

EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION: GRADATIONS OF WHITENESS AND  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENGINEERING IN A SETTLER SOCIETY. GERMAN  
SOUTHWEST AFRICA, 1884-1914.

‘Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of  
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Robbie John Macvicar Aitken.’

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## ABSTRACT

### EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION: GRADATIONS OF WHITENESS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENGINEERING IN A SETTLER SOCIETY: GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA; 1884-1914.

ROBBIE J.M. AITKEN

In this dissertation the internal workings of a colonial settler society are examined through employing elements of post-colonial theory and whiteness studies. Specifically, the dissertation focuses on the construction of a hierarchical social order in the German colony of German Southwest Africa during the period 1884-1914. It is argued that German colonial rule was underpinned, and informed by a polarised Self and Other dichotomy which distinguished between the European colonisers and the colonised indigenous Africans. The employment of dichotomous categories of identification, based on notions of imagined racial and cultural difference, allowed for the mapping of colonial society and was central to political and discursive practices of social control. Furthermore, this dichotomy justified and informed relations not simply between the colonisers and the colonised, but also amongst the colonisers themselves. The presence of settlers whose cultural practices and behaviour did not match with the norms attributed to the idealised settler undermined the demarcation of difference. As a consequence undesirable settlers were increasingly perceived by the colonial authorities and interest groups as posing a threat to social control and the future stability of the Southwest. In particular, the dissertation examines the resulting discursive and political strategies of social engineering and identification which sought to include or exclude settlers from settler society based upon an assessment of their economic capacity and cultural competency as measured against the existing categories of identification. What emerged was an increasingly exclusionary settler society. The dissertation is based on extensive archival material from the Bundesarchiv in Berlin as well as a wide range of printed sources. It allows for an insight into strategies of social control, power and the establishment of social privilege in a settler society. It investigates a construction of a specifically German version of whiteness in a colonial context which enables an insight into the ways in which sections of the middle class conceived of Germanness and whiteness. As the lines of cultural and racial difference became increasingly confused, the categories of Black and White were under constant negotiation and re-construction and whilst the category of the Black remained an absolute, the category of the White collapsed into a system of gradations of whiteness.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	Alldeutscher Verein (Pan-German League)
BAB	Bundesarchiv Berlin (Lichterfelde)
DGDS	Der Gang durch den Sand
DG	Geschichte vom alten Blute und von der ungeheuren Verlassenheit
DKB	Deutsches Kolonialblatt
DKG	Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society)
DKZ	Deutsche Kolonialzeitung
KA	Koloniale Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes (Colonial Section of the Foreign Office)
RKA	Reichskolonialamt (Imperial Colonial Office)
SfDSWA	Siedlungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Settlement Company for German Southwest Africa)
SfsS	Syndikat für südwestafrikanische Siedlung (Syndicate for the settlement of Southwest Africa)
SN	Südafrikanische Novellen
ZfKKK	Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft.



P. Rohrbach, Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft. Band 1: Südwest-Afrika  
 (Berlin: Buchverlag der Hilfe, 1907)



## Chapter One

### German Southwest Africa: An Introduction

On the 6th of August 1884 the German flag was raised over the harbour at Angra Pequena on the west coast of the Africa continent. This and the nearby constructed factory were visible signs of a German encroachment into the south-west of Africa taking place at the initiative of the independent Bremen merchant Adolf Lüderitz. The Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was persuaded that Lüderitz's territorial claims be placed under protection of the German government. This was the beginnings of a realised overseas German colonialism. This territory, which was to be known as German Southwest Africa, present day Namibia, eventually covered an area of some 825,000 square kilometres.<sup>1</sup> Geographically surrounded by Portuguese Angola, the British annexed Betschuanaland (Botswana), Rhodesia (Zambia), Zimbabwe and the Cape, German Southwest Africa was the newly unified Germany's first overseas colony. The German empire was expanded to include German East Africa (Tanzania), Togo, and Cameroon on the African continent, and colonial possessions in the South Seas as well as the naval base of Kiaochow in China's Shantung province. Initially dismissed as being of little value to the extent that the Kaiser was prepared to give it up and envisaged at various times as a prospective penal colony or a colony for tuberculosis sufferers, German Southwest Africa eventually developed into the foremost settler colony of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> This was on account of its largely sub-tropical climate which in comparison with Germany's other overseas possessions was deemed more conducive to European settlement. The subsequent population which existed and interacted within the Southwest was ethnically diverse in its nature. It was made up of, amongst other groupings, a wide range of indigenous African social groups, a variety of European settlers, Afrikaners, and a growing population of dual African and European descent. At the end of 1914 the indigenous population of German Southwest Africa was estimated at

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<sup>1</sup> Figure from, H. Lamping, "Namibia - Entwicklungen und Perspektiven," in Namibia - Ausgewählte Themen der Exkursionen 1988, eds. G. Gruber, H. Lamping, W. Lutz & J. Matznetter (Frankfurt am Main: Im Selbstverlag des Instituts für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1989), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Evans suggests that in 1896 there was a considerable discussion over whether to send convicts to German Southwest Africa. The Bavarian Minister of Justice criticised the idea, arguing that the presence of convicts would only damage the image of the "white man." R.J. Evans, Tales from the German Underworld: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century (London: Yale University Press, 1998.), 79-80. In 1909 there was a discussion as to whether sufferers from tuberculosis should be sent to the Southwest or not. "Ansiedlung Lungenkranker in Deutsch Südwest Afrika," Windhuker Nachrichten, 23. Januar 1909, 1.

79,556 whilst the European settler community was around some 14,830 strong.<sup>3</sup> It is the construction, make up, representation, and treatment of this colonial settler society that form the basis of this dissertation.

The starting point of the dissertation is an exploration of the internal workings of a settler society. Within the German colonies, inclusive of the Southwest, a hierarchical system of privilege based on notions of racial and cultural differentiation was erected. Here it is argued that German colonial rule was underpinned, and informed by a polarised Self and Other dichotomy which distinguished between the European colonisers and the colonised indigenous Africans. This justified and informed relations not simply between the colonisers and the colonised, but also amongst the colonisers themselves. In the colonial environment the presence of some settlers was deemed to be more desirable than others. The presence of undesirable white settlers upset the negotiation and identification of categories of Black and White. This was then reflected at policy and representational level. Specifically, the dissertation examines the resulting discursive and political practices of social control and identification which led to the emergence of an exclusive settler society and at the same time the destabilisation of the dichotomy. It is argued that whilst the category of the Black remained an absolute, the category of the White collapsed into a system of gradations of whiteness.

The concept of the "contact zone," the social spaces in which different people interact, develop and negotiate a relationship, is used by Mary Louise Pratt in Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (1993) to refer to the colonial arena. Thus, for Pratt the term relates "to the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict."<sup>4</sup> The colonial contact zone and the process of actual contact would challenge and alter both settler and indigenous culture as well as bringing into question categories of identification and a notion of whiteness. This negotiation of relations was not simply restricted to those between Africans and Europeans; the contact zone also brought together a wide variety of white settlers of differing social, ethnic, political, and cultural backgrounds who would negotiate positions in a stratified settler society. Within German Southwest Africa it will be demonstrated that at policy and

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<sup>3</sup> Figures taken from, L.H. Gann, "Marginal Colonialism the German Case," in Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History, eds. A.J. Knoll & L.H. Gann (London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 2.

<sup>4</sup> M.L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1993), 4.

social level competing and complementing colonial interests attempted to construct, mould and engineer socially an exclusive European settler society. Coercion and inequality would be prominent features of the settler society which subsequently developed in and with reference to the contact zone. A central argument of the dissertation is that in this colonial arena a construct of Germanness and by extension whiteness gradually evolved as a means to legitimate discursive practices and political and cultural policies of preference which privileged and sustained elements of the settler society over fellow Europeans and the indigenous Africans. Such policies were often, though not always, geared towards enforcing programmes of social control over imagined social chaos as well as towards maximising the economic potential of the colony.

The term social engineering has been employed throughout to describe the policies and programmes of socio-cultural and political inclusion or exclusion of settlers to resources and institutions within the colony. It should be borne in mind that these policies were, however, not representative of uniform, planned programmes of reform, rather they were often improvised responses to internal and external factors. At the forefront of the social engineering in the Southwest were the German colonial administration in Windhoek, the *Koloniale Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes* (Colonial Office of the Foreign Ministry, KA), and later the independent *Reichskolonialamt* (the Colonial Ministry, RKA). Both of these latter departments were based in Berlin and played an active role in the development of the settlement colony. In addition the colonial media, a variety of political pressure groups and forums such as the *Kolonialrat*, the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (DKG) and the conservative nationalist *Alldeutscher Verband* (ADV), missionary societies, and individuals with a vested interest in the colonial project were all influential in the creation, representation and dispersal of a vision of Germanness and whiteness both in Germany and in the colonies themselves. Given the heterogeneity of the groups and individuals contributing to this discourse it will be suggested that there was no uniform representation as to how the settler colony and its settlers should develop. Indeed, there was often disagreement between competing political bodies and pressure groups as well as between the metropole and the colony. Did the competing fantasies of the settler society and of the European settler match the reality of the German colonial experience, was it even possible for such fantasies to be realised and if not how did the various interest groups react to the actual progress of German colonialism? Which groups and interest parties were most able to influence and mould the structure of the settler society and the notion

of whiteness? Was there ever a degree of consensus? Were the interests, opinions, and welfare of the settlers themselves ever taken into consideration?

In particular the improvised and fractured nature of German colonial rule and the often confused and competing policies at the various levels of colonial administration both in Berlin and the Southwest will be demonstrated. This is illustrated in chapter three in the discussion of the policies of the RKA, the colonial Governor Seitz, and individual civil servants within the Southwest regarding the legality of marriages between Africans and Europeans. The policies of these different groups frequently contradicted one another and led to a state of legal confusion. A second consequence of the heterogeneity of the colonial interest groups was that a number of irreconcilable influences, internal and external to the Southwest, underpinned the various colonial policies and programmes. Of these competing influences it is worth noting several from the outset. Firstly, colonial societies, conservatives and agrarian sections of the German population envisaged the colonies as being utopian paradises to which a surplus German population could emigrate, retaining its link to the German homeland, and retaining its *Deutschtum - Deutschtum* in this sense being defined as the qualities associated with being German.<sup>5</sup> This romantic, anti-modernist vision saw the processes of urbanisation and modernisation as threatening to German traditions and culture and the settlement colony was imagined as an arena where this disappearing world could be recreated. As Daniel Walther notes this vision of settler colonialism contained inherent contradictions and was from the outset "skewed because it was predicated upon the ideals of only one segment of the German population, despite its appeals as a non-partisan, universal project."<sup>6</sup> Secondly, there was an underlying economic influence upon administrative and governmental policy which was geared towards maximising the economic efficiency and potential of the Southwest even, if necessary, to the detriment of the settlement of German citizens. Thirdly, the development of the colonial experience necessitated responses to the local environment, patterns of immigration, social change and interaction within the colony which were perceived as posing a potential threat to the social, economic and political stability of the Southwest. As an example, the growth of a dual descent population of African-Europeans, detailed in chapter three, was

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<sup>5</sup> Wildenthal defines *Deutschtum* in the following manner: "a word signifying both the qualities of being German and the German community in any region of multiple nationalities." Regarding the first part of the definition the closest English translation would be Germanness. L. Wildenthal, "She is the Victor': Bourgeois Women, Nationalist Identities, and the Ideal of the Independent Woman Farmer in German Southwest Africa," in *Society, Culture and State in Germany, 1870-1930*, ed. G. Eley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 378.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. Walther, "Creating Germans Abroad: The Policies of Culture in Southwest Africa, 1894-1939" (Ph.D. diss. The University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 6.

portrayed by the administration and colonial observers as an internal threat to the social and political stability of the colony, as well as being a racial threat. Finally, colonial policy and practice was influenced by the colonial problems and policies of Germany's imperial rivals, in particular Britain and France.

In the colonial arena the notion of whiteness, whilst far from uniform, was representative of what it meant to be white and European, thus, it frequently referred to the qualities cultural, social, economic, and biological expected of the desirable settler. Whiteness, which within European colonial discourse was envisaged as being the norm, was a category that was representative of power in the colonial environment. Yet, there were also "gradations of whiteness" and elements of the settler society would be represented as being whiter than others.<sup>7</sup> This forms a central thesis of the dissertation; that within the white European settler society elements of this society were marginalised or excluded and signified as no longer being white. This was achieved through symbolic means of representation and through discriminatory political policies. As an example, explored in more detail in chapter four, the colonial press negatively represented Europeans who were sexually or socially involved with African women as being a degenerated form of the white European. At the same time the colonial authorities enforced policies aimed at the marginalisation and social exclusion of these settlers, such as removing their civil rights. Conversely it will also be shown that it was possible for those whose whiteness was less secure, those on the edges of European settler society, to be elevated and assimilated, rather than integrated, into this society. The Afrikaners who entered the German colony will be taken as an illustration of a group whose whiteness was in dispute. In chapter five it is demonstrated that the administration in the Southwest introduced a policy of Germanisation to assimilate Afrikaners whose presence was adjudged as being desirable. This policy included allowing the Afrikaners to take up plots of land in the colony and encouraging them to apply for German citizenship. The dissertation asks what the aim of these policies and programmes of inclusion and exclusion was and questions what type of colonial society was being imagined. Why were certain settlers excluded or marginalised whilst others enjoyed preferential treatment?

Legal codes, which differentiated between the indigenous Africans and the Europeans were central to a person's status in the colony. These were complemented by

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<sup>7</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Richard Dyer in his discussion on the aesthetics of whiteness and representations of white people, primarily on the cinema screen. R. Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 12.

exclusionary cultural and biological markers against which a settler's desirability was measured and through which a fragmented settler society developed. They marked out those whose claims to citizenship rights, financial aid, property, and to whiteness were to be acknowledged and those whose were not.<sup>8</sup> Edward Wolfers' comments regarding colonial society in Papua New Guinea are equally applicable here; thus, the fact of belonging to, or being seen to belong to, a particular group or not determined the range of opportunities open to individuals, as well as the roles he or she might play and his or her status.<sup>9</sup> Whiteness, and indeed Germanness, will be seen as being more than simply recourse to physiognomic and somatic features. Were those of white skin colour automatically represented and treated as being white? It will be suggested here that whilst metaphors of race were often employed to differentiate marginal white groups from desirable white settlers, somatic features alone were not always of definitive importance in the representation of the white settler. How was an imagined difference to be established when somatic markers proved to be ambiguous? The dissertation questions on what basis desirability was to be judged and further questions how a notion of whiteness was constructed. What was the relationship between whiteness and Germanness - were the two constructs essentially the same? Did those involved in the programmes of social engineering distinguish between Germans and those in possession of another European citizenship? Furthermore the dissertation asks to what extent cultural, economic, social and indeed racial factors played a role in the reception, treatment and categorising of some settlers as white. Nicholas Thomas in his Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government (1996) argues that whilst race is a key differentiating category in nineteenth and twentieth century discourse it is not the only one and that difference based upon religious, economic, linguistic, and social factors cannot be reduced to notions of race.<sup>10</sup> This line of thinking is taken further by Robert Miles in his sociological investigation of racism entitled Racism (1989). He similarly argues against an expansive definition of racism and instead, he maintains that only a deconstructed definition of the term, whereby it applies to the use of biological and somatic features used to characterise and distinguish between population groups, can bring any analytical clarity to the term.<sup>11</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, however, it is necessary to make a distinction between race as a strictly

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<sup>8</sup> Adapted from, A.L. Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (London: Duke University Press, London 1995), 8.

<sup>9</sup> E.P. Wolfers, Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea (Redfern [NSW, Australia]: Hobgin, Poole [Printers] Pty Ltd, 1975), 2.

<sup>10</sup> N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 54.

<sup>11</sup> R. Miles, Racism (London: Routledge, 1989), chapter three "On Signification."

somatic category and race as a social construction reliant upon a self-confirming package of criteria of imagined social and cultural differences.

The dissertation assesses the degree of success or otherwise achieved in implementing cultural and social policies geared towards the construction of this increasingly exclusionary settler society and notion of whiteness. It is questioned as to whether the European settlers uniformly chose to adopt the cultural and social norms ascribed to the stereotype of the white settler, and how social, political, and cultural categorisation as being white or otherwise could affect the lives of individual settlers. What then were the effects in real term of the policies of social engineering? Were there settlers who deliberately resisted governmental and administrative policy? Was it possible for those subjected to marginalisation to be rehabilitated within the settler society? Were those who were politically excluded from European society equally socially ostracised by their fellow settlers? It is of particular interest to note that the notion of whiteness was not static nor was it purely influenced by the colonial authorities and interest parties. Indeed the settlers themselves played an active role in the negotiation of a colonial whiteness and in some cases they were capable of influencing the policies of social engineering. The best illustration of this is the successful stand taken by the *Landesrat*, the self governing body representing the colonists, against Governor Seitz's policy of nullifying all mixed marriages conducted in German Southwest Africa. It should be stressed that the dissertation is not an investigation of an evolving German Southwestern identity, as carried out by the likes of Klaus Rüdiger and Brigitte Schmidt-Lauber.<sup>12</sup> The opportunities for relating the subjective experiences of individual settlers are limited by the primary source materials consulted. Whilst it will become clear that individuals in the Southwest did not necessarily internalise the categories of identification established by the administration, the sources do not allow for a discussion as to how the settlers defined and represented themselves. In the main the sources consulted comprise a wide range of files from the KA, RKA, and Southwestern administration. This, allows a detailed insight into policies of the various colonial authorities in Germany and the Southwest. A wide range of German and Southwestern colonial periodicals and newspapers were also utilised, enabling an insight into the representation of settlement and settlers created and disseminated by the colonial media and colonial proponents. A number of colonial novels and

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<sup>12</sup> K.H. Rüdiger, *Die Namibia-Deutschen: Geschichte einer Nationalität im Werden* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993); B. Schmidt-Lauber, *Die verkehrte Hautfarbe: Ethnizität deutscher Namibier als Alltagspraxis* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998).

autobiographies written by settlers were utilised, though the bias in the sources used tends towards governmental and administrative documents.

In the devising of the dissertation and in order to investigate the questions posed above, elements of post-colonial theory relating to representation, difference and identity have been adapted to serve as interpretative models. In general, scholars have been slow to direct post-colonial models of analysis to the German colonial experience which has been largely left out of the development of post-colonial theory. Instead the focus remains on the nature, effects and continued influences of British and French colonialism on the shaping of world literature, politics, culture, and history. This apparent neglect of German colonial history has partly to do with the short period of German colonial rule and is possibly also explained by the relative poverty of German colonial literature in comparison with French or British examples. Elements of the work of Homi Bhabha, in particular his The Location of Culture (1994), and Robert Young's Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (1995), have been employed to examine the internal workings of the settler society in the Southwest. Both Young, in his investigation into colonial desire and notions of European sexuality, and Bhabha, in his influential work on representation and challenging rethinking of nation and identity constructs, have utilised colonial discourse to develop a notion of cultural hybridity. At the same time they demonstrate the ambiguity, multiplicity and fluidity of identity and categories of identification.<sup>13</sup> Influenced by the work of the French theorist Jacques Derrida on '*différance*' and employing psychoanalysis in developing a notion of colonial ambivalence, it is Bhabha's arguments and conclusions reached concerning the creation of difference that are of particular use to the current study. He writes that within the contact zone;

the exercise of colonialist authority requires the production of differentiations, individuations, identity effects through which discriminatory practices can map out subject populations that have been tarred with the visible and transparent mark of power.<sup>14</sup>

For Bhabha colonial control is dependent on policies and practices of discrimination which differentiate the colonisers from the colonised. The dissertation adopts the viewpoint of Bhabha and Thomas that difference is not necessarily based upon cultural

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<sup>13</sup> R.J.C. Young, Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (London: Routledge, 1995); H.K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Bhabha, 111



residues reflecting pre-given, irreducible, cultural traits, but that instead it is often a consciously crafted ideological creation. In the Southwest, this resulted in the construction of a polarised Self - Other dichotomy which psychologically justified colonial exploitation and the hierarchical nature of colonial society. The construction of a polarised Self and Other dichotomy in the European colonies was, as Bhabha argues, necessary in order to create a sense of difference between colonisers and the objectified colonised, essential to maintaining a pretext for continued colonial rule. It was also essential to the identification, and understanding, of a notion of the Self with the desired or despised colonial Other acting as a frame of reference against which not simply a colonial identity, but a general bourgeois European notion of whiteness could be imagined. The dichotomy acted as an organising principle by which colonial society was mapped and divided into polar opposite categories of identification, Black and White, European and African. This discourse informed and justified discursive and political programmes of social control and privilege. Difference was established in legal codes of categorisation which legally and politically separated the indigenous African from the European and through representative means such as the utilisation of stereotypes and a notion of whiteness.

To borrow the terminology of studies of identity, whiteness, like the category of the Self, in constructing itself as the "locus of normality" is dislocated - being constructed with reference to an oppositional Other through attributing differential and exclusionary biological and cultural markers to the Other.<sup>15</sup> In order to understand and develop a notion of whiteness it is necessary to differentiate whiteness from that which it is not. In the context of the German African colonies the creation of a representation of the white settler and a notion of whiteness was envisaged with reference to a stereotype of the African or Black, who was defined as being essentially different from the European. To the white European settler, defined as the norm, positive character criteria were attributed, whilst the African was largely distinguished by opposing negative characteristics. Positive and negative markers of culture and biology were established. The distance envisaged between the European and the African, Bhabha argues, was created primarily with reference to racially influenced doctrine, though it should be noted that other differentiations such as religion, economic development, and

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<sup>15</sup> R. Shoma writes of whiteness constructing itself as the "locus of normality." R. Shoma, "Whiteness and the Politics of Location: Postcolonial Reflections," in Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity, eds. T.K. Nakayama & J.N. Martin (Thousand Oaks [California]: Sage Publications, 1998), 120. On Identity Studies, see S. Hall, "Who needs 'identity'?", in Identity: A Reader, eds. P. Du Gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 17.

a supposed lack of civility were not in themselves racial factors.<sup>16</sup> It is not within the remit of this dissertation to investigate the construction of a German and European stereotype of blackness and the Black African, but where appropriate the influence of this stereotype upon the policies of social engineering will be demonstrated.<sup>17</sup>

Bhabha and Young argue that recourse to fixed categories of identity and identification is paradoxically suggestive of both a rigidity and disorder. Young, in particular, suggests that fixity is normally sought in situations of instability, disruption and conflict, and that it frequently implies fragmentation.<sup>18</sup> Dichotomous thinking and notions of difference are disrupted, and indeed threatened, by gradation - by individuals or groups who fit uneasily into existing categories of identification. Bhabha illustrates this by reiterating Frantz Fanon's notion of difference. He argues that sections of the colonised population, in particular those of dual African and European descent, were/are seen as being "almost the same, but not quite" by the colonial powers.<sup>19</sup> Whilst, there is a recognition of similarity the conviction of difference remains. This provocative point has been expanded upon by the anthropologist Anna Laura Stoler in her study of European colonialism. Stoler has argued that Bhabha's analysis of difference, this "almost the same, but not quite," can be applied not only with reference to the colonised population, but can also be expanded to include large sections of the European settler population itself. Thus, she argues that within the European settlements there were settlers who were classified as being European, yet were at the same time they were no longer represented or treated as being European.<sup>20</sup> Thomas too, recognises the emergence of gradation within colonial hierarchies. "Colonising constantly generated obstacles to neat boundaries and hierarchies between populations, exemplified by 'degenerate' half castes and frontier whites who were anything but civilised."<sup>21</sup> Here it is argued that in the Southwest, during the colonial period, the reversion to a fixity of categorisation was in part a response to the perceived social, political, and biological threat and instability caused by the presence of settlers whose cultural practices and

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<sup>16</sup> Bhabha, 70.

<sup>17</sup> Sander Gilman discusses the evolution of a stereotype of blackness within German cultural tradition and Peter Scheulen in his published Magisterarbeit provides an overview of the amorphous representation of the indigenous Africans in the German colonies. S.L. Gilman, On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in German Society (Boston [Massachusetts]: G.K. Hall & Co., 1982); P. Scheulen, Die „Eingeborenen“ Deutsch-Südwestafrikas: Ihr Bild in deutschen Kolonialzeitschriften von 1884 bis 1918 (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Young, 4.

<sup>19</sup> See discussion in Bhabha, chapter four "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," and Young describing the development of a hybrid culture, Young, 26.

<sup>20</sup> Stoler, 102.

lifestyle did not match with the norms attributed to the idealised settler. In particular the sexual behaviour of European men who engaged in sexual relationships with African women was seen to undermine the racial and cultural hierarchy of colonial society. Furthermore, the children born out of these relationships blurred the demarcation of racial frontiers and dichotomous categories. As is demonstrated throughout the dissertation gradation brought into question notions of difference and whiteness. In turn this undermined social order and justifications of hierarchy and privilege. The result was that the categories of identification were rendered highly unstable and were constantly undergoing re-construction to confirm the basic pattern of social organisation and the status of groups within colonial settler society.

Stoler in her Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (1995) looks at Foucauldian discourse and bourgeois notions of sexuality, primarily their relationship to colonial power and a European bourgeois identity as well as forms of Europeanness and whiteness. Stoler's work is an example of recent research into colonial settler societies which questions the homogeneity of European settler populations and suggests that the categories of the coloniser and colonised were highly unstable and ambiguous.<sup>22</sup> Her own specialised field is the Dutch East Indies though she draws parallels to French and British colonialism which provide a useful comparative and analytical model for the understanding of the German colonial experience. Stoler argues that colonialism was neither a secure bourgeois enterprise nor class levelling project and adapts Bhabha's line of thinking on difference to suggest that European settler society was stratified and hierarchically based.<sup>23</sup> What emerges from her work is the graded nature of whiteness on both a discursive and political level. In contrast to Benedict Anderson she disputes the view that the colonies were largely peopled by a bourgeois elite. Instead, as is borne out in this dissertation, she suggests that settler societies were far more socially and economically diverse. This according to Stoler, was partly illustrated by the discourse of degeneration and the anxiety which developed concerning European settlers who appeared to have abandoned the very cultural markers which bestowed upon them the categorisation of being white.<sup>24</sup> Stoler maintains that an enemy within was identified whose presence posed a political and social danger to the stability of colonial life. In the

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Amongst these Timothy Keegan's recent article on mixed sexual unions in South Africa investigates the blurring of racial boundaries and the perceived threat this posed to the structure of society. T. Keegan, "Gender, Degeneration and Sexual Danger," Journal of Southern African Studies 27 (2001): 466-477."

<sup>23</sup> Stoler, 99-102.

case of the Dutch East Indies concern over such marginal whites was then reflected in colonial policy. The enemy within was primarily embodied by groups of dual European and non-European descent. Yet, as Stoler has shown this notion can be expanded to include other groups such as those of limited means, criminals, people living essentially on the margins of the divide between Black and White.<sup>25</sup> This idea of the destabilising enemy within shall be shown to be equally influential in the development of German colonial policies and practices of inclusion and exclusion as well as the creation of whiteness in the German colonies. She convincingly argues that bourgeois identity categories and by extension whiteness in both the colony and the metropole were coded by the language of race and the figure of the colonial Other.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore that this influenced an exclusionary construction of whiteness which was based upon "a middle-class morality, nationalist sentiments, bourgeois sensibilities, normalised sexuality, and a carefully circumscribed 'milieu' in school and home."<sup>27</sup> In many ways these factors will be shown to parallel the elements upon which a construction of whiteness in the German colonial environment was based. The racialised notions of the bourgeois self were, according to Stoler not simply restricted to the colonies alone, but racial and imperial metaphors were also used to clarify class distinctions within Europe. This is an issue which shall be returned to in the concluding chapter. For Stoler race is a key differentiating factor based not simply on the visible and somatic, but equally grounded in "hidden truths, unspoken assumptions about morality and character." Here it is argued that in the face of gradation, cultural markers of race took on a greater importance as visible somatic markers became increasingly ambiguous. Stoler puts great stress on the links between sexuality, sexual behaviour, individual economic capacity and bourgeois status in the colonies, and it will also be argued here that these factors played a crucial role in the drawing up of colonial policy as well as the treatment and categorisation of individuals in the Southwest. Indeed, her work provides a number of important and stimulating arguments which relate to the current study as well as providing a useful point of comparison and an insight into the construction of whiteness in a colonial environment.

The growth in the study of whiteness is very much inter-disciplinary as well as being a relatively recent academic phenomenon. The majority of texts have been written by academics working in the United States with a focus on the formation of class

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<sup>24</sup> Stoler, 101-102.

<sup>25</sup> Stoler, 52, 106.

<sup>26</sup> Stoler, 7-8.

<sup>27</sup> Stoler, 105.

identities in the United States and the formulation of cultural and political policies. Whilst there is a developing literature on whiteness within a British context, Stoler's references to whiteness in a colonial environment remain an exception.<sup>28</sup> Although such works are less relevant to this current dissertation than post-colonial literature it is nevertheless worth mentioning aspects of this research. That whiteness is constructed through negotiation and that it is neither fixed nor organic is convincingly demonstrated by David Roediger in The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (2000 revised edit.) and Noel Ignatiev in How the Irish became White (1995).<sup>29</sup> Both in their discussions of the formation of a working class and working class identity in the United States during the Ante-bellum period demonstrate the role of social groups, in this case the American working class, as historical actors capable of making their own, albeit constrained, choices in negotiating an identity and cultural forms.<sup>30</sup> Their examinations of the racialised representation of Irish immigrants illustrates the graded nature of whiteness as well as the links between whiteness, power, social inclusion (and exclusion), and access to resources. Thus, in this historical context they demonstrate the central role of the Black-White dichotomy in the discursive and political assimilation or exclusion of immigrant groups into United States society. Assimilation or exclusion of immigrant groups to the schema serves to confirm the organisational power of the dichotomy and at the same time it establishes the status of those groups. This process is expanded upon by the anthropologist Aihwa Ong. In her discussion of the cultural and political policies that Asian immigrants are subjected to in present day United States, she demonstrates that the Black-White dichotomy continues to play a foundational role in the shaping of United States society. In an article entitled "Cultural Citizenship as Subject Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States" (1996) she argues that the Asian immigrants are subjected to a process of "normalization."<sup>31</sup> This entails a worth value assessment of the immigrants based upon their economic capacity and cultural competency as measured against existing categories of White - Black oppositions. In turn this determines the desirability of immigrants as well as their access to resources and institutions. Ong's normalization process is explored in more detail in chapter five where it is employed specifically as an interpretative model to explain the representation and treatment of

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<sup>28</sup> Regarding whiteness in an English context see for example, C. Hall, White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

<sup>29</sup> D. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (London: Verso, 2000 revised edit.); N. Ignatiev, How the Irish became White (London: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> Roediger, 9.

<sup>31</sup> A. Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," Current Anthropology 37 (1996): 737-761.

Afrikaner immigrants in the Southwest. It is to be suggested, however, that it can be applied to all those who entered the German colony, inclusive of German citizens. In the Southwest the process of normalization was a means by which to assess desirability and justify subsequent policies. Equally, it was a means by which notions of Black and White, African and European, were negotiated in the first place and then deployed as categories of social organisation.

### German Southwest Africa: A Historiography

Discussing recent research into the German colonial experience Russell Berman suggests that since the 1990s, "a new and distinct discussion of German colonialism and colonial literature has begun to emerge."<sup>32</sup> Berman argues that this renewed interest in German colonialism is because of intra-university developments in the United States whereby scholars have turned their attention to the German colonial question after having explored this topic in other fields, leading to increasingly inter-disciplinary works. Secondly, he cites the reinterpretation of national identities in the light of changes in the international political system as a further reason for the growth in this scholarship. As an example he mentions the role of colonialism in the formation of the Afro-German experience and the subsequent influence of the recognition of an Afro-German identity on the redefining of German identity. Finally, Berman notes a methodological change within colonial scholarship with a move away from economic or socio-historical works and the advancement of a framework of cultural history and cultural studies. This is largely represented by the growth of post-colonial studies focusing on the likes of colonial fiction and travel literature, such as Berman's own work, and the formation of gender relations.<sup>33</sup> Yet, in spite of the emergence of a new wave of scholarship focusing on German colonialism, in the historiography of German Southwest Africa the older general works of Helmut Bley and Horst Drechsler remain the starting point for any investigation into the colonial period. These provide a detailed overview of the historical narrative and comprehensive bibliographies.

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<sup>32</sup> R. Berman, "Secondary Colonialism: The Search for the Hidden Agenda," Beitrag zur Tagung : Phantasiereiche. Der deutsche Kolonialismus in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 9-10. November 2001, 3. The points made by Berman that follow are all taken from this handout presented at the conference in Oldenburg.

<sup>33</sup> For examples see amongst others, R.A. Berman, Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); S. Zantop, Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Pre-colonial Germany, 1770-1870 (London: Duke University Press, 1997); S. Friedrichsmeyer, S. Lennox & S. Zantop eds., The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

An investigation of the social structure of settler society lies outside of Drechsler's Marxist analysis of the Herero-Nama (1904-1907) war. First published in German in 1966 his "Let us Die Fighting.": The Struggle of the Herero and Nama versus German Imperialism moves little beyond the theme of the war and largely confines itself to the period up until the end of the war.<sup>34</sup> The genocidal nature of the Herero-Nama war and the influence of the war upon the German colonial experience and Namibian society remain key issues of historical debate.<sup>35</sup> The Germans had employed 14,000 soldiers and spent over 600 million marks on a war in which two thirds of the entire Herero population and half of the Nama population were estimated to have been killed or have died in the Kalahari desert as a result of starvation. Whilst it is not the purpose of this dissertation to describe the causes and nature of German suppression of indigenous resistance, frequent reference is made to this event. It is important to note that the events of the Herero-Nama war form the background to much of the social, economic and political changes within German Southwest Africa during the last decade of Imperial rule. Land and cattle were confiscated from the indigenous Africans, who were cleared to make way for European settlers. It will be argued that the social and political upheaval brought about by the period of war was central to policies of segregation which were enforced in twilight years of German colonialism. Drechsler's account, whilst polemic remains of benefit. His narrative discussion of the formative years of the German colonial experience in the Southwest provides useful information and is matched only by that of H. Vedder's older text Das alte Südwestafrika: Südwestafrikas Geschichte bis zum Tod Mahereros (1934).<sup>36</sup>

Indeed the first decade of German colonial rule in the Southwest is often omitted from discussion of the German colonial experience or only briefly referred to because of the limited nature of the German presence, both administrative and settler, during this period. Yet it is during this period that the conditions for the creation of a settlement society found their roots with the entering of Afrikaner groups into the Southwest, the

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<sup>34</sup> H. Drechsler, "Let us Die Fighting.": The Struggle of the Herero and Nama versus German Imperialism, trans B. Zöllner (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1986, 3rd edit.).

<sup>35</sup> Aside from Drechsler's analysis Walter Nuhn provides an in depth investigation of Herero resistance. W. Nuhn, Sturm über Südwest: Der Hereroaufstand von 1904 - Ein düsteres Kapitel der deutschen kolonialen Vergangenheit Namibias (Bonn: Bernard und Graefe Verlag, 1997 edit). More recent research questioning the genocidal nature of German colonial rule includes; T. Dederig, "The German Herero War of 1904: Revisionism of Genocide or Imaginary Historiography," Journal of African Studies 19 (1993): 80-88; H.W. Smith, "The Talk of Genocide. The Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag concerning Southwest Africa," in The Imperialist Imagination, eds. S. Friedrichsmeyer, S. Lennox & S. Zantop.

concessionaire policy of the colonial authorities, and the embryonic beginnings of organised settlement. Like Bley, in his standard work Namibia under German Rule, 1894-1914, first published in German in 1968, many scholars begin their accounts with the arrival in the colony of the future Governor Theodor Leutwein in 1894.<sup>37</sup> Bley frames his social-political history primarily around the Herero-Nama war, the governorship of Leutwein, and his failed policy of 'divide and rule', whilst also discussing the post war developments within the colony. The strength of Bley's work lies in its comprehensive coverage, yet at the same time this is its primary weakness. As he himself stresses, in the introduction to the re-published English version of his book in 1996, owing to the all encompassing nature of the work it was not possible to explore all themes of German colonialism in detail.<sup>38</sup> As a result cultural policies and issues which played an important role in the development of the structure of settler society in the Southwest, and which are examined here in detail, such as criminality, the growth of a poor white population, and mixed marriages, are dealt with only in passing. Bley's text is, however, central to any investigation into settlement and the structure of the Southwest's European society. He utilises a vast range of contemporary literature as well as substantial archival information. Looking at the settler society he importantly notes the growing divisions between the settler population and the colonial authorities as well as depicting the fragmentation of the settler society itself along economic interest lines.<sup>39</sup> An illustration of the latter development was the forming of common interest societies often based on economic lines, such as the creation of the *Farmerverein*. Equally, the election returns to the self governing body the *Landesrat* often reflected evolving economic interests and stratification within the Southwest. This was a process which would be interrupted by the outbreak of World War One and the end of German rule over the colony. He shows that the settlement hopes of the administration in the Southwest were not being met. In response to this Leutwein and the administration had to improvise and financially aid the settlement of Europeans whose long term presence as settlers had not been previously contemplated.<sup>40</sup> Whilst Bley argues that the Europeans, like the Africans, were assessed by the administration according to their economic usefulness he never fully explains how this was reflected in cultural and political policies, a theme which will be further developed in this dissertation.<sup>41</sup> His intriguing suggestion that economic inefficiency and the failure to maintain European

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<sup>36</sup> H. Vedder, Das alte Südwestafrika; Geschichte bis zum Tod Mahereros 1890 (Berlin: Warneck, 1934).

<sup>37</sup> H. Bley, Namibia under German Rule 1894-1914, trans. H. Ridley (London: Lit Verlag, 1996).

<sup>38</sup> Bley.

<sup>39</sup> Bley, 72-86, 185-196.

<sup>40</sup> Bley, 109-110.



norms of civility as a settler were more likely to lead to the social exclusion of a settler than taking an indigenous partner is likewise never fully developed, but is later taken up by Wildenthal and is also addressed in this dissertation.<sup>42</sup>

In particular in his discussion of settlement Bley dismisses the importance of the Afrikaner population in the colony based, it appears, on his interpretation of Leutwein's published reflections over his time as Governor.<sup>43</sup> As will be argued in chapter five Leutwein's actual policies as Governor appear to contradict the thoughts expressed in his publications, suggesting instead that, at least initially, he placed a considerable degree of value on the organised immigration of Afrikaners. On top of this the fact of immigration itself caused the colonial authorities and media to reflect upon the potential effects that an Afrikaner presence would have upon German colonial rule as well as upon notions of Germanness and whiteness. Indeed, in comparison with the contemporary coverage and discussion of the Afrikaner presence and perceived threat of the Southwest being swamped by such immigrants from the Cape this topic is very much under researched in the secondary literature. Studies of the Southwest settlement society tend to either ignore the Afrikaner presence or simply reiterate Bley's view.<sup>44</sup> Ulrich van der Heyden's all too brief article on Afrikaner settlement attempts and the response of the colonial authorities, written in 1990, remains the only notable investigation of Afrikaner immigration and there is as yet no study concerning the Afrikaners' experiences in the Southwest.<sup>45</sup> Van der Heyden's "Die deutsche Kolonialpolitik in Südwestafrika in bezug auf die Ansiedlung von Buren während und nach dem Südafrikanischen Krieg von 1899 bis 1902" provides a basic narrative account of the political reception and treatment of the Afrikaners within German Southwest Africa which essentially limits itself to the time period of the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902). He relates the enthusiasm for the Afrikaners expressed in the propaganda of the Alldeutscher Verband and rightly links much of the popular support for the Afrikaners to anti-English feeling within Germany.<sup>46</sup> As a result of the constrictive time period chosen by the author there is little discussion of the settlement initiatives of the 1890s,

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<sup>41</sup> Bley, 108.

<sup>42</sup> Bley, 110.

<sup>43</sup> Bley, 108-111.

<sup>44</sup> Like Bley, Schmidt-Lauber dismisses the importance of the Afrikaner presence based upon Leutwein's remarks in his published memoirs. B. Schmidt-Lauber, Die abhängigen Herren: Deutsche Identität in Namibia, (Hamburg: Lit Verlag [Interethnische Beziehungen und Kulturwandel; Bd.9], 1993).

<sup>45</sup> U. van der Heyden, "Die deutsche Kolonialpolitik in Südwestafrika in bezug auf die Ansiedlung von Buren während und nach dem Südafrikanischen Krieg von 1899-1902," Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika 18 (1990): 1075-1085.

<sup>46</sup> Van der Heyden, 1076-1077.

the period in which the Afrikaner presence rapidly developed, nor does it allow for a treatment of the evolution of Leutwein's policy of distinguishing between Trek Afrikaners and those immigrants prepared to settle permanently. Crucially this would eventually lead to the formulation of a planned policy of assimilation (*Germanisierung*) to which desirable Afrikaner immigrants would be exposed. Surprisingly, van der Heyden makes no reference to this important policy of *Germanisierung*. In chapter five it will be suggested that this policy played a key role in administrative practice of social engineering and the political, economic and socio-cultural development of the Southwest, as well as the construction of a notion of whiteness. This absence is presumably to be explained by van der Heyden's limited use of the vast archival files pertaining to Afrikaner immigration which in turn limits the usefulness of his text and allows only an incomplete insight into the presence of Afrikaners in the Southwest.

The research carried out by Bley and Drechsler in the late 1960s did not lead to a sustained academic interest in German Southwest Africa. Instead, whilst a degree of academic attention was turned to Germany's other colonies the majority of works produced in the late 1970s and 1980s by the likes of Helmut Stoecker, L.H. Gann and A.J. Knoll, and Woodruff Smith relating to the Southwest centre around German colonialism in general.<sup>47</sup> They are primarily in the form of economic and political histories of the German colonies and aside from providing factual information they give little insight into the social construction and development of settlement and the structure of settler communities in the German colonies. Smith's brief discussion of the competing influences of settler and economic colonialism in his The German Colonial Empire (1978) is of value from the point of view of exploring the utopianism expressed by sections of the colonial proponents and how this conflicted with a governmental vision of colonial practice.<sup>48</sup> He fails, however, to analyse the effects of this discourse upon actual settlement policy. Whilst the strength of his work lies in the discussion of the reactions within Germany to the beginnings of the colonial experience his overview of the political and social practices within the colonies themselves is too generalised to be of much value. Even Gann and Duigan's The Rulers of German Africa (1977), a generalised exploration into the social and political background of the 'rulers of German Africa' based on minimal primary sources, gives little more than a superficial analysis of

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<sup>47</sup> H. Stoecker ed., German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until The Second World War, trans. B. Zöllner. (London: G. Hurst and Co., 1986); Knoll & Gann; W.D. Smith, The German Colonial Empire (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

<sup>48</sup> Smith, 18-20.

the social structure of the European colonial society.<sup>49</sup> Attention is paid to the political structure of the colonial administration whilst the discussion on the settler community is very general giving little indication as to the social origins of those entering the colonies. More, however, is to be gained from Sudholt's Die deutsche Eingeborenenpolitik in Südwestafrika: von den Anfängen bis 1904 (1975), which, whilst focusing on the policies of the administration towards the indigenous Africans, also contains a substantial and informative section explaining the administration's policy of promoting the settlement of *ex-Schutztruppler* (colonial soldiers).<sup>50</sup> This was primarily a response to the inability of the administration and government to attract large-scale farmers and importantly, this helped result in the settler population being dominated by ex-colonial officials of limited means. Equally, Sudholt's analysis allows an insight into the role of the settlement societies in hindering the take off of German settlement and the frustration which would provide a degree of justification for the administration's decision to forcibly annex land from the indigenous Africans in the 1890s.<sup>51</sup>

An exception to the political and economic histories produced in this period is academic research into German colonial literature and its reflection upon German society as well as colonial relations and settler society during the colonial period. The contributions of Hugh Ridley, who has written extensively on European colonial fiction in general and a number of articles specifically on German colonial fiction give a valuable insight into the types of representations of colonial life and colonial settlers that were being presented to the German public. Equally, Ridley places German colonial fiction in the context of general trends in the evolution of European colonial fiction. As a consequence of this literary criticism approach Ridley deals with the representations of colonial life and only rarely makes detailed links to actual colonial practice. In the article "Germany in the Mirror of its Colonial Literature" (1974-75) he asserts the utopian nature of bourgeois colonial fantasies, arguing, as has been argued here, that fantasies of a settlement colony stemmed from the social upheaval brought about by modernisation and urbanisation taking place in Germany, and that this caused the settler colony to be envisaged as an arena in which a classless German society could be

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<sup>49</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duigan, The Rulers of German Africa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977).

<sup>50</sup> G. Sudholt, Die deutsche Eingeborenen Politik in Südwestafrika: Von den Anfängen bis 1904 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975).

<sup>51</sup> Sudholt, 63-66.

created.<sup>52</sup> Of interest is his discussion of the response of colonial writers to the brutality of the actual colonial experience, in which he suggests that there is a shift in the representation of the white settler. No longer working productively and in harmony with his colonised subjects as depicted in the much of the fiction of the pre-colonial age, according to Ridley, the colonial settler of the imperial fiction is attributed with a Nietzschean morality. This depicts the colonial brutality in terms of heroism and justifies it as being for the greater good of the settlers. Ridley maintains that the implied erosion of Christian morality was illustrative of the influence of Nietzschean ideas within Germany as well as a reflection of the troubled relationship between the settlers and the missionaries, whose criticism of settler brutality was seen as unnecessary interference.<sup>53</sup> His analysis of the novels of Hans Grimm, whose representation of colonial life is discussed here in chapter four, is also of benefit.<sup>54</sup> Of further benefit to this dissertation is his exploration of the role that women authors and female characters played in an emerging German colonial fiction, a topic of investigation taken up by, amongst others, Joachim Warmbold.<sup>55</sup> In analysing the works of the leading woman colonial novelist Frieda von Bülow he gives an insight into the representation of the German woman colonist. Of von Bülow he writes; "Her works champion the active full blooded woman, who plays a leading role in the 'Kulturarbeit' of the colonies and is the equal of her husband, even if their tasks are different."<sup>56</sup> Ridley contends, however, that this imagined emancipation, which he argues was illustrative of the "hidden longings of women at home (in Germany)," was little more than a facade and that routinely the heroines of German colonial fiction would "sink into the familiar role of German motherhood."<sup>57</sup> His investigation of the role of German women in the colonies goes little beyond a discussion of the fantasy, but research carried out by Lora Wildenthal into the actual experiences of women settlers complements the conclusions reached, illustrating that colonial settler society was gender based and that actual women colonists were constrained in their possibilities.

Wildenthal has been at the forefront of research into gender roles in the German overseas possessions, specifically in the Southwest, examining both women's fiction

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<sup>52</sup> H. Ridley, "Germany in the Mirror of its Colonial Literature," German Life and Letters 28 (1974-74): 376-379.

<sup>53</sup> Ridley, "Germany in the Mirror," 382-383. Also see H. Ridley, Images of Imperial Rule (London: St Martins Press, Croom Helm, 1983), 108-109.

<sup>54</sup> In particular, see H. Ridley, "Hans Grimm and Rudyard Kipling," The Modern Language Review 68 (1973): 863-869.

<sup>55</sup> J. Warmbold, "'If Only She did not have Negro Blood in Her Veins'," The Journal of Black Studies 23 (1992): 200-209.

<sup>56</sup> Ridley, "Germany in the Mirror," 379.

and colonial policy and questioning the degree to which the colonies offered personal emancipation for women.<sup>58</sup> Her analysis is representative of the influence of a cultural studies approach to German colonialism which, as Berman suggests, has brought about a new discussion of German colonialism in the 1990s. In "'She is the Victor': Bourgeois Women, Nationalist Identities, the Ideal of the Independent Woman Farmer in German Southwest Africa" (1996) she examines how German women created a cultural and patriotic role for themselves in the colonial project.<sup>59</sup> Here she looks at the promotion of the women colonist as the potential saviour of Germanness in the overseas colonies, primarily looking at the writing of Clara Brockmann. This is a theme which is expanded upon in the dissertation through an investigation of the colonial novellas of Hans Grimm which looks at the sending over of women to the colonies at a more representational level and as part of the policies and programmes of social engineering. Wildenthal suggests that whilst a gender hierarchy existed in the colonial environment, the woman colonist, regardless of social background, enjoyed on account of her race a position of superiority over the indigenous African. Indeed, she argues that this helped to obscure class differences between women yet at the same time she asserts that class divisions were present.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore she mentions that there was a discrimination amongst settlers on the basis of personal wealth and a general fear of a proletarian class developing in the Southwest.<sup>61</sup> Whilst Wildenthal refrains from developing these latter comments any further, in chapter two of this dissertation fears over the growth of a white working class in the colony and the response of the administration, colonial interest groups, and colonial media to this will be looked at in detail, bringing together a wide variety of previously unused material.

A racialisation of Germanness is further developed by Wildenthal in "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire" (1997) and more recently in a larger work; German Women for Empire, 1884-1945 (2001), which expands upon the themes investigated in her earlier publications. In both of these she discusses the

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<sup>57</sup> Ridley, "Germany in the Mirror," 379-380.

<sup>58</sup> Both J. Haunss and M. Mamozai have also made contributions to the study of gender relations in the German colonies. Haunss's Magisterarbeit goes little beyond the archival sources of the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, whilst Mamozai provides a comprehensive overview of the experience of German women in the colonies. J. Haunss, "Weiß und Schwarz, Mann und Frau: Die Diskussion um die sogenannten Mischehen in den deutschen Kolonien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 'Schutzgebietes' Deutsch Südwest Afrika. Ein Beispiel für die Konstruktion von Geschlechtsdifferenz als Mittel zur Legitimation von Herrschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland," Magister Artium der Universität Hamburg, Hamburg 1997; M. Mamozai, Komplizinnen (Hamburg: Rororo Aktuell, 1990).

<sup>59</sup> Wildenthal, "'She is the Victor'."

<sup>60</sup> Wildenthal, "'She is the Victor'," 377 & 381

relevance of German citizenship laws in the light of colonial mixed marriages and the awareness of a population of African and European descent.<sup>62</sup> In drawing attention to the linked issues of citizenship, mixed marriages, the growth of this dual descent population, and the sending over of women colonists to the Southwest she investigates how the colonial context caused Germans to reconsider notions of whiteness, citizenship and Germanness. The promotion of women settlers and the prohibition of mixed marriages will be shown to be key examples of social engineering within the Southwest. Whilst her analysis is often based on biographical accounts and the reaction of German women to colonial mixed marriages, Cornelia Essner in investigating the same issues concentrates primarily on the legal aspects and consequences of these mixed marriages. Thus, Essner in "'Wo Rauch ist, da ist auch Feuer'. Zu den Ansätzen eines Rassenrechts für die deutschen Kolonien" (1992) is able to demonstrate the complexity of the legal situation which led to ambiguity and confusion yet at the same time she gives little insight into the reactions of settler society to colonial practice.<sup>63</sup> In contrast, an advantage of Wildenthal's approach is that it allows an insight into how legal practices affected the lives of individual settlers, thus, in German Women for Empire, 1884-1945, she relates the experiences of the settler Panzlaff to the legal changes regarding mixed marriages.<sup>64</sup> In the discussion here elements of both these approaches are drawn upon and expanded to include a look at the reaction of the missionary societies, the settler community as a whole, and that of civil servants stationed in the Southwest. This allows a fuller insight into the effects of and responses to mixed marriages and relationships, and above all it demonstrates cleavages within the administration and settler society regarding this issue. Of note is the successful campaign led by the Südwestafrikanische Zeitung to overturn governmental policy which removed civil rights from all German settlers sexually involved with African women. Equally the chapter demonstrates for the first time that within the Southwest administration itself there was a considerable degree of uncertainty as to the policy coming from Windhoek, as illustrated by the case of regional authorities in Outjo consenting to the marriage of a German and his indigenous partner some three years after the central administration had prohibited the conduction of any further mixed marriages. These examples suggest that the social and political

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<sup>61</sup> Wildenthal, "'She is the Victor'."378.

<sup>62</sup> L. Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire," in Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, eds. F. Cooper & A.L. Stoler (London: University of California Press, 1997); L. Wildenthal, German Women for Empire, 1884-1945 (London: Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>63</sup> C. Essner, "'Wo Rauch ist, da ist auch Feuer.' Zu den Ansätzen eines Rassenrechts für die deutschen Kolonien," in Rassendiskriminierung, Kolonialpolitik und ethnisch-nationale Identität: Referate des 2. Internationalen Kolonialgeschichtlichen Symposiums 1991 in Berlin, ed. W. Wagner (Münster-Hamburg: Bremer Asien-Pazifik Studien, Lit Verlag, 1992).

rejection of those involved in mixed relationships and their dual descent children was not as complete as previously believed.

As will be argued in chapter three both Wildenthal and Essner suggest that the political and social instability brought about by the Herero-Nama war was central to the administrative policy to prohibit further civil marriages between Europeans and Africans. In prohibiting further mixed marriages and prohibiting German men from passing on their citizenship rights to wife and children, as guaranteed in German law, this, according to Wildenthal, represented an insertion of race as a legal category in citizenship.<sup>65</sup> Such a conclusion is likewise reached by Essner and is shared here. Of particular interest is Wildenthal's discussion of the settler Carl Becker's attempts to have the annulment of his marriage overturned, which she concludes by suggesting that it was possible for prosperous and respectable settlers to escape from the constrictions imposed by administrative practice.<sup>66</sup> Whilst Wildenthal does not explain how respectability was to be measured Essner relates to the concept of a 'cultural examination' which would be employed to judge as to whether marriages would receive recognition or not.<sup>67</sup> This is expanded upon here in chapter three by looking at examples of settler applications for the naturalisation of dual descent children, where a similar cultural examination was employed. The utilisation of these applications for naturalisation and the administrative responses allows an invaluable insight into how both the applicants and the administration conceived of Germanness and whiteness. A weakness in the works of both researchers, which Wildenthal has tried to resolve in her latest publication, and indeed of this dissertation is the lack of insight into the issue of mixed relationships and the political and cultural responses during the first two decades of the German colonial experience. This is largely due to the limited archival material.

