supposedly superior, group that had no choice but to fight the other, supposedly inferior group, for survival. In the next section I come back to the case of German Southwest Africa with the question of what actions the settler newspapers there were suggesting in response to the war.

7.1.2 Genocide, concentration camps, and the silence of the settler press

In German Southwest Africa, the situation grew more severe for the Herero a month into the war. After the Herero's initial military success, with fresh troops arriving in the colony the

Germans gained the upper hand. The civil Governor Leutwein, who, for practical reasons, spoke against a strategy of extermination, was replaced by the military hardliner von Trotha who believed that he had to fight a merciless 'race war' (Zimmerer, 2003b, pp.47–49). The Herero were defeated in the Battle of Waterberg on 11th and 12th August 1904. They had to retreat into the Omaheke Desert where many more of them died. On 2nd October General von Trotha issued his *Vernichtungsbefehl* (extermination order) and also passed it to the Herero on 3rd October 1904 (Drechsler, 1966, p.190; Erichsen, 2008, p.44). End of September 1904 the Nama terminated their collaboration with the Germans and turned against them too. During the Herero and Nama War, 66 to 80 per cent of the Herero population of 60.000 to 80.000 died, as well as up to 50 per cent of 20.000 Nama. A significant part of them died in the concentration camps that were set up following an order of the German Chancellor von Bülow on 11th December 1904 (Kreienbaum, 2012, p.88, 2015, pp.84–85). The aim of the concentration camps was to end the ongoing guerrilla wars and prevent the start of new ones. Punishment of the Herero and Nama was likewise an intended effect. But the camps were also a means to secure the supply of cheap labourers that were badly needed during the war. Through the arrival of the troops the German population of the colony had grown by 300 per cent. Goods needed to be unloaded from ships and transported to their destination, and infrastructure needed to be built (Kreienbaum, 2015, pp.133, 136, 138, 144).

In his last days as Governor in German Southwest Africa, Leutwein was forbidden to undertake peace negotiations with the Herero. Zimmerer (2003b, p.49) suspects that this was the direct result of an initiative of the settlers. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904k) does indeed argue against any peace treaties. For the settlers, Leutwein's policies before the war had not been radical enough. But they were not happy with General von Trotha either. The question now is if the discourse of the settler newspapers strengthened an opposition to von Trotha's extermination policy, or if it supported the genocide regardless of its aversion to the General. What strategies in order to deal with the situation in the colony did the settler newspapers suggest? I will first take a closer look at the relationship between von Trotha and the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, the settler newspaper he was in conflict with, and then move on to examine the discourse of both German Southwest African settler newspapers with respect to the concentration camps.

Bley (1968, pp.223, 224) has suggested that the settlers were opposed to von Trotha's way of conducting warfare. In this context, Bley wrote about a conflict between von Trotha and the settlers that resulted in the prohibition of the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. But documents only

confirm that von Trotha issued an order for the administration in Windhoek not to directly send any further information to the newspaper (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1905a). And according to the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905f), von Trotha himself did not even stick to his order. The newspaper was neither prohibited nor did it seem to take much damage from von Trotha's criticism. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* stated that it never received any information from the colonial administration that it could not obtain otherwise, as for example from the central notice board in town (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905d). The situation for the settler newspaper seems to have been not quite as dramatic as Bley (1968, pp.223–224) suggested. Nevertheless, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905e) at first called a petition against von Trotha, which was circulating in Windhoek, to the attention of its readers and later evaluated von Trotha's rule in retrospect as a 'military dictatorship' (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905a). The petition was directed at the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office and demanded that von Trotha should take back his order of censorship. There was a lot of criticism against him in the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, but it is questionable whether this criticism was in any way directed against his brutal conduct of warfare with the aim to annihilate the Herero.

Two main lines of argument regarding von Trotha's policies existed in the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. The first one, as Bley (1968, p.223) has suggested, complained that the General did not take the economic needs of the settlers sufficiently into account. While the newspaper wholeheartedly appreciated the Battle of Waterberg and the driving out of the Hereros into the desert, apparently 'punishing' them and 'teaching them who is master,' the newspaper argued that they should not have been exterminated but subjugated in a way that their work force could be exploited. The aim should be 'to preserve what we possess in the Herero: an enormous economic capital in the form of labourers' (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1904a). The newspaper agreed that the Herero's social structure needed to be destroyed, but their physical destruction should have been stopped after they had been culturally broken. Likewise, so the newspaper continued, their cattle should have been taken and not killed by the *Schutztruppe* during the Battle of Waterberg. The soldiers themselves however enjoyed the greatest respect of the newspaper; it praised them for their bravery on the battlefield (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1904a, 1905a). While the *Windhuker Nachrichten* was not in favour of extermination, it did by itself suggest a cultural genocide and the exploitation of forced labour.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Moses (2008, pp.12–13) explains that for Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term 'genocide,' 'cultural genocide' was almost as severe as physical annihilation. According to Moses (2008, p.12), Lemkin

The second line of argument that was brought forward concerned the time after the extermination order had been repealed by the German government in December 1904. Far from celebrating that the 'African labour force' was now being preserved, settlers called for severe measures against the Herero and Nama after farms had been attacked. They complained that the Herero had not been subdued properly, and that von Trotha had failed to provide sufficient protection for the farms (*Windhuker Nachrichten*, 1905n; h). It was this critique that angered von Trotha and made him issue the censorship order against the newspaper (BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1905a). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905d, p.1) countered against von Trotha's indignation:

Are we actually expected to applaud when the Herero, who were cast out at Waterberg and believed to be in the beyond, rise from the dead and commit a murder here and a robbery there and threaten life and property again?

To conclude: while an earlier strand of discourse in the *Windhuker Nachrichten* argued with economic reasons against a complete annihilation of the Herero (although still in favour of the destruction of their social and cultural existence), the later strand of discourse did not complain about the former extermination campaign anymore but argued that the Herero now needed to be subdued even more thoroughly. Although both strands of discourse did not actively make a case for annihilation, they also did not provide any grounds for the development of a counter-discourse. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* occupied a position that was oriented towards economic gain and that did not like to see its 'assets' destroyed. The sometimes contradictory statements stemmed from the fact that one set of the settlers' designated 'assets,' the African labourers, had the power to destroy the other set of 'assets,' their farms and other property. When von Trotha published his proclamation of 22nd April 1905 in the *Windhuker Nachrichten*, which addressed the Nama and threatened that they would meet the same fate as the Hereros if they did not surrender, the newspaper made no argument against it.⁸⁶ It was in fact hardly commented on at all. Only one contributor

stressed that 'culture integrated society and enabled the fulfillment of individual basic needs.' If social structures that derived from this were lost, then also physical destruction became more likely.

⁸⁶ It cannot be determined whether this proclamation was printed as information for the German readership only or if it was expected that some of the addressees of the proclamation could be reached like this. This publication was however not an exception: The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1905g) for example printed the proclamation of the new Governor von Lindequist to the Herero that directly addressed them and encouraged them to disarm themselves at the missionaries' collection points. From there they would be brought to the concentration camps. According to this article, von Lindequist's proclamation of 1st December 1905 was also printed by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* in German and Otjiherero. Since such an article could not be identified by me in the main issue of the newspaper, it is likely that this was printed as an extra. While it is unclear if the readership of the main

expressed in a letter to the editor his doubt that the proclamation would have any effect as the Nama leaders could not be expected to pass on the message to their fighters (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905l).

Even more radical was the position of the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*. This newspaper had been commenting on the war right from its start. Already in early February 1904 the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904f) argued in favour of a very hard course against the African combatants. The newspaper demanded they should be crushed in such a way that they could never rise again, making an example for other communities so they would be discouraged from resisting against the colonists. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1904d) furthermore suggested that the land should be 'swept with an iron broom'. It kept this rhetoric up after the Hereros had been defeated at Waterberg. In January 1905 it welcomed the planned 'thorough cleansing' of certain areas where Hereros were suspected to be hiding (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1905b). The rhetoric was not an invention of the settler newspaper alone but reflected the approach of the *Schutztruppe* that had trouble changing their practice from extermination to concentration (Kreienbaum, 2015, p.122).

The whole land was supposed to be pressed into the 'German order,' and the surviving African inhabitants were expected to serve the Germans. These demands were not entirely new. Before the war, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and its contributors had made similar demands. The difference was, however, that these earlier demands were legitimised with the concept of *Kulturarbeit* that the Africans would also benefit from; their *Kultur* would be lifted through working for the Germans (see chapter 6.2.2). But now, in the situation of war, there was less of a need for a legitimisation of expropriation and forced labour as 'transformation through development' (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1902e). After the Battle of Waterberg, a reader expressed in a letter to the editor his excitement about the current situation: now, so the writer hoped, a large number of cattle could be taken off the Herero, and the captured Hereros could be put to work in order to cover the costs of the war (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1904a). Nothing was mentioned about any formerly presumed benefits to the Hereros. The 'civilising mission,' which was the principal narrative that sought to justify violent interventions in colonial territory (Mann, 2004, p.114), had during the war partially been replaced by a narrative that solely argued for the necessity of defence

issues of both settler newspapers was expected to also consist of some Hereros, it is safe to assume that the printing of von Lindequist's proclamation in Otjiherero was carried out by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* in order to address a Herero readership.

against Africans. These were now represented in such a de-humanised way that extermination rather than 'education' seemed appropriate. While *Kulturarbeit* as a guiding principle for settlers to relate to Africans did not completely vanish from the settler newspaper discourse, it was significantly less dominant during the Herero and Nama War.

Early in the war, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* suggested measures to deal with the situation that would effectively be put into practice in the concentration camps. The decision to set them up was not taken in the colony but came directly from Chancellor von Bülow. Nevertheless, as if the newspaper had anticipated this step, it suggested on 16th February 1904:

Only the complete dissolution and imprisonment of the entire *Volk* can be seen as adequate atonement for the many murders and atrocities and the pointless destruction of the many millions of capital that had been invested in the country through the long, arduous work of the settlers (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904k).

It is remarkable that, once the concentration camps had been set up, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* mostly avoided mentioning them. The few articles about the camps that appeared in the *Windhuker Nachrichten* drew an image that could hardly be further away from what research into the camps' history so far has uncovered. But the writers must have had some first-hand experience with the prisoners of the concentration camps. Far from being hidden somewhere remote and away from everyday life in the colonies, many of the camps were in locations that were central to the settlers; at least to the ones that lived in towns. One of the camps in Windhoek was placed in the centre of the colonial capital next to the *Alte Feste* (Old Fortress); in the same place that the equestrian monument would be erected at in 1912 (Erichsen, 2005, pp.42–43). The most notorious concentration camp was located on Shark Island, just across from Lüderitzbucht, and by no means out of sight. Furthermore, a few other camps close to Lüderitzbucht were located on the mainland and run by the company *Lenz and Co.* that was in charge of constructing the local railway line (Erichsen, 2005, p.111). The prisoners who constructed the railway between Lüderitzbucht and Keetmanshoop suffered a death rate of 67 per cent between January 1906 and June 1907. In total numbers, 1359 of the construction workers died during that period (Erichsen, 2003, p.83). Prisoners from other concentration camps were also forced to work basically everywhere where work needed to be done (Kreienbaum, 2015, p.249). They must have been present in the public spaces of places like Windhoek, Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht. The report of a correspondent of *Die Gartenlaube* confirmed this. He stated that 'the town of

Swakopmund is teeming with prisoners' (Schowalter, 1907, p.62). The mortality rate in the camps averaged 64 per cent (Kreienbaum, 2015, p.124). It is safe to assume that not all died within the camps, but that many also died while performing the forced labour. The technician Müller for example, who supervised the construction works of a new pier in the Lüderitzbucht harbour, complained that 6 to 7 of the prisoners who he had been assigned as labourers dropped dead daily, making it very difficult for him to meet his targets (Erichsen, 2005, pp.115–118). Deaths must have occurred right in front of the settlers' eyes. Some missionaries condemned the treatment of the prisoners and the conditions in the concentration camps (Zeller, 2003, pp.64–65). But, while the settler newspapers on other occasions had printed critical statements of missionaries, this time these voices were not included in the press of the colony.

While the few articles that mentioned the concentration camps in the settler newspapers did in no way reflect their terrible conditions, at least the occurrence of deaths was acknowledged by the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. And the newspaper did offer a remarkable explanation for them: the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905c) blamed the Hereros for eating more than they could digest. Those who survived this assumed over-consumption in the camps, at the expense of their German captors, so the article continued, soon became fat. More than two years later the *Windhuker Nachrichten* still maintained this narrative. It stated that the Herero and Nama 'had been spoilt in the prisoner camps through good food and idleness' and were now even less inclined to work (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907d). This resembles a crass 'mis'representation of the situation. Partly responsible for the high death rate was the inadequate supply of food in the concentration camps: the little they were provided with mainly consisted of rice. The prisoners were not at all used to this type of food and also lacked the necessary materials to cook it (Kreienbaum, 2015, p.234). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* offered a similarly absurd explanation for the infertility of many of the female prisoners and their regular suffering from venereal diseases. According to the newspaper, this was a direct result of their supposed extreme promiscuity and violent treatment by their men (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907d). Again, research presents the situation quite differently: apart from their general weakened state, many of the women were regularly coerced into sexual intercourse with some of the colonists who were responsible for spreading venereal diseases (Erichsen, 2005, p.49).⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Sexual relations, which were in many cases quite likely based on coercion, were in German Southwest Africa common practice also outside of the time and place of the concentration camps. Gordon (2009,

This consequent 'mis'representation of the situation may be due to the fact that the editors were aware of a readership in Germany that had at least in part already been outraged about the genocide at its beginnings. While the extermination campaign had not been ideal for the settlers, because it endangered the existence of the badly needed labour force, the settlers now had not much to complain about. The government rented prisoners out to them as labourers for the price of 10 Marks per month (Erichsen, 2005, p.119). There was still a certain shortage of labourers as the authorities predominantly assigned them to governmental rather than to private projects. But the general effects of the concentration camps – risk minimisation and profit maximisation – were advantageous for the settlers. The *Gartenlaube* correspondent wrote excitedly about how good the war had been for business in German Southwest Africa: the labourers that were rented out by the government were, according to the correspondent, so much cheaper than the ones in South Africa. In Cape Town, so Schowalter (1907, p.62) complained, a black labourer could cost up to 100 Marks per month. Settler newspapers had no reason to convey the impression that the current situation needed changing; apart from maybe still a little more coercion of Herero and Nama to work for the Germans. And this was at least attempted through the *Eingeborenenverordnungen* (native ordinances) by Governor von Lindequist in 1907, introducing a system of enhanced control and indentured labour for Africans (Zimmerer, 2004).

