

Racial Capitalism and Imperial Germany's African Territories

Patrick Hunter Graves
Institut für Asien- und Afrikawissenschaften,
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Germany
gravespa@hu-berlin.de

Abstract. Racial Capitalism — a social theory popularised by Cedric Robinson in his 1984 treatise, *Black Marxism*, but now experiencing a rhetorical resurgence¹ — has already served as a useful frame of historical analysis, mostly in the United States and Great Britain. It has not been applied to German colonial history.² This paper uses the theoretical framework of racial capitalism to clarify how the German Empire (1871-1918) integrated the African *Schutzgebiete* (protected territories or protectorates) into capitalist society by imposing a racial and social hierarchy. Through imperial socio-economic engineering, native Africans became menial labourers without property. Furthermore, the boundaries between *Weiß* (white) and *Schwarz* (black) — *Europäern* (European) and *Eingeborene* (Indigene/Native) — in the protectorates were constantly in flux to accommodate continued labour needs. Racial categorisation and re-categorisation in the Kaiserreich (Empire) reveal that socio-economic status was fundamental to determining race, and demonstrates the necessity of including socio-economic status in any historical discussion of the race within the protectorates. The analysis offered here borrows from traditional historical materialism, from Robinson, and from contemporary critics and advocates of historical Marxism in order to broaden racial capitalism's utility as a theoretical framework for socio-economic historical analysis of capitalist societies globally.

Keywords: Racial capitalism, imperialism, Germany, Africa, materialism

Introduction

Cedric Robinson identified himself as belonging to a long black radical tradition which included thinkers like W.E.B. Du Bois, C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, and Robinson's mentor Oliver C. Cox. The early precepts of racial capitalism can be detected in Cox's landmark work, *Cast, Class, and Race*: "Racial antagonism is part and parcel of [the] class struggle, because it developed within the capitalist system as one of its fundamental traits... moreover, racial feeling developed concomitantly with the development of our modern social system."³ Joining Du Bois, Williams, and Cox, Robinson analysed race and class from a global perspective. His work was meant as a corrective to classical Marxism, which, he argued, undermined the role of racial stratification in capitalist accumulation.⁴ Many of the modern critiques of Robinson claim that he fundamentally misread the work of Marx, and overlooked Marx's discussions of chattel-slavery in the Americas, which, Marx's defenders argue, represents his engagement with racism in capital accumulation.⁵ But for Marx, American plantation owners were an exception — "anomalies within a world market based on free labour"⁶ — while, for Robinson, they were the rule. Robinson built on an argument first made by Cox, who wrote: "primitive accumulation' [which includes forms of expropriated labour like slavery and serfdom] is none other than fundamental capitalist accumulation: and to assume that feudal society dissolved before capitalist society began is to over-emphasize the fragility of feudalism and to discount its uses to the development of capitalism."⁷ "Primitive accumulation" was inherent to capitalism, Robinson concurred, as demonstrated through the global capitalist system's reliance on coerced labour from its inception. More importantly for Robinson, racism was a feature of primitive accumulation. As proof of pre-capitalist, primitive racial categorisation being attached to labour, Robinson pointed to the proto-racialisation of Irish, Jewish, and Slavic peoples within European feudal society and the emergence of a discourse on "*Herrenvolk*" (master-race) through the 18th and 19th centuries.⁸

Racial Capitalism, as a term, first developed out of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. Often, the term's creation is credited to Martin Legassick and David Hemson in their 1976 pamphlet, "Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa," which was distributed in London. Legassick and Hemson rejected pro-apartheid claims that industrialisation and economic growth would diminish racial prejudice (a claim reminiscent of Marx's view on racism) and instead insisted that Capitalism nourished and proliferated racism.⁹ Despite credit going to Legassick and Hemson, *racial capitalism* was first deployed four years earlier by Charles Nupen

in his opening address at the 56th National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Congress:

We must come to grips with the assertions of the African masses for political rights and economic prosperity and we must seriously investigate what changes there must be to *South Africa's particular brand of racial capitalism* [emphasis added] in order to accommodate the fulfilment of these aspirations. It demands that we explode the myths that seek to explain past privileges in terms of a sophisticated civilisation. It requires that we shed the trappings of our colonial heritage, with its emphasis on wealth, on status and on personal ambition; that we commit our skills to community development in the broadest sense of the term.¹⁰

Robinson was most likely exposed to the concept through his active involvement with the anti-apartheid movement in London during the 1970s. In 1980, Robinson reviewed a collection on race and politics in South Africa for the journal, *Contemporary Sociology*, and used the term “apartheid capitalism,” highlighting his engagement with the theoretical interplay of capitalism and race.¹¹ Despite this, by prefacing South African capitalism with “apartheid” instead of “racial,” Robinson presaged his departure from the anti-apartheid movement’s interpretation of the term. As demonstrated in Nupen’s initial use of the term above, South African anti-apartheid leftists used racial capitalism to describe a historically unique socio-economic system within South Africa, while Robinson’s work expanded the concept to accommodate the global capitalist system. In 1984, Robinson published his seminal work, *Black Marxism*, which continues to be one of the main points of departure for academics theorising on racial capitalism. Although South African scholars continue to produce work on the topic of racial capitalism, their conjunctural interpretation of racial capitalism as a unique historical process must be rejected by this paper, whose fundamental aim is to demonstrate the utility of racial capitalism as a *global* theoretical framework in varied historical contexts.¹²

The necessity of the signifier, *racial*, is a point of contention raised by critics of theoretical racial capitalism.¹³ This critique raises two essential questions: 1.) How should *race* and *racism* be understood in this context? 2.) If there is ‘racial’ capitalism, can’t there be other types of capitalism with other signifiers? To begin answering the first question, we can look to Robinson’s own understanding of race. As his detractors point out, Robinson himself variably framed racial differences in terms of language, ethnicity, and nationality.¹⁴ Instead of being problematic for the stability of the theory, I propose that an expansive definition of race (and racism) is what he intended and liberates racial capitalism from

only dealing with anti-black racism. Robinson addresses anti-black racism not because it specifically is necessary to capitalist society, but because it is one of the most widespread racisms which has manifested in the modern world with ample historical examples to draw from. To clarify racism's breadth as a category, it is useful to look to Ruth Wilson Gilmore, who theorised that racism is "the state-sanctioned and /or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death, in distinct yet densely interconnected political geographies."¹⁵ This interpretation of racism requires no reference to biological or phenotypical characteristics traditionally interpreted as *race*. Not only are the ethnic and linguistic characteristics referenced by Robinson accommodated, but religious, cultural, sexual, and gendered divisions as well. There is no monolithic racism; there is a multitude of racisms, and therein lies the answer to the second question. Philosopher Nancy Fraser argues that capitalism relies on the expropriation of a dependent labourer class in order to accommodate the exploitation of a free-wage labourer class.¹⁶ Building from that argument, racial capitalism asserts that the social category of *race* is determinant of a person's exposure to expropriation versus exploitation. The prefix, *racial*, is, therefore, both redundant as well as necessary; redundant, because capitalism has always been racist, but necessary to correct traditional analyses that have misinterpreted racism's function in capitalist society.

According to Fraser, "Marxism is enjoying a revival."¹⁷ Capitalism has become fair game for academic critique, especially in the face of rising right-wing, ethno-nationalist, White Supremacy. Increased visibility of anti-racist social-justice movements like Black Lives Matter in the United States have coincided with racial capitalism's return to the social-science lexicon less than a decade ago. At this stage, however, historians' engagement with racial capitalism has been relatively limited, even if recent trends demonstrate that to be changing. At universities around the world, history departments are now offering courses on racial capitalism, calls for papers and conferences are being organised around the topic, collections of essays are being published, and articles on racial capitalism appear in the pages of various academic journals.¹⁸ It seems racial capitalism has ripened as an analytical tool, but why apply it to the German colonial case?

First, the relatively short duration (1884-1918) of Germany's colonial empire proves that racial designations are necessary to capitalist divisions of labour and class and were not something that evolved out of long-term interaction between Americans/Europeans and colonised native peoples. Next, the German colonial case exemplifies why racial capitalism is a necessary intervention into historical materialism.¹⁹ Whereas Marx and Engels suggested that racism —

and, therefore, expropriation — would resolve itself within capitalism as social relations rationalised, the German colonial case demonstrates the inverse. Finally, Germany participated in shaping the global economic order of the late imperial world. Because of its scope in comparison to the size or duration of other European colonial empires — the British or French as examples — historians have downplayed the impact of German imperialism, but, among European countries, Germany had the third largest overseas empire at the turn of the twentieth century, and actively participated in inter-imperial exchanges that led to the racist subjugation and exploitation/expropriation of native populations the world over.²⁰ Moreover, the socio-economic structures created in the German *Schutzgebiete* (protectorates) did not dissipate when Germany was forced to cede control of its overseas territories to the victors of World War I and German colonialist elites continued to participate in an “international”, “white civilizational mission.”²¹ Without properly depicting Germany's colonial period, the full picture of European imperialism, global capitalist expansion, and their wide-reaching effects are obscured.

The main primary sources referenced to make this argument are the transcripts recorded from the three *Kolonialkongresse* (Colonial Congresses) that took place during the Kaiserreich (Empire) -- in 1902, 1905, and 1910 -- and the weekly editions of the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (DKZ; *German Colonial-Newspaper*) produced between 1899-1912. These publications are demonstrative of the changing colonialist perceptions and policies on race and labour.²² *Die Arbeiterfrage in den Kolonien* (the worker-question in the colonies) was paramount to Germany's colonial project and is one of the main themes explored in these documents. These sources offer insights into colonialists' economic goals in Africa and the strategies employed to achieve them. Moreover, they demonstrate how colonialists continuously deployed racial difference to satisfy labour demand and how racial categorisation shifted to accommodate new strategies of labour recruitment. In the dozen years examined, the “Creation of the Negro” as a social category can be tracked.²³ The *Kolonialkongresse* and the *DKZ* both operated under the umbrella of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (DKGS; German Colonial Society), the largest colonial political organisation in Germany, so it is taken for granted that the opinions there-in are representative of contemporary colonialists' perspectives on labour and race. The information garnered from these two sources is bolstered by a handful of contemporary studies including dissertations on the colonial economy and labour in the colonies, as well as a volume of *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* (*Contributions on Colonial Politics and Economy*) sponsored by the DKGS.

This paper is divided into two parts. The first part explores the idea of *Kultur* (culture) and the German civilising mission. When Germany first claimed territories in Africa, racial differences were understood as the expression of different levels of cultural development. Because of this, it was argued by contemporary social scientists that Africans could be ‘raised up’ through education, labour, and exposure to European culture and morals. Expropriation of native labour — under the guise of *Erziehung zur Arbeit* (education for work) — was foundational to the German civilising mission and the colonial socio-economic structure. As the German colonial period progressed, explanations of racial difference shifted from a focus on cultural to biological traits. These shifts accommodated changing labour needs. Since German colonial policy failed to meet labour demand through wage-labour, racial categories were generated and increasingly relied on to create an expropriated class of landless labourers. In the second part of the paper, German efforts at settling only the ‘right whites’ in the colonies and the fluidity of such racial categorisation are explored. The socio-economic structure of imperial control in Africa was — from the perspective of colonial bureaucrats — precariously balanced. According to colonialists at the time, allowing poor whites to live within the *Schutzgebiete* threatened the social order by presenting blacks with whites from the underclass and thereby suggesting that class was not inherently linked to phenotypic traits. These *mittellose Weiße* (whites without means) were regarded as racially inferior to other whites, their poverty having degraded their racial status.

Poor whites’ supposed racial degradation left them subject to the same types of exploitation and expropriation as black Africans. Together, these two parts demonstrate how racial categorisations within the Kaiserreich’s African *Schutzgebiete* were artificially created and maintained in service of a stratified socio-economic order, which was fundamental to the territories’ integration into capitalist society. Robinson’s theoretical framework is evinced in the historical case of imperial Germany’s African territories, thus demonstrating the global and comprehensive nature of racial capitalism, as well as the utility of the theory in application across geographic and temporal locations.