Alongside research into gender roles in German Southwest Africa, research into identity formation and ethnicity, specifically a German South-western ethnicity, has been characteristic of the new discussion concerning German colonialism. This approach has developed out of the context of Namibia gaining independence from South Africa and the re-unification of Germany. Klaus Rüdiger in his study Die Namibia-Deutschen: Geschichte einer Nationalität im Werden (1993) underplays the role of the colonial period in the formation of a German Southwestern identity and as a

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<sup>64</sup> Wildenthal, German Women for Empire, 91-93.

<sup>65</sup> Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 267.

<sup>66</sup> Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 269-270.

<sup>67</sup> Essner, 158.

consequence his discussion of the colonial settler society is limited.<sup>68</sup> In contrast, however, both Brigitte Schmidt-Lauber and, in particular, Daniel Walther in their discussions of a specifically Southwestern ethnicity have produced more detailed analyses of German settlement colonialism and settler society during the period of German rule. Of these the ethnologist Schmidt-Lauber's texts Die abhängigen Herren: Deutsche Identität in Namibia (1993) and Die verkehrte Hautfarbe: Ethnizität deutscher Namibier als Alltagspraxis (1998) were of less benefit to the current dissertation.<sup>69</sup> Whilst she picks up on many of the key cultural, social, economic, and political developments within the Southwest, such as the heterogeneity and stratification of the settler society, Schmidt-Lauber refrains from ever examining them in detail. Given that her aim is to examine the construction of a Southwestern ethnicity from the colonial period up until the present day it is perhaps understandable that her discussion of the colonial period proves to be little more than a summary. Neither of her works, however, makes use of the archival resources of the Bundesarchiv, thus, there is no indication of the extent to which the administration and colonial authorities in Berlin attempted to mould a specific settler society. In general she makes use of only a small number of primary sources. As a consequence Schmidt-Lauber, particularly in her first text is heavily reliant upon points made by Bley.

Far more expansive is Daniel Walther's doctoral thesis "Creating Germans Abroad: The Policies of Culture in Southwest Africa, 1894-1939" (1996) which provides a highly useful and informative discussion of the German settlement colonialism in the Southwest.<sup>70</sup> In drawing upon substantial archival sources he is able to demonstrate the active role that the German colonial authorities, colonial interests groups and proponents played in the shaping of the colonial settler society. Indeed Walther concludes that to a large degree the settler society, "in Southwest Africa was consciously created."<sup>71</sup> Whilst this is not to be disputed his analysis often leaves out the active role the settlers and other historical actors played in the development of this society. Furthermore there is little sense of the heterogeneity of the various interest groups influencing and devising policies and programmes of social engineering. As mentioned this dissertation will demonstrate that the policies of the administration in Windhoek often contradicted the opinions held by officials in Berlin. He underplays the importance of economic factors in the drawing up of governmental and administrative

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<sup>68</sup> Rüdiger.

<sup>69</sup> Schmidt-Lauber, Die abhängigen Herren; Schmidt-Lauber, Die verkehrte Hautfarbe.

<sup>70</sup> Walther.

<sup>71</sup> Walther, 237.



policy. It will be argued here that for the colonial authorities the utopian image of settler colonialism was very much of secondary importance to matters of economics. In his investigation of the colonial period Walther focuses in detail on policies of schooling, state sponsored settlement, and the sponsoring of passage for women colonists to the Southwest providing thorough analyses.<sup>72</sup> Although he also relates to the issues of mixed marriages, Afrikaner immigration, and the growth of a poor white population, these themes are in contrast less developed. Indeed, like van der Heyden, Walther in his discussion of the Afrikaner presence in the Southwest similarly fails to mention Leutwein's policy of *Germanisierung*. On the whole Walther relates very few biographical details and in many cases he does not investigate the effects of administrative and governmental policy on the lives of the settlers. Thus, in his treatment of the administration's policy to prohibit mixed marriages there is no sense of the devastating effect this had on the families involved. He is less interested in the various representations of the settler colony and the settler which were produced in the colonial discourse and he also fails to pick up on the metaphors of race that were frequently employed as a discursive strategy to marginalise undesirable white settlers. The strength of Walther's analysis, like that of Bley, lies in its comprehensive nature, which like Bley's work is also its main weakness.

To conclude, the dissertation expands upon the above research into German colonial practice in German Southwest Africa, combining this with elements of post-colonial studies and whiteness studies, in order to examine the structure of settler society. This allows an insight into strategies of social control, power, and the establishment of social privilege in a settler society. It investigates a construction of a specifically German version of whiteness in a colonial context which enables an insight into the ways in which sections of the middle classes conceived of Germanness and whiteness. The employment of dichotomous categories of identification in the social ordering of a settler society was central to colonial rule. The dissertation illustrates, however, the instability of such social categories of Black and White caused by the heterogeneous nature of colonial society and discusses the response of the colonial authorities and interest groups to this instability. As the lines of cultural and racial difference became increasingly confused, the categories of Black and White were under constant reconstruction. What emerges is an increasingly exclusionary settler society and a graded notion of whiteness. The dissertation comprises of five further chapters.

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<sup>72</sup> Walther builds upon his analysis of education in German Southwest Africa in a recent article in the *German Studies Review*. D.J. Walther, "Creating Germans Abroad: White Education in German Southwest Africa, 1894-1914," *German Studies Review* 24 (2001): 325-351.

Chapter two begins by discussing the utopian fantasies of the settler colony and colonist. Instead of developing into an agricultural colony and attracting wealthy German farmers, the Southwest was primarily populated by soldiers and bureaucrats. Even within the farming sector the majority of farmers were former colonial soldiers who decided to stay on once their military service was completed. Not only did the Southwest fail to attract the imagined model coloniser, of more concern to the administration and colonial interest parties was the fact that a poor white population and criminal element was gradually taking root in the territory. Prostitution, alcoholism, and gambling, supposed evils associated with urban life, were to be found in the Southwest. In their behaviour and lifestyle they were perceived as undermining notions of racial and cultural difference. Thus, the presence of these marginal whites was deemed both undesirable and as a potential threat to the social order of the colony. Discursive and political policies of exclusion were deployed to construct a hierarchy of privilege within settler society aimed at attracting desirable settlers and at the same time excluding undesirable settlers.

Chapter three outlines the legal institutionalisation of difference and the construction of categories of identification which separated the indigenous Africans from the European settlers. It concentrates on the issue of sexual unions between African women and European men as well as the growth of a population of dual descent African-European children born out of these relationships. According to German citizenship law these children were to inherit the citizenship status of their fathers. The growth of this dual descent population called into question notions of the essential difference between Europeans and Africans and rendered categories of identification unstable. The administrative authorities in the Southwest sought to exclude these children from playing an active role in settler society by denying them their citizenship rights. Whiteness was racialised as all persons directly related to an African were themselves to be considered to be African. The attempts to re-enforce a separation of Black and White resulted in social disruption and legal confusion. As the somatic markers of difference proved to be ambiguous there was an increasing recourse to cultural markers in determining status and categorisation. Whiteness increasingly collapsed into a system of gradations.

Chapter four continues the discussion of the sexual behaviour of the European settlers in an examination of the colonial novellas of the writer Hans Grimm. In this

chapter the figure of the European man involved in these mixed relationships is taken to further illustrate the graded nature of whiteness and administrative practice of excluding undesirable settlers. Furthermore, it reinforces the importance of cultural markers in the construction of categories of Black and White and strategies of social control. The 'lapsed' male settler is condemned for having abandoned the cultural norms of bourgeois sexual and moral behaviour. The depiction of this figure is linked up to the discourse of degeneration which was utilised to represent those at the margins of metropolitan society. In discursive practice he is envisaged as having lost his whiteness and racial rhetoric is employed to differentiate him from model settlers. A policy of sending women to the colonies is adopted in order to discourage sexual relationships between African women and German men. The woman colonist emerges as the potential saviour of the German colonial project, who is to awake the racial consciousness of the male settlers reminding them of the essential difference between Black and White.

Chapter five discusses the presence of Afrikaners in German Southwest Africa. It looks at the response of the administration in Windhoek and the colonial authorities in Berlin to the prospect of large-scale Afrikaner immigration as well as the representation of Afrikaners in German colonial discourse. The categories of Black and White, which were in the process of construction, were deployed and reconstructed in order to assess the desirability of Afrikaner groups, leading to their assimilation or exclusion from settler society, and underlining the organising power of the schema. It is demonstrated that some elements of the German government and colonial press envisaged Afrikaner immigrants as a potential threat to continued German control over the colony, whereas others welcomed the immigration of the Afrikaners as colonial pioneers. It becomes clear that cultural markers and economic considerations are used to differentiate desirable Afrikaner settlers from those deemed undesirable Afrikaner immigrants. Whilst undesirable Afrikaner immigrants were politically excluded from access to resources and land, and even physically excluded from the colony, desirable settlers were Germanised. The episode of Afrikaner immigration demonstrates the constant negotiation of categories of identification and the utilisation of a notion of whiteness in creating an exclusive settler society.

Chapter six, in drawing the dissertation to a conclusion suggests how the current research might be expanded to investigate notions of whiteness, social control and difference within metropolitan Germany itself. What were the categories of identification constructed within Germany and to what extent were policies of social

engineering introduced aimed at the social inclusion and exclusion of specific social groups?

## Chapter Two

### The Settlement of German Southwest Africa: A Settler Colony in Search of Model Colonisers.

In den Anfängen unserer kolonialen Bewegung stand die Gewinnung von Siedlungsgebieten für unsere Auswanderer im Vordergrund der Erörterung...Selbst in Südwest Afrika, das ein dem Europäer zusagendes Klima aufweist, ist die Besiedlung erst spät und immer noch spärlich in Gang gekommen.

Wilhelm Solf, former Governor of Samoa and State Secretary of the Reichskolonialamt, 1922.<sup>73</sup>

In the colonial agitation and enthusiasm within Germany in the 1870s and 1880s colonial proponents had laid stress upon the need for the creation of overseas German settlement societies based upon a variety of social, economic and nationalistic concerns. The rapid process of industrialisation taking place in Germany was being matched by increasing urbanisation and modernisation, a consequence of which was that many agricultural workers were being drawn to the developing metropolises in search of work. This in turn gave rise to fears amongst nationalists and conservatives that rural life and society was being undermined by these complex social changes and that members of this society were being contaminated by the experience of life in the city as well as by exposure to international socialism which was often envisaged as a purely urban phenomenon. In the late nineteenth century anti-urbanists depicted the city as a centre of moral depravity where crime, alcoholism and prostitution flourished, damaging the nation's collective mental health. Apocalyptic visions of the degeneration and even potential extinction of the German people, to be brought about by the evils of city life and seemingly evidenced by allegedly high urban mortality and suicide rates, were not uncommon. Such a discourse was undoubtedly influenced by outbreaks of typhus, diphtheria, and cholera in the second half of the nineteenth century which ravaged urban populations.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, mortality rates in Germany were high as were emigration rates giving substance to fears concerning the future of the German nation. Industrial overproduction had led to the economic depression of 1878/79 and many Germans

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<sup>73</sup> W. Solf, Afrika für Europa: Der Koloniale Gedanke des 20. Jahrhunderts (Holstein: Theodor Dittman Verlag, 1922), 15.

<sup>74</sup> See A. McElligott, The German Urban Experience 1900-1945: Modernity and Crisis (London: Routledge Sources in History, 2001).

sought a change of fortune outwith Germany, thus, between 1879 and 1882 the number of German emigrants to the United States, the favoured choice of destination for most emigrants, increased six fold from 34 602 to 210 485.<sup>75</sup> The renowned pro-colonialist and former missionary director Friedrich Fabri produced the most influential text of this period, Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien? Eine politisch-ökonomische Betrachtung (1879), in which he argued that Germany gained its strength from the values of its own people.<sup>76</sup> This strength was being diminished through emigration whereby Germany was losing an increasing number of its population and by extension prospective work force. Fabri concluded that Germany required overseas colonies to which German emigrants could be drawn, thus enabling the motherland to retain their economic potential and solving the threat of such emigrants being assimilated into a rival culture. He was not alone in expressing this opinion. Paul Weindling argues that these underlying processes changing German society led to the creation of a counter philosophy of *Lebensreform*, a utopian ideology preaching national values and whose aim "was to recover a holistic sense of nature that would regenerate the primitive racial vigour and a sense of community that were threatened by industrialisation."<sup>77</sup> As part expression of this ideology patriotic societies like the ADV were formed promoting national values and anti-modernism. Amongst these societies were groups such as the *Deutsche Kolonialverein* and the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation*, which united in 1887 to become the largely elitist DKG. Thanks to its links with high finance and the aristocracy the DKG could exercise a degree of political influence in spite of its relatively small membership.<sup>78</sup> It propagated the development of an overseas Reich as a means through which German cultural values could be retained by emigrants, where healthy, rural, utopian societies free from the degenerative features of urban Germany would develop. In a sense what was being envisaged was the reconstruction overseas of an idealised agrarian German society which was seen as being most at threat from the transformations occurring in Germany. In the pre-colonial period proponents, Fabri included, largely focused on South America as the ideal region for the realisation of an overseas Reich partly due to the popularity of the published memoirs of the Prussian count, explorer and scientist Alexander von Humboldt, and partly because German colonial roots could be traced back to the colonial ventures of the Fugger and Welser banking houses who in the sixteenth century had established settlements in South

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<sup>75</sup> Gann, 4.

<sup>76</sup> F. Fabri, Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien? Eine politische- ökonomische Betrachtung (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1879).

<sup>77</sup> P. Weindling, Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 62.

America.<sup>79</sup> Although dreams of establishing colonies in South America would not be realised, a settlement colony was slowly constructed in the south-west of Africa, and this chapter investigates the settlement of German Southwest Africa. In this chapter the attempts of the colonial authorities in Germany and the Southwest, as well as the efforts of colonial interest parties to represent, mould, and to realise a settler society will be explored. It will be shown that geographical, economic and practical problems would hinder the process of settlement which increasingly drew the German government into playing an active role in the organisation of settlement. The chapter further concerns itself with policies of social and economic engineering which were imposed to attract settlers whose presence was perceived as being beneficial to colonial development. Conversely, policies and discursive strategies of exclusion were devised and implemented to define and represent settlers whose presence in the colony was deemed undesirable. It is argued that representations of desirable and undesirable settlers were related to an evolving notion of whiteness in the colonial environment. These representations fed into a greater construction of categories of Black and White and informed colonial policy which sought to create an exclusive settler society.

Of all Germany's actual colonies it appeared that German Southwest Africa offered the best opportunities for settlement despite its inauspicious beginnings, yet the Southwest developed into a settler colony by default rather than design. In 1883, with the permission of the German government, the Bremen trader Adolf Lüderitz bought up large tracts of land on the coast of the south-west of Africa which pre-empted the raising of the German flag along this coastline. As a reward for his endeavours Lüderitz would eventually be granted the rights to developing what was to be known as German Southwest Africa (present day Namibia). This was in keeping with the Reich Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck's, policy of not directly involving the Reich in the financial or administrative running of Germany's overseas possessions. Instead, von Bismarck adopted the model of the British and Dutch East Indies companies whereby chartered companies were to administer these territories. Lüderitz soon squandered his financial resources on an unfruitful search for gold and was forced to sell out to monopoly capital in the shape of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* (DKGfSWA) in the middle of 1885. The company, specifically set up to exploit the potential of German Southwest Africa, never actually received a governmental charter and its lack of capital made it wholly unsuitable for administering the territory. As

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<sup>78</sup> For more information on the DKG, see R.V. Pierard, "The German Colonial Society," in eds. Knoll & Gann.

<sup>79</sup> Zantop, 10, 20-22.

Horst Drechsler points out the capital stock of the DKGfSWA was extremely modest in comparison to the actual capital of its shareholders, and it too, like Lüderitz, was heavily criticised by contemporaries for seeking an immediate high win in profit from its investment instead of adopting a longer term policy of economic development.<sup>80</sup> Von Bismarck's policy of chartered company rule unravelled in all of Germany's African possessions forcing the Reich to take over the financing and administering of the territories, leading to a debate over the benefits of holding onto, in particular, German Southwest Africa, and eventually a reevaluation of the possibilities of developing the Southwest as a settler colony.

Neither Lüderitz nor the DKGfSWA had considered the development of the Southwest into a settlement colony and the influential pro-colonialist Fabri had only seen the potential for mining in the region. Consequently prior to 1890 no steps had been taken in order to encourage settlement. At the beginning of January 1891 the entire settler population of the German territory numbered only 539 of whom fifty were members of the colonial protection force (*Schutztruppe*), a similar number were government officials, and well over one hundred were non-Germans (mainly Afrikaners or English). According to official statistics the actual number of settlers in the territory was only 24, settlers primarily being defined as those practising cattle or agricultural farming.<sup>81</sup> There were, however, increasing signs that colonial observers and officials working in the Southwest saw the opportunity for the realisation of a settlement colony. An increasing number of articles appeared in colonial newspapers and periodicals raising this issue and, in particular, the writings of Hermann, a former employee of the DKGfSWA and now a settler, published anonymously in the Deutsches Kolonialblatt (DKB), proved influential.<sup>82</sup> Hermann's venture into sheep farming similarly increased enthusiasm for settlement and seemed to provide a potential model for future enterprise. Scientists, geographers and geologists like Karl Dove and Richard Hindorff were financially backed by colonial ventures and academic funding to investigate the possibilities for settlement, and wrote back in favourable terms.<sup>83</sup> Equally, within the Southwest administration the *Landeshauptmann* Curt von François (1890-1894) shared

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<sup>80</sup> Drechsler, "Let us die fighting," 30. For a closer discussion of the period of German rule upto 1904 see the above parts I and II.

<sup>81</sup> Figures from H. Oelhafen von Schöllnbach, Die Besiedlung Deutsch-Südwestafrikas bis zum Weltkriege (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1926), 15. Definition in K. Schwabe, Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1899), 433.

<sup>82</sup> For details of these publications, see E.T. Förster, Reinen Tisch in Südwestafrika: Lose Blätter zur Geschichte der Besiedlung (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), 37.



Hermann's viewpoint that the area of land around Windhoek appeared to be especially suitable for German families.<sup>84</sup> There were a number of conditions which appeared to make the Southwest ideal for settlement.

...das vortreffliche Klima, die ausgedehnten Weidegründe, auf denen Europäer als Viehzüchter ihr Auskommen finden können, die schwache einheimische Bevölkerung, die nur einen geringen Teil des Landes bewohnt, und endlich die geographische Lage, die es mit sich bringt, daß im Laufe der Zeit der kürzeste Verkehrsweg von Europa nach den zukunftsreichen Gebieten des oberen Sambesi durch unser Schutzgebiet gehen wird.<sup>85</sup>

Unlike in Germany's other African possessions where the climate was tropical and a considerable debate developed as to whether Europeans could acclimatise themselves in such an environment, the climate in the Southwest proved no hindrance to settlement and there appeared to be large areas of uninhabited land which would support an agricultural colonial population.<sup>86</sup> Colonial observers underestimated the strength of the indigenous Africans and they did not consider the effects and consequences of sustained contact between Africans and Europeans. Throughout the period of German colonialism an idealised picture of the Southwest was propagated in colonial magazines, newspapers and governmental publications - here it was imagined that a rural German society could be recreated on African soil. Dr. E. Rupp's romantic vision of a rural utopia was typical of this depiction.

Wir haben zwar in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika ein Schutzgebiet, das sich vor allen anderen deutschen Schutzgebieten auszeichnet als ein grosses Land mit gesunder Luft unter gemässigtem Himmel, als ein Land, das die Arbeit des weißen Mannes gestattet, weißen Frauen eine Heimat sein kann und ihren Kindern kräftiges Gedeihen gewährt.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Dove received a Humboldt sponsorship as well as financial support from the Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaft.

<sup>84</sup> P. Rohrbach, Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft. I: Band: Südwest-Afrika (Berlin: Buchverlag der Hilfe, 1907), 24.

<sup>85</sup> "Denkschrift betreffend das südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zeitraums vom 1. Oktober 1892 bis zum 30. September 1893," Deutsches Kolonialblatt (DKB): Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des deutschen Reichs : Beilage zu Nr. 23 (1893): 17.

<sup>86</sup> Regarding the debate on acclimatisation, see P. Grosse, Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2000).

<sup>87</sup> E. Rupp, Soll und Haben in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1904), 6.

Whilst it was imagined that the Southwest would offer up opportunities for a number of groups of skilled artisans such as craft workers, saddle makers and smiths, the settlement population was envisaged primarily as a farming population. This imagined colonial settlement society, as seen through the eyes of the largely elitist colonial enthusiasts and government authorities, was to be an exclusive society made up of German farmers, cattle breeders and their sons, members of the middle classes, thus, settlers drawn from a specific social background and with specific ethics and traditions, which mirrored those of the colonial proponents. In the African environment such settlers would be able to reach their predestined social position and to establish a self-sufficiency and independence, requiring neither a supplementary income nor state help, which was often seen as being impossible in Germany. This idea of establishing an independence from state aid, in particular financial help, was naturally promoted by the colonial authorities in Berlin and by the likes of Governor Leutwein (1894-1904) in the settlement who argued, "*Das Ziel jedes Einwanderers wird sein, in dem neuen Vaterland diejenige Selbständigkeit zu gewinnen, die ihm das alte Vaterland versagt hat.*"<sup>88</sup> This promotion of self-sufficiency was in view of the fact that the colonial authorities had no wish to sustain unproductive and inefficient settlers and desirability as a settler was firmly linked to personal economic capital and success. Indeed, the colonial authorities were concerned with developing the Southwest into a colony which would pay for itself and government sponsored publications such as the Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer (Various), which advised would-be settlers on all aspects of life in the colony from employment prospects to clothing required, strongly advised that those without financial means should not consider emigrating. "*Nicht scharf genug kann der Satz betont werden, daß Südwestafrika kein Land für mittellose Einwanderer ist.*"<sup>89</sup> As will later be demonstrated, the authorities in Windhoek and Berlin imposed measures aimed at preventing both Germans and foreigners who were deemed to be unsuitable settlers from entering or taking up residence in the colony. To achieve this self sufficiency settlers were made aware of the fact that living in the Southwest would demand a willingness to work. The Settlement Commissioner (*Ansiedlungskommissar*), Paul Rohrbach, financed by the government to investigate the most efficient means to settle the Southwest, argued that in districts such as Grootfontein only colonists used to working with their

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<sup>88</sup> T. Leutwein, Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1908), 411.

<sup>89</sup> Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1910), 37.

own hands would be needed.<sup>90</sup> In many ways the desired settler was a mirror image of the fictional Robinson whose tale of survival after being shipwrecked on an unknown island had entertained generations of German children.<sup>91</sup> In keeping with Campe's Robinson figure, hard-working, practical, respectable, and patriotic agrarian German colonists were sought after, who were capable of adapting to this foreign terrain, with both patience and efficiency. In the colonial environment these were markers of whiteness which distinguished desirable from undesirable settlers. Furthermore, as the likes of Rohrbach stressed, it was increasingly wished for that colonists were both young and married. Single men were seen as undesirable because of the temptation for them to take an African wife or sexual partner - a phenomenon, discussed in detail in chapter three, which threatened to undermine the racial and social order of the colony, and which would prevent the growth of stable German families.<sup>92</sup> The Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer (1910) advised, "*Wer eine tüchtige und anspruchslose Frau mitbringt, hat, wenn auch er die sonstigen Bedingungen erfüllt, schon von vornherein zur Hälfte gewonnenes Spiel.*"<sup>93</sup> Equally it was suggested that all family members would be required to play a part in the economic development of the colony and the creation of a Germany abroad.

From the outset it was clear, however, that hard work and endeavour alone, which had been the keys to the successes of the various Robinson figures, would not guarantee success of the individual settler families and that a certain amount of start up capital was required. As early as 1893 it was remarked in the DKB, "*Wer als Farmer sich dort [in the Southwest] niederlassen will, muß arbeitskräftig sein und ein kleines Anlage- und Betriebskapital zu seiner Verfügung haben.*"<sup>94</sup> Just how much money was deemed necessary depended on how much land the settler was to use, whether the land was bought or leased, and on the time period. Whilst the Southwest was relatively under inhabited, there were parts of the territory such as the Namib desert along the coast and the Kalahari in the east which were largely uninhabitable and unsuitable for pastoral agricultural farming. Much of the fertile land was either inhabited or used by the indigenous Africans. The territory had only two natural harbours and areas in the north

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<sup>90</sup> P. Rohrbach, "Bericht des Ansiedlungskommissars," Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft (ZfKKK) 6 (1904): 373.

<sup>91</sup> The most popular German version of the tale was from J.H. Campe, written in 1779-1780 and 117 versions were printed up to 1894. See J.H. Campe, Robinson der Jüngere: Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder (Ditzingen: Reclam, 1981 edit.).

<sup>92</sup> Rohrbach, "Bericht des Ansiedlungskommissars," 373.

<sup>93</sup> Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer, 39.

<sup>94</sup> "Denkschrift betreffend das südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zeitraums vom 1. Oktober 1892 bis zum 30. September 1893," 26.

and north east went an average of seven to eight months without water. The necessity and cost of securing sources of water in order to sustain settler agriculture proved to be a major stumbling block to the settlement of the Southwest throughout the entire colonial period. In view of this a heated discussion developed regarding the most productive means of settlement.

On the one side were those in favour of *Kleinsiedlungen* - settlements of enclosed villages or gardens where small holders would cultivate plots of land on their homesteads and the resulting produce would be then sold domestically. As a supplementary means of existence these settlers were to possess a small herd of livestock. Such a settlement plan was seen as allowing for the settlement of the greatest number of Germans. On the other hand there were those such as Graf Pfeil and Dove who supported the development of the Southwest into a cattle farming colony, capable of exporting to foreign markets. This model of settlement entailed the creation of large-scale ranches of at least 10,000 hectares and would determine that settlement numbers would be limited, whilst economic turnover would be potentially much higher.<sup>95</sup> Over the course of the German colonial experience a growing number of experts and observers favoured the latter option of development although a mixture of both systems developed. The main argument against the creation of small holdings was that they required too much water and many early settlers would go to ground because of the difficulties of finding water, convincing Rohrbach that *Kleinsiedlungen* were unproductive, requiring too much financial investment both on behalf of the settler and the government which would invariably be left to provide financial aid for those unsuccessful in finding water.<sup>96</sup> In 1904 Rohrbach suggested that for the successful development of a small holding of around 5,000 hectares the settler must possess at least 8-10,000 Marks, six years later would-be settlers were advised in the Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer (1910) that 10-15,000 Marks was required.<sup>97</sup> Naturally, the cost of development for large-scale farmers was somewhat higher and by 1910 both the government and the DKG were advising potential emigrants that a start-up capital of some 20-25,000 Marks was the minimum needed. Such high costs would exclude many would-be settlers from being able to emigrate.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> For the views of Dove and comment on the settlement plans of Graf von Pfeil, see K. Dove, Südwest Afrika: Kriegs- und Friedensbilder aus der ersten deutschen Kolonie (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1896): 237-245.

<sup>96</sup> Rohrbach, Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft. Band 1, 506.

<sup>97</sup> Rohrbach, "Bericht des Ansiedlungskommissars," 374; Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer, 38.

<sup>98</sup> Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer, 38; Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Berlin: Zentral-Auskunftstelle für Auswanderer, 1910), 2.

Initial settlement ventures were to be organised by private enterprise as the state continued to adopt a policy of minimal involvement in its colonial possessions. This allowed the DKG, which worked in close co-operation with the German government to promote settlement, to seize the initiative and form a settlement syndicate, the *Syndikat für Südwestafrikanische Siedlung* (SfsS) geared towards realising the creation of the hoped for utopian agricultural society. This syndicate was later transformed into a full blown settlement society, the *Siedlungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* in 1895/96 (SfDSWA). The SfsS was empowered by the government to settle Klein Windhoek and its surrounding area and later the SfDSWA attained further concessions in the districts of Windhoek, Gobabis and Hoachanas. Several of the SfsS's tracts of land such as the Klein Windhoek complex were envisaged as *Kleinsiedlungen* for small-scale farmers with a restricted amount of capital, but certainly not entirely without means. According to the concessions granted to the SfsS and SfDSWA only German nationals were allowed to use this land. Financial assistance was provided in the form of a loan of up to 3,000 Marks, and the homesteads were to be the property of the settler, who in return for a small payment were to be allowed to use the pasture land and water sources of the SfsS. This land was to become the property of the settler after five years.<sup>99</sup> To assist the whole enterprise the DKG established a direct shipping route, run by the Woermann line, to the Southwest, which reduced transportation time and more importantly costs. The Syndicate had hoped to populate its concessions with German nationals from both Germany and the Cape, the latter, it was believed, had the necessary skills to adapt to the environment in the Southwest, yet the representative of the SfsS, Graf von Pfeil, failed to find enough willing and suitable settlers.

From the outset it did not appear that German Southwest Africa lacked potential settlers simply that the sought after model settler with sufficient capital was unwilling to emigrate to the territory. Instead, in the early 1890s, as was the case throughout the colonial period, the majority of those expressing an interest in emigrating did not possess the financial means needed in order to firstly travel to the Southwest, and secondly to establish their financial independence. In the administrative yearly report for 1891/92 it was reported;

Zahlreiche Anfragen von in Südafrika lebenden Deutschen beweisen, daß unter diesen die Lust, sich im Schutzgebiet niederzulassen, im Wachsen begriffen ist...

Auch in Deutschland ist die Zahl derjenigen, die dorthin auswandern möchten, nicht gering. Es fehlt indessen den Meisten an dem zur Übersiedlung und Niederlassung erforderlichen Kapital.<sup>100</sup>

Unable to attract settlers with capital and unwilling to sell land to German citizens of limited financial means the SfsS, and later the SfDSWA, was forced to broaden its search for potential colonists leading to an ill fated venture to settle Russian-Germans, and schemes introduced to settle both groups of Afrikaners and members of the *Schutztruppe*, who on completing their military duty had decided to stay on in the Southwest.<sup>101</sup> Afrikaners, formed a significant part of settlement society, particularly in the 1890s, and the administrative policies initiated towards controlling this influx and assimilating desirable Afrikaner settlers are discussed in chapter five. What is worth mentioning here is that the *Auswärtiges Amt* demanded that the concessionaire companies restrict certain areas of land for the settlement of German citizens alone in order that the colony remain German in name and nature. These areas were often the most fertile parts of the country. Like the Afrikaners, *ex-Schutztruppe* members made up a considerable part of the white population, and the SfsS provided a sum of 10,000 Marks to help these former soldiers to take up land.<sup>102</sup> This financial assistance provided by the SfsS proved, however, to be too little for many settlers whose inability to find sufficient water supplies forced them to expend much time, money, and effort in unsuccessful attempts to establish homesteads. Whilst between 1893 and 1894 there were around 36-40 men resident in Klein Windhoek and Avis, by 1896 only nine settlements were still in operation.<sup>103</sup> The outbreak of indigenous unrest in 1893 interrupted the syndicate's efforts, and by the time it had been transformed into the SfDSWA all momentum, but more importantly financial resources, had largely been used up. Despite providing only very meagre loans the Syndicate had overextended itself and by late 1896 the SfDSWA was no longer offering financial assistance to potential colonists as well as refuting any obligation to assist in the finding of water. Furthermore it had established an exorbitant price of 2-2,30 Marks pro hectare for the purchase of land in order to secure a profit. The DKG had been unable to realise their

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<sup>99</sup> C. von François, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi April 1893 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1899), 121-122.

<sup>100</sup> Quote from M.R. Gerstenhauer, "Zur Geschichte der Besiedlung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika," Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft: Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft 5 (1903): 278.

<sup>101</sup> Rohrbach mentions that these German settlers from south Russia were unimpressed with the conditions in the Southwest and decided to return home almost as soon as they had arrived.

Rohrbach, Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft. Band 1, 250.

<sup>102</sup> Förster, 43.

fantasies of settler colonialism, partly because they had underestimated the economic investment required, partly because of geographical and logistical problems, and partly because the groups they had envisaged emigrating to the Southwest simply were not interested in doing so.

In contrast to the attempts of the DKG to promote and organise the settlement of German nationals, the major land concessionaire companies were hesitant in selling land to settlers. One of the major stumbling blocks to settlement plans in the period up until the outbreak of the Herero-Nama war in 1904 and beyond proved to be the colonial authorities' policy of allowing concessionaire companies to take charge of the economic development of the territory. Land was leased on a long term basis and the inactivity of these companies, which, because of the fact that several were financed by English investors, led to a belief that the British were trying to undermine German colonial efforts. The concessionaire companies often chose to simply hold on to their land without initiating any improvements, waiting for the value of their holdings to rise, quoting high prices to any potential buyers or simply refusing to sell land. Their policies were influenced by economics rather than the utopian fantasies of the German colonial interest parties. Within the colony and in Germany the concessionaire companies were heavily criticised for their actions. In the yearly report of the administration it was mentioned in 1896, "*Von den Gesellschaften sind Farmen während der Berichtszeit nicht verkauft worden.*"<sup>104</sup> Such a remark was typical. Similarly, according to the colonial expert Gentz, it was clear where the blame lay for the failure of settlement to take off.

Die Entwicklung Deutsch-Südwestafrikas krankt an der mangelhaften Besiedlung, nicht weil die Lebensbedingungen schlecht waren, sondern weil die Kolonie nicht der freien Besiedlung geöffnet ist. Die unverhältnismäßig hohen Landpreisen schrecken den größten Teil der Auswanderungslustigen ab.<sup>105</sup>

Up until 1904 around a mere ten percent of all the land in the hands of the various concessionaire companies, some 295;000 squared kilometres at the turn of the century, had been sold to white settlers.<sup>106</sup> The colonial authorities had sought to remedy this situation around the turn of the century, but it was only following the conclusion of the

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<sup>103</sup> Förster, 14.

<sup>104</sup> Sudholt, 63.

<sup>105</sup> Gentz quoted in Gerstenhauer, 305.

<sup>106</sup> Sudholt, 62-63.

Herero-Nama war that it successfully pressurised the concessionaire companies into making at least part of their land available for settlement, or into ceding areas to the government for a similar aim. The results of this were contracts like those negotiated with the South West Africa Company in 1908 and the *Kaokogesellschaft* a year later, the latter made around half of its land available for sale.<sup>107</sup>

That the European population of the Southwest gradually increased was, therefore, largely thanks to the policies of the colonial authorities in Berlin and the administration in Windhoek. Daniel Walther identifies 1894 and the arrival of the future Governor of the territory, Theodor Leutwein, as the beginning of a greater state involvement in the organisation of settlement.<sup>108</sup> This coincided with the pacification of indigenous revolt, and the success of the military operation, 1893-94, improved the prospects for settlement by creating a degree of security in inland areas and by opening up large areas of land, declared *Kronland* (land belonging to the Crown), potentially available for settlement. The creation of *Kronland* thus served two purposes - to bring stability and to enable the economic development of the Southwest. In view of the unwillingness of the concessionaire companies to part with their land this annexation of land proved to be invaluable in the process of settlement. Like his predecessor von François, Leutwein believed that state control over settlement was needed because of the tactics of the land concessionaire companies to simply hold onto their concessions with no plans for settling the land. Equally, he envisaged settlement as a means by which both security and economic productivity could be drastically improved. Certainly the lack of stability in the Southwest had contributed to the negative experiences and lack of success of many early settlers as well as proving to be a hindrance in the attempt to attract wealthy agriculturists. Leutwein, influenced by the writings of the aforementioned Hindorff, was in favour of converting the Southwest into a cattle exporting colony, which necessitated the emigration of farmers with large amounts of capital and also required that there were large tracts of pasture land available to these prospective settlers.<sup>109</sup> Similarly Leutwein believed that a greater white presence, particularly in areas prone to indigenous unrest, would help to impose German rule over the colony. Yet Leutwein was aware that as economic conditions in Germany boomed the sought after farmer with capital was unlikely to emigrate to the Southwest. The colonial authorities were, thus, required to

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<sup>107</sup> C. Schmidt, *Geographie der Europäersiedlungen im deutschen Südwestafrika* (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1922), 82.

<sup>108</sup> Walther, 30.

<sup>109</sup> Bley, 107-108.



adapt their policies to the reality of the German colonial experience. He presented his opinions to the Reichstag.

Südwest-Afrika ist, wie Sie alle wissen, ein Land der Viehzucht. Zum Viehzuchten gehört Kapital, vermögliche Leute aber wandern nicht aus, sondern bleiben lieber Zuhause; deshalb muß man die Leute, die Viehzüchter werden wollen, soweit unterstützen, daß sie vermöglich werden können.<sup>110</sup>

Leutwein continued to hope that large-scale farmers could be attracted to the territory, but in order to advance economic development and to increase security the Governor saw it necessary to ease settlement opportunities for other potential settlers. It was important to make settlement a viable option for German agricultural emigrants, whilst at the same time ensuring that such settlers would develop the land on a long-term basis. On the 12th of May 1898 land prices in the *Kronland* areas of Gobabis and Outjo were, therefore, reduced from pricing initially in line with that of the SfDSWA, around 2-2,30 Marks pro hectare, to 50 pfennigs pro hectare and then later to 30 pfennigs pro hectare.<sup>111</sup> The administration imposed restrictions on the purchase of land which were geared towards ensuring that purchasers were committed to the long term development of their land. A minimum of 5,000 hectares had to be purchased by settlers with a down payment of one fifteenth of the overall purchase price and the remainder to be paid over a maximum of a twenty year period. Settlers purchasing this land were required to begin work within six months of purchase or face losing their land and after two years purchasers were, amongst other things, expected to have built or begun building a house, to have secured a source of water, and to have improved the open pathways around the farm. Further measures were introduced to prevent speculation and without administrative approval settlers could not sell their land for a minimum of ten years. These requirements were then applied to all areas of *Kronland*.

For ex-colonial soldiers even more attractive conditions were offered. Leutwein recognised that large numbers of *Schutztruppler* were keen to remain in the Southwest following the end of their military service, and whilst such men did not correspond to the image of the ideal agricultural settler nor, as a rule, did they possess large amounts of capital, he saw a number of practical advantages in encouraging them to stay on.<sup>112</sup> In particular, he believed that their knowledge of the south-west African environment and

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<sup>110</sup> Sudholt, 78.

<sup>111</sup> Schmidt, 54.

<sup>112</sup> Leutwein, 408. Also, see discussion in Walther, 32-33.

their experience in dealings with the indigenous populations were invaluable. Furthermore, much as he was willing to contemplate the settlement of Afrikaners, Leutwein believed that as long as the colony was failing to attract large-scale agriculturists it was more beneficial to allow the *Schutztruppler* access to *Kronland* rather than leaving this land undeveloped. Perhaps of greatest importance was that these men actually wanted to settle, that they were German, and that they were not burdened by transport costs, unlike those emigrating from Germany. Indeed, these *ex-Schutztruppler*, mainly from the lower middle and lower social strata, formed the backbone of the white settler population of German Southwest Africa.<sup>113</sup> As part incentive to quell indigenous resistance in 1893/94 the Governor had told the *Schutztruppler* that the land they were fighting for was to be their very own on which they could settle. Indeed following the success of the operation plots of 5,000 hectares were distributed to many *ex-Schutztruppler*. The edict of 1898 offered free plots of a similar size to the *ex-Schutztruppler* provided that they possessed a minimum capital of 2,500 Marks and in 1901 further incentives were offered to induce them to stay.<sup>114</sup> Leutwein's willingness in this period to consider *ex-Schutztruppler* as settlers is perhaps also linked to the increase in the number of Afrikaner immigrants in the Southwest. Whilst the Governor himself encouraged limited Afrikaner settlement he was also keen that the Afrikaner presence be diluted by the presence of German settlers. As Walther argues, the administration was increasingly aware that the lowering of land prices alone was not enough to increase the scale of settlement nor to improve the prospects of those emigrating or settling.<sup>115</sup> In 1901 the Reichstag provided 100,000 Marks for the financing of settlement and the administration used this aid to provide individual grants of 3,000-4,000 Marks in the form of cattle, building materials, and machinery to twenty eight *ex-Schutztruppler*. As a stipulation for receiving a grant the prospective settlers had to have a personal capital of 2,500 Marks, a sum which Leutwein believed any thrifty, economising soldier could raise.<sup>116</sup> The Governor believed that when settlers invested their own money in developing their plots they were more likely to be committed to making the venture succeed. This principle of possessing a set amount of capital in order to gain permission to purchase land was also geared towards preventing those entirely without means from taking up residence in the Southwest.

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<sup>113</sup> Schmidt-Lauber, *Die verkehrte Hautfarbe*, 49-50.

<sup>114</sup> Schmidt, 54.

<sup>115</sup> Walther, 34-36.

<sup>116</sup> Leutwein, 408-409.

Prior to the outbreak of the Herero-Nama war the Reichstag in Berlin was making a concerted effort to increase the scale of settlement of German nationals and in 1903 300,000 Marks was set aside for this purpose. Leutwein argued that the state had to invest in making emigration to Southwest Africa a more attractive prospect for well funded emigrants in order for it to make long term gains from tax returns. 100,000 of this sum was to be used for creating a settlement commission to investigate settlement policies in the neighbouring colonies and to ascertain the best means of furthering settlement in the Southwest, whilst the rest of the money was for financially supporting new settlers. Grants of 10,000-20,000 Marks were to be distributed to emigrants who possessed a minimum start up capital of 10,000 Marks, thus, in total they could have a working capital of up to 30,000 Marks. Land prices were kept low at between 50 pfennigs and 1 Mark pro hectare. Those receiving grants were to be respectable German farmers, preferably married, fitting in with the image of the hardworking and practical farmer promoted by the DKG, the colonial press, and the government itself. "*Als Einwanderer waren deutsche Bauernfamilien mit tadellosem Leumund, die auch über eigene Mittel verfügten, in Ansicht genommen.*"<sup>117</sup> Whilst this funding enabled a number of Germans to settle, the Herero-Nama war 1904-1907 interrupted this process of state organised settlement. The efforts of the administration to promote settlement were clear. According to Oelhafen between 1898 and 1901 the administration had been involved in the selling of 269 farms, some 6,500 square kilometres through either directly selling *Kronland* or acting as a mediator in the selling of indigenous land. By comparison, the various land concessionaire companies, which had been active in the Southwest from 1891, had by 1901, only sold 1,554 square kilometres.<sup>118</sup> The administration had also begun to help settlers in practical ways by investing in the development of an infrastructure within the colony, thus, streams were dug, dams created, telegraph lines put in place, and a transport system began to take form with the building of railway lines. The European population of German Southwest Africa increased from 539 in 1891 to some 4,640 in 1904, of whom around 939 were members of the *Schutztruppe* or administrative officials, and well over one thousand were foreigners.<sup>119</sup>

The settlement population of the Southwest was increasing, yet this was not the imagined agricultural utopia as promoted by the likes of the DKG, nor was it the cattle exporting colony desired by Leutwein and those seeking to maximise the economic profit to be made from the Southwest. Instead the Southwest was a colony dominated by

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<sup>117</sup> Leutwein, 409.

<sup>118</sup> Oelhafen, 27.

<sup>119</sup> Oelhafen, 28, 114.

bureaucrats and *Schutztruppler* who made up the largest white population groups. The majority of settlers were themselves *ex-Schutztruppler*, men of very moderate financial means. Alongside this administrative population a considerable number of artisans, missionaries, traders, and small business men were also present as was a significant non-German population.<sup>120</sup> The colonial arena was often seen as an environment in which unruly sons of aristocrats could prove themselves, but agriculturists and large-scale German farmers tended not to view German Southwest Africa as a serious option for emigration and despite the positive promotion of the Southwest within the colonial press such would-be immigrants remained to be convinced of the benefits of emigrating there. Within Germany, in the light of indigenous uprisings, administrative scandals, and a failure to find gold or valuable minerals, the colonial empire failed to capture the imagination of the general public. The incentives offered by the administration to prospective immigrants, in terms of land prices and financial aid, appeared not to be as attractive as those available in other countries and as economic conditions improved in Germany emigration as a whole steadily decreased. The settlement expert Gerstenhauer suggested it was only natural that would-be immigrants chose to emigrate elsewhere when in countries such as Argentina, South Brazil, and Australia immigrants often received free land grants, high loans, and had their passage paid.<sup>121</sup> The rate of settlement was not that which had been envisaged by colonial observers and administrators and at the same time concern was being expressed within the administration that German Southwest Africa was attracting an element of undesirable settlers, both German nationals and foreigners. Part of the focus of this concern were fears that a population of poor (*mittellose*) white settlers was beginning to develop in the Southwest, whose presence, it was argued, damaged the image of the white European in the eyes of the indigenous Africans and who were a potential burden on the state should they need financial aid. Equally in the imagined rural utopia there was no place for a white underclass and colonial observers were no doubt aware of the growing discourse on poor whiteness coming from South Africa. It was, however, not just in Germany's foremost settler colony that a poor white population was increasing and in colonial circles the debate initially centred on German East Africa and Cameroon. Much of the debate revolved around the question of costs and whether the Reich or the individual colonial territories would be forced to meet the financial needs of settlers who were unable to care for themselves.

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<sup>120</sup> There was a concern amongst sections of the colonial administration that there not enough skilled hand workers in the colony, which led them to briefly contemplate training indigenous Africans to carry out such jobs as shoe maker, saddle maker and smith. This notion would be quickly rejected. See comments in, Windhuker Nachrichten, 16. Januar 1909, 1.

As early as 1894 the Director of the KA, Paul Kayser, had informed the Governors that the individual colonies and not the government in Berlin were required to provide financial aid for those in need, whether they be Germans or non-Germans, and that they would need permission before being allowed to send back to Germany nationals who no longer had the means to financially support themselves.<sup>122</sup> In the late 1890s the issue was heavily discussed within the *Kolonialrat*, a heterogeneous advisory body, which sought to devise a policy aimed at curtailing the emigration of poor people into the German colonies.<sup>123</sup> During the discussion a further problem came to light - that of what to do with such settlers already living in the various colonies, whether they could be sent back to their homelands and if so who then was to bear the cost, yet a lasting solution was not reached. This category of poor whites was split into two groups, those without work who entered German territory and were unable to find employment and those who through illness or job loss were no longer able to physically or financially look after themselves. German East Africa, where twelve German nationals were being financed by public funds, and Cameroon were identified as being particularly burdened by an influx of poor whites, the former from emigrants out of Natal and the Cape, and the latter by emigrants coming from the Congo and, surprisingly, even emigrants from German Southwest Africa. The representative from the Southwest was, however, of the opinion that as yet in this territory no noteworthy poor white population had developed. *"Im Übrigen neigte man zu der Ansicht, daß bei dem Mangel an Arbeitskräften in Deutsch-Südwestafrika und bei den gezahlten hohen Löhnen dort viel seltener die Notwendigkeit zu einer Unterstützung hervortreten würde."*<sup>124</sup> This was expanded upon in a letter by Governor Leutwein in March of 1900 to the KA in which he suggested that because of the railway and port construction being carried out in the Southwest there were plenty of workplaces available keeping the number of unemployed to an absolute minimum and enabling the administration to pressurise work shy Europeans into earning their keep in terms of leaving those concerned with the choice of either working or starving.<sup>125</sup> He argued that although it was possible to force undesirable and work shy elements into working, experience had shown that as soon as they had made some

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<sup>121</sup> Gerstenhauer, 305.

<sup>122</sup> Kayser an die Herrn Gouverneure, 18. August 1894, Bundesarchiv Berlin, Lichterfelde (BAB) R1001 6294, 11-12.

<sup>123</sup> Kolonialrat, "Bericht des Ausschusses über die ihm zur Vorberatung überwiesene Frage: Beschränkung der Einwanderung mittelloser Personen in die deutschen Kolonien," V. Sitzungsperiode 1898/1901, Nr. 20, 9.-10. November 1899, BAB R1001 6294, 133-134.

<sup>124</sup> Kolonialrat, 134.

<sup>125</sup> Leutwein an die Koloniale Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, (Kolabt.), 23. März 1900, BAB R1001 6294, 171-174.

money such people soon disappeared into the centre of the colony where it was not long before they came into contact with the legal system.

Leutwein was, however, increasingly worried that a poor white population was growing and in the yearly report for 1899 it was noted that railway construction jobs had brought a number of questionable and unreliable foreigners into the Southwest from the Cape.<sup>126</sup> He was concerned that alterations to the American emigration laws, whereby it was increasingly difficult for those with a criminal record and those with no means of financial support to enter America, would have the knock on effect of encouraging such undesirable emigrants to consider German Southwest Africa as a possible new homeland. The Governor, therefore, took it upon himself to draft an edict concerning emigration and the handling of poor whites which was based largely upon an existing Imperial Edict (*kaiserliche Verordnung*) of 1889 introduced in the German territory of the Marshall Islands and a drafted Imperial Edict in German East Africa, both of which were heavily discussed by the *Kolonialrat*.<sup>127</sup> The draft was most likely also to have been influenced by measures introduced in Natal in 1897 restricting the immigration of certain types of settlers, as well as discussions taking place in other countries such as Canada concerning restrictions on the rights of individuals to enter the country concerned.<sup>128</sup> In Leutwein's draft shipping lines bringing emigrants into the German territory, inclusive of landings at the British base of Walfisch Bucht, and employers of emigrants were, to be made to take more responsibility for the type of settlers entering the Southwest. Shipping firms were, therefore, not to land passengers without a fixed source of employment, those who were physically or mentally incapable of looking after themselves, or would-be settlers who were not in the possession of enough cash to enable them to live without financial aid until they found employment, otherwise the shipping line would have to bear all costs of transporting such unwanted settlers back to the port of departure. This was a feature of the Imperial Edict introduced in the Marshall islands and the laws enforced in Natal. Similarly, employers were to carry the costs

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<sup>126</sup> Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete: Beilage zum DKB (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn : Königliche Hofbuchhandlung, 1899), 138.

<sup>127</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 23.März 1900, 176-178; Kolonialrat, Unteranlage I, Verordnung betreffend die Unterhaltung und Rückbeförderung mittelloser Schiffspassagiere innerhalb des Gebiets von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1899, und Unteranlage II, Verordnung betreffend unterhaltlose Fremde, 5.Juni 1889.

<sup>128</sup> A number of countries were imposing immigration restrictions in order to prevent undesirable immigrants from settling. In Natal the Immigrations Restrictions Act of 1897 prevented from entering its territory, amongst others; those without cash to the value of 500 Marks, persons unable to write in a European language, the mentally ill or those with a contagious disease, discredited persons or those previously convicted, and people who were unable to pay for their

encountered should ex-employees require state financial aid within a month of the ending of the employment contract. This measure was suggested because the authorities in the Southwest had been forced to pay the considerable costs of sending a German national to the nearest mental asylum in Cape Town after the man developed a mental illness.<sup>129</sup> The Southwest possessed no suitable institution where the man's needs could be met and the firm which had employed the man rejected carrying the costs. Equally important was the notion that those without a means of income who were physically able to work, were now legally to be forced into earning their keep or into earning their passage back home. Leutwein's draft was not simply aimed at preventing undesirables from entering the Southwest, but was also devised to economically protect the administration from costs incurred in keeping those who through unemployment and mental or physical illness were no longer able to look after themselves. As such this was part of a general policy of improving the finances of the colony. Yet the KA remained to be convinced of the pressing urgency to implement Leutwein's policies and, therefore, rejected the drafted Imperial Edict and instead urged the further discussion of the issue of what to do with undesirable immigrants before a final decision be made.<sup>130</sup> It was the view of the KA that in extreme cases the Governors could always resort to deporting unwanted settlers.

Despite this setback the administration in the Southwest adopted elements of the drafted legislation as working policy and tightened the restrictions on immigration, particularly for non-Germans. This is illustrated by a case in which a number of Croatian workers applied for permission to enter the colony in order to work on the building of the railway lines or harbour.<sup>131</sup> The Croats had to prove that they possessed a degree of capital and to agree to leaving their wives and children behind before being allowed to enter.<sup>132</sup> This latter measure was seen as a means of ensuring that the stay of the Croats would be on a temporary basis just in case they failed to find the expected employment. The Woermann shipping line, which was to transport the workers to the colony was also keen to have confirmation as to whether the Croats were without means, before agreeing to take them on board. Once it was established that the workers possessed a degree of capital and once administrative officials in

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passage into Natal. Such unwanted settlers already present in Natal faced deportation or prison sentences.

<sup>129</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 23.März 1900, 173.

<sup>130</sup> Kolabt. an den Herrn Gouverneur, 28.Juni 1900, BAB R1001 6294, 180-181.

<sup>131</sup> From the various documents it is unclear as to whether these workers were Croatian or Austrian nationals. Governor Leutwein refers to them as Croats. Leutwein an die Kolabt., 21.August 1902, BAB R1001 1162, 39.

<sup>132</sup> Kolabt. an die Woermann-Linie, 7.Juni 1901, BAB R1001 1162, 20.

