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German-speaking Identity, Networks, and Territoriality in the South Atlantic, 1820-1930

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Titre : « Terres d'avenir » : Identité, réseaux et territorialité germanophones dans l'Atlantique Sud, 1820-1930

Résumé : Le mouvement de germanophones vers l'Atlantique Sud n'a pas commencé avec les Nazis cherchant refuge dans l'après-guerre, ni avec la mise en place d'un protectorat allemand au Sud-Ouest africain en 1884. Tout au long du XIXe siècle, la grande majorité des germanophones ayant quitté l'Europe a voyagé et migré en Amérique du Nord, mais un certain nombre de germanophones avaient choisi l'Argentine et la Namibie bien avant le tournant du XIXe siècle. Des marchands et missionnaires germanophones avaient commencé à voyager dans l'Atlantique Sud et à s'y installer dans les années 1820s. Ces germanophones de l'Atlantique Sud étaient influencés par les conditions changeantes en Europe : la mobilité accrue des personnes et des biens au travers de l'évolution technologique et de la dominance croissante d'Etats-nations sur la scène politique de l'Europe occidentale. Après sa fondation en 1871, l'Etat-nation allemand étendît son influence politique avec ses croissantes aspirations au pouvoir sur le marché global. Après 1900 en particulier, les Allemands politiquement actifs ont cherché à contrer la compétition croissante des Etats-Unis sur le plan économique ; en tentant de rediriger les migrants germanophones des Etats-Unis vers les territoires qu'ils considéraient plus aptes pour l'aide et le contrôle continu de la part de l'Etat-nation allemand. Dans ce contexte, la majorité des Allemands reconnaissaient le Sud-Ouest africain allemand en tant que seul territoire à la hauteur de la colonisation allemande à grande échelle. Au même moment, les germanophones en Argentine devenaient actifs en promouvant l'Argentine comme destination idéale pour la migration germanophone, et un grand nombre de publications le louaient en tant que « pays d'avenir ».

Les publications sur les Allemands aux Etats-Unis et au Canada sont nombreuses, mais les germanophones ayant choisi l'Atlantique Sud ont reçu moins d'attention. Parmi cette littérature secondaire, les Allemands en Argentine étaient traités comme des migrants étrangers à la République, tandis que les Allemands en Namibie ont été tout d'abord étudiés par rapport au colonialisme allemand. J'argumente que c'est les historiens qui ont crée cette division qui accentue davantage les différences entre les trajectoires historiquement rendues, et qui cachent les connections et similarités qui étaient évidentes aux migrants germanophones du XIXe siècle. Je me propose d'étudier ces germanophones dans un seul

champ analytique. J'argumente que malgré les différences des circonstances politiques respectives, les expériences du quotidien des germanophones de ces deux côtés de l'Atlantique Sud étaient plus similaires que différentes. J'analyse les publications et les pensées des contemporains du XIX^{e} siècle afin de surmonter la dichotomie crée par les historiens en tant que genres de mouvement mondiaux distincts et mutuellement exclusifs. Ce qui s'est passé dans l'Atlantique Sud peut être appelé « colonisation transnationale » : des Etats-nations émergents étaient impliqués dans le processus de colonisation – l'Argentine en Amérique du Sud et l'Allemagne dans le Sud-Ouest africain – et des fonctionnaires aidaient à accroitre leur expansion. Cependant, au sein de ces Etats, les personnes qui maintenaient une variété d'identités et d'origines européennes, étaient des agents actifs dans le processus de colonisation. Mes sources primaires comprennent des textes produits par les migrants de courte et longue durée, comme les récits de voyage, ainsi que les archives des communautés et gouvernements actuellement situés en Allemagne, en Argentine et en Namibie.

L'histoire transnationale et globale fournissent un cadre plus vaste pour mon étude car elle vise à surmonter l'écriture d'une histoire national(iste) en regardant autour et au delà de l'Etat-nation. Bien que des historiens ont commencés à les appliquer au cas allemand, l'histoire allemande demeure davantage national(iste) et exceptionalist, et elle exclut largement ces personnes ayant quitté l'Europe Centrale. En élargissant le champ du colonialisme allemand et incorporant l'histoire culturelle et transnationale, j'envisage de fournir une alternative à ce récit national(iste) en réorientant l'histoire des colonies allemandes officielles et en incluant d'autres communautés migratoires « en dehors » de l'étendue de l'empire officiel dans le même champ analytique. Plus généralement, j'étends le champ de l'histoire allemande traditionnelle pour inclure ces personnes en dehors des limites de l'Etat allemand dont elles ont été largement exclues dans l'écriture de l'histoire nationale et politique. Je focalise sur l'histoire des germanophones plutôt que sur celle de l'État-nation allemand.

Les personnes du XIX^{e} siècle partageaient des idées sur la culture et l'influence germanophone, qui affectaient leur visions partout où ils allaient. J'argumente que les germanophones ayant quittés l'Europe entre 1820 et 1930 participaient (consciemment ou inconsciemment) à un imaginaire impérial, et leurs réflexions en faveur de la migration s'effectuaient sous les mêmes prémisses. Les migrants cherchaient à recréer leur « chez

eux » et ils finissaient par créer un espace hybride. Bien que j'entreprenne une étude historique, j'emploie des méthodes et approches qui ont été informés par les disciplines voisines d'anthropologie, sociologie, études littéraires et études culturelles. La thèse est organisée autour de trois questions de base auxquelles je cherche à répondre : qui ? quoi ? comment ? Premièrement, j'explore la construction de l'identité germanophone dans l'Atlantique Sud, en Namibie aussi bien qu'en Argentine. Deuxièmement, j'analyse la sociabilité parmi les communautés germanophones et la manière dans laquelle elles ont mis en place des réseaux. Troisièmement, j'étudie la colonisation agricole germanophone dans l'Atlantique Sud et la territorialité sur la base de récits scientifiques et fictifs.

Dans l'ensemble des trois cas, la terminologie a changé à travers les XIX^{e} et XX^{e} siècles. Le terme « germanophone » a remplacé « allemand » quand le dernier est devenu un synonyme pour les citoyens de l'Empire allemand et, par conséquence, a exclut ceux qui identifiaient avec la Germanité mais vivaient dans un état différent. « Allemand » donc commençait en tant que concept culturel qui se transformaient en concept politique. De plus, un certain nombre d'autres étiquettes identitaires concourraient et chevauchaient avec « allemand », ce qui démontre la complexité culturelle de la Germanité dans l'Atlantique Sud. Après les guerres mondiales, le terme « communauté » germanophone a fini par remplacer le terme « colonie » germanophone. Ceci était le cas pour la communauté germanophone de Buenos Aires et pour la communauté germanophone de la Namibie. Le « colonies de commerce » germanophones étaient des réseaux crées par des individus privés qui voulaient augmenter le niveau de « civilisation » de leur propre communautés ainsi que celui de leur société d'accueil tout en agrandissant les marchés allemands d'outre-mer. La décolonisation et les études postcoloniales ont remplacé « colonisation » avec « agriculture » comme terme favori parmi les germanophones sud-atlantiques. « Colonisation » était composé de trois éléments : « gens », «terre » et « contrôle ». Pendant que les études migratoires focalisaient sur l'étude des « gens » et des migrants, et les études impériales sur le « contrôle » et la souveraineté, « l'usage de terre » focalisait seul sur « l'agriculture ». J'argumente que ce changement de terminologie, qui omettait les gens comme acteurs et le problème de contrôle et souveraineté sur la terre, constituait une neutralisation et un faire taire du problème compliqué de la colonisation.

L'emprunt de l'histoire transnationale et globale permet de mettre au jour des connections et des similarités parmi les germanophones de l'Atlantique Sud qui ont utilisé aussi bien

l'Argentine que la Namibie comme champs d'expérimentation pour mettre en place des réseaux communautaires et pour pratiquer la colonisation à travers le contrôle des terres par l'installation et l'aménagement du territoire.

Mots clefs : allemand, germanophone, identité, colonie, communauté, réseaux, colonisation, agriculture, territorialité, Atlantique Sud, Argentine, Namibie, Sud-ouest africain, migration, impérialisme, colonialisme, histoire transnationale, histoire globale, interdisciplinaire, XIX^{e} siècle, XX^{e} siècle, avenir

Title : "Lands of the Future:" German-speaking Identity, Networks, and Territoriality in the South Atlantic, 1820-1930

Abstract : The movement of German-speakers to the South Atlantic did not begin with Nazis seeking refuge in Argentina in the aftermath of World War II, nor did it start with the organization of the German protectorate of South-West Africa in 1884. Throughout the nineteenth century, the great majority of German-speakers leaving Europe travelled and migrated to North America, but some German-speakers had begun settling in both Argentina and Namibia well before the turn of the twentieth century. German-speaking merchants and missionaries started travelling to and settling in the South Atlantic in the 1820s. These South Atlantic German-speakers were influenced by the changing conditions in Europe: the increasing mobility of people and goods through the advancement of technology, and the increasing dominance of Nation-states on Western Europe's political scene. After its founding in 1871, the German nation-state expanded its political reach with the German Empire's increasing desire for power on the global market. After 1900 in particular, politically active Germans sought to compete against the increasing economic competition from the United States by attempting to redirect German-speaking migrants from their U.S. rival to areas they deemed more apt for continued German state aid and control. In this context, many Germans recognized German South-West Africa as the only territory suitable for large-scale German settlement. Meanwhile, German-speakers in Argentina became involved in marketing Argentina as the ideal destination for German-speaking migration and numerous publications praised it as the "land of the future."

German-speaking migration to the United States and Canada is well documented, whereas scholars have paid less attention to those migrants who went to Argentina and Namibia. Within the existing secondary literature, scholars have treated German-speakers in Argentina mostly as foreign migrants in an established republic, while conversely studying German-speakers in Namibia primarily within the context of German colonialism. I argue that it is historians who have created this division which overemphasizes the differences between the continents' historically rendered trajectories, while hiding the connections and similarities from the viewpoint of nineteenth-century German-speaking migrants. I propose to study the everyday life experiences of nineteenth-century German-speakers on both sides of the South Atlantic within one single analytical field. I argue that even though the respective political circumstances varied, the everyday life experiences of these German-speakers on both sides of the South Atlantic were more similar than different. I analyze the writings and belief-systems of nineteenth-century contemporaries in order to overcome the dichotomy that historians have created as distinct and mutually exclusive types of global movement. What happened in the South Atlantic was "transnational colonization:" emerging nation-states were involved in the colonization process – Argentina in South America and Germany in Namibia – and civil servants helped further their growth. However, within these states, people who maintained a variety of European identities and origins, were active agents in the colonization process. My sources include texts produced by short- and long-term migrants, such as travel writings as well as community and government records currently held in archives in Germany, Argentina and Namibia.

Transnational and global history provide the larger framework for my study as they aim at overcoming national(ist) history writing by looking beyond and below the nation-state and instead focusing on connections rather than territorial divisions. While scholars have started to apply transnational history to the German case, German history writing still remains too national(ist) and exceptionalist and largely excludes from the "national narrative" migrants who left Central Europe. By broadening the field of German colonialism and incorporating cultural and transnational history, I aim to provide an alternative to this national(ist) narrative by reorienting the history of the official German colonies and including other migrant communities "outside" of the scope of the official empire within the same analytical field. More generally, I am expanding traditional German history to include those people beyond the boundaries of the German state that have been largely excluded in

national and political history writing. I focus on the history of German-speakers rather than on a history of the German nation-state.

Nineteenth-century German-speakers lived with shared ideas about culture and the significance of their influence, which affected their outlook wherever they went. I argue that all German-speakers who left Europe between the 1820 and 1930 participated in (whether consciously or unconsciously) an imperial imaginary, and their reasoning for migrating took place under the same premises wherever they went. The migrants wanted to recreate home and thus created a hybrid space abroad. While undertaking a historical study, I work with methods and approaches that have been informed by the neighboring disciplines anthropology, sociology, literary studies, and cultural studies. The dissertation is organized around the three basic questions I seek to answer: who? what? how? Firstly, I explore the construction of German-speaking identity in the South Atlantic, both in Namibia and Argentina. Secondly, I analyze sociability within the German-speaking communities and the way they set up networks. Thirdly, I study German-speaking agricultural colonization in the South Atlantic and territoriality based in scientific and fictional accounts.

In all three cases, terminology changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The term “German-speaker” replaced “German” as the latter turned into a synonym for citizens of the German Empire and therefore excluded those identifying with German-ness that lived in other states. “German” started out as a cultural concept that only later turned into a political one. In addition, a number of other identity labels concurred and overlapped with “German,” which illustrates the cultural complexity of German-ness in the South Atlantic. After the World Wars, the term German-speaking “community” eventually replaced the term of German-speaking “colony.” This was the case for the German-speaking community of Buenos Aires and for the German-speaking community of Namibia. German-speaking “trade colonies” were networks created by private individuals who wanted to raise the level of “civilization” of both their own communities as well as that of their receiving society while expanding German markets overseas. From a theoretical perspective, decolonization and postcolonial studies replaced “colonization” with “agriculture” as the favored term of South Atlantic German-speakers. “Colonization” was composed of three elements: “people,” “land,” and “control.” While migration studies focused on the study of the “people” and migrants, and empire studies on the “control” and sovereignty, the “use of land” focused on mere “agriculture.” I argue that this change in

terminology, which left out the people as actors and the issue of control and sovereignty over the land, constituted a neutralization and silencing of the complicated matter of colonization.

Borrowing from transnational and global history allows for uncovering connections and similarities among South Atlantic German-speakers, who used both Argentina and Namibia as fields for experimentation in setting up community networks and practicing colonization in the form of controlling land through settlement.

Keywords : German, German-speaking, identity, colony, community, network, colonization, agriculture, territoriality, South Atlantic, Argentina, Namibia, South-West Africa, migration, imperialism, colonialism, transnational history, global history, interdisciplinary, nineteenth century, twentieth century, future

For my families around the Atlantic

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Introduction

German-speakers commonly used the expression "*Land der Zukunft*" (land of the future) to refer to both Argentina and Namibia between 1851 and 1916.[1] For these German-speakers, "the future" represented potential and progress simultaneously. "The land of the future" provided a space for a better tomorrow. This dissertation analyzes how German-speakers in the South Atlantic created Argentina and Namibia as desired spaces and competing locations where they would construct that dreamed-of better future to ensure their own success and that of their descendants. The South Atlantic space had a long history of intercontinental connection dating back to the transatlantic trade in African slaves, with Africa and Latin America serving as "parallel sites of new European expansionist initiatives."[2] Historians,

[1] Samuel Gottfried Kerst, *Die Länder im Stromgebiete des La Plata, mit Rücksicht auf den deutschen Handel und die deutsche Auswanderung. Vortrag, gehalten am 12. Mai 1852 in der öffentlichen Sitzung des Central-Vereins für Deutsche Auswanderungs- und Kolonisations-Angelegenheiten in Berlin* (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins, 1852), 3; Karl Andree, ed., *Buenos Ayres und die argentinischen Provinzen: Nach den neuesten Quellen* (Leipzig: C. B. Lorck, 1856), vi; Ernst Bachmann, ed., *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, First Edition (Buenos Aires: Hugo Kunz & Cia., 1884), 2; Joh. G. Tjarks, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwickelung Argentiniens," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 813; Friedrich Wilhelm von Harder, "Das Land der Zukunft: Argentinien," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 5 (1903): 33–49; Max Josef v Vacano, *Buntes Allerlei aus Argentinien: Streiflichter auf ein Zukunftsland* (Berlin: Reimer, 1905), 22; Alfred Arent, *Ein Land der Zukunft: Ein Beitrag zur näheren Kenntnis Argentiniens* (München: Verlag der "Südamerika" (J. Greger), 1906); Moritz Alemann, *Am Rio Negro: Ein Zukunftsgebiet germanischer Niederlassung: Drei Reisen nach dem argentinischen Rio Negro-Territorium. Ein Führer für Ansiedler, Unternehmer und Kapitalisten* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1907); Wilhelm Vallentin, *Argentinien und seine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung für Deutschland: Vortrag gehalten am 23. Jan. 1907 im Deutsch-Brasilischen Verein zu Berlin* (Berlin: H. Paetel, 1907), 15; 46-47; Ludwig Munzinger, *Zukunftsländer am La Plata: Eine volkswirtschaftliche Reisestudie* (München: Der Verfasser, 1907); "Allerhöchstes Urteil über Argentinien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, December 1, 1908, 63, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 63; "Argentinien, das Land der Zukunft," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, October 1, 1909, BArch R 901/30426, pag. 12; José Greger, *100 Briefe von nach Argentinien (Südamerika) ausgewanderten Familien und einzelnen Personen* (Freising vor München: Selbstverlag, 1913), 4; Otto Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1916), 34; "Ein deutscher 'Zukunftsstaat,'" *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 4, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Wilhelm Külz, *Deutsch-Südafrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Schutzherrschaft: Skizzen und Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutsch-Südafrikas*, Second Edition (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1909), 22.

[2] Marília dos Santos Lopes argued for a South Atlantic framwork with reference to the triangular trade, while limiting her focus to South-West Africa and Brazil; see Marília dos Santos Lopes, *Fremdwahrnehmung und Selbsteinschätzung: frühneuzeitliche Reiseberichte aus dem südlichen Atlantikraum im Vergleich* (Bamberg: Förderverein Forschungsstiftung für Vergleichende Europäische Überseegeschichte in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Lehrstuhl für Neuere Geschichte an der Universität Bamberg, 1995), 5 f.; Mary Louise Pratt connected the

however, have framed their work from the perspective of North Atlantic connections more extensively than connections in the South Atlantic, mainly due to extensive economic connections across the North Atlantic. This focus has served to reify other categories of economic disparity. Working on the South Atlantic as a historian requires thinking about categories such as "Global South." Does it serve as a mere replacement for "Third World"? What made such a replacement necessary? Can we build on postcolonial history when studying the "oppressors"? Do we always have to think in categories of binaries like oppressor and oppressed, victim and perpetrator, colony and metropole? Historians have discussed issues of "race" in the Namibian case, while they have addressed similar issues in Argentina with the terminology of "ethnicity." This study looks at the "in-between," how the established categories and so-called truths overlap in the South Atlantic.

This dissertation builds on the linguistic and postmodern turns. Instead of writing linear history, it is an attempt to write history like a kaleidoscope, as fiction writer Penelope Lively has pictured it.[3] In a mass of elements, a slight change in stance changes the view and the big picture we see. While previous historical works have used many of the sources I include in this study, my work shifts the kaleidoscope. Lively's kaleidoscopic fiction overlaps with the historical agenda of *histoire croisée.*[4] *Histoire croisée* as a method focuses on the subjectivity of both the sources and the scholars studying them, by inviting us to challenge the very categories in which we are accustomed to thinking. Throughout this dissertation, I confront primary and secondary sources on an equal footing. I am convinced that we not only need to historicize primary source documents, we also need to historicize secondary sources because they also have been created in a specific context. All recounting must account for subjectivity. I therefore continuously point out what I consider an "analytical category," and what I am considering something as a "category of experience," the former being a category historians use to understand the past and the latter a category that the people being studied used.[5]

British invasions of the Rio de la Plata region in South America and the Cape of Good Hope in Africa in 1806; see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2006), 11.

[3] Penelope Lively, *Moon Tiger* (New York: Grove Press, 1988).

[4] Michael Werner and Benedicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30–50.

[5] Rodgers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper distinguish between categories of analysis and categories of practice, but I have replaced the latter with categories of experience in order to not confound it with the discussion about

This dissertation is at the crossroads of a number of academic disciplines. It draws from migration studies and empire studies, the area studies of Latin America and of Africa, as well as Germany history. All of these fields of study emerged in different points in time and under different contexts. While I consciously overlap and intersect these various historiographical traditions to come to new ways of seeing the past, I recognize the potential frictions that result from my undertaking. When I first started presenting on this topic at conferences, I experienced fierce resistance. I was told that I could not do what I was attempting to do; that I could not compare Germans in Namibia with those in Argentina, because I could not – and should not – compare a group of people in a "former colony" with those in a "sovereign republic." Without any sense of irony, critics relished the opportunity to tell me that I could not simply compare apples with oranges, as if apples and oranges were the building blocks of history. What these critics failed to recognize, however, is that my intention is not to write classical comparative history. Instead, I am more interested in connecting the parts of German history that have long been written about as distinct and separate – even though the contemporary German-speakers viewed both as analogous colonization ventures. What follows in the pages below is a connected history that offers a critical re-interpretation isolated historical canons.[6]

This dissertation traces is the following three-fold, intertwined changes over time: in the South Atlantic, "Germans" became "German-speakers"; their "colonies" turned into "communities"; and what they originally called "colonization," they would gradually begin to label as "agriculture." But while the signifiers changed, the signified remained the same at its core. The vocabulary just had to be adjusted to account for a changing world. By filling in the gaps between the numerous, unconnected subfields that converge in this study, I am offering a new interpretation that explains the transition in the terminology German-speakers used in self-awareness of their undertakings, enterprises, and identity in the South Atlantic.

Throughout the nineteenth century, German writings and expressions equated (German) society with a human being and human behavior. In 1842, Alexander von Bülow

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theory and practice of German colonization; see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47.

6 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62; Caroline Douki and Philippe Minard, "Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 5, no. 54–4bis (2007): 7–21.

wrote that he considered all of (German) society as a "social body" (*Gesellschaftskörper*) that was sick and needed remedy.[7] He considered colonization to be the cure for the ailing German organism. Just a few years later, in 1848, Wilhelm Roscher wrote that the act of founding a colony was like begetting a child.[8] In 1862, Johann Jakob Sturz defined colonization as the reproduction (*Fortpflanzung*) of nations and states.[9] In the same passage, he added that being incapable of practicing colonization was the equivalent of impotence for a nation. He then used the terms "daughter nation" and "mother country."[10] In 1879, Friedrich Fabri claimed that agricultural colonies were destined to develop as European "daughter" states.[11] At the German Colonial Congress 1905, Felix Stoerk claimed that every state "naturally" practiced colonization as expansion.[12] In 1906, General Alfred Arent, who had spent three years living in the Argentina with the Argentinean army, wrote about Patagonia as "quasi-virgin land" (*sozusagen jungfräuliches Land*).[13] And in 1928, Richard Hennig promoted a similar definition of colonization in his book on geopolitics when he claimed that nation-states followed a similar pattern to humans and animals: they were born, reproduced, and died. Naturally, the reproduction phase meant colonization.[14]

Scholars of German history have long debated what they call "colonial fantasies." Cultural and postcolonial turns in German history writing after the 1990s opened the study of German colonialism to its "theoretical and imagined side." Scholars began to evaluate the aspirations, the plans, the unfulfilled and unrealized colonial desires of the German Empire,

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[7] Alexander von Bülow, "Pauperismus und Colonisation," *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst* 2 (1842): 563.

[8] Wilhelm Roscher, "Nationalökonomische Ansichten über die deutsche Auswanderung," in *Deutsche Vierteljahrs-Schrift* (Göttingen, 1848), 99; "Wie der einzelne Mensch, um seine geistigen Fähigkeiten allseitig zu entwicklen, auch das Leben eines Hausvaters, einer Hausmutter durchmachen muß, so bedürfen auch ganze Volker des Kinderzeugens im Großen, d. h. der Coloniengründung."

[9] Johann Jakob Sturz, *Kann und soll ein Neu-Deutschland geschaffen werden und auf welche Weise?: I. Ein Vorschlag zur Verwerthung der deutschen Auswanderung im nationalen Sinne* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1862), 13: "Denn was ist überhaupt die Colonisation? Nichts anderes, als die Fortpflanzung der Nationen und Staaten, und Nichtcolonisationsfähigkeit bedeutet für eine Nation nicht mehr und nicht weniger als Impotenz." .

[10] Ibid., 14.

[11] Friedrich Fabri, *Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien?: Eine politisch-ökonomische Betrachtung* (Gotha: F.A. Perthes, 1879), 31.

[12] "Kolonisation als Äusserung der Expansionskraft ist in der Natur jedes lebensfähigen Verbandes gelegen." See Felix Stoerk, "Die völkerrechtliche Staatengesellschaft und das koloniale Problem," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, zu Berlin am 5., 6., und 7. Oktober 1905*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongreß (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906).

[13] Alfred Arent, "Patagonien, ein deutsches Kolonisationsgebiet," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, zu Berlin am 5., 6., und 7. Oktober 1905*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906), 729.

[14] See part VII. "Der staatliche Fortpflanzungstrieb (Kolonisation)," Richard Hennig, *Geopolitik: Die Lehre vom Staat als Lebewesen* (Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1928), 215–301.

and found that the German state actually exercized little power in the colonies. These interpretations rightly show the limitations of state-centered programs, but fail to consider the changes wrought by individuals functioning outside the purview of the state. Political and economic approaches had started from the premise that German colonialism was short-lived (1884-1918) and geographically restricted to Africa and the Pacific. Susanne Zantop, however, applied the idea of colonial fantasies to South America – the continent where the German Empire never owned official colonies or protectorates.[15] Zantop claimed that German-speakers there had "colonial fantasies" – a subliminal desire for territorial possession and German economic influence in Latin America. Later, scholars like Birthe Kundrus applied this idea to the German protectorate South-West Africa, claiming that there, too, the colonial project failed because the colony was never heavily populated by Germans. Undertaking a cultural history of colonialism, Kundrus wrote: "With the appropriation of South-West Africa, many colonial enthusiasts hoped to redirect part of the migration flow to German South-West Africa. The colony should become a 'New Germany,' a 'new German home across the ocean.'"[16] Kundrus called these speculations on colonization in South-West Africa fantasies (*Phantastereien*): she claimed that empirical facts from scientist-explorers and these fantasies became mixed in a sort of science-fiction about Namibia as a potential place for German colonization.[17] She further claimed that the wilderness of South-West Africa resonated with a German longing for happiness and boundlessness, and thus the dream of freedom from social convention.[18] Just as Zantop saw German fantasies in South America, Kundrus saw a sexual component in the colonial fantasies in South-West Africa. She wrote that impressions of nature were infused with a libidinous charge and desires, including curiosity and the desire for power, domination, or sex.[19]

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[15] Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 2; Based on Zantop's idea, Birthe Kundrus argued that after 1884, Germans projected their colonial fantasies on their "official" colonies, see Birthe Kundrus, "Die Kolonien - 'Kinder des Gefühls und der Phantasie,'" in *Phantasiereiche: zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003), 7.

[16] Birthe Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten: das Kaiserreich im Spiegel seiner Kolonien* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003), 44f.

[17] Ibid., 46.

[18] Ibid., 149.

[19] Ibid., 154.

Other scholars have been very critical of the "colonial fantasies" paradigm. Hans-Ulrich Wehler has considered them to be speculations, ungrounded in existing scholarship.[20] Sebastian Conrad, however, acknowledged that: "In historiography, colonialism has for the most part remained an appendix to Germany history. In reality, exchange relationships with non-European cultures have played a much greater role than is apparent from the traditional perspective. […] One should not be misled by the mere thirty-year duration of formal German colonial possession: both geographically and chronologically, the colonial imagination was not held to the limits of territorial possessions. This larger scope of colonial desire was in no way only a peripheral affair of colonial supporters; rather, it played a central and recognizable role in politics."[21] Conrad took the side of those using the terminology of German colonial fantasies: "Who was to remain a German even if he or she had left the physical nation state behind for good? Who remained within the imaginary boundaries of the nation, whether understood in cultural terms or in terms of the *Volk*? These movements out of the country were of particular importance during the nineteenth century, when emigration reached a level not seen before or since. Between 1820 and 1920, about 6 million Germans left the country, mainly for the Americas. Emigration was a response to hopes and fantasies about overseas destinations as well as a reaction to unsatisfactory conditions at home."[22]

Other scholars have worked with the ideas similar to fantasy: Zantop's colleagues attested to German-speakers' "imperialist imagination."[23] Geoff Eley coined the term "imperial imaginary,"[24] to describe German overseas interests long before the formal acquisition and rule of overseas territories in 1884. Mary Louise Pratt claimed that German-speaking travel writers in South America and Africa projected their imperial mindset on

[20] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "Transnationale Geschichte - der neue Königsweg historischer Forschung?," in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, ed. Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 163.

[21] Sebastian Conrad, "Double Marginalization: A Plea for a Transnational Perspective on German History," in *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 63.

[22] Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 275.

[23] Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds., *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

[24] Geoff Eley, "Imperial Imaginary, Colonial Effect: Writing the Colony and the Metropole Together," in *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present*, ed. Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 217–36; Geoff Eley, "Empire by Land or Sea? Germany's Imperial Imaginary, 1840-1945," in *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, ed. Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2014), 19–45.

unfamiliar landscapes and viewed the world through "imperial eyes."[25] And Kathleen Conzen has labeled the perspective of German-speakers who migrated to the United States in the nineteenth century and settled phamtom landscapes on the "empty" frontier, a "colonizing vision."[26] However, I have come to a different conclusion regarding the way South Atlantic German-speakers saw themselves and wanted to be seen.

Throughout the nineteenth century, more and more German-speakers from Central Europe exchanged their central European homes for distant places throughout the Atlantic basin. While the majority of German-speaking migrants chose the ever-expanding United States of America as their destination, others went to Chile and Brazil, and some went as far south as the River Plate in South America and Damaraland in southwestern Africa. They all created communities of their own and many maintained emotional contact with their home regions in Central Europe. Travellers and short-term migrants met with those migrants seeking to set up new lives in strange environments. With the German Empire's increasing desire for power on the world stage, the nation-state expanded the geographical reach of its institutions beyond Central Europe. Particularly after 1900, politically active individuals, both in Germany and abroad, sought to undermine the emerging dominance of the U.S. by attempting to redirect German emigration to areas more apt for German state aid and control. In this context, Argentina and the only official German colony considered suitable for large-scale settlement, Namibia, both came to be seen as competing destinations for German migration, and thus "lands of the future."

While most organized projects and imperial institutional involvement occurred between mostly 1905 and 1914, settlement projects started an entire generation before the German state unification of 1871. In Namibia, German-speaking Protestant missionaries – the Rhenish Missionary Society in particular – became active north of the Orange River after 1840.[27] In 1863, the missionaries founded a small missionary colony [*Missionskolonie*] and took up trade with the indigenous population, consisting mainly of local Nama- and Herero-

[25] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2006.

[26] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the Making of a Pluralist America," in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation Between Two Cultures, 1800-2000*, ed. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), 7–21.

[27] See the archives of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMG) in Wuppertal, Germany.

speakers.[28] On the other side of the South Atlantic, the Tornquist and Bunge families were among the first German-speakers to set up trade companies and banks in the nascent Argentine Republic.[29] The first German Protestant church was founded in Buenos Aires in 1843 and a number of other clubs and institutions, such as the German Gymnastics Club [*Deutscher Turnverein*], followed suit.[30]

Borrowing from connected and entangled history, I analyze the experiences of German-speakers in the South Atlantic in the nineteenth century. Analyzing the German-speakers in the South Atlantic within the same analytical frame and evaluating them through a transnational lens allows for the writing of an integrated history of German-speakers. In addition to settling in foreign lands, the emigrants and sojourners on both sides of the South Atlantic shared the mindset of European superiority, which became increasingly rooted in eugenics during the second half of the nineteenth century. Such a mindset made possible their participation in the "Conquest of the Desert" [*La conquista del desierto*] in Argentina in the 1880s, a militaristic venture that harshly reduced the indigenous population. The Namibian War (or Herero and Nama War) in South-West Africa in 1904 had a similar effect, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of thousands. I argue that the motivations, the mindset, and the practice of German-speakers were not fundamentally different in Argentina and Namibia. Looking back from today's perspective, one might say that the German Empire was officially involved in Namibia during the time of the protectorate, while not in the sovereign state Argentina, and German sovereignty there remained merely an unfulfilled fantasy. Indeed, scholars have constructed the histories of Argentina and Namibia as distinct places and therefore the experience of German-speakers in these places as incomparable. The historiographical tradition after WWII created two distinct types of German-speakers abroad, and those communities have come to embrace these types. This gives German-

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[28] Klaus Bade, "Missionsarbeit, überseeische Politik und Auswanderungsfrage," in *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit: Revolution - Depression - Expansion* (Osnabrück: Internet-Ausgabe: www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/BadeFabri.pdf, 2005), 93.

[29] Adela Harispuru and Jorge Gilbert, "El holding 'Tornquist' y su vinculacion con la comunidad belgo-alemana, en Argentina," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 22/23, no. 65 (2009): 61–79; Mariela Ceva, "De la exportacion cerealera a la diversificacion industrial. Las empresas Bunge y Born en Argentina (1884-1940)," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 22/23, no. 65 (2009): 81–98.

[30] Congregación Evangélica Alemana en Buenos Aires, *Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde Buenos Aires: 1843 - 1968 [Informationsschrift aus Anlaß der 125. Jahrfeier]* (Buenos Aires, 1968); Klaus-Wilhelm Lege, ed., *Asociaciones Argentinas de Lengua Alemana: un aporte a la responsabilidad social = Argentinische Vereinigungen deutschsprachigen Ursprungs* (Buenos Aires: Camara Argentino-Alemana de Buenos Aires, 2007).

speakers in Argentina a different past from those German-speakers in South-West Africa. I want to disentangle this construction of difference.

In 1848, Friedrich Gerstäcker was sent to South America by the revolutionary government in Frankfurt in order to inquire about possibilities for German settlement in Argentina.[31] In the 1860s, men such as Friedrich Fabri, Robert Jannasch, and others started discussions on Germany's overseas involvement.[32] Advocates for such overseas involvement could be split into two groups: those in favor of territorial expansion and those in favor of the control of emigrating populations, and thus control of markets. Hans Ulrich Wehler has stressed Bismarck's preference of little state control abroad, but a strong colonial movement in Germany was involved in negotiating the rule of the protectorates.[33] Stefan Rinke has argued that Germany's trade with South America really took off after the First World War, when Germany ceased to be an empire.[34] But I argue that German imperialism cannot be confined to the era of 1884 to 1920. German imperialism existed before and after what historians call the "German colonial empire."[35] For the study of German-speakers' settlement in the South Atlantic, this temporal division is thus not a useful one.

For this dissertation, I have chosen two geographic areas that correspond to today's countries of Argentina and Namibia. Scholars after the 1960s have written the histories of German-speakers in both countries as distinct and have made them fit in the larger narratives of these continents of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: that of South America as one of independent states that received labor migrants, and of Africa as one of colonies dominated by European powers. Yet both territories received increased attention and interest from the general German public in the first decade of the twentieth century: the German protectorate South-West Africa was considered by many the only German colony suitable for German settlement; the Argentinean Republic was in the process of attempting to acquire a place among the "old and established (European) *Kulturstaaten*."

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[31] Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels: Rio de Janeiro - Buenos Ayres - Ride Through the Pampas - Winter Journey Across the Cordilleras - Chili - Valparaiso - California and the Gold Fields*, Translation of Reisen: Südamerika (London: T. Nelson, 1854).

[32] Klaus Bade, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit: Revolution - Depression - Expansion* (Osnabrück: Internet-Ausgabe: www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/BadeFabri.pdf, 2005).

[33] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Bismarck und der Imperialismus*, Second Edition, reprint of 1968 (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1969).

[34] Stefan Rinke, *"Der letzte freie Kontinent": deutsche Lateinamerikapolitik im Zeichen transnationaler Beziehungen, 1918-1933* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1996).

[35] Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

German colonial activists organized three German Colonial Congresses between 1902 and 1910 and specifically invited institutions and associations dedicated to the "German colonies and German areas of interest (*Interessensgebiete*)."[36] While they discussed the "worker question" (*Arbeiterfrage*) with regards to South-West Africa, they sought to identify the best areas for German settlement and investment, and concluded that it was Argentina.

"Colonization" as a category of experience was divided between settlement and migration, on one hand, and the establishment of agricultural colonies on the other. But the term "colony" had been claimed exclusively by scholars of "colonialism" as signifying territory under European state sovereignty. Due to other factors, like the development of area studies that created "Latin America" as one field and "Africa" as a distinct one, German-speaking colonies and colonization in the South Atlantic have been put in mutually exclusive categories and have been considered as non-comparable. The German protectorate (or official colony) of German South-West Africa in Namibia has been studied as part of colonialism (or official imperialism), whereas German-speakers in Argentina have been studied as part of migration studies. Most scholars have preferred to put colonies and colonization in quotation marks whenever they came across them in Argentina, as this seemed impossible to reconcile with colonialism.

How am I shifting the kaleidoscope? I am writing a transnational and cultural history of "German colonialism and imperialism." I am not only breaking away from the (nation-)state-centered history writing of colonization in the South Atlantic; I also deconstruct the category of "German" as a non-national category and thus a transnational one. Historians have used the term "nation" as an analytical category in different ways: some use it in reference to the "people" and thus in opposition to the "state." Others use it as the adjective corresponding to "nation-state" and thus as a synonym to "state." What I show in Part I of this dissertation is that the actors of colonization I am studying considered themselves as part of a "German" group, a group that shared certain characteristics grounded in language and culture, and that had an ambivalent and changing relationship to the developing and growing German nation-state in Central Europe. Analyzing the identity of

[36] Deutscher Kolonialkongress, ed., *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903); Deutscher Kolonialkongress, ed., *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, zu Berlin am 5., 6., und 7. Oktober 1905* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906); Deutscher Kolonialkongress, ed., *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910 zu Berlin, am 6., 7. und 8. Oktober 1910* (Berlin: D. Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1910).

these migrants, I describe the process of how, in the South Atlantic, the term “German,” which was first grounded in shared language and culture, gradually turned into “German-speaker” in order to maintain the same meaning while “German” became more and more narrowly attached to the German Empire and thus the German nation-state.

In the second part, I continue to focus on this group of German-speakers that set up communities on both sides of the South Atlantic. I work with the nineteenth-century definition of the term “colony” as a settlement. I analyze the networks they set up. I argue that in practice the term “colony” gradually turned into “community,” as decolonization and post-colonial studies rendered the terms “colony” and “colonization” as morally unsustainable due to the emphasis on the abuse of the indigenous populations by Europeans. Meanwhile, this part also emphasizes German colonization as a “grass-roots movement” in the South Atlantic, where individuals and small groups took the initiative to set up associations and companies to organize their everyday life and create a market for German goods.

Part III, then, discusses in more detail the issue of territoriality, and analyses the development of “colonization” as a concept that was split into its component parts of “settlement” and “agriculture,” corresponding to people and soil. It also discusses the literature German-speakers produced to attract more colonists to the South Atlantic and to practice discursive appropriation of those territories. This part also considers the complex relation between German-speakers and the growing state apparatuses of South Atlantic societies: the growing Argentinean state and the German protectorate that increasingly sought independent government imitating the British colonial system.

Part I. Identity: From "German" to "German-speaker"

The first part of this dissertation considers the question: who were those people from Central Europe that went to the South Atlantic? The first chapter discusses scholarly terminology, specifically "nation" and "race," as well as the study of German-speaking mobility in the field of migration history. The second chapter elaborates on contemporary labels of identification that co-existed and competed with the label "German." I situate my study of the identity of the protagonists of this dissertation – German-speakers as practitioners of colonization in the South Atlantic – within an overarching development I have observed in my analysis of primary and secondary sources: the migrants' self-labeling gradually changed from "German" (*deutsch*) to "German-speaking" over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As "German" became increasingly exclusively linked to the German Empire and thus turned into a political designation, "German-speaker" replaced "German." As a transnational category, "German-speaker" was not exclusively linked to a nation-state, but rather to a concept of language and culture.

Up to the mid-nineteenth century, "German" was a cultural identity rather than a political one: there was no single state that could have defined itself and its citizens as "German," rather there was a multitude of states whose citizens spoke the German language (in a variety of accents and dialects) and who culturally identified with German-ness. When contemporary authors did make use of the word Germany – *Deutschland* literally translates to "German land" – it was with the purpose of referring to those Central European lands where German language and culture were prominent. Dr. Johann Eduard Wappäus for example spoke of South America being important for *Deutschland* as early as 1843.[37]

During the first half of the twentieth century, "German-speaker" (*deutschsprachig*, *Deutschsprechende*, etc.) gradually replaced the term "German" – as a cultural identity – among the same migrants. They had previously used the term German (*deutsch* or *germanisch*) in reference to their cultural identity; they changed it to German-speaker after "German" became exclusively linked to the German Empire post-1871 and thus a political

[37] Johann Eduard Wappäus, *Die Republiken von Südamerika geographisch-statistisch, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Produktion und ihres Handelsverkehrs, vornehmlich nach amtlichen Quellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1843), vii.

reference. The two world wars only accelerated this process. Many historians writing after the 1980s have also picked up this term "German-speaker," and they also use it to denote a cultural identity, in order to mark its difference from "German" as a political reference to the German nation-state. However, most historians use the term "German-speaker" at the most to include Swiss-Germans and Austrians, and thus members or descendants of members of nation-states where German is an official language.

With the objective in mind to historicize the concept of a "German nation," I discuss recent historiography on the two topics of nation and racialization, in order to confront them with contemporary understandings. Contemporary migrants also used the terms "nation" and "race," and I argue that both of them were means to express their ideas of shared group identity, similar to the term "people," and were grounded in a cultural-linguistic understanding of a particular group. In addition to "race," we also consider two other main categories of analysis migration scholars' use in their studies: gender and class. German-speakers actively shaped the South Atlantic societies – the receiving societies – in which they lived, both under a foreign government in Argentina and in the German protectorate in Namibia. They showed an interest in independent and self-reliant behavior: they set up their own community structures, at times with the help of their home governments, many times without or despite such government intervention.

Reading contemporary sources, I noticed that the following labels of identification were most prominent: Germans or *Reichsdeutsche* (citizens of the German Empire), Swiss-Germans, Austrians, Boers, Belgians, Dutch, Russian-Germans, and German Jews. *Reichsdeutsch*, Swiss-German, and Austrian were political identities. Boer and Russian-German were cultural identities with an element of shared biology, whereas Jewish was both, or alternately, considered as religious and cultural identity. Not all of these identifications functioned the same way, nor did they have the same trajectory. Historians working since 1990 have taken up these labels and based their categories of analysis in these categories of experience, but few of them have studied these categories in direct connection to "Germans" and "German-speakers." I critically deconstruct the labels that contemporaries used and which scholars working after the 1980s took up as a basis for their separate categories of analysis.

Chapter 1. "German" as Transnational Category of Analysis

In order to understand who the people were that left Central Europe to migrate to the South Atlantic, we first need to deconstruct how historians have studied these peoples, which categories they have used, and how this has shaped our current knowledge about, as well our perception and framing of, these people. With the German Empire and unified nation-state coming into existence only in 1871, we have to find other ways to account for how people organized themselves and created a group identity before that date. We will start by putting the German nation in its historical context by discussing the analytical concepts of "nation" and "race." We will also consider the way German-speakers in the South Atlantic have been studied as part of migration studies.

Scholars of German history have attributed much importance to the creation of the German Empire (*deutsches Kaiserreich*) as the first German nation-state in 1871. The term Germany (*Deutschland*) usually refers to the German nation-state: today, the Federal Republic of Germany, which was preceded by the Third Reich, the Weimar Republic, and the German Empire. In other words, Germany represents a political category. For South Atlantic contemporaries, however, the term *Deutschland* (Germany) was not congruent with the creation of the German Empire of 1871. The term Germany (*Deutschland*) rather referred to the collection of Central European lands where German-speakers lived. The German nation was identical with the German people, independent from political and governmental structures. Germany was rather used as a cultural reference than a political designation.

1.1 Historicizing the Concept of "German-ness"

In 1913, contemporary historian Dr. Robert Hoeniger (*1855 – 1929) wrote in the introduction to one of his books that while "*Deutschland*" could be applied to the German Empire (*deutsches Reich*) and was used as a synonym, this was not accurate, as it did not include all regions where German-speakers lived, as for example Austria, or overseas Germans.[38] Many historians have started with the German nation-state as a given and then applied the term German as the necessary association with this nation-state. In this context,

[38] Robert Hoeniger, *Das Deutschtum im Ausland*, Aus Natur und Geisteswelt: Sammlung wissenschaftlich-gemeinverständlicher Darstellungen 402 (Leipzig, Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1913), iii–iv.

"German" is automatically considered a political category. Yet historians of German history point out that there was no unified German nation-state before 1871. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, "German" was not a political category yet. There was no country named "Germany." Instead, there were a variety of states whose citizens or subjects labeled their language "German," despite the great variety of accents and dialects. The modern concept of "nation" as a political entity, a state organization, was born in Europe with the French Revolution and subsequently scholars have been attempting to define it. They somewhat agree on the following aspects as prerequisites for a nation, which are desired but not all required: shared language, origin, culture, and religion.[39]

While scholarship long postulated that the German nation-state only came into existence in 1871,[40] recent scholarly work has increasingly started to question this timeframe. For example, David Williamson's 2005 study establishes the Congress of Vienna in 1815 as the starting point for a German nation-state.[41] Helmut Walser Smith has argued that the German nation predated German nationalism; that German nationalists only made sense of the German identity that already existed.[42] Sebastian Conrad studied the German nation-state through a global lense. Using the example of labor migration and mobility, he argued that Germans negotiated nationalism not only in Central Europe but also overseas as well.[43] Stan Landry, meanwhile, attempted to redefine, and propose an alternative to the nation-state through German-speakers' religious affiliations.[44]

Regardless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "German" was not yet a political category. In the aftermath of the French Empire's invasion and dissection of the Holy Roman Empire and the previous framework binding German states, German intellectuals, including the philosopher Johann Fichte, called for the unification of the German people in order to oppose the French invaders. He addressed a "German nation," but it was a nation in the sense of "a people" rather than in the sense of a modern nation-

[39] Siegfried Weichlein, *Nationalbewegungen und Nationalismus in Europa* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006).

[40] Wolfram Siemann, *Vom Staatenbund zum Nationalstaat: Deutschland 1806-1871* (München: Beck, 1995).

[41] David Williamson, *Germany since 1815: A Nation Forged and Renewed* (Basingstoke Hampshire; New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[42] Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[43] Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation*.

[44] Stan M. Landry, *Ecumenism, Memory, and German Nationalism, 1817-1917* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014).

state.[45] The brief-lived Frankfurt parliament of the 1848 revolution was a first attempt at a unified modern German nation-state. However, several years earlier, the intellectual Wilhelm Stricker had published a book on the dispersal of the German people across the world.[46] Here, Sticker used the word "German people" (*deutsches Volk*). He wrote about the German people, and at a very early date, in the context of global migration. Yet this German migration was not defined or implemented by any one German state. In 1848, Wilhelm Roscher studied the impact of German migration on the German "national economy" (*Nationalökonomie*).[47] He later published a comprehensive history of the German national economy, just three years after the "official" German unification.[48] In 1862, Johann Jakob Sturz referred to a "German nation" and wondered how German migrants could be tied to the Central European German people in the long-term while being abroad.[49] He wrote about the creation of a "New Germany" abroad.[50] Sturz contemplated how German migrants abroad could remain useful for the German nation and thus Germans as a people in Central Europe. In Argentina, the newspaper *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (DLPZ) published an article on "Germany and Migration" in 1866.[51] Its author stipulated that the urge to migrate was inherent the German "character" and that therefore none of the German governments would be successful in banning emigration. In the 1830s and 1840s, most German-speaking migrants ventured into the world within the British world-system, and not as part of a German Empire.[52] They were part of the English-speaking system, worked for British firms abroad, and traveled on British ships.[53]

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[45] Johann Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, ed. Gregory Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[46] Wilhelm Stricker, *Die Verbreitung des deutschen Volkes über die Erde: Ein Versuch* (Leipzig: G. Mayer, 1845).

[47] Roscher, "Nationalökonomische Ansichten über die deutsche Auswanderung."

[48] Wilhelm Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland*, Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland. Neuere Zeit 14 (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1874).

[49] Sturz, *Kann und soll ein Neu-Deutschland geschaffen werden und auf welche Weise?*

[50] Ibid.

[51] "Deutschland und die Auswanderung," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, February 6, 1866.

[52] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[53] John R. Davis, Stefan Manz, and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, eds., *Transnational Networks: German Migrants in the British Empire, 1670-1914* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

It is not easy to translate the word *deutsch* into the English language; this constitutes its own branch of research, as investigated by Thomas Shippey.[54] *Deutschtum* (German-ness) is a recurring term in primary as well as secondary sources. Similarly, the term *Ausland(s)-Deutschtum* (German-ness abroad) recurs in the sources as well. I argue that German-ness was constructed out of the shared experience of alterity rather than as a positive expression of identity. *Deutschtum* in the South Atlantic assembled a group of people that experienced enough differences with the other groups around them that they created a collective identity based on this shared difference. *Deutschtum* was what the others were not. Who these "others" were also changed over the course of a century. While German-speakers considered Latin peoples (including Spanish, French, and Italians) as the other at certain times, they also identified with them as fellow Europeans and thus members of "civilized" peoples. German-speakers sometimes included British people in their category of "Germans" (*Germanen*), just as the category "Anglo-Saxons" often included Germans as well was the English before the First World War.

1.1.1 The German People as a "Nation"

In this section, we study the term "nation" as an analytical category, thus as a category that historians have used, in order to then confront it with the term "nation" as a category of experience, thus as contemporary German-speakers understood and used the term. I argue that questioning the definition of the term "German" and its use in the South Atlantic allows for a different view of the notion of the "nation" and the definition of "German" and German-ness.

Historians of German history have studied the question of nation and nation-building at length. There are different and competing definitions of "nation" that coexist among historians. The most common are the idea of a people that share certain characteristics, including the same origin, like a "people" or a "race;" or a nation-state as a community of choice. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the concept "nation" changed its primary definition from "a group of people" to "a people organized in a political

[54] Thomas A. Shippey, "Germanen, Deutsche und Teutonen in der englischsprachigen Geistesgeschichte," in *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch": Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen*, ed. Heinrich Beck et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 325–41.

structure." The term "nation" became an "acceptable category of experience" as it became linked to the political organization of the state, and scholars often use it as a synonym for and confound it with the category of nation-state. Methodological nationalism continues to be a problem in academia. Meanwhile, "race" has had a different trajectory, discussed below.

Christian Geulen has addressed the ongoing tensions between the definitions of the nation as a community of choice versus the nation as a community of shared descent.[55] He classifies Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson as "constructivist" historians. Gellner and Hobsbawm postulated that the current or "modern" definition of "nation" stems from the French Revolution and is thus tied to modernity.[56] Hobsbawm listed the different factors included in the definition of a nation as shared territory, language, customs, and descent. He claimed that during the time of the French Revolution, the modern concept of the nation as a community of citizens emerged, and – building on other historians' ideas – that there was not a clear definition of the "people" that lived on the territory associated with the "nation," and those identifying as a "nation" were united by common interests and not shared ethnic origins.[57] Hobsbawm also pointed to the issue of a shared language, since the French at the time of their revolution did not have only one single language spoken on their territory.[58] Benedict Anderson has proposed to define the nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[59] As such, nations depend on how their members imagine them to be. Most generally speaking, "nation" is just another form of distinguishing "us" from "them." It is a vague term that has an ideal definition that is not linked to a reality, or rather that remains an unfinished project. In his work on national movements and nationalism in Europe, Siegfried Weichlein has warned against oversimplifying the break between the traditional eighteenth century and the modern post-revolutionary period, stating that historians have to be careful to not use the thoughts and arguments used by the revolutionaries to glorify

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55 Christian Geulen, *Wahlverwandte: Rassendiskurs und Nationalismus im späten 19. Jahrhundert*, 1st ed. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2004).

56 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

57 Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, 20.

58 Ibid.

59 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin & Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1983), 6.

their deeds.[60] Thomas Bender has been among those historians in the U.S. to question the usefulness of the nation as the dominant parameter of analysis.[61] Scholars of new empire studies have also been critical of the nation-state, as for example Antoinette Burton and Catherine Hall in the case of the British Empire.[62] We can conclude that the definition of nation still remains unsettled.

1.1.2 "Race" and German Identity

While Anglophone critical social sciences have introduced "race" as a category of analysis – alongside gender and class – scholars in France and Germany have been more reluctant to adopt the terminology of "race" due to the experiences of Nazism. I sympathize with those critics who continue to voice their concern that the analytical category can hardly free itself from the trap of reifying not only racialized but racist categories of analysis. In Germany, Thomas Brückmann et al. have argued for the importance of thinking of both the term "race" and scientific racism as one field, because of the extreme results that they are used to justify, from racist politics and everyday practices, including colonialism, the holocaust, NS apartheid.[63] While the use of the category "race" is problematic, it is extremely important to continue to study the term and be critical of its use inside and outside of academia. While most European social scientists today claim that there is no biological existence of "race," the Anglophone approach considers "race" as a human construct: humans experience racial discrimination, which is an issue that scholars must address. I also agree with the observation that today "race" is often times just substituted with other terms like population, group, minority, ethnicity, or origin, without questioning or changing the

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[60] Siegfried Weichlein, *Nationalbewegungen und Nationalismus in Europa* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 8.

[61] Thomas Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

[62] Antoinette Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2003); Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland, eds., *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).

[63] Thomas Brückmann, Franziska Maetzky, and Tino Plümecke, "Rassifizierte Gene: Zur Aktualität biologischer 'Rasse' - Konzepte in den neuen Lebenswissenschaften," in *Gemachte Differenz: Kontinuitäten biologischer "Rasse"-Konzepte*, ed. AG gegen Rassismus in den Lebenswissenschaften (Münster: Unrast, 2009), 27.

categorization based on an alleged biological category.[64] In addition, as with most concepts, problems in scholarly work arise when "race" is considered as a given and essentialized. In particular in the United States, where government censuses work with the categories of "Caucasian/white," "African-American/black," etc., the racialized category of "black" has become a term of social empowerment.

For the South Atlantic, it seems that scholars are divided along continental lines or those of area studies. Historians of Africa mostly use the terminology of "race" (or *Rasse*) when analyzing relations and encounters between ("white") German-speakers and ("black") indigenous people on the African continent, whereas scholars working on Argentina give preference to the concept of "ethnicity." Many scholars trained in the Anglophone research tradition want to apply "race" as an analytical category and a social construct to their objet of study. However, they must be aware of too easily assuming that there were "black Africans" and "white Africans," relying on categorizations common in the U.S. Or, in the Namibian case specifically, they sometimes fall back on the categories that stem from the apartheid system installed under South African rule between WWI and 1990. This system had three categories: black, white, and "coloured," with the latter being for "mixed people."[65] Anglo-American academic concepts of "race" as an analytical category have nonetheless influenced research on Namibia. After German rule Namibia was part of South Africa, first as part of the British Empire, then the British Commonwealth, and it has received interest from scholars of new empire studies. Historians like Catherine Hall[66] and Patricia Hayes[67] have put "race relations" between black and white in the center of their studies. More recently, Robbie Aitken has applied post-colonial theory and whiteness studies to deconstruct the fabrication of categories of "race" in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[68] Historians have also much written about the intersectionality of gender and race in the African colonial context. Martha Mamozai started looking at the issue of gender and race

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64 Ibid., 33.

65 Mixed between "black" and "white," thus "racially mixed."

66 Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Hall and McClelland, *Race, Nation and Empire*.

67 Patricia Hayes, "'Cocky' Hahn and the 'Black Venus': The Making of a Native Commissioner in South West Africa, 1915-46," in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader*, ed. Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 329–58.

68 Robbie Aitken, *Exclusion and Inclusion: Gradations of Whiteness and Socio-Economic Engineering in German Southwest Africa, 1884-1914*, Cultural Identity Studies 6 (Oxford: Lang, 2007).

in the German case in the 1980s.[69] She uncovered the role women played in German colonialism. For the time period of the German protectorate of South-West Africa, Laura Wildenthal has studied the relationship between feminism and race throughout the German overseas empire, concluding that gender and race were always intertwined and often instrumentalized.[70] While Katharina Walgenbach has analyzed the "white woman" as a carrier of German (superior) culture,[71] Anette Dietrich has argued that both gender and race were constructed in particular ways in German colonialism.[72] Susan Arndt has specifically analyzed language used in dictionaries as a location of racial theories in German Africa[73] while Lorena Rizzo took the analysis of the intertwinement of gender and colonialism further by integrating it into transnational history.[74] From a perspective of literary studies, Joachim Warmbold[75] has worked on the concept of métissage and Rosa Schneider[76] on the construction of race and gender in German colonial literature.

In South American countries, the use of the Spanish concept "*raza*" has had a different trajectory. But it also carries within it a history of empowerment, as for example in the "*día de la raza*," the day to celebrate Spanish heritage in South America. It has retained a much closer relationship to the notion of "a people" than it has in Germany or France, where "*Rasse*" and "*la race*" have practically been banned from everyday language and been

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[69] Martha Mamozai, *Herrenmenschen, Frauen im deutschen Kolonialismus* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982); Martha Mamozai, *Schwarze Frau, weiße Herrin* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989); Martha Mamozai, "Einheimische und 'koloniale' Frauen," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 14–30.

[70] Lora Wildenthal, "Rasse und Kultur: Koloniale Frauenorganisationen in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung des Kaiserreichs," in *Phantasiereiche: zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003), 202–19; Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001); Lora Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley Calif.: University of California Press, 1997), 263–83.

[71] Katharina Walgenbach, *"Die weisse Frau als Trägerin deutscher Kultur": koloniale Diskurse über Geschlecht, "Rasse" und Klasse im Kaiserreich* (Campus Verlag, 2005).

[72] Anette Dietrich, *Weisse Weiblichkeiten: Konstruktionen von "Rasse" und Geschlecht im deutschen Kolonialismus* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2007); Anette Dietrich, "Rassenkonstruktionen im deutschen Kolonialismus: 'Weiße Weiblichkeiten' in der kolonialen Rassenpolitik," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 176–87.

[73] Susan Arndt, "Afrikafantasien, Wörter und Wörterbücher: Tradierte Schauplätze von 'Rassen'theorien," in *Deutsche Sprache und Kolonialismus: Aspekte der nationalen Kommunikation 1884-1919*, ed. Ingo H. Warnke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 293–314.

[74] Lorena Rizzo, *Gender and Colonialism: A History of Kaoko in North-Western Namibia, 1870s - 1950s*, Basel Namibia Studies Series 14 (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Namibia Resource Center & Southern Africa Library, 2012).

[75] Joachim Warmbold, "If Only She Didn't Have Negro Blood in Her Veins: The Concept of Métissage in German Colonial Literature," *Journal of Black Studies* 23, no. 2 (1992): 200.

[76] Rosa B Schneider, *Um Scholle und Leben: zur Konstruktion von "Rasse" und Geschlecht in der kolonialen Afrikaliteratur um 1900* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel Verlag, 2003).

relegated to racist, fascist, and neo-Nazi vocabulary. The Spanish equivalent to the "melting pot" concept is "*crizol de razas*," which literally means "melting pot of races." Argentinean historians like Hilda Sábato, Fernando Devoto, and Hernán Otero all suggested that Argentina was a multicultural society rather than a melting pot.[77] However, rather than "race," scholars working in and on Argentina have given preference to the concept of "ethnicity" (*etnicidad*): Paula Seiguer[78] used it in her study on the Anglican church and the British community in Argentina; and Benjamin Bryce used ethnicity in his study of Germans in Argentina.[79] Giralda Seyferth[80] and Frederick Luebke[81] also used "ethnicity" to describe the particularities of the German(-Brazilian) group in Brazil in the 1990s. "Ethnicity" as an alternative category to "race" came from the U.S., and in recent decades Kathleen Conzen et al.[82] published on the invention of ethnicity in the U.S., and Hans-Werner Retterath[83] has written on the ethnic construction of German-American-ness. For Namibia, Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber applied the term ethnicity to German Namibians in 1998.[84] Birte Kundrus[85] used the

[77] Hilda Sábato, "Pluralismo cultural en la Argentina: un balance critico," in *Buenos Aires: Comité internacional de Ciencias Históricas. Comité Argentino: Historiografía Argentina (1958-1988)*, 1990, 350–66; Fernando Devoto and Eduardo Jose Miguez, *Asociacionismo, trabajo e identidad étnica: los italianos en América Latina en una perspectiva comparada* (Buenos Aires: CEMLA-CSER-IEHS, 1992); Hernán Otero, *Crisol de razas e integración de inmigrantes en la estadística censal Argentina, 1869-1914* (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos de Demografia Histórica da América Latina, Universidade de São Paulo, 1996); Dedier Norberto Marquiegui, "Pluralismo social y cultural, crisol de razas y Multiculturalismo en el estudio de las migraciones masivas a la Argentina: una mirada histórica retrospectiva," *Astrolabio*, no. 2 (2005).

[78] Paula Seiguer, "Considerando la relación entre religión y nacionalidad: La Iglesia Anglicana en la Argentina como refugio de etnicidad," April 19, 2010; Paula Seiguer, "Religión y formas de producción de etnicidad: La iglesia Anglicana en la Argentina," in *Estudios de historia religiosa*, ed. Ana María Rodríguez (Santa Rosa, La Pampa [Argentina]: EDUNLPam - Prohistoria Ediciones, 2013), 17–39.

[79] Benjamin Bryce, "La etnicidad en el Argentinisches Tageblatt, 1905-1918: la discusión de una comunidad germánica y alemana," in *La inserción de la minoria alemana en Argentina entre 1900 y 1933*, ed. Regula Rohland de Langbehn and Miguel Vedda (Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Germanistas, 2008), 125–43; Benjamin Bryce, "Making Ethnic Space: Education, Religion, and the German Language in Argentina and Canada, 1880-1930" (Ph.D., York University, 2013).

[80] Giralda Seyferth, *Nacionalismo e identidade étnica: a ideologia germanista e o grupo étnico teuto-brasileiro numa comunidade do Vale do Itajaí* (Florianópolis S.C.: FCC Edições, 1982); Giralda Seyferth, ed., *Representação do "trabalho alemão" na ideologia étnica teuto-brasileira.* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, 1982); Giralda Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 7, no. 2 (1998): 131–54.

[81] Frederick Luebke, "The German Ethnic Group in Brazil: The Ordeal of World War I," in *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 123–37.

[82] Kathleen Neils Conzen, Ewa Morawska, and Rudolph J Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (1992): 3–41.

[83] Hans-Werner Retterath, *Deutschamerikanertum und Volkstumsgedanke: zur Ethnizitätskonstruktion durch die auslandsdeutsche Kulturarbeit zwischen 1918 und 1945* (Marburg, 2000).

[84] Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber, *Die verkehrte Hautfarbe: Ethnizität deutscher Namibier als Alltagspraxis* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1998).

term "ethnic identities" in the context of the German overseas empire, George Steinmetz modified Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social and symbolic capital into "ethnographic capital," [86] and John Friedman [87] used the term "ethnographic" for Namibia after independence and thus during the time of the Namibian nation-state. A parallel trend has been to move away from "racialized language" and towards a language of "identity": examples are Hergen Junge et al. studying the identity of the German-speaking community in Namibia, Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber [88] analyzing German identity in Namibia, Walter Wentenschuh[89] studying the German language group in south-western Africa, and Alexander Wurm[90] analyzing the cultural identity of German Namibians. On the other hand, there was the development of anthropology and ethnography – the study of humans and humanity – as science. This took place both in Argentina and in Germany. Patricia Arenas[91] has studied the contribution of German-speaking scholars in the development of anthropology in Argentina, and Carolyne Ryan[92] has examined the role of Indians in the constitution of Argentinean anthropology. For Germany, Andrew Zimmerman[93] and H. Glenn Penny[94] have studied the making of anthropology as academic fields. In case of Amerindians, German-speakers took part in the study of these "other" peoples to preserve them from extinction.

More generally, and theoretically, the analytical categories of "race" and "ethnicity" are expressions of perceived and lived alterity in the context of the construction of group

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85 Birthe Kundrus, "Blind Spots: Empire, Colonies, and Ethnic Identities in Modern German History," in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (Berghahn Books, 2008), 86–106.

86 George Steinmetz, "The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914," *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 4 (2008): 589–612.

87 John T. Friedman, *Imagining The Post-Apartheid State: An Ethnographic Account of Namibia* (Berghahn Books, 2013).

88 Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber, *Die abhängigen Herren: deutsche Identität in Namibia* (Münster: Lit, 1993).

89 Walter G. Wentenschuh, *Namibia und seine Deutschen: Geschichte und Gegenwart der deutschen Sprachgruppe im Südwesten Afrikas*, 1st ed. (Göttingen: Hess, 1995).

90 Alexander Wurm, *Identität im Dilemma?: Betrachtungen zur kulturellen Identität deutschstämmiger Namibier in Swakopmund* (Regensburg, 2005).

91 Patricia Arenas, *Antropologia en la Argentina: el aporte de los científicos de habla alemana* (Buenos Aires: Institución Cultural Argentino-Germana, 1991).

92 Carolyne Ryan, "Indigenous Possessions: Anthropology, Museums, and Nation-Making in Argentina, 1862-1943" (The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 2011).

93 Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2001).

94 H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, eds., *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

identity and sameness.[95] Historically, however, and as a category of experience, "race" has been linked to morality and science. A small number of scientists still today attempt to prove genetic difference and thus a biological foundation for "race." "Ethnicity" is oftentimes used as a euphemism to avoid the difficult history and abuse of the term "race" as a category of experience. However, I argue that early nineteenth-century contemporary German-speakers had an understanding of "German-ness" that was very close to a cultural identity: they used the term "race" rather as a cognate for a cultural-linguistic group or family. In Stricker's book from 1847, the "German element"[96] was synonymous to "German people," or rather the group of Germans within a larger society. In this sense, "German element" is somewhat comparable to how Conzen et al. have defined ethnicity within U.S. society.[97] The Alemanns also use the terminology of the "German element" in Argentina.[98] Carlos Octavio Bunge (*1875 – 1918) published his book *Nuestra America* in 1903, where he discussed the formation of an "Argentine race" (*raza argentina*). The way he used "race" in his book comes close to the definition of "nation" in the sense of "a people."[99] Bunge was part of the "generation of 1880," he was a sociologist, and professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, following the sociologist José Ingenieros (*1877 Palermo, Italy – 1925 Buenos Aires).

Many turn-of-the-century publications distinguished between Germanic (*germanisch*) and Latin (*romanisch*) peoples. In 1898, Carl Dunker distinguished between Germanic and Latin as two major civilized peoples with different methods of colonizing: the Germanic way was to eliminate indigenous peoples, whereas the Latin way was to incorporate indigenous peoples.[100] He included the Germans (*deutsch*), British, and Northern Europeans in the Germanic group and France, Spain, and Portugal in the Latin category. In 1912, Georg Hiller interpreted the Argentine decrees of 1873 as an attempt to increase immigration of the "German/Teutonic race" as a counterweight to the strong immigration from Latin lands.[101]

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[95] Brückmann, Maetzky, and Plümecke, "Rassifizierte Gene: Zur Aktualität biologischer 'Rasse' - Konzepte in den neuen Lebenswissenschaften," 23.

[96] Wilhelm Stricker, ed., *Germania: Archiv zur Kenntniss des deutschen Elements in allen Ländern der Erde*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Ludwig Brönner, 1847).

[97] Conzen, Morawska, and Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity."

[98] Theodor Alemann, *Station und Emporio Stroeder: Reisebeschreibung* (Buenos Aires, 1914), 14–15.

[99] Compare with Susana Villavicencio, "Sociología biológica y políticas raciales en la formación nacional. Lecturas del positivismo argentino" (Seminaire "Formations post-impériales et institution du social. Amérique latine (XIXe-XXe siècles)," Paris, France, February 2, 2016).

[100] Carl Dunker, *Kolonien und Kolonisation* (Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898).

[101] Georg Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien. Band 1: Einwanderung und Einwanderungspolitik* (Berlin: D. Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1912), 47.

While he proclaimed "*Aber das sind ja lauter Weiße!*"[102] ("But they are all white!"), he distinguished between a "German race" (*Germanische Rasse*) and a "Roman race" (*Romanische* [*Rasse*]).[103] In 1914, Rudolf F. Colditz wrote about the *Volksrassen* (roughly translated, "ethnic races").[104] He claimed in the journal of the German-South American Institute that "the British and Germans have contributed much economically to advancing [Argentina]. They often married daughters of this country. Their descendants, the so-called Anglo-Porteños and German-Argentineans, are highly esteemed and have a say in the economic life. The banker of German descent, Ernesto Tornquist, was for a long time the decisive financier of Argentina without whose consent no state bonds were negotiated. As minister, Emilio Frers changed directions in agriculture. Francisco Seeber has distinguished himself in various economic areas. Both are of German descent. These men unite with cool superiority that audacious spirit of enterprise that the German in the old *Heimat* unfortunately lacks."[105] He continued: "Germans have been the teachers to the young nation [Argentina] in many areas of engineering/technology." They built the electric power stations, the first underground, bridges, and water towers, and imported numerous machines.[106]

Wilhelm Keiper wrote in 1943 that Argentinians favored the immigration of whites in Argentina.[107] He distinguished between "old *criollos*" on the one hand and "new *criollos*" or "Euro-Argentinians" on the other. The former were the children of Spanish migrants only whereas the latter were the children of migrants from a variety of European countries since 1860s.[108] Nonetheless, he differentiated between "race" and "people" and said that Argentinians might not become a "race," but that they might become – probably would become – "a people" (*ein Volk*).[109] Keiper also cited Carlos Octavio Bunge in the way he was

[102] Ibid., ix.

[103] Ibid., 47.

[104] Rudolf F. von Colditz, "Der Einfluß der Volksrassen auf die Entwicklung der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und der Argentinischen Republik," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 193–221.

[105] Ibid., 215.

[106] Ibid., 216.

[107] Wilhelm Keiper, "Das Deutschtum in Argentinien: Sein Werden, Wesen und Wirken" (Berlin, September 22, 1943), 41, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[108] Ibid., 42.

[109] Ibid., 43.

describing Argentinians ("*mentira criolla*"): [110] Keiper emphasized that Bunge was an Argentinian-German who could understand the German viewpoint and criticism of the Argentinian people.

In Namibia, contemporaries did use the terminology of black and white: white for Germans and black for the indigenous or local populations. The mixed family was first presented as positive by the Rhenish Missionary society, which argued (even in 1884) that intermarriage should help to fortify German authority in the German protectorate, and only later, by 1913, was mixture portrayed as bad.[111] In 1905, Hans Tecklenburg, the vice-governor of German South-West Africa, declared marriages between black and white to be prohibited.[112] In 1909, Paul Rohrbach developed in detail a racist theory of why he considered the "black race" to be inferior to the "white race."[113] In 1914, Theodor Grentrup studied the history of "mixed race marriages," both in other the colonies of other European colonial powers as well as in the German protectorates.[114] Half-white children (*Halbweiße Kinder*) in Namibia attended a special school set up by the Rhenish missionaries.[115] They were the children of indigenous (*eingeborene*) mothers and German (*deutsche*) fathers.[116] Kathrin Roller and Ursula Trüper have studied the Schmelen-Kleinschmidt-Hegner family and written about the implications of this mixed family, in particular with regards to the question of mixing between black and white in Germany and the law of 1913 prohibiting such unions. They have illustrated how the acceptance of these mixed families changed over time from toleration of the Rhenish Missionary Society in the 1860s to elimination in the Third Reich. Wolfram Hartmann has written extensively on the early merchants and their relations with locals in Namibia: he found that non-marital relationships between German-speaking traders and merchants were common throughout the nineteenth century as part of the "*situation érotique et coloniale*," where local chiefs offered their women to Europeans as a form of

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110 Ibid., 44.

111 Kathrin Roller, "Mission und 'Mischehen', Erinnerung und Körper - geteiltes Gedächtnis an eine afrikanische Vorfahrin. Über die Familie Schmelen-Kleinschmidt-Hegner," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 194–211.

112 Kundrus, "Blind Spots," 94.

113 Paul Rohrbach, *Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft, kulturpolitische Grundsätze für die Rassen- und Missionsfragen* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Buchverlag der "Hilfe," 1909).

114 Theodor Grentrup, *Die Rassenmischehen in den deutschen Kolonien* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1914).

115 *Augustineum: Erziehungsanstalt für halbweiße Kinder, 1906-1909 (Band 1)*, 1909 1906, RMG 2.650a; *Augustineum: Erziehungsanstalt für halbweiße Kinder, 1910-1915 (Band 2)*, 1915 1910, RMG 2.650b.

116 *Augustineum: Erziehungsanstalt für halbweiße Kinder, 1906-1909 (Band 1)*, 69.

social inclusion and control.[117] Racialization thus played an important role in historians' analysis of German-speakers in the South Atlantic, and it also played an important role in contemporary conceptualizations of encountering the other and naming perceived biological difference.

1.1.2.1 The Politics of "Race"

Since the 1960s, scholars have attempted to explain how Nazism could have come about, why such an evil regime could emerge from the German people. Many came to the conclusion that the Third Reich was the logical conclusion of German history that everything inevitably led to the catastrophe. This line of argument became known as "German *Sonderweg*" (German special path). In recent decades, historians have, aided by transnational and global approaches, moved away from the *Sonderweg* theory: they highlight instead the connections between Western countries and their shared responsibility in Nazism. One of the main concerns about the *Sonderweg* has been the trap of writing teleological history.

Outside of Germany, both Argentina and Namibia have been associated with Nazism but in two different ways. While Nazis fled to Argentina and Nazism lived on there, after 1945 scholars claim that the roots of Nazism are to be found in Namibia, in the Nama-Herero genocide of 1904 – as if Nazism moved in a triangle. That Argentina is infamous for having been a Nazi refuge can only partially be blamed on the film industry. Most certainly, Adolf Eichmann is the most famous German Nazi criminal who found refuge in Argentina.[118] There is also the case of Erich Priebke, a German who went to Argentina and managed to live a peaceful life there – until his discovery and extradition from Argentina. In 2005, Cécile

[117] Wolfram Hartmann, "Sexual Encounters and Their Implications on an Open and Closing Frontier: Central Namibia from the 1840s to 1905" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 2002); Wolfram Hartmann, "Eine situation érotique et coloniale im 19. Jahrhundert: Männer und Frauen im südwestlichen Afrika," in *Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Lang, 2003), 129–45; Wolfram Hartmann, "'... als durchaus unerwünscht erachtet ...': Zur Genese des 'Mischehenverbotes in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 182–93; Dag Henrichsen, "'... unerwünscht im Schutzgebiet ... nicht schlechthin unsittlich': 'Mischehen' und deren Nachkommen im Visier der Kolonialverwaltung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 80–90.

[118] Álvaro Abós, *Eichmann en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2007); Bettina Stangneth, *Eichmann vor Jerusalem: das unbehelligte Leben eines Massenmörders* (Zürich: Arche, 2011).

Patingre and Graciela Barrault made a documentary about Priebke's life in Argentina.[119] They filmed his neighbors in Bariloche, Southern Argentina, who all seemed shocked by Priebke's Nazi past, summariy responding with the sentiment: "But he was such a nice neighbor – he could not have done anything wrong in his life." It was important that two outsiders came to the village and investigated this topic. Locals were not ready to confront the issue and were rather covering up Nazis among them. Denazification has hardly taken place in Argentina and the critical reading of the literature Nazis produced in Argentina remains limited. Many members of the German Club were either Nazis or associated with the Nazi Party in some form. The club's 1955 publication on the history of the German-Argentinean community remains one of the most important documents concerning accounts produced by its own members.[120] However, notably Karl Klingenfuss (*1901 Mannheim – 1990 Buenos Aires), one of its authors, who worked at the German embassy in Buenos Aires from 1939-1940, was an accomplice of the deportation of Jews, and even corresponded with Adolf Eichmann in 1942. After WWII, he was indicted for assisted murder during the Nuremberg trials but ultimately spared from punishment.[121] Wilhelm Keiper (*1868 Seehof near Kolberg, Pommern – 1962 Remagen near Bonn, Germany) presents another curious case. He worked for the Argentine state school system. He published several informational and educational pamphlets in the 1920s and 1930s approved by Nazi authorities. Many of his remaining texts still bear the Nazi administrative stamp while some of the books have had the stamps cut out carefully. Heinrich Volberg published a book on Germans in Argentina and their relation to the Third Reich, but he was a former leading member of the Nazi organisation abroad in Argentina and his publication had apologetic tendencies.[122]

Historians began to construct a critical historiography about Nazis in Argentina in the 1970s. The U.S. historian Ronald Newton put focus on the Germans that already lived in

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[119] Cécile Patingre and Graciela Barrault, *Monsieur Priebke, un nazi en Argentine* (Paris: Sombrero productions, 2005).

[120] Wilhelm Lütge, Werner Hoffmann, and Karl Wilhelm Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien* (Buenos Aires: Deutscher Klub, 1955).

[121] See Uki Goñi, *The Real Odessa: Smuggling the Nazis to Perón's Argentina* (London; New York: Granta, 2002).

[122] Heinrich Volberg, *Auslandsdeutschtum und Drittes Reich: der Fall Argentinien* (Köln; Wien: Böhlau, 1981); Tammo Luther, *Volkstumspolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1933-1938: die Auslanddeutschen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Traditionalisten und Nationalsozialisten* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 12.

Argentina before 1933.[123] He argued that the German community in Buenos Aires was thriving and welcomed the Nazi "refugees."[124] The field has since produced an extensive body of literature, with contributions from both scholars working in Germany as well as in Argentina.[125] Moreover, there was also a strong anti-Nazi movement in Argentina that developed a collective identity.[126] The Alemann family was important in the anti-Nazi movement: Ernesto Alemann co-founded the Pestalozzi school for anti-Nazis and he even lost his doctor title from Heidelberg over the issue. However, several Alemann family members were heavily involved in Argentine dictatorship between 1976 and 1983.

In the case of Namibia, scholars have mainly focused on the question of how Nazism in Europe originated in German colonialism in Namibia. Since the 1980s, scholars have been analyzing continuity between German settler colonialism during the *Kaiserreich* in Namibia and the Nazis' eastward expansion in Europe. In 1989, historian Woodruff D. Smith linked settlement colonialism and *Lebensraum* ("living space") to Nazism.[127] The work of Hans Grimm had a large influence on the imagery and concepts used by the Nazis. In particular his book *Volk ohne Raum* (People without Space)[128] from 1926 nourished the idea of a need for more living space and larger territory for Germans. By the turn of the twentieth century,

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123 Ronald C. Newton, "Social Change, Cultural Crisis, and the Origins of Nazism Within the German-Speaking Community of Buenos Aires, 1914-1933," *Northsouth* 1 (1976): 62–105.

124 Ronald C. Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933: Social Change and Cultural Crisis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977); See also Ronald C. Newton, *The "Nazi Menace" in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

125 Holger Meding, *Flucht vor Nürnberg?: deutsche und österreichische Einwanderung in Argentinien, 1945-1955* (Köln: Böhlau, 1992); Katrin Zielke, "'Deutschtum' in Chile und Argentinien: die Entwicklung deutscher Bauernsiedlungen zu Auslandsdeutschen des 3. Reiches; eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis der deutschen Kolonien in Chile und Argentinien zum deutschen Nationalsozialismus" (Ph.D., Freie Universität Berlin, 1996); Jürgen Müller, *Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika: die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Mexiko, 1931 - 1945*, Historamericana 3 (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1997); Goñi, *The Real Odessa*; Ignacio Klich, ed., *Sobre nazis y nazismo en cultura argentina* ([S.l.]: Hispamerica, 2002); Fundación de Investigaciones Históricas, Económicas y Sociales; Universidad de Buenos Aires. Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia Económica y Social, ed., *Los nazis en la Argentina: política y economía* (Buenos Aires: Fundación de Investigaciones Históricas, Económicas y Sociales, 2000); Sandra Carreras, ed., *Der Nationalsozialismus und Lateinamerika: Institutionen - Repräsentationen - Wissenskonstrukte*, Ibero-Online 3, I (Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 2005); Gaby Weber, *Daimler-Benz und die Argentinien-Connection: von Rattenlinien und Nazigeldern* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2004); Gaby Weber, *La conexión alemana: El lavado de dinero nazi en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2005).

126 Germán Friedmann, "Alemanes antinazis e identidad alemana en la Argentina. La conformación de una identidad colectiva en un grupo minoritario," *Studi Emigrazione* 46, no. 174 (2009): 447–67; Germán Friedmann, *Alemanes antinazis en la Argentina*, 1a. ed. (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2010); Germán Friedmann, "Alemania y los alemanes en la prensa alemana antinazi de Buenos Aires," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 123–42.

127 Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

128 Hans Grimm, *Volk ohne Raum* (München: A. Langen, 1926).

Grimm had lived over a decade in South Africa and visited Namibia**.** His time abroad surely influenced his work. Literary scholar Thomas Nolden has argued that "space" must be considered as an essential element of imperialist imagination in Grimm's novels,[129] and Nadja Krämer claimed that "pseudoscientific discourses of race and *Lebensraum* ('living space')" were central to Grimm's colonial project presented in his publications from 1913 to 1926.[130] In her scientific biography of Grimm, Annette Gümbel demonstrated Grimm's roots in the far-right *völkisch* ideology of the turn of the nineteenth century, which only later was taken up by the Nazis as a foundation for their brand of racist nationalism.[131] Some historians have claimed that the Namibian War was a genocide, and served as a test case for the holocaust, making a direct and continuous link between the German Empire and the Third Reich.[132] In 2008, Karsten Linne put a specific focus on plans for Nazi colonization projects in Africa.[133] Kathrin Roller has shown how Nazi policies created problems for descendants of "African ancestors" from mixed marriages several generations later.[134]

Birthe Kundrus has questioned the direct continuity between German colonial rule in Namibia and Nazi legislation in Germany.[135] She argued that continuity was not as straight forward between the Nama and Herero genocide and the Holocaust as some historians have claimed. Pascal Grosse also studied the question of how the *Kaiserreich* connected to Nazism.[136] Instead of assuming a direct linkage, he "propose[d] an approach based on correspondences between the two historical events instead of assuming direct lines of

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129 Thomas Nolden, "On Colonial Spaces and Bodies: Hans Grimm's Geschichten Aus Südwestafrika," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 125–40.

130 Nadja D. Krämer, "Auf, Freudige Germanen...!: Hans Grimm's Colonial Project, 1913-1926" (Ph.D., Indiana University, 2002).

131 Annette Gümbel, *"Volk ohne Raum": der Schriftsteller Hans Grimm zwischen nationalkonservativem Denken und völkischer Ideologie* (Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 2003).

132 David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010).

133 Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators?: Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2008).

134 Kathrin Roller, "Zwischen Rassismus und Frömmigkeit - Biopolitik aus erfahrungsgeschichtlicher Perspektive. Über die Geschwister Hegner, Mathilde Kleinschmidt und Ludwig Baumann als Nachfahren einer deutsch-afrikanischen Missionarsfamilie," in *Rassenmischehen, Mischlinge, Rassentrennung: zur Politik der Rasse im deutschen Kolonialreich*, ed. Frank Becker (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 220-.

135 Birthe Kundrus, "Von Windhoek nach Nürnberg? Koloniale 'Mischehenverbote' und die nationalsozialistische Rassengesetzgebung," in *Phantasiereiche: zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003), 110–31.

136 Pascal Grosse, "What Does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism?," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, ed. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 115–34.

causality leading from one to the other. The substance of those correspondences seem[ed] to lie in a shared governing structure based on a common biopolitical intellectual foundation – namely, eugenistic ideas of racial selection, racial reproduction, and territorial expansion, which [he calls] the 'racial order.'" [137]

The historiographies of race and Nazism seem to be bifurcated for the Argentinean and the Namibian case. The Argentine examples appear to focus on German migration (Nazi flight in many instances) and the attempt at integration within society, or integration of Argentine society to the Nazi cause. The Namibian example, conversely (and unsurpisingly), focuses more on territorial conquest in the perceived open spaces of the African continent and upon attempts at racial segregation and annihilation.

1.2 Synthesizing the Study of German-speaking Overseas Migration

In this section, we will discuss important secondary literature in migration history as well as consider how this literature applies to the migration of German-speakers to the South Atlantic. In 2009, Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder published a book entitled *What is Migration History*?[138] They provided a summary of the changes that occurred both in the movement of people across continents and oceans, and in the study of those people who moved. The emergence of world systems theories in the 1970s heavily influenced their approach to migration. Harzig and Hoerder favored the systems approach, which consists of three elements: the sending society, the voyage and the receiving society. They describe how, over time, scholars took different degrees of freedom of the agents into account. The levels of study can vary between macro, meso and micro levels. The cultural and linguistic turns enabled scholars to reevaluate the migrants' lives on the individual and group levels. As Harzig and Hoerder stated, the study of migrants had been greatly influenced by the Chicago School of Sociology, originating in the 1920s with repercussions throughout the following decades. In 1951, Oscar Handlin published *The Uprooted*, which is – particularly in

[137] Ibid., 118.

[138] Christiane Harzig, Dirk Hoerder, and Donna Gabaccia, *What Is Migration History?* (Cambridge UK; Malden MA: Polity, 2009).

retrospect – considered the basis for migration history as a field.[139] Its interpretation stood unchallenged until as late as 1964, when Rudolf J. Vecoli heavily criticized Handlin for oversimplifying and reinforcing the myth of an American melting pot, where all immigrants coming to the United States gave up who they were in order to become something new.[140] In John Bodnar's *The Transplanted* – a second response to Handlin – the title revealed the main argument: instead of being "uprooted" and leaving the old European home behind, migrants and their cultures were transplanted to the new world.[141] They remained who they were, they brought their "cultural baggage," and they negotiated their identities in their new environment. A similar debate took place in Argentina between the 1950s and 1990s, with Gino Germani and José Luis Romero favoring the "melting pot idea," and Fernando Devoto advocating the multicultural society model.[142]

In the U.S., Handlin, Vecoli, and Bodnar had been influenced by sociology. After the 1990s, historians started to be heavily influenced by another neighboring discipline: anthropology. Clifford Geertz's definition of culture as "webs of significance" took the study of culture to a new level based on semiotics.[143] In addition to archival material and statistics, the cultural productions of migrants now became a possible source for inquiry. Historians working in and after the 1990s created their own hybrid of social and cultural history, combining a variety of methods in different forms and degrees. Bodnar had already written about the tension between structures and the individual. This aspect was taken up by a number of scholars writing in the decades after him. In particular, José Moya provided a monumental study on Spanish migrants to Buenos Aires in *Cousins and Strangers*.[144] Moya collaborated with scholars from both the U.S. and Argentina. His study was an excellent example of the systems approach, as he dedicated one part to the migrants' situation in Spain and then another on the migrants' situation in Buenos Aires. He provided statistics on the local origin of the migrants in Spain and then looked at settlement patterns in the

[139] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951).

[140] Rudolph J Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted," *The Journal of American History* 51, no. 3 (1964): 404–17.

[141] John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

[142] Sábato, "Pluralismo cultural en la Argentina"; Marquiegui, "Pluralismo social y cultural, crisol de razas y Multiculuralismo en el estudio de las migraciones masivas a la Argentina: una mirada histórica retrospectiva."

[143] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[144] José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Argentine capital. Moya was critical of the push and pull approach, which Bodnar had used, but did not dismiss it entirely. He also attempted to integrate the cultural approach into his work, as he analyzed plays, letters, and other cultural productions of the migrants as sources for his study. Concerned with the tensions between structures and individual agency as well, Samuel Baily highlighted the importance of migrant networks in the migration process.[145]

The study of identities went hand in hand with contemporary politicization of immigrant groups. In 2000, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper published their article "Beyond 'Identity.'"[146] In this work, they were highly critical of the concept of identity, stating that it was being overused. Given the (mis)use of the term within (American) society, they urged scholars to distinguish between categories of practice and categories of analysis. Furthermore, they pleaded for the substitution of the word "identity" by other, more useful and more specific terms, such as "identification," "self-understanding," and "groupness." Brubaker and Cooper specifically wanted to distinguish between inside and outside views. In his study on eighteenth-century German-speakers' journey from the Palatinate to New York via England, Philip Otterness provided an example of the implications of both self- and outside identification in the migration process and the resulting creation of an ethnic identity. [147] He argued that eighteenth-century German-speaking migrants became "German" only after having left Central Europe for the Americas. Before leaving the European continent, they identified with their local provenance like the Palatinate, Bavaria, or the Rhineland.[148] The experience of being surrounded by English-speakers, first in England then in America, created a group spirit among the German-speakers and they came to identify with the label that was attributed to them from the outside: "German." Being confronted with other linguistic and cultural groups outside of their Central European homes highlighted the similarities of their dialects and lifestyles, which outweighed the differences they had previously perceived between themselves. He emphasized the importance of the instrumentalization and fluidity of identity.

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[145] Samuel L Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

[146] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity.'"

[147] Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[148] Ibid.; Fernando Devoto has argued similarly for the Italian case, see Fernando Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2006).

Another contested model for dealing with ethnic identity and transnationalism is the concept of diaspora. Since Robin Cohen published his book *Global Diasporas* in 1997, historians have debated the legitimacy and usefulness of this concept.[149] In particular in the second edition of his book from 2008, Cohen traced the development of the concept: starting out as a term to describe the unique experience of Jewish dispersal throughout the world, the term has been broadened to encompass more and more groups such as forced migration with the African Diaspora or trade diasporas such as the Lebanese and Chinese. While remaining highly critical of the concept of diaspora, Donna Gabaccia decided to use it as a tool in her study of Italian migration.[150] She argued, however, that instead of one single Italian diaspora, there were many Italian diasporas. This was her way to explain the geographic and spatial variety of the Italian migration experience. She aimed at providing an account of the global network of Italians. Some historians have studied Germans abroad as part of a German diaspora. In 2002, Dirk Hoerder published his article "The German-language Diasporas."[151] His intentions were similar to those of Gabaccia for the German case. Contrarily to her, however, he defined the members of this diaspora according to language. He used the notion of a German diaspora to bridge the gap between studying German-speakers in North America and Eastern Europe.[152] Instead of integrating every German-speaking community worldwide, he excluded certain groups – including German-speakers in Argentina and Namibia. For Hoerder, the German-speakers in Argentina before 1933 did not qualify as a diaspora because they formed "clusters of rural islands" and "clusters of urban elites connected to indigenous elites with lasting ties to Germany," whereas German-speakers in Namibia were simply left out of the discussion. More recently, Stefan Manz has analyzed German-speakers around the world through the lens of "diaspora under construction."[153] He argued that diaspora was a useful concept for historical study as long as it focused on the process rather than diaspora as a given. In his typology of diaspora, which resembles a systems approach, sociologist Stéphane Dufoix distinguished between the following three elements: a "referent-origin," a "home state," and "migrant

[149] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 2008).

[150] Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

[151] Dirk Hoerder, "The German-Language Diasporas: A Survey, Critique, and Interpretation," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 11 (2002): 7–44.

[152] Ibid.

[153] See Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire," 1871-1914*, Routledge Studies in Modern European History 24 (New York: Routledge, 2014).

collectivities." [154] In this diaspora model, the three elements function together and constitute the "diaspora as system." While the referent origin is vaguely territorially grounded, the home state may be desired or in the making.

In the collection of essays in the volume *The Heimat Abroad,* as well as in works by Bradley Naranch, the concept of diaspora seems to apply to all "Germans abroad."[155] Specifically, Naranch's article on "Creating the *Auslandsdeutsche*" claims that with the creation of the German Empire, increasing attention was given to those German-speakers residing outside its boundaries. For the case of Brazil, however, Seyferth contested that German-Brazilians did not want to be included in politics of the Empire, whereas Luebke argued that they did – at the same time – accept financial support for the maintenance of their (German) institutions in Brazil. Disregarding the internal views, anthropologist Janet Fuller used diaspora as an analytical tool.[156] For her, diaspora is existent when a group leaves a society where their language is the majority language in order to live in a society where their language is a minority language. Whereas for Kevin Kenny and his "Global Irish," diaspora as a tool would be a means to overcome national(ist) history writing and uncover the existence of a "diasporic space," Matthew Jacobson claimed (long-distance) nationalism to be a necessary condition for the existence of a diaspora.[157] In his book *Special Sorrows*, Jacobson undertook a convergent comparison of Irish, Polish and Jewish immigrant communities in the United States. According to Brubaker and Cooper's ideas, Jacobson's "diasporic consciousness" could be interpreted as self-identification of the individuals.

Two important historians working on the role of the state in the regulation of migration are Mae Ngai and Mark Choate. In her 2004 publication *Impossible Subjects*, Ngai provided several examples of how interactions between immigration law and enforcement and by broader social conventions prevented migrant groups from total acceptance into the United States. Her work provides a good example of Brubaker and Cooper's external identification of migrations within a receiving society, and how the state can impose

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[154] Stéphane Dufoix, *Diasporas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

[155] Bradley Naranch, "Inventing the Auslandsdeutsche: Emigration, Colonial Fantasy, and German National Identity, 1848-71," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, ed. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 21–40.

[156] Janet Fuller, "Language and Identity in the German Diaspora," in *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration, and Loss*, ed. Mathias Schulze et al. (Waterloo Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008).

[157] Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 1 (2003): 134–62; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

categories onto people and thus attempt to exert power over them. A quite different example of state interference is Mark Choate's *Emigrant Nation*.[158] Here the author illustrated how the Italian state attempted to control Italians abroad. He specifically rejected the idea of diaspora, since according to his interpretation a diaspora can only exist if there is no state (yet). Thus for the case of Italy after 1860, the Italian state was dealing with Italian citizens abroad and not an Italian diaspora. Choate, however, provided an interesting and informative example for the integrated study of migration and colonialism in the Italian case that proves useful in analyzing the German example as well.

German-speakers who left Central Europe in the nineteenth century predominantly chose the United States as their migration destination, but lower numbers also went to Brazil, Chile, and Argentina.[159] Argentina experienced its height of European immigration (mainly Italian and Spanish) between 1869 and 1914, a time when over half of Buenos Aires inhabitants were foreign-born.[160] Historians have studied German-speakers in Argentina from the perspective of migration rather than as an extension of German history. Much interest has been devoted to migration between 1933 and 1945.[161] Anne Saint Sauveur published the most comprehensive study, attempting to cover the time between the 1500s and 1945.[162] Following in her path, various scholars have studied smaller segments: Sandra Carreras, for example, has edited a volume on Prussia and Latin America.[163] However, little scholarship looks at German-speakers in Argentina from a Central European perspective. Few scholars have studied the German-Argentinean community itself during and before

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158 Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

159 See Walter Kamphoefner, "¿Quienes fueron al sur? La eleccion de destino entre los inmigrantes alemanes en el siglo XIX," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 14, no. 42 (1999): 23–47; María Bjerg, *Historias de la inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires; Barcelona: Edhasa, 2009).

160 The most prominent scholar having worked on the Italians in Argentina is Fernando Devoto; see Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina*; Jose Moya is expert on Spanish migration to Argentina, see Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*; Devoto has also published a very important general work on immigration to Argentina, see Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana, 2003); See also Bjerg, *Historias de la inmigración en la Argentina*.

161 Meding, *Flucht vor Nürnberg?*; Holger Meding and Georg Ismar, eds., *Argentinien und das Dritte Reich: mediale und reale Präsenz, Ideologietransfer, Folgewirkungen* (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2008); Klich, *Sobre nazis y nazismo en cultura argentina*; Patrik Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtziel Lateinamerika: Die deutsche Emigration 1933-1945: politische Aktivitäten und soziokulturelle Integration* (Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1988).

162 Anne Saint Sauveur-Henn, *Un siècle d'émigration allemande vers l'Argentine, 1853-1945* (Köln: Böhlau, 1995).

163 Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold, eds., *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004).

World War I. More recently, Benjamin Bryce's comparative dissertation on German-speakers in Argentina and Canada between 1880 and 1930 looks beyond the limited temporal range with a focus on ethnicity, schools, and churches.[164] However, a comprehensive study of Germans in Argentina still needs to be written.[165] German-speakers going to Namibia, by contrast, have been studied almost exclusively in the context of German colonialism rather than as migrants. Migration studies constitutes a newer field in history than empire studies, but not newer than the new imperial history originating in England. We should therefore study German-speakers moving from Central Europe to both Argentina and Namibia as part of migration history.

1.2.2 Historical Neglect and the Fate of German-speaking Women

Historians have started to make an effort to restore women to their place in history. Women have been neglected and ignored by historians at some times, and intensively studied at others.[166] The objective here is twofold: to connect the different – and seemingly contrary and opposite – experiences and actions of women: to render the invisible women visible and to discuss women's complicity within the South Atlantic German-speaking communities, German-speaking colonies, and German colonization. Among the long silenced or forgotten women were local women in Namibia, like the Zara Schmelen[167] or Uerieta Kazahendike,[168] who worked in the shadow of famous German-speaking missionaries Johann Heinrich Schmelen and Carl Hugo Hahn. Nama-speaker Zara Schmelen was Heinrich Schmelen's first wife and the actual author of the Nama-German dictionary published under his name. Likewise, Herero-speaker Uerieta Johanna Gertze or Urieta (Johanna Maria) Kazahendike

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164 Bryce, "Making Ethnic Space."

165 See Regula Rohland de Langbehn and Miguel Vedda, eds., *La inserción de la minoria alemana en Argentina entre 1900 y 1933* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Germanistas, 2008).

166 Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography* (Berghahn Books, 2008).

167 Ursula Trüper, *The Invisible Woman: Zara Schmelen; African Mission Assistant at the Cape and in Namaland*, Basler Afrika Bibliographien (Windhoek, Namibia: John Meinert Printing, 2006).

168 Brigitte Lau, "Johanna Uerieta Gertze and Emma Hahn: Some Thoughts on the Silence of Historical Records, with Reference to Carl Hugo Hahn," in *History and Historiography: 4 Essays in Reprint*, ed. Annemarie Heywood (Windhoek: Discourse/ MSORP, 1995), 53–64; Diane Hubbard, "Urieta (Johanna Maria) Kazahendike, God's Peace and Blessing, Namibia 1861, German," in *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*, ed. Margaret J. Daymond et al. (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2003), 96–97; Kathleen E. Sheldon, *Historical Dictionary of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Second Edition (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016), 112.

was the actual author of the Herero-German dictionary that brought Hahn fame and an honorary doctorate in Germany. Namibian historian Brigitte Lau also includes the wife of missionary Carl Hugo Hahn, Emma in the list of women who had been silenced by historiography, at least until the 1990s. Emma Hone had gone to South Africa as a missionary herself and taught at a school before meeting and marrying Carl Hugo and following him further north to Namibia. A published collection of her letters to family members in England provide detailed insight into her experiences in both South Africa and Namibia.[169] While English was her first language, she also learned some German herself, and her children were raised multilingual.

There were other women active among the German-speaking missionaries in Namibia, like Katherine Albertine Kleinschmidt,[170] who was born on 19 July 1847 as the daughter of Hanna and Franz Kleinschmidt.[171] Katherine was the granddaughter of Heinrich Schmelen and his first wife Zara, as Hanna Kleinschmidt was their daughter. Among the other missionaries and missionary colonists sending their reports to the Rhenish Missionary Society in Germany, she was one of the few early women witnesses of life in Namibia before German imperial land claims. Katherine wrote the letter on 2 December 1870, when she was back in Namibia, after having stayed in Barmen, Germany for a few years with the missionary inspector Friedrich Fabri's family. She reported on the way the missionaries celebrated the German victory of the 1870-71 war with raising the German flag and a German-language church service. She also described her work in the local school. She later married Finish missionary Botolf Bernhard Börklund in 1874.[172]

For Namibia, historians have claimed that feminism was intertwined with colonialism. Working as missionaries and nurses gave women the opportunity to cross the line between the private and the public sphere and enter the public workforce, but strengthened the

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[169] Emma Sarah Hahn, *The Letters of Emma Sarah Hahn, Pioneer Missionary Among the Herero*, ed. Dorothy Guedes and Peter Reiner (Windhoek; Johannesburg: Namibia Scientific Society; Thorold's Africana Books [distributor], 1992).

[170] K[atherine Albertine] Kleinschmidt, "[Colonist Letter 29] K. Kleinschmidt to Inspektor Friedrich Fabri," December 2, 1870, RMG 2.573, Bl. 88-92; her letters to the Rhenish Missionary Society in Barmen, Germany have survived in the Wuppertal archives, classified among the missionary colonist letters.

[171] Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland. Part V: Register and Indexes*, ed. Brigitte Lau, vol. 5 (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1985), 1269.

[172] Emma Sarah Hahn, *The Letters of Emma Sarah Hahn*, *Pioneer Missionary Among the Herero*, ed. Dorothy Guedes and Peter Reiner (Windhoek; Johannesburg: Namibia Scientific Society; Thorold's Africana Books [distributor], 1992), 399.

colonial project in the process.[173] In 2009, historian Andreas Eckl pleaded for feminist missionary history writing.[174] He claimed that women missionaries, while still being understudied by historians, had an even greater impact on local and indigenous women with regards to changing their everyday life. Laura Wildenthal has argued that German women first asserted their desire for equality in the field of nursing in the official colonies.[175] Julia Besten has also argued that work as a missionary was a way for Euro-German women to gain more independence and emancipate themselves, as they were no longer at the bottom of the societal hierarchy.[176] At one time, women considered it part of fighting for women's rights to partake in colonization. Lina Stahlhut was such a woman.[177] Born as Lina Rohe, marrying Rhenish missionary Wilhelm Stahlhut in 1896 made it acceptable to her family that she became a missionary and left her home for Namibia. In Windhoek, she worked at a sewing school and helped teach "civilizing values" through "appropriate" clothing to local women. Similarly, Hedwig von Rhoden married widowed Rhenish missionary Johann Jakob Irle in 1890 and followed him to Namibia. She published several books about her experiences in Namibia, in particular about the Herero.[178] However, it seems like that early missionary wives spent much of their time just being housewives. Francis Galton observed in 1851 that "[t]he wife does the whole housework, cleaning the rooms, managing the children, cooking the dinner, and, what I never liked, waiting at table. These ladies have the hardest and rudest of occupations, but, I must candidly say, they seem to like this life

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173 Andreas Eckl, "Grundzüge einer feministischen Missionsgeschichtsschreibung: Missionarsgattinnen, Diakonissen und Missionsschwestern in der deutschen kolonialen Frauenmission," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 132–45; Britta Schilling, "'Deutsche Frauen! Euch und Eure Kinder geht es an!': Deutsche Frauen als Aktivistinnen für die koloniale Idee," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 70–78.

174 Eckl, "Grundzüge einer feministischen Missionsgeschichtsschreibung: Missionarsgattinnen, Diakonissen und Missionsschwestern in der deutschen kolonialen Frauenmission."

175 Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*, 13–53.

176 Julia Besten, "Des Meisters Ruf: Lina Stahlhut: Missionarsehefrau und Missionsschwester der Rheinischen Mission," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 146–55.

177 Aenne Trey, *Leidgesegnet: ein Lebensbild von Schwester Lina Stahlhut Südwestafrika* (Wuppertal-Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1938).

178 Hedwig Irle, *Die schwarze Johanna: Johanna Maria Gertse, die erste Hererochristin* (Stuttgart: Jugend- und Volksschriften-Verlag, 1900); Hedwig Irle, *Eine schwarze Prinzessin* (Barmen: Missionshaus-Verlag, 1910); Hedwig Irle, *Unsere schwarzen Landsleute in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1911); Hedwig Irle, *Wie ich die Herero lieben lernte* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1914); Hedwig Irle, *In Gottes Schule: Lebensbild einer Missionarin* (Barmen: Verlag [Kontor] des Missionshauses, 1925).

extremely, and I am sure that Missionaries must find great favour in the eyes of the fairer sex, judging from the charming partners that they have the good fortune to obtain."[179]

There were those women born in Euro-German lands who moved to the South Atlantic in their lifetime, usually as young adults; they had been socialized in Euro-German lands and brought their ideas with them. Secondly, there were those women who were "second generation" German-speakers, who were born in the South Atlantic as daughters of the former. As a third group, there were those women who were not primarily German-speakers, but whose everyday life was largely influenced by a German-speaker, be it through marriage or a marriage-like relationship, or through employment. And then there were those women who never travelled to the South Atlantic and wrote about it nonetheless, in a similar fashion as Karl May. We will discuss women authors who were involved in writing colonization propaganda like Frieda von Bülow, Adda von Liliencron, Valerie Hodann, and Christine Holstein (Margarete Jähne) in Chapter 8.

Delfina Bunge could also be considered a German-Argentine writer.[180] While Delfina was a child of the German-speaking Bunge family, whose wealth at the turn of the twentieth century mainly came from wheat exports, she was removed from her German heritage and loosely identified with European nobility at large. In her costly voyages to Europe with her mother, they preferred to visit Paris. Her granddaughter posthumously published parts of Delfina's diaries that give insight in her childhood and youth.[181] Leonore Niessen-Deiters was a journalist working for the *Kölner Zeitung* and published several articles on the topic of women in the German protectorates,[182] before she started a relationship with Ernesto Quesada in 1914 and moved to Buenos Aires with him.[183] Writing about German women

[179] Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa: Being an Account of a Visit to Damaraland in 1851* (Ward, Lock, 1889), 17f.

[180] Delfina Bunge de Gálvez, *Viaje alrededor de mi infancia* (Buenos Aires: [Lopez], 1941).

[181] Lucía Gálvez, *Delfina Bunge: Diarios intimos de una época brilliante* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta Argentina, 2000).

[182] Leonore Niessen-Deiters, ed., *Die deutsche Frau im Auslande und in den Schutzgebieten; nach Originalberichten aus fünf Erdteilen* (Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co., 1913); Leonore Niessen-Deiters, "Die deutsche Frau in den Schutzgebieten und im Ausland," in *Das Frauenbuch: Stellung und Aufgaben der Frau im Recht und in der Gesellschaft*, ed. Eugenie von Soden, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung, 1914).

[183] Leonore Niessen-Deiters, *Berichte aus Argentinien in der Kölnischen Zeitung 1913 und 1920*, ed. Günter Vollmer (Berlin, 1994); Ernesto Quesada, a Germanophile, would later donate his library to the institution that would become the Ibero-American library in Berlin, see Sandra Carreras, "Die Quesada-Bibliothek kommt nach Berlin. Zu den Hintergründen einer Schenkung," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, ed. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 305–20.

abroad, she claimed that German housewives re-created small Germanies abroad.[184] German-speaking women were not only housewives. The group of "forgotten and silenced" women also includes those "nameless" women who moved to Argentina and do not show up in most historical analyses, and most certainly not in the context of colonization. For German-speaking women in Argentina, we can draw on newspapers as a source, and job advertisements in particular. These reveal that German-speaking women worked outside their homes as teachers,[185] hair dressers,[186] modists,[187] cooks,[188] midwifes,[189] doctors,[190]

[184] Niessen-Deiters, *Die deutsche Frau im Auslande und in den Schutzgebieten; nach Originalberichten aus fünf Erdteilen*, 7; Eleonore Niessen-Deiters specifically put together a book with accounts from German women abroad and not just in the German protectorates.

[185] H. Rudolf, "Aus dem Tagebuch einer Lehrerin," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, June 18, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Frau Kieberich, "Deutsches Schülerheim Haus Kieberich," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Auguste Schede, "Deutsche Mädchenschule," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt Für die Deutschredenden am La Plata*, December 4, 1896, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 73; Winslow, "Schwimmunterricht für Damen und Mädchen," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[186] Charlotte Ehrke, "Anfertigung aller Haararbeiten zu mässigen Preisen. Fertige Haarflechten zu den billigsten Preisen: Frau Charlotte Ehrke, Friseurin," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 6, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Witwe Carlos Löther, "Bekanntmachung! [...] Haarfrisuren-Geschäft ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[187] "Neuste Moden! Frau Schwer, Modistin, erlaubt sich hiermit, die geehrte Damenwelt von Buenos Aires zu dem Besuch ihres neu eingerichteten Geschäfts-Locales einzuladen," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, May 2, 1885, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Antonie Kania, "Als Schneiderin und Modistin empfiehlt sich den geehrten Damen von Windhoek und Umgegend ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, August 31, 1899, NAN; Löther, "Bekanntmachung! [...] Haarfrisuren-Geschäft ..."