Part I: Culture, Racism, and “Education for Work”

Following philosopher Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel — who juxtaposed Europe’s level of high development with Africa, describing the continent as “a part of the world without history” with “no recognisable movement and development there-in, and that which has occurred in its North belongs to the Asian or European world”²⁴ — German social scientists in the nineteenth century took the “absolute inferiority of the blacks” as a given.²⁵ This socio-cultural racism

was reaffirmed by the novel scientific field of ethnology. Ethnologists developed a narrative of difference between developed and undeveloped — civilised and wild — through examinations of *Kultur*.²⁶ These divisions relegated native populations to peoples *ohne Kultur* (without culture) because they lacked certain traits that Europeans deemed necessary for *Kultur*'s development — a written historical record, for instance.²⁷ *Kultur* manifested racial divisions, but different races were identified by cultural practices instead of biological traits.²⁸ Cultural differences were used to justify imperialism by insisting that the white European race was active and made to rule, while Africa's indigenous populations were passive and to be ruled over.²⁹ Colonial policies of exploitation and expropriation were therefore considered natural, the logical progression of Europeans' cultural — and, therefore, racial — superiority.

Central Europeans in the nineteenth century had almost no true exposure to colonised populations; instead, cultural artefacts and photographs portraying natives as “exotic but inferior” shaped their perspectives.³⁰ Most Germans could have only ever seen an African person in the flesh by visiting *Völkerschauen* (people shows), popular carnival-like attractions which began appearing in mostly metropolitan areas from the mid-1870s and purported to present an authentic depiction of native life in Africa.³¹ Exhibitions of *Negerdörfer* (Negro villages) — complete with indigenous peoples plucked from Africa — and other *Völkerschauen* became some of the most popular public attractions in the country.³² Although the *DKGS* expressly prohibited the transport of natives out of the colonies for the purposes of exhibition in 1901, *Völkerschauen* and the like had already entrenched natives' inferiority into German social perceptions, having provided a steady flow of materials to a curious public and ethnologists alike.³³ The creation of the Negro started in Germany before the colonies were even chartered. In European society across the continent, popular opinion incorporated a hierarchy of being — bolstered by ‘scientific’ research — which situated Europeans at the top and African populations at the bottom.³⁴

As Germany took control of the *Schutzgebiete*, the greatest value of the claimed territory by the Kaiserreich lay in the labour power of the *Eingeborene* and their ability to extract raw materials and to harvest cash crops.³⁵ *Die Arbeiterfrage in den Kolonien* — how to create a workforce out of male *Eingeborene* — was a matter hotly debated for the duration of the colonial period. To harness the labour power of the native population, certain tribal norms, primarily polygamy, had to be dismantled. According to Mission Inspector, Alexander Merensky, polygamy was “the main reason for (the African male) being left behind; since it grants him labour which is at his disposal through his own idleness.”³⁶ Speaking at the 1902 *Kolonialkongress*, Mission Inspector, Oehlers, echoed Merensky and

reiterated native perspectives: "Labour is the stuff of women and slaves and therefore not the stuff of a free man... Women and daughters are not only sold but also rented out for years."³⁷

The secret to exploiting native male labour, according to many colonialists, lay in consumer culture.³⁸ Early colonialists, amongst them industrialists and capitalist entrepreneurs, called for establishing a market for European goods in the *Schutzgebiete* in order to create a cyclical machine of labour exploitation and profit: desire would be created in native populations for manufactured goods that required wages to purchase: African males would engage in wage-labour to purchase manufactured goods from Europeans; Europeans would profit from the sale of manufactured goods to African wage-labourers; those profits could then pay Africans in exploitive positions as cheap labourers to produce more raw materials; raw materials derived from indigenous labour would expand European manufacturing capabilities; the manufactured goods would be sold to labourers; and labourers would need to return to work extracting raw materials to fund their next purchase.

Despite great efforts at embedding Africans in a cycle of consumption and exploitation — even German Christian missionaries actively instilled a culture of consumerism to compel labour — many of the indigenous peoples who had come under German colonial rule independently satisfied their needs.³⁹ Even if the *Eingeborene* were inclined to take up labour under German supervision, they preferred payment in natural goods like fruits, dried-fish, salted meats, and, especially, tobacco, meaning natives lacked capital to recycle back into the economy through buying European manufactured goods.⁴⁰ Young male labourers expanded their interests and desires and even engaged with the market, but labour was in such great demand that sustained employment was unnecessary. African labourers took up work to satisfy immediate desires as they arose, meaning they oscillated between idleness and employment based on their wants and needs.⁴¹

If the married native has somewhat higher expectations of life, if he wants to buy particularly desirable things, he is sometimes prepared to take on work. With the relatively high wage rates, however, a few months a year are enough to satisfy his needs. If he then receives his payment and has covered his needs for salt, tobacco, brass plates, clothing and the like and still has money left over, he often does not know what to do with it.⁴²

Increased consumption of "brandy and similar harmful things" demonstrated that increased market demand might even be deleterious to the *Erziehung zur*

Arbeit.⁴³ At the turn of the twentieth century, the ability of the market to raise up native populations to the level of wage-labourers was in serious doubt.⁴⁴

Still, at that time, the belief that *uncivilised* populations possessed the ability to achieve a higher cultural level — thus transcending racial differences — was common amongst colonialists. At the *Deutscher Kolonialkongress* of 1902, Missions Inspector, Merensky, gave voice to the dynamic nature of racial difference: “On this question: What are the natives in our colonies? I give the answer: they are human! [...] the so-called primitives are nothing other than less-developed members of the singular, large human family. Furthermore, experience attests that they are humans.”⁴⁵

Labour was increasingly presented as the instrument of *Erziehung* (education/up-bringing) that could “bridge the gap” between the “wild” and “cultured” peoples.⁴⁶ In 1882, Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh had founded the Wilhelmsdorf workers’ colony in Prussia where people voluntarily came to be ‘educated for work’. Wilhelmsdorf was the central location of *Erziehung zur Arbeit* before Bodelschwingh expanded his Bethel Mission’s work to the African continent. The rhetorical ties between the precariat within Europe and black Africans suggest that the two practices were at least conceptually bound to one another.⁴⁷ The ‘work-shy’ and vagabonds of Europe — those the Bethel Mission was designed to serve — were defined by the same racial-cultural language as black Africans and were referred to colloquially as ‘savages’.⁴⁸ *Erziehung zur Arbeit* was immediately co-opted in colonial political discourse following German acquisition of its overseas territories in 1884.⁴⁹ A year later, the Deutsch Ostafrika Gesellschaft (German East Africa Company) in Berlin held a competition to best answer the question, “What is the best way to raise the Negro up to plantation labour?”⁵⁰ The *Arbeiterfrage* (worker question) in the colonies focused solely on native populations — despite the population of *mittellose Weiße* steadily increasing throughout the colonial period — because the ability of Europeans to labour in the colonies was a point of scientific dispute well into the twentieth century.⁵¹ Within a system which assumed that whites could not labour, class and racial categories were synonymous: *Eingeborene* with labourer and *nicht-Eingeborene* (non-Native/non-Indigene) with ruler. Adalbart Bauer, a social scientist during the German colonial period, observed: “The economic enterprise occurs ‘with the heads of the white race and the arms of the natives.’”⁵² In application, according to a missionary writing in the *DKZ*, “*Erziehung zur Arbeit* has nothing to do with raising up to labour or to a higher culture, it means nothing further than the exploitation of the natives’ physical power in the interest of unscrupulous land developers and monopoly corporations.”⁵³

Schools, both those operated by the government and those by missionary organisations, were naturally the most common sites of *Erziehung* on the African continent. A paucity of teachers in government-run schools made colonial administrators reliant on Missionary schools to promote *Erziehung zur Arbeit* among native populations.⁵⁴ The schools run by the colonial administration differed from missionary schools since they produced bureaucrats from subaltern populations — who were subordinate to colonial authorities but participated in the administration of the colonies despite being *Eingeborene* — as opposed to missionary schools, where the focus was mostly on rudimentary theoretical education combined with practical labour. Missionary organisations quickly took up the cause of transforming the *Eingeborene* into productive labourers. Since a preponderance of missionary schools' financial support came from the government, they were compelled to act in the state's interest.⁵⁵ From the onset of Germany's colonial project, missionaries emphasised labour as their ultimate goal, even superseding religious instruction. Count von Pfeil at the *Kongress für überseeische Interessen* (Congress for Overseas Interests) in 1886, for example, called on the missionaries to redirect their efforts towards *Arbeit* (labour):

The Missions could become still a greater factor in the *Erziehung der Neger* [education for the Negro] if they could be convinced to pray less... Missionaries should not dedicate so and so many hours weekly to prayer lessons, or reading and writing lessons for their pupils, but rather only teach their people handicrafts which can be supplemented with as much religious education as is digestible for a native.⁵⁶

Conflict between the colonial administration and the metropole often revolved around the type of education offered in schools, as for example, whether or not German language instruction should be offered and whether “the German language would also open the door to revolutionary politics.”⁵⁷ Colonial authorities in Africa had to balance the need for administrative help in the colonies with fears of a “*farbigen Bildungsproletariat*” (coloured, educated proletariat), so they offered “as little knowledge as possible” to African students.⁵⁸

Erziehung zur Arbeit was fundamentally a mission to introduce exploitative wage-labour relations into the *Schutzgebiete* but, by 1902, the budding market in the colonies could not actually produce enough capital to support the wage labour necessary for cultivation.⁵⁹ The *DKZ* published an article detailing the crisis in 1903: “The prices of the products to be considered for plantations — coffee, cotton, etc. — move in a descending direction; thus the wage labour of the Negro will never be worth the yield to be obtained.”⁶⁰ It may have been the case that wages for natives were high enough that very little work could satisfy their needs for weeks or months at a time, but the availability of paying

positions were lacking and *Eingeborene* were thus prevented from taking up the positions that *Erziehung zur Arbeit* had been designed for. Nevertheless, this did not stop colonial advocates like Walter von St. Paul Illaire from presenting *die Arbeiterfrage* as a matter of awakening “the awareness of the duty to work and an inner drive to find satisfaction — direct or indirect — in work itself.”⁶¹ Appealing to the inner character of the natives was the only possible solution to *Erziehung* because, as Illaire acknowledged, “It is not possible to raise the number of workers required through the increase of wages.”⁶² Since early capitalist development in the *Schutzgebiete* could not support *Lohnarbeit* (wage labour), a debate began on the limitations of *Erziehung zur Arbeit* and the value of using forced labour as a tool to “raise-up” the natives instead.

Despite protestations by some missionaries — like those of Mission Inspector, Merensky, at the same *Kolonialkongress*, where he suggested that fear of the “*Nilpferdpeitsche*” (hippopotamus-whip) or the “*Mausergewehr*” (Mauser-rifle) would not produce “*Ordnung und Sittlichkeit*” (order and morality) — these had little effect on the increased usage of expropriation through forced labour in the Colonies.⁶³ By the 1905 *Kolonialkongress*, Missions Director, C. Buchner, appeared to acknowledge the inevitability of the trend towards *Zwangsarbeit* (forced labour): “Every educator knows that without force there is no education to be had, that any form of raising up requires coercion to an extent.”⁶⁴

By the end of the German colonial period, *Erziehung zur Arbeit* had been left behind, making *Zwangsarbeit* the main strategy of labour in Germany's African colonies. Even when policies of *Erziehung* were taken up by missionary organisations in the years that followed, they were rebuffed by the colonial administration. For example, in Togo, 1909, missionaries requested more funding to properly educate the natives, but were rejected by Governor Count von Zech, who “had designated it more important that the great majority of coloureds in the colony be systematically educated for work, as opposed to spreading a general half-education.”⁶⁵ Instead, investments were made for courses in *Feldarbeit* (fieldwork).⁶⁶ The *Kulturmission's* focus on ‘raising’ natives up had been subsumed by a pseudo-scientific racial narrative which presupposed that such an *Erziehung* would not even be possible for Africans. Take Dr. Georg Hartmann, speaking in 1912, and giving voice to the perceived limitations of *Erziehung*:

What does it mean to educate? To raise [the African male] to a moral level so that he, if left to himself, would act of his own accord as we would in this particular case. It is totally wrong to indulge in the illusion that an ‘education’ in this sense is possible in the native, and all experience speaks against it; even where it is apparently true, it can be shown

that its duration is not guaranteed. It is, therefore, incorrect to speak of 'education' for labour. The same native who, under the influence of external compulsion, temporarily proves himself industrious, orderly, and punctual on the plantation or in the house of the white master, reverts irretrievably to his original disposition when he returns to his native village, free of this compulsion and left to himself.⁶⁷

Part II. The Right Whites

Part I established how German colonial rule was predicated on establishing a class of elites that had authority over a class of expropriated native workers. The racial status of native Africans was regulated and reclassified by colonial authorities, and then certain duties and circumscribed rights became attached to their 'race'. Part II will now explore the inverse case of whites, and how *Weißsein* (whiteness) was also thoroughly regulated and not immutable. Colonial rule was not possible without the settlement of white Europeans in Africa. While colonialist propaganda might have highlighted certain qualities that would-be settlers should have — rugged individualism, diligence, and tenacity — what really mattered when it came to being the right kind of white for settlement and rule, was property and capital.