Swakopmund guaranteed that there were workplaces for around twenty men the Croatsians were allowed to enter the Southwest.<sup>133</sup> That the administration was willing to take on foreign workers was a reflection of the failure to attract enough Germans from either the Cape or Germany to help in railway construction. It is noticeable that the administration conceived of the Croatsians as workers rather than actual settlers again hinting that the administration only expected the Croatsians to stay on a short term basis. There was, in comparison to Afrikaner immigrants, no attempt of assimilating the Croatsians into European settler society. The process of negotiations had taken around a year and a half, and the promised employment opportunities failed to materialise by the time the Croatsians arrived. It was not long before they required financial aid from the administration, which then created jobs for the men in the development of the harbour. This was based on the condition that the men, fourteen in all, were to receive limited wages, a proportion of which was to be retained by the administration and which was to be put towards shipping the Croatsians back to their homeland.<sup>134</sup> The administration had created a solution in which the Croatsians had to earn their keep and passage back home, thus, the administration did not directly have to carry the costs of financially supporting them, and it had ensured that the stay of these undesirable foreigners, undesirable because of their failure to secure lasting employment, would only be temporary. Whilst in this case the administration had found temporary employment for the Croatsians it was not always possible for it to do so and within both Germany and the Southwest it was feared that the colony was becoming increasingly burdened by settlers who were unable to finance their own existence. The *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* Swakopmund reported that in January of 1902 forty eight unemployed people left the territory, and as railway projects neared completion the administration faced a further increase in the unemployed population.<sup>135</sup> Whilst in 1902 the official administrative statistics listed the number of whites with an undefined form of employment or as unemployed at only six the concern expressed by Leutwein and the report from Swakopmund suggests that this was a gross underestimate.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore this unemployed population appears to have been fluid with many being forced into employment or being removed from the colony when the administration was not in a position to provide aid or a workplace.

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<sup>133</sup> Leutwein refers to a telegram sent on the 31st of May 1901 in which administrative officials requested that twenty Croatsians be allowed to work in the Southwest. Leutwein an die Kolabt., 21. August 1902, 39.

<sup>134</sup> Polizeibehörde Swakopmund an den Herrn Gouverneur, 30. Januar 1902, BAB R1001 1162, 32-33, Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Swakopmund an den Herrn Gouverneur, 1. Februar 1902, BAB R1001 1162, 34-35.

<sup>135</sup> Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Swakopmund an den Herrn Gouverneur, 1. Februar 1902, 34.

<sup>136</sup> Oelhafen, 115.



Unemployment or a perceived unwillingness to work was often linked to criminality and, with the outbreak of the Herero-Nama war, administrative officials reported that increasing numbers of undesirable elements, primarily, though not exclusively, foreigners, were entering the colony, often from the Cape, in order to make illicit gains from the war time situation.<sup>137</sup> The ports of Lüderitzbucht and Swakopmund were particularly affected by this influx of undesirable settlers and it was noted that criminals frequently managed to escape from captivity. In order to increase the efficiency of the colony's legal system and to combat this rise in criminality a legal network was created to police white settler society. The beginnings of this administrative surveillance system were established in 1895. In an attempt to maintain an overview and degree of control over those entering and leaving the German territory an Imperial Edict was introduced in July of 1895. This made it the duty of all persons entering the Southwest to register themselves with the nearest *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* within two months of their arrival and provide essential information such as name, age, nationality, occupation, and marital status.<sup>138</sup> Equally, a previous address had to be given which in many cases enabled the administration to investigate the background of settlers whose presence in the Southwest was seen as being undesirable. Naturally, there was often little to prevent immigrants from providing false information and the administrative network did not have the manpower to routinely check as to whether all immigrants were genuine, but as a deterrent, those caught giving false information or failing to register faced either a heavy fine or a potential prison sentence. Those leaving the territory were likewise required to inform the authorities of their departure. During the next ten years administrative courts were erected or strengthened in a number of districts throughout the Southwest to complement the high court in Windhoek (*Obergericht*) and in addition a new prison was constructed in Windhoek to cope with the increase in the number of those being arrested. Much as the indigenous Africans were being placed under surveillance, so too were undesirable settlers. The movements of known or suspected criminals resident in the territory were kept under observation and the administration often contacted German officials in the Cape regarding the whereabouts and known associates of unsuitable elements. Furthermore, the new Governor Friedrich von Lindequist (1905-1907) was now convinced of the need to

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<sup>137</sup> Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee im Jahre 1905/1906: Beilage zum DKB (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn : Königliche Hofbuchhandlung, 1907), 77.

<sup>138</sup> Verordnung des Kaiserlichen Landeshauptmannes für das südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet, betreffend die Meldepflicht der Nichteingeborenen, cited in DKB (1895): 546.

introduce measures aimed at preventing unwanted settlers from entering into the Southwest.

Meanwhile the circumstances which then (1898/1901) appeared to require an ordinance have not remained the same, but rather have intensified in a most critical way. Today it has to do no longer with just destitution in the country and the annoyance of authorities by unemployed and homeless individuals, but rather it concerns above all putting an end to the spread of the criminal element through which public security is threatened.<sup>139</sup>

The result was the *Einwanderungsgesetz* of the 15th of December 1905, which bore a resemblance to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 introduced in Natal and Leutwein's drafted Imperial Edict. The legislation was introduced during the Herero-Nama war at a time when an increase in the numbers of Germans entering the colony was expected to rise with the conclusion of the war and in the aftermath of the prohibition of mixed African and European marriages. According to this legislation it was now possible for the administration to refuse to allow a wide variety of undesirable settlers to enter the Southwest, namely: non-whites, those unable to provide information about themselves, those without enough capital to finance their stay and that of their family members, persons who were mentally ill, persons involved in prostitution, and immigrants whose presence was adjudged to pose a potential threat to public safety.<sup>140</sup> These then represented cultural markers against which whiteness could be negatively defined, in that they helped to define those whose presence in the settler society was not desired. This legislation was further amended in June of 1909 so that persons unable to write their own name in a European language were also classed as being undesirable. Walther argues that this amendment was aimed not simply at keeping illiterate immigrants out, but also at preventing Jewish people, who had come into the colony in increasing numbers following the discovery of gold at Lüderitzbucht, from taking up residence should they only be capable of signing in Hebrew.<sup>141</sup> This, however, is unlikely and it is to be presumed that most Jewish immigrants would have been able to write in Roman script. It is possible that the measure was introduced partly to prevent naturalised European citizens, particularly Africans naturalised as British citizens, from entering the colony.

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<sup>139</sup> Lindequist quoted and translated in Walther, 65.

<sup>140</sup> S. Reimer, *Die Freizügigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten insbesondere die Ausweisung von Reichsangehörigen* (Münster [Westfalen]: Kolonialrechtliche Abhandlungen : Verlag der Universitäts-Buchhandlung Franz Coppenrath, 1911), Heft 3 17-18.

In addition further aspects of Leutwein's drafted Imperial Edict of 1900 were adopted as shipping firms now demanded that would-be immigrants provide either proof of having a fixed place of work in the Southwest or of being in the possession of cash to the value of 400 Marks before being allowed on board.<sup>142</sup> Of this sum 250 Marks was to be left with the ship's captain in case of the immigrant being refused permission to land in the Southwest. This sum was then to be used to pay for the cost of the return journey. Immigration officers were employed who would control those attempting to enter the German territory, in particular foreign nationals and those coming from southern Africa. The case of the naturalised Briton Benny Kantor illustrates the difficulties foreigners encountered in emigrating to the Southwest. Kantor, before leaving the Cape for Lüderitzbucht, was informed that he would need to provide documentary proof of his respectability.<sup>143</sup> Upon procuring a passport the German Consul in the Cape and the Steamship office assured him that this would suffice. Kantor left his deposit of 15 pounds with the shipping firm and presented his passport, a letter from his future employer in Lüderitzbucht, and naturalisation papers to the Emigration Officer at Lüderitzbucht who promptly replied that without a certificate of honesty from the police he would not be allowed to land. Similarly Kantor was not allowed to leave the ship and return to the Cape on a steamer leaving that day, but was instead forced to remain on board for the remainder of the voyage which lasted a further fourteen days and his request to telegraph the British consul in the Cape was likewise rejected. The shipping firm then kept five pounds of Kantor's deposit as a fee for returning him to the Cape. Such action outraged the British authorities who applied on Kantor's behalf for compensation. The German government, which upon making enquiries into Kantor's person discovered nothing untoward, flatly refused this demand. It was not simply in the Southwest that measures were being implemented to combat the presence of undesirable settlers. In 1912 in German East Africa an Imperial Edict had been introduced allowing the extradition of settlers who were suffering from certain diseases and those who were perceived as causing a danger to the public. Equally, in Cameroon in the same year those entering the colony without a fixed place of employment were required to leave 500 Marks with the Emigration authorities, and persons seeking long term residence had

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<sup>141</sup> Walther, 66.

<sup>142</sup> Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer, 41.

<sup>143</sup> For the case of Kantor see, F.C. Lascelles to von Tschirschky, 18. January 1907, BAB R1001 1918, 23-25; von Tschirschky an F.C. Lascelles, 24. Februar 1907, BAB R1001 1918, 27; von Humboldt an den Herrn Reichskanzler von Bülow, 20 April 1907, BAB R1001 1918, 34.

to prove that they were in the possession of at least 2,000 Marks in cash.<sup>144</sup> With regards to Cameroon these measures were aimed at preventing poor whites from being able to enter or stay in the colony on a long term basis.

In a vast land such as German Southwest Africa it was, however, impossible for the administration to entirely prevent undesirable settlers from entering the territory, thus, it resorted to expelling people whose presence was not to be tolerated. The administration was increasingly having to respond to the fact the German citizens were entering the Southwest whose lifestyle and behaviour did not correspond to that of the imagined German coloniser. The question as to whether the colonial authorities had the right to expel foreign nationals and, in particular, German nationals from the overseas German territories proved to be extremely contentious. As early as 1889 the KA had requested information regarding the policy adopted by the French and British towards the expulsion of their own nationals from their colonial possessions, to which the ambassador in London replied that in the "uncivilised" parts of the British Empire and the protectorates the Queen had the right to expel citizens whose presence was not desired.<sup>145</sup> The German authorities continued to be influenced by legislation enacted within the British and French empires. By 1891 the *Reichs Justizamt* had become involved in the discussion and reached the conclusion, based on the existing legal literature, that the *Gesetz über Freizügigkeit* of the 1st of November 1867 which was interpreted as guaranteeing German nationals the right to taking up residence anywhere in Germany, did not apply to the colonial possessions.<sup>146</sup> This meant that the Emperor or the Reich Chancellor was able to expel from the colonial territories foreigners and German citizens whose presence posed a threat to public safety and welfare. A considerable degree of uncertainty remained because no general ruling regarding deportation had been drawn up to apply to all the colonies and the various colonial Governors continually sought direction from the KA regarding their rights to remove undesirable settlers, whilst at the same time a number of settlers challenged expulsion decisions. The legal position was largely clarified following the decision in 1909 in the case of the expelled German farmer Viktor von Alten against the German empire, represented by the State Secretary of the RKA.<sup>147</sup> Expelled from German Southwest

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<sup>144</sup> M. Fleischmann, "Die Verwaltung der Kolonien im Jahre 1912," in *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* (Essen: Herausgegeben von Dr. K. Schneider Jg.VI, G.D. Baedeker Verlagshandlung, 1913), 158.

<sup>145</sup> Hatzfeldt an die Kolabt., 6.November 1889, BAB R1001 7547, 7.

<sup>146</sup> Reichs Justizamt an den Herrn Reichskanzler Caprivi, 9.November 1891, BAB R1001 1918, 3.

<sup>147</sup> Urteil des 11. Zivilsenates des Königlichen Kammergerichts im Fall Viktor von Alten gegen den deutschen Reichs-Fiskus, 3.Dezember 1909, BAB R1001 7547, 66-71.

Africa by the Governor following a number of homosexual relationships with indigenous Africans, von Alten initially contested that it was illegal for German citizens to be expelled and secondly that even if it were possible to expel German nationals then only the Emperor would be legally allowed to do so. On account of this he therefore demanded financial compensation for losses incurred in having to leave his farm and return to Germany. The court decided, however, not only that the expulsion of German nationals was possible, based on the view expressed by the *Reichs Justizamt* that the *Gesetz über Freizügigkeit* of the 1st of November 1867 did not apply to the overseas territories, but also that the individual Governors had the right to order the deportation of undesirable colonists. Von Lindequist, the Governor of German Southwest Africa who had ordered the deportation of von Alten, later in his position of State Secretary of the RKA, urged the colonial Governors to be more lenient in cases involving German nationals, compared with those of foreigners. Whilst he urged that the act of expulsion of Germans be used only as a last resort, the physical exclusion of white settlers was often employed.<sup>148</sup> In many cases simply the threat of expulsion was enough to persuade undesirable settlers to leave the German territory. There were no set categories ever established as to what types of settlers were to be expelled, but in general deportation would only follow when the settler concerned posed a direct threat to the political, economic, or social well-being and security of the colonial society. When he or she proved to be a negative influence upon the indigenous population this brought the image and authority of the European settler into disrepute, thus undermining notions of European civility and cultural superiority.

Certainly there were fears within Germany that the level of crime in the Southwest was getting out of hand. In 1910 the then State Secretary of the RKA, Bernhard Dernburg, was highly critical of the growing criminality within the Southwest and he claimed that the crime rate there was four times that in mainland Germany.<sup>149</sup> He used this as an argument against the granting of a self government to the Southwest. Indeed, in the constitution of the *Landesrat*, the self government organisation introduced in the Southwest in 1909, a clause was included which took away voting rights from Germans without a fixed occupation, those requiring financial aid, and persons prosecuted or under police observation.<sup>150</sup> The civil rights of such settlers were revoked which correlated to their political, and in many cases, social exclusion from settler society. Undoubtedly the discovery of diamonds at Lüderitzbucht and the growth of an illicit

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<sup>148</sup> Von Lindequist an die Herrn Gouverneure, 25. Januar 1911, BAB R1001 7547, 84.

<sup>149</sup> Meyer, "Die Kriminalität in Südwest," *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 2. April 1910, 1.

<sup>150</sup> W. Külz, *Die Selbstverwaltung für Deutsch-Südafrika* (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1909), 50.

diamond trade and related crimes had helped to contribute to the perception that the Southwest was a dangerous place and in the final decade of German control over the Southwest a large percentage of those expelled from the colony had been resident in Lüderitzbucht. Many of those expelled were involved either directly or indirectly in diamond smuggling. Furthermore German Southwest Africa was developing an unwanted reputation elsewhere. The British authorities in Walfisch Bucht had complained of the behaviour of Germans within the British enclave. A number of *ex-Schutztruppler*, released because of drunkenness or being absent without leave, had entered Walfisch Bucht and become a burden on the welfare system in the British territory as well as posing a potential threat to security. The British authorities, therefore, imposed immigration restrictions on such people.<sup>151</sup> It appeared that many of the supposedly immoral evils of the modern metropolises were taking root within the Southwest such as homosexuality, gambling, alcohol abuse, and prostitution. In the case of von Alten his homosexual relationships with several African men were envisaged as being a morally corrupting influence upon the indigenous people and, moreover, "*daß hierdurch die Autorität der weißen Rasse auf's ärgste gefährdet wird,...*"<sup>152</sup> Having been twice previously convicted on account of his actions and imprisoned for two years, expulsion was seen as the only option left because von Alten's behaviour potentially threatened the security of the colony as well as the image of the white man. Von Alten was one of several Europeans expelled from the Southwest because of his sexual tendencies. Homosexuality was seen as unnatural in an environment where an image of heroic men and pioneers was promoted, where marriages between African women and European men were prohibited, where heterosexuality was a facet of whiteness, and where an image of strong healthy German families was central to utopian visions of the settler society and *Deutschtum*.

In particular the abuse of alcohol was seen by administrative officials as undermining the authority of the white European vis à vis the indigenous Africans, as continually intoxicated Europeans offered a poor example of European culture and civilisation, notions upon which colonial rule and imagined superiority rested. The *Bezirksamt* in Keetmanshoop initiated expulsion procedures against the land surveyor Ulrich von Quitzow whom it described as an, "*unverbesserlicher Gewohnheitstrinker*," who represented a, "*lästiges und völlig unbrauchbares Ansiedlerelement*," and whose

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<sup>151</sup> "Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und Walfischbai," *DKB* (1907): 260.

<sup>152</sup> Von Lindequist an die Kolabt., 9. August 1906, BAB R1001 1918, 18.

drunken behaviour was damaging to the image of the white European.<sup>153</sup> "*Der Genannte...schädigt durch seine Aufführung in hohem Maße das Ansehen der weißen Rasse am Platze Keetmanshoop indem er den Eingeborenen das denkbar schlechteste Beispiel gibt.*" The report pointed out that the indigenous Africans in the district, several of whom were also prosecuted for drunken behaviour, could not understand why Europeans were able to indulge unpunished in alcoholism, thus, it was concluded that drunken settlers posed a threat to social stability. Further threatening to the social stability of the colony were the actions of dozens of Europeans, who, in their state of intoxication, physically and verbally abused Africans. Particularly in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war the administration was keen to avoid provoking indigenous resistance and moreover the African population comprised the indispensable work force of the colony which was central to the economic development of the Southwest, hence the heavy prison sentences and potential expulsion imposed upon settlers abusing Africans. The illegal selling of alcohol to indigenous Africans, often a trade carried out by poor whites with no other source of income, was punishable by a fine, prison sentence or deportation as in the case of the Irish citizen Patrick Brudders. In Swakopmund it was claimed that, "*Die Zahl betrunkenener Eingeborener, die hier zu Bestrafung gelangen, ist infolge des gewissenlosen Schnapsverkaufs durch Brudders und ähnliche Subjekte erschreckend gross.*"<sup>154</sup> It was argued by the anti-alcohol lobby that alcohol brought out the worst character traits in the African. "*Der Neger enthüllt schon nach mäßigem Alkoholgenuß eine Fülle der übelsten Eigenschaften, er wird zum Raubtier.*"<sup>155</sup> More importantly, addiction to alcohol naturally affected the economic performance of the African, which in turn negatively influenced the economic prospects of the entire colony. Similarly Europeans suffering from alcohol addiction were frequently described as being work shy or in no physical or mental state to carry out meaningful work.. In 1908 the *Otaviminen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft* was forced to release a large number of employees who, because of their alcohol dependency, were no longer capable of working.<sup>156</sup> The administration and colonial proponents greatly feared the development of a white proletarian underclass within the German colonies and alcoholism was also seen as being intricately linked to criminality and poverty. Hence the expulsion procedures initiated against those addicted to alcohol. It was the African alone who was to form the unskilled colonial working class. Aside from providing a

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<sup>153</sup> Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Keetmanshoop an den Gouverneur, 18.April 1911, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.5, 83.

<sup>154</sup> Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Swakopmund an den Gouverneur, 7.Juni 1913, BAB R151f 5233 G.II.i.2 Bd.6, 218.

<sup>155</sup> J. Friedrich-Giessen, "Die Antialkoholbewegung in den deutschen Schutzgebieten," *Kolonial Rundschau* 4 (1912): 161.

negative image of the European such settlers were believed to be unproductive and often had no means of looking after themselves, resorting to crime or falling upon financial and medical help from the administration.

Economic considerations naturally played a part in expulsion decisions as the administration sought to prevent settlers from living off illicit gain such as diamond smuggling or cattle stealing, as well as from having to financially sustain the presence of settlers incapable of looking after themselves, primarily those whose health had deteriorated through alcohol addiction, or in a couple of cases prostitutes who were carrying sexual diseases.<sup>157</sup> Often when costs had already been incurred in paying for the medical treatment of looking after undesirable settlers, or as a pre-emptive measure against this, the colonial administration resorted to deporting such settlers. This was a central argument in the expulsion of Ulrich von Quitzow, whose physical condition was such that it was believed to be only a matter of time before he would no longer be in a position to look after himself. Interestingly it appears that only one expelled settler managed to have this judgement reversed, this reversal being influenced primarily by economic considerations. Expelled in 1908 on account of breaking licensing regulations and robbery, Ludwig Rescey applied to be allowed to return to the Southwest for a limited time in order to tie up his business commitments.<sup>158</sup> During this period he managed to demonstrate the economic importance of his abattoir to the Swakopmund district, which gained him the backing of the *Verein Swakopmunder Bürger* and the *Bezirksamt* in Swakopmund, in his attempt to have his expulsion overruled.<sup>159</sup> Rescey invested heavily in order to increase the efficiency of his firm and he had worked hard in order to re-establish his business. Consequently he managed to convince the Governor of the economic worth of permitting him to remain in the Southwest.<sup>160</sup> It should also be mentioned that the administration deported half a dozen settlers who were mentally ill back to Germany, because they had become a burden on the

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<sup>156</sup> Friedrich-Giessen, 164.

<sup>157</sup> For examples see amongst others, case of Thomas Wilson, Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtmann Lüderitzbucht an den Herrn Gouverneur, 23. September 1908, BAB R151f 5231 G.II.i.2 Bd.3, 31; case of prostitute Lina Rautenbach, Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Keetmanshoop an den Herrn Gouverneur, 15. März 1911, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.5, 79.

<sup>158</sup> Rescey an das kaiserliche Gouvernement in Windhuk, 12. Juli 1910, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.4, 165-167.

<sup>159</sup> Verein Swakopmunder Bürger an das kaiserliche Gouvernement in Windhuk, 26. Juli 1910, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.4, 170-171; Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Swakopmund an das kaiserliche Gouvernement in Windhuk, 12. Dezember 1910, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.4, 39-40.

<sup>160</sup> Kaiserliche Gouvernement in Windhuk an das kaiserliche Bezirksamt Swakopmund, 5. Januar 1911, BAB R151f G.II.i.2 Bd.4, 41.



administration and were neither able to work, nor care for themselves.<sup>161</sup> These settlers were sent to an asylum in Hamburg where the local authorities then took over the costs of medical care.

It has been established that the administration and colonial interest groups believed that poor whites, criminals, alcoholics, and other marginal groups provided a negative image of the white European. It was not simply in terms of practical policies that they were excluded from respectable settler society, but also in representational terms they were no longer conceived of as being equal. Words such as "lästig," "unwünschenswert," and "unbrauchbar" were frequently employed in administrative expulsion procedures, demonstrating the worth value imposed upon individual settlers. As a consequence of this and as a means of differentiating and distancing such individuals from the greater settler society such undesirable settlers were represented as no longer being culturally European in their behaviour and lifestyle. Instead they were represented as a degenerated form of the white European. Reference to the discourse of degeneration displayed a belief in the hierarchical nature of humankind. Furthermore it demonstrates that an image of these settlers was developing in relation to the existing stereotypes of the European and African. In several cases it was suggested that there was little to distinguish between the imagined moral inferiority and depraved lifestyle of these undesirable settlers and that of the indigenous Africans. The thirteen year old August Martin, described as suffering from a moral defect, prone to stealing, lying, and using sexual language was reported to have degenerated in cultural terms to the level of an African, these character traits frequently ascribed to the representation of the African, being symbolic of his degeneration. "*Der Angeklagte ist ein völlig verwahrloster 13 jähriger Junge, der das Leben eines Eingeborenen führt. Er verschwindet häufig wochenlang aus dem Elternhaus und lebt auf der Eingeborenenwerft.*"<sup>162</sup> Accordingly his presence in the colony was adjudged as representing a poor influence upon fellow white school children and a danger to European society. On account of his uncontrollable behaviour Martin was deported back to Germany and sent to a young offenders house at the expense of the administration. Others like Seppe Rosinger and the Afrikaner Jan Smuts had, as a result of their criminal activities, lost all claim to whiteness. Of the former it was said that "*...Rosinger ist infolge seiner Trunksucht weit unter das Niveau eines Kaffern gesunken,*" whilst Smuts was described as being a

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<sup>161</sup> Dernburg an den Herrn Gouverneur, 21.Dezember 1909, BAB R1001 6295, 105-107. Also see discussion Walther, 68-69.

<sup>162</sup> Urteilsausfertigung des Bezirksgericht in Windhuk: In der Strafsache gegen den August Martin zu Windhuk, Geschäftsnummer 3K 7/10, 21.Oktober 1897, BAB R1001 1918, 70.

"vollkommener verkafferte Boer."<sup>163</sup> The entire family of the Afrikaner Tom Fisch were also to be expelled for, amongst other things, the stealing of oxen. It was said of Fisch's sons, "*Die Söhne leben teilweise mit Hottentottenweibern zusammen, wie Eingeborenen.*"<sup>164</sup> On account of Fisch's criminal behaviour the administrative officials in Keetmanshoop cynically suggested it was possible that Fisch's parents were not "pure whites". As colonists their behaviour and the negative example that they set was not to be tolerated and they were permanently expelled from the Southwest. In expulsion procedures administrative authorities were, particularly in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war and the escalation of a policy of separating white settlers and indigenous Africans, quick to seize upon any illicit economic, social, or sexual ties between the settler concerned and indigenous Africans as further incriminating evidence. As will be demonstrated in chapter four, maintaining social and sexual contact with Africans was seen as symptomatic of the onset of the degeneration process and, therefore, as an undesirable destabilising factor in the rigid racial hierarchy of the Southwest. Stoler has convincingly argued that in the Dutch East Indies officials and colonial observers frequently made the connection between poverty and sexual relations between Africans and Europeans. Equally in the urban areas of South Africa social interaction and casual sex between poor Europeans and Africans was common. A labour commission report of 1893 commented on the marriages between Europeans and 'coloured' women and suggested that poor whites were "assimilating more to the black race."<sup>165</sup> In the Southwest, too, a connection between poverty, crime, and sexual behaviour was drawn in the expulsion procedures and by colonial observers. The legal expert Max Fleischmann, warned against the presence of poor whites in the colony suggesting that experience had shown that without thinking they readily crossed "racial barriers."<sup>166</sup> The fact that Smuts had an African partner and that he illegally sold alcohol to the indigenous people were, thus, grounds for his expulsion and evidence of his degeneration. Much of the evidence brought against the English citizen Alfred Freyer was based on the fact that he was a heavy drinker and that he lived with an African

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<sup>163</sup> For the case of Rosinger see, Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Windhuk an den Herrn Gouverneur, 26. November 1912, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.6, 10. For the case of Smuts see, Kaiserliches Districtsamt Gobabis, Antrag an den Herrn Gouverneur auf Ausweisung des Burs Petrus Smuts, 3. Dezember 1912, BAB R151f 5233 G.II.i.2 Bd.6, 149.

<sup>164</sup> Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Keetmanshoop an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhuk, 24. Januar 1906, BAB R151f 5231 G.II.i.2 Bd.1, 238-239.

<sup>165</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story (New York: Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1988), 329. See also, Keegan.

<sup>166</sup> M. Fleischmann, "Die Mischehen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten," in Sonderabdruck aus den Verhandlungen des 3. deutschen Kolonialkongresses (1910), 563, in BAB R1001 5417, 80.

partner.<sup>167</sup> Of particular concern to the administration was the fact that his dual descent sons behaved like, "*minderwertige Hottentotten oder Buschleute*," and that his daughter was little more than a "whore." Thus, the suggestion was that the negative character traits displayed by Freyer had been inherited by his children, much as the entire family Fisch had also proven themselves to be undesirable settlers. In the case of Freyer's children this was in keeping with the pseudo-scientific discourse that dual descent children inherited the negative qualities of their parents, primarily the African parent. Equally, the comments of the administrative official echo that of a discussion taking place throughout Europe, initiated by the work of the Italian Lombroso, as to whether a distinct criminal type could be identified, whether certain people were born criminals, and whether criminals were self-reproducing.<sup>168</sup> Not only was the Southwest failing to attract model settlers, to the administration and outside observers it appeared that a self-reproducing criminal and poor population had taken root. Just how large this population was is difficult to assess, partly due to its fluid nature. According to the administrative statistics on the 1st of January 1913 there were 812 adult males listed as being unemployed or whose occupation was unknown compared with only 6 in 1903.<sup>169</sup> Naturally not all these men were unemployed or involved in criminal activities, but the vast increase in the size of this population group since the conclusion of the Herero-Nama war is significant. In 1911 the administration expelled around twenty men and women, whilst a year later eight people were deported.<sup>170</sup>

Whilst von Lindequist had blamed the Herero-Nama war for the increase in the criminal population of German Southwest Africa it was the ending of this revolt that, in the last decade of the German colonial experience, radically altered the prospects and scale of settlement. Schmidt remarked upon this development in his geographical analysis of settlement.

Der Zeit der Eingeborenenaufstände ist besonders wichtig, weil sie die grundlegenden Verhältnissen der Besiedlung ändert. Sie fegt die Eingeborenen bis auf kümmerliche Reste hinweg und läßt so fast das ganze Land der weißen

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<sup>167</sup> Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Keetmanshoop an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhuk, 24. Januar 1906, 239.

<sup>168</sup> Evans, 78-79; P. Becker, "Changing Images: The Criminal as seen by the German Police in the Nineteenth Century," *History of European Ideas* 19 (1994): 79-85.

<sup>169</sup> Oelhafen, 115.

<sup>170</sup> *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutschsüdwest Afrika*, Jg. 2 & 3 (1911 & 1912), (Berlin: Herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement in Windhuk : Gedruckt in der Reichsdruckerei, 1912 & 1913).

Besiedlung frei.<sup>171</sup>

As a consequence of the war African population groups were cleared from extensive inland parts of the country freeing up increased areas of land which were then declared *Kronland*. Equally at the conclusion of the war bans were introduced prohibiting Africans from possessing either land or cattle, measures which not only freed up land and livestock for the European settlers, but which had the knock on effect of creating an African working class to serve the needs of the colonists. During and after the war an interest in settlement in the Southwest had steadily grown and by 1914 the white population had grown to around 14 800.<sup>172</sup> Of this total population over 12,000 were German citizens, over 1,500 were farmers, and well over 2,700 were administrative officials or soldiers.<sup>173</sup> Whilst Leutwein's period of administration came to an end during the war, his replacement von Lindequist continued the policy of administrative organisation and promotion of settlement. In contrast to Leutwein and the views expressed by Rohrbach, von Lindequist favoured settlement along the model of *Kleinsiedlungen* as a means of increasing population density, and practical help for settlers was provided by importing cattle from South Africa at public expense as well as making the cattle requisitioned from the indigenous peoples available to the white settler population.<sup>174</sup> This practice was revoked by von Lindequist's replacement von Schuckmann (1907-1910). State loans were still available for German nationals, with preference to *ex-Schutztruppler*, but only to the value of 6,000 Marks, which was to be paid back interest free after the sixth year in ten annual payments. It is interesting to note that in official publications of the colonial authorities, prospective settlers were now advised of the advantages of serving in the *Schutztruppe* before settling in the Southwest. Whilst Leutwein and his predecessors had reluctantly promoted the settlement of *ex-Schutztruppler*, such men were now seen as ideal settlers. Much state financial aid was devoted to helping settlers who had lost their farms during the war. It continued to be the policy that those receiving aid, which was to be in the form of materials, needed to have a minimum amount of start up capital, and importantly, the Governor insisted that applicants not only be already working a plot of land before receiving a grant, but that they have a knowledge of agricultural practice. On top of this, and in the light of the growing criminality within the Southwest applicants had to prove

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<sup>171</sup> Schmidt, 80.

<sup>172</sup> Gann, 2.

<sup>173</sup> Oelhafen, 112, 114.

<sup>174</sup> Walther, 43.

that they were morally respectable citizens, otherwise loans could be denied.<sup>175</sup> In particular, settlers with an African wife or partner were liable to have applications rejected. Naturally criminals or suspected criminals and persons who were mentally or physically ill also received no funding from the administration. Owing to the huge financial undertaking necessary in order to pay for passage to the settlement, buy land, and invest in machinery, state loans were a necessity, but instead of producing a financially independent settler population, these policies of providing financial aid created a situation whereby almost all settlers faced the long term prospect of paying back loans. Indeed most were either in debt to the administration or to the concessionaire companies from whom they purchased land, and to the traders and firms from whom they purchased farming equipment. A credit economy had developed, a consequence of which, according to W. Külz, the author of the *Landesrat's* constitution, was that settlers were under pressure to make an instant profit leading to the growth of a noted materialism amongst the settler society.<sup>176</sup>

A leading figure within the administration, Oskar Hintrager, complained that most settlers viewed settlement in the Southwest on a short term basis, hoping to make a considerable profit which would then allow them to return to Germany.<sup>177</sup> This he claimed was illustrated by the fluidity of the settler population and by the fact that farms frequently changed ownership. He stated, "*Seit dem Jahre 1906 haben von den 1,141 Farmen, die wir insgesamt haben, 284 den Besitzer gewechselt, und zwar einzelne mehrere Male.*" The missionary *Pfarrer* Heyse likewise remarked that the population of the Southwest, in particular the farming population was fluid, with only a very small number settling permanently.<sup>178</sup> Further adding to the fluidity of the white population was the fact that the majority of colonial officials were working on three year contracts, and many of the workers helping with the construction of the railway network were equally on short term contracts. Divisions amongst the settler society were also beginning to appear. Settler groups formed interest groups mainly based along lines of occupation, such as the Union of Farmers (*Farmerbund*) grounded in 1907, in order to politically represent their economic interests as fractions began to appear in the European settler society. These cleavages were further illustrated by the returns to the *Landesrat* as voters tended to vote along lines of economic interest. Under von

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<sup>175</sup> Walther, 42.

<sup>176</sup> W. Külz, *Deutsch-Südafrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Schutzherrschaft: Skizzen und Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutsch Südafrikas* (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1909), 243.

<sup>177</sup> Oskar Hintrager quoted in, *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 12.Mai 1912, 3.

<sup>178</sup> *Pfarrer* Heyse, "Die Entwicklung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," in *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien*, 95.

Schuckmann state financial aid was only to be provided to those who proved that they had a capital possession of at least 10,000 Marks, and this aid would first be given once the farm was being actively worked. Farms purchased on the administration's land required the down payment of one tenth of the overall cost, further payments to be made after six years and the farm had to be worked within six months of purchase. As increasingly wealthy farmers headed to the territory and state aid was used up financial loans were gradually reduced before being stopped altogether. From around 1910 onwards emigrants to German Southwest Africa had to fund themselves, the only available form of financial support being loans offered to German females by the *Frauenbund der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, an off shoot of the DKG, which under certain conditions provided passage for female relatives of settlers or serving women.

The Southwest proved to be no agricultural utopia having failed to attract the model colonists envisaged by colonial proponents. Instead both they and the colonial authorities had to adapt their policies of settlement in the light of the failure to attract large-scale farmers and because of the difficulties individual settlers experienced in carving out a living. The practicalities of settlement colonialism in particular the costs involved had been greatly underestimated by colonial proponents. The reality was that the colony was made up of many financially dependent settlers, and a degree of social stratification was taking root. The emergence of an unwanted poor white and criminal population resulted in a reconsideration of how settlement society should develop as well as consensus on the part of the colonial authorities and proponents that there were large numbers of settlers or would-be settlers whose presence in the Southwest was undesirable. Such undesirable settlers were be joined by the figure of the 'lapsed' white settler whose fate is described in the fourth chapter. As a consequence of the adjudged asocial and immoral behaviour of settlers, the administration implemented policies aimed at both policing them and, if necessary, physically excluding them from the colony. Unlike in Germany itself, here the authorities were able to deport unwanted German citizens who did not fit in with the image of the model settler. An exclusive white settler society was being forged in the Southwest in which settlers were evaluated in cultural, political, and economic terms. As is argued in the chapters to come, these were factors which were contributing to a process by which a notion of whiteness and a stereotype of the white settler was being constructed in the colonial environment and by which desirable white settlers were being differentiated from undesirable settlers. This resulted in the emergence of a graded whiteness not simply in discursive terms, but also on a political and social level as policies of privilege were introduced enabling some

settlers access to resources and institutions, whilst at the same time excluding others. The use of racial rhetoric by which to describe undesirable settlers will be shown to be significant in the chapters to come as it is suggested that this was part of the process by which difference and categories of black and white were negotiated. In turn this informed practices of social control and organisation as well as the creation of a hierarchical social structure. In the next chapter the introduction of legal codes defining and institutionalising difference will be discussed. It will be argued that as physical appearance became an increasingly ambiguous guide and marker of difference cultural markers took on an increasing importance. As a consequence the categories of Black and White became increasingly unstable resulting in social, political and legal confusion.

### Chapter Three

#### "Weiße Neger, dunkelfarbige Europäer": Marriage, Citizenship, and the Categorisation of People in German Southwest Africa.

According to Bhabha, colonial discourse "is a discourse crucial to the binding of a range of differences and discriminations that inform discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization."<sup>179</sup> In the colonial arena European hegemony was justified by notions of a European superiority as embedded in contemporary racial discourse, where population groups were ranked and categorised according to alleged physical, mental, and cultural traits. These imagined differences were articulated in the formation of stereotypes which provided a form of knowledge and identification which was central to the exercise of colonial power in allowing for the "surveillance" of the colonised population.<sup>180</sup> Bhabha adds that a key feature of the ideological construction of otherness, within this discourse, is a dependency on the concept of "fixity."<sup>181</sup> Fixity, he argues, paradoxically connotes rigidity and disorder at the same time. In German Southwest Africa, and indeed all of Germany's African colonies, colonial law rested upon a basic conviction of the essential difference between the European colonisers and the indigenous Africans. This resulted in the construction of two distinct legal categories separating the Europeans from the Africans, which were influenced by representations of the Black African and White European. Yet, as will be demonstrated these apparently rigid categories simultaneously produced disorder and legal confusion which threatened to undermine the exercise of colonial power as well as bringing chaos to the structure of settler society. Thomas comments; "colonising constantly generated obstacles to neat boundaries and hierarchies between populations, exemplified by 'degenerate' half castes and frontier whites who were anything but civilised."<sup>182</sup> In the previous chapter it was argued that the Southwest had attracted a population of poor whites and criminals and that the presence of such frontier whites was deemed, by the colonial authorities and various bourgeois interests, as threatening the social and political security of the colony. Such settlers were condemned for offering up a poor example of the white settler's imagined biological and cultural superiority which potentially undermined the hierarchical structure of colonial rule. Indeed, in terms of their lifestyle and behaviour, in several cases, they were even represented as culturally being no longer white and as

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<sup>179</sup> Bhabha, 67.

<sup>180</sup> Bhabha, 70.

<sup>181</sup> Bhabha, 66.

<sup>182</sup> Thomas, 2.



being at the same level as the African on the cultural hierarchy. This resulted in the introduction of policies aimed at excluding such settlers politically, socially, and even physically from settler society. In this chapter the ideas of a gradation of whiteness and the construction of an exclusive society will be taken a step further. Here it will be argued that the sexual behaviour of European settlers and the growth of a population of dual African and European descent provided a further and more substantial disruption to the exercise of colonial rule. In the European colonies sexual unions between Africans and Europeans were extremely common, particularly in colonies where there was a shortage of European women, as was the case in the Southwest. Indeed the missionary *Pater Kassiepe* claimed that more than ninety percent of all European men in the German colonial territories had engaged in sexual relationships with African women.<sup>183</sup> These relationships, mainly, though not exclusively, between male European settlers and African women took the form of concubinage or the physical and sexual abuse of the African women.<sup>184</sup> To a lesser extent sexual relationships were also conducted within the sphere of marital relationships and the conducting of such marriages, as will be demonstrated, aroused much controversy. The legacy and ultimate manifestation of these unions was embodied in the growth of an increasingly visible population of children of dual African and European descent. This was a population which in Southwest Africa was estimated by the contemporary colonial observer Dr. Max Fleischmann to have numbered at least 4300 by 1910.<sup>185</sup> The presence of this population within the colony was envisaged as a threat to the political, social, and ultimately racial stability of the Southwest colony by the administration and settlers alike. This contributed to a highly contested debate regarding German citizenship rights and the status of these children within not just German Southwest Africa, but the German colonies in general. The emergence of these "threshold children" existing in-between, and representing a fusing of the Self and Other dichotomy required a rethinking of Germanness, whiteness, and

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<sup>183</sup> P. Kassiepe contribution printed in "Die Rassenmischehen in den deutschen Kolonien, das Internationale Institut für missionswissenschaftlichen Forschungen und die Ansiedlung von Katholiken in den Kolonien," in Verhandlungen des Missionsausschusses des Zentralkomitees der Katholikenversammlungen Deutschlands am Freitag den 16. August 1912 im großen Saale des Karlshauses zu Aachen (Freiburg im Breisgau: Caritasverband für das katholische Deutschland, 1912), 19, in BAB R1001 5417, 274.

<sup>184</sup> In the previous chapter it was illustrated that a number of European men were sexually involved with African men. This contravened German law and often resulted in the expulsion of the European settler involved. See chapter two "The Settlement of German Southwest Africa: A Settler Colony in Search of Model Colonisers." In the following chapter it will be demonstrated that it was not unknown for European women to engage in sexual unions with African men. See chapter four "Hans Grimm and the Process of 'Verkafferung'. Racial Consciousness, the Woman Colonist, and the Degenerated White Settler in German Colonial Thought."

<sup>185</sup> M. Fleischmann contribution printed in Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910: zu Berlin am 6., 7. und 8. Oktober 1910 (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1910), 550.

citizenship on the part of the government in Berlin, the administration in Windhoek, colonial experts, church leaders, and the European settlers themselves.<sup>186</sup> In throwing open to question assumed notions of essential difference between Africans and Europeans the presence of these children threatened the unravelling of the colonial hierarchy and categorisation system upon which it was based. The chapter begins by looking at the issue of marriages between Africans and Europeans, as well as the development of German colonial law. It moves on to look at the response of the administration, religious leaders and colonists to these marriages and the corresponding growth of an African-European population. As legal and ideological confusion escalated biological and racial markers alone proved to be insufficient in determining a person's status within the colony. Thus, the chapter examines the increasing importance of cultural markers and norms in determining status and in constructing a notion of whiteness. Throughout, it will be demonstrated that the administration sought to re-enforce a fixity of categorisation and to impose policies aimed at limiting the access of the dual descent children and their parents to political institutions and resources.

In a letter dated the 7th of May 1887 sent by the Missions Inspector C.G. Büttner and his colleagues the preachers O. Kersten and H. Weger to the Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, the three men expressed their backing for the legality and recognition by the German government of marriage unions between indigenous African women and European settlers within the colony of German Southwest Africa.<sup>187</sup> This was at a time when European settlement was largely restricted to a small number of missionaries and traders and when few, if any, European women were present in the Southwest. There existed a certain amount of confusion as to whether German citizens were legally able to marry their African partners, and, if so, whether such a marriage had to be conducted before civil authorities as was the case in Germany. Hence the men sought confirmation as to the legality of marriages conducted in the Southwest. In the absence of civil servants the men declared the willingness of missionaries to take over the duties of performing a civil service should a church marital ceremony be deemed insufficient. Furthermore, the three men argued in favour of the recognition as German citizens of the children of dual African and German birth born out of these relationships. Lora Wildenthal has argued that German citizenship law was based upon a gender hierarchy and according to paragraphs 3 and 5 of the *Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust*

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<sup>186</sup> V. Turner's concept of "Threshold People" is discussed in U.E. Bulag, *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 138.

<sup>187</sup> C.G. Büttner, O. Kersten, H. Weger an den Reichskanzler von Bismarck, 7. Mai 1887, BAB R1001 5423, 3-12.

*der Bundes- und Staatsangehörigkeit* of 1st June 1870, German men passed on their citizenship rights and status to their wives and children, whilst German women acquired the citizenship status of their husbands.<sup>188</sup> Children born to German fathers and African mothers would in theory inherit German citizenship. In later years a number of missionaries stationed in the Southwest continued to call for the recognition of existing church marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans based on religious grounds. They tended, however, to disfavour the growth of such relationships and distanced themselves from those settlers involved. What makes this document particularly noteworthy is that the missionaries appeared to be actively promoting the development of mixed African and German families based on their belief,

daß es wünschenswert sein muß, alles zu vermeiden, was diese beiden Theile der Bevölkerung [Africans and Europeans] trennen kann, daß alles zu befördern ist, was dieselben verbindet. Letzteres geschieht am sichersten und dauerhaftesten durch ein geordnetes Familienleben.<sup>189</sup>

The authors of the letter recognised the prevalence of these sexual relationships, remarking that only a few settlers had shied away from seeking an African partner, whilst in contrast only a handful of marriages had taken place. The missionaries believed that those Europeans involved should be forced into taking moral and financial responsibility for their sexual affairs and, therefore, be pressurised into marriage. Such a stance was echoed by leading missionary figures, as well as the Centre Party at the height of the mixed marriage debate in the Reichstag some twenty five years later. Whilst this alone would not bring an end to concubinage the conduction and recognition of Christian marriages would allow a civilised and 'moral' family life to develop. In these terms the family unit was envisaged as being central to the healthy development of the colony. The importance of leading a Christian lifestyle underpinned the men's support of mixed marriages. The indigenous women, it was claimed, conceived of these casual relationships as quasi marriages. This resulted in considerable bitterness developing amongst the indigenous Africans when the settlers often left their partners and children and returned to Europe. In most instances the settlers' African partners came from amongst the leading and most educated African families. As a result, there existed a strong possibility that the most important indigenous families would become firm

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<sup>188</sup> *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, (Berlin: Herausgegeben im Reichsamt des Innern, 16. April 1871), 45, in BAB R151f 4921, 60. See also Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 265.

<sup>189</sup> C.G. Büttner, O. Kersten, H. Weger an den Reichskanzler von Bismarck, 7. Mai 1887, 5.

opponents of the German colonial policy because of the settlers' treatment of their partners.<sup>190</sup>

More importantly, however, the missionaries focused their attention on the children of dual descent, born to African mothers and European fathers. The men alleged that because of the unwillingness of the settlers to take any sort of responsibility for their children, these children were often killed (*getödtet*) before or soon after birth. Equally, they argued that the danger existed that those who survived would grow up to be alienated from the aims of the German colonial project were they to be denied the status and rights associated with German citizenship. Instead, were such children to be legally recognised as being white and being German then they could be employed to help increase and disperse German customs and values within the colony, rather than posing a potential future political threat to the security of the colony. "*Solche von ihren weißen Vätern erzogenen Mischlinge...werden je länger je mehr in den Schutzgebieten das deutsche Element verstärken...*"<sup>191</sup> It was taken for granted that dual descent children would naturally want to copy and follow the example of the Europeans in terms of language and lifestyle. In turn they would represent an example for their indigenous relatives to follow, therefore, helping to ensure the long term dominance of German cultural values and language in the colony. At the same time this was seen as a means through which to culturally educate the indigenous Africans. As a point of reference the authors cited the Spanish colonies in Middle and South America where the Spanish language and customs had superseded the indigenous traditions and lifestyle. A further expected advantage were trade links to be forged between the African-European families and the indigenous Africans. As the final proof of the merits of marriages between Africans and Europeans the three men took the marriage of the missionary Schmelen to a Nama woman as an illustration of a successful union between a European and non-European. The dual descent daughter of the couple married the missionary Kleinschmidt, and it was remarked that, "*ihr Haushalt konnte für alle in Damaraland lebenden Weißen ein Muster sein.*"<sup>192</sup> This reference to the colonial household as evidence of the Schmelen daughter's whiteness is worth noting and will be returned to later. It was further mentioned that the daughter's children were all married to missionaries and leading morally respectable lives.

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<sup>190</sup> C.G. Büttner, O. Kersten, H. Weger an den Reichskanzler von Bismarck, 7. Mai 1887, 6.

<sup>191</sup> C.G. Büttner, O. Kersten, H. Weger an den Reichskanzler von Bismarck, 7. Mai 1887, 7-8.

<sup>192</sup> C.G. Büttner, O. Kersten, H. Weger an den Reichskanzler von Bismarck, 7. Mai 1887, 11.

What the missionaries were proposing, the promotion of marriages between Africans and Europeans and the hope of a growth of a population of dual African and German descent, ran contrary to the policy of political and legal separation of the European and non-European peoples adopted by the colonial authorities in Berlin. This policy of legal separation was enshrined in the *Schutzgebietsgesetz* (SchGG) of 17th April 1886, an Imperial Edict of the 9th November 1900 concerning the legal relationship of the peoples in the colonies, and the revised SchGG enacted on the 19th September 1900. Resulting from the introduction of the above legislation the colonial population was divided into two monolithic categories, that of the *Nicht Eingeborene* (literally non-Native) and that of the *Eingeborene* (literally Native). These simply differentiated between the Europeans and the non-European and indigenous people of the colony, placing both under differing and unequal jurisdictions. In some instances the legal system of the *Eingeborene* was to be regulated according to existing indigenous cultural practice and law, though this increasingly changed with the introduction of the revised SchGG. As the Germans solidified their control over the Southwest a growing number of edicts and ordinances were introduced regulating the lives of the indigenous Africans, replacing previous practice. The need for a rigid categorisation system itself was an expression of a perceived inequality and difference between the colonisers and colonised. Although in the SchGG a specific definition of race was not applied to this division, it is clear that the legal system in the colonies became increasingly infused with contemporary biological racial ideas concerning the imagined biological, moral, and intellectual inferiority of the non-European Other. Indeed as the colonial legal expert J. von Gerstenmeyer argued,

Das Schutzgebietsgesetz geht davon aus, daß die eingeborene Bevölkerung in den Schutzgebieten in Anbetracht ihres geringen Kulturzustandes im allgemein noch nicht reif ist, rechtlich mit den Europäern auf eine Stufe gestellt zu werden.<sup>193</sup>

This is Gerstenmeyer's explanation for the fact that the indigenous Africans were not to be subject to and protected by, the same jurisdiction as the Europeans. The Europeans, therefore, inclusive of non-Germans, were legally classified in the category of the *Nicht Eingeborene*. This meant that they were subject to the laws of the German Reich, which initially included elements of the Prussian civil and legal code. From the 25th of July 1900 this would largely be superseded by the application of the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (BGB) in the colonial territories. The wide variety of indigenous ethnic groups

throughout the colonial territories were legally grouped together in the one amorphous category of the *Eingeborene*, a category which allowed for no recognition of the vastly differing customs and traditions practised by the various population groups.<sup>194</sup> In racial logic the different ethnic groups were of the same race.

Prior to the introduction of the Imperial Edict of 9th November 1900 and the introduction of the revised SchGG, the individual colonial Governors, with the permission of the Reich Chancellor, were under the terms of an Imperial Edict of 15th March 1888, authorised to define how far the "*weiße Gerichtsbarkeit*" (white jurisdiction) that was imposed upon those possessing Reich's citizenship could then be applied to non-German citizens in the colonies.<sup>195</sup> As a result a series of Imperial Edicts were enacted which were applied to Europeans, but excluded the indigenous population. The explicit intention of this was to allow the colonial administrators the ability to define which population groups were to be categorised as belonging to the *Eingeborene* category and which to the *Nicht Eingeborene* category, as well as to define how far the jurisdiction applied to the Europeans affected the indigenous population. Using this opportunity the then *Landeshauptmann* of German Southwest Africa, Curt von François, introduced an administrative order on the 1st of December 1893 clearly defining the population groups he deemed to belong to the category of the *Eingeborene*, and who would then be subject to a different legal jurisdiction from that of the *Nicht Eingeborene*. The *Landeshauptmänner* in the various colonies were able to introduce Edicts relating to the *Eingeborene* jurisdiction, though the Reich Chancellor reserved the right of repeal.<sup>196</sup> Von François placed the following people within the colony under the legal category of the *Eingeborene*; "1) *Die Angehörigen der im Schutzgebiet heimischen Stämme*. 2) *Die Angehörigen anderer farbiger Stämme*. 3) *Die sogenannten Bastards*."<sup>197</sup> Von François reserved the right to re-categorise individuals as *Nicht Eingeborene* should he choose to do so. The final grouping was a reference to the Rehobothers, negatively dubbed Bastards, an ethnic group whose forefathers were both Europeans and Africans. The Rehobothers had entered the German territory in 1869 from Southern Africa. On account of their distant European ancestry the categorisation

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<sup>193</sup> J. von Gerstmeier, "Eingeborenenrecht," in Deutsches Koloniallexikon: Band 1, ed. Schnee, 508.

<sup>194</sup> There were a small number of exceptions made. Thus, the Japanese in Kiaochow were not categorised as being *Eingeborene*. These are listed in Gerstmeier, 508.

<sup>195</sup> Reichs-Gesetzblatt Nr. 11 (Berlin: Herausgegeben im Reichsamt des Innern, 23. März 1888), 71-81, in BAB R1001 5135, 45-50. See also Denkschrift des RKA 18. Juli 1914, BAB R1001 5418, 365-366.

<sup>196</sup> Von François, 98.

<sup>197</sup> Denkschrift des RKA, 18. Juli 1914, 364.

of the Rehobothers as *Eingeborene* proved to be controversial and calls were heard from anthropologists and colonial enthusiasts to either create a special legal category for the Rehobothers or to place them under the *Nicht Eingeborene* category. Von François and his successors as Governor of Southwest Africa would, however, remain insistent upon the Rehobother's categorisation as *Eingeborene*. The *Landeshauptmann's* understanding of the concept of the *Eingeborene* was based upon a strict European and African divide of the colonial population based on geographical origin and racist doctrine linked to notions of skin colour and associated level of culture.

Von François' definition of the *Eingeborene* concept proved to be the first and only positive legal definition of the concept enacted within German Southwest Africa. Indeed less than seven years later the introduction of the Imperial Edict of 9th November 1900 and the revised SchGG meant a repeal of the Imperial Edict of 1888 and an alteration to the legal situation. The individual Governors were no longer in a position to define the *Eingeborene* category. Instead under paragraphs 4 and 7 of the SchGG the application of individual Reich laws and Reich jurisdiction, applied to the *Nicht Eingeborene*, could now only be applied to the *Eingeborene* when specified through the introduction of an Imperial Edict initiated by the Kaiser or with his permission the Reich Chancellor.<sup>198</sup> Thus, the limits of the differing jurisdictions were to be set in Berlin. Crucially, however, the newly imposed legislation contained no substitute terms or norms under which the concept of the *Eingeborene* could be positively defined. The category of the *Eingeborene*, as far as it was defined, was so only in a negative sense. The legislation of 1900, in particular the Imperial Edict of 1900 set limitations to the *Eingeborene* category by defining the groupings which existed outside of the *Eingeborene* jurisdiction - "*Reichsangehörige, Ausländer, und Angehörige fremder d.h ausländischer farbiger Stämme.*"<sup>199</sup> So long as the Africans and Europeans, divided into these two binary categories of the *Eingeborene* and *Nicht Eingeborene*, remained socially separate, then legal separation could be enforced and maintained. Yet, what the colonial policy makers overlooked was the possibility of the fusing of these two categories and the overlapping of the differing jurisdictions. Such a fusion was initiated by the increasing number of sexual relationships between European and indigenous Africans, and was embodied by the growing number of children of dual African and German (European) descent

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<sup>198</sup> Denkschrift des RKA, 18.Juli 1914, 364-366; Gerstmeyer, 508.