Yet, so Schowalter (1907, p.63) remarked, the thought of the deaths of thousands of prisoners could be worrying. He stated that one was reminded of the 'infamous concentration camps from the Boer War.' He asked: 'Is Germany not copying here what it had condemned over there?' But Schowalter (1907, p.63) immediately reassured his readers: no, the Southwest African concentration camps were an absolute necessity, for reasons of security, but also as a 'rescue for the nearly starved Hereros.' In spite of the horror of the concentration camps, the *Gartenlaube* correspondent still insisted on the existence of a German colonial benevolence. Other German domestic newspapers were less inclined to maintain this narrative and heavily criticised how the concentration camps were run. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* wrote an angry reply to the critical article of the *Berliner Tageblatt* that I have already discussed (see previous section). The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908a) stated that, while the high death rate was 'unfortunate,' one should remember all the suffering that the Herero and Nama had caused

p.38) states that an estimated 90% of all white men maintained so-called concubinage relationships with African women.

for the settlers. The prisoners on the other hand had, according to the newspaper, been provided with everything they needed and would not have had access to outside of the concentration camps. The many deaths were explained by the *Windhuker Nachrichten* as from exhaustion due to the same war that the prisoners had apparently started themselves.

The reference to settlers as victims of Herero and Nama again illustrates the persistence of this narrative as a strategy of legitimisation. I have already introduced this narrative and one of the strands of discourse that produced it in the previous section. This first type of representation of settlers as victims of Africans stemmed directly from the situation of war. In this strand of discourse, the settlers under attack needed to be rescued by the 'brave German soldiers.' Now I will explore the second strand of discourse that developed the victim narrative not in reference to the war, but in reference to the presumed 'character' of the Africans.

7.1.3 Settler victimhood as strategy: the genocidal discourse continues

There is no doubt that some German settlers fell victim to Hereros as well as to Namas during the war in a very real sense. Even when the initial success of the Herero ended and when Hendrik Witbooi, the influential Nama leader, was killed, resistance against the colonists continued. Guerrilla fighters like Jacob Marengo and Simon Kopper continued to lead attacks. While the former was shot on 20th September 1907, the latter moved to Bechuanaland (today Botswana) in 1908 and received a pension from the German government in order to discourage him from continuing the fight (Zimmerer, 2003b, pp.48, 55). But the settler newspapers did not simply reflect these events when they represented German settlers as victims. The normalised violence of the colonial situation that preceded the war was not recognised by the newspapers, and neither were the cruelties against Africans, be they combatants or not, during the war and with respect to the concentration camps. The victim narrative was not tied to the fact that several African societies had declared war against intruders into their territory, but it was tied to a discourse and 'knowledge' about the supposedly vicious character and inferior 'race' of those societies.

This discourse was particularly strong in the *Windhuker Nachrichten*. The newspaper literally accused the Herero and Nama of economically exploiting the settlers: apparently they had already, before the war, caused trouble in their work places with Europeans through their 'cheekiness' and 'self-indulgence.' After the war, so the newspaper continued, they had been

spoilt in the concentration camps, and now they would complicate their employer's life even more through their rudeness and their aversion to work (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1907d). According to the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1909a), they were using the laws that the Germans had introduced unfairly against their German employers to improve their own working conditions. If the employers did not comply, the Africans apparently just left the workplace. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905a) argued in a similar manner regarding 'problems' with German East African employees. Also the settler newspapers that were set up much later, after the war had long ended, contributed to this discourse and consolidated the narrative of the settlers as victims of the Africans' character. The *Südwest* (1911c) complained about the 'native ordinances' that they were not strict enough and that the Africans had their European employers 'literally in their hands.' The latter therefore needed to be protected from the former. According to the newspaper, employers did not even dare to make important investments anymore because they could never be sure if their employees would not cheat them in the next moment. The *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* (1913a) also lamented that European employers were at the mercy of their African employees. One letter to the editor that appeared in this newspaper is particularly disturbing. The contributor described a violent assault against an African women that he himself had committed. He bitterly complained that he had been taken to court because of that and believed that he had the right to repeatedly beat a woman who apparently refused to show her registration mark to him upon request (P.J., 1913). The carrying of these marks had become compulsory for all Africans with the introduction of the 'native ordinance.' Not only police could request to be shown the mark, but every white person had the right to so (Zimmerer, 2003a). The writer of the article saw himself as a victim of the women he beat because she took him to court.

In the discourse of the settler newspapers the roles of perpetrators and victims were reversed. This is not to say that the colonised did in reality not have agency. Authors like Zimmerer (2004) have shown that German rule did not work as smoothly as the colonists had anticipated, even after they had won the war. But to state that, in a situation where a large part of the Herero and Nama were at first imprisoned in concentration camps under appalling conditions and then continued to be subject to indentured labour and surveillance, they were actually exploiting the Europeans, is, again, an extreme 'mis'representation of the situation. It was a discourse that sought to justify extreme measures by continuing to assert that those who did not belong to the settler community due to their difference in 'race,' which manifested itself in a 'vicious character,' were a threat to the settlers and therefore needed to be subdued. It was part of the self-conception of the settler community as the 'better

Germans' that they would defend this community against third parties, regardless of difficulties within the community. This means that the call of the settler newspapers to take action against Africans was firmly based on morality. From their perspective, it must have been a moral imperative to demand the Africans' continued extreme subjugation.⁸⁸ The transformation of the colony into a 'white man's country' in this context appeared as the settler's 'historical task' (Welzer, 2005, p.38). The victim narrative of the settlers served to justify a strategy that inevitably led to the destruction of Africans, physically as well as culturally and socially. Deaths were seen as 'unfortunate,' but in the end unavoidable.

In times when colonial officials like the State Secretary Dernburg from 1907 onwards took a political turn towards enhanced protection of Africans, this discourse did not lose its importance for the settler press and the victim narrative was continued until the settler newspapers ceased to be produced. The narrative was also extended to include groups other than the Herero and Nama: the San, in the newspapers also called 'Bushmen,' were likewise starting to be represented as inherently malicious and a threat to the settlers. The *Südwestbote* (1913a) for example reported robberies committed by San people and wondered if these were not aware that such actions could lead to their annihilation altogether. The newspaper was then quick to demand 'ruthless persecution and extermination,' and the 'cleansing' of the area (*Südwestbote*, 1913a). This was backed also by an order that Governor Seitz had given to the police in 1911: they should shoot 'Bushmen' if these did not obey police commands (Gordon, 2009, pp.34–35). Farmers likewise regularly shot San people. Erichsen (2008, p.8) states: 'By 1914, the shooting of San in Namibia had become so institutionalised that it spawned the concept of "Bushmen Hunting".'

The genocide in German historiography tied to the *Vernichtungsbefehl* of General von Trotha and the Herero and Nama War that terminated in 1907 (Gordon, 2009, p.31). But a discourse in the settler press that contained genocidal elements and even proposed 'extermination' as an appropriate solution for 'problems' between colonisers and the colonised continued until the beginning of the First World War when the production of most of the settler newspapers was discontinued. I agree here with Gordon (2009, p.31) who argues that actions against the San, which had only stopped with the South African invasion in 1915, need to be categorised as genocide too. Lately, Zimmerer (2015, p.441) likewise argues with respect to the case of the

⁸⁸ Welzer (2005) has analysed this same mechanism in great detail with regard to the Holocaust. See here in particular pp. 30-40.

Herero and Nama that a 'cultural genocide' continued after the end of the war and the closing down of the last concentration camp in 1908.

In the second part of this chapter I will now move away from the victim narrative and come back to the issue of a general, underlying anxiety that was caused by the precarious situation of the settlers in the German colonies. Anxieties were on the one hand reflected in the settler press (in its discourse as well as in its structure), and on the other hand anxieties were produced through this same discourse.

7.2 Fearing the African intellect

In chapter 6.1.3 I have already briefly addressed how the settlers' attitude towards Africans was, among other things, also shaped by anxieties. The language question revealed a key tension. On the one hand there was the objective to create ideal African workers who understood orders in German and were able to conduct tasks that required a certain command of the German language. This provision of language training and general 'education' in the European sense was also consistent with the narrative of the 'civilising mission.' On the other hand, there was the fear that Africans could use their newfound knowledge against the colonisers. This tension between objectives, and ensuing anxieties, led to a continued debate about the way in which Africans should be subject to a European style 'education,' or if they should receive such an 'education' at all. Within the settler newspaper discourse, slowly a position was strengthened that effectively argued against education.⁸⁹ The settler press was not only a site of this discourse, but its development and structure also directly intervened into this field. In the following I will explore the (anti-)education discourse, and its implications for the settler press as well as for Africans in the colonies. With this I am hoping to contribute to challenging the 'longevity of a nostalgic perception of colonialism as an essentially developing and modernising project' that Zimmerer (2015, p.433) has identified as a problem in German historiography. And just as I have attempted to challenge the idea of colonial 'technology' as exclusively European in chapter 5.1, I am now going to show that intellectual strategies and networks were not exclusively European during German colonialism either.

⁸⁹ When I put 'education' in inverted commas, I refer to education as notion and practice of the colonists. Without the inverted commas, I refer to education as a more recent understanding of the concept that contains an element of emancipation, as for example discussed by Adorno (1959).

7.2.1 The anti-education discourse of the settler newspapers

The colonial administrations of Cameroon, Togoland and German East Africa put it on their agenda early to establish schools for Africans, prompted in part by requests of businessmen like the ship owner Woermann, who was active in Cameroon. The first government-run schools opened in Cameroon in Bonamandone in 1887, in Togoland in Little Popo (the later Anecho) in 1891 and in German East Africa in Tanga in 1892. The latter later became the site of production of the *Usambara-Post*. It was however not the rule that schools for Africans were run by the colonial administration. In Togoland the government first tried to convince German missionaries to set up such an institution and only established their own after failing to convince any Christian mission to answer to this request. The colonial government in Cameroon likewise at first favoured missionary-run schools, but a dispute between officials and missionaries changed the government's approach. It was only in German East Africa where a government-run school was favoured from the beginning. A special case was German Southwest Africa. Here, throughout formal German colonialism not a single governmental school for Africans was established and the field was left completely to the missionaries (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, pp.33–36). Although the colonial administrations took an active interest in the matter, in 1911 95% of African students in all of the German colonies attended schools run by missionaries; seven under Protestant and six under Catholic leadership (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.38).

One of the objectives of all of the schools was the *Erziehung zur Arbeit* (educating/training to do work, see chapter 3.1). This aimed at disciplining Africans in a way that they would also work for the colonists without coercion and adopt the German culture of work as part of their own identity (Zimmerer, 2004, p.243). In the missionary-run schools this was reflected in their principle of 'ora et labora' (pray and work). Schubert (2003, pp.125–126, 152–153) states that in the colonies it was the Protestants who put an emphasis on work, while the Catholics were more focussed on making a spiritual impact on the Africans. When looking at the school programs, this difference however is hardly discernible. The German Catholic St. Benediktus Order, active in German East Africa since 1887, seemed to be determined to keep a balance in its schools between practical work and teaching subjects like religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and singing (Adams, 1899, pp.7–9). But the German Catholic mission of the Spiritaner that was also active in German East Africa clearly named practical work as the

central principle upon which their school programs rested, pushing intellectual subjects into the background. The leaders of this mission even made arguments similar to those that were present in settler newspapers. One bishop argued that, through work, Africans would first be turned into humans, and then into Christians as a second step (Mirtschink, 1980, p.65). Another one argued that Africans would find the 'right path' once their raised desires for consumer goods through advanced *Kultur* started to function as an incentive to work (Mirtschink, 1980, p.71) (see chapter 6.2.2 for similar arguments by settler newspapers).

In the case of German Southwest Africa, an article in the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1903f) gave the impression that Protestant and Catholic missions were even competing on the question of who put the stronger emphasis on 'labora,' illustrating what Schubert (2003, p.154) called the 'Christian Scramble for Africa.' In a letter to the editor a Protestant missionary complained that the newspaper had printed a number of articles that praised the great contribution of *Erziehung zur Arbeit* by Catholic missionaries. The writer insisted that Protestants in German Southwest Africa had been active in this field much longer and more successfully than Catholics (Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, 1903f). It seems that the missionary schools were under a lot of pressure to produce exploitable labourers rather than Christians in the first place. While the government in German Southwest Africa did not run its own schools for Africans, it was highly interested in the curriculum of the missionary schools and tried to influence them by offering subsidies. The government's main objective was – next to disciplining Africans – to enable them to speak German in order to facilitate work relations. But some officials also kept the narrative of the 'civilising mission' alive and demanded basic education for Africans as part of fulfilling this task (Zimmerer, 2004, pp.244–249).

Indeed, Adick and Mehnert (2001, pp.144–145) state that the missionary schools' curriculums – and here as a general trend in the German colonies in Africa – changed from an initial emphasis on religious education to more worldly subjects. In all schools, including the governmental ones, some of the students were trained in crafts like bookbinding, carpentry, masonry, and other skills. But the major part of the manual work they had to conduct was field labour on the school's premises. This was counted as *Erziehung zur Arbeit* as well as serving an exploitative measure that ensured the schools could be run as cheaply as possible (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.338). The governmental schools furthermore put an emphasis on disciplining students to obey to the colonial administration by ordering the singing of patriotic songs and teaching them patriotic 'knowledge.' Literature like *Robinson Crusoe* was part of the curriculum. Adick and Mehnert (2001, p.145) suspect that this was done in order to make the

students identify with the character of 'Friday' in the novel. Or, more generally phrased, to have their identity explained to them by the colonists rather than through reflecting their own history.

Settler newspapers eyed the schools for Africans with suspicion and sometimes expressed outright hostility towards the projects, especially towards the ones run by missionaries. At first sight this seems a little surprising as all parties had declared *Erziehung zur Arbeit* as one of their main objectives. But while before the big colonial wars the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1903a) was at least hopeful that the governmental schools could contribute to pressuring Africans into working for Europeans if only they took care not to 'spoil' them in the process, after 1904 the reporting of all settler newspapers that wrote about the schools was outright negative. Part of their criticism was explicitly directed at the missionaries who in the eyes of settler newspapers hindered measures that forced Africans into labour through their 'irrational humanism' (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 1906b; K., 1904; Schlettwein, 1904; Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905i, p.11). The newspapers argued that African students returned from missionary schools with their heads full of 'undigested and confused ideas of equality and human dignity' (Windhuker Nachrichten, 1905i, p.11). The result was, so the settlers stated, that former students refused to work for colonists (K., 1904; Südwestbote, 1914a). The notorious settler Schlettwein (1908) argued in a deeply racist manner that Africans had not yet climbed up the 'cultural ladder' far enough in order to understand Christian teaching and compared baptized Africans to 'trained monkeys.' He claimed that it would take them generations to catch up culturally, and only with the help of a 'salutary coercion to work.' Schlettwein (1908) concluded: 'It is easier to grow roses from a potato than to turn a Kaffir who does not know the blessings of work through Christian teaching alone into a cultured human.' The *Kamerun-Post* (1912h) alone had a more positive stance towards missionaries and defended them against critique that suggested they would spoil Africans with their 'kind' treatment.