According to Felix Ritter von Luschan, a medical doctor and anthropologist with specialty in craniology who invented the Von Luschan Chromatic Scale for skin-color classification, the colonies were *tabula rasa*, since "in the colonies there was not yet any pauperism, practically no crimes [...]" and none of the other "social questions" that plagued the metropole at the time.⁶⁸ The question of how to best maintain the absence of a-socials — the work-shy and vagabonds, who were understood to be racially inferior to middle-class, Christian Germans — was a near constant fixture within colonial policy discussions. From the very beginning of the colonial project, colonial administrators and elites worried that the existence of *mittellose Weiße* would disrupt the social hierarchy in the overseas territories and confuse labour relations. *Mittellose Weiße* would be in competition with natives over menial labouring positions in the colonies, disrupting the socio-economic hierarchy which placed Europeans at the top and Africans at the bottom of it.

There was never a lack of enthusiasm from Germans looking to emigrate to the African continent, but many of those expressing interest could not afford the travel from Europe, let alone the cost of establishing themselves as farmers. Prior to 1903, there was no organised settler policy to speak of concerning Deutsch Südwestafrika (*DSWA*; German Southwest Africa).⁶⁹ Initially, the *Siedlungssyndikat der DKGS* (Settlement Syndicate of the *DKGS*) was in charge

of settler recruitment, but their successes were minute. Between 1884 and 1900, although more than one million Germans had emigrated out of Europe, only 3000 had successfully been settled in Africa.⁷⁰ There were almost no government subsidies available to potential settlers without means for fears that they would “encourage highly inept colonists” that would only succeed in throwing “state money out the window.”⁷¹

In 1903, Paul Rohrbach was appointed as Commissioner for Settlement for DSWA, and after taking a months-long tour of the territory, he submitted a report that steered settler policy in DSWA for the rest of Germany's colonial period. Rohrbach estimated that the successful development of small-hold farms of around 5000 hectares (about 12,355 acres) required an initial investment of 8,000-10,000 Mark. This estimate was revised in the years following the Herero-Nama war, and by 1910, the official government guidance was for potential small-hold settlers to have 10,000-15,000 Mark start-up capital. For large-hold farms, the required capital was closer to 25,000 Mark.⁷² Rohrbach argued that subsidized settlement of lower-class Germans “would do little to serve the colony and its development,” and his settlement policy favoured wealthy Germans capable of purchasing and managing large plots of land.⁷³ In addition to capital, the ideal candidate was expected to have a healthy, white, German wife. ‘*Geld, Geist und Gattin*’ (money, spirit, and spouse) were the markers of “*Kulturmenschen*” (cultured persons) — members of the *Herrenrasse* (master race) — far from the metropole.⁷⁴

Rohrbach's appointment in 1903 was part of an about-face for the German colonial project. Colonial authorities were concerned that the social problems of the metropole were spreading to the colonies. The population of *prekäre Weiße* (precarious whites) was steadily increasing as the colonies attracted *mittellose Weiße* kicked out of other colonies. Many lower-class whites — pushed from South Africa and Brazil — found themselves headed for German territory in Africa since fare was more affordable than for travel all the way to Europe.⁷⁵ The European populations of the colonies did not reflect the ideal settlers imagined by Rohrbach and other colonial elites. Increasingly, whites were falling into lives of alcoholism, prostitution, and vagabondage. These patterns of behaviour from Europeans were considered dangerous as they diminished the prestige of the white race in the eyes of the natives, resulting in a loss of whites' authority and the ability to successfully exploit native labour:

[...] the educator himself must be a moral character; otherwise, the education will not succeed. Where can the morality of the Negroes come from if they do not see it in the educators? Where is the moral respect for them to come from if they are not moral? What we make of

the Negroes is what they are. If we make liquor drinkers out of them, they are liquor drinkers, and I have never heard of people becoming good workers by drinking liquor.⁷⁶

Whites of the “under-class” were thought to have racially devolved and acted “as wild, uncivilised opposite of the bourgeois self.”⁷⁷ Even if they were not transient-alcoholics, whites who simply belonged to the working class were problematic to the social hierarchy of the colonies. Take, for example, an article from the *Deutsche Zeitung* (German Newspaper) of January 1906, which reported that ethnic Germans from Russia should be prevented from emigrating to Deutsch Ostafrika (DOA; German East Africa) because they “[...] would handle all of the work themselves and would not need the Negro. We would consider then an immediate threat to the prestige of the white race and a sin against the correct Native-Policy, which must be fundamentally based on educating the Negro to labour for the master race.”⁷⁸ While Russian-Germans and other non-German whites — for example, the Boers of South Africa — did eventually settle in the *Kilimandscharo-Meru Siedlungsgebiet* (Kilimanjaro-Meru Settler's Territory) in DOA, colonial elites called for their social segregation from *Reichsdeutsche* (imperial Germans) in order to preserve white-Germans' status. *Die Arbeiterfrage* was considered “increasingly urgent” in areas that attracted white settlers, especially the lower-class white settlers.⁷⁹ In places with a white population, natives' labour had to be exploited in order to establish subordination to Europeans' authority. The alternative then, in which whites would be forced into positions as menial labourers if there were not enough natives to satisfy labour needs in a territory, was an unacceptable undermining of the *Herrenrasse's* (master race's) supposed superiority.

At the turn of the century, the foreign office tasked Theodor Leutwein, then governor of DSWA, with drafting a report on the viability of removing undesirable elements — described in racially degrading terms — from Europe to Africa. Leutwein's 1903 report found that such a program required significant funds. The report concluded that the colonial administration would be better served to use their funds to support “the settlement of honest people.”⁸⁰ This report drastically accelerated the *Deportationsdebatte* (Deportation Debate) which had been a minor topic of discussion among German colonialists since the acquisition of territory in Africa.⁸¹ Despite Leutwein's findings, the DKGS continued to consider how to remove elements of Germany's European population to Africa and established a “Deportation Committee” in 1904 to continue research on the matter.

Ultimately, the only deportation to occur in the German colonial context was centrifugal, from the African *Schutzgebiete*. Individuals identified as

“troublesome [...] undesirable,” or “useless” — including criminals, beggars, vagrants, threats to the state, and those considered dangerous to “public order, social harmony, or vital business interests” — were liable to be deported.⁸² Each year, officials in Berlin were made aware of the number of *nicht-Eingeborene* residing in the colonies who were unemployed or were vagabond. Destitute non-Germans (non-citizen, *nicht-Eingeborene*) were expelled with impunity, although the matter of expelling German citizens was less clear. Section 1 of the 1867 *Freizügigkeitsgesetz* (Freedom of Movement Act) prohibited the expulsion by the state of a citizen from within Germany, however, the colonies were not included in Articles One and Two of the constitution which defined the territories covered by the law. In 1891, the *Reichs Justizamt* (Imperial Ministry of Justice) submitted a report to Chancellor Leo von Caprivi affirming the right of colonial authorities to expel German citizens from the overseas territories “given that the protectorates are not internal to the empire.”⁸³ Despite having the legal authority of expulsion, the *Kolonialamt* (Colonial office) recommended that it only be used in drastic circumstances “against those who were either a real threat to public order or alternatively were clearly undermining Germany’s colonising efforts.”⁸⁴

The *Deportationsdebatte* fundamentally changed after the Herero-Nama war. Colonial Administrators in DSWA were already fearful of the growing number of poor whites in the colonies and the problem only worsened as the political situation deteriorated. The number of *mittellose Weiße* grew as settled land was ravaged by the warring parties, leaving a greater number of European settlers dependent on the colonial government.⁸⁵ Additionally, a great number of undesirable settlers — many of them from the British Cape Colony to the South — took advantage of the instability within DSWA and were able to penetrate the colony’s borders.⁸⁶ Imperial Edicts had been in place since 1895 which required registration at the nearest *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* (district administrative authority) within two months of an individual’s arrival in DSWA, but the colonial administration was unable to properly vet and investigate new arrivals. Even if a settler was detained by colonial authorities, escapes from captivity were not uncommon. In 1905, the *Einwanderungsgesetz* (Immigration Act) was adopted to create a higher barrier of entry to the territory and prevent the number of *prekäre Weiße* from swelling even further. The *Einwanderungsgesetz* pre-empted deportation by preventing undesirables from taking root in the first place. The new law empowered colonial administrators to refuse entry to “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.”⁸⁷ In 1909, the law was expanded; a person was classified as undesirable if they lacked the ability to write their own name in a European language. Legally speaking, non-whites and impoverished whites were subject to the same regulations.

In the wake of the colonial wars, administrators were less hesitant in exercising their authority to expel German citizens who threatened the colonial social order. Many of the deportation cases involved sexual violence, homosexual encounters, and extra-judicial violence against natives. Ultimately it was up to the discretion of a territory's governor to determine what actions were damaging enough to the colonial project to justify expulsion. The right of governors to expel German citizens was challenged by Lieutenant Victor von Alten, who had first come to *DSWA* in 1896 to pacify the colonies as a member of the *Schutztruppe* (protection force), after which he settled down in the territory as a farmer. In 1906, after being convicted twice for homosexual encounters with natives — and imprisoned for two years — von Alten was expelled for eroding the authority of the white man and thereby threatening the stability of the colonial order.⁸⁸ The authority of colonial governors was confirmed in 1909 when von Alten sued the German government, arguing that they had violated his right to freedom of movement under the *Freizügigkeitsgesetz* (Freedom of Movement Act), but the judgement reaffirmed the legal distinction between colony and Metropole and the governors' authority.⁸⁹

Among other examples of Germans deported from the colonies was August Wilhelm Heinrich Martin, “a totally neglected boy of 13 years, who live[d] the life of a native. He constantly disappear[ed] from his parent's house for weeks at a time and live[d] at the native shipyard.”⁹⁰ Martin's imagined degenerative influence on his white classmates was enough reason to have him deported and sent to a reform school in Hamburg in 1910. Alcohol — whether it be alcoholism or the sale of alcohol to *Eingeborene* — was also of particular concern to colonial authorities and resulted in numerous recommendations for expulsions.⁹¹ Deportation was considered both extreme and costly, leading the colonial administration to devise new ways to exclude undesirable settlers from participating in ‘white’ colonial society. In 1909, for example, the constitution of the *Landesrat* (provincial council) in *DSWA* — disenfranchised Germans without a fixed occupation, those dependent on government subsidies, and persons being observed or prosecuted by colonial authorities.⁹²

The social and moral offenses thrown out during the deportations debate were part of broader colonialist fears of *Verkafferung* — the German iteration of the British Imperial colloquialism “going native.” *Verkafferung* first appeared in print in the *Kolonialzeitschriften* (*Colonial Journal*) in 1904, and it remained

a feature of colonial discussions until the dissolution of Germany's overseas empire. The supposedly natural superiority — be it cultural or biological — of white Europeans over the *Eingeborene* was not a given, and *Weiß-sein* within the African *Schutzgebiete* was under constant threat. *Verkafferung* was defined in the *Deutschen Koloniallexikon* (*German Colonial Encyclopaedia*) as “the descent of a European to the cultural level of the natives,” or “a regrettable degeneration of white settlers.”⁹³ These definitions fail to identify the root causes of *Verkafferung*, perhaps because colonialists put forth such a wide-range of factors causing racial degradation. On one hand, *Verkafferung* could be the result of active social/sexual interaction with natives or the adoption of aspects of native culture, be it food or dress; on the other, it could be passive, a matter of white skin browning under the sun — “the symbolic mark” of “an apparent assimilation with the native population”⁹⁴ — or a dependency on alcohol, neither of which required any kind of interaction with natives. The unifying feature of *Verkafferung*'s multi-faceted origins — social interaction with natives, sun-tanned skin, even criminality and alcoholism — is that each was associated by colonialist elites with the working class. In 1904, the same year that the term *Verkafferung* was first used in a German publication, the *DKZ* circulated assertions by racial theorist, Max Robert Gerstenhauer, that “[the Germans] still have too little awareness of their mastery, as members of the more noble, superior white race and do not maintain the distinct social separation from coloureds which is necessary to the security of the state and the purity of the race.”⁹⁵ According to historian, Horst Gründer, “deep-seated psychological fears of ‘racial degeneration’” reflected elites’ anxieties over the potential “loss of political and economic dominance.”⁹⁶ ‘Going Native’ was just as much a matter of ‘going broke,’ since racial degeneration was produced from loss of socio-economic status.