<sup>199</sup> Denkschrift des RKA, 18.Juli 1914, 364. Understood under the term "*Angehörige ausländischer farbiger Stämme*" were those Africans in the possession of a European citizenship, although as discussed the courts and authorities in the colonies often ignored the status and rights associated with citizenship. Population groups such as Indians and Arabs were categorised as *Eingeborene*.

resulting from these relationships. In cases of questionable jurisdiction and legal categorisation it was left to the individual administrations and legal authorities within the various colonies to find a suitable interpretation of this ambiguous concept of the *Eingeborene* and to come to a decision concerning the enforcement of the suitable jurisdiction. This posed a potential problem as was admitted in an RKA report of 18th July 1914. "*Seit 1900 besteht daher die Möglichkeit, daß jede Verwaltungs- oder Gerichtsbehörde die Rassenzugehörigkeit oder Rechtsstellung einer Person verschieden beurteilt.*"<sup>200</sup> That this potential legal, social, and political chaos was avoided was, according to the report, thanks to a general consensus and understanding amongst the various levels of the colonial administration as to a definition of the *Eingeborene* category. As will be demonstrated, however, such a consensus was only superficial and the administration found itself entangled in a web of legal confusion in its efforts to enforce a rigid division of the European and African populations.

The differing legal jurisdictions of the *Nicht Eingeborene* and the *Eingeborene* created a considerable degree of confusion amongst missionaries, settlers, governmental and administrative officials as to whether German men could enter into a legally binding marriage with non-European, specifically African, women in the colonial arena. Neither the SchGG of 1886, the amended version of 1900, nor the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, which applied the Reich marriage laws of the 4th May 1870 to the colonial territories, directly dealt with this issue.<sup>201</sup> According to Article 10 of the latter piece of legislation "*Bundes- Reichsangehörige*" no longer living in Germany were permitted to marry abroad, even supposing that their partner was a non-German. Furthermore this meant that German men marrying abroad could pass on their citizenship rights to both wife and children. Although this legislation did not have a specific application to the cases of marriages between Germans and the indigenous Africans of the colonies, an influential district judge in the Southwest, Richter, interpreted Article 10 as setting norms for marriages between *Eingeborenen* and *Nicht Eingeborenen*. He was of the opinion that "*Bundesangehörige*" could be substituted by the concept of *Nicht Eingeborene* and argued that this would allow German and European men to enter into a legally recognised marriage before civil authorities with women categorised as *Eingeborene*.<sup>202</sup> Due to the sheer lack of European women in the colony the theoretical possibility of women settlers wanting to marry indigenous males was not even considered. Richter's view was in direct contrast to that of Governor

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<sup>200</sup> Denkschrift des RKA, 18.Juli 1914, 367.

<sup>201</sup> Essner, 147.

<sup>202</sup> Richter an den Kaiserlichen Gouverneur Leutwein, 10.Juni 1899, BAB R1001 5423, 45.



Theodor Leutwein who argued that the handful of marriages conducted before church authorities from 1895 onwards, between European men and Rehobother or Grootfonteiner women, not be recognised as legally binding. The importance of this is the effect it had on citizenship rights. Leutwein refused to allow the names of children and wives from such marriages to be entered into the colony's civil register, brought into being from 1894 onwards, which denied these people the status of *Nicht Eingeborene*. As a result, Leutwein argued that any children born out of these marriages were to be legally considered "bastards."<sup>203</sup> The Governor's opinion, which was disputed within the KA, was based upon his belief that under the terms of the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, only a marriage conducted before civil authorities was to be legally recognised in colonial territory, as was the case in Germany itself from 1875 onwards, and that only *Nicht Eingeborenen* could enter into such a marriage.<sup>204</sup> All marriages conducted prior to 1898 between *Nicht Eingeborenen* and *Eingeborenen* had, according to Leutwein, been church marriages, hence his refusal to recognise them. The effect of Leutwein's stance, as the Governor himself alluded to, was that many German men who had previously contemplated marrying their African partners now decided otherwise because of the legal disadvantages they and their families would face. This suggests that it was the Governor's policy of a lack of recognition which was instrumental in preventing the number of mixed marriages from growing.<sup>205</sup> Equally this hints at the weakness of race as a defining social category within the colony at this time.<sup>206</sup>

In recognition of the marriage problem Leutwein initiated calls for the sending over of white European women in order that the European settlers might be able to marry women of an equal moral and cultural level. Whilst the first group of European women entered the colony in 1898 it was almost a decade later that the sending over of European women took off.<sup>207</sup> In the face of Leutwein's refusal to recognise the marriages conducted by church officials and the lack of civil officials to conduct civil marriages, the *Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft* appealed to the KA for clarity. The Missions inspector, A. Schreiber, petitioned the Director of the KA, von Buchka, arguing that no other European colonial power placed such legal obstacles to prevent marriages between

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<sup>203</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 23. August 1898, BAB R1001 5423, 34.

<sup>204</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 20. Juni 1899, BAB R1001 5423, 42.

<sup>205</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 23. August 1898, 34. Unfortunately the influence of Leutwein's stance towards mixed marriages is not dealt with in any depth in the secondary literature, nor in the Bundesarchiv files relating to "*Mischehen*", yet it appears that during his period of governorship race as a social definition began to be imposed within the colony, and that settler opinion towards mixed marriages gradually altered to one of rejection.

<sup>206</sup> Noel Ignatiev remarks upon a similar feature in his discussion of Irish and African-American relationships. Ignatiev.

Europeans and non-Europeans.<sup>208</sup> Not only would the existence of a ban hinder the work of the religious missions, but, according to Schreiber, were such marriages to be deemed illegitimate then any resulting children could not be baptised and that the end result would be the development of a "*Bastardrasse*." In response to this mounting pressure from missionary circles, and influenced by the legal arguments provided by Richter, von Buchka declared on the 8th of January 1900 that the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892 in no way imposed a ban on civil marriages between persons categorised as *Nicht-Eingeborenen* with those classified as *Eingeborenen*. Furthermore, indigenous Africans and Europeans could now enter into a legally binding marriage. At the same time von Buchka confirmed Leutwein's decision that church marriages performed in the colonial territory were null and void.<sup>209</sup> Von Buchka's decisions had far reaching implications concerning German citizenship. His recognition of the legality of African and German marriages in turn meant recognition of the ability of German male settlers to pass on their citizenship rights to their indigenous wives and children. It was now legally possible for Africans to become Germans, which resulted in the blurring of the institutionalised distancing of the European from the African, as erected in the legal and status categorisation system.<sup>210</sup> Whilst the introduction of the BGB in the colonies in 1900 theoretically required that marriages be conducted in front of civil authorities, the Reich's ratification of the proposals drawn up at the Hague Wedding Convention in 1904, aimed at the unifying of international marriage rights, lent legitimisation to church marriages carried out in the Southwest. Under the terms of the convention these were to be recognised as marriages with full rights. This only added further complications to the question of the legality of mixed marriages.<sup>211</sup>

Although the KA in Berlin found itself supporting the rights of German settlers to legally marry indigenous Africans, more from a legal rather than any moral standpoint, the administration in the Southwest was becoming increasingly outspoken in criticising settlers who had African partners. The uncertainty of the legal situation continued.

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<sup>207</sup> The figure of the 'lapsed' white settler is discussed in detail in, chapter four "Hans Grimm."

<sup>208</sup> Schreiber an den Herrn Direktor der Kolabt. von Buchka, 15. Dezember 1899, BAB R1001 5423, 50-51.

<sup>209</sup> Von Buchka an den Missionsinspektor Schreiber, 8. Januar 1900, BAB R1001 5423, 52-53.

<sup>210</sup> It was possible for indigenous colonial subjects to apply to be naturalised as German citizens. There is, however, a lack of documentary evidence to suggest that in the colonies this ever extended beyond a few persons of dual descent who were naturalised in connection with the recognition of African-German marriages. Oguntoye has demonstrated that within Germany itself a small number of Africans were granted German citizenship. See K. Oguntoye, *Eine afro-deutsche Geschichte: Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950* (Berlin: Hoho, 1997).

<sup>211</sup> Essner, 148.

Indeed this culminated in a series of measures being introduced by the administration which sought to make African and European marital relationships legally non-viable and to bring an end to the existing legal ambiguity. In the context of the Herero-Nama war which had shaken the stability of German rule in the Southwest, and which only further convinced the administration of the need for a strict political and social segregation of Africans and Europeans, the acting head of the administration, Hans Tecklenburg, and his advisor Oskar Hintrager, took to the offensive. Tecklenburg's initiatives were introduced after Richter, the main proponent of the legal recognition of mixed marriages, had left the Southwest colony. They were in part influenced by the situation in the United States where in a number of states mixed marriages were seen as being socially unacceptable, as well as by the increasing hostility to such marriages in Britain's African colonies. On the 23rd of September 1905 Tecklenburg informed the various administrative authorities within the colony that no further marriages were to be carried out.

Ich beabsichtige eine Entscheidung des Auswärtigen Amtes, Koloniale Abtheilung, über die nach der neuen Fassung des Schutzgebietsgesetzes vom 19. September 1900 zweifelhaft gewordene Zulässigkeit standesamtlicher Trauungen zwischen Weißen und Eingeborenen bzw. Bastarden herbeizuführen. Mit Rücksicht hierauf sind solche Trauungen bis auf weiteres nicht vorzunehmen...Ich bemerke ausdrücklich, daß diese Mischehen diesseits wegen der rechtlichen, politischen sozialen Folgen als durchaus unerwünscht erachtet werden.<sup>212</sup>

Tecklenburg justified the prohibition of any further civil marriages between Africans and Europeans by arguing that the introduction of the new SchGG in 1900, whereby under paragraphs 4 and 7 Reich Laws were only to find jurisdiction over the *Eingeborene* when specifically applied by an Imperial Edict, meant that the marriage regulations of the German Reich, introduced in the colony through the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, no longer found application in cases of marriages between *Eingeborenen* and *Nicht Eingeborenen*.<sup>213</sup> This was because paragraph 10 of the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, seen by Richter as enabling German citizens to marry indigenous African women outwith Germany itself, was no longer applicable since no Imperial Edict had been introduced specifically extending this paragraph to the *Eingeborene* jurisdiction. In a

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<sup>212</sup> O. Hintrager, *Südwestafrika in der deutschen Zeit* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1956), 75 and Urteil des Obergerichts im Fall Cornelia Denk, 26. Juli 1911, BAB R1001 5423, 192.

report to the KA dated a month after the announcement of the prohibition of civil marriages Tecklenburg explained his reasons for the action taken, illustrating the degree to which contemporary racial thinking influenced the administration's policies.<sup>214</sup> In the report Tecklenburg explicitly equated the concept of the *Nicht Eingeborene* with being both white and European, the dual descent children, on account of their African heritage represented a disruption to this notion because they were envisaged as being neither completely European nor white in both biological and cultural terms. Much of the focus of Tecklenburg's report focused on his belief of the political and racial danger represented by growth of this population. He warned that were males to be recognised as German citizens and, therefore, categorised as *Nicht Eingeborenen*, then amongst other rights associated with this status, they would be able to stand for office in the administration, able to vote, and liable for military service. They would be able influence the political and social development of the colony. Equally as German citizens their children and their childrens' children would inherit German citizenship rights and status. At the same time the dual descent population would no longer be subjected to regulations to be applied in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war to the *Eingeborene* category, such as pass regulations, limiting the freedom of movement of indigenous Africans, the prohibition of alcohol intake, and restrictions on the possession of weapons and land. The report was infused with ideas of maintaining specifically German, and European, racial purity and avoiding the degeneration of the white race, which was taken to be the natural conclusion of racial mixing. Tecklenburg viewed this in apocalyptic terms,

Diese Konsequenzen sind in hohem Grade bedenklich und bergen eine große Gefahr in sich. Durch sie wird nicht nur die Reinerhaltung deutscher Rasse und deutscher Gesittung hier, sondern auch die Machtstellung des weißen Mannes überhaupt gefährdet.

Whilst the religious leaders Kersten, Büttner and Weger had looked to the development of a population of European and non European dual descent people in South America in positive terms, Tecklenburg described this as the direct cause of the, "*Verschlechterung der europäischen Rasse*," throughout the continent. Indeed within the colonial and nationalist press South America was taken as an illustration of the degenerative dangers caused by sexual relationships between supposedly inferior and superior people. The

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<sup>213</sup> Tecklenburg an die Kolabt., "Gutachten Betreffend Zulässigkeit von Eheschließungen zwischen Nicht Eingeborenen und Eingeborenen," 23. Oktober 1905, BAB R1001 5423, 67 and BAB R1001 5417, 3.

image of the dual descent children invoked by the missionaries was refuted by Tecklenburg, who insisted that,

Die Abkömmlinge sind in der Regel körperlich und sittlich schwach, vereinigen in sich die schlechten Eigenschaften beider Eltern und folgen naturgemäß in Sprache und Gesittung mehr der eingeborenen Mutter, als dem weißen Vater.

Here the author showed himself to be influenced by the biological racial theory of the likes of the key French racial theorist Gobineau and the German Carl Vogt, which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, but which was still widely influential in both academic and popular thought in the first decades of the twentieth century. According to this theory the mixing of distinct racial types, miscegenation, was firstly fertile, thus leading to a belief in the threat of the German colony being swamped with children of dual descent. Secondly, it was believed to lead to the production of a mongrel racial group, which was inferior to the original in biological and intellectual terms.<sup>215</sup> This belief in the degenerated nature of the dual descent children dominated administrative thinking in the Southwest colony and became a common theme utilised in the media to further provoke fears concerning African and European sexual unions.<sup>216</sup> Even missionary leaders were given to expressing such views, as illustrated by the opinion voiced by C. Wandres of the evangelical Mission in Namaland. Wandres remarked upon the characteristics of the dual descent children, "*Lug und Trug, Sinnlichkeit und dummer Stolz, Neigung zur Unehrlichkeit und Trunksucht and last but not least sie sind fast alle durch die Bank syphilitisch.*"<sup>217</sup> Such comments were illustrative of elements of missionary society aligning themselves behind the administration.

Within Southwest Africa Tecklenburg pointed to the Rehobothers as an example of a population group of mixed ethnicity descending from Europeans and Africans. "*Insbesondere überwiegen auch bei ihnen die schlechten Eigenschaften die Guten.*" The Rehobothers were believed to be the most European of the indigenous Africans and it was no coincidence that they were singled out by Tecklenburg. Indeed it was often Rehobother women who were the partners or brides of the settlers, a fact explained by

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<sup>214</sup> All quotes taken from, Tecklenburg an die Kolabt., "Gutachten Betreffend Zulässigkeit von Eheschließungen zwischen Nicht Eingeborenen und Eingeborenen," 23. Oktober 1905, 67-74.

<sup>215</sup> Young, 18.

<sup>216</sup> For examples, see Gentz, "Die Besiedlungsfrage in Südwest Afrika," in *Koloniale Zeitschrift* 3 (1902): 60; report in *Tägliche Rundschau*, 9. September 1912, in BAB R1001 5417, 242.

contemporaries with regards to the European ancestry of the Rehobothers and their European physical features and characteristics. Despite their European ancestry the Rehobothers were envisaged as being more African than European. It was of concern to the authorities that some settlers, in particular members of the *Schutztruppe* choosing to remain in Southwest Africa after completing their military duty, saw in the Rehobother women a substitute for a German partner. Tecklenburg bemoaned the fact that as well as fulfilling their sexual needs, a number of settlers had taken to imposing European models of courtship in their relationships with the non-European Other. Notably Tecklenburg suggests that the men treated the indigenous women as they would, "*ihre Berliner Köchin oder deutsche Bauerntochter*." Even this was seen as conferring an unwanted degree of respectability to such relationships and contravening the aims of the SchGG. Furthermore it was the application to the district authorities in the Rehoboth district from a number of mixed couples for permission to marry before civil authorities that had caused the district officer, Stübel, to seek advice from his superiors. This in turn prompted Tecklenburg into reviewing the existing legislation and policy towards *Nicht Eingeborene* and *Eingeborene* marriages. A report from Stübel informed Tecklenburg that in Rehoboth already eleven European settlers had married Rehobother women, three of whom had married in front of civil authorities.<sup>218</sup> At least eight of these marriages had taken place prior to the turn of the century whilst a further three had been conducted in 1904-05. In relationship to the significance placed upon them by the administration, the number of marriages between European men and African women in the colony was extremely small. According to official statistics no more than forty marriages were affected by the measures taken by the Governor, the majority taking place prior to the turn of the century when there were very few European women in the colony. Of these less than half involved German citizens, the majority of men involved being British citizens.<sup>219</sup> The possibility of German women marrying African men was entirely dismissed and E. Krauß later suggested, "*Der umgekehrte Fall, daß eine weiße Frau einen Farbigen geheiratet hätte, ist wohl in Deutschland, in den Schutzgebieten selbst aber nicht vorgekommen*."<sup>220</sup> Equally, it was falsely believed that the European settlers had abstained from taking Africans of "pure race" as marriage partners, hence the focus

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<sup>217</sup> C. Wandres, "Bemerkungen über Mischehen und Mischlinge aus der Praxis für die Praxis," 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 248-250.

<sup>218</sup> Stübel an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 7. September 1905, BAB R1001 5417, 9.

<sup>219</sup> Hintrager an das RKA, 20. Juni 1910, BAB R1001 5423, 131.

<sup>220</sup> E. Krauß, "Mischehen," in *Deutsches Koloniallexikon: Band II*, in ed. Schnee, 566. Whilst there is little evidence of German women having married indigenous Africans within the German colonies Oguntoye has demonstrated that in Germany a small number of marriages took place between African men and German women. Hintrager also relates to a marriage between an African academic and his German partner, Oguntoye; Hintrager, 74.

on the Rehobothers.<sup>221</sup> In Rehoboth a further five couples had applied to marry and it was this potential increase in the number of marriages and the potential fertility of these marriages that caused Tecklenburg and his advisors great concern.

Like the former Governor Leutwein, Tecklenburg feared the rapid growth of a dual African-European, specifically African-German, population, believing that within a couple of generations Southwest Africa would be populated by hundreds of dual descent people, all of them possessing a legal claim to German citizenship and the corresponding rights. According to some newspaper reports this scenario of the colony being swamped by dual descent children had already been realised.<sup>222</sup> It was in the face of this perceived danger posed by the growth in the number of dual descent children, and in part a recognition of the difficulties of legally preventing concubinage, that convinced Tecklenburg of the need to take measures whereby such children would at least no longer be capable of becoming German citizens and placed under the *Nicht Eingeborene* jurisdiction. This led him to the conviction that these children, "*sollen durch Gesetze keine Rechte ehelicher Kinder und kein Einfluß auf die Geschicke des Landes eingeräumt werden.*" The consequences of Tecklenburg's actions were an open contravention of the decision taken by von Buchka and the KA to recognise the rights of European and African marriages. This led to vehement protests from the *Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft*, which were cast aside by the incoming Governor, Friedrich von Lindequist. The protests of the church authorities were based upon the wish that European settlers be made to take responsibility for their sexual affairs, rather than echoing the pro-mixed marriage stance of the likes of Büttner.<sup>223</sup> The new Governor showed himself to be deeply influenced by Tecklenburg's report referring to it in his correspondence with the KA and informing them that, "[ich] werde alles tun, was in meinem Kräften steht, um die bedauerliche Rassenvermischung zu verringern."<sup>224</sup> Indeed, in October of 1906 von Lindequist expanded the prohibition on mixed marriages to include all church marriage ceremonies.<sup>225</sup> Gradually an increasing number of missionaries sided with the administration in their stance over mixed marriages. They were not willing to incur the wrath of the authorities by performing church marital ceremonies.

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<sup>221</sup> The categorisation of the Rehobothers as *Eingeborenen* was ruled in the case of Fiskus and Hill referred to in Urteil des Kaiserlichen Bezirksgerichts Keetmanshoop im Fall Louis Lange, 23 April 1909, BAB R1001, 5418, 279.

<sup>222</sup> For examples, see "Randbemerkungen," in *Deutsche Welt: Wochenschrift der Deutschen Zeitung*, 28. Januar 1906, 286, in BAB R1001 5417, 18; Dr. W., "Die Südwestafrikanischen Bastards," in *Kolonie und Heimat* 1 Nr.13 (1908): 6.

<sup>223</sup> Bley, 213.

<sup>224</sup> Von Lindequist an die Kolabt., 12. August 1906, BAB R1001 5423, 80.

<sup>225</sup> Wildenthal, 99.

According to the aforementioned Oskar Hintrager the Governor and administration in the Southwest had been given a free hand by the KA to deal with the issue of mixed marriages as they saw fit. This appears to have been because of general unwillingness and inability on behalf of the KA to impose a general ruling concerning mixed marriages for the colonies, which in part could contradict existing legislation concerning mixed marriages performed in Germany. Within Germany mixed marriages were, because of existing law, legally recognised and a very small number of marriages between Africans and Germans had been performed in the metropole.<sup>226</sup> Equally the hesitancy of the KA was due to the contrasting policies of the Governors of Germany's South Seas colonies concerning the dangers of European and Non-European relationships. In contemporary racial thinking, in contrast to African women, the cultural and racial differences between the Europeans and indigenous women in the South Seas were not believed to be so pronounced. Indeed in this region the number of mixed marriages was greater than in the Southwest.<sup>227</sup> In Melanesia and Micronesia the incidences of relationships and marriages between even members of the colonial hierarchy and indigenous women were high.<sup>228</sup> These factors would hinder the KA and the RKA, the independent Colonial administration that from 1907 onwards replaced the former, reaching a clear decision regarding the legal right of Europeans to marry indigenous Africans in the Southwest. The State Secretary of the RKA, Bernhard Dernburg, on taking up his post announced that the mixed marriage issue was to be put to one side for the immediate future.<sup>229</sup> Dernburg's immediate interests were in imposing an efficient organisational structure over German colonial policy and in revamping the economic policies of the individual colonies in order to increase productivity. Yet, as Cornelia Essner has demonstrated Dernburg gave a semblance of support to the measures undertaken by Tecklenburg. He chose to oppose the entering of the names of dual descent children, whose parents had married outwith the Southwest colony in order to avoid being subjected to the prohibitions, in the Southwest African civil register.<sup>230</sup> This was a move, which was aimed at depriving these children of social and political recognition within the colony, and confirmed their status as *Eingeborene*. On top of this Dernburg endorsed the

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<sup>226</sup> Oguntoye has demonstrated that within Germany itself a small number of marriages between Africans and German women took place. Furthermore she argues that a small number of Africans successfully managed to apply for German citizenship. Oguntoye.

<sup>227</sup> Hintrager, 77.

<sup>228</sup> See H.J. Hiery, "Germans, Pacific Islanders and Sexuality: German Impact and Indigenous Influence in Melanesia and Micronesia," in European Impact and Pacific Influence: British and German Colonial Policy in the Pacific Islands and the Indigenous Response, eds. H.J. Hiery & J.M. MacKenzie (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

<sup>229</sup> Essner, 149.



exclusion of all Germans living in concubinage or marriage with African women from the franchise to the newly formed administrative advisory body in the Southwest, the *Landesrat*, which was comprised of settlers picked by the Governor and voted in by German men. In the constitution of the *Landesrat*, worked out in the RKA, clause 17 (f) disqualified such men from voting rights.<sup>231</sup> Throughout the duration of German colonial rule over the Southwest Tecklenburg's instructions remained in place. They represented only administrative instructions and neither an official ban passed by the Reichstag and Bundesrat nor an Imperial Edict was ever introduced preventing African and European marriages.<sup>232</sup>

It appears that part of the difficulty for the RKA in introducing a formal ban was that this would infringe upon specific rights guaranteed in the BGB and would require a legal alteration being made to the Colonial constitution. Although such a move was favoured by some legal experts Dernburg initiated measures which potentially provided an alternative solution. On the 3rd of June 1908 he introduced an Imperial Edict, which was geared towards easing the problems arising from the overlapping of the *Eingeborene* and *Nicht Eingeborene* jurisdictions.<sup>233</sup> Under the terms of the Edict the Kaiser in his position as "*Oberster Schutzherr*" ceded a degree of his executive powers to the Reich Chancellor, which enabled the latter, and with his permission the Secretary of State of the RKA and the individual colonial Governors, to issue instructions or regulations pertaining to the jurisdiction of the *Eingeborene* even to legal situations where persons classified as *Nicht Eingeborene* were affected. Therefore, in such situations where the *Eingeborene* and *Nicht Eingeborene* jurisdictions overlapped, as was the case of mixed marriages, it was theoretically possible to introduce regulations through the *Eingeborene* jurisdiction in order to introduce necessary legislation and, therefore, avoid any alteration to the BGB. In effect Dernburg was leaving it in the hands of the individual Governors to decide for themselves in the cases of overlapping jurisdictions. As will be discussed, a further crucial feature of the Imperial Edict was that it retrospectively lent legitimacy to decisions and actions which pertained to the problem of the overlapping jurisdictions taken by colonial officials and administrative organs prior to the enactment of the 1908 edict.

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<sup>230</sup> Essner, 150.

<sup>231</sup> Külz, *Die Selbstverwaltung*, 56.

<sup>232</sup> According to a RKA report Seitz officially prohibited civil officials from conducting marriages between *Eingeborenen* and *Nicht Eingeborenen* in 1911. *Denkschrift des RKA*, 18. Juli 1914, 374.

<sup>233</sup> Gerstmeyer, 508.

Within the colony itself the influence of the actions taken by Tecklenburg in prohibiting all further civil marriages would be seen soon after in a series of precedent setting decisions taken by the district and central courts within the colony. These led to the temporary annulment of all marriages between Europeans and Africans. Furthermore a general consensus regarding a working definition of the *Eingeborene* concept was established.<sup>234</sup> Tecklenburg's interpretation of the lack of applicability of paragraph 10 of the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, in cases of marriages between those classified as *Eingeborenen* and those as *Nicht Eingeborenen* was retroactively applied in the courts' decisions. In September of 1907 the district court in Windhoek rejected the claims of the British citizen Ada Maria Leihnos for divorce costs against her second husband, a German freight transporter.<sup>235</sup> This was a decision which was later upheld by the central court in Windhoek. The marriage had taken place on German colonial territory in May of 1904 before any administrative prohibition had been introduced and was conducted in front of civil authorities. Yet, the courts declared Leihnos' claims and marriage to be invalid. Leihnos, through birth, had inherited the citizenship of her British father and, through marriage, that of her first husband who was also a British citizen. Thus, in legal terms there was no doubt that Leihnos was a British citizen. The court, however, ruled that on account of her mother descending from the indigenous Herero, she too was to be legally and politically categorised as being an *Eingeborene*, regardless of her citizenship rights. It was concluded that, "*Wegen ihrer Abstammung von einer Eingeborenen muss sie selbst als solche gelten.*" According to the court because of Leihnos' status as an *Eingeborene* and because of the lack of an Imperial Edict specifically applying the Reich marriage laws, as introduced in the colonies under the Imperial Edict of 8th November 1892, to those classified as *Eingeborenen*, it was impossible for Europeans and Africans to enter into a legally binding marriage. Leihnos could not seek financial compensation from her husband because it was deemed that her marriage was never legally binding in the first place. Such a decision had far reaching consequences. Firstly the possession of an internationally recognised status of citizenship was overlooked and ignored on the grounds of a concept of racial origin whereby blood relationships became key in a defining a person's status. This was a move which later

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<sup>234</sup> Hintrager, 77. According to Hintrager the *Obergericht* in Windhoek had reached a legal decision in 1905, prior to Tecklenburg's policy of banning mixed marriages, which declared marriages between Rehobothers and Europeans to be illegal. It is to be suggested that the impulse to prohibit such marriages came from the courts rather than the administration, although the connections between courts and administration were strong. It is possible that this decision is that of the case Fiskus and Hill referred to in *Urteil des Kaiserlichen Bezirksgerichts Keetmanshoop im Fall Louis Lange*, 23 April 1909, BAB R1001, 5418, 279, where mention is made of the fact that the Rehobothers are to be seen as being *Eingeborene*.

drew protest from the British colonial authorities who demanded that the German administration continue to recognise the legal rights of those persons possessing British citizenship, regardless of their ethnic origin.<sup>236</sup> The courts concluded that, "*jeder, dessen Stammbaum auf väterlicher oder mütterlicher Seite auf einen Eingeborenen zurückgeführt werden kann, selbst als Eingeborener betrachtet und behandelt wird.*" The decision of the courts, partly aimed at the preservation of what was conceived of as German and European racial purity, thereby set a legal precedent that all people in the colony whose ancestry could be traced to a person categorised as an *Eingeborene* would themselves also be designated this inferior legal status. This relates to the "one drop" law introduced in the United States in the aftermath of the civil war whereby "if you had one drop of 'non-white blood' in your veins, you could not qualify as a white."<sup>237</sup> Those who would have previously inherited German status were excluded from possession of German citizenship, regardless as to how distant this relationship was. A second consequence was that court's ruling confirmed that "*Ehen zwischen Weißen und Eingeborenen, Mischehen in technischen Sinne, sind aber rechtsungültig.*" This was retroactively extended to all marriages carried out prior to Tecklenburg's instructions and meant that indigenous African women and dual descent children who had attained German citizenship through marriage or birth, now reverted back to being categorised as *Eingeborene*. Such a decision, like those made by Tecklenburg, directly contravened the legal rights of German men to pass on their citizenship rights and status. This established a concept of the *Eingeborene* as a racially inclusive, hereditary community of descent, whilst paradoxically in the colonial arena German citizenship and the category of the *Nicht Eingeborene* was established as an increasingly exclusionary community of descent. The possession of European citizenship was no longer a guarantee of being categorised as a white: settlers had to be deemed racially white in order to be categorised as being white.

The central administration in Windhoek, from late 1907 until 1910 under the Governorship of Bruno von Schuckmann, chose to support the decisions reached by the courts and the Governor further suggested that the colony's district and regional authorities adopt this radicalised definition of the *Eingeborene* concept. Only the regional officer in Keetmanshoop expressed a degree of reservation concerning the

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<sup>235</sup> Aside from where otherwise mentioned all quotes taken from, Urteil des Obergerichts Windhoek im Fall Ada Maria Leihnos, April 1910, BAB R1001 5417, 59-63.

<sup>236</sup> Granville an Solf, 11. Oktober 1912, BAB R1001 5417, 259.

<sup>237</sup> P.C. Wander, J.N. Martin & T.K. Nakayama, "Whiteness and Beyond: Sociohistorical Foundations of Whiteness and Contemporary Challenges," in Whiteness: The Communication of

consequences of adopting this model, thus, a general consensus concerning a definition of the *Eingeborene* was established in Southwest Africa.<sup>238</sup> Importantly, under the terms of Dernburg's Imperial Edict of the 3rd of June 1908 it appears that the decisions reached by the courts, as well as Tecklenburg's instructions, were, within Southwest Africa, to be recognised as setting examples upon which future judicial decisions and administrative instructions could be based. This lent the policies of the courts and administration a degree of retroactive legitimisation and likely explains why there was no need for an official ban of mixed marriages to be introduced by the RKA.

The resolve to re-enforce fixed categories within Southwest Africa was in the face of the instability brought about by the growth of the dual descent population whose very existence brought a disparity and fragmentation to the existing legal categories. The administration's determination not to recognise the dual descent children as being white was shared by a large proportion of the European settlers. Schuckmann's replacement Seitz (1910-1915), who took over as Governor in November of 1910, was a convinced opponent of the recognition of the rights of the dual descent children and indigenous wives of European settlers. He claimed that children born out of mixed marriages conducted prior to their prohibition in 1905 had never been socially or legally accepted as being *Nicht Eingeborenen* by the European settlers.<sup>239</sup> The majority of the representatives in the *Landesrat*, the political voice of the settlers, to the delight of Seitz, expressed their determination that the dual descent children be confirmed in their status as *Eingeborene*, rather than be recognised as Europeans or be given a "*Sonderstellung*" as had been suggested by a number of experts within Germany as well as by the *Central Ausschuß für die Innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*.<sup>240</sup> Seitz had considered the forcible removal of dual descent children from their indigenous mothers so that they could be educated in state institutions. He was, however, convinced by an expert on African affairs that the African mothers would be only too glad to be rid of the burden of looking after their dual descent children. The unnamed expert argued that the mothers had no strong relationship to their dual descent offspring.<sup>241</sup>

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*Social Identity*, eds. T.K. Nakayama & J.N. Martin (Thousand Oaks [California]: Sage Publications, 1998), 18.

<sup>238</sup> Essner, 153.

<sup>239</sup> Seitz an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 11. September 1913, BAB R1001 5418, 275.

<sup>240</sup> For the views of the *Landesrat* see, Seitz an das RKA, 23. Juli 1911, BAB R1001 5423, 179.

Regarding views in Germany, see, G. Hartmann, "Die Mischrassen in unseren Kolonien besonders in Südwestafrika," in *Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, 910. Views of the *Central Ausschuß* expressed in Central Ausschuß für die Innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche an den Herrn Staatssekretär, 28. März 1911, BAB R1001 5423, 158-159.

Indeed, a tragic illustration of the rejection of the dual descent children, not simply by the European society, but also the indigenous Africans, was the abandonment of literally dozens of children by their parents. As aforementioned, Büttner had suggested that dual descent children were often killed before or after birth, and an article in Deutsche Welt: Wochenschrift der Deutschen Zeitung suggested that abandoned dual descent children were often found wandering around the villages of the colony.<sup>242</sup> According to the article such children were frequently attacked by African children who threw stones at them. It is difficult to explain why both the European fathers and African mothers should reject their children. In the yearly report of the *Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft* it is suggested that in light of the social stigma and political policies of the administration fathers were often unwilling or unable to recognise dual descent children as their own.<sup>243</sup> Equally, however, there was until 1911 no compulsion on fathers to take care of their children. The report also suggested that Africans perceived the children of dual descent as being different from themselves. Unfortunately the available sources do not provide any further explanations nor do they allow for an insight into how the African mothers were treated by their fellow Africans. The *Rheinische-Missions-Gesellschaft* in conjunction with the *Central Ausschuß für die Innere Mission* ran two orphanages for dual descent children in Keetmanshoop and Okahandja, for which they received little financial support from the administration whose policy continued to be that dual descent children be given no special status.<sup>244</sup> The missionary organisation wanted to educate these children separately from those classified as *Eingeborene* in order that they adopt European habits and a European lifestyle and that they be sheltered from the negative influence of growing up surrounded by *Eingeborenen*. Seitz, apparently with the backing of the *Landesrat*, however, successfully advocated that the RKA reject all applications for funding. The administration refused to help subsidise the sending over of two women to help with the care and education of the children. In the orphanage in Keetmanshoop in 1910 there were twenty children, whilst in Okahandja there were forty nine children in care up to the age of twelve. Whilst it was hoped that the "white" fathers would pay for the care costs this only happened in three cases in Okahandja, in all the other cases the mission had to meet costs. The future for these children remained

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<sup>241</sup> Seitz an das RKA, 24. Februar 1911, BAB R1001 5423, 146.

<sup>242</sup> Deutsche Welt: Wochenschrift der Deutschen Zeitung, 28. Januar 1906, 18.

<sup>243</sup> "Ein Gang durch unsere afrikanische Mission: Hereroland," Berichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft 1909 (Barmen: Druck von D.B. Wiemann, 1909), 178.

<sup>244</sup> The exact nature of these institutions is difficult to assess. In the yearly report of the *Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft* they are referred to as *Erziehungshäuser*, whilst in the appeals made to the administration for funding they are specifically referred to as orphanages - *Waisenhäuser*.

uncertain, but the missionaries aimed to provide them with a Christian upbringing and knowledge of the German language.

Wir hoffen durch christliche Geduld, straffe Zucht, dauernde Gewöhnung an körperliche und geistige Arbeit und vor allem durch christliche Erziehung diese armen Kinder, um die sonst niemand kümmert, zu nützlichen Gliedern der Kolonie heranzuziehen.

The various mission groups were divided over the advantages of assimilating the dual descent children and increasingly missionaries, in face of the administration's stringent policies, were aligning themselves behind the stance of the administration and settlers. Education, or a lack of educational possibilities, was employed as a means to enforce a minority status upon the dual descent children. The *Evangelische Kirche-Gemeinde* in Windhoek voted to exclude all dual descent children from its Kindergarten and the Namaland section of the society gave support to the policy to categorise dual descent children as *Eingeborenen*.<sup>245</sup> The *Windhoeker Schulverein* likewise decided to exclude children of dual descent and Seitz attempted to prevent dual descent children from being educated in schools founded and run by the administration.<sup>246</sup> The settlers demonstrated their consensus with the administration's policies with many parents refusing to send their children to a school where they could come into contact with what were regarded as biological and cultural inferiors. There was a sense of paranoia that by simply coming into contact with dual descent children, European children would be tainted and exposed to the alleged inferior culture of the *Eingeborene*. Thus, it was essential that from school age onwards the hierarchical structure of colonial society be imposed upon the various population groups. At the same time as this process of social and political separation was taking place the policies being adopted by the authorities in the colony were leading to an artificial increase in the dual descent population.

Whilst the administration and courts' policies were primarily aimed at shutting the indigenous and dual descent population out of settler society, they equally had the effect of disrupting the stability of settler society. The establishment of a one drop rule in the Southwest and the retroactive annulment of marriages between *Nicht Eingeborenen* and *Eingeborenen* lent a fluidity to the legal and political categorisation of the colonial population as the courts and administration paradoxically attempted to maintain the rigid

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<sup>245</sup> Report in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10./11. Februar 1906, BAB R1001 5417, 20; Wandres, 248-250.

<sup>246</sup> P. Rohrbach, *Die Kolonie* (Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt Rütten u. Loening, 1907), 40.

binary, racially orientated, categorisation system. The categorisation and ancestry of a large number of settlers, previously considered to be European and *Nicht Eingeborene*, particularly those whose families were long established in Southern Africa, was now questioned and in certain cases also changed. This led to a destabilisation and radicalisation of the collective European settler identity, which naturally affected settlers on a social and personal level. The consequences for European men whose status was changed by the courts were extreme. Particular in legal proceedings brought against European settlers or in applications for marriage or the registration of births would their ancestry be thoroughly investigated. The positive identification of the accused as being related to an *Eingeborene* often went hand in hand with a positive conviction, thus, doubling the undesirability of the settler as a member of European colonial society on account of this apparent racial transgression and inefficiency as a settler. On the 18th of September 1913 Willy Krabbenhöft wrote to the President of the *Fortschrittliche Volkspartei* in Germany looking for support for settlers sharing his fate. "*Ich will vorausschicken, daß ich heute von Gouvernement von Deutsch Südwest Afrika als Mischling behandelt werde, früher nicht.*"<sup>247</sup> Krabbenhöft had come before the *Obergericht* in 1910 accused of shooting the dog of an indigenous police assistant. In the course of the proceedings it came to light that his mother was born out of a relationship between an English man and a Rehobother woman. Similar to the Leihnos case the court overlooked the citizenship status of Krabbenhöft's mother and decided that the marriage of his parents, previously recognised by the administration, was no longer to be recognised since his father had married a woman of *Eingeborene* extraction. As a consequence, Krabbenhöft was re-classified as an *Eingeborene* and lost his status as a German and *Nicht Eingeborene* and, therefore, his civil rights within the colony. In his letter Krabbenhöft briefly relates to the upheaval and uncertainty that administrative policy had caused. "*Die Betroffenen leben in dauernder Unsicherheit und wissen nicht, wohin sie gehören. Diesem Zustand muß ein Ende gemacht werden.*" His sense of bitterness and injustice at the decision was heightened by the fact that the court had decided in favour of a "*pech schwarzer Kaffer*" whilst he himself was white in appearance, but all the more so because he had served three and a quarter years military service within the colony, for which he was decorated. Having believed that he had fulfilled his obligations to the state, Krabbenhöft was of the opinion that the administration had now turned its back on him.

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<sup>247</sup> Krabbenhöft an den Herrn Präsident der Fortschrittlichen Volkspartei, 18. September 1913, BAB R1001 5418, 331-335. All following quotes taken from this letter.

A similar fate of re-categorisation awaited the qualified engineer Ludwig Baumann. In an infamous case in which Baumann was convicted of fraud, it was revealed that his grandmother, on his mother's side, was of *Eingeborene* extraction. As well as losing his social status Baumann was increasingly shut out of European society because he was no longer deemed to be European. Governor Theodor Seitz commented,

Baumann betrachtet seine Abstammung von Eingeborenen wohl nicht mit Unrecht als den Hauptgrund weswegen er im Schutzgebiet seit einiger Zeit keine leitende, seiner Vorbildung entsprechende Stellung mehr finden konnte.<sup>248</sup>

As these cases demonstrate it was not simply first generation dual descent children who were designated the status of the *Eingeborene*, but also long standing members of the European society within the colony could suddenly have their social and political status re-evaluated, hence the degree of social instability caused by the one drop rule. Seitz remarked upon the social consequences for those whose categorisation was altered. "*Personen, die von Eingeborenen abstammen, werden erfreulicher Weise in diesem Lande von der Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung gesellschaftlich peinlich gemieden.*"<sup>249</sup>

A degree of social alienation also awaited those in mixed marriages. In a letter to Governor Schuckmann, Carl Becker relates to the "social unpleasantness" he faced on account of his marriage to his Rehobother wife.<sup>250</sup> European settler society had become increasingly vocal in its condemnation of such marriages. Indeed it was in part, on account of the prevailing social attitudes towards mixed marriages that allowed the administrators and courts to implement their policies aimed at outlawing such marriages and preventing dual descent children from being recognised as either Germans or *Nicht Eingeborenen*. Social and economic ties to settlers known to have an African wife were broken and these settlers were depicted in the colonial press as being a "degenerated" form of the white European man. This was illustrated by the term "*verkaffern*" coming into common use, a theme that will be explored in the next chapter.<sup>251</sup> Religious figures such as the *Präses* Olpp openly called for a social boycott of all settlers sexually involved with indigenous Africans.<sup>252</sup> Much of the social and political life of the European settlers revolved around the colony's various social, economic, and political clubs and societies. Needless to say, such clubs did not open their membership to those

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<sup>248</sup> Seitz an das RKA, 6.März 1914, BAB R1001 5418, 346.

<sup>249</sup> Seitz an das RKA, 23.Juni 1911, 179.

<sup>250</sup> Becker case discussed, and Becker quoted and translated in Bley, 216-217.

<sup>251</sup> See chapter four "Hans Grimm."



categorised as *Eingeborenen* and increasingly they also took to closing their membership to European men known to be married to indigenous women. In the statutes of the Gymnastics club (*Turnverein*) and Farmers' club in Windhoek such Europeans were excluded from membership. This became the norm as these Europeans were socially excluded on account of what was increasingly portrayed as an unnatural marriage relationship. The District club in Gibeon took things a step further by refusing to allow membership to any European known to be sexually involved with an indigenous woman. It must, however, still be kept in mind that the actual number of European men married to African women was around 40. That the settler Martin Wede whose marriage to the Rehobother woman Sophia Diergardt was annulled, could continue to maintain his position in the Veterans' (*Kriegerverein*) and Farmers' clubs illustrates that there were exceptions to this rule, particularly in cases where the settler involved was a long standing and economically successful member of the European settler society. In the light of the social disadvantages he and his family encountered Wede petitioned the Reich Chancellor in 1907.

Das Verbot an die Standesämter, in Zukunft Ehen zwischen Weißen und Eingeborenen nicht mehr abzuschließen, und seine Ausdehnung auch auf solche Ehen, welche bereits kirchlich eingesegnet waren, und zwar unter stillschweigender Duldung des Staates, enthält für die Betroffenen eine unverdiente Härte und für die aus solche Ehen entsprossenen Kinder rechtliche Nachteile.<sup>253</sup>

Contemporaries shared Wede's sense of betrayal at the policies of the administration. He related to the legal disadvantages to which he and his children would be subjected on account of the invalidity of his marriage. Becker expanded upon these legal disadvantages. Under the aforementioned paragraph 17 (f) of the new *Landesrat's* constitution settlers married to indigenous women and their children lost their civil rights. This, according to Becker, did not merely equate with a loss of voting rights, but also meant that those concerned were refused educational grants for the schooling of their children, subsidies to improve land, permission to obtain further land or building plots, and a wide variety of licences.<sup>254</sup> Furthermore Hintrager prohibited all Europeans and their indigenous partners from being able to purchase farms belonging to the

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<sup>252</sup> *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 27. April 1910, 5

<sup>253</sup> Wede an das RKA, 25. Juni 1907, BAB R1001 5423, 98.

<sup>254</sup> Bley, 216-217.

administration.<sup>255</sup> Such measures greatly curtailed settlers' opportunities for carving out an existence in the Southwest.

That paragraph 17 (f) applied to all European settlers in Southwest Africa in any way sexually involved with indigenous women, meant that it potentially affected a far larger proportion of the colonial population than the small number of settlers married to indigenous women. Within the colony there continued to exist a level of hypocrisy whereby concubinage between European men and African women continued to flourish whilst those Europeans seeking a legally binding relationship were persecuted. Hintrager reported in 1909 that the official number of dual descent children in Southwest Africa had increased from 1112 to 1574, and included in this number were only 67 newly born Rehobother children. Therefore, over the period of a single year around 400 children had been born out of European and African sexual relationships.<sup>256</sup> Wede explained the decision to marry his Rehobother partner partly in terms of a wish to avoid living in what in other circumstances would have been seen as an immoral relationship. "*Um nicht in Konkubinat zu leben, hatte ich mich zur kirchlichen Trauung entschloßen.*"<sup>257</sup> Becker too, questioned why he should face public persecution and a loss of civil rights for taking moral responsibility for his relationship with his African wife.

Why does it happen to me? Because I have not done as so many others [I could give their names] who have lived with native women and brought children into the world, only to abandon them and to live now partly in respect and honour...<sup>258</sup>

In the metropole concubinage offended bourgeois morality and was often perceived as being a norm of working class sexual behaviour. Bajohr has shown that in Brunswick the authorities went as far as to physically separate illegitimate relationships.<sup>259</sup> Yet the modes and norms of sexual relationships within the colonial arena, particularly involving indigenous women and European men, bore little resemblance to those in Germany. As Lora Wildenthal suggests,

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<sup>255</sup> *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 27. April 1910, 5.

<sup>256</sup> Hintrager an das RKA, 20. Juni 1910, BAB R1001 5423, 130. This figure does appear to be relatively high, and it is possible that included in this were older children whose births had not been previously registered.

<sup>257</sup> Wede an das RKA, 25 Juni 1907, 98.

<sup>258</sup> Becker quoted and translated in Bley, 216-217.

<sup>259</sup> S. Bajohr, "Illegitimacy and the Working Class: Illegitimate Mothers in Brunswick, 1900-1933," in *The German Working Class, 1888-1933: The Politics of Everyday Life*, ed. R.J. Evans (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

In the colonies German men were able to represent German civilisation, yet leave "civilised" relationships between the sexes behind. Sexual and other forms of coercion that were unacceptable in Germany were part and parcel of the apparatus of rule in the colonies.<sup>260</sup>

The hard-line attitude of the settlers against African-European marriages as opposed to concubinage is most likely to be explained by the fact that only through legitimate birth or marriage could people otherwise categorised as *Eingeborenen* transgress the binary legal divisions. Equally, many settlers saw the maintaining of this division as key to the future success of the Southwest colony, as well as the key to the maintenance of their own social status. Marriages lent an unwanted degree of respectability within the public arena to relationships with the non-European Other, whereas concubinage was a tolerated private matter. Equally such marriages were increasingly an anomaly due to the growth in the presence of European women in the Southwest. The sending over of women to the settler colony had taken off in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war and was funded thanks to the efforts of organisations like the *Frauenbund der Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, an auxiliary branch of the DKG. Seitz noted,

ferner machte sich in den letzten Jahren...infolge der grösseren Einwanderung weisser Frauen eine allmähliche Umwandlung in der öffentlichen Meinung dahin geltend, daß die geschlechtliche Verbindung mit einer Farbigen eines Weissen unwürdig ist.<sup>261</sup>

With the increased presence of European women in the colony the sense of immorality and public outcry against those known to have an African partner grew. Despite this concubinage relationships between Africans and Europeans were still common. Seitz's appraisal of settler opinion would appear to be somewhat of an exaggeration given the negative reaction within the colony to the attempt to disqualify all settlers sexually involved with indigenous women from possession of their civil rights.

The paragraph 17 (f), mentioned above, drawn up by the RKA, demonstrates a failure on the part of the authorities in the metropole to recognise the differing norms of sexual behaviour within the colony as opposed to those in Germany. Many settlers

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<sup>260</sup> L. Wildenthal, "Geschlechterspannungen und Rassismus im deutschen Kolonialismus," Beitrag zur Tagung: Phantasiereiche. Der deutsche Kolonialismus in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 9-10. November 2001, 2-3.

<sup>261</sup> Seitz an das RKA, 23. Juni 1911, 179.

within the colony potentially faced a loss of their civil rights under this paragraph and the Südwestafrikanische Zeitung, one of the colony's largest circulating papers, openly criticised the hardships that this entailed and giving voice to an ever increasing number of opponents to paragraph 17 (f). The paper proposed that settlers involved in concubinage regain their civil rights and, furthermore, "*man sollte Frauen mit geringer eingeborener Blutmischung die sich dessen Wert gezeigt haben, in Interesse ihrer Männer für Weiße erklären,*" so that they too could regain their civil rights.<sup>262</sup> Indeed the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, whilst opposing mixed marriages, backed the proposals of the Südwestafrikanische Zeitung and expressed sympathy for Becker, suggesting that his family in no way conformed with the typical image of a "degenerated" white household.<sup>263</sup> The issue was taken up by the *Landesrat* on the 22nd of April 1910. Here a degree of sympathy was expressed not simply for the European men involved, but also for the wives, who it was stressed frequently brought their fortune into the marriage, and the children whose inferior legal position meant that they were shut out of any inheritance claims.<sup>264</sup> A motion was passed by the advisory body suggesting that the Governor be allowed to restore the civil rights of settlers, married before church authorities prior to the 1st of January 1893 or civil authorities prior to 1st of October 1905, whose marriages and lifestyle conformed to European norms of morality.<sup>265</sup> Governor Schuckmann, soon to be replaced by Seitz, promoted the proposals of the *Landesrat* in his correspondence with the State Secretary, Dernburg, who in light of this burgeoning opposition from within the Southwest, eventually consented to an alteration in the paragraph. Schuckmann was allowed to restore the civil rights to those settlers who engaged in concubinage with *Eingeborene* women and also to settlers whose marriages to indigenous women were believed to meet this desired degree of moral and civil respectability. As Wildenthal suggests it appears that it was men like Becker, long standing, economically successful settlers, in the possession of large farms, who could afford to send their children to be educated in Germany, that saw their civil rights restored in 1910.<sup>266</sup> Officially the paragraph was altered on the 28 of March 1912. The regaining of civil rights did not, however, equate to the recognition of these mixed marriages nor did it sanction the recognition of indigenous wives and dual descent children as German citizens.

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<sup>262</sup> Views of the Südwestafrikanische Zeitung cited in Author Unknown, "Rassenfragen," in Deutsche Kolonialzeitung (DKZ) 26 (1909): 594.

<sup>263</sup> "Rassenfragen," 594.

<sup>264</sup> Windhuker Nachrichten, 27. April 1910, 5.

<sup>265</sup> Telegraphie des Deutschen Reichs Windhoek an das RKA, 14. Mai 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 221.

On taking up the position of Governor, Seitz and the ever-present Hintrager increasingly turned to the problem of concubinage and the growth of the dual descent population. The Governor pushed through an Imperial Edict, based upon the powers given to him under the Imperial Edict of 3rd of June 1908, which was aimed at tackling concubinage. All births had to be registered to enable the administration to keep a reference of who the father and mother and were and to keep a statistical account of the number of dual descent children in the colony. This would enhance social control and observation. Among other conditions the Imperial Edict, drawn up in 1911 but first introduced over a year later and heavily criticised by the RKA, introduced a form of tax (*Steuer*) upon all European settlers known to have had sexual relations with an indigenous women prior to her having given birth to a dual descent child, regardless as to whether they were the father or not.<sup>267</sup> This was to create a fund whereby the indigenous mothers would receive financial aid to help them bring up their dual descent children and was aimed at tackling the problem of the growing number of dual descent children and in particular those abandoned by their parents. At the same time this paragraph sought to insure that the children were brought up as *Eingeborene* and not given the opportunity to mix socially with European children. Here race and a sense of racial belonging was being socially constructed. Were the dual descent children to be brought up as Africans then, it was argued, they would feel, act and be Africans. Furthermore powers were introduced allowing the police to break up concubinage relationships should they be judged to cause public offence. The intention was that long established settlers within the colony who persisted in remaining together with their African concubines be forced into ending these relationships. Seitz did not, however, find the support he had hoped for in order to convince the *Landesrat* to legally ban all forms of sexual relationships between Europeans and indigenous Africans. Despite the increase in the European female population concubinage continued to thrive as did the social and political instability caused by the one-drop rule and retroactive marriage ban. An underlying confusion continued to prevent the administration from enforcing a clear social and political separation of the *Nicht Eingeborene* and *Eingeborene* categories. Despite the existing policy of the administration mixed marriages between *Nicht Eingeborenen* and *Eingeborenen* still took place as a small number of settlers headed into British territory in order to marry their partners. In particular couples headed to the British enclave of Walfisch Bucht, near to Swakopmund on the west coast of the German territory. Here

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<sup>266</sup> Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 270.