Apart from the *Kamerun-Post*, all settler newspapers were convinced that the way in which missionary schools, and sometimes also governmental schools, conducted *Erziehung zur Arbeit*, did not benefit the colonies. For them, it was not about teaching skills and crafts that would lead to a regular employment, and probably have Africans competing with colonists on the job market. For the settler press, successful *Erziehung zur Arbeit* was simply about disciplining Africans, about turning them into docile, cheap labourers. Not even embedded disciplining measures like those of the governmental schools seemed to satisfy the settlers.

The settler newspaper discourse about education was in fact an anti-education discourse. It can be assumed that this was partly owed to the type of labourer that the settlers required for running their farms, plantations or small businesses. Their needs differed from those of the colonial administration, which was mostly in favour of schools for Africans. Governments required the colonised to be able to read and write in order to complete tasks for them (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, pp.38–39). Most settlers on the other hand wished for docile labourers that had no other option but to work on European-run plantations and farms. But, following the discourse of the settler newspapers, the main reason for the settlers' resistance against schools for Africans can be found elsewhere.

As I showed in chapter 6.1.3, some of the settler newspapers worried about the dangers it might pose to teach Africans the German language, a project that was partly also on the agenda of the schools (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.39; *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 1904g). Such anxieties were common in the German colonial situation. The threat of the formation of national liberation movements made the settlers highly suspicious of any institutions that the Africans could make use of in order to establish such movements. European style 'education' for Africans was in this context perceived by the settlers as a potential threat to their own existence. They believed that Africans would lose their respect of the colonists if they learned about their weaknesses through their publications and conversations. The proliferation of writing could also be used for organising themselves over larger distances and across political and social boundaries. The Ethiopian Movement that developed in South Africa spread its message via African-led newspapers, illustrating to the adjacent colony of German Southwest Africa how potent African writing could be (Gallus, 1908, pp.801–802).⁹⁰

The famous author and temporary settlement commissioner of German Southwest Africa, Paul Rohrbach, widely read at the time, warned about the potential harm that schools for Africans could cause (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.37). The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907d) referred to Rohrbach when it stated that it saw great danger in teaching Africans the German language so they could read European newspapers and books. This would only sow

⁹⁰ Ethiopianism in South Africa had its origin in a separation of churches due to a critique of their domination through white people. A similar movement existed in the United States. The term 'Ethiopia' stemmed from a passage in the Bible and was used as a synonym for black Africa as a whole. The movement was based on the writings of intellectuals and on protest organisations likewise. With its call of 'Africa for the African,' Ethiopianism nurtured profound anxieties among colonists (Fredrickson, 1995, pp.61, 65, 74, 80, 84, 87).

the dangerous seeds of African liberation movements like the Ethiopian one. The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* (1907d) called this movement the 'Social Democracy of Africa', fearing that it would take hold in German Southwest Africa too. Missionary schools therefore should be under strict control in order to prevent 'hazardous' education. The *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1905i, p.11) likewise argued that educated Africans would 'pose a constant danger for the security of the white population that lives in their midst.' In a different article, the newspaper stated that the 'education threat' had led to a widespread hostility towards schools for Africans (Südwestbote, 1914a). Africans who could read, write and had some command of the German language were constructed as a danger to the settlers. The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (1905a) illustrated this in retrospect of the Maji Maji War, stating with regard to African students:

When people say that disciples ... have written letters to the people of the interior: come now, the right moment is here! we take this as proof how easily school education can have disastrous consequences.

The settler newspapers ultimately demanded that Africans needed to be prevented from building networks and developing discursive strategies. It was to be avoided at all costs to provide them with the tools, here in the form of learning how to read and to write, that helped them in pursuing such strategies. Humanitarian ideas were supposed to be only used in order to justify colonialism in front of the public in Germany, and not actually passed on to the recipients of this supposedly 'humanitarian' treatment. According to the settler newspapers, the colonised needed to be disciplined, and not educated. This objective, reiterated in discourse, may have not had a significant impact on the colonial school system as such, as it was not the settlers who were running the schools. It is however remarkable that the settlers, who were at least by some viewed as the 'true colonists,' rather than government officials and soldiers, maintained such a strong anti-education discourse (Bley, 1968, p.110). This discourse was at odds with the proclaimed objective of a 'civilising mission,' represented by colonial enthusiasts in Germany. However, as Adick and Mehnert (2001) have demonstrated, governments and missionaries were also less interested in providing education in an academic sense, but used the schools to create the employees they needed and the subjects that they could proselytise.

While the settler newspapers in the colonies found themselves with their demands in opposition to missionaries and also to many of the government officials, fears of anti-colonial

movements did also exist among the governors. In the next section I examine how this fear influenced the German Colonial Press Law.

7.2.2 The curious meanderings of the Colonial Press Law

The German Colonial Press Law that was passed in 1912 took quite an extraordinary path during its development. In order to trace this it is necessary to go back once more to the issue of the conflict of settler newspapers with colonial governments that I have already touched upon in chapter 4.2.2. Although the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* with its editor von Roy was at the centre of the conflict, the need for a Colonial Press Law first became apparent during a dispute between the colonial administration and the *Usambara-Post*. In September 1905 the newspaper stated under the headline ‘The *Usambara-Post* in front of the court!’ that it was being sued for failing to name the responsible editor in its issues (Usambara-Post, 1905a). But a month later, a second article declared that all charges had been dropped (Usambara-Post, 1905b). What had happened?

In contrast to the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, the *Usambara-Post* and its earlier form, the *Anzeigen für Tanga*, was at first not willing to take an aggressive stance towards the colonial government. Redeker (1937, p.95) even described the editor Hofft as ‘timid.’ But in early 1905 the newspaper began to develop a position that challenged the government, just like the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* did. At first the *Usambara-Post* demanded to raise the taxes for Africans. As a next step it encouraged the planters to act together against the government that was in the newspaper’s eyes too passive regarding the African workers’ question (Redeker, 1937, p.95). It is likely that the government of German East Africa wanted to prevent another site of conflict building up in the colony and tried to put the *Usambara-Post* back in its place by taking it to court. But the court ruled that all charges against the teacher Ramlow from Tanga who was believed to have printed the newspapers in question had to be dropped because the legal basis was too weak in order to sentence him. The German Press Law of 7th May 1874 had been introduced into the colony by Governor von Liebert on 25th March 1899 as an ordinance, but legally this could only serve as a guidance and not as a basis to sentence a defendant because it did not have a constitutional status (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1906). For the colonial government it was not only difficult to discipline the *Usambara-Post*, but also to keep the Governor’s main adversary, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, at bay (BAB R 1001/

4696, 1907b).⁹¹ In April 1907 Governor von Rechenberg therefore demanded that the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin developed the law in such a way that it could be applied to the colonies. He was worried that the conflict would become increasingly serious. Therefore he asked to solve this matter as soon as possible (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1907a). But von Rechenberg was disappointed: the process of developing a Colonial Press Law took years in which different officials and authorities debated different drafts of the law, trying to work out a version most suitable for the colonies. Initially, the debate happened between different officials in Berlin, with rather stressed letters from the colonial government in German East Africa contributing (Pöppinghege, 2001, pp.163–164). Then, in 1909, the network of contributors to the debate grew significantly: other German colonial governments were invited to make suggestions regarding the law, also from colonies outside of Africa. The network of contributors to the law expanded, and also to areas where at the time no settler press had developed yet, or where it never developed at all.

The replies from the governors of Togoland, Cameroon, Samoa and New Guinea gave the debate a twist that took it quite far away from its initial aim to keep the settler press under control. Because in none of those four colonies did a settler newspaper exist at the time (although they developed later in Cameroon and Samoa), the governments were quite indifferent regarding a possible legal protection against attacks of settler newspapers. They opened their replies to the Colonial Office by saying that they did not mind a Colonial Press Law, but were themselves quite unconcerned about publications from their colonial fellows. However, while the Colonial Office was asking, so the letters continued, it should consider adding clauses that would provide a legal basis for the prohibition of certain publications in case of liberation movements growing among the colonised (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909d, b; c; a). While the types of publications that the governors would like to be able to prohibit varied between the different colonies, they all agreed that it should be legally allowed for the individual governments to take such decisions.

⁹¹ Despite the lack of a proper Colonial Press Law, the government often found ways to temporarily impede the attacks of the settler newspapers. As I have already mentioned in chapter 4.2.2, it had success with libel action against von Roy. Pressure on the civil servants at the school in Tanga who were responsible for printing the *Usambara-Post* led to repeated interruptions in its production until its editors set up their own print shop in 1909 (Redeker, 1937, pp.52, 104). In 1907, when the production of the *Usambara-Post* had to be paused for six months due to pressure from the colonial government, von Roy initiated the publication of the *Usaramo-Post*, whose sole purpose was to represent the interests of the settlers to the government without any compromise. But after only three months of its publication, at the reinstatement of the *Usambara-Post*, the *Usaramo-Post* was discontinued (Redeker, 1937, pp.52–53) (see settler newspaper index in the appendix).

The colonial government of New Guinea recommended the inclusion of a paragraph that would make it possible to restrict the import of foreign newspapers to the colonies that were written in a language that the colonised were able to understand. Governor Albert Hahl wrote: 'For Ponape, where a part of the population writes and reads in English, it could in the case of future uprisings become necessary to prohibit the import of foreign newspapers' (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909a). He worried that certain publications would encourage anti-colonial actions. The Governor of Samoa, Wilhelm Solf, on the other hand, wished for a clause to be included in the law that enabled the governments to prohibit the production of certain publications in the colony itself (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909b). Even though German colonial rule was less contested in the Pacific area than in Africa and also did not match its enormous brutality, news from the wars in the African colonies had reached the colonial governments in the Pacific, making the governors more cautious (Gründer, 2012, pp.195, 207).

The most detailed reply came from the government of Togoland. In a first letter in August 1909 it encouraged the Colonial Office to enable a ban on foreign as well as African publications, and, after it had completed some research into the topic, sent a second reply in December with further suggestions. The first letter addressed the problem that foreign newspapers, mostly in English language, were imported into Togoland and eagerly read by the African population. The imports mainly came, according to the government, from Lagos in South Nigeria and were suspected of inciting anti-colonial action. But the government also worried regarding some of the publications in German language that they might lead to unrest: 'There are plenty of German publications that are suitable for Europeans, but that are absolutely poisonous for the immature native population' (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909d). The government furthermore suggested the introduction of a policy that new newspaper projects would in the future have to pay a deposit before they could get started. This would make it more difficult for both low quality German publications and African publications in general to take root in Togoland. And in the case of African publications, the government also wished to have the possibility to override the Press Law and be able to ban or confiscate publications on the spot (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909d). The Press Law in its current state granted a degree of freedom of the press, making it necessary for the government to apply at court for a judge to issue a ban. This was also at the centre of concern for the government of Cameroon. It reminded the Colonial Office that there were hardly any judges in the colonies and argued that it would take too long to get their permission for the prohibition of a publication (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909c). In its second letter, the government of Togoland emphasised that it would like to have free

hand in dealing with the African press and not be restricted by any legal constraints (BAB R 1001/ 4696, 1909e).

This demonstrates that an African population that could read and write caused anxieties not only among settlers but also among the colonial governments who were at the same time mostly in favour of schools for Africans. There was a permanent tension between different colonial objectives: on the one hand Africans were supposed to be enabled through 'education' to take on an active role in keeping the colonial state, its administration and its economy running. On the other, any intellectual activity that might question the colonial state had to be prevented. Those tensions and anxieties influenced the way in which the Colonial Press Law was formed. In its finalised version, paragraph 14 stipulated that any publication which could potentially 'incite natives to commit violence against Whites' was to be banned (BAB R 1001/ 4697, 1912, p.11). Paragraph 22 allowed the prohibition of any publication by Africans on the order of the Governor, and without consultation of a court, thereby giving arbitrariness a legal basis (BAB R 1001/ 4697, 1912, p.12). The Colonial Press Law that came into effect on 1st April 1912 provided German colonial governments with the legal means to prohibit any publication that could potentially be used for building a liberation movement.

The law provided a legal basis for prohibitions, but it is likely that interventions against unwelcome publications had been common practice even before the introduction of the law. In particular in the colonies of Cameroon and Togoland with only few German colonists and very little infrastructure, officials often acted according to what they deemed appropriate in any given situation rather than according to laws and orders (Gründer, 2012, p.158; Sebald, 2013, pp.70–71). Colonial rule took on its most despotic forms in these situations. The existence of a 'journalism in exile' of African communities, a phenomenon I will discuss below, is a hint that the prohibition of unwelcome publications in the German colonies was effectively practiced. Before coming to African resistance writing, I will now explore how German colonists tried to influence the colonised through writing that aimed at an African readership.

7.2.3 Attempting influence through African language newspapers

Despite the *Erziehung zur Arbeit* that developed increasingly to be the main objective of most of the schools for Africans, be they government- or missionary-led, European-style 'education' in such institutions became increasingly popular among Africans in the German colonies. The

number of students in the schools grew on the one hand because of their interest in education, and on the other hand because schools provided an opportunity to escape the often even harder working conditions in the countryside and opened up possibilities for better paid employment in the future. The Ewe in Togoland and the Beti in Cameroon were particularly keen on entering the schools (Iliffe, 1995, p.299; Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.41). While the increasing level of reading and writing skills among Africans was a source of worries for some of the German colonists, others also saw this as an opportunity to exert influence on the colonised. In the following, I examine two examples of attempts to influence Africans via newspapers. The first one is the *Kiongozi* (The Leader), published in German East Africa, and the second one is the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* (Sun of Cameroon), produced in Hamburg and shipped to Cameroon.

The first print products in African languages were produced by missionaries intending to proselytise. The first of these newspapers was the *Indaba* (News), published 1844 by the Lovedale Mission in southern Africa in the isiXhosa language. For the territory of German East Africa it was the *Habari za Mwenzi* (News of the Month), published by British missionaries in Swahili language from 1894 onwards (Lemke, 1929, pp.12, 19). Although the *Habari za Mwenzi* was widely read until 1916, the Swahili-speaking community, often of Islamic faith, became increasingly interested in non-Christian offers (Sturmer, 1995, p.19). This applied as much to publications as to educational institutions. The governmental school in Tanga attended to this need and attracted students who rejected missionary-led institutions (Adick and Mehnert, 2001, p.36). The school had its own print office where, next to the government's print orders and the *Usambara-Post*, from 1904 onwards a non-religious newspaper in Swahili was produced: the *Kiongozi*.⁹² It was initiated by the head of the Tanga school, Principal Blank. The first editors were the German teacher Oswald Rutz and the African teacher Alfred Juma (Gallus, 1908, p.837). About Blank, Lemke (1929, p.20) wrote that it was a personal concern of his to spread German *Kultur*. She stated that it was no coincidence that all editors of the *Kiongozi*, also the later ones, were teachers: 'They were the people best equipped for the task to educate the natives' (Lemke, 1929, p.21). But the content of the *Kiongozi* was not purely picked and composed in order to influence the Swahili-speaking part of the population. Rather, the newspaper was supposed to meet its interests. And even though already the first issue was presented to the government to seek approval before its publication, the *Deutsch-*

⁹² The first issue appeared in 1904, followed by a long pause until the next issue appeared in June 1905 when it was temporarily included in the *Usambara-Post* as a supplement (Gallus, 1908, p.825). The *Kiongozi* was published until December 1913.