Few threats were considered as dire to German imperial socio-economic order — and colonialists continued expropriation of natives — as that from interpersonal relationships between *Eingeborene* and *nicht-Eingeborene* that resulted in children of blended heritage, classified as *Mischlinge* (bi-racial). As colonial observers noted miscegenation between *Eingeborene* and *nicht-Eingeborene* steadily increasing in the early colonial period, it was theorised that white women's scarcity led European men to engage in sexual relationships with native women they otherwise would avoid.⁹⁷ It followed that if more suitable women were available, *Verkafferung* would decline or cease to be. Initially, schemes to relocate and settle women in the colonies received little support. An expenditure of 25,000 Mark to facilitate the emigration and settlement of unmarried German women was at first included in the government's draft budget for the fiscal year 1899, but was ultimately removed.⁹⁸ The responsibility for the

transport of white women to *DSWA*, the only colony designated specifically for German settlement, was, therefore, solely the domain of the *DKGS*. In the late 1890s, the imperial government appealed to Johann Albrecht — Duke of Mecklenburg and president of the *DKGS* — and his wife to subsidize the settlement of German women, to which they agreed. The first group of women arrived in *DSWA* in early 1898 and immediately displayed their usefulness and relevance because by March 20th of the same year, governor Leutwein reported to the *DKGS* that six of the girls were engaged and one was already married. A total of nineteen girls had their travel to the colony facilitated by the Colonial Society program that first year.⁹⁹

By 1901, the program was faltering, leading Governor Leutwein to plead with the public to demand more government funding for the *DKGS* program. He claimed that two young women without sufficient financial support had recently committed suicide due the poor conditions they were subjected to in *DSWA*.¹⁰⁰ It wasn't until hostilities broke out during the colonial wars that the women's settlement program was truly established. In 1905, the announcement was made that a colonial women's organisation was to be established, and in 1907, under the guidance of the noble Adda von Liliencron, the "Deutschkolonialer Frauenbund" (German Colonial Women's Association) -- in the following year it would merge with the *DKGS* to become the *Frauendbund der Deutschkolonialgesellschaft* (Women's Association of the German Colonial Society) -- was founded with the stated goals "to awaken interest in the German colonies within women and [...] to support German girls who would seek employment in the colonies through subsidising their travel and establishing relevant connections."¹⁰¹

White women had been presented as a preventative to *Verkafferung* in the colonies before colonialists had even developed a name to the perceived threat, but their efficacy in defending *Weiß-sein* was dependent on class and status. In order to combat *Verkafferung*, it was not enough that the women selected to emigrate to Africa be white; they had to be members of the upper or middle-class. After all, *Verkafferung* was not only a matter of sexual degradation, but an economic one as well. There was a preponderance of young, single, middle-class women in the metropole — with few marriage prospects and little opportunity to find suitable work — who were targeted by the *Frauenbund's* emancipatory messaging.¹⁰² The *Frauenbund* emphasised that emigration would be limited to *gebildete Frauen* (educated women). To be an educated woman in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century almost guaranteed a candidate's status as upper middle-class.¹⁰³ In Witzzenhausen and Bad Weilbach, *Frauenkolonialschulen* (colonial women's schools) were established to prepare candidates for life in *DSWA* which charged 1400 Mark in tuition, a high enough barrier of entry to

turn away working-class applicants.¹⁰⁴

At the onset of the German imperial expansion, relationships between *Eingeborene* and *nicht-Eingeborene* were considered beneficial. For example, the Rehoboth “Bastards” — a group descended from Dutch Boers and the Nama people who made their way in the 1860s into the territory that became DSWA — were thought to make “*respektable Ehefrauen*” (respectable wives).¹⁰⁵ In 1905, governor Lindequist observed that “many young men inclined to enter into a conjugal relationship with natives, namely, Bastard girls, in the absence of white girls. They are moved by the circumstance that the Bastard girls quite often bring a herd of livestock, an oxen wagon, and not seldom a farm into the marriage.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to land and livestock, Europeans expanded their trading opportunities with access to existing networks provided by their relationships to the Rehobothers. Rehobothers economic status took precedence over supposed racial status. Despite the example of the Rehobothers, the majority of sexual relationships between *nicht-Eingeborene* and *Eingeborene* did not lead to marriage. Of those that resulted in marriage, most were presided over by religious officials but had no formal recognition from the colonial administration. The term *Mischehen* (mixed marriages) — first used to reference interfaith marriages in the metropole — entered the colonial lexicon describing racially blended marriages.¹⁰⁷

As presented in **Part I**, at the start of German imperial control, native women in relationships with white men could potentially rise to the level of *nicht-Eingeborene* if they displayed behaviours and cultural practices associated with *Weiß-sein*. This fundamentally changed in the wake of the colonial wars in DSWA and DOA where *Mischehenverbote* (mixed-marriage ban) followed in 1905 and 1906 respectively. The marriage bans were enacted by the individual territorial governments, but were bolstered by support from Colonial Secretary Bernard Dernburg, ironically himself the product of a mixed marriage.¹⁰⁸ In 1907, the ban in DSWA was expanded to make illegitimate any *Mischehen* conducted before 1905.¹⁰⁹

According to Hans Tecklenburg, the acting governor who oversaw DSWA's mixed-marriage ban, the impetus for the first marriage ban was not so much to preserve the purity of the white race as it was to maintain class divisions.¹¹⁰ As he himself well knew, the ban did nothing to prevent extra-marital sexual contact between *nicht-Eingeborene* and *Eingeborene*. A contemporary observer, Pastor Kassiepe, reported to the Missionsausschusses des Zentralkomitees der Katholikenversammlungen Deutschlands (Mission Committee of the Central Committee of the German Catholic Assemblies) that 90% of European men in the *Schutzgebiete* had participated in sexual relations with *Eingeborene* women.¹¹¹

The only legislation introduced during the colonial period to regulate sexual contact between whites and blacks was aimed at preventing white women of the *Unterschichten* (under classes) from prostituting themselves to native men.¹¹²

What was most important to Tecklenburg was that the progeny of *nicht-Eingeborene/Eingeborene* relationships — termed *Mischlinge* — were no longer identified as *Reichsangehöriger* (imperial citizens) and lost the privileges associated with it. By delegitimising any marriages between male-Germans and female-*Eingeborene*, *Mischlinge* no longer inherited their father's citizenship-status. Prior to the wars, *Mischlinge* had occupied a liminal space between *Eingeborene* and *nicht-Eingeborene*, making them perfectly suited for “such tasks, which were less attractive to the whites, but overwhelmed the natives, because they required certain vocational training and knowledge of the German language.”¹¹³ The “fundamental intermediary position” of the *Mischlinge* was similar to the position afforded Arabs in *DOA* in that their higher racial status — by dint of being half-white — opened up educational opportunities and the ability to do white-collar work. With the start of the colonial wars, suddenly, the liminality which benefitted *Mischlinge* became a liability.¹¹⁴

Colonialists at large took the stance expressed by Commissioner for Settlement, Paul Rohrbach — that *Mischlinge* represented a ‘highly dangerous’ political element in the colonies.¹¹⁵ A report submitted by the *DKGS* to the Reichstag (Parliament) claimed that *Mischlinge* “felt themselves to be the leader of the black race”,¹¹⁶ In the view of the colonial administration, *Mischlinge* would act in class solidarity with the *Eingeborene* against white colonial elites; therefore, they had to be culled from the ranks of German citizens. Otherwise, they would have the power to fundamentally shape not only colonial, but German society writ-large through their power to vote, serve in the military, or hold public office. Compared to the *weiße* (white) population in *DSWA*, the number of *Mischlinge* was increasing exponentially, fuelled in large part by sexual interactions between German soldiers sent to combat the Herero and Nama; therefore, the political threat they represented was also exponentially expanding.¹¹⁷ The revolutionary and economic potential of *Mischlinge* was thereby circumscribed through diminished access to a European education; put another way, to decreased opportunities for *Erziehung* in general. For example, the Evangelische Kirche-Gemeinde (Protestant Church Congregation) and the Windhoek Schulverein (School Organisation) adopted policies which excluded *Mischlinge*, and many European parents refused to allow their children to attend schools that did not strictly segregate white students from their “biological and cultural inferiors.”¹¹⁸ In 1907, the total exclusion of *Mischlinge* from white society was cemented by a decision of the *Bezirksgericht* (district court) in Windhoek. Ada Maria, a Herero woman, had sought an annulment from her German husband only to have the

court rule that it could not annul a marriage that had never legally existed. In its ruling, the court took the further step of re-defining *Eingeborene*, replacing any cultural considerations with biology:

Whether a person is a native or a member of the white race is a matter of fact, not a question to be answered at the hands of laws and regulations. In the opinion of the court, the law intends to understand natives as the blood relatives of the semi-cultural or indigenous peoples who have settled in the German protectorates or neighbouring areas... Natives are all blood members of a primitive people, including the descendants of native women who have received them from men of the white race, even if a mixture with white men has taken place over several generations. As long as descent from a member of a primitive people can be proven, the descendant is a native by blood.¹¹⁹

Following this decision — comparable to the 'one-drop [of blood] rule' established in the American south — any amount of native ancestry, no matter how far back, resulted in the legal status of *Eingeborene*. Combined with the bans that retroactively delegitimised *Mischehen*, formerly *weiße-Europäern* (white European) became *Eingeborene* through a pen stroke. At its core, their new racial status reflected a change in their socio-economic status within the colonies. From that point on, *Mischlinge* became objects of expropriation who were subject to the same pass and labour laws as other natives and were no longer legally allowed to own land or livestock or inherit property from their family.