[188] Sta. E. Norbutat, "Deutsche, 30 Jahre alt, evang.-luth., welche perfekt englisch und spanisch spricht, tüchtige Haushälterin und Köchin, sucht Stellung in Privathause oder Estancia ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Frau und Tochter, 14 Jahe alt, suchen Stelle, die Frau als Köchin und Hausarbeit, die Tochter für Kindern und leichte Hausarbeit, auch nach auswärts," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutsche Köchin sucht Stellung auf dem Lande in der Nähe von Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Gebildetes Fräulein, welches sehr gut kochen kann, sucht selbständige Stelle," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[189] "Frau Elisabeth Charles: Deutsche Hebamme," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 28, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Elisa Heim, "Elisa Heim, Hebamme," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 1, 1878; "Wittwe Anna Berger, Geburtshelferin und Professorin der Massage," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 4, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; D. Schäfer, "Frau D. Schäfer, Hebamme," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 6, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Frau Bornert Witwe, Hebamme," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 6, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Paula Janssen, "Hebamme (Oesterreicherin), staatlich geprüft, praktisch erfahren, empfiehlt sich der deutschen Kolonie ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 6, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[190] Cecilia Grierson, "Fri. Doctora Cecilia Grierson. Prakt. Arzt, Spezialistin für Frauenkrankheiten und Geburtshülfe," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Maria Mauthe, "Maria Mauthe, Deutsch-amerikanische Zahnärztin," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Srta. Dr. Eyle, Médico," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

barkeepers,[191] and shopkeepers.[192] In many cases widows continued to run the shared business after a husband's death. In some cases, mothers and daughters both sought jobs together in the DLPZ.[193] Some women highlighted the fact that they were from "better" family backgrounds.[194] In Argentina, girls also had their own schools: in 1866, the *Colegio Central* advertised being a German Girls School in the *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de La Plata*.[195] In 1880, the DLPZ published an advertisement for *Colegio Nuevo* for girls and in 1896, there were two German schools exclusively for girls.[196] In 1899, the German Colonial Society specifically made German-speaking girls go to the German protectorate South-West Africa in order to ensure the perpetuation of German families and lineages.[197] There was a specific teaching farm (*Lehrfarm*) where German girls should learn farming – and thus colonizing – in the German protectorate.[198] On both sides of the South Atlantic, women organized in women's associations (*Frauenverein*). In Argentina, the German women's association advertised in the Protestant church paper as early as 1896.[199] By 1907, it also

[191] M. Schurz, "Speisehaus von Frau M. Schurz in Windhoek. Täglich warme und kalte Speisen," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 24, 1898, NAN.

[192] "Wohnungsveränderung. Wittwe Helmund verlegte ihr Spielwaaren-Geschäft nach der Calle Uruguay Nr. 394 ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 9, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[193] A. B., "Gesetzte Frau mit Tochter sucht Stellung als Wirtschafterin [...]; bevorzugt Herrenhaushalt," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Frau und Tochter, 14 Jahe alt, suchen Stelle, die Frau als Köchin und Hausarbeit, die Tochter für Kindern und leichte Hausarbeit, auch nach auswärts."

[194] "Bessere Deutsche sucht Stelle in Schneider- oder Putzatelier," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 8, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Gebildetes Fräulein, welches sehr gut kochen kann, sucht selbständige Stelle."

[195] E. Pfister, "Colegio Central. Deutsche Mädchenschule," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 2, 1866.

[196] J. Neumeier, "Colegio Nuevo für Mädchen," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 6, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Schede, "Deutsche Mädchenschule"; Clara Schwarz, "Deutsche Mädchenschule und Pensionat," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt Für die Deutschredenden am La Plata*, December 4, 1896, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 73.

[197] "Von den jungen Mädchen, die hierher gekommen sind, um Stellungen anzunehmen ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 2, 1899, sec. Aus dem Schutzgebiet, NAN; "Deutsche Mädchen in Südwestafrika," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, May 25, 1899, NAN; "Von unseren neuen Mitbürgerinnen ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, February 2, 1899, sec. Local-Nachrichten, NAN; "Am Sonnabend vor Weihnachten trafen 5 junge Mädchen, die durch Vermittlung der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft die Reise ins Schutzgebiet gemacht haben in Windhoek ein ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 4, 1900, NAN.

[198] "Die Lehrfarm in Südwest-Afrika für junge Mädchen," 1909 1907, BArch R 1001/1951, pag. 74.

[199] "Deutscher Frauenverein," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt Für die Deutschredenden am La Plata*, December 4, 1896, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 73; See also Regula Rohland de Langbehn, "La Iglesia Evangélica Alemana como promotora de asociaciones benéficas en Buenos Aires. Dos casos: el Deutscher Frauenverein y el Deutsches Seemansheim," in *La inserción de la minoría alemana en Argentina entre 1900 y 1933*, ed. Regula Rohland de Langbehn and Miguel Vedda (Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Germanistas, 2008), 109–24.

advertised its residential hall, which was exclusively for German-speaking women.[200] In Namibia, the women's section of the German Colonial Society had a branch in Keetmanshoop by 1913.[201] A women's association for German-speaking women in Namibia was only founded in 1921, after the end of the German colonial time.[202] South Atlantic German-speaking women were thus active in a variety of ways and contributed to the founding of German communities in both Argentina and Namibia and participated in colonization in both locations.

1.2.3 Social Class as Determining Factor for Settlement Destinations

In 1914, the newspaper *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (DLPZ) featured an advertisement addressed to men inciting them to gift a piece of land in the Argentine interior to their fiancées, wives, or their children.[203] Much of the historiography emphasizes the elite character of the German-Argentine merchant business families, and the fact that mostly men came to Argentina and married wealthy local women (though the reverse also occurred, as in the example of the Zimmermann and Halbach family).[204] The 1955 German Club publication claimed that the German-speaking merchant families at the beginning of the nineteenth century were upper-class – as they received a multilingual education – and

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200 "Heim des Deutschen Frauenvereins," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Vereins-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Das Heim des Deutschen Frauenvereins," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 5, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

201 "Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonial-Gesellschaft, Abteilung Keetmanshoop," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, April 24, 1913, sec. 2. Blatt zur „Keetmanshooper Zeitung", SBB - Westhafen.

202 "Der Deutsche Frauenverein: Der Deutsche Frauenverein wurde am 1. April 1921 gegründet. Seine Aufgabe sollte der Zusammenschluß Südwester Frauen zu gemeinsamer Arbeit, allgemeiner Wohltätigkeit, werktätiger Nächstenliebe und Unterstützung notleidender Menschen sein," *Die Republikein*, June 16, 1988, Deutsch-Südwestafrika / Duis-Suidwes-Afrika edition.

203 A. H. Archer, "Schenken Sie Ihrer Braut, Frau oder Kind eine Landparzelle in 'Valle Hermoso,'" *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

204 See Roy Hora, "Landowning Bourgeoisie or Business Bourgeoisie? On the Peculiarities of the Argentine Economic Elite, 1880-1945," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 3 (2002): 587–623; Stephanie Bower, "Political and Socio-Economic Elites: The Encounter of Provincials with Portenos in Fin-De-Siècle Buenos Aires," *The Americas* 59, no. 3 (2003): 379–403; Yovanna Pineda, "Sources of Finance and Reputation: Merchant Finance Groups in Argentine Industrialization, 1890-1930," *Latin American Research Review* 41, no. 2 (2006): 3–30; Peter Birle, ed., *Elites en América Latina* (Madrid; Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2007); Leandro Losada, *La alta sociedad en la Buenos Aires de la "Belle époque": sociabilidad, estilos de vida e identidades* (Bueno Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editora Iberoamericana, 2008); Leandro Losada, *Historia de las elites en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009); Andreas Schumacher, *Die rheinischen Kaufmannseliten in Argentinien - vornehmlich am Beispiel der Familie Bunge* (Wiesbaden: [Selbstverl.], 2010).

for that reason Argentinians confounded them with English-speakers and put them in the category of "*ingleses*" at a time when this term signified prestigeous foreigner.[205]

In 1880, Ernst Bachmann promulgated that his newspaper, the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, brought all German-speakers in Argentina together, whereas in Europe class divisions ensured that not everyone read the same newspaper.[206] Four years later, Bachmann wrote in the introduction to the yearbook and address calendar of the German colony of Buenos Aires that German-speakers in Buenos Aires were very enthusiastic about the 1870-71 war between Germany and France. Bachman had gone to Europe to participate in the war on the German side.[207] He described the 1871 victory as the "renaissance of Germanness" ("*Wiedergeburt des Deutschthums*"). Not knowing the outcome of the war after the ship *Araucania* had brought the news of the declaration of war on August 8, 1870, German-speakers formed a committee to collect donations for the fighting soldiers in Europe. The two German newspapers of the time printed the same invocation to the Germans in Argentina, which called the war a holy war.[208] Bachmann also claimed that the German victory erased all political and class differences of the German colony in Buenos Aires and let it seem to be like a large family.[209]

Meanwhile, other primary sources reported ongoing class tensions in the South Atlantic German communities. In 1862, established members of Argentina's German Protestant church, at that time their only ethnic institution, opposed the new "democrats" in their midst: the conflict resulted in the foundation of the socialist association *Verein Vorwärts* and the *Neue Deutsche Schule* (New German school).[210] More recently, several historians have studied German workers and socialists in Argentina: like the Bunge & Born workers in the flour mills, the club and newspaper *Vorwärts* (Forward), and the socialist Oswaldo Seyffert.[211] There were thus wealthy merchants as well as modest workers among the German-speakers in Argentina.

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[205] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 101.

[206] E. Bachmann, "Redaktion," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 9, 1880, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[207] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 5.

[208] Ibid., 6.

[209] Ibid., 8.

[210] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 189.

[211] María Ester Rapalo and María Victoria Grillo, "Un caso de solidaridad obrera: el conflicto de 1918 entre Bunge y Born y los obreros de sus empresas molineras," in *En los deltas de la memoria: Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Bart De Groof et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 99–105; Jessica Zeller,

In Namibia, scholars claim, mostly wealthy families sent their members to settle in the German protectorate of South-West Africa between the turn of the century and WWI. It is indeed noticeable how many family names included noble particles. However, historian Harald Sippel has asserted that during the time of the German protectorate, German settlers originated in all different layers of society, from wealthy aristoracts to penniless day laborers.[212] There was, for example, legislation passed to protect workers in the German protectorates.[213] The missionaries who went to Namibia were, however, from a higher level of society: they came from well-to-do families who could afford to send their children to missionary schools in Central Europe, first to the London Missionary Society who had a school in Berlin, and later to the Rhenish Missionary Society school in Barmen. District officer Rudolf Böhmer said that the descendants of the missionary merchants and artisans who migrated to Namibia in the 1860s belonged to the most respected and esteemed families in Namibia in 1912.[214] Lateron, officers working for the information office for migration in Berlin made known that migrants needed a certain budget in order to make it in Namibia and colonial advocates attempted to keep poor German-speakers from migrating to the official German colonies.

1.2.4 South Atlantic Receiving Societies, Degrees of Europeanization, and Otherness

"Receiving society" is the term migration historians use for the society welcoming the migrants. While migration scholars have applied this term to the Argentine state and other settler-colonial nations like the U.S. and Canada, they have not specifically considered the

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"Der Beitrag deutscher Sozialisten in den Anfängen der Arbeiterbewegung und des Sozialismus in Argentinien, Der Verein und die Zeitung 'Vorwärts' in Buenos Aires (1882-1901)" (Freie Universität Berlin, 2004); Regula Rohland de Langbehn, "Un socialista alemán de primera hora en Buenos Aires: Oswaldo Seyffert y sus observaciones sobre el submundo porteño de 1904," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 109–22; Yovanna Pineda, *Industrial Development in a Frontier Economy: The Industrialization of Argentina, 1890-1930* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009); Yovanna Pineda, "Manufacturing Innovation in Argentina, 1890-1930," *The Business History Review* 83, no. 3 (2009): 539–62.

[212] Harald Sippel, "Fremde oder Heimat? - Zur Funktion der kolonialen Rechtsordnung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," in *Deutsche in der Fremde: Assimilation, Abgrenzung, Integration*, ed. Torsten Kühlmann and Bernd Müller-Jacquier (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2007), 196.

[213] Peter J. Schröder, *Gesetzgebung und "Arbeiterfrage" in den Kolonien: das Arbeitsrecht in den Schutzgebieten des Deutschen Reiches*, Europa-Übersee: Historische Studien 18 (Berlin: Lit, 2006).

[214] Rudolf Böhmer, "Deutsch-evangelisches Leben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Vortrag auf dem II. Deutschen Kolonial-Missionstage zu Kassel," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für deutsch-evangelisches Leben in den Schutzgebieten und im Ausland - E.V.*, October 1912, No. 13 edition, EZA 5/2916.

indigenous populations on both sides of the South Atlantic as the receiving societies for Europeans and German-speakers in particular. On the South American side, German-speakers met various indigenous peoples such as the Mapuches (Araucanians), Tehuelches, Ranqueles, and Patagons.[215] In Southern Africa, they met Otjiherero-speakers and various Khoisan or Nama groups (among them Orlam).[216]

Swiss-German Carlos Beck Bernard wrote in 1868 that when the Spanish discovered the territory of present-day Argentina in the sixteenth century, it was sparsely populated by indigenous peoples [*Ureinwohner*] whom they called Indians [*Indianer*], which were composed of three main "races:" Guaranis in the north, Quichas in the north-west and Araunaian Mapuche [*Araucanier*] in the south-west.[217] Beck Bernard stated that remains of the "main races" and some of their "side tribes" [*Nebenstämme*] still existed, "some in a wild, some in a somewhat civilized state", but they were decreasing at a fast rate and mixing gradually with the white population of European descent. This latter group consisted of only Spaniards in the beginning, but incorporated immigrants of all European nations after 1824. He also claimed that the agricultural colonies never had to fear "wild Indians": they were not against colonists per se, and they were afraid of "fire weapons."[218] Moreover, in 1877, Johann Alemann wrote on the "Indians":

> Not without importance in this regard is the race mixing of the indigenous Indians, whose gradual disappearance can only be considered a matter of time […]. But the Indian being or the Indian character will not get lost, because this being, as it seems, is a necessary product of this country, of the climate, of the soil and it becomes manifested in the immigrant after some time just as with the indigenous. It is a fact that cannot be denied that just like the Spaniard in America has become a different being than in the former home, that something Indian-like has become manifest in his character. The original image of that is the gaucho. One encounters this Indian-likeness in popular life in every step, and not only the Spaniard but also the descendants of other nationalities are ailing from it.[219]

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[215] Raúl Mandrini, *La Argentina aborigen: de los primeros pobladores a 1910*, 1. ed (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Ed., 2008); Brian Du Toit, *Colonia Boer: An Afrikaner Settlement in Chubut, Argentina* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1995); Ryan, "Indigenous Possessions: Anthropology, Museums, and Nation-Making in Argentina, 1862-1943"; Claudia Torre, *El otro desierto de la nación argentina: antología de narrativa expedicionaria* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2011).

[216] Marion Wallace and John Kinahan, *A History of Namibia: From the Beginning to 1990* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Trüper, *The Invisible Woman*.

[217] Carlos Beck Bernard, *Die Argentinische Republik als Auswanderungsziel* (Bern: Allemann, 1868), 15.

[218] Ibid., 36.

[219] Johann Jakob Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik* (Buenos Aires: Dampf-Buchdruckerei des "Courrier de la Plata," 1877), 121.

Alemann was thus convinced that migrant newcomers would also adjust to the Argentinean character through the environment.

Across the Atlantic at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Orlam were a Nama group strongly influenced by Europeans: they dressed in European fashion, spoke Afrikaans, practiced Protestant Christianity, and carried European firearms.[220] But contemporaneous Europeans did not accept and recognize them as valid authorities, as the partition of Africa at the 1884 Berlin congress and subsequent similar events illustrated. In 1850, traveler Charles John Andersson described the first "natives" he saw as savages (*Wilde*) of daunting appearance. But then he explained that he and Galton went towards them, and with the help of missionary Schöneberg communicated with signs and gestures, asking them to transmit a letter to missionary Bam further in the interior, offering tobacco in exchange.[221] Ursula Trüper has argued that local chiefs in Namibia wanted contact with missionaries, as they also brought trade goods, methods for agriculture, etc.[222]

On both sides of the Atlantic, we can find examples of contemporary German-speakers labeling indigenous peoples as "nations" in the sense of "peoples." At the end of the eighteenth century, the Jesuit missionary Martin Dobrizhoffer called the Abipones of Argentina and Paraguay a nation.[223] In Namibia, the colonial soldier (*Schutztruppler*) Maximilian Bayer called the Rehoboth Basters a nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[224] In 2003, Kristin Kjæret and Kristian Stokke have analyzed national discourses in Namibia with regards to the Rehoboth Basters.[225] Since Namibian independence, they have become one nation among many in the new nation-state that functions according to international conventions. Georgius Chatzoudis has studied the creation of the political

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220 Trüper, *The Invisible Woman*.

221 Charles John Andersson, *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika bis zum See Ngami in den Jahren 1850 bis 1854*, trans. Hermann Lotze, vol. 1 (Leipzig: H. Costenoble, 1858), 19.

222 Trüper, *The Invisible Woman*.

223 Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Geschichte der Abiponer einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraquay: bereichert mit einer Menge Beobachtungen über die wilden Völkerschaften, Städte, Flüsse, vierfüssigen Thiere, Amphibien, Insekten, merkwürdigsten Schlangen, Fische, Vögel, Bäume, Pflanzen und andere Eigenschaften dieser Provinz*, trans. A. Kreil (Wien: J. Edler von Kurzbek, 1783); Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Geschichte der Abiponer einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraquay: bereichert mit einer Menge Beobachtungen über die wilden Völkerschaften, Städte, Flüsse, vierfüssigen Thiere, Amphibien, Insekten, merkwürdigsten Schlangen, Fische, Vögel, Bäume, Pflanzen und andere Eigenschaften dieser Provinz*, trans. A. Kreil, vol. 3 (Wien: J. Edler von Kurzbek, 1784).

224 Maximilian Bayer, *The Rehoboth Baster Nation of Namibia*, ed. Peter Carstens (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1984).

225 Kristin Kjæret and Kristian Stokke, "Rehoboth Baster, Namibian or Namibian Baster? An Analysis of National Discourses in Rehoboth, Namibia," *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 4 (2003): 579–600.

system of the new Namibian nation-state.[226] The Nama leader Hendrik Witbooi had written a document that essentially claimed Africa for the Africans in the 1880s and 1890s.[227] Henning Melber has collected poems and texts on Namibian nation-building and resistance from local authors,[228] and Jeremy Silvester has revised the role of resistance in Namibian history.[229] Marion Wallace has published a comprehensive history of Namibia, giving a voice to all the different groups making up the current nation-state and writing a revisionist and de-centered "national" history.[230] Ellen Ndeshi Namhila has critically deconstructed colonial record keeping in the Namibian national archives in order to restore their voice to local people in Namibian history writing.[231] Scholars working on Namibia are thus very concerned with restoring indigenous peoples to the history writing, which is in contrast to nineteenth century attitudes of most German-speakers.

Numerous scholars have identified the South Atlantic as a "frontier." Frederick Jackson Turner had coined the term "frontier" in the 1870s for U.S. American westward expansion. Some aspects of the concept "frontier" are interesting for my study, such as the idea that territories were slowly and over time occupied, acquired, and colonized by Europeans and integrated into their systems of thought and economies. In Argentina, it was also a westward but also southward expansion, and in Namibia, it was rather a northward expansion. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Buenos Aires was a popular port of arrival from migrants before they continued traveling further north. Cape Town was similarly the major port of arrival for early German-speakers who arrived in Southern Africa. Only around 1900 did German shipping companies offer regular direct trips to ports in the German protectorate South-West Africa.

Another aspect is the fact that it was a space of encounter and negotiation, similar to the "middle ground" Richard White has described for the encounter between Europeans and

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[226] Georgios Chatzoudis, "Von der Kolonie Südwestafrika zum Nationalstaat Namibia - das politische System seit 1949," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 258–73.

[227] Hendrik Witbooi, *Afrika den Afrikanern!: Aufzeichnungen eines Nama-Häuptlings aus der Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 bis 1894*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Berlin [u.a.]: Dietz, 1982).

[228] Henning Melber, *It Is No More a Cry: Namibian Poetry in Exile and Essays on Literature in Resistance and Nation Building* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2004).

[229] Silvester Jeremy, ed., *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History* (Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, 2015).

[230] Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*.

[231] Ellen Ndeshi Namhila, "Recordkeeping and Missing 'Native Estate' Records in Namibia: An Investigation of Colonial Gaps in a Post-Colonial National Archive" (University of Tampere, 2015).

indigenous people in North America.[232] In 1983, Peter Medding and Daniel Judah Elazar undertook a comparative study of "Jewish Communities in [the] Frontier Societies" Argentina, South Africa, and Australia.[233] They claimed that while the timeframes were similar, the Jewish experience was unique in every location. David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch have edited a volume on "Frontiers in Latin American History" which includes texts authored by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb.[234] Scholars Jeremy Adelman, Richard W. Slatta and Yovanna Pineda also specifically discussed Argentina as frontier society: Adelmann compared the development of wheat cultivation in Argentina and Canada,[235] Slatta discussed the role of the gaucho in the Argentinean frontier,[236] and Pineda studied Argentina's industrial development.[237]

In Southern Africa, notably the scholars Dorian Haarhoff, Tilman Dedering, and Wolfram Hartmann situated their studies in a South(-west) African frontier: Haarhoff assembled various publications set in the Namibian frontier,[238] Dedering dealt with relations between different groups in the Frontier: locals and Germans, and the clashed of different European groups;[239] meanwhile, Hartmann examined the sexual reations between locals and European newcomers in nineteenth-century Namibia.[240] Most recently, Jürgen Osterhammel

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232 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

233 Daniel Judah Elazar and Peter Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies: Argentina, Australia, and South Africa* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983).

234 David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, eds., *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1994).

235 Jeremy Adelman, *Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1994).

236 Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Richard W. Slatta, "The Gaucho in Argentina's Quest for National Identity," in *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*, ed. David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1994), 151–64; Richard W. Slatta, "'Civilization' Battles 'Barbarism': The Limits of Argentine Indian Frontier Strategies," in *The Military and Conflict Between Cultures: Soldiers at the Interface*, ed. James C. Bradford (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 130–62.

237 Pineda, *Industrial Development in a Frontier Economy*.

238 Dorian Haarhoff, *The Wild South-West: Frontier Myths and Metaphors in Literature Set in Namibia, 1760-1988* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1991).

239 Tilman Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997); Tilman Dedering, "The Ferreira Raid of 1906: Boers, Britons and Germans in Southern Africa in the Aftermath of the South African War," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26, no. 1 (2000): 43–59.

240 Hartmann, "Sexual Encounters and Their Implications on an Open and Closing Frontier."

has pointed out the temporal synchrony of frontier processes in South America and South Africa.[241]

South Atlantic states made different attempts to integrate their immigrant populations. The Argentinean state considered itself to be a "nation of immigrants" where migrants had to be nationalized.[242] Celebrations of religious and national holidays testified to the cultural identity of German-speakers in the South Atlantic, their maintenance of connections to Europe, as well as to their adaption to local conditions. In Argentina, German-speakers saw it as their patriotic duty to also celebrate Argentinean national holidays, such as 25 May (of 1810) or 9 July (of 1816). In 1880, the newspaper DLPZ published an article that summarized how the Argentine press perceived the German participation at the 25 May festivities: the overall reception was very positive.[243] German schools like the Germania-Schule organized a celebration at the occasion of 25 May in 1907.[244] For the centenary of 25 May in 1910, German-speakers of Argentina even had a their own monument built – the German fountain which is located at the square *Plaza Alemania*.[245] German-speakers in Argentina honored the holiday of 9 July just as much.[246]

1.3 Conclusion

In this first chapter, we have deconstructed the unit that constitutes the subject of this dissertation: the people who left Central Europe and who identified with German culture and language and who first labeled themselves as Germans. We have looked at how

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241 Jürgen Osterhammel, "Frontiers: Subjugation of Space and Challenges to Nomadic Life," in *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014), 322–91.

242 Fernando Devoto, "Poblar, civilizar, nacionalizar: el tema de la inmigración en la cultura argentina," in *Argentina: un pais de inmigrantes* (Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional de Migraciones, 1998); Michael Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past: Nationalism and the Politics of History* (Liverpool [England]: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

243 "Die Deutschen bei der Centennariumsfeier und die Presse," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 23, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

244 "Feier in der Germania-Schule zum 25. Mai," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 25, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

245 Wilhelm Keiper, *Begleitworte zu den Wettbewerbsbedingungen für einen deutschen Brunnen in Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1909); Wilhelm Keiper, *Der deutsche Brunnen in Buenos Aires: Das Werk und der Künstler* (Stuttgart: Stähle & Friedel, 1928).

246 Anaxagoras, "Betrachtungen zum 9. Juli," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, July 8, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Zum 9. Juli," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 7, 1907, sec. Sonntagsblatt der "Deutschen La Plata Zeitung," Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

historians use the categories of "nation" and "race" in order to study differences between groups of people. While "nation" is usually used as a category of analysis which designates a group of people with regards to their relation to a state, "race" as a category of analysis is usually used to differentiate between larger groups of people identifying based on actual or perceived biological markers. We confronted the analytical concepts of "nation" and "race" with categories of experience, that is, the categories and definitions contemporary migrants in the South Atlantic were operating with. I argue that while they used the terms "nation" and "race" in their lifetimes, their definition of both of these two terms was closer to "a people" (*Volk*) than to historians' definitions. "German" was the designation of "a people" and was a cultural identity, not a political one.

In this chapter, we have also considered other categories of analysis migration historians use. Migration history has been instrumental in providing a framework for the study of mobility, and in this case for the transatlantic migration processes of German-speakers. In addition to "race," we also specifically discussed how "gender" and "class" have been dealt with in the case of German-speaking migration to the South Atlantic: men and women migrated together, originating from various layers of society in Central Europe. Finally, we had a look at the study of the South Atlantic receiving societies. German-speakers encountered South Atlantic locals and their own identity was shaped through this encounter with alterity. Just as in Europe, processes of state creation were ongoing in the South Atlantic and German-speakers took part in these developments, both in their new places of residence as well as in their places of origin. We can thus say that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "German" was not linked to a German state; instead, "German" was a transnational category.

Chapter 2. Dimensions of German Cultural Identity Experienced in the South Atlantic

In this chapter, we will view the nineteenth-century migration situation through the eyes of the German-speakers themselves. We will thus study South Atlantic German-speakers "from below." Through reading and analyzing the contemporary sources, and studying the life trajectories of individuals and families, I have discovered a variety of additional labels that these German-speakers were confronted or identified with.

The category of practice or label that these people used to refer to themselves at the beginning of the nineteenth century was "German." The political changes of state organization in Central Europe influenced migrants in the South Atlantic and brought about a gradual shift in the terminology they used and that scholars used to designate them. In this process, self-labeling and external labeling by historians are intertwined. It is important to consider how German-speakers in the South Atlantic perceived and were affected by the formation of the German nation-state and Empire (*Deutsches Kaiserreich*). The creation of the German Empire in 1871 and its economic success had a great impact on German-speakers in the South Atlantic: they hoped for financial support of German investors and "capitalists," as they called them. By 1889, the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt* had agents in the German Empire, in Austria, and in Switzerland.[247] Swiss-German and naturalized Argentinean journalist Moritz Alemann's participation in the 1902 German Colonial Congress was symptomatic of this development. He introduced himself to his fellow congress participants as the representative of the German colony of Buenos Aires.[248] But Alemann did not only seek support from investors in the German Empire, he also gave presentations in Switzerland with the same aim. It was on one of these trips in Europe that he died after having lived most of his life in Argentina, dedicated to increasing German-speaking colonization in Argentina.[249]

In 1908, the German Scientific Society of Buenos Aires (*Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein zu Buenos Aires*) launched call for papers for a "comprehensive scientifically useful" publication on the "position and activities of Germans in Argentina," and "for this purpose want[ed] to perform a census of *Reich*-Germans, Austrian-Germans, Swiss-Germans, Russian-Germans etc. via a questionnaire."[250] This endeavor was specifically planned

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[247] "Agenten des Argentinischen Wochen- & Tageblattes," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 2, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[248] Moritz Alemann, "Argentinien als Siedelungsgebiet für deutsche Auswanderung," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 663–78.

[249] "+ Moritz Alemann," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, October 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 46.

[250] "Süd-Amerika, Zählung der Deutschsprechenden Argentiniens," *Mitteilungen des Allgemeinen Deutschen Schulvereins zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande* 55 (November 24, 1908): "Der deutsche wissenschaftliche Verein zu Buenos-Aires beabsichtigt die Stellung und Tätigkeit der Deutschen in Argentinien auf den verschiedenen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens in einer zusammenfassenden wissenschaftlich brauchbaren Form darzustellen und will zu diesem Zwecke, durch Fragebögen eine Zählung sämtlicher

because "[n]aturally, the statistical examinations and publications of the German consular representatives abroad include only *Reich*-Germans and foreign states in overseas territories only rarely include descent and mother language of their citizens of German origin in their population censuses."

In this chapter we will thus briefly discuss citizenship and nationality of German-speakers and the problem with statistics, followed by a longer discussion of the various labels South Atlantic German-speakers identified with in addition to German, and a note on the role of the German language for these migrants.

2.1. Types of Citizenship and Nationality of "Germans"

Both citizenship (*Staatsbürgerschaft)* and nationality (*Nationalität*) are terms that we use today in connection with nation-states, and which we tend to use interchangeably; however, "citizenship" refers to membership of a nation-state and "nationality" to being member of a nation in the sense of "a people."[251] The question of nation-state membership became increasingly important throughout the twentieth century. Many historians agree that passports gained importance and became mandatory as a means to control entire populations only in the aftermath of WWI. Passports as travel documents already existed in the nineteenth century: but before WWI, they primarily granted permission to leave a

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Reichsdeutschen, Deutsch-Oesterreicher, Deutsch-Schweizer, Deutsch-Russen usw. veranstalten. Dieses Unternehmen des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins, am besten noch ergänzt durch eine Statistik nach der Konfession, verdient auf der ganzen Erde, wo Deutsche in der Diaspora leben, die weiteste Nachahmung. Nur so wird es möglich sein, nicht nur für die wissenschaftliche Deutschkunde, sondern auch für alle deutschen Kulturaufgaben ein wirklich vollständiges Material zu gewinnen, das auch für die weltwirtschaftlichen Interessen des Deutschen Reichs nach dem Erfahrungsgrundsatz, daß der Handel der Sprache mehr noch als der Flagge folgt, von Bedeutung sein wird. Die statistischen Untersuchungen und Mitteilungen der deutschen Konsularvertretungen im Auslande erstrecken sich naturgemäß nur auf Reichsdeutsche und die fremden Staaten in überseeischen Gebieten lassen bei ihren Volksstatistiken nur in den seltesten Fällen Abstammung und Muttersprache ihrer Staatsbürger deutscher Herkunft hervortreten. Da der Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (All. Deutscher Schulverein) soeben eine „Zentralstelle für Erforschung des Deutschtums im Ausland" geschaffen hat, so wird dieser eine solche Unterstützung ihrer Arbeiten durch das Auslandsdeutschtum besonders wertvoll sein."; A few days later, the National Zeitung republished the article. "Eine Zählung der Deutschsprechenden Argentiniens," *Nationalzeitung*, November 27, 1908, Nr. 565 edition, EZA 5/2061, p. 303.

[251] Sandra Carreras distinguishes between citizenship, which she links to the French and American Revolutions, and nationality, which she attributed to the creation of modern nation-states. In addition, she distinguishes between two types of nationality: "Staatszugehörigkeit" as belonging to a state and "Volkszugehörigkeit" as belonging to a people, see Sandra Carreras, "Construcciones de identitad y ciudadania entre los migrantes de origen aleman en Argentina," in *Ciudadanía vivida, (in)seguridades e interculturalidad*, ed. Barbara Potthast, Juliana Stroebele/Gregor, and Doerte Wollrad (Buenos Aires: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Nueva Sociedad, 2008), 200–212.

territory, and only later did they primarily granted permission to enter. An example is the pastor August Siegel, who received a passport from the Province of Buenos Aires in 1854 in order to travel to "*su patria Alemania*" (his home country Germany).[252] Note here that the location entered in the passport was Germany, despite there being no unified German nation-state and Germany thus not being a political category.

In Argentina, starting with the constitution of 1853, anyone born in the territory of the Argentinean Confederation automatically possessed Argentinean citizenship.[253] German-speakers in Argentina discussed whether even migrants born in Europe should be naturalized Argentinean. In 1889, a certain J. Wininger published an article in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* in which he claimed that a reform of the naturalization law was necessary: immigrants should also have rights, given that half of the Argentinean population was foreign-born. He stated that naturalization was a right and a duty for both the natives/locals ("*Einheimische*") and foreigners ("*Fremde*"). He added that people invited by the Argentinean government should not and could not merely be considered as workers without rights, rather they should be considered as equal citizens. He asserted that German-speakers wanted to be treated as what they were: cultured people and not African slaves. He thus appealed to Argentina as a modern and "white" state where anyone who lived there could become a citizen.[254]

Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn, who moved to Namibia in the 1840s, was a German-speaker, while being a Russian subject at the same time. In 1870, his wife Emma Hahn expressed her relief in a letter to her sister about how neither her husband, nor their sons who were born in Namibia, had to fight in the 1870-71 war between France and the North German Confederation.[255] According to an anecdote published in the African Heimat Calendar in 1978 about missionary colonist's son Gottlieb Redecker's visit to his father's hometown, Gottlieb, who had been born in Otjimbingwe, Damaraland (Namibia) in 1871, was not considered a "German" citizen, because his father had lived outside of "Germany"

252 "Pasaporte Siegel," August 25, 1854, EZA 5/4097, pg. 16.

253 In 1853, the province of Buenos Aires was not part of the Argentinean confederation, it only joined in 1859.

254 J. Wininger, "[1] Die Naturalisation. Ein Programmpunkt," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 29, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; J. Wininger, "[2] Die Naturalisation. Ein Programmpunkt (Schluss)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 2, 1889, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

255 Dorothy Guedes and Peter Reiner, eds., "Emma Hahn to Mathilda (Sister), 1870," in *The Letters of Emma Sarah Hahn, Pioneer Missionary Among the Herero* (Windhoek; Johannesburg: Namibia Scientific Society; Thorold's Africana Books [distributor], 1992).

for over ten years, and consequently a German official concluded that Gottlieb must be a Damara.[256]

This loss of German citizenship after ten years abroad posed a problem for proponents of German migration and overseas trade colonies like economist Robert Jannasch, who proposed a change in German migration law (*Auswanderungsgesetz*) to congress in 1893.[257] While the law was changed in 1897, [258] the majority of German settlers abroad continued to lose their German citizenship, as a newspaper observed in 1901.[259] The 1902 German Colonial Congress embraced the issue: the lawyer Dr. Hermann Hesse pleaded in his congress presentation for the prolonged maintenance of German citizenship for migrants abroad[260] and a congressional resolution officially requested a change in the existing German citizenship law.[261] Hesse was also interested in the topic of the legal status of Germans in Namibia. [262] In the German protectorate South-West Africa, colonial authorities distinguished between German citizens, other European or white people, and

[256] N. Mossolow, "Architekt Gottlieb Redecker," in *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender 1978*, ed. Kirchenbundesrat des Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchenbundes in Süd- und SüdwestAfrika (Windhoek: Afrikanischer Heimatkalender, 1978), 22.

[257] Robert Jannasch, *Vorschläge zur Abänderung des Auswanderungs-Gesetzentwurfes [Eingabe] an das Präsidium des Hohen Deutschen Reichstages* (Berlin: Gergonne, 1893).

[258] Felix Stoerk, *Das Reichsgesetz über das Auswanderungswesen vom 9. Juni 1897 nebst Ausführungsverordnungen und Anlagen* (Berlin: Heymann, 1899).

[259] "Deutsch-argentinische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen," *National Zeitung*, April 10, 1901, BArch R 901/30412, pag. 143.

[260] Hermann Hesse, "Die Frage der Reichsangehörigkeit der Auswanderer," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 616–27.

[261] See Resolution V., in Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, 838."Resolution V. // Der Deutsche Kolonialkongress 1902 hält es im Interesse der Aufrechterhaltung des Zusammenhanges der deutschen Auswanderer mit dem Mutterlande für notwendig, dass der in § 21 des Gesetzes über Erwerb und Verlust der Bundes-und Staatsangehörigkeit vom 1. Juni 1870 zur Geltung gelangte Grundsatz, dass durch zehnjährigen Aufenthalt im Auslande ohne Eintragung in die Konsulatsmatrikel die Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeit verloren geht, beseitigt und die Verjährung als Verlustgrund der Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeit nur in Bezug auf die Nachkommen ausgewanderter Deutscher unter gewissen Voraussetzungen und Beschränkungen zugelassen werde."

[262] Hermann Hesse, "Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeit," ed. Gustav Meinecke, *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis* 11 (1898): 97–136.

indigenous people.[263] Only the Rehoboth Basters enjoyed a privileged legal position which was situated in between the white and indigenous regulations.[264]

Even within the German Empire, and thus a "united Germany," individuals remained citizens of the various German states they lived in until a change in legislation in 1913. Botanist Gustavo Niederlein, for example, emphasized in his Curriculum Vitae from 1907 that he always had maintained Saxon citizenship while he had spent extensive amounts of time in Argentina and the United States from the 1880s onwards.[265] Only the citizenship law of 1913 then introduced a comprehensive "imperial citizenship" for the German Empire, and this law ensured that migrants kept their citizenship indefinitely even while living abroad.[266]

2.1.1 The Problem with Exact Figures

Just as historians would like to know how many German-speakers were in the South Atlantic at any given point in time, contemporary German-speakers were also interested in having this information. The motivations of contemporaries in having concrete numbers varied: some simply wanted to know how many people were sharing their fate as migrants in a new place, others were eager to demonstrate that the numbers of their own group – Germans or German-speakers – was higher than that of other groups in the South Atlantic. This was particularly the case in Argentinean society where French-speakers and English-speakers were immediate competitors in the time leading up to WWI.

Historians have determined that approximately ninety percent of all German-speaking migrants in the nineteenth century went to North America, more specifically the United States and Canada. Their migration has been well documented and studied. By

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263 Schreiber-Stettin, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Bewohner der deutschen Schutzgebiete," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6 (1904): 760-; Rudolf Mallmann, *Die Staatsangehörigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Colonial government pamphlets 15 (Berlin, Leipzig: Brandstetter, 1912); Joachim Heinrich Lücke, *Bevölkerung und Aufenthaltsrecht in den Deutschen Schutzgebieten Afrikas*, Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts 12 (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co. (L. & R. Friederichsen), 1913).

264 Gentz, "Die Rechtliche Stellung der Bastards in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 4 (1903 1902).

265 Gustavo Niederlein, "Curriculum Vitae: Ernst Gustav Niederlein, Zittau," June 1907, BArch R 901/30421, pag. 15-31.

266 See Howard Sargent, "Diasporic Citizens: Germans Abroad in the Framing of German Citizenship Law," in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, ed. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Ruth Reagin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 17–39; Naranch, "Inventing the Auslandsdeutsche: Emigration, Colonial Fantasy, and German National Identity, 1848-71."

comparison, only a few historians, including Walther Kamphoefner, have examined German-speakers who went to South America.[267] However, the few statistics that are available today all pose their own problems. There are the official Argentine government population censuses. Hernán Otero has studied computational issues that these censuses presented, including how the criteria for the labels used in the statistics changed over time.[268] For example, the category "Russian" may also have included Russian-Germans who only identified as German-speakers once in Argentina. For the German statistics, Anne Saint Sauveur-Henn and Jean-Pierre Blancpain have also pointed to similar issues. Whether Germans were recorded as belonging to a political or cultural entity was not coherent throughout time and space. The changing political borders in Europe account for some of the fludity in changing political labeling of migrants. In addition, the increasing tensions between French and German camps in Argentina probably influenced the creation of statistics, each in favor of their own camp. In 2011, Alicia Bernasconi from the Buenos Aires Center for the Study of Latin American Migration (CEMLA) pointed to the particularities of using Argentinean sources to study numbers of German-speakers in Argentina.[269] For example, Argentine censuses only counted as immigrants those people having arrived by boat in second or third class and the names used to classify the migrants in the shipping records varied greatly over time, from Prussian, and Tirolian to Austro-German (*austro-alemán* and *austro-germano*).

For Argentina, state authorities collected two types of data: migration arrival statistics and censuses. Censuses were carried out in the following years: 1869, 1895, and 1914. Both migration arrival statistics and censuses distinguished between the following categories: German, Austrian, Swiss, Russian, and Belgian. The following table shows a selection of numbers from the Argentinean migration arrival statistics as well as from the censuses. For the time prior to 1871, it is not clear who was included in the category

[267] Kamphoefner, "¿Quienes fueron al sur? La eleccion de destino entre los inmigrantes alemanes en el siglo XIX."

[268] Hernán Otero, *Estadística y nación: una historia conceptual del pensamiento censal de la Argentina moderna, 1869-1914* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo libros, 2007).

[269] Alicia Bernasconi, "La inmigración de habla alemana en Argentina. Aproximación a partir de las listas de desembarco," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 5–22.

Germans (*Alemanes*).[270] In addition, I have included some examples of other numbers German-speakers mentioned in their publications.

	Arrival statistics					**Number of Residents** (***** = census years)					
Year	German	Austrian	Swiss	Belgian	Russian	German	Austrian	Swiss	Belgian	Russian	German-speakers
1839						3,000[271]					
1857-1859[272]	178	226	219	68							
1860-1869[273]	1,212	819	1,562	519							
1869*						4,997[274] 2,139[275]					
1892						8,000[276]					
1895*	1,067	549	465	211		17,143[277]					
1896						23,000[278]					
1897[279]	987	1,768	390	207	617	6,838[280]	3,057	2,829			11,183
1898											
1899[281]	732	950	343		1,686						
1900											

[270] Francisco Scardin, *La Argentina y el trabajo: impresiones y notas* (Buenos Aires: J. Peuser, 1906), 703; Maria Cristina Vera de Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas. Los alemanes en América. 1850 - 1914. El caso argentino.* (Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Complutense, 2005), 88.

[271] Heinrich Trachsler, *Reisen, Schicksale und tragikomische Abendteuer eines Schweizers während seines Aufenthaltes in den verschiedenen Provinzen Südamerikas, Rio de Janeiro, Ilha Santa Catharina, Armaçaô, Saô Pedro do Sul, Rio Grande, Corrientes, Montevideo, Buenos-Aires etc. in den Jahren 1828 bis 1835* (Zürich: H. Trachsler, 1839), 702f.

[272] Scardin, *La Argentina y el trabajo*, 703.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 89.

[275] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 199.

[276] "Das Fremden-Element in Buenos Aires," *Kölnische Zeitung*, May 23, 1892, BArch R 901/30408, pag. 78.

[277] Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 89.

[278] Guido von Drigalsky, "Land und Leute in Argentinien," *Berliner Tageblatt*, May 4, 1896, BArch R 901/30410, pag. 50.

[279] "Der Einwanderungsstatistik für 1897 entnehmen wir folgende Ziffern...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 24, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[280] "Wegweiser für Argentinien zur Orientierung der Auswanderer und Kapitalisten. M. O. Preusse, Buenos Aires, 1897. Buchdruckerei von Herpig und Stoevcken, Corrientes 2322," 1897, 17, BArch R 901/30411, pag. 8-61.

[281] "Moniteur officiel du commerce," October 25, 1900, 68, BArch R 901/30412, pag. 68; Scardin, *La Argentina y el trabajo*, 703.

1901[282]	836	2,743	363		1,686						
1904						20,723[283]					
1909[284]	3,201	3,803	760		16,475						
1914*						26,094[285] 26,995[286]					100,000[287]

For the 1869 census, for example, Lütge et al. provided a much lower number for the total of Germans living in Argentina than historian Vera de Flachs.[288] Strikingly higher numbers than those provided by Argentinean state authorities were listed in a Cologne newspaper in 1892 and by Drisalsky in 1896. Otto Kasdorf claimed in 1916 that statistics on German-speakers in South America showed that German-speakers made up two percent of the Argentinean population; he included *Reichsdeutsche* and their Argentine-born children, as well as Swiss-Germans, Austrians, Russians etc. in this calculation.[289] Historian Hernán Otero has estimated, however, that the number of all German-speakers in Argentina stood at 100,000 members in 1914.[290]

The numbers of German-speakers were much lower for Namibia, but the records are less complete. The Rhenish missionary Heinrich Vedder collected numbers of missionaries and merchants for the time preceding the German protectorate.[291] There are also some censuses available from the German protectorate in the National Archives of Namibia, which differentiated between whites and indigenous. Statistics given for the German protectorate South-West Africa in 1894, however, are: 109 (corrected number: 362) Germans, 19 English,

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282 "Mouvement de l'immigration dans la République Argentine en 1901," *Moniteur officiel du commerce*, May 8, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 47; Scardin, *La Argentina y el trabajo*, 703.

283 "[„Danach würden sich in AR 20,723 Deutsche befinden."] Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," September 20, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 66-67.

284 Memoria de la Dirección de Inmigración correspondiente al año 1909, Buenos Aires, 1910, p.109-110, cited in: Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 95.

285 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 306.

286 Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 89; Saint Sauveur-Henn, *Un siècle d'émigration allemande vers l'Argentine*, 246.

287 Hernán Otero, *La guerra en la sangre: los franco-argentinos ante la Primera Guerra Mundial* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2009), 17 f.

288 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 199.

289 Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 27.

290 Otero, *La guerra en la sangre*, 17 f.

291 Heinrich Vedder, *Das alte Südwestafrika: Südwestafrikas Geschichte bis zum Tode Mahareros 1890. Nach den besten schriftlichen und mündlichen Quellen erzählt* (Berlin: M. Warneck, 1934).

5 Swedes, 9 Boers, 1 French, 2 Belgians. This yields a total of 145 (or 398) white inhabitants.[292] It is unclear why and by whom the original number was corrected, especially since there is a substantial difference between these two numbers. By 1912, the figures were 2,580 Germans, 26 Austrians and Hungarians, 5 Swiss, 29 Russians, 9 Dutch, 23 English, 159 Colonial English, 8 other Americans, and 5 North Americans.[293] Most of these white migrants lived in the capital city of Windhoek, where the numbers of adult males recorded in 1910 included 1,100 Germans, 10 Austrians, 7 Swiss, 10 Russians, 8 Dutch, 25 English, 44 "Colonial English," 2 Argentineans, and 2 North Americans.[294]

Overall, statistics collected in both Argentina and Namibia included categories according to states. However, contemporaries already remarked that these categories were not useful for establishing the number of German-speakers.

2.2 Contemporary Labels Overlapping with German-ness

Sources produced by nineteenth-century South Atlantic German-speakers, in addition to "German" and "German-speaker," used various other labels that were connected to and intertwined with German-ness. These labels co-existed and overlapped with the term "German." I have identified the following terms as group labels that some German-speakers identified with simultaneously: Jewish, Russian-German, Dutch, Boer, Belgian, Austrian, Swiss-German, and *Reichsdeutsche* (imperial Germans). We will discuss each of these categories in the following subsections. I have chosen to discuss the different groups in this order, starting with the smaller groups before discussing the category with the highest number of members for a number of reasons. Over time, this last group was the one whose territorial attachment in Central Europe underwent the most changes as the borders gradually changed and were re-drawn in Central Europe over the course of two hundred years: in the aftermath of the French revolution, in the 1860s, in 1871, in the 1920s, post-1945, and lastly in 1990. Meanwhile, the term "German" was still considered a cultural identity in after 1800, but was increasingly linked to the German Empire after 1871.

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[292] *Zählung der weißen Bevölkerung, 1894-1899*, 1899, 5, NAN BWI 270 S.14.C (1).

[293] "Die weiße Bevölkerung nach Nationalität, Geschlecht, Beruf und Konfession; Schutzgebiet Südwestafrika," 1912, NAN BWI 270 S.14.C.

[294] "Die weiße Bevölkerung nach Wohnort ...; Windhuk," 1910, NAN BWI 270 S.14.C.

In each of the following subsections, I am juxtaposing primary sources with secondary literature. Many historians have taken looked from Central Europe outwards, using the German nation-state (or German Empire) as the starting point and thus projecting the German nation-state and allegiance to it back into the past.[295] While I claim that historians have contributed to reifying these categories as closed and separate identities, I have nonetheless chosen to discuss these categories individually in order to show the diversity, complexity, and inclusiveness of the concept of German-speakers that contemporaries of the nineteenth century had.

2.2.1 Jewish

A certain percentage of Jews in the South Atlantic were German-speaking, but it is difficult to know any specific numbers. Some scholars have treated the question of whether Jews are a cultural or a religious group. Till van Rhaden has maintained that they are both.[296] I maintain that "Jewish" is a category of analysis, whereas the terms contemporaries used varied.

In both Argentina and Southern Africa, some Jews associated and were associated with so-called minority groups: Boers in Southern Africa and gauchos in Argentina. Elazar has claimed that Afrikaners or Boers saw Jews as their brothers as they were both a "chosen people."[297] Several books have been published on the "Jewish gauchos."[298] Alberto Gerchunoff's *Gauchos Judíos*[299] is novel from 1910 that has become very famous in Argentina. Contemporaries also varied in the way they identified this group. In 1907, the Argentinean magazine *Caras y Caretas* published an article entitled "Colectividad Israelita" with pictures of prominent community members including "*Señor Simón Ostwalt, judío*

[295] As late as 2016, Frederick Schulze still only focused on (former) citizens of the German Empire in Southern Brazil and suggested that future research should study the realtions of these Germans to Swiss-Germans, Austrians, etc., see Frederik Schulze, *Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt: ‚Deutschtum' und Kolonialdiskurse im südlichen Brasilien (1824–1941)* (Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 347 f.

[296] Till Rahden, *Juden und andere Breslauer: die Beziehungen zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Grossstadt von 1860 bis 1925* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

[297] Elazar and Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*, 175.

[298] Ricardo Feierstein, *Los mejores relatos con gauchos judíos* (Buenos Aires: Ameghino Editora, 1998); Argentina and Cultura y Deporte Ministerio de Turismo, *Gauchos Judíos: huellas de la colonización agrícola: un recorrido por nuestra tierra, nuestra gente y nuestra diversidad cultural* ([Buenos Aires]: Shalom Argentina: Ministerio de Turismo, Cultura y Deporte, 2001).

[299] Alberto Gerchunoff, *Los Gauchos Judíos* (La Plata, 1910).

alemán, argentinizado" and "*Señor Aaron Vecht, judío holandés y general boer*" with their pictures.[300]

In both Argentina and Southern Africa, Jewish migrants until the 1880s mostly originated from Western Europe. Between the 1880s and WWI, during the era of "mass migration," most of them came from Eastern Europe. The 1983 comparative study of Jews in Argentina and South Africa from Elazar and Medding was published at a time when Namibia was part of the South African state.[301] In Southern Africa, Jews from England and Germany started to settle in Cape Town after the 1820s and in 1841, they founded their first own congregation.[302] In Namibia, Jewish Germans were listed in the school statistics: in 1908, there were 12 among 287 students.[303] When I visited the National Archives of Namibia (NAN) in 2012, the folder on Jews was empty: there must have been information that was collected on them, but it has been displaced. In general, information on Jewish settlers in Namibia is scarce. The first Jewish settlers in Namibia of the 1880s were merchants, who developed a small Jewish community in Swakopmund and Windhoek and established synagogues in private houses.[304]

In Argentina, a small number of Jewish merchants arrived from the 1820s onwards, many of them from England, France, and Germany. They were largely secularized and only loosely organized as a cultural rather than a religious community. Jewish settlement projects in Argentina on a larger scale took place as a response to the pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe (Poland and Romania) at the end of the nineteenth century. Over three thousand families settled in agricultural colonies in Argentina between the 1880s and WWI.[305] In Argentina, these Jewish agricultural colonization projects were important to both the Argentinean state that sought settlers for the interior and to Jewish settlers that sought land to settle where they were not persecuted. In 1891, the banker and philanthropist Baron Mauricio (Maurice) Hirsch (*1831 Munich – 1896 [Hungary]) founded the Jewish

300 "La colectividad israelita en Buenos Aires," *Caras y Caretas: Semanaro festivo, literario, artístico y de actualidades*, January 19, 1907.
301 Elazar and Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*.
302 Ibid., 166.
303 "Schulwesen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Tägliche Rundschau*, July 25, 1908, Nr. 345 edition, EZA 5/2985.
304 Ulrike Stockmann, "Jüdisches Leben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 28, 2016, sec. Geschichte, http://www.az.com.na/nachrichten/jdisches-leben-in-deutsch-sdwestafrika.
305 Elazar and Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*, 5; 95.

Colonization Society (ICA) with its seat in London.[306] In 1892, Hirsch commissioned Gustavo Niederlein to identify the land best suited for his Jewish colonization project in the Argentine territories Misiones and Chaco as well as in Paraguay.[307] Hirsch never travelled to Argentina himself.[308] The Argentinean magazine *La Agricultura* published an article on Baron Hirsch in 1893 and praised his accomplishments in agricultural colonization in Argentina.[309] According to Elazar,[310] Hirsch's settler families were mostly Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern Europe, but according to a letter from German General Consul Wilhelm von Sanden to German chancellor von Bülow in 1906, the Jews of the Hirsch's colonization project were German-speaking Russian Jews.[311] Sander noted that these Jewish settlers did not have a good standing with the local population and that their reputation was not better than in Russia, the place they had fled due to persecution. Because most of these agricultural Jewish settlers came from Eastern Europe and Russia, German-speakers – as well as larger Argentinean society – associated them with Russia in a similar way as they did with Volga-Germans/Russian-Germans, and called them "*rusos*." Alfred Arent, Wilhelm Vallentin, and Preusse-Sperber also mentioned these Jewish agricultural colonies in the Argentine interior in their publications.[312]

Whether the agricultural projects in the countryside were successful depends on the judgment of different authors. However, it seems like they were not as successful as the ICA and Hirsch had hoped and many Jewish settlers that started out in the countryside moved to Buenos Aires. Simultaneously to the agricultural colonies, Jews decided to settle in the capital Buenos Aires, where Jewish community life greatly expanded beyond the established small, semi-secular group founded by German, French, and English Jews. While the great majority (about ninety percent) of Jews in Argentina originated from Eastern Europe in 1900,

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306 Robert Weisbrot and Robert Murciano, *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 44.

307 Gustavo Niederlein, *Gutachten für Herrn Baron von Hirsch über die Colonisationsfähigkeit Paraguay's und der argentinischen Territorien Misiones, Formosa und Chaco Austral* (Buenos Aires: Imp. Helvetia, 1892).

308 Roberto Schopflocher, *Historia de la colonización agrícola en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955), 63.

309 "El Baron Hirsch," *La Agricultura: Organo de los intereses rurales é industriales* 1, no. 18 (May 4, 1893): 205.

310 Elazar and Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*, 9.

311 von Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat, Buenos Aires an Reichskanzler, Fürsten von Bülow [Ein Stroeder'sches Eisenbahnprojekt in Entrerios]," September 3, 1906, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 16-19.

312 Arent, *Ein Land der Zukunft*; Wilhelm Vallentin, *Streifzüge durch Pampa und Kordillere Argentiniens*, Sammlung belehrender Unterhaltungsschriften für die deutsche Jugend 27 (Berlin: H. Paetel, 1908), 57–58.

the elite of the community still stemmed from the more established Jews from Central and Western Europe. German-Jew Louis Hartwig Brie (*1834 Hamburg – ?), for example, married an Argentinean Catholic; after her death, he was an active member of several Jewish institutions in Buenos Aires until remarrying another Catholic.[313] He became the first president of the Jewish Mutual Aid and Burial Society in 1894.[314] Jews in Argentina were also active in socialist and anarchist circles. Anti-Semitism in Argentina manifested in the "Tragic Week" of January 1919, which was the first Argentinean pogrom.[315] Johanna Hopfengärtner studied Jewish women migrants during WWII and she claims that in the Jewish Aid society, gender roles were not changed and Jewish women were perceived as "*alemanes*" by larger Argentinean society, just like Nazi migrants.[316]

Generally speaking, scholars have attributed most attention to Jewish refugees who went to Argentina between 1933 and 1945.[317] During this time period, approximately 45,000 German-speaking Jews arrived in Argentina.[318] Alfredo Schwarcz postulated that they went through a process of being "Jews in Germany" to being "German citizens of Jewish faith" to being "German-speaking Jews in Argentina." Schwarcz claimed that the identity of a German-speaking Jewish community was born in 1933 with the *Asociación Filantrópica Israelita – Jüdischer Hilfsverein* (AFI) and it was then that Argentineans started to acknowledge these Jews more as Germans than as "*rusos*" or "*turcos*" as they had done with

313 Weisbrot and Murciano, *The Jews of Argentina*, 30–31.

314 Ibid., 48.

315 Eugene F. Sofer, *From Pale to Pampa: A Social History of the Jews of Buenos Aires* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 42 ff.

316 Johanna Hopfengärtner, "Zwischen Emigration und Immigration. Deutschsprachige jüdische Frauen in Argentinien," in *Der Nationalsozialismus und Lateinamerika: Institutionen - Repräsentationen - Wissenskonstrukte*, ed. Sandra Carreras, First Edition (Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 2005).

317 Jean-Pierre Blancpain has studied German Jews and anti-Semitism in South America between 1930 and 1950, see Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les juifs allemands et l'antisémitisme en Amérique du sud: 1930-1950* (Paris: Harmattan, 2008); Carlota Jackisch has studied German refugees, see Carlota Jackisch, *El nazismo y los refugiados alemanes en la Argentina, 1933-1945* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1989); Elena Levin has analyzed Jews in Argentina between 1933 and 1945, see Elena Levin, *Historias de una emigración (1933-1939): Alemanes judíos en la Argentina*, Second Edition (Buenos Aires: Ed. de Belgrano, 1997); Philipp Mettauer has put focus on the migration of Austrian Jews, see Philipp Mettauer, *Erzwungene Emigration nach Argentinien: österreichisch-jüdische Lebensgeschichten*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Länder; Bd. 14 (Münster: Aschendorff-Verl., 2010); Irene Münster has studied the bookstores and libraries of German Jews in Buenos Aires, see Irene Münster, "Librerías y bibliotecas circulantes de judíos alemanes en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1930-2011," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 157–76; Kirsten Moneke analyzed the role of Jewish mutual aid societies, see Kirsten Moneke, *Die Emigration der deutschen Juden nach Argentinien: (1933 - 1945); zur Rolle der jüdischen Hilfsvereine* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 1993).

318 Alfredo Schwarcz, "La inmigración judeo-alemana. El proceso de integración a la luz de la continuidad generacional," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 143–56.

Jews before.[319] I disagree with him, as German-speaking Jews prior to 1933 were part of the larger Jewish community. The circumstances of 1933-45 only intensified the visibility and creation of a stronger independent German-Jewish identity in Argentina. Buenos Aires developed its own "Jewish quarter" with a Synagogue, in the "*barrio Once*." German Jews also started publishing their own newspaper called *Semanario israelita* (Jewish weekly).[320] Founded in 1934, the *Pestalozzi Schule* became the school for German-Jewish children and other anti-Nazis.[321] One of its co-founder was Ernesto Fernando Alemann, then editor of the *Argentinisches Tageblatt,* which was considered the newspaper of the resistance during Nazism in Argentina.[322] During the Jewish persecution by Nazis, the ICA welcomed German-Jews in Argentina and founded several agricultural colonies just for them.[323]

2.2.2 Russian-German

In 1845, Wilhelm Stricker (*1815 Frankfurt am Main – 1891 Frankfurt am Main), who was an active member of the National Association for German Colonization and Settlement (*Nationalverein für deutsche Auswanderung und Ansiedelung*) in Frankfurt, discussed Russian-Germans (*Russlanddeutsche*), including merchants and artisans in the Baltic provinces and farmers (*Ackerbauern*) at the Volga River and the Black sea.[324] He called both kinds of settlements German colonies.[325] As Stricker discussed, the Russian government had settled Germans from Württemberg, Hessen, and Saxony at the banks of the Volga River between 1763 and 1770.[326] The Russian government provided every colony with a church and a school, and every individual with land, a house, a cow, a horse, and agricultural tools. Wheat and tobacco were the main crops they produced. In 1824, there were 73 Protestant

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[319] Ibid., 145.

[320] Kerstin E. Schirp, *Die Wochenzeitung "Semanario Israelita": Sprachrohr der deutsch-jüdischen Emigranten in Argentinien* (LIT Verlag Münster, 2001).

[321] Hermann Schnorbach, *Für ein "anderes Deutschland": die Pestalozzischule in Buenos Aires (1934-1958)*, Pädagogische Beispiele 9 (Frankfurt am Main: Dipa-Verlag, 1995).

[322] Hendrik Groth, *Das Argentinische Tageblatt: Sprachrohr der demokratischen Deutschen und der deutsch-jüdischen Emigration* (Münster: Lit, 1996).

[323] Anne Saint Sauveur-Henn, "Problemas específicos de la integración: los colonos judío-alemanes en la Argentina 1933-1945," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 49–64.

[324] Stricker, *Die Verbreitung des deutschen Volkes über die Erde*, 40 ff.

[325] See for example ibid., 48, 66.

[326] Ibid., 66 ff.

colonies with clergy from Switzerland, Germany (in particular Prussia and Saxony), Holland, the Baltic provinces, Finland, and Saratov (the Russian province they were located in); the 29(?) Catholic colonies had Jesuit priests. The Germans at the Black Sea – mostly Swabians (*Schwaben*) – were invited to settle near Odessa around 1810.[327] These colonies had about 25,000 inhabitants.

In Argentina, much has been written about the Russian-Germans – or Volga-Germans, as they have often been called – both by contemporary German-speakers and scholars in Argentina, but they published little themselves. In Argentina, Russian-Germans developed their own group identity; the community is still strong today.[328] In 2003, they organized a second congress of descendants of Volga-Germans.[329] Victor Popp and Nicolas Dening put emphasis on their voyage from Russia via Europe to South America.[330] Iris Graefe studied the Volga-Germans in Argentina as their own people (*Volk*),[331] Lydia Klötzel analyzed them as a national minority within the Argentine state,[332] and Yolanda Hipperdinger studied the development of their language in Argentina.[333] Eric Schmuker analyzed their sacred spaces and practices of sacralization in the Argentinean Pampa.[334] Most Russian-Germans came to Argentina for agricultural colonization. They had been agricultural colonists in Russia and made the decision to leave Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. Many went to the U.S. and Canada, others to Brazil and Argentina. The Protestant pastor Jakob Riffel (*1893 Blumenfeld, Samara, Russia – 1958, Argentina) was an activist for the German-Russian cause in Argentina and he wrote an anniversary publication for Volga-German

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327 Ibid., 71 ff.

328 Héctor Maier Schwerdt and Vicente Schwab, eds., *Nuestras colonias y nuestra gente: compendio histórico-cultural de los Alemanes del Volga = Unsere Kolonien und unsere Leute* (Coronel Suarez: Ediciones Nuestras Colonias, 2001); *Alemanes del Volga 1878-2003: ein treues Volk; 2. Congreso Argentino de descendientes de Alemanes de Rusia* (Buenos Aires: o.Verl., 2004).

329 *Alemanes del volga 1878-2003*.

330 Victor P. Popp and Nicolas Dening, *Los alemanes del Volga: tras largo peregrinar por Europa hallaron patria definitiva en América* (Buenos Aires: o. V., 1977).

331 Iris Graefe, *Zur Volkskunde der Russlanddeutschen in Argentinien* (Wien: Schendl, 1971).

332 Lydia Klötzel, *Die Russlanddeutschen zwischen Autonomie und Auswanderung: Die Geschicke einer nationalen Minderheit vor dem Hintergrund des wechselhaften deutsch-sowjetischen/russischen Verhältnisses* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1999).

333 Yolanda Hipperdinger, *Die Sprache(n) der Wolgadeutschen in Argentinien: die Kolonisierung des Bezirks Coronel Suarez*, trans. Max Doppelbauer (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2005).

334 Eric Morales Schmuker, "El lugar de la religión. Espacios sagrados y prácticas de sacralización de los alemanes de Rusia en la Pampa Central. Colonia Santa María, 1908-1939," *Secuencia: Revista de historia y ciencias sociales*, no. 90 (2014): 123.

presence in the La Plata states in 1928.[335] He was a controversial figure in Argentina, who stood up for the Volga-Germans but was (secretly?) accused by German officials of artificially maintaining a Russian connection instead of merely fostering ties to Germany.[336]

Some Russian-Germans also went to Namibia, but they did not create a separate group identity there. Carl Hugo Hahn (*1818 Riga, Russia – 1895 Cape Town, South Africa) came from such an elite urban family, but the designation "Russian-German" only gained wider prominence towards the end of his lifetime. I have not encountered this term with regards to him. While the missionary literature mentions that he was born in Riga, they do not dwell on his origins and birthplace Russia. Only his wife, Emma Sarah Hone (*1814 England – 1880 Cape Town, South Africa), specifically wrote to her mother introducing her husband with, "he is Russian."[337] Emma also mentioned in her letters to family in England that their three sons were also Russian subjects.[338] There were other Rhenish missionaries in Namibia that came from Russia, like Christian Baumann (*1842 Lichtenthal, Bessarabia – 1888, Okombahe, Namibia). Baumann first came to Namibia as a missionary colonist and then later became ordained as missionary. Between 1903 and 1906, Russian-born Paul Rohrbach (*1869 Irgen, Latvia – 1956 Germany) was royal commissioner in German South-West Africa. Yet no specific Russian-German identity developed in Namibia, probably due to the lack in larger numbers.[339]

German-Russian colonists arrived in Buenos Aires in 1878.[340] They were farmers (*Ackerbauern*) and mostly settled in the Argentine Pampa.[341] They focused on settling in agricultural colonies. When greater numbers of Russian-Germans wanted to leave Russia after the 1880s, authorities from the German Empire wanted to control their resettlement. Written negotiations were exchanged between German imperial representatives in

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335 Jakob Riffel, *Die Rußlanddeutschen insbesondere die Wolgadeutschen am La Plata (Argentinien, Uruguay und Paraguay) -- Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Jubiläum ihrer Einwanderung* (Est. Lucas Conzalez, Entre Rios: Selbstverl. d. Verf., 1928).

336 Heidenreich, "Betrifft: Erlass vom 8.VI. 1929 [„Russland-Deutsche Ecke"]," July 8, 1929, EZA 5/2061.

337 Hahn, *The Letters of Emma Sarah Hahn*, 60.

338 Ibid., 325.

339 There was, however, Volga-Germans who went to German East-Africa between 1906 and 1913, see Waldemar Schmidt, *Russlanddeutsche: die Auswanderung der Russlanddeutschen nach Deutsch-Ostafrika 1906-1913*, Regensburger Hefte zur Geschichte und Kultur im östlichen Europa 7 (Regensburg: Beate Herget, 2008).

340 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 228; See also Fritz Krome, *Deutsche in Südamerika* (Leipzig: Verlag Lühe & Co., 1938).

341 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 266–67.

Germany, Argentina, and Namibia concerning Russian-Germans in 1903.[342] Hans von Wangenheim from the Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandschaft Buenos Aires wrote to the German chancellor Graf von Bülow in April of that year.[343] Wangenheim was responding to a request for information about propaganda concerning Russian-Germans being invited by Russia to return after various bad harvests; but this was misinformation. Wangenheim referred to a publication by Karl Kaerger, a German working as the agricultural expert for the Argentinean government, who supported a positive image of colonization prospects in Argentina.[344]

In Argentina, Russian-Germans were at times regarded as being part of the German community, and at times they were fiercely rejected. In 1883, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* wrote very depreciatively about Russian-Germans: "A few years ago, great efforts were made, even financial sacrifices made, to attract German-Russians, who are deeply below the education level of the gauchos…"[345] The article claimed that Russian-Germans were too different to fit in well with the rest of Argentine society and were not a desirable group of migrants for Argentina. The article held the same opinion regarding Jews from Russia and Poland. Russian-Germans in South America were also discussed at the German Colonial Congress in Berlin in 1905: Bodems informed the audience that over 20,000 Russian-Germans lived in Provinces Entre Rios and Buenos Aires in mostly closed colonies.[346] Volga-Germans had a difficult position of in the larger German-speaking community in Buenos Aires: they were considered as "being strange."[347] In 1907, Neubaur claimed that Russian-German farmers (*Bauern*) in Argentina could not be counted as members of German-ness (*Deutschtum*) because they lacked the spiritual link to Germany.[348] They were

[342] They will be further studied in Part III.

[343] Hans von Wangenheim, "[Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft 06.04.1903. deutsch-russische Einwanderer] Hans von Wangenheim to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," April 6, 1903, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 150.

[344] Karl Kaerger, *Landwirtschaft und Kolonisation im Spanischen Amerika. Erster Band. Die La Plata-Staaten* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1901).

[345] "Assimilation," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 13, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[346] P. Bodems, "Die Deutsch-Russen in Südamerika," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, zu Berlin am 5., 6., und 7. Oktober 1905*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906), 740–53.

[347] "Unsere 'Russen,'" *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 18, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[348] Paul August Ferdinand Neubaur, *Der Norddeutsche Lloyd, 50 Jahre der Entwickelung, 1857-1907* (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1907), 182"Noch heute deutsche in ihrer Erscheinung, ihrer Sprache und ihren Lebensgewohnheiten, können sie doch kaum noch als Vertreter des Deutschtums bezeichnet warden, da ihnen jede geistige Gemeinschaft mit dem deutschen Vaterlande verloren gegangen ist."

accused of considering Russia as their patria (*Vaterland*) rather than Germany.[349] In 1929, the closure of the Russian-German newspaper was discussed. Representing the German La Plata Synod, Heidenreich wrote in 1929, "Russian-Germans are curiously timeless, history-less people. They love the Argentinean soil just as deeply as their fathers loved the Russian one. And their '*Heimat*' (home) has always been Germany, often our German-Protestant church."[350] Then again, Lütge et al. claimed the Russian-Germans to be Germans and praised their contributions to the German-Argentinean community and to Argentine society at large.[351] However, Karl Ilg argues that the Volga-Germans and Black-Sea-Germans keep their distance from the *Deutschländer* (Germans from Germany) in Argentina.[352]

The question the German government authorities were asking themselves and that they were asked by Russian-Germans was: should members of this group be (re-)settled in Argentina or in Namibia? In 1903, Otto Peust from Paraná, Argentina inquired with the German consulate in Buenos Aires about the possibility of resettling German-Russians in an official German colony.[353] His request was sent to the German chancellor von Bülow in Berlin. The chancellor's staff member Stübel noted that it was curious the Russian-Germans wanted to leave South America and go to Africa instead,[354] but he answered the German consul of Buenos Aires that in Africa, the colony they considered as being the best for settling Europeans was Namibia.[355] He also said that while the German government could pay for the trip from South America to Africa, the settlers would have to have the necessary means to provide for themselves upon arrival, and he questioned whether these Russian-Germans would be able to do so. This financial question may have been a way to deter Russian-Germans from migration to an official colony that was supposed to be composed of "real Germans." Regardless, Stübel did forward the question to the Imperial Governor in Windhoek.[356] In 1905, Julius von Waldthausen wrote the German chancellor von Bülow that

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[349] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 230.

[350] Heidenreich, "Betrifft: Erlass vom 8.VI. 1929 [„Russland-Deutsche Ecke"]."

[351] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 223.

[352] Karl Ilg, *Das Deutschtum in Chile und Argentinien* (Wien: Österreichische Landsmannschaft, 1982), 77.

[353] von Sanden, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná: „etwaige Ansiedlung deutsch-russischer Kolonisten in den afrikanischen Kolonien des Deutschen Reiches um Auskunft bittet] Von Sanden to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," December 4, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 38.

[354] Stübel, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná...]," February 9, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 38.

[355] Der Reichskanzler. Im Auftrage. gez. Stübel, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná...] Reichskanzler to von Sanden," February 29, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 40.

[356] Stübel, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná...] Stübel to Kaiserlicher Gouverneur in Windhuk," February 29, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 40.

he thought encouraging Russian-Germans' migration to Argentina would only strengthen German-ness in Argentina and should thus be favored.[357]

The shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd was employed in the settling of Russian-Germans in Argentina. In July 1905, the Norddeutscher Lloyd informed the Imperial Foreign Office about their plan to acquire land in the southern part of Argentina in order to settle Russian-Germans there that were unhappy in Brazil.[358] In the letter, the company stated that the Argentine government would grant the land if the German government would grant confidential support for the endeavor. In a letter from Julius Föhr to the Norddeutscher Lloyd from October 1905, the desired settlement area was located in the Rio Negro (where the rivers Neuquen and Limay meet); Föhr acknowledged that Nordeutscher Lloyd could not function as a "concession society" itself, but wanted to found a new concession society with prominent (German-)Argentinean business members, such as Tornquist.[359] On 8 November 1905, the Norddeutscher Lloyd reported to Mr. Goetsch in Berlin that [Ernesto] Tornquist had agreed to buy land and offer it for German settlement, administered by Nordeutscher Lloyd.[360] The German Consulate Buenos Aires, meanwhile, did not see its role as that of a mediator between Russian-Germans and the Argentine state, though consul von Sanden did underline that the settling of Russian-Germans would strengthen the German-ness (*Deutschtum*) of Argentina.[361]

Meanwhile, Hermann Schroff wrote in June 1905 that Russian-Germans from Bessarabia were ready to be sent to an area that suited German interests.[362] He provided information on Gerhardt, the governor of Bessarabia, who was a *Reichsdeutscher* (citizen of the German Empire). Schroff claimed that Russian-Germans were the ideal "colonist material" as they were "land-hungry." In December 1905, K. Gerhardt from Bessarabia requested information for the migration of five thousand Russian-German families to

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357 Julius von Waldthausen, "[Btr. Deutsch-russische Bauern nach Argentinien] [Stärkung des Deutschtums] Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den LaPlata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," February 22, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 20.

358 "Norddeutscher Lloyd to Kaiserlich Auswärtiges Amt," July 13, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 78-79.

359 Julius Föhr, "Julius Föhr to Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen," October 3, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 51-60.

360 "Direktion des Norddeutschen Lloyd, Bremen to Wirklicher Geheimer Legationsrat im Auswärtigen Amt Herr Goetsch, Berlin," November 8, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 45-46.

361 von Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires, Von Sanden to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," February 20, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 21.

362 Hermann Schroff, "Hermann Schroff to Direktor," June 22, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 80-90.

Argentina.[363] He explained the most important points the potential migrants required from the Argentinean government: they wanted to be able to settle in a group and not be separated, they wanted to have their own school and church and a German language translator at court, and to be exempted from military service. In February 1906 then, Hacke from the La Plata embassy reported to the German chancellor von Bülow in Berlin about the changed plans of the Norddeutscher Lloyd: how they originally planned to found a German colonization society and acquire land in the Buenos Aires province, but then adjusted their plans to the circumstances: they then wanted to settle Russian-Germans, alongside Swiss-Germans and Reich-Germans, on government land in the Rio Negro area.[364] Two representatives of the Lloyd then travelled to the area in question, which they considered not suitable for their project. Further south, by the lake Nahuel Huapi, they did find land with good soil for agriculture, but they claimed that the missing connections hindered an immediate start of the German large-scale colonization project. Meanwhile Lloyd authorities had turned away from dealing with the Argentinean government and wanted to get land from Tornquist, who in turn refused then to offer them the land, claiming he was too busy. He referred to other land possibilities. Meanwhile, the first settlers already arrived with Lloyd ships and were accommodated by the Colonización Stroeder and Argentinean immigration authorities. In his letter to the chancellor, Hacke asked to be dispensed from having to answer inquiries on the Lloyd project until matters were resolved and they actually had bought land.

In September 1906, von Sanden described different types of colonization in the Argentinean interior. After the Jewish type with the Jewish Colonization Society, he described the Russian-Germans in Entre Rios. According to him, the latter bought their land from private entrepreneurs with an installment plan.[365] They were assiduous workers and desired to be incorporated into the Argentinean "German-ness" (*Deutschtum*). He quoted them as saying that they wanted to be "put under German protection."

[363] K. K. Gerhardt, "K. K. Gerhard, Gouv. Bessarabien, Kreis Akkermann, Südrußland to Kaiserlich Deutsches Konsulat Buenos Aires," December 13, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 22.

[364] Hacke, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandschaft bei den La Plata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," February 2, 1906, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 148-151.

[365] Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat, Buenos Aires an Reichskanzler, Fürsten von Bülow [Ein Stroeder'sches Eisenbahnprojekt in Entrerios]."

2.2.3 Dutch, Boer, and Belgian

German-speakers had a close, changing, and contested relationship with the Dutch, Boers, and Belgians on both sides of the South Atlantic, which reflected their close proximity on the European continent as well. After the Congress of Vienna, the United Kingdom of the Netherlands existed briefly from 1815 to 1839. Belgium split off in 1830, but their secession was only recognized by the Netherlands in 1839. Until Belgian secession, the names "Netherlands" and "Belgium" were used interchangeably for the region: Netherlands was used in Flemish/Dutch and "*La Belgique*" was used in French for the same territory. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, workers of the Dutch East India Company settled at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. They were of Dutch, German, and French Huguenot origin. They spoke Dutch and received the name "Boers" [*Buren*], which was derived from the Dutch word for farmer. The Dutch were considered to be *niederdeutsch* (Low-German). In the early days, some German-speakers in Buenos Aires were appointed as consuls for the Netherlands, like Carlos Augusto Bunge (*1804 Remscheid – 1849 Buenos Aires) in 1827.[366] Even in 1876, the Dutch consulate made an announcement in Argentina's German-language newspaper (*Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*).[367] In 1901, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* wrote that the German school association (*Deutscher Schulverband*) included all tribes/groups (*Stämme*) of the German tongue (*deutscher Zunge*) including Swiss, Austrian, Dutch, and more.[368] But by 1900, it seems that Boers in Argentina were not included in the German-speaking community. In 1907, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* advertised a "Transvaal hotel and restaurant,"[369] and German-speakers wrote of the settlement of Boers in the Chubut region in Southern Argentina in 1902, with no indication that they shared a common identity with the writers.[370]

Nevertheless, the story of the Boers is closely intertwined with South Atlantic German-speakers in various ways: The conflict between Boers and English colonials in South

366 Jorge Navarro Viola, *El Club de Residentes Extranjeros: 1841-1941* (Buenos Aires: Coni, 1941), 121.

367 "Consulat der Niederlande. Herr A. J. Musquetier oder derjenige, der über seinen Aufenthalt Auskunft geben kann ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 30, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

368 "Eine musterhafte Berichterstattung," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, June 6, 1901, EZA 5/2061, p. 303.

369 C. J. Boezaart, "The Transvaal Hotel und Restaurant," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 30, 1907, sec. advertisements, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

370 "Die Chubut-Kolonisten," *Deutsche Nachrichten*, May 19, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 48.

Africa around 1900 caused anxiety and tightened the Anglo-German conflict, raising fears among the British that the German Empire would support the Boers.[371] As a consequence of the Boer wars, many Boers decided to migrate. Consequently, Boers in the South Atlantic have their own entangled history, as many chose to migrate from Transvaal to Argentina as a consequence of the Boer wars. Brian du Toit has published a study of the Colonia Boer in Chubut, Argentina in 1995, arguing that Boers gradually lost their "Boer-ness" and integrated into Argentinean society completely after only a few generations.[372]

In December 1902, the New Settlement Society for Southwest Africa (*Neue Südwestafrikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft*) was founded in Berlin specifically with the aim to help Boer settlers to remain in South-West Africa after the Boer war.[373] Throughout the nineteenth century, Boers were already moving across the territory of Namibia. In November 1879, Rhenish missionary Johann Georg Schröder described the settlement of Rietfontein: "Several farmer families [*Bauernfamilien*] used to live in Rietfontein, that had settled there provisionally. But when we arrived there, they had already left and returned to their previous home (Transvaal). […] Some of their houses were still standing; they were inhabited by three English traders with their families that showed us much kindness."[374] In 1896, Joachim Graf Pfeil published a critical study on the "Boer question in Southwest Africa." He articulated the fear of the German government and conservative circles that the Boer migrants would conquer the German protectorate and create a Boer state within the colony. Pfeil also listed the arguments of the opponents of Boers settlement in South-West Africa: that they were inferior human beings and on a lower level of civilization, and thus not useful "colonist material" for the German colony; the Boer land management practices were wasteful and inefficient as they used too much land for too few animals; their exclusive trade with the cape colony would be detrimental for German trade; the Boers were still in favor of slavery and they would mistreat the indigenous population; and the Boers coming to South-West Africa were all poor and would greatly increase the proletariat of the German

371 See Dedering, "The Ferreira Raid of 1906."
372 Du Toit, *Colonia Boer*.
373 "Aufruf!," December 12, 1902, BArch R 1001/1700, pag. 12.
374 Johann Georg Schröder, "[Rietfontein]," November 20, 1879, RMG 2.591, Bl. 15.

protectorate.[375] Pfeil countered all these arguments in his essay, and concluded that Boers would be good settlers and useful for the German protectorate.

In 1899, the newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger* published several articles about the Boer question: while most Boers that had entered the German protectorate South-West Africa had come to the territory of the South-West Africa Company, many had already left South-West Africa within the last year (1898); but the article praised the good characteristics of the Boers and their knowledge of the country as a precondition for being good colonists.[376] The article "Boers as Settlers" also argued that Boers should be welcomed as settlers in South-West Africa as they were already familiar with the country and they could become a connector [*Bindeglied*] between the South-West Africa Germans and Cape Colony Boers.[377] Dr. Sander acknowledged that many Germans in Germany had an ambivalent view of the Boers – they were on their side in the fight against the British – but Germans' love for them did not reach as far as to wanting them settle in South-West Africa.[378] However, Sander claimed that Boers were needed in order to settle South-West Africa with whites.[379] His article was published in the journal for colonial policy, which was a fervent advocate for Boer settlement in South-West Africa.

In May 1902, a German-language newspaper from Valparaiso, Chile reported on Boer settlers in Chubut, Argentina, claiming that they were replacing the Welsh settlers in Patagonia.[380] In 1905, the Afrikaner colony or "Colonia Boer" was administered by the Argentinean State through the Ministry of Agriculture.[381] In April 1907, the Ministry of Agriculture confirmed the administrator for this colony.[382] As of February 1908, the Ministry

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375 Joachim Graf Pfleil, "Die Boerenfrage in Südwestafrika," ed. Gustav Meinecke, *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis. Achter Jahrgang. Das Jahr 1895* 8 (1896): 133–47.

376 "Rückblicke und Aussichten," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 5, 1899, NAN.

377 "Buren als Ansiedler," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, February 16, 1899, NAN.

378 I have not been able to find clear evidence if this Dr. Sander is the same as Ludwig Sander from the German Colonial Society for South-West Africa.

379 Dr. Sander, "Sollen wir Buren in Südwestafrika zur Ansiedelung zulassen oder nicht?," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 1 (1900 1899): 610–37.

380 "Die Chubut-Kolonisten."

381 [Manuel] Quintana and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 20 diciembre 1905]," December 20, 1905, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 5300 del año 1905].

382 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 6 abril 1907]," April 6, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1236 T del año 1907].

of Agriculture still administered the Boer families settled in Chubut,[383] and that April, the Ministry of Agriculture regulated the position of Administrator of the land occupied by families from South Africa.[384]

There was temporary enthusiasm for Boers in the German Empire. German-speakers in Namibia as well as German media in the *Kaiserreich* discussed whether Boers were good "colonist material" (*Kolonistenmaterial*) and potential settlers for the German protectorate South-West Africa. In Namibia, Boers and the Dutch language (or Afrikaans, as the South African version was later called) were part of everyday life: Boers married at the German Protestant church in Windhoek,[385] Boer children went to German schools, and in 1899, the South-West Africa colonial authorities even set up a school in Windhoek for farm children who otherwise could not attend school because their homes were located too far away, specifically targeting Boers.[386] In 1908, Drs. Kapler and Duske from the Protestant diaspora association *Gustav-Adolf-Verein* claimed that the Boers settled around Grootfontein were rather anti-German, but if the Protestants acted fast and founded a Protestant congregation in Grootfontein, the Boers could be tied to and made useful for the German community and would refrain from getting their own preacher from the Cape Colony.[387] Therefore, the German protestant preacher employed and commissioned by the *Evangelischer Zentralrat* should also be Dutch-speaking to be able to reach and "Germanize" the Boer settlers.

Former South-West Africa governor Theodor von Leutwein claimed in 1907 that it was not advisable to settle too many Boers in the protectorate, but that individual Boers were good teachers for German settlers.[388] Leutwein stated that there had been two attempts to settle Boers in South-West Africa: in 1895-96 by the South West Africa Company in the area of Grootfontein, and then around 1900 by the proper South-West Africa government with refugees from Transvaal.[389] Leutwein also claimed that one quarter of the

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383 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 21 febrero 1908]," February 21, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 692 T del año 1908].

384 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 7 abril 1908]," April 7, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1727 T del año 1908].

385 Richter, "Aufgebot," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, February 2, 1899, NAN; Richter, "Aufgebot," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 2, 1899, NAN.

386 Otto, "Schul-Pensionat zu Windhoek (Namentlich auch für Burenkinder)," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 21, 1899, NAN.

387 Dr. Kapler and Dr. Duske, "Aktennotiz [13. Juni 1908]," June 13, 1908, EZA 5/2916.

388 Theodor Gotthilf von Leutwein, "Die wirtschaftliche Erschließung des Schutzgebietes," in *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Second Edition (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1907), 414.

389 Ibid., 415.

white population of South-West Africa in 1907 were Boers.[390] Some German-speakers, including Wilhelm Vallentin and Bernhard Voigt, claimed them as being part of the "German race." Vallentin was called *Boerkaptain* in Argentina in 1907; he had fought in the Boer war in South Africa before travelling extensively in Southern Argentina.[391] Bernhard Voigt was a writer who had spent time living in Namibia.[392]

A few historians have studied Belgian involvement in Argentina.[393] In 1998, an edited volume supported by the respective embassies in Argentina and Belgium set out to study the relations between Belgium and Argentina, highlighting the long and multi-facetted relationship between the two countries.[394] Argentina's economic and financial relations with Belgium were very important. Belgium had banks there before the German empire did. German merchants in Argentina used Belgian connections in Europe. It was particularly the Bunge and Born family that took advantage of the changing political alignment of Belgium. The family was originally from the Rhineland and then moved to the Netherlands and then Belgium. Ernesto Anton Bunge (*1846 Amsterdam, Netherlands – 1933 Gante, Belgium) moved to Buenos Aires in 1876, and founded "Ernesto Bunge y Jorge Born S.A.,"[395] together with his brother-in-law Jorge, in 1884. His father, Carl Gustaf Bunge (*1811 Amsterdam, Netherlands – 1884 Amberes, Netherlands), had moved Bunge & Co. to Antwerp in 1859, which became Anvers as part of Belgium. Carl Gustaf's father, Johann Peter Gottlieb Bunge (*1781 Remscheid – 1865 Haarlem, Netherlands), had founded Bunge & Co. to trade grain in Amsterdam in 1818. Johann Peter Gottlieb was a brother of Johann Karl Friedrich Bunge (*1779 – 1858), whose son Carlos Augusto Bunge [Carl August Bunge Rauschenbusch] (*1804 Remscheid, NRW – 1849 Buenos Aires) would move to Buenos Aires, marry María

390 Ibid., 417.

391 "Zur germanischen Grosskolonisation in Argentinien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, July 1, 1907, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 95.

392 Bernhard Voigt, *Die Buren. Südafrikanisches Grenzerbuch* (Berlin: Parey, 1929).

393 Johan Verberckmoes, "Flamencos en el Río de la Plata, siglos XVI-XVIII," in *En los deltas de la memoria: Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Bart De Groof et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 37–47; Kristine Vanden Berghe, "Argentina en la comunidad literaria flamenca. Algunos datos," in *En los deltas de la memoria: Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Bart De Groof et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 205–7

394 Bart De Groof et al., eds., *En los deltas de la memoria: Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998).

395 Jorge Schvarzer, *Bunge & Born: crecimiento y diversificación de un grupo económico* (Buenos Aires Argentina: CISEA; Grupo Editor Latinoamericano; distribuidor exclusivo Emecé Editores, 1989), 6.

Genara Peña Lezica (*1809 Buenos Aires – 1857 Buenos Aires) in 1834, and found the famous Bunge dynasty in Argentina.

The Argentinean Legation in Belgium (*Legación en Bélgica*) (1860 – 1903) was responsible for the German states before Argentina had a consulate in Berlin.[396] In 1889, the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt* had two agents in Europe: one for Switzerland in Bern and one responsible for Belgium, Germany, and Austria in Antwerp.[397]

2.2.4 Austrian

A small number of Austrians went to Argentina and Namibia. For example, Leopold Schnabl (*1846 Pohrlitz, Moravia (Pohorelice, Czech Republic) – 1890 Gleichenberg (Bad Gleichenberg, Styria))[398] was a optometrist and ophthalmologist who moved to Argentina in 1877 where he opened an Eye Institute (Instituto Óptico Occulisto); he returned to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1882 as consul of the Argentine Republic. Francisco Latzina (*1845 Brüm, Moravia – 1922 Buenos Aires)[399] was a geographer, soldier, writer, and mathematician who worked as geographer and statistician for the Argentine state from 1871 onwards. Baron Eduardo de Holmberg (*1778 Austria – 1853 Buenos Aires) was the grandfather of the famous German-Argentinean botanist Eduardo Ladislao Holmberg. Jovita Epp (Leonor Hary-Epp) (*1909, Südtirol – ?), a writer, married an estanciero of French descent, Ernesto Carlos Hary, in 1931.[400] Johannes Rath (*1816 Vienna – 1903 Kuils Rier, Cape Colony, South Africa) was a Rhenish missionary in Namibia.

The Austrian Empire existed from 1804 to 1867. The German-speaking parts of the empire were part of the German Federation (*Deutscher Bund*). After the German Revolution of 1848, two state models were debated: a Greater Germany (*großdeutsche Lösung*) or Lesser Germany (*kleindeutsche Lösung*) – a united German nation-state with or without

396 MREC: Argentina. Archivo General del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

397 "Agenten des Argentinischen Wochen- & Tageblattes."

398 "Schnabl, Leopold," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon und biographische Dokumentation* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 355–56, http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_S/Schnabl_Leopold_1846_1890.xml.

399 "Latzina, Francisco," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon und biographische Dokumentation* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_L/Latzina_Francisco_1845_1922.xml.

400 https://www.munzinger.de/search/portrait/Jovita+Epp/0/9330.html

Austria. From 1867 to 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a multi-ethnic empire where German-speakers considered and labeled themselves as German (*deutsch*). William Johnston has claimed that before WWI, there was never a discussion about Austrian identity within "Austria."[401] He claimed that a discussion about "Austrian-ness" only started shortly before 1914 and that before, it was assumed that German-Austrians belonged to German-ness (*Deutschtum*) and did not need their own, distinct identity.[402]

Together with the "proper" Germans and the Swiss-Germans, the Austrians constitute an "obvious" or expected category of German-speakers. With the existence of a state in Central Europe that has German as official language, their connection to German culture has been maintained until the present day and their state has been an advocate for Austrian citizens and their descendants in the South Atlantic.

Most histories of the "Austrian colony" in Buenos Aires focus on the post-WWI period. In 1992, Edith Blaschnitz examined the "Austrian colony" of Buenos Aires between the world wars with an emphasis on Austrian Jews.[403] Holger Meding[404] and Philip Mettauer[405] have also studied Austrian refugees in Argentina. But Austrians were present in Argentina much earlier, and the term circulated in Buenos Aires long before the establishment of the Austrian Republic in 1918. German schools in Argentina listed "Austrian" as an independent category in their internal censuses. In 1888, Heinrich Hirsch published a work on overseas colonization by Austro-Hungary.[406] In 1907, Friedrich Hey published an article in the journal of the Association of Austrian farmers on Austrian migration to Argentina where he identified Argentina as the best migration destination.[407]

"Austrian" or "Austro-Hungarian" were categories commonly used in Argentina throughout the nineteenth century. Austrians had their own political representative in

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401 William Johnston, *Der österreichische Mensch: Kulturgeschichte der Eigenart Österreichs* (Wien: Böhlau, 2010).

402 Ibid., 24 f.

403 Edith Blaschnitz, "Auswanderer, Emigranten, Exilanten – die österreichische Kolonie in Buenos Aires. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Jahre 1918 – 1945" (Diplom, Universität Wien, 1992).

404 Meding, *Flucht vor Nürnberg?*

405 Mettauer, *Erzwungene Emigration nach Argentinien*.

406 Heinrich Hirsch, *Überseeische Kolonisation durch Österreich-Ungarn: Mit handelsstatistischen und handelsgeographischen Anhängen* (Wien und Olmütz: Eduard Hölzel, 1888).

407 Friedrich Hey, "Argentinien und die österreichische Auswanderung," in *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung: Organ der Gesellschaft österreichischer Volkswirte*, ed. Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk et al., 17 (Wien; Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1907), 359–65.

Buenos Aires in the form of a consul.[408] The migration propaganda publications published in German often specifically also addressed Austrian citizens.[409] However, Austrians did not publish their own newspaper in the South Atlantic. In Argentina, they used both the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* and the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* to advertise their numerous stores and associations. Several Austrian associations in Argentina were very active: the Austro-Hungarian Club (founded in 1906),[410] the Austro-Hungarian Sociability Club,[411] and a "German and Austrian Singing Academy."[412] In February 1907, the Austro-Hungarian Sociability Club invited readers of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* to a "Farmers Ball."[413] In 1880, an announcement was made that the "Bazar de Austria" had to be closed after two years of business.[414]

In advertisements, however, the reference was usually Vienna instead of Austria. There were advertisements for Viennese furniture in the DLPZ[415] and the AT,[416] for a Viennese laundry[417] in Belgrano, and for a Viennese boot maker.[418] Likewise there were two Viennese bakeries that, in 1916, advertised their names in Spanish: "Panaderia la Viena"[419] and "Panaderia de Viena."[420] A certain Fritz Kühner ran a hotel called City of Vienna in

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408 "Reform des Consulatswesens," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 20, 1883, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

409 See, for example, Otto Preusse-Sperber, *Wegweiser für Argentinien zur Orientierung der Auswanderer und Kapitalisten* (Buenos Aires: Herpig & Stoeveken, 1897).

410 "Oesterreich-Ungar. Club, gegründet Januar 1906," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 25, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

411 "Oesterreich-Ungarischer Geselligkeits-Verein," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Vereins-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

412 "Deutsche und Oesterreichische Singakademie," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

413 "Oesterreich-Ungarischer Geselligkeitsverein. [...] II. Bauern-Ball," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 24, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

414 Teodoro Hegenbarth, "P. P. Dem deutschen u. außerdeutschen Publikum zur gefälligen Notiznahme, daß mit 1. Jan. 1880 das seit Mai 1878 in der Florida 136 versuchsweise eröffnete Detailhaus BAZAR DE AUSTRIA eingeht," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

415 "Augusto Baltar. Auktion von Möbeln u. Wiener Artikeln ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1877.

416 Baratti, "Die besten Wiener Möbel," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 30, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

417 "Wiener Wäscherei und Neuplätterei, Belgrano," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

418 V. Zacek, "Wiener Massschuhmacherei," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

419 A. Gomez, "Panaderia la Viena," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

420 Koldewey y Neuwirth, "Panaderia de Viena," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1916.[421] In job ads, people used both Austrian and Viennese to describe themselves. There are examples of gardeners,[422] a housekeeper,[423] a midwife,[424] and a married couple using both terms while looking for employment.[425] In 1877, the German-language newspaper DLPZ (which was called *Die Heimath* at the time), published a correction of an article in the Argentinean newspaper *El porteño*, which had been signed with "an Austrian." The German paper stated that the author first claimed to be Austrian, then Belgian, but turned out to have been Prussian, and it wanted to ensure that this deception would not create a bad reputation for Germans or Austrians in Argentina.[426]

German-language newspapers in Argentina frequently reported on events in Austria, often on a daily basis. In 1866, German-speakers in Buenos Aires read about the conflict between France, Prussia, and Austria, where Austria was eventually defeated by Prussia at the battle of Königgrätz.[427] In 1878, the newspaper DLPZ published an article with a pessimistic outlook on Austria's future – it claimed to foresee an imminent end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[428] Two days after the death of Empress Elisabeth of Austria, in September 1898, the AT published a long article about her life.[429] A few months later, the AT published an article about the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of Franz Joseph I (*1848 – 1898).[430] The DLPZ published an article on their cover page to honor emperor Franz Joseph's seventy-seventh birthday in 1907.[431] It highlighted the emperor's struggle with the

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421 Fritz Kühner, "Hotel 'Stadt Wien,'" *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

422 Josef Sikora, "Gelernter Gärtner, Oesterreicher, tüchtiger Arbeiter sucht baldige Stellung," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Stellengesuche, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

423 "Junge deutsche Frau, Wienerin, sucht Stelle; kann sehr gut nähen, zu 1-2 Kindern oder Stubenmädchen, kann auch kochen," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Stellengesuche, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

424 Janssen, "Hebamme (Oesterreicherin), staatlich geprüft, praktisch erfahren, empfiehlt sich der deutschen Kolonie ..."

425 "Junges deutsches Ehepaar bittet irgend eine Stelle hier oder auswärts. off. unter 'Wiener', Stadt Wien, 25 de Mayo 356," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Stellengesuche, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

426 "Un Austriaco," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 25, 1877, sec. Tages-Chronik.

427 "Frankreich, Preußen und Oesterreich," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 18, 1866.

428 "Der Untergang Oesterreichs II.," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 21, 1878.

429 "Elisabeth von Oesterreich," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 12, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

430 "Zum 50jährigen Regierungs-Jubiläum Franz Joseph I., 1848-1898," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, December 2, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

431 "Kaiser Franz Joseph," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 18, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

nationality question in his empire. Earlier in the same year, the DLPZ had reported on the elections in the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the tense situation regarding the German and Czech nationalities within the empire.[432] The DLPZ was worrying about the future and continued existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[433] Also in 1907, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* reported on the difficulties of trade between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Argentina given the problems the Empire had with keeping together its two kingdoms, Austria and Hungary.[434] The article also mentioned that the economic difficulties motivated Austro-Hungarians to migrate to Argentina. Still in the same year, Friedrich Hey published an article on Argentina and Austrian migration in the journal of the Association for Austrian Farmers where he proclaimed Argentina as the best destination for Austrian migration.[435] An article with the same title was published in the Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* in the same year.[436] With the start of WWI, both German newspapers in Argentina followed the events in Europe, including within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, very closely.

2.2.5 Swiss-German

Numerous Swiss-Germans migrated to Argentina and were among the pioneers to settle in colonization colonies in the north at the border to Paraguay and Brazil. The Alemann family is among the most prominent examples of Swiss migrants coming to Argentina and remaining for many generations until today. Johann Allemann changed his name to Juan Alemann (*1826 Bern – 1893 Buenos Aires) once in Buenos Aires.[437] Two of his sons, Mauricio (Moritz) Alemann (*1858 Bern – 1908 Bern) and Teodoro (Theodor) Alemann (*1862 Bern – 1925 Buenos Aires), became naturalized Argentineans and spent their lives in Argentina. Another Swiss-German family, but short-term migrants, were Carlos Beck Bernard

[432] "Die Wahlen in Oesterreich," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 11, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.
[433] Gustav Wolf-Clor, "Die Zukunft Oesterreichs und Ungarns," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, September 19, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.
[434] "Handel Argentiniens mit Oesterreich-Ungarn," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 4, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.
[435] Hey, "Argentinien und die österreichische Auswanderung."
[436] "Argentinien und die österreichische Auswanderung," *Neue Freie Presse*, November 13, 1907, BArch R 901/30421, pag. 74.
[437] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 241.

(*1819, Switzerland – 1900), his wife Lina (*1824 Bitschwyler, Alsatia – 1888), and their children, who spent five years (1857 – 1862) in Argentina. Upon their return to Europe, Carlos served as the Argentine consul in Switzerland.[438] José Greger was originally from Bavaria, but he became a naturalized Argentinean and actively promoted migration from Switzerland.[439]

On the other side of the South Atlantic, Hans Schinz (*1858 Zurich, Switzerland – 1941 Zurich, Switzerland) was a Swiss botanist who spent three years in Namibia (1884-1887), first as part of the exploring team for Adolf Lüderitz, then in his own terms.[440] Conrad A. E. "von" Pestalozzi (*1851 Zurich – 1915), also took part in the Lüderitz expedition in 1883.[441] Carl Wilhelm Walser (*1856 St. Gallen – ?) with family arrived in Namibia in 1877 where he became a farmer.[442]

A history of colonialism or of colonization abroad is even less a part of today's Swiss mindset and societal (historical) consciousness than in the case of Germany. Switzerland is not typically known for or thought of as having taken part in colonialism. However, historians like Andreas Zangger and Lukas M. Schneider have recently undertaken the endeavor to integrate Swiss history into global and connected history: Zangger has doe so by studying studied "colonial Switzerland" and Swiss colonization in Southeast Asia, Argentina, and Brazil, but not as part of the colonization projects of the Alemanns, Tornquist, and the like.[443] Others have looked at the Swiss in Namibia and South America through the lens of migration history, but not colonialism. While Lukas M. Schneider did analyze (Swiss) colonization, he classified it as a subcategory of migration studies. He mostly studied the policies of the Swiss government with regards to Swiss colonization projects in Argentina and Brazil.[444] In his analysis, Schneider focused on the Swiss only, not considering the larger

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[438] "Beck-Bernard, Carl," *CERL Thesaurus: Accessing the Record of Europe's Printed Heritage*, 2010, https://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnp01208297.

[439] "[J. Greger] Akten der k. b. Polizeidirektion in München," 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 52.

[440] Sandra Romer, *Eine neue Heimat in Südwestafrika?: die Schweizer Auswanderung nach Namibia, 1870-1946* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien; Namibia Resource Center & Southern Africa Library, 2003), 111; Dag Henrichsen, ed., *Hans Schinz: Bruchstücke: Forschungsreisen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2012), vii.

[441] Romer, *Eine neue Heimat in Südwestafrika?*, 111.

[442] Ibid., 128 ff.

[443] Andreas Zangger, *Koloniale Schweiz: Ein Stück Globalgeschichte zwischen Europa und Südostasien (1860-1930)* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014).

[444] Lukas M. Schneider, *Die Politik des Bundes gegenüber projektierten Kolonisationsunternehmen in Argentinien und Brasilien: Ein Beitrag zur organisierten Auswanderung aus der Schweiz (1880-1939)*, Geist und

German (*germanisch-deutsch*) discussion around the colonization projects of the Alemanns, Tornquist and the like.

Historians have dedicated studies to Swiss migrants both in Argentina and Namibia. In 1998, Oscar Berner published on the Swiss in Namibia[445] and in 2003, Sandra Romer has published her study on Swiss migration to Namibia between 1870 and WWII.[446] There is also an important connection between Switzerland and Namibia today: the African Research center in Basel, Switzerland currently represents an important location that funds research on Namibia. In 1996 already, Swiss historian Béatrice Ziegler distinguished between Germans, Austrians, and Swiss leaving "Germany" for South America.[447] In 1975, her and Martin Nicoulin had compiled a bibliography on Swiss people in South America for the time between 1815 and 1939, the Congress of Vienna, and the beginning of WWII.[448]

Switzerland was recognized (again) as an independent state at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, following the French revolution. It is and has been a multi-cultural and multi-lingual state with German, French, and Italian parts. In the South Atlantic, Swiss-Germans associated mostly with the larger "German" community. In Argentina, however, they conserved a partially separate identity. What particularly stands out is the number of leisure associations they had. The Swiss also had their own consul. The founders of one of the two big and enduring newspaper houses were of Swiss origin – the Alemann family – but they branded their newspaper as German first and Swiss only second. The *Argentinisches Tageblatt* – more than its rival the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* – gave space to the announcements from Swiss associations and institutions. But the DLPZ also published Swiss announcements, for example an 1876 notice for the "German-Swiss agency of Alemann & Suter." [449] The Alemanns first started with the weekly newspaper *Argentinisches*

Werk der Zeiten: Arbeiten aus dem Historischen Seminar der Universität Zürich 87 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 112.

445 Oskar T. Berner, *Die Schweizer im ehemaligen Südwestafrika / The Swiss in the former South West Africa* (Windhoek: Typoprint, Schweizer Club Namibia, 1998)

446 Romer, *Eine neue Heimat in Südwestafrika?*

447 Béatrice Ziegler, "Auf der Suche nach Brot und Freiheit: Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz," in *Deutsche in Lateinamerika - Lateinamerika in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Kohut (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1996), 48–66.

448 Martin Nicoulin and Béatrice Ziegler, *Émigration suisse en Amérique latine, 1815-1939: essai bibliographique* (Zurich: Bibliothèque nationale suisse, 1975).

449 Alemann and Suter, "Deutsch-Schweizerische Agentur von Alemann & Suter," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 9, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Wochenblatt and their aim was to have a space to discuss the situation of German-speakers in Argentina.[450] For this reason, their front page prioritized Argentine news in German.

In 1889, the Alemann family added the daily newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt* to their weekly one and the editors announced the intent of their new paper: to have the entire German colony (of Argentina) as their audience and to thank Argentina for its hospitality and repay it by being useful to the country.[451] "To pay back Argentina's hospitality" – the Alemanns understood this in terms of the motto "*gobernar es poblar*" ("to govern is to populate") and they saw it as their patriotic responsibility to help increase migration to and colonization of Argentina. For this purpose, the AT also had two agents in Europe: one for Switzerland in Bern and one responsible for Belgium, Germany, and Austria in Antwerp.[452]

Swiss-Germans had several own grocery stores. Before the AT was founded, Swiss people advertised in the DLPZ (which changed names and owners several times before 1880). In 1876, one already identified itself in Spanish as "*Almacén Suizo*." In 1877, it specifically advertised Swiss food items like Swiss cheese,[453] but also offered specialties from other German lands, like Westphalian ham.[454] In 1883, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* also carried an advertisement from the *Almacen Suizo*.[455] A number of other stores used Swiss in their name like a gun store,[456] a photography studio,[457] and two shoe stores.[458] The Swiss pharmacy of Franz Xaver Rothlin advertised itself as such in the AT,[459] the DLPZ,[460] and the

450 "An unsere Leser," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, July 7, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

451 "An unsere Leser!," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 29, 1889, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

452 "Agenten des Argentinischen Wochen- & Tageblattes."

453 "Schweizer-Käse ... [...] Schweizer Almacen," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 25, 1877, sec. Tages-Chronik.

454 "Westfaelischer Schinken [...] Schweizer Almacen," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, September 15, 1877, sec. Tages-Chronik.

455 "Almacen Suizo," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, March 10, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

456 G. Goth, "Schweizer Veterli- Repetir- Carabiner u. Scheiben-Stutzer," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, December 4, 1872.

457 "Schweizer Photographie," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, September 8, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

458 "La Suiza," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 1, 1878; Solca, "Aux Suisses: Grosses Schuhwaaren-Geschaeft," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

459 Franz Xaver Rothlin, "Für Kolonisten: Die Schweizer-Apotheke," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, December 14, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Spanish-language magazine *Germania*.[461] There were also several hotels and restaurants that specifically addressed a Swiss-German audience: The "*Gasthof del Norte*" advertised itself as particularly suited for Germans and Swiss.[462] There was also a guesthouse of "The Swiss League,"[463] a Swiss (beer) hall,[464] the Swiss restaurant "Wilhelm Tell,"[465] the "La Swiss" restaurant,[466] and the hotel and restaurant "Helvecia."[467] Few companies specifically advertised as being Swiss: one example is a Swiss watch factory;[468] another is the company of C. F. Baily.[469] The only announcements for Swiss banks I came across are from 1914 and 1916 for the Banco Suizo-Sudamericano. The name of the author of the 1914 announcement, Gsell, seems to be Swiss-German,[470] while that of the 1916 one seems to be Swiss-Italian: Bernasconi.[471] Heinrich Trachsler in 1839[472] and Friedrich Jäggi-Gyger in 1875[473] provided travel writings on Argentina particularly written from a Swiss perspective and addressed to a Swiss audience.