<sup>267</sup> Verordnung des Gouverneurs von Deutsch-Südwest Afrika über die Mischlingsbevölkerung vom 23. Mai 1912, in Amtsblatt für Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Südwest Afrika 3 (1912): 188; BAB R1001 5423, 238.

they were able to legally marry by escaping the restrictions imposed on such marriages within the German colony. Indeed the legality of these marriages carried out on British territory was confirmed in an extraordinary ruling of the *Obergericht* in July of 1911 that once more threw the binary categorisation system into chaos.

Cornelia Beukes, a Rehobother woman married to the German farmer Hans Denk in Walfisch Bucht in 1908, had sought to prove the illegality of her marriage. Her defence lawyer argued that the marriage breached existing policies of the administration and colonial law as well as contravening moral standards and customs within the colony.<sup>268</sup> This was dismissed by the *Obergericht*, which reached the conclusion that "*die Ehe der Parteien ist daher formell wie materiell gültig.*" The decision was based on the grounds that the application of British colonial law, as in this case, in no way directly affected the colonial state and the economic life of the German colony and, therefore, the marriage was recognised as legally binding. This created a legal loophole and principle whereby European men living within the Southwest needed only to marry their African partners before British authorities in order for their marriages to be recognised by the administration and for their wives and children to gain the status of the *Nicht Eingeborene*. Seitz later reluctantly admitted the legality of these marriages.<sup>269</sup> The ever increasing legal complications and sense of confusion was further heightened by the actions of religious and administrative officials which contradicted the hard-line policy of the administration. As has been suggested a growing number of missionary leaders within the colony had chosen to accept the administration's standpoint towards mixed marriages and several had gone so far as to condemn such relations. Within the *Landesrat* there was the recognition that the religious leaders were willing to co-operate on this issue. Yet there still existed a conviction amongst many missionaries that the administration had no right to prevent the marriage of two Christians regardless of ethnicity or skin colour.<sup>270</sup> There appears to have been only one incidence of a missionary defying the will of the administration and performing the marriage of a German to his Rehobother partner. The marriage of the German builder Polster to his Rehobother partner, carried out by the catholic *Präfekt* Krolkowski aroused a storm of indignation from within the *Landesrat* and the administration, leading to calls for the expulsion of both the settler and the missionary. The administration refused to recognise

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<sup>268</sup> Urteil des Obergerichts im Fall Cornelia Denk, 26.Juli 1911, BAB R1001 5423, 185-195.

<sup>269</sup> Seitz an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 11.September 1913, 273.

<sup>270</sup> "Zur Mischehenfrage," in *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 25.Juli 1912, BAB R1001 5417, 203

the legality of the marriage and Krolikowski was strongly criticised by his superiors.<sup>271</sup> Charges were brought against Krolikowski and then subsequently dropped on account of a lack of evidence. At the same time Polster had received a sympathetic response from the Keetmanshooper Zeitung when claiming expulsion procedures were being brought against him on account of his marriage.<sup>272</sup> In the light of the potentially delicate nature of this issue Seitz was unwilling to entertain expulsion procedures, although it appears that Polster had been previously convicted and that his expulsion had been considered long prior to his marriage.

Perhaps even more surprising and of a greater threat to the administration's policies were the actions of its own officials. Contrary to the instructions coming from the central administration in Windhoek and in full knowledge of Tecklenburg's prohibition of marriages between *Eingeborenen* and *Nicht Eingeborenen*, the district authorities in Outjo had taken it upon themselves in 1908 to permit the German Oswald Schubert to marry his partner Agnes Bowe before civil authorities. The authorities in Outjo were, according to a report from the administration, fully aware that Bowe had been designated the status of an *Eingeborene*.<sup>273</sup> In view of the policies of the administration and *Obergericht* the legality of the marriage was in question and Schubert, with the backing of the district authorities in Outjo had, therefore, applied for the naturalisation of his children. This support from the district authorities for Schubert's cause was not an isolated case and a number of district authorities within the colony pushed for the naturalisation of dual descent children from respectable families and in Lüderitzbucht the colonial official backed the naturalisation of a friend, the dual descent British citizen Coleman and his family, in order to spare them from the legal and social difficulties those classified as *Eingeborenen* faced.<sup>274</sup> The administration, apparently at a loss as to what to do with Schubert, sought the advice of the RKA stating that if the RKA was prepared to recognise the legality of the marriage and to grant the children citizenship then it would be willing to accept this decision.<sup>275</sup> What the administration was willing to contemplate potentially represented the dismantling of the categorisation system within Southwest Africa and the recognition of the rights of dual descent children to be

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<sup>271</sup> Concerning the Polster case see, Kölnische Volkszeitung, 27.Juni 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 235, and Hintrager an das RKA, 24.August 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 251.

<sup>272</sup> Keetmanshooper Zeitung, 25.Mai 1913, in BAB R151f 5233 G.ii.i.2 Bd.6, 85.

<sup>273</sup> Kaiserliches Gouvernement an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 27.Februar 1912, BAB R151f 4923 A.v.c.19 Bd.1, 69.

<sup>274</sup> See the case of the Farmer Klein, Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Warmbad an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 15.August 1911, BAB R151f 4293 A.v.c.19 Bd.1, 83, and the case of Coleman, Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Lüderitzbucht an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 8.Mai 1913, BAB R151f 4923 A.v.c.19 Bd.1, 105-110.

categorised not only as *Nicht Eingeborenen*, but also their rights to inherit German citizenship. It was precisely this that the administration had been campaigning against since the very beginning of the German colonial project. The significance of this was pointed out by the RKA, which responded by referring to the potential consequences of this decision. "*Die Angelegenheit ist von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung, weil bislang noch niemals einem Eingeborenen eines Schutzgebietes die Reichsangehörigkeit verliehen worden ist.*"<sup>276</sup> Did this represent a moment of doubt or recognition of defeat by the administration regarding the impossibility of maintaining their strict racial divisive policies or was this simply symptomatic of the general confusion? Perhaps it could also be suggested that the administration in Windhoek was hoping to force the RKA into positively intervening in the matter.

Indeed, the issue of colonial marriages and citizenship rights was being heavily discussed within the metropole. The State Secretary of the RKA, Wilhelm Solf, former Governor of Samoa, under the terms of the powers granted him through the Imperial Edict of 3rd of June 1908, had implemented a ban on marriages between European settlers and indigenous women in Samoa on the 17th of January 1912. This official ban allowed for the recognition of all marriages carried out before this date whilst any further marriages were to be declared invalid. Equally the possibility was left open for illegitimate *Eingeborenen* children born to a European parent to be naturalised, should these children be adjudged to demonstrate European habits. Solf's policy aroused a storm of protest within the Reichstag led by the Social Democratic Party and the Centre Party who successfully proposed a motion asking that the validity of all mixed marriages be recognised and that the rights of dual descent children born outwith wedlock be regulated. The debate would focus not simply on Samoa, but often concentrated on the Southwest because here the imagined racial differences between *Eingeborene* and *Nicht Eingeborene* were believed to be more pronounced.<sup>277</sup> The motion, however, would never come before the upper house and after the election political events elsewhere would rapidly supersede the issue of mixed marriages in terms of importance. Solf's Samoa ban remained in force and proved influential on events within the Southwest.

In the midst of the escalating legal and political confusion the *Landesrat* had appointed a commission to report on the issue of dual descent children and mixed

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<sup>275</sup> Kaiserliches Gouvernement an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 27 Februar 1912, 69.

<sup>276</sup> Staatssekretär (Gleim in Vertretung) an den Herrn Gouverneur, 25. Juli 1912, BAB R151f A.v.c.19 Bd.1, Bl.85.

<sup>277</sup> Regarding the Reichstag debate on mixed marriages see, Haunss, 36-38.



marriages. There was a growing sense of impatience with the inability of the RKA to come to a final decision over the legitimacy or otherwise of marriages between Africans and European, and the subsequent legal status of those involved.<sup>278</sup> The report was presented in the aftermath of the introduction of the Samoa ban and adopted a model similar to that imposed on the South Seas' colony and which also bore many similarities to the proposals of the *Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*, made some two years earlier. Mixed marriages conducted up until a certain date were now to be legally recognised: thus, children and wives would be recognised as *Nicht Eingeborenen* and in corresponding cases they would also inherit German citizenship, whilst marriages conducted after this cut off date were declared null and void. The natural cut off date was taken as 1905 because it believed that after this date all settlers were aware of the administration's anti-mixed marriage policies. In May of 1912 Schlettwein reported to the *Landesrat* on behalf of the commission.

Die Kommission stellt sich auf denselben Standpunkt, wie ihn der Landesrat in überwiegender Mehrheit stets vertreten hat. Bisher im guten Glauben auf Rechtllichkeit kirchliche und standesamtlich geschlossene Ehen sollen anerkannt werden, so daß den aus solchen Ehen hervorgegangen Kindern die vollen Rechte der Weissen zustehen.<sup>279</sup>

Support for the proposals of the Commission was not unanimous and the chairman of the discussion was aware of the contradictions in the policy adopted by the advisory body. "*Selbst mit der Legitimierung der bis zum Jahre 1905 geschlossenen Mischehen begehen wir ein Schritt gegen das Prinzip der Erhaltung der Rassereinheit.*" Yet, there was a deal of sympathy for those whose status had been altered. One speaker appealed, "*denken Sie sich in die Situation der Leute, die heute hier als Eingeborene gelten, die als Weiße bisher gegolten, als solche anerkannt worden sind, und sich als Deutsche fühlten...*"<sup>280</sup> Solf's model for Samoa offered a means by which a degree of stability could be re-imposed over the collective European settler society. Respected and established settlers, as well as their children, whose categorisation had been altered on account of the marriage prohibitions and one-drop rule could now be rehabilitated within European colonial society. In many ways it represented a logical conclusion to the steps taken by the *Landesrat* in 1910 to restore civil rights to a number of settlers married to indigenous

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<sup>278</sup> *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 12.Mai 1912, 2.

<sup>279</sup> Quotes taken from copy of the Commission's report as well as the discussion in the *Landesrat* contained in, Seitz an das RKA, 24.Mai 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 224-234.

<sup>280</sup> *Windhuker Nachrichten*, 12.Mai 1912, 2.

women. Furthermore this would bring an end to the potential of individual European settler's ancestry being investigated and his, or her, categorisation being altered. The recognition of these marriages was seen as a necessity and was supported by a broad base of settlers as well as societies such as the *Farmverband der Mitte*.<sup>281</sup> At the same time the conviction remained to prohibit any further marriages and to annul all those conducted after 1905. The *Landesrat* telegraphed its decision to the RKA much to the chagrin of Seitz who reacted with horror at the prospect of a large number of dual descent children being re-categorised as *Nicht Eingeborenen*. Despite apparently being willing to consent to the naturalisation of Schubert some three months earlier the Governor now pleaded with the RKA.

Ich persönlich bin der festen Überzeugung, dass die Zulassung von rechtlich gültigen Eheschließungen zwischen Weissen und Farbigen ein nie wieder gut zu machender Fehler wäre. Sollten die dahinzielenden Absichten von Erfolg gekrönt sein, so ist es um die Zukunft der weissen Rasse und des Deutschtums im Schutzgebiet geschehen und es lohnt nicht, dass das Reich noch einen Pfennig weiter für ein Land aufwendet, das es selbst einer minderwertigen Mischlingsbevölkerung ausliefert.<sup>282</sup>

The recognition of these mixed marriages and the conferral of citizenship upon those concerned represented the realisation of Seitz's fears that Africans would become German citizens. According to Essner, Solf, under pressure from the Reichstag, was only too willing to implement his Samoa model over German Southwest Africa, and as such Seitz's protests were without success.<sup>283</sup>

The revised policy did not equal an automatic recognition of all mixed marriages conducted prior to 1905 and those concerned were, under the adopted model, to be subject to an examination of their lifestyle. This was not a new notion, indeed Leutwein had previously proposed such a concept as a means to determine whether in exceptional cases children of dual descent should be granted the status of the *Nicht Eingeborene*. In essence this meant that if those concerned displayed cultural markers associated with whiteness, then they would be re-categorised as *Nicht Eingeborenen*. How this was to be implemented can be seen by looking at the methods enforced to decide whether dual descent children be naturalised. In these cases the family or persons concerned were to fill out an application form giving details such as date of birth, employment, size of land

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<sup>281</sup> *Der Südwestbote*, 17. Juli 1912, 12.

<sup>282</sup> Seitz an das RKA, 24. Mai 1912, 224.

<sup>283</sup> Essner, 155.

holdings and education of children. A report was then submitted by the district officer concerning the lifestyle and reputation of the settler and his entire family, including details regarding economic means. Mention was frequently be made of the father's ability to bring up his children and to support their education, as well as what type of education they were receiving. Reference would be made to the physical appearance of the indigenous wife and dual descent children as well as their social behaviour. Here it would be reported as to whether they had adopted what were perceived to be European norms of behaviour or whether they displayed cultural markers associated with whiteness such as self-sufficiency, economic productivity, and intellectual abilities. Similarly any evidence of apparent moral and cultural deficiencies such as the tendency to drink, failure to run an efficient household, and level of education would be reported as being illustrative of the unsuitability of the applicant. This would result in the application being turned down. Likewise, the lifestyle of the German father was under observation in order to assess whether he showed any of the signs of adopting cultural traits associated with a representation of the African. As is developed in detail in the following chapter, this corresponded with the belief that the European settler was subject to a process of degeneration on account of his relationship with an African woman. Desirability was being measured in terms of existing representations of Black and White, whilst at the same time biological markers of whiteness were now being challenged. In the report from the district office in Outjo concerning Schubert and his children it was written,

Schubert's Lebenshaltung und die seiner Frau entspricht durchaus den eines weißen Ansiedlers, in seinem Haushalt herrscht Sauberkeit und Ordnung...seinen Kindern sieht man es nicht an, daß ihre Urgroßmutter eine Eingeborene war.<sup>284</sup>

The children of the Farmer Klein were described in the following terms; "*Ihrem Aussehen nach würde man sie für rein weiße Kinder ansprechen können.*"<sup>285</sup> Reference was frequently made to physical appearance and applicants often sent or were asked to send a photograph. Yet the importance of skin colour alone as a factor in determining the categorisation of a person had decreased as a result of the awareness of the inflexibility of a Black (*Eingeborene*)-White (*Nicht Eingeborene*) binary categorisation system. This was remarked upon in a report from the RKA. "*Die Bezeichnung 'Farbiger', die häufig in Gouvernementsverordnungen anzutreffen ist, ist nicht einwandfrei, da das Merkmal der*

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<sup>284</sup> Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Outjo an den Herrn Gouverneur, 20.Oktober 1911, BAB R151f4923 A.v.c.19 Bd.1, 63.

<sup>285</sup> Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Warmbad an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 15.August 1911, 83.

*Hautfarbe nicht immer entscheidet [weiße Neger, dunkelfarbige Europäer].*<sup>286</sup>

Schubert's wife was described as leading a lifestyle akin to that of a white settler, which was symbolised by the cleanliness and orderliness of the family's colonial household. Of Klein's wife it was remarked, "*Die Frau Klein, geborene Ukena, kann ihres Aussehens wegen die Mischlingsabstammung nicht verleugen.*"<sup>287</sup> At the same time, however, the report emphasised that she had enjoyed a "careful" upbringing and that she was an efficient housewife. Indeed, Klein's household was said to be exemplary. It was later mentioned that he was in the possession of 65 000 hectares of farmland - in the Southwest this was a vast amount, and this was certainly a factor in his favour. As is argued in the next chapter the appearance of the colonial household became symbolic of a person's level of culture and civility. An ideal family milieu in the colonies was illustrative of bourgeois civility, an affirmation of self-control, self-discipline, even self-determination - traits of whiteness.<sup>288</sup> In these examples the appearance of the colonial household is used as an argument in favour of the recognition of the applicants as being white, although in terms of administrative practice they had been perceived as being black. In the next chapter the disorderly appearance of the colonial household is taken as an illustration of a European settler's loss of self-control, self-discipline, indeed a loss of whiteness. The decision of the *Landesrat* and RKA had determined that a concept of racial origin and recourse to somatic features was not able to determine categorisation. Cultural markers as well as economic efficiency and success now became determining factors of categorisation in ambiguous cases.

Whilst these applicants received favourable reports from the district authorities the final decision regarding naturalisation lay with Seitz who, as Governor of the colony, could choose to either reject or support an application. Seitz and Hintrager used their remaining room to manoeuvre to obstruct or delay as far as possible the naturalisation of dual descent children from these pre-1905 marriages, continuing to argue that public opinion within the colony was against any naturalisation of dual descent children. Administration support for the Schubert case was quickly withdrawn because the marriage was conducted in 1908 despite the fact that the administration had previously claimed that Schubert was unaware of the marriage prohibitions. Equally, Klein's application was not resolved before the outbreak of war in 1914, thus his children remained without German citizenship. On a number of occasions Seitz disagreed with

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<sup>286</sup> Denkschrift des RKA 18.Juli 1914, 369.

<sup>287</sup> Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Warmbad an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 15.August 1911, 83

<sup>288</sup> Stoler, 8.

the RKA over the conditions of naturalisation.<sup>289</sup> Indeed contrary to the conclusion reached by the RKA, the *Auswärtiges Amt*, *Reichs Justizamt* as well as the British Foreign Office, Seitz refused to re-grant Krabbenhöft German citizenship until the RKA clarify the legal rights of naturalised *Eingeborenen*. Seitz did his up most to negate the decisions reached by the *Landesrat* and RKA. Whilst he was slowly being forced into accepting that a number of dual descent people be naturalised, at the same time he was advocating that any previously categorised *Eingeborene* should not enjoy the full rights of citizenship and the *Nicht Eingeborene* status, and that instead they still be subjected to the legal jurisdiction of the *Eingeborene*.<sup>290</sup>

A considerable degree of confusion regarding the categorisation of individuals and their associated rights continued to exist in these final years of the German colonial period and both Seitz and the *Landesrat* continued to call upon the RKA to provide a solution. The disorder of the colonial categorising system was inherent in its fixity, which did not reflect the population diversity of the colony, nor did it foresee the reality of sexual relations between settlers and African women. Notions of the essential racial differences between Africans and Europeans were thrown into disorder by the presence of a population of children of both European and African descent, which fitted uneasily into monolithic colonial legal categories. Neither black nor white in strict racial terms, these children had legitimate legal claims to being German, thus bringing Germanness and what that amounted to into question. The colonial administration and courts sought to impose an exclusionary concept of racial origin in order to re-impose fixity and stability, excluding these children from settler society. Yet, the logic of somatic racial difference was unravelling as evidenced by the failure to impose a clear definition of colonial legal categories. In the light of this, first Africans were made into Germans and then Germans were made into Africans. The increasing legal confusion caused social instability and alienated large sections of settler society. At the same time the colonial administration was forced to admit the validity of international law as well as that of colonial neighbours, which similarly disrupted the imposition of the categorisation system. The administration was also forced to consider the German citizenship rights of settlers and children of dual African and German descent as well as the legality of a small number of marriages between Africans and Europeans. This was to be based upon a cultural assessment of those involved. Thus, those categorised as *Eingeborenen* could prove themselves to be German were they to exhibit cultural norms and patterns of

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<sup>289</sup> Kaiserliches Gouvernement an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 26.November 1912, BAB R151f 4923 A.v.c.19 Bd.1, 89.

<sup>290</sup> Seitz an den Herrn Staatssekretär des RKA, 11.September 1913, 273-278.

behaviour associated with a representation of the white European. Although Seitz tried to block all applications for naturalisation, this was nonetheless representative of a shift towards cultural markers as defining factors in categorisation and difference, when physical proved to be an ambiguous marker. Equally, it is important to keep in mind the importance of personal connections and economic strength in influencing categorisation. Seitz wanted to institutionalise a graded notion of whiteness, whereby settlers' African wives and their dual descent children who were to receive German citizenship or the status of *Nicht Eingeborene* would still be subject to the jurisdiction of the *Eingeborene*. The graded nature of whiteness in the colonial environment has been introduced in chapter two where it was illustrated that the presence of some European settlers was deemed to be more desirable than others and that this was then reflected at policy and representational level. In this case cultural markers were used to measure the desirability of white settlers and racial rhetoric was employed to represent them. As we have seen in chapter two, sections of settler society, who in terms of biological racial classification were white, could be represented as being culturally black. In this chapter, it has been shown that in reports concerning naturalisation, women who in terms of a biological racial classification were African, could be represented as being culturally white. These examples are, however, very much exceptions and legal status did not always guarantee social acceptance. In the construction of an exclusive settler society it was far more frequent that white, European settlers were represented as being culturally black, and that subsequent policies of social engineering were introduced in order to exclude them from access to resources and institutions in the colonial arena. Furthermore, whilst the decisions of the RKA and *Landesrat* had consented to the legal recognition of a number of persons of dual descent as being German, crucially this was in order to restore a strict division of the African and European population, not to remove barriers of difference. In order to ease any future complications regarding categorisation the RKA, in the months immediately prior to the outbreak of the First World War, had begun to draft an Imperial Edict, which would set a positive definition of the *Eingeborene* concept for the entire German colonial empire. The various drafts, which were never introduced, proposed a concept of the *Eingeborene*, which defined the concept as a community of descent on the one hand and as a territorial community on the other.<sup>291</sup> What is more according to Paragraph 9 it would have been possible for *Eingeborenen* to inherit citizenship status through marriage. This contradicted efforts being made within the same office to devise a

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<sup>291</sup> Entwurf einer Kaiserlichen Verordnung über die Schutzgebietsangehörigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten, no date, BAB R1001 5418, 378. Brubaker suggests that prior to 1913 German citizenship law was internally inconsistent being based upon to models of citizenry, one of

means by which *Eingeborenen* and *Nicht Eingeborenen* could legally marry, a recognition of the inability of the RKA to prevent the recognition of marriages conducted outwith German territory involving German (and European) citizens, without the *Eingeborene* woman and dual descent children inheriting citizenship rights or the status of the *Nicht Eingeborene*.<sup>292</sup> The outbreak of the war brought an end to these efforts and a number of settlers who had applied either for the recognition of their marriages or the naturalisation of their children remained awaiting a response to their cases.

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descent and one of a territorial community. See R. Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 9, 115.

<sup>292</sup> Entwurf einer Kaiserlichen Verordnung über die Mischehen und Mischlinge in den Schutzgebieten Afrikas und der Südsee, no date, BAB R1001 5418, 17.

## Chapter Four

### Hans Grimm and the Process of "Verkafferung." Racial Consciousness, the Woman Colonist, and the Degenerated White Settler in German Colonial Thought<sup>293</sup>

The first two decades of the German colonial experience within Africa proved to be turbulent as the young empire lurched from crisis to crisis. Problems of finance and administration, numerous scandals, a failure to make the expected finds in raw materials, precious metals and minerals, and a floundering settlement policy were amongst the many problems under which German colonialism suffered. This had led to a general colonial indifference amongst the German public and to harsh criticism of German colonial rule from within the Reichstag. In particular, however, it was the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised Africans which was identified as being the root cause of Germany's colonial problems. Almost continual outbreaks of indigenous resistance to the encroachment of German rule reached a peak in 1904 as in both German East Africa and German Southwest Africa serious rebellions broke out which shook German colonial confidence and which were only ended through violent suppression.<sup>294</sup> This was at great financial cost to the Reich and the loss of many German lives, not to mention the deaths of tens of thousands of Africans in both of these colonies. In Cameroon, too, there was a state of unrest. As colonial observers and administrators sought to explain the violent nature of German colonial rule it was often concluded that Germany simply lacked the experience of her colonial rivals in her dealings with the indigenous population.<sup>295</sup> In some cases it was argued that the French and British, as more experienced colonisers, as well as the Afrikaners, were more capable of establishing their authority over the indigenous Africans in their territories. Thus, the expert on Afrikaner immigration M.R. Gerstenhauer noted that several

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<sup>293</sup> The following editions of Grimm's texts have been used, with the following abbreviations employed when quoting or paraphrasing from a specific text.

DG - Geschichte vom alten Blute und von der ungeheuren Verlassenheit (Berlin: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1931).

SN - Südafrikanische Novellen (München: Albert Langen, 1933).

DGDS - Der Gang durch den Sand (München: Albert Langen, 1934).

<sup>294</sup> It is not the purpose of this dissertation to discuss in detail the events of the Herero-Nama war nor the Maji-Maji revolt in German East Africa. For further details on the Herero-Nama war, see Nuhn; Drechsler; Dederling. For details on the Maji-Maji revolt, see, B. Vandervort, Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1850-1914 (London: UCL Press, 1998).

<sup>295</sup> For example, see Rohrbach, Die Kolonie, 36-37; Bremen merchant J.K. Vietor quoted in, C.A. Blackshire-Belay, "In Search of Africa in the German World: Transcultural Migrations," in Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World, eds. D. McBride, L. Hopkins & C.A. Blackshire-Belay (Columbia: Camden House, 1998), 121. Original quote from the DKZ.



prominent settlers in the Southwest had remarked that in contrast to the Afrikaners the Germans had still to develop a consciousness as masters in the colonial arena (*Herrenbewußtsein*). Such a consciousness was to be expected of the "noble," "superior," white "race."<sup>296</sup> Gerstenhauer's allusion to the racial superiority of the white man was common in contemporary colonial discourse. In the previous chapter it was argued that the Imperial system was one which was innately based upon inequality and in which the rights of the colonisers superseded those of the colonised. Justification for this was often explained in terms of imagined notions of race whereby inherent biological and cultural differences were believed to distinguish the European from the African. Cultures were to be conceived on a vertical axis, on which they were ranked according to a European model of development, resulting in a hierarchical society. The difficulty of transposing these notions to colonial legal codes was demonstrated in chapter three. However, this did not prevent a continued popular belief in racial difference, as will be demonstrated in this chapter. In the decade prior to the First World War, as the Germans sought reasons for the instability within their overseas colonies, the problematic relationship between the Africans and Europeans was increasingly perceived as being an explicitly racial problem. This would be expressed by a representative of the DKG who wrote: "*Die Schwierigste aller kolonialen Fragen, ist unstreitbar das Rassenproblem, die Festsetzung des Verhältnisses zwischen Weiß und Schwarz.*"<sup>297</sup> The failure of the German colonists to impose their rule over the indigenous people was depicted not only as confirming the racial differences between the Europeans and the Africans, but also as resulting from the lack of a general "racial consciousness" (*Rassenbewußtsein*) amongst the colonists. In particular the lack of a racial consciousness was said to be demonstrated by the phenomenon of sexual unions between German (European) men and African women through which racial divisions became blurred and through which a notional German racial purity was undermined. Again the example of the Afrikaners was frequently invoked to illustrate the importance of racial segregation, whereby it was argued that the Afrikaners had enjoyed the most success in asserting order over the Africans partly because they condemned and ostracised those sexually involved with African men or women.<sup>298</sup> In the aftermath of the rebellions in German East Africa and the Southwest these relationships were

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<sup>296</sup> M.R. Gerstenhauer, "Burenansiedlung und Burenpolitik in Südwestafrika," *ZfKKK* 6 (1904): 78.

<sup>297</sup> "Rassenfragen," *DKZ* 26 (1909): 593.

<sup>298</sup> For examples, see Tecklenburg an die Koloniale Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, 23. Oktober 1905, BAB R1001 5423, 69; "Randbemerkungen," *Deutsche Welt: Wochenschrift der DKZ*, 28. Januar 1906, 286, in BAB R1001 5417, 18; P. Rohrbach, *Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft: Kulturpolitische Grundsätze für die Rassen- und Missionsfragen* (Berlin Schöneberg: Buchverlag der Hilfe, 1909), 17.

increasingly criticised and challenged by the policies of segregation and control of the Africans adopted by the colonial administrators. As has been demonstrated, the prohibition of marriages between settlers and their indigenous partners was one method adopted to prevent further sexual unions. A second policy promoted by colonial interest groups and colonial authorities was the transportation of German women to the colonies. Passage would be sponsored for the transportation of women to German Southwest Africa as potential brides and partners for the male settlers. These women colonists were envisaged as representatives of German culture whose presence was to instil the lacking racial consciousness amongst the German colonisers.

The "racial problem" and the sexual behaviour of the European settlers both fascinated and outraged colonial observers, administrators, colonists themselves, and colonial writers. One such contemporary German novelist whose work dwells on African and European relations is the romantic nationalist Hans Grimm, best known for his 1926 text Volk ohne Raum. Grimm's father was involved in the early pro-colonialist movement within Germany and Grimm himself spent over a decade in the British Cape colony as an independent merchant. His time in the Cape coincided with a period in which the Victorian civilising and amalgamationist policies of the British towards their colonised populations were being superseded by a policy of segregation.<sup>299</sup> Grimm, who would become one of the foremost German writers of colonial fiction, took to writing in the aftermath of the violent rebellions against German rule in both German East Africa 1904-05 and the Southwest 1904-07. This was in the context of the mixed marriage prohibitions, increased European settlement in the Southwest, and during a period in which German colonial policy was more rigorously directed towards the segregation of Africans and Europeans in all aspects of colonial life. These events as well as Grimm's own experience of colonial life shaped the colonial world portrayed in his literature and, in particular, his less than complimentary view of the indigenous Africans. His works often reflected contemporary social issues within Germany transported to a colonial setting such as Sein Tag (SN.1913), which looks at the place of Jewish people within German society, and Volk ohne Raum that relates to the discussion concerning *Lebensraum*.<sup>300</sup> What is of interest in this chapter, however, are the ways in which Grimm's earlier novellas, primarily from the collection Südafrikanische Novellen (SN.1913) give a valuable insight into representations of the Southwest settler society

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<sup>299</sup> For more details, see S. Dubow, "Race, Civilisation and Culture: the Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the inter-war years," in The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism, eds. S. Marks & S. Trapido (Harlow: Longman, 1987).

and the continued negotiation of whiteness in the colonial environment. Grimm's articulation of a notion of racial consciousness will be shown to reflect general concerns expressed in the colonial media and at various levels of the administration over the political, social, and racial instability caused by relationships, sexual or otherwise, between Africans and Europeans. In the previous chapter African - European relationships were explored through looking at the legal implications and treatment of the children born out of these relationships. In this chapter much of the focus is on the European settlers involved. These settlers are taken as a further example of Europeans whose whiteness, much like poor whites and the criminal element in the Southwest, is in dispute. Here, again the graded nature of whiteness is established in discursive and political terms. Grimm, whilst maintaining a belief in the essential difference between Africans and Europeans, nonetheless depicts the 'lapsed' white settler as being on a cultural level with his representation of the African. This is because of alleged socially and sexually deviant behaviour. It is further argued that the representation of the 'lapsed' white settler fed into a greater discourse of degeneration, which identified outcasts on the margins of metropolitan society. As a means of combating the growth of sexual unions between African women and European men, the policy of sending German women to the colonies as well as representations of the female colonist are discussed. It will be demonstrated that in spite of the utopian vision of the colony as an emancipatory arena for German women, settler society was firmly organised along gender lines.

In 1901 the ratio of unmarried European men to women in German Southwest Africa was eighteen to one with a grand total of no more than one hundred women in the colony.<sup>301</sup> At this time the typical would-be German colonist was a young, single male, often of low or low-middle social standing, who, should he have a partner in Germany, was not in the financial position to pay for her passage to the colonies. In the absence of European women many settlers thus sought the fulfilment of their sexual needs with the indigenous women. This was frequently the case in colonial societies where the settler gender ratios were unbalanced.<sup>302</sup> In the German colonies, particularly in German Southwest Africa, like South Africa, concubinage, and less so marriage, was common practice. It was, according to the left liberal and one time settlement commissioner Paul Rohrbach, easy to understand, on a basic level at least, why such sexual unions between Africans and Europeans frequently took place.

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<sup>300</sup> E. Kirsch, "Hans Grimm als Wegbereiter nordischer Gesamtschau" (Ph.D. diss. Universität Leipzig, Leipzig 1937), 13.

<sup>301</sup> Wildenthal, "She is the Victor", 374.

<sup>302</sup> Keegan, 466.

Besonders schwierig ist für den neuen Kolonisten die Heiratsfrage. Dazu, sich eine Frau gleich mitzubringen reichen die Mittel in der Regel nicht. Er fängt allein an zu wirtschaften und die natürliche Folge ist, daß er sich irgend ein eingeborenes Weib nimmt.<sup>303</sup>

In practical and economic terms the European settlers often gained through their relationships with indigenous women, many of whom had knowledge of land use and were skilled in cattle handling.<sup>304</sup> Furthermore, struggling colonists were able to make use of the land and cattle that their indigenous partners brought into the relationship, which, especially in the early period of settlement, vastly increased the settler's chances of economic success.<sup>305</sup> In reflection of the actual colonial situation the male colonial protagonists in Grimm's novellas are routinely young and single or widowed, living on isolated colonial outposts far from the emotional, moral, and physical support of fellow European settlers or the colonial administration. Companionship is often in the form of similarly lonely European men or African servants. In this isolated and male dominated domain Grimm's settlers are highly vulnerable to the perceived temptations of forming a relationship with an African woman. It was, however, not simply a lack of European women in the colonies that attracted male settlers to indigenous women; increasingly, African women were depicted as being physically beautiful. Occasionally in medical and anthropological texts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reference would be made to the physical attractiveness of the African. One such example is a text by Dr. Friedrich Tiedemann, a controversial physiologist who suggested that "Negroes" were of equal intelligence to Europeans. In an article entitled "On the Brain of the Negro compared with that of the European and the Orang Outang" (1836) Tiedemann claimed that the African interior was populated with women of comparable beauty to Europeans aside from their skin colour.<sup>306</sup> Whilst Dr. Theodor Waitz, in his six volume Anthropologie der Naturvölker: Zweiter Theil (1860), is not so forthcoming in his praise of the physical appearance of the indigenous African women, he at least suggests that there were Khoi San (referred to as Buschmann) who would have been deemed

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<sup>303</sup> Rohrbach, Die Kolonie, 38.

<sup>304</sup> See comments made by Bayer to the Reichstag. Reichstag - 53 Sitzung, 2.Mai 1912, BAB R1001 5417, 160.

<sup>305</sup> In remarks made to the Reich Chancellor the former missionary Büttner and his colleagues, the missionaries Kersten and Weger suggested that African women often brought land into a marriage and that the European husband also gained other forms of economic support. Büttner, Weger, und Kersten an den Herrn Reichskanzler, 7.Mai 1887, BAB R1001 5423, 5, 7. See also Rohrbach, Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft: Kulturpolitische Grundsätze, 23.

attractive were it not for their emaciated appearance, the result of a lack of food.<sup>307</sup> Even such a suggestion of the potential for beauty amongst African men and women is noteworthy as it runs contrary to the predominant stereotype of the Black which typically depicted black people as being physically unattractive.

During the period of colonial contact, however, there was an increasing move away from the standard negative image of the '*Negertypus*' to a more sophisticated image which demonstrated an awareness of differing African societies, some of which were represented as being attractive in Western European terms. Thus, the stature and facial features of the Herero were often noted as being attractive in contrast to the Nama who were adjudged as being unattractive.<sup>308</sup> In particular, however, men and women from the ethnic groups of dual African and European descent encountered by the European colonists were increasingly acknowledged as being physically attractive if not conventionally beautiful. The colonial enthusiast Karl Dove remarked that upon seeing the Rehobother men and women the European observer would be astonished because whilst the Rehobothers were descendants of the most beautiful (the European) and ugliest (the African) "races" of the world, in their outward appearance they resembled more closely their European forefathers.<sup>309</sup> In particular the build of the men and the facial features of the women impressed Dove.<sup>310</sup> The Rehobothers historically descended from relationships between Europeans, primarily Dutch and Portuguese, with indigenous Africans. They were noted as being the most attractive of the African societies in German Southwest Africa because of their lighter skin colour and their physical resemblance to their European counterparts. This positive representation of the physical appearance of the Rehobothers is undoubtedly also explained by the fact that in German Southwest Africa the majority of European men chose their partners from amongst this group. In Hans Grimm's *Wie Grete aufhörte ein Kind zu sein* (SN 1913) Karl von Troyna, the German widowed, leading male protagonist observes a young Hundasi girl of dual descent whilst visiting a friend in British Pondoland. (SN 139) This is Ellen, whose father was white (it is unclear as to whether he was an Afrikaner or European) and mother an African. Troyna in an act of self-defence, had accidentally killed Ellen's father, and the young woman then looks towards the German settler for

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<sup>306</sup> F. Tiedemann, "On the Brain of the Negro compared with that of the European and the Orang Outang," *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* (1836, part II): 512.

<sup>307</sup> T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker: Die Negervölker und ihre Verwandten* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1860), 328.

<sup>308</sup> For examples, see Scheulen.

<sup>309</sup> K. Dove, *Südwest Afrika: Kriegs- und Friedensbilder aus der ersten deutschen Kolonie* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1896), 124.

<sup>310</sup> K. Dove, "Koloniale Aufgaben in Südwestafrika," *DKZ* 8 (1895): 252.

support for herself and her younger brother Alfred. Grimm describes her as "*ein mattbraunes junges Weib...so viel wilde Schönheit war in dem Gesicht und solch prächtigen Körper...*" (SN 139) It is soon explained to both Troyna and the reader that the Hundasis are the only attractive 'Bastard' people within the British colony of Pondoland. (SN 142) The physical attractiveness of the indigenous women is in marked contrast to Grimm's portrayal of German women colonists whom he depicts elsewhere as "*die gründlichen Mädchen, die einen Mann nur schwer finden und vergrämt werden.*" (SN 29) Yet, it is the physical appearance of those of dual descent, their outward attractiveness, that colonial observers deemed to be threatening to the stability of colonial society. Whilst in the pages of the colonial periodical Kolonie und Heimat, "*die jungen Bastard Mädchen [Rehobothers]*" were noted for being, "*oft recht hübsch,*" readers were warned, "*In dem reizvollen äussern dieser Frauen liegt sicherlich für die Reinerhaltung des Deutschtums eine gewisse Gefahr.*"<sup>311</sup> Much of this fear revolved around notions of racial purity. As physical appearance became an ambiguous marker of difference colonial authors resorted to symbolism in order to demonstrate their belief that those of dual descent were to be envisaged as Africans rather than Europeans, regardless as to how far back this African ancestry was to be traced. Frieda von Bülow's character Maria Beta in Im Lande der Verheissung (1899) is a "comely" and "slender" girl of dual descent whose 'mixed' ethnicity is only betrayed by a small brown stain upon her otherwise clean white dress.<sup>312</sup> In Grimm's colonial world it is typically women of dual descent to whom the male colonisers are attracted and similar means are employed to highlight the fact that these characters, despite their outward appearance are to be conceived of as being African rather than European. Thus, in Dina (SN 1913) the dual descent character of the title and her brother wear old tattered European clothes, symbolising the fragile links to the European ancestry that they both possess. (SN 15) Grimm's representation of those of dual descent corresponds with contemporary racial thought whereby those of dual descent were believed to inherit simply the negative traits of both parents. As a result, they were adjudged to be inherently biologically and morally inferior than the European parent. Such a viewpoint had informed colonial practice. Yet, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, colonial legal codes unravelled as colonial practice brought social instability, and the presence of a population of children of dual African and German descent brought into question notions of Germanness and difference. It is perhaps worth mentioning that of Grimm's dual descent characters discussed here, none have German parents or relatives.

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<sup>311</sup> Dr. W., "Die Südwestafrikanischen Bastards," Kolonie und Heimat 1 Nr.13 (1908): 6.

As well as a sense of physical attraction towards some of the indigenous women, at a deeper level there is an exotic sensuality and dangerous sexuality associated with the Black woman, which is seen to entice and entrap the white male settler. This is suggested in Grimm's evocation of Ellen's beauty - the "*wilde Schönheit*" - a suggestion of an untamed sexuality which gives rise to fantasies of mastery and which promises sexual pleasures unbound by the constraints of bourgeois morality and sexual taboos. In this discourse the Black woman represented untamed nature, which could be mastered by the European man, with any resistance only adding to his feelings of desire. On the one hand there was a sense of repulsion towards this figure that was believed to indulge in sexual acts which contravened bourgeois norms of sexual behaviour, but on the other there was the secret fantasy of engaging in this perceived primitive sexual behaviour. The Black woman in particular, though also the Black man, was identified as possessing primal sexual powers and invested with a unique sexuality, further distinguishing her from the European woman and heightening the sense of forbidden desire. Gilman has argued that the Black woman was believed to be oversexed and that perceived physical over-development was invoked to illustrate this, as well as her sexual uniqueness.<sup>313</sup> This sexual difference was a further reflection of the perceived biological and racial difference between the African and the European that heightened desire and disgust. Such an illustration of her overdevelopment was normally associated with protruding buttocks and the 'Hottentott apron' as found in Oscar Peschel's anthropological text *Völkerkunde* (1877). In his description of two Khoi San women Peschel writes,

Die Frauen dieser beiden Abtheilungen zeichnen sich durch Steatopygie aus, eine Eigenthümlichkeit, die darin besteht, daß die Fettpolster des Gesäßes oben treppenartig vorspringen...Ein weniger gutes Merkmal ist die Verlängerung der labia minora und des praeputium clitoridis [Hottentottenschürze] bei Frauen...<sup>314</sup>

Whilst this unique sexuality appeals to a base level of sexual desire expressed within colonial discourse it is clear that behind the fantasy there existed the danger of fascination with the colonial Other becoming infatuation. There existed the prospect of the weak willed Europeans being unable to extricate themselves from the allures of the sexual fantasy bound up in an African-European sexual relationship, which in the colonial literature appears to exert some sort of mystical hold over the European.

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<sup>312</sup> Warmbold, 203.

<sup>313</sup> S.L. Gilman, "Black Sexuality and Modern Consciousness," in *Blacks and German Culture*, eds. R. Grimm & J. Hermann (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 39.

<sup>314</sup> O. Peschel, *Völkerkunde* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt, 1876), 488-489.

Both von Bülow and Grimm express such sentiments and invest a sinister quality to the physical charms of some of their indigenous female characters that threaten to entrap their settlers. As such Maria Beta is attributed with possessing "craftiness" and more pointedly she is described as "bewitching."<sup>315</sup> Of Grimm's Dina, to whom it appears all the European men of a remote colonial outpost are in some way attracted, it is remarked, "*Die hat die Deubel im Leibe.*" (SN 38)<sup>316</sup> The young soldier making this comment is told by the Sergeant of the outpost to stay clear of Dina. The implied warning goes unheeded and enables Dina to use the young soldier in order to make another victim of her charms, the Patrol man, jealous - an example of a more devious and manipulative side to her sexual powers. Troyna is similarly warned against the allures of the Hundasis when he is informed, "*Die Hundasis sind heiß und schön und falsch wie die Sünde...*" (SN 143) The unfortunate Troyna, however, only remembers that the Hundasis are "*heiß und schön,*" and although he initially feels uncomfortable speaking with Ellen he cannot help finding her "*sonderartig.*" As Ellen becomes Troyna's mistress he soon becomes entangled in a sexual relationship, which he is unable to control.

The mixed African-European relationships portrayed by Grimm typically follow the model of a master slave fantasy in which the European male is, on the surface, in a position of dominance. Although Troyna appears to be the master of his household, served by Ellen during the daytime, the author suggests that on the contrary it is Ellen who has mastered the German settler.

Des Nachts aber war sie [Ellen] Königin, und ihre Macht war längst so groß, daß der Mann, wie viele Männer, die meinen, den Frauen gegenüber die Fäden in der Hand zu halten, längst von ihr beherrscht wurde und sank, sank, sank, um so heißer sie ihn liebte und er sie wieder liebte. (SN 147)

Troyna, the emotionally vulnerable widower, in this male dominated colonial world has in many ways become feminised by the presence of Ellen at his Stylplaats farm and he

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<sup>315</sup> Quoted in Warmbold, 202.

<sup>316</sup> It is worth noting that the horse on which the Patrolman has his riding accident is, much like Dina, also described as being possessed by an "*unbezähmbarer Teufel.*" (SN p.48) This is suggestive of a metaphoric link between the wild horse and Dina. In his efforts to break the horse the Patrolman suffers a fall which requires the amputation of his arm. This fall comes after Dina has vowed to punish the Patrolman because of his determination to make his marriage work. The accident can be interpreted as Dina gaining her revenge. After the accident the Patrolman is once again drawn to Dina and it is she whom he asks for upon regaining consciousness, not his wife.



becomes mentally and physically incapacitated on account of his attraction to the indigenous woman. Remarks made by minor characters express Grimm's view of mixed relationships and draw the reader's attention to the inappropriateness of Troyna's relationship to Ellen. Troyna is unable to react to the unseen dangers that the presence of the two Africans on his farm, in particular that of Ellen's brother Alfred, might pose to his young daughter Grete. This is despite several pointed comments made to him by white settlers concerning Grete's burgeoning relationship with Alfred. He is likewise incapable of breaking free from the hold that Ellen has over him and is entirely incapable of meeting the emotional needs of Grete. Troubled by his relationship with Ellen, but lacking the willpower to end it he seeks refuge away from Stylplaats in the hope that his problems will resolve themselves. Thus, Troyna has become passive in his role as coloniser, neglecting his economic responsibilities and leaving his young daughter alone to carry the burden of running the farm, in the presence of the two African servants.

Troyna's emasculation and passivity are only part of a larger process, identified within colonial discourse that afflicted the European settler who chose to spend his time in the company of Africans rather than fellow Europeans. Various referred to as "*verkaffern*," "*vernegern*," or indeed "*verburen*" this represented the transformation of the civilised and cultured European settler into a 'lapsed' white who had accordingly abandoned, "the cultural markers of racial belonging." Instead he had chosen to adopt the imagined lifestyle and cultural norms of the African or the Afrikaner.<sup>317</sup> As a consequence such settlers were no longer envisaged as being active members of the white European settler society and were seen as having degenerated, as the word *verkaffern* itself suggests, to the cultural and moral level of the African. In the racial language of the time the Black or African was imagined as being inherently inferior. The potency of the degeneration discourse was heightened as increasingly degeneration was proposed as being grounded in empirical medical and biological fact and colonial observers and newspapers would refer to the indisputable scientific basis of degeneration.<sup>318</sup> Colonial authors did not pick up on the fact that the very notion of *Verkaffierung* itself brought into question the conviction of the essential difference between Europeans and Africans. In the Deutsches Koloniallexikon (1920), the process of *Verkaffierung* was described in the following terms;

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<sup>317</sup> Keegan, 464.

<sup>318</sup> As example of this belief in the scientific worth of the degeneration process, see Frankfurter Zeitung, 18.April 1906, in BAB R1001 5417, 25.

Unter Verkafferung versteht man in Deutsch Südwest Afrika das Herabsinken eines Europäers auf die Kulturstufe des Eingeborenen,...Einsames Leben im Felde, in stetem Verkehr mit Farbigen, ganz besonders aber die Mischehe mit jenen begünstigt diese bedauerliche Entartung weißer Ansiedler. Der verkafferte Europäer ist trotz bisweilen vorhandener persönlicher Intelligenz stets ein verlorenes Glied der weißen Bevölkerung....<sup>319</sup>

This transformation, the sinking of the European to the cultural level of the African was part of greater bourgeois fears of degeneracy. Pick has argued that throughout Europe the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the publication of numerous texts concerning the moral and cultural degeneration of white Europeans.<sup>320</sup> This he suggests was in response to internal dislocation and disorder within European societies related to industrialisation and urbanisation and seemingly reflected by crime, alcoholism, prostitution, suicide and insanity. Medical science explored "hereditary processes of pathological decline," and certain human types were often identified in this discourse whose behaviour and lifestyle marked them out as being deviant from the European norm.<sup>321</sup> As a consequence this called into question their whiteness. In this context scientific research was undertaken to determine whether figures such as the criminal, the suicide victim, and the madman could be determined as self-reproducing human types whose behaviour was biologically determined. This is an example of ideas of difference from the metropolitan centre interacting with colonial ideas and representations of difference. In the colonial environment the process of degeneration was deemed to be equally applicable. Fears of degeneration stemmed from the instability and insecurity brought about by indigenous resistance and particularly from the phenomenon of mixed relationships and marriages, which questioned traditional bourgeois notions of the family structure, and seemingly threatened the basic structure of colonial rule itself. Equally, to the colonial authorities and interest groups high rates of alcoholism and crime appeared to be symbolic of the rise of a proletarian class, which threatened their social and political control of the colony. This threat to the existing order, of a lack of control, underpinned the discourse of degeneration in the colony and the metropole. As Stoler and Keegan have demonstrated, the colonial discourse of degeneration was not limited to the German settlements.

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<sup>319</sup> K. Dove, "Verkafferung," in *Deutsches Koloniallexikon: Band 3*, ed. Schnee, 606.

<sup>320</sup> D. Pick, "The Degenerating Genius," *History Today* 42 (April 1992): 19.

<sup>321</sup> Pick, 19.

In Grimm's colonial world Troyna, as a result of his relationship with Ellen and friendship with Alfred, has become condemned to losing his whiteness and becomes representative of the 'lapsed' white settler. "*Ohne Arbeit, ohne Anregung, bei seinen geringen geistigen Bedürfnissen, vergaß Troyna fast, daß er ein Weißer war, und der Zauber dauerte ein Jahr.*" (SN 148) The use of the word "Zauber" again denotes a sinister like quality to the hold that the two Africans, Ellen in particular, have over Troyna. In effect Troyna's lack of a racial consciousness causes him to overlook what Grimm sees as being the racial difference that exists between the settler and Ellen, which then explains why Troyna becomes sexually involved with the indigenous woman. This in turn leads to the onset of the degeneration process. The process of degeneration is further developed in Grimm's Die Geschichte vom alten Blute und von der ungeheuren Verlassenheit, (DG 1931) in which two young German brothers who have set up farm in German Southwest Africa employ a number of African servants, including two maids. The brothers' household soon deteriorates into what Grimm terms a "*Kaffernwirtschaft*" in which, the reader is told, the African women have replaced the German woman in the role of running the household and meeting the needs of the European man. Degeneration in the brothers' outward physical appearance is symbolic of an inner moral and cultural degeneration and under the influence of the Africans the brothers now seldom shave, wash, or change their underwear, nor do they sleep on beds, having instead taken to sleeping on an untidy floor on top of animal skins. (DG 39.) Grimm suggests that they too, like Troyna have forgotten that they are white, opting instead to avoid the company of other white settlers and adopting many of the perceived primitive ways of the Black African. In parallel to their degeneration their unhealthy dependence on their two African maids grows and the state of decay of their living quarters is suggestive of an inner instability and disorder. The Coblenz *Bergrat* Busse identified the deterioration of the domestic living space as a further sign of the degenerative process.

Sein Haus wird nicht zur Stätte deutschen Wesens und deutschen Familienlebens, sondern er verlumpt und verkommt mehr oder minder in seiner Hütte, die den Stempel durch das Wesen der Frau aufgedrückt erhält...<sup>322</sup>

In Imperial Germany Roger Chickering argues that, "the domestic sphere was but a metaphor for German culture; it stood for order, discipline and cleanliness - for

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<sup>322</sup> Busse quoted in Leutwein, 233.

civilisation in the highest sense."<sup>323</sup> Thus, the untidiness of the brother's household represents a loss of the trappings of whiteness, of European civilisation and German culture and is demonstrative of the need for German women in the colonial arena to restore order and stability to the domestic sphere - to restore markers of whiteness. In the previous chapter it has been suggested that the appearance of the colonial household was also used in order to support the naturalisation applications of dual descent persons and the indigenous wives of German settlers. In contrast to Troyna the unnamed Patrolman in Dina (SN 1913) is more aware of the racial responsibilities associated with being a white coloniser. Consequently his conscience troubles him over his relationship, emotional rather than sexual, with Dina. He returns from home leave having found himself "*eine richtige weiße Frau*" to ease his feelings of embarrassment and insecurity and attempts to break off his relationship with the dual descent woman. (SN 25) Whilst on the surface the Patrolman may now appear the ideal German colonist with the full complement of wife, horse, and dog, it becomes clear that his marriage is only one of convenience and that his true feelings still belong to Dina, the reasons for which will be explored later.

The "*gesunkene Weißer*" Mkulu in Die Geschichte von Mkulu und Hili (DGDS 1916) is another of Grimm's white characters who has lost his claim to being white on account of his living with an African man, though there is no suggestion that their relationship is a sexual one. (DGDS 116) This demonstrates, however, that it was not simply those involved in sexual relationships with indigenous women who were seen to be at risk from the process of degeneration. Mkulu's very name is more African sounding than European and his indulging, with the African Hili, in large amounts of Branntwein, evidences his abandonment of colonial cultural norms. This was a notorious drink brought to the colonies by the Europeans and which brought about high rates of alcohol abuse amongst the indigenous Africans. In the colonies the sale of alcohol to Africans was strictly regulated and alcohol abuse by Europeans was often considered to be one of the first signs of the onset of the degeneration process and symbolic of proletarian culture. As has been argued in chapter two the administration in the Southwest was concerned that the behaviour of intoxicated Europeans was damaging to the status and reputation of the white European. In several cases this resulted in settlers suffering from an alcohol problem being expelled from the colony.<sup>324</sup> Equally it

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<sup>323</sup> Roger Chickering quoted in Walther, 108-109.