Nancy Fraser suggests that in times of crisis, the likelihood of capitalist systems employing expropriation increases.¹²⁰ The colonial wars led to the deaths of tens of thousands of natives and drastically decreased the amount of able-bodied native male labourers in the territories. So, in addition to the political crisis inherent to armed rebellion, the colony's economy exhibited the makings of a crisis as well. *Die Arbeiterfrage* — the perennial concern of colonialists — was being exasperated. To help address this crisis, *Mischlinge* expanded the reservoir of native labour expropriation. Furthermore, expropriation was not only limited to labour since the colonial administration used the new racial categorisation to seize properties owned by *Mischlinge* which could be redistributed to white settlers or used for public works.¹²¹

Exceptions existed to the new classifications of *Mischlinge* and *Mischehen*, but these exceptions almost always relied on class considerations.¹²² The *Michehendebatte* (mixed-marriage debate) in the Reichstag in 1912 resulted in a partial reversal of the 1905 and 1907 bans; long-standing relationships between Europeans and natives — as well as the status of their children — could be re-

evaluated. Naturally, the factors considered to determine racial status included “employment, size of land holdings and education,” clearly showing socio-economic status as the boundary of social division, not the colour line.¹²³

By expanding the frame of reference to the imperial metropole in continental Europe, racial categorisation's dependence on class is further clarified. Racially degraded whites in Germany's urban areas — the same group whose eligibility for deportation to the colonies was debated — were subjected to expropriation in a fashion similar to the African *Eingeborene*. In accordance with Section 361 and Section 362 of the *Reichsstrafgesetzbuch* (Imperial Penal Code) of 1871, criminal offenders like vagabonds, beggars, prostitutes, and others represented as a-socials — like alcoholics and gamblers — were all liable to be punished in a workhouse.¹²⁴ These social-crimes meted out a jail sentence which, in accordance with German law, could not exceed six weeks but could be followed by *Korrektioneller Nachhaft* (corrective retention) in a workhouse that often lasted much longer. At the Brauweiler workhouse, for example, the average duration of an inmate's sentence was fourteen months.¹²⁵ In addition to adults convicted of crimes, after 1900, many states adopted Prussian legislation which allowed them to detain children deemed anti-social in workhouses, as well as abused and neglected children.¹²⁶

In the 1880s, *Arbeiterkolonien* (worker's colonies) — the first of which was established in Wilhelmsdorf by Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwing, who coined the term ‘*Erziehung zur Arbeit*’ — presented a complimentary avenue for expropriating the labour of *prekäre Weiße* in Germany. Unlike workhouses, workers' colonies were nominally voluntary, but in practice, many of the colonists were driven to the colonies due to hunger or a fear of being arrested for begging/vagrancy. Moreover, many of the workers' colonies functioned as half-way homes of sorts for those recently released from workhouses. Workers' colonies were often established in the direct vicinity of workhouses, so that upon release a (former) inmate could be transferred with ease and continue labouring in a similar fashion. Expropriated labour generated in workhouses and workers' colonies mirrored colonial labour practices; in both instances, labourers were “leased” to private organisations in order to generate a profit. Originally, the justification of workhouses and workers' colonies relied on perceptions of agricultural labour's rehabilitative capacity, but by 1907, more than half of Prussian workhouse inmates had already completed sentences within a workhouse.¹²⁷ With recidivism only increasing, efforts at reintroducing inmates to society writ-large were curtailed and the capacity of workhouses and workers' colonies to exclude a-socials was increasingly emphasised. Just as in the colonies, as time progressed, *Erziehung* was subordinated to *Arbeit* (work). The

labour of the white *Unterschichten* (underclass) in Germany's workers' colonies and workhouses had been a means to an end but quickly became an end to itself.

Further confusing racism's supposed reliance on cultural or biological traits, is the treatment of blacks in the metropole at this time. From the start of Germany's colonial project, increasing numbers of native Africans from the *Schutzgebiete* made their way to the imperial capital, Berlin, many of them seeking a European education.¹²⁸ In the colonies, almost all sexual contact between *Eingeborene* and *Europäern* (a European) featured a female native and a white man, but in the metropole the inverse was true. Whereas sexual contact between white women and male *Eingeborene* was legally prohibited in Africa, in Europe there were no such deterrents towards such a relationship. The debate over *Mischlinge* and *Mischehen* may have raged in the colonies, but in the Metropole — where there certainly was a higher number total of both, although a lower amount when considered as a percentage of the total population — the discussion was essentially non-existent.¹²⁹ The President of the *DKGS*, Johann Albrecht von Mecklenburg, explained the dissonance: "The *Mischlinge* that come here to Germany do not do much harm. In a healthy population a *Mischling* [bi-racial person] can be submerged and absorbed; but if he stays in the colonies, and if there he is seen and treated as a [German] citizen, then he causes much harm since he degrades the prestige of the master race."¹³⁰ In the colonies, *Mischlinge* and *Mischehen* threatened to upset the socio-economic order, but in the Metropole, a well-to-do Black man was less of a threat than a poor white man.

Racist ire in both the colonies and metropole was not directed by biology or culture, but by socio-economic class. When studying in Germany near the turn of the century, W.E.B. Du Bois himself happily noted he experienced very little anti-Black racism.¹³¹ The refraction of racial categorisation is exemplified in the position of Richard Din, a *Kameruner* (Cameroonian) living in Berlin who was put in charge of a saw-mill. Din's new role was met with some resistance by the white-working-class Germans subordinated to him, but Din defended himself:

It is not evident why a coloured person cannot take on the role of supervisor, after various members of the white race already proved to be useless and even dispensable. The '*Beschwerdeführer* [complainant] is inclined to the — definitively false — perspective, that I have come directly out of the thickest African jungle. But, for his comfort, I will share that after I graduated from a royal Prussian Gymnasium in Berlin I received a first-class school-leaving certificate, and I only refrained from further education due to special circumstances.¹³²

Perhaps more importantly than Din's personal defence is the fact that the

industrial firm employing him rejected any considerations of his 'race' in connection to his continued employment and ironically deployed the racial language of the colonies against the whites of the metropole:

In conclusion I would note that it is not common in our business to judge people based on their outward appearance, their skin colour, their white-washed politeness or their culture, but rather on their inner-self, their character, and these are better in our coloured *Fürstensohn* [prince] than in many whites with 'black' hearts, evidenced by our dismal experience with 'cultured' whites, which has made me sometimes ponder over a poem — which is probably known to the *herrn Einsender* [sender of the complaint] from his school days — in which it states: 'See, we "savages" are better people after all.'¹³³

The supposedly natural divisions that composed the socio-economic hierarchy of the colonies were absent in the metropole, a point even the *Reichsamt* (government agency) conceded. In 1914, when a racially mixed family was subject to discrimination in *DSWA*, the colonial office suggested they relocate to Germany proper: outside of the colonies, they would have social equality unavailable to them there.¹³⁴ Their race — in the classical phenotypical understanding of the term — did not change from one place to another, but in the Metropole, they no longer represented a socio-political class that threatened the stability of the labour regime.

Conclusion

Cedric Robinson's work was meant as a corrective to traditional Marxism, which he contended undervalued the role that expropriation played in capitalist society as well as the interplay between expropriation and racism. Robinson suggested that racial categories evolved out of early capitalist developments in Europe to justify the expropriation of certain populations. This was likewise demonstrated in the German imperial case; colonial administrators increasingly relied on expropriation, and racial categorisation was the tool used to demarcate which individuals were susceptible to expropriation. The exceptions made within colonial society regarding racial categorisation prove race's reliance on class since socio-economic standing allowed transcendence of supposed racial boundaries, both up- and down-ward. While Marx and Engels had argued that social relations would rationalise, Robinson argued the inverse and is proven correct through the example of the *Schutzgebiete* — racial categories there arbitrarily shifted in order to accommodate the colonies' labour needs. The irrational nature of racial categories within capitalist society, as presented within theoretical racial capitalism and demonstrated in Germany's African

Schutzgebiete limits the utility of 'race' as a distinct category of historical analysis separated from class.

Bibliography:

Notes

1. Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Repr. London: Zed Press, 1984).
2. See for example: D. Jenkins & Leroy, ed., *Histories of Racial Capitalism* (Columbia University Press, 2021). This book follows much of the literature on racial capitalism by foregrounding the examples of the United States and British Imperialism.
3. Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race: a Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Doubleday, 1948), xxx.
4. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 2.
5. For example: M. Ralph & M. Singhal, "Racial capitalism," *Theory and Society*, vol. 48 (2019): 851–881 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-019-09367-z>; or: Julian Go, "Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2021): 38–47. Robinson's rebuttal in Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 4.
6. John Bellamy Foster, Hannah Holleman, and Brett Clark, "Marx and Slavery," *Monthly Review* 72, no. 3 (July-August 2020): <https://monthlyreview.org/2020/07/01/marx-and-slavery/>
7. Cox quoted in: Immanuel Wallerstein, "Oliver C. Cox as World Systems Analyst," *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations*, vol. 11 (2000): 173–83.
8. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 24–28.
9. Arun Kundnani, "What Is Racial Capitalism?" (23 Oct. 2020): www.kundnani.org/what-is-racial-capitalism.
10. Charles Nupen, "Opening Address to the 56th NUSAS Congress, 1972," *Digital Innovation South Africa*, <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/spe19781127026022000>. Destin Jenkins and Justin Leroy, in the introduction for *Histories of Racial Capitalism* identify the use of the term by American sociologist, Bob Bauner in his book from the same year (1972), *Racial Oppression in America*. Jenkins, Destin, and Justin Leroy. 2021, "Introduction: The Old History of Capitalism," In *Histories of Racial Capitalism*, edited by Destin Jenkins, and Justin Leroy, 1–26. New York: Columbia University Press; see also, Robert Blauner, 1972, *Racial Oppression in America*, New York: Harper and Row.
11. Robinson, *Contemporary Sociology* 9, no. 3 (1980): 430–32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2064288>.
12. "Proponents of the SAT [South African tradition of racial capitalism] argued that the colonial/apartheid state developed and implemented racist policies – including segregation, influx control, political repression, and other forms of racial exclusion – for the benefit of capitalists. This key role of the state, in turn, underscored the historical specificity of racial capitalism. If South African capitalism rested upon racism and racial division throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries, the precise character of this racism – as implemented and secured by the state – shifted over time, typically in response to

the contours of class struggle from above and below. This was not a generalized and transhistorical racism, but rather a conjunctural one." Zachary Levenson and Marcel Paret, "The South African Tradition of Racial Capitalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46, no. 16 (2023): 3410; *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46, no. 16 (2023) is a special issue on the South African tradition of racial capitalism and is a useful entry point for any reader seeking a greater understanding of the South African use of the term.

13. Julian Go, "Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism," 39; see also: Michael Walzer, "A Note on Racial Capitalism," *Dissent Magazine*, www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/a-note-on-racial-capitalism.

14. Go, "Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism," 40.

15. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Race and Globalization," in *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, ed. R. J. Johnston, et al. (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 261.

16. Nancy Fraser, "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson," *Critical Historical Studies*, (Spring 2016), 166.

17. Nancy Fraser, "Is Capitalism Necessarily Racist?" *Politics/Letters Quarterly*, 20 May 2019: quarterly.politicsslashletters.org/is-capitalism-necessarily-racist.

18. For examples of growing interest in racial capitalism by historians, see courses like HISTORY 353C: Histories of Racial Capitalism at Stanford University or Yale University's History Department's colloquium on Racial Capitalism and the Carceral State. See also S. Koshy, L. Cacho, et al. (Eds.), *Colonial Racial Capitalism*, (Duke University Press, 2022); Catherine Hall, "Racial Capitalism: What's in a Name?," *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 94 (Autumn 2022): pp. 5–21; M.Z. Phiri, "History of Racial Capitalism in Africa: Violence, Ideology, and Practice," in *The Palgrave Handbook of African Political Economy*. Palgrave Handbooks in IPE, edited by S.O. Oloruntoba and T. Falola. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

19. For Engels description of historical materialism, see Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (Introduction - Materialism)," 1880, www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/int-mat.htm. For a modernised explanation of historical materialism, see H. Acton & Michael Baur, "Marx on Historical Materialism," (2017), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334446734_Marx_on_Historical_Materialism.

20. Germany, as a major imperial power at the turn of the twentieth century, was necessarily a part of this base of knowledge creation and distribution. It is perhaps helpful to think along the lines of the 'Imperial cloud' suggested in: Christoph Kamissek, and Jonas Kreienbaum, "An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge" *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire européenne contemporaine*, Vol. 14, no. 2, *The Imperial Cloud* (2016): 164–182.

21. Lora Wildenthal, "Notes on a History of 'Imperial Turns' in Modern Germany," *In After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. Antoinette Burton (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2003), 150. See also Ulrike Lindner, "New

Forms of Knowledge Exchange Between Imperial Powers: The Development of the Institut Colonial International (ICI) Since the End of the Nineteenth Century," In *Imperial Cooperation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*, ed. Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski. (London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

22. The first decade and a half of Germany's colonial empire is not under consideration because while the African Schutzgebiete (Protectorates) were German territorial possessions following the Berliner Konferenz (Berlin Conference), (1884), German administrators did not take civil control of the colonies (except Cameroon) until well into the 1890s, meaning that official labour policies were only first being developed and deployed during the timeframe being examined here.