Ostafrikanische Zeitung (1905a) was initially highly critical of the newspaper. It suspected that the *Kiongozi* would support those who were fighting against the colonists in the Maji Maji War. Lemke (1929, p.21) on the other hand categorised the newspaper, in contrast to similar newspapers in other parts of Africa, as explicitly non-political. Most of the content informed about news in the colony that had been collected by voluntary correspondents; already in 1905 there were 47 of them who reported from 30 different places (Lemke, 1929, p.71). The newspaper furthermore contained ordinances of the government and advertisements. It had a circulation of about 2000 copies per print run, but Lemke assumed that the newspaper reached far more people: it was common that those who were able to read publicly read the *Kiongozi* to others who did not have that skill (Lemke, 1929, pp.15, 25, 30–31).

While Lemke categorised the *Kiongozi* as non-political, it is clear that the newspaper aimed at a specific political effect: it was supposed to appease its readership and have it agree to German rule. Political in its effect, this target was described as ‘education’ and the bringing of German *Kultur*. This is demonstrated through the many articles that Lemke (1929) translated, but also other examples strengthen this argument. Towards the end of the Maji Maji War the *Kiongozi* printed a statement of the mayor of Songea, Mzee bin Ramanzani, a Muslim Swahili-speaking businessman who took the side of the Germans. In his statement he argued that one should not rise against the Germans and urged his fellow countrymen to cooperate with them (Wimmelbrücker, 2005a). According to a translation of parts of the *Kiongozi* that appeared in the *Usambara-Post* (O.R., 1908), the newspaper also encouraged its readers to join in with the celebrations for the *Kaisergeburtstag*. The issue contained the vocals of a song that praised the *Kaiser*, written by ‘a young African teacher,’ and to be sung to the melody of ‘I am a Prussian.’ The article in the *Usambara-Post* furthermore explained that the *Kiongozi* called the *Kaisergeburtstag* on 27th of January ‘the day of all days in the world’ (O.R., 1908). For the *Kaisergeburtstag* in 1913, the *Kiongozi* printed a portrait of Wilhelm II together with a poem on the front page, followed by more pictures of members of the royal family on page three (Mb.M.M., 1913; Kiongozi, 1913a). The presence of the *Kaiser* in the newspaper was not restricted to the period around his birthday: various pictures of him and his aristocratic relatives regularly appeared in the different issues (Kiongozi, 1913b; Saidi, 1913). Already in 1908 Gallus (1908, p.825) noted about the *Kiongozi*:

The newspaper is a good tool for educating the native population and hopefully has a positive, disciplining effect on them that establishes a peaceful attitude instead of strengthening their solidarity and maybe also their hostility towards the Whites.

The newspaper was supposed to serve as a measure of counterinsurgency and create a lasting positive attitude among Swahili speakers in German East Africa towards the colonisers. In addition to that, there was a second readership that the *Kiongozi* targeted: it was also written for colonists who were able to read Swahili and were interested in learning about the inhabitants of the colonial territory (Wimmelbrücker, 2005a, p.122). Gallus (1908, p.825) stated that the newspaper provided 'an accurate image of land and people and of the natives' worldview.' This would, according to him, serve to 'judge the character of the Negro correctly and to hint towards an appropriate treatment' of Africans (Gallus, 1908, p.825). Following this, the *Kiongozi* can be understood as a newspaper that represented Swahili-speakers of German East Africa in a way that the colonists wished them to be rather than giving a balanced representation of the existing different opinions and attitudes in the colony. The German readership of the newspaper was encouraged to base their actions on the provided information. An image of the colony and its inhabitants was created for a local readership that lived in the midst of the events that the *Kiongozi* narrated. This image was created likewise for African, Arabic and European readers.

A much more short-lived project than the *Kiongozi* was *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, printed at *Wettigs Druckwerke* in Hamburg. The publication with the subtitle 'illustrated monthly magazine in German and Duala language' appeared only twice in early 1908. The first issue presented in eight pages some introductory articles in German language and a further three pages of German advertisement in the back. The larger part of the publication (49 pages) was written in Duala language. The second issue was with an overall number of 48 pages only slightly shorter. Much more persistent than in the case of the *Kiongozi* was the suspicion about the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* that it might have anti-colonial ambitions. Rumours about the objectives of the 'monthly magazine' (*Monatsschrift*), as well as about persons who may be involved, circulated among German officials and also among missionaries. These rumours even persist until today and have been repeated in academic and other publications. In the following, I attempt to shed a clarifying light on the matter.

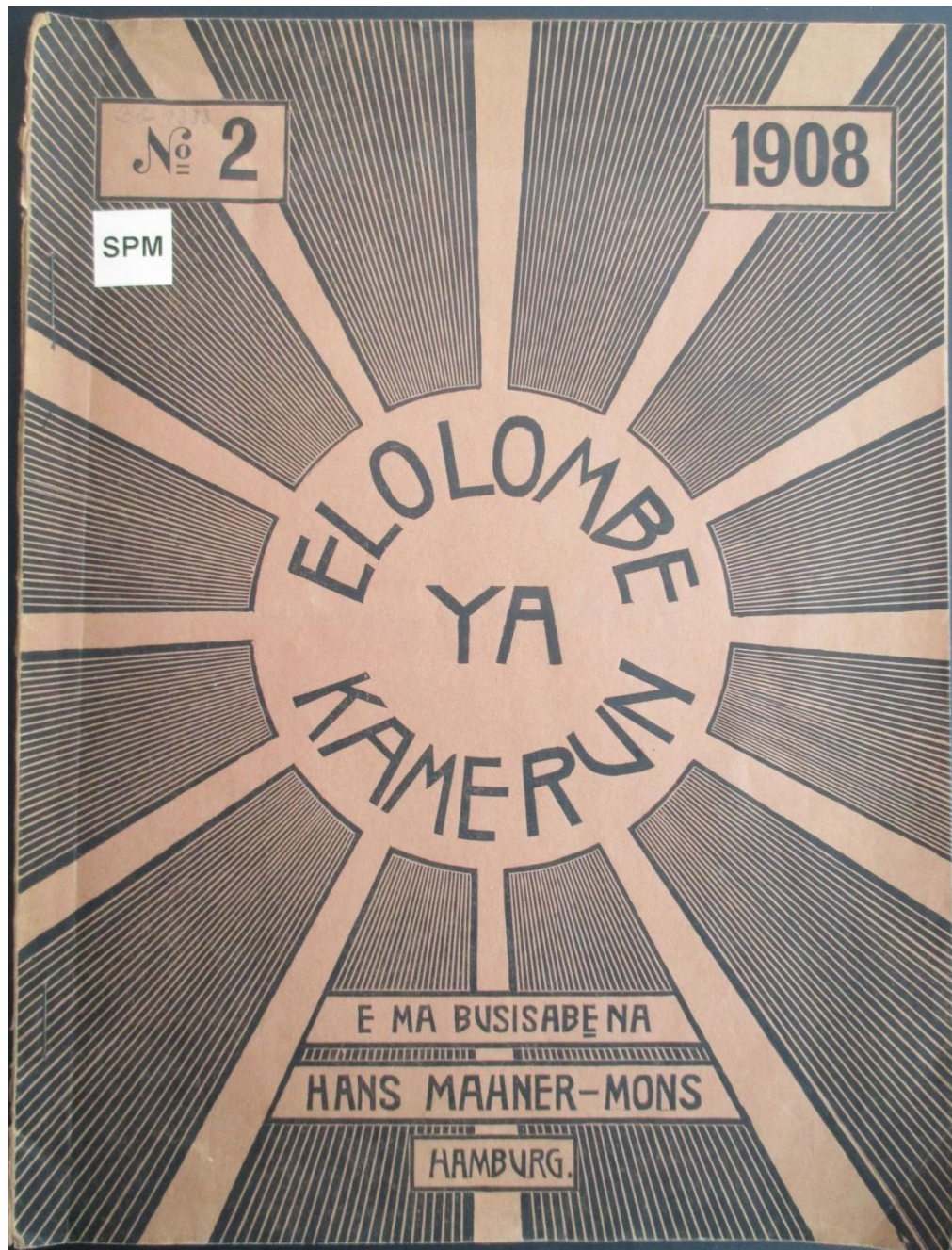


Figure 3: The cover of the second issue of the *Eloombe ya Kamerun* (Sun of Cameroon). The Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt owns this rare copy.

The official publisher and editor of the *Eloombe ya Kamerun* was Hans Mahner-Mons, who at the time lived in Hamburg. He was supported by a second editor named Tycho Albrechtsen and a Duala translator who, according to the Hamburg authorities, went by the name of Wuru (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908d). The first introductory article in German language explicitly stated that it was the aim of the magazine to enhance understanding for and tolerance of German rule in Cameroon among the African population:

The Black has to become acquainted with European moral, custom, culture, and generally all European conditions and thereby gradually accustom himself to our ways. It is the purpose of our newspaper to accomplish this (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908a, p.ii)

The article furthermore stated that it was the newspaper's aim to 'develop the natives culturally and morally and thereby create a useable population' in order to develop the colony (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908a, p.ii). As in the case of the *Kiongozi*, the spread of German *Kultur* and its supposedly pacifying effects on the African readers seemed to be the purpose of this publication.

The *Elolombe ya Kamerun* wanted to take back control over the representation of Germany in Cameroon. Apparently Cameroonians who had visited Germany lacked the expected respect when they spoke about it upon their return home (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908a, p.ii). Such visits were not uncommon: Aitken and Rosenhaft (2013, pp.2, 8, 23) state that already in 1890 147 Africans were registered as living in Hamburg. Many of the Africans came from the colony of Cameroon and had moved to Germany in order to undertake schooling or start an apprenticeship. It was in the interests of the editors to have Hamburg represented through the words of a German rather than by those Cameroonians returning home. Therefore the publication contained an introduction to the city of Hamburg, as well as information on many more places and public figures of Germany. Mahner-Mons presumably confirmed to the Governor of Cameroon, Theodor Seitz, that the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* only contained 'news from Germany and about Germany to lecture the Negroes' (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a, p.20). News about Cameroon was not considered for the Duala language part of the publication. The German introductory articles provided some more information on the content: it supposedly featured lively descriptions of the 'greatness' of the *Kaiser* and his Hohenzollern ancestry, and also spoke of the superiority of German technology and *Kultur* (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908d). The headlines and many pictures in the Duala language part seem to confirm the accuracy of this information. A report by missionaries of the Basel Mission, which was active in Cameroon, likewise largely confirmed such a content and stated that the articles were a rather 'insipid' translation from German texts. The worst that the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* could do according to the missionaries was to confuse its readers, but they did not see any political danger in the publication (Mission 21, E-2,25, n.d.).⁹³

⁹³ I owe the reference to this document to Robbie Aitken.

In order to appeal to the Duala readership, the magazine contained a serial novel: *Robinson Crusoe* (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908e). As I have mentioned earlier, Euro-centric representations of Europeans and so-called natives were integral to this novel. The information that is available on the content of the Duala language part of the magazine suggests that it was a tool to influence the colonised in order to accept the German colonists. The publication created yet another colonial imagination; this time created by Germans about Germany for Africans. In a letter that accompanied copies of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* which had been sent to the Darmstadt branch of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft*, Mahner-Mons (1907) stated that intellectual stimulation was not the objective of the magazine, but it aimed at offering the Duala a 'light reading' that would respect their supposedly limited 'intellectual abilities.'

To make the magazine attractive for a German readership, it contained in the German language part news about the agricultural resources of the colony and the planters' association, some presumed peculiarities about local communities and, last but not least, news about the latest railway project. The German language part seems to solely have addressed a readership of German nationality, although it is quite likely that some Africans were able to read it too. Presumably the most controversial article of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* was a reprinted letter (the original was in German language) of a deceased Cameroonian friend of Mahner-Mons who wrote about the difficult situation that the colonised were in. But after briefly mentioning the hard conditions of those who were sentenced to do forced labour, the writer was quick to emphasise that he saw the problem in the lack of *Kultur* and in the 'infamy' of his own people (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908b, p.vii). He said that he felt ashamed of Cameroonians who apparently became criminal and represented their 'race' in a negative manner (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908b, p.viii). This reprinted letter leads Bommarius (2015, pp.94, 95) to conclude that the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* 'severely criticised' the German colonial system and generally questioned German colonial rule. I on the contrary argue that the writer of the letter had aligned his own demands with those of the colonisers, identifying the 'character of the Black' as a cause for problems within the colonial system. This analysis is confirmed by the second issue of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, in which the letter was continued. Its writer stated that the Duala people would stop stealing once they had 'learned to appreciate the blessings of honest manual labour' (Elolombe ya Kamerun, 1908c, p.vii).

It is however true that German colonial officials were nervous about possible effects of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*. The reason for that was the acquaintance of Mahner-Mons with

Mpundu Akwa who likewise lived in Hamburg and posed a constant worry for the authorities. He had won several court cases in Germany and constantly denounced German rule in Cameroon.⁹⁴ His father Dika Akwa who lived in the colony likewise caused trouble for the authorities.⁹⁵ Mpundu Akwa was a character who certainly spurred the fear of the African intellect among German colonists. The paths of Akwa and Mahner-Mons crossed in Hamburg, where both tried to gain a foothold as businessmen. Mahner-Mons was involved with export to Africa and had studied different African languages (BAB R/9361/V, 1937b). Rumours that Akwa was behind the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* therefore found plenty of fuel. Here von Joeden-Forgey (2004, p.305) and Bommarius (2015, p.95) draw the premature conclusion that it was indeed Mpundu Akwa who had initiated as well as financed the magazine. But both authors fail to name a source that explicitly identifies him as the driving force behind the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*.⁹⁶ A closer look at the nervous murmur of the authorities at the time illustrates how the rumour came about.

On 25th January 1908, only shortly after the publication of the inaugural issue, the police of Hamburg filed a report on the magazine. The police had investigated its background regarding a possible political activity, but came to the conclusion that there was no evidence that would justify the prohibition of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*. About a possible involvement of Mpundu Akwa the report stated that he had offered himself as translator, but that the offer had been declined due to Akwa's bad reputation. Apparently Mahner-Mons had worried about the reputation of his magazine if he employed Akwa (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908d). While the Hamburg police seemed to be appeased for the moment, in the colony of Cameroon the rumours were not that easily dismissed.

Governor Seitz reported to the Colonial Office in Berlin about a conversation that he had with the chief officer of the district of Duala in Cameroon, senior civil servant (*Regierungsrat*) von Brauchitsch. They had been talking about the visit of Mahner-Mons to Cameroon in January

⁹⁴ On the occasion of one of the court cases, the *Windhuker Nachrichten* (1908c) stated that it was a scandal that an African could take a European to court in Germany when this was – according to the newspaper ‘for a good reason’ – not common practice in the colonies.