In Argentina in particular, other German-speakers attempted to attract Swiss German-speakers. The above-mentioned Alemann family as well as Carlos Beck Bernard with his wife Lina, Adolf Schuster, and José Greger took an active role in the German-speaking

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460 Franz Xaver Rothlin, "'Myrtillin' [...] Schweizer Apotheke und Sanitäts-Geschäft von Franz Xaver Rothlin," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Franz Xaver Rothlin, "[...] Schweizer-Apotheke," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

461 "Farmacia Suiza de Franz Xaver Rothlin: La Botica de los Alemanes," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

462 Juan Balzer, "Gasthof del Norte in Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 17, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

463 Juan Walter, "Gasthaus zum Schweizerbund," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1877.

464 Theodor Zollinger, "Schweizer Halle," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

465 "Restaurant Wilhelm Tell," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, April 4, 1885, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

466 Eduardo Monti, "'La Suiza': Lunch- und Sandwichs-Lokal," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 4, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

467 "Hotel und Restaurant 'Helvecia' von Albert Oberlin," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 2, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

468 "Schweizer Uhren-Fabrik," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, June 15, 1877.

469 "Eine schweizerische Weltfirma, C. F. Baily, Söhne," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, December 24, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

470 Guillermo Gsell, "Banco Suizo-Sudamericano," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

471 César Bernasconi, "Banco Suizo-Sudamericano," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 3, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

472 Trachsler, *Reisen, Schicksale und tragikomische Abendteuer eines Schweizers während seines Aufenthaltes in den verschiedenen Provinzen Südamerikas, Rio de Janeiro, Ilha Santa Catharina, Armaçaô, Saô Pedro do Sul, Rio Grande, Corrientes, Montevideo, Buenos-Aires etc. in den Jahren 1828 bis 1835*.

473 Friedrich Jäggi-Gyger, *Argentinische Zustände: Ein unbefangenes Urtheil*, vol. 1 (Bern: B. F. Haller, 1875).

community. Juan Alemann described how he felt different from his fellow travelers who originated from Hamburg when he first traveled to Buenos Aires by ship, but once he was in Argentina, he associated with fellow German-speakers.[474] His sons later went to Germany (the German empire) to study and Mauricio Alemann went to Berlin to participate in the German Colonial Congress and appeal for German financial aid and cooperation. The Alemann family also aimed to attract Swiss German-speakers, but they did not only focus on Swiss people. While they always ensured that the Swiss were represented in their newspaper, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, they emphasized a general German-speaking audience and belonging. Adolf Schuster, himself a Swiss-German, started his 1913 published description of Argentina with an emphasis on the Swiss community in Buenos Aires, followed by a much briefer discussion of *Reichsdeutsche* there.[475] This section was followed by a discussion of associations, schools, and other organization, in which the author no longer distinguished between Swiss-Germans and *Reichsdeutsche*. "German-Argentineans," however, had their own section of the book, where their contribution to Argentinean society was highlighted. José Greger also attracted German-speakers from Switzerland and Germany to Argentina, publishing the journal *Südamerikanische Rundschau* in Munich. He became naturalized Argentinean.

From time to time there were announcements for schools in Switzerland that were recommended for Swiss-Argentineans to sent their children to. But the Swiss did not have their own schools in Argentina, nor did they have their own separate religious institutions.

2.2.6 Reichsdeutsche

Most German-speakers in the South Atlantic came from those German states that would eventually, between 1871 and 1919, be combined into the German Empire (*Deutsches Kaiserreich*). The German Empire took many decades to develop, however, and while the entity proves useful as a demarcation for conceptualizing a group of disparate peoples under a national umbrella, it is also a fluid category of analysis. While "*Reichsdeutsche*" was a label that only came about with the creation of the *Deutsches Reich* (German Empire) in 1871, I

474 Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik*.

475 Adolf Niclaus Schuster, *Argentinien: Land, Volk, Wirtschaftsleben und Kolonisation* (Diessen vor München: J.C. Huber, 1913).

have nonetheless chosen to use it to discuss German-speakers in this section that came from this vast territory with changing borders.

The German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) included thirty-nine states – and thus a majority of states in Central Europe between the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, when the Kingdom of Austria left the German Confederation and merged with the Kingdom of Hungary into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While political unification represents an important step toward national unity, it only represented one factor in this long-term process. Transnational history allows us to trace the movements of peoples, goods, and ideas beyond and through the fabricated territorial demarcations of nation-states. Such a viewpoint also allows us to indicate the importance of economic and migratory developments before the emergence of the German nation-state (or empire-state). The guild system, medieval free cities, and the Zollverein were all important steps in this direction. "German" unification relied as much on cultural and economic unity as it did on political unity under one state structure, perhaps even more so. Tracing patterns of migration flows over state agency and imperial conquest gives a much surer understanding of the German South Atlantic.

One institution that channeled migration to Namibia early on was the Rhenish Missionary society. While the church organization that the missionary society represented was tied to a specific area within the German-speaking area of Central Europe, the missionaries it recruited did not come from a specific area in Germany. German missionaries established intricate networks in South-West Africa that overlapped and intersected with other cultural institutions. On the Argentinean side of the German migration, rather than devotion to religious beliefs driving the impetus to travel outward, it was initially the devotion to profit that inspired merchants from the Rhineland to settle in Argentina. While there, these merchant families intermarried and thus broadened their social networks and influence across the Atlantic. As these network linkages intensified in density, other German-speakers from throughout Central Europe soon followed in a chain migration.

State borders in Central Europe shifted continuously. In many cases, the places where German-speakers were born – in various cities and states – passed into or out of official German control. When Karl Hermann Konrad Burmeister (*1807 Stralsund, Sweden – 1892 Buenos Aires) was born, the Swedish controlled Burmeister's hometown Stralsund. The city later came under German control during Burmeister's youth, following territorial

reorganization during the Congress of Vienna. Burmeister was a botanist who traveled in Argentina between 1857 and 1860, before permanently moving there in 1861.

After the territorial settlements reorganizing the German Empire following World War I, the Kingdom of Prussia (1701-1919) was followed by the Free State of Prussia (1919-1935). Parts of Prussian territory were ceded to Poland or Russia after WWI, others after WWII. Several German-speakers from areas that are Poland today went to the South Atlantic. Several scholarly publications have been dealing specifically with the relationship between Prussia and Latin America. Marcelo Caruso portrayed the way Prussia functioned as a model for Argentine schooling reforms,[476] and Bernd Schröter discussed the beginnings of Prussian diplomacy in South America[477] in the 2004 conference edited by Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold.[478] While few scholars have studied relations between Saxony and the South American states, Jörg Ludwig has analyzed trade between Saxony and the South American states the years immediately following independence,[479] and Michael Zeuske has specifically studied the Saxon members of the Rhenish-West Indian Company in the 1820s and 1830s.[480] As far as city-states as concerned, Hamburg stands out as the most important German port city with connections to Argentina. In 1905, contemporary scholar Adolf Coppius published on the importance of Hamburg for German colonial policy,[481] and in 1915, German-Argentinean Ernesto Alemann wrote his dissertation on Hamburg's trade with the La Plata states.[482] In 1968, Helmut Washausen put Hamburg in the context of the

476 Marcelo Caruso, "Zweideutige Verweise. Preußen als Vorbild argentinischer Schulreformen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Projekts von Carlos Saavedra Lamas," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, ed. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004), 285–304.

477 Bernd Schröter, "Die Anfänge der preußischen Diplomatie in Südamerika," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, ed. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 93–104.

478 Carreras and Maihold, *Preussen und Lateinamerika*.

479 Jörg Ludwig, "Sächsischer Handel und die südamerikanischen Freistaaten 1822-1828: die 'Elb-Amerikanische Compagnie,'" in *Sachsen und Lateinamerika: Begegnungen in vier Jahrhunderten*, ed. Michael Zeuske, Bernd Schröter, and Jörg Ludwig (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 1995), 201–27.

480 Michael Zeuske, "Deutsche 'Hinterländer' und Amerika: Die sächsischen Mitglieder der 'Rheinisch-Westindischen Compagnie' 1820-1830," in *Sachsen und Lateinamerika: Begegnungen in vier Jahrhunderten*, ed. Michael Zeuske, Bernd Schröter, and Jörg Ludwig (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 1995), 164–200.

481 Adolf Coppius, *Hamburgs Bedeutung auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Kolonialpolitik* (Berlin: C. Heymanns Verlag, 1905).

482 Ernesto Fernando Alemann, *Hamburgs Schiffahrt und Handel nach dem La Plata* (Heidelberg: Rössler & Herbert, 1915).

German Empire's colonial policy between 1880 and 1890.[483] German-speakers on both sides of the South Atlantic thus came from these various states and city-states that operated under common denominator German Empire after 1871.

2.3 The Role of the German Language in Constructing and Maintaining German-ness

German-speakers in both Argentina and Namibia identified language as key to the maintenance of "German-ness" abroad and as a unifying factor for their respective communities. In both places, German was a minority language: in Argentina, most people spoke Spanish and in Southern Africa, people had adopted Afrikaans.[484] In addition, the German language played an increasing role in the plans of some parts of German society to gain more influence on the world stage: at the 1902 German Colonial Congress, Alois Brandl argued that the German language was crucial for the German Empire's predominance overseas.[485] By 1907, German associations from Europe such as the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* reached out to German-speakers in Argentina in 1907.[486]

German-speakers ensured that their children learned German even if they were born in the new South Atlantic home. In Argentina, the first school that German-speaking migrants founded was a Sunday school of the Lutheran church in 1843 as the "German Protestant School," later renamed the "*Germania-Schule*."[487] While it was a religious school, education at the institution focused more on linguistic study. The curriculum of the "German Protestant School" from 1889 shows an emphasis on German language instruction with the largest number of class hours per week. First grades spent eight hours per week on language compared to two hours for Religion, while boys in the last year (seventh grade) studied at an

[483] Helmut Washausen, *Hamburg und die Kolonialpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1880 bis 1890* (Hamburg: H. Christians, 1968).

[484] The Nama, Rehoboth Basters and Boers spoke Afrikaans. See Eduard Moritz, *Das Schulwesen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: D. Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1914), 180 ff.

[485] Alois Brandl, "Die Bedeutung der Deutschen Sprache über See für Deutschlands Machtstellung," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 434–41.

[486] "Aufruf des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 10, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[487] Hermann Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde Buenos Aires, 1843-1943* (Buenos Aires: Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde, 1943), 67; Keiper, "Das Deutschtum in Argentinien," 90.

hourly ration of 6:2 between language and religion, and girls of the same age group at 5:2.[488] And while the German church itself, originally affiliated with the Prussian church,[489] gradually became independent and turned into the *Iglesia Evangélica del Rio de La Plata*,[490] the *Germania-Schule* secularized by 1904: "Since the Germania-Schule serves the entire German colony without distinguishing between the different denominations, religion classes are not mandatory; participation is at the discretion of the parents."[491] The *Argentinisches Tageblatt* featured an article on German schools abroad in Argentina in 1907, stating that schools abroad were very different from schools in Germany as they were private schools, run by private individuals.[492] However, German imperial government officials made efforts increase cooperation with the German schools in Argentina and by 1908, the *Germania-Schule* was under close surveillance by the German government represented in Argentina by the German ambassador.[493]

In Namibia, missionaries taught the children of German-speakers,[494] and many sent their children to Germany for schooling, including the sons of missionary Carl Hugo Hahn and of missionary colonist Wilhelm Redecker. The first institutionalized schools were introduced and funded under German state control only in the 1890s: in 1894, Windhoek citizens requested a school from the local government.[495] School inspector Eduard Moritz suggested that "the young Africans" should be sent to Germany in order to prevent future generations of German-speakers from losing their German culture.[496] The first German school in Lüderitzbucht opened in 1908 and suffered from the difficulties of teaching

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488 *Unterrichts-Plan der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde-Schule in Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Wilhelm Kraft, 1889).

489 "In Buenos Ayres, there now exists a German Protestant congregation, whose pastor and head is the Reverend A.L. Siegel. This congregation, according to its fundamental statutes, forms a branch of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, to which it has attached itself since 1845. The Prussian rubric and liturgy is the law for its discipline and rites; and the consistory of the province of Brandenburg is to decide, in the last instance, every question of doctrine, public worship, and discipline, in as far as they do not come under the jurisdiction of the secular power." Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels*, 55–56.

490 See Claudia Häfner, *Heimischwerdung am La Plata: Von der Deutschen Evangelischen La Plata Synode zur Iglesia Evangélica del Río de la Plata*, Kirchen in der Weltgesellschaft 3 (Berlin; Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008).

491 Germania Schule, *Lehrpläne: Germania-Schule* (Buenos Aires: Herpig & Stoeveken, 1904).

492 "Die deutschen Auslandsschulen: Neue Klippen und Verständnismangel," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 6, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

493 Germania-Schule (Realschule) zu Buenos Aires, *Ordnung der Schlussprüfung der Prima ...: Germania-Schule (Realschule) zu Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Fessel & Mengen, 1908).

494 Britta Wellnitz, *Deutsche evangelische Gemeinden im Ausland: ihre Entstehungsgeschichte und die Entwicklung ihrer Rechtsbeziehungen zur Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 308.

495 Moritz, *Das Schulwesen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, 150.

496 Ibid., 87–88.

children of different ages and level of German language in common classrooms. One local critic remarked, "of the 27 children of the beginning only 12 spoke German, while the others spoke Dutch and English. Since of those 12, 8 also spoke Dutch or English, the German-speaking children were in a strong minority. […] It is remarkable that of today's 46 children, only 10 are of English and Dutch descent. But of the remaining 36 children, definitely not all can speak German. Even though they are of German descent, it is only here that they had to learn German."[497]

While the idea of one homogeneous language was considered as the ideal, the development of different vocabulary in South Atlantic was noticeable: the Spanish and Italian languages influenced German in Argentina, and Dutch and English influenced the German language in Namibia. Already in 1902, Pastor Anz raised concerns about the degeneration of the German language in Namibia.[498] Herbert C. Nöckler, who taught at several Namibian schools between the 1940s and 1960s, has studied the mix of languages in Namibia in detail.[499] He provided examples of words borrowed from English, Afrikaans, and various indigenous languages mixed into the German language in Namibia. For the Argentinean side, Hartmut Stößlein has analyzed the language of German newspapers in Argentina, specifically at the example of the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*.[500] He concluded in his linguisitc study that the German language used by German-speakers in

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[497] A., "Die Lüderitzbuchter Schule," *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*, May 1, 1909, SBB - Westhafen "Als der jetzige Leiter, Herr W. Baumgart, der vor seinem Eintritt in den kolonialen Dienst Rektor der zehnklassigen Schule in Kremmen bei Berlin war, den Unterricht der neubegründeten Schule übernahm, betrug die Schülerzahl 27 (11 Mädchen und 16 Knaben). Während diese Zahl der Schüler lange Zeit ziemlich konstant blieb, trat infolge des schnellen Anwachsens der Bevölkerung im Januar eine große Aenderung ein. Heute ist der große, lichte Raum, der seinerzeit den Anforderungen vollauf genügte, viel zu klein und die Anstellung einer zweiten Lehrkraft ein dringendes Bedürfnis geworden. Denn es übersteigt die Kraft eines, wenn auch noch so tüchtigen Lehrers, 46 Kinder (22 Mädchen und 24 Knaben) verschiedener Altersstufen und verschiedener Abteilungen allein zu unterrichten. Zu diesen Schwierigkeiten gesellen sich noch andere, mit denen ein kolonialer Schullehrer zu kämpfen hat, und von denen sich die wenigsten einen klaren Begriff machen. Von den 27 Kindern der ersten Zeit konnten nur 12 deutsch sprechen, während die übrigen holländisch resp. englisch sprachen. Da von den 12 deutsch redenden Kindern 8 auch holländisch oder englisch sprechen konnten, war die Folge, daß sich die deutsch sprechenden Kinder in starker Minorität befanden. In den Pausen hörte man in der ersten Zeit fast nur ausländische Töne. Heute hat das Deutsche ein starkes Uebergewicht erlangt und selbst die nichtdeutschen Kinder sind jetzt im Stande, sich deutsch auszudrücken und in den Pausen wird nur deutsch gesprochen. Bemerkenswert ist, daß von den 46 Kindern nur 10 englischer resp. holländischer Abkunft sind. Von den übrigen 36 deutschen Kindern könnten aber keineswegs alle deutsch sprechen. Obwohl deutscher Herkunft, haben mehrere hier erst deutsch lernen müssen."

[498] "Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Berliner Neueste [Nachrichten]*, May 3, 1902, No. 206 edition, EZA 5/2916, p. 156.

[499] Herbert Carl Nöckler, *Sprachmischung in Südwestafrika*, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen 5 (München: Hueber, 1963).

[500] Hartmut Stößlein, *Deutsch-spanischer Sprachkontakt am Rio de la Plata: eine Untersuchung am Korpus deutsch-argentinischer Zeitungssprache* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2009).

Argentina was heavily influenced by the Spanish language. In Argentina, "Belgrano-Deutsch" refers to mixing Spanish expressions in German speech; it was named after the district Belgrano within the city of Buenos Aires.[501] The Volga-Germans in Argentina can even be considered a special case among German-speakers as many of them maintained their own dialects, which they had taken from German lands to Russia and then to Argentina over the course of a century.[502]

To provide some specific examples of different vocabulary: in Argentina, the word "*Campstädte*" was used for "colonies" and thus settlements in the Argentine interior.[503] In Argentina, *Kampstädte* were towns in the countryside, a word most likely derived from the Spanish word "*campo*" for field. In Namibia, the word "*Kamp*" also existed, but in the example of *Kampwitwen*, it referred to prisoner of war camps.[504] In Namibia, the Afrikaans word "*Pad*" for path (or "*Pfad*" in German) found its way into the commonly used vocabulary as various publications testify.[505]

Similar concerns about the degeneration of the German language still exist today in the current German-speaking community in Namibia as an article published in the current German-language newspaper of *Namibia Allgemeine Zeitung* notes that contemporary singer EeS has published his own German-Namibian dictionary.[506] Nowadays, German is taught mostly as secondary language in South Atlantic German schools.[507] They are part of

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501 Roberto Bein, "Aspectos lingüísticos de las minorías de origen alemán: mantimiento, hibridación y cambio de lengua," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 27; Stößlein, *Deutsch-spanischer Sprachkontakt am Rio de la Plata*, 60–63.

502 Hipperdinger, *Die Sprache(n) der Wolgadeutschen in Argentinien*.

503 In 1873, the La Plata Kalender spoke of "Campstädte" instead of "colonies" for the settlements in the Argentine interior, see *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873* (Buenos Aires: Ruhland & Reinhardt, 1873), 219; See also "Kamp" used in Córdoba in 1907, in: Louis Chifflard, "Kamp in Córdoba," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 9, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

504 See Hans-Volker Gretschel, *Von Kampwitwen und-waisen: Berichte aus den Internierungsjahren in Südwestafrika, 1939-1946* (Windhoek: Klaus Hess Verlag, 2009)"Witwe" means widower; to be exact, Kampwitwe should be translated as widow from a war prisoner.

505 Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, "Padleben in Südwestafrika," in *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Kriegs- und Friedensbilder: Selbsterlebnisse*, ed. W. Weicher (Leipzig: W. Weicher, 1907), 1–20; Else Ebner, *Meine erste Pad in Südwest: Keetmanshoop - Kub, 1912 [Manuskript]* ([Basel]: [Basler Afrika Biographien], 1988); Bernhard Voigt, *Auf dorniger Pad. Aus Deutsch-Südwestafrikas alten Tagen* (Berlin: Safari-Verlag, 1926); Klaus Dierks, "Pfade, Pads und Autobahnen: Verkehrswege erschließen ein menschenleeres Land," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 359–71.

506 "Nix für Sprachpuristen: 'Esisallesoreidt'. Totaler Sittenverfall: EeS veröffentlicht sein eigenes Namibia-Deutsch-Wörterbuch," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 26, 2008, sec. Kultur & Unterhaltung.

507 Marianne Zappen-Thomson, *Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft: Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Namibia* (Windhoek: Klaus Hess Publishers, 2000); *Enseñanza de Alemán en los paises del Mercosur. Una colaboración al plurilingüísmo en el sistema educativo* (Buenos Aires: Goethe-Institut Buenos Aires, 1998).

the network of German schools abroad PASCH, which promotes worldwide learning the German language.[508]

2.4 Conclusion

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, German-speakers in the South Atlantic were newcomers in societies that were considered frontier societies, where fellow Europeans met with indigenous peoples. In addition to identifying with the cultural label "German," they increasingly had to deal with expanding nation-state influence and questions of nationality and citizenship that went hand-in-hand with this development. In addition to "German," many of those people identified simultaneously with other labels of identity: Jewish, Russian-German, Dutch, Boer and Belgian, Austrian, Swiss-German and *Reichsdeutsch*. The use and maintenance of German language in the South Atlantic constituted an important component part of their identity. As "German" became increasingly linked to the German Empire and used as a political qualifier, the preferred term gradually switched to "German-speaker" around the turn of the twentieth century.

During WWI, the German Empire still played such an important part that the name chosen for the umbrella association for all German-speakers in Argentina was "*Deutscher Volksbund*." But before members of the German colony agreed on this name, they had an intense debate over the terms "*Deutscher*" or "*Germanischer*" Volksbund.[509] Occasionally, German-speakers celebrated decisive events in German European history: for example in 1898, Germans-speakers commemorated the conclusion of the *Westfälischer Friede* (Peace of Westphalia) in Buenos Aires;[510] and in 1913, Germans-speakers commemorated the centenary anniversary of the *Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig* in Keetmanshoop, Namibia.[511] German-speakers on both sides of the South Atlantic practiced widely the cult of the *Kaiser*.

[508] "Schulen: Partner der Zukunft," accessed May 14, 2017, http://www.pasch-net.de; Bein, "Aspectos lingüísticos de las minorías de origen alemán," 29.
[509] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*.
[510] "Zur Vierteljahrtausendfeier des westfälischen Friedens, 24. Oktober 1648," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, December 3, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.
[511] "Zur Hundertjahrfeier," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, October 23, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

In 1876, Ernst Nolte's bookstore sold the portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm I,[512] and a bar in Buenos Aires opened with the name "*Kaiserhalle*."[513] On 22 March 1878, the newspaper DLPZ praised Kaiser Wilhelm I (*1797 – 1888) as the uniter of Germany, celebrating the Kaiser's central role in unifying the German "nation."[514] In 1891, the German colony Otjimbingwe in Namibia celebrated Kaiser's birthday.[515] With Kaiser Wilhelm II's (*1859 – 1941) ascension to the throne of the German Empire, his birthday 27 January became a "national" holiday for South Atlantic German-speakers.[516] The lines even blurred between national and religious holidays in January 1916, when church services were held both by the Protestant and Catholic churches in Argentina, in the capital Buenos Aires as well as in smaller cities like Rosario, in honor and celebration of Kaiser Wilhelm II's birthday.[517] However, when Rhenish missionary and Russian citizen Carl Hugo Hahn noted in his diaryin 1856 how he showed the indigenous people a portrait of his Kaiser, both the deceased and current one, he must have been referring to the Russian Emperors Nikolaus I and Alexander II.[518]

Moreover, there were also tensions between these different groups and as officials of the German Empire became increasingly involved in the South Atlantic, they attempted to regulate inclusion and exclusion of these different groups. For example, in 1907, the government official Neubaur claimed that Russian-German farmers (*Bauern*) in Argentina could not be counted as members of German-ness (*Deutschtum*) because they lacked the "spiritual link" to Germany.[519] Or in 1909, Külz specifically stated that the Rehoboth Basters

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512 Ernst Nolte, "Das große Brustbild des Deutschen Kaisers ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 7, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

513 C. Hornung, "Kaiserhalle [...] Eröffnung der neuen höchst elegant eingerichteten Bierhalle," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 12, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

514 "Zum 22. März," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 22, 1878.

515 Rudolf Ludloff, *Nach Deutsch-Namaland: (Südwestafrika); Reisebriefe* (Coburg: Dietz, 1891), 54.

516 "Das Programm für die Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers am 27. Januar ist wie folgt festgelegt ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 17, 1900, NAN; Jon Lehmann, *Kaisers Geburtstag in Südwestafrika* (Mühlhausen i.Th.: G. Danner, 1905); "Kaisers Geburtstag," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1907, sec. Tageschronik, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Maj. des Kaisers," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, January 29, 1914, SBB - Westhafen; "Germania a S.M. Guillermo II, Imperador de Alemania, Rey de Prusia; Enero 27 de 1916," *Germania* 1, no. 16 (January 16, 1916); "Zum heutigen Nationaltage," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

517 "Die Festgottesdienste in den deutschen Kirchen," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

518 Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland. Part IV: 1856-1860*, ed. Brigitte Lau, vol. 4 (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1985), 909.

519 Neubaur, *Der Norddeutsche Lloyd, 50 Jahre der Entwickelung, 1857-1907*, 182. "Noch heute deutsche in ihrer Erscheinung, ihrer Sprache und ihren Lebensgewohnheiten, können sie doch kaum noch als Vertreter des

in Namibia were a good pillar for German-ness ("*dem Deutschtum sind die Bastards immer eine gute Stütze gewesen*").[520] German-speakers in the South Atlantic constantly negotiated their role between their local societies and German state authorities and belonging in Europe. Over time, cultural groups who did not develop or lost their own states, like Russian-Germans and Boers, developed associations like the Russian-Germans in Argentina.[521] As for Switzerland and Austria, they expanded their own state representation in the South Atlantic in order to foster relations between the states. From the perspective of Swiss and Austrian national history writing, it could be considered as an act of national emancipation to get "out of the shadow" of the realm of the German empire and write their own, independent histories. Nonetheless, this kind of focus on the national entities may obscure the cooperation and existence of a trans-German community in the South Atlantic. As we have seen in this chapter thus, "German" in the South Atlantic constituted a complex cultural identity in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Part I Concluding Remarks

In this first part of the dissertation, we have critically examined the actors and agents and how the self-designation, and thus category of experience, changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "German-speaker" replaced "German" as the designation of cultural identity.

In the first chapter, we have put emphasis on "German" as a transnational category. German-speakers in the South Atlantic did not identify with one single nation-state in Central Europe. They attentively followed the development of several nation-states and chose a different destination as their home but distanced themselves from exclusive links to any of these states. While they firmly believed in belonging to a German people, they remained skeptical of the nation-state. In the second chapter, we studied the complexity of the "German" cultural identity that contemporary South Atlantic German-speakers practiced in their everyday lives. Various labels – some of them also organized in nation-states – co-

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Deutschtums bezeichnet warden, da ihnen jede geistige Gemeinschaft mit dem deutschen Vaterlande verloren gegangen ist."

[520] Külz, *Deutsch-Südafrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Schutzherrschaft*, 60.

[521] *Alemanes del volga 1878-2003*.

existed with "German" and not all of them have been studied by historians in connection with German-ness yet.

A newspaper article in the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt* from 1901 reflected the relation between German-speakers in Argentina and Germans in the German Empire: the former felt misunderstood and misrepresented by the (Central European German) media and condemned a fraudulent article (*Schwindelbericht*) from the Berlin daily newspaper *Die Deutsche Warte*.[522] The Berlin newspaper article dealt with the German School Association (*Deutscher Schulverein*) founded in Rosario in 1901. The AT article underlined the fact that the association was specifically founded to include only schools without religious affiliation and that "the name 'German School Association' should not be interpreted to mean that it is only about "*reichsdeutsche*" schools, it rather includes all tribes of German tongue, that is Swiss, Dutch, Austrians, etc. etc."[523] German-speakers in Argentina were cautious about Germans from the German Empire engrossing them.

While the South Atlantic protagonists used "German" and then "German-speaker" as preferred self-designation, scholars writing about them after the 1980s have mostly used "German-speaker" to designate them regardless of the era. In many cases, the motivation of the scholars to do so was also in order to distinguish between cultural and political identities. However, writing from a Eurocentric view, they looked outwards from the German nation-state. As "German" referred to the German nation-state as political category, they chose "German-speaker" in order to designate the descendants of "Germans" from the German-nation state. In this context, it doesn't seem too surprising that the validity of "German-speaker" as a useful term is contested as critics have remarked that many of the second-, third-, or fourth-generation migrants are no longer in command of the German language.

[522] "Eine musterhafte Berichterstattung."
[523] Ibid.

Part II. Networks: From "Colony" to "Community"

The second part of this dissertation is dedicated to the question: what did German-speakers do in the South Atlantic? It consists in three chapters. In chapter three, we will thus juxtapose the category of experience "colony" with the category of analysis "imperialism." In the following two chapters, we will study the role of associations in the formation of the South Atlantic German-speaking communities. I emphasize particularly the fact that these associations were run by private people and not by state actors. Colony or community life originated in and was based in the cooperation of individuals, or what I call "association." I define association very broadly as any type of cooperative endeavor. In the following section, I discuss different types of business associations like trade, colonization, banking, and food companies, and then different non-business associations like religious, school, leisure, health, science, and philanthropic organizations. The German colony of Buenos Aires first established institutions and clubs on its own, and only then requested financial help form the German Empire.[524] In Namibia, the development was similar.

The overarching premise for this part is that the category of experience "colony" gradually turned into the category of experience "community." German-speakers migrating to and settling in the South Atlantic initially used the term "colony" for their settlements. However, particularly after the world wars and with the decolonization movement and later the development of postcolonial studies, they and their descendants gave preference to the term community in order to refer to their settlements. This was particularly the case for the urban colony of German-speakers in Buenos Aires and the German protectorate South-West Africa, where "colony" came to be used as a synonym for protectorate.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Central European German public was quarreling over the success of the German protectorate South-West Africa: some considered it as the only German overseas possession suitable for German settlement, while others considered it as unsuccessful and unuseful for colonization. At the same time, Argentina emerged as a new economic power – a young South American nation state that sought to become an equal to the so-called old and established (European) *Kulturstaaten* (cultured

[524] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 293.

states). In this period of economic competition between the British, American, and German Empires in the world market, units of trade came to define power on a global scale rather than the number of formal territorial possessions an empire possessed. Developed within the model of mercantilism and trade between the metropole and the colony, the shift to free trade loosened the strict ties between countries and their overseas possessions. Trade with South America was channeled through Spain, and in the eighteenth century, German companies merely settled in Spain and were counted as "Spanish," but even then, trade was never "national." In Namibia, traders from Britain and Sweden were active before any British or German claims were made to the land. Two different types of colonialism co-existed: one of official claims to territory, and one of control of emigrant populations.

In order to reframe the topic of German overseas involvement through colonization and colonies instead of colonialism or imperialism, it is thus necessary to reconfigure the role of the states and of individual and group actors. Colonization meant making use of the land. Within the proclaimed sovereignty of another state, people of different nationalities (but usually white people) practiced this "improvement of the land": Italians and Germans colonized the Argentine pampa, and Germans and Boers colonized Nama- and Damaraland. Throughout the nineteenth century, competing definitions of "colony" (*Kolonie*) among German-speakers coexisted. Contemporary intellectuals looked towards the great European colonial powers England, Spain, and France, and tried to define and distinguish between different types of colonialism. They settled on some defining elements that included the settlement of migrants and the economic purpose of the colonies – which meant, in the German case, colonies' support of the economy of German lands and later the German Empire. In this second part, I work with the premise that over the course of a century, from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, the term "colony" gradually gave way to "community" for the German-speaking groups in both Argentina and Namibia while the characteristics in both places remained the same or very similar throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus the meaning remained the same, while the label changed.

Chapter 3. Problematizing the State-centeredness of Historiography on Imperialism

In this chapter, we will examine the compatibility of "colony" as a contemporary category of experience and "imperialism" as a scholarly analytical category. The British served as model for contemporary German-speakers but they were also among their harshest rivals in the quest for domination of the world market and heading "civilization." In particular in South America, the British coalesced with North Americans in perpetuating the belief of a "German peril" in South American societies, particularly Argentina and Brazil. This tension heightened in the context of the looming First World War. Starting in first half of the nineteen-century, German-speakers set up colonies in the South Atlantic that competed with those of the British.

Throughout the nineteenth century, various definitions of "colony" co-existed. Friedrich Fabri, known as the "father of German colonialism," distinguished between two basic modern types of colonies in his famous text "Does Germany Need Colonies? [*Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?*]" from 1879: agricultural colonies (*Ackerbau-Colonien*) and trade colonies (*Handels-Colonien*).[525] Until 1884 – the year the German Emperor granted Lüderitz's acquisition formal protection and also year the Berlin conference took place – a formal colony of foreign territory under German rule was the exception, or rather something considered impossible, as many German-speakers believed that the world was already divided up amongst the other European powers. In Argentina, German-speakers were also influenced by the usage of Spanish-speakers: the Spanish term "*colonia*" came from the Latin word that was both used for "colony" and simply "settlement." Much of the literature produced by German-speakers in Argentina gave preference to the terms "colony" and "colonization," whereas in Namibia, the term "colony" was used as a synonym for the protectorate and within the protectorate, terms like "settlement" (*Siedlung*, *Besiedlung*, etc.) were used. In Argentina, there were the "colonization societies" (*Kolonisationsgesellschaften*), but in Namibia, they were usually called "settlement societies" (*Siedlungsgesellschaften*). In 1873, the *La Plata Kalender* still used the term "*Campstädte*" (countryside cities) instead of "colonies" to designate the settlements in the Argentine interior.[526]

In 1884, Ernst Bachmann started the introduction to his *Address Calendar of the German Colony of Buenos Aires* by describing celebrations in North America commemorating

[525] Fabri, *Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien?*, 29.
[526] *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 219.

the two-hundredth anniversary of the first German colony on American soil.[527] He asked whether the history of Germans in South America was less instructive or less encouraging than that of their North American counterparts. He claimed that Germans in South America – and in particular in Argentina – had achieved even more than those in the United States. They had achieved more materially – because a greater percentage of immigrant Germans had achieved affluence, prestige, rank and influence – and morally – because the German in Argentina was less likely to abandon his nationality, customs, language, and habits and thus become "denationalized."[528]

In *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* (*Meyer's Great Encyclopedia*) from 1907, one of the most influential German reference books of the time, we find the following entry for "colonies": "Generally speaking, colonies are connected settlements, in particular those, whose members (colonists, latin: *colonus*, 'farmer, settler'), maintain their clan particularities, customs and conventions etc. outside of their own people or state through maintenance of their traditional national and political connections, be it due to state protection by the metropole or through own free activity in their own social vital force."[529] In 1907, colonies were thus defined as settlements where a group of people maintained their culture and traditions abroad. This definition was based on the Greek and Romans models. It specifically declared that these settlements abroad could be under the political control of a metropole, but they do not have to be. The encyclopedia entry from 1907 continued:

> This is where colony founding differs from emigration [the German word *Auswanderung* literally translates to "out-wanderers"]; but both can be connected to each other, by "outwanderers" founding colonies in foreign countries and strengthening them through their influx, without maintaining close ties to the metropole or remaining under its rule. Thus the United States of North America are an English colony by having maintained English language and particularities. The same goes for Spanish and Portuguese South America. In a different sense, one speaks of Huguenot colonies in Germany, the Salzburgers in Prussia, the Germans in the Baltic Provinces and in many other

[527] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884.

[528] Ibid., 2.

[529] "Kolonīen," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 11 (Leipzig, 1907), 291: "Kolonien sind im allgemeinen zusammenhängende Ansiedelungen, besonders solche, deren Angehörige (Kolonisten, v. lat. colonus, »Feldbauer, Ansiedler«), sei es auf Grund staatlichen Schutzes durch das Mutterland oder durch eigne freie Betätigung ihrer sozialen Lebenskraft, ihre Stammeseigentümlichkeiten, Sitten, Gebräuche etc. außerhalb des eignen Volkstums oder Staatswesens unter Festhaltung des überlieferten nationalen und politischen Zusammenhanges bewahren."

> regions of Russia, where the colonists have dissolved completely in the union of the foreign state, even often having come to the country due to the initiative and promotion of this state itself.[530]

Most of the examples mentioned in this encyclopedia entry were thus settlements in foreign countries that were not controlled by another state or a "colonial power."

The 1909 edition of *Meyer's Great Encyclopedia* declared that "Protectorates [was] the designation for those German colonies, that were put under suzerainty (protectorate) of the Empire."[531] In this case then, even in 1907, at the height of what most historians consider "German colonialism," German colonies or settlements in Argentina belonged under the larger use of the term colony, while German colonies or settlements in the German protectorate South-West Africa were the exception. Whereas the use of the term protectorate is important, and referred to the legal status and sovereignty, the legal situation was just one part of the everyday life experience of German-speakers in the South Atlantic; being an important element, it was not the determining one.

3.1 Re-evaluating Imperialism and Colonialism as Categories of Analysis

"Imperialism" encompasses the outreach of an empire. We distinguish between "formal imperialism" and "informal imperialism." "Formal imperialism" is congruent with "colonialism" and thus the empire's sovereignty over overseas territory. "Colonialism" is thus concerned with "official colonies" in the sense of officially controlled territory. "Informal imperialism" on the other hand deals with influence and control exercised through means other than territorial sovereignty, like economic involvement and the control of markets. I also consider "empire" to be an analytical category that can be used as a synonym

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530 Ibid., 291: "Hierdurch unterscheidet sich die Koloniengründung von der Auswanderung (s. d.); doch können beide miteinander verbunden sein, indem die Auswandernden in fremden Ländern Kolonien gründen und durch ihren Zustrom kräftigen, ohne in festen Beziehungen zum Mutterland oder unter dessen Leitung zu bleiben. So sind die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika eine englische Kolonie, indem sie englische Sprache und Eigenart bewahrt haben. Entsprechendes gilt vom Spanischen und Portugiesischen Südamerika. In anderm Sinne spricht man von den Kolonien der Hugenotten in Deutschland, der Salzburger in Preußen, der Deutschen in den Ostseeprovinzen und vielen andern Gegenden Rußlands, wobei die Kolonisten vollständig in den Verband des fremden Staates eintraten, ja oft auf Grund der Anregung und Förderung durch diesen Staat selbst in das Land kamen."

531 "Schutzgebiete," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 18 (Leipzig, 1909), 90: "Schutzgebiete, Bezeichnung für die deutschen Kolonien, die durch kaiserliche Schutzbriefe unter die Oberhoheit (Protektorat) des Reiches gestellt sind."

for "nation-state" in this dissertation. "Empires" and "nation-states" as analytical categories share the characteristics of being evolving state structures that sought increasing control over territories, according to the perceived need of their people.

Both forms of imperialism are conceptualized within the category of "nation-state" and are empire- or "nation-state"-centered. However, both in colonialism and informal imperialism, the state or its agents are not the only actors; since nation-states and empires as actual entities were in perpetual movement and construction, with a tendency to grow and increase their influence, private individuals played important roles in carrying out and realizing the two types of imperialism. And "colonization," as a category of practice, is at the core of imperialism as a category of analysis.

Historians of the British Empire maintain that the British mainly practiced formal imperialism in South Africa and informal imperialism in Argentina. German historians have adopted this division. They mute the activities of German-speakers at the German Colonial Congress 1902, where South Atlantic German-speakers from Argentina and Brazil tried to attract more attention to South America as trade and settlement – and thus colonization – destination.

When John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson launched a new discussion on the study of the British Empire in 1953, their approach was very innovative:[532] The two authors claimed that not only those areas "colored red" on the map should be studied in order to understand the scale and scope of the British Empire. Instead, they proposed to include all areas where Britain had extensive trade relations and exerted power through economic means. "Informal empire" then was to designate areas where the British exerted power through trade, without having direct political influence.

In the 1980s in particular, scholars studied British involvement in South America. They used world-systems approaches such as dependency theory. The tendency, however, was to portray Argentina as a trade partner of Britain and not as its victim. Yet, despite a certain amount of agency on Argentina's part, Britain exerted significant power over it, and Peter J. Cain and Anthony Gerald Hopkins claim that just as there was a scramble for Africa, there had been a scramble for South America – the major difference being that a formal

[532] John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15.

partition of South America did not take place.[533] Contrary to Cain and Hopkins, who provide a macro-history of Britain's empire including South America, David McLean presents a micro-history of British involvement in the River Plate.[534] He specifically uses the term "informal empire" and discusses several instances in which Britain did not hesitate to intervene in Buenos Aires and Montevideo in order to secure British trade interests. Andrew Graham-Yooll, an Anglo-Argentine himself, has traced the history of the development of the English-speaking trade community in Buenos Aires and its influence on behalf of British interests, taking up the perspective from the community and its members and thus from the South Atlantic.[535]

The change in approach and methodology brought about by the shift from social to cultural history has also left its imprint on Empire studies, and the variety of conflicting and concurring positions is particularly apparent in Matthew Brown's edited volume *Informal Empire in Latin America*.[536] In this collection, Charles Jones argues that "informal empire" represented an entity, whereas "informal imperialism" represented a policy.[537] In other words, it was a matter of structure versus agency. For Jones, the British Empire preceded British imperialism by several centuries. Whereas the British Empire came about more or less unplanned, British imperialism only started in the 1880s with planned strategies. Other contributors come to different conclusions with regards to the usefulness of informal empire for the study of Latin America. Overall, one could say that those scholars influenced by the cultural turn seem to favor "informal empire" as a tool, whereas the others seem more skeptical but do not agree on an alternative.

Scholarship also remains divided between works specializing in the study of Africa (as part of formal empire) and of South America. Only recently have scholars started to call for a study of South America and Africa within a single analytical field. John Darwin, for example,

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533 Peter J. Cain and Anthony Gerald Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914* (London; New York: Longman, 1993).

534 David McLean, *War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836-1853* (London; New York: British Academic Press, 1995).

535 Andrew Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony: A History of the English-Speaking Communities in Argentina* (London: Hutchinson, 1981); Andrew Graham-Yooll, *Imperial Skirmishes: War and Gunboat Diplomacy in Latin America* (Oxford: Signal, 2002).

536 Matthew Brown, ed., *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publisher, 2008).

537 Charles A. Jones, "Finance, Ambition and Romanticism in the River Plate, 1880–1892," in *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital*, ed. Matthew Brown (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publisher, 2008), 141ff.

proposes a "British world system" divided into four elements: (1) the British Isles, (2) India, (3) the "commercial republic", and (4) the "white dominions" (South Africa, Australia, Canada). In this hierarchy, Argentina as part of the commercial republic has even greater importance for the empire than South Africa.[538] Similarly, Gary Magee and Andrew S. Thompson suggest speaking of a "British world" in which migration, empire, and globalization are all studied together from a cultural viewpoint. For them, culture is at the root all human transactions, and empire is a relational network where relations are the "software," and the means of transportation and communication the "hardware." However, they still consider Latin America to be an extra-imperial site.[539]

Overall, Robinson and Gallagher renovated empire studies with the introduction of the concept of "informal empire" by legitimizing the inclusion of those areas that never were politically part of the British Empire. Their article was a first and necessary step towards turning the back to purely political history. However, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, scholars have divided into two camps, dealing with Africa as formal Empire and relegating South America to informal empire. Overcoming the dichotomy between formal and informal empire remains thus an important step towards the writing of transnational history.

German historians have tied their historiography to Prussian and Nazi expansionism and thus to territorial colonialism and formal imperialism. Both periods of territorial expansion, including the two world wars they triggered, were failed moments of colonialism: these states were ultimately destroyed because they were expansionist. They were expanding at the cost of other powers in an international order defined by balance-of-power politics, dating back to 1648 or 1815 (Westphalia or Vienna, respectively); it therefore makes sense that the rest of Europe (and the world) wanted to see this power limited. But reading all of German history as necessarily leading to these two failures is either teleological or hermeneutical, inevitably either leading to Nazism or to an interpretation that has come to be seen as the exclusive explanation. However, there were two currents of colonialism/imperialism that were conditioned by a distinction in economic theories: (1) territorial expansion, where sovereignty should bring about control over the local economy, and (2) the control of foreign production and markets without bringing territory under

538 Darwin, *The Empire Project*.

539 Gary Bryan Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

political control. These were two different views on markets and how they should work, either as spheres of direct control or as spheres of influence. Before 1884, Robert Jannasch distinguished between *Kolonien* and *überseeische Interessensgebiete* (colonies and overseas interest areas).[540] Scholars of German history working after World War II, however, have almost exclusively focused on the colonies where the German Empire exerted direct control.[541]

Other scholars, however, have proposed more nuanced definitions of imperialism and colonialism. Historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler, for example, considers both direct (or formal) as well as indirect (or informal) control of foreign territories by Western industrial powers as imperialism.[542] Jürgen Osterhammel claims, "'*Imperialism*' is the concept that comprises all forces and activities contributing to the construction and the maintenance of *transcolonial empires*. Imperialism presupposes the will and the ability of an imperial center to define as imperial its own national interests and enforce them worldwide in the anarchy of the international system. Imperialism thus implies not only *colonial* politics, but *international* politics for which colonies are not just ends in themselves, but also pawns in global power games."[543] He defines *informal* empire as securing the economic and strategic interests of nation states abroad.[544] Trevor Getz and Heather Streets-Salter claim that, "Imperialism**,** therefore, is an ideology or doctrine in support of the creation and maintenance of empire."[545] Other scholars have attempted to differentiate between colonialism as political (state) control and imperialism as (mere) economic control. The problem with even these definitions of colonialism and imperialism is that in both cases, the focus is on the state as an actor, no matter if formally or informally. I suggest that we have to get away from this state-centered definition to study and analyze imperialism and colonialism in a different way.

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[540] Robert Jannasch, ed., *Die Wege und Entfernungen zur See im Weltverkehr* (Berlin; Leipzig: Verlag des "Export"; R. Friese, 1904).

[541] Among the few exceptions are Ian Lawrence Duff Forbes, *German Commercial Relations with South America, 1890-1914* (University of Adelaide, 1975); Thomas D. Schoonover, *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821-1929* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1998).

[542] "Unter Imperialismus wird hier nach alledem diejenige direkte-formelle und indirekte-informelle Herrschaft verstanden, welche die okzidentalen Industriestaaten unter dem Druck der Industrialisierung mit ihrem spezifischen ökonomischen, sozialen und politischen Problemen und dank ihrer vielseitigen Überlegungen über die weniger entwickelten Regionen der Erde ausgebreitet haben." Wehler, *Bismarck und der Imperialismus*, 23.

[543] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, trans. Shelley Frisch (Princeton; Kingston: M. Wiener; Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 21.

[544] Ibid., 19.

[545] Trevor R. Getz and Heather Streets-Salter, *Modern Imperialism and Colonialism: A Global Perspective* (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2011), 9.

Overall, historians like Sebastian Conrad have started to include Brazil in the study of German overseas involvement, but they continue to neglect Germans in Argentina as part of imperial interests.[546]

Henri Brunschwig proposed three phases of German imperialism: the period until 1815 (*ancient régime*), the period of liberalism (1815-1871), and then the period of colonial imperialism (after 1871).[547] Matthew Fitzpatrick has continued on this path of studying German overseas colonies as part of German liberalism.[548] Ian L. D. Forbes also argues that German informal imperialism existed in South America before WWI, with higher numbers of emigrants going to Brazil, but more intensive trade developing with Argentina.[549]

Klaus Bade argues, based on Friedrich Fabri's writings, that Germans considered South America a desirable settlement destination but, because the political situation in the nineteenth century made a formal acquisition impossible, Germans believed that organized migration and settlement projects should gradually and indiscernibly be turned into German free states. Bade writes that the ultimate goal was thus the creation of a semi-colonial, informal "New Germany in South America" with the River Plate as the "South American river Rhine" – politically a foreign country, but with close cultural and economic ties to Germany.[550] While historians have agreed that the period from 1884 until WWI was the era of German colonialism, there is no discussion about a periodization of non-state-centered German colonialism. Instead of focusing on formal or informal colonies, we should study the economic relations and importance of all German colonies abroad – including those in both Namibia and Argentina.

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[546] Sebastian Conrad, "'Here, the German Is Not Degenerating': Brazil, Emigration and the Nation's Fountain of Youth," in *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 275–333.

[547] Henri Brunschwig, *L'expansion allemande outre-mer du 15e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: PUF, 1957), 207–8.

[548] Matthew Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008).

[549] Ian Lawrence Duff Forbes, "German Informal Imperialism in South America before 1914," *The Economic History Review* 31, no. 3 (1978): 384–398.

[550] Klaus Bade, "Die 'zweite Reichsgründung' in Übersee: Imperiale Visionen, Kolonialbewegung und Kolonialpolitik in der Bismarckzeit," in *Die Herausforderung des europäischen Staatensystems: Nationale Ideologie und staatliches Interesse zwischen Restauration und Imperialismus*, ed. Adolf M Birke and Günther Heydemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 190: "Fernziel solch sukzessiver "Teutonisierung" war ein semikoloniales, informelles "Neu-Deutschland in Südamerika" mit dem La Plata als "südamerikanischem Rhein" - politisch zwar Ausland, kulturelle und wirtschaftlich aber eng verbunden mit dem Auswanderungsland. [14: Fabri, Kolonien, S.1-50; Ders., Auswanderung (siehe Anm. 5);...] " .

3.2 The British as Model and Rival for Contemporary German-speakers

British colonization in the South Atlantic had an important impact on German-speakers. Britain served both as model and as rival for German-speakers. British merchant houses dominated the Buenos Aires trade in the nineteenth century.[551] The British built and founded railroads in crisscrossed Argentina.[552] Britain practiced in Argentina what historians have variously called informal empire or Free Trade Imperialism, similar to what they were doing in Egypt until the late nineteenth century.[553]

Around 1800, most European settlers in South America originated from Spain, while most Europeans in Southern Africa had come with the Dutch East India Company from the Netherlands. Spanish and Dutch (Afrikaans) remained the dominant languages of communication in the respective regions. After 1800, a number of British individuals attempted to gain more influence in the South Atlantic.[554] When Napoleon hindered Great Britain from further trade with the European continent in 1803, the British started to find alternatives trade partners in the Atlantic, in particular in South America and Africa. The use of steamships after the 1820s allowed for improved British seaborne mobility. Migration from the British Isles increased alongside the opening of new markets overseas. Many English-speaking merchants chose Buenos Aires as their destination for long-term or permanent settlement. In Southern Africa mostly missionaries and explorers dared the encounter throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, with permanent British settlers remaining rather skeptical of permanent settlement in the region.

Having been Britain's main trade partner in Latin America, and an important settlement destination for English-speaking settlers, Argentina proved to be one of the most prominent examples of British "informal empire" in Latin America. Britain quickly attained influence as Spanish imperial control of the Americas waned. Spain had created the Viceroyalty of the River Plate in 1776, with Buenos Aires as its capital, but by 1806, a British

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551 Vera Blinn Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880* (Harvard University Press, 1979).

552 Winthrop R. Wright, *British-Owned Railways in Argentina: Their Effect on the Growth of Economic Nationalism, 1854-1948* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974).

553 McLean, *War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire*; Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

554 Stig Förster, "Die Kontinuität der Flexibilität: Strategie und Praxis des britischen Imperialismus um 1800," in *Imperialistische Kontinuität und nationale Ungeduld im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991), 31–49.

commander involved in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope made the personal decision to invade Buenos Aires. He managed to set up British control of the city, but was soon defeated by a local Argentine uprising. A second attempt to invade in 1807 also failed to produce long-term, official British control in the region. This did not dissuade individuals from setting up businesses in the city. In 1809, British merchants founded the British Commercial Rooms of Buenos Aires, which was a sort of early chamber of commerce, and in 1816, Buenos Aires declared independence from Spain, opening up the city to expanded investment from a variety of external sources previously restricted from operating in the Spanish colony. After independence, merchants, mainly from Great Britain, German-speaking Central Europe, and France, relocated to Buenos Aires. By the 1820s, the British community of Buenos Aires had already created schools, churches, a cemetery, and a bank. The Anglo-Argentine treaty of friendship and trade of 1825 only legitimized existing practices and ties between the two countries. Buenos Aires granted British migrants the official right to practice Protestantism in Argentina and exempted British residents from Argentine military service. While Britain never tried to retake the region, interests in the area directed official state policy and intervention in South America. Britain got involved with Argentine-Brazilian border disputes and was influential in creating Uruguay as a buffer zone between the two countries. In the 1840s, the so-called Anglo-French blockade occurred when the British intervened in the River Plate as its trade was hindered.

Historians continue to debate to what degree the subsequent construction of railways in Argentina constituted British informal imperialism and thus imperialism based in expanding markets. Anglo-Argentine families and thus local families who permanently settled in Argentina first invested in railroad construction in 1853, but the capital they used came from banks located in London.[555] Only later, in the 1880s, did British merchants located in Britain get involved in the railway business, by exerting pressure on the British government. Another example of blurred conditions is the Baring crisis of the 1890s, when the financial situation in Argentina had direct consequences on the banking system in London, and was resolved through British government intervention.

Investment and growing influence of other migrants groups soon eclipsed that of the British. Mass migration to Argentina from Italy had begun during the 1870s and 1880s, and

[555] Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony*.

Italian culture came to dominate Argentine society.[556] Meanwhile, the German Empire and the United States emerged as more serious rivals to British economic influence in Argentina beginning in the 1880s. Many German-speakers in Argentina, ironically, had first worked for British companies and used British churches, and cemeteries, before founding their own.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the histories of the British and German empires were more deeply entangled. Africa became particularly important to European powers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the German Empire admired Britain and learned from the British Empire's policy-making.[557] But there was also exchange and cooperation, as both empires used their respective colonial neighbor as the main point of reference for shaping their own identities as colonial powers, as historian Ulrike Linder has shown.

British and German connections preceded the "Scramble for Africa," however. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, German-speakers were already profiting from and integrating into the "British world system."[558] British and North American sailors practiced whale fishing at Walvis Bay (today Namibia) and traded with the local natives. The British took the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1806, and missionaries from the London Missionary Society were active in the Cape region and were the first to cross the Orange River towards the north. Between 1844 and 1853, Wesleyan missionaries had a station at the place today known as Windhoek. In the 1850s, the Walvis Bay Mining Company became active in the region, and the Cape colony – having been granted limited self-government by Britain in the 1870s – attempted to gain influence in the region. An English magistrate, William Coates Palgrave, was sent as an inspector from the Cape, but persisting conflicts between the local Ojtiherero- and Nama-speakers hindered him from carrying out his annexation plans. Only Walvis Bay was annexed and put under the administration of the Cape Colony, with Palgrave at its head. He had studied theology in Halle, Germany and was thus – according to geologist Georg Gürich – well acquainted with the German character [*Wesen*]. Gürich therefore labeled the Walvis Bay a "European settlement" [*Niederlassung*]

556 Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina*. Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

557 Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880-1914* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011).

558 Ulrike Kirchberger, *Aspekte deutsch-britischer Expansion: die Überseeinteressen der deutschen Migranten in Grossbritannien in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999); Davis, Manz, and Beerbühl, *Transnational Networks*; Darwin, *The Empire Project*.

rather than an exclusively British one.[559] The first German-speakers went to South Africa with the London Missionary Society; among them was Heinrich Schmelen, who founded the missionary station Bethany in Southern Namibia in 1814.[560] After the 1840s, the Rhenish Missionary Society decided to expand their activities further north beyond the Orange River and sent German-speakers to "Namaland" and "Hereroland."[561] In the 1870s, their inspector, Friedrich Fabri, even asked the British government for protection against hostile local groups.

The Berlin conference of 1884 put an end to informal empire in Africa as the European powers divided nearly all territory on the map amongst themselves. In Southern Africa, missionaries and explorers played an important imperial role. David Livingstone and Francis Galton are among the most prominent examples. Livingston first travelled to Africa as a missionary with the London Missionary Society, he then focused his activities on exploration; Galton was accompanied by Charles Anderson and undertook research for the British Royal Geographic Society. For the South American case, Galton's half-cousin, Charles Darwin, had travelled extensively in Patagonia, but since his travels did not lead to British annexation of Argentina, scholars have not seen a connection between this exploration and empire. Significantly, both Galton and Darwin also made substantial contributions to the development of eugenics, which served as a tool of European imperialism. There are temporal similarities between the British Empire's interests in Southern America and Africa, as well: in both cases, trade first occurred in the 1780s. Britain acquired the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, the same year it attempted to gain political control over Argentina.

Rivalry between English-speakers and German-speakers in South America was particularly tangible in the tale of the "German Peril" that English-speakers spread throughout Argentina and Brazil. For example, in June 1908, German government official Metternich sent a newspaper article from the London *Morning Post* to German chancellor Bernhard von Bülow informing him about the reception of the German colonization project in Great Britain. The British newspaper bore the title "German Expansion: An Enclave in

559 Georg Gürich, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika: Reisebilder und Skizzen aus den Jahren 1888 und 1889, mit einer Original-Routenkarte* (Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1891), 19.

560 Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999).

561 Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*, 62; For a discussion of the different peoples in Namibia from precolonial times to the present, see ibid., 11–13. Instead of "Herero," Wallace used the designation "Otjiherero-speakers."

Argentina."[562] In July 1908, the German consul in Buenos Aires reported to the German chancellor that the project of the German-Argentinean Colonization Company (note here that he used the Spanish name now, *Sociedad Germano-Argentina*) had supposedly failed due to English banks.[563] He included various newspaper clippings supporting this thesis; both *La Nación*[564] and the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*[565] commented on a cable from London about the newspaper article from the London *Morning Post* in that large-scale German colonization projects in Argentina could alarm Argentinean patriots. A few days later, the newspaper AT published another article stating that British attempts to deter the Argentinean government from granting the land concessions to the German-Argentinean Colonization Company had not been successful as the Argentinean government supported the project and the company was not only German, but equally Argentinean.[566] In July 1908, the newspaper DLPZ also published an article on the events, describing how the German colonization project in Argentina (the DLPZ was claiming that the company was founded in Berlin) and changing opinions among the Central European German press became more favorable with regards to redirecting German migrants from the U.S. to Southern South America. It also described Great Britain's fear of the enterprise, considering this redirection as a threat to their leading position in the world market.[567] In August 1908, DLPZ published a longer article, taking a stand against British claims that the Germans were planning to invade Patagonia and labeling them "fantasies."[568] The following month, in September 1908, the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture included the German-Argentinean Colonization Company in a decree

[562] Metternich, "Metternich [London] to Reichskanzler von Bülow," June 30, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 175; "German Expansion: An Enclave in Argentina," *Morning Post*, June 30, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 136-137.

[563] von Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler von Bülow," July 7, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 240.

[564] "Los alemanes en la América del Sur [Anlage 1 zu Bericht Nr. 240 des Kaiserlichen Generalkonsulats vom 7. Juli 1908]," *La Nación*, June 30, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 241.

[565] "Englische Eifersucht: Ein Londoner Kabel vom 30. Juni berichtet, dass die 'Morning Post' von selben Tag sich mit dem 'deutschen Syndikat' beschäftigt... [Anlage 2 zu Bericht Nr. 240 des Kaiserlichen Generalkonsulats in Buenos Aires vom 7. Juli 1908]," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, June 30, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 242.

[566] "Germanisch-Argentinische Kolonisationsgesellschaft [Anlage 2 zu Bericht Nr. 240 des Kaiserlichen Generalkonsulats in Buenos Aires vom 7. Juli 1908]," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, July 2, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 242.

[567] "Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Argentinien," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 23, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 258-259.

[568] "Phantastereien," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 16, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 12.

regulating land use in Patagonia.[569] In December 1908, the journal *Süd-Amerika* published news about the company: its territory could best be used for livestock.[570] The company director, Bernhard Brinkmann, travelled to the colonies with the German-speaking agricultural specialist Johannes Hochberg and engineer Zimmermann. In March 1909, an employee of the Central Information Office for Migrants contacted the German Foreign Office with a list of misinformation the British company Edendale & Co. in London had fabricated and provided to German migrants traveling to Argentina.[571] For English-speakers, the tale of the "German peril" was an attempt to weaken German-speakers' growing interest in challenging English-speaking dominance on the world market. Their success remained only a partial one as German-speaking colonies and commercial influence continued to grow at the turn of the nineteenth century.

3.3 German-speaking Colonies in the South Atlantic as Category of Experience

My aim is to redirect attention to the individual and group efforts of German-speakers in the South Atlantic to settle land and integrate it into the German (imperial) market and mindset. Contemporaries used the word "colony" to describe Germans in the Argentine interior in places like Esperanza, Santa Fe in 1860, and Buenos Aires starting in 1884, as well as for Namibia. I therefore refer back to the categories of practice German-speakers used at the time – colonization and colonies – and use the concept of the "German colony" in the South Atlantic as an analytical tool. Colonization was the act of settling the land, of "civilizing it." While for the time period of 1884-1915, the political reality of German-speakers in Namibia – as a German protectorate – was different from that in Argentina, the everyday life of German-speakers in Argentina and Namibia was not as different as we might assume. Argentina was seen as a (potential) market the German Empire without itself being an

[569] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "Ministerio de Agricultura: Colonias Pastoriles en Santa Cruz; ['Boletin Oficial' vom 9. September 1908]," September 7, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 38.

[570] "Die Germanisch-Argentinische Kolonisations-Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, December 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 63.

[571] Wolff, "Central-Auskunftsstelle für Auswanderer to Auswärtiges Amt," March 15, 1909, BArch R 901/30425, pag. 6-8.

official colony, through the German-speakers living in Argentina.[572] Those German-speakers in Argentina argued in favor of economics as the basis of colonialism: the market should come first, only then followed by political institutions and control.[573] In addition to the Jannasch's "overseas interest areas," German-speakers used two other terms at the turn of the twentieth century to describe economic influence abroad: colonial economy (*Kolonialwirtschaft*)[574] and economic cultural work (*wirtschaftliche Kulturarbeit*).[575]

While many historians have maintained that German-speakers practiced formal imperialism – and thus colonialism – in Namibia and informal imperialism in Argentina, in practice these categories were more complex and intertwined on both sides of the South Atlantic. I therefore agree with Lora Wildenthal's assessment that in the German case the formal empire is mainly studied because "history-writing remains overwhelmingly defined by the nation-state. It is probably also due to a wish not to resuscitate a pan-German or Nazi-era expansionist view of German world power. From a number of points of view, it has been easier to minimize the history of German interactions with people around the world, and to be surprised when confronted with evidence of Germany's economic and cultural reach."[576]

In 1884 – and thus just around the time of the first official German colony or protectorate – Karl Emil Jung published a book entitled *German Colonies: A Contribution to the Better Knowledge of Life and Effects of our Compatriots in all Parts of the Globe*.[577] He wrote: "In North America, Australia and the Cape Colony, the English have founded actual colonies with the support of many German migrants; and here, we find what characterized the Phoenicians and the old Greek: the settlements are molded by the mother countries. These colonies developed through migration and with the migrants came European customs

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[572] See Vallentin, *Argentinien und seine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung für Deutschland: Vortrag gehalten am 23. Jan. 1907 im Deutsch-Brasilischen Verein zu Berlin*.

[573] See Oskar Bongard, *Staatssekretär Dernburg in Britisch- und Deutsch-Süd-Afrika*, Second edition (Berlin: W. Süsserott, 1909), 6.

[574] Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, ed., *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1899).

[575] Vallentin, *Argentinien und seine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung für Deutschland: Vortrag gehalten am 23. Jan. 1907 im Deutsch-Brasilischen Verein zu Berlin*.

[576] Lora Wildenthal, "The Places of Colonialism in the Writing and Teaching of Modern German History," in *German Colonialism: Another Sonderweg?*, ed. Marcia Klotz, Special Edition, vol. 16, European Studies Journal 2 (Cedar Falls, Iowa: University of Northern Iowa, 1999), 10.

[577] Karl Emil Jung, *Deutsche Kolonien. Ein Beitrag zur besseren Kenntniss des Lebens und Wirkens unserer Landsleute in allen Erdteilen* (Leipzig, 1884).

and education."[578] Jung further praised German involvement in the settling and development of the United States, as well as South American states like Brazil.[579] He specified that these settlements were German colonies but under foreign sovereignty.

Within a few years, colonial theorists began to expand their definitions of "colony" both to ventures under and external to state oversight. In his 1887 publication on German colonial history, Max von Koschitzky distinguished between the pre-history German colonization and colonial policy (*Kolonialpolitik*) of the German Empire.[580] In the first part, he included a discussion of German colonies in Russia and Brazil, the second part focused on the German protectorates. By 1897 then, in the introduction to his colonial atlas, geographer-cartographer Paul Langhans (*1867 – 1952) argued that the definition of "colony" had become too narrow after the acquisition of the German protectorates: he advocated that it should still include the entirely of German colonization abroad, which is why he included all German settlements abroad in his atlas.[581] Langhans was a member of the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verein*), active in "nationality mapping,"[582] and in 1931, he became a member of the NSDAP. In 1900, French historian and economist Henri Hauser (*1866 – 1946),[583] mentor of Fernand Braudel, published a study on German colonialism in which he wrote that one should not limit such a study to the German protectorates but rather consider all extra-European territories as colonies where Germans lived.[584] He referred to Langhans's atlas and distinguished in his publication between "imperial colonies" and "spontaneous colonies," similar to the later distinction between formal and informal colonies.[585] He discussed Germans in the protectorate of German

[578] Ibid., 15.

[579] Ibid., 19f.

[580] Max von Koschitzky, *Deutsche Colonialgeschichte* (Leipzig: P. Frohberg, 1887).

[581] Paul Langhans, *Deutscher Kolonial-Atlas: 30 Karten mit 300 Nebenkarten* (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1897).

[582] Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 88.

[583] Séverine-Antigone Marin and Georges-Henri Soutou, eds., *Henri Hauser (1866-1946): Humaniste - Historien - Républicain* (Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2006).

[584] Henri Hauser, *Colonies allemandes impériales et spontanées*, Études d'économie coloniale (Paris: Nony & cie, 1900), ix-x:"Je n'ai pas cru devoir limiter cette étude aux seuls pays qui sont officiellement, impérialement allemands. Il me semble qu'il faut entendre sous le vocable colonies toutes les terres neuves, situées hors d'Europe, dont l'appropriation est tentée par des groups d'Européens. Ainsi entendues, les plus importantes des colonies allemandes ne sont pas les territoires placés sous le protectorat de l'Empire (Schutzgebiete). Ces colonies spontanées, aux États-Unis, au Brésil, contribuent d'ailleurs à la richesse et à la puissance de l'Empire."

[585] Hauser, *Colonies allemandes impériales et spontanées*.

South-West Africa, but also the distribution of Germans in South Africa.[586] In another volume on South Africa, he listed all of the towns with German names, their German newspapers, churches, and so on. Hauser also stated that thirty-six German merchant houses in the Cape Colony owned twelve million marks of capital in 1900.[587] Hauser concluded that German colonization was largely a result of private initiative, highlighting the importance of unofficial German colonies and their role in and contribution to the German Colonial Empire.[588]

The German Colonial Society (*Deutscher Kolonialverein*) organized three colonial congresses in 1902, 1905, and 1910.[589] Officially, the congresses treated the subject of German colonies and "interest regions" (*Interessensgebiete*). The discussion originated within the colonial and migrant associations as well as merchants and thus the civil society; these interest groups coalesced and demanded greater intervention from the German Imperial government. In 1902, many Germans continued to perceive the discrepancy between German migration to foreign lands and that to official territory abroad as a dilemma. They considered the United States of America as an ever-stronger economic rival; this contributed to the felt need to send Germans to areas where they could "maintain their Germanness." Overall, there was a divide between proponents of the official colonies and of the "unofficial colonies" at the German Colonial Congress. The latter camp was itself divided between advocates of Brazil and of Argentina as best destinations.[590] As for the formal German Colonial Empire, there were many colonial enthusiasts who were happy that, finally, German possessed territory overseas. An 1884 pamphlet from Gerhard Rohlfs celebrated Angra Pequena "the first German colony in Africa."[591] The territory around Angra Pequena

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[586] Ibid., 58f.

[587] Richard Hauser, *Die deutschen Überseebanken*, Abhandlungen des Staatswissenschaftlichen Seminars zu Jena 3, 4 (Jena: G. Fischer, 1906), 60.

[588] Hauser, *Colonies allemandes impériales et spontanées*, 131.

[589] Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*; Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses*; Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*.

[590] Hermann Meyer, "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Südamerika, besonders nach Südbrasilien," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903); Alfred Funke, "Über die kulturellen Interessen und Aufgaben Deutschlands in Südbrasilien," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 479–93; Alemann, "Argentinien als Siedelungsgebiet für deutsche Auswanderung."

[591] Gerhard Rohlfs, *Angra Pequena: die erste deutsche Kolonie in Afrika; dem ganzen deutschen Volke gewidmet* (Bielefeld; Leipzig: Velhagen, 1884).

claimed by the merchant Adolf Lüderitz in 1884 was a mere fraction of the later German South-West Africa.[592]

3.4 Conclusion

Imperialism, both informal and formal – as synonym with colonialism – is a concept that functions with the empire and nation-state as main actor. Imperialism is thus a nation-state-centered tool of analysis. In this sense, imperialism – along with colonialism – is limited in its usefulness as an analytical tool for my project of examining the activities of nineteenth-century German-speakers in the South Atlantic.

The British were both role model and bitter rival for German-speakers in the South Atlantic. The British Empire has also served historians as an example for how to approach the study of the German Empire. Nonetheless, I have argued in this chapter that "colony" as a category of experience represented for German-speakers in the South Atlantic mostly a group project that was privately motivated and carried out. While the activities of German-speakers were carried out by private individuals organized in small groups in the form of associations, both non-profit and for-profit, South Atlantic German-speakers also did seek contact with the Central European evolving nation-state entities.

Thus, the German-speaking (business) community in Buenos Aires only started to label itself as the "German colony of Buenos Aires" in their 1884 address book as a direct response to the acquisition of a small strip of land by Adolf Lüderitz in Southern Africa and the subsequent talk of "first German colony" or "first German colony in Africa." The reaction of German-speakers in Buenos Aires was to send a message to Central European Germans. In the case of Namibia, the term "colony" was, from the beginning of the German protectorate South-West Africa in 1884, used as a synonym for the protectorate; "colony" being a word imported from the English, French, and Spanish, the (other) imperial powers.

[592] See Imre Demhardt, "Von der Schutzgewalt zur Kolonialgewalt: Die Schutzverträge und die rechtliche Entstehung des kolonialen Staatsraums," in *Föderative Raumstrukturen und wirtschaftliche Entwicklungen in Namibia*, ed. Heinrich Lamping and Uwe Jäschke (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 17–58; Imre Demhardt, *Deutsche Kolonialgrenzen in Afrika: historisch-geographische Untersuchungen ausgewählter Grenzräume von Deutsch-Südwestafrika und Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms, 1995).

In the Argentinean interior, Argentinean citizens and state officials used the term "colony" to refer to agricultural colonies throughout the nineteenth century. However, the use of "agricultural colony" in Argentina was also connected to European colonization theorists like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and Wilhelm Roscher, who distinguished generally between "colonization (or settlement) colonies," "commercial (or trade) colonies," and "plantation colonies." We will further discuss the links between agricultural colonies and colonization in the third part of this dissertation.

Chapter 4. "Advancement" and "Civilization" via Associations and Institutions

In April 1898, a contemporary German-speaker published an article on "societal self-aid."[593] He explained ongoing debates over the role of the state in regulating societal life in European states, proclaiming that state aid had failed and only self-aid, originating within the people, could be successful. Matschnig also linked the success of self-aid to the qualities of the Germans and ultimately to the German or Teutonic "race." He linked community spirit to a civilized and superior mind. As the subtitle of his article indicated, it was specifically addressed to South American Germans (*Germanen*): he described the duty of German-speakers in a less developed country as expressing their superiority through their supposedly racially inherent group spirit and forming associations in order to further develop South American societies. This perception that German-speakers had of their own role was in stark contrast with the actual development of Argentinean history. As Pilar González Bernaldo has argued, the Argentinean state was created through sociability and the founding of associations and clubs in the 1830s.[594] More recently, scholar Alexander Kramer has pointed to the importance of studying German migrant associations.[595]

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[593] A. Matschnig, "Die gesellschaftliche Selbsthilfe (Stoff zum Nachdenken für die südamerikanischen Germanen)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 20, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; A. Matschnig, "Die gesellschaftliche Selbsthilfe (Fortsetzung)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 21, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; A. Matschnig, "Die gesellschaftliche Selbsthilfe II.," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 22, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; A. Matschnig, "Die gesellschaftliche Selbsthilfe (Fortsetzung)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 23, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; A. Matschnig, "Die gesellschaftliche Selbsthilfe (Fortsetzung und Schluß)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 25, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[594] Pilar González Bernaldo, *Civilité et politique aux origines de la nation argentine: les sociabilités à Buenos Aires, 1829-1862* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999); Pilar González Bernaldo, *Civility and Politics in*

I define "associations" in this section very broadly, to include any type of collection of individuals who got together to create something. Thus I include here: for-profit companies, church associations, school associations, philanthropic associations, and leisure associations. Some of these were founded in the South Atlantic by the migrants themselves, others were created in Central Europe by people wanting to promote activities in the South Atlantic. In many cases, the seat of the association or society was registered in Germany, but the bulk of its activities were in Argentina or Namibia. These associations were usually private in origin. Sometimes they closely cooperated with the German or the Argentinean state. In some cases this cooperation existed from the start, in others it only developed over the course of time. South Atlantic German-speakers were proud of their associations. The terms Germans used at the time were *Verein, Vereinigung, Gesellschaft,* and *Verband*. They organized themselves in everyday life as "self-made men," ideally without the interference of the state. The German-speaking communities in the South Atlantic were very much grass-roots movements. The types of associations we discuss in this first subsection are the non-profit ones: churches (both Protestant and Catholic), schools, local newspapers, leisure associations, and philanthropic associations.

4.1 Churches at the Core of the Communities

On both sides of the South Atlantic, religious associations and institutions were closely tied to colony formation and colonization projects. In Argentina and Namibia, groups of German-speakers largely identified as Christians, both Lutherans and Catholics.

In Namibia, Christians of any nationality were in the minority, and before the establishment of Christian church communities, missionaries saw themselves in the position of having to proselytize to both natives and European whites. Many of the Nama-speakers had been introduced to Christianity (and a European lifestyle, as well as the Dutch language) through contact with the Cape Colony. These were exclusively Protestant missionaries. Catholics came to the region later and in higher numbers during the time of the German

the Origins of the Argentine Nation: Sociabilities in Buenos Aires, 1829-1862 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications University of California Los Angeles, 2006).

595 Valentin Kramer, *Zwischen den Heimaten: Deutsch-argentinische Einwanderervereine in Rosario und Esperanza, 1856-1933* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016).

protectorate. In 1907, one pastor wrote about a serious rivalry between Catholics and Protestants in all German protectorates and colonies.[596] Protestants and Catholics were in greater conflict with each other in Namibia than in Argentina. In Argentina, the great majority of the population, which descended mostly from Spanish and Italian migrants, was Catholic, and German-speaking Protestants first cooperated with English-speaking Protestants, before setting up their own religious community within the larger Argentinean society. Over time, the German-speakers in Argentina found more common ground in shared language and culture rather than religious differences. I argue that religious associations and colonization projects were closely entangled throughout the South Atlantic.

4.1.1 German-speaking Protestants as Pioneers

The development of Protestant churches in Argentina and Namibia took place in different time periods but underwent similar processes: first there was a local demand for a church, once there were enough German-speakers in place. The request to affiliate with the Prussian Church (Germany) – and the German Protestant diaspora association *Gustav-Adolf-Verein* – came from the South Atlantic society. Both the Argentinean and Namibian churches requested pastors to be sent from Germany. Concerning financial maintenance, the Argentinean church was more independent and self-reliant as it received funding from German businesses and local wealthy individuals; the Namibian church was financially dependent on support from Germany. These Protestant churches evolved into their own, independent synods. Even in Namibia, the church survived colonial times and WWI because it was always, and remained, independent from colonial government matters.

Britta Wellnitz has studied the Protestant churches in Argentina and Namibia and come to the conclusion that they were more similar than different.[597] While she uses the terms colonist congregations (*Kolonistengemeinden*) for South America and colonial congregations (*Kolonialgemeinden*) for southern Africa, she also insists on the fluidity of

[596] Johannes Spiecker, *Welche Pflichten hat das evangelische Deutschland in Südwestafrika? - Referat des Herrn Missionsinspektors Pastor Spiecker, Barmen, in der Versammlung der Bergischen Gruppe des Evangelischen Bundes am 23. Oktober 1907* (Bonn: Carl Georgi, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlag, 1907).
[597] Wellnitz, *Deutsche evangelische Gemeinden im Ausland*.

these categories.[598] On both sides of the South Atlantic, Protestant church activities started to become more organized in 1842. In Argentina, the La Plata Calendar of 1873 claimed that the German colony of Buenos Aires originated with the set-up of the German-Protestant church in 1842.[599] The merchants Christian Zimmermann, Louis de Chapeaurouge, and Carl August Bunge were among the key figures. In Namibia, the missionaries Carl Hugo Hahn and Franz Joseph Kleinschmidt are generally credited with starting the work of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMG) in 1842 with Nama- and Herero-speakers.[600] Others claim that it was Heinrich Schmelen, who worked for the London Missionary Society but was a German-speaker, who established the foundation enabling the RMG to come to Namibia.[601] Schmelen founded the missionary station Bethany in Southern Namibia in 1814.[602]

The German-speaking Protestant churches in Argentina and Namibia did not automatically constitute their own territorial state churches (*Landeskirche*).[603] This seems obvious in Argentina, as it was not part of the German empire. But neither in Namibia did the church ever come under state (federal) control. In both places, the religious communities were born of the effort of individuals who got together to organize the congregations. The emerging church communities became part of the Prussian state church and, through the work of the *Gustav-Adolf-Verein*, they became part of the German diaspora. The congregations were not split up into regional or national categories (for example, Swiss or Austrian): they constituted a unifying factor for German-speakers along the lines of their Protestant faith. By 1914, both Protestant and Catholic churches were celebrating the Kaiser's birthday and thus closely linked to a shared German national identity. The initiative for the foundation of church communities originated in the South Atlantic, but these South Atlantic congregations did ask for aid from the Prussian church in Germany.

They were granted affiliation to the Prussian State Church (*Preussische Landeskirche*), a territorial state church (*Landeskirche*), and its Protestant Central Council (*Evangelischer* Zentralrat) imposed certain responsibilities upon them. While in Argentina, it was clear that

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598 Ibid., 18–24 .

599 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 115–16.

600 Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*.

601 Trüper, *The Invisible Woman*.

602 Moritz and Fisch, *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842*.

603 For the translation, see Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora*, 4.

the German-speaking church was under Argentine jurisdiction and had to be registered as a private association, this was different across the Atlantic. In Namibia, a contemporary discussion took place on whose matter the church was in Germany: was it a state (*Land*) matter? Or was it a federal (*Reich*) matter? In 1904, the journal of the German Colonial Society (DKG) published two articles about Colonial church law. In the first, author Schreiber-Stettin summarized the differences in opinion on this matter: there were those arguing that everything in the German protectorates was under federal jurisdiction and this included Protestant churches, and those countering that the church was a state matter in Germany and thus also should be such in the overseas protectorates.[604] Schreiber-Stettin clarified that the affiliation with the Prussian church only entailed the sending of pastors from Germany to the overseas churches.[605] In the second article, H. Edler von Hoffmann looked beyond just the German options and discussed models of Church authority in England and France.[606] In 1911, the *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Protestant Church Newspaper for German South-West Africa) published an article on the legal foundation for the protestant churches.[607] In 1912, Rudolf Böhmer asked whether the Protestant church should develop according to the German or the American model.[608] He wrote that while in Germany, historically a connection between church and state had developed in form of the territorial state church (*Landeskirche*), which was regulated by public law, Protestant churches in Namibia were entirely of a private nature.

4.1.1.1 The Protestant Church in Namibia

The Lutheran church was active in South Africa already in the sixteenth century with Dutch, German, and French employees of the Dutch East India Company settling at the Cape of

604 Schreiber-Stettin, "Koloniales Kirchenrecht," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6, no. 12 (1904): 871.
605 Ibid., 873.
606 H. Edler v. Hoffmann, "Fragen des protestantischen Kolonialkirchenrechtes," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6 (1904): 492–97.
607 Heyse, "Die Rechtsgrundlage unserer Gemeinden," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, March 1911, No. 3 edition, EZA 5/2916.
608 Böhmer, "Deutsch-evangelisches Leben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Vortrag auf dem II. Deutschen Kolonial-Missionstage zu Kassel," 191.

Good Hope.[609] In 1861, the St. Martini church was founded in Cape Town as a church by and for German-speakers and its German school in 1883.[610] The South African Synod (*Synode Südafrikas*) was founded in 1895 in Hannover, Germany.[611]

In today's Namibia, the beginnings of organized German-speaking Protestant religion can be traced back to Schmelen from the London Missionary Society (LMS) as well as C. H. Hahn and Kleinschmidt from the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMG). They worked between the Nama- and Otji-herero-speakers.[612] Schmelen had first gone to South Africa in 1806, after he met a Nama woman in London and was fascinated by her.[613] After his arrival in Southern Africa, he married a Zara, a Nama woman, and she helped him translate the New Testament into her native language.[614] Schmelen was the one who told the RMG, towards the end of his missionary activity, that they should expand their work further north beyond the Orange River, and thus into territory that is today Namibia. Hahn and Kleinschmidt arrived in Namibia in 1842.[615] The white Protestant church in Windhoek was founded in 1896 [616] under pastor Anz. [617] In 1900, the Protestant church in Windhoek became independent.[618] The white Protestant church was founded in Swakopmund in 1905.[619] In 1913, the Keetmanshooper Protestant church became part of Prussian church.[620]

Still, on several occasions, German-speakers lamented that, seemingly, German-speaking settlers didn't found a congregation of their own immediately, and they got along

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609 Georg Scriba, "Chronologie der lutherischen Kirchengeschichte Südfrikas (1652-1928)," in *Deutsche evangelische Kirche im kolonialen südlichen Afrika: die Rolle der Auslandsarbeit von den Anfängen bis in die 1920er Jahre*, ed. Hanns Lessing et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 285–306.

610 Kurt Naumann, *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische St. Martini Kirche, Kapstadt: Festschrift Zum 100 Jährigen Jubiläum* (Kapstadt: ABC, 1961).

611 Reino Ottermann, *The Centenary of the Synod, 1895-1995* (Cape Town: Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Church), 1995).

612 Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*.

613 Walter Moritz, *Auf dem Reitochsen quer durch's südwestliche Afrika: Missionar Schmelen, Ein Pionier der Sprache der Nama (1811-1848) am Oranje, in Bethanien, Steinkopf, und Komaggas*, Aus alten Tagen in Südwest 17 (Werther [Germany]: Moritz, 2004).

614 Trüper, *The Invisible Woman*.

615 Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland*, ed. Brigitte Lau, 5 vols. (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1984).

616 "Evangelisch Lutherische Kirche in Namibia (DELK)," accessed February 18, 2017, http://www.elcin-gelc.org/.

617 "Windhuk soll in die Unterstützungsauszüge [...] aufgenommen werden" (Unterstützungsausz. Heft 65 für 1907, March 16, 1907), EZA 200/1/7131, pg. 25.

618 Ibid.

619 "Evangelisch Lutherische Kirche in Namibia (DELK)."

620 "Gemeindeversammlung der evangelischen Gemeinde Keetmanshoop," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, July 24, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

well without one.[621] At the same time, they argued that settlers did not found a congregation immediately because the Rhenish missionaries were already active and present in Namibia by the time more German-speakers settled. And in small towns, the Rhenish continued to administer the churches until WWI. In the 1870s, the German missionaries had divided Namibia into different areas; they cooperated closely and met at certain intervals.[622] This creation of missionary stations had an impact on the lifestyle of indigenous people and created "urban" centers.

After the Namibian War, discussions took place in Germany on what the Protestant church should do in German South-West Africa. They were sparked by requests from the South Atlantic: In 1907, Rhenish missionary Eich asked the *Evangelischer Zentralverein* for more pastors for GSWA. He pointed out that most German settlers distinguished between the church and the missions: they hated the missions and considered them as inferior, in contrast to the church, which was for whites. Thus, the presence of more pastors should show the settlers that the Protestant church cared about them.[623] Rhenish Missionary inspector Johannes Spiecker then became active, promoting more engagement of the Protestant church in GSWA.[624]

The German protectorate South-West Africa was then considered a field for "internal mission" (*Innere Mission*).[625] The objective of the internal mission was to take care of Germans with little means through aid societies (*Hilfsvereine*). For example, the RMG asked the Zentral-Ausschuß für Innere Mission to take care of the children of white fathers and indigenous mothers.[626] On 16 October 1899, a meeting of the Windhoek Protestant parish discussed how to procure a new pastor and how to finance him.[627] On October 26, the newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger* announced on the front page that the Protestant church of

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621 Sch., "Koloniales. Die evangelische Kirche in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Herrschaft," *Bleiblatt der Preussischen Zeitung*, October 17, 1909, No. 499 edition, EZA 5/2916.

622 "[Statistik der Gemeinden des nördlichen Conferenzverbandes bis Mai 1876]," 1876, RMG 2.611, Bl. 95.

623 Eich's letter is cited in: Johannes Spiecker, "Betr. Pastorierung des deutschen Schutzgebiets [Barmen, den 18. April 1907]," April 18, 1907, EZA 5/2916.

624 Spiecker, *Welche Pflichten hat das evangelische Deutschland in Südwestafrika? - Referat des Herrn Missionsinspektors Pastor Spiecker, Barmen, in der Versammlung der Bergischen Gruppe des Evangelischen Bundes am 23. Oktober 1907*.

625 "Innere Mission in Südwestafrika," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, February 16, 1908, BArch R 1001/1878, pag. 24.

626 Böhmer, "Deutsch-evangelisches Leben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Vortrag auf dem II. Deutschen Kolonial-Missionstage zu Kassel," 197.

627 "Am Montag, den 16. d. Mts., Nachmittags 3 Uhr, findet im evangel. Kirchensaal eine Gemeinde-Versammlung statt ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1899, NAN.

Windhoek was seeking to officially become part of the Prussian State Church (*Preussische Landeskirche*).[628] In this article, the author argued that it was understandable that German congregations in foreign countries had to provide entirely for themselves, but he argued that German congregations in German colonies were in a different situation, as they were supposed to strengthen German-ness in the colonies, and thus needed financial support from Germany.[629]

Wilhelm Anz was pastor of the Windhoek congregation in 1896 when architect Gottlieb Redecker, son of missionary colonist Wilhelm Redecker, started planning the first church for whites, which was later called Christuskirche.[630] The construction started in 1907 and the church was inaugurated in 1910.[631] The Governor of German South-West Africa participated in the opening of the German church in Windhoek in 1910.[632] The colonial government representatives thus attended "lay activities." Anz later participated in the diaspora conference, when he was already working in Germany again. Anz had been pastor of the Protestant congregation of Windhoek and continued to inform the public in Germany about the developments in the German protectorate after he had been called back to Germany.[633]

4.1.1.2 The Protestant Church in Argentina

German-speaking Protestants in Argentina were already setting up a German cemetery commission (*deutsche Friedhofskomission*) as early as 1833.[634] The founding of the first Protestant church congregation in Buenos Aires is usually dated to 1843, although at least

628 "Die evangelische Gemeinde in Windhoek," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 26, 1899, NAN.

629 Ibid.

630 Mossolow, "Architekt Gottlieb Redecker"; Walter Moritz, *Vier Generationen Redecker in Namibia seit 1866: Aus Westfälischer Vergangenheit in die Namibische Zukunft*, Aus alten Tagen in Südwest 20 (Werther, Westfalen [Germany]: W. Moritz, (Windhoek, Namibia: John Meinert Printing), 2010).

631 Sch., "Koloniales. Die evangelische Kirche in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Herrschaft."

632 Brückner, "Kaiserlicher Gouverneur von Deutsch-Südwestafrika," October 15, 1910, NAN BWI 150 K.2, p.16.

633 [Wilhelm] Anz, "Evangelisch-kirchliches Leben in unseren Kolonien," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, February 17, 1912, BArch R 8023/895a, pag. 31.

634 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 166.

one source dates it to June 12 1842.[635] Regardless, in 1843, the founders of the "German Church Buenos Aires" – Zimmermann, Carl August Bunge, and Deetjen, among others – met and discussed the acquisition of a German pastor.[636] They contacted the Protestant Association for North America in Bremen, which sent August Ludwig Siegel as the church's first pastor.[637] The construction of the church in the calle Esmeralda began on 18 October 1851.[638]

The Protestant Central Archives in Berlin (*Evangelisches Zentralarchiv*) hold the correspondence between the German-speaking Protestant church committee in Buenos Aires and the church authorities in Germany. These documents include letters from the first pastor August Ludwig Siegel to the German Protestant congregation from June 1842, prior to his acceptance of the job offer and move to Buenos Aires.[639] They also reveal that the church used its own liturgy.[640] According to Bachmann, the church joined the Protestant church by free will and upon a vote by the church members on 20 April 1845.[641] By 1847, the German congregation had its own statutes.[642] And by 1851, the first stone was set for the construction of the chapel in Esmeralda Street.[643]

4.1.1.3 Connections with English-speaking Protestants

635 Jerónimo José Granados, "Siegel, August Ludwig (1812-1883)," in *Personalidades religiosas de Buenos Aires: Hombres y mujeres que dejaron su huella*, ed. Marcos Gabriel Vancini and Alfredo Abriani (Buenos Aires: Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2012), 190.

636 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, ?

637 Granados, "Siegel, August Ludwig (1812-1883)," 190.

638 *Die Feier der Grundsteinlegung zur Capelle der Deutsch-Evangelischen Gemeinde in Buenos Ayres am 18. October 1851, nebst einigen Notizen ueber die Gemeinde selbst* (Buenos Ayres: Ymprenta de la Gaceta Mercantil, 1851).

639 August Ludwig Siegel, "An die deutsche protestantische Gemeinde in Buenos Ayres," June 19, 1842, EZA 5/4095, pg. 37-38.

640 "Auszug aus der Liturgie für den Gebrauch der Evangelischen Gemeinde, in Buenos Ayres," 1843, EZA 5/4095, pg. 50.

641 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 2.

642 August Ludwig Siegel et al., *Allgemeine Kirchen-Statuten für die Deutsch-Evangelische Gemeinde in Buenos Ayres* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Gaceta Mercantil, 1847).

643 *Die Feier der Grundsteinlegung zur Capelle der Deutsch-Evangelischen Gemeinde in Buenos Ayres am 18. October 1851, nebst einigen Notizen ueber die Gemeinde selbst*.

A few Anglican missionaries were active among the Indians in Argentina's Patagonian Mission.[644] Carl Hugo Hahn even noted the end of the Patagonian Mission in a diary entry written in Namibia on 25 January 1853. According to the editors of his published diary, this was a "[r]eference to seven missionaries who tried to establish a mission in southern Argentina but, deprived of local assistance, starved to death."[645]

After this inauspicious start, German-speakers in Argentina forged close connections to English-speaking Protestants. The different denominations created churches in Argentina in the following years: Anglicans in 1825, Presbyterians in 1829, Methodists in 1836, Lutherans in 1843, Baptists in 1886, Valdense in 1887, and Adventists in 1894.[646] The Anglicans were English, the Presbyterians Scottish, and the Methodists, Baptists and Adventists American in origin. The Treaty of Commerce and Friendship of 1825 between the United Provinces (*Provincias Unidas*) and England guaranteed freedom of religion in Argentina.[647]

Church records indicate that German-speakers got married at English-speaking churches: for example, Gotthelf Reinecke and Christina Amalia Weigel, both born in Freibourg in Saxony, were married by Pastor William Brown at St. Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church in Buenos Aires on 12 September 1839, as were Augustus Edward Möller, born in Hamburgh (sic!) and Rosamunda Adelaide Bocrie, born in Bremen, on 22 December 1842.[648] On 29 May 1843, Danish citizen Heinrich Pingel was married to German

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644 Gustav Warneck, *Outline of the History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time: A Contribution to Recent Church-History*, trans. Thomas Smith, Translated from the Second Edition (Edinburgh: Gemmell, 1884), 136 f.

645 Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland. Part III: 1852-1855*, ed. Brigitte Lau, vol. 3 (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1985), 641.

646 Paula Seiguer, "La iglesia anglicana en la Argentina: Religión e identidad nacional," *Anuario del 1EHS* 17 (2002): 202–203. Dates taken from Jean Meyer, Historia de los cristianos en América Latina, siglos XIX y XX, (México, Vuelta, 1989), 112.

647 Seiguer, "La iglesia anglicana en la Argentina: Religión e identidad nacional"; Paula Seiguer, "¿Son los anglicanos argentinos? Un primer debate sobre la evangelización protestante y la nación," *Revista Escuela de Historia* 5.1, no. 5 (2006); Paula Seiguer, "La Iglesia anglicana en la Argentina y la colectividad británica: identidad y estrategias misionales, 1869-1930" (Ph.D., Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2009); Seiguer, "Religión y formas de producción de etnicidad"; Paula Seiguer, "Los inicios de un debate: el lugar del protestantismo histórico en la Argentina," in *Experiencias plurales de lo sagrado: la diversidad religiosa argentina*, ed. Fabián Claudio Flores and Paula Seiguer (Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi Ediciones, 2014).

648 See ibid.; Paula Seiguer has studied the relation between English-speaking Protestants and Argentinean society, see Seiguer, "La iglesia anglicana en la Argentina: Religión e identidad nacional"; Paula Seiguer, "¿Son los anglicanos argentinos? Un primer debate sobre la evangelización protestante y la nación," *Revista Escuela de Historia* 5.1, no. 5 (2006); Paula Seiguer, "La Iglesia anglicana en la Argentina y la colectividad británica: identidad y estrategias misionales, 1869-1930" (Ph.D., Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2009); Paula Seiguer, "Religión y formas de producción de etnicidad: La iglesia Anglicana en la Argentina," in *Estudios de historia*

citizen Julianna Carlista Santo in the Buenos Aires Episcopal Methodist Church by Reverend William H. Norris.[649] German-speakers continued to be married by English-speaking pastors even after the founding of the German-speaking church and the acquisition of a pastor from Germany. In 1831, German-speakers, along with English-speakers, obtained a section of the newly founded Chacarita cemetery.[650] C. Wolff noted in 1856 that religious freedom was granted without problems and Protestants were treated as equals as long as both partners were Protestant.[651] In mixed couples, however, the Catholic partner had a more favorable position.

In 1842, the pastor of the Scottish Presbyterian church of Buenos Aires, William Brown, addressed some advice to the German Protestant congregation about how to found a (Protestant) church in Argentina.[652] Brown warned against attempting to missionize or speak bad about the majority Catholic population. The committee to form a German-speaking church in Buenos Aires met at the Scottish church.[653] The German Protestant search committee forwarded Brown's letter to Siegel and he wrote an endearing response to Brown, thanking him for the advice given and stating that his letter enticed him even more to move to Buenos Aires and answer the call to be the first German pastor in Buenos Aires.[654] As we have seen previously, the first German-speakers in Namibia arrived with the London Missionary Society (LMS), like Schmelen and the Albrecht brothers.[655]

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religiosa, ed. Ana María Rodríguez (Santa Rosa, La Pampa [Argentina]: EDUNLPam - Prohistoria Ediciones, 2013), 17–39; Paula Seiguer, "Los inicios de un debate: el lugar del protestantismo histórico en la Argentina," in *Experiencias plurales de lo sagrado: la diversidad religiosa argentina*, ed. Fabián Claudio Flores and Paula Seiguer (Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi Ediciones, 2014).

649 "Iglesia Evangélica Metodista Argentina Buenos Aires Episcopal Methodist Church, Marriages 1843-1860," *British Settlers in Argentina and Uruguay - Studies in 19th and 20th Century Emigration*, August 2010, http://www.argbrit.org/Methodist/MethMarrs1843_60.htm.

650 Omar Lopez Mato Vizzari Hernan S., *Ángeles de Buenos Aires: Historia de los cementerios de la Chacarita, Alemán y Británico* (Olmo Ediciones, 2011).

651 C. Wolff, "Die Religionsfreiheit in der Argentinischen Republik II. [Preußische Correspondenz, 1856, No. 130. Berlin, den 6. Juni 1856]" (R. Decker, June 6, 1856), EZA 5/2061, p. 305.

652 William Brown, "[Copy] [To] J.C. Zimmermann Esqr., Louis de Chapeaurouge Esqr.; Buenos Ayres June 19, 1842," June 19, 1842, EZA 5/4095, pg. 11-17.

653 Ibid.

654 August Ludwig Siegel, "Dear Sir! [Brown, Minister of the Scotish Presbyterian Church of Buenos Ayres]," March 9, 1843, EZA 5/4095, pg. 39.

655 Moritz and Fisch, *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842*.

4.1.1.4 South Atlantic Protestant Organizations with Seats in Central Europe

The Protestant Association for the La Plata States in Germany (*Evangelischer Verein für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland*) was founded in Bremen on January 27, 1902.[656] Its president was Gustav Lahusen. In his letter to the leadership [*Centralvorstand*] of the *Gustav-Adolf-Verein* in Leipzig, Lahusen stated that the growing diaspora community in the La Plata states made such an aid association (*Hilfsverein*) necessary.[657] In the same year, the founders of the association also published a call for membership of their association, asking Germans who had lived in the la Plata states or who had relatives living there, in particular, to support their cause.[658] In 1907, the newspaper DLPZ published the annual report of the association on its cover page, which still listed Gustav Lahusen as president.[659] The Berlin federal archives contain a document that lists Lahusen among businessmen with substantial landownership in Argentina.[660] This is an example of a personal link between a religious institution, a business enterprise, and colonization. Britta Wellnitz has studied the development of German protestant churches abroad and the development of their legal relations to the Protestant church in Germany.[661]

4.1.2 German-speaking Catholics as Imitators

On both sides of the South Atlantic, German-speaking Catholics set up their own parishes and church buildings only after German-speaking Protestants had founded congegations and built churches. Cooperation and competition among German-speaking Catholics and Protestants varied in both Argentina and Namibia in time and location. While they tended to be rivals in Namibia over the long-term, they tended to cooperate in Argentina.

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656 Gustav Lahusen, "Evangelischer Verein für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland," March 1, 1902, EZA 200/1/4240, pg. 1-4; "Statuten des Evangelischen Vereins für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland," 1902, EZA 200/1/4240, pg. 5.

657 Lahusen, "Evangelischer Verein für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland."

658 Gustav Lahusen, "Aufruf zum Beitritt um Evangelischen Verein für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland," 1902, EZA 200/1/4240, pg. 9.

659 "Jahresbericht des Evangelischen Vereins für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland für das Jahr 1906," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 29, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

660 "[deutsche Firmen Lahusen, Bremen: Joh. Daniel Fuhrmann, Th. Bracht & Co. = Antwerpen. „verfügen über bedeutenden Grundbesitz in Argentinien."]," 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 74.

661 Wellnitz, *Deutsche evangelische Gemeinden im Ausland*.

4.1.2.1 German-speaking Catholics in Argentina

While the first German-speaking Catholics in Argentina had been Jesuits in the eighteenth century, they did not work in a German-speaking environment but they rather worked with their Spanish-speaking colleagues in missionizing the indigenous people of Paraquaria.[662] According to William Brown, the Scottish pastor of Buenos Aires, there were also already many German-speaking Catholics in Argentina in 1842.[663] In 1866, a Catholic German school advertised in the German newspaper in Buenos Aires.[664] By 1911, German-speaking Catholics were using the Chapel San Roque.[665] They regularly advertised and published reports of their parishes in the German-language newspapers AT and DLPZ, alongside the Protestant congregations. They labeled themselves the "community of German-speaking Catholics" (*Gemeinde deutschredender Katholiken*).[666]

4.1.2.2 German-speaking Catholics in Namibia

Publications in Germany were eager to track and compare Catholic and Protestant involvement in the German protectorate of South-West Africa. Protestants called the Catholic efforts "Roman Propaganda."[667] Since 1896, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (*Oblaten der heiligen unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria*) were active in Windhoek and Swakopmund, and the Salesianer were active in the southeast region of the protectorate.[668] The Prefecture Apostolic of Cimbebasia was established in 1892. It was renamed the Apostolic Prefecture of Cimbebasia in 1921, then the Apostolic Vicariate of Windhoek in

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662 Angelika Kitzmantel, "Die Jesuitenmissionare Martin Dobrizhoffer und Florian Paucke und ihre Beiträge zur Ethnographie des Gran Chaco im 18. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2004).

663 Brown, "[Copy] [To] J.C. Zimmermann Esqr., Louis de Chapeaurouge Esqr.; Buenos Ayres June 19, 1842."

664 "Katholische deutsche Schule," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, April 17, 1866.

665 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 306.

666 "Gemeinde deutschredender Katholiken," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Gemeinde deutschredender Katholiken," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

667 Gustav Müller, *Die römische Propaganda in unseren afrikanischen Kolonien*, Flugschriften des Evangelischen Bundes (Leipzig: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Evangel. Bundes, 1899).

668 C. Hoefer, "Aus dem Bereich der Mission in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 3 (1902 1901): 579.

1926, and finally the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Windhoek in 1994. The construction of the St. Mary's Cathedral (*St. Marien-Kathedrale*) took place between 1906 and 1908.

4.1.3 Religious Institutions and their Relation to Colonization

There is a large secondary literature on the connections between missions and colonization in Namibia.[669] Scholars have studied the role of the missionaries in the territory for the time before it became, during, and after it had been the German protectorate.

Missionaries in Africa did not only bring Christianity to the locals, they first and foremost brought their European lifestyle.[670] Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn created "missionary trade colonies" in Namibia in order to make life in Namibia more like life in Central Europe. In his diaries and reports to the RMG, he repeatedly described the hardships of having to provide for a standard of living worthy of Europeans, and he wanted assistance from others. This is how the idea of having missionary colonists come and help him came to his mind. In the 1860s, he advocated for the creation of "missionary trade colonies" (*Missionshandelskolonien*). Johann Wilhelm Redecker was among the first missionary colonists (*Missionskolonisten*) and while not being a missionary, he reported on their

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669 Heinrich Loth, *Die christliche Mission in Südwestafrika; zur destruktiven Rolle der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft beim Prozess der Staatsbildung in Südwestafrika (1842-1893)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963); Lothar Engel, *Kolonialismus und Nationalismus im deutschen Protestantismus in Namibia 1907 bis 1945: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission und Kirche im ehemaligen Kolonial- und Mandatsgebiet Südwestafrika*, Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums 7 (Bern: Lang, 1976); Ernst Dammann, "Die deutsche Mission in den ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Klaus Bade (Steiner, 1982), 289–305; Horst Gründer, "Deutsche Missionsgesellschaften auf dem Wege zur Kolonialmission," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Klaus Bade (Steiner, 1982), 68–102; Lothar Engel, "Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft und die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Südwestafrika 1884-1915," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Klaus Bade (Steiner, 1982), 142–64; Niels-Peter Moritzen, "Koloniale Konzepte der protestantischen Mission," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Klaus Bade (Steiner, 1982), 51–67; Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus: eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen Kolonialzeit (1884-1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas*, Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982); Thomas Braun, *Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft und der Missionshandel im 19. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1992); Jan-Bart Gewald, "Flags, Funerals and Fanfares: Herero and Missionary Contestations of the Acceptable, 1900-1940," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15, no. 1 (2002): 105–17; Thorsten Altena, *"Ein Häuflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils": zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika, 1884-1918* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2003); John H Darch, *Missionary Imperialists?: Missionaries, Government and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860-1885* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009); Christian Albrecht, *Friedrich Fabri und seine Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2010).

670 Martin Ballard, *White Men's God: The Extraordinary Story of Missionaries in Africa* (Oxford, England; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood World Pub., 2008).

progress in letters he sent to the headquarters of the Rhenish Missionary Society in Germany between 1866 and 1870.

In Argentina, scholars have neglected to study possible connections between the Protestant church and colonization in Argentina. The relation between colonization and the churches was more complex or hidden. Particularly in Buenos Aires, the German-speaking church served as a meeting place for important merchants, companies, and other colonization players – they also contributed financially to the maintenance of the church. Church records list the individual amounts that people and companies donated to the church.

4.2 Ensuring the Transmission of Knowledge

The link between German cultural identity and the German language rendered teaching and maintenance of the language abroad extremely important in the eyes of German-speakers. In Central Europe, the *Allgemeiner Schulverein* (General School Association), founded on 2 July 1880 in Vienna, pushed for the importance of schools and teaching German abroad as being central for the development and maintenance of German trade relations and colonization.[671] But not only in Germany did people consider schools important – the very first German-speaking migrants to the South Atlantic wished for their children to be educated in German. They either sent their children back to Germany for schooling, or – gradually – starting setting up their own schools in the South Atlantic.

At first, German-speakers in the South Atlantic just wanted to teach their children their own language so that they could communicate with them. Later, the German Empire and Germans in Europe also became interested in the power that came with maintaining a population abroad. For example, Boers were asked to learn German in the German protectorate of Namibia in order to integrate into German society.

Looking to Europe for best education, merchants and missionaries first sent their children to "Germany" for schooling after the 1800s. Even a century later, the German newspapers in Argentina still advertised schools in Europe, most of these institutions being

[671] "Deutscher Schulverein," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1906), 738.

located in Switzerland and catering to wealthier Germans.[672] Still in 1891, Georg Gürich documented that German missionaries were accompanying their children from the interior to Walvis Bay from where they were sent to school either in Cape Town or in Germany.[673]

4.2.1 Private Schools and School Associations in Argentina

After the 1890s, German schools in Argentina were organized more thoroughly as private associations founded and maintained by the children's parents. The Buenos Aires School association formed in 1898. Numerous school associations across Argentina in other larger cities and colonies, such as Bahia Blanca, followed. These associations founded and maintained the schools. Later, in cooperation with the German Empire, these schools were included in the system of "German schools abroad" (*Deutsche Auslandsschulen*).

The first school in Argentina started as the Sunday school of the Protestant German church on Esmeralda Street in 1843.[674] Johann Gottfried Hermann Frers (*1823, Hohenwesenstedt, Schleswig-Holstein – 1890, Buenos Aires) arrived in Argentina as the first teacher for the German Protestant school.[675] In 1856, the German Protestant school counted about eighty children who were taught by two teachers.[676] In 1876, the school required that admitted children already have received basic instruction in German.[677] In 1880, W. Imhof announced that the Sunday school instruction no longer took place on Sundays, but rather on Wednesday evenings between eight and ten o'clock.[678] The school

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672 Christian Heusser, "Colegio en Suiza," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 28, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Julius Woeniger zu Schwerin in Meckleburg (Deutschland), "Pensionat für Söhne aus den gebildeten Ständen," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, December 29, 1877; "Schon oft sind wir nach guten Schulanstalten in der alten Heimath gefragt worden von Eltern, welche ihre Söhne in Europa erziehen lassen wollten ...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, June 18, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Töchterpensionat Freiegg, Herisau (Schweiz)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 2, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

673 Gürich, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*, 21.

674 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 133.

675 Ibid., 187; Eduardo José Cárdenas and Carlos Manuel Payá, *La familia de Octavio Bunge* (Buenos Aires: Edición Sudamericana, 1995), 41.

676 C. Wolff, "Die Religionsfreiheit in der Argentinischen Republik I. [Preußische Correspondenz, 1856, No. 129. Berlin, den 5. Juni 1856]" (R. Decker, June 5, 1856), EZA 5/2061, p. 303.

677 A. Titius, "Deutsche Evangelische Gemeindeschule," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 2, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

678 Wilhelm Imhof, "Sonntagsschule," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

accepted children aged five and older.[679] The first kindergarten in Argentina opened in 1869 under Leopold Böhm. [680]

In Namibia, missionaries set up a school for locals to be trained as missionaries: the *Augustineum*. Children of (white) missionaries and merchants were first taught at home in small groups by private teachers. Only around 1900 did the colonial government step in and regulate schooling for German children in Namibia. The first school association there was planned in Lüderitzbucht in 1909. The Swakopmund school association formed in 1919, after WWI, when Namibia was no longer under formal German control and German-speakers had to organize their community life without any aid from the German Empire. In 1908, a total of 287 white children (138 boys und 149 girls) were schooled in the German protectorate South-West Africa; of those, 246 were Protestant, 29 Catholic, and 12 Jewish.[681]

4.2.2 Private Schools and School Associations in Namibia

The Women's Association of the Colonial Society started the construction of the Keetmanshoop Heimathaus in 1910[682] and the first German girls were sent to Namibia in 1911.[683] They were supposed to learn how to be good German wives to farmers in Namibia. Also in 1911, the Youth House Lüderitzbucht (*Jugendheim Lüdritzbucht*) was founded as a place where young children could be taken care of while their mothers were busy keeping the household.[684] The children were supposed to be raised as good Germans.