23. A phrase coined in: Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 4.

24. "kein geschichtler Weltteil" with "keine Bewegung und Entwicklung aufzuweisen, und etwa in ihm, das heißt in seinem Norden geschehen ist, gehört der asiatischen und europäischen Welt zu." Translations by the author — P.H. Graves — will be indicated from this point with (TBA). Quoted in: Ulrike Hamann, *Prekäre koloniale Ordnung: Rassistische Konjunkturen im Widerspruch. Deutsches Kolonialregime 1884-1914*, (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015), 107.

25. "absolute Minderwertigkeit der Schwarzen" TBA. Hamann, *Prekäre Koloniale Ordnung*, 189.

26. A. Zimmerman, "Ethnologie im Kaiserreich: Natur, Kultur, und 'Rasse' in Deutschland und seinen Kolonien," In *Das Kaiserreich Transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, ed. Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 192 & 195.

27. Zimmerman "Ethnologie im Kaiserreich," 195.

28. For example, Indians and Arabs were identified as separate races from other African natives due to their religious practices. Haschemi Yekani, *Minu. Koloniale Arbeit: Rassismus, Migration und Herrschaft in Tansania (1885-1914)*. (Campus Verlag, 2019), 172. See also: Zimmerman "Ethnologie im Kaiserreich," 204.

29. Zimmerman "Ethnologie im Kaiserreich," 197-198.

30. Kamissek and Kreienbaum, "An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge," 173.

31. For a detailed account: Alexander Honold, "Ausstellung des Fremden - Menschen - und Völkerschau um 1900. Zwischen Anpassung und Verfremdung: Der Exotic und sein Publikum," in *Das Kaiserreich Transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, ed. Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

32. For example, the Völkerschauen of the Berlin Zoologischer Garten were "seit den 1840er Jahren...der größte Publikumsmagnet dieser Vergnügungsparks". Hamann, *Prekäre Koloniale Ordnung*, 76.

33. For the DKGS Ban, see "Zur Eingeborenenfrage," DKZ, 1901, no. 21.

34. See Ulrike Lindner, "New Forms of Knowledge," 57-78.

35. See for example, Gustav Warneck speaking at the Evangelischen Missionskonferenz 1887: "Für die praktische Kolonialpolitik, welche jetzt auch Deutschland treibt, ist

die Arbeiterziehungsfrage geradezu eine Lebensfrage, dem ohne die Arbeit der Eingeborenen sind unsere Kolonien uns wenig wert." Quoted in: Anton Markmiller, "Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit' : wie die koloniale Pädagogik afrikanische Gesellschaften in die Abhängigkeit führte." (Reimer, 1995), 155.

36. "...der Hauptgrund des Zurückbleibens; denn dadurch gewinnt der Mann Arbeitskräfte, über die er bei eigenem Nichtstun verfügt."TBA. Quoting Missionsinspektor Merensky in Generalleutnant z.D. Leo, "Die Arbeiterfrage in unseren afrikanischen Kolonien," in Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1902, 46.

37. "Die Arbeit ist Sache der Weiber und der Sklaven und deswegen nicht Sache des freien Mannes... Weiber und Töchter werden nicht nur verkauft, sondern auf für Jahre vermietet." TBA. Missionsinspektor Oehlers quoted in P.W. Schmidt, "Die Behandlung der Polygamie in unseren Kolonien," in Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1902, 477.

38. For example, see: Leo, "Die Arbeiterfrage in unseren afrikanischen Kolonien," 50.

39. For missionaries and consumer culture, see: C. Buchner, "Die Mithilfe der Mission bei der Erziehung der Eingeborenen zur Arbeit von Missionsdirektor C. Buchner," in Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1905, 43. For the ability of the native to quickly satisfy their own needs independently, see: Vietor, "Die Arbeiterfrage in den deutschen Kolonien," 53; see also, Markmiller, 'Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit,' 148.

40. "Arbeiterverhältnisse in Kamerun," DKZ, 1907, no. 9.

41. A. Schulte, "Zur Besteuerung der Eingeborenen in Kamerun," DKZ, 1905, no. 39.

42. "Stellt der verheiratete Eingeborenen etwas höhere Ansprüche an das Leben, will er sich besonders wünschenswerte Sachen kaufen, so ist auch er bisweilen bereit, Arbeit anzunehmen. Bei den verhältnismäßig hohen Lohnsätzen genügen aber einige Monate im Jahr vollständig, um auch diese seine Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen. Erhält er dann seine Zahlung, und hat er seinen Bedarf an Salz, Tabak, Messingplatten, Kleidungsstücke und dergleichen gedeckt und noch Geld übrig, so weiß er oft nicht, was er damit machen soll." TBA. A. Schulte, "Zur Besteuerung der Eingeborenen in Kamerun," DKZ, 1905, no. 39.

43. "Branntwein und dergleichen schlimmen Dingen." TBA. P.A. Nachtwey, "Die Mission als Förderin der Kultur und Wissenschaft von P.A. Nachtwey, apostolischer Präfekt in DSWA," in Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1905, 560.

44. See, for example, how Major Curt Morgen (after 1904, von Morgen) addressed the issue at the 1902 Kolonialkongress: "Yes, gentlemen, if the Negro, with his innate vanity, is forced to buy luxury articles, we educate ourselves in everything else but a worker/ Ja, meine Herren, wenn man dem Neger bei seiner angeborenen Eitelkeit den Einkauf von Luxusartikeln aufdrängt, so erziehen wir uns alles andere, nur keinen Arbeiter." TBA. Quoted in: Vietor, "Die Arbeiterfrage in den deutschen Kolonien," 538.

45. "Auf diese Frage: 'Was sind die Eingeborenen unserer Kolonien?' gebe ich die Antwort: Sie sind Menschen!... die sogenannten Naturvölker nichts anderes sind als in der Entwicklung zurückgebliebene Glieder der einen großen Menschheitsfamilie. Und

auch die Erfahrung spricht dafür, dass sie Menschen sind!” TBA. A. Merensky, “Die Bedeutung der Christlichen Mission für die Entwicklung unser Kolonien von Missioninspektor Merensky,” in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1902*, 426.

46. Sebastian Conrad, “‘Education for Work’ in Colony and Metropole: The Case of Imperial Germany, c. 1880-1914” in *Empires and Boundaries: Race, Class, and Gender in Colonial Settings*, ed. by H. Fischer-Tiné and S. Gehrman. (Routledge, 2008), 28.

47. Take for instance Missionsdirektor Buchner’s speech at the 1905 Kolonialkongress. Bodelschwingh’s mission was based on the principle of ‘work not alms’ with a motto of *Ora et Labora*; Missionsdirektor Buchner mirrored these concepts, stating: “Bei dem rechten Missionar sind Beten und Arbeiten unlösbar miteinander verbunden.” Buchner, “Die Mithilfe der Mission bei der Erziehung der Eingeborenen zur Arbeit von Missionsdirektor C. Buchner,” 429-30.

48. Conrad, “‘Education for Work’ in Colony and Metropole: The Case of Imperial Germany, c. 1880-1914,” 28.

49. Markmiller, ‘Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit’, 25.

50. “Wie erzieht man am besten den Neger zur Plantagen Arbeit?” TBA. Won by future Mission Inspector Merensky as noted in Conrad, “‘Education for Work’ in Colony and Metropole: The Case of Imperial Germany, c. 1880-1914,” 23.

51. Leo, “Die Arbeiterfrage in unseren afrikanischen Kolonien,” 31; see also, Hermann, “Plantagen und Eingeborenen-Kulturen in den Kolonien von Freiherr von Hermann,” in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongress 1902*, 510; see also, Adalbert Bauer, “Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika,” (Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg: 1919), 13.

52. “Der wirtschaftliche Betrieb geschieht ‘mit den Köpfen der weißen Rasse und mit den Armen der Eingeborenen.’” TBA. Bauer, “Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika,” 13.

53. Heranziehung zur Arbeit hat nicht zu tun mit einer Erziehung zur Arbeit und zu einer höheren Kultur, sie bedeutet nichts weiter als die Ausnutzung der physischen Kraft im egoistischen interesse Skrupelloser Land- und Monopolegesellschaften.” TBA. “Mission und Neger,” DKZ 1906, no. 2.

54. Markmiller, ‘Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit’, 97.

55. Ibid, 105-106.

56. “Noch ein mächtigerer Faktor find er Erziehung der Neger... könnte der Mission werden, wenn sie es über sich gewinnen könnte, etwas weniger zu predigen... Nicht so und so viele Gebets-Lese- und Schreibstunden sollten die Missionare wöchentlich ihren Zöglingen erteilen, sondern ausschließlich ihren Leuten Handwerk lehren, wobei immer noch so viel Religions unterrichtet mit unterlaufen könnte, als für Neger verdaulich ist.” TBA. Quoted in: Markmiller, ‘Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit’, 98-99.

57. “...der deutschen Sprache sowohl die Tür zu revolutionärer Politik öffnen.” TBA. “Die Bestrebungen der Schule,” *Usambara-Post* 5, no. 44 (8. September 1906), BArch, R 1001/991, Bl. 82, quoted in Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 168-169.

58. Markmiller, ‘Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit’ 130-131; “so wenig Wissen wie möglich.” TBA. Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 117 & 168-169.

59. Schroeder, "Die Eingeborenenfrage in DSWA und ihre Lösung von R.A. Schroeder, Farmer in Uitdooi," In *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft*, edited by A. Seidel, 435-440. Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902-1903: 438-439.

60. "Die Preise der für Pflanzungen in Betracht kommenden Erzeugnisse, Kaffee, Baumwolle u.s.w., bewegen sich in absteigender Richtung; so wird die Lohnarbeit des Negers niemals den zu erzielenden Ertrag wert sein." TBA. "Die Arbeiterfrage in den Kolonien," DKZ, 1903, no. 16.

61. "das Bewusstsein der Arbeitspflicht und den inneren Trieb, direkte oder indirekte Befriedigung in der Arbeit selbst zu suchen" TBA. "Brauchen Wir Kolonialpolitische Wanderlehrer?" DKZ, 1908, no. 3, quoted in Bauer, "Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika," 24.

62. "Es ist nicht möglich, durch Steigerung der Löhne die Zahl der erforderlichen Arbeiter zu steigern." TBA. "Brauchen Wir Kolonialpolitische Wanderlehrer?" DKZ, 1908, no. 3, quoted in Bauer, "Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika," 24.

63. Merensky, "Die Bedeutung der Christlichen Mission für die Entwicklung unserer Kolonien von Missionsinspektor Merensky," 429.

64. "Jeder Erzieher weiss, dass es eine Erziehung ohne einen gewissen Zwang nicht gibt, dass jede Erziehung bis zu einem gewissen Grade eine Nötigung in sich schließt." TBA. Buchner, "Die Mithilfe der Mission bei der Erziehung der Eingeborenen zur Arbeit von Missionsdirektor C. Buchner," 430-31.

65. "...es als wichtiger bezeichnet hatte, wenn die große Masse der Farbigen der Kolonie zu systematischer Arbeit erzogen würden, als wenn eine allgemeine Halbbildung... verbreitet würde." TBA. "Eingeborenerziehung in Togo," DKZ, 1909, no. 32.

66. "Eingeborenerziehung in Togo," DKZ, 1909, no. 32.

67. "Was heißt denn erziehen? Ihn emporheben auf eine sittliche Stufe sodaß er — wenn sich selbst überlassen — aus sich heraus so handeln würde, wie wir es in diesem gewissem Falle tun würden. Es ist total verkehrt, sich der Illusion hinzugeben, daß eine 'Erziehung' in diesem Sinne beim Eingeborenen möglich sei, und alle Erfahrung spricht dagegen; auch wo sie scheinbar zutrifft, läßt sich erweisen, daß ihre Dauer nimmt verbürgt ist. Es ist also unrichtig, von 'Erziehung' zur Arbeit zu sprechen. Derselbe Eingeborene, der unter der Macht des äußeren Zwanges sich auf der Plantage oder im Hause des weißen Herren vorübergehend fleißig, ordentlich und pünktlich erweist, verfällt rettungslos seiner ursprünglichen Anlage wenn er — dieses Zwanges ledig und sich selbst überlassen — in sein Heimatdorf zurückkehrt." TBA. *Tropenpflanzer*, 1912, no. 6, Seite 290, quoted in: Bauer, "Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika," 24.

