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German Colonialism and National Identity

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Jürgen Zimmerer**

with Katy Heady

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The Character of Carl Peters as a Weapon for *völkisch* and National Socialist Discourses: Anglophobia, Anti-Semitism, Aryanism

Constant Kpao Sarè

Carl Peters (1856–1918) can be seen as the German equivalent of Cecil Rhodes. In 1884, this young doctor of philosophy, who had lived in London from 1881 to 1883, founded the “Society for German Colonization” and traveled as a simple civilian to Zanzibar, where he acquired many of the territories which were subsequently to become the colony of German East Africa. In spite of his entirely unacceptable colonial administration and policies, which included burning down several native villages and ordering the hanging of his African concubine, Peters came to be regarded, particularly in the Third Reich, as the greatest pioneer of German colonialism. His life was even made the subject of a film, starring the famous actor Hans Albers.

Peters is the subject of two new studies, one by Arne Perras and the other by the present author. Whereas Perras’s work concentrates on Peters’s biography,¹ my own book pays greater attention to the myth of Peters’s life, ideas and activities and the propagandistic uses to which that myth has been put.² In this chapter, I examine the function of the character of Carl Peters in the cultural propaganda of German colonialism, that is, in German novels, film and drama. The questions I pose here are, how did German literature use this character in colonial discourse directed against England and in the propagation of Aryan ideology and anti-Semitism? And what kinds of ideological interest did the different propagandists of the Wilhelminian era, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich pursue?

CARL PETERS AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR GERMAN COLONIAL PROPAGANDA BETWEEN 1885 AND 1945

Born on 27 September 1856 as the son of a Pastor in Lower Saxony, Carl Peters attended school in his place of birth, Neuhaus, a village situated at the mouth of the Elb, and then in Lüneburg. After obtaining his *Abitur* in 1876, which qualified him for entry to university, he studied history, geography and philosophy, finishing his studies with a thesis on Schopenhauer and a doctoral thesis on the 1177 Peace of Venice. In 1881, Peters was invited

to London by his maternal uncle Karl Engel, who had been naturalized as a British citizen after marrying an Englishwoman. Peters returned to Berlin in 1883, and in 1884, together with fellow members of the so-called *Konservativer Klub* such as Felix Behr-Bandelin and Friedrich Lange, founded the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation* (Society for German Colonization). On behalf of this Society, Peters and three further friends—Karl Jühlke, Joachim Pfeil and August Otto—traveled to Zanzibar and there acquired many of the territories that formed the basis of the later colony of German East Africa. Although Bismarck was initially unenthusiastic about these colonial adventures in East Africa, Peters received an imperial letter on 27 February 1885, the day following the end of the Berlin Conference on Africa, guaranteeing him safe conduct in the areas he had acquired and also in the others to which he was attempting to extend his influence.³ That effectively gave him a free hand, on the strength of which, in autumn 1885, Peters founded the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (German East Africa Company). Lacking diplomatic skills, Peters was finally compelled to resign as head of this company on 25 February 1889. The same year saw him mount his expedition to attempt the rescue of Emin Pasha, which, however, he failed to achieve.⁴

On 18 March 1891, Peters was sent to East Africa as an “Imperial Commissioner for Kilimanjaro.” In his new post, he subsequently caused a major colonial scandal by ordering the hanging of both a young native man (Mabruk), who had slept with one of Peters’s African concubines (Jagodja), and of the concubine herself. When the hangings were discussed in the *Reichstag* in March 1896, the Social Democratic leader, August Bebel, launched an attack on Peters. First, Bebel read parts of the book *New Light on Dark Africa Being the Narrative of the German Emin Pasha Expedition*, which Peters had published in 1895, to show that German colonial history was “written in blood.”⁵ Bebel claimed that Peters himself had stated in a letter to an English bishop, Alfred Tucker, that he had married the girl in accordance with local tradition. The *Reichstag* took these accusations (namely, the killing of Mabruk and Jagodja) seriously, and Peters was dismissed from government service on 15 November 1897.⁶

He subsequently moved to London, where he pursued his “Ophir” theory by establishing a society for the exploitation of Rhodesian gold.⁷ Although Wilhelm II restored the title of Imperial Commissioner to Peters in 1905, Peters continued to live in London until the Kaiser reinstated his entitlement to a pension in March 1914. At the outbreak of World War One, Peters returned home, where he eventually died on 10 September 1918, in Wolterf.