⁹⁵ On the political history of Mpundu Akwa (sometimes also named Mpundo Akwa) in Germany and the court cases against him as well as his counter court cases, see von Joeden-Forgey (2004, pp.269–307). Governor Seitz likewise emphasised that both Dika and Mpundu Akwa posed a problem for German authorities (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a).

⁹⁶ The earliest of such a questionable interpretation of the documents that I could identify in academic literature has been conducted by Rüger (1968, pp.216–217). In non-academic publications and online blogs it is likewise commonly (and most likely wrongly) assumed that the publication of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* was the result of the political activity of Africans. See for example Oguntoye (2007, p.17).

1908. Von Brauchitsch claimed that Mahner-Mons had been sent to Cameroon by Mpundu Akwa, with the financial aid of 1500 Marks from Akwa donors in Cameroon, in order to represent the political interests of the Akwa people to the colonists (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a, pp.19–20). It needs to be taken into account however that von Brauchitsch and Akwa at that point already had a history: Mpundu Akwa had accused the *Regierungsrat* in 1906 of spreading false information about him (Otremba, 2009, p.50). Governor Seitz decided to personally speak to Mahner-Mons and was afterwards convinced that the publisher was only following his own business in Cameroon. Apart from trying to sell the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, he was involved in the trade in mangrove bark with some of the Akwa people. Governor Seitz found the statement of Mahner-Mons credible that he had no intention of any political activity, but that he was on the contrary struggling to do business with the Akwa people who supposedly had not kept their part of their agreement (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a, p.20). Seitz did however find it problematic that Mahner-Mons supported Mpundu Akwa on a personal level by letting his Cameroonians send money via telegraphic order to the address of his magazine in Hamburg. The governor promised to closely monitor Mpundu and other Akwas and to take steps against them as soon as he would find proof for any seditious activities (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a, pp.21–22).

Mpundu Akwa was chronically short of money because German authorities continuously tried to prevent the flow of funds from Cameroon (von Joeden-Forgey, 2004, pp.275–276). The fact that he then sought the help of Mahner-Mons for the transfer of monies may have led to the misconception that Akwa collected money for funding the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*. It is however unlikely that he used his scarce resources on such a publication. All the sources that I have analysed suggest that the magazine was yet another attempt to influence the colonised in order to strengthen German rule, and not to incite anti-colonial action. The *Elolombe ya Kamerun* therefore belongs to the same category as the *Kiongozi*: an attempt of Germans to gain influence on the colonised through African language newspapers. Mahner-Mons himself reassured German leaders in letters to the *Kaiser* and to the Colonial Office that his publication aimed at contributing to the ‘development of our colony Cameroon’ (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908b; c). Along with his letters he sent a copy of the magazine so the recipients could see he was speaking the truth.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ In his later life, Mahner-Mons concealed this early publishing activity when he applied for membership as a playwright at the German National Writer’s Association (*Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller*) in 1934 and at the Chamber of Writers of Germany (*Reichsschrifttumskammer*) in 1937 (BAB R/9361/V, 1934, 1937a). I suspect that he kept quiet about his earlier publishing experience as a consequence out of all the speculation about, as well as accusations against, the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*.

While the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* erroneously has been celebrated as a tool of resistance, such resistance did indeed emerge from another German colony in western Africa: Togoland. With the following, final section I am going to close this chapter by focussing on resistant publishing by Togolese writers.

7.2.4 Messages of resistance

Africans in the German colonies took manifold actions against the colonisers. Among the best known ones are armed conflicts like the Herero and Nama War and the Maji Maji War. In chapter 5.1 I have illustrated how acts of sabotage against various infrastructures like railways and telegraphs, but also strike actions at the print offices of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, sent messages of resistance to the colonists and reminded them of their precarious situation. In this section I will explore a field of resistance that so far has not received much attention: the texts of African writers who attempted to unmask the brutal realities in German colonies for readerships within as well as outside of their own communities.

In colonial discourse, intellectual work was represented as something exclusively European. It was debated whether Africans should receive education through the colonists, or if this was a bad, rather dangerous idea. But among the many voices that contributed to the debate, there seemed to be none suggesting that Europeans could learn from Africans. If African intellectual activity was recognised at all, then it was represented as danger, not as opportunity. Hendrik Witbooi, whose political activity involved diplomacy and negotiations in a written form, was respected among colonists for his skills, but regarded as an exception, and as a dangerous character (see chapter 3.3.1). The settler newspapers, with their anti-education discourse, in particular represented Africans solely as recipients of intellectual activity, and not as its protagonists. Quite tellingly, the *Kamerun-Post*, which was according to its subtitle a settler newspaper for both Cameroon and Togoland, did not once report about the resistance movement in Togoland that developed through the medium of writing.⁹⁸ The Togolese press and petition movement was a source of constant worry for the colonial authorities. I have briefly mentioned the use of petitions against both the colonial government of Togoland and

In a résumé in 1937 he affirmed that he had never had any political intentions, but was at the same time supportive of the current political order (BAB R/9361/V, 1937b).

⁹⁸ Unfortunately the copies of the *Kamerun-Post* of 1914 have gone missing from the archive in Frankfurt, so my sample ends with December 1913.

the German central government in chapter 3.3.4. Now I am going to explore the press movement which was closely connected to the petition movement. According to Sebald (1987, p.549), petitioning and journalistic publishing went hand in hand, complementing each other.

In chapter 7.2.2 I have illustrated how the German Colonial Press Law, influenced by the colonists' anxieties, developed from a tool to keep the settler press at bay into a legal basis for stopping Africans from publishing. Also for people in Togoland it was prohibited to produce their own newspapers, and, according to Sebald (1987, p.548), this was already enforced by the German authorities before the law became effective in 1912. Restrictions also applied to the import of newspapers that were suspected to lead to 'unrest' among Africans. But a complete ban of imports was difficult to carry out because they were already too widespread in Togoland. An attempt by Catholic missionaries in 1911 to satisfy the Togoese's desire for reading materials with a publication in Ewe language – the *Mia Holo* (Our Friend) – had not had the desired effect (Sebald, 1987, pp.548–549).⁹⁹

The people of Togoland had access to information and discourse from outside the colony, and they compared their situation to the one of people in other places. Anti-colonial activities first developed within the colony, but in search of new spheres of action a resistant 'journalism in exile' emerged. While writers continued to reside in Togoland, their texts 'migrated:' from 1911 onwards, Togolese writers published articles in the African-owned newspaper *The Gold Coast Leader* that appeared in the adjacent British colony. Although British colonial governors were, just like their German counterparts, inclined to prohibit certain publications, the Colonial Office in London made it quite difficult for the governors to successfully pursue such a matter. This supported the development of lively African publishing activities in the region of British West Africa, including the Gold Coast Colony, between the 1880s and 1940s (Newell, 2013, pp.2, 11).

The Gold Coast Leader was founded in July 1902. In its inaugural issue it promised to represent 'the views of all sorts and conditions of men in the community, irrespective of creed, colour or race,' and to discuss 'all matters of interest to the Gold Coast in particular and to West Africa in general' (The Gold Coast Leader, 1902). It developed into a publication that fought for a united nation of the Gold Coast, not in opposition to British rule, but mostly referring to it in a positive

⁹⁹ Just like the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, also the *Mia Holo* had a few pages (1-2) that were written in German. The larger part of the newspaper (7-8 pages) was written in Ewe (Sebald, 1987, p.548).

way.¹⁰⁰ *The Gold Coast Leader* (1910, p.2) stated that, despite all the different peoples in the territory: 'we have a Nation, and what is more, we have a Past.'¹⁰¹ The newspaper furthermore argued that nations had souls, and it did not only care for the one of the Gold Coast, but for the 'national soul' of all of West Africa (*The Gold Coast Leader*, 1910, p.3). The newspaper became a host of African nationalism and solidarity that transcended the boundaries defined by imperial powers, and also did not retreat to 'ethnic' boundaries.

From June 1911 onwards, *The Gold Coast Leader* began to accommodate articles that heavily criticised German rule in Togoland, trying to unmask it as brutal and lawless. The articles furthermore offered a deeper analysis of the workings of German colonialism and encouraged their readers to take matters into their own hands (see for example the article I have quoted in chapter 3.3.4). Because of the articles' incendiary character, their writers used pseudonyms. Newell (2013) has thoroughly explored the uses of pseudonyms and anonymity in the west African press. As in her examples, the Togolese contributors to *The Gold Coast Leader* also chose names that were a statement in themselves, like the 'Anti-Prussian' (Sebald, 1987, p.566). Other names of writers demonstrated 'a powerful sense of their place in the world,' as Newell (2013, p.8) states regarding a contributor to the *Gold Coast Nation*, 'Jim Crow.' Names like these 'commented and parodied racist labels for people of African descent' (Newell, 2013, p.8). Such a name, used by a Togolese writer in *The Gold Coast Leader*, was 'Quashie.' As I have already illustrated for the case of the German settler newspapers in chapter 7.1.1, also African writers in German colonies borrowed terms from an imperial discourse that transcended national boundaries. 'Quashee' is a term that was used by the aforementioned Thomas Carlyle as a reference to 'squash,' applied in a deeply racist manner.¹⁰² in his publications, Carlyle depicted former slaves living in the West Indies as pumpkins (Nixon and Escobar, 2004, p.386; Kinser, 2012, p.148). Just like the colonisers, at least some of the colonised were connected to transnational imperial discourses, and they used the colonial vocabulary in a subversive way.

¹⁰⁰ Identifying positively as a member of the British Empire did not mean that the writers of *The Gold Coast Leader* were content with all British policies that concerned them. There was, for example, an ongoing debate which criticised a 'forest bill' that would grant the government priority access to woodland (Africanus, 1912).

¹⁰¹ I would not rule out that this was meant as a reply to Hegel's 1837 remark that Africa had no history. Publishers of the English language press in West Africa often belonged to a well-versed elite (Newell, 2013, p.44). Sebald (1987, p.558) stated that Togolese writers for *The Gold Coast Leader* often made references to world literature and history.

¹⁰² The term itself stems from the Ashanti word 'Kwasi,' commonly attributed to a child born on a Sunday. The term 'Quashee' was already in use in anti-slavery literature in the eighteenth century, before Carlyle started using it in his publications in the mid-nineteenth century (Nixon and Escobar, 2004, p.386).

Judging by their elaborate style of writing and the profound knowledge of global history and literature that they demonstrated throughout their texts, the Togolese contributors to *The Gold Coast Leader* must have made good use of exactly those institutions of 'education' that were a constant subject of heated debate among German colonists (see earlier in this chapter). It is furthermore possible that part of their education had taken place in Germany. Sebald (1987, pp.496–497) remarked that the government was forced to allow such paths into education because otherwise the colonised would have moved to other places and their work force would have been lost. In the adjacent British colonies opportunities for education and promotion were much better than in Togoland, so the Germans had to make concessions in their own colony. For the same reasons the German administration for a long time also tolerated the students learning English in German schools.

While the articles in *The Gold Coast Leader* condemned the effects of German colonialism in Togoland, their content as well as vocabulary were heavily influenced by colonial discourse. A recurring theme was 'savage' Germany and its incompetence to bring 'civilisation' to Africa. The regular author Quashie (1911) stated that 'the administration seems to have retained the instincts of the savage ferocity of primitive man.' And the writer continued: 'They thought that by killing in cold blood thousands of our race ... they are spreading civilisation, but I say with authority these atrocities and cruelty cannot civilise Africa.' Quashie (1911) as well as the other Togolese writers thereby understood 'civilisation' as a positive concept that Africa could profit from. The only problem seemed to be that the Germans were unfit for delivering it, due to their 'barbarity' (Agoha of Quittah, 1913). Quashie's (1911) verdict was that the Germans 'are not the right sort of people to colonise us.' While the writers appeared to be devoted Christians, they regarded the missionaries as part of the problem, or rather, as a 'curse.' Quashie (1911) accused the missionaries of living in luxury and not speaking out against the atrocities of the government, but predominantly worrying about their own situation. Agoha of Quittah (1913) commented the presumed incompetence and cruelty of Germans in the colony in a humorous tone that was present in many of the articles:

If a cat is sent to either Oxford or Cambridge University, it comes back with its original language: 'Mew.' Hence if a man is a German, he is a German, no matter what position he holds.

In the same manner, A Native of Aneho (1914a, p.5) recommended German colonial officials to stay away from Togoland but to go to 'other regions where one could show his love, zeal and

patriotism for his country. May I suggest the North Pole or the South Pole for His Excellency's consideration?'

The demand of the authors was however not simply to stop all colonial activity, but that Togoland shall be taken over by Great Britain.¹⁰³ The articles were full of positive references to British colonial politics and British culture, and also full of disappointment that Britain had not already intervened in Togoland:

A country where no Judge is, no court of justice, no press, no lawyer, no English man or English missionary is a hell. Germany can learn more from others. We are forsaken by the English but we will retain with us the English culture, English songs, English ways and manners. ... All natives of the African Continent should pray for the British Empire; if it fall the Germans will come and make you slaves, therefore pray! (A Reader, 1913)

But here Sebald (1987, pp.551–552) warns not to overestimate the pro-British attitude of the Togolese writers. While it was apparent that life in British colonies offered more freedoms than life in the German ones, it is also possible that pro-British statements were a requirement for critical journalism to be published in a British colony. However, after the German colonies had been taken over by other imperial powers, the critical articles in *The Gold Coast Leader* continued to appear, but now under the titles of 'The English in Togoland' and 'The French in Togoland' (Sebald, 2005, p.162).

The main issue that was at the centre of many of the articles was the underdeveloped and unfair legal system under German rule. A Native of Aneho (1913a) stated:

In Togoland there is no court of justice for the natives and there are no definite laws, save those which the different Governors and District Commissioners, from time to time, to suit their own purposes, enforce on the unfortunate people and they are unwritten.

The writer heavily criticised the practice of the '25:' 25 lashes with a whip were applied generously as punishment for minor 'offences.' Further points of critique were unfair taxation and forced or underpaid labour (A Native of Aneho, 1913b; c). A Native of Aneho (1913c) pointed in particular at the German cotton growing school in Nuatya (see chapter 6.2.1),

¹⁰³ Seeking help from the British Empire against German colonisers seems to have been a regular occurrence among Africans in German colonies. In chapter 3.3.1 I have in this context referred to Hendrik Witbooi and his communication with the British Magistrate of Walvis Bay. The Governor of Cameroon Seitz wrote in his aforementioned letter of *Regierungsrat* von Brauchitsch's suspicion that Mpundu Akwa had been in contact with King Edward in an attempt to solicit a British takeover of Cameroon (BAB R 1001/ 4069/1, 1908a, p.19).

where cotton was produced through unpaid labour. For public work like infrastructure projects the labourers were, according to the writer, not paid either. A Native of Aneho (1913c) was particularly discontented with the colonial government's habit of 'boasting' about completed infrastructure projects and presenting them as proof of 'being the best colonisers,' while in fact the opposite was the truth. The authors did not just uncover German atrocities, they showed in detail how big the gap was between what German colonists pretended to be and how they acted in reality. It was according to T. (1911) a 'colonial fashion' to put the label of 'civilisation' on everything that the colonists did. For the Togolese writers on the other hand, 'spreading civilisation' meant establishing a governmental system that was based on fairness, the rule of law, and on mutual respect. The African inhabitants of Togoland themselves did not need to be 'civilised,' as they were, according to A Native of Aneho (1913a), courageous, intelligent, honest, law-abiding and industrious.