68. "...höchst untüchtige Kolonisten ermutigen" who would only throw "Staatgelder... zum Fenster heraus." TBA. Luschan, "Ziele und Wege der Völkerkunde in den deutschen Schutzgebieten von Prof. Dr. von Luschan," 166.

69. Kundrus, Berthe, *Moderne Imperialisten: Das Kaiserreich im Spiegel seiner Kolonien* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2003), 51-2.

70. *Ibid.*, 53.

71. *Ibid.*, 64.

72. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 36-37. To put these numbers in perspective, consider that a free rural labourer in Germany could expect to earn 1-2 Mark daily according to Simon Constantine, "Correction in the Countryside: Convict Labour in Rural Germany 1871-1914," *German History* vol. 24, no. 1 (2006), 46.

73. Lerp, "Ruling Classes and Serving Races," 138.

74. Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*, 71.

75. Kolonialrath, V. Sitzungsperiode no. 2, 25. Oktober 1898, BArch, R 1001/6294, Bl. 41–45. Quoted in Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 203.

76. "...der Erzieher selbst muss ein sittlicher Charakter sein; sonst gelingt die Erziehung nicht. Woher soll die Sittlichkeit der Neger kommen, wenn sie sie nicht an den Erziehern sehen? Woher die moralische Achtung vor ihnen, wenn sie nicht moralisch sind? Was wir aus den Negern machen, das sind sie. Machen wir Schnapstriker aus ihnen, so sind sie Schnapstrinker, und ich habe noch nie gehört, dass die Leute durchs Schnapstrinken gute Arbeiter werden." TBA. Missioninspektor Theodor Oehler, quoted in: Vietor, "Die Arbeiterfrage in den deutschen Kolonien," 543-44; see also, "Alkohol in den Tropen," DKZ, 1907, no. 31.

77. "...als wildes unzivilisiertes Gegenbild des bürgerlichen Selbst." TBA. Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 223-224.

78. "...selber alle Arbeit besorgen und den Neger nicht brauchen würden. Gerade das würden wir als eine Gefährdung des Prestiges der weißen Rasse und als Versündigung gegen die richtige Eingeborenepolitik betrachten, die geradezu darauf basieren muß, den Neger zu der Arbeit für die Herrenrasse zu erziehen." TBA. *Deutsche Zeitung*, 24. Januar, 1906. Quoted in Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 218.

79. "immer dringendere". TBA. Förster, E, "Zur Arbeiterfrage in Kilimandscharo- und Meru-Siedlungsgebiet von Dr. E Th. Förster, Neu-Temmen, Kr. Templin," DKZ, no. 52, 1907.

80. "die Ansiedlung von ehrlichen Leuten." TBA "Zur Deportationsfrage," DKZ, 190, no. 7.

81. "...die Deportation dann von zahlreichen gesellschaftlichen Akteuren diskutiert: in der Presse, in Fürsorgevereinen, in Strafvollzugsbeamten-, Juristen-, Kolonial-, Kirchen-, Missions-, und Mediziner-kreisen sowie in politischen Zirkeln." Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 241.

82. "Lästig...unwünschenswert...unbrauchbar" TBA. Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871–1914*, 4; Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 57.

83. "The administration of the protectorate...is not limited by legal restrictions in the area of internal government, in particular the security forces. Namely, the *Freizügigkeitsgesetz* (Freedom of Movement Act) from November 1867 is not valid in the protectorates. It therefore follows that, on the grounds of public security and welfare, the residency of not merely foreigners but also imperial citizens can be withdrawn at any time." Reichs-Justizamt 9 November 1891 to Caprivi, in R100/7547 *Ausweisungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Translated in Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871–1914*, 254.

84. *Ibid.*

85. Yekani Haschemi, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 210.

86. *Ibid.*, 210.

87. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 49-50.

88. "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*." *Ibid.*, 54.

89. Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914*, 254. See also, Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 52-53.

90. "...ein völlig verwahrloster 13 jähriger Junge, der das Leben eines Eingeborenen führt. Er verschwindet häufig wochenlang aus dem Elternhaus und leb auf der Eingeborenenwerft." TBA. Urteilsausfertigung des Bezirksgericht in Windhuk: In der Strafsache gegen den August Martin zu Winddhuk, Geschäftsnummer 3K 7/10, 21.0ktober 1897, BAB RIOOI 1918, 70 - Quoted in Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 57.

91. An example being Kurt Berner, an alcoholic, who was "recommended for expulsion due to his violent alcohol-fuelled rages which saw him shoot one of his African workers." Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914*, 252. See also, Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 54-56, for discussions of expulsion as it related to alcohol.

92. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 53.

93. "...das Herabsinken eines Europäers auf die Kulturstufe der Eingeborenen," or "eine bedauerliche Entartung weißer Ansiedler." TBA. Axster, "Die Angst vor dem Verkaltern - Politiken der Reinigung im deutschen Kolonialismus," 42.

94. "[...] (d)as symbolhafte Zeichen..." of "...eine offensichtliche Angleichung an die einheimische Bevölkerung." TBA. Grosse, Pascal. 2000. *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918*, Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus 84. Quoted in: Hamann, *Prekäre Koloniale Ordnung*, 180

95. "(die Deutschen) haben noch zu wenig das Herrenbewußtsein als Mitglieder der edleren, überlegenen weißen Rasse und halten nicht die für die Sicherheit des Staates und die Reinheit der Rasse, des deutschen Blutes notwendige scharfe gesellschaftliche Trennung von den Farbigen aufrecht." TBA. Originally published in *die Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht, und Kolonialwirtschaft*, Quoted in Hermann Hesse, "Rassenfrage in den Schutzgebieten von Hermann Hesse," DKZ, 1904. No. 12"

96. "tiefreichende psychologische Ängste vor einer 'rassischen Degeneration'" and "Verlust der politischen und ökonomischen Herrschaft." TBA. Horst Gründer, "... da und dort ein junges Deutschland gründen" : Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl., 1999. 223

97. Paul Rohrbach observed that miscegenation was a natural reaction to the climate, "Der körperliche Zustand spielt unter den Einwirkungen des Klimas in ganz anderem Maße auch innerhalb des gesellschaftlichen und geselligen Lebens eine beherrschende Rolle, als zu Hause," (my translation: "Under the effects of the climate, physical condition plays a dominant role in social and sociable life to a completely different extent than at

home") but also emphasised that white women would have a 'mitigating influence' (my translation) on the male settler population in regards to their sexual pursuits of native women. Paul Rohrbach, *Die Kolonie* (Rütten & Loening, 1907) 80.

98. Isidore Loeb, "The German Colonial Fiscal System." *Publications of the American Economic Association* 1, no. 3 (1900), 66.

99. Richard V Pierard, "The Transportation of White Women to German Southwest Africa, 1898-1914." *Race & Class*, vol. 12, no. 3, (1971): 318-319.

100. "Deutsche Mädchen in DSWA," *DKZ*, 190, no. 40.

101. "Deutscher-Kolonialer Frauenbund," *DKZ*, 1905, no. 15; "...namentlich das Interesse an den deutschen Kolonien auch bei Frauen wecken und will solche deutsche Mädchen, die beabsichtigen, sich in der Kolonie eine Tätigkeit zu suchen, durch Gewährung von freier Reise und Schaffung entsprechender Verbindung unterstützen." TBA. "Deutscher-Kolonialer Frauenbund," *DKZ*, 1907, no.15 & no.14.

102. For the false promises of emancipation, see: Katharina Walgenbach, "Emanzipation Als Koloniale Fiktion: Zur Sozialen Position Weißer Frauen in den Deutschen Kolonien." *Homme* (Vienna, Austria) 16, no. 2 (2005): 47-67.

103. See Katharina Walgenbach, 'Die weisse Frau als Trägerin deutscher Kultur': koloniale Diskurse über Geschlecht, 'Rasse' und Klasse im Kaiserreich (Campus-Verlag, 2005). Lora Wildenthal, "Rasse und Kultur Frauenorganisationen in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung des Kaiserreichs," in *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus (Campus Verlag, 2003).

104. Wildenthal, "Rasse und Kultur Frauenorganisationen in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung des Kaiserreichs," 214-215.

105. Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 327.

106. Translated in: Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914*, 246-247.

107. Julia Moses, "From faith to race? 'Mixed marriage' and the politics of difference in Imperial Germany," *The History of the Family*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2019).

108. In this case, an interfaith mixed-marriage. Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 332-333.

109. Catholic missionary groups came out in stark opposition to the marriage bans. As stated, most marriages were performed under the auspices of a missionary organisation and not the colonial administration. For Catholics, marriage was a holy sacrament that could not so easily be dissolved. *Ibid*, 334.

110. *Ibid*, 331.

111. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 65.

112. Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 341.

113. "...solche Tätigkeiten, die bei den Weißen als wenig attraktiv galten, die Eingeborenen allerdings schon überforderten, weil sie eine bestimmte Berufsausbildung und Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache voraussetzten." TBA. Becker, Frank, "Soldatenkinder und Rassenpolitik. Die Folgen des Kolonialkriegs für die "Mischlinge" in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (1904-1913)." *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift*, 63, no. 1 (2004), 54.

114. "grundsätzlichen Zwischenstellung". TBA. Ibid, 55.

115. Rohrbach translated in: Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, "The Threat of 'woolly-Haired Grandchildren': Race, the Colonial Family and German Nationalism," *The History of the Family*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2009), 362.

116. "sich als Führer der schwarzen Rasse fühlen". TBA. DKGS report quoted in Axster, "Die Angst vor dem Verkaffern - Politiken der Reinigung im deutschen Kolonialismus," 45.

117. Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 328-331.

118. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 86.

119. "Ob eine Person Eingeborener oder Angehöriger der weißen Rasse ist, ist eine Tatfrage, keine Frage, die an der Hand von Rechtssätzen zu beantworten wäre. Unter Eingeborenen will das Gesetz nach Ansicht des Gerichts die Blutsangehörigen der in den deutschen Schutzgebieten oder benachbarten Gebieten eingesessener oder sesshaft gewesener Halbkultur- oder Naturvölker verstanden haben... Eingeborene sind sämtliche Blutsangehörigen eines Naturvolkes, auch die Abkömmlinge von eingeborenen Frauen, die sie von Männern der weissen Rasse empfangen haben, selbst wenn mehrere Geschlechter hindurch eine Mischung mit weissen Männer stattgefunden haben sollte. Solange sich die Abstammung von einem Zugehörigen eines Naturvolks nachweisen lässt, ist der Abkömmlinge infolge seines Blutes ein Eingeborener." TBA. Quoted in Zimmerer, Jürgen. "Der Kolonial Musterstaat? Rassentrennung, Arbeitszwang und totale Kontrolle in Deutsch-Südwestafrika." In *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika : der Kolonialkrieg (1904-1908) in Namibia und seine Folgen*, edited by Jürgen Zimmerer, and Joachim Zeller, 26-41. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2016), 28-29.

120. Nancy Fraser, "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson," *Critical Historical Studies*. (Spring 2016), 168

121. An example being the Witwe (widow) Hill and her Mischlinge children - Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 365.

122. An example of an exception to the Mischehenverbot (mix-marriage prohibition) can be found in the marriage of Carl Becker and his Rehobother wife. See Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper & Ann Laura Stoler, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 268-270. International diplomacy also sometimes led to exceptions in racial categorisation. The British government demanded that the German colonial authorities recognise the status of British citizens, so there are exceptions in Eingeborene (native) designations based on conditions of 'reciprocity' with Great Britain. An example is the marriage between Carl Behmer, a Swakopmund farmer, and Charlotte Dixon, the daughter of an English father and a native mother. See Moses, "From faith to race?" 477-78.