After his death, the figure of Peters developed into a kind of national monument, as his friends and partisans continued their efforts to bring about his total rehabilitation. Ignoring the wish of Peters’s widow, Thea Peters (née Herbers), for her husband to be buried in Neuhaus, the municipality of Hannover decided to inter him in a memorial garden in Engesohden.⁸ Among Peters’s sympathizers, both before and after his death, were

militant adherents of several colonial groupings, such as the German Colonial Society and the *Alldeutscher Verband* (Pan-German League).⁹ Without the official support of the German Colonial Office, these associations had, in 1914, built the first memorial to Peters with the following motto: “To the pioneer of German colonial policy—the founder of German East Africa—Dr Carl Peters. Thanks to his achievements, Heligoland in 1890 became part of the German Empire.”¹⁰ They planned to erect this memorial in Dar es Salaam, but were prevented by the outbreak of World War One.

After 1918, the supporters of Carl Peters and the leaders of German colonial revisionism combined to attack what they considered to be the *koloniale Schuldlüge* (colonial guilt lie).¹¹ Former colonial officers such as Ritter von Epp (1868–1946) and governors like Heinrich Schnee (1871–1949) joined the friends of Peters around Otto Arendt (1854–1936) and Fritz Bley (1853–1931) in continuing to press for the rehabilitation of the late Imperial Commissioner.¹² The monument mentioned previously was finally erected on 3 June 1931 on Heligoland. A memorial stone to Peters was also inaugurated on 27 September 1931 at his father’s house in Neuhaus, bearing the following message: “To our own Dr Carl Peters, the founder of German East Africa, born on 27.9.1856.” A third monument to Peters was erected on 27 October 1935 in Hannover in the presence of eminent personalities of the National Socialist Party with the text, “To the great Lower-Saxon Carl Peters, who acquired German East Africa for us.” The same members of the Nazi Party who took part in the inauguration of the memorial were also instrumental in persuading Adolf Hitler in 1937 to grant Peters a full posthumous pardon.¹³

Efforts to rehabilitate the person of Carl Peters were, however, not limited to memorials. He also emerged as the perfect **hero of colonial novels**—in a tradition of colonial literature which began in the imperial era itself but continued through Weimar and reached its peak during the Third Reich.¹⁴ As regards the authors of German colonial literature published during the era of Wilhelm II, we can observe that they cite Carl Peters repeatedly in their writings. Their novels, memoirs, songs, and so on, contributed greatly to contemporary apologies for his character. The novels of Frieda von Bülow, the writer described by the *Kolonialzeitung* as “the founder of the German colonial novel,”¹⁵ present Carl Peters as a role model. In *Der Konsul* (The Consul) (1891), he appears in the guise of Baron Max von Sylffa, the consul of a town named U., who is called back to Berlin for showing disrespect to his superiors. In *Tropenkoller* (Tropical Fever) (1896), Peters’s incarnation is Udo Biron, a German who executes by hanging a slave trader in Satuta. In *Im Lande der Verheißung* (In the Promised Land) (1899), the German government refuses to appoint Ralf Krome—another rendering of Carl Peters—as Governor.