<sup>324</sup> Expulsion frequently occurred when administrative officials felt that the settler concerned was, on account of his addiction, no longer in a position to physically and financially care for himself. For examples, see amongst others; case of Thomas Wilson, Kaiserlicher

was believed not only that such settlers were no longer capable of contributing to the economic development of the colony, but that in encouraging the indigenous Africans to drink they were also inhibiting the economic performance of the colonial workforce.<sup>325</sup> Grimm is quick to point out the inappropriateness of Mkulu's friendship with Hili,

...es ist eine entsetzliche Sache, wenn ein weißer Mann mit einem farbigen zusammennistet in einer Hütte als wären sie Brüder. Es ist eine Schande für alle, die weiße Haut auf den Wangen tragen. (DGDS 112)

For Grimm, in parallel with other colonial novelists such as F. Kraze and J. Dose, it appears that any sort of relationship between black and white is to be condemned and can lead to the onset of the degeneration process.<sup>326</sup> Thus, for Grimm an awareness of racial difference becomes a facet of whiteness, which prevents settlers from culturally regressing and assimilating into African culture and, in a sense, from becoming African. Indeed in all of Grimm's works analysed here, a relationship between African and European characters has a wholly negative affect on the lives of the white character. This is seen in the decline in health of and finances of the two brothers in the Southwest, as mentioned above. Thus, the brothers' farm is rapidly reduced to a state of poverty and the older brother seeks solace in alcohol before contracting a fatal fever. The younger brother takes his own life at the conclusion of the novel, overcome with shame and unable to cope with the pressures of running the farm alone. Tragedy, whether in the form of serious injury or death, is routinely the conclusion to such African-European relationships in Grimm's colonial world. These tragic endings are used to illustrate Grimm's view of the unnatural nature of mixed relationships. Furthermore relationships with indigenous Africans are seen as bringing instability to the colonial world at large. Troyna is soon ostracised by his fellow settlers and one time friends, much as his real life contemporaries were and, like Mkulu, he is charged by the author as being guilty of bringing disgrace upon his European compatriots.<sup>327</sup> Equally, like the two brothers, Troyna proves to be unable to efficiently run his farm, and it is only thanks to the efforts of his daughter that work on the farm continues. The passivity of the 'lapsed' white

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Bezirksamtman Lüderitzbucht an den Herrn Gouverneur, 23. September 1908, BAB R151f 5231 G.II.i.2 Bd.3, 31; case of Ulrich von Quitzow, Kaiserliches Bezirksamt Keetmanshoop an den Herrn Gouverneur, 18. April 1911, BAB R151f 5232 G.II.i.2 Bd.5, 83.

<sup>325</sup> For more on alcoholism in the colonies, see chapter 2 "The Settlement of German Southwest Africa: A Settler Colony in search of Colonisers" and Friedrich-Giessen, 161.

<sup>326</sup> For a discussion of the colonial texts of F. Kraze and J. Dose, see Ridley, Images of Imperial Rule.

<sup>327</sup> Concerning the reaction of the white settler community to those involved in mixed relationships, see chapter 3 "'Weiße Neger, dunkelfarbige Europäer.'"

settler, thus led to his economic inefficiency, which decreased his value as a desirable settler and his contribution to the colonial project. More seriously, however, Troyna's relationship with Ellen is deemed threatening to the whole established social order and security of the colony. This is symbolically represented in the plot, set in the period immediately prior to the outbreak of the Herero-Nama war, by a very real threat to European rule, which develops from Troyna's relationship with Ellen. Ellen and Alfred, to the ignorance of Troyna, throw their lot in with a group of rebel Africans who have become aware of the existence of a large amount of firearms at Troyna's Stylplaats farm. The rebels intend to use these to overthrow their German colonial masters. The frequently tragic conclusions to Grimm's tales suggest that he viewed the African colonial environment as being wholly unsuitable for European settlers. This impression is, however, contradicted elsewhere and in Volk ohne Raum, he stresses the importance of the need for Germany to reclaim her colonial territories on which he imagines a surplus German population could be settled. Equally throughout Grimm's colonial works his descriptions of the African territories literally describes them as a paradise - "*etwas Paradies an Tieren. Menschen und Pflanzen und wohl auch irgendeinen Klang und Abenteuer...*"<sup>328</sup> Ridley concludes that this ambiguous image of the settlements is more owing to Grimm's personal life experiences than the colonial environment itself. In addition it is noticeable that the tragic conclusions result from African-European relationships rather than being built into the colonial setting.<sup>329</sup>

In Grimm's colonial world a racial hierarchy and awareness have to be maintained at all times. This is most dramatically expressed in Der Gang durch den Sand (DGDS 1916) in which fate brings a wounded German soldier into a dependency relationship with an African. Having received a serious wound to the thigh during a conflict between German and British troops and rapidly losing blood, the white soldier Bertie Scholz is left urgently requiring help in the middle of the desert. Such is his predicament that he appears willing to accept help from anyone - "*Ja auch ein Neger wäre gut.*" (DGDS 20) An African subsequently appears offering aid to Scholz on the condition that Scholz gives him a little money and, more importantly, that Scholz addresses him as he would do a white man. At the same time the African uses the informal 'du' form in addressing Scholz. "*Ich will dir hinaufhelfen..., wenn du sagst, 'bitte, Herr Rubwana, wollen Sie helfen', und wenn du das Geld dazu gibst.*" (DGDS 23) Once these conditions are imposed Scholz declines the offer of help. Addressing the African man as though he were a European would be akin to admitting that the African were an equal, something

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<sup>328</sup> Hans Grimm quoted in Ridley, "Hans Grimm and Rudyard Kipling," 865.

that Scholz, despite his desperate position, is unwilling to do. In fact Scholz is only willing to take help from Rubwana on his own terms in which he conceives of the African as being innately inferior. Help is expected rather than asked for. For Grimm's the colonial project could not succeed unless a racial order was strictly maintained. Scholz, therefore, 'heroically' sacrifices his life for the greater good of maintaining his pride, eventually dying from his wounds. Whilst the African protagonist may appear to be like a vulture hovering around the dying man, happy to take advantage of Scholz's predicament, there is to the modern reader, something pathetically futile rather than heroic and noble about Scholz's self sacrifice. In obeying his racial consciousness at all costs. At the heart of Der Gang durch den Sand lies a message of the inability of the colonisers and colonised to co-exist and a conviction that the maintainance of a sense of selfness of whiteness, is crucial to the maintainance of colonial rule.

Contemporaries as well as the colonial authorities in Berlin and the overseas German territories shared Grimm's fears concerning the dangers of relationships between Europeans and indigenous Africans. As Wildenthal suggests in the context of the colonial wars there was a reconsideration of how colonial society should look.<sup>330</sup> This led to the introduction of legislation which was geared towards establishing as well as reinforcing the legal, political, economic, and social separation of the Europeans and Africans. Social segregation was seen as a necessity because it was increasingly believed that the health and stability of the greater white colonial body politic was endangered by the sexual behaviour of the male European settlers and their apparent lack of a racial consciousness. In particular the growth of a dual descent African - European population born out of these mixed relationships was seen as disturbing colonial stability. Theodor Leutwein, the first appointed Governor of German Southwest Africa, argued that the continued existence of African-European marriages and sexual relationships and the subsequent growth of the dual descent population posed a political threat to the colony as it would lead to a division of loyalties within the European settler community and the prospect of this group eventually splitting from German rule.<sup>331</sup> Moreover, on account of German Citizenship law whereby the wives and children of German men inherited German citizenship there loomed the prospect of African women and dual descent children being legally classified as German (European). For racial purists this was seen as a direct threat to *Deutschtum* as expressed by the likes of

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<sup>329</sup> Ridley, "Hans Grimm," 867.

<sup>330</sup> Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 268.

<sup>331</sup> R. Gordon, "The Rise of the Bushmann Penis: Germans, Genitalia and Genocide," African Studies 57 (1998): 47.

Rohrbach who believed that the number of mixed African and European relationships had reached such a level that Germany like other Imperial powers was faced with a pressing dilemma - "*Ob die Reinheit der Rasse aufrechterhalten werden soll oder nicht.*"<sup>332</sup> For Rohrbach the alternative to the preserving of a German racial purity was the apocalyptic prospect of the gradual disappearance of the supposedly pure German race, which would be replaced by a biologically inferior African-European dual descent population. He warned that within a very short time Germans would certainly lose their culture, traditions, social order, and a sense of national worth - in effect *Deutschtum*, their very identity, and Germanness was at stake.<sup>333</sup> The novelist J. Dose painted an equally bleak picture for the future of the German colonies, imagining a time in which they would be populated by a "miserable generation of half castes inheriting all the bad qualities of their parents, the criminality and laziness of the Black mother..."<sup>334</sup> As has been discussed in detail in chapter three, within the colonial administrations the reaction was the introduction by the colonial Governors in the Southwest and German East Africa, in 1905 and 1906 respectively, of instructions prohibiting the conducting of any further civil marriages between Africans and Europeans. The acting Governor of the Southwest justified taking this action by referring to the danger such marriages and the dual descent children posed to not only the purity of the German race, but also to the entire position of power of the white man.<sup>335</sup> He lamented that European settlers were prone to the process of degeneration and stressed that the European had to overcome the numerical superiority of the indigenous Africans and assert his authority by means of his race.<sup>336</sup> Whilst German men could no longer pass on their citizenship rights to indigenous wives and their children it was, however, clear that the prohibiting of mixed marriages would alone not solve the issue of African-European sexual relationships. The colonial administrators and commentators were well aware that preventing concubinage and the resulting continued growth of a dual descent population was far more difficult. In the Southwest further legislation was enacted removing the civil rights from all men married to or in a relationship with an African women; similarly the administration refused to sell land to such settlers. Furthermore all men known to have had sex with an African woman within a certain time period of her giving birth to a dual descent child were subject to a fine.<sup>337</sup> In 1912 the State Secretary of the RKA, Wilhelm Solf, would

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<sup>332</sup> Rohrbach, *Die Kolonie*, 39.

<sup>333</sup> Paul Rohrbach quoted in Dr. W., 6.

<sup>334</sup> J. Dose quoted and translated in Ridley, *Images of Imperial Rule*, 78.

<sup>335</sup> Tecklenburg an die Kolabt., 23.Oktober 1905, in BAB R1001 5417, 4.

<sup>336</sup> Tecklenburg an die Kolabt., 23.Oktober 1905, 5.

<sup>337</sup> Verordnung des Gouverneurs von Deutsch-Südwest Afrika über die Mischlingsbevölkerung vom 23.Mai 1912, cited in Amtsblatt für Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Südwest Afrika 3 (1912):188, in BAB R1001 5423, 238.



introduce a ban on mixed marriages in the German colony of Samoa. The State Secretary's actions would induce a heated debate in the Reichstag in which the Centre and SPD proposed an initiative to legally recognise colonial mixed marriages. This motion would be passed thanks to the enumerative strength of its proponents, who supported recognition out of a mixture of legal and religious rather than moral or humane grounds, but it would never come before the upper house and as a result was never enacted. During the debate Solf and other opponents of the motion urged that members of the house follow their national and racial instincts and reject the proposal. Solf's appeal to the racial instincts of the politicians mirrored an appeal being made to the racial consciousness of the male settlers in the colonies.

The sexual behaviour of the colonists was increasingly propagated as being unpatriotic as demonstrated by remarks made at the third *Deutscher Kolonialkongress* of 1910, which brought together a wide variety of colonial interest groups. Whilst the high ranking civil servant (*Kreisassessor*) Gerstenhauer voiced the opinion of the majority of those participating in the debate when underlining the need for Germany's settler colonies to remain "white man's land," the opening speaker of the session Dr. G. Hartmann bemoaned the fact that it was precisely in Germany's foremost settler colony of the Southwest that social stability was under the greatest threat. "*Hier ist allgemein der Prozeß der Vernegerung zu konstatieren.*"<sup>338</sup> Hartmann continued;

Die tiefe Bedeutung der Rassenfrage liegt darin, daß wir den Mischlings- und schwarzen Rassen eine tiefere Kulturstufe zuschreiben, und daß wir uns nicht mit ihnen mischen wollen, weil wir eben nicht von unserer Kulturhöhe zu dieser tieferen herabgezogen werden wollen.<sup>339</sup>

Hartmann clearly subscribed to the view that cultures were ranked on a vertical axis and that sexual unions between Europeans and Africans could only lead to devaluation of German culture. It was, therefore, to be avoided that the 'lapsed' white settler becomes representative of the entire European colonial society; otherwise, Hartmann believed, German culture would regress. Sexual unions between Africans and Europeans, thus posed a cultural threat to Germanness. Hartmann's belief that Germans would not wish to sexually interact with indigenous Africans is further backed up by a contribution from

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<sup>338</sup> Contribution from Gerstenhauer at the 1910 *Deutscher Kolonialkongress*. Reproduced in *Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, 926. Dr.G Hartmann in a speech entitled "Die Mischrassen in unseren Kolonien besonders in Südwestafrika," reproduced in *Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, 909.

Dr. Hindorf, who equally naively believed that the problem of mixed relationships would simply disappear because of an innate sense of German racial pride and duty. It was to this sense of German pride that writers on mixed unions appealed.

Sicherlich ist jedem guten Deutschen der Gedanke einer weitgehenden Vermischung der weißen mit der farbigen Rasse gründlich zuwider und im Interesse des deutschen Volkes muß diese Vermischung...mit allen Mitteln vorgebeugt werden.<sup>340</sup>

Hindorf's language was quite specific, in order to be considered a good patriotic German, colonists had to abstain from relationships with African women. German colonists involved in mixed relationships were depicted as traitors to their nation as well as their race in failing to develop a racial consciousness, an awareness of an alleged difference, and colonial women's groups were quick to point out that German women felt a sense of betrayal by such men.<sup>341</sup> It was deemed un-German to be married to an African woman and the institution of marriage itself, as a bond between moral and intellectual equals, was propagated as being under threat. Even missionaries would take to criticising the sexuality of the settlers. The President of the evangelical mission in Namaland, C. Wandres, clearly stated the opinion of his mission society.

Wer heute [in the aftermath of marriage bans] noch eine Ehe mit einer Eingeborenen eingeht, muss als minderwertiger Charakter bezeichnet werden.... denn ein Ansiedler, der keine weisse Frau ernähren kann, ist kein willkommener Kolonisor.<sup>342</sup>

He further suggested that such settlers be forced to wear a *Passmarke*, a metal sign all Africans were forced to wear in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war. This was to symbolise that these settlers were no longer to be considered white.

Yet how was the settlers' lacking racial consciousness to be awakened? As long as there remained an overwhelming disproportionate number of European men to women in the colonial settlements, it was believed that European men would continue to seek

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<sup>339</sup> Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910, 922.

<sup>340</sup> Contribution from Dr. Hindorf at the 1910 Deutscher Kolonialkongress. Reproduced in Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910, 924.

<sup>341</sup> Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship," 279.

<sup>342</sup> C. Wandres, "Bemerkungen über Mischehen und Mischlinge aus der Praxis für die Praxis," 1912, BAB R1001 5423, 249.

out indigenous partners. Colonial politicians and the colonial press as the primary solution to the problem of establishing a biologically sound colonial population as well as the best means to stimulate the lack of a racial consciousness amongst the German settler population therefore imagined the sending of German women to the colonies. "*Denn jede Frau, die in ein deutsches Schutzgebiet kommt, hebt dessen kulturelles Niveau.*"<sup>343</sup> In order to encourage German women to emigrate to the colonies it required depicting life there as an attractive alternative to that which they experienced in Germany. The *Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, a subsection of the DKG, was created in 1907 with the aim of encouraging greater female involvement in the colonial project. It was also hoped that the *Frauenbund* would strengthen ties between women in Germany and those in the colonies, whose sense of culture and tradition, it was believed, would be tested to the full in the colonial environment. The propaganda mouthpiece of the *Frauenbund* was the periodical Kolonie und Heimat, which routinely ran stories describing the lifestyle being enjoyed by German women in Africa. A typical example is a quote from Fräulein B, who wrote, "*Ich habe es viel besser und angenehmer hier gefunden als ich erwartet hatte. Es geht mir sehr gut hier in Windhuk.*"<sup>344</sup> The periodical also stressed,

Der Bund [the Frauenbund] will die Auswanderung deutscher Frauen und Mädchen nach den Kolonien fördern um so den Ansiedlern draußen Gelegenheit zu geben, sich ein deutsches Heim mit deutscher Hausfrau zu gründen.<sup>345</sup>

The deliberate suggestion that it was the presence of a German woman alone who could enable a male settler to create a uniquely European home added a patriotic element to the role of the prospective woman coloniser. The national importance of the work of the women colonists was a theme that would increasingly be developed and promoted by the *Frauenbund* and by female colonial novelists. In general German women had been left out of the colonial project and, as a result, their position and role within the German colonial domestic sphere had been taken over by indigenous African women. With the paranoia over mixed relationships, however, the opportunity arose for German women to create their own role and space in the colonial settlements. The woman colonist was thus propagated as being the saviour of *Deutschtum* in the overseas settlements. In her guise as wife and mother the ideal woman coloniser would ensure the growth of a

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<sup>343</sup> Von Weichmann quoted in "Die Frau und die Kolonien," DKZ 22 (1905): 122.

<sup>344</sup> Fräulein B. quoted in "Nachrichten aus Südwestafrika," Kolonie und Heimat 1 Nr.3 (1907): 12.

<sup>345</sup> R. Wagner, "Rassenfrage in den Kolonien," in Kolonie und Heimat 1 Nr.2 (1907): 11-12.

healthy settler population and, added to this, through her mere presence alone she would morally provide support for the weak willed European which he had hitherto been lacking. "*Sie dient den Zwecken höherer Sittlichkeit, weil sie den Mann hindert, den Forderungen des weißen Rassenbewußtseins untreu zu werden und sich mit den eingeborenen Weibern zu vermischen.*"<sup>346</sup> As Grimm admitted, "*es gibt gar nicht viele Männer, die ein Leben abseits von jedem weiblichen Einfluß wohl ertragen können ohne zu verwildern.*" (SN 135) The woman coloniser would save the colonial pioneers from their suspected fatal flaw through providing an alternative to finding an indigenous partner. In their memoirs several female colonial writers directly addressed passages to the women of Germany, calling on them to become involved in colonial work. Thus, Margarethe von Eckenbrecher appealed to the patriotism of the young women of Germany asking them to heed their responsibilities as German women and head for the colonies. "*Ihr seid jung und stark und deutsch. Nur durch starke Frauen kann die Kolonie wieder aufblühen und gedeihen! Helft Ihr dem Vaterland an dieser großen, schönen Aufgabe.*"<sup>347</sup> The woman colonist was depicted as being more than simply a wife and mother. Thus, she was cast in the role of a "*Mitarbeiterin*," a "*Kulturträgerin*," with the crucial job of being the protector of the very essence of all that was German. She was charged with bringing and preserving the wholeness and traditional character of German family life, German *Kultur* and orderliness in the colonial household - all of which would help recreate stability and order within the colony as a whole. The restoration of cultural markers of whiteness, cleanliness, order, the provision of healthy meals, all this would prevent German men from losing their culture. In this way the woman colonist would ensure against the degeneration of the European men, ever reminding them of their own cultural and racial duties. Equally by stirring the male colonist out of his passivity the women colonists played an economic role seen as being vital to the success of the development of the colony. Wildenthal demonstrates that writers like Clara Brockmann envisaged the colonial setting as a place where German women could achieve personal emancipation from traditional gender roles through their importance to the colonial project.<sup>348</sup> In addition, according to the colonist Emmy Richter, it was in the German colonies more than anywhere else that German women could gain the respect of their male counterparts.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> "Die Frau und die Kolonien," 122.

<sup>347</sup> M. von Eckenbrecher, *Was Afrika mir gab und nahm* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1907), p.v.

<sup>348</sup> Wildenthal, "'She is the Victor'," 372-393.

<sup>349</sup> E. Richter, "Die deutsche Hausfrau in den Kolonien: Aus meiner Afrikazeit," *Kolonie und Heimat* 1 Nr.10 (1908): 12.

The role of the woman settler was promoted as being of national importance and a growing number of tasks were assigned to her. Antonie Brandeis, amongst others, described these tasks in an infrequent column - "Die Deutsche Hausfrau in den Kolonien," which appeared in Kolonie und Heimat. Brandeis informed prospective colonists that they would find plenty to do in the colonial setting and that they should always be aware of their duties. Women colonists had to be prepared to give up frivolous entertainment such as the theatre and cabaret as only those who found satisfaction in performing their daily household chores would be of value to the colonial project.<sup>350</sup> According to Brandeis, the skills needed by the would-be colonists included being able to cook and to adapt to new foodstuffs, being able to grow a vegetable patch, and being capable of making clothes out of the new materials found in Africa.<sup>351</sup> In effect the woman colonist was to run a self-sufficient household and she was to take responsibility for the health and care of those Europeans with whom she lived. The duties proposed in Kolonie und Heimat closely mirror the skills taught to young German women at the *Koloniale Frauenschule* in Bad Weilbach, founded in 1911, though additional lessons were given at the school in further practical skills such as cattle handling, milking, and book keeping.<sup>352</sup> The hardships of running a colonial household are underlined in von Eckenbrecher's memoirs. She relates: "*Ich hatte es schwer, mich einzugewöhnen, und in meiner Eigenschaft als Hausfrau namentlich wurde mir viel zugemutet.*"<sup>353</sup> Yet, despite the apparent national importance of the colonial role afforded to German women it is clear that the majority of the tasks they were asked to perform were menial household ones. The writer Magdalene von Prince in her efforts to promote the colonial life and the importance of women to the colonial cause proclaimed in her memoirs, "*Der Mann gründet das Haus, die Frau hält es.*"<sup>354</sup> Essentially, this sums up the *Kulturarbeit* and responsibilities of the female colonist. Behind the veneer of propaganda the German woman's social position, in relation to that of the German man, had altered little in this colonial setting. Indeed the German female colonist had merely regained her constrictive role within the German domestic sphere, rather than enjoying any real emancipation or independence. By virtue of their European status alone German women were assured of a higher social position in colonial society than the

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<sup>350</sup> A. Brandeis, "Die deutsche Hausfrau in den Kolonien: Von Pflichtenkreis der Frau," Kolonie und Heimat 1 Nr.4 (1907): 13.

<sup>351</sup> A. Brandeis, "Die deutsche Frau in den Kolonien: Was eine Hausfrau wissen muß, die nach den Tropen reist," Kolonie und Heimat 1 Nr.8 (1908): 13.

<sup>352</sup> "Kolonial-Frauenschule," DKZ 30 (1913): 364. See also, M. Mamozai, Komplizinnen (Hamburg: Rororo Aktuell, 1990), 72.

<sup>353</sup> Eckenbrecher, 103.

<sup>354</sup> M. von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau im Innern Deutsch Ostafrikas (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1908), viii.

indigenous Africans, whom they frequently abused both physically and verbally. Their position and needs, however, were very much second to those of the male settler, demonstrating the gender hierarchy within colonial society. Like their contemporaries in mainland Germany, German women in the colonies were excluded from being allowed to participate in the political life of the colonies. They were excluded from participation in the various self-governing bodies of the overseas possessions despite protestations from Women's rights groups within Germany. The author of the constitution for the *Landesrat* in German Southwest Africa justified this by suggesting that political life required rationality, toughness, and careful consideration - traits he associated with male colonists.

...solange die Gaben des Herzens und Gemütes frei und voll entfalten kann,  
soll man sie nicht hineinstoßen in die Flut des staatlichen und  
kommunalpolitischen Lebens, wo kalter und nüchterner Verstand immer,  
Zähigkeit und Rücksichtslosigkeit aber oft regieren müssen.<sup>355</sup>

In effect the presence of German women in the colonies and their role within the territories remained dependent on the susceptibility of the German man to entering into sexual relations with indigenous women rather than being a role which they could define on their own terms.

In Wie Grete aufhörte ein Kind zu sein Grimm's character of Grete evokes much of the spirit of the ideal woman coloniser as promoted in the colonial discourse, though Grete is born in German Southwest Africa rather than being sent there. The birthpains that she causes her mother are because from birth Grete proves to be "*ein so starkes und entwickeltes Kind.*" (SN 132) Grete is also invested with emotional strength and independence and because of this she proves to be more capable of coping with her mother's death than her father is. She is rational rather than being prone to whimsical bouts of emotion and likewise possesses a clear understanding of the role of the woman colonist within the colonial household, qualities essential for the woman settler. Following the death of her mother and Grete's subsequent absence from Stylplaats as a result of her convent education the place of the German woman in the Troyna household has been taken by Ellen the Hundasi. Of more concern, however, is the fact that Karl von Troyna and Ellen have developed a sexual relationship. Thus, returning to the farm aged fourteen, after seven years in the convent, much has changed for Grete. As a

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<sup>355</sup> W. Külz, "Frauenstimmrecht in den Kolonien?," *DKZ* 26 (1909): 707.

"*rechte Kolonistentochter*" Grete is particularly careful not to undermine her father's authority in front of the African pair and, whilst her father's association with the two Africans has diminished his own whiteness and led to his passivity, Grete is immediately active in carrying out her role as the female colonist. (SN 152) She expresses surprise and anger when Alfred speaks to her "unashamedly" in the informal 'du' form, but she proves to be capable of taking care of herself, declaring to her father that she has set Alfred straight on the matter. (SN 151) In her first encounter with Ellen she similarly sets about re-establishing the lapsed racial hierarchy within the household. Grete comes across Ellen in the kitchen and remarks that the African woman has laid three places at the table.

Nun, Ellen, so hast du dich geirrt da mit dem dritten Teller...Du hast wohl gegessen, um für den Herrn zu schneiden, während ich fort war, das war gut. Nun aber, da ich wieder da bin, ist es nicht mehr nötig, denn ich tue das für ihn. (SN 158-159)

Aside from using the 'du' form Grete tries not to be impolite in signalling her intentions of claiming her right to the role that was her dead mother's as the guardian of the German household. From this initial encounter onwards, however, the relationship between Ellen and Grete is fraught with tension, mirroring the difficulties that many women colonists and their indigenous domestic servants faced in negotiating a relationship. Such difficulties generally resulted from notions of superiority harboured by the European women and their preconceived ideas and fears concerning the role of the African woman in the colonial household. Whilst Grete asserts her control over the household Ellen is increasingly reduced to being simply a domestic help and her hold over Troyna is partially broken, particularly when the passive Troyna temporarily leaves Sty|plaats. Despite Ellen becoming increasingly brazen and uncooperative in looking after the farm Grete is self sufficient enough to take on the running of the farm herself.

Troyna ahnte nicht, daß sein Mädels mit festzusammengeprestem Munde stets im ersten kühlen Frühlicht hinüberschritt zu den verwahrlosten Pontoks seiner verwahrlosten Boys und Bambusen und die faulen, verwilderten Kerle weckte und zur Arbeit trieb, und daß das wackere junge Ding müde und bleich aussah wie nie vorher... (SN 173)

Still only a young teenager, Grete demonstrates the determination and spirit of the independent woman coloniser as imagined by Brockmann, and proves to be more than a 'Mitarbeiterin' in taking on the considerable burdens which her father has left her to deal with. Aside from mastering practical skills such as riding and shooting she takes pride in the appearance of the Troyna household just as her mother did. At the conclusion of the novella, when her father's return is imminent she is keen to make the family house "clean" (*rein*) which she succeeds on doing on two levels. (SN 192) Firstly the house is physically cleaned, representing the re-imposition of civility and order, and secondly it is metaphorically cleansed through Grete's shooting of the two Africans. Her decision to kill both Alfred and Ellen is in part the result of a pseudo-erotic dream in which she is forewarned of the dangers of African-European relationships, and in addition she overhears Ellen's plans to side with the Bondel rebels. Thus, she eventually takes it upon herself to end the shame which has gripped Stylplaats since her father has been incapable of doing so himself. This represents the awakening of Grete's racial consciousness in its most extreme form. Through her actions Troyna is emancipated from Ellen's grip and Grete has shown herself to be the ideal woman coloniser in reclaiming her position of responsibility in the German household as well as protecting the fate of the colony at large. This is symbolised by the fact that Grete has prevented the African rebels, with whom Ellen had sided, from getting their hands on the weapons at Stylplaats. Grete's maturation from colonist's daughter to woman colonist in her own right is illustrated by her donning of her dead mother's clothes at the novella's conclusion.

Even Grete is, however, a character not entirely without fault, as demonstrated by her ambiguous relationship with Alfred. This relationship is used to negatively depict the African man as illustrated by the barely concealed feelings of primal lust that Alfred harbours towards Grete. Yet, it is noticeable that she becomes increasingly unaware of the fact that Alfred is of a different 'race' from her. The dangers of this are signalled when the two play together and Alfred is increasingly keen to touch Grete who no longer realises that he is doing so. (SN 172) Whether Grimm means to suggest that Grete is subconsciously attracted to Alfred or not is unclear, though it was not unknown for European women, like their male counterparts, to become involved with members of the indigenous population. "*Selbst 'hundertprozentige' Kolonialistinnen fanden die Männer durchaus attraktiv.*"<sup>356</sup> This attraction appears to be based on similar notions to the European man's attraction to the African woman. Thus, the primal sexual prowess

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<sup>356</sup> Mamozai, 79.



associated with the Black man as well as the physique of the indigenous men drew the gaze of European women. Paula Karsten was one such female colonist who observed "*die mächtig entwickelte Muskulatur*" of the Africans in the Southwest colony.<sup>357</sup> In the metropole there were newspaper stories of young German women writing love letters to African men who appeared in the various colonial exhibitions.<sup>358</sup> The incidence of relationships between German women and African men was, however, much less than that of German men with African women. This was largely on account of the lack of European women in the colonies, but also because the negative stigma attached to these relationships was such that European women, even more so than their male counterparts, had much to lose from being caught in a relationship with an indigenous man. In the Windhuker Nachrichten outrage was expressed at the possibility that a white woman would "throw herself" at an African man. "*Es ist ein Skandal, daß sich weiße Frauen an die Farbigen, die Gelben Chinas, wie die Schwarzen unserer Kolonien wegwerfen, aus Lüsterheit und Perversität, aus Neugier und Langweile.*"<sup>359</sup> Indeed, German women had been sent to the colonies in order to reduce the problem of relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans not to increase it. Grimm, himself, expressed the extreme view that settler women involved with indigenous men should be stoned to death and the ambiguity of Grete's friendship with Alfred is perhaps best explained as a means by which to further emphasise Troyna's failings as a white settler as well as a test of Grete's strength as a colonist.<sup>360</sup>

In contrast to Grete stands Lotte, the wife of the Patrolman in Dina, who proves to be incapable of carrying out her *Kultur* responsibilities as a woman colonist. This results in her failure to break the emotional hold that the dual descent woman Dina, has over her husband. Unlike Grete, Lotte is not born in the colonies, though she heads to Africa, like many of her real life contemporaries, in the hope of a new beginning and the possibility of finding a husband. From the outset of the voyage to the Southwest it is apparent, however, that Lotte is not suited to the colonial life. The reader is told, "*Noch vor Southampton erkannte sie [Lotte], daß sie außerhalb der Heimat nie werde Wurzel fassen können.*"(SN 29) During the sailing, as the Patrolman describes his life in the settlements, her feeling of homesickness grow, though she foolishly ignores them on account of the attention that Patrolman pays her. Their marriage, which soon follows, is one of convenience - the Patrolman believes that he needs a German wife in order to

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<sup>357</sup> Mamozai, 80.

<sup>358</sup> "Rassenfragen," 593. The Natal Advertiser also reported this phenomenon. Natal Advertiser, 8. Juni 1912, in BAB R1001 5417, 216.

<sup>359</sup> Windhuker Nachrichten, 11. September 1909, 5.

conform to the expected image of the German coloniser and Lotte is simply looking for an escape from a life of solitude. It does not take long for Lotte to express her discontent at her new surroundings. "*Hin und wieder klagte ihm die Frau vor : 'Wie schrecklich ist dieser Ort.'*"(SN 34) She fails to share her husband's enthusiasm on hearing that the pair will move to the Patrolman's old post, instead thinking to herself that a move to anywhere that is not Germany can only be equally bad. (SN 35) Grimm is quick to point out that in reality Lotte has little to complain about, yet she becomes increasingly public in her displays of dissatisfaction illustrating her complete unsuitability as a settler. As her own relationship with the domestic servant Dina deteriorates the African woman becomes increasingly disobedient in Lotte's presence, whilst at the same time serving the Patrolman faithfully. That Lotte has lost the respect of Dina leads to the disorder that follows. More pointedly the author criticises Lotte because, "*...sie verstand ihr Handwerk nicht.*"(SN 40) It is because Lotte fails to comprehend what the responsibilities of being a woman colonist entail that the Patrolman, despite genuine effort, is once again emotionally drawn to Dina. Thus, he turns to the African woman and not to his wife following a serious riding accident. At the conclusion of the novella it is for Dina that he asks upon waking up after the amputation of his damaged arm, though Dina has already left the settlement. This suggests a return to some sort of emotional dependence on the African woman following the failure of his wife to meet his emotional needs. Thus, whilst the Patrolman has managed to resist the temptations of entering into a sexual relationship with Dina, unlike his male companions at the outpost, his wife's failure to provide emotional stability and order drives him once more towards the indigenous woman. The amputation of the Patrolman's arm symbolises his emasculation and renders him childlike as Dina observes. Maria Kuhn argued that an unprepared and unwilling woman colonist could only be a disruptive influence in the colonies. She noted that, "*Der Mann hat meist schwer um seine Existenz zu ringen, und wenn seine Frau ihm nicht etwas Kultur bringt, so wird er schnell verburen.*"<sup>361</sup> This is the criticism that can be levelled at Lotte. She has failed in her role of providing her husband with the culture and traditions of the motherland and she has likewise failed to bring stability and order to the colonial household, instead bringing only her feelings of discontent, which have helped to cause disruption within the settlement as a whole. On top of this Lotte has lost the respect of Dina. Thus, her husband is questioned by an inspecting officer as to why he has heard rumours concerning a lack of order at the Patrolman's post. Such rumours are partly fuelled by Dina, but primarily stem from the

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<sup>360</sup> Kirsch, 27.

<sup>361</sup> M. Kuhn in a speech entitled, "Die Stellung der Frau in den Kolonien," reproduced in Verhandlungen Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910, 960.

German woman's public outbursts of discontent. Lotte's presence is more damaging to the colonial project than beneficial as a result of her longing for a return to Germany, as well as her failure to morally, and emotionally aid her husband.

It was the DKG that took the initiative in funding the actual transportation of German women to German Southwest Africa after pleas from Governor Leutwein and his future successor Friedrich von Lindequist. Von Lindequist would further voice support for the sending of women to the Southwest in the aftermath of the mixed marriages prohibition believing this to be the best means of strengthening the male colonists' "racial consciousness."<sup>362</sup> At the beginning of 1898 the first group of women was sent to the colony under this scheme. The group included the wives of two colonists, the daughter of a colonist, two prospective brides and twelve domestic servants. Much to the delight of the Governor by March already one of these women was married and six others were engaged.<sup>363</sup> Table one illustrates that, particularly in the aftermath of the Herero-Nama war, the DKG was responsible for sponsoring the passage of an ever increasing number of women to the colonies, both prospective brides and settlers' wives.

Table one: The number of People sent to German Southwest Africa at the cost of the DKG:

<u>1898-1909.</u>							
Year	Number of People	Wives	Sons under 16	Daughters	Other relatives	Brides	Domestic servants
1898	19	2	1	1	1	2	12
1899	23	-	-	-	10	3	10
1900	21	4	4	1	4	8	-
1901	19	5	-	1	2	11	-
1902	31	6	-	1	16	7	1
1903	34	6	1	1	8	12	6
1904	25	11	1	2	5	4	2
1905	36	12	3	18	11	4	8
1906	109	26	17	18	8	16	24
1907	165	43	27	23	9	15	48
1908	180	30	19	33	15	27	56
Aug. 1909	124	21	15	13	17	13	45

Source: "Die Deutsche Koloniale Frauenfrage," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 26  
(1909):594.

<sup>362</sup> Lindequist an die Kolabt., 12. August 1906, in BAB R1001 5423, 80.

Some ten years after the first group of women arrived the DKG would send over 30 wives, 33 daughters, 27 brides, and 56 domestic servants.<sup>364</sup> Primarily these women were being sent to the colony as prospective wives and mothers, though a complex debate developed as to whether women were also to be sent as domestic servants or simply as partners for the settlers. It was understood that the presence of female African servants in the colonial household was a source of temptation for the male settler, thus, there was a need, where possible, for them to be replaced by white domestic servants. These European domestic servants would also remove the fear concerning the negative influence that the African women had on white children in their care as well as providing healthy and nutritional food enabling the settler to remain fit and healthy.<sup>365</sup> From the table it is clear that the DKG was responsible for paying the passage of an increasing number of domestic servants. Yet, the sending of domestic helpers was also seen as problematic as Dr. Hartmann explained.

Ich bin der festen Überzeugung, daß mit dem Hinaussenden von Mädchen und Frauen ins Schutzgebiet, wenn diese Mädchen und Frauen mittellos sind, die Keime der Prolaterisierung gelegt werden.<sup>366</sup>

As has been demonstrated in chapter two the prospect of a working class population developing in the colonies was almost as horrifying for the colonial administration as the growth of a dual descent African-European population and was linked to fears concerning degeneration.<sup>367</sup> In 1907 the *Frauenbund* took over the selection process for women to be sent to the colonies and the administering of funds where appropriate. The organisation was largely composed of bourgeois women and primarily sought to send women of a similar social standing as themselves to the colonies. It is clear, however, that the potential domestic servants were still being sought. Therefore, in addition to funding the voyages of settlers' wives and female relatives to the Southwest, the *Frauenbund* looked for unmarried, "strong and healthy girls who come from the country, have considerable experience in domestic work, and are unpretentious in their manner of living."<sup>368</sup> Equally before financing passage to the Southwest the *Frauenbund* asked that applicants, amongst other things, provide proof of their future employment in

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<sup>363</sup> Mamozai, 68.

<sup>364</sup> "Die Koloniale Frauenfrage," *DKZ* 26 (1909): 594.

<sup>365</sup> "Die Frau und die Kolonien," 122

<sup>366</sup> Hartmann, 930.

<sup>367</sup> For more information, see chapter 2 "The Settlement of German Southwest Africa."

the colony, a medical letter concerning their health, a certificate from the police to certify their moral respectability, a reference from their previous employer, and a note from their parents allowing them to undertake passage to the colony.<sup>369</sup> This was a means to help ensure that women heading to the Southwest already had a place of employment and that only desirable female settlers were being sponsored. Maria Kuhn reported to the *Deutscher Kolonialkongress* of 1910 that since the beginning of the scheme to send settlers to the colonies 1079 people had been sponsored, the vast majority of them being women.<sup>370</sup> Indeed between October 1907 and May 1910 one hundred and fifty eight women had arrived in Southwest Africa thanks to financial aid from the *Frauenbund*, fifty four of whom were married by 1911, and by which time only seven had returned to Germany.<sup>371</sup> The majority of these women were aged between twenty and thirty five years old. Life in Africa would prove to be particularly hard for most settlers whether male or female. The colonists Helene von Falkenhausen and Margarethe von Eckenbrecher both suffered from the loss of family members, relations with African servants were frequently problematic, and generally adapting to a new lifestyle was often difficult. As the figures suggest the policy of sending German women to the colonies was relatively successful although in comparative terms British organisations sponsoring women to emigrate to the British colonies enjoyed far more success.<sup>372</sup> Berthold, in his contemporary discussion of the emigration of women to the colonies suggested that between the end of the Anglo-Boer war and 1910 at least 4,000 women and girls had been sponsored by British organisations to emigrate to South Africa.<sup>373</sup> The numerous postings in the pages of colonial newspapers and periodicals from women looking for employment and passage to the colonies, however, testifies to the relative female interest in the German colonies.

In conclusion, the appeal to the racial consciousness of the German colonists is to be seen in the context of the instability in the overseas territories brought about by the shock of large-scale indigenous resistance. This led to the questioning of previous German colonial practice and, in particular, criticism of the sexual behaviour of male settlers whose partners were African. That this appeal was made explicitly to the awakening of a racial consciousness was based upon the belief that Europeans and

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<sup>368</sup> R.V. Pierard, "Transportation of White Women to German Southwest Africa, 1898-1914," *Race* 12 (1970): 319.

<sup>369</sup> C. Winkler, "Zur Fraueneinwanderung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *DKZ* 30 (1913): 209-210.

<sup>370</sup> Kuhn, 930.

<sup>371</sup> Mamozai, 69-70.

<sup>372</sup> Walther, 138. See also, P. Huhn. & W. Harber, "Die Auswanderung von Frauen und Kindern in die britischen Kolonien," *ZfKKK* 12 (1910): 833-858.

<sup>373</sup> H. Berthold, "Ziele und Wege der Kolonialen Besiedlung," *ZfKKK* 12 (1910): 464.

Africans differed in terms of essential biological and cultural traits. It was argued that settlers needed to become aware of these imagined differences in order to assert their authority over the indigenous populations as well as to protect a notional racial purity. In the colonial arena racial belonging and awareness became a qualities determining whiteness and central to being a good settler. The imposition of a Self - Other dichotomy over the colonial arena, however, was unable to sustain the notion of the essential difference between black and white. Indeed the dichotomy was collapsing in a system of gradation, not simply in legal terms, as argued in the previous chapter, but also in discursive and representational practice there was an admission of gradation. In chapter two it was shown that marginal figures were appearing within the settler society whose presence was, according to colonial authorities and bourgeois interest parties, undesirable. The social behaviour of such settlers confounded norms of bourgeois morality and sensibility and, therefore, identified them as being marginal members of the body politic. Their presence appeared to threaten the social and political stability of the colony, undermining notions of European civility and cultural superiority. In the context of the settler society, the representational and political expulsion of 'lapsed' whites was representative of the construction of categories of black and white and the development of an increasingly exclusive settler society. Equally the discourse of degeneration signals a link between metropolitan conceptions of difference within the category of white and a colonial recognition of gradation. Social and sexual behaviour were further means by which a settler's desirability could be judged, and could result in expulsion or assimilation into settler society. German women were sent to the colonies in order to save settler society by making the male settlers aware of the apparent racial differences between the European and the African, which in turn would prevent the degeneration of German culture and population. Here, it is significant that women colonists were to fulfill a cultural role, to re-assert markers of whiteness within the colonial household. Culture was established as a marker of difference, not simply to differentiate between Europeans and Africans, but increasingly to identify and distinguish between desirable and undesirable white settlers in justifying a hierarchy of privilege within settler society. In the next chapter the discursive and political response to an increasing Afrikaner immigrant population will be shown to hinge upon a cultural and economic assessment of the immigrants. This determined as to whether they were assimilated into settler society or excluded from this society as well as further contributing to the negotiation of categories of identification and the organisation of colonial society.

## Chapter Five

### Afrikaner Settlement in German Southwest Africa 1884-1914 and the Process of Normalization: Administrative Policies of Inclusion and Exclusion

Die Boeren sind thatsächlich das brauchbarste und werthvollste Kolonisationsmaterial für Süd-Afrika und kein Land hier darf hoffen, ohne deren Hülfe rasch aus dem Urzustand herauszukommen.

Süd Afrikanische Zeitung, 3.Juni 1893 <sup>374</sup>

...eine Einwanderung von Boeren und Kapkolonisten in größerem Maßstabe einer zukünftigen deutschen Besiedlung ernstliche Hindernisse bereiten würde.

Otto von Bismarck, 19.Februar 1890 <sup>375</sup>

Envisaged by the German government and the colonial lobby alike as Germany's foremost settlement colony, by January of 1901 almost seventeen years after first being placed under the protection of the German Reich, the territory then known as German Southwest Africa had still to attract a significant number of white European settlers. According to official statistics the white settlement population at this point numbered only 3,640, of whom 2,222 were German citizens.<sup>376</sup> This was despite the relatively high annual rate of German emigration, in particular to the United States. Proponents of the Southwest as a settler colony blamed both the government and the land concession companies for this failure to attract German and European settlers in greater numbers. The former was criticised on account of its lacklustre investment in financing the creation of a viable transport system and infrastructure, whilst the latter were chastised for keeping land prices artificially high. The gradual development of a recognisable infrastructure and railway system from the late 1890s onwards, and the expropriation of indigenous land and cattle resulting from the defeat inflicted upon the Herero and Nama in the war of 1904-1907, played a major role in drawing an increasing number of Germans to the Southwest. Even by the outbreak of World War One, some seven years after the conclusion of the Herero-Nama war, the white population of the colony was

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<sup>374</sup> Süd Afrikanische Zeitung, 3.Juni 1893, in BAB R1001 1148, 36.

<sup>375</sup> Von Bismarck an Göring, 19.Februar 1890, BAB R1001 1147, 62.

<sup>376</sup> M.R. Gerstenhauer, "Bemerkungen zur Bevölkerungs Statistik von Deutsch Südwest Afrika 1901," DKZ 18 (1901): 344.

still under 15,000 settlers.<sup>377</sup> This figure was well short of the optimistic expectations raised by colonial experts such as Georg Hartmann, who believed the colony to be capable of providing for between fifty and sixty thousand German settlers.<sup>378</sup> Whilst the prospect of emigrating to the Southwest largely failed to arouse mass interest in Germany, within the southern regions of Africa itself a considerable number of would-be colonists were expressing a willingness to settle in the territory. Referred to in contemporary German government and newspaper reports as "*Boeren*" or "*Buren*", a literal use of the Dutch word for farmer, groups of Afrikaners had, prior to the onset of German rule, entered the colony in treks of various sizes searching for unused stretches of land. This immigrant population was constantly in flux and although many Afrikaners took up only temporary residence clearly others were prepared to settle on a long term basis. Included in the white population statistics of January 1901 were 965 Afrikaners. Therefore, at this time, more than a quarter of the white population comprised of Afrikaners.<sup>379</sup> This figure is a clear underestimate in view of the fact that a considerable number of Afrikaners possessed English or German citizenship and were, as a result, not categorised with their fellow Afrikaners in the official statistics. In-trekking continued throughout the period of German colonialism and the issue of the Afrikaner presence in the Southwest colony was one that was hotly debated within the government, the German and south-west African press, and German colonial circles. Indeed Afrikaners formed the largest immigrant group of the Southwest settler society. As will be shown the discussion concerning Afrikaner settlement centred on the assessment of the cultural, economic and political value of the Afrikaners as settlers. It will be argued that the Afrikaners were subjected to what the anthropologist Aihwa Ong, in her study on Asian immigrants in modern day America, has described as a process of normalization; "an ideological whitening or blackening that reflects dominant racial oppositions and an assessment of cultural competence based on imputed capital and consumer power in the minority subject."<sup>380</sup> In the previous chapters it has been argued that in German Southwest Africa social and political categories of Black and White, *Eingeborene* and *Nicht Eingeborene*, were highly ambiguous and unstable. The process of normalization was an attempt to understand and describe the Afrikaners in relation to categories of Black and White, as well as to construct these categories in the first place. It represented an attempt to respond to, and establish control over, a fluid population of non-German immigrants whose very presence was seen as threatening the German nature of the

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<sup>377</sup> Gann, 4.

<sup>378</sup> G. Hartmann, *Die Zukunft Deutsch Südwest Afrikas: Beitrag zur Besiedlungs und Eingeborenenfrage* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1904), 26.

<sup>379</sup> Concerning the problems with the Afrikaner population statistics, see Oelhafen 15-33.



colony. In this chapter Afrikaner settlement is explored in connection with the policies and programmes of social and economic engineering adopted to create an exclusive settler society and a notion of whiteness. It demonstrates once more the importance of cultural markers in the definition of status and the further use of racial rhetoric to represent undesirable settlers. Furthermore, it allows an insight into the ways in which the German authorities dealt with non-German immigrants in the German colonies. Particularly during Governor Leutwein's period in office policies were introduced attempting to divide the Afrikaner immigrant population, both those already in the territory and those applying for permission to gain entrance, into different categories. These were based upon the Afrikaner's economic strength and further justified with recourse to a cultural assessment of the settler's character and worth, in relation to German cultural values. Such policies were aimed at retaining those Afrikaners believed to be desirable settlers, namely settlers with capital, and bringing about their assimilation into the greater European settler population. At the same time the Governor hoped to exclude those Afrikaners envisaged as being politically undesirable and who were without sufficient financial means.

The discussion concerning Afrikaner settlement reached its peak during and in the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, but by then the administration in Southwest Africa had already taken a firm stance to limit Afrikaner immigration. Therefore, although the nationalist organisation the ADV, which promoted Afrikaner settlement, claimed that up to 15,000 Afrikaners were prepared to enter the German colony, the possibility of mass Afrikaner settlement, feared by some and welcomed by others, never took place.<sup>381</sup> After reaching a peak of over 1,800 immigrants in 1902, the Afrikaner population began to steadily decline to around nine hundred by 1907. Again Afrikaners who were naturalised Germans or British citizens are not included in these figures.<sup>382</sup> The chapter first looks at the Afrikaner reasons for trekking and the initial treks into the German territory. Second, the early response of the colonial authorities in both Berlin and the Southwest to reports of trekking shall be explored. Third, Governor Leutwein's divisive policies of exclusion and the creation of a negative stereotype of the Afrikaner will be examined. Fourth, pro-Afrikaner sympathy during the Anglo-Boer war shall be discussed. Finally, Leutwein's policies of Germanisation, aimed at the assimilation of desirable Afrikaner immigrants, will be

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<sup>380</sup> Ong, 737-761. I thank Matthias Dettling for bringing my attention to this article.

<sup>381</sup> Beratungsergebnisse: ADV, Die Bureneinwanderung nach Deutsch Südwestafrika (Berlin: Anfang April 1900), in BAB R1001 1149, 107.

<sup>382</sup> Van der Heyden, 1080-1081.

detailed. In concluding, the success or lack of, of these policies will be examined and Afrikaner settlement in the post-Anglo-Boer war period will be related.

Descendants primarily of the Dutch, Huguenot and German immigrants who left Europe from around the beginning of the seventeenth century and headed to southern Africa, the Afrikaners had a long history of trekking, of immigrating in small or large caravans of families into new territories. Combined with a general pioneering spirit, treks were normally undertaken to find new uninhabited pasture land, required because of their practised art of cattle farming, or in order to escape the constraining hold of administrative control exercised over their previous habitat by foreign governments, notably Britain. The region of the Southwest, particularly in the north, on account of its wide areas of uninhabited land, moderate climate, and loose governmental control was an ideal destination for the immigrants, either as a place for permanent residence or as a stopping point before heading onwards to Portuguese Angola. Ten years prior to the beginning of nominal German control over the territory, the first significant Afrikaner trek, the Dorstland (literally Thirstland) Trek to Damaraland took place. Consisting largely of malcontents and adventurers, the Afrikaners left the Transvaal in a number of groups from 1874 onwards and headed across the Kalahari desert.<sup>383</sup> The lack of sufficient waterholes in the Kalahari necessitated that the trekkers set off in small groups rather than as one large group. Indeed the undertaking of such a trek and future treks was enormous. Brian M. Du Toit briefly relates the obstacles that the Dorstland trekkers encountered.<sup>384</sup> Confronted at various times by water shortage, their cattle stocks depleted by lung disease, and often greeted by an unfavourable reaction from the indigenous Africans, many of the trekkers attempted to return to the Transvaal, took up temporary residence wherever they could find suitable grazing lands and scratch out an existence, or they simply died in the desert. Under persuasion of the trader William Jordan, the rapidly fragmenting trek headed into the southern part of the Portuguese territory of Angola in January of 1881. Here the immigrants were initially welcomed and even naturalised by the authorities.<sup>385</sup> Some, however, chose to return to the Southwest and settle on land which Jordan had acquired around Grootfontein in the north of the territory. In October of 1885 the Afrikaners founded the Upingtonia Republic, named after the prime minister of the Cape in an effort to elicit his support for the fledgling republic. According to Schinze the population of Upingtonia was around

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<sup>383</sup> R.J. Gordon, The Bushmann Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 40.

<sup>384</sup> B.M. Du Toit, The Boers in East Africa: Ethnicity and Identity (Westport [Conn.]: Bergin and Garvey, 1998), 33.

five hundred Afrikaners.<sup>386</sup> Yet, this independent Afrikaner republic soon find itself in difficulties. Jordan was murdered, the result of a dispute between African leaders concerning the right to grant the Afrikaners land. Maherero, politically the most influential leader in the area, was very much against an Afrikaner presence in Grootfontein, land which he viewed as being under his authority. Thus, when Jordan acquired the land from a subordinate African leader, the historian Vedder suggests that Maherero asserted his power and consented to the murder of Jordan.<sup>387</sup> Whatever the specifics of the murder, the effect was to throw the Afrikaner settler population into panic, with many fleeing to the Transvaal. At the end of 1886 the few Afrikaners that chose to remain were forced to turn to the German authorities for protection and placed themselves under the authority of the German Reich. This enabled the Germans to assert authority over an area which was previously outwith German control. The Dorstland Trek illustrated not only the difficulties trekkers encountered, the often uneasy relationship between the Afrikaners and the Africans, but significantly it brought the issue of potential Afrikaner settlement to the attention of the German officials in the Southwest.

Barely a year after the proclamation of the Upingtonia Republic in Grootfontein, a further Afrikaner settlement of at least one hundred families was being awaited in Gibeon after missionaries had reported that Moses Witbooi, father of the Nama leader Hendrik, had sold off all of his land to the Cape trader Willem Spangenburg.<sup>388</sup> Spangenburg intended to use the land for the creation of an Afrikaner settlement, a prospect which caused mass unrest amongst the African peoples in the region who feared that the Afrikaners would seek to assert authority over the land. Witbooi refuted all claims of having alienated his land and matters were further complicated when two more buyers came forward alleging to have purchased the same land.<sup>389</sup> Such was the confusion that followed that all plans for the Afrikaner settlement collapsed. This was to the disappointment of Kaiser Wilhelm II's representative in the Southwest, Dr. Heinrich Göring, who had previously proclaimed his desire to gain the backing of the indigenous leaders for an Afrikaner settlement in their midst. In a detailed report to the Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, dated the 15th of January 1887, Göring wrote enthusiastically about the pioneering characteristics of the Afrikaners and promoted the

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<sup>385</sup> Vedder, 530

<sup>386</sup> Gordon, 40.