123. Aitken, "Exclusion and Inclusion," 98.

124. For the full text of the relevant sections of the Reichstrafgesetzbuch, see §361: Lexetius, accessed 10.03.23, <https://lexetius.com/StGB/361>:

125. Constantine, "Correction in the Countryside: Convict Labour in Rural Germany 1871-1914," 42.

126. Ibid, 44.

127. Ibid, 49-52.

128. Hamann, *Prekäre Koloniale Ordnung*, 76.

129. Pascal Grosse, "Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit: Kolonialmigration in Deutschland, 1900-1940," in *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag), 99-100.

130. "Die Mischlinge, die hier nach Deutschland kommen, schaden ja nicht viel. In einem gesunden Volkskörper geht ein Mischling leicht unter und wird aufgesogen; aber wenn er in der Kolonie bleibt und dort als deutscher Staatsangehöriger angesehen und behandelt wird, so schadet er furchtbar, denn er setzt das Ansehen des Herrenvolkes herab." TBA. *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 6. Juni, 1912. Quoted in Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*, 239.

131. *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. 107.

132. "Es ist nicht einzusehen, warum nicht auch ein Farbiger diese Stellung als Vorgesetzter bekleiden kann, nachdem sich vorher verschiedene Vertreter der weißen Rasse als unbrauchbar und sogar entbehrlich erwiesen haben. Der 'Beschwerdeführer' scheint zu der — allerdings falschen — Ansicht zu neigen, daß ich gerade aus dem dichtesten afrikanischen Urwald komme. Zu seiner Beruhigung aber will ich ihm mitteilen, dass ich nach glatter Absolvierung eines königlich preußischen Gymnasiums zu Berlin das Zeugnis der Reife für prima erlangt habe und nur durch besondere Umstände vom weiteren Studium absehen musste." TBA. "Schwarze als Vorgesetzte Weisser," *DKZ*, 1912, no. 38.

133. Zum Schluss bemerke ich noch, daß es in unserem Geschäft nicht üblich ist, den Menschen nach seinem Aeußeren, seiner Hautfarbe, nach der 'übertünchten' Höflichkeit und Kultur zu beurteilen, sondern nach seinem Innern, seinem Charakter, und daß dieser bei unserem farbigen Fürstensohn besser ist, als bei manchen Weißen mit sehr 'schwarzem' Herzen, das habe uns die traurigen Erfahrungen wir mit unseren 'kultivierten' Weißen gemacht haben, bewiesen, so daß ich manchmal an das Gedicht — das doch wohl in dem herrn Einsender aus der Schulzeit auch bekannt sein dürfte — gedacht habe, in dem es heißt: "Seht, wir 'Wilden' sind doch bessere Menschen." TBA. Ibid.

134. Fitzpatrick, "The Threat of 'woolly-Haired Grandchildren': Race, the Colonial Family and German Nationalism," 365.

A.) Primary sources:

i.) Periodicals:

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung: Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft. München: Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, 1.1884 - 39.1922. Two different digital archives were used to access the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* since the varying quality of transfers necessitated cross-referencing. Nonetheless, both archives offer collections of the *DKZ* in its entirety:

- Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln. *Zeitschriften*: “Deutsche Kolonialzeitung.” <https://services.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm/search/collection/zss>.
- Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main. Kolonialbibliothek, *Koloniale Zeitungen und Zeitschriften*: “Deutsche Kolonialzeitung: Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft.” <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/kolonialbibliothek/periodical/titleinfo/7720783>.

ii.) Published Material:

- Bauer, Adalbert. “Der Arbeitszwang in Deutsch-Ostafrika.” PhD diss. Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 1919.
- Leo. “Die Arbeiterfrage in unseren afrikanischen Kolonien. (Vortrag in der Abteilung Kassel der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft am 14. Februar 1902).” In *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft*, edited by. A. Seidel, 31-54. Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902-1903.
- Loeb, Isidore. “The German Colonial Fiscal System.” *Publications of the American Economic Association* 1, no. 3 (1900): 40–72.
- Rohrbach, Paul. *Die Kolonie*. Rütten & Loening, 1907.
- Schroeder, R.A, “Die Eingeborenenfrage in DSWA und ihre Lösung” In *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft*, edited by A. Seidel, 435-440. Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902-1903.
- “Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902: zu Berlin am 10. und 11. Oktober 1902.” Berlin: Reimer, 1903.
- “Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905: zu Berlin am 5. 6. und 7. Oktober 1905 / hrsg. vom Redaktionsausschuss.” Berlin: Reimer, 1906.
- “Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910: zu Berlin am 6. 7. und 8. Oktober 1910.” Berlin: Reimer, 1910.

Secondary Sources:

- Acton, H & Baur, Michael "Marx on Historical Materialism," (2017), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334446734_Marx_on_Historical_Materialism.
- Aitken, Robby. Exclusion and Inclusion: Gradations of Whiteness and Socio-Economic Engineering in a Settler Society. German Southwest Africa, 1884-1914." PhD diss. University of Liverpool, 2002.
- Axster, Felix. "Die Angst vor dem Verkaffern - Politiken der Reinigung im deutschen Kolonialismus." *Werkstatt Geschichte*, no. 39 (2005): 39-53.
- Becker, Frank. "Soldatenkinder und Rassenpolitik. Die Folgen des Kolonialkriegs für die "Mischlinge" in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (1904-1913)." *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift* 63, no. 1 (2004): 53-77.
- Blauner, Robert. 1972. *Racial Oppression in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Constantine, Simon, "Correction in the Countryside: Convict Labour in Rural Germany 1871-1914," *German History* 24, no. 1 (2006): 39-61.
- Conrad, Sebastian. "Education for Work' in Colony and Metropole: The Case of Imperial Germany, c. 1880-1914." In *Empires and Boundaries: Race, Class, and Gender in Colonial Settings*, edited by H. Fischer-Tiné and S. Gehrman, 23-40. Routledge, 2008
- Cox, Oliver C. *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*. New York: Doubleday, 1948.
- Engels, Frederick. "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (Introduction - Materialism)." 1880. www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/int-mat.htm.
- Fitzpatrick, Matthew P. "The Threat of 'woolly-Haired Grandchildren': Race, the Colonial Family and German Nationalism." *The History of the Family* 14, no. 4 (2009): 356-368.
- *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Foster, John Bellamy and Holleman, Hannah and Clark, Brett. "Marx and Slavery." *Monthly Review* 72, no. 3 (July-August 2020): <https://monthlyreview.org/2020/07/01/marx-and-slavery/>
- Fraser, Nancy. "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson." *Critical Historical Studies*, (Spring 2016): 163-178.
- "Is Capitalism Necessarily Racist?" *Politics/Letters Quarterly*, 20 May 2019, quarterly.politicsslashletters.org/is-capitalism-necessarily-racist.

- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "Race and Globalization." In *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, edited by R. J. Johnston et al., 261-274. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.
- Go, Julian. "Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism." *Sociological Theory* 39, no. 1 (2021): 38-47.
- Grosse, Pascal. "Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit: Kolonialmigration in Deutschland, 1900-1940." In *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, edited by Birthe Kundrus, 91-109. Campus Verlag, 2003.
- Gründer, Horst. "... da und dort ein junges Deutschland gründen": Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl., 1999.
- Hall, Catherine. "Racial Capitalism: What's in a Name?" *History Workshop Journal* 94 (Autumn 2022): 5-21.
- Hamann, Ulrike. *Prekäre koloniale Ordnung: Rassistische Konjunktoren im Widerspruch. Deutsches Kolonialregime 1884-1914*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015.
- Haschemi Yekani, Minu. *Koloniale Arbeit: Rassismus, Migration und Herrschaft in Tansania (1885-1914)*. Campus Verlag, 2019.
- Honold, Alexander. "Ausstellung des Fremden - Menschen - und Völkerschau um 1900. Zwischen Anpassung und Verfremdung: Der Exotic und sein Publikum." In *Das Kaiserreich Transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, edited by Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, 170-190. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- Jenkins, D., & Leroy, J. ed. *Histories of Racial Capitalism*. Columbia University Press, 2021.
- Kamissek, Christoph and Kreienbaum, Jonas. "An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge." *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire européenne contemporaine* 14, no. 2, (2016): 164-182.
- Koshy, S., Cacho, L. M., Byrd, J. A., & Jefferson, B. J. ed. *Colonial Racial Capitalism*. Duke University Press, 2022.
- Kundnani, Arun. "What Is Racial Capitalism? - Arun Kundnani." *What Is Racial Capitalism?* 23 Oct. 2020, www.kundnani.org/what-is-racial-capitalism.
- Kundrus, Berthe, *Moderne Imperialisten: Das Kaiserreich im Spiegel seiner Kolonien*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2003.
- Levenson, Zachary, and Marcel Paret. "The South African Tradition of Racial Capitalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46, no. 16 (2023): 3403-24.

- Lerp, Dörte. "Ruling Classes and Serving Races: German Policies on Land, Labor, and Migration in Trans-Imperial Perspective," In *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies*, edited by J. Lahiti, 129-152. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Lindner, Ulrike. *Koloniale Begegnungen : Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880 - 1914*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verl., 2011.
- "New Forms of Knowledge Exchange Between Imperial Powers: The Development of the Institut Colonial International (ICI) Since the End of the Nineteenth Century." In *Imperial Cooperation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*, edited by Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski, 57-79. London, BG: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Markmiller, Anton. "'Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit': wie die koloniale Pädagogik afrikanische Gesellschaften in die Abhängigkeit führte." Reimer, 1995.
- Moses, Julia. "From faith to race? 'Mixed marriage' and the politics of difference in Imperial Germany." *The History of the Family* 24, no. 3 (2019): 466-493.
- Nupen, Charles. "Opening Address to the 56th NUSAS Congress, 1972." Digital Innovation South Africa, <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/spe19781127026022000>.
- Phiri, M.Z. "History of Racial Capitalism in Africa: Violence, Ideology, and Practice." In *The Palgrave Handbook of African Political Economy. Palgrave Handbooks in IPE*, edited by S.O. Olorunfoba and T. Falola, 63-81. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.
- Pierard, Richard V. "The Transportation of White Women to German Southwest Africa, 1898-1914." *Race & Class* 12, no. 3 (1971): 317-322.
- Ralph, M., Singhal, M. "Racial capitalism." *Theory and Society* 48 (2019): 851-881.
- Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. London: Zed Press, 1984.
- *Contemporary Sociology* 9, no. 3 (1980): 430-32.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2064288>.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Oliver C. Cox as World Systems Analyst." *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations* 11 (2000): 173-83.
- Walgenbach, Katharina, "'Die weiße Frau als Trägerin deutscher Kultur': koloniale Diskurse über Geschlecht, 'Rasse' und Klasse im Kaiserreich." Campus-Verl., 2005.
- "Emanzipation Als Koloniale Fiktion: Zur Sozialen Position Weißer Frauen in den Deutschen Kolonien." *Homme (Vienna, Austria)* 16, no. 2 (2005): 47-67.

- Walzer, Michael. "A Note on Racial Capitalism." *Dissent Magazine*, www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/a-note-on-racial-capitalism.
- Wildenthal, Lora. "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 263–283. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997.
- "Rasse und Kultur Frauenorganisationen in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung des Kaiserreichs." In *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, edited by Birthe Kundrus, 172–219. Campus Verlag, 2003.
- "Notes on a History of 'Imperial Turns' in Modern Germany" In *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, edited by Antoinette Burton, 144–156. New York: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Zimmerer, Jürgen. "Der Kolonial Musterstaat? Rassentrennung, Arbeitszwang und totale Kontrolle in Deutsch-Südwestafrika". In *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika: der Kolonialkrieg (1904-1908) in Namibia und seine Folgen*, edited by Jürgen Zimmerer, and Joachim Zeller, 26–41. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2016.
- Zimmerman, A. "Ethnologie im Kaiserreich: Natur, Kultur, und 'Rasse' in Deutschland und seinen Kolonien." In *Das Kaiserreich Transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1814*, edited by Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, 191–212. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.