The contributors to *The Gold Coast Leader* not only aimed to make these affairs public to readers in western Africa; they also tried to reach an international audience. Some of the articles were sent to the London-based *The African Times and Orient Review* and reprinted. The editors of the latter even sent one issue with an article about Togoland to Kaiser Wilhelm II, who never responded (Sebald, 1987, pp.565–566, 576). Another article was sent to the *Aborigines and Antislavery Protection Society* in London and to the *Congo League* of Switzerland. A Native of Aneho (1914b) was calling on the help of the 'civilised world, especially of the Aborigines Protection Society in London,' which had, according to the writer, in the past 'done much in rescuing natives from the clutches of semi-civilised Colonial Governments.' However, no official reaction to these letters is known (Sebald, 1987, p.559).

The Togolese press movement was eager to build networks with places and institutions that may have been able to aid their situation. And the writers also demonstrated a great awareness of situations and events in other places, such as Congo, Angola and South Africa, or in the German colonies of Cameroon, German Southwest Africa and Samoa (A Native of Aneho, 1913d, a; c). A Native of Aneho (1914b) offered in the context of his report on the treatment of Nama prisoners who had been shipped to Togoland a short but precise analysis of the Herero and Nama War in German Southwest Africa. The writer attributed the war to the desire of building a New Germany in that place, and interpreted the blood shed as 'a sort of sacrifice to make the much-dreamed of Empire solid and everlasting.'¹⁰⁴ A Native of Aneho

¹⁰⁴ See also chapter 6.2.3 about the meaning of blood shed on German Southwest African soil.

(1914b) also questioned if that Empire would really be everlasting and suspected that German Southwest Africa would 'join the Union of South Africa one day.'¹⁰⁵

I could have given this section an alternative title: 'messages of creation,' rather than 'messages of resistance.' The Togolese writers did far more than resist German colonialism: they wrote their own history that deconstructed dominant colonial narratives. And they wrote not only *against* the colonists, but they also wrote *for* themselves, in their quest of creating a community with its own intellectual history. This assumption is supported by Newell's (2013, p.14) observation that west African press publications were often regarded as a 'type of literature rather than as a form of ephemera.' The writers of *The Gold Coast Leader* re-invented the 'native' and the idea of a 'civilising mission.' Distinctively, they did not completely reject all colonial influence. They shared a utopian idea of taking what colonialism had to offer, to learn from it, and to progress to a state that they desired: a state of law, of equality before the law, and of respect as the law. This is at least one possible reading. But I could also be more suspicious: had the 'educated' Togolese already covered half the way towards thinking like the colonisers? Had they been indoctrinated? Was the call for a more reasonable coloniser, instead of an outright revolution, even a version of Frantz Fanon's (1986, pp.10, 11) predicament: 'What does the black man want?' 'The black man wants to be white'? A final conclusion cannot be drawn here. But one thing is certain: Togolese writers and petitioners created against all odds a discursive network that sought transnational solidarity.

I want to close this chapter by giving the word one more time to an anonymous writer of *The Gold Coast Leader* (this time not from Togoland, but nevertheless writing about German colonialism) who commented on an article that had appeared in the *Kamerun-Post* on 2nd May 1914. The article in the *Kamerun-Post* stated:

"What would become of this Colony if the natives are not compelled to do any work? ... For what purpose have we got the colonies? What service is the native to us if he does not want to do any work?" (The Gold Coast Leader, 1914, p.4)

The Gold Coast writer was most irritated that the Germans sincerely believed that 'natives' existed primarily for the purpose of working the land in the interest of German settlers who used them as a 'medium' between themselves and the land in order to make money off it. *The Gold Coast Leader* (1914, p.4) responded to the article of the *Kamerun-Post*:

¹⁰⁵ Southwest Africa was actually occupied by South Africa during the First World War and was officially handed to South Africa as a mandate by the League of Nations in 1920.

The idea that the native can have any purpose in life other than that of “being of service to us” never enters the heads of these good people; or if it does it is dismissed as sentimentality. Of course the status of mind here disclosed is very, very old. There is nothing new about it. But the curious thing is that it never learns. It is a case of arrested development, on its intellectual side; of perverted economics on its utilitarian side; of sheer egotism on its moral side.

After going once more into detail about the brutal exploitation of the colonised in German colonies, *The Gold Coast Leader* (1914, p.5) concluded:

And if the process is persevered in with sufficient energy, the native has his ultimate retort. It is a final one. He just dies. And when he takes to that form of protest, the question of the *Kamerun Post*: “For what purpose have we got the colonies?” is answered. And the answer is: “For no purpose, since the possession taught you nothing.”

With this verdict of the *The Gold Coast Leader* on the utterings of the German settler press as well as on German colonialism in general this chapter ends. The article’s cynicism aside, it shows that agency of the colonised is always present, it only depends on the perspective whether it becomes visible.

8 Conclusion

I have approached the German colonial settler press as a precarious, yet forceful web, a concept that has proven useful in the course of my research. In the following, I will reiterate a few aspects of my work to highlight the most important findings. The method that I have employed proved suitable for answering the questions that I have posed at the beginning of this research project. I am therefore able to contribute significantly to the wider subject field. I have however encountered some difficulties along the way, which I will address in the following too. And last but not least – recognising that a *dispositif* is not finite, but that one *dispositif* gives birth to another – during my research new questions have emerged that I believe are worth pursuing. I will close this last chapter with recommendations for further research.

8.1 Uncovering of a precarious, yet forceful web

The settler press was precarious, because it was dependent on many different elements. For example, it depended on a steady financial source. Not only did the first publishers need to have some seed capital at their disposal; settler newspapers were dependent on the colonial government's support through the placing of print orders and tax exemptions. They needed businesses and private persons to place advertisements, and they needed subscribers who paid for the issues. But their readership was often critical of the government, and demanded such a position from the newspapers. The demise of the rival newspaper of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Rundschau*, is a vivid demonstration of a lack of a readership due to government-friendly reporting. But a confrontational course towards the government could mean the (temporary) exclusion of a settler newspaper from this source of income, as happened to the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* and the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*. Local businesses and economic associations were likewise not an easy partner for the settler newspapers. In German Southwest Africa, the associations of farmers, traders and miners tried to harness the press for the pursuit of their own targets. Likewise important for publishing newspapers in the colony was the *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung*, which almost had a monopoly, and was steered by the slightly obscure *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika*.

The settler press was also precarious because it heavily depended on infrastructures which themselves were vulnerable to disruption. For the initial setting up of the newspapers, printing presses and other equipment, as well as skilled personnel, needed to be transported from Germany to the colonies. Once the print shops and editorial offices were up and running, they required a steady inflow of paper and of information, and means to distribute the finished newspapers. Relevant infrastructures of transport and communication were supported or impeded by transnational corporations and agencies, as well as by the cooperation or intervention of the colonised. Government policies regulated the flow of information on a legal as well as diplomatic level, and determined the granting of state money for construction and operation of infrastructures. The physical environment, fauna and flora, and, last but not least, the weather, further impacted on the newspapers' vital infrastructures. And, to risk stating the obvious, the German colonial settler press was ultimately dependent on the existence of German colonies. After the outbreak of the First World War, the relevant infrastructure gradually collapsed or was destroyed on purpose, and while there were still Germans in the places concerned, their settler newspapers mostly ceased to exist.

The precariousness of the settler press was mirrored in the precarious situation of the settlers themselves. Prospective settlers had migrated from Germany with certain expectations, hopes and images in their heads, which were often disappointed upon arrival. In return, they failed to meet the expectations that rested on them. As a consequence of their 'failure,' some were deported back to Germany. While the deportations happened predominantly in the last decade of formal German colonialism, the situation was difficult for many of the new arrivals in the colonies right from its beginning: particularly in the first years, land and markets were mostly in the hands of either local African communities or of non-German migrants who had established themselves prior to the arrival of German colonists. Settlers nevertheless often acted according to notions of European supremacy, attracting the righteous wrath of the other residents of the colonies. As a consequence, major wars broke out, adding to the smaller armed conflicts that the Germans regularly provoked. The wars were won by the Germans only through their steady inflow of ever more soldiers and their hiring of African mercenaries. The settlers' lives literally depended on the supply of military resources and finance from the German homeland.

It was not enough that the settlers depended on the German state to help them *against* the Africans, they were also dependent *on* the Africans: the colonial economy was in need of underpaid labourers. Infrastructures, not only essential for the settler newspapers but for

colonial projects in general, required cheap labourers – who were usually recruited among the colonised – from the moment that their components arrived in the ports and had to be unloaded from ships (themselves partly crewed by Africans). The labourers were needed for the infrastructure's construction and operation. Africans themselves were furthermore heavily using railways, telephones and the postal service and contributed to their profitability. But they also had the power to disrupt or destroy infrastructures. The precarious situation of the settlers in the colonies triggered profound and lasting anxieties that became a driving force for actions and decisions that German colonists took. Conflict and cooperation not only defined the relationship between settlers and Africans, but also between the Germans and colonists of other imperial powers, most importantly those of Great Britain. Cooperation between the colonial neighbours in terms of trade and military campaigns was beneficial for, as well as regularly practiced by, both sides. But at the same time, they were striving to expand their zones of influence into the other parties' territories, and enviously guarded their national pride and reputation as a potent, capable coloniser. German concerns about a possible encirclement through British colonial railway projects alternated with their attempt to learn from this established imperial power.

Despite its precariousness, the settler press was forceful. Possible effects of its continuous lobbying for the construction of railway lines are not as easy to detect as the impact of the destruction of a railway line (which added to a discourse of precariousness), but the newspapers' forcefulness nevertheless became visible during this research project. When looking at the governments' communication about settler newspapers, it is possible to get an impression of their impact. Officials regularly reported negative press, worrying either about their own reputation or about possible diplomatic incidents, caused by these 'lawyers of the settlers.' They took editors of settler newspapers to court, had one of them, Willy von Roy, sentenced to prison and banned from German East Africa, demanded the writing of a German Colonial Press Law in order to keep the settler press under control, and ordered investigations into prospective publishers' and editors' backgrounds to ascertain whether they could become a political danger. The jumpiness of government officials both in the colonies and in Germany demonstrates that the settler press indeed had a significant impact. Settler newspapers furthermore reached far: their discourse was not only present in the places of their production, but found a way into discourse in Germany. Copies were sent to individual subscribers and to German domestic newspapers, were present in many semi-public spaces like hotels and cafés in Germany, and available in German bookshops. The German colonial

settler press also had some impact in the Cape Colony, as illustrated by the rally that apparently happened in protest against the *Windhuker Nachrichten*.

Following the insight that the settler newspapers had a significant impact, it becomes highly interesting to explore their discourse, which contributed to shaping the colonial space and its relations. While I cannot provide an exhaustive overview of all discourses of the settler newspapers that I have analysed during my research, I want to highlight the *Kulturarbeit* discourse as an exemplary one. The concept of *Kulturarbeit*, in its double meaning of 'cultivating' as well as 'cultural' work, was the settlers' 'translation' of the colonial objectives that had been formulated in the context of cultures of colonialism in Germany, as for example the notion of a 'civilising mission.' *Kulturarbeit* aimed at transforming the land and the people according to racist principles in order to gain profit and to build a new *Heimat* in the colonies. As the ideal settler was said to be a farmer, and many prospective settlers indeed arrived in the colonies with the plan of becoming farmers or running plantations, the settler newspapers supported cultivating efforts by providing practical advice and offering a platform to build agricultural networks. But the *Kulturarbeit* discourse also incorporated the concept of *Erziehung zur Arbeit*, which constructed Africans as lazy, and as in need of being disciplined and trained to do work in the colonial system. Settler newspapers argued that Africans had to be 'made poor' and turned into consumers who would become dependent on the colonial labour system. In the course of this, they would supply the economy with revenue. The *Kulturarbeit* discourse justified the expropriating of the colonised and aimed at their maximum exploitation. Humanitarian aims, which were advocated by missionaries, as well as by colonial enthusiasts and railway specialists in Germany, but also by some members of the *Reichstag* and colonial governors, only played a very minor role in settler newspaper discourse. The writers vaguely claimed that Africans would profit from *Kulturarbeit* by being offered the possibility to climb up the presumed 'cultural ladder' (although this would according to the settlers take many generations), but they did not conceal their most important aims of generating revenue and building a new *Heimat*.

With its arguments and demands, underpinned by racist representations of Africans, the settler press contributed to shaping colonial space and its relations. Its discourse was however not only productive through its written word, but also through its silences. Africans, and also women settlers, were only present as subjects to be discussed, but not as active contributors. While it cannot be determined how hard – or indeed, if at all – those groups tried to publish in the settler newspapers, they were effectively not present as writers of articles. A further, and

particularly striking, example of absences and silences in the settler newspapers is their attempt to ignore the concentration camps in German Southwest Africa. This initial silence stands out against the frequent and intensive reporting of the settler press on many aspects of the Herero and Nama War. In the following, I will briefly review the history of this discourse.

Before the war, articles about Africans did not usually employ strongly derogatory language, although the presumed existence of an essential difference between Europeans and Africans was claimed from early on. After the outbreak of the war, the reporting about Hereros (and successively other Africans), became extremely racist. The settler newspapers frequently referred to the Herero as a mob of murderers, while settlers were represented as individuals and as innocent victims. Notions of 'race' came to the fore and were treated as a colonial battleground. Settlers were not only represented as victims of the actual attacks of Hereros, but also as victims of their presumably 'vicious' character, which was according to the newspapers inherent to their 'race.' It was presented as a moral imperative to defend the threatened settler community and lead it to economic prosperity at all costs. Some writers even went so far to claim that Africans were literally exploiting their German employers by using the law unfairly against them, and demanded harsh measures. The genocidal discourse was extended to include the San, who the settlers threatened in their articles with annihilation. During the war, settler newspapers continuously ranted about Africans, but at the same time tried to avoid reporting the terrible conditions in the concentration camps and refrained from writing about the prisoners of war who died during their performance of forced labour. Only when newspapers in Germany started asking critical questions and the settler press was pressured to make some kind of statement, a few articles about the camps appeared. And they presented incredible explanations for the many deaths: according to the settler newspapers, the prisoners were not able to deal responsibly with all the food they were supposedly supplied with, and died from over-eating. Through this extreme 'mis'representation, and the call to defend the settler community, their newspapers contributed to legitimising the genocide and the continued killing of Africans, as well as their political and cultural destruction. Only the *Windhuker Nachrichten* cautiously remarked that some Africans needed to be preserved as a labour force, but rescinded from voicing any critique when the prisoners of war were made available to be rented as labourers for a small fee from the government. This discourse was not confined to German Southwest Africa, but also present in the German domestic press, and reverberated in the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, which consequently began demanding radical measures against the African population in German East Africa.