The writers of the Weimar Republic were less prolific than those of the Wilhelminian era but none the less forceful in their support of colonial revisionism.¹⁶ The authors shared in the resentment felt among sections of the

population toward the accusations in the Versailles Treaty that Germany had failed in its colonialism. Thus Edith von Salburg, for example, argued in her book *Carl Peters and his People* of 1929¹⁷ that Peters had been a friend of Africans and that his colonial methods were superior to those employed by the British and French colonialists.

Finally, the character of Peters was also an important source of inspiration for Nazi colonial writers who sought to honor him as a great German. For instance, Paul Baecker's essay about Peters was published in a collection of books written to glorify the greatest Germans, such as Arminius, Fichte, Kant, and so on.¹⁸ Especially noteworthy are the novel *Maria in Petersland* (1937) by Josef Viera—the pseudonym of Josef Sebastian Vierasegerer—and the drama *Weg in die Welt* (Way to the World) (1940) by Josef Buchhorn;¹⁹ both works are designed to alert the Germans to the need for *Lebensraum* (living space). The same intention can be identified in a sketch written for the Hitler Youth by the *Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP* (Nazi Party Reich Youth Directorate).²⁰ Among other materials used by the propagandists of the Third Reich to rehabilitate Carl Peters were a stamp and a post card with the portrait of Peters (1934),²¹ as well as schools, the names of streets²² and even a naval fleet tender.²³ The biography of Peters was also the subject of a film in 1941 with Hans Albers in the leading role. The film *Carl Peters* was not just highly popular among the German public during the Hitler era,²⁴ but was also a pet project of the *Reichspropagandaminister*, Goebbels, himself.²⁵

In short, the factual and fictive biographers of Peters tried continually to glorify his character. One of the particularities of German colonial literature is its connection to so-called *völkische Literatur*, a genre of writing produced from the end of the nineteenth century up to the end of the Third Reich and designed to propagate “typical” German values. In accordance with their affinity with and frequent affiliation to nationalist movements, the authors of German colonial literature developed ideas similar to those seen in *völkisch* literature. As Kay Dohnke puts it, “Even the relatively short lived genre of the colonial novel with its exotic scenes and the conflicts among different ethnic groups was suitable for the realization of *völkisch*-racist ideology.”²⁶ More broadly, the philosopher Hannah Arendt (1906–75) even identified a causal link between imperialism and National Socialist racism. In her voluminous book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951),²⁷ she claims that the racist ideologies and mentalities of the Nazis were first experimented with at the colonial level, especially in Africa. Concerning Carl Peters, she writes,

The impact of the African experience was first realized by leaders of the mob, like Carl Peters, who decided that they too had to belong to a master race. African colonial possessions became the most fertile soil for the flowering of what later was to become the Nazi elite. Here they had seen with their eyes how peoples could be converted into races and

how, simply by taking the initiative in this process, one might push one's own people into the position of the master race.²⁸

There is an ongoing discussion of Hannah Arendt and **the link between colonialism and National Socialism, which we need not repeat here.**²⁹ However, even if her critics have succeeded in casting doubt on the relationship between imperialism and totalitarianism, no one can seriously dispute that the racist conceptions of *völkisch* ideology and (subsequently) the National Socialist movement were explored experimentally in the colonial sphere. In the remainder of this paper, I accordingly attempt to show how German colonial literature exploited the character of Carl Peters in propagating **three favorite doctrines of this movement: Anglophobia, anti-Semitism, and Aryanism.**

ANGLOPHOBIA

Any investigation of the way in which Carl Peters's character was employed to promote Anglophobia must take the discourses of the German nationalist movements very seriously. A clear example is an article written in 1914 by Admiral Breusing and published in the *Alldeutsche Blätter* (Pan-German Journal) under the provocative title, "By the Way, I Am of the Opinion That British World Supremacy Must Be Destroyed!"³⁰ Although Carl Peters spent part of his life in London, he considered British imperialism more as a rival than as a model to emulate. In his articles and memoirs written from the time of his first journey to London up to the end of his life, he invested much energy and time in justifying the view that the Germans had to attack British colonial interests in order to ensure the emergence of "Greater Germany." The most emphatic expression of this conception was an article he wrote on the eve of his death, "England, Our Arch Enemy."³¹