4.2.3 Agricultural Schools

679 Herold, "Deutsche Gemeindeschule," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

680 Wilhelm Lütge, Werner Hoffmann, and Karl Wilhelm Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien* (Buenos Aires: Deutscher Klub, 1955), 190 Throughout their "History of German-ness in Argentina," Lütge et al. dedicated sections to the further development of German schools. See also 336.

681 "Schulwesen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika."

682 Else von Boetticher, *Das Heimathaus in Keetmanshoop und das Jugendheim in Lüderitzbucht, die 'Adda v. Liliencron-Stiftung!* (Berlin: (Linden-Druckerei), 1914), 4.

683 Ibid., 8.

684 Ibid., 12.

In 1899, the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture regimented "practical agricultural schools" (*escuelas prácticas de agricultura*).[685] The three years of coursework included Spanish classes, math, geography and history of Argentina, and sciences, in addition to more specialized subjects such as agriculture, horticulture and arboriculture, chemistry, physics and meteorology applied to agriculture, hygiene of animals and plant diseases, topography, rural construction and machinery, economy, administration, and rural accountancy. Students had to be between 14 and 22 years of age and of good health. The same decree that created these schools also regulated the creation of agronomic stations. As of 1903, the state continued to be responsible for the practical agricultural schools.[686]

In 1914, E. W. Schmidt claimed that colonization in Argentina should be carried out jointly by private individuals and the state in order to be successful.[687] The Argentine ministry of agriculture set up schools for colonists where they should learn to plant more successfully in order to maintain Argentina's status on the world market as a grain exporter.[688]

4.3 Local Newspapers as Communication Hubs

Print media played an important role in the German colonies in the South Atlantic. All newspapers provide rich sources for the German-speaking colony life on both sides of the South Atlantic. They were an important means of communication and distribution of information. In Argentina, for most of the period under study, two newspaper houses, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* and the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, competed and represented different political views: the *La Plata Zeitung* was considered pro-empire and the

685 [Argentinean Vice-president] and Emilio Frers, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 21 August 1899]" (Buenos Aires, August 21, 1899), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2652 D del año 1899].

686 [Julio Argentino] Roca and Wenceslao Escalante, "El Senado Cámara de Diputados de la Nacion Argentina reunidos en Congreso etc..." (Buenos Aires, June 10, 1903), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1549 del año 1903].

687 E. W. Schmidt, "Entwicklungstendenzen der argentinischen Landwirtschaft," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 246.

688 Ibid., 248.

Argentinisches Tageblatt pro-republic.[689] The Alemann family founded the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* and it is still operating it today. The *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* has more complicated origins, with several newspapers being merged and passed around until the Tjarks family operated it between 1880 and WWII.

While in Argentina the newspapers were operated by family companies and became family institutions, newspapers in Namibia covered different geographical areas and linked interests. In both places, the newspapers served as mouthpieces for associations and as a means of distributing advertisements for products and services available in the colonies. And the German government – through consulates in Argentina and the protectorate government in Namibia – also used the newspapers as a way to distribute information. Most of the articles were in German, but early on in Argentina, advertisements and job offers were either printed in Spanish or bilingual. Only during WWI did Germans also publish a magazine entirely in the Spanish language in order to provide non-German Argentineans with "more information" on the German Empire.

The early history of the daily German La Plata Newspaper, the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (DLPZ), is difficult to trace for several reasons: firstly, various small German newspapers, with lesser and greater success, merged at times, and secondly, the newspaper(s) changed names various times in the early days. The DLPZ only was stable after 1878, when it obtained the name *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, and in particular after the Tjarks family took it over in 1880[690] and ran it for two generations until 1945. The chronicle of the German Health Association from 1957, for example, dated the founding of the DLPZ to 1863.[691] On 12 April 1863, Leopold Ferdinand Boehm and Heinrich Curth, operating under the name Boehm & Curth, founded the weekly *La Plata Zeitung* as Argentina's first German newspaper and, according to Arndt and Olson, the editors of a compilation on German-language newspapers throughout South America, this date has been considered the

689 Georg Ismar, *Der Pressekrieg argentinisches Tageblatt und deutsche La Plata Zeitung 1933 - 1945* (Berlin: wvb Wiss. Verl., 2006).

690 Hermann Tjarks, "Wie die Leser der 'Deutschen La Plata Zeitung' aus dem Vorstehenden ersehen, ist die Direktion dieses Blattes sowie die 'Imprenta Germania' in meine Hände übergegangen," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 9, 1880, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina They later added the weekly "Deutsche La Plata Post."; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 241.

691 Wilfred von Oven, *100 Jahre Deutscher Krankenverein: 1857-1957; ein Jahrhundert deutsch-argentinischer Gemeinschaft im Spiegel des Wachsens und Werdens ihrer grössten und bedeutendsten Vereinigung* (Buenos Aires: Impr. Mercur, 1957), 17.

birthdate of the German-language press in Argentina.[692] But this newspaper didn't last long and on 17 March 1865, Curth founded the *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*.[693] One year later, Curth sold that newspaper to Richard Th. Napp, and it lasted until 26 October 1870.[694] While there was some continuation in the staff, the 1863 newspaper was a different one from the 1865 one.

Meanwhile, a new newspaper started on 2 July 1870 under the name *Freie Presse* (Free Press).[695] The *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata* (*German Newspaper: Organ of the Germanic Population at the Rio de la Plata*) was founded in 1871 by the company Ruhland & Reinhardt, with Richard Napp and Luis Wagenknecht as editors.[696] It appeared three times a week: on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. At the beginning of the year 1872, the owners of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Ruhland & Reinhardt, bought the *Freie Presse* and merged the two. Beginning 10 May 1874, the newspaper was issued under the name *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*. Arndt and Olson thus date the beginning of the DLPZ to 10 May 1874.[697] However, between 14 June 1877 and 21 March 1878, the paper was sold under the title *Die Heimath, Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*.[698] Then, in 1880, Hermann Tjarks bought the DLPZ and led it to great success. In 1910, Hermann Tjarks published a special festive edition for the Argentine centenary of 1910.[699] In 1913, Paul Gast, the editor of the Bulletin of the German South-American Institute in Berlin, reprinted various articles from the DLPZ and the AT in order to provide a larger audience in Germany for these articles published in Argentina.[700]

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692 Karl John Richard Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *The German Language Press of the Americas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973), 36.

693 Ibid.

694 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 238–39.

695 Arndt and Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, 36.

696 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 240; Arndt and Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, 56.

697 Arndt and Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, 50.

698 Ibid.

699 Hermann Tjarks, *Zur Jahrhundertfeier Argentiniens 1910: Festausgabe der Deutschen La Plata Zeitung und La Plata Post* (Buenos Aires: Hermann Tjarks & Cía, 1910).

700 Paul Gast, ed., "Deutsche La-Plata-Zeitung (Buenos Aires): Ein Stimmungsbericht über die argentinische Wirtschaftslage," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 134–35; Paul Gast, ed., "Deutsche La-Plata-Zeitung (Buenos Aires): Ein Leitartikel," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 135–37; Paul Gast, ed., "Argentinisches Tageblatt (Buenos Aires): Deutschland und Argentinien," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 137–40.

The *Argentinisches Tageblatt* (AT) would become the other great German-language newspaper of the German-speaking community in Argentina. This newspaper was entirely undertaken as a family business by the Swiss-German Alemann family. While Wilhelm Peuser had founded a newspaper under the name *Argentinisch-Deutsches Wochenblatt* in 1874, it only lasted until 30 May 1876. That same year Suter, with the Alemanns, advertised as a German-Swiss information bureau.[701] On 8 March 1878, the Alemann family started the weekly *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*,[702] and then launched the daily *Argentinisches Tageblatt* on 29 April 1889.[703] By 1898, the AT was a stock company (*Aktiengesellschaft*).[704] The AT is the only German-language newspaper still published today in Argentina. At several occasions, the AT edited anniversary publications, as for example In 1940, when it celebrated its fiftieth[705] and in 1989 for its 100th anniversary.[706]

During WWII, the AT functioned as a mouthpiece for German-speaking democratic and Jewish migrants.[707] The DLPZ and the AT clashed during WWII, when the AT represented resistance to the Nazi regime while the DLPZ fully embraced it.[708] However tensions between the two newspapers appeared already at the beginning of the twentieth century. In particular in 1907, numerous articles accused the other paper of "attacks,"[709] "polemics,"[710] and "castigation."[711] Katrin Hoffmann has analyzed the role of the editors Theodor Alemann (AT) and Hermann Tjarks (DLPZ) in the construction of a German-speaking community during

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701 Alemann and Suter, "Deutsch-Schweizerische Agentur von Alemann & Suter."

702 Arndt and Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, 37.

703 "An unsere Leser!"

704 "Aktiengesellschaft 'Argentinisches Wochen- & Tageblatt' [...] Ordentliche General-Versammlung," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, March 10, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

705 Peter Bussemeyer, *50 Jahre Argentinisches Tageblatt, Werden und Aufstieg einer Auslanddeutschen Zeitung* ([n.p., 1940).

706 Alemann S.R.L., *Argentinisches Tageblatt im hundertsten Jahrgang 1889-29. April - 1989: Sonderdruck aus der Jubiläumsausgabe vom 29. April 1988* (Buenos Aires: Alemann S.R.L., 1988).

707 Groth, *Das Argentinische Tageblatt*.

708 See Ismar, *Der Pressekrieg argentinisches Tageblatt und deutsche La Plata Zeitung 1933 - 1945*.

709 "Die 'Deutsche La Plata Zeitung' unternimmt wieder einmal einen grimmingen Angriff auf - unsere Abonnennten!," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 4, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

710 "Es ist immer ein schlimmes Zeichen, wenn die 'Deutsche La Plata Zeitung' im Laufe einer Polemik 'zahlreiche Glückwünsche' aus ihrem Leserkreis empfängt," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 5, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

711 "Ein Mitleidiger. Ihre Geißelung der Dr. Dr. lit. et hum. vom 'Argent. Tageblatt' haben wir erhalten ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, February 10, 1907, sec. Briefkasten der Redaktion, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

WWI.[712] She was very skeptical of the idea that there was a community – a coherent group – of German-speakers in Argentina during WWI. She rather claimed that the German colony was fractured and not unified. But I think that her conception of "community" is too narrow.

Both the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* and the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* published several articles about German South-West Africa. In January, the DLPZ published an article about the situation in German South-West Africa, focusing on the problems the German Empire had with its protectorate and the indigenous population in particular.[713] In February, the AT countered this "official news coverage" with article from its own informant, someone who had lived in Argentina for some time and had now been in Namibia for some years.[714] The author pointed out the good climate for Europeans and the good conditions for Germans to settle; he described the Herero and Nama as practicing "Ackerbau und Viehzucht" and suggested that blacks should be models [*Vorbilder*] for European colonists. He also opined that Germany still had made no progress with regards to useful colonization in Namibia.

Other newspapers included the *Buenos Aires Handelszeitung*, published by the Banco Tornquist between 1888 and 1924, the *Argentinischer Volksfreund*, published by Volga-Germans (but addressed to all Catholic German-speakers) in Buenos Aires between 1895 and 1960,[715] as well as *the Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt der La Plata Synode*, and *Vorwärts*, the newspaper of the German-speaking socialists. During WWI, the journal *Germania* was published in Buenos Aires in the Spanish language. This journal had the purpose of educating the Argentinean population about the German empire during World War I.[716]

Also very active in Argentina were publishing houses and libraries founded by German-speakers: the Kraft publishing house was founded in 1864 and the Peuser publishing house in 1867.[717] Peuser advertised frequently in the German-speaking

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[712] Katrin Hoffmann, "¿Construyendo una 'comunidad'? Theodor Alemann y Hermann Tjarks como voceros de la prensa germanoparlante en Buenos Aires, 1914-1918," *Iberoamericana* 9, no. 33 (2009): 121–38.

[713] "Die Lage in Deutschsüdwestafrika," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 4, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[714] L., "Ueber Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 18, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[715] "Argentinischer Volksfreund," *Argentinischer Volksfreund*, accessed February 12, 2017, https://argentinischervolksfreund.wordpress.com/; Arndt and Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, 44.

[716] "La prensa nacional y 'Germania,'" *Germania* 1, no. 8 (September 16, 1915).

[717] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 238.

newspapers in Argentina.[718] Other printing houses were the Imprenta Germania,[719] Heidtmann & Cia,[720] and J. Weiss & Preusche.[721] The German-speaking bookstores in Buenos Aires included Ristenpart's[722] and Ernst Nolte's[723] bookstore. German-speakers in Argentina played an important role in the production and re-production of tangible knowledge.

In Namibia, the weekly newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger* started in Windhoek in 1898[724] before it was moved to Swakopmund three years later and renamed the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung*.[725] German-speakers in Southern Namibia started their own local newspapers with the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung* in 1909[726] and the *Keetmanhooper Zeitung* in 1913.[727] In addition, German-speaking Protestants published a church paper for German South-West Africa.[728] In 2001, Carsten von Nahmen published a book on the history of German-speaking media in Namibia.[729] Eberhard Hofmann claims that German-language media in Namibia always wanted to be independent from the political regimes and managed to do so in different degrees – from its beginnings around 1900, throughout German imperial rule, under the South African government, and finally under independence since 1990.[730] In 1899, the German Colonial Society advertised their bookstore in Swakopmund

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718 "Die Buchbinderei von Jacob Peuser befindet sich ab jetzt ...," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, December 4, 1872; "Buchhandlung Jacobo Peuser," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 8, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Jacobo Peuser, "Deutsche Buchhandlung von Jacobo Peuser," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

719 "Imprenta Germania," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 1, 1878.

720 "Buchdruckerei und Lithographie von A. Heidtmann & Cia.," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

721 "Imprenta, Fotograbados, Tricromías: J. Weiss & Preusche, Grabadores é impresores de la revista Germania," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

722 Ristenpart & Co., "Die Buchhandlung von H. Ristenpart & Co.," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 13, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

723 Ernst Nolte, "Libreria Alemana - Deutsche Buchhandlung: Ernst Nolte, Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, April 4, 1885, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

724 "Leser im Schutzgebiet bitten wir ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, NAN.

725 Eberhard Hofmann, "'Denn was du schwarz auf weiß besitzt ...': Ein Blick auf die Medien," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 158–59.

726 Die Schriftleitung der Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung, "Einleitung. Der Wunsch nach einem eigenen Organ hat sich schon seit längerer Zeit im Süden fühlbar gemacht," *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*, February 13, 1909, SBB - Westhafen.

727 "Zur Einführung," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, April 24, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

728 *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Swakopmund: Swakopmunder Buchhandlung, 1914).

729 Carsten von Nahmen, *Deutschsprachige Medien in Namibia: vom Windhoeker Anzeiger zum Deutschen Hörfunkprogramm der Namibian Broadcasting Corporation: Geschichte, Bedeutung und Funktion der deutschsprachigen Medien in Namibia, 1898-1998* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2001).

730 Hofmann, "'Denn was du schwarz auf weiß besitzt ...': Ein Blick auf die Medien."

with books in German, English, Dutch and French in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*.[731] The *Swakopmunder Buchhandlung* (Swakopmund bookstore) was founded in 1900 and is still operating today.

In addition to the locally published newspapers, many German-speakers in the South Atlantic also read the publications of the German Colonial Society, the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (German Colonial Newspaper). The first issue was published in 1884 and included an article about "Land and People in Argentina" by Ernst Bachmann.[732] Another prominent publication for German-speakers abroad was the magazine *Kolonie und Heimat* (Colony and Home).[733] The *Südwestafrikanische Gemeindeblatt* (South-West African Church Paper) was published by the Protestant-Lutheran Synod of South Africa in Cape Town by 1909.[734]

4.4 Leisure Associations as a Means to Strengthen German-ness

On both sides of the South Atlantic, German-speakers founded leisure associations. The aim was to not only practice activities in their free time but rather to unite German-speakers and strengthen their group feeling. Leading leisure activities were sports and music, in particular gymnastics and choir singing. Both have been said to promote German nationalism. More overt in pursuing nationalist goals were ethnic clubs composed of German-speakers.

4.4.1 Sports Clubs

According to historian Anne Saint Sauveur-Henn, a first German leisure association in Buenos Aires existed already in 1820, with Franz Halbach as a member.[735] The most prominent German leisure association in Buenos Aires, however, has been the German Club

731 "Buchhandlung der Deutschen Colonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika in Swakopmund: Grosses Lager von Büchern in deutscher, englischer, holländischer und französischer Sprache," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, September 14, 1899, NAN.

732 Ernst Bachmann, "Land und Leute in Argentinien," in *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, ed. Richard Lesser, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag des Deutschen Kolonialvereins, 1884), 8–11, 35–37, 56–59.

733 Catherine Repussard, *Idéologie coloniale et imaginaire mythique: la revue Kolonie und Heimat de 1909 à 1914*, Faustus, études germaniques (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2014).

734 Sch., "Koloniales. Die evangelische Kirche in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika im 25. Jahre deutscher Herrschaft."

735 Saint Sauveur-Henn, *Un siècle d'émigration allemande vers l'Argentine*, 32.

(*Deutscher Klub*), which even continues to this day.[736] Over time, it has gone through some changes: it started out as with the name German Gymnastics Club (*Deutscher Turnverein*) in 1855 as a club for affluent men; today it counts both men and women among its members. While it originally focused on German-speakers only, today's club is a member of the *Club Europeo* (European Club), which assembles the clubs historically formed as institutions of the different migrant groups originating from Europe.[737] Four members of the Hamburg Gymnastics Association first founded the German Club as the German Gymnastics Association (*Deutscher Turnverein*) on 18 October 1855.[738] Mostly newly arrived migrants but also already established people were among the founders: Hugo Bunge, Germán Frers, and Adolf Bullrich, just to mention a few.[739] The *Turnverein* frequently organized garden concerts in the 1870s[740] and also a German gymnastics fest in 1876.[741] At times, the localities of the *Turnverein* were also used for political events like Wilhelm Vallentin's lecture on colonial-political studies of Argentina in 1904.[742] In 1910, the association changed its name to *Deutscher Klub* (German Club).[743] In 1913, the club also supported German contemporary art in Argentina.[744] The club remains active, and in 2005 some of its members published a comprehensive history of the 150 years of the club's history.[745] Due to its exclusive membership and interest in activities other than gymnastics, certain members split off and founded the *Neuer Deutscher Turnverein* (New German Gymnastics Association or NDT) in 1911.[746] In 1912, they published their own statutes.[747] They became a member of

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736 "Club Alemán en Buenos Aires - Deutscher Klub in Buenos Aires," accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.clubaleman.com.ar/.

737 "Club Europeo," accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.clubeuropeo.com/.

738 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 146, 151, 190.

739 Ibid., 191.

740 "Deutscher Turnverein [...] Zweites Gartenconzert," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 7, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutscher Turnvereien [...] Fünftes Garten-Concert," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 19, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

741 "Das deutsche Turnfest," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, October 11, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

742 Wilhelm Vallentin, *Kolonialpolitische Studien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Argentiniens: Vortrag im grossen Saale des Deutschen Turnvereins zu Buenos Aires am 25. August 1904* (Buenos Aires: [s.n.], 1904).

743 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 301.

744 Sociedad promotra del arte alemán en el exterior, *Segunda Exposición de Arte Alemán Contemporáneo, Buenos Aires 1913* (Buenos Aires: Club Alemán, 1913).

745 Deutscher Klub, ed., *Club Alemán en Buenos Aires: su sesquicentenario. Un recorrido por sus 150 años de vida*, 1. ed. (Buenos Aires: Club Alemán, 2005).

746 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 301.

747 *Neuer Deutscher Turnverein Buenos Aires: Satzungen* (Buenos Aires: Herpig, 1912).

the German Gymnastics Syndicate.[748] Its twenty-fifth anniversary book in 1936 used Nazi terminology: "*25jährige völkische Deutschtumsarbeit in Uebersee,*"[749] which could be translated at "twenty-five years of maintaining folkish/racial German-ness overseas." Then there was also a Swiss gymnastics club in Buenos Aires,[750] which helped out the NDT in its beginnings by lending them gymnastics equipment.[751]

In Namibia, the gymnastics associations were founded much later than in Argentina. According to Günter F. Kesselmann, the men's gymnastics club Swakopmund was founded on 4 December 1898.[752] Anyone who was older than eighteen and not in "conscious opposition to German-ness" could become a member if authorized to do so by the monthly assembly.[753] In January 1900, people got together to discuss the founding of such an association in Windhoek.[754] It was founded in the following month, on 15 February 1900.[755] The declared purpose of the *Turnverein Windhuk* was the "opportunity to provide lessons in regulated gymnastics as a means for corporal and moral invigoration, as well as the maintenance of German national consciousness and patriotism."[756] By 1903, the *Turnverein Windhuk* addressed the Imperial government to request the status of a legal person (*juristische Person*) in order to be able to purchase a locale for the training sessions.[757] Being

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748 "Neuer Deutscher Turnverein, Mitglied der Deutschen Turnerschaft," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

749 *25 Jahre Neuer Deutscher Turnverein, Buenos Aires: 1911-1936* (Neuer Dt. Turnverein, 1936).

750 "Schweizer Turnverein," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 30, 1907, sec. advertisements, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Schweizer Turnverein," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 5, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

751 *25 Jahre Neuer Deutscher Turnverein, Buenos Aires*, 3–5.

752 Günter F. Kesselmann, "Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei: Der Turnverein als gesellschaftlicher Faktor in Südwestafrika," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 414.

753 "Satzungen des Männer-Turnvereins Swakopmund," September 9, 1910, BArch R 1001/1737, pag. 65-73"Mitglied des Vereins kann jeder Unbescholtene werden, welcher 18 Jahre alt ist und sich nicht im bewussten Gegensatz zum Deutschtum befindet, sofern die Monatsversammlung die Aufnahme genehmigt."

754 "Am 6. d. Mts. Abends, fand in Folge ergangener Einladung im Utz'schen Lokale eine Versammlung statt zwecks Berathung über die eventl. Gründung eines Turnvereins ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 17, 1900, NAN.

755 "Satzungen des Turnvereins Windhuk in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika" (Druck von Weber und Weidemeyer, 1909), BArch R 1001/1737, pag. 75; According to Kesselmann, it was founded a day later, on Februrary 16, 1900, see Kesselmann, "Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei: Der Turnverein als gesellschaftlicher Faktor in Südwestafrika," 414.

756 "Zweck, Name und Sitz des Vereins [Turnverein Windhuk]," n.d., BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 36-38"Der Zweck des unter dem Namen „Turnverein Windhuk" bestehenden Vereins ist, Gelegenheit zur Anleitung von geregelten Turnübungen zu geben, als eines Mittels zur körperlichen und sittlichen Kräftigung; sowie die Pflege deutschen Volksbewusstseins und vaterländischer Gesinnung.".

757 Thomas and Rudat, "Turnverein Windhuk to Kaiserliches Gouvernement," August 18, 1903, BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 22.

located in the protectorate, the club needed the approval of the German *Bundesrat* ("Federal Council"). Governor Theodor Leutwein supported this requested an added in his letter to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin that this case should be seen a precedent for more cases and that German legislation should apply to the protectorate in the case of clubs.[758] There were also gymnastics clubs in other parts of Namibia. The Gymnastics Club Karibib was founded on May 6, 1905.[759] Men's Gymnastics Club in Usakos was on the list of associations in Namibia in 1910.[760] In 1913, the Gymnastics Club Keetmanshoop celebrated its sixth anniversary.[761]

Gymnastics Club[762]	Founding Date	Members
Männerturnverein Swakopmund	4 December1908	80
Turnverein Windhoek	16 February 1900	180
Turnverein Gut Heil Keetmanshoop	1 May 1907	82
Männerturnverein Lüderitzbucht	26 November 1907	170
Männerturnverein Usakos	27 February 1908	35
Männerturnverein Tsumeb	3 February 1918	90
Schutztruppen Turnverein Aus	20 December 1919	?
Turnverein Kolmanskoppe	22 November 1926	75
Turnverein DV Okahandja	13 March 1927	25
Turnabteilunf DV Omaruru	29 June 1927	25
TV Walfischbucht Deutscher Klub	4 August 1927	51
Turnabteilung DV Othiwarongo Deutsche Kamaraden	?	18

758 [Theodor Gotthilf] Leutwein, "Kaiserliches Gouvernement für Südwest-Afrika in Windhoek an die Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin," September 8, 1903, BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 21.

759 "Satzungen des Männer-Turn-Vereins Karibib in Deusch-Südwest-Afrika. Gegründet am 6. Mai 1905," May 6, 1905, BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 110-116.

760 "[list associations/clubs in German South-West Africa]," April 1910, BArch R 1001/1737, pag. 1.

761 "Sein sechstes Stiftungsfest feiert der Turnverein „Gut Heil" ...," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, May 29, 1913, sec. Aus Keetmanshoop, SBB - Westhafen.

762 Information taken from: Kesselmann, "Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei: Der Turnverein als gesellschaftlicher Faktor in Südwestafrika," 414.

Another pastime, similar to gymnastics, was the shooting association (*Schützenverein*). In Argentina, the Swiss were the first to form their own shooting association: on 23 June 1872, the Swiss Shooting Association (*Société de Tir Suisse – Schweizer-Schuetzengesellschaft*) was founded in Belgrano.[763] In 1914, a Buenos Aires Shooting Association (*Schützenverein* Buenos Aires) advertised in the DLPZ.[764] Across the Atlantic, the Windhoek *Schützenverein* formed in 1894.[765] In 1898, the Windhoek *Schützenverein* announced its upcoming meetings in the newspaper *Windhuker Anzeiger*.[766] The meetings took place in the pub of A. Schmerenbeck.[767] At its fifth anniversary, Governor Leutwein was named honorary president of the association.[768] A *Schützenverein* in both Karibib and Jakobswater was included in the list of German associations in Namibia in 1903.[769] A *Schützenverein* in Okahandja and a *Schützengilde* in Buca were listed in 1910.[770] Likewise, a *Schützenverein* in Tsumeb was listed in 1912,[771] and one in Kuibis in 1914.[772] There was also a *Renn-Verein* in Keetmanshoop in 1913.[773] In Argentina, other pastimes included soccer and rowing: there were a German Soccer Club Buenos Aires[774] and a Soccer Club Victoria[775] by 1907. The rowing club Teutonia was founded in 1890,[776] which still exists today.[777]

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763 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 14; 1876, the DLPZ noted it to be the Swiss shooting association of Buenos Aires: J. Dufour, "Schweizer Schützen-Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 30, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; ; and in 1883, the AT noted it as being located in Belgrano: "Schweizer Schützengesellschaft in Belgrano," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

764 "Schützen-Verein Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

765 "Mit dem 25. d. Mts. trat der Schützenverein zu Windhoek in das fünfte Jahr seines Bestehns ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 30, 1899, NAN.

766 "Schützenverein Windhoek," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 27, 1898, NAN.

767 "Schützenverein Windhoek," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 5, 1899, NAN.

768 "Mit dem 25. d. Mts. trat der Schützenverein zu Windhoek in das fünfte Jahr seines Bestehns ..."

769 "[list of associations/clubs in German South-West Africa]," March 1903, BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 1.

770 "[list associations/clubs in German South-West Africa]."

771 "[list of associations/clubs in German South-West Africa]," 1912, BArch R 1001/1738, pag. 2.

772 "[list of associations/clubs in German South-West Africa]," April 1914, BArch R 1001/1740, pag. 1.

773 "Renn-Verein," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, April 24, 1913, sec. Aus Keetmanshoop, SBB - Westhafen.

774 "Deutscher Fußballklub Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 4, 1907, sec. Vereinsnachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

775 "Fußballklub Victoria," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 7, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

776 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 301.

777 "Club de Remo Teutonia," accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.rvteutonia.org/.

4.4.2 Music Associations and Entertainment Clubs

The other important pastimes of South Atlantic German-speakers with "nationalist" intentions were choral societies and entertainment clubs. There were numerous choral societies that lasted several years or decades. For examples, in Argentina, the singing and entertainment club Germania was founded on 10 December 1855, as a continuation of the school and church choir that the teacher Hermann Frers had assembled.[778] The *Gesang- und Geselligkeitsverein* Teutonia (choral society and social club) formed in 1861. [779] Subsequently, it was only advertised as Club Teutonia in the DLPZ.[780] In 1865, the choral society *Heimat* was founded in Buenos Aires.[781] The German Men's Choral Society Buenos Aires (*Deutscher Männer-Gesangverein*) was very active between the 1880s and the 1920s, giving various concerts[782] and organizing other events for its members, like an excursion to the Suisse-German shooting club in April 1907.[783] There was also the German Sing Academy in Buenos Aires,[784] the German music Association Buenos Aires[785] with a mixed choir, the singing association *Eintracht*, founded in 1894,[786] and Swiss men's choirs in Rosario[787] and

778 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 192; "Gesangverein 'Germania' [...] 1855 Gegründet 1855," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Vereins-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

779 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 192.

780 "Club Teutonia," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 20, 1866.

781 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 197.

782 "Deutscher Männergesangs-Verein [...] Familien-Conzert," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1880, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "'Deutsche Männer-Gesangverein Buenos Aires' 10. Konzert," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, July 19, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutscher Männergesangverein Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, September 17, 1907, sec. Vereins-Nachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutscher Männergesangverein Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutscher Männergesangsverein Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 5, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

783 "Der Deutsche Männergesangverein Buenos Aires hat für nächsten Sonntag, den 21. April, einen Ausflug nach dem Tiro Suizo in Belgrano angesetzt ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 16, 1907, sec. Vereins-Nachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

784 "Deutsche Sing-Akademie in Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 3, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Deutsche Singakademie," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 20, 1878.

785 "Deutscher Musikverein Buenos Aires. Gemischter Chor," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 25, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

786 "Gesangverein Eintracht," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 31, 1907, sec. Vereins-Nachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Leopold Franke, "Gesang-verein 'Eintracht' Buenos Aires. Gegründet am 2. August 1894," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 6, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

787 "Der Schweizer Männerchor in Rosario ...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 1, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Buenos Aires.[788] The Swiss Union (*Union Suisse*) was founded on 14 June 1882 with the aim to found a band and organize concerts.[789] Moritz Alemann was a member. In 1883, the Swiss Union celebrated its first anniversary.[790]

In Namibia, the *Gesang-Verein* was advertised in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* in October 1898.[791] The *Swakopmunder Männergesang-Verein* was founded in 1902 and continues to be active today with the proclaimed aim of cultivating the German folksong.[792] The men's *Gesang-Verein* Lüderitzbucht was advertised in December 1909 in the *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*.[793]

In addition to the leisure associations, there were a few German companies that provided leisure entertainment in form of opera and theatre: for example, in 1876, a certain Mr. Schumann advertised his "large transatlantic company" in the DLPZ[794] and in 1907, two German opera companies advertised: the *Oden-Theater* and the *Teatro de la Opera*.[795]

4.4.3 Ethno-National Clubs

Clubs organized according to shared national origin only existed in Argentina and not in Namibia. These clubs were Swiss, Austro-Hungarian, and German. In 1898, the AT published the statues of the Swiss-Argentinean Club (*Club Suizo-Argentino*).[796] In the same year, Swiss

788 "Schweizer Männerchor Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 21, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

789 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 11.

790 "Das erste Stiftungsfest der 'Union Suisse,'" *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, June 23, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

791 Gebhardt, "Gesang-Verein," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 27, 1898, NAN.

792 "Swakopmunder Männergesangverein von 1902," accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.smgv02.com/.

793 "Männer-Gesangs-Verein, Lüderitzbucht. Feier des Weihnachts-Festes," *Lüderitzbuchter Zeitung*, December 11, 1909, SBB - Westhafen.

794 "Teatro Colon: Große transatlantische Compagnie des Herrn Schumann," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 28, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

795 "Oden-Theater: Deutsche Opern- und Operetten-Gesellschaft: Empresa Da Rosa," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Theater-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Teatro de la Opera: Deutsche Operetten-Gesellschaft, Empresa Donndorff," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Theater-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Teatro de la Opera: Deutsche Operetten-Gesellschaft, Empresa Donndorff," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 7, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

796 "Statuten des 'Club Suizo-Argentino' mit Sitz in Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 2, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

associations considered joining together to cooperate.[797] The Austro-Hungarian Club was founded in 1906.[798] The DLPZ advertised a German Club (*Deutscher Verein*) in 1876,[799] and a German Club Buenos Aires (*Deutscher Verein Buenos Aires*) as having been founded in 1906.[800]

4.5 Philanthropic and Health Associations to Elevate the Destitute

In Central Europe, with rising concerns about the growing poverty of workers related to increasing industrialization and urbanization, private individuals and groups attempted to find solutions to deteriorating lifestyles and the risk of workers "drifting into sinful lives." In Namibia, this movement was also called an "internal mission," like in the German Empire. The term "internal mission" was also at times used interchangeably with "internal colonization": a means to educate and orient poorer people and help them back on the track of "civilization." While in Namibia some of these institutions, like hospitals, were put in place with the help of missionaries and religiously motivated people, in Argentina these activities were mostly the work of mutual aid societies that emerged out of German-speaking civil society. The Argentinean Social Museum (*Museo Social Argentino*) formed in 1911 in order to study and improve the socio-economic living conditions of Argentineans.[801] Gustavo Niederlein represented the Argentinean Social Museum at the World Exhibition in Ghent, Belgium in 1913.[802] In 1915, Emilio Frers was director of Argentinean Social Museum, and

[797] "Das Einigungsprojekt der Schweizervereine," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 10, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[798] "Oesterreich-Ungar. Club, gegründet Januar 1906."

[799] "Deutscher Verein [...] Generalversammlung," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 28, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[800] "Deutscher Verein Buenos Aires. Gegründet am 25. Juni 1906. Sonnabend, den 5. Januar 1905 abends 10 Uhr: Neujahrs-Ball im Saale "La Argentina ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, sec. Vereins-Anzeigen, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[801] Instituto de Informacion, Estudio y Accion Sociales, ed., *Museo Social Argentina 1911* (Buenos Aires: Gran Campaña Social, 1911).

[802] Becerra, "La economía social argentina en las exposiciones internacionales. La Exhibición del Museo Social Argentino en la Exposición Universal e Industrial de Gante (1913)," in *Argentina en exposición: ferias y exhibiciones durante los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Andrea Lluch and María Silvia Di Liscia (Sevilla: CSIC, 2009), 209–38.

the German Scientific Society Buenos Aires encouraged its members to also support the Social Museum by becoming members.[803]

In Argentina, the *Asociación Filantropica de Inmigración* (Philantropic Immigration Association) was founded in 1857. According to Lütge et al., German-speakers were heavily involved in this association: Franz Halbach was one of first directors and other German members included Eduardo Freyer, Enrique Lorenz, Germán Burmeister, Germán Roosen, E. Schröder, and R. Kratzenstein,[804] with Jorge Tornquist as secretary.[805] Its promotion of immigration was closely linked to the promotion of colonization in Argentina.

On 15 June 1882, German-speakers then founded an association specifically to aid Germans in Argentina, the Association for the Protection of German Migrants (*Verein zum Schutze Germanischer Einwanderer*).[806] It is important to note here that the reference chosen was "*germanisch*" and not "*deutsch*" as it was more inclusive term directed at German-speakers and not to citizens of the German nation-state. The association had its own information office in Buenos Aires by 1883[807] and received financial support from the Argentinean government.[808] Its aim was to support German migrants in Argentina, and particularly to help the unemployed find jobs. In 1884, Francisco Seeber was the president of the association and published the annual report.[809] Other prominent members were Ernst Bachmann, Ernst Nolte, and Juan and Moritz Alemann.[810] In 1897, the association counted Otto Staube, Th. Hegenbath, Rudolf Boesenberg, Herman Tjarks, and Moritz Alemann among

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803 "Zeitschrift des Deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins zur Kultur- und Landeskunde Argentiniens.," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins zur Kultur- und Landeskunde Argentiniens.*, 1915.

804 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 223.

805 Jorge Gilbert, "Ernesto Tornquist, entre los negocios y las políticas económicas," *Revista de Instituciones, Ideas y Mercados*, no. 58 (May 2013): 74.

806 "Wichtig für Auswanderer nach Argentinien! Verein zum Schutze Germanischer Einwanderer (Philantropische Gesellschaft) Sociedad Protectora de Inmigrantes Germanicos. Gegründet 1882 Buenos Aires Calle (Strasse) Moreno 740.," n.d., EZA 200/1/1768, pg. 80; Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 75–76; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 301; Bachmann wrote that the association was founded on 10 June 1882. Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 7.

807 "Der hiesige Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderung hat nun schon seit längerer Zeit in Aussicht genommen ständige Auskunfs- und Nachweisungs-Bureau nunmehr eröffnet," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, February 17, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina. Seeber later became mayor of Buenos Aires.

808 Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 76.

809 Francisco Seeber, "Verein zum Schutze Germanischer Einwanderer. Bericht für das Jahr 1884," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, February 8, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 64.

810 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 7.

its active members.[811] The Berlin Federal Archives hold the associations' reports for the years 1904 and 1905.[812] In 1905, the association changed its name to Association for the Promotion of German Migration (*Verein zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung*).[813] In 1906, the association published its own handbook – not only did it aim at promoting migration to Argentina with advice for newly arriving migrants, now it had also added the promotion of German colonization, i.e. the settlement and agricultural use of land, to its statues.[814] However, according to Georg Hiller, who worked for the Central Information Bureau for Migrants (*Zentral-Auskunftsstelle für Auswanderer*) of the German Empire in Berlin, the colonization project remained unsuccessful and the association changed its name back to the previous one in 1909. The journal *Süd-Amerika* likewise focused a 1908 article about the organization entirely on employment success stories in Argentina rather than colonization projects.[815] Throughout WWI, the association also advertised bilingually, in German and Spanish: "*Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderer – Sociedad Protectora de Inmigrantes Germánicos*."[816]

In Argentina, German-speaking socialists founded the association *Vorwärts* on 1 January 1882.[817] They had great influence on the founding of a socialist movement in Argentina.[818] Both the AT and the DLPZ frequently reported on the events of the association,

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811 "Bericht des Vereins zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderer in Buenos Aires für das Jahr 1897," 1897, 70, BArch R 901/30411, pag. 70.

812 "Jahresbericht des Vereins zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung für das Jahr 1904 (Buenos Aires)" 1906, BArch R 901/30418, pag. 64-66; "Jahresbericht des Vereins zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung für das Jahr 1905 (Buenos Aires)" 1906, BArch R 901/30418, pag. 61-63.

813 Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 76.

814 Verein zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung in Buenos Aires, *Argentinien als Ziel für germanische Auswanderung: Handbuch herausgegeben vom Verein zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung in Buenos Aires; nebst einem Stadtplan und der neuesten Eisenbahnkarte* (Buenos Aires: Buchdruckerei von H. Herpig, 1906).

815 "Der Verein zum Schutze und zur Förderung deutscher Einwanderer in Buenos Aires," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, November 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 60.

816 Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderer. Sociedad Protectora de Inmigrantes Germánicos, "Germanen, welche Arbeitskräfte irgendwelcher Berufsarbeit benötigen, werden höflichst gebeten, sich an den Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderer zu wenden," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

817 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 16; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 301.

818 Alfredo Bauer, *La Asociación Vorwärts y la lucha democrática en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Legasa, 1989); Sandra Carreras, Horacio Tarcus, and Jessica Zeller, eds., *Los socialistas alemanes y la formación del movimiento obrero argentino: antología del Vorwärts, 1886-1901 = Die deutschen Sozialisten und die Anfänge der argentinischen Arbeiterbewegung*, Ed. bilingüe (Buenos Aires: Buenos Libros; IAIPK Instituto Ibero-Americano Patrimonio Cultural Prussiano; CeDinCi Editores, 2008).

such as anniversaries or carnival balls.[819] 1907, the association specifically announced that it was the assembly point for German-speaking socialists in Buenos Aires.[820] The association also published its own journal with the same name. In Namibia, the Association Against Alcoholism (*Alkoholgegnerbündnis*) had the name *Vorwärts*.[821] It also published a journal with this name in 1914.[822]

In Namibia, citizens organized in at least two cities: in 1910, the Association of Swakopmund Citizens (*Verein Swakopmunder Bürger*) put together their statutes, and in 1913, the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* published a brief article on its citizen association (*Bürgerverein Keetmanshoop*).[823]

Name	Date	Seat
Philanthropic Immigration Association (*Asociación Filantropica de Inmigración*)	1857	Buenos Aires
German Health Association (*Deutscher Krankenverein*)	1857	Buenos Aires
German Hospital Association (*Deutscher Hospitalverein*)	1867	Buenos Aires
Austrian Aid Society (*Österreichischer Hülfsverein*)	1878	Buenos Aires
Association Vorwärts *(Verein Vorwärts)*	1882	Buenos Aires
Association for the Protection of German Migrants (*Verein zum Schutze Germanischer Einwanderer)/* [Association for the Promotion of German Migration (*Verein zur Förderung germanischer Einwanderung*)]	1882/ [1904-1909]	Buenos Aires

819 "Das Stiftungsfest des Vereins 'Vorwärts' ...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 3, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Verein Vorwärts: Sonntag den 10. Feburar Abends 10 Uhr: 1. Maskenball," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 7, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

820 "Verein Vorwärts," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 2, 1907, sec. advertisements, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

821 "Akten-Vermerk [Vorwärts]," 1914, NAN ZBU 1017 J.XIV.A.2, p.3.

822 [Theodor] Seitz, "Kaiserlicher Gouverneur von Deutsch-Südwestafrika an das Kaiserliche Bezirks-Distrikts-Amt," August 24, 1914, NAN ZBU 1017 J.XIV.A.2, p.7; "Unser 'Vorwärts' ...," *"Vorwärts" - Mitteilungen des Alkoholgegnerbundes für D.-S.-W.-A.* 1, no. 3 (September 1, 1914).

823 "Satzungen des Vereins Swakopmunder Bürger," 1910, BArch R 1001/1737, pag. 3; "Bürgerverein," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, April 24, 1913, sec. Aus Keetmanshoop, SBB - Westhafen.

Swiss Philanthropic Society (*Schweizer Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft*)	1895	Buenos Aires
Austro-Hungarian Philanthropic Society Franz Josef I. (*Sociedad de Beneficiencia Austro-Hungaro Francisco José I.)*	1905	Buenos Aires
Association of Swakopmund Citizens (*Verein Swakopmunder Bürger*)	1910	Swakopmund
Argentinean Social Museum (*Museo Social Argentino*)[824]	1911	Buenos Aires
Citizen Association Keetmanshoop (*Bürgerverein Keetmanshoop*)	1913	Keetmanshoop
Johanniter Krankenhaus	1913	
German Philanthropic Society (*Deutsche Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft*)	1917	Buenos Aires

In Argentina, German-speakers founded their own health associations as a form of mutual aid society. The Swiss Philanthropic Society (*Philantrophique Suisse*) was founded on 17 March 1861 with the aim to support all Swiss who had experienced misfortune without being blamed.[825] The Swiss Health Aid Society (*Schweizer Kranken-Unterstuetzungsverein Helvetia*) formed on 1 September 1871.[826] In the same year, the *Deutsche Zeitung* advertised a Swiss Aid Society (*Schweizer Hülfsverein*).[827] The DLPZ advertised a Swiss Philanthropic Society (*Société Suisse Philantrophique*) in 1878.[828] According to Lütge at al. the Swiss Philanthropic Society (*Schweizer Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft*) was founded in 1895.[829] The Austrian Aid Society (*Österreichischer Hülfsverein*) was founded on 14 April 1878 to support Austrians in case of disease or other miseries.[830]

[824] The Argentinean Social Museum was not founded by German-speakers, but at times influential German-speakers were involved in this institution, like Emilio Frers and Gustavo Niederlein.

[825] "Schweizer Philantropischer Verein (Gegründet den 17. März 1861)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 7, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[826] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 36.

[827] "Schweizerische-Hülfs-Gesellschaft," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.

[828] J. Dufour, "Société Philanthropique Suisse à Buenos Aires," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 4, 1878.

[829] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 303.

[830] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 244.

The German Health Association (*Deutscher Krankenverein*) was founded on 23 March 1857.[831] A hundred year later, its centenary publication claimed it to be the largest and most important association of the German-Argentinean community.[832] The DPLZ, and later the AT as well, reported regularly on the improvement and growth of the German Health Association.

At a meeting of the German Health Association, some members decided that they wanted to found a hospital for poor Germans in Buenos Aires. For that project, they founded another association: the German Hospital Association (*Deutscher Hospitalverein*) on 20 August 1867.[833] Some Germans had already been playing with the idea of a hospital as the next project after the creation of a Protestant German church in 1855,[834] but this project would take another twenty years to became realized.

The German Hospital opened on 14 April 1875.[835] The majority of the patients treated at the hospital were poor people who were treated at no cost.[836] In 1889, emphasis was still put on the hospital being for mainly for German and related patients ("*deutsche und stammverwandte Kranke germanischer Zunge*") if they could prove they had little means; but it was also announced that paying patients would be kept in separate rooms.[837] By 1907, the hospital distinguished between first- and second-class patients – the first class cost twice as much as the second – but Germans and German-speakers still had to become members of the Hospital association and pay an annual membership fee.[838] In 1920, the migration office in Berlin of the Weimar Republic wrote that the German hospital participated in the

831 "Deutscher Kranken-Verein Buenos Aires, gegründet im Jahre 1857," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 8; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 198.

832 Oven, *100 Jahre Deutscher Krankenverein*.

833 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 5; Benjamin Bryce, "Los caballeros de beneficencia y las damas organizadoras: El Hospital Alemán y la idea de comunidad en Buenos Aires, 1880-1930," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 84.

834 "Unterstützung, Auszüge [...] Süd-Amerika [...] Buenos Ayres," 1855, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 44.

835 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 5; José Greger, *Die Republik Argentinien. Reisehandbuch für Geschäftsleute, Fremde und Auswanderer*, Second edition (Basel und Buenos Aires: Verlag von José Greger, 1887), 570.

836 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 6.

837 "Deutsches Hospital," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 7, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

838 "Deutsches Hospital," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 30, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

competition of highly qualified specialists and medical institutions and was among the most highly ranked in Buenos Aires.[839]

In 1898, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Kranken-Unterstützungskasse* met in the headquarters of the socialist association Vorwärts.[840] On its website, the German Philanthropic Society (*Deutsche Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaft*) claims that it was founded on 23 April 1917,[841] but the DLPZ advertised a German Philanthropic Society already in April 1916.[842]

In Namibia, the wives of Rhenish missionaries often worked as nurses. Missionary Kleinschmidt set up a health station (*Krankenstation*) in Rehoboth in 1850.[843] The first doctor of the German colonial troops (*Schutztruppe*), Dr. Richter, arrived in March 1893.[844] In 1903, Franciscan nuns started working in the Windhoek military hospital; the Windhoek Catholic Hospital was opened in 1906, followed by the Catholic Antonius Hospital in Swakopmund in 1907.[845] The Windhoek Elisabeth House served as a maternity ward between 1908 and 1981 and was operated by the German Red Cross.[846] Around 1905, two German government hospitals were set up in Lüderitzbucht and Swakopmund (the latter with segregated beds: 20 for whites and 33 for blacks); 1910 a government hospital with 14 beds was opened in Windhoek.[847] In 1913, the Johanniter hospital was inaugurated in Keetmanshoop.[848] The German government medical system ended in 1915 with South African occupation.

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839 Reichswanderungsamt Berlin, "Merkblatt Nr. 5 (2. Auflage): Aussichten für Ärzte in Argentinien," 1920, 5, BArch R 8023/114, pag. 117.

840 "Allgemeine Deutsche Kranken-Unterstützungskasse," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 29, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

841 "Quiénes Somos," *DWG - Sociedad Alemana de Beneficiencia*, 2017, http://www.dwg.org.ar/quienes-somos.php.

842 "Deutsche Wohltätigkeits-Gesellschaft [...] Gebt Arbeit!," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 13, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

843 Norbert Forster, "Für alle wird gesorgt: Die Entwicklung des Gesundheitswesens," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 167.

844 Ibid., 168.

845 Ibid., 169.

846 Ibid.

847 Ibid.

848 "Einweihung des Johanniter-Krankenhauses," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, July 28, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

4.6 Conclusion

Scholars have studied the missionaries, merchants, and traders who went to the South Atlantic. But people were never only merchants or only missionaries. Early missionaries in Namibia brought with them their lifestyle, their eating habits, clothing habits, and so on, which differed from those habits of established locals. Merchants in Argentina were not just merchants, they brought their beliefs and cultural systems with them, and many of them were Lutherans. For many German-speakers, religion was an important component of their identity: many identified as Christians, as either Lutherans or Roman Catholics, and some identified as Jews.

Setting up churches and schools was a way for German-speakers to practice, maintain, and further "civilization." "Civilization," in their eyes, meant progress and superiority. Leisure associations were a sign of a superior lifestyle as freetime was only available to the burgeois (*Bürgerliche*).[849] Taking care of the poor and organizing health care was also signs of civilization.

As we have discussed in this chapter, German-speakers set up many of these shared institutions in the South Atlantic, including houses of worship (divided along denominational lines), German-language schools, and newspapers. German-speaking associations and social clubs were separated along political and regional lines – for example, Swiss, Austrian, and (regional) German associations co-existed – but in Argentina they all united together under an umbrella association, the *deutscher Volksbund*, during World War I, and then again in 1955 under the Federation of German-Argentine Associations (F.A.A.G.).[850] All of the associations discussed in this chapter helped foster a shared "German," and later still, "German-speaking" identity by providing places for reunion, exchange of ideas, and cooperation.

[849] See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[850] Rodolfo Hepe, *Crónica sobre 50 años de historia: Federación de Asociaciones Argentino-Germanas = Chronik über 50 Jahre Geschichte. Verband der deutsch-argentinischen Vereinigungen* (Buenos Aires: FAAG, 2005).

Chapter 5. Associations and Companies for Enterprise and Expanding German Markets

German-speakers had economic interests in both Argentina and Namibia. In 1851, Gottfried Wilhelm Kerst lamented the fact that, while the national assembly of 1848 had planned on treating emigration as a "national cause," with its dissolution this idea also disappeared.[851] He wished that it would be picked up by the German customs union (*Zollverein*).[852] He dreamed of a large German population in the River Plate maintaining an intimate relation to the "mother country" (*Mutterland*) in order for Germany to maintain its "trade-political" (*handelspolitisch*) independence in the future.[853] This German population should operate under the protection of the German *Zollverein* in order to compete with the British, the French, and the North Americans,[854] but would also require a strong German navy. In 1884, Ernst Bachmann claimed that the great migration flows of Germans should be redirected from North America – where they were absorbed into the industry (*Industrievolk*) – to the South American east coast where Germans could develop a new market for export trade, industry and its productive forces and provide space for German colonization projects.[855] By 1916, Otto Kasdorf argued that strong German activity in Argentina would ensure the independence of South American countries and prevent U.S., British, and French dominance in the continent.[856] He portrayed Germany as South America's friend.[857] He also criticized companies that used "international money" and thus served nations other than Germany, as for example Liebig Co. with its seat in London.[858]

In addition to the non-profit associations discussed in the previous chapter, South Atlantic German-speakers also founded a variety of associations that functioned as for-profit companies. In this chapter, we will thus discuss the trade companies, banks and insurance companies, colonization companies and associations, companies involved in large-scale

851 Samuel Gottfried Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay. Vortrag, gehalten in der Sitzung des Berliner Vereins zur Centralisation deutscher Auswanderung und Colonisation am 8. October 1851* (Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld, 1851), 2.
852 Ibid., 3.
853 Ibid., 14.
854 Ibid., 15.
855 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 2.
856 Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 67.
857 Ibid., 68.
858 Ibid., 70.

production of foodstuffs, as well as those companies that brought new technological tools to the South Atlantic.

5.1 Trade Companies as Link between South Atlantic and Central Europe

Trade companies served as an important link between German-speakers in Central Europe and the South Atlantic. Some have proven to be fleeting ventures, lasting only a few decades, while others continue to function as connections between the continents today. Viewed as a whole, these companies contributed to the increase of the German interaction in the world market. Various address books and calendars were published in the South Atlantic by and for German-speakers. All of these publications included lists of trade companies. In 1873, the Buenos Aires publishing house Ruhland & Reinhardt published the German La Plata Calendar.[859] Ernst Bachmann, journalist and temporary Argentine consul in Europe, published two yearbooks of the German Colony in Buenos Aires, one in 1884 and one in 1886.[860] In 1896, Gustav Meinecke included an article on German colonization aims in non-German countries in his Colonial Yearbook. [861] This article discussed the *Südamerikanische Kolonisationsgesellschaft* (South American Colonization Society) headed by Ernst Hasse. In 1914, the publishing house Verlag Amerika's Address Book of Germans Abroad had a volume on South America.[862] In 1945, Argentine scholar Luis Víctor Sommi published the history of expansion of German capital in Argentina.[863] Then, there are also publications by historians that provide information on German companies in Argentina: In 1948, U.S. scholar Fred Rippy published on German investments in Argentina.[864] In 1977, Ronald Newton assembled a detailed history of German merchants and trade companies in

859 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*.

860 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884; Ernst Bachmann, ed., *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, Second Edition (Buenos Aires: Hugo Kunz & Cia., 1886).

861 Gustav Meinecke, ed., "Deutsche Kolonisationsbestrebungen in nichtdeutschen Ländern," *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis. Achter Jahrgang. Das Jahr 1895* 8 (1896): 14–15.

862 Verlag Amerika, *Adressbuch der Deutschen im Auslande, I. Band: Südamerika* (Berlin: Verlag Amerika, 1914).

863 Luis Víctor Sommi, *Los capitales alemanes en la Argentina: Historia de su expansión* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1945).

864 J. Fred Rippy, "German Investments in Argentina," *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* 21, no. 1 (1948): 50–54.

Buenos Aires prior to WWII.[865] In 2007, Thomas Fischer published on German merchants in Latin America between 1830 and 1930.[866]

Publications on German companies in Namibia include: 1903 Pierre Decharme's book in French on German colonial companies and societies.[867] In 1904, the German colonial handbook was published,[868] and in 1907, von der Heydt's colonial handbook was published.[869] Johannes Tesch published a yearly colonial-trade address book.[870] In 1908, the first address book just for German South-West Africa was published in Berlin.[871] In the rest of this section we will discuss some of the companies that were succesful in the longterm. Several of the trade companies and societies active in the South Atlantic in the early 1800s originated in the Rhineland, including the *Rheinisch-Westindische Companie* (Rhenish West-Indian Company) – active in Argentina – and the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* (Rhenish Missionary Society) – active in Namibia.

The Rhenish-West-Indian Company was founded in Elberfeld, Germany on 30 March 1821 in order to export German goods ("*Teutsche Fabrikate*") to the West Indies, North and South America.[872] It included export of linen, cotton, wool, silk, iron, and metal goods ("*Quincaillerie*"). The editor of the journal publishing the statute of the Rhenish-West-Indian Company added a postscript stating, "Finally the time has come for us Germans ("*wir Teutschen*") to awaken from our disgracing somnolence, to act and do, instead of just lamenting disdainfully, when we can help ourselves."[873] In 1823, Friedrich Wilhelm Schmaling was nominated as representative of the Rhenish-Westindian Company in Buenos

865 Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933*.

866 Thomas Fischer, "Deutsche Kaufleute in Lateinamerika - 1830 bis 1930," in *Deutsche in der Fremde: Assimilation, Abgrenzung, Integration*, ed. Torsten Kühlmann and Bernd Müller-Jacquier (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2007), 163–90.

867 Pierre Decharme, *Compagnies et sociétés coloniales allemandes* (Paris: Masson et cie, 1903).

868 Rudolf Fitzner, ed., *Deutsches Kolonial-Handbuch nach amtlichen Quellen bearbeitet* (Berlin: Paetel, 1904).

869 von der Heydt, *Von der Heydt's Kolonial-Handbuch, Jahrbuch der deutschen Kolonial- und Uebersee-Unternehmungen. Herausgegeben von Franz Mensch und Julius Hellmann...* (Berlin: Verlag für Börsen- und Finanzliteratur, 1907); Franz Mensch and Julius Hellmann, eds., *Von der Heydt's Kolonial-Handbuch: Jahrbuch der deutschen Kolonial- und Uebersee-Unternehmungen*, vol. 5 (Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg: Verlag für Börsen- und Finanzliteratur, 1911); Franz Mensch and Julius Hellmann, eds., *Von der Heydt's Kolonial-Handbuch: Jahrbuch der deutschen Kolonial- und Uebersee-Unternehmungen*, vol. 7 (Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg: Verlag für Börsen- und Finanzliteratur, 1913).

870 Johannes Tesch, ed., *Kolonial-Handels-Adressbuch 1912 (16. Jahrgang)*, vol. 16 (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1912); Johannes Tesch, ed., *Kolonial-Handels-Adressbuch 1914 (18. Jahrgang)*, vol. 18 (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1914).

871 *Adressbuch für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Paetel, 1908).

872 Friedrich Justin Bertuch, ed., "Statuten der Rheinisch-Westindischen Companie," *Neue allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* 10 (1822): 21–31.

873 Ibid., 31.

Aires ("*Plata Strom*").[874] The report of the 1826 directorial meeting described the difficulties with flour export from Elberfeld to Buenos Aires, due to both war between Argentina and Brazil, and changing commercial relations between Germany and the Netherlands with regards to access to the Rhine River.[875] While the *Political Journal* from 1826 claimed that the company focused on the import of flour,[876] Otto Quelle wrote in 1919 that the company – at least in Argentina – focused on the import of textiles.[877] In 1825, it named a Prussian trade agent for Buenos Aires.[878] In 1915, August Beckmann published a dissertation on the company.[879] According to an article published by Otto Quelle from the German-South-American and Iberian Institute on the trade relations between the Rhineland and Latin America in 1919, the Rhenish-West-Indian Company was active in Buenos Aires between 1822 and September 1831, as the Buenos Aires branch was closed in 1831.[880] Historian Michael Zeuske has told the story of the Rhenish-West-Indian Company and provided statistics on trade between Germany and Argentina for the years 1821 to 1826 which showed that trade steadily increased during those years.[881] They traded in goods that included linen, wool, and cotton.

The Rhenish Missionary Society was founded in Elberfeld in 1828. It became active north of the Orange River, in Southern Africa after 1840.[882] Missionaries traded with the locals; this was called "missionary trade" (*Missionshandel*).[883] In 1863, the missionaries founded a missionary colony [*Missionskolonie*] and took up trade with the indigenous

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874 C. C. Becher, "Folgender Vortrag wurde in der Direktorialraths-Versammlung der Rheinische-Westindischen Kompanie, zu Elberfeld, am 26. Juli 1823 gehalten...," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 28, 1823, Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung edition, 570.

875 "Die Rheinisch-Westindische Companie," *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und anderen Sachen*, 1826, 414.

876 Ibid., 411.

877 Otto Quelle, ed., "Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Handelsbeziehungen mit Lateinamerika," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1919), 73.

878 "Mit den Niederlanden und Frankreich steht die Republik bereits in förmlichen Handels-Verbindungen, die Rheinisch-Westindische Compagnie handelt besonders nach Mexiko und auch Preußische Handels-Agenten sind bereits in Mexiko, wie in Buenos Ayres, ernannt." "Historisch-politische Übersicht des Jahrs 1825," *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und anderen Sachen*, 1826, 113.

879 August Beckmann, *Die Rheinisch-Westindische Kompagnie, ihr Wirken und ihre Bedeutung* (Borna-Leipzig: Robert Noske, 1915).

880 Quelle, "Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Handelsbeziehungen mit Lateinamerika."

881 Zeuske, "Deutsche 'Hinterländer' und Amerika: Die sächsischen Mitglieder der 'Rheinisch-Westindischen Compagnie' 1820-1830."

882 See the archives of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMG) in Wuppertal, Germany.

883 Thomas Braun, *Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft und der Missionshandel im 19. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1992), 11.

population, mainly the Nama- and Herero-speakers.[884] They also founded the Missionary Trade Stock Company (*Missions-Handels-Actien-Gesellschaft* – MHAG) in 1870 under inspector Friedrich Fabri who had imperialist leanings.[885] The company operated until 1881. Thomas Braun has studied nineteenth-century RMG trade in Namibia and portrayed the development and set up of the trade company and trade posts.[886]

The Damara and Namaqua Trade Company (*Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft*) was founded in Hamburg in 1894.[887] In 1899, a subsidiary opened in Swakopmund.[888] In 1899, the Damara and Namaqua Trade Company advertised the Woermann shipping line in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*.[889] In 1909, Adolph and Eduard Woermann, Max Brock and Arnold Amsinck took over the company and renamed it Woermann, Brock & Co.[890] The *Swakopmunder Handelsgesellschaft* was a subcompany of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für SüdwestAfrika, founded in 1900 with its seat in Berlin.[891] A list of trade houses in Swakopmund in 1907 included: Georg Ahrens, Boysen Wulff & Co., Erhard und Schultz, Haensgen und Baumgarten i. Liqu., L. Koch Nachfolger, Mertens & Sichel Ges. m. b. H., Robert Schurig, Swakopmunder Buchhandlung Ges. m b. H., Wecke & Voigts and Westafrikanische Handels-Gesellschaft Gerecke & Hill.[892] The Deutsch-Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft was active in Namibia in the 1920s.[893]

Many of the early trade companies with seats in the South Atlantic were also family companies; that is to say, they were run by one or several families and over multiple generations. Many of them are still operating today. In Namibia, such companies included Mertens & Sichel, Schmerenbeck, and Wecke & Voigts. In the 1890s, these companies set up

884 Bade, "Missionsarbeit, überseeische Politik und Auswanderungsfrage," 93.

885 Braun, *Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, 11.

886 Braun, *Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*.

887 "Damara- und Namaqua-Handels-Gesellschaft m.B.H.," December 3, 1894, BArch R 1001/1630, pag. 12.

888 "Bekanntmachung. In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichts zu Swakopmund ist heute zufolge Anmeldung vom 30. Oktober/14. November 1899 unter No. 9 die in Swakopmund errichtete Zweigniederlassung der Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft m. b. H. unter der Firma 'Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft m. b. H., Zweigniederlassung Swakopmund' eingetragen worden ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 23, 1899, NAN.

889 Damara- und Namaqua-Handels-Gesellschaft, "Woermann-Linie," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, May 25, 1899, NAN.

890 Adolph Woermann et al., "Die Unterzeichneten haben am 1. April d. J. die Firma Woermann, Brock & Co. errichtet ...," April 1909, BArch R 1001/1630, pag. 34.

891 "Swakopmunder Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H.," April 12, 1900, BArch R 1001/1668, pag. 2.

892 "Gründungs-Urkunde des Verbandes selbstständiger Kaufleute Swakopmunds," June 15, 1907, BArch R 1001/1736, pag. 93-94.

893 "[Deutsch-Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft]," October 1926, BArch R 1001/1732, pag. 3.

stores in Windhoek.[894] By 1888-89, the German merchants Mertens and Sichel had already set up a warehouse in Walvis Bay.[895] In 1898, Mertens & Sichel advertised in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* as an import and export business[896] and and purveyor of articles such as photography equipment.[897] In 1899, they opened an additional branch in Rehoboth.[898] A. Schmerenbeck announced the selling of land in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* in 1898.[899] In 1898, Wecke & Voigts also advertised its import-export business in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger.*[900] In 1899, Richard Voigts, another Voigts brother, joined the company as co-owner.[901] In the 1910s, Wecke & Voigts regularly reported their beverage stock to the protectorate government.[902] Contemporary writer Hans Grimm dedicated one of his books to a biography of Gustav Voigts, where he portrays Voigts life.[903] Other trade companies mentioned in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* include Alexander Lübbert & Co.[904] in 1898, Wronsky & Co.[905] and Jacques Sander[906] in 1899, and Denker & Co.[907] in 1900. Georg Gürich worte in his travel

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894 Kurd Schwabe, "Die Entwickelung des Handels und der Siedelung," in *Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Vier Kriegs- und Wanderjahre*, Second Edition (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1904), 359.

895 Gürich, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*, 19.

896 "Mertens & Sichel [...] Import und Export," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, NAN.

897 Mertens & Sichel, "Für Photographen und Amateure!," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, NAN.

898 Richter, "Bekanntmachung. In das Firmenregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichtes zu Windhoek ist heute bei Nr. 9 unter der Firma 'Mertens & Sichel' die in Rehoboth errichtete Zweigniederlassung ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 21, 1899, NAN.

899 A. Schmerenbeck, "Land-Verkauf," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 24, 1898, NAN.

900 Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts [...] Import - Export: 100 Pferde, dreijährig, stehen zum Verkauf auf Farm Voigtland," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 27, 1898, NAN.

901 Wecke & Voigts, "Wir bringen hiermit zur öffentlichen Kenntniss, dass wir Herrn Richard Voigts v. 1. Januar 1899 an als Theilhaber in unsere Firma aufgenommen haben," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 30, 1899, NAN.

902 Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk," August 2, 1910, NAN BWI 429; Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk; Getränkeanmeldung," May 7, 1911, NAN BWI 429; Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk; Getränkeanmeldung," July 6, 1911, NAN BWI 429; Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk," May 4, 1913, NAN BWI 429; Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk," November 1, 1914, NAN BWI 429; Wecke & Voigts and Möhring, "Wecke & Voigts, Aris an das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt Windhuk," December 10, 1914, NAN BWI 429.

903 Hans Grimm, *Gustav Voigts: ein Leben in Deutsch-Südwest [Afrika]*, Third edition (Gütersloh [Germany]: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1942).

904 Richter, "Bekanntmachung. In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichts in Windhoek ist unter [...] unter der Firma Alexander Lübbert & Co. mit dem Sitze in Hatzamas errichtete offene Handelsgesellschaft, ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 27, 1898, NAN.

905 Der Kaiserliche Richter, "Oeffentliche Zustellung. Die offene Handelsgesellschaft W. Wronsky & Co. zu Omaruru ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 19, 1899, NAN.

906 Richter, "Bekanntmachung. In das Firmenregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichtes zu Windhoek ist heute unter Nr. 8 die Firma Jacques Sander zu Windhoek [...] eingetragen worden," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 30, 1899, NAN.

account from 1889 that all German companies [*Gesellschaften*] had an agent in Cape Town.[908] An example for a German company he gave was Poppe, Russouw & Cie. in Cape Town.[909]

In Argentina, Johann Christian Zimmermann was among the first successful German-speaking merchants to establish themselves. In 1817, he was involved in founding the company Zimmermann, Frazier & Co., which was involved in the shipping business in Argentina.[910] Lütge et al. have portrayed the history of German merchant houses in Argentina in the nineteenth century in detail.[911] Trade between Buenos Aires and Hamburg was important throughout the nineteenth century. In her 2003 study, Annette Christine Vogt has put the story of the Wappäus family in the context of Hamburg-South America trade relations and the emerging world market of the nineteenth century.[912] Johann Eduard Wappäus (*1812, Hamburg – 1879, Göttingen), the professor in Göttingen who published intensively on German migration to and colonization in South America, came from this Hamburg merchant family active in trade with South America. Other authors have pointed out the importance of Hamburg for trade with Argentina.[913] Juan Alemann even wrote in his travel writing that Argentineans thought Hamburg must be for Germany like Paris was for France. His grandson Ernesto Alemann wrote his dissertation on trade with Hamburg in 1915.[914]

Ernst Bachmann wrote that in 1837, Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfurt am Main had consuls in Buenos Aires, and there were four large German trade houses: Bunge, Huetz & Co. (founded again as Bunge, Bornefeld & Comp. on January 1, 1849), Zimmermann, Frazier & Comp., Mohr & Ludovici and C.H. Andersen (continued as Klick & Comp. after 1838).[915]

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907 Richter, "Bekanntmachung. In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichts zu Windhoek ist heute unter No. 8 die am 1. Juli 1898 unter der Firma M. Denker & Co. mit dem Sitze in Okahandka errichtete offene Handelsgesellschaft ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 17, 1900, NAN.

908 Gürich, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*, 9.

909 Ibid.

910 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 140.

911 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*.

912 In her introduction, Vogt stated that scholars have not agreed upon a single definition of the "world market" and its emergence, see Annette Christine Vogt, *Ein Hamburger Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Welthandels im 19. Jahrhundert: die Kaufmannsreederei Wappäus im internationalen Handel Venezuelas und der dänischen sowie niederländischen Antillen* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003).

913 Jörn Helmuth Arfs, *Die Beziehungen der Hansestadt Hamburg zu den La Plata-Staaten, 1815-1866*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Überseegeschichte 1 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1991).

914 Alemann, *Hamburgs Schiffahrt und Handel nach dem La Plata*.

915 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 4.

Company owners thus also served as consuls. This testified to a connection between trade and government representation carried out by individuals. Bachmann asserted that many trade houses founded in Buenos Aires in the 1840s did not survive until 1884,[916] and many of those that did repeatedly changed names over the course of decades. O. Bemberg (founded in 1856) changed to Bemberg, Heimendahl & Comp. in 1864; A. Mantels (founded in 1857) changed to Mantells & Pfeiffer in 1860; Altgelt, Ferber & Comp. (founded in 1857) changed to Ferber, Huehn & Comp. in 1864 and became Ernesto Tornquist & Comp. in 1872; H. Peltzer & Comp. (founded in 1862) became Succesores Theodor Bracht & Comp. in 1867; Koenig, Boese & Comp. (founded in 1869) became Koenig, Rhodius & Comp. in 1874, then changed to Th. Koenig & Comp. in 1876, before becoming Hardt, Koch & Comp. in 1879.[917] Bachmann stated that despite a large part of German trade houses exporting local products (*Landesproducte*) to English, Belgian, and French ports, three German steamer lines were busy to assure the transportation of goods between Buenos Aires and Hamburg and Bremen.[918]

Much has been written about Ernesto Tornquist y Cía. His companies were involved in various areas. In 1873, he was involved in the sugar industry,[919] but also with the *saladeros* [meat and fish salting] and the *frigoríficos* [freezers].[920] In 1874, Tornquist incorporated the bank "Altgelt, Färber & Cia." with Albert de Bary from Bremen as partner.[921] Between 1883 and 1908, Tornquist's economic activity and involvement included companies both in Argentina as well as in Antwerp.[922] In 1907, the DLPZ wrote the following lines about Tornquist:

> Mr. Ernesto Tornquist is a native Argentinean and as such highly esteemed by both locals and foreigners; he is currently even a member of the national chamber of deputies. We, however, also value him as a one of the most distinguished German-Argentineans, who, like Francisco Seeber and Dr. Emilio Frers, never disclaim their German upbringing and have preserved vivid sympathies for Germanness, and who know how advocate for it if necessary. Being the director of one of the oldest German companies [in Argentina], Mr.

916 Ibid., 13.
917 Ibid.
918 Ibid.
919 Institución Ernesto Tornquist., *Ernesto Tornquist, 1842-1942* (Buenos Aires: Talleres de la Compañía Impresora Argentina s.a., 1942), 23 ff.
920 Ibid., 31 ff.
921 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 237.
922 Gilbert, "Ernesto Tornquist, entre los negocios y las políticas económicas," 59.

> Ernesto Tornquist is yet considered as respected member of our German colony, where he [counts] so many his friends.[923]

In 1908, the journal *Süd-Amerika* dedicated an article to Ernesto Tornquist and praised his achievements in Argentina as a German-Argentinean entrepreneur.[924] Recently, Argentine economic historians have studied him as one of the most important Argentine businessmen of the turn of the twentieth century. Argentinean scholars have attributed different "national" terms for the Tornquist family and their businesses in Argentina. Recently, many scholars have shown interest in Ernesto Tornquist and his achievements. While the German-speaking community claimed him as one of theirs, Argentinean scholars have also used different labels for him. In 1998, Graciela Silvestri has studied the relation between Tornquist and Belgian capital.[925] Adela Harispuru and Jorge Gilbert have modified Belgian by Belgian-German.[926] The Tornquist group continued to be important in Argentine economic history. In particular Jorge Gilbert has published on Tornquist: one article on the Tornquist group and modern Argentina,[927] and one on Tornquist and political economy.[928] Geoffrey Jones and Andrea Lluch even published an article in English in the Harvard Business Review on Tornquist in 2007.[929]

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923 "Ernesto Tornquist," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, June 16, 1907, sec. Sonntagsblatt der "Deutschen La Plata Zeitung," Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina"Herr Ernesto Tornquist ist geborerner Argentinier und als solcher von Einheimischen und Fremden hochgeschätzt, wie er auch gegenwärtig noch Mitglied der Deputiertenkammer der Nation ist, doch schätzen wir ihn auch als einen der hervorragendsten Deutsch-Argentinier, welche, wie Francisco Seeber und Dr. Emilio Frers, ihre deutsche Erziehung nie verleugnen und für das Deutschtum stets die lebhaftesten Sympathieen bewahren und, wenn es notwendig ist, auch dafür einzutreten wissen. Herr Ernesto Tornquist wird nun jedoch noch mehr als Chef einer der ältesten deutschen Firmen am Platze als angesehenes Mitglied unserer deutschen Kolonie gerechnet, in der er so viele Freunde [hat]."

924 "Don Ernesto Tornquist," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, September 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 1.

925 Graciela Silvestri, "Proyectos urbanos y proyectos industriales en los años de la racionalización. La empresa Tornquist y los capitales belgas en la construcción de Buenos Aires, 1925-1940," in *En los deltas de la memoria: Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Bart De Groof et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 107–14.

926 Harispuru and Gilbert, "El holding 'Tornquist' y su vinculacion con la comunidad belgo-alemana, en Argentina."

927 Jorge Gilbert, *Empresario y empresa en la Argentina moderna: el Grupo Tornquist, 1873-1930* (Victoria Pcia. de Buenos Aires: Universidad de San Andrés, 2002).

928 Gilbert, "Ernesto Tornquist, entre los negocios y las políticas económicas."

929 Geoffrey G. Jones and Andrea Lluch, "Ernesto Tornquist: Making a Fortune on the Pampas," *Harvard Business Review*, 2007.

In addition to merchants based in Argentina like Tornquist or Hermann Altgelt,[930] there were also companies with their main office in Germany and branches in Argentina. Examples of the later are: Staudt & Cie., Berlin; John. Bernhard Hasenclever & Söhne, Remscheid; Aug. A. Claussen, Bremen (Firma Linck & Co); Karl Kropp, Aachen; Felten & Guillaume, Carlswerk; and R. Sievers, Hamburg.[931] Other German companies disposed of important real estate in Argentina, like the companies Lahusen from Bremen and Joh. Daniel Fuhrmann, and Th. Bracht & Co. from Antwerpen.[932] Lahusen was also the president of the Protestant Association for the La Plata States in Germany.[933]

In 1909, the trade company Plaut & Co. of Buenos Aires concluded a contract with the *Argentinisch-Deutsche Handelsgesellschaft* (Argentine-German trade Company) of Berlin.[934] As a sample contract from 1909 shows, while it was named a "trade company," its actual aim was to be a mediator between European colonists and the Argentine government in order to practice cattle breeding on a lot of land sold by the latter for that purpose – it was thus rather a colonization company.[935]

In 1905, the German ambassador [*Gesandter*] Julius von Waldthausen informed the German government about the project of a German society for economic endeavors in Argentina.[936] In 1909, Erwin Taubmann informed the German consul of Buenos Aires that he had founded an office for the support of trade between Germany and Argentina in Hamburg.[937]

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930 W. Paats y Cia., "Al comercio. Hambiendo concluido nuestro Contrato de Sociedad, el Señor Don Hermann Altgelt por mutuo acuerdo ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 9, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Hermann Altgelt, Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 13, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Hermann Altgelt & Co.," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 29, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

931 "[deutsche Häuser mit Filialen in Buenos Aires]," March 15, 1906, BArch R 901/30418, pag. 23.

932 "[deutsche Firmen Lahusen, Bremen: Joh. Daniel Fuhrmann, Th. Bracht & Co. = Antwerpen. „verfügen über bedeutenden Grundbesitz in Argentinien."]."

933 Lahusen, "Evangelischer Verein für die La Plata Staaten in Deutschland."

934 "Zwischen der Argentinisch-Deutschen Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H. in Berlin [...] und der offenen Handelsgesellschaft in Firma Plaut & Co. in Buenos Aires mit Zweigniederlassung in Berlin ...," August 7, 1909, BArch R 901/30425, pag. 82.

935 "[Sample contract; Argentinisch-Deutsche Handelsgesellschaft]," August 7, 1909, BArch R 901/30425, pag. 85-86.

936 Julius von Waldthausen, "[Dr. Vallentin und die geplante Gründung einer deutsche Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien] Julius von Waldthausen to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," January 4, 1905, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 119-120.

937 Erwin Taubmann, "Bureau zur Förderung des Handels zwischen Deutschland und Argentinien an das Kaiserlich Deutsche General-Konsulat des Herrn von Sanden, Buenos Aires," November 11, 1909, BArch R 901/30426, pag. 38-39.

5.2 Providing and Protecting Capital: Banks and Insurance Companies

In his 1912 dissertation, Rudolf Staab wrote, "the economic expansion of a people (*Volk*), the search for foreign markets and the implication of distant economic territories into the domestic national economy (*Volkswirtschaft*), was always a sign of advanced economic development."[938] He continued that the centralized states of England and France had shown an early tendency towards economic expansion, which was mostly disguised as colonial conquest. Banks played a central role in this process of economic expansion and "development." Four types of banks operated in Argentina: banks operating internationally, banks for money transactions operating locally, banks or money operations organized by local communities (for example health associations), and banks for agricultural and thus colonization purposes. Lastly, I discuss insurance companies in this section. Insurance companies should provide a means to protect the various endeavors of German-speaking migrants and colonists in the South Atlantic.

5.2.1 Internationally Operating Banks

In the first decades of the German colony in Buenos Aires, German-speakers either used other institutions to carry out their financial transactions – Bachmann stated that German Buenos Aires trade houses served the function of banks, due to their reputation of trustworthiness in the "commercial world of Buenos Aires"[939] – or they used banks branded under other nationalities for their financial transactions. The latter is reflected in the following banks advertising in the German-language newspapers in Argentina in the 1870s: the *Banco Argentino*,[940] the *Banco Mercantil del Rio de la Plata*,[941] Also advertising in German-language newspapers were the *London and La Plate Bank*,[942] the *Banco Franco-*

[938] Own translation. Rudolf Staab, *Die Unternehmertätigkeit deutscher Banken im Auslande: eine besondere Form des deutschen Kapitalexports* (Lörrach (Baden): Wiesentäler Handelsdruckerei Carl W. Auer, 1912), 5.
[939] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 14.
[940] "Banco Argentino," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.
[941] "Banco Mercantil del Rio de la Plata," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 2, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.
[942] "Die London und La Plate Bank," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 2, 1866; G. E. Maschwitz and J. E. Naylor, "London und La Plata Bank," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio*

Platense,[943] and the *Banco de Italia y Rio de la Plata*.[944] There was also a German-Belgian bank in 1872, the *Deutsch-Belgische La Plata-Bank* with W. Moll and U. Locher as managers.[945] According to Lütge et al., the *Deutsch-Belgische La Plata-Bank* was co-founded by the Berliner Diskontogesellschaft, and the Köln Bankhaus Solomon Oppenheim together with a Belgian and an Austrian bank.[946] Adam Altgelt was named director of the Buenos Aires branch in 1872.[947] The bank, however, only lasted from 1872-1875.[948] Many of these banks were cooperating transnationally or internationally, that is to say, there was not only one single national state affiliation of the bank.

This changed around 1900 when several banks clearly identified with the German Empire. In 1906 already, Richard Hauser wrote a dissertation on the German overseas banks.[949] There were two German "Big Banks" that were most advertised for German-speakers in Argentina: one was the *Banco Alemán Transatlantico*, founded in 1887 as an Argentinean branch of the *Deutsche Übersee Bank* (called the *Deutsche Überseeische Bank* since 1893).[950] This bank advertised in both the AT[951] and the DLPZ,[952] as well as in the magazine *Germania*.[953] In 1907, it already had three offices in Buenos Aires, and one each in Bahia Blanca, in Córdoba, in Tucuman, and in Bellville.[954] In 1908 and 1909, Paul Wallich

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de la Plata, July 3, 1872; G. E. Maschwitz, "London und La Plata-Bank," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1877.

943 G. Stump, "Banco Franco-Platense," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.

944 "Banco de Italia y Rio de la Plata," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

945 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 212; W. Moll and M. Cassel, "Deutsch-Belgische La Plata Bank: Köln & Buenos Aires," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, December 4, 1872.

946 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 237.

947 Gilbert, "Ernesto Tornquist, entre los negocios y las políticas económicas," 51.

948 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 14.

949 In 1906 already, Richard Hauser wrote a dissertation on the German overseas banks. See Hauser, *Die deutschen Überseebanken*.

950 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 297.

951 "Banco Aleman Transatlántico," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 2, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

952 "Banco Aleman Transatlantico," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 28, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Banco Aleman Transatlantico Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

953 G. Lingenfelder, "Banco Alemán Transatlántico," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

954 "Deutsche Uebersee-Bank," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 2, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

traveled to the South American branches of the *Banco Aleman Transatlantico*.[955] The other was the *Banco Germanico de la America del Sud*, an Argentinean branch of the *Deutsch-Südamerikanische Bank*.[956] It was also advertised in both the AT[957] and the DLPZ,[958] and the magazine *Germania*.[959] In 1911, both of these big private banks contributed financially to the German Protestant church of Buenos Aires, as the yearly report of the church testifies.[960]

In April 1907, the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* featured an article on the role of German capital in South American "progress."[961] In his 1912 dissertation, Rudolf Staab theorized on the role of banks in the financial expansion of states.[962] He stated that Holland, France, and England in particular, had preceded Germany in founded banks overseas because they had started colonization activity earlier.[963] In the context of European rivalry in South America, the French foreign ministry monitored the activities of the *Banco Alemán Transatlantico* in 1915.[964] Otto Kasdorf labeled the economic competiion between the European countries an "economic war" over South America in a 1916 publication.[965] The AT also discussed the economic fight between Germany and the U.S. over South America.[966] In the 1970s, several scholars studied the influential role and impact of European banks and bankers on

955 Paul Wallich, *Bericht über eine Reise zu den Filialen des Banco Aleman Transalantico in Argentinien, Chile, Bolivien, und Peru, 1908-1909*, 1909; Paul Wallich, *Banco Alemán Translatlántico: eine Reise durch Südamerika*, ed. Manfred Pohl (Mainz: Hase & Koehler, 1986).

956 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 297.

957 "Banco Germánico de la América del Sud," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 2, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

958 "Banco Germanico de la America del Sud," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Banco Germanico de la América del Sud," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

959 E. Hermann, "Banco Germánico de la América del Sud," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

960 "Jahres-Bericht der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde zu Buenos Aires (Kirchenbericht), 1911" (Buenos Aires: Druckerei der La Plata-Synode, Esmeralda 166, 1911), EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 76.

961 "Das deutsche Kapital und der Aufschwung Südamerikas," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 5, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

962 Staab, *Die Unternehmertatigkeit deutscher Banken im Auslande*.

963 Ibid., 21.

964 *La Banque Allemande Transatlantique a Buenos Aires*, 1915, 132 PO/2/111, CADN; *La Banque Allemande transatlantique à Buenos Aires pendant la Guerre 1915-1919*, 1915, 132 PO/2/111, CADN.

965 Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*.

966 "Im Kampf um Latein-Amerika. Warum die Nordamerikaner den deutschen Handel nicht verdrängen können," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Argentina's economic development.[967] In 2006, Yovanna Pineda has specifically studied impact of banks on Argentine industrialization.[968]

The director of the German Bank (*Deutsche Bank*) was member of the German Colonial Association (*Deutscher Kolonial-Verein*) in 1883. [969] The *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Bank* was a private bank.[970] In 1916, the American Consul for South Africa was mediator between Germans in the former protectorate and South African authorities on issues including financial ones.[971] The protestant preachers in Namibia were affected by WWI and the collapse of the German protectorate. In 1919, they complained to the Protestant church council (*Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat*) that they were treated like members of the former German government though while they felt they should not.[972] Particularly Swiss banks helped remedy the financial situation of the German-speaking missionaries who remained in Namibia immediately after WWI.

5.2.2 Banks Operating Locally

On the local level, the "Provincial Bank of Buenos Aires" was an important institution in Argentina. It was advertised in the German newspaper in 1872[973] and then also in the AT[974] and the DLPZ.[975] In 1882, German-Argentinean Francisco Seeber published a study on the

[967] Peter Wilhelm Fischer, *Der Einfluss des Auslandskapitals auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Argentiniens, 1880-1964* ([Göttingen]: [O. Schwartz], 1970); Charles A. Jones, *European Bankers and Argentina, 1880-90*, University of Cambridge Centre of Latin American Studies Working Papers. Business Imperialism Series 3 (Cambridge: Centre of Latin American Studies, University of Cambridge, 1970).

[968] Pineda, "Sources of Finance and Reputation."

[969] "Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Deutschen Colonial-Vereins," March 31, 1883, BArch R 8023/253, pag. 24.

[970] Staab, *Die Unternehmertatigkeit deutscher Banken im Auslande*, 29.

[971] George H. Murphy, "American Consulate General, Cape Town, South Africa to Secretary for the Protectorate, Windhuk, South West Africa," September 7, 1916, NAN ADM 117/3.

[972] Heyse, "[An den Evangelischen Oberkirchenrat,] Karibib, den 25. November 1919," November 25, 1919, EZA 5/2917.

[973] E. V. Zamudio, "Provincial-Bank von Buenos Aires," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.

[974] B. Gayan, "Provinzial-Bank von Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 6, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[975] "Die Provinzial-Hypothekenbank," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 22, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

nationalization of this bank.[976] For 1907, the DLPZ also listed a number of other smaller local banks in the province of Buenos Aires.[977]

5.2.3 Agricultural Banks

The first article on a bank for German South-West Africa was published in the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* in September 1899.[978] The project for an agricultural bank (*Landwirtschaftsbank*) for German South-West Africa was proposed to the German parliament (*Reichstag*) in May 1913.[979]

In Argentina, the journal *La Agricultura* published an article on *El Crédito Agrícola*[980] in March 1893, outlining the importance of agriculture and cattle raising (*ganadería*) for national wealth. In 1912-13, Emilio Frers proposed a project for a national "agricultural bank" (*banco colonizador, banco agricola*)[981] to the Argentinean parliament, which Gustavo Niederlein labeled an "German-Argentinean settlement bank" (*deutsch-argentinische Siedelungsbank*) in his publication with the German-Argentine Association for Economic Interests (*Deutsch-Argentinischer Centralverband zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen*).[982] A certain "*Banco Colonizador Nacional*" located in Reconquista Street 161, Buenos Aires, already advertised in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* in April 1889.[983] On 13

976 Francisco Seeber, *Estudio sobre la nacionalización del banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires: acompañado de una reseña histórica de la moneda y los bancos* (Buenos Aires: Kidd, 1882).

977 "Das Bankwesen in der Provinz Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 20, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

978 "Eine Bank für Südwestafrika," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, September 14, 1899, NAN.

979 "Die Landwirtschaftsbank für Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, May 29, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

980 "El crédito agricola," *La Agricultura: Organo de los intereses rurales é industriales* 1, no. 10 (March 9, 1893).

981 Emilio Frers, *Banco colonizador de la Nación Argentina: Proyecto de ley presentado al congreso nacional* (Buenos Aires: Coop. de artes gráficas, 1912); Emilio Frers, *El banco agricola. Proyecto de ley presentado á la Camara de disputados de la nación en la sesion de agosto 8 de 1913*, 1915.

982 Gustavo Niederlein, *Eine Deutsch-Argentinische Siedelungsbank als Gegengewicht zur wirtschaftlichen Invasion der Yankees in Südamerika*, Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung Wirtschaftlicher Interessen 5 (Berlin: Deutsch-argentinischer Centralverband, 1912).

983 "Banco Colonizador Nacional," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 29, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

November 1907, an Agricultural Protection Society (*Landwirtschaftlicher Schutz-Verband*) was founded in order to protect the economic life of the colonists in Argentina.[984]

5.2.4 Insurance Companies

Insurance companies were particularly active in Argentina. Between 1866 and 1916, insurance companies advertised with a particular reference to places in Germany. In 1866, Heinrich Diekelmann advertised the fire insurance company from Gladbach.[985] In 1872, Bemberg, Heimendahl & Co. advertised a transatlantic goods insurance company.[986] They pointed out the fact that they had their own representative already in Buenos Aires, authorized by the provincial government. They were also listed under German merchant houses in the 1873 La Plata Calendar.[987] Two insurance companies against fire advertising in Argentina situated their origin in Hamburg: Thomas Brückmann advertised the North German Insurance Company in Spanish,[988] and Mantels and Pfeiffer advertised their transatlantic company.[989] In 1898, the German Colonial Society for South-West Africa advertised the Hanseatic fire insurance company.[990] Another location for the company was

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984 "Landwirtschaftlicher Schutz-Verband, Kooperativ-Gesellschaft, Ld.," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 2, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

985 Heinrich Diekelmann, "Gladbacher Feuerversicherungs-Gesellschaft," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 2, 1866.

986 Bemberg, Heimendahl & Co., "Transatlantische Güter-Versicherungsgesellschaft in Berlin in Verbindung mit der Allgemeinen Versicherungs-Gesellschaft für See-, Fluß- und Landtransport in Dresden nebst einem eigenen Rückversicherungs-Verein; General-Agentur Buenos Aires, autorisirt durch die Provinzial-Regierung am 4. November 1872," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, December 4, 1872.

987 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 210.

988 Thomas Brückmann, "Compania Norte Germanica de Seguros contra incendio en Hamburgo," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, December 4, 1872; *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 211.

989 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 215; "Transatlantische Feuer-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft in Hamburg [...] Mantels und Pfeiffer, General-Agenten für den Rio de la Plata, 19 &21 Calle Chacabuco," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 2, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Mantels and Pfeiffer, "Transatlantische Feuerversicherungs-Gesellschaft in Hamburg," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1877; Mantels and Pfeiffer, "Transatlantische Feuerversicherungsgesellschaft in Hamburg," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 4, 1878.

990 Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft f. Südwestafrika, "Hanseatische Feuer-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft Hamburg [...] Nähere Auskunft ertheilt die Generalagentur für Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika.," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 22, 1898, NAN.

in North Germany was Lübeck.[991] In 1898, Julio Hosmann still advertised the Aachen and Munich insurance Company,[992] but by 1907, he advertised it as his own insurance.[993] In 1916, only one insurance company advertising itself as German-Argentinean, and it had advertisements both in the AT[994] and the DLPZ.[995] The 1873 La Plata Calendar also listed J. de Boer as a representative of the Buerau Veritas, an insurance company founded in Antwerp in 1828.[996]

5.3 Colonization As Shared Activity of Community Members

There were numerous colonization companies, also at times called societies (*Gesellschaft*). What was the difference between a company and an association? They were both run privately. Both aimed at acquiring land for agricultural colonization. Some projects did not work out, like the Schleswig-Holstein project in Argentina. Others were planned in secret, like the Colonization Society in Leipzig in 1882. In 1882, it must have been very risqué to plan colonization projects in South America, or so the letters kept in the German Federal Archives in Berlin indicate. An important part of the German Colonial Congresses in Berlin in 1902, 1905, and 1910 were the companies that aimed at conducting trade with overseas branches or setting them up. In this context, the concept of colonies and colonization resembles the more recent concept of globalization as increasing global economic cooperation and entanglement. In 1907, the entry on "colonial societies" (*Kolonialgesellschaften*) in Meyer's Great Encyclopedia distinguished two types: those with the aim to found colonies overseas

991 "Lübecker Feuer-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 16, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; P. C. Wirths, "Lübecker Feuer-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 25, 1877, sec. Tages-Chronik.

992 Julio Hosmann, "Aachener und Münchener Feuerversicherungs-Gesellschaft," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, July 14, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

993 "Versicherungs-Bureau Julio Hosmann, Buenos Aires," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 2, 1907, sec. advertisements, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Hosmann & Cia. und G. de Boer & Cia. haben ihre Versicherungsbüros von B. Mitre 441 nach Calle Cangallo 319 verlegt," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 5, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

994 "La Germano-Argentina. Compañia de Seguros," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 3, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

995 Gustav Deurer, "'La Germano-Argentina': Compañia de Seguros," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 7, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Gustav Denrer, "La Germano-Argentina: Compañia de Seguros," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

996 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 2010.

or to further the trade in overseas colonies; or those aiming to improve knowledge about the colonial project [*Kolonialwesen*].[997] This section discusses those societies fitting the first definition, and the following sections discuss those fitting the second: non-profit associations and institutions set up in the South Atlantic (as well as in Germany) to promote German colonies abroad. These provided information for commercial colonization companies.

5.3.1 For-Profit Colonization Companies

Historian Matthew Fitzpatrick has called this type of behavior "private sector imperialism,"[998] a type of German "informal imperialism" and "imperialism from below."[999] For him, the desire for a German Empire was born out of German nationalism and deeply linked to liberalism. Going beyond traditional political histories, he investigated the colonial associations and private enterprises in Africa and South America (as well as Australia) to explain the emergence of the formal empire in the 1880s. While I agree that colonization projets of German-speakers started as private projects in the South Atlantic, I also want to point to the fact that all projects did not automatically become state-run with the establishment of the formal German colonial Empire in 1884; rather, the German nation-state gradually increased its involvement around and beyond 1900. For example, a number of private individuals founded the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika* (German Colonial Society for South-West Africa) on 5 April 1885 in order to purchase lands Adolf Lüderitz had procured and that had been put under the protection of the German Empire.[1000] In 1912, Ludwig Sander published a two-volume study of the society where he

997 "Kolonialgesellschaften," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 11 (Leipzig, 1907), 285–86.

998 Matthew Fitzpatrick, "Informal Empire and Private Sector Imperialism, 1849-1884," in *Liberal Imperialism in Germany* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 75–100.

999 Ibid.; Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany*.

1000 Gustav Meinecke, ed., "Die Kolonialgesellschaften," *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis. Achter Jahrgang. Das Jahr 1895* 8 (1896): 5; Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, ed., "Die Geschichte der deutschen Colonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika," *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 1 (1900 1899): 385–88.

discussed the transformation from a private sector society into a state-run society and organization.[1001]

In October 1888, private individuals founded the *Deutsche Handels- und Colonisations-Gesellschaft* (German Trade and Colonization Society) in Berlin with the aim to further promote trade and colonization in Southern Africa, to extract raw materials, and set up plantations in Western Africa.[1002] In 1889, the society sent an expedition to South Africa to explore possibilities of selling German goods and set up a German settlement.[1003] By this point a number of German merchants, among them Woermann & Co., were involved.

In 1889, private individuals founded the Mine and Trade Society for Southwest Africa (*Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika*) as Colonial Society according to German law, with seat in Hamburg.[1004] The company merged landownership of Herr L. von Lilienthal from Elberfeld and the South-West Africa Company Limited in London. The statutes of the *Hanseatischen Land- Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Hanseatic Land, Mine and Trade Society for German South-West Africa) date from 1893,[1005] as do the statues from the *Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika*.[1006] The society's seat was in Hamburg, and its aim was to procure land for settlement and resource extraction.[1007]

In 1892, German-speakers in founded a settlement society (*Siedelungsgesellschaft*) in order to settle poor farmers in Klein-Windhoek.[1008] Two families arrived in August. Hauptmann v. François became the spokesperson (*Vertreter*) for the society and he was also its initiator.[1009] He described the creation of homesteads (*Heimstätten*) in the valley of Klein-

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[1001] Ludwig Sander, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1910*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: D. Reimer (E. Vohsen), 1912); Ludwig Sander, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1910*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Berlin: D. Reimer (E. Vohsen), 1912).

[1002] "[Prospect] Deutsche Handels- und Colonisations-Gesellschaft, Berlin," October 1888, BArch R 1001/1559, pag. 4.

[1003] "Die vor kurzem hier gegründete „Handels- und Colonisations-Gesellschaft", Berlin ...," *Magdeburgische Zeitung*, March 29, 1889, BArch R 1001/1559, pag. 9.

[1004] "Statut der Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika," 1893, BArch R 1001/1608, pag. 100-104.

[1005] "Statut der Hanseatischen Land- Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika," 1893, BArch R 1001/1608, pag. 109.

[1006] "Statut der Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika."

[1007] Meinecke, "Die Kolonialgesellschaften," 13.

[1008] Franz Joseph von Bülow, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Drei Jahre im Lande Hendrik Witboois. Schilderungen von Land und Leute* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1896), 227.

[1009] Ibid., 228.

Windhoek.[1010] Overall, the writer Franz Joseph von Bülow had a very negative assessment of opportunities for poor colonists. He listed the following societies as being active in Namibia: the *Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika* (active for six years) with E.F. Herrmann as its representative (*Bevollmächtigter*) in Gross-Namaland, and the *Kharaskoma Syndikat* in Gross-Namaland.

The South-West Africa Company had its main seat in London and had both English and German members. The company was founded in 1892.[1011] It had to work closely with the German protectorate authorities,[1012] and was watched by them.[1013] The National Archives of Namibia contain a list of the land purchased by the South-West Africa Company.[1014]

In 1894, the Damara- und Namaqua-Handels-Gesellschaft was founded in Hamburg.[1015] In April 1909, Adolph Woermann with colleagues founded the company Woermann, Brock & Co. that took over the business of the Damara & Namaqua Handels-Gesellschaft m. b. H.[1016] In 1899, the "*Damaraland-Farm-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*" was registered in Windhoek.[1017] That same year, the "*Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft m. b. H., Zweigniederlassung Swakopmund*" was registered in Swakopmund.[1018]

In 1899, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* published an article about the "Hatsamas project," a project to settle German-speakers in a closed settlement within a certain distance of

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[1010] Ibid., 234.

[1011] Richard Andrew Voeltz, *German Colonialism and the South West Africa Company, 1884-1914*, Monographs in International Studies. Africa Series 50 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1988).

[1012] "Die 'Lond. Finanz-Chronik' veröffentlicht den Wortlaut der zwischen dem deutschen Auswärtigen Amte und der South West Africa Company abgeschlossenen Vereinbarung ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 27, 1898, sec. Local-Nachrichten, NAN.

[1013] Rupp, "Bericht über die South West Africa Company Limited," n.d., NAN BGR 3 L.4.C.L; "South West Africa Company, Limited. Bemerkungen zu dem Referat und Korreferat der Herren Oberlandsgerichtsrat Dr. Rupp und M. Erzberger," n.d., NAN BGR 3 L.4.C.

[1014] *Landverkäufe Der South West Africa Company Ltd, 1909-1914*, 1914 1909, BRG, L.4.C.L, NAN.

[1015] "Damara- und Namaqua-Handels-Gesellschaft m.B.H."

[1016] Woermann et al., "Die Unterzeichneten haben am 1. April d. J. die Firma Woermann, Brock & Co. errichtet ..."

[1017] Richter, "In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichtes zu Windhoek ist heute unter Nr. 7 die durch Vertrag vom 13. Mai 1899 unter der Firma 'Damaraland-Farm-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung' errichtete Gesellschaft eingetragen worden ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, August 3, 1899, NAN.

[1018] "Bekanntmachung. In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichts zu Swakopmund ist heute zufolge Anmeldung vom 30. Oktober/14. November 1899 unter No. 9 die in Swakopmund errichtete Zweigniederlassung der Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft m. b. H. unter der Firma 'Damara- und Namaqua-Handelsgesellschaft m. b. H., Zweigniederlassung Swakopmund' eingetragen worden ..."

Windhoek.[1019] Also in 1899, the *Damaraland-Farm-Gesellschaft* (Damaraland Farm Society) was included as number seven in the list of societies in Windhoek.[1020]

The *Siedelungsgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika* (Settlement Society for South-West Africa) was founded in 1895 with seat in Berlin Groß-Lichterfelde.[1021] It started with settling families in the Windhoek area. In 1897, Sander published a proposal for the creation for a model farm on the territory of the Settlement Society.[1022] In 1902, Ernst Vohsen published a memorandum about the undertaken activities of this society.[1023] In 1907, Guenter Anton gave a presentation on the society to the State Scientific Society of Jena.[1024]

In April 1900, the Swakopmunder Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H. with headquarters in Berlin was founded.[1025] The *Neue Südwest-Afrikanische Siedelungs-Gesellschaft* was founded in Berlin in September 1902 in order to help the Boers after the Boer war in South Africa.[1026]

In 1905, a memorandum of land and mining societies active in the German protectorate of South-West Africa included the following: *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika, South West Africa Company Led., Siedlungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika, South African Territories Led., Die Hanseatische Land-, Minen-, und Handelsgesellschaft, Kaoko-Land- und Minengesellschaft, Otavi-Minen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft* and the *Gibeon-Schürf- und Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H.*[1027] The *Deutsch-Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft* was active in the 1920s.[1028]

Gustav Meinecke listed the *Südamerikanische Kolonisationsgesellschaft* (South American Colonization Company) in his 1896 colonial yearbook under "German Colonization

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[1019] "Hatsamas," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1899, NAN.

[1020] Richter, "In das Gesellschaftsregister des Kaiserlichen Gerichtes zu Windhoek ist heute unter Nr. 7 die durch Vertrag vom 13. Mai 1899 unter der Firma 'Damaraland-Farm-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung' errichtete Gesellschaft eingetragen worden ..."

[1021] Meinecke, "Die Kolonialgesellschaften," 12; "Jahresbericht für 1903 der Neuen Südwestafrikanischen Siedlungs-Gesellschaft m.b.H. Groß-Lichterfelde Berlin.," 1903, BArch R 1001/1700, pag. 26.

[1022] Sander, "Vorschläge zur Errichtung einer Musterfarm im Gebiete der Siedelunggesellschaft in Deutsch-Südafrika," ed. Gustav Meinecke, *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis. Zehnter Jahrgang. Das Jahr 1897* 10 (1897): 189–213.

[1023] Ernst Vohsen, *Denkschrift über die bisherige Thätigkeit der Siedelungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1902).

[1024] Guenter Kurt Anton, *Die Siedelungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Vortrag, gehalten in der Staatswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft zu Jena 1907* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1908).

[1025] "Swakopmunder Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H."

[1026] "Neue Südwestafrikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft," November 1902, BArch R 1001/1700, pag. 2-3; "Aufruf!"

[1027] von Bülow, "Denkschrift über die im südwestafrikanischen Schutzgebiete tätigen Land- und Minen-Gesellschaften," February 28, 1905, NAN BGR 3 L.4.C.

[1028] "[Deutsch-Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft]."

Endeavors in Non-German Countries."[1029] In July 1882, Ernst Hasse from Leipzig suggested in a letter to Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden in Hamburg that a *Deutsche Landbank* (German Land Bank) be founded in South America in order to privately buy land for German colonization. Hasse asked Hübbe-Schleiden why he dismissed South America as a field for German colonization. Hasse did not think highly of Gustavo Niederlein: he dismissed Niederlein's suggestions for a German colonization project in Argentina, but he did attribute value to Richard Napp's opinion.[1030] In a second letter dated a few month later, Hasse further described to Hübbe-Schleiden his plan to found a society under the name *Südamerikanische Landbank* ("South American Land Bank"), specifically stating that the word "colonization" and reference to a specific location should be avoided in the society name in order to avoid distrust in Germany.[1031] He wanted to make Hübbe-Schleiden the director of the society. Hasse did respond to Niederlein's letter, saying that Niederlein thought it too easy to find financial support in Saxony for colonization projects in the South Atlantic; he also said he needed approval from influential people like Hübbe-Schleiden and Fabri. He did write to Niederlein that Hübbe-Schleiden had granted him his support in the South American landbank project.[1032] Hasse also said that a condition for the society was its seat in Germany, with potential participation of Argentinean and British capital. Hasse specifically asked not to let anyone else – particularly the press – but also including Robert Jannasch. The Federal Archives of Berlin hold a document from Ernst Hasse from October 1882, classified as confidential, where Hasse, as president of the Leipzig branch of the *Zweigverein Leipzig für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen im Auslande* (Association for Trade-geography and Promotion of German Interests Abroad) wrote that it was high time to act on the question of coordinating German migration abroad and redirect it to the non-tropical parts South America, just as migration literature had proclaimed for forty years.[1033] Hasse was referring to Wappäus here. The South American Colonization society then was the officially founded in 1884. It was Friedrich Fabri's son Tim(otheus) who authored the

[1029] Meinecke, "Deutsche Kolonisationsbestrebungen in nichtdeutschen Ländern."

[1030] Ernst Hasse, "Ernst Hasse in Leipzig to Dr. Hübbe-Schleiden in Hamburg," July 1, 1882, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 4.

[1031] Ernst Hasse, "Ernst Hasse in Leipzig to Dr. Hübbe-Schleiden in Hamburg," July 6, 1882, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 6-7.

[1032] Ernst Hasse, "Ernst Hasse in Leipzig to G. Niederlein in Berlin," July 6, 1882, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 5.

[1033] Ernst Hasse, "Vertraulich! Die Südamerikanische Colonisations-Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur praktischen Lösung der deutschen Colonisationsfrage," October 1882, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 18-19.

invitation to the constitutional assembly.[1034] According to the statutes, as Hasse had wanted it, its seat was Leipzig and its aim to buy and settle land in South America, specifically Argentina and Paraguay.[1035] Bernhard Förster followed up on the colonization project in Paraguay. He married Friedrich Nietzsche's sister Elisabeth and in 1883 he moved with her to Paraguay where he wanted to found the perfect German colony. [1036] In May 1884, he gave a lecture on German colonies in the La Plata states.[1037] The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* published an interview with a photographer who took pictures of colony Nueva Germania today.[1038]

In 1883, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* reported repeatedly about colonization projects. On 30 June 1883, the newspaper wrote about German colonization projects in Argentina, mentioned Ernst Hasse and his South American Colonization Society (*Südamerikanische Kolonisationsgesellschaft*) in Leipzig, Germany. [1039] It also mentioned José Greger in Basel, Switzerland. Newspapers in Germany also wrote about Greger in Basel.[1040] A Frankfurt newspaper cited the announcement of a colonization project in Argentina, but it remained very critical of the endeavor.[1041] On 7 July 1883, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* wrote about the colonization projects in Paraguay.[1042] The article also mentioned Mr. Hasse, Mr. Napp and Mr. Lezema. According to an article from the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*,

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[1034] Tim Fabri, "Einladung zur constituirenden Generalversammlung der südamerikanischen Colonisations-Gesellschaft," January 1884, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 76.

[1035] "Satzungen der südamerikanischen Colonisations-Gesellschaft," 1884, BArch R 8023/261, pag.; "Die Südamerikanische Colonisations-Gesellschaft zu Leipzig," 1884, BArch R 8023/261, pag. 81-82.

[1036] Bernhard Förster, "Denkschrift über die Anlegung deutscher Colonien in dem oberen Laplata-Gebiete (Paraguay, Gran Chaco, Misiones Argentinas)," April 1885; Bernhard Förster, *Deutsche Colonien in dem oberen Laplata-Gebiete mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Paraguay: Ergebnisse eingehender Prüfungen, praktischer Arbeiten und Reisen, 1883-1885*, Second Edition (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1886); Bernhard Förster, *Dr. Bernhard Förster's Kolonie Neu-Germania in Paraguay*, ed. Eli Förster (Berlin: Commissions-Verl. der Actien-Gesellschaft "Pionier," 1891).