I have demonstrated that the German colonial settler press was precarious and forceful at the same time. But can it be understood as a web? I already highlighted the networked nature of settler newspapers: they were not only produced and unfolded their impact in a single location, but they were the product of materials and ideas from many places – here most importantly from Germany – to where some of the completed issues were shipped back. The nodal points of this network were not evenly distributed, and were not of equal force. They did not even persist. The network – or the web, as I call it – was a set of dynamic, ever changing relations of power. One of the ways in which the web nature of the settler press became apparent to me was through the difficulties I encountered when I tried to tell its history as a linear story, ordered in thematically distinguishable chapters. The history of the German Colonial Press Law proved to be most problematic in this sense. Having had to split the narrative between different chapters, I will now briefly revisit this theme that ran through my work, this time as a coherent story, and in doing so highlight the strong interconnectedness and dynamic of the settler press.

The request to the Colonial Office in Berlin to write a proper Colonial Press Law, which would replace its equivalent from Germany that was operated in the colonies as a directive, came from the German East African Governor von Rechenberg in 1907. He was fed up by the constant trouble with the local settler newspapers and hoped to be able to keep them under control once their editors were facing hefty fines for their transgressions. Initially, the debate about the law happened between different colonial officials in Berlin, with rather stressed letters from the government in German East Africa contributing. But in 1909, the network of contributors to the debate grew significantly: the Colonial Office asked the Governors of all German colonies about their opinion on the law – also in those colonies that at the time had no settler press. Independently, all of these Governors answered, that they had no particular opinion on a law that would regulate the settler press, but instead they requested to have the opportunity to regulate the access of the colonised people to print products. The finalised German Colonial Press Law, which came into force in 1912, therefore contained a paragraph that would enable the restriction of the import of publications that could potentially ‘lead to unrest’ among the colonised. Another paragraph allowed the Governors to prohibit publications of the colonised without even bringing the issue in front of a court. This put the arbitrariness that was anyway often practiced in the colonies on a legal basis. In order to understand this twist in the history of the writing of the German Colonial Press Law, one needs to be aware of the anxieties that were present in the colonies, which were also maintained

within the discourses of the settler press. To the existing fear of further wars like the Herero and Nama War was added news about liberation movements from neighbouring colonies, such as the Ethiopian Movement in South Africa. One consequence was that, while the question of providing school education for Africans was anyway an ambivalent and hotly debated topic across the colonies, the settler newspapers began to lead an outright anti-education discourse. Articles argued consequently against enabling the colonised to acquire skills like reading and writing, which they could potentially use to build their own networks and eventually organise anti-colonial actions. The discourse of the settler press and the Colonial Press Law both strengthened the networks of the colonisers, while trying to prevent the colonised from building their own. Settler newspaper discourse contributed to creating and connecting colonial space, while aiming at disconnecting spaces of Africans. When debating the lack of African voices in today's archives, this effort of actively preventing them from writing and publishing needs to be taken into account.

This is not, however, where the story ends. While schools for Africans were eyed suspiciously by many colonists, they nevertheless existed and were in high demand. Some Germans tried to make use of the African interest in reading. They produced publications like the *Kiongozi* in German East Africa and the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* in Germany for Cameroon. These were supposed to influence the relationship between colonisers and the colonised positively and make the latter consent to German rule. But writing became increasingly important for some of the colonised as a means to fight for own rights, and to write their own history. The example of Togoland shows this most vividly: here, a petition movement developed that addressed the colonial as well as the German central government in order to bring about change. This went hand in hand with a journalism in exile, where Togolese writers published articles in the African-owned newspaper *The Gold Coast Leader* in the adjacent British colony. The writers offered a critical analysis of German rule in Togoland and showed how brutal and arbitrary it was. They identified the habit of putting the label of 'civilisation' on everything that the colonists did as a 'colonial fashion.' *The Gold Coast Leader* and other newspapers in its network, some of them based in Great Britain, practiced solidarity by forwarding the articles of the Togolese writers to pressure groups like the *Aborigines and Antislavery Protection Society*. The prohibition of African-owned newspapers in Togoland (as in all German colonies) led the colonised to make use of networks that had developed through the British anti-slavery movement. The fact that the colonised could, just like the colonisers, become part of a network spanning across the globe, is also demonstrated through the expressions they used in

their texts: some of these expressions had emerged elsewhere in colonial discourse, for example in North America.

Within my analysis of this precarious, yet forceful web I have focused on questions regarding the production of identities and colonial space, and asked what role infrastructures had within these processes. I developed my methodological approach to these questions by employing Foucauldian *dispositif* analysis and its adaption in Jäger's Critical Discourse Analysis. In the course of this, I have identified a problem that is present in some other studies that use this type of analysis. The problem occurs at the point of translation of the theory into methodology: the material elements of a *dispositif* are often described as the 'non-discursive.' In contrast to this, I have emphasised that inanimate objects need to be understood within *dispositif* analysis as objectified knowledge that itself is produced by discourse. The notion of the existence of the 'non-discursive' is misleading. Within Foucauldian *dispositif* theory, there is no 'outside of discourse,' and discourse always has a material element. The written word exists together with its paper and printing machines, and the spoken word exists together with the space that it was spoken in, a space that has come into existence through discourse. This approach has enabled me to bring together the history of the content of the settler newspapers with the history of its relevant infrastructures, as well as come to a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of the press for the German colonial project.

Through this approach, I was able to explain the immense importance that railways had for the settler newspapers. The settler press depended heavily on different infrastructures, for example telegraphs, shipping lines and postal services, but in its discourse, the railways stood out and were treated as panacea. On the one hand, this can be explained with the railways' importance for economic exploitation and the conduct of military campaigns in the colonies. But on the other, their cultural meaning as objectified knowledge needs to be fully appreciated. Railways were understood as a sign of 'civilisation,' and as a proof of the superiority of European *Kultur*. Therefore, they functioned as a form of communication in the colonial landscape. Their message of dominance and appropriation could however be contested by the colonised, and was sometimes also impeded by the impact of the African environment. This, however, did not change the fact that all kinds of hopes and expectations were expressed in the settler newspapers with respect to the construction of colonial railways: they were associated with progress, as well as with protection from a hostile environment and people.

Infrastructures furthermore influenced how settlers negotiated their relationship to the German homeland and how much discursive exchange took place between one German colony and another, as well as with colonies of other imperial powers. Because of a lack of a direct telegraphic connection between the individual German colonies and the long journey of the mail between these places, a common German colonial settler discourse only began to develop slowly. Discursive exchange with newspapers of British colonies was more intense due to the easier and more frequent exchange of print products from those neighbouring colonies.

Even though settler newspapers had a long journey to the German homeland, and German domestic newspapers took a long time to arrive in the colonies, the connection between homeland and colonies was strong. Newspapers from both places were conscious of their role of maintaining the connection and the belonging of the settlers to the German national community. German domestic newspapers that had subscribed to settler newspapers, however, used them not for updates on happenings in the colonies, but for reviewing recent events. This was an effect of the development and expansion of telegraphic connections across the globe. While the use of telegraphs was restricted by international relations and monopolies of news agencies, as well as through its high costs, their quick connection that could transfer news from the colonies to Germany in just one day (as opposed to the journey of the mail of at least three weeks) had a direct impact on the way in which settler newspapers were received in Germany. Recent news in the German domestic newspapers about the colonies, and here in particular updates during times of war, usually originated from telegraphic services.

The settler newspapers, however, offered qualities that could not be replaced by telegraphs. Keen to demonstrate their belonging to the German national community, settlers used their newspapers as a way of performing their Germanness and communicating this back to the homeland. The festivities during the *Kaisergeburtstag*, which was the most important holiday in the colonies, were reported in far more detail than could have been transmitted via telegraph. The celebration of the Emperor's birthday was understood as a demonstration of Germanness that was performed everywhere in the world where 'true Germans' lived, and the national community was believed to be united through this common ceremony. Their newspapers enabled the settlers to take part in this performance, and also reassure themselves of their presumed strong ideological connection to the *Kaiser*. The existence of the settler newspapers furthermore was a statement in itself: it supported the imagination that there were indeed places in Africa that were German, as for example the title of the *Deutsch-*

Südwestafrikanische Zeitung promised. The settler newspapers 'Germanised' the colonial space on a symbolic level, they 'wrote the German colonies into being,' so to speak. At the same time, they contributed to discussions about how best to 'Germanise' the colonial territory through spreading the German language locally, and whether the replacing of African names of geographical locations with German ones was useful. They promoted the creation of a new German *Heimat* abroad with the help of settlers that were supposed to be able-bodied, diligent, and had sufficient financial means at their disposal in order to set up a farm or plantation. Some writers in the settler newspapers even believed themselves to be more German than the Germans back home: while the concept of *Heimat*, as it had originally developed in Germany, was connected to provincial identities that were negotiated with the relatively recent national unification, the settlers felt they had overcome this provincialism and represented a German national ideal. The meaning of Germanness was debated in the colonies as much as in Germany, and the ideas were communicated back to the German homeland through the settler newspapers. These engendered imaginations of the colonial space, and imaginations of a colonial Germanness too.

As much as the settlers emphasised their belonging to the German national community in their newspapers, their discourse also reveals that they became aware of their isolation. While some German domestic newspapers emphasised the connection to the colonies, others heavily criticised the settlers, who in return felt treated unfairly by the writers in Germany. The settler newspapers furthermore complained about the lack of financial support from the *Reichstag* for the construction of railways. In Germany, these were a symbol of the social unity of the nation and gateway to a better future. Above all other settler newspapers, the writers of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* seemed seriously offended by this lack of support on the practical as well as on the ideological level. And also the African climate itself reminded the settlers of their remote existence, in particular during Christmas. The newspapers here functioned as a platform where settlers could debate their 'difficult' situation, and develop their settler identity that was connected to, but at the same time distinct from the German national identity. However, the settler community suffered from internal tensions too: competing economic interests of different groups of settlers, as well as personal differences between them, frequently led to conflict. This eventually led to an expansion of the settler press landscape through the founding of new newspaper projects that aimed at representing the interests of the individual groups. Only in the face of larger problems, like anti-colonial actions of the colonised or external political challenges, did the settlers present themselves as a united community.

8.2 Surprises, challenges and perspectives

Studying the German colonial settler press has been an exciting journey that presented me with a few surprises along the way. Some geographical regions, which I had initially expected to play only a minor role, gained importance during my research. Togoland for example, which never developed its own settler newspaper, turned out to be an important site through its connection with the German Colonial Press Law, as well as with African publishing activities. In Cameroon, a settler newspaper did appear during its last two years as a German colony, but the *Elolombe ya Kamerun* created a seemingly greater stir. I was in doubt if I would find much material that would allow me to get a glimpse of the African perspective on German colonialism and its newspapers. The research material that I have gathered from archives has, for the greater part, been written and collected by German colonists and government bodies, and therefore represents their perspective on the events. But my critical approach of following strands of discourse across the globe and focusing on colonial relations that were negotiated also through the uses of colonial infrastructure has brought stories of the agency of the colonised to the fore. Accounts of strike actions at print offices and sabotage of railways and telegraphs during warfare were joined by records of the sophisticated texts by Togolese writers in *The Gold Coast Leader*. Their articles presented a truly refreshing contrast to the settler newspaper discourse. The networking that the colonised achieved against all odds, and how anti-colonial activities came to be creative acts of writing one's own history, were impressive.

Against the backdrop of all the information available, it is surprising how the notion of German colonialism as a modernising project persists today. On the one hand, the large number of casualties speaks against such an interpretation of the history. On the other, even the flagships of the presumed benefits of colonialism – the introduction of 'education' and infrastructure – were initially not intended to serve the colonised. Conrad (2008, p.61) has pointed out that infrastructures were set up in the colonies in order to exploit them, and not to build a system of transport to the benefit of the local population. Neither was an industry developed that could have maintained or expanded these infrastructures. Material, technologies and specialists were imported from Europe. But infrastructure does not only consist of a few parts, it rather – and here we can remind ourselves of the concept of *dispositif* – can be described as an entity of materials, knowledge, and skills. The colonies however remained dependent on

external support at all times. It is therefore an incorrect claim that 'Europe gave Africa infrastructure.' Germany delivered some parts to its colonies, which Africans largely had to put together themselves. However, already during formal colonialism, the settler newspaper discourse celebrated the introduction of railways in particular as a great colonial achievement that significantly 'developed' the colonised places. The same problem exists regarding the issue of schools for Africans: education in an emancipatory sense was hardly practiced in the colonies. 'Education' mostly had the purpose of keeping the colonial administrative system running, and of disciplining and proselytizing among the colonised. The settlers even argued strongly in their newspapers against any form of education for Africans. In this context, Sebald (2005, p.160) pointed out that the colonial government in Togoland quite tellingly built ten prisons, but only four schools. It is to the credit of many Africans that they nevertheless succeeded in utilising what the schools had to offer for emancipatory projects.

Less of a surprise, but nevertheless disconcerting, were the findings regarding the genocidal discourse that the settler press, and here in particular the newspapers in German Southwest Africa, developed in the wake of the Herero and Nama War. Whenever the history of this war is told with a focus on protagonists such as von Trotha, or on the *Kaiser*, the impression can arise that the responsibility for the genocide lies solely with political decision makers (a perspective that Sarkin, 2011 employs). But in the settler newspapers a ruthless course against the Herero had been anticipated, as well as demanded, and suggestions were even made for further extermination campaigns. The discourse of the settlers, the 'average people' of the colonising society (as opposed to government officials, soldiers, and missionaries), provided a legitimisation of the genocide and the concentrations camps. This needs to be taken into account by future publications that discuss responsibilities for the events. Furthermore, even though the German settlers who had died during attacks were lamented, overall, there was quite some appreciation of the effects the war had had on the colony. Settlers wrote in their newspapers excitedly about opportunities for the expropriation of Africans and the building of a new *Heimat* which had arisen. Colonial associations like the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* also saw advantages in the war, and appreciated its benefits for the economy. The prospect of economic gains served in the same way as a legitimisation for atrocities and expropriation, as did the racist representations of Africans and the representation of settlers as the Africans' victims.