<sup>387</sup> Vedder, 530

<sup>388</sup> Hinber an von Bismarck, 6.Juli 1886, BAB R1001 1147, 6.

<sup>389</sup> Hinber an von Bismarck, 6.Juli 1886, 10; A. Heywood & E. Maasdorp trans., The Hendrik Witbooi Papers (Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1990), 39.

benefits, primarily economic, that Germany could gain from welcoming Afrikaner immigration into the southern parts of the colony.<sup>390</sup> Particularly in Groß Namaqualand Göring envisaged the Afrikaners as being the only settlers capable of making the land "produktionsfähig" - "sie würden...Brunnen graben, den Fluß ableiten, das Feld bebauen..."<sup>391</sup> Göring likewise wrote of the advantages that German traders would accrue from the settlement of some 400-500 families in the region, and the prospective of improved trade links with the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Furthermore, he believed that an increased settler presence would provide a bulwark against the "Räuberbande" and the potential indigenous resistance to German rule. The Portuguese administration used a similar line of argument when allowing the Dorstland trekkers to enter Angola. It must be remembered that at this time the German settler community and indeed administrative presence in the territory was minimal. Göring's opinions were passed onto the *Deutsche Coloniale Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika*, and were initially shared by the society's members.<sup>392</sup> Indeed the secretary petitioned von Bismarck that Göring work in connection with their representative in Southwest Africa in order to attract Afrikaners to the society's concession land.

Afrikaner immigration on the scale that Göring wrote of did, however, not take place during his period in office. The number of Afrikaner settlers in the Southwest in 1891 was officially only thirty one.<sup>393</sup> As Oelhafen argued; "*Die Einwanderung von Buren im Süden war zunächst während des ersten Jahrzehntes deutscher Herrschaft sehr gering, da die Buren noch schweren Bedrückungen durch die Hottentotten ausgesetzt waren.*"<sup>394</sup> Göring's pro-Afrikaner settlement ideas were, however, echoed by both his replacement, the *Landeshauptmann*, Curt von François, and the Government Assessor, August Kohler. Kohler much like Göring viewed Afrikaner settlement primarily from the viewpoint of the economic advantages to be gained. He and Göring, unlike von François and later governmental officials made no cultural and moral assessment of the Afrikaner as a settler in the German colony. Kohler argued that the small Afrikaner populations at Grootfontein and in Namaqualand had proven themselves to be capable settlers and he was of the opinion that, "*der Boer selbst da, wo jeder andere Ansiedler unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten erblickt, in kurzer Zeit gute*

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<sup>390</sup> Göring an von Bismarck, 15. Januar 1887, BAB R1001 1147, 18-22.

<sup>391</sup> Göring an von Bismarck, 15. Januar 1887, 19.

<sup>392</sup> Deutsche Coloniale Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika (Cornelius) an von Bismarck, 25. März 1887, BAB R1001 1147, 24.

<sup>393</sup> Van der Heyden, 1076.

<sup>394</sup> Oelhafen, 16. This impression is backed up by Oskar Hintrager in his memoirs. Hintrager, 182.

*wirtschaftliche Resultate erzielt.*"<sup>395</sup> Further, the Afrikaner settler in comparison to the German settler, who had to outlay large amounts of capital in order to place himself on a secure financial footing, already had all that he needed for life on the land. He possessed his own wagons, horses and cattle, and his normally numerous family made up his farm hands. More importantly at a time when the Southwest was failing to attract wealthy German settlers, the Afrikaner was willing to enter the colony and cultivate the land. This desire to enter the Southwest was illustrated by the number of trek proposals sent to the German consulate in Pretoria from potential trek leaders such as the Afrikaner military official Adolf Schiel who wanted to bring between 150 and 200 settlers into the colony.<sup>396</sup> Similarly von François received hundreds of applications for settlement in the territory from Afrikaners.<sup>397</sup> As Kohler argued it would make sense, in the light of the continued failure to attract German settlers, to permit Afrikaners to immigrate. Large amounts of land would still remain available for the awaited take off of German settlement. In addition the Afrikaners could serve as model farmers capable of educating the awaited German colonists in the ways of efficiently using the land.<sup>398</sup>

Von François initially shared Kohler's opinion. On account of their lifestyle and experience of living in southern Africa von François believed the Afrikaners to be capable of overcoming the geographical and geological difficulties of the terrain in the German territory, difficulties which the European was unable to master.<sup>399</sup> Particularly in the south of the colony the land was desolate and envisaged by colonial experts as being almost worthless. Von François described the Namaland area in the south; "*Das ganze Namaland ist weiter nichts wie eine unabsehbare Fel- und Steinwüste, in welche an wenigen Stellen Lehmfelder eingesprengt sind und die Osten und an der Küste strichweise von Sanddünen überdeckt ist.*"<sup>400</sup> It is noteworthy that Göring, Kohler and von François all largely focus on potential Afrikaner settlement in this part of the

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<sup>395</sup> Stellvertretender Kaiserliche Kommissar Köhler an den Herrn Reichskanzler von Caprivi, 22.März 1892, BAB R1001 1147, 107.

<sup>396</sup> Kaiserliches Deutsches General-Konsulat für Südafrika an von Bismarck, 1.April 1889, BAB R1001 1147, 30.

<sup>397</sup> Von François an den Herrn Reichskanzler von Caprivi, 15.November 1891, BAB R1001 1147, 95.

<sup>398</sup> Stellvertretender Kaiserlicher Kommissar Köhler an den Herrn Reichskanzler von Caprivi, 22.März 1892, 110. The notion of the Afrikaners' farming experience on this colonial terrain was one which was addressed and utilised in the self-promotion of would-be trek leaders. The leader of the still born Bosman trek, J.D. Bosman, in a provocative open letter published in the *Süd Afrikanische Zeitung* argued, "*daß die Afrikaner die besten Kolonisten in den deutschen Schutzgebieten abgeben werden und den jungen deutschen Einwanderern als Lehrer dienen können wie das Land hier zu bearbeiten ist.*" J.D. Bosman quoted in *Süd Afrikanische Zeitung*, 3.Juli 1893, in BAB R1001 1148, 35.

<sup>399</sup> Von François an den Herrn Reichskanzler von Caprivi, 15.November 1891, 93-97.

<sup>400</sup> Von Francois, 111.

German territory and not in the north where the pasture lands were viewed as being far more valuable and suitable for German farmers. Von François further stated that he would advise no German colonist to settle in the south, because the conditions were simply too harsh to enable settlers to farm the land. Like Göring he believed that the Afrikaners would increase the white presence and control over an area where relations between the government and the indigenous Africans were strained. The *Landeshauptmann*, thus, advocated constricting Afrikaner settlement to this southern part of the territory up to the southern line of latitude of 26 degrees, and attempted to prevent Afrikaners from settling in the northern territories, namely the areas where the majority of trek leaders wished to enter. His insistence on retaining the northern areas for German settlers alone was demonstrated in the second half of 1892. The *Landeshauptmann* chose to prevent the settlement of up to forty families in the Windhoek area, despite a contract having been negotiated by the representative of the SfsS, Graf von Pfeil, albeit without the knowledge of the society. Von Pfeil had failed to attract European settlers to the area, thus he had turned to the Afrikaners, but neither von François nor the German government approved his plans, thus the settlement plans were dropped.

As will be demonstrated later, even von François' initial enthusiasm for Afrikaner settlement soon cooled, most likely on account of the negative reception that the idea received within the German government from the new Reich Chancellor von Caprivi and from the KA. The overriding opinion in Berlin regarding Afrikaner settlement was very different from that of the administrative officials in the Southwest. Whilst Cecil Rhodes and the British had adopted a policy of settling Rhodesia with Afrikaners doubts had already been cast upon the benefits of Afrikaner immigration by the previous Chancellor von Bismarck. Despite acknowledging the potential economic gains to be made, he had responded to Göring's pro-settlement arguments by suggesting that large-scale Afrikaner immigration in German Southwest Africa would harm the prospects of German settlement.<sup>401</sup> This notion that non-German settlement in the Southwest would hinder the development of German immigration, particularly were non-Germans to be granted the most productive agricultural land, was repeated throughout the colonial period by German officials and nationalist elements of the German press who opposed Afrikaner settlement. Paul Kayser the head of the KA, in his reply to von François' proposal for Afrikaner settlement in Namaqualand, took the argument a step further, suggesting that an increase in the non-German presence would threaten the continued

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<sup>401</sup> Von Bismarck an Göring, 19. Februar 1890, BAB R1001 1147, 62.

German control over the region and, therefore, the very future of the Southwest as a German colony.<sup>402</sup> He focused on what he called the Afrikaners' characteristic "*Drang nach Unabhängigkeit*," their strong sense of nationalism, which had caused them to free themselves of British control over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. He believed that the Afrikaners would be likely to form their own self government upon gaining permission to enter into the German territory. Kayser further stressed the German *Schutztruppe*, the main form of policing and military strength in the colony, was too small to prevent the Afrikaners from declaring their independence should they choose to do so. The German press and Kayser played upon this fear of Afrikaner nationalism and the threat of independent republics like the short lived Upingtonia Republic springing up throughout the Southwest. Kayser kept Caprivi updated of events in the colony, where, according to German press reports numerous treks were preparing to enter the German territory, and he made the KA's views clear to the Chancellor.<sup>403</sup>

Using the arguments outlined by Kayser, Caprivi addressed the question of "*Boereneinwanderung*" on the first of March 1893 in a speech to the Reichstag.

...Es ist der Wunsch ausgesprochen worden, Buren in Zahl von 2,000 und mehr auf einmal hineinzulassen. Dem widerspreche ich ganz entschieden, denn die Buren haben ein starkes Unabhängigkeitsgefühl, und ob bei einer solchen Buren Gesellschaft eine Schutztruppe auch von 200 Mann ausreichen würde? Die Buren machen ferner Anspruch, ihr eigenes Recht und ihre eigene Verwaltung zu haben. Ich glaube wir würden gut thun uns zunächst zu beschränken. Wir geben uns die Hoffnung hin, daß die Siedlungs Gesellschaft im Stande sein wird, immer mehr Deutsche einzuführen.<sup>404</sup>

Caprivi's comments related to the pro-settlement voice largely coming from southern Africa, from governmental officials, from lawyers negotiating on behalf of the Afrikaners, and from the German language newspaper the Süd Afrikanische Zeitung which championed the cause of Afrikaner settlement. His reference to the potential size of the Afrikaner trekking groups was no underestimate. The lawyer A.R. Fleischack from Transvaal had attempted to negotiate with the KA for the permission of up to 2,000

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<sup>402</sup> Kayser an von François, 21. Januar 1892, BAB R1001 1147, 100.

<sup>403</sup> Kayser an Caprivi, 13. Februar 1893, BAB R1001 1148, 26-28.

<sup>404</sup> Von Caprivi quoted in, Neue Preussischer Zeitung, 13. Juli 1893, in BAB R1001 1148, 37.

families to enter Southwest Africa.<sup>405</sup> His efforts were without success, but Fleischack was not alone in offering to bring large numbers of Afrikaners into the German territory and therefore potentially solving Germany's settlement problems. The conditions under which the Afrikaners were willing to settle were often open to negotiation from the Afrikaner side, and Fleischack stated that his clients were more than willing to subject themselves fully to German laws. At the other extreme, however, a commission representing the Bosman trek wanted no less than the opportunity to choose their own magistrates, and to be exempted from German military service.<sup>406</sup> As the Süd Afrikanische Zeitung recognised the latter had no chance of their proposals being taken seriously by the German administration.<sup>407</sup> Indeed more than anything such demands were taken as an example of Afrikaner nationalism, further prejudicing the government against Afrikaner settlement. The Chancellor's reasons for objecting to Afrikaner settlement, however, ran deeper and were conditioned by the crisis in which German colonial practice found itself in Germany. On the same day as making his remarks on the Afrikaner issue, Caprivi had finally declared that the Southwest after having been given a year to prove its worth as a colony, was to remain under German control. This was despite the fact that the colony was still beset by financial problems and that European settlers had still to be attracted to the territory in significant numbers. Governmental policy and the proponents of German colonialism, particularly in connection with the Southwest, were under criticism in the Reichstag and the German press during the first half of the 1890s. The government found itself increasingly having to finance the colony as German concessionaire companies were threatened with bankruptcy, and likewise indigenous resistance to German rule required the government to finance the sending over of troops to quell such resistance. Reports in the DKZ and regional newspapers ran stories alleging that Afrikaners were siding with the rebellious Witbooi peoples and supplying them with guns and ammunition in return for land, further fuelling the anti-Afrikaner sentiment in Germany.<sup>408</sup> Indeed there was an element of truth in these stories because the previously mentioned Spangenburg was involved in gaining arms for Witbooi. In contrast, however, a small number of Afrikaners offered to help the Southwest administration to fight the Africans in return for advantageous land concessions.<sup>409</sup> Also biasing governmental policy was the fact that several German concessionaire companies were facing liquidation and their claims were being taken up

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<sup>405</sup> Fleischack an die Kolabt., 10.Juni 1892, BAB R1001 1147, 132-134; Kolabt. an den Herrn Reichskanzler, 13.Februar 1893, BAB R1001 1148, 23.

<sup>406</sup> Süd Afrikanische Zeitung, 17.Juli 1893, in BAB R1001 1148, 48.

<sup>407</sup> Süd Afrikanische Zeitung, 15.August 1893, in BAB R1001 1148, 39.

<sup>408</sup> "Der Krieg in Sudwest Afrika," DKZ 7 (1894): 61



by investment groups financed by non-German, and often English capital. Significantly this too gave rise to nationalist fears of a loss of German influence over the colony and the belief that the English government, personified by Cecil Rhodes, was attempting to undermine German policy.<sup>410</sup> In this atmosphere it was politically inexpedient for Caprivi and Kayser to advocate a policy of Afrikaner immigration which would only further increase the non-German presence in the Southwest.

Whilst von François was given permission to evaluate Afrikaner settlement on a case by case basis, and it must be remembered that von François had been made fully aware of the Chancellor and Kayser's reaction to the prospect of Afrikaner settlement, it appears that Caprivi retained a quasi veto power. This he exercised in August of 1894 when he reprimanded von François' successor Theodor Leutwein for apparently consenting to the immigration of some 250 families into Grootfontein in the north of the territory.<sup>411</sup> The settlement deal which had been virtually concluded by the interested parties, the Southwest administration, the South West Africa Settlement Company, and the Afrikaners, was dramatically halted on Caprivi's demand. The Reich Chancellor ordered that Leutwein make sure that the Afrikaners, already in Southwest territory, return to the Transvaal and he made it perfectly clear to the Governor that no such decisions over Afrikaner settlement were to be made without his consent. In his letter to Leutwein Caprivi related to political reasons raised in Germany which influenced his decision.

In der Heimath wird das Südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet als ein Land betrachtet, welches in erster Linie für eine Besiedlung durch Deutsche bestimmt sein soll. Dieser Zweck würde durch eine Boereneinwanderung beleidigt und

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<sup>409</sup> Krüger, van Zyl, & van Wyk an den Kaiserlichen deutschen Konsul zu Kapstadt, 3. Januar 1894, BAB R1001 1148, 90.

<sup>410</sup> It was believed at the time that Cecil Rhodes wanted to add German Southwest Africa to the British Empire. In particular, his role in the South West Africa Settlement Company, which was heavily financed by English capital, was seen as threatening to the prospects of German settlement and it was further alledged that Rhodes was hindering the settlement of Germans on the company's territory. Equally it was alledged that Rhodes had tried to prevent the settlement of Afrikaners. Regarding Rhodes' economic influence in the Southwest see, H. Drechsler, Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984). Regarding the complaints of Rhodes' unduly influencing the South West Africa Company see, Scharlach an den Direktor der Kolabt. Stübel, 29. Dezember 1900, BAB R1001 1150, 95-97.

<sup>411</sup> Caprivi an Leutwein, 7. August 1894, BAB R1001 1148, 147-150. According to the Hamburg representative of the South West Africa Company, Leutwein had given full permission for the Afrikaners to settle in the German colony. Scharlach an Unknown, 1. August 1894, BAB R1001 1148, 129. Leutwein refuted this claim in an explanatory letter to the Reich Chancellor. Leutwein an Caprivi, 4. Oktober 1894, BAB R1001 1149, 29-30.

diese Besiedlung wird auf die beteiligten Kreise verstimmend wirken.<sup>412</sup>

Maintaining the image of the Southwest as a colony for Germans was crucial in spite of the failure to find significant numbers of actual German settlers. As yet there was no formalisation of policy regarding Afrikaner settlement, although certain areas of the country, particularly north of the 26 degree latitude line were to remain reserved for German settlers alone. The *Deutsche Siedlungsgesellschaft* was informed that the district of Klein Windhoek, where the land was highly valued, was one such area.<sup>413</sup> In view of the lack of German settlers Kayser, however, had not entirely ruled out the limited settlement of Afrikaners as model farmers on concessionaire companies land. He, therefore, suggested to the representative of the *Kharaskoma Syndikat* settlement society that the administration would be prepared to discuss the settlement of "*eine gute Klasse von Buren*" - Afrikaners with capital.<sup>414</sup> Indeed the possession of capital became a deciding factor in the KA's reaction to applications for settlement.

In general the settlement companies, the Afrikaner representatives, and trek leaders all sought the permission of the German government in Berlin to allow Afrikaner settlement. For the settlement companies, as long as their actual land possessions were not clearly defined, it was imperative to keep on good terms with the German administration. During this period there was little that either the KA in Germany or the administration in the Southwest could do were Afrikaners simply to enter the German territory. From 1893 onwards, as German control over Namaland was solidified, increasing numbers of Afrikaners decided to take this course of action and headed with their families towards the Southwest to find new ground. The administration, as von Lindequist, later Governor of the colony and at the time assistant to Leutwein, pointed out, was in no position to outright forbid Afrikaners from entering the German colony because such measures could not be backed up - German Southwest Africa was far too large an area for the meagre *Schutztruppe* to police.<sup>415</sup> Equally the administration could do little if Afrikaners were to come to private arrangements with African leaders over the possibility of using their land. Thus, small groups of Afrikaners made use, at least temporarily, of land belonging to Manasse, Kambazembi and to the Bondelswarts, after having gained the permission of the African leaders concerned.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Caprivi an Leutwein, 7. August 1894, 149.

<sup>413</sup> Kayser an von François, 8. Dezember 1892, BAB R1001 1148, 12.

<sup>414</sup> Kayser an Bashford, 7. Oktober 1893, BAB R1001 1148, 68-69.

<sup>415</sup> Von Lindequist, "Bericht Btd. Einwanderung von Buren in Grootfontein," an Caprivi, 29. August 1894, BAB R1001 1149, 9.

<sup>416</sup> Leutwein an Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst, 13. Dezember 1894, BAB R1001 1149, 34.

Table two

Geographical Distribution of Afrikaner Settlers in German Southwest Africa: 1893-1903.

Date	Namaland: Keetmanshoop and Gibeon	Windhoek and Gobabis	Otjimbingwe	Northern District	Total
1.1. 1893	74	5	1	-	100
1.1. 1894	193	10	10	-	213
1.1. 1895	538	11	40	89	678
1.1. 1896	610	30	38	95	782
1.1. 1899	496	109	122	27	742
1.1. 1900	588	134	103	81	897
1.1. 1901	647	?	59	95	965
1.1. 1902	1506	?	71	145	1864
1.1. 1903	1154	150	31	168	1500

Source: H. Oelhafen von Schöllnbach, Die Besiedlung Deutsch Südwestafrikas bis zum Weltkrieg (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1926), 20.

As table two shows the Afrikaner population of German Southwest Africa steadily rose from around one hundred settlers in 1893 to at least 742 before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war. Equally, the table gives a sense of the geographical distribution of Afrikaner settlement, illustrating that the vast majority of settlers were to be found in the south of the colony around Gibeon and Keetmanshoop. As is discussed later, the table also suggests that the period of the Anglo-Boer war brought many Afrikaner immigrants into the colony. The figures are, however, somewhat problematic. Particularly the figures for earlier dates are unreliable because, as mentioned above, many Afrikaners were simply counted as English citizens and as will be argued, during the war period the Afrikaner population was extremely fluid. Thus, the figures do not always give a true reflection of the size of the Afrikaner presence. In some areas the Afrikaner population even outnumbered that of the Europeans. At the northern station of Grootfontein in 1897 there were officially only six German settlers in comparison with twenty seven Afrikaners and in nearby Kleinfontein the total white population was forty, twenty settlers being Afrikaners.<sup>417</sup> The majority of Afrikaner groups were concentrated around Gibeon, Keetmanshoop, Windhoek and Grootfontein. Naturally the steady increase of the Afrikaner population through the 1890s and up until the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war necessitated some form of response from the German authorities. This

<sup>417</sup> "Deutsch-Südwest Afrika: Jahresbericht der Station Grootfontein," DKB 8 (1897): 543.

response was largely organised by the administration in the Southwest rather than from Berlin. During Governor Leutwein's period in office, which paralleled the increase in the Afrikaner population, a gradual formalisation of policy towards Afrikaner settlement took place.

Leutwein's stance towards Afrikaner immigration was highly ambiguous. Helmut Bley suggests that Leutwein did not view the Afrikaners as a suitable immigrant element, that their long term stay in the colony did not meet with the Governor's economic plans, and that Leutwein only tolerated the presence of a small number of Afrikaners who were to serve as model farmers for the German settlers.<sup>418</sup> Bley is correct in pointing out that the Governor did not share the pro-settlement stance of contemporaries or predecessors like Göring or Kohler, yet Leutwein also entertained thoughts of encouraging Afrikaner immigration. In defending himself against Caprivi's reprimand of 1894 Leutwein wrote to the Chancellor arguing that he had never been in favour of large-scale Afrikaner settlement. Nonetheless he was of the opinion that the immigration of a restricted number of Afrikaners, even into areas like Grootfontein which were designated for German settlers, was depicted as being desirable and beneficial for the German colonial project.<sup>419</sup> Indeed he and Kayser managed to persuade Caprivi of the need for the South West Africa Company's settlement contract, negotiated in 1894 with the Afrikaner Commandant Lombard, to be resurrected. As a result forty families were granted permission to settle on the valued land of the Otavi region.<sup>420</sup> Lombard was also granted permission from Leutwein for a further fifteen families to settle in the Gobabis district, a district which had been declared *Kronland*, land annexed (often forcibly) from the indigenous Africans and placed under the control of the administration.<sup>421</sup> Leutwein's reasons for pressing for the resurrection of the settlement were similar to those of Göring and von François. Leutwein, as Bley observed, believed that it would be of benefit to German settlers were Afrikaner immigrants also to be present to act as model colonists. Of equal importance was the fact that the German government was still trying to assert its control over both districts where the Afrikaners were to be granted land, and that the settler presence in these areas was minimal. Interestingly, the Governor initially suggested that an increase in the immigrant Afrikaner population would lead to an increase in the number of white women in the colony, with the hope being that German settlers would then be able to

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<sup>418</sup> Bley, 108.

<sup>419</sup> Leutwein an Caprivi, 4. Oktober 1894, 29.

<sup>420</sup> Abschrift; Vertrag zwischen Leutwein, Boerenkommendanten Lombard, und Vertreter der South West Africa Company, Lt. Dr. Hartmann, 29. August 1895, BAB R1001 1149, 63.

marry Afrikaner women instead of indigenous Africans.<sup>422</sup> As has been discussed in chapter three, Leutwein, like many colonial observers and officials, was alarmed by the prevalence of African-European sexual unions, which he viewed as being to the detriment and shame of the German nation.<sup>423</sup> He later changed his stance on the benefits of settlers marrying Afrikaner women as he began to fear that the worst sections of Afrikaner society were entering the colony. Leutwein was aware that an increasing number of Afrikaners were entering the Southwest and that there was little that the undersized *Schutztruppe* could do to prevent this movement of people. Given that much of the fertile agricultural and pasture lands were lying unused Leutwein felt it necessary to encourage at least the "*besten Boeren*" to settle permanently and make the land productive.<sup>424</sup> This was reflective of his pragmatic approach to the failure of the colony to attract large-scale German farmers and his willingness to consider the settlement of other groups such as *ex-Schutztruppeler* and Afrikaners. The Governor had been impressed by the Afrikaners that he had thus far met in the colony, whom he described as "*fleißige Arbeiter*." He was convinced that the new immigrants would make good German subjects. "*Untermischt mit deutschen Ansiedlern werden die Boeren, kräftige, wellerharte Gestalten mit echt deutschem Typus, ein sehr brauchbares Besiedlungselement abgeben.*"<sup>425</sup> The contract signed between Leutwein, Dr. Hartmann as representative of the South West Africa Company, and Lombard as the Afrikaner representative, as well as that signed between Leutwein and Lombard to allow the fifteen families to take up land in Gobabis, contained important clauses which later formed the basis of his policies of Germanisation and the Promemoria of 1900 which regulated Afrikaner settlement. Leutwein wanted to tie the new Afrikaner immigrants to the German colonial project and allay all fears of the Afrikaners' suspected independent streak. To dilute fears concerning Afrikaner nationalism Afrikaner farms were to be separated by those of Germans to promote assimilation. Similarly a central point of Leutwein's policy was that the Afrikaners place themselves under German law. This was addressed in article III of the first contract. "*Hier gegen verpflichtet sich Kommandant Lombard für sich und seine Leute, getreue Unterthanen zu sein, die deutschen Gesetze zu befolgen, sowie auch, je nach den Umständen, ihre Kinder deutsch erziehen zu lassen.*"<sup>426</sup> Importantly, Leutwein placed much value on the need for Afrikaner children to be brought up as Germans in order to dilute the apparent

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<sup>421</sup> Zusatz Vertrag zwischen Leutwein und Lombard, 13.Dezember 1894, BAB R1001 1149, 67.

<sup>422</sup> Leutwein an Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst, 13.Dezember 1894, 34.

<sup>423</sup> See chapter 4 "Hans Grimm and the Process of "Verkafferung." Racial Consciousness, the Woman Colonist, and the Degenerated White Settler in German Colonial Thought."

<sup>424</sup> Leutwein an Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst, 12.Oktober 1895, BAB R1001 1149, 66.

<sup>425</sup> Leutwein an Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst, 29.August 1895, BAB R1001 1149, 62.

independent nature of the Afrikaner. The specifics of what this required of the Afrikaners remained unclear. Article IV was the first attempt to regulate the question of military service, an issue that aroused much discussion and which remained a point of dispute between the administration and the settlers. Leutwein believed that the Germans and Afrikaners had common enemies in the indigenous Africans and the English and that compulsory military service for Afrikaners could only strengthen the *Schutztruppe* and German military forces in the Southwest. Afrikaners were, on the demand of the administration and in a period of war, to be subject to military duty. Similarly the military service to which German citizens were subject was, with the passing of time, to be applied to all male Afrikaners, though their military service was only to be served in southern Africa. Article II of the treaty negotiated between Leutwein and Lombard, and omitted from the contract signed with the South West Africa Company, marked the development of another key point in Leutwein's policy. Here the Governor began to clarify what he meant with the term "*beste Boeren*" - the families taking up residence in Gobabis, the land belonging to the administration, were required to possess capital upwards of 20,000 Marks, in cash, goods, or land, before they would be permitted to gain access to this land.<sup>427</sup> Leutwein linked the notion of the desirable settler to the economic strength of the settler, a link which echoed Kayser's definition of the good class of Afrikaners. This was to ensure that the German authorities would not need to provide the new immigrants with financial assistance in order to farm the land. In view of the criticism the government in Germany and the administration in the Southwest had faced on account of the need for increasing governmental financial support for the colony, it was important that settlers, in particularly non-German settlers, be financially independent and not reliant on governmental aid. Furthermore Leutwein was insistent that the Afrikaners in the colony take up permanent residence and refrain from continuing to trek. In both contracts it was stressed, "*Major Leutwein behält sich das Recht vor, zu bestimmen, daß die Boeren feste Wohnplätze wählen müssen und nicht mehr trekken dürfen.*"<sup>428</sup> What the Governor wished to avoid was Afrikaner immigrants entering the Southwest colony and simply using the land and the waterholes without making any effort to improve or cultivate them, and then moving on to another part of the country and repeating the process. This conflicted with Leutwein's hopes that the Afrikaners would make the land productive.

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<sup>426</sup> Zusatz Vertrag zwischen Leutwein und Lombard, 4. September 1895, 63.

<sup>427</sup> Zusatz Vertrag zwischen Leutwein und Lombard, 4. September 1895, 67.

<sup>428</sup> Abschrift; Vertrag zwischen Leutwein, Boerenkommendanten Lombard, Lt. Dr. Hartmann, 29. August 1895, 63.

The Governor increasingly divided the Afrikaner immigrant population into two groups in his policies. These groups were clearly defined in a report to the KA dated the 24th of March 1900 and whilst these fixed categories did not reflect the ambiguity of the situation they represented an attempt to understand and assert administrative control over the Afrikaner immigrants. Leutwein categorised the first group of Africans as the, "*Wohlhabende und brauchbare Elemente, welche mit dem bestimmten Entschluß, sich im Schutzgebiet ansässig zu machen, hereingekommen sind und diesen Entschluß auch alsbald verwirklicht haben.*"<sup>429</sup> The second category of Afrikaner was, "*die sogenannte Wanderburen,*" whom Leutwein also referred to as *Trekboeren* - Afrikaners who continued to trek rather than settle in the colony. Leutwein argued that, "*Die Kategorie Nummer Zwei ist selbstredend für keinen Staat ein willkommenes Element.*"<sup>430</sup> This was largely because of their refusal to take up permanent residence and because of their overuse and ruination of the pasture land and waterholes of the colony. Whilst on paper these categories were fixed on ground level it was far more difficult to determine which category was to be applied to the individual Afrikaners. Leutwein adopted his policies towards the Afrikaner settlers with a view to retaining the first category of immigrants and bringing about their assimilation into the greater European settler community. More specifically, as will be discussed, a process of Germanisation was gradually developed whereby desirable Afrikaner settlers, namely those with enough capital to buy or lease land and to take up permanent residence, were to be naturalised, to receive German citizenship and to be culturally and politically treated as German settlers. In contrast the trekking Afrikaners were to be excluded from settler society as far as this was possible, even to the extent of them being forced out of the German territory. This division was not simply grounded in an economic assessment of the capital holdings and production power of the incoming settlers, it was also linked to their supposed cultural traits. The nomadic lifestyle of the trek Afrikaners was alien to the colonial authorities as was their differing conception of property and property rights. Decisions taken at a meeting with Afrikaner representatives in Omaruru on the 18th of September 1897 mark a key point in Leutwein's policies of social engineering. Leutwein declared to those assembled, "*Daß ich keine weißen Colonisten brauchen könnte, welche nur umherzögen und Wasser und Weide ruinieren.*"<sup>431</sup> This was specifically aimed at those Afrikaners who had as yet to purchase land in the Southwest or to rent land. Leutwein further declared that these nomadic Afrikaners still in the district without a permanent place of residence had to either purchase land within three months or leave the colony and; "*daß indessen*

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<sup>429</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24.März 1900, 115.

<sup>430</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24.März 1900, 115.

<sup>431</sup> Leutwein an von Lindequist, 18.September 1897, BAB R151f Film 14845 L.ii.C.1 Bd.1, 1.

*die Erlaubnis, sich anzukaufen oder anzupachten, von der Brauchbarkeit des Betreffenden als Colonist abhängig gemacht werden müsse.*" The Governor hoped to force all Afrikaners who were not prepared to settle permanently or who did not have the capital necessary to purchase land to leave German Southwest Africa. Therefore, for Leutwein it was irrelevant whether the nomadic lifestyle of the Afrikaners was based on tradition or out of economic necessity - Afrikaners without the capital to buy land would be dealt with in the same manner as those refusing to take up permanent residence. These instructions were passed onto the German officials in Windhoek, Gibeon, and Keetmanshoop, districts with large Afrikaner communities, and the district officers were instructed to keep the Afrikaner communities in their districts under strict observation. The Reich Chancellor was also informed of Leutwein's actions and Leutwein lamented the prospect of the colony being swamped (*überschwemmen*) with "*Trekboeren*." Such nomadic people had no place in his economic plans for the Southwest Africa territory as a cattle raising country and, as Bley remarked, their exploitation of the land's resources was seen as a clear threat to the Governor's agricultural plans. Equally, their refusal to settle permanently was seen as part of a general refusal to adopt to German governmental policy. The Governor's policies regarding the Afrikaners were, up until the Anglo-Boer war, aimed at forcing the trekking Afrikaners into either settling or leaving the German territory. That Leutwein, some two years later, had to renew his demand that the Afrikaners purchase or lease land, or be faced with the threat of being physically removed from the colony, suggests that the administration's policies initially met with little success.<sup>432</sup> Prior to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war, however, and the onset of a new wave of immigration, the majority of district officers were reporting that their districts were free from trek Afrikaners.<sup>433</sup> This sudden disappearance of the trek Afrikaners probably reflects the difficulty that the authorities had in keeping track of immigrants and in determining who was or was not to be categorised as a trek Afrikaner, such was the fluid and ambiguous nature of the Afrikaner presence. In view of this ambiguity there are no figures to indicate the size of the trek Afrikaner population, yet from Leutwein's reports and letters to the KA and the Reich Chancellor in Berlin, it is clear that he considered the numbers of those trekking to be large enough to threaten German authority over the colony. Afrikaners being removed had to pay an "*Ausfuhrzahl*" tax for the cattle that they took with them, thus, this was a further

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<sup>432</sup> Leutwein an Unknown, 4. April 1899, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1, 58.

<sup>433</sup> For examples see, Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft zu Windhoek an den Kaiserlichen Gouverneur in Windhoek, 14. Juli 1899, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1, 64; Lt. Streitwolf, Kaiserlicher Distriktschef Okahandja, an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 20. Juli 1899, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1, 65; Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft



incentive to make them settle. Those choosing only to lease land were to be subject to contracts with a minimum duration of five years, much as German settlers were expected to sign long term leases. The administration reported that no Afrikaners were subjected to being expelled from the colony, thus, it appears that the threat of expulsion alone was enough to persuade the immigrants to settle or leave the territory

Applying Ong's definition of normalization the trek Afrikaners were subjected to being blackened not only through Leutwein's policies of exclusion on account of their lack of capital and lifestyle, but they were also representationally blackened. This resulted in the evolution of a negative stereotype of the Afrikaner which represented the Afrikaner as being far removed from the norm of cultural development, taken as that of the western European, whose direct opposite was the indigenous African. The trait of moving from one grazing ground to the next led Leutwein to increasingly liken the nomadic Afrikaners to the indigenous Africans, groups of whom were also known to move from area to area. This comparison was made not only in terms of their agricultural habits, but also in terms of their general lifestyle, culture and level of intellect. As Karl Dove acknowledged in the *Deutsches Koloniallexikon* (1920), Leutwein's opinions were part of a general phenomenon, whereby elements of the German media, government, and colonial circles either insinuated or explicitly linked the Afrikaners' level of culture and civility to that of the Africans of the German colonies.<sup>434</sup> Thus, in German colonial discourse the Afrikaner was understood and described in relation to the opposing figures of the Black African and the White European. The colonial setting was one in which the white European rule was partly justified with reference to racial ideas of a biological hierarchy of mankind, in which the White European was seen as the peak of human evolution and the Black African his opposite. The discourse of race was not simply a recourse to somatic features but it became a category of self confirming criteria in which lifestyle, behaviour, and cultural norms were seen as confirming essential and natural differences. In their outward appearance the Afrikaners were of white skin and their strong physique was often remarked upon by German commentators, thus, it was in terms of cultural habits and not somatic features that the Afrikaner was linked to the supposedly inferior African. The cultural studies expert Robert Young suggests that culture and civilisation were often used as the defining characteristic of western modernity and advancement, and in this discourse the Afrikaners' level of culture was believed to be underdeveloped and often

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Keetmanshoop an den Herrn Gouverneur in Windhoek, 16. August 1899, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1, 69.

<sup>434</sup> K. Dove, "Buren," *Deutsches Koloniallexikon: Band 1*, ed. Schnee, 256.

depicted as being at the same level of underdevelopment as the indigenous Africans.<sup>435</sup> A discourse of difference emerged focusing on the alleged ways in which the Afrikaner's lifestyle and character traits were dissimilar, and hence inferior, from those of his European counterpart. The term "*verburen*" developed in order to describe European settlers who had morally and culturally degenerated in the colonial context, settlers who had "gone Kaffir," and in this respect it was similar to the more common terms "*verkaffern*" or "*vernegern*." Like "*verkaffern*" or "*vernegern*" the term supposed the idea of the European settler degenerating into a lesser developed form of man. In this case it implied that the European had degenerated into an Afrikaner, thus insinuating that the Afrikaner was below the level of culture and intellectual development of the European. In this line of thought, the Afrikaner had much in common with other whites inhabiting the margins of colonial society such as the 'lapsed' white settler, who, as was illustrated in the previous chapter, was condemned on account of his sexual relations with African women. This entailed the loss of his whiteness - in part the natural authority and position conferred upon him as being a member of the white European race within the colonial racial hierarchy. The 'lapsed' white settler's sexual behaviour contravened the norms of European sexual behaviour and was taken as being representative of his general cultural degeneration. Both figures were at best depicted as a degenerated form of the white European settler, and, at worst, they were no longer recognised as being culturally white. Equally these colonial Others, because of their cultural practices were ostracised from white colonial society and symbolically represented as being black. This brought about a gradation of whiteness. In this case, the creation of distance between the white European and the Afrikaner was created through ascribing to the Afrikaner characteristics which opposed those attributed to the white European settlers and which were more reminiscent of those of the stereotype of the Black, evolving within European biological racism from the period of the Enlightenment onwards.<sup>436</sup> The representation of the Afrikaner thus paralleled that of the other marginal white figures in German colonial discourse. As such the Afrikaner lost his claim to a white identity and was blackened. Naturally this representation, the stereotyping of the Afrikaner settler conversely allowed for the further understanding and construction of categories of white and black and in turn a notion of whiteness. The negative stereotype developed of the Afrikaner population was then used by Leutwein to justify the policies he introduced aimed at excluding them from not simply settler society, but the colony itself.

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<sup>435</sup> Young, 37.

From 1895 onwards, in his correspondence with the Reich Chancellor, the KA and German officials in Southwest Africa, Leutwein promoted this negative stereotype of the "trekboer" as being intellectually, culturally and even morally inferior to his European counterpart. The Governor wrote in 1895 to the new Reich Chancellor, Caprivi's successor, Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst describing the lifestyle of the nomadic Afrikaners and referring to, "...sogenannte Trekburen, die qualitativ nicht viel über den Eingeborenen stehen."<sup>437</sup> By 1900 Leutwein was now convinced that, "sie [trek Afrikaners][ stehen] bei ihrer zigeunerhaften Lebensweise auf keiner höheren Kulturstufe als die Eingeborenen."<sup>438</sup> Not only did Leutwein equate the lifestyle of the Afrikaner with the indigenous Africans, who on the scale of cultural development were seen to be at the opposite end from the white European, but in his use of the word "zigeunerhaften" the Governor also linked the Afrikaners to another population group which in the biological racist discourse of the time was seen as being inherently inferior to the white European. The Sinti and Roma were in possession of an ambiguous racial identity, perceived in this discourse of race as being neither fully black nor fully white. In comparing the trek Afrikaners with the Sinti and Roma, Leutwein was calling into question their whiteness and consequently questioning their place in European settler society. The nomadic lifestyle of elements of the Afrikaner population was, therefore, envisaged as being symbolic of their general cultural backwardness and inferiority. As additional evidence for the cultural backwardness of the trek Afrikaners Leutwein cited the low level of literacy amongst the Afrikaners which was said to be even lower than that of the indigenous Africans. Indeed the Governor considered the trek Afrikaners, unlike the permanently settled Afrikaners whose presence was economically beneficial to the colony, to belong to the white settler community in terms of skin colour alone. Otherwise their cultural practices, lifestyle and intellectual level were depicted as being akin to the supposedly inferior Black African.

An article published in the Kölnische Zeitung in November of 1894 was equally illustrative of the stereotyping of the Afrikaner. In general the German press made no distinction between trek Afrikaners and settled Afrikaners. The unnamed author's characterisation of the Afrikaner was typical.<sup>439</sup> This unnamed author was in fact von François and the article contained direct quotes taken from a report which he had sent to the Reich Chancellor some two months earlier, in the immediate aftermath of

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<sup>436</sup> For more details, see Miles.

<sup>437</sup> Leutwein an Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst, 12. Oktober 1895, 65.

<sup>438</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24. März 1900, 115.

<sup>439</sup> Kölnische Zeitung, 25. November 1894, in BAB R1001 1149, 33.

Leutwein's correspondence with the representatives of the South West Africa Company regarding the settlement of Afrikaners in the Otavi region.<sup>440</sup> The article demonstrates the complete turnaround in von François' view of Afrikaner immigration. As aforementioned von François' revised opinion of the Afrikaner immigrant was likely influenced by the views expressed by Caprivi and Kayser in Berlin, as well as those of his brother Hugo von François, a military officer in the Southwest and an opponent of Afrikaner immigration. Von François began by looking at the positive qualities of the Afrikaner, generally practical qualities such as being skilled in hunting and shooting, and his role as a family father. Yet even some of these positive characteristics were open to question: thus von François, under positive traits, suggested that the Afrikaner was "*sparsam bis zum geiz.*" Not surprisingly the negative qualities outnumbered the positive ones. He accused the Afrikaners of being arrogant and of being unwilling to accept governmental help and advice when given. This unwillingness to heed governmental advice was reminiscent of the "*Unabhängigkeitsgefühl!*" and was a characteristic also ascribed to the indigenous Africans in order to explain their apparent stubbornness in refusing to obey administrative decrees deemed to be in their best interests. In general the Afrikaner was perceived as being unwilling to subject himself to governmental authority, hence the continued political threat of Afrikaner nationalism to the German administration in the Southwest. Georg Hartmann, who had represented the South West Africa Company in its dealings with Leutwein and the Afrikaner representative Commandant Lombard, remarked that, "*Der Bur ist und bleibt ein schwierig zu behandelnder Unterthan.*"<sup>441</sup> Such an avoidance of administrative control was envisaged as being due to a lack of civility and cultural development.

Von François similarly invested the Afrikaner with a lack of culture and intelligence. He referred to the Afrikaners' "*niedrigen intellektuellen Standpunktes,*" and commented, "*In der Cultur ist er [the Afrikaner] sehr zurückgeblieben. Unter den Buren gibt es mehr Analphabeten als beispielsweise unter den Bastards unseres Schutzgebietes.*" Oswald Kuhnhardt explained this lack of cultural development as being due to an inherent fear of the encroachment of civilisation and cultural development. "*Die Buren fechten von allen Dingen darum, die Kultur und Civilisation möglichst aufzuhalten.*"<sup>442</sup> The lack of literacy was often picked out as evidence of the Afrikaners' low level of intelligence and culture. It is significant that von François firstly compares

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<sup>440</sup> Von François an Caprivi, 12. Oktober 1894, BAB R1001 1149, 13-19.

<sup>441</sup> G. Hartmann, *Der Krieg in Süd-Afrika und seine Lehren für Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1900), 41.

the Afrikaners with the Rehobothers, who were envisaged by colonial experts as being more akin to the European population than the other indigenous ethnic groups, on account of their distant European ancestry and light skin colour. Crucially in the creation of the Afrikaner stereotype this comparison is a negative one given that even in comparison with the most European of the African ethnic groups, the Afrikaner's lack of cultural development was still more pronounced. Von François' brother Hugo rejected the notion of Afrikaner settlement and he specifically likened the customs and habits of the Afrikaners to that of the Africans. "*Überwiegen die Buren an Zahl im Schutzgebiet und überwiegt damit die holländische Sprache, afrikanische Sitte und Gewohnheit, so geben wir unser Geld für die Kapkolonie aus.*"<sup>443</sup> Thus, for Hugo von François the Afrikaner immigrants, whilst speaking Dutch - a link to their European heritage, were culturally more like the indigenous Africans. As a result he saw their presence as settlers in the colony as being of no benefit at all, and indeed more of a danger to settler society. Even during the wave of pro-Afrikaner sympathy during and after the Anglo-Boer war pro-Afrikaner observers often failed to dispute the alleged low level of intelligence and culture amongst the Afrikaners. J. Scheibert, in his romanticised description of the Afrikaners' struggle against the English, invested the Afrikaner with practical rather than intellectual capabilities. Therefore, although the Afrikaners were able to make efficient use of their land, "*ihr Wortschatz ist klein, ihre Sprache schwerfällig.*"<sup>444</sup> Similarly Scheibert admitted that the Afrikaner was no writer of poems or books, a measure of his cultural deficiency in comparison to the European. Administrative officials in the Southwest negatively evaluated the benefits of the Afrikaner as a settler again partly on cultural terms. The District chief Fromm, stationed in Omaruru, wrote to Leutwein expressing his disappointment at the concluding of lease contracts between a settlement society and a number of Afrikaners.

Nach meiner Ansicht über den Buren hätte ich die Pachtverträge nicht zugelassen. Die Buren bilden kein Kulturelement für uns, thun nichts für das Land und nehmen bei ihren geringen Lebensbedürfnissen unseren deutschen Ansiedlern den Verdienst weg.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> O. Kuhnhardt quoted in E. Müller von Berneck, "Buren in Deutsch Südwest Afrika," *Koloniale Zeitschrift* 3 (1902): 8.

<sup>443</sup> H. von François quoted in E. Meyer, "Burenfragen," *Beilage zu Nr.3 der Windhuker Nachrichten*, 17.Januar 1907, 5.

<sup>444</sup> J. Scheibert, *Der Freiheitskampf der Buren und die Geschichte ihres Landes: Band 1* (Berlin: Verlag von A. Schröder, 1903), 38.

<sup>445</sup> Kaiserlicher Distriktschef Omaruru Fromm an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 16.Juni 1899, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1, 52.

For Fromm the Afrikaners were undesirable settlers not simply because of their lack of culture, but equally he brought into question the agricultural benefits that such non-German settlers could offer the colony. Even the agricultural role that the Afrikaners could play in the colony, as promoted by Göring and Kohler, was thrown into doubt. Their agricultural lifestyle was seen as threatening to German settlers because they used up needed resources. German settlers themselves were often highly critical of the lifestyle and agricultural practices of the Afrikaners.<sup>446</sup> This failure to improve the land, as remarked upon by Fromm, was often explained by investing the Afrikaner with an inherent laziness and unwillingness to work. According to this view it was on account of the Afrikaner's laziness that he wandered from grazing land to grazing land without settling permanently and cultivating the surrounding resources.

Leutwein dubbed the trek Afrikaners "*arbeitsscheu*" and von François referred to the "*Faulheit*" of the Afrikaner in the article in the Kölnische Zeitung.<sup>447</sup> Von François had clearly altered his depiction of the Afrikaner as the original colonial pioneer capable of instructing German farmers as to how make best use of the land, and he now criticised the Afrikaner as being an irrational nomadic cattle farmer whose farming skills could not match those of the English and German farmers. Equally von François likened the Afrikaners to the Nama, dubbed Hottentotten, because of their shared nomadic lifestyle. Significantly the Nama were known to trek and their reasons for doing so were dismissed in colonial circles as being the result of their inherent unwillingness to make the colonial territory productive. Thus, a typical comment on the lifestyle of the Nama people was; "*Der Hottentott ist ein Nomade und als solcher faul und arbeitsunlustig.*"<sup>448</sup> It was no coincidence then, that the Afrikaners were often described as being lazy. This was a means by which colonial experts could criticise their nomadic lifestyle, one which was alien to Europeans, as well as being a means by which Afrikaners were symbolically blackened. The District Chief of Omaruru similarly made this comparison between the Nama and the Afrikaners in a report of 1898. When describing the trekking characteristics of the Afrikaners in his district and their use of the local resources, he commented; "*Nach meiner Ansicht sind die Boeren hier bei Omaruru ein außerordentlich schädliches Element für das Schutzgebiet, mit Recht werden dieselben*

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<sup>446</sup> See E. Ebner, Meine erste Pad in Südwest (Manuscript Keetmanshoop, 1912), 18; Farmer Sidler an den Herrn Kolonialdirektor, Dernburg, 24. April 1907, BAB R 151f Film 14845 L.ii.C.1 Bd.2, 30.

<sup>447</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24. März 1900, 117.

<sup>448</sup> Scheulen, 82.

*hier allgemein als weiße Hottentotten bezeichnet.*"<sup>449</sup> Again although the Afrikaners were of white skin their culture was envisaged as being more akin to that of the Black African. This further demonstrates the instability of skin colour as a factor in determining whiteness and belonging in the settler society and the increasing resort to cultural norms in order to define whiteness.<sup>450</sup> Literacy, the possession of goods, agricultural practice replaced somatic features as factors of whiteness. Additionally the Afrikaners' relationship and handling of the indigenous Africans, once praised by Göring and seen by both von François and Leutwein as a means by which to pacify local indigenous groups was also criticised. Von François suggested that the Afrikaner was, "*von einem seltenen Rassendünkel,*" and Leutwein claimed that the trek Afrikaners were brutal in their dealings with the Africans.<sup>451</sup> The inference being that the Germans had more skill in handling the indigenous Africans, despite the almost constant outbreaks of indigenous resistance. Brutality was a quality associated with the Africans. In his article von François completely contradicted all the positive arguments he had previously used in order to promote Afrikaner settlement and now he showed himself to be an opponent of Afrikaner immigration.

This symbolic blackening of the Afrikaner which began in governmental circles and the German press in the mid-1890s in response to contemporary reports of Afrikaner immigration into the Southwest, began to subside prior to the Herero-Nama war as the number of Afrikaner immigrants steadily decreased. The negative representation of the Afrikaner did not exist unchallenged during the period of German colonialism. With the outbreak of the war between the English and the Afrikaners in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in October 1899 an outpouring of pro-Afrikaner sympathy spread through Germany. Much sympathy was expressed for the plight of the Afrikaners throughout Europe, in particular in Holland, France, and Belgium. In Germany a mass of pro-Afrikaner publications was produced documenting the progress of the war and heavily criticising the actions of the English. Furthermore aid funds were set up to financially support the Afrikaners, the most significant of these being the

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<sup>449</sup> Kaiserlicher Distriktschef Omaruru an den Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmann Otjimbingue, 10. Mai 1898, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.2, 13.

<sup>450</sup> Such a depiction of the Afrikaner would be echoed in East Africa, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war, as Afrikaners envisaged trekking into the colony to create a new homeland. "*Auf jeden Fall wollen sie (the Afrikaners) sich hier nicht fest ansässig machen, sondern Trekkuren bleiben - und der Gewinn wäre also allein zu den nomadisierenden schmarotzenden Negervölkern noch ein solcher mit weißer Haut!*" "*Zur Frage der Burenansiedlung in den deutschen Schutzgebieten,*" *DKZ* 22 (1905): 250. Afrikaner treks into East Africa would begin around 1905. Restrictions similar to those in place in German Southwest Africa would be imposed upon immigration.

<sup>451</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24. März 1900, 116.

*Deutsche Buren Centrale* in Munich, which by the end of May 1903 had raised 235,000 Marks of which 122,000 were distributed to the Afrikaners in the prisoner of war camps and 70,000 to Afrikaner families in need.<sup>452</sup> The *Vereinigte Buren Comités*, based in Brussels published a German version of its monthly periodical *Der Burenfreund* of which over 13,000 copies of each issue were distributed.<sup>453</sup> The Comité strove for the independence of the Afrikaners from English rule and sought to bring to light the mistreatment of the Afrikaners by the English. Even the German press, which had helped to create the negative stereotype of the Afrikaner, now took the side of the Afrikaners against the English. Notably a more positive stereotype of the Afrikaner developed during the Anglo-Boer war to temporarily challenge that of the blackened Afrikaner. Such was the pro-Afrikaner sentiment and anti-English feeling being presented that governmental officials warned various newspaper editors to temper their reportage.<sup>454</sup> Now the German press and writers on the Anglo-Boer war began to focus on the points in common between the German population and the Afrikaners in their representation of the Afrikaner. It was no longer a case of trying to create distance and instead familiarity was expressed. During this period the Afrikaners were often referred to as "*Niederdeutsch*" - a term stressing a common heritage but which still suggests a lack of equality and difference between Germans and Afrikaners. In particular, newspapers under the influence of the nationalist organisation, ADV, such as the widely read daily papers the *Dresdner Nachrichten* and the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, presented a positive image of the Afrikaner and questioned the neutral position adopted by the German government regarding the conflict. The nationalism of the Afrikaner was now celebrated as being an example of his courage in face of the colonial bully, England. Equally his handling of the indigenous Africans was seen as being exemplary in contrast to that of the Germans. Scheibert wrote of, "*der Kunst der Buren, die Eingeborenen richtig zu behandeln*."<sup>455</sup> His romanticised picture of the Afrikaners, portrayed them as living in a world which resembled that of a distant European past free from the evils of modernisation which were afflicting Germany. He like many others picked out the religiosity of the Afrikaner as a notable character trait. The linguistic similarities between German and Afrikaans were used to demonstrate the common heritage that the Germans and Afrikaners shared and articles appeared tracing the historical roots of the Afrikaner population, claiming that the majority of the original

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<sup>452</sup> U. Kröll, *Die Internationale Buren-Agitation 1899-1902* (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1973), 131.