[1037] "Lokales. Die Möglichkeit deutscher Kolonien in den LaPlata-Staaten...," *"___" [Post?] [La Plata Post??]*, May 14, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 79.

[1038] Florian Zinnecker, "Constanze Flamme fotografiert in Nueva Germania: 'Ich habe gemerkt, wie sehr ich mit dem Begriff "deutsch sein" ringe,'" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 11, 2016, sec. Magazin, http://sz-magazin.sueddeutsche.de/texte/anzeigen/44552/Ich-habe-gemerkt-wie-sehr-ich-mit-dem-Begriff-deutsch-sein-ringe.

[1039] "Deutsche Colonisationsbestrebungen," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, June 30, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1040] "In Basel besteht zum Zwecke der Betreibung der Auswanderung nach Argentinien eine Agentur...," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 8, 1884, BArch R 901/30396, pag. 10; "In Basel besteht zum Zwecke der Betreibung der Auswanderung nach Argentinien eine Agentur...," *Augsburger Abendzeitung*, July 8, 1884, BArch R 901/30396, pag. 11.

[1041] "Amerika: Nach einer Mittheilung des „Argentinischen „Wochenblattes" soll ein „großartiges" Kolonisationsprojekt bei der Nationalregierung von Argentinien eingereicht worden sein...," *Morgenblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 31, 1884, BArch R 901/30396, pag. 38.

[1042] "Über die Missiones," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, July 7, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

republished in the *Morgenblatt of the Frankfurter Zeitung*, supposedly a "great" colonization project has been submitted to the Argentinean national government:

> A society with the merchants Hollmann & Co. solicit the sections 21 of the national territories between Chimph [sic?] and Neuquen, about 60 square leguas. In addition, they want to acquire 200 leguas by the Rio Salado, from Matará to the river mouth into the Parana, to the legal price of 500 dollars m/n. The company has a capital of 4 mill. Dollars m/c (20 Mill. Fr.). It agreed to introduce German immigrants, yearly 500 families during 10 years, with free passage, for which the national government would pay 50 dollars m/c for every family upon arrival. The company would provide the irrigation canals and the possibilities of navigation on the Rio Salado up to Matara. The national government would reserve more land strips for the society and assume the interest guarantee of 6 pct for the capital of 4 mill. Dollars m/n. That all sounds very nice, but it should already fail starting with the interest guarantee.[1043]

In August 1884, the merchants Hollmann & Co. supposedly wanted to acquire parts of the national territory in Patagonia.[1044] Also in August 1884, C.H.S. Schultz (Stettiner Lloyd) published an article in the DLPZ where he said that he was not fond of Africa and preferred America for German migration; he also aimed at redirecting German migration from North America to South America.[1045] By July 1884, there was an agency in Basel, Switzerland for German-speaking emigration to Argentina.[1046]

In 1884, Baron Mauricio de Hirsch founded the Jewish Colonization Society. He initiated Jewish agricultural colonization in Argentina in the 1890s.[1047] It was Gustavo Niederlein who did the research in Argentina to find the appropriate territory for his plans.[1048]

In 1885, the *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Colonialunternehmen* (Schleswig-Holstein Colonial Company) received interest in various German newspapers. The *Hamburgischer Correspondent* in Hamburg announced the acquisition of territory by a German colonial

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[1043] Own translation. "Amerika: Nach einer Mittheilung des „Argentinischen „Wochenblattes" soll ein „großartiges" Kolonisationsprojekt bei der Nationalregierung von Argentinien eingereicht worden sein..."

[1044] Ibid.

[1045] C.H.S. Schultz, "Stettin, 27. August 1884. ... Ich muss gestehen, daß es mich einigermaßen frappierte, meine Verhandlungen mit Ihrer Regierung publiziert zu sehen...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, October 9, 1884, BArch R 901/30396, pag. 144.

[1046] "In Basel besteht zum Zwecke der Betreibung der Auswanderung nach Argentinien eine Agentur...," July 8, 1884; "In Basel besteht zum Zwecke der Betreibung der Auswanderung nach Argentinien eine Agentur...," July 8, 1884.

[1047] "El Baron Hirsch."

[1048] Niederlein, *Gutachten für Herrn Baron von Hirsch über die Colonisationsfähigkeit Paraguay's und der argentinischen Territorien Misiones, Formosa und Chaco Austral*.

society at the Rio Negro area in Argentina.[1049] The *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin added the name Christian Petersen and his project of a salt refinery – "a moderate enterprise with only moderate means."[1050] The *Kölnische Zeitung* in Cologne, however, stated that the media had exaggerated this project.[1051] In 1889, the colonization company "*Colonizadora de Corrientes*" owned by Adolfo Hopmann, advertised in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*.[1052]

Hugo Stroeder's attempts at colonization in Argentina are first mentioned in 1898 in an advertisement[1053] in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* and then in 1904 when he took part in the founding of a colonization society aimed at settling migrant families in the Pampa Central: "According to a report from General Lagos (Argentina) the society is currently acquiring 600 square leguas land at the Western border of the territory. Pertaining to this society, with an estimated capital of 280 000 £ are the Misters [Hugo] Stroeder, Tomkinson, Villanueva and others. In the name of the syndicate, Mr. Arthur von Pöllnitz is already present in the area that is to be settled, which is soon to be traversed by a newly to be constructed railroad line."[1054] In April 1904, the German General Consulate Buenos Aires reported on the company Hugo Stroeder & Co. undertaking agriculture and alfalfa (luzerne) production in the Pampa Central and purchasing further land.[1055]

By 1905, the Central Information Agency for Emigration (*Zentralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer*) wrote to the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) that it should update its information booklet on Argentina to include Hugo Stroeder's colonization company.[1056] This company was mostly involved in wheat production. The German consul in Argentina wrote

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[1049] "Schleswig-Holsteinische Colonialgesellschaft," *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, June 10, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 90.

[1050] "Seit einiger Zeit gehen durch die Blätter Nachrichten über ein schleswig-holsteinisches Colonialunternehmen in Südamerika ...," *Vossische Zeitung*, June 14, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 98.

[1051] "Aus Schleswig-Holstein, 16. Juni. Ueber das seit Ende des vorigen Jahres in den Blättern besprochene, teilweise wohl etwas stark aufgebauschte schleswig-holsteinische Colonialunternehmen...," *Kölnische Zeitung*, June 20, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 99.

[1052] Adolfo Hopmann, "Colonizadora de Corrientes," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 29, 1889, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1053] Hugo Stroeder, "Colonizacion Stroeder," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 26, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1054] "Eine Kolonisations-Gesellschaft, welche deutsche Einwanderer-Familien in der Pampa Central ansiedeln will, hat sich gebildet...," January 14, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 63.

[1055] "[Firma Hugo Stroeder & Co.: - Ackerbau und Alfalfa (Luzerne) in der Pampa Central. – Ankauf von Ländereien.] Kaiserlich deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," April 20, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 91.

[1056] "Leiter der Centralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer gez. Lehmann to Auswärtiges Amt, 'Erneuerung des Auskunftsheftes über Argentinien,'" April 8, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 54-55.

to the German chancellor that Stroeder was a millionaire.[1057] In 1914, Stroeder advertised in the DLPZ.[1058] In 1914, Theodor Alemann from the AT published a travel narrative of his visit to Stroeder's company and colonies, or "emporio."[1059] Alemann wrote that no other colonizer in Argentina had been more successful than Stroeder: he turned one million hectares of land into eighty colonies of settlement ("*Kolonien der Besiedlung*") and founded fifteen towns, some of which had already turned into small cities.[1060] In 1916, the company "Colonización Stroeder" advertised with the claim to be the oldest colonization society in South America.[1061] As late as 1928, his company sent a flyer to the General Church Council (*Oberkirchenrat*) in Berlin.[1062] The 1898 AT advertisement features the following image:[1063] a man with his shirt sleeves rolled up holds the company banner in one hand and his hat in the other. He stands amidst farming tools and a bundle of wheat, behind him lies the worked field and afar, a railroad passing by – the symbol of progress and modernity.

In January 1903, José Greger attempted to announce the foundation of a German-South American Assocation (*deutsch-südamerikanischer Verein*) in a lecture he gave in Munich, but then the official steps necessary to declare the association with the Munich police were not followed through with.[1064] In October 1903, Greger was identified as "Emissary of the Argentine government" (*Emissär*).[1065] Greger had both Argentinean and Bavarian citizenship.

In 1904, the *Berliner Tageblatt* announced that Argentine President Roca had "vivid interest" in the founding of a large Colonial Society ("Kolonialgesellschaft".[1066] In July 1905, the Norddeutsche Lloyd opened its own information bureau in Buenos Aires for arriving

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[1057] von Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," August 25, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 31-32.

[1058] "Die erste Ernte in der Kolonie Emporio Stroeder ergibt durchschnittlich 28 Doppelzentner Weizen ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1059] Alemann, *Station und Emporio Stroeder*.

[1060] Ibid., 3.

[1061] "Colonización Stroeder," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 3, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Die 'Colonización Stroeder', älteste deutsche Kolonisationsgesellschaft ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1062] Hugo Stroeder, "Colonización Stroeder [Flyer sent to Evang. Oberkirchenrat, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, Alemania from Colonización Stroeder, Hugo Stroeder, Piedras 138, Buenos Aires;," 1928, EZA 5/2061.

[1063] Stroeder, "Colonizacion Stroeder."

[1064] "[J. Greger] Akten der k. b. Polizeidirektion in München."

[1065] "[J. Greger] K. Regierung von Oberbayern, Kammer des Innern to K. Staatsministerium des Innern," October 16, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 47.

[1066] "[Präsident Roca zeigt „lebhaftes Interesse" an der Gründung einer großen Kolonialgesellschaft]," *Berliner Tageblatt*, September 12, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 22.

third class passengers.[1067] It claimed that for getting land from the Argentine government for German-speaking settlement, new arrivals needed official confirmation from the German Foreign office. Also in 1905, the *Hanseatische Kolonisationsgesellschaft* attempted projects in Argentina. Attacks on it were reported in 1905.[1068] The Norddeutsche Lloyd was also active there.[1069] It attempted to get Ernesto Tornquist help out within Argentina in order to legitimize its project and not make it seem invasive.[1070] Its aim was to settle people of German nationality, German-Russians, German re-migrants, and Swiss-Germans in Patagonia.[1071] While the Norddeutscher Lloyd would be the actual organizer, the land should be on name of Kroeller and von Pilis. Herr Föhr and Duckwitz traveled to inspect the land offered by the Argentinean government in the province Buenos Aires to the Norddeutsche Lloyd, but Tornquist was too busy to get involved.

In February 1907, a German-Argentinean Cooperative Colonization Society (*Germanisch-argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft*) was founded in Argentina.[1072] In March 1907, the German Consulate in Buenos Aires announced to Chancellor Bülow the creation of the *Germanisch-Argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft m.b.H.* (German-Argentine Cooperative Colonization Company).[1073] In May, Theodor Alemann was its president.[1074] The company was advertised in the DLPZ,[1075] and the journal *Süd-Amerika* also published about it.[1076] The statutes of the

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1067 "Norddeutscher Lloyd to Kaiserlich Auswärtiges Amt."

1068 "Aufzeichnung [Über Angriffe gegen die Hanseatische Kolonisationsgesellschaft]," December 9, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 66-68.

1069 Föhr, "Julius Föhr to Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen."

1070 "Direktion des Norddeutschen Lloyd, Bremen to Wirklicher Geheimer Legationsrat im Auswärtigen Amt Herr Goetsch, Berlin."

1071 Hacke, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandschaft bei den La Plata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow."

1072 "Germanisch-argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 22, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Die Germanisch-Argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft m.b.H.," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, May 1, 1907, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 69; "Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen to Bülow [Bekanntmachung Gründung der „Genossenschaftlichen Germanisch-Argentinischen Kolonisationsgesellschaft"]," May 6, 1907, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 66.

1073 "Kaiserlich Deutsches General Konsulat Buenos Aires to Bülow: [Genossenschaft Germanisch-Argentinische Kolonisationsgesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung]," March 23, 1907, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 60.

1074 Theodor Alemann, "Sociedad Germano-Argentina de Colonización," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 25, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1075 Ibid.

1076 "Die Germanisch-Argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft m.b.H."

Germanisch-Argentinische Kolonisations-Gesellschaft date from 1907:[1077] the company's seat was in Buenos Aires and its proclaimed aim was to acquire land for colonization for its members.[1078] The Norddeutscher Lloyd was also involved in this project.[1079] A letter from Federico Olshausen and E. Brinckmann to the Argentine minister of Agriculture in December 1907 stated that the company's objective was to settle migrants from Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway and South Russia in Patagonia.[1080] In February 1908, von Sanden, the German consul in Argentina, wrote to Waldthausen, the German legate in Argentina, about the colonization project of the German-Argentinean Colonization company. He claimed that Germany did not concession the project, and did not have anything at stake with this project, but that nonetheless an official statement would be required.[1081] In April 1908, the journal *Süd-Amerika* called it the *Deutsch-Argentinische Kolonisations-Gesellschaft of Buenos Aires* (German-Argentine Colonization Company),[1082] but it must have used *deutsch* as interchangeably with *germanisch*, because a few months later it called it *germanisch* again.[1083]

Numerous smaller projects also existed. All of these illustrate the vivid activities around private colonization projects by German-speakers in Argentina. In 1898, the AT reported from the colonies of the Santa-Fe Land Company.[1084] In 1907, the DLPZ advertised individual colonies, as for example of the company Holt, Alba & Cie.[1085] In August 1909 an

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[1077] "Statuten der Germanisch-Argentinischen Kolonisations-Gesellschaft. Genossenschaft (m. b. H.) (Sociedad Germano-Argentina de Colonización. Cooperativa, Limitada)," 1907, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 100.

[1078] "Statuten der Germanisch-Argentinischen Kolonisationsgesellschaft, Genossenschaft (m.b.H.), calle Reconquista 412, Buenos Aires," 1907, BArch R 901/30421, pag. 101-110.

[1079] "Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen to Bülow [Bekanntmachung Gründung der „Genossenschaftlichen Germanisch-Argentinischen Kolonisationsgesellschaft"]."

[1080] Federico Olshausen and E. Brinckmann, "Sociedad German-Argentina de Colonización to A. S.W. el Señor Ministro de Agricultura, Ingeniero Don Pedro Ezcurra," December 6, 1907, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 119-122.

[1081] von Sanden, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Waldthausen," February 12, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 126-131.

[1082] "Die Deutsch-Argentinische Kolonisations-Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, April 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 194 The article mentioned that Moritz Alemann had travelled again to Berlin in the previous year to attract German capital for collaboration in this project.The article mentioned that Moritz Alemann had travelled again to Berlin in the previous year to attract German capital for collaboration in this project.

[1083] "Die Germanisch-Argentinische Kolonisations-Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires."

[1084] Stromer, "Aus den Kolonien der Süd-santafesinischen Land-Company," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 12, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1085] Holt, Alba & Cie., "Wichtig für Kolonisten: Kolonie Salvatierra," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 13, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Argentine-German Trade Company was founded in Berlin.[1086] Its statues and a sample contract are available in the Berlin Federal Archives.[1087] In June 1910, *the Syndikats zur Vorbereitung einer Land-, Industrie- und Bergwerksgesellschaft in Argentinien*, with its seat in Berlin, was founded.[1088] In December 1910, the syndicate turned into the *Deutsch Argentinische Land- und Industrie-Gesellschaft m. b. H.*[1089] The *Compania Agricola de Rio Negro (Argentine) Societe Anonyme en formation* founded in Brussels, was announced in June 1911 in *Süd-Amerika*.[1090] In April 1911, the German Legion Buenos Aires reported to the German chancellor that Artur Krupp planned an Austrian colonization project for Argentina.[1091] In October 1911, the German shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd was involved with the Argentine ministry *Tierras, Colonias e Inmigracion*.[1092] In June 1913, Erich Dickudt planned a project with his friend Dr. von Staff, geology professor at Berlin University to built a railroad in Rio Negro.[1093] A contract draft for a project of creating German colonization in the Gran Chaco in 1914 by H. Ranft from Königsberg under the name *Gran Chaco Kolonisation* is preserved in the Berlin Federal Archives.[1094] In 1916, Hoffmann & Agusteni placed an advertisement in the DLPZ entitled "Colonists!"[1095] In November 1919, the *Bureau zur Förderung des Handels zwischen Deutschland und Argentinien* was founded

1086 "Statut der Argentinisch-Deutschen Handels-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung zu Berlin," August 7, 1909, BArch R 901/30425, pag. 78-81; "Zwischen der Argentinisch-Deutschen Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H. in Berlin [...] und der offenen Handelsgesellschaft in Firma Plaut & Co. in Buenos Aires mit Zweigniederlassung in Berlin ..."

1087 "[Sample contract; Argentinisch-Deutsche Handelsgesellschaft]."

1088 Georg Schmidt, "Eingabe des Syndikats zur Vorbereitung einer Land-, Industrie- und Bergwerksgesellschaft in Argentinien, Sitz Berlin," June 28, 1910, BArch R 901/30426, pag. 123.

1089 "Deutsch Argentinische Land- und Industrie-Gesellschaft m. b. H. to Seiner Exzellenz Herrn von Koerner Direktor der handelspolitischen Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes Berlin," December 22, 1910, BArch R 901/30427, pag. 22-23.

1090 "Eine weitere Ackerbau-Gesellschaft," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, June 1, 1911, BArch R 901/30427, pag. 135.

1091 [Hilmar] Bussche, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn von Bethmann Hollweg," April 20, 1911, BArch R 901/30427, pag. 140-141.

1092 [Roque] Sáenz Peña and Eleodoro Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 13 octubre 1911]," October 13, 1911, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 10000 D del año 1911].

1093 Erich Dickudt, "'Druckpapier-Verband' to Auswärtiges Amt Berlin," June 11, 1913, BArch R 901/30430, pag. 7-8.

1094 H. Ranft, "Vertrag [contract draft]," February 14, 1914, BArch R 901/30430, pag. 193-197.

1095 Hoffmann & Agusteni, "Kolonisten!," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

in Hamburg.[1096] In 1924, Otto Griese and Otto Thiel planned to found a colonization society for German-speaking colonization and settlement in Mendoza, Argentina.[1097] The "*Compañía Eldorado, Colonización y Explotación de bosques S.A*." was active in 1926, as Ernesto Alemann mentioned in his travel writing of Missiones: "When Mr. Adolfo J. Schwelm started with the installation of his colony six years ago, that is today united in the large company "Compañía Eldorado, Colonización y Explotación de bosques S.A." with the Tornquist colonies Monte Carlo, Puerto Rico and San Alberto, he was confronted with the same difficulties as any colonizer in the jungle. […]"[1098] In 1929, A. J. Schwelm himself published a text on the development of the Eldorado colonies.[1099] These colonies were entertained by the Compañia Eldorado.[1100] Recently, Argentinean historian María Cecilia Gallero has studied some of these colonies, specifically Puerto Rico, Misiones.[1101] She specifically focused on the German-speakers who joined this part of Northern Argentina via previous migration to Southern Brazil.

As the table below shows, for-profit companies mostly started colony and colonization projects after the 1880s, but both in Namibia and Argentina, they were not derailed by WWI.

Name	Date	Seat
South American Colonization Society (*Südamerikanische Kolonisationsgesellschaft*)	1884	Leipzig
Jewish Colonization Society	1884/ 1890s	[Argentina]
Schleswig-Holsteinisches Colonialunternehmen (Schleswig-Holstein Colonial Company)	1885	[Germany]

[1096] Taubmann, "Bureau zur Förderung des Handels zwischen Deutschland und Argentinien an das Kaiserlich Deutsche General-Konsulat des Herrn von Sanden, Buenos Aires."

[1097] *Gründungsplan für Deutsche Ansiedelungen in der Provinz Mendoza (Argentinien) für das Jahr 1924*, n.d.

[1098] Ernesto Fernando Alemann, *Grünes Gold und rote Erde: Beobachtungen von einer Reise*, Sonderabdruck aus dem Argentinischen Tageblatt (Buenos Aires: Buchdruckerei des Argentinischen Tageblattes, 1926), 17.

[1099] A. J. Schwelm, "Die Entwicklung der Eldorado-Kolonien, 1919-1929, Argentinien," 1929, BArch R 8023/551, pag. 33-36.

[1100] Compañia Eldorado, *Leben und Treiben in Eldorado, Missiones-Argentinien* (Buenos Aires: Compañia Eldorado, 1931); "An die Compañia „Eldorado", Buenos Aires, Viamonte 550," September 28, 1931, BArch R 8023/551, pag. 23.

[1101] María Cecilia Gallero, *Con la patria a cuestas: la inmigración alemana-brasileña en la Colonia Puerto Rico, Misiones* (Buenos Aires: Araucaria Editora, 2009).

Deutsche Handels- und Colonisations-Gesellschaft (German Trade and Colonization Society)	1888	Berlin
Mine and Trade Society for Southwest Africa (*Minen- und Handels-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika*)/ *Hanseatische Land-, Minen-, und Handelsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Hanseatic Land, Mine and Trade Society for German South-West Africa)	1889/ 1893?	Hamburg
Colonizadora de Corrientes	1889	[Argentina]
Settlement society (*Siedelungsgesellschaft*)	1892	Windhoek
South-West Africa Company	1892	London
Damara- und Namaqua-Handels-Gesellschaft	1894	Hamburg
Siedelungsgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika (Settlement Society for South-West Africa)	1895	Berlin Groß-Lichterfelde
Colonización Stroeder	1898?	Buenos Aires?
Damaraland-Farm-Gesellschaft (Damaraland Farm Society)	1899	Windhoek
Swakopmunder Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H.	1900	Berlin
Neue Südwest-Afrikanische Siedelungs-Gesellschaft	1902	Berlin
Hanseatische Kolonisationsgesellschaft	1905?	Hamburg?
Germanisch-Argentinische Genossenschaftliche Kolonisationsgesellschaft m.b.H. (German-Argentine Cooperative Colonization Company)	1907	
Argentinisch-Deutschen Handels-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung	1909	Berlin
Syndikat zur Vorbereitung einer Land-, Industrie- und Bergwerksgesellschaft in Argentinien/ Deutsch Argentinische Land- und Industrie-Gesellschaft m. b. H. (German-Argentinean Land and Industry Company)	1910	Berlin
Bureau zur Förderung des Handels zwischen Deutschland und Argentinien	1919	Hamburg

Deutsch-Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft	[1920s]	
Colonization society for German-speaking colonization and settlement in Mendoza	1924	
Compañía Eldorado, Colonización y Explotación de bosques S.A.	[1926]	Buenos Aires?

5.3.2 Non-Profit South Atlantic Colonization Associations

Other colonization societies were originally founded with a non-profit intention, an "idealist view." Their aim was to strengthen and support German agricultural colonization, economic activities, and migrant life abroad. I also include agricultural associations in this section, since colonization was mostly, in practice, an agricultural undertaking. What South Atlantic German-speakers shared was a sense of independent spirit and personal responsibility and activity.

In October 1898, the Agricultural Society for German South-West Africa (*Landwirtschaftlicher Verein für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*) met in Windhoek.[1102] Gustav Voigts was among the active founding members. The first agricultural exhibition with state prizes was announced for 1 and 2 June 1899.[1103] A few days after the event, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* published a detailed report on the exhibition.[1104] The vocabulary regularly used was "agriculture" (*Landwirtschaft*) and "protectorate" (*Schutzgebiet*) – versus "colonization" and "colony," the preferred terms in Argentina. In May 1909, the first South-West African Farmer Day (*Erster Deutsch-Südwestafrikanischer Farmertag*) took place in Windhoek.[1105] The report documents how the farmers in Namibia organized themselves locally. While they made it a point that they were cooperating with the local colonial government, they portrayed themselves as a self-organized and proud entity. Carl Schlettwein, Albert Voigts, and Gustav Voigts were members. In May 1913, another Agricultural Exhibition

[1102] "(Landwirtschaftliches). Am 15. d. Mts. Abends 7 1/2 Uhr, findet eine Versammlung des 'Landwirtschaftlichen Vereins für Deutsch-Südwestafrika' im Eilers'schen Lokal zu Windhoek statt," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, sec. Aus dem Schutzgebiet, NAN.

[1103] Mueller et al., "Bekanntmachung. Erste Landwirthschaftliche Ausstellung zur Vertheilung von Staatsprämien in Windhoek am 1. u. 2. Juni 1899," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, April 27, 1899, NAN.

[1104] "Die Ausstellung," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, June 8, 1899, NAN.

[1105] *Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Ersten Deutsch-Südwestafrikanischen Farmertages zu Windhuk am 27. und 28. Mai 1909* ([Windhoek], 1909).

(*Landwirtschaftliche Ausstellung*) took place in Windhoek.[1106] The *Keetmanhooper Zeitung* (Keetmanshoop Newspaper) noted the successes in crop farming (*Ackerbau*) next to stock farming (*Viehzucht*) in South-West Africa in July 1913.[1107] That same year, the Keetmanshoop Newspaper also featured an article on Argentine dry meat.[1108] The Farming Society for South-West Africa (*Farmwirtschafts-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika*) was founded on 17 February 1917 in Windhoek.[1109] Even after the war, this Farming Society continued to monitor stockbreeding in Argentina.[1110]

The most important science association founded by German-speakers in Argentina was the *Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein in Buenos Aires* (German Scientific Society in Buenos Aires).[1111] In 1907, the society members met in the neighborhood bar of the Austrian-Hungarian Club at Calle Corrientes 815.[1112] In 1913, Wilhelm Keiper, then its president, published a booklet about the aims and tasks of the society.[1113] Its main aim was then to be a mediator between intellectual life in Germany and Argentina. The yearly report from 1913, published in the DLPZ, announced that the society planned to establish a reference library and wanted to ask the German ambassador (*Kaiserlicher Gesandter*) Hilmar von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen if he could contact the large publishing houses in Germany and either provide free or discounted books for their new library.[1114] It also announced that it had changed its membership policy: in addition to the ordinary (*ordentliche*) members exclusively consisting of German-speakers, Argentinean non-German-speakers could join as extraordinary (*außerordentliche*) members. By 1914, it had acquired a locality in Charcas

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1106 "Landwirtschaftl. Ausstellung 1913," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, June 5, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

1107 "Erfolge des Ackerbaus in Südwestafrika," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, July 24, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

1108 "Argentinisches Trockenfleisch," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, October 2, 1913, SBB - Westhafen; "Argentinisches Trockenfleisch," *Keetmanshooper Zeitung*, October 9, 1913, SBB - Westhafen.

1109 Markus J. Jahnel, *Das Bodenrecht in "Neudeutschland über See": Erwerb, Vergabe und Nutzung von Land in der Kolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1884-1915* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 469.

1110 Otto Haverkamp, "Kann Argentinien auf längere Zeit Vieh ausführen?," *Mitteilungen der Farmwirtschafts-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika*, May 30, 1919, sec. Wie man Anfang 1913 über Argentinien als Fleischproduzent dachte; F.F. Matenaers, "Argentiniens Viehzucht," *Mitteilungen der Farmwirtschafts-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika*, May 30, 1919, sec. Wie man Anfang 1913 über Argentinien als Fleischproduzent dachte.

1111 Roberto A. Ferrari, "La Sociedad Científica Alemana en Buenos Aires," in *La inserción de la minoría alemana en Argentina entre 1900 y 1933*, ed. Regula Rohland de Langbehn and Miguel Vedda (Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Germanistas, 2008), 173–91.

1112 "Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 6, 1907, sec. Vereins-Nachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1113 Wilhelm Keiper, *Ziele und Aufgaben des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins in Buenos Aires: im Auftrage des Vorstandes von Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Keiper, Vorsitzenden* (Buenos Aires: Mengen, 1913).

1114 "Jahresbericht des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins in Buenos Aires über das Vereinsjahr 1913," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 3, 1914, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

Street 1650, with a conference room large enough for 90-100 people, a library, a reading room, and an information office.[1115] Dr. Nießen reported on this society in 1915 and how it particularly organized lectures to inform the general Argentinean population on German advances in science.[1116] He said that the German colony of Buenos Aires was a good example of how German colonies abroad should act during the war.[1117] By 1915, the society also edited its own journal.[1118] Even the Protestant church archives in Berlin hold a copy of the first volume of this journal.

In the first volume of the journal of the *Deutsch-Südamerikanisches Institut* (German-South American Institute), the editor Paul Gast provided reasons for the founding of the institute: increasing trade on the world market had heightened the interest of Europeans in Latin American countries.[1119] He also commented that Wilhelm Keiper's publication on the *Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein* shared the same viewpoint on the situation: North Americans, the French, the Spanish, and increasingly also Belgians and Italians were practicing cultural propaganda in Argentina, and Germany should take part in the game if it wanted to achieve a position as an equal competitor.[1120]

In 1915, the German Scientific Association edited a book from Argentine scholar José Ingenieros about the formation of an Argentinean race.[1121] In 1916, the association launched a book project about "Germanness in Argentina and its Achievements." The pastor Max Dufft, representing the German Protestant La Plata Synod, reported on this project and the participation of the synod in a letter to the Protestant Church Council in Berlin.[1122]

[1115] Paul Gast, ed., "Der Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Verein in Buenos Aires," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 295.

[1116] Nießen, "Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein in Buenos Aires," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 173–74.

[1117] Ibid., 173.

[1118] H. Koch and Wilhelm Keiper, eds., "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Kultur- und Landeskunde Argentiniens, 1915, Heft 1, Buenos Aires," 1915, EZA 5/2061.

[1119] Paul Gast, "Warum mußte das Deutsch-Südamerikanische Institut gegründet werden?," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 3-.

[1120] Paul Gast, ed., "Wissenschaftliche und andere Organisationen: Ziele und Aufgaben des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins in Buenos Aires," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 157–61.

[1121] José Ingenieros, *Die Bildung einer argentinischen Rasse* (Buenos Aires: Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein, 1915).

[1122] Max Dufft, "Betrifft deutsch-argentinische Vereinigung. Erlass vom 31.8.1915, [An den Evangelischen Ober-Kirchenrat, Berlin-Charlottenburg. Buenos Aires, den 12. Januar 1916," January 12, 1916, EZA 5/2061, [E.O. IV 1095].

In 1904, there were plans for a German Society for Economic Endeavors in Argentina (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien*) with R. Funke as director.[1123] In 1907, an Agricultural Protection Association (*Landwirtschaftlicher Schutz-Verband, Kooperativ-Gesellschaft*) was announced in the AT.[1124] I have not found any further information about either of these societies.

A German-Argentine Center was founded on 26 March 1907 in Berlin.[1125] In September, Argentinean President Figueroa Alcorta, upon the request of Berlin bankers and merchants connected to the Argentine Republic, issued a decree for financial support for the center and named Gustavo Niederlein the person in charge of organizing further cooperation between the German Empire and Argentina.[1126] By this decree, Niederlein was put under direct authority of the Argentinean Ministry of Agriculture (*Ministerio de Agricultura*). The newspaper AT reported that this decision was met with criticism by the Argentinean press, which claimed that such propaganda for Argentina in Germany was not necessary and should not be the role of the Argentinean state; the AT countered that the German-speaking countries differed from the Latin countries and that even in 1907, it was still necessary to educate European German-speakers about the advantages of Argentina for trade, migration, and colonization.[1127] In January 1908, news circulated in Germany that a German-Argentinean Club for the Promotion of trade relations between Germany and Argentina was to be founded with the following companies and individuals possibly involved: Staudt & Co., Plant & Co., Hardt & Co., Deutsche Überseeische Bank, Deutsch-Südamerikanische Bank, Konsul a. D. Franz Vogler, and Vice-consul of the Argentinean Republic M. Waetge.[1128] By 1913, the center was referred to as *Deutsch-Argentinischer Centralverband zur Föderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen* (German-Argentinean Central

[1123] Wilhelm Vallentin, "Wilhelm Vallentin to Vorbereitungs-Kommission zur Gründung einer 'Deutschen Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien.' z.H. des Vorsitzenden Herrn R. Funke," December 12, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 122-125.

[1124] "Landwirtschaftlicher Schutz-Verband, Kooperativ-Gesellschaft, Ld."

[1125] "'Club Germano-Argentino' in Berlin," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, September 7, 1907, BArch R 901/30421, pag. 10-11.

[1126] José Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 3 septiembre 1907]," September 3, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 3435 R del año 1907].

[1127] "Die Nachricht von der Subsidienbewilligung an den Deutsch-Argentinischen Club in Berlin...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 5, 1907, BArch R 901/30421, pag. 11.

[1128] von Borries, "[Berliner] Polizeipräsident an Minister von Handel und Gewerbe," January 18, 1908, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 101.

Association for the Promotion of Economic Interests).[1129] The association had its own publication and published texts from authors such as the Rudolf Colditz,[1130] Rudolf Hauthal,[1131] Gustavo Niederlein,[1132] Wilhelm Keiper[1133] oder Kurt Martin.[1134] Ernst Pfannenschmidt also visited the association in October 1913.[1135] Between 1910 and 1920, Pfannenschmidt was employed as agricultural specialist in Argentina by the German Empire.[1136]

In July 1911, José Greger, naturalized Argentinean citizen, successfully requested funding from the Argentine government for his journal *Sud América* (*Süd-Amerika*), published in Munich, Germany: the Argentinean authorities considered his journal as providing efficient advertisement for German immigration to Argentina.[1137]

Name	Year	Seat
Sociedad Rural Argentina[1138]	1866	Buenos Aires

[1129] Paul Gast, ed., "Deutsch-Argentinischer Zentralverband zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 42; Paul Gast, ed., "Deutsch-Argentinischer Zentralverband zur Föderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 161–63.

[1130] Rudolf F. von Colditz, *Die Aussichten für deutsches Grosskapital in Argentinien*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 3 (Berlin: Süd- und Mittel-Amerika-Verlag, 1912); Rudolf F. von Colditz, *Aus den hohen Anden Süd-Amerikas: Vortrag gehalten am 5. März 1914 in der Aula der Kgl. Kriegsakademie zu Berlin*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 10 (Berlin: Deutsch-Argentinischer Centralverband, 1914).

[1131] Rudolf Hauthal, *Das Minenwesen in Argentinien*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 6 (Berlin: Süd- und Mittel-Amerika-Verlag, 1912).

[1132] Gustavo Niederlein, *Die argentinische Industrie und ihre Bedeutung für deutschen Export*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 5 (Berlin: Süd- und Mittel-Amerika-Verlag, 1912).

[1133] Wilhelm Keiper, *Deutsche Kulturaufgaben in Argentinien: Vortrag, gehalten am 30. Januar 1914 im Preußischen Abgeordnetenhause*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 7 (Berlin: Deutsch-Argentinischer Centralverband, 1914).

[1134] Kurt Martin, "Die Aussichten des Auswanderers in Argentinien. Berlin 1919," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Otto Quelle, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1919).

[1135] H. Waetge and Fr. du Vinage, "[Lecture announcement Dr. Pfannenschmidt, 'Die Aussichten für deutsche Einwanderer in den La-Plata-Staaten']," October 1913, BArch R 901/30430, pag. 47.

[1136] Ernst Pfannenschmidt, *Die argentinische Landwirtschaft*, ed. Fritz Ehrenforth, Der Weltmarkt für agrarische Erzeugnisse: Untersuchungen des Forschungsinstituts für Agrar- und Siedlungswesen zu Berlin 2 (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1926).

[1137] Eleodoro Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Resolución de 26 julio 1911]," July 26, 1911, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 5052 C del año 1911].

[1138] The Sociedad Rural Argentina was not founded by German-speakers, but German-speakers like Emilio Frers had important positions in the society and they used the influence to promote their cause.

Agricultural Society for GSWA (*Landwirtschaftlicher Verein für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*	1898	Windhoek
Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein in Buenos Aires (German Scientific Society in Buenos Aires)	?	Buenos Aires
German Society for Economic Endeavors in Argentina (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien*)	1904	?
German-Argentine Center/ *Deutsch-Argentinischer Centralverband zur Föderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen* (German-Argentinean Central Association for the Promotion of Economic Interests)	1907	Berlin
Journal *Süd-Amerika*	1911	München

5.3.3 Colonial and Colonization Institutions set up in Central Europe

In the 1850s, several associations were founded in Germany with the general aim to promote German colonization, migration, and settlement abroad. However, they did not yet necessarily focus on the South Atlantic as migrant destination. A prominent example was the *Texas Adelsverein* or Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas, which planned and organized the settlement of German-speakers in the free state of Texas from the 1840s onwards.

The National Association for German Emigration and Settlement in Frankfurt am Main (*Nationalverein für deutsche Auswanderung und Ansiedelung zu Frankfurt a. M.*) was founded in 1848.[1139] The association consisted in a variety of regional chapters, e.g. in Hessen, Würtemberg, Baden, Hanau, and Nassau. In his report about the founding of the association, Heinrich Künzel announced its aim as being the settlement of "Germans in the

[1139] Heinrich Künzel and Wilhelm Stricker, *Bericht über die Entstehung und bisherige Wirksamkeit des Nationalvereins für deutsche Auswanderung und Ansiedelung zu Frankfurt a.M.* (Darmstadt; Frankfurt am Main: R. v. Auw; C. Krebs-Schmitt, 1849).

national sense" (*Ansiedlung von Deutschen im nationalen Sinne*).[1140] "Nation" appears to be used here as a synonym for a cultural group and a German "people," in opposition to Germans as a political designation. The National Association gave preference to settlement in the United States, but was also generally open to other destinations deemed suitable for German-speakers.

The Berlin Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization (*Berliner Verein zur Centralisation deutscher Auswanderung und Colonisation*) was founded in 1849.[1141] It identified economic reasons for migration as paramount, before religious and political ones.[1142] The association considered mass migration as an evil for Germany and the German nation, but it also postulated that it wasn't up to the German governments to prevent mass migration, but rather up to private individuals.[1143] People like Samuel Gottfried Kerst attempted to promote the River Plate in particular as a migration destination during his presentations at the Berlin Association.[1144] There were also geographic associations like the one in Frankfurt am Main that promoted knowledge about the River Plate in Germany.[1145]

The Central Assocation for Trade Geography and the Promotion of German Interests (*Centralverein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen*) was founded in Berlin 1879.[1146] Its founder, economist and student of Wilhelm Roscher, Robert Jannasch, ardently tried to improve trade relations with regions abroad and to create new markets by redirecting German migration flows to areas where migrants could "remain German." In 1886, he was involved in a trade expedition along the African West coast.[1147] He advocated

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[1140] I assume that "nation" is used here as a synonym for cultural group and German people in opposition to Germans as political designation. Ibid., 3.

[1141] Ernst Wilhelm Johann Gaebler, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Kolonisation: Erster Rechenschaftsbericht des Berliner Vereins zur Centralisation Deutscher Auswanderung und Kolonisation, erstattet im Auftrage des Verwaltungsraths* (Berlin: F. L. Schneider & Company, 1850).

[1142] Ibid., 5.

[1143] Ibid., 8.

[1144] Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay*; Kerst, *Die Länder im Stromgebiete des La Plata*; Samuel Gottfried Kerst, *Die Plata-Staaten und die Wichtigkeit der Provinz Otuquis und des Rio Bermejo seit der Annahme des Princips der freien Schiffarth auf den Zuflüssen des Rio de la Plata* (Berlin: Veit und Comp., 1854).

[1145] Friedrich Wilhelm von Reden, *Die Staaten im Stromgebiet des La Plata in ihrer Bedeutung für Europa. Grundlage von Vorträgen im Geografischen Verein zu Frankfurt a.M. Anfangs 1852* (Darmstadt: Verlag der Hofbuchhandlung von Gustav Jonghaus, 1852).

[1146] Ernst Ziel, ed., "Ein Centralverein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen," *Die Gartenlaube*, no. 15 (1879): 259; Bade, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit: Revolution - Depression - Expansion*, 180.

[1147] Robert Jannasch, *Die Deutsche Handelsexpedition 1886* (Berlin: Carl Heymann, 1887).

Brazil as the alternative to the United States as best migration destination, and the creation of agricultural colonies there.[1148] During the 1902 German Colonial Congress, he fought with Moritz Alemann about this topic,[1149] only to change his mind a few years later, at the next Colonial Congress of 1905,[1150] and in 1907 he was even employed by the Argentine government to travel the Argentine South in order to identify the best settlement locations together with Gustavo Niederlein.[1151]

The German Colonial Association (*Deutscher Kolonial Verein*) was founded in Frankfurt am Main in 1882.[1152] Its statutes declared that its aim was to find a practical solution for the colonial question.[1153] More concretely, the immediate stated aim was the setup of trade posts as the basis for larger undertakings. The Society for German Colonization (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*) was founded in 1884 in Berlin, after Lüderitzbucht in Namibia had been put under protection of the German Empire and the society's statues declared as its three main aims: "the further founding of German-national colonies, the practical support of existing German colonies, and the redirection of German migration to suitable German colonies."[1154] These two associations merged in 1887 and

[1148] Robert Jannasch, ed., *Rathschläge für Auswanderer nach Südbrasilien. Auf Veranlassung des Centralvereins für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen im Auslande zu Berlin* (Berlin: Allgemeine Verlags-Agentur, 1897).

[1149] Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, 839:"Hierzu lag ein Amendement des Herrn Alemann vor, nach dem Worte "Südbrasilien" einzusetzen: "und den La Plata-Ländern.// Alemann, Buenos Aires: Ich habe dieses Amendement gestellt im Interesse der Gleichberechtigung, da die sanitären, landwirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnisse in beiden Zonen ungefähr dieselben sind. Ohne die Vorteile von Südbrasilien anzugreifen, muss ich sagen, dass doch die La Plata-Staaten wieder Vorteile anderer Art bieten, wie z.B. Eisenbahnverkehr, welche sie berechtigen, ebenfalls Anspruch darauf zu erheben, als günstig für die deutsche Auswanderung betrachtet zu werden. // Dr. Jannasch, Berlin: Ich bitte die geehrte Versammlung, dieses Amendement des Herrn Alemann abzulehnen. Es ist in der gedruckten Resolution ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, dass die Auswanderung nach den "mit gemässigtem Klima ausgestatteten Ländern von Südamerika" geleitet werden soll, und da sind bestimmte Teile von Argentinien inbegriffen. Wenn aber Herr Alemann "Argentinien" schlechthin sagt, so könnte man an Chubut oder ähnliche Gegenden denken. Das wäre ein sehr schwerer Fehler, und deshalb bitte ich, das Amendement abzulehnen.// Nach der Ablehnung des Amendements Alemann mit überwiegender Stimmenmehrheit wurde die Resolution in der zuerst vorliegenden Form angenommen.".

[1150] Robert Jannasch, "Argentinien als Wirtschafts- und Auswanderungsgebiet," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, zu Berlin am 5., 6., und 7. Oktober 1905*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906), 753–73.

[1151] José Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 noviembre 1907]," November 27, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 4428 N del año 1907].

[1152] "Vertraulich! [Gründung des Deutschen Kolonialvereins]," September 10, 1882, BArch R 8023/253, pag. 10.

[1153] "Auszug aus den Satzungen des „Deutschen Colonialvereins"," 1882, BArch R 8023/253.

[1154] "Satzungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation," 1885, BArch R 8023/263, pag. 1.

became the German Colonial Society (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*).[1155] The German Colonial Society cooperated with the Central Information Bureau for Migrants (*Central-Auskunftsstelle für Auswanderer*) and issued publications informing potential migrants about potential destinations, including Argentina.[1156]

The German-South America Institute (*Deutsch-Südamerikanisches Institut*) was first founded in 1912 with its headquarters in Bonn and the main office and editorial office in Aachen, under Professor Paul Gast, Professor of geodesy at the *Königlich Technische Universität zu Aachen*.[1157] Gast provided an explanation of why the institute was founded: to provide information and education to South Americans about Germans, and vice-versa, in times of increasing competition on the world market.[1158] Two prominent people involved in the institute were Otto Preusse-Sperber,[1159] who had extensively travelled and published on Argentina, and Professor Sievers from Göttingen, who was among the founding members.[1160] In 1918, the headquarters were moved to Köln. Paul Gast published a list of members who lived in Germany at the time.[1161] In 1917, the name of the institute was changed to German-South American and Iberian Institute (*Deutsch-Südamerikanisches und Iberisches Institut*) in Cologne[1162] and Otto Quelle took over as editor.[1163] Simultaneously in

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[1155] Emanuel Cohn, "Vorgeschichte der Kolonialgesellschaft," 1902, BArch R 8023/256, pag.; Imre Demhardt, *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft 1888-1918: ein Beitrag zur Organisationsgeschichte der deutschen Kolonialbewegung* (Wiesbaden: Selbstverlag, 2002).

[1156] Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft and Central-Auskunftsstelle für Auswanderer, eds., *Argentinien* (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse, 1902).

[1157] Paul Gast, ed., *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913); Alexander M. Kalkhoff, *Romanische Philologie im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: institutionengeschichtliche Perspektiven* (Tübingen: Narr, 2010), 274; Reinhard Liehr, "Geschichte Lateinamerikas in Berlin," in *Geschichtswissenschaft in Berlin im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Persönlichkeiten und Institutionen*, ed. Reimer Hansen, Wolfgang Ribbe, and Willi Paul Adams (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 644.

[1158] Gast, "Warum mußte das Deutsch-Südamerikanische Institut gegründet werden?"

[1159] Otto Preusse-Sperber, "Eisenbahnbauten in Verbindung mit Kolonisation," in *Mittheilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 23–30.

[1160] Paul Gast, ed., "Instituts-Chronik. Organisation. Die Tätigkeit der Geschäftstelle im 1. Halbjahr 1913," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 68.

[1161] Paul Gast, ed., "Verzeichnis der in Deutschland wohnenden Mitglieder," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1918), 100–106.

[1162] Kalkhoff, *Romanische Philologie im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, 274.

[1163] Otto Quelle, ed., *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1919).

1917, the Ibero-American Institute Hamburg was founded.[1164] It was only in 1930 that all of these institutes were merged into the Ibero-American Institute *(Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut)* in Berlin.[1165]

In 1917, the Museum and Institute for the Knowledge of Germanness Abroad and for the Promotion of German Interests Abroad (*Museum und Institut zur Kunde des Auslandsdeutschtums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland*) was founded in Stuttgart, and renamed German Foreign Institute (*Deutsches Ausland-Institut*) within the same year.[1166] Between 1933 and 1945, the institute voluntarily turned into a Nazi propaganda instrument.[1167] It managed to survived the war and serves as a cultural institute today.

Association	Founding Year	Location
National Association for German Emigration and Settlement (*Nationalverein für deutsche Auswanderung und Ansiedelung*)	1848	Frankfurt am Main
Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization (*Verein zur Centralisation deutscher Auswanderung und Colonisation*)	1849 (or 1850?)	Berlin
Geographic Association in Frankfurt am Main (*Geografischer Verein)*	1836	Frankfurt am Main
Central Assocation for Trade Geography and the Promotion of German Interests (*Centralverein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen*)	1879	Berlin
German Colonial Association	1882	Frankfurt am Main

[1164] Kalkhoff, *Romanische Philologie im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, 274; Liehr, "Geschichte Lateinamerikas in Berlin," 644.

[1165] Liehr, "Geschichte Lateinamerikas in Berlin," 644; Carreras, "Die Quesada-Bibliothek kommt nach Berlin. Zu den Hintergründen einer Schenkung."

[1166] Fred Adlam Helms, "Deutsches Ausland-Institut, 1917-1933: An Administrative History" (Ph.D., University of Delaware, 1976).

[1167] Andrea Brüstle, *Das Deutsche Ausland-Institut und die Deutschen in Argentinien, 1933-1945* (Berlin: wvb, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2006).

(*Deutscher Kolonial Verein*)		
Society for German Colonization (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*)	1884	Berlin
German Colonial Society (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*)	1887	Berlin
German-South America Institute (*Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Institut*)	1912	Bonn/Aachen
German-South American and Iberian Institute (*Deutsch-Südamerikanisches und Iberisches Institut*)	1917	Köln
Ibero-American Institute (*Ibero-amerikanisches Institut*)	1917	Hamburg
Museum and Institute for the Knowledge of Germanness Abroad and for the Promotion of German Interests Abroad (*Museum und Institut zur Kunde des Auslandsdeutschtums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland*)/ German Foreign Institute (*Deutsches Ausland-Institut*)	1917	Stuttgart
Ibero-American Institute *(Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut)*	1930	Berlin

5.4 Companies Involved in Large-scale Production of Food Stuffs

Some German-speakers in Argentina were involved in the production and distribution of food items. Food production was closely linked to colonization as it presumed the handling of land, either for the production of crops or of animals destined to human consumption. Food production was thus a central part of agriculture. Many German-speakers in Argentina were involved in the Argentinean wheat and meat industries.

5.4.1 Beer – A Typically “German” Beverage

Early on, South Atlantic German-speakers set up restaurants and bars where they sold beer. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, they only sold imported beer. Until German-speakers started producing local beer in the 1860s, beer had been imported mostly from England. The oldest German brewery in Argentina was that of Mister Westermayer, formed in the 1860s, later joined by Johann Schellenschlaeger, Hammer und Co., and Rotenburger and E. Bieckert.[1168] In 1866, the German newspaper of the River Plate published an article about "past and current" beers.[1169] While beer was also widely consumed by English-speakers, it turned into a specifically German food item that German-speakers had brought with them. Produced in Argentina, it created local interest in beer and thus a local market. In 1872 already, an article in the German newspaper Buenos Aires was titled "important for brewery owners!"[1170] Emil Bieckert from Alsace was registered as a beer brewer on the list of German merchant houses in the 1873 La Plata Calendar.[1171] Bühler was also registered as beer brewer.[1172] In 1888, Otto Bemberg founded the Quilmes Cervecería as a family business. In 1896, the Quilmes beer was also advertised in the Protestant newsletter.[1173] The Bemberg brewery is still operating today, even though the brand Quilmes is now owned by a Brazilian company (since 2002). In 1907, the Bieckert company advertised with "Africana" being the best dark beer in Argentina.[1174]

In Namibia, it was also the German settlers that brought beer and beer brewing with them.[1175] But here, beer was imported for even a longer time. In 1900, a certain Mr. Jauch opened the Bavaria Brewery in Swakopmund, apparently the first of its kind.[1176] In 1902, two German-speakers started brewing beer in Windhoek independently – Friedrich Schmidt

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1168 Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884, 17.

1169 G. F. Habich, "Biere von ehemals und heut," *Deutsche Zeitung am Rio de la Plata*, January 4, 1866.

1170 "Wichtig für Brauereibesitzer!," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.

1171 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 210.

1172 Ibid., 211.

1173 "Cerveza Quilmes," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt Für die Deutschredenden am La Plata*, December 4, 1896, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 73.

1174 "'Africana' ist das beste Schwarz-Bier Argentiniens. Compañia Cerveceria Bieckert (1900) Lda.," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 8, 1907, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Pilsen y Africana negra sind wie allbekannt die besten Biere Argentiniens," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 31, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1175 "Beer tames the dry country: Beer has become as synonomous with SWA/Namibia as biltong, due to the beer-drinking custom in Germany which new German settlers brought all the way with them to this country," *Die Republikein*, June 16, 1988, Deutsch-Südwestafrika / Duis-Suidwes-Afrika edition.

1176 Sigrid Kube and Klaus Becker, "Salve Gambrinus! Der Kampf wider den Durst und den tierischen Ernst; Der Bierkrieg," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 226.

in Klein-Windhuk and Karl Bauer founded the Felsenkeller brewery – until they merged their businesses in 1912.[1177] In 1920, the South West Breweries Limited was founded in Windhoek and the Hansa brewery in 1929 in Swakopmund.[1178] The company was renamed Namibia Limited after Namibian independence in 1990 and it continues to sell the Windhoek Lager until today.[1179]

5.4.2 Wheat, an "Old-world" Crop Transplanted

In 1909, the German Consulate Buenos Aires sent a list of the Wheat and Feed producers in Argentina to the German Foreign Office.[1180] The list included the following: E. A. Bunge & J. Born, Luis Dreyfuss & Cia., Weil Hermanos & Cia., Weigal & Ehlert, Brauss, Mahn & Cia., Merian Altgelt & Cia., Huny & Wormser, General Mercantile Comp., H. Fuhrman & Cia., and Th. Bracht & Cia.

The Bunge family was the most powerful family business involved in wheat production. In 1884, "Ernesto Bunge y Jorge Born S.A." was founded.[1181] In 1905, Bunge y Born was involved in the founding of the *Banco Hipotecario Franco-Argentino*.[1182] During WWI, the company was renamed the *Compagnie royale Belgo-Argentine*.[1183] According to Phillip Dehne, the Bunge & Born Company represents an example of a how the process of globalization continued during WWI and was not interrupted by it.[1184] After WWI, the

[1177] Ibid.

[1178] Ibid., 227.

[1179] Ibid., 228–30.

[1180] "Firmen der Getreide und Futtermittelbranche," March 3, 1909, BArch R 901/30425, pag. 25.

[1181] Schvarzer, *Bunge & Born*, 6; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 183.

[1182] Ceva, "De la exportacion cerealera a la diversificacion industrial. Las empresas Bunge y Born en Argentina (1884-1940)," 86.

[1183] Ibid., 93.

[1184] Phillip A. Dehne, "The Resiliance of Globalization during the First World War: The Case of Bunge & Born in Argentina," in *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930*, ed. Christof Dejung and Niels P. Petersson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 228–48.

company was also active in Uruguay.[1185] The Bunge/Born/Hirsch/Oster company became a multinational company in the grain business that is still operating today.[1186]

5.4.3 Providing the World with Meat

Next to wheat, the meat industry was most important in Argentina. While in most of Argentina, beef was the preferred meat for consumption, a German butcher in Argentina advertised pork and sausage production in 1907.[1187] H. Thöle also advertised a sausage factory in Argentina in the same year, but with a Spanish store name.[1188]

In April 1908, the Argentinean Department of Agriculture created an inspector position for the *Fábrica de Carnes Conservadas de Colón (E.R.)* of the company Liebig's Extract Meat.[1189] Increasing import and export of animals and meat brought more risk of diseases and stricter controls at the ports with them.

Of particular importance were the development of freezing techniques for meat conservation and transportation. In 1912, J. Ullrich Mueller published on the Argentinean meat freezing industry and its importance for European consumption.[1190] His text was published as part of the German-Argentine Central Association for the Support of Economic Interests. In 1922, the German-Argentinean Frozen Food Company was founded in Buenos Aires.[1191]

[1185] Raúl Jacob, "Bunge y Born en Uruguay (1915-1945)," *Ciclo en la historia, la economia y la sociedad* Año 5, no. 5 (1995): 29–54.

[1186] María Inés Barbero, "Business Groups in Argentina during the Export-Led Growth Period (1870-1914)," in *Entrepreneurship and Growth: An International Historical Perspective*, ed. Gabriel Tortella and Gloria Quiroga (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 69–91.

[1187] L. R. Scheiner, "Deutsche Schweineschlachterei und Wurstfabrik von F. Herrmann," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1188] H. Thöle, "El Arca de Noe [...] Grosse Konserven- u. Wurstwarenfabrik - Neujahr," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 1, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1189] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 28 abril 1908]," April 28, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1595 G del año 1908]; According the Graham-Yool, the company also had branches in Uruguay and Namibia, see Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony*.

[1190] J. Ullrich Mueller, *Die argentinische Gefrierfleischindustrie und ihre Bedeutung für den europäischen Verbrauch*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 1 (Berlin: Süd- und Mittel-Amerika-Verlag, 1912).

[1191] Sociedad anónima Frigorifico argentino-alemán (, *Estatutos de La Sociedad Anónima Frigorifico Argentino-Alemán (Deutsch-Argentinischer Gefrieranstalt)* (Buenos Aires, 1922).

Before frozen meat gained reputation, it was Argentinean dry meat that was talked about abroad: in 1913, the *Keetmanshooper Zeitung* published an article on Argentine dry meat.[1192] German-speakers in Namibia watched the raising popularity of Argentinean meat on the world market. It was reported on Argentinean dry meat and people even had some samples they could try of this novelty.

5.5 German-speakers' Participation in Bringing Technological Progress

German-speakers claimed to be innovative and progressive. The German-speaking missionaries in Namibia were at times the first Europeans in contact with the local population, along with merchants. German-speakers were not technologically more advanced than other Europeans throughout most of the nineteenth century; rather, they represented a general European "advancement" in contrast to the lifestyles and living conditions in the South Atlantic, both in Argentina and Namibia. German-speakers nevertheless took part in the increasingly national competition for technological advancement, with Great Britain turning from a model into a rival and the United States emerging as a new competitor at the end of the century. Generally, technological advancements occurred in the fields of communication and transportation, and with the broader introduction of electricity in various parts of everyday life.

5.5.1 Improving Means of Communication

In Namibia, the missionaries introduced a postal system and a telegraph system. However, letters still took a very long time to travel between Namibia and German lands. Carl Hugo Hahn wrote in his diaries that letters usually took several months and oftentimes got lost altogether.[1193] In 1904, H. Herzog published an article in the German colonial policies and economy journal on the development of the mail and telegraph system in the German

[1192] "Argentinisches Trockenfleisch," October 2, 1913; "Argentinisches Trockenfleisch," October 9, 1913.
[1193] Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher*.

colonies as it had developed after 1899.[1194] This publication was followed up by a scholarly work over one hundred years later when in 2007 Sebastian Mantei published a book with the Namibia Scientific Society on the development of the mail and telegraph system in Namibia between 1884 and 1915.[1195]It was after the 1980s that scholars started to take more interest in this topic. In 1981, Bernhard Koch wrote a book on the military mailing service ("field mail") in the German protectorate between 1904 and 1907.[1196] In 1994, Ulrich Czimmek studied German maritime mail between Hamburg and West Africa.[1197]

The company Telefunken meanwhile found its way from Germany to Argentina: in 1907, the DLPZ published an article on the latest achievements of Telefunken in Argentina[1198] and in 1915, it advertised in the Spanish-language magazine *Germania*.[1199] In 1917, the German news agency Transocean G.m.b.H. was also operating in Argentina.[1200]

5.5.2 Providing for Transportation

In Namibia, German set up European-style roads for their trade routes.[1201] And in both Argentina and Namibia, Germans were involved in the construction of railroads. In Namibia, the train connecting Swakopmund at the coast and Windhoek in the interior was built in 1902.[1202] In the same year, goods were transported from the coast by Lüderitzbucht into the

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1194 H. Herzog, "Entwicklung des Post- und Telegraphenverkehrs der deutschen Kolonien seit 1899," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6 (1904): 472–82.

1195 Sebastian Mantei, *Von der "Sandbüchse" zum Post- und Telegraphenland: der Aufbau des Kommunikationsnetzwerks in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (1884 - 1915)*, 1st ed. (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wiss. Ges., 2007).

1196 Bernhard Koch, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: "Feldpost" auf Seeposten 1904 - 1907* (Hamburg, 1981).

1197 Ulrich Czimmek, *Deutsche Seepost Hamburg - Westafrika: Fahrpläne und Reisedaten der Woermann-Dampfer 1890-1914 mit einer Bewertung ihrer Seepostbelege*, Schriften zur Deutschen Kolonialphilatelie und Kolonialgeschichte 2 (Göttingen: Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Sammler deutsche Kolonialpostwertzeichen, 1994).

1198 "Die jüngsten Erfolge des Systems 'Telefunken' in Argentinien," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 18, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1199 "Telefunken," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915).

1200 C. E. Kloepping, "C. E. Kloepping Buenos Aires to Herrn Direktor Schulte der 'Transocean G.m.b.H.' Berlin," July 3, 1917, BArch R 901/57676, pag. 41-43; C. E. Kloepping, "C. E. Kloepping to Herrn Direktor Schulte der 'Transocean G.m.b.H.' Berlin," June 27, 1917, BArch R 901/57676, pag. 50-56.

1201 Max Fellmer, "Einrichtung eines großen Viehtransportweges durch Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 4 (1903 1902).

1202 Gerding, "Die Bahn Swakopmund-Windhoek," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 3 (1902 1901): 381–416.

interior.[1203] The *Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft* (Otavi Mine and Railroad Company) undertook several projects in the northern part of Namibia in the first decades of the twentieth century. Klaus Dierks has described the development and construction of railroads in Namibia as a way of unlocking the last parts of Africa to "civilization."[1204]

An electric railroad from La Plata via Buenos Aires to Tigre was constructed by the German company Otto Franke & Cia. in 1907.[1205] The author of a DLPZ article pointed out that this was the first time German capital was involved in railroad construction in Argentina. In September 1908, the Argentinean Congress passed a law for the construction of a railway line in territory Rio Negro.[1206] German companies were also involved in the construction of the Buenos Aires subway system.

Also very important were the German shipping companies: they increased their service to the South Atlantic throughout the second half of the nineteenth century with the aid of technological advancements. The role of Madeira as a changing station should be further investigated; many travel accounts mention this island. In Argentina, the biggest German shipping companies were the following: the *Hamburg-Südamerikanische Dampfschifffahrts-Gesellschaft*, the *Norddeutscher Lloyd*, *Hansa*, *Kosmos*, and the *Hamburg-Amerika Linie*. In the Address Calendar of the German Colony of Buenos Aires, Ernst Bachmann mentioned the German shipping lines that were gradually set up: the Hamburger Kosmos Linie started in 1871 to Montevideo and then Buenos Aires from 1873 onwards. The first direct shipping line to Buenos Aires was the Hamburg-Suedamerikanische Dampfschifffahrtsgesellschaft from 1872 onwards, with one ship a month and then later two ships a month.[1207] The Norddeutsche Lloyd started regular trips to Buenos Aires in 1876; the Baltische Lloyd had a few trips to Buenos Aires in the mid-1870s, and the Oesterreichischer Lloyd undertook one trip to Buenos Aires in 1881.[1208]

[1203] Schwabe, "Güterbeförderung mittels Straßenlokomotiven von Lüderitzbucht ins Innere," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 3 (1902 1901): 267.

[1204] Klaus Dierks, "Schmalspureneisenbahnen erschließen Afrikas letzte Wildnis: Namibias Schienenverkehr zwischen Aufbau und Rückgang," in *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. Klaus Hess and Klaus Becker (Göttingen; Windhoek: Hess, 2002), 31–49.

[1205] "Die elektrische Schnellbahn nach La Plata und nach Tigre," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, February 27, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1206] [?], "El Senado y Cámara de Diputados de la Nación Argentina reunidos en Congreso etc. sancionan con fuerza de Ley...," September 11, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 4757 del año 1908].

[1207] Bachmann, "Land und Leute in Argentinien," 16.

[1208] Ibid.

In 1873, Benn & Co. as well as Lüders & Co. were agents of the Hamburg-Südamerikanische Dampfschifffahrts-Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires.[1209] In 1877, the Norddeutscher Lloyd still mostly advertised as a "mail steamer."[1210] The Norddeutscher Lloyd was also involved in the project of the cooperative German-Argentine Colonization Company.[1211] In 1907, the DLPZ published an article to honor the fifty-year existence of the company.[1212] In 1915, Germania published various articles on the company.[1213] Also in 1907, the Hansa celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary.[1214]

In May 1899, the Argentine Minister of Agriculture was in charge of considering putting in place a steamer connection between Buenos Aires and the Southern coastline of Argentina.[1215]

5.5.3 Expanding the Availability of Electricity

In Argentina, German companies were competing with British ones in the market for electricity providers. Electricity also became important for agriculture, as an article from the Argentine journal *La Agricultura* from 1893 testifies.[1216] The German Overseas Electricity Company (*Compañía Alemana Transatlántica de Electricidad*/*Deutsch-Überseeische Eletrizitätsgesellschaft*) started operating in Argentina in 1893.[1217] Lütge et al. dedicate a part of their book on Germans in Argentina to the German Overseas Electricity Company in particular: they claim it was the only large German concession company in Argentina to emerge from a project for the Buenos Aires tramway, and that the company brought several

[1209] *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*, 210, 215.

[1210] Deetjen & Co. and A. Scharffenorth, "Norddeutscher Lloyd v. Bremen: Kaiserlich Deutsche Postdampfer," *Die Heimath: Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, December 29, 1877 Deetjen & Co. advertised for the NDL; Deetjen was involved in the founding of the Protestant German Church in 1843.

[1211] "Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen to Bülow [Bekanntmachung Gründung der „Genossenschaftlichen Germanisch-Argentinischen Kolonisationsgesellschaft"]."

[1212] Neubaur, *Der Norddeutsche Lloyd, 50 Jahre der Entwickelung, 1857-1907*.

[1213] "Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen - Compañía de Navegación Lloyd Norte Alemán," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915); "Lloyd Norte Aleman," *Germania* 1, no. 14 (December 16, 1915).

[1214] "Das 25. Jubiläum der Deutschen Dampfschifffahrts-Gesellschaft 'Hansa' Bremen," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 4, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1215] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 24 mayo 1899]" (Buenos Aires, May 24, 1899), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1583 Bis del año 1899].

[1216] "Electricidad y Agricultura," *La Agricultura: Organo de los intereses rurales é industriales* 1, no. 6 (February 9, 1893): 59.

[1217] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 297; Forbes, "German Informal Imperialism in South America before 1914," 394.

hundreds of German engineers, technicians, and commercial employees to Argentina.[1218] The company frequently advertised both in the AT and the DLPZ. In 1916, it had an ad for "electricity in the kitchen."[1219]

5.6 Conclusion

The companies German-speakers founded in Argentina and Namibia carried out the objective of increasing trade and economy Central European German states. They were active proponents of the idea of German overseas colonies as new German markets. Many of these businesses were "German" by virtue of their proprieters' origin. Important elements of these German colonies were banks as financial institutions that managed the capital flows. Some banks managed money transactions between the South Atlantic and Central Europe. In several cases, they were also national institutions, linked to the nation-states where they were registered: Belgium, France, Great Britain, and later also the German Empire. Other banks operated locally and managed the capital for agricultural colonization projects. Agricultural colonization companies and associations played a large part in the activities of German-speakers in the South Atlantic. Colonization companies and associations were at core of this project of expanding a German market. Central-European Germans helped them in their endeavors: the movement started out in Central Europe but even later, many associations and institutions continued to have their seat in Central Europe, even if the main activity and life of the associations took place in the South Atlantic. German-speakers were very active in the project of bringing technological innovations to the South Atlantic. These included advances in communication and transportation, as well as the promotion and extension of the use of electricity in everyday life. As far as food production was concerned, German-speakers were mostly involved in beer, wheat and meat production.

Family businesses were especially important. While membership of the South Atlantic German-speaking communities was in constant flux with people coming and going, travelers and short-term migrants, a number of families made up the more stable elements. These families set up their main residence in the South Atlantic, but even within these

[1218] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 297–98.

[1219] Compañia Alemana Transatlántica de Electricidad, "Elektrizität in der Küche," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

families individuals might spend time away; many children would spend a substantial part of their youth in German lands for education. The families formed the core of the German-speaking communities in the South Atlantic, like Redecker and Voigts in Namibia and Bunge and Tornquist in Argentina. As we have seen in this chapter, South Atlantic German-speaking colonies participated in the creation of overseas markets and thus extension of reach of German economic sphere.

Part II Concluding Remarks

In this second part we have studied South Atlantic colonies German-speakers set up over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The colonies functioned as networks where German-speakers cooperated to set up associations with the overall aim to increase trade for German markets while perpetuating "civilization."

The main arguments discussed in the three chapters include that the networks of German-speakers functioned primarily as privately motivated group projects, that German-speakers worked towards maintaining "civilization" within their own communities as well as raising the level of civilization in their receiving socities, and that their networks served as a way to expand the reach of German markets. German-speakers focused on private entrepreneurship and only occasionally cooperated with state authorities. They believed in the necessity of advancing "German-ness" through economic means. They set up churches and schools with the help of associations in Central Europe. Only around 1900 did the German Empire get involved in the set up of schools in the German protectorate South-West Africa. Leisure and philanthropic associations worked towards the maintenance of a certain level civilization within the German-speaking networks. Companies and banks participated in the advancement of the receiving societies. German-speakers, however, gradually replaced the term "colony" with "community" over the course of the twentieth century, in the aftermath of WWI and WWII.

German-speakers in Argentina had claimed the title "German colony in Buenos Aires" for themselves in 1884.[1220] Across the South Atlantic colonial enthusiasts proclaimed the

[1220] Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884.

existence of the "first German colony in Africa" in South-West Africa that same year.[1221] Historians maintain that specifically in the German-speaking South Atlantic, we should distinguish between three different uses of the term "colony:" (1) the German "colony" in Buenos Aires, (2) the German-speaking agricultural "colonies" in the Argentinean interior on the one side, and (3) the colony or protectorate of German South-West Africa on the other. However, I argue that these three types of "colonies" were all members of the same family and so similar in key aspects that they should be studied together and not as separate and mutually exclusive elements. On both sides of the South Atlantic, in very different contexts, German-speakers created settlements that they referred to as "colonies."

The community of German-speakers in Namibia qualified as a formal settlement colony according to contemporary theorists. The community of German-speakers in Buenos Aires could qualify as an "urban colony" according to contemporary theorists. For this reason, it seems like a plausible explanation that the label "German colony of Buenos Aires" as a self-designation disappeared with the decolonization movement and postcolonialism post-WWII. Agricultural colonies in the Argentinean interior, on the contrary, kept this designation, since colonization in the Argentinean territory was considered as completely separate from European colonialism. These entities continued to be called "agricultural colonies" because of the Argentinean state's definition of colonization as agricultural colonization independent of colonialism. While the German-speaking colonies in the South Atlantic already functioned de facto as communities, the label of the category of experience "colony" was only widely replaced by "community" due to the decolonization movements in the aftermath of the two World Wars.[1222] In particular, scholars studying German-speaking groups in the South Atlantic use "community" as their analytical designation.[1223]

[1221] Rohlfs, *Angra Pequena*.

[1222] In 1919, the community of interest of South-West German-speakers was founded, see Interessengemeinschaft Deutschsprachiger Südwester, IG., *Interessengemeinschaft Deutschsprachiger Südwester, IG.* (Windhoek, 1919); In 1957, the German Health Association published a book about its fiftieth annversary and spoke of the "German community," see Oven, *100 Jahre Deutscher Krankenverein*.

[1223] Hergen Junge, Gerhard Tötemeyer, and Marianne Zappen-Thomson, eds., *The Identity and Role of the German-Speaking Community in Namibia* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibisch-Deutsche Stiftung für Kulturelle Zusammenarbeit, 1993); Wentenschuh, *Namibia und seine Deutschen*; Stefan Rinke, "Export einer politischen Kultur: Auslandsdeutsche in Lateinamerika und die Weimarer Republik," in *"Integration und Transformation": Ethnische Gemeinschaften, Staat und Weltwirtschaft in Lateinamerika seit ca. 1850*, ed. Stefan Karlen and A. Wimmer (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1996), 353–80; Bryce, "La etnicidad en el Argentinisches Tageblatt, 1905-1918: la discusión de una comunidad germánica y alemana"; David P. Crandall, Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, and Paul E. Kerry, "A Reader's Introduction," in *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It Took from Me: Remembrances from My Life as a German Settler in South West Africa*, by Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, trans.

David P. Crandall, Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, and Paul E. Kerry (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2015), 1–42.

Part III. Territoriality: From “Colonization” to “Agriculture”

This third part of the dissertation further examines the dimensions of German-speaking colonization in the South Atlantic. While I am focusing on the territories of the modern states Argentina and Namibia, I also include the larger areas, that is to say the southern cone of South America with the current states Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil, as well as Southern Africa with the current states South Africa and Angola.

I consider “agricultural colonization” as a category of experience, whereas I consider “imperialism” and “colonialism” as categories of analysis used by historians. I work with the premise that “colonization” was a term that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century contemporaries used to describe settlement and agricultural use of land in general. There were, however, further distinctions within this category. Nevertheless, colonization of all types was considered as an activity to be carried out by (white) Europeans and was linked to ideas of civilization and progress.

As we have seen in Part II, individuals, families, and small groups of people were at the center of German-speaking colonies and colonization, rather than the Central European German states and state actors. German colonization was not originated by the German Empire either and thus cannot be considered as having been colonialist or imperialist per se. Individuals, families, and small groups started the process and carried it out for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The German Empire was involved only temporarily in the process, in particular after 1900.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, “agriculture” and “colonization” were synonyms and used interchangeably. Agriculture – the production of crops and animals for human consumption and thus human survival – has always been at the core of human activity. Some nineteenth-century scholars described all known human history as the history of colonization: that is, of making land arable for crop and animal farming.

The decades around 1900 were marked by increased nation-state power and influence. Thus in 1905, German scholar Alfred Zimmermann, who published numerous

books on trade policy[1224] and colonial policy between 1892 and 1916,[1225] wrote that "for a long time, colonization referred to the settlement of a country by the inhabitants of another. […] Currently, colonization does not only refer to the settlement but also to the opening up and the cultivation of newly acquired territories through another country. Depending on whether these territories are within or outside of the country in question, one distinguishes between internal and external colonization."[1226]

Historians have mostly looked at colonization practiced by nation-states, and have studied the areas that are marked on the map as areas under official sovereignty. My aim is to decenter this focus on the nation-state and deconstruct the different elements shared between "internal and external colonization," "private and official colonization," and synonyms used for colonization, such as migration and agriculture. I conclude that not only nation-states practiced colonization, but a number of individual German-speakers on both sides of the South Atlantic did so as well – and thus should be studied as part of the academic fields of imperialism and colonialism, but in a way that considers exactly these activities of private individuals.

Chapter 6. Conceptualizing Colonization as Convergence of People, Land, and Control

The German protectorate of South-West Africa was advertised as the first German colony in Africa in 1884.[1227] The mere fact that the German Empire had put overseas territory under German protection had turned the German Empire officially into one colonial power among European colonial powers. Some Germans hoped that this would increase the empire's

[1224] Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der preussisch-deutschen Handelspolitik* (Oldenburg; Leipzig: Schulze, 1892); Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Handelspolitik des Deutschen Reichs vom Frankfurter Frieden bis zur Gegenwart*, Second Edition (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1899).

[1225] Alfred Zimmermann, *Kolonialgeschichtliche Studien* (Oldenburg: A. Schwartz, 1895); Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialpolitik Grossbritanniens*, Die europäischen Kolonien 3 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1899); Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialpolitik Frankeichs*, Die europäischen Kolonien 4 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1901); Alfred Zimmermann, *Weltpolitisches: Beiträge und Studien zur neueren Kolonialbewegung*, Second Edition (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1901); Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialpolitik der Niederländer*, Die europäischen Kolonien 5 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1903); Alfred Zimmermann, *Kolonialpolitik* (Leipzig: C.L. Hirschfeld, 1905); Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1914); Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialreiche der Grossmächte, 1871-1916* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1916).

[1226] Zimmermann, *Kolonialpolitik*, 1.

[1227] Rohlfs, *Angra Pequena*.

status on the world stage, and the German Empire did come to rival the British and French Empires. However, actually settling the land and making it useful for agriculture turned out to be a more difficult task. However, German-speakers had started practicing agricultural colonization half a century prior to the proclamation of the German protectorate South-West Africa.

In the Argentinean case, "colonial" history generally refers to the time prior to the nineteenth century when Argentina was part of the Spanish empire. For example, in 1915, Vicente Gregorio Quesada (*1830 Buenos Aires – 1913 Buenos Aires), the father of Ernesto Quesada, wrote a book about Argentinean Colonial History where he discussed the border dispute between Argentina and Chile in Patagonia.[1228] Or in 1978, Silvio Arturo Zavala from Mexico used the term "colonization" as synonymous with colonialism under Spain.[1229] However, Antonio Gomez Langenheim wrote in his 1906 dissertation: "Isn't it for us just as much in our interest to populate Patagonia or the Chaco as it is for the English, French, or Germans to introduce in Africa the highest number of people of the white race in order to render it European? If the great powers make a great effort to direct migration to their colonies, if this matter is of vital importance to them, for us it will be to place our country in the best conditions so that these migration currents change direction, are directed to our shores and come here to settle for the benefit of Argentinean production and wealth."[1230] Tellingly, the Argentinean newspaper *La Prensa* translated German Colonial Congress (*Deutscher Kolonialkongress*) into "*Congreso de la colonización*" (Colonization Congress) in 1905.[1231] Around 1900, Argentinean intellectuals attempted to explain potential connections between European colonization and agricultural colonization in Argentina.

In this chapter, we first discuss different contemporary colonization concepts. We start with ideas of frontier and "civilization," which led to wars and cleared the territory for

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[1228] Vicente Gregorio Quesada, *Historia colonial argentina* (Buenos Aires: La Cultura argentina, 1915).

[1229] Silvio Arturo Zavala, *Orígenes de la colonización en el Río de la Plata* (México, D.F.: Editorial de El Colegio Nacional, 1978).

[1230] Antonio Gomez Langenheim, *Colonización en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: M. Biedma é hijo, 1906), 2; "¿No es para nosotros tan interesante poblar la Patagonia ó el Chaco como para los ingleses, franceses ó alemanes, introducir en Africa el mayor número posible de individuos de la raza blanca, á fin de europeizarla? // Si las grandes potencias hacen un supremo esfuerzo para dirigir la emigración á sus colonias, si para ellas este es asunto de vital importancia, para nosotros lo es colocar el país en las mejores condiciones para que esa corriente emigratoria cambie de rumbo, se dirija á nuestras playas y venga á radicarse en beneficio de la producción y riqueza argentinas."

[1231] "Congreso de la colonización. Inmigracion alemana," *La Prensa*, October 9, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 27.

agricultural colonization. We then study international and external colonization as well as state-driven and privately-driven colonization. In a third subsection, we discuss how the terminology around colonization diverged according to two essential component parts of colonization: people and soil. Focus on people led to the emphasis of terms like settlement and migration, whereas focus on soil led to increased use of agriculture in the terminology.

6.1 A Path towards "Civilized People" and "Civilized Land"

The South Atlantic provided a space where German-speaking migrants could "civilize" a distant frontier by introducing conventions they brought from Central Europe in the process of migration and war were closely intertwined with colonization. Conflicts with indigenous peoples arose because of so-called civilization: the need for agricultural cultivation and thus also domination and control of land. In the following subsections, we will discuss the concept of a South Atlantic frontier, so called "civilization," and different types of armed conflicts in which German-speakers in the South Atlantic got involved.

6.1.1 A South Atlantic Frontier

In Argentina, several contemporaries considered the Argentinean interior as frontier and as empty desert. In particular after the 1880s, the Argentinean white elite started the fight against indigenous people in the south.[1232] Estanislao Severo Zeballos (*1854 – 1923), a member of the *generación del 80*, had participated in the creation of the Argentinean Scientific Society (*Sociedad Científica Argentina*) in 1872,[1233] as well as of the Argentinean Geographic Institute (*Instituto Geográfico Argentino*) in 1879. He was later elected president of the association *Sociedad rural Argentina* twice: in 1888-1891 and 1892-1894. Zeballos spoke of "*la frontera Sud*" in 1878 in the context of the "Conquest of the Desert."[1234]

[1232] Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les européens en Argentine: Immigration de masse et destins individuels (1850-1950)* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 2011), 16.
[1233] Horacio Sanguinetti, *El colegio nacional de Buenos Aires y la sociedad científica Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de ciencias morales y políticas, 2006), 8.
[1234] Estanislao Severo Zeballos, *La conquista de quince mil leguas: Estudio sobre la traslacion de la frontera Sud de la república al Rio Negro, dedicado á los gefes y oficiales del ejército expedicionario*, Second Edition (Buenos Aires: Establecimiento de Tipografico a Vapor de "La Prensa," 1878).

German-speaker Gustavo Niederlein and French engineer Alfred Ebelot also participated in the "conquest of the desert," together with General Roca.[1235] In 1890, Ebelot published a travel account entitled *La Pampa: Costumbres argentinas*.[1236] French historian Vincent Condat has studied how Ebelot and Argentineans at the time dealt with "Indians" in the 1870s: they were considered an obstacle to progress and the spreading of "civilization."[1237] German-speakers participated in the act of emptying the Argentine frontier, whether through the written word or through depopulation of indigenous peoples.

German historian Sebastian Conrad recently noted: "The national economist Robert Jannasch demanded that Germans should 'develop the fast west of southern Brazil as the Americans have developed their Far West.'"[1238] This must have been at a time when Jannasch still preferred Brazil as the favored German migration destination; he later transferred these ideas to Argentina, once he had decided to favor Argentina over Brazil. In 1907, the newspaper DLPZ used the term "Far West" as an article heading dealing with land use in Argentina.[1239] The term in English was clearly borrowed from the North American experience.

Several other historians have used the concept of frontier and frontier societies for Argentina as a whole: Daniel J. Elazar and Peter Medding included several countries from the southern hemisphere, including Argentina, in their comparative study on Jewish frontier communities.[1240] Robert W. Slatta has claimed that the gaucho was the Argentinean version of the North American cowboy.[1241] In 1994, Jeremy Adelman published a comparative study of Argentina and Canada as "frontier" societies.[1242] In 2009, Argentinean scholar Yvonna Pineda qualified Argentina as a "Frontier economy" between 1890 and 1930.[1243] Historian Jürgen Osterhammel classified both Argentina and Southern Africa as frontier societies in his

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[1235] Pauline Raquillet, *Alfred Ebelot: le parcours migratoire d'un français en Argentine au XIXe siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011).

[1236] Alfred Ebelot, *La Pampa: Costumbres argentinas* (Buenos Aires: Joseph Escary, 1890).

[1237] Vincent Condat, "De la nécessité de la guerre contre l'Indien en Argentine," in *Passion de la guerre et guerre des passions dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, ed. Anne Garrait-Bourrier and Ineke Bockting (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2008), 271–86.

[1238] Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation*, 288. Conrad cited Jannasch, "Aufgaben," p. 590.

[1239] "Far West," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, June 29, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1240] Elazar and Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies*.

[1241] Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*; Slatta, "The Gaucho in Argentina's Quest for National Identity."

[1242] Adelman, *Frontier Development*.

[1243] Pineda, *Industrial Development in a Frontier Economy*.

history of the nineteenth century.[1244] As for Namibia, Dorian Haarhoff compiled various frontier stories set in Namibia between 1760 and 1988.[1245] Tilman Dedering has studied the frontier in Namibia as it expanded further northwards from the Cape Colony.[1246] In 2010, Dag Henrichsen published his discussion of the land question and disputes between German-speakers and Nama- and Herero-speakers in "South-West Africa" at the beginning of the twentieth century.[1247] German-speakers viewed both of the South Atlantic frontiers of Namibia and Argentina as spaces ripe for economic and cultural development.

6.1.2 "Civilization"

Ultimately, the idea of frontier was that of a culture clash: the civilized meeting the uncivilized. In 1845, Sarmiento published his book *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism*.[1248] He presumed that two types of societies co-existed in Argentina at the beginning of the nineteenth century: the city of Buenos Aires with educated descendants from Europeans on the one hand, and the interior with gauchos, the wild descendants of the natives, on the other. Sarmiento was convinced of the inferiority of the indigenous population, and he praised the European lifestyle with schools, civil institutions, and striving towards progress.[1249] Brandon Lanctot has argued that the struggle between these two camps, represented by the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829-1852) and a dissenting elite of intellectuals, was a modern phenomenon in itself.[1250] Fernando Devoto has written on the topic of "civilizing migrants" in Argentina.[1251] Settling the countryside was considered as a national duty and settling the country was considered synonymous with "civilizing" and

[1244] Osterhammel, "Frontiers: Subjugation of Space and Challenges to Nomadic Life."

[1245] Haarhoff, *The Wild South-West*.

[1246] Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New*.

[1247] Dag Henrichsen, "Pastoral Modernity, Territoriality and Colonial Transformations in Central Namibia, 1860s-1904," in *Grappling With the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840-1930*, ed. Peter Limb, Norman A. Etherington, and Peter Midgley (Leiden: BRILL, 2010), 87–114.

[1248] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Civilizacion i barbarie: vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga i aspecto físico, costumbres i habitos de la Republica Argentina* (Santiago: Impr. del Progreso, 1845).

[1249] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, "Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Frontier Barbarism," in *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*, ed. David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1994), 26–27.

[1250] Brendan Lanctot, *Beyond Civilization and Barbarism: Culture and Politics in Postrevolutionary Argentina* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013).

[1251] Devoto, "Poblar, civilizar, nacionalizar."

nationalizing the open spaces. Moreover, Julia Rodríguez discussed the importation of white migrants to Argentina in order to create a white nation as an integral process in expanding the boundaries of the nation into the frontier.[1252] Many Europeans, including German-speakers, arrived in the South Atlantic with the conviction of cultural and racial superiority over the indigenous peoples. Ideas of race proved complicated, however. While those with European roots agreed on their superority over the local indigenous populations, they disagreed over the hierarchies among European cultures. Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn, for example, likened the Herero to the French people with the typical tropes of racial objectification. In a diary entry from 5 October 1845, Hahn wrote:

> The character of the Herero: Of all peoples of Europe, the Herero seem to resemble the most to the French: chatty, trifling, laughing, cantankerous, boastful, filled with anger and rage in one moment and creeping in the next; brave where opposition is lacking and cowardly as soon as they notice persistency and intrepidness. They want to take on everything, learn everything, but they lack perseverance in everything. If the Herero had newspapers, their newspapers probably resembled the French: filled with lies, bragging and false rumors. In sodomy, they are ahead of almost all African peoples, as the French are of all European peoples. In vanity, they search their equal and where does fashion originate in Europe? Is this character cleansed and made holy, then we can see in them what greatness grace may accomplish, as the example of French believers proves.[1253]

In 1898, Carl Dunker published his theory about the difference between Latin and Germanic peoples.[1254] He included French, Spanish, and Portuguese in the Latin group and Germans, British, and the Dutch in the Germanic group. In his book, he also included a discussion of their differences regarding colonization: Dunker claimed that the Latin peoples practiced the incorporation of indigenous peoples, whereas the Germanic practiced the eradication of

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[1252] Julia Rodríguez, "'To Govern Is to Populate': Importing Whiteness," in *Civilizing Argentina: Science, Medicine, and the Modern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 20–24.

[1253] Own translation. Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland. Part I: 1837-1845*, ed. Brigitte Lau, vol. 1 (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1984), 243. "Charakter der Ovaherero. Die Ovaherero scheinen mit keinem Volk in Europa mehr Ähnlichkeit zu haben als mit den Franzosen: geschwätzig, tändelnd, lachend, zänkisch, prahlerisch, in einem Augenblick in höchstem Zorn und Wut, im anderen kriechend; tapfer, wo kein Widerstand ist, feige, sobald sie Festigkeit und Unerschrockenheit gewahr werden. Alles wollen sie angreifen, alles lernen, aber zu allem fehlt die Ausdauer. Würden die Ovaherero Zeitungsschreiber haben, dann trugen ihre Zeitungen sicher das Gepräge der französischen, voller Lügen, Grosssprecherei und falscher Gerüchte. In Unzucht tun sie es, meine ich, fast allen afrikanischen Völkern zuvor, wie die Franzosen allen europäischen. In Eitelkeit suchen sie ihresgleichen, und woher kommen doch die Moden über ganz Europa?// Ist dieser Charakter durch die Gnade gereinigt und geheiligt, dann [können] wir [an] ihnen sehen, was Grosses die Gnade vermag, wie das Beispiel gläubiger Franzosen beweist."

[1254] Dunker, *Kolonien und Kolonisation*.

indigenous peoples.[1255] However, in Argentina, descendants from predominantly Latin origins also practiced the eradication of indigenous people in the so-called Desert Campaign (*Campania del Desierto*) of the 1880s. In Namibia, more in keeping with Dunker's theory, the Namibian War (formerly known as "Nama-Herero War") was a genocide of the Nama- and Herero-speakers. And still, Bernhard Dernburg claimed in 1906 that German-speakers were more advanced in terms of colonization, as their methods for colonization were not nearly as barbarous as the largest project of this sort from history, as perpetrated by the United States, a project that resulted in the eradication of native populations wholesale. Rather, German-speakers used more sustainable methods of colonization, with the help of missionaries, doctors, railroads, machines and advancements of science rather than solely at the end of the barrel of a gun.[1256]

A second aspect of European colonization was the "civilizing mission," which represents a neologism in the German language between 1885 and 1945.[1257] Several scholars have studied cases outside the South Atlantic that contain points of comparison useful for this study. Several historical studies have looked at how states and empires commit to the act of colonization within their own borders. Harald Fischer-Tiné has analyzed the internal civilizing mission of whites in colonial India, which presented a similar situation to the internal civilizing mission in Namibia.[1258] The way Sebastian Conrad described the "self-civilization" of Japan in a "colonial modernity" could also be applied to Argentina in the second half of the nineteenth century.[1259] Dittmar Dahlmann analyzed the Russian colonization of Siberia and its civilizing mission.[1260] Frank Ninkovich and Corinne A. Pernet

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[1255] This theory seems to be similar to the one presented in John Elliot's book, see John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

[1256] Bernhard Dernburg, *Zielpunkte des deutschen Kolonialwesens: Zwei Vorträge* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1907), 9.

[1257] Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 7f.

[1258] Harald Fischer-Tiné, "Englands interne Zivilisierungsmission. Arbeitshäuser für Europäer im kolonialen Indien (ca. 1860-1914)," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005).

[1259] Sebastian Conrad, "Die Zivilisierung des 'Selbst': Japans koloniale Moderne," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 245–68.

[1260] Dittmar Dahlmann, "Sibirien: Der Prozess der Eroberung des Subkontinents und die russische Zivilisierungsmission im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 55–71; Also see Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Cornell University Press, 2006).

have studied colonization in the U.S.[1261] Christian Koller discussed differing opinions among contemporary socialist thinkers on the compatibility between colonization and socialism.[1262]Internal colonization through the process defined as civilization took numerous forms and and was practiced by a multiple governing institutions during the period under study here. These were not developments solely confined to the South Atlantic.

A third aspect of "civilization" concerned modernization or modernity, in particular technological and scientific advancement. We have discussed the involvement of German-speakers in the South Atlantic with regards to agricultural tools, railroads, and shipping in Part II. The colonization museum in Esperanza, Province of Santa Fe, Argentina exhibits the tools that the first agriculturalists in the colony Esperanza usedas for example a wheat grinder (*Mahlzahn*) from 1859, a manual blower to clean seeds, tools for wire fences, and a hand wheat mill from 1878.[1263] Wilhelm Keiper claimed in 1914 (though the book was only published in 1928 due to WWI) that what made Argentina rich were the fruits of agriculture – both of arable and stock farming (*Ackerbau und Viehzucht*) – and what Germans contributed were innovations in technology, military, science, and education.[1264] Keiper also wrote that Argentina, like any other nation, was working to contribute to the development of mankind towards perfection and the ideals of man (*Menschheitsideale*); it was no longer satisfied with mere economic progress but wanted to compete with the older peoples on the intellectual realm.[1265] In 1909, Keiper had praised Argentina as the most promising country, and one that would become a leader among South American countries and that had similar, if not better, prerequisites than its great model, the United States of America.[1266]

[1261] Frank Ninkovich, "Kontinentale Expansion, Empire und die Zivilisierungsmission im Amerika des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 285–309; Corinne A. Pernet, "Die Zivilisierungsmissionen der Zivilgesellschaft. Die andere Art der US-Intervention in Lateinamerika von 1910 bis 1945," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 311–33.

[1262] Christian Koller, "Eine Zivilisierungsmission der Arbeiterklasse? Die Diskussion über eine 'sozialistische Kolonialpolitik' vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 6 (Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 229–43.

[1263] Museo de la Colonización, *Museo de la Colonización Argentina: Esperanza, primera colonia agrícola* (Esperanza, Provincia de Santa Fe, República Argentina: The Museum, 1984), 21ff.

[1264] Keiper, *Der deutsche Brunnen in Buenos Aires: Das Werk und der Künstler*, 14.

[1265] Ibid., 15.

[1266] Keiper, *Begleitworte zu den Wettbewerbsbedingungen für einen deutschen Brunnen in Buenos Aires*, 4.

Contemporary Europeans were convinced of their own modernity and progress. For them, indigenous people were backwards and needed to be educated, missionized, and modernized. However, Dag Henrichsen has argued that Nama- and Otjiherero-speakers in Namibia had increasingly been influenced by Europeans from the 1860s onwards and thus were already "modern" before their time under German protection.[1267] Henrichsen argued that Otjiherero-speakers constructed a new cattle-based and modern society based on mercantile capitalist principals they learned from Europeans having come to Southern Africa.[1268] There is thus a stark contrast between how contemporary German-speakers perceived locals in the ninetenth century regarding the racial ideas as well as the concepts of modernity and the conclusions scholars have recently come to.

6.1.3 War

Contemporaries considered war as a necessary means for and a side effect of modernity and progress. Through the use of force, the stronger would win and be in the right to dominate the weaker peoples. I distinguish between two types of war: armed conflicts with indigenous peoples to acquire their land, considered necessary for agricultural cultivation and domination, and wars among European powers for world dominance. Both types of war generated migration from Southern Africa to South America: during and after the Namibian War (Herero War), some German-speakers moved to Argentina and Paraguay.[1269] After the Boer wars, some Boers chose to migrate to Chubut, Argentina.[1270] And after WWI, some German-speakers moved from Namibia to Argentina and Brazil. One example are two

[1267] Henrichsen, "Pastoral Modernity, Territoriality and Colonial Transformations in Central Namibia, 1860s-1904," 94f.

[1268] Dag Henrichsen, "Establishing a Precolonial 'Modern' Cattle-and-Gun Society: (Re-)Pastoralisation, Mercantile Capitalism and Power amongst Herero in Nineteenth-Century Central Namibia," in *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Michael Bollig, Michael Schnegg, and Hans-Peter Wotzka (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 201–29.

[1269] "Deutsche Ansiedler in Südwestafrika und deren Übersiedlung nach Südamerika," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, October 1, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 48; "Deutsche Offiziere aus Südwestafrika in Paraguay," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, April 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 190.

[1270] Du Toit, *Colonia Boer*.

brothers from Namibia who had a farm near the Fish River Canyon in Namibia until they were expelled from Namibia under South African occupation following WWI; one brother then moved to Argentina.[1271]

6.1.3.1 Conflicts between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples

Conflicts between Europeans and indigenous peoples in the South Atlantic arose because of the processes of so-called "civilization": over time, Europeans needed more and more land for their increasingly extensive agricultural cultivation. Central Europeans and South Atlantic indigenous peoples had differing concepts of land ownership. Similar conflicts also took place in Northern America where European settlers gradually spread across the continent.

Expansion frequently brought conflict with indigenous populations who had different ideas about the right to land and civilization. European migrants frequently framed these populations through their own cultural lens. Jesuit missionary Martin Dobrizhoffer described the Abipones of Paraguay as a belligerent people.[1272] In 1876, the DLPZ reported repeated attacks by indigenous people on European settlers, particularly from "Indians of the South." [1273] It also reported that the Indians only attacked because the Argentinean government did not keep its promises of delivering food and other materials. Juan Alemann wrote in 1877 that the gradual disappearance of the Indian was just a matter of time.[1274] Johannes Baumgarten wrote in his 1882 publication that the Argentinean government had decided in 1879 to push the border with the Indians ("*Indianergrenze*") further south.[1275] Almost casually, Baumgarten wrote of the "eradication of the southern Pampas Indians," in which Argentina's President General Roca's army of 4,500 men eradicated (*vernichten*) 20,000 Indians. He also documented Gustavo Niederlein's participation in the project as

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[1271] Sven-Eric Kanzler, *Expelled From a Beloved Country: The Story of Two Brothers From Germany and Their Farm Karios at the Fish River Canyon in Namibia Against the Background of German Colonial Times and the First World War in South West Africa* (Windhoek: Nature Investments Pty Ltd., 2003).

[1272] Dobrizhoffer, *Geschichte der Abiponer einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraquay*, 1783.

[1273] "Aus dem Süden. 1. Januar 1876," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 5, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der Indianereinfall," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 7, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Argentinien und seine Indianer," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, December 6, 1876, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1274] Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik*, 121.

[1275] Johannes Baumgarten, "Die Pampas-Indianer," in *Amerika: Eine ethnographische Rundreise durch den Kontinent und die Antillen. Charakterbilder, Sittenschilderungen, Scenen aus dem Volksleben. Nach den besten und neuesten, deutschen und ausländischen Quellen* (Stuttgart: Rieger'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1882), 3–12.

member of Roca's scientific commission. Niederlein wrote his own text on the Pampas Indians, originally presented to the Berlin Geographic Society in 1880, which Baumgarten reprinted in his volume.[1276] Niederlein confirmed that they had disappeared after 1879 – either they died or they were integrated into Argentinean society and would profit from culture now, as Niederlein put it. In 1883, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* reported about ongoing war with the Indians alongside the Andes: the area had been "cleaned" (*gesäubert*) of Indians with 150 of them killed and 1,000 men, women, and children taken as prisoners.[1277] In 1898, an article in the AT spoke of "weak remains of former Indian settlements" (*schwache Reste der ehemaligen Indianerniederlassungen*).[1278] In the same year, the newspaper published a series of articles on the "Tehuelche Indians – A Dying People."[1279] A. Matschnig's contribution was based on the original text from Ramón Lista (1856-1897), an Argentinean explorer who had studied natural sciences in Germany and France between 1875 and 1877, and who had worked with Herman Burmeister (*Stralsund).[1280] In 1907, the DLPZ reported on amurder by Indians near Salta[1281] and Argentinean government sent troops to protect missionaries against Indians in the Formosa territory.[1282] In 2008, French historian Vincent Condat documented Alfred Ebelot and how Argentineans dealt with "Indians" in the 1870s in the discussion of a frontier.[1283] Similarly, in 2002, scholars reflected in an edited volume on indigenous peoples in the Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego, using the term "ethnocide" to describe their violent disappearance at

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[1276] Gustavo Niederlein, "Die Pampas-Indianer vor und nach dem Jahre 1879," in *Amerika: Eine ethnographische Rundreise durch den Kontinent und die Antillen. Charakterbilder, Sittenschilderungen, Scenen aus dem Volksleben. Nach den besten und neuesten, deutschen und ausländischen Quellen*, ed. Johannes Baumgarten (Stuttgart: Rieger'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1882), 9–12. Reprint of "Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin. 1880. Nr. 9."

[1277] "Den Indianern an den Abhängen der Cordilleren, längs den Flüssen Nanquen und Limay, wird seit einigen Monaten schonungslos der Krieg gemacht," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 20, 1883, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1278] "Die südlichen Territorien," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 7, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1279] Ramón Lista and A. Matschnig, "Die Tehuelche-Indianer: Ein sterbendes Volk," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 14, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1280] Ramón Lista, *Los indios tehuelches: una raza que desaparece* (Buenos Aires: Patagonia Sur Ediciones, 1894); H. Aguilar, "Ramón Lista: El explorador sin límites," *Boletín del Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales Bernadino Rivadavia* 10, no. 99 (2009): 15–16.

[1281] "Durch Indianer ermordet ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 29, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1282] "Indianereinfälle beführchtean die Missionäre im Formosa-Territorium ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 29, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[1283] Condat, "De la nécessité de la guerre contre l'Indien en Argentine."

the hands of expansionists.[1284] However, it appears as if scholars in Argentina remain careful in using the term "genocide." Rather contrarily, the scant new literature on the topic continues to use the euphamistic term "conquest of the desert" to describe the eradication of native peoples along the Argentine frontier. Osvaldo Bayer is among the few exceptions having produced a scholarly account on the topic. European colonists in Argentina, including German-speakers, settled on land that they systematically cleared of its indigenous inhabitants.

In Namibia, there was much conflict between different indigenous peoples prior to the involvement of German-speakers in the region, but historian Brigitte Lau has criticized Rhenish missionary and historian Heinrich Vedder for having exaggerating the extent of these conflicts.[1285] Early travelers and missionaries attempted to study the indigenous groups and learn their languages and customs. Peter Kolben had, among other interests, studied the Namas' "art of war."[1286] In 1870, Carl Hugo Hahn participated in the Okahandja Peace Conference between different Namibian indigenous tribes.[1287] In 1873, Rhenish missionary Schröder reported tensions between the leaders Jan Jonker (Nama) and Kamaherero or Samuel Maharero (Herero) in Windhoek.[1288] In 1880, Schröder reported that war had broken out between Nama and Herero.[1289] Then war broke out between German-speakers and the Nama under leader Hendrik Witbooi in 1893.[1290] Witbooi became a symbol for anti-colonial resistance in Namibia.[1291] He wrote his own text, *Africa to the Africans*,

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[1284] Claudia Briones and José Luis Lanata, eds., *Contemporary Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra Del Fuego: Living on the Edge* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), x.

[1285] Brigitte Lau, "'Thank God the Germans Came': Vedder and Namibian Historiography," in *History and Historiography: 4 Essays in Reprint*, ed. Annemarie Heywood (Windhoek: Discourse/ MSORP, 1995), 1–16.

[1286] Peter Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope: Or, A Particular Account of the Several Nations of the Hottentots: Their Religion, Government, Laws, Customs, Ceremonies, and Opinions; Their Art of War, Professions, Language, Genius, Etc.*, trans. Mr. Medley (London: W. Innys, 1731).

[1287] "[Friedenskonferenz, Okahandja]," 1870, RMG 2.611, Bl. 66.

[1288] Johann Georg Schröder, "[Afrikaner in Windhoek]," August 1, 1873, RMG 2.591, Bl. 3-6.

[1289] Johann Georg Schröder, "Auszug aus dem Bericht von Missionar J. G. Schröder, z. Zt. Walfischbai," October 18, 1880, RMG 2.591, Bl. 30-40.

[1290] Kurt von François, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi, April 1893* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1899); Karl Dove, *Südwest-Afrika: Kriegs und Friedensbilder aus der ersten deutschen Kolonie*, Second Edition (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1896).

[1291] Werner Hillebrecht, "Hendrik Witbooi: Ikone und Inspiration des antikolonialen Widerstands und des unabhängigen Namibias," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 144–53.

during the first decade of German occupation.[1292] In 1898, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* reported that two other subgroups of the Nama, the Zwartbooi and the Topnaar people, were completely subdued.[1293] The colonial government declared Zwartbooi as outlawed: any German could arrest them and use arms if necessary.[1294]

The labeling of the war between German-speakers and Nama- and Herero-speakers has changed repeatedly over the past decades. The shift has gone from describing the conflict in simple terms such as a "fight,"[1295] to calling it a "war" (with variations focusing only on Herero-speakers or including Nama-speakers as well),[1296] to calling it a "colonial war,"[1297] or similarly an "uprising."[1298] More recently, however, scholars have made an

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[1292] Witbooi, *Afrika den Afrikanern!*

[1293] "(Die Zwartboois und Topnaars völlig unterworfen.)," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 10, 1898, sec. Aus dem Schutzgebiet, NAN.

[1294] "Das Gouvernement macht unter dem 3. Dez. er. bekannt, dass, nachdem von den kriegsgefangenen Swartbooi-Hottentotten ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 8, 1898, sec. Local-Nachrichten, NAN.

[1295] Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: der Kampf der Herero und Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus (1884-1915)*, Studien zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 1966).

[1296] Helmut Bley, *South-West Africa under German Rule, 1894-1914*, English ed. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971); Brigitte Lau, "Uncertain Certainties - The Herero-German War of 1904," in *History and Historiography: 4 Essays in Reprint*, ed. Annemarie Heywood (Windhoek: Discourse/ MSORP, 1995), 39–52; Walter Moritz, *Herero-Namakrieg 1863-1870: Erinnerungen an Kriegswirren und Missionarische Friedensarbeit von P.H. Brincker*, Aus alten Tagen in Südwest 14 (Werther, Westfalen: W. Moritz, 1997); Susanne Kuß, "Der Herero-Deutsche Krieg und das deutsche Militär: Kriegsursachen und Kriegsverlauf," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 62–77; Böttger, "'Günstige Rückwirkung auf das nationale Empfinden in Deutschland.' Zwei Quellen zur zeitgenössischen Wahrnehmung des 'Hererokrieges,'" in *Kolonialismus*, ed. Mihran Dabag, Horst Gründer, and Uwe-Karsten Ketelsen (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004), 216–31; Martin Weiser, *The Herero War - the First Genocide of the 20th Century?* (Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, 2006).

[1297] Gesine Krüger, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewusstsein: Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904 bis 1907* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Joachim Zeller, "Kolonialkrieg und Denkmal: 100 Jahre Politik mit der Erinnerung," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 124–43; Andreas E. Eckl, Georg Hillebrecht, and Franz Epp, *"S'ist ein übles Land hier": zur Historiographie eines umstrittenen Kolonialkrieges; Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus dem Herero-Krieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1904 von Georg Hillebrecht und Franz Ritter von Epp*, 22 (Köln: Köppe, 2005); H. R. Schneider-Waterberg, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse: Anmerkungen zum Kolonialkrieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1904*, Third Edition (Swakopmund Namibia: Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftliche Entwicklung, 2006); Jürgen Zimmerer, *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War (1904-1908) in Namibia and Its Aftermath* (Monmouth Wales: Merlin Press, 2008); Stefan Hermes, *"Fahrten nach Südwest": die Kolonialkriege gegen die Herero und Nama in der deutschen Literatur (1904-2004)*, Interkulturelle Moderne 3 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009); Hanns Lessing, "'In der Nähe dieser Wasserstellen sollen Konzentrationslager errichtet werden': Eine theologische Rekonstruction der Rolle der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft während des Kolonialkrieges in Namibia (1904-1908)," in *Deutsche evangelische Kirche im kolonialen südlichen Afrika: die Rolle der Auslandsarbeit von den Anfängen bis in die 1920er Jahre*, ed. Hanns Lessing et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 471–96.

[1298] Andreas Heinrich Bühler, *Der Namaaufstand gegen die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Namibia von 1904-1913* (Frankfurt am Main: IKO, Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2003); Jörg Wassink, "Auf den Spuren des deutschen Völkermordes in Südwestafrika: der Herero-, Nama-Aufstand in der deutschen

effort to place the events within Namibian history, by calling it the "Southwest African War" [1299] or "Namibian War."[1300] It is the latter that we are using in this document. In addition, many scholars have called the conflict a genocide.[1301]

A long tradition of scolars have attempted to contextualize the factors leading to the conflict. Dag Henrichsen has discussed reasons the Herero started a war against German-speaking settlers:[1302] While historians Helmut Bley and Jan-Bart Gewald had argued that it was the climate of tension between the two groups that led to the war rather than land shortage,[1303] Henrichsen claimed that the "issue of territoriality"[1304] played a major role in the conflict. Historian Wolfgang Werner has further described the process of how the indigenous population in Namibia were deprived of their land and put onto controlled and

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Kolonialliteratur; eine literaturhistorische Analyse" (M-Press, 2004); Medardus Brehl, "Diskursereignis 'Herero-Aufstand': Konstruktion, Strategien der Authentifizierung, Sinnzuschreibung," in *Deutsche Sprache und Kolonialismus: Aspekte der nationalen Kommunikation 1884-1919*, ed. Ingo H. Warnke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 167–202.

[1299] Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig, eds., "Einführung," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte* (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 18–22; Henrichsen, "Pastoral Modernity, Territoriality and Colonial Transformations in Central Namibia, 1860s-1904," 87. Footnote 1: "Commonly, these wars have been referred to as, first, the so-called Bondelswartz Rebellion of 1903 and, following this, the so-called Herero or German-Herero war and the Nama or German-Nama war. Namibian African nationalist historiography tends to refer to this period between 1903/1904 and 1908 as the first anti-colonial war(s) of liberation, followed in 1966 by the second war of liberation waged by the Namibian liberation organisation SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organisation) against South African colonial rule. In order to accentuate the interregional scale of the wars at the beginning of the twentieth century in southwestern Africa, and in order to avoid the narrow and politically instrumentalised ethnic and nationalist paradigms with reference to the war period, I prefer to speak of the Southwest African war."

[1300] Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*, 155–82.