Even though my research yielded rich findings, I encountered some challenges along the way. Above, I have already briefly addressed one of the problems: it was quite difficult to evaluate

the impact of the settler press. A strong discourse in the settler newspapers on the one hand, and factual events on the other that seemed to match the demands that were made by these newspapers, cannot be taken as proof of an immediate impact. One of the best methods to assess how newspapers are received was unfortunately unfeasible: I could not analyse their reception via a reader survey. Nor could I interview a focus group or ask public figures of the time how they perceived the settler newspapers. While there were hints that the settler press appeared in debates of the *Reichstag*, searching the records of parliamentary sessions for traces of it was likewise unfeasible: it would have resembled the workload of a new research project. And I do not want this to be understood as a suggestion for further research: for the amount of work that this would require, the gains might be relatively marginal. I do hope however that my work will contribute to a heightened sensitivity towards settler newspapers in other research projects, and that cross references will be made to my own work, which may be expanded upon. I believe I have demonstrated that the settler press played an important role in German colonialism and the notion of Germanness, as such. I hope that my analysis of the German colonial settler press in Africa will serve as a valuable resource for future research projects in related areas.

I have responded to the challenge of being unable to conduct any reception analysis directly by analysing debates about the settler press in the communication of officials of the colonial governments and the German central government. Samples from German domestic newspapers have likewise proven helpful for assessing the impact of the settler press. It was difficult to make grounded statements about the writers of the articles, as the articles were mostly not signed. Taking the background of the writer of an article into account is however an important step in Critical Discourse Analysis. While I provided example biographies of two of the editors of settler newspapers, I had to do without much secure information about the writers of articles. The pseudonyms of the Togolese writers however were quite telling, and provided me with interesting insights into the circulation of ideas and expressions across empires.

A challenge not just for me, but apparently also for other researchers, has been that of rumours that circulated at the time of formal German colonialism that have snuck into official documents as presumed 'facts.' I am referring here to the case of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, which was believed by some contemporaries, as well as by some scholars of today, to be an anti-colonial publication from the hand of the Duala Mpundu Akwa. Through rigorous research and basing my conclusions on multiple sources that I have evaluated critically, I was able to

contribute some clarification to the matter. My declaration at the beginning of this piece of work, that I will go to great lengths in order to identify the agency of the colonised in the context of the settler press, has at all times entailed the critical evaluation of all sources, even if this means that I have to revoke a story of anti-colonial activity. The relation between Akwa and Mahner-Mons, the actual publisher responsible for the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, nevertheless seems to provide interesting material for a case study of colonial relations, and would be worth further research. During this project, stories of the negotiation of colonial relations have emerged and could make up for some of the gaps in the archives, which lack voices of the colonised. This lack has of course been one of the challenges that I have encountered, but also one that I expected from the start, and that I have taken into account when developing my approach.

Next to further research into the history of the *Elolombe ya Kamerun*, it could prove worthwhile to explore the history of Togolese writers in *The Gold Coast Leader* as a history of transnational African publishing and networking. While Sebald (1987, 2005) has provided a solid foundation by integrating the articles of the Togolese writers into German colonial history, a lot could be gained from a Media and Cultural Studies perspective that takes the wider history of west African publishing into account (which is thoroughly researched by Newell, 2013), and that follows its strands of discourse across the globe. My own work is a first step in this direction, and can be directive for future research.

The history of German publishing in southern Africa after the First World War – in Southwest Africa as well as in South Africa – is also awaiting further exploration. When the First World War broke out and the German colonies were successively seized by other European powers, none of the settler newspapers continued for long under the name and in the form that they had had during the existence of the German colonies. Some of the settler newspapers were re-established and renamed several times, joined with other papers, and then disappeared again. Only the *Südwestbote*, formerly *Windhuker Nachrichten*, still exists today as the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (General Newspaper) (von Nahmen, 2001, p.69). Melber (2013, p.72) illustrates how colonial nostalgia and a colonial-apologetic discourse are today still present in this newspaper for the German speaking minority in Namibia. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* was however not always radical enough for its readership: according to Dresler (1942, p.95), in the 1930s, the newspaper lost popularity due to its permissive attitude towards the South African administration of Southwest Africa, as well as its lack of enthusiasm for the rise of Nazism in Germany. Questions of German nationalism and the relationship to the Nazis were important

for German publications that appeared during that time and place. This also holds true for German publications in South Africa. While the *Deutsche Afrika-Post* (1929-1939) in Johannesburg took a critical stance towards the Nazis, and its import into Germany was therefore prohibited, of the *Deutsch-Afrikaner* (1921-1940) from Pretoria no such critical position is known (Dresler, 1942, p.103). According to Dresler (1942, p.103), the *Deutsch-Afrikaner* was widespread in the south of Africa and even had a German readership in Mozambique. Its subtitle was 'German weekly for South- and Southwest Africa and Mozambique.' This is highly interesting, as hardly anything is known about the presence of Germans in Mozambique between the First and the Second World War.

These publications also interested the German government in the period between both world wars. The German Consulate in Pretoria regularly reported to the Foreign Office in Berlin about the state of the German press in the south of Africa (see for example BAB R 1001/ 1937, 1925, p.100). An exploration of these German press networks after the end of formal German colonialism might reveal new insights into the relation between German colonial traditions and the reception of Nazi ideology in the south of Africa, as well as shed more light on the meaning of colonial ideas for the rising Nazism in Germany. Such a research project could even prove informative regarding the persistence of attractiveness of South Africa for Nazis until today (on recent activities of German Nazis in South Africa, see Antifaschistisches Info Blatt, 2013).

My thesis contributes to integrating the history of the German colonial settler press into German newspaper history, as well as highlighting its role for the creation of concepts of Germanness. Settler newspapers were complicit in the creation and circulation of notions of 'race' that legitimised expropriation, exploitation, and destruction of local communities in the colonies. But following their strands of discourse also leads to histories of African creation. The New Imperial History approach has proven useful for highlighting these connections and interdependencies. Settler newspaper discourse created colonial imaginations, and thereby contributed to the creation of colonial space. Imaginations are not innocent, for people act upon them, and their consequences in reality can be severe. How far such imaginations reach and how long they persist in time remains the subject of (academic) debate, also in German historiography (for an overview of the debate, see Kühne, 2013). But no matter if one arrives at the conclusion that the genocide and the concentration camps in German Southwest Africa should be evaluated as a precursor for the later Nazi atrocities, or if one chooses to emphasise the many differences that existed between these two periods: discourse as a 'river of knowledge flowing through time' (Jäger, 2009, p.22) did not run dry just because Germany was

formally deprived of its colonies. Colonial discourse evolved and changed, but still reverberates today, be it in myths about presumed benefits of German colonial projects for the colonised, or in present international relations (see preface). Researching the settler press opens a door to a better understanding of German colonialism and its legacies. But it also opens a door to a more comprehensive way of doing newspaper history. The German colonial settler press in Africa can only be understood when analysed in its entirety: as written word with all its entanglements and effects, and as dependent on infrastructures that were essential for the newspapers' existence, specific form, reception, and impact. Discourse always has a material side, which offers sites of negotiating relations of power, and can function as a form of communication itself. While scholars of New Imperial History have established that Postcolonial approaches need to be grounded in 'critical archival enquiry' (Lester, 2009, p.179), I contribute with my research the understanding that a Postcolonial Studies-inspired discourse analysis needs to be grounded in researching its material preconditions and effects.

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Swakopmunder Zeitung

The Gold Coast Leader

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Appendix

Timeline: major German colonial settler newspapers in Africa, 1898-1916.

1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Windhoefer Anzeiger ↘																		
			Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung															
			NdBVW ↘											Swkpm. Ztg. ↗				
				Windhuker Nachrichten								↘						
													Südwestbote					
											Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung							
											Keetmanshooper Nachrichten ↘							
											Keetmanshooper Ztg.							
												Südwest						
			Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung															
			Anzeigen für Tanga ↘															
				Usambara-Post														
											Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau							
											Kamerun-Post							

Index: settler newspapers in the German colonies in Africa.

Settler newspapers in German Southwest Africa

Title	Place	Dates	Publisher	Editor	Print	Supplement
Windhoecker Anzeiger	Windhoek	12/10/1898 - 12/09/1901	Georg Wasserfall	Georg Wasserfall	Georg Wasserfall	-
Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung	Swakopmund	14/10/1901 - 19/09/1914	Georg Wasserfall (14/10/1901-10/02/1909); Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung GesmbH (13/02/1909-16/08/1912); Zeitungs-Verlag GesmbH (01/10/1912-19/09/1914)	Georg Wasserfall (14/10/1901-10/02/1909); Rudolf Kindt (13/02/1909- 16/03/1910); O. Bandhauer (19/03/1910-15/03/1912); G. Petzold (19/03/1912- 16/08/1912); H. Peters (01/10/1912- 15/03/1913); Bruno Rehm (18/03/1913- 01/11/1913); Hans Peters (05/11/1913- 15/11/1913); Arthur Mylo (18/11/1913- 19/09/1914)	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung, Swakopmund	Landwirtschaftliche Beilage (01/1903- 02/1904)
Swakopmunder Zeitung	Swakopmund	02/12/1911- 28/09/1912	Druckereigesellschaft Peters & Stolze, Swakopmund	H. Peters	Druckereigesellschaft Peters & Stolze, Swakopmund	-
Nachrichten des Bezirks-Vereins Windhuk	Windhoek	07/1903- 17/12/1903	Bezirksverein Windhuk	Dr Bail	n/a	-
Windhuker Nachrichten	Windhoek	24/12/1904- 31/12/1910	Bezirksverein Windhuk (24/12/1904-20/09/1906); Windhuker Nachrichten GmbH (04/10/1906- 31/12/1910)	Dr Bail/ Conrad Rust (24/12/1904-20/09/1906); Anton Passarge (04/10/1906-31/12/1910)	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung, Windhoek	Der Farmer (1907- 1910)

Südwestbote	Windhoek	04/01/1911-10/05/1915	Windhuker Nachrichten GmbH	Arthur Mylo (04/01/1911-29/12/1912); Conrad Rust (01/01/1913-06/02/1914); Hans Berthold (08/02/1914-10/05/1915)	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung, Windhoek (04/01/1911-15/11/1911); Windhuker Druckerei GmbH (18/11/1911-10/05/1915)	Illustriertes Sonntagsblatt (1911-1913)
Lüderitzbucher Zeitung	Lüderitzbucht	13/02/1909-18/09/1914	Lüderitzbucher Zeitung GmbH	Dr Anders (13/02/1909-26/06/1909); M. Otzen (03/07/1909-18/09/1914)	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung GmbH, Lüderitzbucht	-
Lüderitzbucher Zeitung. Kriegsnachrichten des Reuter-Büros	Lüderitzbucht	19/09/1914-25/09/1914	n/a	n/a	n/a	-
Keetmanshooper Nachrichten	Keetmanshoop	01/06/1910-03/1913	Dr Forkel/ Mandelmuth, Ehret/ Jödicke (01/06/1910-09/1910); Ehrhard Müller von Berneck (10/1910-03/1911); Richard Ehret (15/04/1911-03/1913)	Dr Forkel/ Mandelmuth, Ehret/ Jödicke (01/06/1910-09/1910); Ehrhard Müller von Berneck (10/1910-03/1911); Richard Ehret (15/04/1911-03/1913)	n/a	-
Keetmanshooper Zeitung	Keetmanshoop	24/04/1913-03/1915	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung GmbH, Keetmanshoop	Alfred Günther (24/04/1913-30/04/1914); Max Zech (07/05/1914-03/1915)	Swakopmunder Buchhandlung GmbH, Keetmanshoop	-
Südwest	Swakopmund (02/12/1910-28/11/1911); Windhoek (05/12/1911-28/07/1914)	02/12/1910-28/07/1914	Rudolf Kindt	Rudolf Kindt	Peters & Stolze, Swakopmund (02/12/1910-28/11/1911); Swakopmunder Buchhandlung,	Illustriertes Sonntagsblatt (1912); Fahrplan der Deutschen Südwestafrikanischen Eisenbahn (1913)

						Windhoek (05/12/1911- 28/07/1914)	
Kriegsnachrichten	Tsumeb	15/05/1915- 03/07/1915	Rudolf Kindt/ Schutztruppe	Rudolf Kindt		Tsumeber Missionsdruckerei	-

Settler newspapers in German East Africa

Title	Place	Dates	Publisher	Editor	Print	Supplement
Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung	Darassalam (26/02/1899- 31/07/1915); Morogoro (03/08/1915- 18/08/1916)	26/02/1899- 18/08/1916	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung GmbH	Willy von Roy (26/02/1899-1908); Heinrich Pfeiffer (1908-1909); Willy von Roy (1909-31/12/1910); Alfred Zintgraff (14/10/1911-19/06/1914); Gerhard Schelcher (01/07/1914-11/08/1916); Hermann Ladeburg (15/08/1916-18/08/1916)	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung GmbH	Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika, (16/03/1900-08/08/1908); Der Pflanzer (1905-1909); Ostafrikanisches Waidwerk (1905-1909); Der ostafrikanische Pflanzer (19/06/1909-28/12/1912); Amtliche Anzeigen für Deutsch-Ostafrika (12/09/1908-30/12/1911); Gesetz und Recht für Deutsch-Ostafrika (03/01/1912-28/12/1912); Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika (04/01/1913-18/08/1916); Illustrierte Unterhaltungsbeilage (04/01/1913-18/08/1916)
Usaramo-Post	Darassalam	03/04/1907- 12/06/1907	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung	Moritz	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung	-
Anzeigen für Tanga	Tanga	09/11/1901- 10/1904	Regierungsschule Tanga (governmental school Tanga)/ Headmaster Blank	C. Hofft	Communal-Druckerei Tanga	-

Usambara-Post	Tanga	12/11/1904- 22/12/1906; 01/06/1907- 03/06/1916	C. Hofft (12/11/1904- 22/12/1906); G. von Horn (01/06/1907- 08/1911); Wilhelm Wohltat (08/1911-?)	C. Hofft (12/11/1904- 22/12/1906); G. von Horn (01/06/1907- 08/1911); J. Deeg (08/1911-03/06/1916)	Kommunal- Druckerei Tanga	Der Pflanze (01/01/1905-12/1910); Ansiedlerfreund (04/1906-12/1906); Kiongozi (01/06/1905-12/1913); Der Askari (01/12/1906-?); Usambara-Pest (01/04/1908-30/04/1910); Illustrierte Beilage (1913); Kilimandjaro- und Meru-Zeitung (1913)
Deutsch- Ostafrikanische Rundschau	Daressalam	22/08/1908- 28/12/1912	Passavant	Passavant	n/a	Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika (1908-1912); Der Pflanze (n/a)
Tabora-Post	Tabora	01/01/1914- ?	Dr Jaquet	Dr Jaquet	n/a	-

Settler newspaper in Cameroon

Title	Place	Dates	Publisher	Editor	Print	Supplement
Kamerun-Post	Duala	08/10/1912- 06/05/1914	Kameruner Druckerei- Gesellschaft Otto Franz & Co.	Ph. Waizmann	Kameruner Druckerei- Gesellschaft Otto Franz & Co.	-