<sup>453</sup> Figure from *Der Burenfreund: Officielles Organ der Vereinigten Buren Comités*, 1 (1902): 349.

<sup>454</sup> Kröll, 37-38.

<sup>455</sup> Scheibert, 12.



Afrikaners were indeed German.<sup>456</sup> Thus, the German people were called upon to help their Afrikaner brothers. This was the view emphasised by H. Eiß in his text, Die Buren der deutsche Bruderstamm in Südafrika (1900) in which he argued, "daß er [the Afrikaner] *echten deutschen Stammes ist*."<sup>457</sup> In Der Burenfreund this cultural and familial heritage link was promoted to demonstrate that the settlement of Afrikaners in German Southwest Africa would not be to the detriment of the colony. "*Es ist nicht einzusehen, wie die so angesiedelten Buren dem Deutschtum der Kolonie gefährlich werden könnten. Sie sind Niederdeutsche...Zwischen Hochdeutschen und Niederdeutschen besteht kein grosser nationaler Unterschied*."<sup>458</sup> The continued lack of German settlers in the colony was focused on with the suggestion being that the Afrikaners as "*Niederdeutsche*" would make suitable replacements. Already in April of 1900 the ADV had suggested that the mass settlement of Afrikaners would be to the benefit of German colonialism through providing the German colonists with white women to marry and, as of old, the image of the Afrikaner as the colonial pioneer and model farmer was reiterated.<sup>459</sup>

The ADV's reasons for promoting Afrikaner settlement, however, are not entirely explained by this pro-Afrikaner sentiment. The pro-Afrikaner feeling expressed during the Anglo-Boer war appears to have been as much grounded in anti-English hostility as being a genuine sympathy for the fate of the Afrikaners. The Kölnische Zeitung which chose to question the shared Afrikaner-German heritage and the benefits of Afrikaner settlement came under a heavy storm of criticism in the German press and was tarred with being unpatriotic and pro-English. In the aftermath of the war, this sympathy quickly receded and the ADV was left almost alone in promoting Afrikaner immigration. The ADV shared this anti-English feeling and saw the mass settlement of Afrikaners in the Southwest as a method by which the Germans could improve their political and military strength in southern Africa as a whole. They envisaged conflict between England and Germany over the control of this region as being highly probable, therefore, it was of the utmost importance that Germany developed a position of strength from which they could be protected from English influence. "*Wir werden in den 15,000 Buren, die binnen kurzer Zeit an 5,000 waffenfähige Männer stellen dürften, das beste Kriegsmaterial finden, welches wir zur Verteidigung von Südwestafrika nötig haben*."<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> Von Schewalter, "Deutsches Blut im Burenvolk," Der Burenfreund 2 (1902): 90.

<sup>457</sup> H. Eiß, Die Buren der deutsche Bruderstamm in Südafrika (Bielefeld: Ernst Siedhoff, 1900), 75.

<sup>458</sup> "Bureneinwanderung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," Der Burenfreund 2 (1902): 103.

<sup>459</sup> Beratungsergebnisse: ADV, Die Bureneinwanderung nach Deutsch Südwestafrika, 107-110.

<sup>460</sup> Beratungsergebnisse: ADV, Die Bureneinwanderung nach Deutsch Südwestafrika, 108.

Whilst the Afrikaners would provide the military muscle for the German administration it was believed that they would not threaten the authority of the Germans.

Die Buren sind Bauern und werden es bleiben...Die städtische, industrielle, geistige Arbeit werden sie stets anderen überlassen, in Deutsch-Südwestafrika also den Hochdeutschen, denen also mit der geistigen Suprematie die Herrschaft über das Land von selbst zufallen bzw. verbleiben würde.<sup>461</sup>

This demeaning depiction of the Afrikaners insinuating their cultural and intellectual inferiority, was more akin to the cultural othering employed in the creation of the blackened Afrikaner stereotype, but it equally demonstrates the ambiguity of the pro-Afrikaner sympathisers. In December of 1902 the ADV set up the *Neue Südwest-Afrikanische Siedlungs-Gesellschaft* which aimed at promoting the settlement of Afrikaners as well as German immigration.<sup>462</sup> Significantly, the settlement company promoted the immigration of only a limited number of Afrikaners, and no longer the immigration of some 15,000, mentioned some two years previously. The immigration of German settlers remained the priority. In general this short term phenomenon of the counter image to the blackened stereotype of the Afrikaner must be seen in the context of the Anglo-Boer war and the context of the increased rivalry between Germany and England.

By attempting to exclude some elements of the Afrikaner community from the settler society it is clear that Leutwein wanted to retain and include other sections of the immigrants in this society. The normalization of the trek Afrikaners was necessary in order to identify those Afrikaner settlers whose presence was desirable and to differentiate them from the undesirable elements. As mentioned above a "*Germanisierungsprozeß*," a term specifically employed by Governor Leutwein and fellow German officials, was developed in order to assimilate these desirable immigrants to the German state and the aims of German colonialism. The seeds of this process of Germanisation can be traced to the contracts negotiated with the South West African Company and the Afrikaner Commandant Lombard in 1894. Three key elements of Leutwein's policies were introduced. The first factor was that the Afrikaners, in order to be welcomed as settlers, needed to be willing to purchase land and take up long term residence. Secondly, the issue of military service was discussed. Thirdly, the Afrikaners

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<sup>461</sup> Beratungsergebnisse: ADV, *Die Bureneinwanderung nach Deutsch Südwestafrika*, 108.

<sup>462</sup> Announcement of the founding of the *Neue Südwest-Afrikanische Siedlungs Gesellschaft*, 12. Dezember 1902, BAB R1001 1152, 124-125.

had to place themselves under the laws and administrative control of the German state and they were required to do their utmost to be loyal subjects and later full German citizens. The administration welcomed applications for citizenship and Paul Rohrbach suggests the majority of Afrikaners entering the Southwest during the second half of the 1890s gained German citizenship.<sup>463</sup> Indeed the divisive nature of the administration's Germanisation policy and categorisation of the Afrikaners can be demonstrated by looking at the applications made by Afrikaners for German citizenship and the judgements returned.

In September of 1895 the trader Mähler and the farmer Brandt, related through marriage, both applied for German citizenship for themselves and Brandt's family.<sup>464</sup> The two men were permanent residents in the colony and co-owners of the relatively large 15,000 hectare farm Kameelbaum. Both were economically successful and according to the district officer in Windhoek, the men, "*genießen einen sehr guten Ruf. Die gehören zu unseren besten und thätigsten Ansiedlerelementen.*"<sup>465</sup> Equally the two men were said to have a good understanding of German. Thus, as economically successful settlers who were, importantly, in possession of their own land, and who had made an attempt to integrate themselves into German settler society, both received a favourable judgement from Governor Leutwein and the KA. Such applicants were desirable settlers and Brandt, his family, and Mähler received German citizenship less than a year later without incurring any problems.<sup>466</sup> In contrast, however, the Afrikaner Botha, without a listed occupation in the case files, received a negative response. Botha applied for German citizenship in August of 1897.<sup>467</sup> He was without a property and had continually trekked around the German territory during his three and a half year stay in the colony, without ever settling in one place for more than several months. In terms of capital he possessed only thirty pieces of small livestock, his oxen had died from rinderpest, and he did not have the financial means to purchase his own land. Equally Botha was without a fixed occupation. As a result the report sent from the district officer in Windhoek to the Reich Chancellor was not in Botha's favour. In the report it was stated that Botha belonged, "*zu jener Klasse von Leuten, die wirkliches Arbeiten nur für*

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<sup>463</sup> Rohrbach, *Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft: Band 1*, 268.

<sup>464</sup> Das Gouvernement Windhoek an den Herrn Reichskanzler, 20. September 1895, BAB R151f 4922 A.v.C.3 Bd.1, 9-11.

<sup>465</sup> Das Gouvernement Windhoek an den Herrn Reichskanzler, 20. September 1895, 10.

<sup>466</sup> Kolabt. an den Herrn Gouverneur, 20. April 1896, BAB R151f 4922 A.v.C.3 Bd.1, 15.

<sup>467</sup> Kaiserliche Landeshauptmannschaft Windhoek an von Lindequist, 12. August 1897, BAB R151f 4922 A.v.C.3 Bd.1, 18-19.

*eine kurze Zeit aushalten und es dann vorziehen, anderen Leuten zur Last zu fallen.*"<sup>468</sup>

It was further believed that Botha saw the possession of German citizenship as the way to cheaply acquiring land from the administration as well as the possibility of financial aid. The Reich Chancellor rejected Botha's application on the advice of the report from Windhoek.<sup>469</sup> These judgements underline the relationship between desirability as a settler and potential economic prosperity of the applicant. Botha's lack of financial funds and his continued trekking lifestyle had automatically excluded him from being categorised as a desirable settler and therefore his naturalisation as a German citizen was out of the question. Unfortunately it is not known what became of Botha; however, in the context of Leutwein's efforts to force Afrikaners into taking up permanent residence in the Southwest colony, it is possible that Botha left the colony and chose to return to the Cape.

Leutwein's policies of Germanisation were envisaged as a means to overcome and nullify the strong sense of nationalism of the Afrikaners. If the desirable immigrants could be made to appreciate German culture and see the value in being loyal German subjects then it was believed that they would refrain from breaking away from German rule. Leutwein was of the opinion that the English in the Cape colony had made the mistake of only passively reacting to the Afrikaner presence there, and of having underestimated the nationalistic feelings of the Afrikaners. He, therefore, believed education to be a further tool of indoctrination and social control through which young Afrikaners from desirable settler families could be won over to the ideals of the German state. In March of 1900 he informed the KA; *"Ich habe...angeordnet, daß jeder Boer beim Ankauf einer Farm zur Verpflichtung Deutscher Kindererziehung, sowie zur späteren Überführung der Kinder in den Unterthanen Verband bewegt werden solle.*"<sup>470</sup> As was the case in the district of Gibeon, German teachers were to be sent to educate the Afrikaner children. In Gibeon, *"hat der vor kurzem dorthin gesandte deutsche Lehrer den Germanisierungsprozeß unter den Boerenkindern bereits begonnen.*"<sup>471</sup> Naturally the Afrikaners were to go to German schools where the lessons were to be given in German as opposed to Dutch or Afrikaans. This was not only a means to raise the level of literacy amongst the Afrikaners, thus, making the Afrikaner children worthy of attaining German subject status, but it was also to establish German as the dominant

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<sup>468</sup> Landeshauptmann an den Herrn Reichskanzler, 22.September 1897, BAB R151f 4922 A.v.C.3 Bd.1, 21.

<sup>469</sup> Kolabt. an die Kaiserliche Landeshauptmannschaft Windhoek, 4.Dezember 1892, BAB R151f 4922 A.v.C.3 Bd.1, 22.

<sup>470</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24.März 1900, 119.

<sup>471</sup> Leutwein an die Kolabt., 24.März 1900, 119.

language in the colony, erasing fears voiced concerning the spread of Dutch. Education was to be the means through which the Afrikaner children would be made to feel German. In addition, by pressuring Afrikaner parents into placing their children in the German *Unterthamer Verband*, Leutwein emphasised that military service would now be applied to the young Afrikaners. Leutwein's educational policy received full approval from the KA. These educational measures were introduced in the context of the Anglo-Boer war which had begun in October of 1899.

With the outbreak of the war between the English and the Afrikaners in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal the administration in the Southwest was faced with the prospect of an increase in the number of Afrikaner immigrants seeking entrance into the colony, and the likelihood of anything between hundreds or even thousands of Afrikaner refugees taking up only temporary residence. Indeed the administration in the Southwest and the government in Berlin were both inundated with requests from Afrikaner refugees seeking asylum in German Southwest Africa. In particular the Muller group of Cape refugees in Amsterdam was keen to ascertain the conditions under which they would be allowed to gain access to land in the German colony.<sup>472</sup> The response of the KA was the rationalisation and formalisation of Leutwein's policies. On the 19th of December 1900 a Promemoria was sent to the Muller group and to Leutwein which listed the criteria by which all future cases of potential Afrikaner immigration were to be decided.<sup>473</sup> In the opening paragraph of the document it was made clear that trek Afrikaners and those without sufficient capital to purchase land would not be welcomed by the German authorities. Leutwein's assistant von Lindequist, now the German representative in South Africa, had some months earlier remarked that the English government would be only too happy were poor Afrikaners to be granted asylum in the Southwest and if the German administration then took over the responsibility for providing for these people.<sup>474</sup> Von Lindequist shared Leutwein's long held opinion that only Afrikaners with finance were suitable settlers and he believed that the war provided the administration with the perfect opportunity to attract such settlers to the colony, given that anti-English feeling among the Afrikaners was high. Although the German government was committed to neutrality the Promemoria backed up these wishes of Leutwein and von Lindequist, stating that Afrikaners who were financially in a position

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<sup>472</sup> Dr. Hendrik Muller was an ambassador of the Orange Free State in Amsterdam. He negotiated for around 45 Afrikaners to gain permission to settle in German Southwest Africa. H. Muller an Stübel, 7. November 1900, BAB R1001 1150, 19-23.

<sup>473</sup> Kolabt. an Muller und den Herrn Reichskanzler, 19. Dezember 1900, BAB R1001 1150, 55-61.

to create and guarantee an independent economic existence within the colony would be allowed to settle. The financial means needed in order to ensure this level of self sufficiency were set at upwards of 7-8,000 Marks per family in the form of cash, cattle or land holdings, much less than the figure of 20,000 Marks set by Leutwein in 1895. It was, however, still seen as being enough to prevent unwanted settlers from being able to purchase land and largely in keeping with the amount expected of small-scale German farmers.<sup>475</sup> The link between desirability as a settler and economics was again underlined. All suitable immigrant families were to be gradually naturalised and were expected to apply for German citizenship. "*Die Regierung muß daran festhalten, daß die einwandernden Afrikaner in nicht allzu ferner Zeit die Reichsangehörigkeit erwerben.*"<sup>476</sup> This was as a means of ensuring their loyalty to the colonial project as well as means of ensuring the continued German nature of the colony. The administration, however, was not to force Afrikaners into taking up German citizenship as it was expected that the Afrikaners themselves would see the benefits to be gained from naturalisation such as the access to cheaper land reserved for German citizens, access to state financial aid improve their properties, and the possession of an internationally recognised citizenship. The KA was willing to tolerate the presence of Afrikaners who had not attained citizenship so long as their economic and political relationship with the administration was in order. As in the Botha case a number of Afrikaners had their applications for citizenship refused on account of their lack of a permanent place of residence.<sup>477</sup> Part of the duties associated with the possession of German citizenship was military service and, therefore, by attaining German citizenship young Afrikaners over the age of twenty one would be required to fulfil their military obligation to the German state. It required the government in Berlin to introduce a specific act if all non-naturalised Afrikaners were to be pressed into military service, a step that the government was not willing to take for fear of international criticism, hence the stress put on the need for Afrikaners to apply for citizenship. Similarly Leutwein's educational policies were included in the conditions under which Afrikaner immigration was to be permitted. Direct state intervention was to be taken to ensure that the Afrikaner children receive a German education. In the Promemoria Afrikaner children were required to attend German schools or to be instructed in German by private tutors if there was no school nearby. The period of schooling for all Afrikaners was later set at

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<sup>474</sup> Von Lindequist an den Herrn Gouverneur in Windhoek, 14.September 1900, BAB R151f Film 14845 L.ii.C.1 Bd.1, 51.

<sup>475</sup> Kolabt. an Muller und den Herrn Reichskanzler, 19.Dezember 1900, 55.

<sup>476</sup> Kolabt. an Muller und den Herrn Reichskanzler, 19.Dezember 1900, 56.

<sup>477</sup> Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtmann Merensky (Keetmanshoop) an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 4.Juli 1903, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.2, 30.

a minimum of two years for children between the ages of ten and fifteen. The administration was to meet the costs of educating the Afrikaners. No restriction was made of the Afrikaners' right to free religious worship which Leutwein took for granted, so long as this right was not used to initiate political unrest amongst the Afrikaners. In terms of Ong's definition of the process of normalization, the administration's Germanisation policies which sought the inclusion and assimilation of desirable settlers into German settler society, are akin to the whitening of these immigrants. They were literally welcomed as Germans. The possession of capital was the deciding factor in differentiating this group from their fellow Afrikaners and the Germanisation process was the means utilised to politically and culturally separate the two Afrikaner groups and to enhance this division. The process of Germanisation, in particular the schooling of young Afrikaners was envisaged as a means by which the level of cultural development of the Afrikaners could be improved so that it reached that of the German settlers, seen as the norm in this model. Müller von Berneck described the aims of the education policies; "*Es würde dies dazu führen, die Buren auf eine höhere Kultur- und Bildungsstufe zu bringen und sie fester mit dem Deutschtum zu verbinden.*"<sup>478</sup> Thus, it can be argued that through administrative educational policy the immigrants were to be culturally whitened and that they were symbolically whitened through the conferment of citizenship status and equality with naturally born German citizens. A reworking of the Promemoria by Leutwein's new assistant, von Estorff in discussion with Afrikaner representatives, in which a number of the conditions of settlement were relaxed, was rejected by the KA and by Leutwein.<sup>479</sup>

Not all the Afrikaner refugees who sought asylum or temporary residence in the colony during and in the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war had received official permission to enter. As was the case during the second half of the 1890s German officials could not always prevent Afrikaners from simply crossing the undermanned borders of the German colony and entering the Southwest. As an increasing recognition of gradation the administration created a further three new categories of refugees in order to politically and economically assess the worth of these immigrants as settlers.<sup>480</sup> The first category was that of Afrikaners from the Capé colony who were opposed to English rule there, hence the belief that they would be likely to ally themselves with the Germans, on account of their disenchantment with English authority. Should they be

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<sup>478</sup> Berneck, 8.

<sup>479</sup> Kolabt. an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 5. Februar 1903, BAB R1001 1152, 84-87.

<sup>480</sup> Berneck, 8.

made to see the value of remaining in the Southwest colony, it was argued that these immigrants, provided that they possessed the necessary financial means, would make loyal German citizens. Having lived under British authority as British citizens it was believed that they were adjusted to administrative control and that they would swap their British citizenship for German citizenship. The second group was that of Afrikaners from the Orange Free State or the Transvaal, whom it was believed would return to their homeland once the war was over. Their residence in the colony was thought to be only temporary, though were they to demonstrate a desire to remain, the administration would consider their naturalisation. Both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were Afrikaner Republics. The final category was made up of Afrikaners from the Cape who, as British citizens who had taken up arms against England, were dubbed rebels. It was argued that they would rebel against all forms of administrative control. Their presence in the Southwest was seen as being politically dangerous. The administration kept these immigrants under close observation and sought to discourage their long term stay, though a number were eventually granted German citizenship. Despite this a small number of prominent political rebels such as H. and G. van der Westhuizen, J. Steyn and J. Steenkamp took up residence in the colony.<sup>481</sup> The majority of them were financially in a position to fulfil the administration's requirements for residence in the colony, although many did not settle for long. Indeed most of the Afrikaners classified as rebels sent their wives and children into the Southwest Africa territory to take up temporary residence, whilst they continued their struggle against the English outwith the German colony. As before the administration took measures to ensure that the immigrants refrained from trekking, thus, they were given a time period of six months in which to buy, or lease land or face expulsion. Von Estorff suggested that the administration did not have to resort to employing this threat during the war period because the Afrikaner population was in a state of constant flux with immigrants entering and leaving the colony within a matter of days or weeks.<sup>482</sup> Many chose to remain around the border areas awaiting the end of the war in order to return to their homes. Thus, they did not view German Southwest Africa as anything more than a temporary place of residence. Equally the district officer of Keetmanshoop informed the administration that a number of practical problems hindered settlement. Much of the land still available for settlement, particularly in the south, was unsuitable, other areas were already occupied by settlers or indigenous Africans, and areas of concessionaire land had still to be

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<sup>481</sup> "Liste der auf Grund der Berliner Verhandlungen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika eingewanderten Buren," in BAB R1001 1152, 71-72.

<sup>482</sup> Von Estorff an die Kolabt., 16. September 1902, BAB R1001 1152, 49.



measured and as a result could not be leased or sold.<sup>483</sup> The requirements introduced by the administration which settlers had to fulfil before being allowed to settle were also a likely form of disincentive. Oelhafen suggests that of the 726 Afrikaners who had entered into German Southwest Africa in 1901, around 372 had returned home barely a year later.<sup>484</sup> It was reported from Leutwein's office that the majority of Afrikaners who had entered German Southwest Africa during the war had left by the signing of the peace treaty in August 1902 or shortly afterwards.<sup>485</sup> The Afrikaner population in the colony reached a peak of 1455 at the beginning of 1902, and had declined to 1074 by 1904, although the government in Berlin, the administration in the Southwest, and the German press, still awaited the prospect of further treks as normality returned to life in the Cape and the Afrikaner republics.<sup>486</sup> During the same time period the German population had grown by around some 350 settlers, and it is likely that a number of these settlers were naturalised Afrikaners, thus, the true size of the Afrikaner population remains unclear.

According to von Estorff those Afrikaners who had entered during the war and who chose to remain in the colony after its conclusion were Afrikaners, "*die über nicht unbedeutende Mittel verfügten und daher als unterstützungsbedürftig nicht angesehen werden konnten.*"<sup>487</sup> Thus, Leutwein's policy to encourage the financially well off refugees to settle rather than those in financial need appears to have enjoyed a degree of success. Equally the measures aimed at forcing Afrikaner immigrants to take up residence achieved the desired response in the district of Windhoek. Here in November of 1903 it was reported that for the last three and a half years there were no longer trek Afrikaners in the district. There were, however, only a handful of Afrikaners who had actually bought their land, several others having chosen to lease land. Of these one was described as being a model farmer, whilst several others in a nearby town were depicted as being "*arbeitsame Leute.*"<sup>488</sup> The Governor's programme of Germanisation, however, was not always so successful. A report from the district of Keetmanshoop related the results of the Germanisation policies there.<sup>489</sup> Only 21 Afrikaner children were regularly attending the German school, which the author of the report suggested, in view of the

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<sup>483</sup> Hansen, Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Keetmanshoop an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement, 31.Oktober 1901, BAB R1001 1151, 61-68.

<sup>484</sup> Oelhafen, 30.

<sup>485</sup> Von Estorff an die Kolabt., 5.September 1902, BAB R1001 1152, 48.

<sup>486</sup> Van der Heyden, 1080.

<sup>487</sup> Von Estorff an die Kolabt., 5.September 1902, 48.

<sup>488</sup> Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Windhoek an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 20.November 1903, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.2b, 33.

large size of the average Afrikaner family, was the minority. Part of the problem for this lack of attendance was blamed on the former teacher at the school, a self confessed atheist. Thus, many Afrikaners because of their strong religious convictions refused to let their children be educated in this environment. The district officer had as yet to find a willing German replacement for the atheist teacher and had to resort to employing an English man and wife. As the author lamented, the children were not receiving a German education, the founding stone of the Germanisation of the young Afrikaners. A private school had also been set up in Keetmanshoop where a Dutch teacher was instructing the young Afrikaners on the condition that everyday at least one hour of lessons be in German. This was somewhat of an unwanted compromise given the Governor's wish that all lessons be in German. The schooling problem as a whole was problematical, because Afrikaners living outside of those towns with a school, were often outwith the reaches of the administration's educational policies. The administration's pledge to meet the funding needs for Afrikaner education proved to be non-viable because of the costs involved.<sup>490</sup> The hope of providing Afrikaner children living far from their nearest school with some sort of accommodation in the vicinity of the school was impracticable. As a result, despite the emphasis laid on the indoctrination of the Afrikaner children, a significant number did not receive a German education. By 1912 the then Governor, Seitz, was allowing the Afrikaner children in the school at Kub in the Gibeon district to be instructed in Afrikaans. Equally he made allowances for the children at Klipdam and the administration sponsored the teacher Göing to travel to the Cape in order to gain a teaching certificate in Afrikaans.<sup>491</sup> In terms of naturalisation the administration enjoyed more success. This can be seen by taking the district of Gibeon as an example. Here a large percentage of the Afrikaners were to be found. In Gibeon, during the Anglo-Boer war there was a considerable amount of contact between the Cape and the Afrikaners present in the German colony, and in 1902 officials expressed fears that in this district an Afrikaner state was developing, large on account of the presence of Cape rebels.<sup>492</sup> Von Estorff warned of the increasing nationalism being expressed by the immigrants, which was seen as being linked to the sending from the Cape of two Afrikaner pastors.<sup>493</sup> The *Niederdeutsche Reformierte Kirche* in Gibeon had

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<sup>489</sup> Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtman Merensky (Keetmanshoop) an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek. 4.Juli 1903, 29.

<sup>490</sup> Kaiserliche Bezirkshauptmannschaft Windhoek an den Herrn Gouverneur, 8.Februar 1901, BAB R1001 Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.1b, 135-138.

<sup>491</sup> Hintrager, 184.

<sup>492</sup> Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtman von Burgsdorff an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 2.April 1902, BAB R1001 R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C Bd.2a, 67-74.

<sup>493</sup> Von Estorff an die Kolabt., 14.November 1902, BAB R1001 1152, 71.

357 members of whom 143 were adults.<sup>494</sup> Yet the threat of a breakaway republic failed to materialise and it was reported in 1906 that all but two of the resident Afrikaners had received German citizenship, and the two remaining settlers had made enquiries as to how they could also attain citizenship.<sup>495</sup> Moreover the Afrikaner immigrants were seen as capable farmers who had provided worthwhile service during the Herero-Nama war. It was emphasised that although the practice of German amongst the immigrant Afrikaners had not increased, "*Eine Gefahr für das Deutschtum liegt nicht vor.*" The Cape rebels in the colony also received a degree of praise from the Governor who depicted them as hard working farmers. In general, Afrikaner immigration into German Southwest Africa declined after 1903 and those Afrikaners willing to leave their homelands looked towards Australia, South America, and even German East Africa, in preference to the Southwest. Undoubtedly the onset of the Herero-Nama war in the Southwest, as well as political changes in the Afrikaner Republics and the Cape, help explain the decrease in immigration. Equally Governor Leutwein's temporary replacement Hans von Tecklenburg readjusted the necessary minimum capital holdings that all immigrants needed in order to gain permission to enter the colony to between 15,000 and 20,000 marks.<sup>496</sup> Such a sum corresponded to the amount calculated as being necessary in order to survive economically as a farmer in the Southwest and, as demonstrated in chapter two, German settlers entering the colony were also expected to be in the possession of large amounts of capital. Von Tecklenburg was of the opinion that German settlement would take off as soon as the Herero-Nama war came to an end, and this proved to be the case. As the number of German settlers rapidly increased the political importance of the Afrikaner minority decreased, and the end of Leutwein's period in office, marked not only the end of the threat of mass Afrikaner immigration, but also the end of a stringent policy of Germanisation. Efforts at assimilation continued exemplified by von Lindequist appointing the Afrikaner Commandant Lombard as a member to the *Gouvernementsrat* in 1906 in order that the Afrikaners be represented on the advisory body. This was of note because membership was normally reserved to German citizens and Lombard was an Afrikaner who had not sought naturalisation. In 1912 a further sign of assimilation was the policy adopted to allow Afrikaners franchise to the newly formed *Landwirtschaftsrat*.

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<sup>494</sup> Hintrager, 182.

<sup>495</sup> Gelshorn der Kaiserliche Bezirksamtman an das Kaiserliche Gouvernement Windhoek, 9. April 1906, BAB R151f Film 14846 L.ii.C.2 Bd.3, 185.

<sup>496</sup> Tecklenburg an die Kolabt., 18. Mai 1903, BAB R1001 1153, 68.

The significance of this episode of Afrikaner settlement is its role in the negotiation of categories of black and white and, in particular here, there is an interesting insight into the relationship between whiteness and Germanness. It is significant that in response to the perceived threat of Afrikaner immigration to the continued German nature and control over the Southwest, that colonial officials advocated a policy of Germanisation. This policy was aimed not simply at assimilating non-German settlers whose presence was deemed desirable, it literally made them into German citizens. The policies of Germanisation applied to the Afrikaner immigrants in German Southwest Africa also bore a relation to the policies of assimilation applied to immigrant groups within Germany itself during the Kaiserreich. It is noticeable that the Polish community in Germany and the non-German populations of Alsace and Lorraine were similarly subjected to policies of Germanisation which primarily focused on education and establishing the institutional dominance of German.<sup>497</sup> In the case of the Polish population in Germany these measures appeared to have had the opposite effect to that intended in that they further stimulated a sense of Polish nationalism. In contrast in the Southwest the perceived threat of Afrikaner nationalism receded. What appears to distinguish desirable Afrikaner immigrants from undesirable Afrikaner immigrants is on first sight economic factors. Yet, it is clear that cultural factors were also of importance. In the previous chapters it has been suggested that cultural norms and markers were increasingly resorted to in order to negotiate whiteness and to establish difference, whether between desirable and undesirable settlers, between Africans and Europeans, and here between Europeans and undesirable Afrikaner immigrants. Conversely cultural factors were also used in order to establish similarity. Thus, the Afrikaners' nomadic lifestyle, lack of literacy, concept of property rights were emphasised in demonstrating how Afrikaners differed from German settlers and were akin to Africans. As has been argued in the preceding chapters the use of racial rhetoric in representing the Afrikaners was symptomatic of the way in which gradations of whiteness were evolving, and in which cultural markers of belonging to a white category were replacing somatic features.

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<sup>497</sup> P. Panayi, Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany. Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 65-98.

## Chapter Six

### Concluding Remarks

Es muß doch billigerweise eine Grenze geben, wo schwarz aufhört und weiß anfängt. Und das ist absolut notwendig, daß diese Grenze endlich gezogen wird.<sup>498</sup>

This plea was made in 1913 by the German settler Willy Krabbenhöft, who had been re-categorised as an *Eingeborene* once it had come to light that his mother was of African descent. His re-categorisation was made in the context of the decision of the courts in German Southwest Africa to impose a racialised definition of whiteness and specifically Germanness, whereby all persons directly descending from an African were similarly to be legally categorised as *Eingeborenen*. At the same time the courts and colonial officials denied all legal recognition of marriages between Africans and Europeans. As a result Krabbenhöft lost his German citizenship and with that his civil rights, social privilege and all claims to whiteness. Krabbenhöft's remarks were written with his own personal situation in mind, yet his plea gave articulation to a broader phenomenon which was undermining social order and justifications of German colonial rule in the colony of German Southwest Africa; namely the collapse into gradations of whiteness and selfness of the polarised Self - Other, Black - White dichotomy of classification. The legal and social categories of Black and White had become increasingly unstable and the rigid boundaries of difference were disappearing.

Justifications of colonial rule were psychologically supported by notions of the imagined cultural and racial differences between the colonisers and the colonised. These underpinned the construction of a polarised Self - Other dichotomy and separated the indigenous Africans and Europeans into distinct categories of identification. The dichotomy was enshrined in the legal categories of the *Eingeborene* and the *Nicht Eingeborene* which informed and dictated discursive and political practices of social control and identification, and brought about the hierarchical ordering of colonial society. Dane Kennedy's comments regarding settler society in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia could equally have been made in reference to the Southwest. He writes,

Settler culture...was pre-eminently the expression of the white community's tenuously held position of predominance in the colonial order. The power to shape

and control social identity, to determine distinctions between themselves and others, was crucial to that predominance.<sup>499</sup>

As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters the categories of identification were not reflective of the heterogeneity and fluidity of the colonial population. In particular they did not reflect the diversity of the settler society. Moreover, the presence of settlers whose cultural practices and lifestyle did not match with the norms attributed to the idealised settler threatened to undermine the boundaries of difference between colonisers and colonised. Their standards of behaviour were increasingly perceived by the colonial authorities and interest groups as posing a threat to social control and the future stability of the Southwest.

As has been discussed bourgeois fantasies of the settler colony as an arena in which German agricultural society could be recreated were not to be realised in the Southwest. Equally the colonial authorities' vision of establishing the Southwest as a self-sufficient and cattle exporting colony, which would economically benefit the motherland, was to be disappointed. Large-scale German farmers were, on the whole, simply not interested in emigrating to the Southwest. Instead they chose to either remain in Germany as economic conditions there improved or they decided to emigrate to countries which offered more favourable terms of settlement. Thus, whilst the administration and KA demanded that land concessionaire companies reserve large areas of fertile land for German settlers, the colony was failing to attract suitable settlers who would make this land productive. Logistical, geographical and geological problems also hindered settlement plans as did the general political instability of the colony. In response to this the administration was forced to consider the settlement of Germans of limited means, whom they helped sustain economically, as well as non-Germans, in particular Afrikaners. What developed was a settler population dominated by administrative personnel and colonial soldiers, with ex-soldiers making up the majority of the farming population alongside a considerable number of Afrikaner immigrants. Self-sufficiency and economic independence were beyond most settlers. Although an increasing number of settlers chose to stay in the Southwest on a long-term basis, the settler population remained fluid with farms frequently changing hands and many administrative and construction workers residing in the colony only for the duration of their short-term

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<sup>498</sup> Krabbenhöft an den Herrn Präsident der Fortschrittlichen Volkspartei, 18. September 1913, BAB R1001 5418, 333.

contracts. Equally, this was a population which was heavily dependent on loans and credit from the administration or concessionaire companies. The reality of the colony settler society was far from the Utopian fantasies of a land populated by self-sufficient, hard working, patriotic, middle-class German agriculturists.

The collapse and reconstruction of the dichotomy was initiated by the presence of undesirable settlers, both German and non-German. Criminality and destitution marked settler society and the perceived ills of metropolitan Germany were recreated in the colonial environment. Timothy Keegan's remarks regarding settler society in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century are equally applicable to the Southwest.

Pauperism and moral malaise in large sectors of the white population gave rise to the threat of racial subversion and the breaching of racial boundaries, as well as having baneful effects on racial hierarchy, respect and dominance.<sup>500</sup>

What further blurred the demarcation of boundaries of difference was the sexual behaviour of many of the European settlers. In the Southwest, like most colonies where gender ratios were imbalanced, sexual unions between European men and African women were common and born out of these relationships was a considerable number of children of dual African and German (European) descent. The presence of these children existing in-between the dichotomous categories of identification threw open to question notions of the essential difference between Africans and Europeans, Black and White, as well as rendering these categories unstable. In addition German citizenship law, whereby wives and children of German citizens took on the citizenship of their husband/father provided a further complication to the maintenance of a strict legal and social division of the colonial population.

In response to the diversity, fluidity and instability of the settler population, policies and programmes of social engineering were introduced which sought to mould an increasingly exclusive settler society. Promoted by colonial interest groups and observers, and finding form in the policies of the colonial authorities, these discursive and political practices sought to impose control and order over the imagined social chaos of the colonial population. Consequently settlers, inclusive of children of dual descent

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<sup>499</sup> Dane Kennedy quoted in Walther, 243. Original quote from D. Kennedy, Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 189.

<sup>500</sup> Keegan, 460.

and their African mothers, were excluded from, or included in, settler society according to an assessment of their economic capacity and cultural competency as measured against the existing dichotomous categories of identification. Thus, the Black - White dichotomy was under constant negotiation as settlers and groups of immigrants, both German and non-German, were assimilated to this schema and assigned positions within the colonial hierarchy. This in turn served to underline the organising principle of the dichotomy. What emerged was an increasingly stratified settler society organised along lines of privilege in which access to resources and institutions, such as access to land, cattle, political franchise and administrative loans were restricted to those deemed to be desirable settlers. In the course of the German colonial experience whiteness became increasingly divorced from somatic markers of difference, particularly as the growth of a dual descent population and adoption of a 'one-drop rule' rendered somatic markers of difference highly ambiguous. In this colonial environment whiteness evolved as a means by which to legitimise the discursive and political practices of preference, distinguishing between desirable and undesirable settlers. The increasing emphasis on cultural markers was in order to re-enforce the notion of difference between the colonisers and the colonised. At the same time, however, it led to the discursive and political exclusion of white settlers from settler society. The recourse to racial rhetoric by which to represent such undesirable settlers determined the collapse of the Black - White dichotomy into a system of gradations of whiteness.

In the Southwest the relationship between Germanness and whiteness was complex. The dichotomous categories of legal identification differentiated White from Black, European from African, rather than along lines of nationality, class or gender. The nature of colonial rule, whereby a white minority dominated a black majority, largely unified settler society in the common cause of maintaining the hierarchical structure of colonial society. Equally, in discursive practice the imagined threat of sexual unions and racial mixing was frequently perceived as being a threat to white authority and the white race in Africa. It should, however be noted that the legal complications of German citizenship law determined that the growth of a dual descent population demanded a rethinking of not simply whiteness, but more specifically of Germanness. This was because dual descent children of German fathers theoretically inherited German citizenship. The discussion in chapter three demonstrates, however, that this was frequently not the case and that instead such children were legally and socially excluded from all claims to Germanness. Germanness and whiteness were frequently linked in the course of the German colonial experience; the former was typically employed as a discursive and



political policy in the face of perceived threats to *Deutschtum* as opposed to settler society in general. This is best observed in the discussion of Afrikaner immigration found in chapter five.

The colonial authorities and colonial interest parties were keen to preserve the specifically German nature of the colony in the face of increasing non-German influences in the Southwest. Non-German influence, in the form of British backed land concessionaire companies which bought out financially struggling German companies, gave rise to fears of a loss of German control over the Southwest and seemed to confirm Cecil Rhodes intentions of undermining German rule. Coupled with this was the failure of the colonial authorities to attract a noteworthy German population to the colony during the first two decades of the German colonial experience. The growth of an Afrikaner population in the colony during the same period added a nationalistic element to German colonial policies and the evolving notion of whiteness. The relative size of this immigrant population led to serious concern in the colonial media, the government and within the administration that the German nature of the Southwest was seriously jeopardised by the presence of these immigrants. As a consequence the administration adopted various strategies to dilute the non-German influence in the colony. Thus, amongst other policies they demanded that land concessionaire companies reserve fertile areas of land for German citizens and that Afrikaners be made to settle next to German settlers; a policy aimed at preventing any build up of exclusively non-German areas. Yet, the administration was unable to prevent Afrikaner immigration into the Southwest because of the numerical weakness of the *Schutztruppe*. Furthermore it recognised the importance of populating the colony, whether it be with German citizens or non-Germans, in order to increase the productivity of the land and as a means of establishing control over the indigenous Africans. The result was that the administration introduced policies aimed at excluding undesirable Afrikaner settlers and at retaining and assimilating desirable Afrikaner settlers. In this context a notion of Germanness as opposed to whiteness became part of the strategy to assimilate Afrikaners into settler society. Equally, this was used to differentiate desirable Afrikaner immigrants from those whose presence was deemed undesirable, and to assign them a position within the colonial hierarchy. The policies of Germanisation sought to impose specifically German legal and cultural markers, most notably German citizenship and the German language, upon desirable Afrikaner settlers and their families; to literally make them, as far as possible, into Germans. It should, however, be noted that the Afrikaners were free to practice their own religion. Central to these policies of Germanisation was the education

of younger Afrikaners, who were to be taught exclusively in German. The success of this plan was, however, somewhat limited and as German emigration to the Southwest increased fears concerning the non-German presence were greatly eased.

By 1914, in spite of fears of a belated entrance upon the colonial stage, the Germans had succeeded in creating the third largest overseas colonial Empire in terms of geographical size and fifth largest in terms of population. Within Germany, however, there remained a distinct lack of interest in colonial affairs and a sense of disappointment with the colonial possessions. After only three decades of colonial rule the German colonial experience was brought to an abrupt end with the outbreak of World War One. Under the terms of the Versailles Settlement Germany's colonies were taken away from her and placed under mandate rule. The Southwest was placed under the mandate control of South Africa, which under the Covenant of the League of Nations, was enabled to administer the former German colony essentially as part of its own territory.<sup>501</sup> Amongst the German population of the Southwest, many of whom chose to remain following the conclusion of the war, there was much opposition to the Settlement. At the same time, however, there was a recognition of the determination of South Africa to govern the territory. Despite the conciliatory policies of the South African administration, Walther argues that the German population in the Southwest continued to hope that German rule would be restored through the establishment of the Southwest as an autonomous state dominated by Germans.<sup>502</sup> These hopes would never be realised and instead the German population was increasingly outnumbered by Afrikaners who entered the territory once it was placed under South African control. Within Germany itself resentment grew amongst nationalist sections of the population which charged the Allies with unjustly robbing Germany of what were seen as her rightful possessions. Such feelings of resentment were linked to the humiliation of defeat and the notion of war guilt. Indeed the former Governor of Samoa and State Secretary of the RKA, Wilhelm Solf, wrote of the "*Raub unserer Kolonien*."<sup>503</sup> He further argued that the actions of the Allies in seizing the German territories, as outlined in the Versailles Settlement, would help to keep alive the colonial spirit amongst the German public. Whilst the DKG survived the loss of the German colonies and colonial periodicals and ex-colonial officials attempted to make the public aware of the apparent injustice of the Allies' actions, enthusiasm for the colonies had, however, long since been replaced by a general lack of interest.

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<sup>501</sup> Walther, 255.

<sup>502</sup> Walther, 257-258.

<sup>503</sup> Solf, 7.

Justification for bringing an end to the German colonial Empire was expressed in terms of the perceived excessive brutality and cruelty of German colonial rule. The Allies condemned the German colonial authorities for lacking civility and morality in their treatment of the indigenous Africans and referred to German colonists as "inhuman monsters who had maltreated the natives in their colonies in the vilest fashion."<sup>504</sup> In particular former colonial administrators sought to defend Germany from these accusations. The former Governor of German East Africa, Henrich Schnee was especially vocal in defending Germany's colonial record, arguing that German rule was in no way more brutal and violent than that of her two main rivals and critics, the British and French. Furthermore, Schnee maintained that accusations of colonial guilt were simply part of an ideological wartime construction used by the Allies to acquire more territory.<sup>505</sup> Schnee, attempted to justify the Germans' physical abuse of Africans with recourse to imagined stereotype qualities of the Black. Physical punishment, he argued, was a necessity because of the child like nature of the indigenous populations. In order to defend German colonial rule he attempted to demonstrate the benefits that three decades of German rule had brought.

What a different picture the German colonies presented at the outbreak of the war, after only thirty years of colonisation! Peace and order reigned everywhere in the Protectorates. Robbery and murder from tribe to tribe had entirely ceased. The native went peacefully about his work.<sup>506</sup>

Schnee, like Solf, was of the opinion that the indigenous Africans required the continuation of German colonial rule, because they were not capable of politically and economically organising themselves. Instead he claimed that an uncivilised Africa would be faced with political chaos. The nature of German colonial rule has been increasingly discussed in connection with the theory of a German Sonderweg and in the light of a general German racism, in particular anti-Semitism. Historians have as yet been reluctant to make comparisons between the German colonial experience and that of her European counterparts. This, Wildenthal argues, is because of the complications to any research agenda brought about by Nazi imperialism and racism.<sup>507</sup> Although it lies outwith the scope of this dissertation to make such a detailed comparison it is perhaps worth making some general comments.

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<sup>504</sup> W.O. Henderson, Studies in German Colonial History, (London: Frank Cass, 1962), xii.

<sup>505</sup> H. Schnee, German Colonisation. Past and Future (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1926), 104.

<sup>506</sup> Schnee, German Colonisation, 112.

In the context of general European colonialism I would agree with Pascal Grosse that the German colonial experience was essentially little different from that of the other European powers.<sup>508</sup> Policies of social engineering were often borrowed from or were influenced by those of Imperial rivals. The psychological justification of colonial rule based upon notions of racial and cultural difference was central to the denial of the civil and political rights of the indigenous populations and to the hierarchical structuring in all colonial settings. Mamdani remarks; "Division between citizen and subject, the non-native and the native, was characteristic of all colonial situations."<sup>509</sup> This division was not unique to the African colonies and was equally applied to the structure of society in Australia and European colonial possessions in the Pacific and South Seas. The dual legal system of justice which institutionalised difference in the German colonies was similarly imposed, in some variation or other, upon all the European possessions in Africa. Thus, in the French colonies there was one legal system for French citizens by which they were tried by French magistrates according to French law, and there was another system for the indigenous Africans (*code de l'indigénat*) which was made up of a body of various regulations rather than representing a systematic legal code.<sup>510</sup> Programmes and policies geared towards the social, spatial, legal, economic and even racial segregation of the colonisers and colonised were a common feature of colonial rule in Africa during the first decade of the twentieth century. In South Africa this was articulated by the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905. Parallels can also be drawn to the Jim Crow system of segregation in the United States as well as the White Australia Policy developed in Australia.<sup>511</sup>

A comparative analysis can also be extended to the functions of the Black - White dichotomy in the United States as alluded to in chapter one where there appear to be clear parallels. In addition the collapse of this dichotomy in the Southwest into gradations of whiteness invites comparisons not only to the United States, but also to the colonial experience of Germany's rivals. In chapter one, in the discussion of Stoler's work on the Dutch East Indies it was suggested that German colonial experience bore

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<sup>507</sup> Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*, 8.

<sup>508</sup> Grosse, 22.

<sup>509</sup> M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (London: James Currey, 1996), 48.

<sup>510</sup> R. Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 213.

<sup>511</sup> G.M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (London: Princeton University Press, 2002), 110-112; M. Clark, *A Short History of Australia* (London: Heinemann, 1969 revised edit.), chapter 10 "The Age of the Optimists."

resemblance to that of the Dutch. In the Dutch East Indies a marginal white population, an 'enemy within', developed whose presence was perceived as being a potential threat to stability within settler society and whose political and social possibilities were consequently impinged upon by discursive and political practices. The bourgeois notion of whiteness which evolved in the Dutch East Indies was based upon similar cultural norms as employed in the Southwest such as self-control and self-discipline, normalised sexuality, middle-class morality and an emphasis on the cleanliness and orderliness of the colonial domestic sphere.<sup>512</sup> In South Africa too, it can be suggested that cultural and biological markers of difference were utilised not simply to distinguish between Africans and whites, but also to define those groups and persons who were to be included within white society and those who were not. This was partially based upon conceptions of sexual behaviour, respectability and standardised norms of behaviour.<sup>513</sup> Similar social and cultural fears were also voiced in South Africa where, as in the Southwest, anxiety over white degeneration and gradation developed. These were linked to social upheaval, concerns about modernity and, much as in the Southwest, to an underlying perception of social vulnerability amongst whites.<sup>514</sup> Heightening this feeling of social vulnerability within white South African society, and related to the degeneration discourse, were concerns over sexual unions between poor whites and Africans. Especially unions between white women and black men were perceived as transgressing imaginary boundaries of difference, thus upsetting the hierarchical structure of the society.<sup>515</sup>

As has been argued sexual relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans were perceived as causing perhaps the greatest threat to policies of segregation and colonial order. George Fredrickson picks up on the response of the German colonial authorities in order to suggest that German rule was blatantly more racist than that of its colonial counterparts.<sup>516</sup> He argues that this was demonstrated by the fact that it was only in the German colonies of the Southwest, German East Africa and Samoa that marriages between Europeans and the indigenous people were prohibited. A qualification must, however, be made. Whilst there were no legal constrictions placed upon the sexual behaviour of European men in the possessions of Germany's colonial rivals, sexual unions in the colonial environment between Europeans and non-Europeans were frequently condemned by colonial administrations, missionaries and colonisers

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<sup>512</sup> Stoler, 8, 105.

<sup>513</sup> Keegan, 460.

<sup>514</sup> S. Dubow, Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 167.

<sup>515</sup> See Keegan 466-477.

<sup>516</sup> Fredrickson, 112.

themselves. Much as was the case in the German colonies, in the Dutch East Indies, the French colonies and South Africa there was considerable political and social panic caused by the fear of sexual unions between Europeans and non-Europeans. As in the Southwest these fears were underpinned by anxiety over racial contamination as well as a loss of social control. Keegan argues that in South Africa around the time of Union European men involved in such relationships were kept under increasing surveillance, whilst in the Transvaal, Natal and Rhodesia legislation prohibited white women from sexual contact with African men.<sup>517</sup> In states across the United States sexual relationships between 'blacks' and 'whites' were likewise criticised and even prohibited in the era of the Jim Crow system of segregation.

With a degree of caution Fredrickson also points to the events of the Herero-Nama war as a further example of the uniqueness of the German colonial experience. He, like Bley, suggests that this event can perhaps be seen as illustrative of Hannah Arendt's argument that the seeds of totalitarianism are to be found in the colonial experience in Africa.<sup>518</sup> Fredrickson is, however, quick to point out that von Trotha's extermination order aroused a significant amount of protest within Germany which caused the colonial authorities in Germany to nullify it. As mentioned in chapter one the Herero-Nama war and the question of the genocidal nature of the war remains a point of contention in discussions of German colonialism and its links to National Socialism and other forms of German racism. Bruce Vandervort in his analysis of European colonial warfare, Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914 (1998) sets the German atrocities in the Southwest, and in German East Africa, in the context of a general shift in colonial warfare during the period 1898-1914. He suggests that they are part of a "greater tendency among European soldiers in Africa during this period to contemplate 'extermination' of their enemies as a way of bringing conflicts to an end."<sup>519</sup> Whilst he cites the Herero-Nama war and von Trotha's proclamation to 'exterminate' the Herero as the best known example of this tendency, he suggests that the actions of the British during the Anglo-Boer war and in Northern Nigeria in 1906, as well as those of the Italians in Libya in 1911 were of a similar nature. Implied in Vandervort's analysis is that in this instance there was no essential distinction between the German colonial experience and that of the other colonial powers. In contrast, however, Walter Nuhn argues in favour of the Sonderweg theory by making an explicit link between German

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<sup>517</sup> Keegan, 464, 466.

<sup>518</sup> Fredrickson, 112-113. See also H. Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1966).

<sup>519</sup> Vandervort, 186-187.

colonialism and National Socialism, with specific reference to the Herero-Nama war.<sup>520</sup> He suggests that the colonial experience pioneered the creation of totalitarian regime based upon racist ideology. In particular he makes the link between the construction of concentration camps to imprison the Herero and Nama with the creation of camps during the Third Reich.

Diese Lager lassen sich ohne weiteres als Vorläufer späterer Konzentrationslager einstufen. Hier gab es zwar keine systematische Menschenvernichtungsmaschinerie wie in Auschwitz oder Maidanek, doch herrschten ähnliche Zustände und Bedingungen, wie sie in den KZs bestanden, die keine ausgesprochenen Vernichtungslager waren...<sup>521</sup>

Whilst there are clear connections between colonialism and National Socialism there lies the danger of taking the German colonial experience out of its context and subsuming it into National Socialism. As Grosse argues "*Jedoch können die vielschichtigen Aspekte der nationalsozialistischen Rassenpolitik nicht in einer gradlinigen Weise mit dem europäischen Kolonialismus in Verbindung gebracht werden.*"<sup>522</sup> Detailed investigations into the connections between Nazism and colonialism remain limited and an analysis lies outwith the scope of this dissertation. In addressing this issue Wildenthal rightly points out that race is "something created, changing, and contextual" and it is to be suggested that an investigation of forms of racism in Germany during the colonial period may provide a greater awareness of links between colonialism and a history of German racism.<sup>523</sup>

One possible means of expanding the current dissertation would be to examine political and discursive practices of inclusion and exclusion within Germany itself during the period of the Kaiserreich in order to assess whether it reflected upon or was influenced by the German colonial experience. Can the notion of a gradation of whiteness be applied to German society? It is perhaps natural to seek connections by means of an analysis of anti-Semitism. Another strategy, however, would be to examine representations and political expressions of social and cultural difference within the metropole. Thomas postulates that the underclasses in Europe were subjected to similar forms of observation, reform, social control and economic re-definition as the

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<sup>520</sup> Nuhn, 351.

<sup>521</sup> Nuhn, 351.

<sup>522</sup> Grosse, 16.

<sup>523</sup> Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*, 10.

indigenous inhabitants of the colonies.<sup>524</sup> In addition Stoler suggests that racial and class metaphors were used to clarify class distinctions not simply in the colonial environment, but also within Europe. Indeed Louis Chevalier's investigation of the 'dangerous' classes in nineteenth century Paris as well as Gareth Stedman Jones' study of 'outcast London' in the Victorian period suggest that racial analogies were used to differentiate between social classes in both these settings.<sup>525</sup> Such representations were connected to a growing bourgeois awareness of the presence of a slum and urban working class culture which differed from and threatened their own. Are such analogies also to be found in German discourses of social and class difference and if so do they bear any relationship to policies of social engineering employed in the metropole?

In Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century the middle class was increasingly aware that the culture of the urban working class deviated from the norms of bourgeois society and its notions of respectability and normalised sexual behaviour. It was perceived that the bourgeoisie faced multiple threats from its proletarian co-inhabitants such as the imagined dangers of moral corruption, disease and political agitation. Out of the social upheaval of the *fin de siècle* period, throughout western Europe there arose fears of working class militancy, modernisation, urbanisation and a sense of social vulnerability linked to a loss of social control. Part expression of these fears was the development of a metropolitan discourse of degeneration. A scientific discussion over heredity and the emergence of deviant stereotypes identified those who were to be placed under surveillance or simply excluded from European society; locked up in prisons, asylums or placed in orphanages and workhouses. In conjunction with the growth of the eugenics movement MacMaster argues that within European society internal enemies were identified who were depicted as being essentially biologically and culturally different.<sup>526</sup> Thus, much as marginal whites in the colonies were a cause of social and political concern, so too within Germany they threatened to destabilise the order of bourgeois society. The presence of these internal enemies in the Southwest had challenged notions of racial and cultural difference, yet the conviction remained that even the most degenerated white was still recoverable.

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<sup>524</sup> Thomas, 66.

<sup>525</sup> L. Chevalier, Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, trans. F. Jellinek (London: Routledge, 1973 edit); G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

<sup>526</sup> N. MacMaster, Racism in Europe 1870-2000 (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001), 29.



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