[1301] Helmut Walser Smith, "The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag Concernign Southwest Africa, 1904-14," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 107–24; Jan-Bart Gewald, "The Herero Genocide: German Unity, Settlers, Soldiers, and Ideas," in *Die (Koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Lang, 2003), 109–27; Wassink, "Auf den Spuren des deutschen Völkermordes in Südwestafrika"; Weiser, *The Herero War - the First Genocide of the 20th Century?*; Zimmerer, *Genocide in German South-West Africa*; Jeremy Sarkin-Hughes, *Germany's Genocide of the Herero: Kaiser Wilhelm II, His General, His Settlers, His Soldiers* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Currey, 2011); Von Elena Beis, "Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte: Der Verleugnete Völkermord," *Die Tageszeitung*, 2011, sec. Deutschland, http://www.taz.de/Deutsche-Kolonialgeschichte/!79124/.

[1302] Henrichsen, "Pastoral Modernity, Territoriality and Colonial Transformations in Central Namibia, 1860s-1904," 89f.

[1303] Cited by Henrichsen: Bley, *South-West Africa under German Rule*, 134; Jan-Bart Gewald, *Herero Heroes: A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia, 1890-1923* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 191.

[1304] Henrichsen, "Pastoral Modernity, Territoriality and Colonial Transformations in Central Namibia, 1860s-1904," 91.

supervised reservations.[1305] Just as in Argentina, the European "hunger for land" needed for agricultural colonization in Namibia resulted in the comparable eradication of local peoples.

An article published in the journal of the German Colonial Society in 1904 was titled "The Herero War and the Settlement Question in German South-West Africa."[1306] Most of the contemporary publications called the series of events a "war" (*Krieg*)[1307] or "uprising" (*Aufstand*).[1308] In 1904, the *Morning Post* called it the "Herero Rebellion."[1309] In most contempraneous renderings the villain was not the colonizer but the colonized.

It is curious to note in the comparative perspective, how much attention the Namibian war has received over the last few decades, both from scholars as well as the press and descendants from the Herero- and Nama-speakers, who are continuing to fight for justice and reparations from Germany. Meanwhile, the "Conquest of the Desert" and the eradication and genocide of the Indians in Argentina has received rather little attention outside of the accounts painting the process as a necessary byproduct of expansion within the national narrative.

6.1.3.2 Conflicts among Europeans

[1305] Wolfgang Werner, "Landenteignung, Reservate und die Debatte zur Landreform in Namibia," in *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte*, ed. Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, and Michael Bollig (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004), 292–303.

[1306] Gentz, "Der Hererokrieg und die Besiedelungsfrage in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6 (1904): 517–21.

[1307] Engelbrechten, "Der Krieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 7 (1905): 833–72; Hermann Alverdes, *Mein Tagebuch aus Südwest: Erinnerungen aus dem Feldzuge gegen die Hottentotten* (Oldenburg: G. Stalling, 1906); Adda von Liliencron, *Nach Südwestafrika: Erlebnisse aus dem Hererokrieg nach Briefen von Mitkämpfern*, Deutsche Jugend- und Volksbibliothek 208 (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf, 1906); Adda von Liliencron, ed., *Reiterbriefe aus Südwest: Briefe und Gedichte aus dem Feldzuge in Südwest-Afrika in den Jahren 1904-1906* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1907); Maximilian Bayer, *Der Krieg in Südwest-Afrika und seine Bedeutung für die Entwickelung der Kolonie: Vortrag* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1907); Max Schmidt, *Aus unserem Kriegsleben in Südwestafrika: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen* (Berlin: Runge, 1907); Kurd Schwabe, *Der Krieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, 1904-1906* (C. A. Weller, 1907); Friedrich Lange, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika, Kriegs- und Friedensbilder* (Windhuk: Franz Rohloff, 1907); Maria Karow, *Wo sonst der Fuss des Kriegers trat: Farmerleben in Südwest nach dem Kriege* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1909).

[1308] Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amts, ed., "Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Der Herero- und Hottentotten-Aufstand," *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee* 16, no. 14 (1905): 453–57; Else Sonnenberg, *Wie es am Waterberg zuging: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hereroaufstandes* (Braunschweig: Wollermann, 1906); Helene Nitze von Falkenhausen, *Bei den Hereros: Erzählung a. d. Aufständen Südwestafrikas* (Berlin-Tempelhof: Verlag der Adler-Bibliothek, 1914).

[1309] "The Herero Rebellion," *Morning Post*, January 20, 1904, BArch R 1001/8456, pag. 70.

Conflicts among European nation-states arose in the competition over who was the most civilized. One example of how this European competition was carried out in the South Atlantic is the conflict between Boers and the English in South Africa in 1899-1902, known as the South African War or the Boer War, where individual German-speaking volunteers intervened on behalf of the Boers.[1310] Commercial tensions meanwhile manifested in the case of the "German peril" in South American countries, including Argentina and Brazil, where English-speakers fueled fear of German-speaking businesses.

Starting in 1899, the Namibian newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger* frequently reported on the South African War.[1311] On 16 November 1899, the paper published a special edition about the war in South Africa simply entitled "The War."[1312] From the Namibian perspective, this armed conflict playing out in close proximity had such urgency and significance that contemporaries called it succinctly "the war," just as Europeans popularly referred to WWI, and later, WWII as "the war." In their coverage of "the war" in South Africa, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* reported on events taking place in the Orange Free State[1313] and how the declaration of war came about.[1314] At times, news had difficulties travelling from the Boer republics to Windhoek. On 17 January 1900 for example the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* reported that it had not received any news for four weeks.[1315]

Even before the conflict erupted, German-speakers in Germany had been interested in the South African Boer Republics since their foundation. In 1888, M. Hans Klössel published a book with the intention to inform Germans in Germany about Boers and their lifestyle, to advocate learning from them how to practice colonization in Africa.[1316] In 1896, the Colonial Yearbook included an article about the "Boer question" in Southwest Africa.[1317] In 1902, E. Müller von Berneck wrote on the Boers in South West Africa in the Colonial

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[1310] Dedering, "The Ferreira Raid of 1906."

[1311] "Telegramme vom Kriegsschauplatz," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 9, 1899, NAN; "Der Krieg," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 16, 1899, NAN; "Vom Kriege," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 21, 1899, NAN; "Vom Kriegsschauplatze," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 4, 1900, NAN; "Vom Kriegsschauplatze," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 17, 1900, NAN.

[1312] "Der Krieg."

[1313] "Die Entscheidung des Oranjefreistaates," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 16, 1899, sec. Der Krieg, NAN.

[1314] "Die Kriegserklärung," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 16, 1899, sec. Der Krieg, NAN.

[1315] "Vom Kriegsschauplatze," January 17, 1900.

[1316] M. Hans Klössel, *Die südafrikanischen Republiken. Buren-Freistaaten. Geschichte und Land der Buren für Deutschlands Export und Auswanderung. Nach amtlichen Quellen des Reichsamtes des Innern in Berlin bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Heinrich Mayer, 1888), iii f.

[1317] Pfleil, "Die Boerenfrage in Südwestafrika."

Journal (*Koloniale Zeitschrift*).[1318]The "Boer question" referred to the conflict between the newly dominant British imperial government and the long-established Boer population. In 1902, the New South-West African Settlement Society (*Neue Südwest-Afrikanische Siedelungs-Gesellschaft*) was founded in order to facilitate the resettlement in the German protectorate of those Boers who did not want to live under British rule.[1319] Historian Tilman Dedering of the University of South Africa has argued that the conflict between England and Germany and the Ferreira Raid of 1906 were precursors to the conflict that erupted between Germans and the British in South Africa during WWI, an extension of a larger conflict that ultimately resulted in the dissolution of the German protectorate in South-West Africa. [1320]

German-speakers and Boers frequently found common ground. An example of an individual who decided to join the Boers was Wilhelm Vallentin. He went to South Africa in 1899 and wrote and published extensively about his experiences there: he wrote about the fight for freedom of the Boers,[1321] his own experiences in the South African War,[1322] the reasons for this war between England and the Boer republics,[1323] English warfare in South Africa,[1324] and the war in general.[1325] After the South African War, he went to South America and advocated for Argentina as the best colonization site for German-speakers.

In 1915, Otto Preusse-Sperber argued that with the outbreak of WWI, economic competition with the United States in South American countries was growing.[1326] In the same year – and still towards the beginning of the war – C. Offermann reported on German-Argentinean trade relations and Argentinean progress, and he claimed that the war

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[1318] E. Müller von Berneck, "[Boers in South West Africa]," *Koloniale Zeitschrift: Zeitschrift des Deutsch-Nationalen Kolonialvereins*, January 9, 1902.

[1319] "Aufruf!"

[1320] Dedering, "The Ferreira Raid of 1906."

[1321] Wilhelm Vallentin and Franz Giesebrecht, *Der Freiheitskampf der Buren: die Schlacht am Majuba Hill* (Berlin: H. Walther, 1899).

[1322] Wilhelm Vallentin, *Meine Kriegserlebnisse bei den Buren: Erinnerungen und Skizzen aus dem südafrikanischen Kriege 1899/1900* (Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1900).

[1323] Wilhelm Vallentin, *Die Ursachen des Krieges zwischen England und den Burenrepubliken: die politischen Verwickelungen in der Zeit vom Jameson-Einfall bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges; nach authentischen Quellen...* (Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1900).

[1324] Wilhelm Vallentin, *Hunnen in Süd-Afrika! Betrachtungen über englische Politik und Kriegsführung* (Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co., 1902).

[1325] Wilhelm Vallentin, *Der Burenkrieg* (Wald-Solingen, Leipzig: Rheinisches Verlagshaus, 1903).

[1326] Otto Preusse-Sperber, "Zur handelspolitischen Eroberung Lateinamerikas," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 62–67.

uncovered the true friendship between Germans and Argentineans.[1327] In 1916, Otto Kasdorf, a professor in Montevideo, discussed the "German peril":[1328] in the midst of WWI, Kasdorf published his assessment of the political situation in South America, describing prejudices against German-speakers as mostly having been fueled through English and French cultural dominance.[1329] He also gave examples of unfortunate descriptions of German history in history books used in Argentina.[1330] Kasdorf criticized that Paris was marked as center of Europe on the map while Berlin was hardly on the map at all.[1331] He asked whether this ignorance about Germans and Germany was the result of insufficient "*Kulturarbeit*" (culture work) and lack of support from the German Empire.[1332] He assessed Germans' reputation in South America as follows: while merchants' success was considered surprising,[1333] German scientists were unpopular due to the clash between French and German characteristics: in other words, due to the clash between Latin utilitarianism and Germanic idealism.[1334] At the same time, he identified England as Germanic.[1335] Kasdorf criticized a declaration by an Argentine intellectual at the world exhibition in San Francisco in 1915, who proclaimed that while Buenos Aires was not Paris, he was waiting for the day when the status "center of civilization" would be transferred from Paris to Buenos Aires as it had been transferred from Rome to Paris in former times.[1336] Instead of Germany actually attempting to annex territory in South America, Kasdorf pointed out that England and France had attempted several times to annex territory.[1337] The three countries that preached the "German peril" – England, France, and the United States – were at the same time those countries that actually posed a threat to South America. He made a reference to English people who, as he claimed, do not assimilate, while he lamented that Germans assimilate too fast and easily.[1338] Meanwhile he posited that South America provided a wide

[1327] C. Offermann, "Technik und Wirtschaft in Argentinien," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 139–50.
[1328] Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 14.
[1329] Ibid., 6.
[1330] Ibid., 7.
[1331] Ibid.
[1332] Ibid., 8.
[1333] Ibid., 9.
[1334] Ibid.
[1335] Ibid., 10.
[1336] Ibid., 11.
[1337] Ibid., 21.
[1338] Ibid., 22.

field for the colonial activity of the excessive European population[1339] and he defined colonists as agriculturalists and farmers.[1340] Concerning the "German peril" in South America, Kasdorf included a list of German publications used in the flyers warning of German annexation plans:[1341] Sievers (1903), *Südamerika und die deutschen Interessen*; Tannenberg, *Groß-Deutschland*; Riemer, *Ein pangermanisches Deutschland*; Funke (1903), "Die Besiedlung des östlichen Südamerikas" in: *Angewandte Geographie*; Lange, *Reines Deutschtum*; and von Liebert, *Ziele der deutschen Kolonial-und Auswanderungspolitik*. This list thus included a variety of authors with different agendas. Sievers was a professor of geography, Tannenberg and Riemer were pangermanists, Funke was a journalist and writer, and von Liebert was a general and military writer. Kasdorf added that the changed citizenship law of 1913 was included in the reasons that Germans were viewed as a threat as the new legislation permitted Germans to maintain their citizenship indefinitely and no longer lose it after ten years or more abroad.[1342] Their citizenship status followed them wherever they traveled.

In 1909 already, the British were making plans to attack the German protectorate South-West Africa in case of a world war.[1343] On 9 July 1915, General Louis Botha proclaimed that from then on, British martial law was valid in the entirety of the South-West protectorate formerly under German control to guard against German aggression.[1344] In August 1915, the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* wrote that 6,000 Germans were fighting against 80,000 British soldiers in South-West Africa.[1345] Cissy Willich, Hertha Brodersen-Manns and Richard Hennig have published their first hand accounts of WWI in Namibia: Brodersen-Manns went from North Germany to Lüderitzbay to work as a secretary before she was deported to South Africa at the beginning of WWI. Hennig fought as a member of

[1339] Ibid., 34.
[1340] Ibid., 64.
[1341] Ibid., 17.
[1342] Ibid., 18.
[1343] War Office, Armed Forces, Judge Advocate General, and related bodies, *Military Policy Regarding German South West Africa - Proposed Plan of Attack - Defence of Cape Colony in the Event of an Attack from German South West Africa (E2/6) WO 106/47*, 1909, WO 106/47, TNA.
[1344] Louis Botha, "Bekanntmachung von The Right Honourable General Louis Botha, Oberbefehlshaber der Unionstruppen von Südafrika im Felde," July 9, 1915, NAN ADM 117/3.
[1345] "Von der ersten Beschießung Swakopmunds bis zur Kapitulation der deutschen Truppen," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 30, 1915, EZA 5/2916.

the German colonial troops on the German side and he described the events from the British landing in Lüderitzbay in 1914 to the occupation of Windhoek in July 1915.[1346]

There were several occasions prior to 1914 when German-speakers in Argentina thought that a (world) war was close to breaking out. In 1898 already, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* published articles titled "War in Sight" and "The Future European War."[1347] In 1907, the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* reported on "German Preparedness for War" and "The Fight for the South American Market."[1348]

Like Otto Kasdorf, Wilhelm Bürklin claimed that Great Britain practiced economic warfare against the German Empire in South America.[1349] In 1915, he proclaimed that South America would have particular economic importance for Germany due to its neutrality during the war.[1350] While Brazil entered the war on the Allied side in 1917, Argentina remained officially neutral throughout.[1351] German-speakers founded the Spanish-language magazine *Germania* in 1915 in order to inform the larger Argentinean population about the German perspective in a society they considered too influenced by the French and the British.[1352] On 27 January 1916, the Kaiser's birthday, German-speakers founded the *Deutscher Volksbund* (German Ethnic Association).[1353]

1346 Cissy Willich, *Kriegstage in Südwest: Tagebuchblätter aus den Jahren 1914 und 1915* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1916); Hertha Brodersen-Manns, *Wie alles anders kam in Afrika: Südwester Erinnungen aus den Jahren 1914-15* (Windhoek Namibia: Kuiseb-Verlag, 1991); Richard Hennig, *Deutsch-Südwest im Weltkrieg* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1925).

1347 "Krieg in Sicht," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, April 2, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der zukünftige europäische Krieg," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, November 9, 1898, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1348 "Deutsche Kriegsbereitschaft," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, May 19, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der Kampf um den südamerikanischen Markt," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 18, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1349 Wilhelm Bürklin, *Süd- und Mittelamerika unter dem Einfluss des Weltkrieges* (Göttingen, Berlin: O. Hapke, 1915), 92–97.

1350 Ibid., iii.

1351 Stefan Rinke, *Im Sog der Katastrophe: Lateinamerika und der Erste Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2015).

1352 "La Guerra: Brillante hazaña de dos soldados alemanes; Hacen prisioneros a 31 franceses," *Germania* 1, no. 7 (September 1, 1915); "La Guerra," *Germania* 1, no. 8 (September 16, 1915); "¿ A quien incumbe la responsabilidad de la guerra?," *Germania* 1, no. 8 (September 16, 1915); "La Guerra," *Germania* 1, no. 9 (October 1, 1915); "Víctimas de la guerra," *Germania* 1, no. 9 (October 1, 1915); "La Guerra: Organización de etapas," *Germania* 1, no. 13 (December 1, 1915); "La Guerra," *Germania* 1, no. 14 (December 16, 1915); Calixto Oyuela, "El cristianismo y la guerra," *Germania* 1, no. 14 (December 16, 1915).

1353 "Landsleute! [...] Der Ausschuß zur Begründung des Deutschen Volksbundes," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 27, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

While *Germania* just spoke of "the war," the other German-language newspapers in Buenos Aires used the designations "European War" [1354] and "Great War." [1355] The newspaper DLPZ was also particularly interested in the Anglo-German colonial rivalry in Africa. [1356] In 1917, Oscar Albert Marti argued in his dissertation at the University of Southern California that the Anglo-German commercial as well as colonial rivalry was the cause of WWI.[1357] Dr. Franz Kühn in Buenos Aires lamented that during the war any scientific connections between Argentina and Germany were cut off.[1358]

South Atlantic German-speakers were involved and concerned by various wars and armed conflicts. Overall, all of these conflicts were about "civilization" and the need to demonstrate superiority. The one-hundredth anniversary of WWI has led to much scholarly interest, in publications and conferences. While the South Atlantic was also involved in the conflict originated in Europe, studying the conflicts carried out in the South Atlantic contributes to a less Euro-centered history writing.

6.2 State-centered Colonization Concepts

In 2009, scholars working on Central Europe lamented that "inner colonization" is "a surprisingly under theorized concept, especially since it has existed (and exists) all over the world." [1359] In the same year, however, legal scholar Markus J. Jahnel published his

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1354 "Der europäische Krieg," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 6, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der europäische Krieg. Der deutsche Außenhandel nach dem Kriege," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, February 11, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der europäische Krieg. Die deutschen Schiffahrtsgesellschaften," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, March 3, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1355 "Der Grosse Krieg. Abbruch der montenegrinisch-österreichischen Verhandlungen. Wiederaufnahme der Feindseligkeiten. - Ein Theatercoup?," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, January 21, 1916, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1356 "Der europäische Krieg. Englische Vorstöße gegen die deutsche Kolonialpolitik," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, April 1, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Der europäische Krieg. Die Kolonialfrage in Afrika," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, January 29, 1916, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1357 Oscar Albert Marti, *The Anglo-German Commercial and Colonial Rivalry as a Cause of the Great War; A Thesis Presented to the Department of History, University of Southern California, Los Angeles* (Boston, Stratford Co., 1917).

1358 Franz Kühn, "Geographischer Bericht aus Argentinien während der Kriegsjahre 1914 bis 1919," ed. Walter Behrmann, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1919, 442–62.

1359 Robert L. Nelson, "Colonialism in Europe? The Case Against Salt Water," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 Through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson, Studies in European Culture and History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3.

dissertation on the land rights in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1360] He starts by discussing the legal situation of internal colonization in Prussia (*Binnenkolonisation*) and external overseas colonization (*äußere Kolonisation in Übersee*). Meanwhile, several scholars have recently analyzed "internal colonization," particularly in Russia[1361] and in Japan.[1362] In her 2014 study of German colonial ideology within the German contemporary journal *Kolonie und Heimat* (*Colony and Homeland*), French historian Catherine Repussard has also analyzed the use of the concept of colony.[1363] She specifically looks at how the colonial journal considered all settlements of German-speakers as colonies.[1364] She differentiates between "internal colonization" and "overseas colonization," and includes all agricultural settlements in Eastern Europe – including the Eastern German provinces as well as the neighboring countries like (today's) Romania and Russia – in the category "internal colonization," whereas she distinguishes between "overseas colonization" in South America and in Africa. Building on this model, in the following subsection I analyze contemporary writings that employed the terminology of "internal" and "external colonization."

6.2.1 Internal Colonization versus External Colonization

In 1930, Gerhard Uhlemann wrote in his dissertation for the Berlin agricultural university. He claimed that the entirety of settlement processes within a state entity correspond to the term "internal colonization."[1365] In opposition to internal colonization, he defined "external colonization" as the distribution of soil among foreign occupants, the reclamation (*Urbarmachung*) of soil, and the founding of permanent settlements that gradually turn into

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[1360] Jahnel, *Das Bodenrecht in "Neudeutschland über See."*

[1361] Willard Sunderland, "Empire without Imperialism? Ambiguities of Colonization in Tsarist Russia," *Ab Imperio* 2 (2003): 101–14; Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field*; Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2011); Steven Sabol, *"The Touch of Civilization": Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2017).

[1362] Conrad, "Die Zivilisierung des 'Selbst'"; Christopher L. Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Duke University Press, 2008).

[1363] Catherine Repussard, "Colonisation intérieure et germanisation," in *Idéologie coloniale et imaginaire mythique: la revue Kolonie und Heimat de 1909 à 1914*, Faustus, études germaniques (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2014), 133–35.

[1364] Repussard, *Idéologie coloniale et imaginaire mythique*; in particular in Chapter 2: "La lutte entre le bien et le mal."

[1365] Gerhard Uhlemann, "Die neuere ländliche Kolonisation der Welt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siedlungsformen" (Ph.D., Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Berlin, 1930), 11.

urban or state entities.[1366] The terms "internal" and "external colonization" came about in a time when nation-states already played such an important role that they became the decisive factor on whether the colonization took place within or outside of its state borders.

Prior to Uhlemann, historian Alfred Zimmermann (*1859 Frankenstein, Silesia – ?) had written in 1905 about the distinction between internal and external colonization: external colonization specifically referred to the colonization of a territory (previously) under foreign sovereinty, and internal colonization to that of territory within the boundaries of the same state.[1367] Colonization within state borders remained intimately tied to colonization and migration beyond the reach of the nation-state. Writing about internal colonization in the provinces of Brandenburg and Pomerania between 1891 and 1901, H. Metz claimed in 1902 that "internal colonization" was one of the highest duties of any state.[1368] In 1890, Albert Zweck wrote that "internal colonization" in Central European Germany was not successful enough to provide for Germany; instead, foreign countries that needed agricultural workers and colonists should make agreements with Germany that were mutually beneficial for both countries and have Germans practice agricultural colonization in these foreign territories, thereby boosting German foreign trade numbers and helping both countries, as well as the Germans who needed to migrate, to find a better economic existence for themselves.[1369] In 1862, Johann Jakob Sturz postulated that colonization was inherent to German practice: without colonization, Prussia and Austria would not exist.[1370] Sturz did not expect anything of the German governments of his time, but he did believe in the German nation (that is, the German people) needed to be the driving force behind German colonization overseas.

Applying this distinction between internal and external colonization to the South Atlantic, one could conclude that the Argentine state practiced internal colonization whereas the German Empire practiced external colonization in Namibia. However, I argue that the lines between external and internal colonization were blurred on both sides of the South

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[1366] Ibid.

[1367] Zimmermann, *Kolonialpolitik*, 1; "Zimmermann," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 20 (Leipzig, 1909), 930–32.

[1368] Metz, *Innere Kolonisation in den Provinzen Brandenburg und Pommern 1891 bis 1901: Erfahrungen und Verfahren der Königlichen Generalkommission zu Frankfurt an der Oder*, 1.

[1369] Albert Zweck, "Ackerbaukolonien als Bedürfnis der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Deutschlands," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, 1895, 8, Nr. 37 edition, 291–92.

[1370] Sturz, *Kann und soll ein Neu-Deutschland geschaffen werden und auf welche Weise?*, 13.

Atlantic in the nineteenth century: both the Argentinean and German governments gradually established their territorial sovereignty over the course of the century, with local German-speakers involved in colonization projects in both Argentina and Namibia.

Before 1900, the term "internal colonization" had two meanings in Central Europe: in addition to "internal agricultural colonization," a different concept of "internal colonization" circulated that was similar to or coincided with the concept of "internal mission." In the first half of the nineteenth century, ideas of colonization in the German lands were intertwined with "civilization," "morality," and "social conduct." "Internal colonization" as synonymous to "internal mission" thus referred to the intention of helping the poor in Germany. Workers' colonies (*Arbeiterkolonien*) were houses and institutions for poor and unemployed workers with the aim of making them sedentary after 1900. These were inspired by similar practices in England and Scotland. In the English case, historian Harald Fischer-Tiné has called this phenomenon an "internal civilizing mission."[1371]

In the 1840s, German-speaking intellectuals in Europe had two competing visions of how German workers should be civilized. While both of these visions saw the answer in colonization, one assumed that German workers would become civilized through the work in agricultural colonies abroad – thus in "external (agricultural) colonization," while the other favored the "inner colonization": the improvement of worker's living conditions within the German lands. In 1846, the social reformer Victor Aimé Huber wrote, "The entire world demands and expects a powerful development of German industry, of German world trade, dreams of German sea power and German colonies. All of this is good and well; but all of this should be possible to achieve without a simultaneous development of helotism or, to stay with the common expression, the proletariat? Nobody will claim that seriously."[1372] Huber argued for a simultaneous colonization and improvement of the workers within Germany. "In our plan, inner mission will in fact go hand in hand with inner colonization. Yes, inner colonization will be really the field of our inner mission in several of its most important

[1371] Harald Fischer-Tiné, "Global Civil Society and the Forces of Empire: The Salvation Army, British Imperialism, and the 'Prehistory' of NGOs (Ca. 1880-1920)," in *Competing Visions of World Order Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s*, ed. Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, The Palgrave Series in Transnational History (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 29–67; Fischer-Tiné, "Englands interne Zivilisierungsmission. Arbeitshäuser für Europäer im kolonialen Indien (ca. 1860-1914)."

[1372] Victor Aimé Huber, "Ueber innere Colonisation," *Janus: Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That* 7–8 (1846): 196: "Alle Welt verlangt und erwartet eine mächtige Entwicklung der deutschen Industrie, des deutschen Welthandels, träumt von deutscher Seemacht und deutschen Colonien. Das Alles ist gut und schön; aber das Alles sollte zu erlange sein ohne eine Hand in Hand gehende Entwicklung des Helotismus oder um bei dem hergebrachten Ausdruck zu bleiben, des Proletariats? Niemand wird das im Ernst behaupten. [...]" .

branches, and we think of both of them as mutually compulsive postulates (*sich gegenseitig zwingende Postulate*)."[1373] Huber even went so far as to say that in this context the words "colony" and "association" were synonyms.[1374] Huber himself was engaged in transferring the idea of housing cooperatives as part of inner colonization from the United Kingdom to German lands.[1375] A similar language and imagery of missionizing to workers within one's own country was used in the United Kingdom in the 1890s.[1376]

In his first text from 1848 addressing German colonization, Wilhelm Roscher, who later made himself a name as the first German national economist,[1377] described the evils of overpopulation and urban and moral decay in German lands: "Here, colonization can have the most favorable consequences for the individual migrant. Those with a fit body, who pray and work, will hardly perish in a young agricultural colony. In a wilderness, that must be made reclaimed, most of our proletarian sins must go away of its own volition. There is no occasion for envy and thievery, and little occasion for drinking, gambling, lechery [and] fighting; one has to work hard and hard work has immediate compensation. The unbound opportunity to better one's situation is the best motivation for frugality (*Sparsamkeit*)."[1378]

Ernst Wilhelm Johann Gaebler from the Berlin Association for the Centralization of German Migration and Colonization claimed in 1850 that "internal colonization" (*Kolonisation im Inlande*) was an important issue to be tackled in order to preserve capital and labor for Germany.[1379] Gaebler defined colonization not as the acquisition of colonies as undertaken by European sea powers, but as "the regulated, communal settlement of Germans in countries were their national development and independence, even if under

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[1373] Ibid., 215–16.

[1374] "Damit haben wir nun schon angedeutet, daß eine solche Gruppe, Association, Colonie oder wie man das nennen will, nicht ohne Vorsteher, Repräsentanten, Geschäftsführer, Beamte irgend einer Art mit andern Worte nicht ohne eine Verfassung denkbar ist." [...] "Nach diesen und ähnlichen verschiedenen Umständen wird sich dann auch bestimmen lassen: ob und wiefern eine solche Colonie oder Association vom Staat, vom Gesetz als Corporation, als moralische Person anzuerkennen ist." Ibid., 217.

[1375] Thomas Adam, *Intercultural Transfers and the Making of the Modern World, 1800-2000: Sources and Contexts* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 14 ff.

[1376] Fischer-Tiné, "Englands interne Zivilisierungsmission. Arbeitshäuser für Europäer im kolonialen Indien (ca. 1860-1914)"; Fischer-Tiné, "Global Civil Society and the Forces of Empire: The Salvation Army, British Imperialism, and the 'Prehistory' of NGOs (Ca. 1880-1920)."

[1377] Wilhelm Roscher, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung*, Second Edition (Leipzig, Heidelberg: C.F. Winter, 1856); Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland*; Wilhelm Roscher, *Principles of Political Economy*, trans. John J. Lalor, Translation, vol. 1 and 2, The Evolution of Capitalism (New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Arno Press], 1878); Wilhelm Roscher and Robert Jannasch, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung* (Leipzig: C.F. Winter, 1885).

[1378] [own translation] Roscher, "Nationalökonomische Ansichten über die deutsche Auswanderung," 100.

[1379] Gaebler, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Kolonisation*, 11.

foreign sovereignty, is possible and assured."[1380] In 1851, Samuel Gottfried Kerst spoke of "internal colonizations" (*Colonisationen im Innern*) by which he meant subduing land for agricultural use in Eastern Provinces such as Posen, Pommern, and Prussia.[1381] He saw emigration as an evil which "internal colonization" should remedy. This movement of "internal colonization" as the resettlement of the "interior," the countryside in Germany, endured until WWI. It proved to be an alternative vision to industrial society. In 1887, Max von Koschinsky wrote of the colonization of Prussia and other German lands as the pre-history of German colonization.[1382] In 1893, Max Sering published a study on "internal colonization" in eastern Germany where he discussed workers' settlements (*Arbeiter-Ansiedlungen*), peasant colonies (*Bauernkolonien*), and state colonization projects.[1383] Citing Sering, H. Metz wrote in 1902 that "internal colonization" referred to the settling of agricultural workers (*Seßhaftmachung von Landarbeitern*).[1384] In his own words, he spoke of the "formation of a productive agricultural community" ("*Bildung einer leistungsfähigen Landgemeinde*").[1385]

In 1907, Martin Belgard studied "internal colonization" in Prussia with regards to a settlement bank and state and private colonies.[1386] In addition to his analysis of "internal colonization" in Germany, Alfred Brenning also included a brief comparison with other European countries in 1909.[1387] Franz Jesser also specifically studied "internal colonization" in Sudetenland in 1913.[1388]

Contrary to the United States, which also practiced internal colonization but avoided using the term, Argentinean scholars embraced the concept.[1389] Colonization in Argentina was closely linked to ideas of conquest, the frontier, and the elimination of indigenous

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[1380] Ibid., 13.

[1381] Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay*, 2.

[1382] Koschitzky, *Deutsche Colonialgeschichte*.

[1383] Max Sering, *Die innere Kolonisation im östlichen Deutschland* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1893).

[1384] H. Metz, *Innere Kolonisation in den Provinzen Brandenburg und Pommern 1891 bis 1901: Erfahrungen und Verfahren der Königlichen Generalkommission zu Frankfurt an der Oder* (Berlin: Verlangsbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1902), 2.

[1385] Ibid., 6.

[1386] Martin Belgard, *Parzellierung und innere Kolonisation in den 6 östlichen Provinzen Preußens, 1875-1906* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1907).

[1387] Alfred Brenning, *Innere Kolonisation*, Aus Natur Und Geisteswelt: Sammlung Wissenschaftlich-Gemeinverständlicher Darstellungen 261 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909).

[1388] Franz Jesser, *Innere Kolonisation in den Sudetenländern: Mit einem Nachwort* (Deutsche soziale Rundschau, 1913).

[1389] Steven Sabol, "Internal Colonization," in *"The Touch of Civilization": Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2017), 171–204.

people. Numerous Argentinean scholars theorized the role of Argentina among colonial powers, as only civilized nations could become colonial powers. Migration was also tied to colonization: Argentinean elites wanted (Northern) Europeans to cultivate and improve the land and the nation. The Argentinean presidents Rivadavia, Sarmiento, and Roca appealed to German-speakers to come to Argentina and help with this civilizing colonization project. But intellectuals like Gomez Langenheim, Frutos, Molinas, Quesada, and others were also implicated in this project.

In 1895, Antonio Gomez Langenheim defended his dissertation at the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the Universidad Nacional of Buenos Aires. In the preface, he wrote, "Doing propaganda in favor of the colonization of the Republic, establishing a system of colonies adapted to the territory, which responds to the physical and social necessities, this is the aim that our legislation concerning colonies should suggest."[1390] For this reason, he suggested studying colonization, and how various peoples had practiced it, in order to understand its utility for his own country, Argentina.[1391] He continued further with definitions: "Colonization is simply the action and the effect of colonizing, that is to say, to form or establish colonies in a country."[1392] He referred back to Greek and Latin definitions of the term "colony": "The word *colonia* comes from Greek […] which signifies *separation of the home, departure of the home country, abandonment of the home*, and the Latin noun *colonia* derived from the verb *colere* (to cultivate), which signifies plantation, cultivation."[1393] Gomez Langenheim then also took a more recent definition from the French new dictionary of political economy: "An establishment founded by citizens of one country outside of the current limits of its fatherland, on a territory not yet appropriated or designated to become their new fatherland in their opinion."[1394] He then argued that this

[1390] Antonio Gomez Langenheim, *Colonización* (Buenos Aires: Martín Biedma, 1895), 10; "Hacer propaganda en favor de la colonización de la República, establecer un sistema de colonias adecuado al territorio y que responda á las necesidades físicas y sociales, tal es el fin que debe proponerse nuestra lejislación en materias de colonias."

[1391] Ibid., 11; "En vista de estas consideraciones, creo oportuno, al tratar de la colonización, estudiar su origen en los diversos pueblos, para después comprenderla en nuestro país."

[1392] Ibid., 13; "Colonización es simplemente la acción y efecto de colonizar, es decir, de formar ó establecer colonias en un país."

[1393] Ibid.; "La palabra colonia viene del griego […] que significa separación de morada, partida del país natal, abandono de la casa, y del sustantivo latino colonia derivado del verbo colere, (cultivar) que significa propiamente plantación, cultivo."

[1394] Ibid., 13–14; "Le Nouveau dict. d'Econ. polit. define la colonia: un establecimiento fundado por ciudadanos de un país, fuera de los límites actuales de su patria, en un territorio, aun no apropiado, y destinado á llegar á ser en su opinión su nueva patria."

definition only referred to external colonization (*colonización exterior*), outside of the territorial limits of the colonizing country, which was a definition that remained incomplete in his opinion as it did not include the colonization carried out by a country within its own boundaries, be it done with indigenous or foreign populations.[1395] Gomez Langenheim thus distinguished between two types of colonization: internal and external colonization, just like scholars writing in Germany did. He wrote specifically that countries with vast territories and small populations practiced internal colonization, as was (supposedly) the case for Argentina.[1396]

Gomez Langenheim then went on to discuss colonization as it had been practiced by Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, in the Middle Ages, and by the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, British, and French.[1397] In a manner similar to the German-speaking theorists of internal colonization and internal mission, Gomez Langenheim also wrote that colonization would help Argentina free itself from "pitfalls, the storms that agitated contemporary societies, named strikes, anarchism, etc."[1398]

In 1902, Arturo Frutos defended his dissertation about Argentinean colonization at the National University of Buenos Aires in the faculty of law and social sciences.[1399] While Gomez put emphasis on the fact that colonization had been practiced over the entire course of human history, Frutos distinguished between old and modern colonization and linked the latter to science and its advancements. This is something we see in the German case as well: a scientific approach to colonization, purporting to scientifically determine the best locations for colonization and settlement, discussed below. In 1914, E. W. Schmidt spoke of "internal

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[1395] Ibid., 14; "Esta definición se refiere á la colonización exterior ó fuera de los límites territoriales del país colonizante, y por tanto no á nuestro sentir complete, por cuanto no comprende la colonización efectuada por un país dentro de sus propios limites, sea con elementos de población indígena ó extrangera."

[1396] Ibid., 16; "[…] distinguiéndonos además dos clases de colonización que podríamos diferenciar así: 1° La que se efectúa dentro de los límites territoriales del país colonizante ó sea interior. 2° La que se efectúa fuera de los límites territoriales del país colonizante, es decir, en un territorio más ó menos distante de la nación que lo hizo suyo y que podríamos llamar exterior. Esta última es propia de los países de escaso territorio y que buscan nuevas tierras donde extender su poderío. La primera, por el contrario, propia más bien de los países que gozan de extenso territorio y de reducida población, es precisamente la que nos interesa y de la que especialmente vamos á tratar."

[1397] Ibid., 17–58.

[1398] Ibid., 124; "Colonizar un territorio, en general, es hacerlo aumentar de valor, es hacerlo producir y enriquecer, y en tal concepto cuanto más produzca y valga nuestro suelo, tanto más ricos y poderosos seremos, tanto más libres nos veremos de las asechanzas de las naciones limítrofes, y sobre todo, de esas tempestades que agitan el seno de las sociedades, denominadas huelgas, anarquismo, etc." .

[1399] Arturo R. Frutos, *La Colonización Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de E. S. Arbol y M. Pereyra Acosta, 1902).

colonization" in Argentina.[1400] He described a system of lend-lease: people arrived in Argentina as "immigrants" and then, if they settled the land, they became lease-holding "colonists."[1401] Schmidt described the difficult relationship between landowners and leaseholders: the latter reverted to a strike in 1912 in order to obtain a reduction in high lease prices.[1402]

There were also prominent Argentineans who opposed looking for colonial inspiration in European models. In 1901 for example, lawyer Bernardo de Irigoyen (*1822 – 1906), then governor of Buenos Aires, wrote that he disagreed with those scholars postulating that Argentina should colonize as European powers had. He argued that the Argentine situation was too distinct in cause, intent, and effect from European colonization and that Argentina should continue developping its own colonization system.[1403]

For Namibia, I have not found any contemporary discussions concerning formal or informal colonization. However, I have found differing perspectives on the legal status of the protectorate. In 1906, Hermann Hesse published an article about the land question and the rightfulness of the concessions in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1404]

The 1904 handbook for Germans abroad had still included the protectorate German South-West Africa under "foreign countries."[1405] In 1908, Paul Erich Hinz dealt with the question of whether the protectorate was to be considered domestic (*Inland*) or foreign (*Ausland*) in his dissertation at the University of Erlangen.[1406] He discussed various authors' arguments and theories, and concluded that the protectorates had to be considered part of

[1400] Schmidt, "Entwicklungstendenzen der argentinischen Landwirtschaft," 242.

[1401] Ibid., 244.

[1402] Ibid., 245.

[1403] Bernardo de Irigoyen, *Colonización é Inmigración en la República Argentina: Datos y antecedentes* (La Plata: Talleres de Publicationces del Museo, 1901), 4; "La colonización europea, que algunos estudian sosteniendo que debemos aplicar sus hechos á nuestro país, ha sido antes, y es actualmente, diversa de la sudamericana. Causa, propósitos, efectos, todo es distinto, y nos exponemos á incurrir en errors si tomamos, como bases de nuestro sistema, las que han servido á los gobiernos europeos."

[1404] Hermann Hesse, *Die Landfrage und die Frage der Rechtsgültigkeit der Konzessionen in Südwestafrika: ein Beitrag zur wirtschaftlichen und finanziellen Entwickelung des Schutzgebietes* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1906).

[1405] Wilhelm Dibelius and Gustav Lenz, eds., *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande* (Berlin: D. Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1904), 104–5.

[1406] Paul Erich Hinz, *Die Rechtsbegriffe "Inland" und "Ausland" in Anwendung auf die deutschen Schutzgebiete* (Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1908).

the "homeland." By 1923, Namibia was listed under foreign territories again, however, it was still defined as a settlement colony.[1407]

During the missionary era, prior to 1884, German-speakers practiced a form of agricultural colonization, though the status of state sovereignty of the territory remained unclear. While the British attempted to claim the land north of Orange River and east of Walvisbay, the Rhenish missionaries raised a Prussian flag over that territory.[1408] During the time of the German protectorate, the legal status of the colony was debated, but one could claim that it practiced a form of "internal colonization" as it was treated as German territory. Then, under South African control, German-speakers participated then in "internal colonization" for South Africa.

6.2.2 State Colonization versus Private Colonization

In the previous section, we looked at internal versus external colonization. While this distinction operates within the framework of nation-states, the actors who carried out colonization did not necessarily have to be state actors. Thus contemporaries distinguished between "state colonization" and "private colonization." Alternative terms used were also "official" colonization versus "spontaneous" colonization. State colonization did not necessarily mean formally acquiring overseas territory. For many, it just meant state involvement in colonization and migration projects in the form of financial or consular support.

In 1849, Alexander von Bülow defined "migration" as the mere movement of people leaving their home country, while he defined "colonization" as organizing migrants at their destination and making them useful for the home country; for him, colonization was thus "conquest through work and intelligence."[1409] While he did not want to migrate himself, he wanted to study and "learn to colonize" ("*colonisieren lernen"*).[1410] He chose as his example

[1407] Friedrich Wilhelm Mohr and Walter von Hauff, eds., *Deutsche im Ausland; Im Auftrage des Reichswanderungsamtes und in Verbindung mit dem Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (Breslau: F. Hirt, 1923), 239–47; "Deutsch-Südwestafrika, die Siedlungskolonie."

[1408] Vedder, *Das alte Südwestafrika*, 240; "Mit der preussischen, englischen und norwegischen Flagge geschmückt traf hochgemut der Norweger Knudsen 1842 in Bethanien ein."

[1409] Alexander von Bülow, *Auswanderung und Colonisation im Interesse des deutschen Handels* (E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1849), viii.

[1410] Ibid.

Belgium, since Belgium did not have its own sovereign territories abroad in 1849, but witnessed large migration flows leaving from Antwerp.[1411] In the history of colonization, Bülow distinguished between (1) old, (2) medieval, or new, and (3) the newest waves of colonization.[1412]

In 1850, Ernst Wilhelm Johann Gaebler published the first report of the Berlin Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization in Berlin in 1850, which had been founded in 1849 with Alexander von Bülow as its first president.[1413] Gaebler also spoke of "new colonization": earlier colonization systems considered maintaining sovereignty as the main aim; it was a system of conquest and exploitation. He claimed that this system was now outdated as it had founded in what he called "the insufficient national-economic formation (*Bildung*) of the past century, which has now proved to be completely false."[1414] He claimed that even England had now recognized the costliness of this system and was working towards giving its colonial possessions independence. Gaebler identified South America as the best location for German settlement.[1415] He stated that regulated and (German) state-aided colonization projects in foreign territories were what Germans should aim for. He cited North America as the best example on how to subject uninhabited areas to civilization, and he claimed that the state-run model could easily be transferred to a colonization-society-run (*Kolonisations-Gesellschaft*) model. Migrants who left Germany and stayed together in the new land would then become colonists and would create a new market for German goods. He claimed that England was already practicing this "new type of colonization": colonization through the creation of new markets abroad instead of territorial acquisitions.[1416] Gaebler added that instead of claiming sovereignty over German colonies abroad, Germany – or Prussia – should set up protection and defense treaties with the states in which these German colonies were located, and he pointed here particularly to the South American countries trying to escape British and North American influence. In 1862, Johann Jakob Sturz highlighted the importance of state involvement in overseas colonization

[1411] Ibid., ix.
[1412] Ibid., 97.
[1413] Gaebler, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Kolonisation*.
[1414] Ibid., 14.
[1415] Ibid., 21.
[1416] Ibid., 35–37.

projects in order to protect German migrants from abuse, as for example in Brazil after the end of slavery[1417] or during the U.S. Civil War.[1418]

While in Argentina, colonization started out as a state project that turned more and more into private initiatives over the course of the nineteenth century, the opposite occurred in Namibia, where settling the land was carried out as private endeavor at first, which was then taken over more and more by the state, especially with Dernburg after 1907. In Argentina, agricultural colonization was mainly state-organized and controlled throughout the nineteenth century. The fourth part of Antonio Gomez Langenheim's 1895 dissertation was dedicated to the Argentinean Republic.[1419] In his study of colonization in Argentina, he distinguished between two types: land under control of the provinces and land under control of the federal (national) government.[1420] He provided an in-depth illustration of the history of state action concerning colonization in Argentina starting in 1813.[1421] About the relation between the role of the state and of individuals he wrote that while the state was a powerful agent that could manifest itself directly and indirectly, private or individual action from entities such as companies or missionaries also played an important role in (agricultural) colonization. [1422] He claimed that while private action from individuals or colonization companies was important, it should always act in accordance with, and with the help of, the Argentinean state.[1423] In 1901, by contrast, Bernardo de Irigoyen claimed that

[1417] Johann Jakob Sturz, *Die Krisis der Deutschen Auswanderung und ihre Benützung für Jetzt und Immer: Ein Hebel für deutsche Schifffahrt, deutschen Handel, deutsche Rhederei und Gewerbe, zur deutschen Flotte, und eine Gewährleistung für deutsche Einigung, Kräftigung und Selbstachtung diesseits und jenseits des Weltmeers* (Berlin: Hickethier, 1862), 4 f.

[1418] Sturz, *Kann und soll ein Neu-Deutschland geschaffen werden und auf welche Weise?*, 3 ff.

[1419] Gomez Langenheim, *Colonización*, 69.

[1420] Ibid., 72; "El estudio de la colonización en la República Argentina, puede dividirse en dos partes: la colonización de tierras de propiedad provincial, es decir, situada dentro de los límites territoriales de las provincias que componen la Confederación, y por la cual deben velar especialmente los gobiernos de provincia; segundo: la colonización de tierras de propiedad nacional, que comprende los nueve grandes territorios nacionales anexos á la Confederación, la cual es más importante aún por cuanto abarca extensas regiones casi inhabitadas y linderas en su mayor parte con las naciones vecinas."

[1421] Ibid., 130–51.

[1422] Ibid., 129; "Por otra parte, sabemos que entre los medios de cumplir la gran obra de la colonización, la acción del Estado es un agente poderoso que puede manifestarse por diversos medios directos é indirectos. // Debemos advertir, sin embargo, que además de la acción del Estado, existen otras fuerzas importantes que cooperan al desarrollo de la colonización, adquiriendo en determinadas circunstancias un rol primordial; entre estas fuerzas se cuenta la acción privada ó individual – la de las grandes compañías, la de los misioneros religiosos, etc."

[1423] Ibid., 151.

the Argentinean federal government had to administer colonization, and thus practice "official colonization" because private colonization companies could not be counted on.[1424]

Just as some contemporary scholars distinguished between official colonies and spontaneous colonies,[1425] Arturo Frutos distinguished between "official migration" (*inmigración oficial*) and "spontaneous migration" (*inmigración espontánea*) in 1902.[1426] Official migration was thus state-regulated and -sponsored, whereas spontaneous migration occurred without any state intervention. He also discussed the role of the Argentinean state in migration and colonization. He started his discussion of state involvement in the "*epoca colonial*," when the territory was part of the Spanish Empire.[1427] Frutos complicated the issue of "state sovereignty" even further by introducing the state and federal levels of control. He was concerned with land distribution (*distribución de tierras*) and the question of who had actual sovereignty over the land: the states (*las provincias*) or the federal government (*el gobierno nacional*).[1428] He dedicated one section of his dissertation to "the Colonies of the Argentinean Republic: their past – their present and their future."[1429] Santa Fe was the first province with colonization and Entre Rios the second.[1430] Colonization was practiced in Patagonia since 1865 by Welsh families and the Conquista de la Pampa Central took place in 1879.[1431] According to Frutos, Federal State involvement meant official colonization (*colonización official*) or state colonization and an example of an "official colony" (*colonia oficial*) was the colonia General Roca in Rio Negro.[1432] The choice of terminology of "official colony" is very interesting here, especially in the context of European colonialism, where only overseas colonies under sovereignty of a European state were called that. Another curious part of his work was the section on "nationalizing the colonies": he

[1424] Irigoyen, *Colonización é Inmigración en la República Argentina: Datos y antecedentes*, 5–6; "Después de veinticinco años, persist en esa opinion: la colonización debe llevarse […] oficialmente, porque no debemos esperar, al presente, que empresas particulares se lancen á esas esperculaciones. No existen, entre nosotros, capitals dispuestos para ellas, y si algún sindicato ó empresa extranjera las propone, sera pidiendo centenaries de leguas que no debemos conceder por diversas consideraciones. Esos negocios, esas empresas, en la forma que se proponen, solo darán dificultades y cuestiones ingratas."

[1425] Henri Hauser used the term "imperial colonies" and "spontaneous colonies," see Hauser, *Colonies allemandes impériales et spontanées*.

[1426] Frutos, *La Colonización Argentina*, 24.

[1427] Ibid., 31.

[1428] Ibid., 38.

[1429] Ibid., 39ff.; "Las colonias de la República Argentina: su pasado – su presente y su porvenir."

[1430] Ibid., 65.

[1431] Ibid., 66–68.

[1432] Ibid., 69–70.

argued that the colonies had to be nationalized in order to apply Argentinean legislation so that within Argentinean borders, the newly established colonies would not be English, German, Italian, Russian, etc. but preeminently Argentinean.[1433]

In 1912, Georg Hiller discussed in detail Argentinean state colonization policies.[1434] He dated the beginning of Argentinean migration policies (*Einwanderungspolitik*) only to the end of Rosas's reign in 1852. However in the 1820s, President Rivadavia had already laid out the first attempts at attracting more immigrants for colonization. Citing "*gobernar es poblar*" ("to govern is to populate," Gustav Paul Bener claimed in 1936 that it was the Argentinean federal state who considered it its main objective to organize and regulate colonization.[1435]

As far as private colonization projects in Argentina were concerned, German-speakers were quite involved in these endeavors, but many of them remained unfinished ventures. For example, the German shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd wanted to buy land from Ernesto Tornquist in 1905.[1436] It could not buy the land itself, but planned to found a colonization society that would buy and administer the land for German-speaking settlers in 1905; the Argentinean firm from Tornquist would instead buy land from the Argentinean government and even the German consul Waldthausen was informed about this project.[1437] The Norddeutscher Lloyd asked for permission and support from the German foreign office for this private German-speaking colonization project in Argentina in 1905.[1438]

Hugo Stroeder's colonization company was another example of private colonization carried out in Argentina.[1439] In 1908, Luis D. Rodriguez also mentioned a Sociedad Germano-Argentina de Colonización.[1440] Otto Kasdorf favored the private initiative of German trade

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[1433] Ibid., 107; "Nacionalizar las colonias: he ahí la obra que desde ya reclamamos á nuestras leyes; que en adelante y donde quiera que se forme dentro de las fronteras de nuestra patria, la nueva colonia, no sea ni inglesa, ni alemana, ni italiana, ni rusa, sino que, ab initis, sea genuina y eminentemente argentina!"

[1434] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*. This author is treated more in detail in chapter 9 on state involvement.

[1435] Bener attributed the quote to Sarmiento, but it was the philosopher Juan Bautista Alberdi who coined that phrase. Gustav Paul Bener, *Landwirtschaftliche Kolonisation in Süd-Amerika* (Chur, Switzerland: Bischofsberger & Co., 1936), 9.

[1436] "Direktion des Norddeutschen Lloyd, Bremen to Wirklicher Geheimer Legationsrat im Auswärtigen Amt Herr Goetsch, Berlin."

[1437] Föhr, "Julius Föhr to Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen."

[1438] "Norddeutscher Lloyd to Kaiserlich Auswärtiges Amt."

[1439] Alemann, *Station und Emporio Stroeder*. Stroeder has been further treated in Part II.

[1440] Luis D. Rodriguez, *"La Argentina": Descriptión de la Capital Federal, Provincias y Territorios Nacionales. Estadística comercial. Productos. Industrias en explotación. Valor de terrenos de cultivos y*

and German industry in South America.[1441] As late as 1931, the Eldorado company was active in practicing private colonization in northern Argentina.[1442]

In Namibia, the missionary colonies under Carl Hugo Hahn in the 1860s were private projects carried out with the help of the Rhenish missionary society and a company set up specifically for this purpose.[1443] Heinrich Vedder labeled Hahn's activities "colonization" in his 1934 publication, although according to Guenter Kurt Anton, colonization in the German South-West Africa protectorate only started in 1892.[1444] The journal *Windhoeker Anzeiger* mentioned agricultural colonies in German South-West Africa in October 1899.[1445] In 1900, French historian and economist Henri Hauser distinguished between large-scale (*grande*) and small-scale (*petite*) colonization in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1446] Large-scale colonization was operated by concession companies (that we discussed in part II), whereas small-scale colonization was carried out by individuals disposing of capital between ten and fifteen thousand marks, according to Hauser.

In his travel account from 1887, published in 1898, August Boshart claimed that due to the desert-like conditions in Namibia, affluent Germans would not settle there and the poorer people interested in migrating there would need financial support in the beginning, either from the German state or from well-off companies.[1447] Boshart also advocated for encouraging Germans-speakers to choose Namibia over other destinations by paying their passage and facilitating their initial settlement.[1448] Much has been written about the financial help the German government started to provide to German women in order to maintain the "whiteness" and "German-ness" of settlers.[1449]

The Resolution IX of the 1902 German Colonial Congress called for the strengthening of German settlement efforts in the German protectorate South-West Africa through settlement associations and companies, but it particularly called for more imperial

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destinados á la ganadería en la República, basado en las últimas ventas (Buenos Aires: M. Rodriguez Giles, 1908).

[1441] Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 78.

[1442] Compañia Eldorado, *Leben und Treiben in Eldorado, Missiones-Argentinien*.

[1443] Vedder, *Das alte Südwestafrika*, 493–95.

[1444] Anton, *Die Siedelungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, 3.

[1445] "Hatsamas."

[1446] Hauser, *Colonies allemandes impériales et spontanées*, 51 ff.

[1447] August Boshart, *Zehn Jahre afrikanischen Lebens* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1898), 180.

[1448] Ibid., 187.

[1449] See Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*.

government aid.[1450] More settlers came after the Namibian War (1904-1907). A 1905 questionnaire from the German Colonial Office on settler conditions in the protectorate South-West Africa included a subsection on "colonization," most likely meaning agricultural colonization.[1451]

While contemporary scholar Alfred Zimmermann studied colonial policies – particularly of the British Empire – and observed a change in the British system towards trade relations,[1452] Paul Dehn was a contemporary critic of Zimmermann's position.[1453] He was in favor of "official colonies." Dehn argued that Germany needed its own colonies, because England only concluded reliable trade agreements with its former colonies and the United States of America was working on a Pan-American Union with special privileges to control South American markets.[1454] Dehn claimed that trade agreements were not strong or reliable enough for Germany and that it should follow France's example and expand a formal colonial empire. He also argued that German South-West Africa was important to limit British control in Southern Africa.[1455] He further supported the idea that sheep farming should be expanded in order to dispose of wool imports from Argentina and Australia.[1456]

There were proponents for both camps, those in favor of state colonization and those in favor of private colonization. While in theory, they seemed as two different approaches, in practice they were often mixed and intertwined.

[1450] See Resolution IX., in Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, 844–849."Resolution IX. // [...] Der Deutsche Kolonialkongress 1902 hält die planmässige Besiedelung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika für eine unserer wichtigsten und dringlichsten Kolonialaufgaben. //Er ist der Ansicht, dass die Kräfte und Mittel der Siedelungsgesellschaften und die sonstige private Siedelungstätigkeit für die Lösung dieser Aufgabe unzureichend sind, und er hält es für dringend notwendig, dass das Reich für die Beförderung der Besiedelung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika erheblich grössere Mittel aufwende als bisher. // Soweit das Land zur Zeit für die Besiedelung geeignet ist, ist dieselbe, namentlich zum Zwecke der Grossviehzucht, durch Gewährung von Begünstigungen, welche die Unternehmungen zu fördern geeignet sind zu beschleunigen. // Um es weiterhin für die Aufnahme einer grösseren Zahl von neuen Ansiedlern genügend vorzubereiten, ist die Schaffung zahlreicher Brunnen und kleinerer Staudämme und an geeigneten Punkten die Anlage grösserer Stauwerke sofort in die Wege zu leiten. // Die Regierung möge, damit die einmal im Gange befindliche Besiedlung nicht an einer Steigerung der Bodenpreise zum Stocken komme, Bedacht nehmen, bei Gelegenheit das Verfügungsrecht über kulturfähiges, von den Landgesellschaften nicht in Kultur genommenes Land sich zu verschaffen."

[1451] "[Fragebogen] VIII. Kolonisation," 1905, BArch R 1001/6237, pag. 17-18.

[1452] Zimmermann, *Kolonialgeschichtliche Studien*; Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialpolitik Grossbritanniens*; Zimmermann, *Die Handelspolitik des Deutschen Reichs vom Frankfurter Frieden bis zur Gegenwart*; Zimmermann, *Weltpolitisches: Beiträge und Studien zur neueren Kolonialbewegung*; Zimmermann, *Kolonialpolitik*.

[1453] Paul Dehn, *Von deutscher Kolonial- und Weltpolitik*, Second Edition (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1907), 27.

[1454] Ibid., 29.

[1455] Ibid., 116.

[1456] Ibid., 124.

6.3 The Component Parts of Colonization

In 1902, Argentinean intellectual Dr. Arturo Frutos identified migration and soil (*inmigración y tierra*) as the two determining factors, or prerequisites, for colonization.[1457] Two elements were thus essential for colonization: the people and the land. In other words, these were the two elements that other views on colonization focused on. The vocabulary that contemporaries used, however, varied according to changing circumstances.

6.3.1 Focus on Migration and Settlement

In this section, we will focus on migration and settlement used as synonyms for colonization. Other terms that put emphasis on the people were the terms "settler," "colonist," and "worker." Many publications used the terms migration and colonization together (*Auswanderung und Kolonisation*; *migración y colonización*). Among the German texts dealing with the situation from a Central European perspective, I would like to highlight the following: one published and edited by Wappäus in 1846, one written by Alexander von Bülow in 1849, one from Ernst Gaebler, one from Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden in 1881, and one from Liesenberg from 1883.[1458] What all of these German texts share is the fact that they were published prior to the existence of any official German protectorates.

While most Argentinean publications combining migration and colonization started around the date of the ratification of the 1876 migration and colonization law, Bartolomé Mitre had already written on the connection between migration and colonization in an 1870 publication.[1459] And in 1873, Guillermo Wilcken wrote about agricultural colonies in a report

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[1457] Frutos, *La Colonización Argentina*, 22–23.

[1458] anonymous, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation*, ed. Johann Eduard Wappäus (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1846); Bülow, *Auswanderung und Colonisation im Interesse des deutschen Handels*; Gaebler, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Kolonisation*; Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, *Deutsche Colonisation: Eine Replik auf das Referat des Friedrich Kapp über Colonisation und Auswanderung* (Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1881); C Liesenberg, *Die deutsche Auswanderung, ihre Organisation und ihre colonisatorischen Ziele* (Berlin: Burmeister & Stempel, 1883).

[1459] *Ley de inmigración y colonización de la República Argentina, sancionada por el Congreso nacional de 1876. Publicación oficial* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Departamento Nacional de Agricultura, 1882); Bartolomé Mitre, *La inmigracion espontanea en la Republica Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Imp. de la sociedad anónima "La Nación," 1870).

presented to the Argentinean migration commission.[1460] Overall, these early publications focused more on migration than colonization. The same is true of the Argentinean writers Francisco Seeber (1881), Emilio Gouchón (1889), Antonio Cafferata (1898), and Bernadino de Irigoyen (1901).[1461] Moritz Alemann spoke of German settlement in his presentation at the German Colonial Congress of 1902, but he also used the term "Germanic colonization" (*Germanische Kolonisation*).[1462] In 1912, Georg Hiller announced a series of books on migration and colonization in Argentina, but he only completed the first volume on migration and not the one on colonization.[1463]

Occasionally, German-speakers writing about Argentina also used the term "settlement" to refer to German-speakers moving to Argentina.[1464] Many of these publications are from the time after the world wars, though, when the relation to the terminology of colony started to change. More recently, French historian Anne Saint Sauveur-Henn has classified "agricultural colonization" as a special subtype of "migration" in the Argentinean case.[1465] She thereby highlights the people involved. However, as a historian, classifying "colonization" in South America only as part of migration studies has obscured the relation it had with (European) colonialism.

In Namibia, in turn, the term "settlement" (*Besiedlung*) was the preferred one and only sometimes was "(agricultural) colonization" used. "Colony" and "colonization" were used on the Namibian side for "settlement" and "agricultural activities" until the land became a German protectorate, and the term "colony" was then used as synonymous with

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[1460] Guillermo Wilcken, *Las Colonias. Informe sobre el estado actual de las colonias agrícolas de la República Argentina presentado a la Comision Central de Inmigracion, 1872* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad anonima, 1873).

[1461] Francisco Seeber, *Ensayo sobre inmigración y colonización en la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: La Nación, 1881); Emilio Gouchón, *Apuntes sobre inmigración y colonización*, Dissertation, Universidad nacional de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires: Imprenta "La Nación," 1889); Antonio F. Cafferata, *Apuntes sobre inmigración y colonización* (Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, 1898); Irigoyen, *Colonización é Inmigración en la República Argentina: Datos y antecedentes*.

[1462] Alemann, "Argentinien als Siedelungsgebiet für deutsche Auswanderung."

[1463] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*.

[1464] Moritz Alemann, *Die Kolonie Tornquist im Distrikt Bahia Blanca (im Süden der Provinz Buenos Aires) als Ansiedlungspunkt für schweizerische und deutsche Ackerbau-Familien* (Bern: Bei Orell Füssli & Cie., 1886); Alfred Funke, *Die Besiedlung des östlichen Südamerika, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschtums*, vol. 10, Angewandte Geographie. Hefte zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntnisse in ihrer Beziehung zum Kultur- und Wirtschaftsleben 1 (Halle a. S.: Gebauer-Schwetschke Druckerei und Verlag, 1903); "Germanische Ansiedlung 'Friedland' am Rio Pico (Chubut) (Dr. W. Vallentin)," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, October 6, 1905, BArch R 901/30417, pag. 18; v. Hauff, "Der augenblickliche Stand der Ansiedlungsfrage für Deutsche in Argentinien," *Tägliche Rundschau*, January 7, 1928, No. 261 edition, EZA 5/2061; Oscar Schmieder and Herbert Wilhelmy, *Deutsche Ackerbausiedlungen im südamerikanischen Grasland, Pampa und Gran Chaco* (Leipzig: Hirt, 1938).

[1465] Saint Sauveur-Henn, *Un siècle d'émigration allemande vers l'Argentine*, 342–491.

"protectorate." In 1885, one year after the Adolf Lüderitz had achieved protectorate status for the piece of land he had bought, Rhenish missionary Karl Gotthilf Büttner attempted to answer the question "whether the new German acquisitions in South-West Africa could be used for agricultural colonies."[1466] It is noteworthy here that he used the plural, which indicates that he was using the word colony for settlements rather than as a synonym for the protectorate. In his 1891 travel account, Rudolf Ludloff described Otjimbingwe as a colony (*Kolonie*) within German South-West Africa, thus within the German protectorate.[1467] In this case as well, colony must have been synonymous with "settlement" and not specifically in reference to territory under German control. In the 1890s, the term "settlement" (*Siedlung, Besiedlung*) was much more common than "colonization" in Namibia.[1468] At the 1902 German Colonial Congress, Dr. Hindorf advocated for German South-West Africa as Germany's most important colony for settlement (*Siedlungskolonie*).[1469] The company helping with agricultural colonization in Namibia was even called Settlement Society for German South-West Africa.[1470] In 1903, M. R. Gerstenhauer used the term settlement (*Besiedlung*) in a journal article about the history of populating the German protectorate.[1471] Especially during and after the Namibian War, German-speakers were dealing with the question of how to settle more German-speakers in the German protectorate.[1472] In 1907, Dr. V. Fuchs made a suggestion for the settlement of the German protectorate inspired by the "self supporting principle" the British had used in Australia.[1473] However, he also equated the "settlement question" with the "land question." The Official Guide for Migrants to German South-West Africa of 1910 included a chapter on settlement (*Ansiedlung*), with a subsection on farming (*Farmwirthschaft*) and one on

[1466] Karl Gotthilf Büttner, *Ackerbau und Viehzucht in Süd-West-Afrika: (Damara- und Gr. Namaqualand)*, Die Deutschen Colonialgebiete 3 (Leipzig: Schloemp, 1885), 3; "Da die Frage, ob die neuen deutschen Erwerbungen in S.-W.-Afrika für Ackerbaucolonien nutzbar zu machen wären…."

[1467] Ludloff, *Nach Deutsch-Namaland*, 46.

[1468] "Südwestafrikanische Siedelung," 1892, BArch R 1001/1685, pag. 21; "Aus Kunst, Wissenschaft und Leben," *Tägliche Rundschau*, May 21, 1892, BArch R 1001/1685, pag. 30.

[1469] Direktor Dr. Hindorf, "Die weisse Einwanderung nach Südwestafrika," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902, zu Berlin am 10. and 11. Oktober 1902*, ed. Deutscher Kolonialkongress (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1903), 627–39.

[1470] Vohsen, *Denkschrift über die bisherige Thätigkeit der Siedelungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*.

[1471] M. R. Gerstenhauer, "Zur Geschichte der Besiedlung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 5 (1903): 203-224-288-308.

[1472] Gentz, "Der Hererokrieg und die Besiedelungsfrage in Deutsch-Südwestafrika."

[1473] V. Fuchs, *Ein Siedelungsvorschlag für Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1907).

livestock (*Viehzucht*).[1474] In 1911, Rudolf Wagner equated colonization work (*Kolonisationsarbeit*) with settlement.[1475]

Similar language can be found in historical scholarship. A 1976 dissertation from the University of Minnesota argued that the protectorate German South-West Africa was a "settlement colony."[1476] In 1986, Guido Weigend published a book on German settlement structures in Namibia, and a 2002 article by Robert Gordon deals with "unsettled settlers" in Namibia, thus taking up the same terminology of settlers and settlements that had been popular in Namibia.[1477]

6.3.2 Focus on Agriculture

In Argentinean historiography, colonization so far has been studied completely disconnected from (European) colonialism. Scholars have considered the coincidence in terminology to be accidental and without any deeper meaning.[1478] I argue that (agricultural) colonization in Argentina has to be studied in the context of expansionism and colonization that originated in Europe. Much of the contemporary literature on colonization focused on agricultural colonization, and thus on land cultivation and animal rearing. Argentinean legislation and

[1474] *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Amtlicher Ratgeber für Auswanderer* (Berlin: Reimer, 1910).

[1475] Rudolf Wagner, *Eine Reise durch die deutschen Kolonien: Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*, Kolonie und Heimat 4 (Berlin: Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften, 1911).

[1476] Alvin Kienetz, "Nineteenth-Century South West Africa as a German Settlement Colony" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1976).

[1477] Guido G. Weigend, *Deutsche Siedlungsstrukturen in Namibia* (Düsseldorf: Deutsche SWA/Namibia Vereinigung e. V., 1986); Robert J. Gordon, "Unsettled Settlers: Internal Pacification and Vagrancy in Namibia," in *Ethnography in Unstable Places: Everyday Lives in Contexts of Dramatic Political Change*, ed. Carol J. Greenhouse, Elizabeth Mertz, and Kay B. Warren (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2002), 61–84.

[1478] See, for example, Julio Djenderedjian, "Un aire de familia? Produccion ganadera y sociedad en perspectiva comparada: las fronteras rioplatenses a inicios del siglo XIX," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 41 (2004): 247–73; Julio Djenderedjian, "Expansion agricola y colonizacion en Entre Rios, 1850-1890," *Desarrollo económico* 47 (2008): 577–606; Julio Djenderedjian, *Gringos en las pampas: inmigrantes y colonos en el campo argentino*, Nudos de la historia argentina (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2008); Julio Djenderedjian, *La agricultura pampeana en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, Historia del capitalismo agrario pampeano 4 (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2008); Julio Djenderedjian, "La colonización agrícola en Argentina, 1850-1900: problemas y desafíos de un complejo proceso de cambio productivo en Santa Fe y Entre Ríos," *América Latina en la historia económica* 15 (2008): 127–57; Julio Djenderedjian, "Modernización e innovación. Reconsiderando el papel y las particularidades de los fenómenos de cambio técnico en la agricultura pampeana entre 1840 y 1900," *Encuentros Latinoamericanos* 4, no. 10/11 (2010).

government, especially, linked colonization with agriculture, as we will see in Part 9.2 when examining the role of the state in colonization projects.[1479]

The term colony became a contested notion. In January 1885, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* published a definition of "colonies" in Argentina.[1480] According to this definition, colonies were settlements for agricultural purposes in the Argentinean interior. German-speakers in Argentina started to feel the need to distinguish their use of the term colony in Argentina from the one that started to prevail in continental German-speaking Europe – the synonym for protectorate and thus an official state or imperial colony. In 1901, Karl Kaerger, who was employed as an agricultural expert for the Argentinean government, published a comprehensive study on agriculture and colonization in the La Plata states in German for a German-speaking audience.[1481] Colonization was a particular term for specific practice.

In 1906, Alfred Arent published an article about Patagonia being a territory for German colonization.[1482] He described the climate, soil, and the different plants and animals that could be best grown there. The 1906 handbook for Germanic migrants to Argentina claimed that "colonization means the settlement of farmers (*Ackerbauern*) on a piece of land, which had merely been used for stock-breeding."[1483] This reflected the contemporary view that crop farming was superior to animal farming. In 1913, Otto Preusse-Sperber advocated for "colonization" with German-speakers in Argentina.[1484] He called for the simultaneous advancement of railroad construction and the systematic and regulated founding of agricultural colonies. In 1915, Ernst Pfannenschmidt, agricultural expert for the German Embassy Buenos Aires, used "colonization" in Argentina interchangeably with "partitioning the land."[1485] In 1916, Otto Kasdorf defined colonists in South America as

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[1479] Emilio Frers, Heriberto Gibson, and Enrique Lynch Arribálzaga, *Plan de Organizacion de la Direccion General de Tierras y Agricultura: Proyecto de Presupuesto: Memoria* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación, Mariano Moreno, 1893); D. G. de la Fuente, ed., *Tierras, colonias y agricultura: recopilación de leyes, decretos y otras disposiciones nacionales* (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1898).

[1480] "Die Colonien werden definiert wie folgt...," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, January 3, 1885, BArch R 901/30397, pag. 17.

[1481] Kaerger, *Landwirtschaft und Kolonisation im Spanischen Amerika. Erster Band. Die La Plata-Staaten*.

[1482] Arent, "Patagonien, ein deutsches Kolonisationsgebiet."

[1483] *Argentinien als Ziel für germanische Auswanderung – Handbuch nebst einem Stadtplan und der neusten Eisenbahnkarte* (Buenos Aires: H. Herpig, 1906), 49; "Unter Kolonisieren versteht man die Ansiedlung von Ackerbauern auf einem Stück Land, welches bisher allein der Viehzucht diente."

[1484] Preusse-Sperber, "Eisenbahnbauten in Verbindung mit Kolonisation," 26.

[1485] Ernst Pfannenschmidt, *Landwirtschaft und Kolonisation in Patagonien* (Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung P. Parey, 1915), 12.

agriculturalists, as farmers when he wrote "*Kolonisten* (*Landwirte*)."[1486] After WWI, Pfannenschmidt still worked in Argentina and in one section of a 1926 publication, he treated colonization and land policy (*Kolonisation und Bodenpolitik*) in a subsection.[1487]

As for Namibia, several contemporary authors wrote about colonization and the "land question," which again, potentially interfered with the role of the state. In 1895, Karl von Stengel problemetized the issue of unowned land in the German protectorates.[1488] In 1896, Franz Joseph von Bülow discussed animal rearing and plant cultivation in Windhoek and labeled it "colonization."[1489] In 1899 already, Kurt von François used the term "colonization" (*Kolonisation*) for all activities in the protectorate in the name of sovereignty of the German Empire.[1490] In 1905, M. R. Gerstenhauer, who worked for the land commission of the German Colonial Society, published two articles about the land question and land policies in the German protectorate with the Journal of the German Colonial Society.[1491] In 1906, Hermann Hesse published a detailed analysis on the land question.[1492] He distinguished between indigenous land (*Eingeborenenland*), society-owned land (*Gesellschaftsland*), and government land (*Regierungsland*). In 1913, however, Bernhard Voigt expanded interest to land outside of German control when he included a chapter on agriculture in the Hereroland in his collection of texts on land and people in Namibia.[1493] In 1914 the farmer Schlettwein used the term agriculture (*Landwirtschaft*) and explicitly included both livestock and plants in this definition.[1494] In 1993 then, Brigitte Lau and Peter

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1486 Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 64.

1487 Pfannenschmidt, *Die argentinische Landwirtschaft*, 59–60.

1488 Karl v Stengel, "Herrenloses Land in den deutschen Schutzgebieten," ed. Gustav Meinecke, *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Beiträge und Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Kolonialwissenschaft und Kolonialpraxis. Siebter Jahrgang* 7 (1895): 10–37.

1489 Franz Joseph von Bülow, "Politik und Kolonisation in Windhoek," in *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Drei Jahre im Lande Hendrik Witboois. Schilderungen von Land und Leute* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1896), 220–36.

1490 François, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*.

1491 M. R. Gerstenhauer, "Landkonzessionen und Landpolitik in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Anhang," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 7 (1905); M. R. Gerstenhauer, "Gutachten über die Landfrage in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, erstattet für die Landkommission der 'Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft,'" ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 7 (1905): 549–607.

1492 Hesse, *Die Landfrage und die Frage der Rechtsgültigkeit der Konzessionen in Südwestafrika*.

1493 Bernhard Voigt, "Ackerbau im Hererolande," in *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Land und Leute*, ed. Bernhard Voigt (Stuttgart: Strecher & Schröder, 1913), 36–38.

1494 Carl Schlettwein, *Der Farmer in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika. Eine Darstellung sämtlicher für den afrikanischen Farmer in Betracht kommenden Erwerbszweige und Ein Leitfaden für Anfänger*, Second and Improved Edition (Wismar: Hinstorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914), 1.

Rainer published a history of one hundred years of agriculture in colonial Namibia.[1495] They criticize that previous scholarship included broad references between agricultural development and colonialism. Instead they proposed three phases: the German colonial period, 1892-1915, the Union/Commonwealth period, 1915-1961 and the RSA period, 1962-1990. On both sides of the South Atlantic then, agriculture thus became the preferred term to replace colonization with regards to making use of the land and cultivating it.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have studied different contemporary conceptualizations of "colonization." While internal and external colonization presumed the existence of a state to whose territory colonization was internal or external to. The main argument of this chapter is that the necessary component parts of colonization were 1) people or colonists, 2) soil or land, and 3) the presence or absence of state control of land and people. I argue that the actions of private individuals were crutial for colonization. German-speakers in the South Atlantic mainly acted as these private individuals who worked land. The nation-states intervened in differing degrees with the tendency to increase their involvement over time.

On both sides of the South Atlantic, colonization projects were motivated by ideas of white European superiority, and it was those white Europeans who took land control out of the hands of the indigenous population. German-speakers were active agents in this process of land appropriation in the South Atlantic. But Europeans also engaged in the competition amongst each other for the status of most civilized. This ensued various armed conflicts including the First World War, which was also carried out in the South Atlantic societies. From the perspective of Central Europe, South Atlantic societies were located at the ends of the world and were considered frontier areas that remained largely unknown to the general public.

[1495] Brigitte Lau and Peter Reiner, *100 Years of Agricultural Development in Colonial Namibia: A Historical Overview of Visions and Experiments* (Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1993).

Chapter 7. German-speaking Travel Writing as Colonization Propaganda

This chapter discusses the literature that German-speakers produced about colonization in the South Atlantic in order to inform and educate Central European Germans about this part of the world that perpetually remained unknown to large parts of Euro-German society. It analyzes how their writings shaped the knowledge and imagination of German-speakers about the South Atlantic, both in Europe and in the South Atlantic itself. I distinguish between what I call "first-hand" and "second-hand" travel writing. The authors of first-hand accounts were those German-speakers who actually went to the South Atlantic themselves and stayed there for a few years, or longer, sometimes even permanently. Second-hand accounts were by those who did not travel to the South Atlantic themselves but who held an important position in German-speaking culture and society and who thus served as mouthpieces for the others by relying on information from first-hand accounts. My main argument in this section is that ultimately, the objective of all published (travel) writings was propaganda for German-speaking colonization: to familiarize German-speakers in Europe with the South Atlantic in order to attract more migrants and increase business connections.

In 1995, Marília dos Santos Lopes published a book on travel writing in the South Atlantic.[1496] She compared travel accounts from the earliest available until the eighteenth century in a spatial unit reaching from South-West Africa to Brazil. She particularly highlighted the importance of taking into account the double function of travel accounts: capturing unfamiliar and exciting experiences in a "new world" for European audiences, while providing deep insight in the belief system of the person authoring those accounts. Mary Louise Pratt coined the phrase "imperial eyes" to describe European travel writing in Africa and South America.[1497] The topic was first taken up by scholars working on South America, and more recently by historians working on German-speakers in Africa.[1498]

[1496] Lopes, *Fremdwahrnehmung und Selbsteinschätzung*.

[1497] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 1992; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2006.

[1498] Magnus Mörner, *European Travelogues as Sources to Latin American History from the Late Eighteenth Century until 1870* (Stockholm: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1981); Walther L. Bernecker, Gertrut Krömer, and Kristina Birn, eds., *Die Wiederentdeckung Lateinamerikas: die Erfahrung des Subkontinents in Reiseberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1997); Jens Kruse, *Reiseberichte aus den deutschen Kolonien: Das Bild vom "Eingeborenen" in Reiseberichten der deutschen Kolonialzeit, 1884-1918* (München: GRIN Verlag GmbH, 2007); Werner Tabel, *Autoren Südwestafrikas: Biographien, Rezensionen und Hintergrundinformationen* (Göttingen; Windhoek: Klaus Hess Verlag, 2007); Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst,

The travel writings German-speakers produced fit on a scale of different literary categories ranging from educational texts on one end of the spectrum to entertainment on the other. Within this spectrum, I include "scientific writings" and "popularizations" under the rubric of "educational," and "memoirs" and "fiction" under the rubric of "entertainment." In many cases, the boundaries between these categories are fluid, and some writings could be situated along the entire spectrum between these seemly opposing ends. An example would be the overlap between pure propaganda writings and scientific writings, especially once the belief had developed that only accurate and thus "scientific information" could really serve as a means to convince people to choose to migrate.

The authors of travel writing created cultural landscapes. The first German-speaking travellers in the South Atlantic documented what they saw, experienced, and interpreted. They produced descriptions of lands and people previously unknown to them and their fellow countrymen. Some of the publications categorized as "popularizations" are blatant propaganda promoting settlement and colonization. Many of these texts were written as handbooks for colonists. Scientific texts developed further, in part also as a reaction to subjective propaganda. These scientific writings were attempts to produce scholarly and objective knowledge about the South Atlantic. Fictional accounts created shared knowledge about the South Atlantic in a more creative way and provided a mental source for those German-speakers who could not travel to South Atlantic themselves but where dreaming about it. This literature shaped the perception of the South Atlantic in the popular mind of German-speakers in Europe.

7.1 Publications with Educational Purpose

Throughout the nineteenth century, the development of "science" was linked to advancement, progress, civilization, and modernity. While scientific writing's seemingly primary aim was to provide an "objective" description, its authors were also proponents of colonization. Their scientific work ultimately also served the purpose of colonization promotion. While science and "objectivity" or "truth" was what the authors were striving

"Selbstzeugnisse reisender Frauen in Afrika," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009).

for, there were also those who thought that this information needed to be made accessible to a wider audience that was not academic but still needed "true" and factual information. Thus they practiced a popularization of the scientific information. The nineteenth century was also the time when many new academic disciplines like anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography were created, and German-speakers in the South Atlantic took an active part in this development.

7.1.1 Scientific Writing Produced in an Academic Setting

In the nineteenth century, people were concerned with analyzing the conditions of the places they considered for colonization. In this regard, two aspects were most important and linked to settlement and agriculture: would German-speakers be able to live in the locations they studied? And secondly, would animals and plants they were used to cultivating survive and thrive in these conditions? People believed that humans from certain climatic areas could only survive in those regions that were similar to the ones they came from. With regards to animal and plant production, they were more flexible in adapting their habitual preferences to the local varieties. In this section we look at literature that aimed to and pretended to be scientific by providing "neutral" and factual descriptions of areas in the South Atlantic, more specifically Argentina and Namibia.

Historian Carsten Gräbel has studied the role of German geographers between 1884 and 1919, focusing exclusively on those working in the official German colonies.[1499] I argue that it is important to further consider the role of geographers and scholars of related fields in relation to colonization rather than colonialism and thus study their role both in places like Argentina and Namibia. Some scholars of South America have started to address this issue: For the case of Brazil, Cerue K. Diggs has introduced the notion of "colonial gaze" of German-speakers in the nineteeth century and thus put the analysis closer to (German) colonialism in South America.[1500] Similarly, Uta Raina has used the designation "intellectual

[1499] Carsten Gräbel, *Die Erforschung der Kolonien: Expeditionen und koloniale Wissenskultur deutscher Geographen, 1884-1919* (transcript Verlag, 2015).
[1500] Cerue K. Diggs, "Brazil After Humboldt: Triangular Perceptions and the Colonial Gaze in Nineteenth-Century German Travel Narratives" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 2008).

imperialism" to describe German anthropologists and archaeologists in Peru at the turn of the twentieth century.[1501] This work is inspired by these approaches as well.

With regards to South Atlantic, two scientific travelers who had not only a profound impact on German-speakers but on all of humanity were the English-speakers and half-cousins Francis Galton and Charles Darwin. Darwin is known for his theory of evolution, also called Darwinism. He travelled in Southern Argentina between 1832 and 1837, and published his travel account, which was repeatedly also translated into German.[1502] German-Argentinean writer and botanist Eduardo L. Holmberg, for one, was strongly influenced by Darwin.[1503] Over the long term, Darwin was at the origin of the foundation of evolutionary thought in Argentina, whereas Galton founded the field of eugenics.[1504] Galton travelled in Southern Africa, today Namibia, where he met German-speaking missionaries like Carl Hugo Hahn and his family.

One of the few contemporary German-speaking scholars who worked on both sides of the South Atlantic during his lifetime was Reinhard Maack (*1892 Herford, Westfalen – 1969 Brazil).[1505] He first travelled to Namibia in 1911 and worked as a land surveyer (*Landesvermessung*) in Windhoek. After WWI, he worked for the British South Africa Survey Service for South-West Africa before crossing the Atlantic to Brazil in 1923, where he worked as mining engineer for the *Companhia de Mineração e Colonização Paranense* (Parana Mining and Colonization Company). He received a Ph.D. for his research on the Gondwana connection between Africa and South America at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn,

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[1501] Uta Raina, "Intellectual Imperialism in the Andes: German Anthropologists and Archaeologists in Peru, 1870-1930" (Temple University, 2007).

[1502] Dame Gillian Beer, "Darwin in South America: Geology, Imagination and Encounter," in *Science and the Ceative Imagination in Latin America*, ed. Evelyn Fishburn and Eduardo L. Ortiz (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2005), 13–23; Friedrich Heinzelmann, ed., "III. Reisen in Brasilien und den La Plata-Ländern. Nach Gardner, Prinz Maximilian von Neuwied, Darwin u. A.," in *Reisen in Südamerika und Westindien*, Die Weltkunde in einer planmässig geordneten Rundschau der wichtigsten neueren Land- und Seereisen 8 (Leipzig: F. Fleischer, 1851), 211–305; Charles Darwin, *Reise eines Naturforschers um die Welt*, trans. J. Victor Carus (Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart'sche Verlagshandlung (E. Koch), 1875).

[1503] Eduardo L. Ortiz, "On the Transition from Realism to the Fantastic in the Argentina of the 1870s: Holmberg and the Córdoba Six," in *Science and the Ceative Imagination in Latin America*, ed. Evelyn Fishburn and Eduardo L. Ortiz (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2005).

[1504] Adriana Novoa and Alex Levine, *From Man to Ape: Darwinism in Argentina, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Adriana Novoa and Alex Levine, *!Darwinistas!: The Construction of Evolutionary Thought in Nineteenth Century Argentina* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012); Nicholas Wright Gillham, *A Life of Sir Francis Galton: From African Exploration to the Birth of Eugenics* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[1505] Ursula M. Kurowski, "Lebenslauf von Reinhard Maack," *Boletin Paranense de Geografia* 10–15, no. Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von Reinhard Maack (1964).

Germany in 1946.[1506] His work is significant because he actually worked on the physical and geographical connection of the South Atlantic continents, studying the time when they consisted in one single continent.

Many authors were involved in the transfer of knowledge. In many cases, the authors were linked to academic institutions such as universities or geographical associations. The obligation they felt to the nation-state and national economy varied between individuals. How outspoken they were about their agendas also varied. There was much conflict between those labeled "theorists" and those considering themselves "practitioners." Several "second degree" agents of transfer wrote both about South America and Southern Africa in the nineteenth century. For example, in the 1850s, Friedrich Heinzelmann edited various books on the "unknown" areas of the earth. His books were published in German but the contents were entirely based on travel accounts originally written in other languages. His edited volume *Travels in Africa* included Portuguese South-West Africa, the Cape Colony, and the region in between, today's Namibia.[1507] His volume *Travels in South America* included descriptions of the "La Plata States."[1508] Geographer Karl Andree (*1808 Braunschweig – 1875 Bad Wildungen) studied history with Leopold von Ranke, philosophy with Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and geography with Carl Ritter and Alexander von Humboldt in Berlin in 1827.[1509] He edited a volume on Buenos Aires and the Argentinean provinces based on the most recent sources in 1856, as well as one on South Africa and Madagascar, based on expedition accounts.[1510] Later on, he focused his interests on the geography of world trade.[1511] Wilhelm Sievers (*1860 Hamburg – 1921), a geology and geography university professor in Giessen, who travelled to Venezuela and Columbia, was also a "second degree" agent of transfer: by being an intellectual authority, he could transmit information through the channels - the academic realm – available to him. He

[1506] Reinhard Maack, *Die Entwicklung der Gondwana-Schichten Südbrasiliens und ihre Beziehungen zur Karru Formation Südafrikas*, Symposium sur les séries de Gondwana, 19. Congrès Géologique International (Alger: Comptes Rend., 1952); Reinhard Maack, *Kontinentaldrift und Geologie des südatlantischen Ozeans* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969).

[1507] Friedrich Heinzelmann, ed., *Reisen in Afrika durch die Länder der Nordküste und die Sahara, Senegambien, den Sudan, beide Guinea's und das Gebiet des Südens* (Leipzig: F. Fleischer, 1852).

[1508] Heinzelmann, "Reisen in Brasilien und den La Plata-Ländern."

[1509] Viktor Hantzsch, "Andree, Carl," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 46 (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1902), 12–15.

[1510] Andree, *Buenos Ayres und die argentinischen Provinzen*; Karl Andree, *Südafrika und Madagaskar geschildert durch die neuesten Entdeckungsreisenden, namentlich Livingstone und Ellis* (Leipzig, 1859).

[1511] Karl Andree, *Geographie des Welthandels. Mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen*, ed. Richard Andree, Second Edition, vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag für Sprach- und Handelswissenschaft (Dr. P. Langenscheidt), 1877).

published a book on the geography of Africa in 1891 and then one on South and Central America in 1903.[1512]

Literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt asserts that by the end of the seventeenth century, travel writing already had a scientific orientation and claim.[1513] She also writes of a "planetary consciousness" that had awoken among Europeans: they became aware of the globe and wanted to explore as well as subdue and civilize it.[1514] The very first travel account available to us from a German-speaker in Argentina comes from explorer Ulrich Schmidl, who traveled to the Río de la Plata with Pedro de Mendoza in the 1530s and became one of the co-founders of Buenos Aires in 1535.[1515] Schmidl was also considered the first historian of Buenos Aires.[1516] The first German-speakers to document their travels to Southern Africa were Balthasar Springer (who travelled to the Cape of Good Hope in 1509),[1517] and Peter Kolb (*1675 Dörflas near Redwitz – 1726 Neustadt a. d. Aisch) in 1704.[1518] Pratt writes that Kolb could be considered an early ethnologist who described Nama-speaking populations rather than the landscapes he was supposed to study on his voyage sponsored by a Prussian patron.[1519] Patricia Arenas has published a book specifically on German-speakers' scientific contribution to the foundation and development of anthropology as a discipline in Argentina.[1520] Expansion and emerging expertise in sciences went hand in hand.

In the case of both the South America and Africa, knowledge about these continents was still rather scarce in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. Prussian scientific

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[1512] Wilhelm Sievers, *Afrika: Eine allgemeine Landeskunde* (Leipzig, Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, 1891); Wilhelm Sievers, *Süd- und Mittelamerika*, second edition, Allgemeine Länderkunde (Leipzig, Wien: Bibliographisches institut, 1903).

[1513] See Part I: Science and Sentiment, 1750-1800, in Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2006.

[1514] Ibid., 29.

[1515] Ulrich Schmidel, *Eine wunderbare Reise in die Neue Welt nach Brasilien und zum Rio de la Plata: erlebt von Ulrich Schmidl aus Straubing in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554 und nach seiner Rückkehr niedergeschrieben*, ed. Heinrich Fromm (Bremerhaven: Dt. Schiffahrtsmuseum, 2010); Richard John Ascárate, "Schmidel (Schmidl, Schmidt), Ulrich," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, ed. Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara California: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 945–47.

[1516] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 26.

[1517] Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart vn[d] erfarung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Jnseln vnd Künigreichen von dem großmechtigen Portugalische[n] Kunig Emanuel Erforscht funden bestritten vnnd Jngenomen* ([Oppenheim], 1509); Balthasar Springer and Franz Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/06: wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Meerfahrt" von Jahre 1509* (Strassburg: J.H.E. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1902); Beate Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (München: Iudicium, 1999).

[1518] Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*; Friedrich Ratzel, "Kolb, Peter," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 16 (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1882), 460–61.

[1519] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2006, 40ff.

[1520] Arenas, *Antropologia en la Argentina*.

circles had been heavily influenced by the negative image French naturalist Comte de Buffon had developed of South America and its inhabitants, which Dutch scholar Cornelius de Pauw had spread in Berlin.[1521] Alexander von Humboldt's voyage to Spanish America and Brazil between 1799 and 1804 changed this outlook.[1522]

While not as widely-known and accessible to their contemporaries as to us today, it was eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries who produced the first travel accounts of the southern cone, including today's Argentina, and who already practiced natural history, cartography, medical botany, and astronomy.[1523] Among these missionaries were several German-speaking Jesuits. On 6 April 1691, the Jesuit Anton Sepp and Anton Böhm arrived in Buenos Aires by ship.[1524] They described Buenos Aires being as not very large – just a market area ("*nicht größer als ein Marktflecken*") – situated by the Rio de la Plata. They stated that the water of this river was very healthy and helpful for digestion.[1525] They described the types of trees present in the area of Buenos Aires, very different from the ones he was accustomed of from German woods: instead of oaks, spruces, birches, beeches, alders, there were peach, almonds, fig, apricot trees.[1526] Sepp and Böhm admired the abundance and quality of cow meat but they were appalled by the custom of leaving the remains of slaughtered cows in the fields for birds of prey and wild dogs.[1527] They also provided a detailed description of the local custom of preparing *asado* (barbecue).[1528] In 1740, Petro Probst published in Vienna a collection of Jesuit letters and travel accounts and it included a German translation of a French translation of a text originally written in Spanish by Hieronymus Herran about the province Paraquaria.[1529] The Austrian Martin Dobrizhoffer

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1521 Ulrike Schmieder, "Das Bild Lateinamerikas in der preußischen und deutschen Publizistik vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, ed. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 62.

1522 Ibid., 60. "Bis zu Humboldts Amerika-Reise 1799-1804 wusste man in Preußen wie im Rest Europas sehr wenig über Spanisch-Amerika und Brasilien."

1523 Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and Río de La Plata* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014).

1524 Anton Sepp and Anton Böhm, *Reißbeschreibung: Wie dieselbe aus Hispanien in Paraquariam kommen* (Nürnberg: Johan Hoffinanns, 1698), 7.

1525 Ibid., 8–15.

1526 Ibid.

1527 Ibid., 16f.

1528 Ibid., 18ff.

1529 Hieronymus Herran, *Brieffe aus Paraquarien. Num.551. Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Provinz Paraquarien laut der aus Brieffen von Buenes Aeres vom 20ten Hornung 1733 erhaltenen Nachricht erstlich aus dem Spanischen ins Französische anjetzo aus diesem ins Deutsche übersezet*, ed. Petro Probst, Allerhand so Lehr- als Geist-reiche Brieffe, Schrifften und Reise-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu

was simultaneously cartographer, ethnographer, and missionary.[1530] He also travelled the region then called Paraquaria (which included today's countries of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay). Dobrizhoffer provided a detailed account of the Abipones, an indigenous people that no longer exists as such. An English translation of the original Latin version from Vienna in 1784 was published in London in 1822.[1531] After the expulsion of Jesuits from South America, Dobrizhoffer returned to Vienna.

On the other side of the Atlantic, missionaries arrived much later than in Southern America. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Eduard Moritz (*1864 – 1940), a high school teacher in Namibia,[1532] edited and published in 1915 and 1916 what he called "the oldest travel accounts on German-South West Africa."[1533] These include twenty-five reports from a variety of authors from 1760 to 1842 – including the missionaries Heinrich Schmelen (LMS) and Franz Heinrich Kleinschmidt (RMG) –, as well as reports from other Rhenish missionaries between 1842 and 1846. Moritz wrote that A. Albrecht, his brother Christian, and Johann Seidenfaden were the first German-speaking missionaries on the territory of today's Namibia. He included Albrecht's observations of Great-Namaland in his edited volume of oldest travel accounts.[1534]

Also included in Moritz's edited volume were texts by the following missionaries: Heinrich Schmelen and Hans Christian Knudsen who travelled in Namaland,[1535] Carl Hugo

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aus Beyden Indien, und anderen über Meer gelegenen Ländern, meistentheils von A. 1730 bis 1740 in Europa angelangt seynd. Aus Hand-schriftlichen Urkunden, und anderen bewehrten Nachrichten zusammengetragen 28 (Wien: Leopold Johann Kaliwoba, 1740).

1530 Kitzmantel, "Die Jesuitenmissionare Martin Dobrizhoffer und Florian Paucke."

1531 Martin Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones, An Equestrian People of Paraguay*, Translation, vol. 2, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1822).

1532 http://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000041169

1533 Eduard Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 1915, 162–268; Eduard Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Fortsetzung: die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846□: mit 1 Kt., Nr. 4," *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 1916, 135–253; They were published again by the Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in 1999: Moritz and Fisch, *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842*; Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000).

1534 Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., "Beobachtungen im Groß-Namalande. Von Missionar A. Albrecht, 1806," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999), 95–102.

1535 Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., "Reise zur Erforschung der Oranje-Mündung, des Groß-Nama- und Damaralandes. Von Missionar J. H. Schmelen. 1814," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-*

Hahn and Johannes Rath who travelled in Namaland Hereroland,[1536] Franz Heinrich Kleinschmidt in both Nama- and Hereroland,[1537] and Heinrich Scheppmann in Damaraland.[1538] These writings, which include descriptions of landscapes, animals, and peoples, were among the earliest to establish systematic knowledge about Namibia.

Dr. Julius Fröbel (*1805 Griesheim, Thuringia - 1893 Zurich, Switzerland) was the nephew of Friedrich Fröbel, the founder of the Kindergarten.[1539] He published a "Geographical and statistical Description of the Argentine Republic or the Free-states of the Rio de la Plata, the Free-state of Uruguay and the State Paraguay" with the publisher of the Geographical Institute in Weimar in 1832.[1540] He relied mostly on English travel accounts (e.g. John Mawe, H. M. Brackenridge, Alex Caldcleugh, John Miers, Thomas Falkner), some French and Spanish accounts (Félix de Azara, a publication from the *Reposido hydrographico de Madrid*), and some German (Alexander von Humboldt, Dobrizhoffer in a translation from

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1842 (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999), 103–16; Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., "H. Schmelens Brief über seine Reise im Groß-Namalande, Klipfontein, den 29. Juli 1814," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999), 117–20; Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., "Kurzer Bericht Schmelens über seine Reise nach der Walfischbai. 1824 bis 1825," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999), 145–46; Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., "Die Reisen Knudsens," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000), 11–60.

[1536] Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., "Die Reisen C. Hugo Hahns," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000), 61–154; Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., "Aus dem Tagebuch Raths," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000), 171–86.

[1537] Eduard Moritz and Maria Fisch, eds., "Aus dem Tagebuche des Missionars Kleinschmidt über seine Reise nach Bethanien und Eikhams. 1842," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil I: Die 25 frühesten Landreisen, 1760-1842* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1999), 201–24; Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., "Kleinschmidts Aufzeichnungen über Kl. Windhuk und die Damaras. 1843," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000), 155–70.

[1538] Eduard Moritz and Helmut Bistri, eds., "Die Reisen Scheppmanns," in *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia, 1482-1852. Gesammelt und herausgegeben 1915 von Professor Dr. E. Moritz. Teil II: Die Berichte der Rheinischen Mission bis zum Jahre 1846* (Windhoek, Namibia: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2000), 187–202.

[1539] Ferdinand Sander, "Fröbel, Julius," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 49 (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1904), 163–72; "Fröbel," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 7 (Leipzig, 1907), 161–62.

[1540] Julius, *Geographisch-statistische Beschreibung der argentinischen Republik, oder die Freistaaten vom Rio de la Plata, des Freistaats vom Uruguay und des Staats Paraguay*, vol. 4, Vollständiges Handbuch der neuesten Erdbeschreibung 20 (Weimar: Verlag des Geographischen Instituts, 1832).

Latin to German by A. Kreil in 1783). The account by Igancio Nuñez was published in 1825 both in a Spanish and an English version (*An account, historical, political and statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata etc.*). Fröbel particularly wrote on the origins of the inhabitants (Indians, Hispano-Argentineans, Africans) and provided detailed lists and descriptions of the various indigenous tribes, Argentinean housing styles – he claimed the construction of the houses in Buenos Aires was rather European, and Buenos Aires seemed similar to a European trade city –, as well as of activities like agriculture practiced in the cultivation of wheat, Paraguay tea (Ilex maté), as well as European vegetables and fruit, and the breeding of livestock, in particular cattle and horses. He remarked that for trade purposes, ox-wagons were used for transportation in the interior and many products were exported. While he never travelled to Argentina himself, Fröbel later on did travel to North America.[1541] In 1858, he also published a text about German emigration and its "culture-historical significance."[1542]

In 1839, August Diezmann published a German translation of the travel accounts that French naturalist and anthropologist Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny (*1802 – 1857) had edited in 1836.[1543] D'Orbigny, a contemporary of Alexander von Humboldt, dedicated five of his fifty-four chapters to Argentina. He praised Buenos Aires as one of two South American "Parises" from which "civilization would spread across the continent," the other being Lima.[1544]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, geography and statistics university professor in Göttingen, Dr. Johann Eduard Wappäus (*1812 Hamburg – 1879), established himself as the leading scholar on South America in German-speaking Europe. In 1843, he published a book entitled *The Republics of South America – Geography and Statistics*.[1545] He included the German geographer Carl Ritter in the list of dedications, whose student he was

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[1541] Julius Fröbel, *Aus Amerika: Erfahrungen, Reisen und Studien*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1857); Julius Fröbel, *Aus Amerika: Erfahrungen, Reisen und Studien*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1858); Julius Fröbel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859).

[1542] Julius Fröbel, *Die deutsche Auswanderung und ihre culturhistorische Bedeutung. Fünfzehn Briefe an den Herausgeber der Allgemeinen Auswanderungs-zeitung* (Leipzig: F. Wagner, 1858).

[1543] Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny, ed., *Malerische Reise in Süd-und Nordamerika: eine geordnete Zusammenstellung des Wissenswürdigsten von den Entdeckungsreisen …*, trans. August Diezmann (Leipzig: Baumgärtners Buchhandlung, 1839); Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Amériques* (Paris: L. Tenré; Henri Dupuy, 1836); Françoise Legré-Zaidline, *Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny (1802-1857)* (Paris; Budapest; Torino: l'Harmattan, 2002).

[1544] Orbigny, *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Amériques*, 254.

[1545] Wappäus, *Die Republiken von Südamerika geographisch-statistisch*.

in Berlin. In the introduction, Wappäus stated his intention to publish a comprehensive scholarly work in order to increase knowledge on the South American continent in Germany due to the commercial importance of the region for Germany.[1546] He explained where his sources came from, as he did not travel to South America for this study: private messages, political papers of the various South American states, consular reports, official memoranda, and scientific works – information he had received from merchants who had been to South America but preferred to remain anonymous because "these men still ha[d] too much aversion against the press."[1547] This publication was just the beginning of a larger project, which culminated in the 1870 handbook.[1548] Wappäus wrote that instead of imposing on the reader a fixed image forged according to subjective opinions, he wanted to provide him with as many facts as possible in order to allow him to make his own judgment.[1549] He stated his main aim was that an honorable merchant would find his work useful.[1550] In 1846, Wappäus published a book on German Emigration and Colonization (*Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonization*) in Germany.

Having heard about Wappäus' efforts to promote German migration and colonization in South America, Argentinean intellectual Domingo Faustino Sarmiento contacted Wappäus

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1546 "Wie ungenügend die Hülfsmittel sind, welche unsere Literatur zur Erkenntnis der gegenwärtigen Zustände des ehemaligen spanischen Südamerika's darbietet, das wird ein Jeder erfahren haben, der irgendwie Veranlassung gehabt hat, sich in Büchern und Zeitschriften umzusehen nach genaueren Nachrichten über die statistischen Verhältnisse jener unermesslichen, reichen Länder, welche in mehrfacher Hinsicht für Europa täglich von grösserer Bedeutung werden, und in dieser Beziehung darf ich wohl die Herausgabe einer Arbeit, welche eine vorzugsweise statistische Darstellung der gegenwärthigen Republiken von Südamerika zum Zweck hat, als ein zeitgemässes Unternehmen zu betrachten wagen." Ibid., v.

1547 "In wiefern jedoch es mir gelungen sein mag, aus der mir gesammelten Masse des Materials (Privatnachrichten, politische Blättern der verschiedenen südamerikanischen Staaten, Konsularberichten, officiellen Denkschriften, wissenschaftlichen Werken) das Wesentlichste auszuwählen und passend zusammen zu stellen, das zu beurtheilen überlasse ich dem sachkundigen Leser, der darüber eine Vergleichung mit den hierher gehörigen Leistungen unserer geographisch-statistischen Literatur anzustellen sich die Mühe gegeben mag, und dem es nicht unbekannt ist, welch ein in Anforderungen und Anschauungsweise verschiedenartiges Publikum der geographische Schriftsteller sich heut zu Tage denken muss, wenn er auf einen grösseren Leserkreis rechnen will." Ibid., vi.

1548 Johann Eduard Wappäus, *Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik des ehemaligen spanischen Mittel- und Süd-Amerika: nebst den europäischen Besitzungen* (Leipzig: Verlag der J.C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1870).

1549 "Deshalb habe ich es auch vorgezogen, statt durch Vorführung eines fertig gemachten, nach subjektiven Ansichten gestalteten Bildes dem Leser einen bestimmten Totaleindruck aufzuzwingen, ihm vielmehr die Thatsachen so viel wie möglich in der Art vorzuführen, dass er selbst sich ein Urtheil und eine Anschauung daraus bilden kann, und zu dem Zwecke habe ich auch gewissenhaft immer die Quellen, aus welchen ich schöpfte, angegeben, obwohl mir nicht unbekannt war, dass dies Verfahren gegenwärtig von den soi-disant Praktikern nur noch als eine Gelehrtenpedanterie angesehen wird." Wappäus, *Die Republiken von Südamerika geographisch-statistisch*, vii–viii.

1550 "Dass aber jenen Männern, das "Einem Ehrbaren Kaufmanne" mein Buch den Beweis fleissiger und vorurtheilsfreier Benutzung der mir so freundlich dargebotenen Hülfsmittel liefern möchte, das ist nicht der geringste der Wünsche gewesen, die mir bei Ausarbeitung dieses Werkes vorgeschwebt haben." Ibid., viii.

in 1846, and Wappäus included a letter from Sarmiento in his publication on "German Emigration and Colonization" that same year.[1551] They met during Sarmiento's voyage to Europe in 1847.[1552] Sarmiento provided him with more specific information on the conditions in southern South America, in particular the La Plata states. He stated that Wappäus had the intention of redirecting German migration from North America towards the South American states.[1553] Sarmiento and Wappäus collaborated on the project to produce information to attract more German-speakers to South America.[1554] Two publications came out of this 1847 meeting: Wappäus published a second version of his book on German Migration and Colonization (*Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation. Erste Fortsetzung: Deutsche Auswanderung nach Süd-Amerika (Rio de la Plata)*) in 1848, and this time, he put emphasis on explaining the conditions in the River Plate region for German migrants.[1555] He devoted part of a chapter to the political conditions in Argentina.

Upon his return to Chile (where he was in political exile) in 1851, Sarmiento published his own book on German migration to the River Plate (*Emigración Alemana al Rio de la Plata*) with an additional text by Dr. "Vappaüs" [sic!] as acknowledged on the cover page.[1556] At this point, Sarmiento addressed mainly a Chilean public. He stated that such publications (aimed at attracting more immigrants) were a powerful weapon.[1557] He said that Wappäus was responsible for a large number of German-speakers migrating to Chile.[1558] Sarmiento

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[1551] Johann Eduard Wappäus, "Anmerkungen des Herausgebers," in *Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation*, ed. Johann Eduard Wappäus (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1846), 104–6.

[1552] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Viajes en Europa, África i América*, Second Edition, vol. 2 (Santiago: Imp. de Julio Belin y Cía, 1851), 32.

[1553] "Estos trabajos, de los cuales ya ha aparecido uno, "Emigracion i colonizacion alemana," tienen por objeto desciar la corriente de emigracion que se precipita ciegamente sobre las costas de Norte-América, no obstante las dificultades del clima, i el pauperismo que aparece ya alarmante en las costas, a causa de la falta de direccion i de injerencia del Estado, en un asunto como el de la aglomeracion de masas de hombres en las que la vida i el porvenir de millares de seres humanos se ligan estrechamente con la hijiene i el órden público. Los escritores alemanes, reconociendo como un heco inevitablemente fatal la emigracion de sus compatriotas, se proponen, a mas de ilustras las masas sobre las ventajas que esto o el otro pais pueden ofrecerles, inducir a los gobiernos alemanes a dirijir convenientemente este movimiento, poniéndose para ello de acuerdo con los de los paises que reciben los emigrados a fin de que la prevision i el órden ahorren una parte de las desgracias i contrariedades a que esta mercadería humana está sujeta." Ibid.

[1554] Ibid., 2:34.

[1555] Johann Eduard Wappäus, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation. Erste Fortsetzung: Deutsche Auswanderung nach Süd-Amerika (Rio de la Plata)* (Leipzig: Hinrichs Buchhandlung, 1848).

[1556] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Johann Eduard Wappäus, *Emigracion alemana al Rio de la Plata, memoria escrita en Alemania* (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta de Julio Belin, 1851).

[1557] Ibid., II.

[1558] "Durante nuestra residencia en Alemania no descuidamos ponernos en contact con aquellos promoters celosos de la emigration a la América del Sur, subministrándoles dates que sirviesesn de aliciente a los emigrants

was much more moderate with regards to Argentina – he hated dictator Manuel Rosas too much.[1559] Only decades later, from 1868 to 1875, did he become President of Argentina, and he, as well as his successors, remained committed to attracting German-speaking migrants to Argentina.

In 1848, Wappäus also wrote a chapter on "the Germans in Buenos Aires" in Wilhelm Stricker's book "Germania: Archives for the Knowledge of the German Elements in all countries of the earth."[1560] Stricker's first book on the *Dissemination of the German People across the Earth* was the summary of lectures given at the Geographic Association in Frankfurt am Main in the winter of 1844-45.[1561] Stricker was also active with the Frankfurt National Association for Emigration and Settlement in 1849.[1562]

Wappäus never travelled to Argentina himself. Instead, he met with South Atlantic people like Sarmiento, collected information, and cited scientists like Herman Burmeister and migrants like Carlos and Lina Beck Bernard. In 1870, Wappäus finished and published his most comprehensive work on the statistics and geography of South America.[1563] In this handbook, he wrote that the climate in Argentina was among the healthiest in all of South America. "Concerning the salubrity of the climate, the Argentinean territory belongs to the most favored ones of America. The descendants of Europeans have […] become a strong race and the mestizos make up a handsome race (*Menschenschlag*)."[1564] In 1871, he published his last book, on Patagonia.[1565]

The statistician Dr. Freiherr von Reden (*1804 Lippe-Detmold – 1857 Vienna) was another example of those scholars who never travelled to the South Atlantic themselves, but instead worked in Germany and relied on works from South Atlantic travelers, and used their

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para venire a Chile, ronde el Congreso acababa de autroizar al ejective para disposer de terrenos baldíos en benefice de la emigration europea." Ibid., IV.

[1559] Ibid., V.

[1560] Johann Eduard Wappäus, "Die Deutschen in Buenos-Ayres," in *Germania: Archiv zur Kenntniss des deutschen Elements in allen Ländern der Erde*, ed. Wilhelm Stricker, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Ludwig Brönner, 1848), 441–44.

[1561] Stricker, *Die Verbreitung des deutschen Volkes über die Erde*.

[1562] Künzel and Stricker, *Bericht über die Entstehung*.

[1563] Wappäus, *Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik des ehemaligen spanischen Mittel- und Süd-Amerika*.

[1564] Ibid., 966.

[1565] Johann Eduard Wappäus, *Patagonien, die Argentinische Republik, Uruguay und Paraguay: geographisch und statistisch dargestellt* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1871).

academic authority to "promote the knowledge."[1566] He published his *Foundation for Speeches to the Frankfurt Geographical Society* in 1852.[1567] He drew on published works available to him, such as those by Wappäus and Orbigny, among others. He provided an extensive discussion of the complicated political situation within "Argentina" in the 1850s.

Another example of established intellectuals in Germany disseminating knowledge (like Wappäus and Sarmiento) is that of Dr. Johannes Baumgarten and Gustavo Niederlein. Baumgarten himself remained in Germany, but he brought together works by different authors – including Niederlein – and made them accessible to a German readership in his book *America: An Ethnographic Excursion on the Continent and the Antilles: Character Illustrations, Custom Descriptions, Scenes from Popular Life. According to the Best and Newest, German and Foreign Sources*.[1568]

Then there were the publications of those scholars who actually worked in Argentina, like botanist Dr. Hermann Burmeister (*1807 Stralsund, Sweden – 1892, Buenos Aires).[1569] Burmeister was the most influential and famous of German-speaking scholars in Argentina. While many of his contemporaries found him difficult, they nonetheless held him in high esteem. He first traveled to Brazil and Argentina in 1850, upon recommendation of Alexander von Humboldt, and then moved to Argentina in 1861, where he became director of the natural museum in La Plata.[1570] In 1870, Burmeister was charged with founding the faculty of natural science at the newly created university of Cordoba.[1571] However, as a result of a conflict between Burmeister and the German-speakers he had made come to Argentina, six of the scientists returned to Germany already in 1874.[1572] Burmeister published several travel accounts in the 1860s and 1870s.[1573]

[1566] Karl Wippermann, "Reden, Friedrich Wilhelm Otto Ludwig Freiherr von," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 27, 1888, 513–15.

[1567] Reden, *Die Staaten im Stromgebiet des La Plata in ihrer Bedeutung für Europa*.

[1568] Baumgarten, "Die Pampas-Indianer."

[1569] "Burmeister," in *Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon*, Fifth edition, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1911), 292.

[1570] Friedrich Ratzel, "Burmeister, Hermann," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 53 (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1903), 394–396.

[1571] Ibid.

[1572] Ortiz, "On the Transition from Realism to the Fantastic in the Argentina of the 1870s: Holmberg and the Córdoba Six," 59.

[1573] Hermann Burmeister, *Reise durch die La Plata-Staaten, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die physische Beschaffenheit und den Culturzustand der Argentinischen Republik: ausgeführt in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 und 1860*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Halle: H. W. Schmidt, 1861); Hermann Burmeister, *Reise durch die La Plata-Staaten, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die physische Beschaffenheit und den Culturzustand der Argentinischen Republik. Ausgeführt in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 und 1860*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Halle: H. W. Schmidt, 1861); Hermann

Dr. Alfred Stelzner (*1840 Dresden – 1895 Wiesbaden) was a mineralogist and geologist who worked with Dr. Hermann Burmeister in Cordoba in the 1870s before he returned to Germany (Freiburg) in 1874, after three years in Argentina. He published his work on geology in Argentina in 1885 under the order of the Argentine national government in Germany.[1574] Other German scholars called to the University of Córdoba, founded by Sarmiento and Nicolas Avellaneda, included: the botanist Dr. P.G. Lorentz from Munich (arrived in 1870), the chemist Dr. M. Siewert from Halle (arrived in 1870), the zoologist Dr. H. Weyenbergh from Harlem (arrived in 1872), the physicist Dr. Schultz-Sellack from Berlin (arrived in 1872) and the mathematician Dr. C.H. Vogler from München (arrived in 1873). The professors should use the time they were not lecturing for research travel in Argentina.[1575] These German-speaking scholars came to Argentina to share their knowledge and contribute to further develop scientific research in South America.

Dr. Rudolf Hauthal (*1854 Hamburg – 1928 Hildesheim) was also a German geologist, who traveled to Argentina in 1890 where he first worked as a private tutor, then as the director of the La Plata Museum, and later as an Argentinean state geologist in Patagonia, before being appointed professor at the University of La Plata.[1576] In 1904, Hauthal wrote his dissertation about the geology in the province of Buenos Aires.[1577] In 1912, he published an article about mining in Argentina with the German-Argentinean Society for the promotion of economic interests in Berlin.[1578] Dr. Rudolf Lütgens (*1881 Hamburg – 1972 Hamburg) was economic geographer who worked at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg between 1910 and 1924 as a specialist for South America.[1579] In 1912, he published his travel account from a trip to the Argentinean Chaco and the Paraná River with the German-Argentinean Central

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Burmeister, *Über das Klima der Argentinischen Republik. Nach dreijährigen Beobachtungen während einer Reise durch die La Plata-Staaten geschildert und mit numerischen Angaben der gefundenen Werthe belegt* (Halle: H. W. Schmidt, 1861); Hermann Burmeister, *Physikalische Beschreibung der argentinischen Republik nach eigenen und den vorhandenen fremden Beobachtungen*, vol. 1 (Halle: Anton, 1875).

[1574] Alfred Stelzner, *Geologischer Theil. Beiträge zur Geologie der Argentinischen Republik und des angrenzenden, zwischen der 32. und 33. S. Br. gelgenen Theiles der Chilenischen Cordillere*, Beiträge zur Geologie und Palaeontologie der Argentinischen Republik 1 (Cassel und Berlin: Theodor Fischer, 1885).

[1575] Ibid., ix.

[1576] Heinz Peter Brogiato, "Hauthal, Rudolf Johannes Friedrich," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, ed. Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara California: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 488.

[1577] Rudolf Johann Friedrich Hauthal, *Beiträge zur Geologie der argentinischen Provinz Buenos Aires, Inaugural-Dissertation* (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1904).

[1578] Hauthal, *Das Minenwesen in Argentinien*.

[1579] Gerhard Sander, "Lütgens, Rudolf," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 15, 1987, 478.

Association for the Promotion of Economic Interests in Berlin.[1580] Professor at Würzburg University, Dr. Fritz Regel had been asked to publish a book on applied geography in Argentina in 1914 where he extensively discussed the position of Germans in Argentinean society and life of German-Argentineans.[1581] All of these scholars spent some time in Argentina and contributed to the "advancement of science" for both Germany and Argentina.

The geographer Dr. Franz Kühn temporarily worked at the Instituto Nacional del Profesorado Secundario in Buenos Aires.[1582] In 1914, he published an article on the development of the city of Buenos Aires in the journal of the German South American Institute.[1583] He criticized the many descriptions of the city made by people who had visited Buenos Aires only briefly. He claimed that in 1914, Buenos Aires was in the process of transforming into a modern metropole and leaving behind its characteristics of a (Spanish) colonial city. As main elements of this change, Kühn identified: 1) the replacement of old characteristic one- and two-story houses with modern highrises with more than five stories used for commercial and housing purposes; 2) the opening of the subway; 3) the creation of two diagonal avenues in the downtown area.[1584] Kühn described Buenos Aires as a cosmopolitan city.[1585] He claimed that Buenos Aires was not typically Argentinean because more than half of its inhabitants were foreign by 1914: "Who only visited Buenos Aires, really has not been to Argentina."[1586] In 1919, he published a report on developments in the field of geography during the war years with the Journal of the Geographical Society in Berlin.[1587] In 1927, he published a handbook on physical geography of Argentina.[1588]

[1580] Rudolf Lütgens, *Geographische Bilder aus dem argentinischen Chaco und vom oberen Paraná*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Argentinischen Centralverbandes zur Förderung wirtschaftlicher Interessen 4 (Berlin: Süd- und Mittel-Amerika-Verlag, 1912).

[1581] Fritz Regel, *Argentinien*, Angewandte Geographie. Hefte zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntnisse in ihrer Beziehung zum Kultur- und Wirtschaftsleben, IV. 10. (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Keller, 1914).

[1582] Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933*.

[1583] Franz Kühn, "Buenos Aires. Eine siedelungskundliche Studie," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 267–87.

[1584] Ibid., 268.

[1585] Ibid., 283.

[1586] Ibid.

[1587] Kühn, "Geographischer Bericht aus Argentinien während der Kriegsjahre 1914 bis 1919."

[1588] Franz Kühn, *Argentinien: Handbuch zur physischen Landeskunde*, vol. 1 (Breslau: F. Hirt, 1927); Franz Kühn, *Argentinien: Handbuch zur physischen Landeskunde*, vol. 2 (Breslau: Hirt, 1927).

The geographer Otto Quelle (*1879 – 1959) directed the journal of the German-South American institute during WWI.[1589] He was involved in the project of providing the German public in Central Europe with accurate, current, and scientific information on South America. He published several articles bout Argentina, both about past and present.[1590] Ilse von Rentzell was among the few German-speaking woman scientists working in Argentina. In 1935, she published a book on indigenous plants.[1591] She also cooperated with Cristobal M. Hicken and published an overview of his works in 1937.[1592]

In Namibia, production of expert knowledge on the region took off after the first protection treaties were concluded after 1883. Karl Dove examined the climate, Swiss-German botanist Hans Schinz the flora, Ernst Stromer von Reichenbach and Paul Range the geology, J.C. Watermeyer, Hanemann, Paul Rohrbach and Theodor Rehbock the economic conditions. But scientific knowledge was produced and disseminated long before that. After the early travellers, the it was British travellers that were involved in scientific writing and exploration after 1800 in Namibia, like English-speaking merchants were "paving the way" for German-speakers in the South Atlantic. While the Scottish traveller James Edward Alexander was not a German-speaker, he was among the few Europeans in the region in the first half of the nineteenth century and his published accounts became a point of reference for German-speakers coming to the region after him. He published his travel accounts from 1835 to 1846 with the British Royal Geographical Society.[1593] Similarly, Anglo-Swedish traveler Karl Johan Anderson[1594] and British scholar Francis Galton,[1595] who later became known for his contributions to eugenics, travelled together in Namibia in the 1850s and each

[1589] "Quelle, Otto Friedrich Julius Rudolf," in *Deutsche Biographie*, n.d.

[1590] Otto Quelle, "Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Orientierung über das lateinische Amerika," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 185–87; Otto Quelle, "Die Heimstättengesetze von Argentinien und Paraguay," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Otto Quelle, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1919), 2–9; Quelle, "Zur Geschichte der rheinischen Handelsbeziehungen mit Lateinamerika"; Otto Quelle, "Die Ergebnisse der dritten argentinischen Volkszählung vom 1. Juni 1914 (Besprechung und Anregungen)," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Otto Quelle, vol. 9 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1921), 81-.

[1591] Ilse von Rentzell, *Maravillas de nuestras plantas indígenas y algunas exóticas* (Buenos Aires: Editores Ilse von Rentzell, 1935).

[1592] Ilse von Rentzell, "Las publicaciones científicas del Doctor Cristóbal M. Hicken," *Darwiniana* 2, no. 4 (1937): 97–104.

[1593] James Edward Alexander, *Entdeckungsreise in das innere Südwestafrikas: Bericht über eine Reise von Kapstadt nach Walvishbay durch das Gross-Namaland in den Jahren 1835 und 1846*, trans. Klaus Becker (Windhoek: Wolfgang Tuschmann Verlag Schreibstube Probeer, 2005).

[1594] Karl Johan Anderson, *Notes of Travel in South-Western Africa* (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1875).

[1595] Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*.

published their travel accounts. Anderson's travel account was even translated into German by Hermann Lotze already in 1858.[1596] Galton also visited the Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn in Otjimbingwe.[1597] In the 1860s and 1870s, Hahn's son Josaphat Hahn published several articles about Herero-speakers with two reputable institutions in Germany: Justus Perthes and the Geography Society in Berlin.[1598] Theophilus Hahn was not related to Carl Hugo Hahn; he was a missionary colonist, who also published an article on the Herero-speakers with the Geography Society in Berlin in 1870.[1599]

There are two examples of "second degree agents of transfer" for the case of Southern Africa: In 1859, Karl Andree published a translated and edited version of the travel writings of Galton, Andersson, and David Livingstone.[1600] Professor Dr. Friedrich Körner published a book based on the travel writings of various German- and English-speaking travelers.[1601] In the introduction, he explained that Germany was now a world power and its people needed to be educated and informed about the developments and discoveries in other parts of the world, like Africa. Körner just mentioned the sources he used in the introduction and then presented the body of his text as one coherent narrative, without citing the sources in detail.

Then there were several German-speaking scholars who actually travelled in Namibia and published works based on their primary observations: The Swiss-German botanist Hans Schinz (*1858 Zurich – 1941 Zurich) participated in the Lüderitz's expedition to South-

[1596] Andersson, *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika 1*; Charles John Andersson, *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika bis zum See Ngami in den Jahren 1850 bis 1854*, trans. Hermann Lotze, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Costenoble, 1858).

[1597] Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*.

[1598] Josaphat Hahn, "Hereró-Land," in *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesammtgebiete der Geographie*, ed. A. Petermann (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1867), 274–275; Josaphat Hahn, "Das Land der Ovahereró," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, ed. Wilhelm David Koner, vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1868), 193–224–507; Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovahereró. (Zweite Abtheilung)," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, ed. Wilhelm David Koner, vol. 4 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1868), 226–58; Josaphat Hahn, "Gegenwärtiges Verhältniß der Namaqua zu den Hereró," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, ed. Wilhelm David Koner, vol. 5 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1870), 468–469.

[1599] Theophilus Hahn, "Der hottentotische Tsŭ-ï-ǂgoa-b und der griechische Ζεῦς," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, ed. Wilhelm David Koner, vol. 5 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1870), 452–456; Theophilus Hahn, "[Colonist Letter 30] Theoph. Hahn to Gustav van Zyl in Ghanze," September 17, 1875, RMG 2.573, Bl. 93.

[1600] Andree, *Südafrika und Madagaskar*.

[1601] Friedrich Körner, *Süd-Afrika: Natur- und Kulturbilder mit einer historischen Einleitung und einer ausführlichen Uebersicht der neueren Reisen* (Breslau, Leipzig: Ferdinand Hirt, 1873).

Western Africa between 1884 and 1886.[1602] He published various books on his exploring expeditions in Namibia both in German and French between 1891 and 1911.[1603] He published an article in the Swiss Geographic Society in 1890, with the self-proclaimed aim of rectifying the available information about the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1604] He expressed his hope that a scientific description of the protectorate would deliver it from the negative propaganda of the colonial opponents and as well as from the false exaggerations of the colonial enthusiasts.[1605]

The geologist Georg Gürich (*1859 – 1938), who later on worked at Colonial Institute in Hamburg, travelled throughout Namibia in 1888 and 1889.[1606] He discussed the different names of the parts of the German South-West African protectorate: Lüderitzland, Damaraland and Namaqualand, the Kaokoveld, and the land of the Ovambo. Lüderitzland only referred to the area around the harbor Angra Pequena in the Southern half of the entire territory.[1607] Damaraland and Namaqualand: Namaland was the land of the Nama; with only Great Namaqualand overlapping with the German protectorate, whereas Small Namaqualand was located south of the Orange river within the territory claimed by the English Cape Colony. Damaraland lay in the middle part of the territory, where majority of the Herero lived.[1608] The Kaokoveld was inhabited by Herero, and the land of the Ovambo (Ambo) was located in the North. Naming the land was a clear indicator of appropriating land. It is interesting to note, however, that in many instances, German-speakers in Namibia respected the local names and incorporated them into their system.

[1602] Erwin Neuenschwander, "Schinz, Hans," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz / Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, 2011, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D28933.php.

[1603] Hans Schinz, *Exploration dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique* (Genève: Schuchardt, 1887); Hans Schinz, "Die deutsche Interessensphäre in Südwest-Afrika," *Fernschau: Jahrbuch der Mittelschweizerischen Geographischen-Commerciellen Gesellschaft in Aarau* 4 (1890): 132–73; Hans Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: Forschungsreisen durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete Gross-Nama- und Hereroland, nach dem Kunene, dem Ngami-See und der Kalaxari, 1884-1887* (Oldenburg: Schulzesche Hof-Buchhandlung und Hof-Buchdruckerei, 1891); Hans Schinz, "Die Vegetation des deutschen Schutzgebietes in Südwest-Afrika," ed. Gustav Meinecke, *Koloniales Jahrbuch. Sechster Jahrgang. Das Jahr 1893* 6 (1894): 60–76; Hans Schinz, *Die Pflanzenwelt Deutsch-Südwest-Afrikas: (mit Einschluss der westlichen Kalachari)* (Genève: Romet, 1896); Hans Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: (mit Einschluss der Grenzgebiete in botanischer Beziehung)* (Zürich: Zürcher & Furrer, 1911).

[1604] Schinz, "Die deutsche Interessensphäre in Südwest-Afrika," 132 f.

[1605] Ibid., 173.

[1606] Gürich, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*.

[1607] Ibid., 1.

[1608] Ibid., 2.

The geographer Dr. Karl Dove (*1863 Tübingen – 1922 Jena) worked for the German Colonial Society in the German protectorate South-West Africa between 1892 and 1894, and was Professor of Geography in Jena from 1899 to 1907.[1609] His dissertation from 1888 was on the climate of non-tropical South Africa, prior to his travels to Africa.[1610] After his time in Namibia, he published several books and articles, including a scientific travel account about the Damaraland, meteorological observations about the German protectorates, and two publications about the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1611] His books about Namibia mostly followed the same structure of content: a description of the countryside, the climate, the animals, the plants, the indigenous population, and the white population. Dove was also editor of the series "Applied Geography," which published Alfred Funke's book on the settlement of eastern South America in 1903.[1612]

The paleontologist Dr. Ernst Stromer von Reichenbach (*1871 – 1952) also never travelled to Africa; he collected previously published information from travel accounts, discussing the different areas of the German protectorate: Namaland, Hereroland, Kaokoland, and the Kalahari.[1613] The geographer Dr. Georg Hartmann (*1865 Dresden – 1946 Grammersdorf) travelled in Namibia between 1893 and 1901 as employee for the South West Africa Company and the Otavi Society.[1614] His travels in Namibia were at times interrupted by short stays in Germany and he also published scientific accounts during that time: he published an article about the Kaokoveld in 1897, two presentations about the German protectorate in 1899 and 1900, a book and article about both a second trip to the Kaokoveld as well as Amboland, a book about German South-West Africa's future as well as a map about the northern part of the protectorate.[1615]

[1609] Otto Maull, "Dove, Karl," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4, 1959, 93.

[1610] Karl Dove, *Das Klima des aussertropischen Südafrika: mit Berücksichtigung der geographischen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen nach klimatischen Provinzen dargestellt* (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag, 1888).

[1611] Karl Dove, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika. Ergebnisse einer wissenschaftlichen Reise im südlichen Damaralande*, Petermanns Mitteilungen. Ergängzungsband XXVI (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1896); Karl Dove, "Meteorologische Beobachtungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 3 (1902 1901): 23–32; Karl Dove, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Berlin: W. Süsserott, 1903); Karl Dove, *Südwestafrika*, Die Deutschen Kolonien 4 (Berlin, Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1913).

[1612] Funke, *Die Besiedlung des östlichen Südamerika, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschtums*.

[1613] Ernst Stromer von Reichenbach, *Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1896), 111–56; Ernst Probst, *Der rätselhafte Spinosaurus: Leben und Werk des Forschers Ernst Stromer von Reichenbach* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2015).

[1614] "Hartmann," in *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1907), 842–45.

[1615] Georg Hartmann, "Das Kaoko-Gebiet in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika auf Grund eigener Reisen und Beobachtungen (Sonderabruck)," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 2 (1897): 115–41;

Dr. Siegfried Passarge (*1866 Königsberg (East Prussia) – 1958 Bremen) was geography lecturer in Berlin in 1904-05, professor for Geography in Breslau from 1905 to 1908 and Professor for geography at the Hamburg Colonial Institute from 1908 to 1936.[1616] Between 1896 and 1899, he travelled to southern Africa as geologist for the British West Charterland Society and examined the Kalahari for gold and diamond extraction. In 1904, he published a book on the geographic presentation of the Kalahari Desert and in 1907 about the indigenous people inhabiting it.[1617] Dr. Leonhard Schultze (*1872 Jena – 1955 Marburg/Lahn) was zoologist, geographer, ethnographer, and linguist, who travelled to Namibia between 1903 and 1905.[1618] He published two books about his journey in Namaland and the Kalahari desert.[1619] The geologist Dr. Paul Theodor Range (*1879 Lübeck – 1952 Lübeck) was one of the few scholars in Namibia having been employed by the colonial government; he worked there between 1906 and 1914.[1620] He published several books on the Namaland.[1621] The geologist Dr. Hans Cloos (*1885 Magdeburg – 1951 Bonn) travelled to the German protectorate immediately after his dissertation defense in 1909. In 1911, he published on the geology of the Hereroland.[1622]

Georg Hartmann, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika im Zusammenhang mit Süd-Afrika: Vortrag* (Berlin: J. Belling, 1899); Georg Hartmann, *Der Krieg in Süd-Afrika und seine Lehren für Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika: Nach einem Vortrag gehalten in der Abtheilung Bremen der Deutschen Kolonial-Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Mittler, 1900); Georg Hartmann, *Meine Expedition 1900 ins nördliche Kaokofeld und 1901 durch das Amboland. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zukunftsaufgaben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Süsserott, 1903); ibid.; Georg Hartmann, *Die Zukunft Deutsch-Südwestafrikas. Beitrag zur Besiedlungs- und Eingeborenenfrage* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1904); Georg Hartmann and Max Groll, "Karte des nördlichen Teiles von Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika" (Hamburg: Friedrichsen, 1904).

1616 Heinrich Schnee, "Passarge, Siegfried," in *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, vol. 3, 1920, 25; Viola Imhof, "Passarge, Otto Karl Siegfried," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 20, 2001, 88 f.

1617 Siegfried Passarge, *Die Kalahari: Versuch einer physisch-geographischen Darstellung der Sandfelder des südafrikanischen Beckens* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1904); Siegfried Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1907).

1618 Berthold Riese, "Schultze Jena, Leonhard," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 23, 2007, 704–5.

1619 Leonhard Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari: Bericht an die Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin über eine Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Südafrika, ausgeführt in den Jahren 1903-1905* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907); Leonhard Schultze, *Zoologische und anthropologische Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Südafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1903 - 1905 mit Unterstützung der Kgl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1908).

1620 Rudolf Vierhaus, ed., "Range, Paul," in *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopedie*, Second edition, vol. 8 (München: K. G. Saur, 2007), 173.

1621 Paul Theodor Range, *Reisestudien in Gross-Namaland* (Berlin: [s.n.], 1908); Paul Theodor Range, *Geologie des deutschen Namalandes* (Berlin: Geol. Landesanst., 1912); Paul Theodor Range, *Beiträge und Ergänzungen zur Landeskunde des deutschen Namalandes* (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co., 1914).

1622 Hans Cloos, *Geologie des Erongo im Hererolande (Geologische Beobachtungen in Südafrika, Teil II.)*, Beiträge zur geologischen Erforschung der Deutschen Schutzgebiete (Berlin: Geol. Landesanst., 1911).

7.1.2 Translating Science for the General Public

The authors of the writings that I include in this section under the label "popular propaganda" were evaluating and praising the suitability of the countryside for agricultural colonization. They produced literature that was addressed specifically to a non-scientific and thus "popular" audience, to the common people. In French, the term "*vulgarization*" is used for this process, a term which doesn't have the same negative connotation in that language as in English. Most South Atlantic German-language popular propaganda aimed at attracting further immigration was produced between the 1880s and 1920. Many of these publications constituted "migrant manuals." While in Argentina mostly private people like Karl Friedrich, Wilhelm Vallentin, the brothers Moritz and Theodor Alemann, Gustavo Niederlein, José Greger, Alfred Arent, and Otto Preusse-Sperber were active in promoting it as the perfect colonization destination, in Namibia many government officials working for the Information Bureau for Migrants got involved. Most of these writings were published in Namibia after the 1880s, when there was more interest in the region and the suitability for European settlement, and thus colonization. But there were also some writings produced in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Between the 1820s and the 1880s, the few German-speakers that settled in southwestern Africa had done so without any interference or assistance from Germany, or rather any German state governments, since the German Empire as such only came into existence in 1871. Namibia was gradually put under protection of the German Empire starting in 1884 and turned into the protectorate (*Schutzgebiet*) German South-West Africa. However, even under the status of protectorate, German Imperial authorities undertook little effort to settle the land in the first decades. Still in 1902, most land was in the hands of (private) concession companies, and some people called for the German colonial government to take control of the land distribution.[1623] German-speakers as well as other Europeans never heavily settled the region. Most settlers came after the Namibian War, between 1904 and 1914 (and then, again, after WWI). On the other side of the Atlantic, German-Argentinians were active in promoting German interest in Argentina. They were

[1623] BArch R 1001/1151, pag.77 ("Bevölkerungspolitik in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Deutsche Zeitung*, 7 Januar 1902), BArch R 1001/1152, pag. 32 ("Deutschnationale Politik in Südwestafrika," *Deutsche Zeitung*, 11. September 1902).

concerned with further German immigration, increased settlement (colonies), and trade relations. The Argentine government owned land and promoted settlement with European "colonists," according to the 1876 *ley de inmigración y colonización* (immigration and colonization law),[1624] and settlers were not separated according to national origins.[1625] The Swiss-German brothers Moritz and Theodor Alemann for example, were naturalized Argentinians and considered it to be their patriotic duty towards Argentina to help increase migration of German-speakers to their chosen home. Between 1886 and 1914, both brothers travelled to the Argentinean interior and published their travel accounts to attract attention of German-speakers from Central Europe.

German-speakers like Ernst Hasse considered Dr. Johann Eduard Wappäus, whom we discussed in the previous section, as an originator of informing German-speakers about South America as a valid migration destination starting in the 1840s, and as a strong advocate for redirecting German-speakers to the River Plate in particular. Samuel Gottfried Kerst was also an early advocate for German-speaking colonization in South America. He first worked for the Brazilian military and participated in the Uruguayan independence war in 1826.[1626] Upon his return to Germany in 1851, he gave a presentation to the Berlin Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization on 8 October 1851.[1627] He stated that Germany could not acquire its own colonies like other sea powers because the earth was already divided and Germany was coming too late. He discussed German emigration in depth and considered it a sign of an unhealthy German nation. For him, it was about limiting the degree to which German capital and force was exploited by making German emigration useful for German trade policy (*Deutsche Handelspolitik*). Kerst lamented the fact that the national assembly of 1848 had planned on treating emigration as a "national cause," and with its dissolution this idea also disappeared. He wished that it would be picked up by the customs union (*Zollverein*).[1628] He wrote that almost all South American states tried to attract German emigrants: "after the abolition or restriction of the slave trade, Germany seems to them as a second Africa, where thousands of industrious

[1624] *Ley de inmigración y colonización de la República Argentina*.
[1625] BArch R 901/30430, pag. 174 (Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderer, 1913).
[1626] Hilda Agnes Hübner Flores, *Alemães na Guerra dos Farrapos* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 1995), 23.
[1627] Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay*.
[1628] Ibid., 3.

workers can be acquired even cheaper."[1629] In the context of a changing (second) Atlantic economy, with the transition from slave labor to wage labor, Kerst addressed the fear that Germans could be turned into the new slaves to replace African ones.[1630] He argued in favor of German colonization of what he called the Uruguay River region:

> A numerous German population at the [river] Uruguay, in close relation with the mother country, a German staple market at the mouth of the Rio Negro, and we will be able to assert our trade-political independence in the future as well. Because the paths from this staple market to India, China, Australia, Africa and the west coast of South America would not be longer, rather in some cases even shorter than from New York, over or through the strait in Central America, to those regions, and not European sea-power has and finds in the Atlantic Ocean a base from which their fleets could in the long-run dominate the mouth of the La Plata; against conquest however are protecting the fresh and self-confident inhabitants, primeval forests, mountains, in short the nature of the entire country and its coast.[1631]

Kerst gave another presentation to the Berlin Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization on May 12, 1852.[1632] He compared the rivers Uruguay and Parana in the River Plate to the Rhine and others to the Elbe, Oder and Weser. He dreamed of a large German population in the River plate maintaining an intimate relationship with the "mother country" (*Mutterland*) in order for Germany to maintain its "trade-political" (*handelspolitisch*) independence in the future. This German population should operate under the protection of the German Zollverein in order to compete with the British, the French, and the North Americans, but would also require a strong German navy. Kerst claimed in 1852 in his second presentation to the Berlin association that people had finally agreed that only America was suitable for German settlements.[1633] Also in 1852, L. Bahre edited a book on the present and future of the River plate states.[1634] He claimed that only South America - and the La Plata States in particular – provided a great future for German

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[1629] Ibid., 3; See also Samuel Gottfried Kerst, *Über brasilianische Zustände der Gegenwart, mit Bezug auf die deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien und das System der brasilianischen Pflanzer, den Mangel an afrikanischen Sklaven durch deutsche Proletarier zu ersetzen* (Berlin: Beit und Comp, 1853).

[1630] Kerst, *Ueber brasilianische Zustände der Gegenwart*.

[1631] Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay*, 14.

[1632] Kerst, *Die Länder im Stromgebiete des La Plata*.

[1633] Ibid., 11.

[1634] L. Bahre, ed., *Gegenwart und Zukunft der Plata-Länder für deutschen Handel und Colonisation*, Mittheilungen über die Verhältnisse in den Ländern am Plata namentlich mit Rücksicht auf die bestehenden Interessen Deutschen Handels- und Colonisationswesens in Buenos Aires 1 (Hamburg: Hoffman & Campe, 1852).

colonies and trade.[1635] Bahre cited Wappäus among others, and Kerst wrote a preface for his book.

Carlos Beck Bernard (*1819 – 1900) and his wife Lina (*1824, Bitschwyler, Alsatia – 1888) were originally from German-speaking Switzerland. Like other Swiss-Germans, they knew both German and French and published in both languages. Lina Beck Bernard had gone to Santa Fe, Argentina in 1857 with her husband, who worked to promote agricultural colonization in Argentina. They lived in Argentina for five years.[1636] In 1865, Carlos published his first book on the Argentine Republic in Lausanne, Switzerland, written in French.[1637] His wife actually published before him. His second publication was in German in 1868, which he started with the description of the Argentine countryside. He claimed that while the national religion [*Landesreligion*] was Roman Catholic, there was religious freedom in Argentina. Almost all of the agricultural colonies [*Ackerbaukolonien*] were composed primarily of Protestants and had their own Protestant churches, priests and parishes, which were in contact with the Protestant churches in Buenos Aires.[1638] He dedicated an entire chapter to agricultural colonies.[1639] Beck Bernard published two of his books in German with the printing press of J. Alemann in Bern, Switzerland,[1640] and his book about Argentina was reprinted as a pocket edition for migrants in Leipzig, Germany in 1883.[1641]

According to the encyclopedia of *General German Biography* from 1897, Johann Jakob Sturz (*1800 Frankfurt am Main - 1877 Friedenau near Berlin) was a colonial politician and philanthropist.[1642] Like Kerst, he warned against the migration of German-speakers to Brazil because of the practice of replacing the former African slaves with a cheap workforce

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[1635] Ibid., xi.

[1636] Lina Beck Bernard, *Le Rio Parana: Cinq années de séjour dans la République Argentine* (Paris: Gressart, 1864); Lina Beck Bernard, *El río Paraná: cinco años en la Confederación Argentina, 1857-1862*, Memoria argentina; Variation: Memoria argentina. (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Emecé, 2001).

[1637] Carlos Beck Bernard, *La Répubique Argentine ... ancien Directeur de la colonie de San Carlos, près de Santa Fé (Amérique du Sud)* (Lausanne: Delafontaine et Rouge, 1865).

[1638] Beck Bernard, *Die Argentinische Republik als Auswanderungsziel*, 13.

[1639] Ibid., 23 ff.

[1640] Beck Bernard, *Die Argentinische Republik als Auswanderungsziel*; Carlos Beck Bernard, *Die Argentinische Republik: ein Handbuch für Auswanderer und Kolonisten* (Bern: J. Allemann, 1872); Carlos Beck Bernard, *La République argentine: Manuel de l'émigrant et du cultivateur* (Berne: Imprimérie J. Allemann, 1872).

[1641] Carlos Beck Bernard, *Argentinien*, Über's Meer: Taschenbibliothek für deutsche Auswanderer 5 (Leipzig: Weltpost, 1883).

[1642] Hugo Schramm-Macdonald, "Sturz, Johann Jakob," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 37 (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1894), 61–68.

consisting of poor German migrants, which Sturz denounced as "white slavery."[1643] Sturz also noted that in 1862, the United States had become a less favorable migration destination for German-speakers due to the ongoing America Civil War.[1644] In his 1862 publication *Can and Should a New-Germany be Founded and How?*, Sturz discussed the "political criteria" for such a proposition: it had to be an area where Germans could hope to maintain influence, it had to be scarcely populated and it should not become a rival in the near future; in addition, it should neither be a slave nor a tropical country.[1645] Sturz then concluded, that the best continent was Spanish America, and the best region within it, the La Plata area (*La Plata-Gebiet*), as German-speakers were mostly aiming for land suitable for crop and animal cultivation (*Ackerbau und Viehzucht*). He thereby concluded that the La Plata area should become New Germany.[1646]

Swiss-German Friedrich Jäggi-Gyger was a member of the Swiss Migration Association when he published his book on conditions in Argentina in 1875.[1647] It claimed to be an impartial judgment of these conditions and in the introduction, he pledged to tell nothing but the truth. He had spent several years living in Argentina, and it was Johann Alemann, who later moved to Argentina himself and founded the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, who was the president of the Swiss Migration Association at the time and sent Jäggi-Gyger to Argentina for exploration purposes.[1648] In his book, he dedicated a chapter to every (agricultural) colony Swiss-Germans were living in: Esperanza, San Carlos, San Geronimo, Grütli and Humboldt, Helvetia, Emilia, San Justo, Sunchales, Bernstadt, and Baradero. The rest of the chapters treated topics like the policy in the provinces and cities, the Indians, the postal system, Italian migration, finances, education and general socio-political observations. In 1876, Friedrich Segesser published a critical assessment of

[1643] Sturz, *Die Krisis der Deutschen Auswanderung und ihre Benützung für Jetzt und Immer: Ein Hebel für deutsche Schifffahrt, deutschen Handel, deutsche Rhederei und Gewerbe, zur deutschen Flotte, und eine Gewährleistung für deutsche Einigung, Kräftigung und Selbstachtung diesseits und jenseits des Weltmeers*, 4; Johann Jakob Sturz, *Neue Beiträge über Brasilien und die La Plata-Länder* (Berlin: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1865), 1.

[1644] Sturz, *Kann und soll ein Neu-Deutschland geschaffen werden und auf welche Weise?*, 4.

[1645] Ibid., 21.

[1646] Ibid., 24.

[1647] Jäggi-Gyger, *Argentinische Zustände*.

[1648] Ibid., 1:iv.

Argentina's suitability for German-speaking migration.[1649] He wanted to provide a more objective account about the actual conditions.

The Swiss-German Alemann family was deeply involved in attracting more German-speakers to Argentina. While Johann Alemann (*1826, Bern – 1893, Buenos Aires) with his two sons Theodor (*1862, Bern – 1925, Buenos Aires) and Moritz (*1858, Bern – 1908, Bern) first arrived in Argentina in 1874 to set up a newspaper in the Argentine interior, he later on moved to Buenos Aires and set up his printing office there, and his sons later took over the newspaper. In his travel account from 1877, Johann described the original cultural disparities between people from Hamburg and Switzerland, and he admitted to having had difficulties understanding the Hamburg accent on the ship to Buenos Aires.[1650] Once in Argentina, he and then his sons later associated with all other German-speakers, disregarding political alliances. In particular his sons looked to the German Empire for further support – financially and with people. Theodor Alemann's son Ernesto went to study in Germany and wrote his dissertation about Hamburg's navy and trade with the La Plata states.[1651] In 1877, Johann Alemann was still critical of the conditions for colonization in Argentina: "The general impression that the author has gotten of Argentina, can be summarized as follows: This country doesn't provide the eminent advantages that numerous publications of all kinds have claimed, but it also doesn't have the disadvantages that some opponents charge it with."[1652]

In the 1880s and 1890s, the brothers Moritz and Theodor undertook several journeys in the Argentinean interior to inspect the advancement of German-speaking colonization projects. In several cases, they first published their accounts in shorter segments in their weekly and daily newspapers *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* and *Argentinisches Tageblatt* over the course of several weeks, and then later on as books. They printed their books with Buenos Aires publishing houses, either the Swiss publishing house Helvetia or their own press. In 1883, Moritz published a travel account of a two-week trip to colonies along the

[1649] Friedrich Segesser, *Argentinien, seine Kolonien und die deutsche Einwanderung*, Scheitlin & Zollikofer (St. Gallen, 1876).
[1650] Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik*, 3.
[1651] Alemann, *Hamburgs Schiffahrt und Handel nach dem La Plata*.
[1652] Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik*, vii.

Argentinean central railway.[1653] In 1886, Moritz Alemann published a book on the (agricultural) colony Tornquist in the southern part of the Buenos Aires province.[1654] Moritz and Theodor, taken together, covered the entire Argentinean territory: the wheat region in the center, southern colonization regions, as well as the south-west, and Patagonia.[1655] Theodor described the success of Stroeder's colonization emporio.[1656] Theodor's son Ernesto undertook a trip to the northeastern regions.[1657] In 1902, Moritz Alemann also participated in the German Colonial Congress in Berlin where he presented on "Argentina as Settlement Area for German migration."[1658] Moritz, acting as the representative of the German colony of Buenos Aires, called on the German public to support and direct German migration to Argentina.[1659]

7.2 Literature with Entertainment Qualities

I distinguish between two types of entertainment literature: first, personal memoirs from people who travelled to the South Atlantic, either as settlers, missionaries, soldiers, or for business purposes. Second, fictional accounts based on either direct or secondary experiences. Entertainment literature provided a potent means to shape Central European German-speakers' imagination of the South Atlantic. Ultimately, it also had the effect of

1653 [Moritz] [Alemann], "[1] Ausflug nach den Colonien der Argentinischen Centralbahn," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, March 3, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; until: [Moritz] [Alemann], "[6] Ausflug nach den Colonien der Argentinischen Centralbahn (Schluss)," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, April 7, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

1654 Alemann, *Die Kolonie Tornquist im Distrikt Bahia Blanca (im Süden der Provinz Buenos Aires) als Ansiedlungspunkt für schweizerische und deutsche Ackerbau-Familien*.

1655 Theodor Alemann, *Kolonisationsgebiete im Zentrum der argentinischen Weizenregion* (Buenos Aires: Buchdruckerei "Helvetia," 1892); Theodor Alemann, "Ein Ausflug nach dem Chubut-Territorium," in *Kolonisationsgebiete im Süden der Argentinischen Republik* (Buenos Aires: Selbstverlag, 1898); Moritz Alemann, "Die grosse Neuquen-Bahn und der Rio Negro," in *Kolonisationsgebiete im Süden der Argentinischen Republik* (Buenos Aires: Selbstverlag, 1898); Theodor Alemann, *Aus dem Südwesten der argentinischen Klee-Region: das National-Territorium Pampa Central von einem alten Grenzer* (Buenos Aires, 1904); Alemann, *Am Rio Negro*.

1656 Alemann, *Station und Emporio Stroeder*.

1657 Alemann, *Grünes Gold und rote Erde: Beobachtungen von einer Reise*.

1658 Alemann, "Argentinien als Siedelungsgebiet für deutsche Auswanderung."

1659 *Deutscher La-Plata-Kalender für 1873*; Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1884; Bachmann, *Jahrbuch und Adress-Kalender der Deutschen Colonie in Buenos Aires*, 1886.

advertising South Atlantic colonization. There is much more published entertainment literature available from German-speakers in Namibia than in Argentina.

7.2.1 Remembering Lived Experiences (*Erinnerungsliteratur*)

Personal memoirs, otherwise called "memory literature" (*Erinnerungsliteratur*), put the individual view and group experience in the center of the narrative. It was a personal attempt at understanding and justifying the individual experience in the South Atlantic. The personal justification of behavior was mostly directed towards an audience in Germany. The majority of this literature was produced by publishing houses located in Central European German lands.

In 1839, Swiss traveller Heinrich Trachsler published his account of his travels through various South American countries.[1660] He mainly travelled through Brazil, but also briefly visited Buenos Aires. He designated himself a cosmopolitan traveller, and referenced the two German authors that are now known as "classical German writers": Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. Trachsler stated his intentions of publishing a humoristic account and not a melancholic one like that of Goethe's Werther.[1661] Schiller's works contributed to awakening his wanderlust.[1662] In his *Travels, Fates and Tragic-comic Adventures of a Swiss During his Stay in Various Provinces of South America*, Trachsler described his trajectory from Switzerland to Hamburg, Germany, then to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1827. There he had a very affectionate non-marital relationship with a "Native woman" from Brazil of the name Louise da Cruz.[1663] Moving on to Buenos Aires, Trachsler described Argentinians as being intelligent, very vivid, and of fervent imagination, replacing European erudition. He estimated that overall, Argentinians held an advantage over Europeans due to their healthy climate, their independent lifestyle, and their idleness, which

[1660] Trachsler, *Reisen, Schicksale und tragikomische Abendteuer eines Schweizers während seines Aufenthaltes in den verschiedenen Provinzen Südamerikas, Rio de Janeiro, Ilha Santa Catharina, Armaçaô, Saô Pedro do Sul, Rio Grande, Corrientes, Montevideo, Buenos-Aires etc. in den Jahren 1828 bis 1835*.
[1661] Ibid., x.
[1662] Ibid., 2 and ix.
[1663] Ibid., 378–97.

spared them of feeling life's burdens as much as Europeans. This description seems to simultaneously admire and disparage Argentineans.[1664]

Friedrich Gerstäcker may be the most famous German-speaking travel writer in the Americas – besides Alexander von Humboldt. Unlike his colleague, Gerstäcker went further to the south and also visited Argentina. Nonetheless, his publications on his travels in the Americas have mostly been analyzed by historians with regards to his visits to the northern parts.[1665] His travel writings – like those of most nineteenth-century German travel writers – are situated between "truth and reality," according to Annette Bühler-Dietrich, because he blurred the lines between mere travel description and adventure novel.[1666] Gerstäcker travelled to South America twice, once in the 1840s and the second time in the 1860s, and he published travel accounts both times. The first appeared in 1853,[1667] which was immediately translated and published in English in 1854.[1668] He described the "state of development" of Buenos Aires and noted that "everything is still at its beginning": that hardly any of the manufactured goods were produced in Argentina, that even the gaucho was dependent on foreign imports for his basic necessities such as the poncho – woven in Europe –, the spurs – cast in Europe –, likewise all of their clothes, except the boots.[1669] Gerstäcker described the clothing style of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires as a curious mix of French, Spanish, and Indian, with the educated classes wearing French costumes [*Tracht*] with Argentinian patriotic add-ons such as a red waistcoat or vest and a red hatband.[1670] He described the climate as being particularly healthy – as the name of the city of Buenos Aires (meaning "good air" or "good winds") already promised – but curiously, the arched church

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1664 "Die Argentinier besitzen viele Geistesfähigkeiten, sind sehr lebhaft und ihre feurige Einbildungskraft ersetzt ihnen alle europäische Gelehrsamkeit und gewährt ihnen viele Vorzüge vor den Europäern, die sie aber nur ihrem gesunden Klima, ihrer unabhängigen Lebensart, ihrer Unthätigkeit, wodurch sie die Lasten des Lebens nicht, wie wir, fühlen u.s.w., zu verdanken haben." Ibid., 702f.

1665 Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Aus zwei Welttheilen: Gesammelte Erzählungen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Arnold, 1854); Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Aus zwei Welttheilen: Gesammelte Erzählungen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Arnold, 1854); Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Aus Nord- und Südamerika: Erzählungen* (Prag; Leipzig: Kath. Gerzabek; Heinrich Hübner, 1855).

1666 Annette Bühler-Dietrich, "Zwischen Glaubwürdigkeit und make believe: Karl May im Kontext der deutschamerikanischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Karl May: Brückenbauer zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. Wolfram Pyta (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 169.

1667 Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Reisen: Südamerika* (Stuttgart, Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1853).

1668 Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels*.

1669 Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, 79.

1670 "Die Tracht der Einwohner ist eine wunderliche Mischung von Französisch, Spanisch und Indianisch - die gebildete Klasse wie die Fremden tragen die französische Tracht - Frack, Oberrock, lange Beinkleider und schwarzen Hut, die Argentinier nur eben mit dem patriotischen Zusatz der rothen Weste und den rothen Hutband, dennoch aber, und besonders beim Reiten, auch dem des Poncho." Ibid., 86.

towers, together with the sun-tanned *portenõs*, provoked in him the impression of Buenos Aires resembling an oriental Muslim city.[1671]

During his time in Argentina, Gerstäcker visited the immediate surroundings of Buenos Aires and met a German-speaking farmer. He stated that this farmer had become "a real American farmer and could easily compete with his North American brothers."[1672] While he also reported the bitterness of the farmer towards fellow German-speakers and his refusal to employ any more of them on his farm due to their laziness, greediness, and unwillingness to work, Gerstäcker mentioned that he had no means to examine the truthfulness of his assertion but estimated it to be an exaggeration. Gerstäcker followed up this account with that of a German-speaker who praised Rosas' treatment of the German-speakers who had arrived a few years prior, as they were provided food "three times as good as in Germany" and a salary "four times as much as we could have earned in Germany," all while not having to work. But Gerstäcker added that these German-speakers had arrived in a time of political turmoil when there was no immediate work for them.[1673] When Gerstäcker returned to Buenos Aires twelve years later, he barely recognized the city: there were electric lights everywhere and railroads, connecting the city with the neighboring

1671 "Die Kirchen, von denen es eine große Anzahl zu geben scheint, verleihen mit ihren gewölbten Kuppel der Residenz ein fast morgenländisches Ansehen, dem die sonngebräunten Gestalten der Bewohner auch keineswegs widersprechen, aber die raschen lebendigen Bewegungen dieses centaurenartigen Volkes passen nicht zu dem Bild das wir uns gewöhnlich von den stillen ernsten Söhnen Muhameds machen, und die Kreuze der Kirchen predigen den "rechten Glauben." Ibid., 81f.

1672 "Der Mann war aber auch in anderer Hinsicht ein ächter amerikanischer Farmer geworden, und hätte sich seinen Brüdern in Nordamerika ohne weiters anreihen können, - er schimpfte aus Leibeskräften auf die Deutschen und meinte, diese sollten nur um Gottes Willen nicht auswandern oder nach Südamerika kommen, denn arbeiten wollten sie doch nicht, und zum zugucken brauchten sie Niemanden mehr, da hätten sie gerade genug. Er beschäftigte auch eine Anzahl von Spaniern auf seinem Grundstück [...] Nirgends beschäftigte er aber Deutsche und versicherte uns, wenn er auch einmal einen deutschen Arbeiter kriegte, so verdienten sie gewöhnlich das Brod nicht, denn erstens wollten sie nicht arbeiten, und dann forderten sie den drei-doppelten Lohn von dem, was er dem fleißigsten Spanier gäbe." Ibid., 94ff.

1673 "Diese deutschen Arbeiter sollten nämlich gerade in einer Periode eingetroffen seyn, wo sie der Gouverneur, mitten in der politischen Aufregung, unmöglich gleich unterbringen und verwenden konnte; er hatte nicht einmal Arbeit für sie, wie trefflich er sich aber damals gegen die Deutschen benommen hätte, konnte der alte Bursche nicht genug rühmen. Ihnen wurde nicht allein das alte Kloster zum Aufenthaltsort angewiesen mit den nöthigen Provisionen für Frau und Kind, nein die Männer bekamen auch noch ihren trefflichen Tagelohn ausbezahlt, ohne daß sie auch nur zu irgend einer Arbeit aufgefordert gewesen wären. (96) // "Das waren Zeiten" rief mein alter Deutscher, und hielt sein Pferd an, sich beim Reiten [...] "das waren Zeiten, alle Tage unser gutes Essen, dreimal so gut wie wir's in Deutschland gehabt, und unser Tagelohn, viermal so viel wie wir hätten dort verdienen können und "gar nicht" dabei zu thun - und das dauerte viele Monate - da haben wir uns von der Seereise recht erholen können." Ibid., 96 f.

towns and estancias. Wooden houses had turned into grand villas, resembling English manors surrounded by parks with iron fences.[1674]

While the Jesuit Sepp had noted that Argentineans eat a lot of meat, Gerstäcker provided a far more detailed description of the impact of carnivores on the landscape and on, he claimed, the human character: "meat is the only food: South Americans really eat 'meat with meat'."[1675] He lamented that the Argentinean countryside did not share the cozy, homelike, and safe character of European agriculture: inhabitants that live merely on vegetables are entirely missing and everywhere death and decay dominate the craft of the stockbreeder. "Anywhere the eye is gazing, in particular near the houses, there are traces of slaughtered or fallen pieces of stock; there are skins, skulls, intestines, horns, hoofs, bones, blood traces; thousands and thousands of vultures, birds of prey and gulls are swarming these locations, and one's nose really first has to adjust to this obnoxious fresh and foul smell of flesh and blood."[1676]

Gerstäcker talked about the "naturalization" of a German-speaker. He specifically pointed out that this man was a Saxon, like himself. His wife was local and the children were Argentinean as well: "It was most interesting to me to find in the estancia, a German who managed it, and who was himself the owner of another not very far off. He happened to be a Saxon, like myself, and he confirmed the truth of many things which I had heard in my former visit to the country; besides giving me much useful and excellent information. His name was Papsdorf; he was perfectly naturalized, had married a native; and his sons, dressed in *cheripa* and poncho, were, like true gauchos, hanging to their horses, as expert in throwing the lasso as any other of the wild children of the steppes." [1677] Gerstäcker highlighted the advantages of Argentina as a migration destination for German-speakers: "This country, indeed, offers to the German emigrant every advantage to be looked for in any part of the world. The climate leaves nothing to be desired. Maladies certainly occur; but they are said to be by no means of a virulent nature. The soil, unlike most of the North

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1674 August Carl, *Friedrich Gerstäcker der Weitgereiste: Ein Lebensbild, der deutschen Jugend vorgeführt* (Gera: Issleib und Rietzschel, 1873), 158f.

1675 Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, 107ff.

1676 "Wohin das Auge, besonders in der Nähe der Häuser, blickt, sind Spuren von geschlachteten oder gefallenen Stücken Vieh zu sehen; überall liegen Häute, Schädel, Eingeweide, Hörner, Hufe, Knochen, Blutspuren; tausende und tausende von Aasgeiern, Raubvögeln und Möven umschwärmen diese Plätze, und die Nase muß sich erst wirklich an den im Anfang widerlichen frischen und faulen Fleisch- und Blutgeruch gewöhnen." Ibid.

1677 Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels*, 50.

American prairies, is excellent almost everywhere in the pampas, and yields capital crops, even with the very primitive manner of cultivation here in use."[1678] He specifically addressed the question of land prices for long-term migrants and the good reputation German-speakers enjoyed with the Argentine government – already in the 1850s: "The government, although having very little inclination to favour the English and French, is very well inclined towards German emigration."[1679] Gerstäcker pointed out his motivations for collecting the information: "I was particularly charged by the Ministry of Commerce of the German Empire, to report, to the best of my ability, concerning the countries which I should find suited for emigration; and also to notice the position and the prospects of the Germans who were already settled in the new country."[1680]

I include here the publication of Lina Beck Bernard, wife of Carlos Beck Bernard, here despite of the book being written in French. While her husband focused more on writing popularized scientific texts, Lina documented their trip from Switzerland to Argentina.[1681] Once arrived in Buenos Aires, the family attended the church service at the German Protestant church.[1682] Pastor "Mister S.***" was most likely Pastor Ludwig Siegel, the first pastor of the church in Esmeralda Street. Lina described Buenos Aires as a city of abundance, luxury, and civilization, which she then had to leave to go to the desert.[1683] From Buenos Aires, they continued on a small boat up the Parana River and the family took up residence in Santa Fe. Unlike her husband who focused on colonization and agricultural colonies in the countryside, Lina mostly described living conditions in (northern) Argentina, Indians, and gauchos, and she praised religious freedom and the work of German Protestants sent by the Gustav Adolph society.

Like the Beck Bernards, Johann Jakob Alemann also had a Swiss German background. His travel account, published in 1877 in Buenos Aires, was both entertainment and explicitly addressed to those German-speakers interested in migrating, to whom it provided practical advice.[1684] Alemann was recruited to found a newspaper in the Argentinean interior, but

[1678] Ibid., 50f.
[1679] Ibid., 52.
[1680] Ibid., 53.
[1681] Beck Bernard, *Le Rio Parana: Cinq années de séjour dans la République Argentine*; Her account has been translated to Spanish in 2001, see Beck Bernard, *El río Paraná*.
[1682] Beck Bernard, *Le Rio Parana: Cinq années de séjour dans la République Argentine*, 77.
[1683] Ibid., 107.
[1684] Alemann, *Bilder aus der Argentinischen Republik*.

moved to Buenos Aires after moderate success in the countryside. While Johann Alemann was originally oriented towards his home, Switzerland, and described the disparities in culture between people from Hamburg and from Switzerland in his travel account: "We Swiss people had difficulties to understand the German dialect from Hamburg (*Hamburger-deutsch*) and were thus mostly self-dependent."[1685] Once in Argentina, he and then later his sons, associated with the other German-speakers present, disregarding any political or state allegiances. In particular, his sons looked to the German Empire for further support when they requested either finances and or recruited people. Theodor Alemann's son Ernesto went to study in Germany. In 1877, Johann Alemann was still very critical of the conditions for colonization in Argentina: "The general impression I have of Argentina can be summarized as follows: This land does in no way offer the eminent advantages that repeatedly various publications have pled, but then again, it doesn't have the disadvantages either that some opponents accuse it of."[1686] Johann Alemann continued to point out the differences between North Germans and other German-speakers in Argentina: "The Germans from the North are unevenly more present than those from the South. Throughout South America, Hamburg is by far the most famous city of Germany. People imagine that Hamburg has the same role in Germany as Paris does in France."[1687] He remarked that French people mistook Swiss-Germans as Prussians.[1688] Then again, he described the development of a cosmopolitan mindset within himself: "It is fair and good to get together with such diverse elements. The horizon gets broadened, one gets rids of many prejudices and at the same time adopts the experiences of others, whereupon cosmopolitan attitudes get transplanted, one doesn't know how. One learns how to assess humans according to their actual worth and not according to their origin and descent. Naturally, material interests play the main part in all of this; everyone takes care of themselves and leaves it up to God to keep everything together. Patriotism is an alien and absurd word."[1689] Johann Alemann described the different travel habits of Southern and Northern Germans: "The Swiss and South Germans usually travel via Havre and Marseille, the North Germans via Hamburg and

[1685] Ibid., 3.
[1686] Ibid., VII.
[1687] Ibid., 92.
[1688] Ibid., 119.
[1689] Ibid., 93.

Bremen."[1690] He claimed that German ships were more orderly than French ships, but the German kitchen was less good.[1691] He provided advice to future German-speaking travelers and recommended that German-speakers only speaking German should only travel with German ships, in particular with the Norddeutscher Lloyd from Bremen ("Hohenzollern," "Salier," "Habsburg," etc.).[1692] Nonetheless, Johann Alemann identified Argentina as the best location for German migration: "I am convinced that the Swiss will be able to make a living in Argentina just as well as in North America, Brazil or Australia, and this is not a theory, but rather my opinion is based in more than twenty years of studies and observations."[1693]

Albert Amerlan (*1840 Angermünde, Germany – after 1901) was a merchant who lived in Argentina between 1884 and 1894.[1694] In 1884, Amerlan published his first book on the Argentinean Frontier.[1695] He published another book, on the War of the Triple Alliance, in Buenos Aires with Hermann Tjarks, the owner of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* in 1890.[1696] Amerlan was fascinated by the frontier conditions, in particular in northern Argentina. The math professor from Berlin, Jean Habel (*1845 – 1902), spent two consecutive southern summers, 1893-94 and 1894/95, hiking in Argentina. The aim of his travel account was to provide an accurate description of the countryside. He included maps and photographs in his publication. From Buenos Aires, he first travelled to the Gran Chaco in the North, he provided a detailed description of climate and vegetation along his trip.

Rudolf Freiherr von Colditz (*1861 – 1927) had been a major in the Argentinean army and military teacher at the war academy in Buenos Aires, after having been a captain in the Prussian army.[1697] He spent some time travelling in Argentina and upon a visit in Germany in 1914, and gave a presentation for the German-Argentinean Central Association for the

[1690] Ibid., 118.
[1691] Ibid., 119.
[1692] Ibid.
[1693] Ibid., 146.
[1694] Jürgen Israel and Peter Walther, eds., *Musen und Grazien in der Mark: Ein historisches Schriftstellerlexikon* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2002), 23.
[1695] Albert Amerlan, *An der Frontera* (Leipzig: Mutze, 1884).
[1696] Albert Amerlan, *Nächte am Rio Paraguay: Kriegsbilder und Charakter-skizzen* (Buenos Aires: H. Tjarks, 1890); An English translation was also published by H. Tjarks in Buenos Aires a few years later, see Albert Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay: Scenes of War and Charactersketches*, trans. Henry F. Suksdorf (Buenos Aires: Hermann Tjarks & Company, 1902).
[1697] Colditz, *Die Aussichten für deutsches Grosskapital in Argentinien*.

Promotion of Economic Interests.[1698] In 1925 and 1928, he published two novels about his experiences in Argentina: *In Condor's Empire* and *Among Gauchos and Settlers in Argentina*.[1699] Both of his travel accounts were published in Berlin.

In 1925, Otto Preusse-Sperber (*1871 -) published a book with a similar title: *Among Gauchos, Settlers and Indians*.[1700] When he wrote this book, Preusse-Sperber had already spent twenty years living in Argentina as colonist and colonizer, journalist, explorer, and trade expert. Both von Colditz and Preusse-Sperber wrote a kind of adventure story in the form of personal accounts to entertain a German-speaking audience, while playing with the tropes of "Wild West stories" in the manner of Karl May. A primary source collection from 1984, edited by Hans Wulschner, included extracts from Hermann Burmeister's "*In der Banda oriental*," Ludwig Brackebusch's "*Reise in den Kordilleren*," Adolf N. Schuster's "*In Buenos Aires*," Erwin von Hase's "*Bei den Gauchos der Pampa*," M. Alemann's "*Dampferfahrt auf dem Rio Negro*," and Hans Steffen's "*In Patagonien*."[1701] In 2006, Maria Bamberg (*1915) published her memoirs about the moving of her family from Germany to Patagonia at the beginning of the 1920s and her return to Germany in 1963.[1702]

The surgeon Georg Tams travelled in South-western Africa before it was under German protection and published his travel account in 1845.[1703] Already, he noticed that Europeans were increasingly interested in the African continent. Former soldier Rudolf Ludloff travelled to Namibia in 1890 and published his travel account, which was merely addressed to his friends, as he specifically noted on the first page.[1704] When he had made the decision to travel to "New Germany" (*Neudeutschland*), the Woermann shipping line did not yet offer stops to the "South-West African protectorates Nama- and Damaraland"[1705] and he thus turned to the English shipping company "Union-Line." He had to take a steamer

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[1698] Colditz, *Aus den hohen Anden Süd-Amerikas*.

[1699] Rudolf F. von Colditz, *Im Reich des Kondor: Streifzüge durch die Wildnisse Südamerikas* (Berlin: P. Parey, 1925); Rudolf F. von Colditz, *Unter Gauchos und Siedlern in Argentinien* (Berlin: Safari-verlag, 1928).

[1700] Otto Preusse-Sperber, *Unter Ansiedlern, Gauchos und Indianern: Erlebtes und Erlauschtes eines deutschen Auswanderers in Südamerika* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1925).

[1701] Hans Wulschner, ed., *Vom Rio Grande zum La Plata: Deutsche Reiseberichte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem südlichen Amerika*, Second Edition (Stuttgart: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1984).

[1702] Maria Bamberg, *Zwischen Argentinien und Deutschland: Erinnerungen in zwei Welten* (Berlin: Ed. Tranvía, Frey, 2004).

[1703] Georg Tams, *Die Portugiesischen Besitzungen in Süd-West-Afrika: Ein Reisebericht* (Hamburg: Robert Kittler, 1845).

[1704] Ludloff, *Nach Deutsch-Namaland*.

[1705] Ibid., 1.

to Cape Town first and then take a smaller boat up to Angra Pequena (Lüderitzbucht). During the trip, he met several German-speakers who were living in Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa. Ludloff highlighted the fact that all German-speakers on board the British ship united and discussed (the rather recent) German unification and hoped for a stronger future of German imperial overseas involvement.[1706] He repeatedly lamented the absence of a German steamer connection to South Africa and South-West Africa, and stated that this connection would surely benefit the large German-speaking population in the Boer states.[1707] When he arrived in Angra Pequena (Lüderitzbucht), the Lüderitz's buildings were abandoned and only a handful of people lived on the spot.[1708] He said living conditions were rough and he did not wan to paint anything in a better light than it was. He also visited Walvis Bay, Otjimbingwe and spoke of the German colony Otjimbingwe, where he celebrated Kaiser's birthday on 27 January 1891.[1709] Otjimbingwe was then the capital of the German protectorate with missionaries, a school, government buildings, German and English merchants, and indigenous peoples.[1710]

Dr. August Schreiber (*1839 Bielefeld – 1903 Barmen) was a missionary and inspector for the Rhenish Missionary Society who travelled through Namibia for five months in 1894.[1711] He landed in Cape Town and then travelled north with ox carts, crossing into Namibia over the Orange River, visiting Warmbad, Keetmanshoop, Rehoboth, Windhoek, Okahandja, and Otjimbingwe, before taking a ship back to Cape Town from Walvis Bay. He credited German industriousness for the number of stately houses and a small fort had been built in Windhoek with pretty gardens and lanes, as well as a small hospital, and noted that numerous German settlers had established themselves in Klein-Windhoek, the location of the former Rhenish missionary station.[1712] As for Otjimbingwe, the oldest Rhenish missionary station at the time, he described as extended with a number of houses of Europeans and a German-Dutch church community in addition to the Baster, Herero, and Bergdamara church communities.[1713]

[1706] Ibid., 17.
[1707] Ibid., 23.
[1708] Ibid., 26.
[1709] Ibid., 54.
[1710] Ibid., 56.
[1711] A. Schreiber, *Fünf Monate in Südafrika* (Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1894).
[1712] Ibid., 89.
[1713] Ibid., 102.

Erich von Salzmann was enrolled at the war academy in Berlin when the "war with the Herero" broke out in 1904 and he immediately signed up as a volunteer. He published his memoirs about this experience upon his return to Germany in 1905.[1714] Salzmann, along with other volunteers from his war academy, travelled to Namibia in the ship *Entre Rios* from the Hamburg-Südamerikanische Dampfschifffahrtsgesellschaft.[1715] The ship was named after a state in northeastern Argentina. The German South American shipping cooperated with the German government in this emergency situation in the German colony across the South Atlantic. The captain taking the ship from Hamburg to Swakopmund was employed by the Woermann Line.[1716]

Orla Holm was the pseudonym of Dorrit Zürn (*1882 Graz -), a writer who published colonial fiction as well as a travel account.[1717] In her book *From South-West Africa: Pages from the Diary of a German Woman, 1902-1904*, she described her travel by boat from Germany via London and Cape Town to Walvis Bay and Swakopmund.[1718] From Swakopmund to Karibib she continued by train, and then by ox cart to Okahandja and Windhoek. Her description of Windhoek was very positive: small villas surrounded by small gardens and a main street with stores.[1719] She also claimed that most indigenous people were dressed nicely, and many spoke German and seemed to be "part of a more elevated level of civilization."[1720] She also described the celebration of carnival in Windhoek.[1721] August Schaepe went to Namibia as a member of the colonial troops (*Schutztruppe*), where he arrived on 22 August 1893, and by the publication of his article in the *Journal for Colonial Policy, Colonial Law and Colonial Economy* in 1905, his profession was listed as farmer.[1722] He was thus one of many men who went to Namibia with the military and then decided to stay and turn his professional activities to agriculture.

[1714] Erich von Salzmann, *Im Kampfe gegen die Herero* (Berlin: D. Reimer (E. Vohsen), 1905).

[1715] Erich von Salzmann, *Im Kampfe gegen die Herero* (Berlin: D. Reimer (E. Vohsen), 1905), 7.

[1716] Ibid., 25.

[1717] Gerhard Peter Knapp, *Autoren damals und heute: literaturgeschichtliche Beispiele veränderter Wirkungshorizonte* (Rodopi, 1991), 781.

[1718] Orla Holm, *Aus Südwest-Afrika: Blätter aus dem Tagebuche einer deutschen Frau, 1902-1904* (Leipzig: Veit, 1905).

[1719] Ibid., 28–30.

[1720] Ibid., 30.

[1721] Ibid., 32–33.

[1722] August Schaepe, "Meine Erlebnisse von 1893-1904 in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 7 (1905): 233–40.

Themistokes II. von Eckenbrecher (*1876 – 1935) married Margarete Hopfer in 1902.[1723] He was also a member of the colonial troops between 1895 and 1900 and then earned ownership of a farm as a consequence. In 1905, a lecture he had given in Berlin about his settler life in Namibia was published as an article in the *Journal for Colonial Policy, Colonial Law and Colonial Economy*.[1724] He described how the German protectorate had changed during his time there, between 1895 and 1905, a course of ten years. His wife Margarethe became a famous writer under her married name Margarethe von Eckenbrecher (*1875 Bernburg – ?).[1725] While her first text was published in 1907 in an edited volume, she was mainly known for her memoir, which she first published in 1908 and then in an edited and expanded version in 1937.[1726] The couple got divorced in 1913 and Margarethe decided to return to Namibia after WWI with their two sons, where she worked as a secondary school teacher. Johannes Semler (*1858 Hamburg – 1914 Hamburg) traveled to Namibia, published his observations in 1906.[1727] Hermann Alverdes's publication was a widely read memoir of the Namibian War.[1728]

Helene von Falkenhausen, née Nitze, was a farmer, teacher, and author. She moved to the German protectorate together with her parents in 1893.[1729] In January 1899, she married baron Friedrich von Falkenhausen in Windhoek, as the *Windhoeker Anzeiger* announced.[1730] Upon her husband's death during the Herero War in 1904, Helene returned to Germany and published her memoirs about her first eleven years in Namibia.[1731] She later returned to the German protectorate and published a chapter in Bernhard Voigt's edited

[1723] Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It Took from Me: Remembrances from My Life as a German Settler in South West Africa*, trans. David P. Crandall, Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, and Paul E. Kerry (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2015), 5.

[1724] Themistokles II. von Eckenbrecher, "Aus dem Ansiedlerleben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 7 (1905): 335–45.

[1725] Rosa Schneider, "Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, Ominous Weather; Namibia 1907, German," in *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*, ed. Margaret J. Daymond et al. (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2003), 147–48.

[1726] Eckenbrecher, "Padleben in Südwestafrika"; Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, *Was Afrika mir gab und nahm: Erlebnisse einer deutschen Ansiedlerfrau in Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Mittler, 1908); Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, *Was Afrika mir gab und nahm: Erlebnisse einer deutschen Frau in Südwestafrika 1902-1936*, Seventh and Expanded (Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1937).

[1727] Johannes Semler, *Meine Beobachtungen in Süd-West-Afrika: Tagebuchnotizen und Schlussfolgerungen* (Hamburg: Verlag und Druck von Hermann's Erben, 1906).

[1728] George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 178.

[1729] Helene Nitze von Falkenhausen, *Ansiedlerschicksale: Elf Jahre in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, 1893-1904*, Third Edition (Berlin: D. Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1906).

[1730] Duft, "Aufgebot," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 5, 1899, NAN.

[1731] Falkenhausen, *Ansiedlerschicksale*.

volume on *Land and People* in the German protectorate.[1732] In 1914, she also published a report of the Herero War.[1733]

Max Rudolf Uth travelled for business purposes in the protectorate.[1734] He wrote very enthusiastically about his experiences in Namibia. He explicitly encouraged Germans to move to the German protectorate in the preface: "Every free, young German, whose circumstances allow for it and who feels a calling, should unhindered by all prejudice, try his luck over there."[1735] Historian Birthe Kundrus interprets passages of his travel account as coding nature as a virgin female that needed to be conquered.[1736] Maria Karow (*1879 Siedkow, Pommern – 1949) lived in the German protectorate between 1905 and 1909. She published her memoirs about her farmer life in Namibia upon her return to Germany in 1909.[1737] Her editor Rudolf Wagner praised her contribution to the literature on everyday farmer life in the German protectorate.[1738]

Maximilian Bayer also participated in the Namibian War as a member of the colonial troops. He published his personal account of the war in 1909.[1739] In the introduction he explained that his focus was not on the official sequence of events, but rather to share his personal experience and other events that took place in the context of the war. Ernst Freimut published his travel memoirs in 1909.[1740] In 1911, Rudolf Wagner published his travel account.[1741] In 1912, Otto Steiger, jr. published his travel account about Namibia.[1742] Clara Brockmann published some of her letters in 1912 with the aim – as she wrote in the introduction – to provide readers in Germany with more insight into the everyday life in the

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[1732] Helene Nitze von Falkenhausen, "Ein Tag auf der Farm. Aus dem Brief einer Farmersfrau," in *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Land und Leute*, ed. Bernhard Voigt (Stuttgart: Strecher & Schröder, 1913), 33–34.

[1733] Falkenhausen, *Bei den Hereros: Erzählung a. d. Aufständen Südwestafrikas*.

[1734] Max Rudolf Uth, *Im Sattel und Ochsenwagen: Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Fulda: J. L. Uth Buchdruckerei, 1907).

[1735] Ibid., 4.

[1736] Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*, 154.

[1737] Karow, *Wo sonst der Fuss des Kriegers trat: Farmerleben in Südwest nach dem Kriege*.

[1738] Rudolf Wagner, "Geleitwort," in *Wo sonst der Fuss des Kriegers trat: Farmerleben in Südwest nach dem Kriege*, by Maria Karow (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1909), v–vii.

[1739] Maximilian Bayer, *Mit dem Hauptquartier in Südwestafrika*, Second Edition (Leipzig: Otto Spamer, 1909).

[1740] Ernst Freimut, *Gedanken am Wege: Reiseplaudereien aus Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Deutscher Kolonial-Verl., 1909).

[1741] Wagner, *Eine Reise durch die deutschen Kolonien: Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*.

[1742] Otto Steiger jr., *Meine Reise Durch Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Leipzig: Jehne, 1912).

German protectorate.[1743] Emil Eisinger published his memoirs about his time in Namibia in 1913.[1744] He provided detailed descriptions of how he experiences Christmas celebrations in the protectorate. Elise Bake published a book about her experiences in Namibia in 1913.[1745]

Hans Grimm, who was mostly known for his fictional writings, also published some personal accounts from his time in South Africa and travels in Namibia. He travelled from Hamburg to Cape Town via Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht.[1746] In 1928, he published thirteen letters from the German protectorate he wrote with his mother.[1747]

Else Büchner published notes from her life as a farmer's wife in the German protectorate with the Colonial Calendar in 1914.[1748] Hertha Brodersen-Manns was a young single girl when she went to the German protectorate in 1914 as a secretary and published her memoirs about this time in 1991.[1749] She spent some time as a war prisoner in Pietermaritzburg in South Africa. Hedwig Irle was married to missionary Jakob Irle and she published a book about her experience as a missionary in 1925.[1750] Lydia Höpker published her memoirs about her life as a farmer in Namibia in 1927; they were republished under a different title for the second edition in 1936.[1751] Margareta Oldevig was Swedish woman, married to a Germans-speaker, who published her memoirs in German in 1946.[1752]

In this section we have looked at the way lived experiences have been remembered. While many of the accounts were very personal, the authors chose to publish them and thus make them accessible to a larger audience of German-speakers. In this way, their accounts also contributed to colonization propaganda.

[1743] Clara Brockmann, *Die Deutsche Frau in Südwestafrika: Ein Beitrag Zur Frauenfrage in Unseren Kolonien* (Berlin: Mittler, 1910); Clara Brockmann, *Briefe eines deutschen Mädchens aus Südwest* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1912).

[1744] Emil Eisinger, *Im Damaraland und Kaokofeld: Erinnerungen an Südwest-Afrika* (Konkordia, 1913).

[1745] Elise Bake, *Schwere Zeiten: Schicksale eines deutschen Mädchens in Südwestafrika* (München: Gmelin, 1913).

[1746] Hans Grimm, *Afrikafahrt West: Von Hamburg, Antwerpen, Boulogne und Southampton nach Madeira und den Kanarien und über Madeira-Kanarien nach Swakopmund, Lüderitzbucht und Kapstadt. Ein Reisebuch und Einführungsbuch* (Frankfurt am Main: M. Hendschel, 1913).

[1747] Hans Grimm, *Die dreizehn Briefe aus Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (München: A. Langen, 1928).

[1748] Else Büchner, "Skizzen aus dem Leben einer Farmerfrau in Deutsch-Südwestafrika," in *Süsserott's Illustrierter Kolonialkalender 1914* (Berlin: W. Süsserott, 1914), 75–81.

[1749] Brodersen-Manns, *Wie alles anders kam in Afrika*.

[1750] Irle, *In Gottes Schule*.

[1751] Lydia Höpker, *Um Scholle und Leben: Schicksale einer deutschen Farmerin in Südwest-Afrika* (Minden: Köhler, 1927); Lydia Höpker, *Als Farmerin in Deutsch-Südwest: Was ich in Afrika erlebte*, Second edition of "Um Scholle und Leben" (Minden in Westf.: W. Köhler, 1936).

[1752] Margareta Oldevig, *Im Sonnenland: Als Farmersfrau in Südwestafrika*, ed. Ernst Alker, 1.-3.Taus. (Rüschlikon-Zürich: Müller, 1946).

7.2.2 Imagining Contingencies in Fiction – *Kolonialliteratur*

A number of German-speakers wrote fictional literature about colonization – and thus about agriculture for the sake of improving and cultivating the land – in the South Atlantic. Most wrote in German, some in Spanish, and a few were even translated into English by contemporaries. The timeframe of these fictional accounts spans from about the 1880s to the 1930s. Many of the novels were written by men and women who never travelled themselves to the South Atlantic. Instead, the authors were intrigued and inspired by publications and accounts from travellers and migrants available in Central Europe. These fictional accounts and colonial literature contributed to the mindset of colonization. Women were particularly active as fiction writers, and scholar Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst has written that it was Frieda von Bülow (*1857 – 1909) who invented the colonial novel (*Kolonialroman*) and thus fictional colonial literature (*Kolonialliteratur*).[1753] Von Bülow was friends with Carl Peters, and she travelled to East Africa in 1887-88 where she worked as a nurse and helped set up hospital stations. The novels she wrote reflected her own involvement in East Africa, focusing on Germans colonizing East Africa.

Some of the colonial novels that German-speakers produced specifically targeted children or adolescents. Many of these authors were trying to indoctrinate a new generation of pioneers by lionizing colonization. Fictional accounts made the topic of colonization more interesting, exciting, and approachable for so-called laypeople, non-specialists, and young readers. Historian and literary scholar Medardus Brehl even claims that the German public began dealing with the Namibian War through books for adolescents.[1754] In 1912, Emil W. Sembritzki published a critical guide for German colonial literature.[1755] He criticized the phenomenon of youth and the fixation with Indian novels and asked parents and librarians to guide adolescents towards more books about the German official colonies. He also warned of false information. Between 1884 and 1908, former captain Maximilian Brose

[1753] Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, "Die Kolonialschriftstellerin Frieda von Bülow," in *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Links, 2009), 66–69.

[1754] Brehl, "Diskursereignis 'Herero-Aufstand': Konstruktion, Strategien der Authentifizierung, Sinnzuschreibung," 175.

[1755] Emil Wagner Sembritzki, ed., *Der Kolonialfreund: Kritischer Führer durch die volkstümliche deutsche Kolonial-literatur* (Berlin: "Kolonie und Heimat" Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.h., 1912).

edited special edition on colonial literature for the *Journal of Colonial Policy, Colonial Law and Colonial Economy*.[1756]

Adda von Liliencron (*1844 Sproitz, Silesia – 1913) was an aristocratic housewife and writer.[1757] She published two colonial novels, basing her books on accounts from the German protectorate South-West Africa, and both novels dealt with the Namibian War (1904-8). The first five of ten chapters of her 1906 publication took place in Germany, before the main character is sent to Namibia, where he first lands in Swakopmund.[1758] Liliencron was just the editor of the second publication, where she had collected letters and poems from soldiers fighting in the Namibian war.[1759] She was a member of the German Colonial Women's association and particularly active in promoting the migration of women to Namibia in order to strengthen the colonial project.[1760] In 1914, the foundation set up in her name named two buildings in Namibia after her: a women's house in Keetmanshoop and a youth house in Lüderitz Bay.[1761]The colony was not simply an administrative district or site of colonial violence, but had also entered the popular imagination of German-speaking readership.

Auto-biographical sketches catered to this increased interest in the South Atlantic. Lieutenant and publicist Richard Carow published adventurous short-stories based on his own experiences in Namibia in the 1890.[1762] Orla Holm (alias Dorrit Zürn) published two colonial novels in 1906 and 1909. *Pioneers* [1763] and *Ovita: An Episode in Hereroland*.[1764]Historian John Kenneth Noyes has included the novel *Ovita* in his study about the development of masochism and discussed the novel in detail in this regard.[1765]

[1756] Maximilian Brose, ed., *Die deutsche Koloniallitteratur im Jahre (1884-1908)* (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott, 1908).

[1757] Sophie Pataky, ed., "Adda Freiin von Liliencron," in *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder* (Berlin, 1898).

[1758] Liliencron, *Nach Südwestafrika*.

[1759] Liliencron, *Reiterbriefe aus Südwest*.

[1760] Adda von Liliencron, "Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft," 1907, BArch R 8023/153, pag. 12-13.

[1761] Boetticher, *Das Heimathaus in Keetmanshoop und das Jugendheim in Lüderitzbucht, die 'Adda v. Liliencron-Stiftung!*

[1762] Richard Carow, *Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika: Plaudereien nach eigenen Erfahrungen* (Oranienbaum: Buchdr. Oranienbaum, 1899); Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*, 178.

[1763] Orla Holm, *Pioniere: Ein Kolonialroman aus Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Berlin: F. Fontane & Co., 1906).

[1764] Orla Holm, *Ovita: Episode aus dem Hereroland* (Dresden: Reißner, 1909).

[1765] John K. Noyes, *The Mastery of Submission: Inventions of Masochism* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 119–22.

Possibly the most successful German colonial novelist was Gustav Frenssen (*1863 Barlt, Holstein – 1945 Barlt, Holstein)[1766] who achieved fame with his novel *Peter Moor.*[1767] The Protestant congregation of the La Plata Synod in Buenos Aires reprinted this novel in their church journal in 1907, and it was translated to English two years after its first publication.[1768] Frenssen did not travel to Namibia himself, but based his knowledge on interviews with soldiers returning to Germany from the war.[1769] His novel told the story of Peter Moor, a soldier who participated in the Namibian War. John K. Noyes has argued that while taking place in Namibia, the novel was really about creating German national identity and linking it to individual subjectivity and regionalism.[1770] Historian Jeff Bowersock, by contrast, has discussed the popularity of the novel with the contemporary German youth and noted its importance in promoting the colonies.[1771]

Maximilian Bayer (*1872 Karlsruhe – 1917 Lorraine) personally participated in the Namibian War as a German colonial troops. He is most known for his role in founding the Scouts movement in Germany.[1772] But he also wrote non-fictional and fictional accounts of his experiences: in 1907, he gave a presentation on the importance of the Namibian War for the development of the German colony;[1773] he also published an autobiographical account[1774] and two novels.[1775] Both novels were very popular and frequently republished until the

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1766 Elizabeth Boa, "Some Versions of Heimat: Goethe and Hölderlin around 1800, Frenssen and Mann around 1900," in *"Heimat": At the Intersection of Memory and Space*, ed. Friederike Eigler and Jens Kugele (Göttingen: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 34–52.

1767 Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest, ein Feldzugsbericht* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906).

1768 *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für die La Plata-Staaten*, vol. 13 (Buenos Aires: Druckerei der La Plata Synode, 1907); Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa: A Narrative of the German Campaign*, trans. Margaret Ward Ward (London; Boston; New York: Archibald Constable & Co.; Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

1769 John K. Noyes, "National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration in Gustav Frenssen's Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 89.

1770 Ibid., 90ff.

1771 Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871-1914* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013), 130.

1772 Ibid., 196.

1773 Bayer, *Der Krieg in Südwest-Afrika und seine Bedeutung für die Entwickelung der Kolonie: Vortrag*.

1774 Bayer, *Mit dem Hauptquartier in Südwestafrika*.

1775 Maximilian Bayer, *Okowi - ein Hererospion? Eine Geschichte aus dem südwestafrikanischen Kriege* (Berlin: Wilhelm Weicher, Marine- und Kolonialverlag, 1910); Maximilian Bayer, *Die Helden der Naukluft* (Leipzig: Otto Spamer, 1912).

1940s. The *Heroes of the Naukluft* (Mountains) was an adventure novel with colonial troop soldiers encountering the indigenous population.[1776]

Käthe von Beeker (*1863 – 1917) wrote just one novel that took place in Namibia and was specifically addressed to girls.[1777] Valerie Hodann (*1866 – after 1939) wrote one book illustrating the fate of a farmer's girl in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1778] The story reflected the possibilities of everyday life in the German colony. Elise Bake (*1851 – 1928)[1779] authored the novel *Fate of a German Girl in South-West Africa.*[1780] The book has a striking image on the very first page. The illustration depicts a white woman in a white dress with her back turned to the viewer and a handgun, with which she shoots at a shirtless black man who has his hands up in the air and head thrown back, a spear falling from his hand, still in the air.[1781] Bake's work was most likely a work of fiction based on the travel accounts of others.[1782]It makes obvious the tensions between colonist and colonized.

The colonial soldier Bernhard Voigt (*1878 – 1945) came to Namibia as a teacher in 1908 and stayed for thirteen years. He was not related to the merchant Voigts family of Wecke & Voigts. Upon his return to Germany, he wrote several novels about Namibia, mostly out of nostalgic longing for his past life there, calling it the "land of the sun" (*Sonnenland*).[1783] Nevertheless, the novel *My Home German South-West* starts out in the desert, and he confronts the protagonist with a sergeant telling him "you must be disappointed, expected palm trees and apes. Courage! In a few years you will love the country like I do."[1784] In *On a Thorny Path*, Voigt described the early years of the German protectorate, the founding of Windhoek as the German capital, life in Otijmbingwe, the former German capital, and life on farms.[1785] It was later republished under the title *Heart of*

1776 Maximilian Bayer, *Die Helden der Naukluft: Eine Erzählung aus Deutsch-Südwest*, Ninth Edition (Potsdam: Voggenreiter, 1942).

1777 Käthe van Beeker, *Heddas Lehrzeit in Süd-West: Erzählung für Mädchen* (Stuttgart: Loewes Verlag Ferdinand Carl, 1909).

1778 Valerie Hodann, *Auf rauhen Pfaden: Schicksale einer deutschen Farmerstochter in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Dresden: Dietrich, 1910).

1779 Elisabeth Friedrichs, "Bake, Elise," in *Die deutschsprachigen Schriftstellerinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts: ein Lexikon* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1981), 13.

1780 Bake, *Schwere Zeiten*.

1781 Ibid.

1782 Friedrichs, "Bake, Elise."

1783 Bernhard Voigt, *Du meine Heimat Deutschsüdwest. Ein afrikanisches Farmerleben* (Berlin: Safari-Verlag, 1925).

1784 Ibid., 9.

1785 Voigt, *Auf dorniger Pad. Aus Deutsch-Südwestafrikas alten Tagen*.

the Wilderness.[1786] Another of his novels was set in the German boarding school in Windhoek.[1787] He also published a short story in a collection on experiences by colonial pioneers.[1788]

Hans Grimm (*1875 – 1959) is most known for his novel *People without Space* (*Volk ohne Raum*) from 1926, and the book's popularity during the Third Reich due to its congruity with Nazi ideology.[1789] The novel's protagonist is Cornelius Friebott, who performed "almost every conceivable colonial task during his lifetime, combining various phases of German colonialism in his curriculum vitae: he work[ed] as a farmer, join[ed] the marines, he f[ought] for the colonial military forces, and he help[ed] draw the first map of the Kalahari Desert," and, according to Oliver Simons, he was "less a literary character than a figure of projection" who represented "colonial ideologies that existed in Germany around 1926."[1790] Grimm himself lived and worked in South Africa between 1896 and 1910, four years as an employee and ten years as a merchant.[1791] But while he only travelled through German South-West Africa, most of his novels take place there, and were written after it had ceased to be a German protectorate following WWI. Other publications of his taking place in Namibia include two collections of seven short stories and a saga.[1792] Other scholars have studied Grimm's oeuvre: Thomas Nolden has studied Grimm's publications with regards to colonial spaces and bodies, Nadja D. Krämer has analyzed Grimm's colonial project between 1913 and 1926, Annette Gümbel has analyzed his relation to national-conservatism and Nazi ideology, and Alexander Honold has studied the geographic aspect of Grimm's novel Volk ohne Raum with regards to colonial geography.[1793]

[1786] Bernhard Voigt, *Das Herz der Wildnis, ein Roman aus Deutsch-Südwest-Afrikas ersten Tagen*, New Edition of Auf dorniger Pad (Berlin: Safari-Verlag, 1940).

[1787] Bernhard Voigt, *Im Schülerheim zu Windhuk: Abenteuer in Busch und Steppe* (Berlin: Weiss, 1928).

[1788] Bernhard Voigt, "Die Geschichte des langen Tom," in *Afrika spricht zu Dir: Selbsterlebnisse deutscher Kolonialpioniere*, ed. Paul Ritter (Mühlhausen, Thüringen: Bergwald-Verlag Walter Paul, 1938), 259–79.

[1789] Grimm, *Volk ohne Raum*.

[1790] Oliver Simons, "Persuasive Maps and a Suggestive Novel: Hans Grimm's 'Volk Ohne Raum' and German Cartography in Southwest Africa," in *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*, ed. Volker Langbehn (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 165–81.

[1791] Grimm, *Die dreizehn Briefe aus Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 5.

[1792] Hans Grimm, *Südafrikanische Novellen* (München: A. Langen, G. Müller, 1913); Hans Grimm, *Die Olewagen-Saga* (München: A. Langen, 1918); Hans Grimm, *Lüderitzland. Sieben Begebenheiten* (München: A. Langen, G. Müller, 1934).

[1793] Nolden, "On Colonial Spaces and Bodies: Hans Grimm's Geschichten Aus Südwestafrika"; Krämer, "Auf, Freudige Germanen...!"; Gümbel, *Volk ohne Raum*; Alexander Honold, "Raum ohne Volk. Zur Imaginationsgeschichte der kolonialen Geographie," in *Kolonialismus*, ed. Mihran Dabag, Horst Gründer, and Uwe-Karsten Ketelsen (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004), 95–110.

Adolf Gerstmann (*1873 – 1940) published two short stories in 1915 that took place in Namibia.[1794] Henny Koch (*1854 – 1925) published one novel addressed to girls in 1916.[1795] Margarete Jähne (*1883 – 1939) published under the pseudonym Christine Holstein. She wrote fictional accounts about women's struggles of farm life in the protectorate German South-West Africa.[1796] Hermann Freyberg (*1898 – 1962) wrote several novels that took place but only one that took place in Namibia, titled *Treason in the Desert*, first published in 1941.[1797] All of these authors attempted to reach an audience interested in colonization.

On the other side of the South Atlantic, the number of fictional stories published by German-speakers was much smaller than in the Namibian case. Karl May is probably the most widely known author of adventure stories written in German. As the author of the stories Winnetou and Old Shatterhand in the Wild West, or more specifically in West Texas, he has influenced the imagination of generations of German-speakers concerning North America.[1798] While he is well known for novels taking place in North America as well as the Near East, it is less well-known that he also let his main character – Old Shatterhand – travel to the River Plate, and more specifically to Uruguay and northern Argentina, in *At the River Plate* and *In the Cordilleras*.[1799] While May's novels set in North America and the "Orient" have received much recent attention by scholars, the South American ones are still often overlooked.[1800] Both books tell the story of Old Shatterhand, this time travelling from Montevideo further north to the Andes. Like in other May novels, Old Shatterhand is a German travelling abroad who outsmarts everyone he encounters; the descendants of

[1794] Adolf Gerstmann, *Der Südwester und Der Knopf: Zwei Schwarzwaldgeschichten* (Reutlingen: Enßlin und Laiblin, 1915).
[1795] Henny Koch, *Die Vollrads in Südwest: eine Erzählung für junge Mädchen* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union, 1916).
[1796] Christine (Margarete Jähne) Holstein, *Deutsche Frau in Südwest: den Erlebnissen einer Farmersfrau im heutigen Afrika nacherzählt* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1937).
[1797] Hermann Freyberg, *Verrat in Der Wüste: Ein Erlebnis Aus Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, ed. Karl Mühlmeister, 112 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1943).
[1798] Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Bühler-Dietrich, "Zwischen Glaubwürdigkeit und make believe."
[1799] Karl May, *Am Rio de la Plata* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1894); Karl May, *In den Cordilleren* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1894).
[1800] Wolfram Pyta, "Einleitung: Kulturwissenschaftliche Zugriffe auf Karl May," in *Karl May: Brückenbauer zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. Wolfram Pyta (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 9–46.

Spanish and other European migrants are portraye as dumb whereas the Indians are mostly friendly.

Gabriele Reuter (*1859 – 1941) never travelled to Argentina herself but she published a novel called *Colonist People* (*Kolonistenvolk*) in 1897 about German colonization in Argentina.[1801] She portrayed the conflict between "German civilization" and "Argentinean barbarism," writing about the Argentinean gauchos encountering German settlers.[1802] Similar to Karl May, her novels set in North America have received more attention,[1803] but David Tingey for example has published his analysis of Reuter's *Kolonistenvolk*.[1804] I have also found a newspaper article in the *New York Times* from February 1932 authored by Reuter entitled "Germany and Her Lost Colonies," where she discussed Germany's supposed need for space for overseas colonization.[1805]

There were various other German-speaking authors publishing stories about Argentina that are still rather unknown to a larger audience. Rudolf Johannes Schmied (*1878, Buenos Aires – 1935, Paraguay) was born and grew up in Buenos Aires.[1806] His sister Inès was Heinrich Mann's partner when he visited Munich in the first decade of the twentieth century. Schmied became famous with his children's book series *Carlos and Nicolás*: part one was published in 1906 and part two in 1909.[1807] Adolf Niclaus Schuster (*1875 Uetendorf, Switzerland – 1933 Aregna, Paraguay) was a Swiss-German doctor, a self-taught ethnologist and a writer. In 1913, he edited a collection of songs from the River Plate.[1808] Otto Schreiber wrote a novel taking place in Patagonia, published in Berlin in 1928.[1809] Austrian ethnographer Karl Ilg mentioned him in his study on German-speakers in

[1801] Gabriele Reuter, *Kolonistenvolk: Roman aus Argentinien* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1897).

[1802] David Tingey, "Seductive and Destructive: Argentina in Gabriele Reuter's *Kolonistenvolk* (1889)," in *Sophie Discovers Amerika: German-Speaking Women Write the New World*, ed. Rob McFarland and Michelle Stott James (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 102–10.

[1803] Christiane Arndt, "'Der Verfluchte Yankee!' Gabriele Reuter's Episode Hopkins (1889) and Der Amerikaner (1907)," in *Sophie Discovers Amerika: German-Speaking Women Write the New World*, ed. Rob McFarland and Michelle Stott James (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 138–49.

[1804] Tingey, "Seductive and Destructive: Argentina in Gabriele Reuter's Kolonistenvolk (1889)."

[1805] Gabriele Reuter, "Germany and Her Lost Colonies," *The New York Times*, February 14, 1932.

[1806] Hans Wysling, *Letters of Heinrich and Thomas Mann, 1900-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 324.

[1807] Rudolf Johannes Schmied, *Carlos und Nicolás. Kinderjahre in Argentinien* (Munich: Pieper, 1906); Rudolf Johannes Schmied, *Carlos und Nikolas auf dem Meere* (Berlin-Westend: E. Reiss, 1909).

[1808] Adolf Niclaus Schuster, ed., *Heimatfern: Lieder vom Silberstrom* (Aarau: A. Trüb & Cie., 1913).

[1809] Otto Schreiber, *Im Schatten des Calafate: Patagonisches, allzupatagonisches* (Berlin: Brunnen-Verlag, K. Winckler, 1928).

Argentina and Chile in 1982.[1810] In 1929, Ilse von Rentzell published her book *In the Argentinean Chaco*.[1811] In 1942, Bert Amerlen published his novel about Malon, the scare of the pampas.[1812] Livia Neumann was a Jewish exile in Argentina[1813] and novelist who wrote about experiences similar to her own in two of her novels.[1814] Argentinean historian Claudia Carnica de Bertona has studied Neumann's work with regards to integration into Argentinean society.[1815]

Eleonora Epp de Hary (*1909 Meran, South Tyrol – ?) married the *estanciero* of French origin Ernesto Carlos Hary and moved to Argentina with him in 1931.[1816] She published her novels under the pseudonym "Jovita Epp." Her novels, published between 1944 and 1978, reflect her own experiences moving to and living in the Argentinean pampa. Two of her books are named after the Pampa and Buenos Aires.[1817] Two of her books dealt with marriage of an Argentinean and resemble her own life choices.[1818]Ivana R. Klammer has argued that Epp's *Amado mio* from 1975 was written in the tradition of colonial novels.[1819]

Roberto Schopflocher (*1923 Fürth, Germany – 2016 Buenos Aires, Argentina) was a German-Argentinean writer of Jewish descent who migrated to Argentina with his parents in 1937.[1820] He attended the Pestalozzi school in Buenos Aires and his first job was as an administrator of the Baron Hirsch colonies in the interior.[1821] He started a career as a writer

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[1810] Ilg, *Das Deutschtum in Chile und Argentinien*, 68.

[1811] Ilse von Rentzell, *Im argentinischen Chaco* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1929).

[1812] Bert Amerlen, *"Malon": Der Schrecken der Pampas! Ein Roman nach wahren Begebenheiten* (Buenos Aires: Libreria "Goethe," 1942).

[1813] Olga Elaine Rojer, *Exile in Argentina, 1933-1945: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 89; Walter Laqueur, *Generation Exodus: The Fate of Young Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 323.

[1814] Livia Neumann, *Hab Mut zum Glück!* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Cosmopolita, 1942); Livia Neumann, *Puerto nuevo, neuer Hafen, Roman* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Cosmopolita, 1943).

[1815] Claudia Carnica de Bertona, "Integración o exclusión: los inmigrantes alemanes a través de las novelas de Livia Neumann y Heinrich Eberhardt," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 195–204.

[1816] "Epp, Jovita," *Munzinger Biographie*, 2016, https://www.munzinger.de/search/portrait/Jovita+Epp/0/9330.html.

[1817] Jovita Epp, *Im Banne der Pampa* (Buenos Aires: Goethe Buchhandlung, 1944); Jovita Epp, *Auf den Boulevards der Pampa; Roman* (München: Biederstein Verlag, 1970); Jovita Epp, *Santa Maria der guten Lüfte: Roman* (München: R. Piper, 1978).

[1818] Jovita Epp, *Die Frau des Fremden, Novelle* (Buenos Aires: Südamerika-Verlag, 1951); Jovita Epp, *Die argentinische Heirat: Roman* (München: Biederstein Verl., 1960).

[1819] Ivana R. Klammer, "Reinventing the Colonial Fantasy in the Post-WWII Era: Jovita Epp's Amado Mio" (M.A., Brigham Young University, 2010); Jovita Epp, *Amado mio: Roman* (Stuttgart: Gebühr, 1975).

[1820] Marko Martin, "Der Schriftsteller Robert Schopflocher: Vom Schtetl in der Pampa," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 30, 2013, https://www.nzz.ch/vom-schtetl-in-der-pampa-1.18108384.

[1821] Reinhard Andress, "'Tercer espacio' e 'hibridación': el caso del escritor argentino-alemán Robert(o) Schopflocher," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 25, no. 70 (2011): 251–68.

at a later age, first in Spanish than in German. His novel from 2009 is entitled *The Caudillo* and his 2010 book dealt with his life between three worlds.[1822] While the great majority of these novelists discussed in this section were only known to a smaller audience, they nonetheless testify to the larger colonization attempts and the ambiance among German-speakers both in the South Atlantic and Central Europe.

7.3 Conclusion

German-speaking authors used different literary types in order to get their message of spreading knowledge about the South Atlantic to German-speakers in Central Europe. The different types of texts German-speakers published on the South Atlantic served as a means to discursively appropriate the territory, the land, the soil, both in the minds of the German-speakers who were already in the South Atlantic, but also those who were not there yet and whose attention should be attracted. Much of the literature was published in Central Europe and the audience mainly targeted with these publications consisted in German-speakers in Central Europe. Scientific writing legitimized discursive appropriation of territories previously unknown to Europeans having come to the South Atlantic. The academic publications were also made accessible to the common people in propaganda texts. Individuals published their personal travel accounts and migration experiences, which provided other German-speakers with first-hand accounts of colonization and gave them a basis for imitation. Lastly, fictional accounts allowed for imagining potential colonization in texts aimed at entertaining German-speakers and encouraging their own imagination in order to go practice colonization in the South Atlantic themselves.

Chapter 8. Implementing Agricultural Colonization and Exploiting the Land

German-speakers practiced agricultural colonization on both sides of the South Atlantic. Wappäus had written already in 1846 that the German colonies abroad should be

[1822] Roberto Schopflocher, *Der caudillo: Erzählung* (Buenos Aires: El Zahir Editora, 2009); Roberto Schopflocher, *Weit von wo: Mein Leben zwischen drei Welten* (München: LangenMüller, 2010).

agricultural colonies (*Ackerbau-Colonien*).[1823] Throughout the South Atlantic, settlements in the "countryside" specifically for agriculture and stockbreeding (*Ackerbau und Viehzucht*) began in the 1840s.

In Argentina, early German-speaking settlers in the interior settled in the northern regions, which were part of the frontier and contested areas in the border regions with Brazil. German-speakers in the 1850s were allowed to settle in "closed groups," with a large percentage of Swiss-Germans among them. Gradually, the Argentine state took more formal control of agricultural projects.

It is important to note here that German-speaking individuals were actually practicing agricultural colonization and not just theorizing about it. They imported plants and animals from Europe, and they adapted their cultivation practices to the conditions of the South Altantic. Agricultural colonization remained an activity carried out by individuals. Even if the states had a hand in the set-up, it always came down to individual private people doing the actual work on the ground.

8.1 Examining Exemplary Terms

We will discuss two contemporary terms here that were important for agricultural colonization and that were at the core of the experience of agricultural colonization for German-speakers in the South Atlantic. The term "practitioners" was used in opposition to "theorists." Theorists were those academics and daydreamers, the colonial enthusiasts who never set foot on overseas soil but did not hesitate to conjure plans and claims that remained unachievable.

The term "farmer" expressed some kind of activism and individuality, and probably existed in opposition to "peasant" (*Bauer*). Was this choice related to the size of the territory they worked and thus a question of scale? Or was this a matter of expressing class? Was the German term too closely linked to the lower classes in Germany that members of the middle class and bourgeoisie could not accept to be called peasant?

[1823] "So verschieden die hierher gehörigen Pläne auch sein mögen, so stimmen sie doch meist in der Voraussetung überein, daß die anzulegenden deutschen Colonien Ackerbau-Colonien sein müssen [...]" Johann Eduard Wappäus, "Gelegentliche Gedanken über die neueren deutschen Emigrations- und Colonisations-Projekte," *Janus: Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That* 20–22 (1846): 707.

8.1.1 "Colonial Practitioner" (*Praktiker*)

Practitioner (*Praktiker*) is a reoccurring term in the sources on colonization. Even at the time, German-speakers continuously used it in opposition to theorists: academics and colonial enthusiasts who were only theorizing and dreaming, but not "living colonization." Wappäus wrote in his 1843 publication on South America about "*soi-disant Praktiker*" (so-called practitioners), who criticized his own "*Gelehrtenpedanterie*" (scholarly pedantry).[1824] A few years later, he specifically published a book based on the accounts of practitioners.[1825] People in Namibia meanwhile got nervous when Germans from Germany wanted to interfere and "help": they were the ones living in Namibia – the practicioners of colonialism – and only they knew the conditions, not those living in Europe.[1826].

In 1882, Ernst Hasse claimed in a confidential document preserved in the Berlin Federal Archives that the founding of the South American Colonization Company was a contribution to practical solution of the German colonization question.[1827] Likewise, the statutes of the German Colonial Assocation claimed to contribute to the practical solution of the colonial question.[1828] And the 1885 statutes of the Society for German Colonisation aimed at the continuation of practical results for the German colonial movement.[1829]

In 1904, farmer Karl Schlettwein determined that the people working in the German colonial office were almost exclusively people who had only heard about the German colonies, and they lacked real experience in the matter. He complained, "instead of contacting the practioners in the colonies, they considered only scholars and government officials as qualified to have and voice healthy opinions."[1830] Otto Preusse-Sperber portrayed himself as a practioner in Argentina in his 1905 publication, which was also used by the

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[1824] Wappäus, *Die Republiken von Südamerika geographisch-statistisch*, viii.

[1825] anonymous, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation*.

[1826] [Wilhelm] Anz, *Deutschlands Pflichten in Südwestafrika* (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belser'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908).

[1827] Hasse, "Vertraulich! Die Südamerikanische Colonisations-Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur praktischen Lösung der deutschen Colonisationsfrage."

[1828] "Auszug aus den Satzungen des „Deutschen Colonialvereins"."

[1829] "Satzungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation."

[1830] Karl Schlettwein, *Deutschlands bisherige Kolonialpolitik und die augenblicklichen Zustände in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Koloniale Zeitschrift, 1904), 4f.; "Anstatt mit den Praktikern in den Kolonien Fühlung zu nehmen, hielt man nur Gelehrte und Regierungsbeamte für qualifiziert, gesunde Ansichten zu haben und zu äußern."

German Central Information Office for Migrants.[1831]He highlighted the fact that he was a man with much experience, a self-taught and brave man.

8.1.2 "Farmer"

"Farmer" (*Farmer*) was the preferred term in Namibia for agriculturalists, instead of peasant (*Bauer*), which was used in Central Europe, whereas in Argentina, the term *Landwirt* was used, which also translates into English as "farmer." In 1898, for example, the newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger* repeatedly used the word "farmer."[1832] Men identified as farmers,[1833] and women as women farmers, farmer's wives, or farmer's daughters.[1834] Some sources claimed the term came from the English word.[1835]

In Argentina, many people used *Landwirt*,[1836] or the related word *Ackerbauer*.[1837] Friedrich Gerstäcker mentioned in his travel account that he had met a farmer in Argentina who had become "a real American farmer and could easily compete with his North American

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[1831] Otto Preusse-Sperber, *Wegweiser für Argentinien zur Orientierung der Auswanderer und Kapitalisten*, Second Edition (Flöha, Sachsen: Peitz & Sohn, 1905).

[1832] "In diesem Jahr ist eine erhebliche Menge von Bäumen, namentlich Obstbäumen in Gross- und Klein-Windhoek und in benachbarten Farmen eingepflanzt worden," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, sec. Aus dem Schutzgebiet, NAN; Wecke & Voigts, "Wecke & Voigts [...] Import - Export: 100 Pferde, dreijährig, stehen zum Verkauf auf Farm Voigtland"; "30 Hennen zu verkaufen à 2.50 Mark auf Farm Frauenstein," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 10, 1898, NAN; "Am 12. d. Mts. sind auf der Siedelungsfarm VI. in unmittelbarer Nähe von Windhoek ...," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, December 22, 1898, sec. Local-Nachrichten, NAN.

[1833] Carl Schlettwein, *Der Farmer in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika. Eine Darstellung sämtlicher für den afrikanischen Farmer in Betracht kommenden Erwerbszweige und Ein Leitfaden für Anfänger*, First Edition (Wismar: Hinstorff, 1907); Ada Cramer, *Weiss oder Schwarz: Lehr- und Leidensjahre eines Farmers in Südwest im Lichte des Rassenhasses* (Berlin: Deutscher Kolonial-Verlag, 1913); Voigt, *Du meine Heimat Deutschsüdwest. Ein afrikanisches Farmerleben*; Ludwig Conradt, *Erinnerungen aus zwanzigjährigem Händler- und Farmerleben in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, ed. Thomas Keil (Göttingen: Klaus Hess, 2006).

[1834] Hodann, *Auf rauhen Pfaden*; Falkenhausen, "Ein Tag auf der Farm. Aus dem Brief einer Farmersfrau"; Büchner, "Skizzen aus dem Leben einer Farmerfrau in Deutsch-Südwestafrika"; Höpker, *Um Scholle und Leben*; Höpker, *Als Farmerin in Deutsch-Südwest: Was ich in Afrika erlebte*; Holstein, *Deutsche Frau in Südwest*; Oldevig, *Im Sonnenland*.

[1835] Mohr and Hauff, *Deutsche im Ausland; Im Auftrage des Reichswanderungsamtes und in Verbindung mit dem Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, 246.

[1836] "Aussichten für Landwirte in Argentinien [Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, Berlin: Merkblatt Nr. 7, (4. Auflage)]," 1925 1922, EZA 5/2061.

[1837] Juan Hugles and Carlos Dunzelmann, "Für Ackerbauer verkaufen wir im Partido Nueve de Julio ...," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, May 2, 1885, sec. coverpage, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; "Am 22. langte der bekannte große Ackerbauer in Mashonaland, Tapsell, von Captown kommend in London an...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, May 24, 1898, sec. Kabel-Nachrichten, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Ernst Pfannenschmidt, "Neue Projekte zur Besserung der wirtschaftlichen Lage der Ackerbauer," August 26, 1912, BArch R 1001/7939, pag. 197.

brothers."[1838] In 1916, Otto Kasdorf, professor in Montevideo, posited that South America provided a wide field for the colonial activity of the excessive European migrant population,[1839] whereas he defined colonists as farmers.[1840]

8.2 Case Studies

In 1883, the Association for the Protection of German Migrants[1841] in Buenos Aires began its work to support German migrants and colonists establishing themselves in Argentina. Among those active in promoting the River Plate as the ideal destination for German migration were many German-speakers who actually travelled to the region, like Carlos Beck Bernard, Samuel Kerst, and Friedrich Wilhelm Reden.[1842] Like Wappäus and Gaebler, they were promoting a "modern" version of colonization, where Germany would not assume sovereignty over these overseas territories. While colonization companies and the Argentinean government would administer these colonization projects, proponents of them argued that the main aim was the improvement of the German economy through the creation of new markets; simultaneously, these proponents wanted support from German merchants and state institutions.

Charles John Andersson labeled people having settled at the missionary station Schmelen's Hope colonists.[1843] Andersson and Francis Galton travelled to Scheppmansdorf,

[1838] "Der Mann war aber auch in anderer Hinsicht ein ächter amerikanischer Farmer geworden, und hätte sich seinen Brüdern in Nordamerika ohne weiters anreihen können, - er schimpfte aus Leibeskräften auf die Deutschen und meinte, diese sollten nur um Gottes Willen nicht auswandern oder nach Südamerika kommen, denn arbeiten wollten sie doch nicht, und zum zugucken brauchten sie Niemanden mehr, da hätten sie gerade genug. Er beschäftigte uch eine Anzahl von Spaniern auf seinem Grundstück [...] Nirgends beschäftigte er aber Deutsche und versicherte uns, wenn er auch einmal einen deutschen Arbeiter kriegte, so verdienten sie gewöhnlich das Brod nicht, denn erstens wollten sie nicht arbeiten, und dann forderten sie den drei-doppelten Lohn von dem, was er dem fleißigsten Spanier gäbe." Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, 94ff.

[1839] Kasdorf, *Der Wirtschaftskampf um Südamerika*, 34.

[1840] Ibid., 64.

[1841] "Der hiesige Verein zum Schutze germanischer Einwanderung hat nun schon seit längerer Zeit in Aussicht genommen ständige Auskunfs- und Nachweisungs-Bureau nunmehr eröffnet."

[1842] Beck Bernard, *Die Argentinische Republik als Auswanderungsziel*; Kerst, *Die Länder im Stromgebiete des La Plata*; Bahre, *Gegenwart und Zukunft der Plata-Länder*; Reden, *Die Staaten im Stromgebiet des La Plata in ihrer Bedeutung für Europa*.

[1843] Andersson, *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika 1*, 1:135.

a missionary station founded by Rhenish missionary Scheppman in 1846, located by the Kuisip river, surrounded by sand.[1844] They also visited Barmen and Carl Hugo Hahn.[1845]

The teacher brought from Germany for the Protestant church, Germán Frers, founded the colony Baradero in 1857 in the province Buenos Aires with mostly Swiss-German and German families as a model colony (*Musterkolonie*).[1846] In Argentina, such examples of agricultural colonies founded by German-speakers are numerous. The following section examines just a few exemplary case studies: Esperanza (Santa Fe) in the Argentinean pampa, the Rio Pico colony in Patagonia, as well as Otjimbingwe and Windhoek/ Klein-Windhoek in Namibia.

8.2.1 Esperanza – The First Agricultural Colony in Argentina

More recently, the historians Julio Djenderedjian and Valentin Kramer have treated the colony Esperanza in their studies as it is the first colony in the Argentinean interior where many German-speakers, in particular Swiss-Germans settled.[1847] Esperanza was founded in 1846 with the help of the empresario Aaron Castellanos.[1848] The Protestant pastor Ernst Wilhelm Schweinitz visited Esperanza from Buenos Aires in 1857.[1849] The first own

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[1844] Ibid., 1:28.

[1845] Ibid., 1:106.

[1846] "Die Colonie Baradero in der Provinz Buenos Aires," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, December 3, 1876, 204–5, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Hugo Kunz, "[1] Die Colonie Baradero," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, April 14, 1883, sec. cover page, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina; Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 204–5.

[1847] Julio Djenderedjian and Juan Luis Martirén, "La distribución de la riqueza rural entre tradición y modernidad. Los casos de la colonia Esperanza y el distrito de Paraná durante la década de 1860," *Población & Sociedad* 19, no. 2 (2012): 125–54; Valentin Kramer, "Deutsch, deutsch-argentinisch, argentinisch. Kulturelle Aushandlungsprozesse in deutschen Einwandererervereinen in Argentinien, 1856-1930," in *Migration – Religion – Identität. Aspekte transkultureller Prozesse: Migration – Religion – Identity. Aspects of Transcultural Processes*, ed. Kerstin Kanzzazi, Angela Treiber, and Tim Wätzold (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2016), 95–107; Kramer, *Zwischen den Heimaten*.

[1848] H. Borchard, *Verzeichnis der deutschen evangelischen Diaspora-Gemeinden und -Geistlichen in Südamerika, Australien, Orient, Rumänien, Serbien, Italien, Schweiz, Frankreich und England, zusammengestellt im Auftrage der Diaspora-Conferenz* (Leipzig: Verlag von M. L. Matthies, 1883); Frutos, *La Colonización Argentina*, 57; Manuel M. Cervera, *Colonización Argentina y Fundación de Esperanza* (Esperanza, Provincia de Santa Fe, República Argentina: Municipalidad de Esperanza, 1906); Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 209; Museo de la Colonización, *Museo de la Colonización Argentina*.

[1849] Ernst Wilhelm Schweinitz, "Reisebericht des Pastors E. Schweinitz in Buenos Aires über den Besuch in den Städten Rosario, Parana, Santa Fé und in den Kolonien Los Conohas und La Esperanza.," October 16, 1857, EZA 5/2061.

Protestant church in the colony Esperanza was constructed in 1865.[1850] In 1872, the Protestants organized a traveling pastor (*Reiseprediger*) for the colonies in the interior they considered important, and they included Esperanza.[1851] The German Protestant German parish San Carlos was founded in 1872.[1852] In the same year, the German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung* already had an agent placed in the colony.[1853] A year later, in 1873, the colony published its own newspaper, *Der Argentinische Bote*.[1854] Members of the 1885 and 1888 Diaspora confererences in Germany came from Esperanza.[1855] In 1889, the Argentinean company *Banco Colonizador Nacional* sold lots in the colony Esperanza and advertised in the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*.[1856] In 1891, a new Protestant church building was constructed.[1857] In 1907, the fifth Protestant synod of the La Plata states convened in Esperanza.[1858] In 1984, the Argentinean colonization museum featured Esperanza as the first Argentinean agricultural colony.[1859]

8.2.2 Rio Pico – A German Colony in Patagonia?

The Rio Pico colonial experiment was part of the project to colonize Patagonia after the "Conquest of the Desert." In 1904, the creation of an agrarian-pastoral colony by the Rio Pico was declared by decree.[1860] Wilhelm Vallentin attempted to set up a German

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1850 "Evangelische Gemeinde Esperanza," *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt Für die Deutschredenden am La Plata*, December 4, 1896, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 73.

1851 "Unterstützung, Auszüge [...] Buenos Ayres," 1872, EZA 200/1/7369, pg. 61.

1852 Borchard, *Verzeichnis der deutschen evangelischen Diaspora-Gemeinden und -Geistlichen in Südamerika, Australien, Orient, Rumänien, Serbien, Italien, Schweiz, Frankreich und England, zusammengestellt im Auftrage der Diaspora-Conferenz*.

1853 "Agenten der Deutschen Zeitung," *Deutsche Zeitung: Organ der germanischen Bevölkerung am Rio de la Plata*, July 3, 1872.

1854 C. Kleiber-Gietz, "Verfassung der Argentinischen Nation," *Der Argentinische Bote*, May 27, 1876, Volume 3, No.43 edition, EZA 5/2061, p. 141.

1855 "Verzeichnis der Mitglieder der Diaspora-Conferenz; Eisenach, den 8. September 1885.," September 8, 1885, EZA 200/1/93, pg. 64-67; "Verzeichnis der Mitglieder der Diaspora-Conferenz; Hannover, den 1. Dezember 1888," December 1, 1888, EZA 200/1/93, pg. 247.

1856 "Banco Colonizador Nacional."

1857 "Evangelische Gemeinde Esperanza."

1858 "Bericht über die fünfte ordentliche Synode der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in den La Plata Staaten; gehalten in Esperanza (St. Fé) am 11. November 1907," 1907, EZA 200/1/4240, pg. 32b.

1859 Museo de la Colonización, *Museo de la Colonización Argentina*.

1860 [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 octubre 1904]," October 8, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2728 D del año 1904].

settlement at the Rio Pico in Chubut the following year.[1861] Alfred Arent wrote: "Captain Dr. Vallentin recently received a concession of 90 square leguas (225,000 ha) in the Chubut territory from the government 'for colonization with German migrants' and he hopes to trigger off German migration to Patagonia."[1862]

In January 1905, José Greger's journal *Süd-Amerika* labeled Vallentin as colonizer (*Kolonisator*) in Argentina.[1863] The article was very critical of Vallentin and his colonization project, calling him a theorist with no practical experience. The article also made reference to the failed experience of Germans in the Hansa colony in South Brazil. But Vallentin had support from the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, which repeatedly published favorable articles about his project in 1905.[1864] And he continued to promote his project in his own publications.[1865]

By October 1907, the *Südamerikanische Rundschau* reported the termination of the land concession for W. Vallentin.[1866] In 1908, J. Wolff from the Information Center of the German Colonial Office in Berlin confirmed that the Rio Pico project had been terminated by the Argentine government.[1867] In 1915, Ernst Pfannenschmidt made negative comments about the failure of the Rio Pico colonization project.[1868] However, in 2001, Argentinean scholar Ernesto Maggiori had published a book about the German colony "Friedland" and the history of the Rio Pico.[1869]

[1861] "Germanische Ansiedlung 'Friedland' am Rio Pico (Chubut) (Dr. W. Vallentin)."

[1862] Arent, "Patagonien, ein deutsches Kolonisationsgebiet," 730; "Herr Kapitän Dr. Vallentin hat kürzlich von der Regierung eine Konzession von 90 Quadratleguas (225 000 Hektar) im Chubut-Territorium 'zur Kolonisierung mit germanischen Einwanderern' erhalten und damit hoffentlich den Anstoss zu einer deutschen Einwanderung nach Patagonien gegeben."

[1863] "Dr. W. Vallentin als Colonisator in Argentinien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, January 1, 1905, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 112.

[1864] "Ein deutsches Kolonsationsunternehmen in Patagonien," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, July 28, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 110; "Germanische Ansiedlung 'Friedland' am Rio Pico (Chubut) (Dr. W. Vallentin)."

[1865] Wilhelm Vallentin, *Chubut: Im Sattel durch Kordillere und Pampa Mittel-Patagoniens, Argentinien* (Berlin: Hermann Paetel, 1906); Vallentin, *Argentinien und seine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung für Deutschland: Vortrag gehalten am 23. Jan. 1907 im Deutsch-Brasilischen Verein zu Berlin*.

[1866] "Deutsche Kolonisation in Chubut," *Südamerikanische Rundschau*, October 1, 1907, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 34.

[1867] J. Wolff, "J. Wolff to Michael Lux, Monteur [Abraten von Auswanderung nach Patagonien, statt dessen Verweis auf Namibia (DSWA)]," January 17, 1907, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 45-51.

[1868] Pfannenschmidt, *Landwirtschaft und Kolonisation in Patagonien*, 53.

[1869] Ernesto Maggiori, *Colonias Alemanas en Patagonia Argentina: una descripción de sus comienzos y fracasos*, Ediciones Patagónicas; 10 (Comodoro Rivadavia: Vela al Viento, 2009).

8.2.3 Otjimbingwe – A Missionary Colony in Namibia

Otjimbingwe started out as a Rhenish missionary station in 1843. The Augustineum, a school for missionary assistants, was first founded in Okahandja in 1845 before it later moved to Otjimbingwe.[1870] Charles John Andersson lived in Otjimbingwe for some years after his travels with Francis Galton and practiced trade with the indigenous population.[1871] When he moved to Walvis Bay, Carl Hugo Hahn bought his property and buildings: a large home, a blacksmith's shop, a wainwright (*Wagenmacher*), a warehouse, a butchershop, and several small houses.[1872]

As part of Hahn's plan to set up a missionary colony, several colonists from Germany arrived in Namibia in the 1860s and 1870s.[1873] Eduard Hälbich joined Carl Hugo Hahn in Otjimbingwe in 1864.[1874] He built a blacksmith's shop from wood and stone, but was involved in ongoing conflicts with the Afrikaners who had attacked Andersson's cattle and Rehoboth. He had a "Damra" boy help him, since the boy offered to work for him, and he married after his arrival in Namibia on 1 March 1864. His wife, Amalie, helped Emma Hahn, Carl Hugo's wife, with household work. Hälbich's job was making rifles – he made fourty guns in three months. He also employed another blacksmith and a wainwright (*Wagenmacher*). They also made gardens and "wheatlands" (*Kornländer*) with a harvest of 54 Berlin Scheffels (= 3000 liter), and they harvested *kampunen (??)*, watermelons, *menlis (??)*, tobacco, and straw to cover the houses. They used donkeys to transport stones for house construction. In five months, Hälbich earned 250 gr. Thaler, 27 cattle, 144 sheep, and goats; he repaired over 100 guns/rifles. He had locals in training to become blacksmiths as well. He asked Inspektor Fabri for another wainwright or blacksmith to be sent from Germany. He had daily contact with locals; they paid for rifle parts with sheep. He learned quite a bit of Dutch, but only some "Damra" and English. He signed his letter with "Colonist Eduard Hälbich." Colonial frontier life was one of agriculure and of violence, both of which were attempts to tame the land.

[1870] *Augustineum in Otjimbingue und Okahandja: Gehilfenseminar, 1845-1931 (Band 1)*, 1931 1845, RMG 2.648, Bl.

[1871] Vedder, *Das alte Südwestafrika*, 333ff.

[1872] Ibid., 493–94.

[1873] *Kolonisten (Briefe und Berichte), 1864-1885*, 1885, RMG 2.573, Bl. 2-101.

[1874] Eduard Hälbich, "[Colonist Letter 2] Eduard Hälbich to Inspektor Friedrich Fabri," November 27, 1864, RMG 2.573, Bl. 5-10.

Over the years, Rhenish missionaries continued to hold missionary conferences in Otjimbingwe, as for example in August 1882.[1875] Rudolf Ludloff described the German colony Otjimbingwe in his travel account from 1891.[1876] So did Rhenish missionar inspector A. Schreiber in his 1894 publication; he described Otjimbingwe as the oldest missionary station in Namibia with numerous houses from Europeans as well as buildings owned by the Rhenish mission.[1877] At the time of his visit, missionary colonists Hälbich and Redecker were still living there.

In 1896, Franz Joseph von Bülow published his travel writing from a trip to German South-West Africa begun in 1891. He described how in 1893, white and indigenous inhabitants planted wheat and small gardens with corn, pumpkin and sweet potatoes in the riverbed by Otjimbingwe.[1878] He had special praise for the Hälbich family, their kind hearts and great hospitality, as well as their "German spirit," cleanliness, order, and coziness, which he attributed to the "German housewife."[1879] By 1899, other settlers were announcing their weddings in the newspaper *Windhoeker Anzeiger*.[1880] In 1989, Gunter von Schumann published a book about the main settlement locations in Namibia, including Otjimbingwe.[1881]

8.2.4 Klein-Windhoek – Colonization or Gardening?

During the time of the German protectorate, Windhoek replaced Otjimbingwe as administrative capital and became the main settlement for German-speakers.[1882] Today, Klein-Windhoek is a part of Windhoek. The travel descriptions of Germans discuss whether German settlers practiced colonization or whether their activities should rather be called

[1875] Brinker, "Conferenz gehalten in Otjimbingue, 13.-20.08.1882," n.d., RMG 2.612, Bl.
[1876] Ludloff, *Nach Deutsch-Namaland*, 54.
[1877] Schreiber, *Fünf Monate in Südafrika*, 102.
[1878] Bülow, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, 102.
[1879] Ibid., 104ff.
[1880] "Maria Hoffmann, Gustav Rösemann. Verlobte. Otjimbingue," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, January 5, 1899, NAN; "Wilhelmine Litfinski, Albert Steinhauer. Verlobte, Otjimbingue," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, March 30, 1899, NAN.
[1881] Gunter von Schumann, "Hauptorte in Südwestafrika in ihrer historisch-geographischen Entwicklung - Otjimbingue - Omaruru - Windhoek," *Frankfurter Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographische Schriften* 53 (1989): 141–80.
[1882] Ibid.

gardening in reference to the scale (many of these settlers in Klein-Windhoek planted a variety of vegetables for mostly personal consumption). In the sources, German-speakers did not always distinguish between Windhoek, Gross-Windhoek and Klein-Windhoek. It was in Klein-Windhoek that the Rhenish Missionary Society had set up a missionary station under C.H. Hahn and Kleinschmidt in the 1840s, which they abandoned after a conflict with the Wesleyan Missionary Society.[1883] The Settlement Society for German South-West Africa was active in the settlement of Klein-Windhoek in 1892.[1884] Homestead land in Klein-Windhoek was announced in 1892.[1885] As mentioned previously, in 1894 August Schreiber wrote in his travel memoirs that the former Rhenish missionary station had been in Klein-Windhoek, and that now numerous German settlers were living there. They had built a number of nice gardens.[1886] In 1896, Franz Joseph von Bülow described Windhoek as a place with ten houses.[1887] In 1898, government workers and private people planted a lot of fruit trees in both Gross- and Klein-Windhoek: 50 apple, 50 pear, 36 apricot, 15 quince, 60 plum, 30 cherry, 42 peach, 23 almong, 20 orange, 12 lemon and various other trees.[1888] In particular in Klein-Windhoek, people planted vineyards.[1889] According to Guenter K. Anton, the actual colonization of the German protectorate South-West Africa started in August 1892 with the settlement of migrants in Klein-Windhoek.[1890]

8.3 Agricultural Produce

In this section, we will have a look at the agricultural goods German-speakers produced in the South Atlantic. They cultivated plants and animals, which many of them they brought with them from Central Europe. While the early settlers, including missionaries, in Namibia experimented with gardens and small-scale agriculture, projects for large-scale farming only

1883 Moritz and Bistri, "Kleinschmidts Aufzeichnungen über Kl. Windhuk und die Damaras. 1843."
1884 "Südwestafrikanische Siedelung."
1885 "[Heimstättenland] [Klein-Windhoek]," 1892, BArch R 1001/1685, pag. 93.
1886 Schreiber, *Fünf Monate in Südafrika*, 88 f.
1887 Bülow, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, 129.
1888 "In diesem Jahr ist eine erhebliche Menge von Bäumen, namentlich Obstbäumen in Gross- und Klein-Windhoek und in benachbarten Farmen eingepflanzt worden."
1889 "In Klein-Windhoek wird die Bestellung der Gärten eifrig betrieben," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, October 12, 1898, sec. Local-Nachrichten, NAN.
1890 Anton, *Die Siedelungsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, 3.

became relevant later on. Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn and his wife Emma Hone were critical of the Herero-speakers' eating habits: they were eating too much meat for the couple's taste. On 6 November 1849, Carl Hugo Hahn noted the first wheat harvest of 54 litres in his diary,[1891] and on 1 August 1850, he proudly reported on his beautiful garden growing several types of cabbage, beets, carrots, and onions.[1892] In 1891, Ludloff wrote that there was no real *Ackerbau* (farming), but rather *Gartenbau* (gardening): the missionaries had introduced wheat cultivation in the dry riverbed near Otjimbingwe and in 1890, Germans had harvested about 150 Zentner of wheat.[1893] In 1898, D. Seidel described garden plants that grow in Namibia.[1894] German-speakers in the German protectorate South-West Africa started to moniter crop and animal farming with regards to competition on the world market. In 1899, farmer Carl Schlettwein reported on potential competition with Argentina in wheat production.[1895] Across the Atlantic, the companies run by Bunge and other German-speakers had contributed to turn Argentina into an important wheat producer and exporter.[1896] In 1907, the chronicle of the North-German Lloyd shipping company also included a description of the soil in Argentina as well as a brief history of German colonization including wheat production in Argentina.[1897] With regards to animal cultivation, German-speakers were particularly involved in breeding cattle, horses, and sheep.

8.4 Conclusion

The mere fact that German-speakers were practicing colonization in the South stands in stark contrast to what most historians studying German colonialism have written: they

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[1891] Carl Hugo Hahn, *Carl Hugo Hahn Tagebücher 1837-1860 Diaries: A Missionary in Nama- and Damaraland. Part II: 1846-1851*, ed. Brigitte Lau, vol. 2 (Windhoek, Namibia: Archives Services Division, Department of National Education, 1984), 436.

[1892] Ibid., 2:464.

[1893] Ludloff, *Nach Deutsch-Namaland*, 58.

[1894] D. Seidel, *Deutschlands erste Kolonie: Gesammelte Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse während eines Aufenthaltes von neun Jahren in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Hamburg: O. W. C. Busch, 1898), 22.

[1895] Carl Schlettwein, "Zur Landwirthschaft," *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, November 9, 1899, NAN.

[1896] Jeremy Adelman, "Labour on the Pampas," in *Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1994), 104–46; Julio Djenderedjian, Sílcora Bearzotti, and Juan Luis Martirén, *Expansión agrícola y colonización en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Historia del capitalismo agrario pampeano 6 (Buenos Aires: Teseo; Editorial Universidad de Belgrano, 2010).

[1897] Norddeutscher Lloyd, *70 años LLoyd Norte Alemán Bremen: 1857 - 1927* (Berlin: Atlantic-Verlag, 1927), 181.

continue to claim that German colonialism remained a vision, a dream, a theoretical project. Focusing on colonization and specifically agriculture has allowed me to show a different series of events and developments.

However, South Atlantic German-speakers actually practiced productive soil extraction by raising different plants and animals. Some projects were succesful over the long-term, others only lasted a short while. The succes of individual examples does not prove the feasibility of the entire project nor does it question the intentions of German-speakers in practicing agricultural colonization in the South Atlantic. Plant cultivation was considered as more sophisticated and more evolved than animal raising. The increasing evolution of tools used for agriculture and the industrialization of agriculture enabled German-speakers to contribute to the process called agribusiness. Today, the Bunge Company is still actively involved in agribusiness.[1898] While they started out as a family business with wheat cultivation and processing, they are currently involved in soy production and they have extended their reach to become a global player. Colonization did not only turn into agriculture; one could also argue that colonization turned into (economic) globalization.

Chapter 9. Agricultural Colonization as Field of Increasing State Regulation

With the growing influence and importance of nation-states after the French Revolution, contemporaries discussed the role the state should take up in colonization. As we saw in Chapter 7, German-speakers in Central Europe as well as in the South Atlantic were active participants in this ongoing discussion. In this chapter, we will have a closer look at the actual development of increasing state influence on German-speaking colonization in the South Atlantic, as well as in the Euro-German states.

In Argentina, early German-speaking settlers in the interior settled in the northern regions, which were part of the frontier and contested areas in the border regions with Brazil. German-speakers in the 1850s were allowed to settle in “closed groups” with a large

[1898] “Our History,” *Bunge*, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.bunge.com/who-we-are/our-history.

percentage of Swiss-Germans. Gradually, the Argentine state, with the growing nation state, took more formal control of agricultural projects.

In Namibia, German Imperial authorities and later Colonial authorities attempted to stay out of colonization matters as much for as long as possible. They provided information about migration conditions to interested people through the information bureau, but they also informed them that they were on their own in organizing the moval and their new life in the protectorate. Only with colonial secretary Bernhard Dernburg after 1905 did German imperial authorities get more involved in organizing and regulating life in the protectorate. However, by this time, settlers in the protectorate had already started to develop their own identity and worked towards increasing self-government.

9.1 Namibia

Namibia was a German protectorate, or in other words a formal colony, between 1884 and 1915. German protectorates were in a complicated situation: they were neither completely domestic nor completely foreign territory, but rather, depending on the time as well as the specific area, their status differed and was also subject to change. Historian Helmut Bley distinguished between pre- and post-1904 periods, based on the decisive influence of the Namibian War.[1899] Concerning German state involvement, however, I would say that the activities of German Colonial Office State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg (*1865 Darmstadt – 1937 Berlin) were more decisive.[1900] Dernburg travelled in British South Africa in 1908, where he also visited German-speakers, but it was in particular his perception of British attitudes towards colonization that played an important role in his subsequent plans for the German case.[1901]

[1899] Bley, *South-West Africa under German Rule*.

[1900] Bernhard Dernburg, *Koloniale Erziehung: Vortrag* (München: Knorr & Hirth, 1907); Bernhard Dernburg, *Koloniale Finanzprobleme: Vortrag* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1907); Bernhard Dernburg, *Koloniale Lehrjahre: Vortrag gehalten in Stuttgart am 23. Januar 1907* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1907); Dernburg, *Zielpunkte des deutschen Kolonialwesens*; Werner Schiefel, *Bernhard Dernburg, 1865-1937: Kolonialpolitiker und Bankier im wilhelminischen Deutschland*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte 11 (Zürich; Freiburg im Breisgau: Atlantis Verlag, 1974); Hartmut Bartmuß, *Bernhard Dernburg Kolonialpolitiker der Kaiserzeit*, Jüdische Miniaturen 148 (Berlin: Hentrich, 2014).

[1901] Bernhard Dernburg, *Südwestafrikanische Eindrücke. Industrielle Fortschritte in den Kolonien. Zwei Vorträge* (Berlin: Mittler, 1909); Bongard, *Staatssekretär Dernburg*, 23.

9.1.1 Legal and Political Position of Namibia with Regards to Statehood

Was Namibia thus considered part of the German Empire between 1884 and 1915? The British had incorporated Walvis Bay into the Cape Colony in 1878, and between 1884 and 1907, German-speakers gradually consolidated their control over the territory that is today Namibia.[1902] Historian and cartographer Imre Demhardt has portrayed the gradual development of the borders of the German protectorate South-West Africa.[1903] Among contemporaries, it were Heinrich Bülow and Hermann Hesse who wrote about the territorial claims in South-West Africa, which turned into the German protectorate that corresponds to current Namibia.[1904] What started out with the small land acquisition of Lüderitz, put under protection from the German Empire in 1884, gradually increased in size. Borders in the south and east were fixed with the British and those in the north with the Portuguese.

A questionnaire from the German Colonial Office from 1905 was supposed to find out about the conditions for settlers in the German protectorate.[1905] In the subsection "colonization" it included many questions on "state or crown land," colonial societies, and so forth. Many of the colonization companies active in the protectorate were private. The German colonial government did take an active role in administering the legislation of the soil.[1906] The colony's first newspaper, the *Windhoeker Anzeiger*, operated as a mouthpiece for the colonial administration. Some of the explorers and scientist researching in the protectorate did so on behalf of the colonial government. In 1913, Joachim Heinrich Lücke discussed the residence law (*Aufenthaltsrecht*) in the German protectorates in Africa and the South Seas: the laws valid in Germany were only gradually also applied to the overseas territories.[1907]

Even in the decades after the German imperial government had granted protection over territory in today's Namibia, it still tried to keep state involvement and responsibility at

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[1902] Sippel, "Fremde oder Heimat? - Zur Funktion der kolonialen Rechtsordnung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika."

[1903] Demhardt, "Von der Schutzgewalt zur Kolonialgewalt: Die Schutzverträge und die rechtliche Entstehung des kolonialen Staatsraums"; Demhardt, *Deutsche Kolonialgrenzen in Afrika*.

[1904] Heinrich August Ernst Bülow, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika seit der Besitzergreifung, die Züge und Kriege gegen die Eingeborenen* (Berlin: Süsserott, 1904); Hermann Hesse, "Die Schutzverträge in Südwestafrika," ed. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6 (1904): 899-; Hesse, *Die Landfrage und die Frage der Rechtsgültigkeit der Konzessionen in Südwestafrika*.

[1905] "[Fragebogen] VIII. Kolonisation."

[1906] Jahnel, *Das Bodenrecht in "Neudeutschland über See."*

[1907] Lücke, *Bevölkerung und Aufenthaltsrecht in den Deutschen Schutzgebieten Afrikas*.

a bare minimum. Only after 1907, with Bernhard Dernburg, did German state involvement in the protectorate South-West Africa increase. Simultaneously though, German-speakers settled in the protectorate worked towards its increasing emancipation.

9.1.2 Gradual Emancipation of Namibia

After the turn of the twentieth century, there was a move towards colonial self-government for the German protectorate. On 28 January 1909, the German chancellor issued a decree that radically reorganized the participation of the local population in the administration of the protectorate: local self-administration (*Gemeindeselbstverwaltung*) had been linked to the specific local conditions.[1908] In his 1911 travel account from Namibia, Rudolf Wagner testified that the German protectorate was on the way to more autonomy and self-reliance.[1909] There was no legal distinction between urban and rural in Namibia under self-rule, as characteristics of both of these categories according to German law were present in the protectorate.[1910] A way of governing the land distinct from Central European German lands was thus further developped in Namibia.

In 1915 then, during WWI, Great Britain took over control and administration of the then former German protectorate South-West Africa and put a temporary end to Namibian emancipation process.[1911] Namibia only became an independent country in 1990.[1912]

9.2 Argentina

Beginning in the 1880s, with the "*generación del 80*" (generation of the 1880s), the Argentinean Republic became a stronger nation-state. General Julio Argentino Roca, then

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[1908] Otto Rheinen, *Die Selbstverwaltung der Gemeinden in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Buchdr. Gutenberg, 1913), 11.

[1909] Wagner, *Eine Reise durch die deutschen Kolonien: Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*.

[1910] Hansjörg Michael Huber, *Koloniale Selbstverwaltung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Entstehung, Kodifizierung und Umsetzung*, Rechtshistorische Reihe 213 (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 2000).

[1911] Hans Siebold, *In Südwest unter englischer Herrschaft* (Potsdam: Stiftungsverlag, 1916); I. Goldblatt, *History of South-West Africa, from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (Cape Town: Juta, 1971); Patricia Hayes and Jeremy Silvester, eds., *Namibia Under South African Rule: Mobility & Containment, 1915-46* (Oxford [Eng.]; Athens, Ohio: James Currey; Ohio University Press, 1998).

[1912] Wallace and Kinahan, *A History of Namibia*.

War Minister, led the *campaña del desierto* ("desert campaign") against the indigenous population.[1913] German-speakers also called it the conquest of Patagonia.[1914] The 1876 law on migration and colonization heightened the process of federal government involvement in agricultural colonization in Argentina.[1915] First President Rivadavia, followed by President Sarmiento and then President Roca, strongly encouraged migration and colonization by Europeans, and in particular Northern Europeans. Through the development of the wheat industry, where German-speakers, such as the Bunge family, played an important part, Argentina became a serious competitor to the European nations on the world market.

The Argentinean government was involved in colonization in various ways. The law of 19 August 1822 regulated the founding of settlements (*Siedlungen* and *Städte* in the German translation and *pueblos* and *ciudades* in the Spanish original) and the recruitment of migrants from Europe, which was implemented between 1824 and 1930.[1916] While colonization was de facto practiced, the terminology used only later changed to explicit expressions reflecting this fact. In his 1912 publication, Georg Hiller mentioned "*gobernar es poblar*" (to govern is to populate) in the context of Argentine President Rivadavia, but he mentioned that the term might have come from Argentine political theorist Juan Bautista Alberdi.[1917] In 1825, Karl Heine de Maguncia concluded a contract to bring one thousand workers and artisans to Argentina, which became the colony Chacarita de los Colegias.[1918] No migration policy was issued during General Rosa's dictatorship between 1829 and 1852.[1919] Hiller claimed that Rosas was not against incoming migrants; he just did nothing to promote migration. In 1852, then, Aaron Castellanos founded the agricultural colony

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[1913] *Informe oficial de la Comision Científica agragada al Estado Mayor General de la Expedicion al Rio Negro (Patagonia) Realizada en los meses de Abril, Mayo y Junio de 1879, bajo las órdenes del General D. Julio A. Roca / Entrega I. Zoología* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Ostwald y Martinez, 1881); *Informe oficial de la Comision Científica agragada al Estado Mayor General de la Expedicion al Rio Negro (Patagonia) Realizada en los meses de Abril, Mayo y Junio de 1879, bajo las órdenes del General D. Julio A. Roca / III. Geología* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta "Ostwald," 1882); Manuel Prado, *La ocupación del Rio Negro: Expedicion realizada por el ministro de la Guerra General Julio A. Roca, 25 de Mayo de 1879* (Buenos Aires: Establecimiento Tipográfico - Esmeralda 370, 1900).

[1914] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 255.

[1915] *Ley de inmigración y colonización de la República Argentina*.

[1916] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 17–23; see Registro oficial, Vol.2, p.20 No. 1620, Art. III, 2.

[1917] Ibid., 23; This is now consensus, see Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, 49.

[1918] Wilhelm Schulz, *Die erste deutsche Siedlung in Argentinien: die deutsche Kolonie auf dem Gelände des heutigen Chacarita-Friedhofes* ([Buenos Aires]: [Der Weg], 1950); Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 84.

[1919] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 24.

Esperanza mainly with Germans and Swiss-Germans.[1920] The Argentinean Constitution of 1 May 1853 included the phrase "the federal government must increase European immigration." [1921] In 1854, the Province of Buenos Aires founded the *Comisión de Inmigración* (Immigration Commission) with fifteen honorary (*ehrenamtlich*) members of different nationalities, with German-speakers among its members. [1922] In 1857, the *Asociación Filantrópica de Inmigración, auxiliada y bajo la protección del Superior Gobierno del Estado de Buenos Aires* was created as a private institution with the authorization of government, and included a number of important German members.[1923] In their 1955 publication, Lütge et al. claimed that the German participation in settling Argentina and making it an (im)migration country was very important. According to them, the *Asociación Filantrópica de Inmigración* (Philanthropic immigration Association) founded in 1857, had a number of important German members: Eduardo Freyer, Enrique Lorenz, Germán Burmeister, Germán Roosen, E. Schröder, R. Katzenstein and others.[1924] Sarmiento then replaced this private society in 1869 with the state-run Central Immigration Commission, followed by president Nicolás Avellaneda issuing the migration and colonization law of 19 October 1876.[1925]

According to the law of 11 October 1862, every immigrant family with the intention of practicing agriculture would receive free 25 cuadras (42,185 hectare) of land from the Argentinean government. [1926] In 1862, W. Werner & Co. concluded a contract for colonization with the Santa Fe government. The company represented the Sociedad Protectora de los Inmigrantes de Frankfurt am Main to bring ten thousand farmers in ten years. [1927] On 10 August 1869, President Sarmiento created a *Comisión Central de Inmigración* with former member of the Filantrópica from 1857 and employed agents in Europe and the Swiss-German Carlos Beck Bernard was responsible for Germany and Switzerland. [1928] After the issuance of the 1876 migration and colonization law, the

[1920] Ibid., 36; Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 86.
[1921] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 33.
[1922] See Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*.
[1923] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 38.
[1924] Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 223–24.
[1925] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 48ff.
[1926] Ibid., 42.
[1927] Flachs, *Emigraciones transoceánicas*, 87.
[1928] Hiller, *Einwanderung und Kolonisation in Argentinien*, 43; 45.

Departamento General de Inmigración started working in 1877 and the *Oficina Central de Tierras y Colonias* was part of it until becoming independent in November 1880.[1929]

A "law to foster immigration and colonization" (*ley para el fomento de la inmigración y colonización*) was introduced in 1876,[1930] and the "Central Office of Soils and Colonies" (*Oficina Central de Tierras y Colonias*) was created that same year.[1931] On March 21, 1892, the Argentine President, Carlos Pellegrini, mandated the creation of the "Department of Soils, Immigration and Agriculture" (*Dirección General de Tierras, Inmigración y Agricultura*).[1932] The state paid for settlers' accommodation upon arrival in Buenos Aires and transportation to the interior. The aim was to create ever more "agricultural colonies" in the interior in order to cultivate the land and increase Argentina's economic productivity. In 1894, "Tierras y Colonias" was a subpart of the *Ministerio de Justicia, Culto é Instruccion Pública*. On May 2, 1894, the Argentine President of the time, Luis Saenz-Peña, declared that until further notice, this ministry would be in charge of putting into practice the law from 6 October 1876 concerning colonization and the management of land.[1933]

9.2.1 State Colonies

What I call "state colonies" here, contemporary government officials in Argentina called "national colonies." Both of these terms refer to agricultural settlements that were administered and organized by the Argentine government, either at the provincial or the federal level.

In 1899, the Argentine government turned existing (private) colonies into "national colonies" (*colonial nacional*), as for example the colonies "El Dorado" [1934] and "Santa Maria" [1935] in the province of Córdoba. In 1900, the Argentine government had land inspected with regards to use for agricultural colonization; in the territory Santa Cruz, land

[1929] Ibid., 72.

[1930] Fuente, *Tierras, colonias y agricultura*, 46.

[1931] Ibid., 52.

[1932] Ibid., 324.

[1933] [Luis] Saenz-Peña, "Ministerio de Justicia, Culto é Instruccion Pública de la Nacion Argentina [Decreto del 2 mayo 1894]" (Buenos Aires, May 2, 1894), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 696 D del año 1897].

[1934] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "[República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura] [Decreto de [?] 1899]" 1899, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1365 del año 1899].

[1935] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "[República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura] [Decreto de [?] 1899]" 1899, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1366 del año 1899].

was identified as suitable for such.[1936] "National colonies" were also mentioned in 1902,[1937] and the Argentine Department of Agriculture specifically issued a decree to further immigration for settling the Argentine countryside and to explore areas suitable for agricultural colonization.[1938]

Wenceslao Escalante was minister of agriculture between 1901 and 1904 under Roca, and German-speaking media closely followed his actions. In 1902, the Colonial Newspaper (*Koloniale Zeitschrift*) wrote about "senseless projects in Argentina.[1939] In August 1903, the German journal *Südamerikanische Rundschau* wrote about Escalante's project to settle Belgian people in Argentina.[1940] And the German newpaper *Nationalzeitung* wrote in September 1903 about a colonization project that W. Escalante presented to the Argentine congress with President Roca's approval.[1941] The article was very critical and questioned the feasibility of his plan.

In 1904, the creation of an agrarian-pastoral colony by the Rio Pico was declared by decree.[1942] Escalante wrote in another 1904 decree that it was the government's duty to form a center of selected colonists to attract further migration to Argentina.[1943] In 1914, Walter von Hauff argued that German agricultural colonies should be put in place in Argentina with the support of both the Argentinean and the German governments.[1944]

[1936] [Julio Argentino] Roca and M[artin] García Mérou, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 18 julio 1900]" July 18, 1900, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2005 D del año 1900].

[1937] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 21 julio 1902 (1)]," July 21, 1902, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2035 D del año 1902].

[1938] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 21 julio 1902 (2)]," July 21, 1902, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2047 D del año 1902].

[1939] "Unsinnige Projekte in Argentinien," *Koloniale Zeitschrift: Zeitschrift des Deutsch-Nationalen Kolonialvereins*, 1902, 361.

[1940] "Vor einiger Zeit konferierte der belgische Gesandte mit dem Landwirtschaftsminister Argentiniens wegen der Kolonisierung einer größeren Landstrecke mit belgischen Einwanderern...," *Südamerikanische Rundschau*, August 1, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 9.

[1941] "Ein Kolonisationsprojekt der argentinischen Regierung," *Nationalzeitung*, September 26, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 16.

[1942] Roca and Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 octubre 1904]."

[1943] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 18 agosto 1904]," August 18, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2766 D del año 1904]; "Considerando que el deber del Gobierno en lo que se refiere al fomento de la inmigración consiste muy especialmente en la formación de núcleos de colonos seleccionados que sirvan de centro de atracción para establecer una corriente inmigratoria considerable ..."

[1944] Walter von Hauff, "Der Wert deutscher Ackerbaukolonien in Argentinien für Deutschland und Argentinien," in *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts*, ed. Paul Gast, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 145.

9.2.2 German-speakers Working for the Argentinean Government

Numerous German-speakers in Argentina worked towards strengthening agricultural colonization in general, and German colonization in particular, in Argentina by being involved in the Argentinian government or closely cooperating with it. Among the individuals involved with the German community who worked for the Argentine government or other Argentine institutions were Johann Eduard Wappäus, Carlos Beck Bernard, Ernst Bachmann, Francisco Seeber, Emilio Frers, José Greger, and Gustavo Niederlein.

In June 1893, Emilio Frers, a second generation German-Argentinean, became the director of the Department of Land, Colonies and Agriculture (*Departamento de tierras, colonias y agricultura*)[1945] under President Luis Saenz-Peña. According to the journal *Agricultura*, he only stayed in office for about a month.[1946] Then, in October 1898, under President Julio Argentino Roca, Frers became minister of agriculture.[1947] In 1903, Frers renounced his membership in the committee preparing Argentine participation in the 1904 St. Luis Exhibition.[1948] He later proposed the creation of a German-Argentine Settlement Bank (*Siedelungsbank*) to the Argentine Parliament in 1913.[1949] Gustavo Niederlein, who served as Argentinean consul in Europe, was also heavily involved in the German-Argentine Settlement Bank project.[1950]

In May 1899, Jorge Born was named as one of three members of the Examining Commission (*Comisión Examinadora*) for export wheat and corn, along with Faustino Alsina and José Etcheverry.[1951] Born was co-founder of the company Bunge & Born, together with

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[1945] "Doctor Emilio Frers," *La Agricultura: Organo de los intereses rurales é industriales* 1, no. 23 (June 8, 1893): 276.

[1946] "Doctor Emilio Frers," *La Agricultura: Organo de los intereses rurales é industriales* 1, no. 27 (July 6, 1893): 332.

[1947] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura" (Buenos Aires, October 26, 1898), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1617 del año 1898].

[1948] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 noviembre 1903]," November 27, 1903, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 3869 F del año 1903].

[1949] Frers, *El banco agricola. Proyecto de ley presentado á la Camara de disputados de la nación en la sesion de agosto 8 de 1913*.

[1950] Niederlein, *Eine Deutsch-Argentinische Siedelungsbank als Gegengewicht zur wirtschaftlichen Invasion der Yankees in Südamerika*.

[1951] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 17 mayo 1899]" (Buenos Aires, May 17, 1899), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1583 D del año 1899].

his brother-in-law.[1952] In January 1904, Cárlos Altgelt[1953] and Hermann Bottrich[1954] were named judges for a fruit exhibition. Cárlos Altgelt again in April 1904.[1955] Otto Asp was a chemist who worked for the Argentinean government in the department of agriculture. In 1905, he published a report on an expedition to Pilcomayo.[1956] In February 1906, Julio Krausse was named head of hydrology of the Division of Mines, Geology, and Hydrology of the Department of Agriculture.[1957] In February 1906, Cárlos Herschel was employed in the Chemistry Laboratory oft he Division of Agriculture.[1958]

In May 1899, Argentinean President Roca declared Eduardo A. Holmberg "*naturalista viajero en la 3a Division*."[1959] In January 1900, Holmberg was sent to the territory of Los Andes.[1960] In December 1900, the Roca declared Holmberg "*Naturalista viajero de la division de agronomía"*.[1961] In January 1902, President Roca, with W. Escalante as minister of agriculture, declared that Holmberg, then "*Naturalista viajero de la Dirección de Agricultura*," be sent and paid by the ministry of agriculture to explore Tierra del Fuego.[1962] In August 1901, the "*Naturalista viajero"* Carlos Burmeister worked for the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture, [1963] and in January 1902, Eduardo A. Holmberg (the son) and Carlos

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[1952] Ceva, "De la exportacion cerealera a la diversificacion industrial. Las empresas Bunge y Born en Argentina (1884-1940)."

[1953] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 9 enero 1904]," January 9, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 33 A del año 1904].

[1954] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 28 enero 1904]," January 28, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 81 A del año 1904].

[1955] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 19 abril 1904]," April 20, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 886 A del año 1904].

[1956] Otto Asp, *Expedición al Pilcomayo 27 de marzo-6 de octubre de 1903* (Buenos Aires: Tall. Publicaciones de la Oficina Meteorológica Argentina, 1905).

[1957] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 15 febrero 1906]," February 15, 1906, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 174 M del año 1906].

[1958] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 15 febrero 1906]," February 15, 1906, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 601 R del año 1906].

[1959] [Julio Argentino] Roca and Emilio Frers, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 mayo 1899]" (Buenos Aires, May 8, 1899), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 677 D del año 1899].

[1960] M[artin] García Mérou, "República Argentina, Ministero de Agricultura" (Buenos Aires, January 30, 1900), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 202 del año 1900].

[1961] [Julio Argentino] Roca, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 29 diciembre 1900]" December 29, 1900, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 30 D del año 1901].

[1962] [Julio Argentino] Roca and [Wenceslao] Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 2 enero 1902]" (Buenos Aires, January 2, 1902), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 7 D del año 1902]; [Julio Argentino] Roca and [Wenceslao] Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 20 enero 1902]" (Buenos Aires, January 20, 1902), AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 167 D del año 1902].

[1963] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 25 agosto 1901]," August 25, 1901, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2405 A del año 1901].

Burmeister, as well as Federico Burmeister.[1964] Carlos Burmeister[1965] was a son of Hermann Burmeister.[1966] Hermann Burmeister had moved to Buenos Aires in 1861.[1967] He was responsible for bringing a number of other German intellectuals to Cordoba, Argentina in the 1870s.[1968] Eduardo A. Holmberg was the son of Eduardo L. Holmberg, an Argentina-born natural historian, son of the Austrian aristocrat Eduard Lailitz Freiherr von Holmberg.[1969] Eduardo A. Holmberg participated in the military operations to obtain the Pampa, Patagonia, and Chaco territories between 1879 and 1884.[1970] In April 1904, Cárlos Burmeister was named (*Redactor de informes sobre tierra pública*).[1971] In January 1906, Cárlos Burmeister was editor of publications from the Section Land and Colonies (*Redactor de Informes de la Direccion de Tierras y Colonias*) for the Ministry of Agriculture.[1972] By March 1909, Cárlos Burmeister was Head Editor of Publications on Public Land from the Ministry of Agriculture.[1973]

In January 1906, Victor Martin de Moussy served as assistant of import and export livestock inspection (*auxiliar de la inspeccion de importacion y exporation de ganado*).[1974] He was Alsatian and member of the Geographic Society of Paris and Berlin.[1975] In November 1907, the German economist and student of professor Wilhelm Roscher, Roberto Jannasch, offered to work for the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture and to study agricultural econonmy (*economía agrícola*) with the aim to write a book that would promote German immigration

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1964 [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 31 enero 1902]," January 31, 1902, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 404 D del año 1902].

1965 Novoa and Levine, *From Man to Ape*, 99.

1966 On Hermann Burmeister, see Chapter 2 of Novoa and Levine, *From Man to Ape*.

1967 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 217; 222.

1968 Novoa and Levine, *From Man to Ape*, 70.

1969 Lütge, Hoffmann, and Körner, *Geschichte des Deutschtums in Argentinien*, 94.

1970 María Silvia Di Liscia, "Drogas y maderas para la nación argentina. Los recursos naturales en las exposiciones universales," in *Argentina en exposición: ferias y exhibiciones durante los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Andrea Lluch and María Silvia Di Liscia (Sevilla: CSIC, 2009), 123.

1971 [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 13 abril 1904]," April 13, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1246 O del año 1904].

1972 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 31 enero 1906]," January 31, 1906, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 296 I del año 1906].

1973 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 5 marzo 1909]," March 5, 1909, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1882 D del año 1909].

1974 [José] Figueroa Alcorta and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decret 31 enero 1906]," January 31, 1906, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 298 G del año 1906].

1975 Victor Martin de Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique de la confédération Argentine*, vol. 1 (Paris: Didot, 1860).

and German capital investment in Argentina.[1976] In January 1908, President Figuora Alcorta issued the decree that Gustavo Niederlein would continue the work Roberto Jannasch had started in Argentina: economic studies on the production of the different regions in Argentina.[1977] Gustav Niederlein had travelled within Argentina in the name of the Argentine government and went to Germany in October 1908 in order to publish his results in Germany as well as bring Argentine trade products to Argentine consulates in Europe.[1978] In September 1908, the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture included the German Argentine Colonization Company in its decree.[1979] The *Argentinisches Tageblatt* published a German translation of the decree.[1980] The journal *Süd-Amerika* republished the article in November 1908 in Munich.[1981] They celebrated the decree as a success and the accomplishment of the long efforts of Moritz Alemann (who died the day the decree was issued).

In October 1908, Cárlos F. Wasserfall became the assistant to the meteorological office of the Department of Agriculture.[1982] In April 1909, Anselmo Windhausen began his service as the geologist of the Division Mines, Geology, and Hydrology of the Argentinean Ministry of Agriculture.[1983] In September 1910, agronomist Silvio Spangenberg [*Argentina] became director of the school of arboriculture and horticulture in Casilda, province of Santa Fe, Argentina.[1984] In January 1911, Adolfo Flossdorf was employed as assistant geologist in the geology section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Ricardo Stappembeck as head of the

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[1976] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 noviembre 1907]."

[1977] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 enero 1908]," January 8, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 27 J del año 1908].

[1978] Waldthausen, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den La Plata Staaten to Reichskanzler von Bülow," October 5, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 35.

[1979] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "Ministerio de Agricultura: Colonias Pastoriles en Santa Cruz; ['Boletin Oficial' vom 9. September 1908]."

[1980] "Die neuen germanischen Siedelungen in Patagonien," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, September 11, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 39.

[1981] "Die neuen germanischen (deutschen) Ansiedelungen in Patagonien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, November 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 60.

[1982] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 1 octubre 1908]," October 1, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 5321 O del año 1908].

[1983] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 20 abril 1909]," April 20, 1909, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1085 M del año 1909].

[1984] [?] and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 20 septiembre 1910]," September 20, 1910, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 4531 E del año 1910].

hydrogeology section.[1985] In June 1911, Cárlos Weber worked as topographer for the Division of Mines, Geology and Hydrology and Luis Toll as cartographer.[1986]

The following individuals and projects received funding from Argentine government for German colonization: Robert Jannasch, for travel in southern Argentina in 1907[1987] and 1908;[1988] Gustavo Niederlein for travel with Jannasch in 1907[1989] and 1908;[1990] the colonization project of the German shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd received support from the Argentinean government in 1911;[1991] and José Greger's journal *Süd-Amerika* was sponsored by the Argentinean state in 1911.[1992]

9.2.3 Transfer of Knowledge by Argentinean Delegates

The Argentine government sent individuals from Argentina to Europe and paid them to report back on new economic and migration opportunities. In 1902, Enrique N. Green (the son) and Ernesto Vergara Biedma were given permission to advertise Argentinean commerce in South Africa.[1993] In January 1903, Arthur John Charles MacKenzie von Poellnitz or Arturo Poellnitz was commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture to further promote migration from Germany to Argentina.[1994] In August 1903, Juan P. Hogberg was commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture to further promote migration from Sweden and Norway to Argentina.[1995] In September 1903, the Ministry of Agriculture concurred with Hogberg's advice that territory around lake Argentino was well suited for colonization and

[1985] [Roque] Sáenz Peña and Eleodoro Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 31 enero 1911]," January 31, 1911, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 620 M del año 1911].
[1986] [Roque] Sáenz Peña and Eleodoro Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 28 julio 1911]," July 28, 1911, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 5783 M del año 1911].
[1987] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 noviembre 1907]."
[1988] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 enero 1908]."
[1989] Figueroa Alcorta and Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 3 septiembre 1907]."
[1990] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 enero 1908]."
[1991] Sáenz Peña and Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 13 octubre 1911]."
[1992] Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Resolución de 26 julio 1911]."
[1993] W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura," May 5, 1902, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1183 del año 1902].
[1994] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 1 enero 1903]," January 1, 1903, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2009 D del año 1903].
[1995] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 10 agosto 1903]," August 10, 1903, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2392 del año 1903].

settlement from migrants from Northern European countries.[1996] In May, a decree ordered the founding of an agricultural colony there with North European migrants.[1997] In December 1904, Hogberg brought a group of Finns to Argentina who intended to study the colonization conditions of the Argentinean South.[1998]

Argentina wanted to demonstrate to its own citizens and to the rest of the world that it was among the most influential and civilized countries in the world. Like other advanced countries, it attempted to improve life within its state borders even further and participated in sending delegates to other countries in order to learn and bring home the best techniques. In November 1903, Rodolfo Hauthal was confirmed as delegate of Argentine Republic to the Conference on Seismology in Strasbourg and to the Geology Congresses in Vienna and Kassel.[1999] Hauthal was a geologist and later (1912) published on mining in Argentina.[2000] In March 1904, engineer Otto Krause was named commissioner of the Argentinean Ministry of Public Education to undertake studies in Europe concerning the cultivation and manufacturing of various textile fibers in Europe.[2001] In August 1906, Professor Alfredo Voigt, (*Director del Laboratorio de Análisis y Contralor de Semillas*) of Hamburg, was named delegate ad honorem of the Argentine Republic for the International Congress in Hamburg.[2002]

In April 1907, a contract between the Argentine Minister in Germany, Dr. Don Indalecio Gomez, and the Professor von Behring was concluded with the aim to prevent bovine tuberculosis.[2003] In May 1907, Vicente T. Sousa was named ad-honorem commissioner to study the development of its milk industry in Switzerland.[2004] In July 1907,

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[1996] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 2 septiembre 1903]," September 2, 1903, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2612 D del año 1903].

[1997] Norberto Quirno Costa and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 26 mayo 1904]," May 26, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 1308 D del año 1904].

[1998] [Manuel] Quintana and D[amián] M[anue] Torino, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 7 diciembre 1904]," December 7, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 84 D del año 1904].

[1999] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto 25 noviembre 1903" November 25, 1903, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 316 H del año 1904].

[2000] Hauthal, *Das Minenwesen in Argentinien*.

[2001] [Julio Argentino] Roca and W. Escalante, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 8 marzo 1904]," March 8, 1904, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 599 K del año 1904].

[2002] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 3 agosto 1906]," August 3, 1906, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 3117 A del año 1906].

[2003] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 abril 1907]," April 27, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 57 L del año 1907].

[2004] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 20 mayo 1907]," May 16, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 2369 D del año 1907].

Aaaron Paulowsky was named honorary delegate of the Ministry of Agriculture with the mission to study topics related to the project of a Comission for the development of agricultural economy (*Comision de Fomento Economico Agricola*).[2005] In November 1907, Doctor Julio Mendez was honorary called to study agricultural education in various institutes in France and Germany.[2006] German Anschütz represented Argentina in the congress on "school hygiene" in London in 1908.[2007]

In September 1907, the Argentinean President Figueroa Alcorta named Gustavo Niederlein the person in charge of organizing further cooperation between the German Empire and Argentina in the context of the German-Argentine Center in Berlin.[2008] Niederlein's employment by the Argentine state was declared by decree and he was put under direct dependence of the Argentinean Ministry of Agriculture (*Ministerio de Agricultura*). The newspaper DLPZ reported on German-Argentine trade and the creation of the German-Argentine association in Berlin and published a list of companies involved in this cooperation project, as well as the Argentine state funding.[2009]

In July 1908, the German consul von Sanden reported to chancellor von Bülow that Carlos Burmeister had been sent to Germany by the Argentine government to attract the Poles who had lost property due to Prussian expropriation laws to Argentina.[2010] Then, A. Schmidt from the German consulate Buenos Aires corrected that assumption in a letter from August 1908: Carlos Burmeister wanted to travel to Germany to invite German nationals to Argentina.[2011] He went to the German consulate Buenos Aires before leaving for Germany by steamer. He seemed to having been sent by the Argentine agricultural ministry and to seek Germans with small capital. The consular personal told him that according to the German emigration law from 9 June 1897, he needed special permission from German

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[2005] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 11 julio 1907]," July 11, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 3394 D del año 1907].

[2006] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 30 noviembre 1907]," November 30, 1907, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 6119 D del año 1907].

[2007] "To Dr. Marco Avellaneda," January 15, 1908, AR-AGN.DAI/MI.A.EG1. [expediente 270 H del año 1908].

[2008] Figueroa Alcorta and Ramos Mexia, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 3 septiembre 1907]."

[2009] "Der deutsch-argentinische Handel ...," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, August 6, 1907, Hermeroteca, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina.

[2010] "Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Argentinien."

[2011] A. Schmidt, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler von Bülow," August 18, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 14-16.

authorities to attract German emigrants; he responded he would personally ask the German chancellor. Schmidt wrote that while the German consulate Buenos Aires was skeptical of Burmeister's plans in Germany, they did not want any inconveniences happen to him in Germany. The letter ended with the statement that they assumed that for Burmeister his trip to Germany was largely motivated by the possibility to undertake a convenient trip to Europe with his family.

In January 1909, the Argentinean Ministry of Agriculture sent Ricardo J. Huergo on a study trip to Germany to learn more about agricultural schools (*escuelas agrarias*), in particular with regards to cereals.[2012] In January 1909, Carlos Vallejo, agronomist engineer of the division of agricultural education, undertook a study trip to the U.S., in particular Utah, Texas, California, and Colorado.[2013]

In December 1909, Gustavo Niederlein, then Argentine General Commissioner for the 1910 Agricultural Exhibition in Buenos Aires, addressed Dernburg to request the German Empire's participation in the exhibition.[2014] Gustavo Niederlein also authored a publication on Argentina's development in 1910.[2015] Besides German, his text was published in Spanish and French in order to reach a maximum European audience.[2016] The German Agricultural society (*Deutsche Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft*) then sent numerous types of horses for the agricultural exhibition in Buenos Aires.[2017] Dr. Hermes was sent as their representative and undertook a longer study trip throughout Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay afterwards.[2018]

[2012] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 29 enero 1909]," January 23, 1909, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 69 H del año 1909].

[2013] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 7 enero 1909]," January 7, 1909, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 6937 V del año 1908].

[2014] "Gustav Niederlein to Excellenz Dernburg, Wirklicher Geheimer Rat, Staatssekretär des Reichs-Kolonialamts Grunewald; Internationale Ausstellung für Landwirtschaft zur ersten Jahrhundertfeier des Unabhängigkeit der Argentinischen Republik," December 7, 1909, BArch R 1001/8701, pag. 89.

[2015] Gustavo Niederlein, *Chancen und Möglichkeiten in Argentinien in Viehzucht, Ackerbau, Industrie und Handel* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1910).

[2016] Gustavo Niederlein, *Chances et possibilités de réussite dans la République Argentine, dans l'élevage, l'agriculture, l'industrie et le commerce* ([Berlin], 1910); Gustavo Niederlein, *Ventajas y posibilidades de éxito en la República Argentina en la cría de ganado, agricultura, industria y comercio* ([Berlin], 1910).

[2017] "Deutsche Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft to Reichs-Kolonialamt," January 22, 1910, BArch R 1001/8701, pag. 99.

[2018] "Deutsche Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft to Herrn Staatssekretär des Reichs-Kolonialamts," December 30, 1910, BArch R 1001/8701, pag. 148.

In January 1910, the geologist Guillermo Bodenbender was sent to Germany by the Argentinean Ministry of Agriculture to acquire material for his division.[2019] In July 1910, the following people were sent to the Second International Congress of Refrigeration (*Congreso del Frio*) in Vienna as representatives of Argentina: Dr. Emilio Frers as president and Dr. Baldomero Sommer and engineer Otto Krause as report commissioners (*vocales*).[2020] In June 1911, Isidoro G. Suarez was sent to Europe, in particular Switzerland and Austro-Hungary, to study the organization of the ministries of Agriculture and the problems relation to emigration and immigration.[2021] Overall, the emmisaries were succesful in their mission to bring home knowledge about better ways to organize everydaylife for Argentinean citizens.

9.3 German States

In recent years, the German-speaking community of Buenos Aires usually mentions the three countries and their representatives that maintain political ties: the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Austria, and the Swiss Confederation. As discussed in the first part of this dissertation, the nation-state formation of three "German states" and thus a reduction to "only three" German states was a process that took place until 1990.

As we have seen, according to contemporary German-speakers, state colonization could take different forms and did not have to take place within the confines of protectorates or official colonies. State colonization could mean to provide financial help and incentives to citizens with few means for settlement in the protectorates. But state colonization could also mean that the German Empire enter into agreements with other states, e.g. Argentina, to ensure the good treatment of German-speaking colonists in that foreign state.

In 1892, Dr. Albert Zweck claimed in an article entitled "Agricultural Colonies as the Necessity for the Economic Development of Germany" that internal colonization (in

[2019] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 27 enero 1910]," January 27, 1910, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 7333 M del año 1909].
[2020] [José] Figueroa Alcorta and Pedro Ezcurra, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Decreto de 1 julio 1910]," July 1, 1910, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 3331 del año 1910].
[2021] Eleodoro Lobos, "República Argentina, Ministerio de Agricultura [Resolución de 28 June 1911]," June 28, 1911, AR-AGN.DAI/TCI.adisp [expediente 5184 S del año 1911].

Germany) was not satisfying the needs of the (German) nation.[2022] To use my terminology and apply it to Zweck's words, he argued in favor of better controlling external colonization (in this case, Namibia was also considered to be "external" to the German Empire). In the same article, Zweck advocated for more German state colonization in Namibia. He wrote: "German South-West Africa, which had the reputation of being a barren desert upon appropriation, meanwhile has acquired a better verdict. Having proven settlement aptitude by deed has particularly carried weight. The land should develop best under state colonization: if less well off citizens with honest ambition would be provided with the opportunity to acquire their proper home, if they were ready to give up on the comfort of the homeland (*Heimat*)."[2023] Zweck claimed that state colonization was important due to the security it offered to the migrant: he could calculate the amount of time he would need until he could possess his own fortune, whereas private enterprises depended on the arbitrariness (and despotism?) of an individual or a company.[2024]

But Zweck also stipulated in 1892 that the German state should enter into agreements with South American states to guarantee migrants there the maintenance of their German-ness.[2025] There were other German-speaking authors who shared his opinion. Forty years prior, in 1852, Gottfried Wilhelm Kerst had advocated for something similar: he was convinced that only the German states (prior to the 1871 "unification" of the German Empire) could enter into agreements with the La Plata states for taking in German migrants in order to facilitate settlement.[2026] And, to pick another example, several decades after Zweck, Richard Hennig included state agreements in the section on "state reproduction" of his 1928 publication.[2027] However, it also has to be considered that the German empire only cared for its own citizens, which thus entailed the gradual increase in development of the Austrian and Swiss state representation in Argentina. This, in turn, also boosted the divergence between German-speakers siding with their respective states.

[2022] Zweck, "Ackerbaukolonien als Bedürfnis der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Deutschlands," 291: "Die innere Kolonisation kann dem Bedürfnisse der Nation nicht genügen. Wie erfreulich es ist, daß Tausende von Existenzen neu begründet werden, es wird doch nur ein kleiner Bruchteil von dem gerettet, was jährlich durch Auswanderung verlorgen geht, abgesehen davon, daß dem Thatendrang durch die innere Kolonisation nicht genügend Rechnung getragen wird."

[2023] Ibid., 292.

[2024] Ibid.

[2025] Ibid.

[2026] Kerst, *Die Länder im Stromgebiete des La Plata*, 29.

[2027] Hennig, *Geopolitik*, 215–301.

9.3.1 The German Empire Interfering in the South Atlantic

The Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) in Berlin collected various newspaper and journal articles published in German, as well as in French and British newspapers, on German colonization in Argentina. For example, in January 1884, the newspaper *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* published a definition of colonies in Argentina: "Colonies are groups of a specific number of agricultural families, mostly Europeans, who have the aim to work a specific piece of land, having acquired it through purchase or endowment. The working the land is not communal. Every family works their own land and the only bond among the families of a colony is that of neighborhood. In every colony, the local or national authorities have a representative who keeps order and listened to grievances or complaints of the settlers. The agricultural centers in the different parts of the republic are numerous."[2028]

In May 1890, the newspaper *Tägliche Rundschau* published an article on conditions in Argentina: it noticed the progress Argentina had made in recent years, in a collaborative effort between state and private initiatives.[2029] The article mentioned the free passage and accommodation in the immigrants' hotel in Buenos Aires provided to immigrants by the Argentinean state. It claimed that immigrants were the most needed good for an uncivilized country. The article also stated that a young country would not be spared from crises either, and warned of possible scams.

In May 1892, the newspaper *Kölnische Zeitung* published an article on the "Foreign Element in Buenos Aires."[2030] The author claimed that was a generational difference concerning preference for Argentina or Germany, usually alternating between them; people born in Argentina of German parents were "the better patriots." He praised how well German-Argentineans learned German in Argentina (better than their counterparts in Brazil); nonetheless, "*Deutschenkinder*" should be sent back to Germany for education. But there were also Argentineans who spoke German well because they went to the German school in Buenos Aires and he praised the Germans schools abroad (*Auslandsschulen*). The author wrote that some German-speakers had Indians as "house slaves" and that there were

[2028] "Die Colonien werden definiert wie folgt..."
[2029] "Aus Kunst, Wissenschaft und Leben," *Tägliche Rundschau*, May 11, 1890, BArch R 901/30405, pag. 175.
[2030] "Das Fremden-Element in Buenos Aires."

some slaves and Indians who spoke or understood German because they worked for German-speaking families. In May 1896, Guido Drigalsky, a journalist who had lived several years in Argentina, published the text "Land and People in Argentina" in the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*.[2031] He claimed that since German migrants had difficulties in the U.S., Argentina represented the better migration destination.

In April 1901, the newspaper *National Zeitung* published an article on German-Argentinean economic relations: the trade relations were mostly to be attributed to German-speakers having settled in Argentina.[2032] The article claimed that between 1861 an 1894, a third of immigrants were German-speakers, mostly Swiss-Germans and German-Austrians. A census of the German consulate counted 500 German companies in Buenos Aires and an additional 500 in the rest of Argentina. German-speakers owned land worth 140 million marks. The article also noted that the great majority of German-speakers had lost their German citizenship. In June 1901 already, the newspaper *Kölnische Zeitung* reported that the "Jingos" of the U.S. were warning South American states of German annexation desires, described as the "German peril."[2033]

The newspapers reported about a colonization project of the Argentine government: In April 1903, the agricultural minister Escalante with support of President Roca presented a colonization project to the Argentine congress.[2034] In March 1904, the German consult for Spain wrote to Chancellor Bülow that the Argentine government specifically wanted to promote German immigration.[2035]

In April 1903, Koser issued a warning of migration to Argentina because of the bad economic situation (*Geschäftslage*).[2036] In April 1903, rumors circulated that Volga-Germans had asked the Russian government for permission to return to Russia because of bad

[2031] Drigalsky, "Land und Leute in Argentinien."

[2032] "Deutsch-argentinische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen."

[2033] "Nochmals „die deutsche Gefahr". Argentinien. Buenos Aires, 8. Mai," *Kölnische Zeitung*, June 3, 1901, BArch R 901/30412, pag. 148.

[2034] "Ein Kolonisationsprojekt der argentinischen Regierung"; "A New Colonisation Scheme of Great Importance Has Been Drawn up by Dr. Escalante, the Argentine Minister of Agriculture...," *The Standard*, August 24, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 17.

[2035] "Kaiserlich Deutsches General-Konsulat für Spanien (Barcelona) to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," March 8, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 86.

[2036] Koser, "Argentinien. Nachtrag I. „Die Warnungen vor der Auswanderung nach Argentinien wegen der dortigen schlechten Geschäftslage halten noch an"...," April 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 14-15.

settlement conditions in Argentina.[2037] However, also in 1903, the Belgian legate in Argentina talked with Argentinean agricultural minister about settling Belgians in Argentina.[2038] In April 1904, A. Wirth criticized that the *Central-Stelle für Auswanderer* continued to warn of emigration to Argentina.[2039] He noted that this *Central-Stelle* was operated in cooperation with the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* and thusly influenced. Wirth also described the conflict that M. Alemann encountered at the German Colonial Congress in Berlin: competition with the projects of Hermann Meyer in Brazil. He stated that a critical situation in Argentina persisted until 1903, which was followed by better times and he higlighted Argentina's growth in trade, industry, and population.

In March 1908, a Hamburg newspaper published a very positive article about conditions in Argentina, based on a report from the Argentinean government.[2040] In July 1908, the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* published an article on "race" and the Argentinean government's objective to attract more German settlers based on the "improvement of Argentine society."[2041] While the author of the article criticized the use of the term "race" by the Argentine consul in Germany, J. F. Lopez – they argued that the existence of human races had not been scientifically confirmed – they did agree with the overall claim that German people had good attributes that would improve the Argentinean population.

In October 1908, the newspaper *Hamburger Nachrichten* published more positive news on the Argentinean economy, in particular with regards to agriculture and economic progress.[2042] In October 1908, the German colonization company H. Stroeder & Co. purchased agricultural land in the south of the Buenos Aires province and the territory Pampa Central.[2043] In 1908, Michael Lux requested information on settling in Argentina. J.

[2037] Wangenheim, "[Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft 06.04.1903. deutsch-russische Einwanderer] Hans von Wangenheim to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow."

[2038] "Vor einiger Zeit konferierte der belgische Gesandte mit dem Landwirtschaftsminister Argentiniens wegen der Kolonisierung einer größeren Landstrecke mit belgischen Einwanderern..."

[2039] A. Wirth, "Argentinien," *Handel und Industrie*, April 9, 1904, BArch R 901/30414, pag. 79.

[2040] "Einwanderung nach Argentinien," *Beilagen zum Hamburger [?]*, March 15, 1908, sec. Übersee, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 112.

[2041] "Konsulatsbericht aus Deutschland," *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, July 4, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 236.

[2042] "Die wirtschaftliche Lage in Argentinien. Situationsbericht für den Monat September 1908," *Hamburger Nachrichten*, October 28, 1908, BArch R 901/30424, pag. 34.

[2043] Ibid.

Wolff, on behalf of the Information Center for Emigrants of the German Colonial Office in Berlin, advised him to go to Namibia instead.[2044]

In 1910, the German Colonial Office in Berlin sponsored the publication of an *Official Guidebook for Southwest Africa* (*Amtlicher Ratgeber für Südwestafrika*) and in a letter, the secretary of the German Colonial Office specifically stated that propaganda for settlement had been avoided.[2045] In April 1914, the newspaper *Basler Nachrichten* warned German farmers of migration to Argentina.[2046] Discussion followed; a very skeptical article received two responses: one said the migration warning originated in Germany and was exaggerated, the other said the warning was rather accurate.[2047] Prof. Gast was the director of the German South American Institute (Deutsch-Südamerikanisches Institut) in Aachen in 1916.[2048] Dernburg said it was too dangerous to publish such an article in times of war.[2049]

The increasing German state influence was reflected in the fact that in 1909, Julius Friedrich advocated for colonial policy being considered a science (*Wissenschaft*), and more specifically as a new subfield of law.[2050] According to the German emigration law of 9 July 1897, it was prohibited to advertise emigration in Germany.[2051] Around 1900, Argentina had no (official) emigration agencies in Germany according to Mr. Hobrecht, consul of the Argentine Republic.[2052] Enrique Hobrecht was named Argentine consul in Frankfurt am Main in 1893.[2053] In the same year as the emigration law prohibited German emigration

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2044 Wolff, "J. Wolff to Michael Lux, Monteur [Abraten von Auswanderung nach Patagonien, statt dessen Verweis auf Namibia (DSWA)]."

2045 von Lindequist, "Der Staatssekretär des Reichs-Kolonialamts," March 26, 1910, BArch R 1001/6237, pag. 269.

2046 "Argentinien. Ein Warnruf an auswanderungslustige Landwirte II.," *Basler Nachrichten*, April 16, 1914, BArch R 901/30431, pag. 7-9.

2047 "Argentinien. Ein Warnruf an auswanderungslustige Landwirte. Auf die beiden ersten unter dieser Überschrift erschienen Artikel...," *Basler Nachrichten*, April 22, 1914, BArch R 901/30431, pag. 14-15.

2048 "Deutschland und Südamerika," *Transocean*, 1916, BArch R 901/57676, pag. 17.

2049 Bernhard Dernburg, "Dernburg to A. Schmidt," August 1, 1916, BArch R 901/57676, pag. 16.

2050 Julius Friedrich, *Kolonialpolitik als Wissenschaft: ein neues Forschungsgebiet der Rechtsphilosophie* (Berlin, Leipzig: Dr. W. Rothschild, 1909).

2051 "Instruktion an die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden zur Ausführung des Reichsgesetzes über das Auswanderungswesen vom 9.Juli 1897 (Reichsgesetzblatt S.463 ff.)," June 10, 1898, BArch R 901/30412, pag. 26-29.

2052 "[Argentinien unterhält keine Auswanderungsagenturen in Deutschland nach Herr Hobrecht, Konsul der argentinischen Republik]," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, n.d., BArch R 901/30412, pag. 110.

2053 [Luis] Saenz-Peña and Tomás S. de Anchorena, "Departamento de Relaciones Esteriores, Decreto promoviendo al cargo de Cónsul en Franckfort, á Don Enrique Hobrecht, 28 febrero 1893," in *Registro nacional de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1893), 205.

advertising, Otto Preusse[-Sperber] published the first edition of his Guide for Argentina in Buenos Aires.[2054]

In June 1901, the Alsatian David Moos wrote a petition to Emperor Wilhelm II asking him to pay for his passage to Argentina.[2055] In September 1901, the journal *Koloniale Zeitschrift* warned of the colonization company Tarnassi & Co. in Argentina as being a fraud.[2056] In February 1902, the *Argentinisches Wochenblatt* published an article by F. Albrecht on "Immigration and Colonization in Argentina." The article started with the statement that it was a good sign that two more important German colonial journals, the *Koloniale Zeitschrift* and the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* had recently repeatedly published articles on the settling Argentina and that this was proof of a turn towards a correct assessment of Argentina and its future as a settlement destination for German-speakers. Albrecht stated that Patagonia was suitable for German settlements. He advocated that the agricultural advisory council of the German legation in Buenos Aires take on the role to give further advice to German immigrants.[2057]

In May 1902, Streifensand reported to the German Foreing Office that the Argentinean government settled Boer families from South Africa in the Chubut territory in Patagonia, Argentina.[2058] Many Welsh families left Patagonia just as the Boer families came.[2059] The German Emigration Information Service collected information on the Welsh case, probably in order to avoid a similar fate for Germans.[2060] The Welsh had attempted to get protection from the British Empire, which was not taken kindly by the Argentinean government: "It will be remembered that some two years ago a deputation from Chupat visited this country in the hope of enlisting the aid of the British Government. The colonists

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[2054] "Wegweiser für Argentinien zur Orientierung der Auswanderer und Kapitalisten. M. O. Preusse, Buenos Aires, 1897. Buchdruckerei von Herpig und Stoevcken, Corrientes 2322."

[2055] David Moos, "[Brief auf frz. vom Elsäßer David Moos (?) an Kaiser Wilhelm II. Bitte um bezahlte Überfahrt nach Argentinien].," June 17, 1901, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 2-4.

[2056] "[neues Kolonisationsproject von der Regierung genehmigt: Tarnassi & Cia.]," *Koloniale Zeitschrift*, September 26, 1901, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 8.

[2057] F. Albrecht, "Einwanderung & Kolonisation in Argentinien," *Argentinisches Wochenblatt*, February 5, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 30-33.

[2058] Steifensand, "[Brief über südafrikanische Auswanderer] Steifensand to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," May 7, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 55-56; Hans von Wangenheim, "[Brief über südafrikanische Auswanderer] Hans von Wangenheim to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," May 12, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 54.

[2059] "Die Chubut-Kolonisten."

[2060] "[Report by the Hon. E- Scott on the Welsh colonies in Chubut]," n.d., BArch R 901/30413, pag. 63-65; "The Welsh in Patagonia," *Morning Post*, September 5, 1901, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 10.

asked either for incorporation with the Empire as being a purely British community or, in the alternative, for independent autonomy, on the ground that their territory was a no-man's land at the time when they took it in occupation, and that the Argentine title to sovereignty was not clearly established. The mission, however, was unsuccessful. In the face of opposition in Buenos Ayres and of jealousy in Washington it was impossible to obtain any sympathy at Whitehall, and the question seemed too trivial to arouse public attention. But to the colonists themselves it was very far from being a small matter. Their plucky action in making an appeal to London was bitterly resented by the Argentine Government. The leaders of the local committee at Chupat were thrown into prison."[2061] Many of them then undertook a new exodus to Canada. The Welsh had started settling Patagonia in 1865.[2062] Boer families settled in Argentina after the Boer wars.[2063]

In September 1902, one month before the German Colonial Congress even took place, the newspaper *Deutsche Agrarkorrespondenz*, edited by Edmund Klapper, published a polemic article entitled "Another Argentinean Hustle?"[2064] The article summarized a press statement of Consul Vohsen on the reason the 1902 German Colonial Congress of 1902 was taking place: in order to further discuss why the founding of German protectorates had not solved the problem of Germans leaving Germany (and predominantly choosing the United States). It claimed that Vohsen's answer to the question of where Germans should be encouraged to go was "only Argentina," and argued that this was a huge mistake because German banks had already suffered from a great Argentinean hustle in the 1880s, and because colonization projects in Argentina were "anti-national."

Moritz Alemann, editor of the newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, travelled to Germany to participate in the Colonial Congress of 1902. He knew that he would be met with stark opposition. Alemann represented the German high finance (*Grosskapital*) group of Argentina, and was monitored by German authorities.[2065] He died in October 1908 on a

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[2061] "The Welsh in Patagonia."

[2062] Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: A Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975); William Casnodyn Rhys, *A Welsh Song in Patagonia: Memories of the Welsh Colonization in Patagonia*, ed. David Hall Rhys ([United States?]: E.K. Vyhmeister, 2005).

[2063] Du Toit, *Colonia Boer*.

[2064] "Ein neuer Argentinierschwindel?," *Deutsche Agrarkorrespondenz*, September 29, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 111.

[2065] Goetsch, "[Goetsch, Brief (über M. Alemann), Oktober 1902]," October 21, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 91; Goetsch, "[Goetsch, Brief (über M. Alemann), Oktober 1902]," October 24, 1902, BArch R 901/30413, pag. 92-93.

trip in Switzerland.[2066] In 1912 and 1913, the German legate Bussche in Buenos Aires started travelling within Argentina to get a personal impression of the living situation of German colonists and to "strengthen the German-national sentiments."[2067]

Among the Germans working for the German Imperial Consulate in Buenos Aires, Ernst Pfannenschmidt was among the most important concerning colonization. He was the agricultural expert (*landwirtschaftlicher Sachverständiger*) for the Imperial German Consulate in Buenos Aires, and kept the Colonial Office in Berlin informed about the economic development of Argentina. In 1912, the *Kaiserliches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires* sent their reports about sheep herds in Argentina to Berlin,[2068] which Pfannenschmift then, in turn, sent on to the government in South-West Africa.[2069] In September 1913, the Colonial economic committee contacted him, as they were attempting to further coordinate wool production abroad and assess further wool production in the German protectorate South-West Africa.[2070]

9.3.1.1 Inquiries about Migration from Argentina to Namibia

Inquiries about migration from Argentina to Namibia occurred almost simultaneously as those from Namibia to Argentina. The requests were motivated by different factors and can be understood in larger processes occurring at the time, which at the core were concerned with conflicting ideas about where German-speakers would best serve German economic interests:

In February 1904, Otto Peust from Paraná, Argentina inquired with the German consul Sanden in Buenos Aires about possiblities for Volga-Germans to settle in a German

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[2066] "+ Moritz Alemann."

[2067] [Hilmar] Bussche, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn von Bethmann Hollweg; [Inhalt: Reise des Kaiserlichen Gesandten]," March 18, 1912, BArch R 901/30429, pag. 35-42; [Hilmar] Bussche, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler," August 12, 1913, BArch R 901/30430, pag. 36-40.

[2068] "Kaiserliches Generalkonsulat in Buenos Aires to [...]; Verkauf Der Merinoherde 'Plomer' -- Karakulschafe in Argentinien," July 29, 1912, BArch R 1001/8516, pag. 102.

[2069] "Kaiserliches Generalkonsulat in Buenos Aires to [...]; Verkauf Der Zuchtviehbestände Der Cabañas La Belén Und Las Barrancas.- Verlaufserlös Der Cabaña Plomer; Abschrift Dem Herrn Gouverneur in Windhuk," August 24, 1912, BArch R 1001/8516, pag. 104-15.

[2070] Supf, "Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee E.V. to Dr. Pfannenschmidt," September 24, 1913, BArch R 1001/8516, pag. 117.

protectorate in Africa, which then Sanden forwarded to German chancellor Bülow[2071] who then had Stübel, representing the Colonial Section of the German Foreign Ministry, contact the German governor of South-West Africa.[2072] While the German authorities considered these Volga-Germans as good material for German colonization, they also worried that their financial means would not suffice, as the German authorities would provide money for travel from Argentina to Africa but not for actual life in the protectorate. The journal *Süd-Amerika* published an article in October 1904 about Germans in Namibia wanting to migrate to South America – in particular Argentina – due to the "Herero War" [Namibian War]; this served for the authors as proof that the German protectorate South-West Africa was inhospitable for German settlers.[2073] Argentina and Brazil were competing on who should take in more German-speakers (in 1904).[2074] In January 1905, an article in *Süd-Amerika* claimed that the Deutscher Kolonial-Verein was finally paying attention to Argentina as a German emigration destination but still, remained rather ignorant towards Argentina.[2075] In September 1905, the *Berliner Tageblatt* published an article claiming that Argentine President Roca had vivid interest in the founding of a large colonization company.[2076] The *Südamerikanische Rundschau*, in October 1904 published an article on colonization in South Argentina, colonization referring to agriculture (*Ackerbau*) for Germans; it claimed that the problem had been until then Argentina's low reputation in Germany.[2077]

In March 1908, a German-speaker settled in Argentina wrote to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*: "with regards to the many complaints and inquiries that have recently reached us from South-West Africa, I have to remark that it is a big misapprehension to think that one could found an accpetable existence with little capital here."[2078] In April 1908, the journal

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[2071] Sanden, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná: „etwaige Ansiedlung deutsch-russischer Kolonisten in den afrikanischen Kolonien des Deutschen Reiches um Auskunft bittet] Von Sanden to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow."

[2072] Stübel, "[Otto Peust aus Paraná...]."

[2073] "Deutsche Ansiedler in Südwestafrika und deren Übersiedlung nach Südamerika."

[2074] "[Bemühungen mehr Leute nach Argentinien als Brasilien zu locken] Kaiserlich deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires [to Stöpel]," September 1, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 69.

[2075] "Die Deutsche Colonialzeitung über Argentinien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, January 1, 1905, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 112.

[2076] "[Präsident Roca zeigt „lebhaftes Interesse" an der Gründung einer großen Kolonialgesellschaft]."

[2077] "Kolonisation in Südargentinien," *Südamerikanische Rundschau*, October 4, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 34.

[2078] "Die Ansiedelungsverhältnisse in Argentinien," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, March 9, 1908, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 115.

Süd-Amerika from Munich reprinted an article from the *Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* from Swakopmund where the latter critized the *Zentralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer* in Berlin for misinforming potential farmers and that the conditions in South-West Africa were not as good as elsewhere (e.g. Argentina).[2079] In April 1908, the journal *Süd-Amerika* from Munich published an article on German officers from South-West Africa visiting Paraguay with the aim to inquire about migrating there.[2080] In April 1908, the journal *Süd-Amerika* from Munich reprinted news from the Argentinisches Tageblatt on the situation of German migrants in South-West Africa, on how they were flooding the country but unable to find jobs and thus not creating good conditions in overseas "New Germany."[2081]

9.3.2 Tensions between German- Argentineans and German Imperial Authorities

Most likely, tensions between Argentinean German-speakers and German Imperial Authorities occurred because the latter were only focused on promoting German colonization in German protectorates, but cultural differences and increasing "Argentinization" of German-speakers in Argentina may also have played a role.

In October 1903, the Bavarian government wrote a letter concerning José Greger and the founding of a "German-South American Association" (*Deutsch-Südamerikanischer Verein*): Greger was an emissary of the Argentine government, he was naturalized Argentinean but still had Bavarian citizenship.[2082] The Munich police set up a file on Greger.[2083] In September 1904, the German Colonial Society wrote a letter concerning José Greger: that a brochure had to be corrected.[2084] In 1905, the German legation in Buenos Aires reported back that José Greger was the brother of Heinrich Greger, a Bavarian

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2079 "Die Zentralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer in Berlin," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, April 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 190-191.

2080 "Deutsche Offiziere aus Südwestafrika in Paraguay."

2081 "Über die Aus- resp. Einwanderung in Südwestafrika," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, April 1, 1908, BArch R 901/30423, pag. 194.

2082 "[J. Greger] K. Regierung von Oberbayern, Kammer des Innern to K. Staatsministerium des Innern."

2083 "[J. Greger] Akten der k. b. Polizeidirektion in München."

2084 September 23, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 36.

citizen.[2085] José Greger had a court case against him in Munich: he was accused of misinforming migrants about the conditions in Argentina in April 1906.[2086]

In January 1905, legate Waldthausen reported to chancellor Bülow about W. Vallentin and the planned German society for economic enterprise in Argentina, which mentioned Robert Jannasch's travels to Argentina.[2087] Vallentin became active in attempts to create a German commission for economic endeavors in Argentina and advised that R. Funke should become the director of this society.[2088] In January 1905, the journal *Süd-Amerika* published a very critical article of W. Vallentin and his colonization project, calling him a theorist who had no practical experience; it made a reference to the failed experience of Germans in the Hansa Colony in South Brazil; the article also claimed that Vallentin was commissioned by the *Central-Verein für Handelsgeographie* in Berlin, whose president was Dr. Jannasch. The authors of the article were German-Brazilians who were against any colonization project proposed by an academic.[2089] In February 1905, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* described Vallentin as an ardent pioneer of German colonization in Argentina.[2090] In March 1905, German authorities in Germany were requesting more information on W. Vallentin from the German authorities in Buenos Aires.[2091]

In December 1903, the German consulate Buenos Aires was inquiring about F. Bowe, and M. Alemann provided them with information, claiming he did not know much about him and that his advertisements in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* might be a fraud.[2092] In 1904,

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[2085] "[Erkundigung nach J. Greger] Kaiserliche dt. Gesandtschaft bei den La Plata Staaten, Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," July 12, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 16.

[2086] "[Klage geben J.M.Greger, Amtsgericht München, 05.04.1906 [Fehlleitung/Fehlberatung von Auswanderern nach Argentinien]," April 5, 1906, BArch R 901/30418, pag. 79-90.

[2087] Waldthausen, "[Dr. Vallentin und die geplante Gründung einer deutsche Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien] Julius von Waldthausen to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow."

[2088] Vallentin, "Wilhelm Vallentin to Vorbereitungs-Kommission zur Gründung einer 'Deutschen Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien.' z.H. des Vorsitzenden Herrn R. Funke"; Wilhelm Vallentin, "Wilhelm Vallentin to Vorbereitungs-Kommission zur Gr. einer Deutschen Gesellschaft für wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen in Argentinien z.H. des Vorsitzenden Herrn R. Funke," December 15, 1904, BArch R 901/30415, pag. 127-128.

[2089] "Dr. W. Vallentin als Colonisator in Argentinien."

[2090] "Herr Dr. Vallentin, der eifrige Vorkämpfer deutscher Kolonisation in Argentinien...," *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, February 20, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 35.

[2091] Julius von Waldthausen, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den La Plata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," March 21, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 34.

[2092] Moritz Alemann, "[F. Bowe] Moritz Alemann to Kaiserlich deutsches Generalkonsulat," December 29, 1903, BArch R 901/30414, pag.

Robert Jannasch reported to Waldthausen.[2093] Jannasch warned of the U.S. dominance in South America, but he did not have the authority to speak in the name of the German government.[2094] In 1905, the *Zentralstelle für Auswanderer* Berlin wanted to renew their information booklet on Argentina.[2095]

In 1904, Gerhard was inquiring from Bessarabia about the migration of German-speakers from Bessarabia to Argentina.[2096] In June 1905, Hermann Schroff reported back from his study trip to Bessarabia to German authorities in Germany that German-Russians from Bessarabia were ready to be sent to areas that suited German interests. He provided information on Gerhardt, the governor of Bessarabia, being a "*Reichsdeutscher*." Schroff confirmed that German-Russians were the ideal "*Kolonisten-Material*" as they were "land-hungry."[2097] In 1905, the German Gesandtschaft Buenos Aires wanted to have more Volga-Germans come to Argentina in order to strengthen Germanness in Argentina.[2098] In 1906, German-speakers from Natal (Southern Africa) were inquiring about migration to Argentina.[2099]

In 1903, the following companies had "owned important real estate (*Grundbesitz*) in Argentina:" Lahusen, Bremen: Joh. Daniel Fuhrmann, and Th. Bracht & Co. = Antwerpen.[2100] In 1905, German companies with branches in Buenos Aires: Deutsche ÜberseeBank (Berlin), Staudt & Co. (Berlin), Hardt & Co. (Berlin), Richard Sievers (Hamburg), Joh. Bern. Hasenclever und Söhne (Remscheid).[2101] In 1906, German companies with branches in Buenos Aires Staudt & Cie., Berlin; John. Bernhard Hasenclever & Söhne, Remscheid; Aug. A. Claussen,

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2093 Robert Jannasch, "Robert Jannasch to Kaiserlich-Deutscher Gesandter Herrn von Waldthausen, Excellenz," March 8, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag.

2094 Julius von Waldthausen, "[Jannasch Telegram] Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den La Plata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," January 5, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 52.

2095 "Leiter der Centralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer gez. Lehmann to Auswärtiges Amt, 'Erneuerung des Auskunftsheftes über Argentinien.'"

2096 Gerhardt, "K. K. Gerhard, Gouv. Bessarabien, Kreis Akkermann, Südrußland to Kaiserlich Deutsches Konsulat Buenos Aires."

2097 Schroff, "Hermann Schroff to Direktor."

2098 Waldthausen, "[Btr. Deutsch-russische Bauern nach Argentinien] [Stärkung des Deutschtums] Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den LaPlata Staaten to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow."

2099 Wilhelm Klapprott, "Wilhelm Klapprott to Deutscher Consul Buenos Aires [On Migration from Natal to Argentina]," 1906, BArch R 901/30418, pag. 54.

2100 "[deutsche Firmen Lahusen, Bremen: Joh. Daniel Fuhrmann, Th. Bracht & Co. = Antwerpen. „verfügen über bedeutenden Grundbesitz in Argentinien."]."

2101 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow," February 10, 1905, BArch R 901/30416, pag. 12.

Bremen (Firma Linck & Co); Karl Kropp, Aachen; Felten & Guillaume, Carlswerk; R. Sievers, Hamburg.[2102]

In 1906, the German consulate in Buenos Aires reported to the German chancellor Bülow the existence of good conditions for machine engineers[2103], construction firms[2104], electrical engineers[2105], technicians,[2106] and young merchants.[2107] In 1906, the German consulate Buenos Aires reported to the German chancellor Bülow problems with Vallentin's colonization project.[2108] In 1907, the State minister of Lüneburg reported about Hermann Polich, that he claimed having an agreement with the Argentinean government about settlement of German migrants, and that he had been convicted to eight days of prison because of attempted extortion in Göttingen.[2109] By 1907, South Atlantic German-speakers were more adept in using the resources and (state) structures available to them, both in Argentina and Germany. In 1907, a new wave of colonization projects started in Patagonia. The journal *Süd-Amerika* (from José Greger, published in Munich) cited W. Vallentin as a South Atlantic colonization expert by highlighting his experience in Southern Africa having been a former Boer captain.[2110] Niederlein and Jannasch travelled in Patagonia and were paid by the Argentinean government. German companies in Argentina and Germany (like the Norddeutsche Lloyd) participated in this concrete colonization project. However, the Auskunftstelle in Germany did not cooperate as they wanted: this office attempted to

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2102 "[deutsche Häuser mit Filialen in Buenos Aires]."

2103 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [-> gute Lagen für Maschineningenieure in AR]," July 30, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 32.

2104 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [-> gute Lage für Maschinen- und Baufirmen. AR]," July 30, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 34.

2105 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [-> gute Lage für Ingenieure der Elektrotechnik in AR -> Eisenbahnbau]," August 22, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 62.

2106 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [-> gute Lage für Techniker in AR]," August 10, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 53-54.

2107 "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [-> gute Lage für „tüchtige junge Kaufleute in Argentinien"]," August 10, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 49.

2108 Schottmüller, "Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalkonsulat Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Herrn Grafen von Bülow [Probleme mit dem Vallentin'schen Kolonisationsprojekt]," September 17, 1906, BArch R 901/30419, pag. 71-72.

2109 [Adolf von] Hartwieg, "Hartwieg to Reichskanzler Bülow," February 2, 1908, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 109.

2110 "Was sagt Dr. W.Vallentin, der Forschungsreisende und ehemalige Burencapitain über unsere Kolonien," *Süd-Amerika. Organ für Ansiedlung und Landerwerb, Ackerbau und Viehzucht, Handel und Statistik, Forschung u. Expeditionen, Minenwesen, Aus- u. Einwanderung, Verkehrsverhältnisse u.s.w. in den Republiken Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Paraguay, Peru und Uruguay*, May 1, 1907, BArch R 901/30420, pag. 69.

continue its agenda and to encourage willing migrants to go to the German protectorate of South-West Africa.

In December 1907, the German legate Waldthausen informed the German chancellor Bülow that the Argentine Foreign ministry had advised all Argentinean consuls to contact press houses abroad that were publishing negative news about migration to Argentina and to intervene in order to stop negative propaganda against Argentina.[2111]

9.4 Conclusion

The German Empire became increasingly involved in the South Atlantic. In Argentina, it was able to gain influence without controlling any territory officially, thus without exercising sovereignty over any land. It did so through the employees of the German embassy. The Austrian and Swiss states operated in similar ways. In Namibia, the German Empire changed its strategy concerning colonial policy and became more "hands-on" under secretary Bernhard Dernburg after the Namibian War. Despite being a German protectorate, Namibia already started to move in the direction of increasing self-government and thus independent statehood. In 1990, when it finally gained independence, it retained the same borders it had in 1915 when South Africa took over control of the territory.

The Argentinean state was continuously involved in organizing and regulating agricultural colonization in its territory. The state apparatus promoting colonization was particularly expanded in the 1880s. Simultaneously, German-speakers participated in proposing private alternatives to the state-run system. Why did the Argentinean state embrace the terminology of "colonization" and "colony" when it used to be a former colony itself? I argue that European intellectuals such as Leroy-Beaulieu and Roscher influenced Argentinean intellectuals: only civilized nation-states could practice colonization.

Part III Concluding Remarks

In this third part of the dissertation, we have seen how colonization was connected to territoriality: "colonization" referred to the control of the land by people, whereby nation-

[2111] Waldthausen, "Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft bei den La Plata Staaten, Buenos Aires to Reichskanzler Fürsten von Bülow," December 23, 1907, BArch R 901/30422, pag. 78-79.

state intervention took place with differing degrees. German-speakers settled the land in the South Atlantic and cultivated the land. Techniques of colonization were transferred to the South Atlantic from elsewhere. "Internal colonization" had long been practiced in Euro-German lands; German-speakers then travelled the South Atlantic in order to identify new areas suitable for colonization. South Atlantic German-speakers practiced colonization through private organizing associations or help from the state (the Euro-German states and Argentina). Their justification for colonization lay in their so-called civilizing mission. However, wars and the genocide of locals were among the result of colonization.

The decolonization movement following WWI and WWII harshly criticized this (white) European practice of using land located outside of Europe, and emphasized the abuse of the local, indigenous (non-white) populations. "Colonialism" and "imperialism" are analytical categories that scholars influenced by this movement have taken up, defined, and redefined from the 1960s to today.

I argue that colonization has not disappeared with the decolonization movement. Rather, colonization was able to change its skin: like a chameleon, it has adapted its appearance to its surroundings. And colonization has largely become subsumed under the neutral term "agriculture." Thus, for example, the former German Colonial School (*Deutsche Kolonialschule*) of Witzenhausen has been integrated into the University of Kassel and today offers a degree in "ecological agricultural sciences" (*Ökologische Agrarwissenschaften*).[2112]

Meanwhile, the term colonization (*colonización*) has remained active in Argentinean vocabulary because Argentinean scholars writing post-1980 successfully argued that the term was engrained in their constitution and that agricultural colonization had nothing to do with colonialism and imperialism, since it concerned only their own national territory. Colonialism and imperialism thus seems to have merely changed its skin.

[2112] https://www.uni-kassel.de/fb11agrar/studienort-witzenhausen.html

General Conclusion

The main objective of this dissertation has been to show that the analytical category of German imperialism, along with its subcategory colonialism, are nation-state centered categories that remain too narrow and short-sighted to study and understand the activities of German-speakers in the South Atlantic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Anchored in the nation-state, imperialism and colonialism remain too focused on state actors and state actions. Even when they do allow for the study of the actions of private individuals and groups, these actions remain on the margins of the nation-state-centered approach. They obscure the ways German-speakers have participated in practicing the "civilizing mission," in taking land from indigenous peoples, and in cultivating overseas land in order to foster Central European markets on both sides of the South Atlantic. It was members of the German people – German-speakers – who founded colonies and practiced colonization in the South Atlantic before and at times despite the creation and growing influence of nation-states in Central Europe. These German-speakers were mostly privately and individually motivated by contemporary ideas. These ideas included that of the "people" or the "nation" as a "social body," which naturally needs to expand and reproduce. The various nation-states only gradually engrossed these activities.

Contrary to those historians who have stated that "German colonialism" was marginal or just imagined, I argue that "German colonialism" should and needs to be studied differently. This different examination is necessary in order to grasp the far-reaching impact of "German colonialism," both on societies in Central Europe as well as on those on the South Atlantic rim. I am suggesting that the re-evaluation of the analytical terminology we use, and the reconsideration of what these terms signified in the vocabulary contemporaries used, can enable us to uncover similarities and connections between sites many scholars have categorized as "incomparable." After all, Germans founded colonies and practiced colonization, German-speakers founded communities and practiced agriculture, and they did so in both of the locations that are today part of the nation-states of Argentina and Namibia.

Migration history has established that mobility, as a human activity, is the norm: people move around and have been moving around for as long as humanity has existed. It has formalized a model to study this movement and provided us with the language to

describe the movements including "migrants," "sending societies," and "receiving societies." Empire studies have put focus on power relations and power struggles among various societies. While the newest developments in migration history and empire studies have provided us with useful tools to study German-speakers in the South Atlantic, it is particularly also the more recent approaches of transnational and global history that contribute to widening our horizon in this regard. Taking up a "global perspective" means considering the interconnectedness of the world, oftentimes in the context of globalization, contrary to the older world history which aimed at writing total history.[2113] Transnational history is a revisionist approach, which calls for a reorientation, a return to primary sources, and an alternative rewriting of national histories. Transnational history has introduced the objective of reevaluating the role of the nation-state, either by writing history below or beyond of the nation-state,[2114] or by focusing on the very process of nation-state formation.[2115]

This dissertation has operated on the premise of three cases of change over time that occurred with regards to certain terms. Over the course of the nineteenth century, "German-speaker" became the preferred self-designation for "Germans" in the South Atlantic. This change occurred after the term "German" became increasingly associated with the German Empire, which, while being celebrated as the unification of German lands, encompassed only part of the German-speaking population in Central Europe. The term "German," first used in reference to cultural identity, thus gradually became a reference for a political identity in the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, in Namibia, the loss of sovereignty over the former German protectorate South-West Africa after WWI also made it necessary to distinguish between "Germans" remaining in Namibia that were no longer citizens of the German Empire. As the discussion of the various labels of self-assigned identity co-existing with German-ness in the South Atlantic has shown, German-ness was a complex cultural identity that was a transnational identity; its use as a reference to German states was only secondary. While especially during Nazism, the Third Reich did make efforts to incorporate more territories with German-speakers into the German state's direct sphere

[2113] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016).
[2114] Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Circulations, connexions et espaces transnationaux," *Genèses* 4, no. 57 (2004): 110–26; Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[2115] Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

of influence and bring them under its control, we should be careful not to let this part of German history dominate and predetermine the study of what happened before and after Nazism. While English and French contemporaries perceived nineteenth-century Pan-German-ness (*Pan-Germanismus*) as a threat, we should remember that – just like German-speakers – they were involved in the competition between "civilizations" to become number one in the world.

Decolonization and post-colonial studies have influenced a change in terminology for two other sets of terms. The preferred term for "colony" became "community," and the one for "colonization" became "agriculture" in order to mark discontinuity with "colonial times" and to obscure neutralize phenomena that nonetheless continue to function according to the similar mechanisms. The term German-speaking "community" eventually replaced the term of German-speaking "colony" after WWI and WWII. This was the case for the German-speaking community of Buenos Aires and for the German-speaking community of Namibia. The German-speaking community of Buenos Aires had specifically started referring to itself as "German colony of Buenos Aires" in 1884 in order to position itself in closer proximity with the "first German colony in Africa": the territory which became known as the German protectorate South-West Africa.

German-speaking colonies in the sense of urban or "trade colonies," as some contemporary intellectuals could have conceptualized them, really functioned as networks that were built upon the initiative of private individuals. These groups of individuals were mostly interested in two things: maintaining their level of civilization abroad while also raising the level of civilization of their receiving environment, and creating markets for the "German national body." The German-speaking networks in the South Atlantic were focused on the economy. Numerous trade companies involved in import and export an integral part of the German-speaking communities. Many of the companies were run by family enterprises. Family networks played an important role within the larger network of the German-speaking communities. Churches and schools were at the core of the communities in order to bind the members closer together and ensure the transmission of German language and values. While for many of the descendants Spanish or respectively Afrikaans or English rival German as first language, German private schools, nowadays more than ever financially supported by tax money from the Federal Republic of Germany continue to flourish in the South Atlantic. In addition to supporting schools that were once set up by

German-speaking migrants, the government-backed initiative for German schools abroad, PASCH, actively works towards integrating more and more local schools that offer classes in German into its network.[2116] Fittingly, this initiative is called "Schools: Partners of the Future." In a way, the quest for the future has been de-territorialized, as the focus is no longer on "lands of the future" but rather on institutions of the future that will ensure the "better tomorrow" through education and "civilization." In this context, it is also to be noted that the Federal Republic of Germany currently plays a strong role in the European Union, as well as worldwide, maintaining export records.

German-speaking "colonization" became labeled as "agriculture" in the aftermath of the world wars and of decolonization. As I have argued, colonization was composed of three elements: "people," "land," and "control." In a way, the study of the "people" – or migrants – has been subsumed under migration studies, where as study of the "control" – or power relations and sovereignty – has been subsumed under empire studies. What remains then is the "land," and the use of land could otherwise be labeled as agriculture. I consider this to be the neutralization and silencing of complicated matters: replacing the term "colonization," which encompassed several subjects with the seemingly neutral term "agriculture" fails to account for the people that were involved in the activity, and the issue of control and sovereignty over the land that was cultivated.

In Argentinean history, the term "colonization" played a particularly interesting role in the nineteenth ad twentieth centuries. While the term "agricultural colonization" is still used today, many scholars maintain that colonization in Argentina was completely disconnected from the "European colonialism" of the nineteenth century. However, as we have seen in this dissertation, certain members of Argentinean society were striving towards competing with European colonial powers on the world market in order to assert themselves and their country as a full member of the family of civilized nation-states that were able to practice colonization on their own terms. They referred to the distinction between "external colonization" and "internal colonization." This distinction addressed the differences in what was generally considered "European colonialism, " the external colonization that practiced colonization on territory originally outside of the official state territory, and internal colonization

[2116] "Schulen: Partner der Zukunft."

More focus should also be put on how Europeans, with German-speaking participation, have treated indigenous peoples in Argentina: they erased them. Similar to the United States, this continues to be a difficult topic to address and to reconcile with the narrative of the founding of the nation-state and national(ist) history. Across the South Atlantic, the topic has received a different level of recent attention. By contrast, the Namibian War, and how to handle its consequences today, are topics that are still being negotiated between groups of the descendants of the genocide and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Argentina, the further development of agribusiness in the second half of the twentieth century has radically changed the practice of agricultural colonization as machinery has replaced humans, and the number of colonists or people involved in the work process has been decreased. Instead of more people to do the work, more territory was needed to increase production for individual companies. Founded as the German-speaking family business Bunge y Born in the 1880s, the company has meanwhile been renamed Bunge Limited, and is still active, after several transformations, reorientations, and further expansion into Brazil and the United States.[2117] In the case of such multi-national corporations, state control and regulation has become almost obsolete.

While agribusiness is well and alive in today's Argentina, Namibia has taken a different path. Its vast and varying landscapes have become the object of eco-tourism, and the towns with German architecture and German street names remain a vague reminder of the era of colonial presence in Southern Africa.[2118] Many of the tourists come from Germany and are quite surprised to encounter such history,as most had learned little of it prior to their visit.

In Namibia, "colonization" meant the settlement and use of land as part of the domination and exploitation of the territory. Here, the transition to "agriculture" as a term replacing or coexisting with "colonization" is not as evident as in Argentina. Nonetheless, some publications by historians as well as the renaming of the colonial school Witzenhausen

[2117] "Our History."

[2118] Philipp Rodrian, *Das Erbe der deutschen Kolonialzeit in Namibia im Fokus des "Tourist Gaze" deutscher Touristen*, Würzburger geographische Arbeiten. Mitteilungen der Geographische Gesellschaft Würzburg 102 (Würzburg: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geographie der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2009).

into the "ecological agricultural sciences" (*Ökologische Agrarwissenschaften*) as part of the school of the University of Kassel testify to such a development.[2119]

Two currents of historiography could be further examined with regards to German-speaking colonization in the South Atlantic: environmental history and globalization. While environmental history is a topic of study of recent interest in Namibia, it could still be expanded to focus on the specific role of German-speakers in this regard.[2120] Several historians have worked on the relation between colonization and Imperial Germany, or colonization and German Colonialism.[2121] Nonetheless, it would be interesting to examine the possible turn of the contemporary category of experience "colonization" into "globalization," in particular with regards to the competition of the different colonial powers on the "world market."

To conclude, then, Argentina and Namibia constituted a field of experimentation for German-speakers setting up community networks and practicing colonization in the form of controlling land through settlement. While historians have constructed the experience of German-speakers in these two locations as fundamentally different, I have pointed out similarities and connections between the two cases, as well as how the vocabulary the people used changed over time, as they adjusted to world-wide developments and changes regarding imperialism and colonialism in particular. Meanwhile, I argue that the approaches of transnational and connected history allow for the reconsideration of this part of history of German-speakers in the South Atlantic as well as their receiving societies, as we take a step back from the focus on nation-states and state actors as the main framework of analysis.

[2119] Lau and Reiner, *100 Years of Agricultural Development in Colonial Namibia*; Uwe Hoering and Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung, *Agrar-Kolonialismus in Afrika: eine andere Landwirtschaft ist möglich* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 2007); https://www.uni-kassel.de/fb11agrar/studienort-witzenhausen.html.

[2120] Susanne Berzborn and Solich, "Pastoralism and Nature Conservation in Southern Africa," in *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Michael Bollig, Michael Schnegg, and Hans-Peter Wotzka (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 440–70; Michael Bollig, "Social-Ecological Change and Institutional Development in a Pastoral Community in North-Western Namibia," in *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Michael Bollig, Michael Schnegg, and Hans-Peter Wotzka (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 316–40; Emmanuel Kreike, *Environmental Infrastructure in African History: Examining the Myth of Natural Resource Management in Namibia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[2121] Andreas Eckert, *Kolonialismus: Globalisierung und Kolonialismus, der amerikanische Doppelkontinent und die Karibik, Asien, der Nahe Osten und Afrika, die Prozesse der Dekolonisation* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 2006); Reinhard Wendt, *Vom Kolonialismus zur Globalisierung: Europa und die Welt seit 1500* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007); Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation*; Julia Laura Rischbieter, *Mikro-Ökonomie der Globalisierung: Kaffee, Kaufleute und Konsumenten im Kaiserreich 1870-1914* (Köln: Böhlau, 2011); Christof Dejung and Niels P. Petersson, eds., *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Instead, I have focused in this study on the initiative of individuals and the networks they created in order to achieve control over people and land far from their original home.

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