The fictionalization of Peters's life history and his rehabilitation in colonial literature did not wait for his death: specifically, the use of his character for furthering Anglophobia began well before the end of his life. Wilhelmian colonial literature regarded Carl Peters as the role model whose biography could best be used in support of the **Germans' "Platz an der Sonne" (place in the sun) against the Britons' "empire on which the sun never sets."** The authors of colonial novels largely tried to show that enmity against Great Britain was the best way for the German Empire to become a global power. In her most popular novel, *Im Lande der Verheißung* (1899)—mentioned previously—Frieda von Bülow depicts British attempts to thwart all of Peters's initiatives in East Africa. In a letter written to her brother, Rainer, a character in this novel, Maleen, exposes the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890 as a simple British machination aimed at obstructing the activities of the Peters figure (alias Ralf Krome). The author therefore

suggests that the Germans must do the same in order to break the world domination of Great Britain.³²

Such extreme hatred against the British was even more directly formulated in the Weimar era. After 1918, the biography of Peters as an Anglophobe was seen as a motivation for colonial revisionism. In order to require the return of German former colonies, colonial literature again focused its aversion on the British. The best example of this tendency is the novel entitled *Carl Peters und sein Volk* (1929), written by Edith Salburg. The story begins with a (fictional) letter³³ supposedly signed in London by “your German son Carl” and sent by the youthful Peters to his mother in Hannover. The letter reeks of Salburg’s anti-British sentiments:

Really! I look such a fine gentleman now, Mother, that you wouldn’t recognize me if you passed me in the street—you’d even be revolted at the sight of me. My head’s as smooth as an eel. That’s the way they are here, smooth and slippery so you can’t catch hold of them. If you heard me speaking English you’d immediately feel sick. I’m already doing it perfectly.

The writer of the letter not only makes fun of the English language but also laughs at the appearance of the British: “What I dislike most here in London are the expressions on the faces.” He also compares the habits of study at British and German universities. In his view, the British are far lazier than Germans: “What they learn here does not even amount to a tenth of what we learn; that’s for certain.” These allegations are not just the effects of colonial fantasies. As the historian Klaus Hildebrand has noted, these prejudices and verbal insults belonged to the propaganda of World War One and were reproduced in the literature of the Weimar Republic.³⁴

Much the same is true of World War Two. **The film *Carl Peters* (1941) was principally produced to encourage antipathy against England at a time when Hitler’s popularity was beginning to wane.** In the eyes of the promoters of the film, British imperialism was the main obstacle to the colonial ambitions of the Third Reich. To show how far the British were willing to go to destroy German interests, the film’s director, Herbert Selpin, included a sequence in which the British Secret Service attempts to poison Peters. In reaction to these British machinations, the film hero Peters opposes extreme brutality. However, the film-maker avoids showing the cruelty against Africans of the real Peters. In all instances, his aggression manifests itself toward the British alone. In London, Selpin’s version of Peters angrily boxes the ears of an Englishman who dares to insult the Germans. In the view of the nationalist movement, such violence by the film’s hero was the clearest illustration of how the Germans must respond to British arrogance. The Nazi journal the *Völkischer Beobachter* commented, “We see him in England manfully asserting his Germanness.”³⁵ To summarize, the literature of German imperialism had, from Wilhelminian times through the years

of the Weimar Republic to the end of the Hitler era, consistently used the character of Peters as a device to propagate anti-British discourses.

ANTI-SEMITISM

A close analysis of Carl Peters's life shows that he himself may not have hated Jews.³⁶ However, his biography was employed by the propagandists of *völkisch* and National Socialist discourses to disseminate ideas justifying the persecution of the Jews. It is known that the *völkisch* movement considered official German colonial policy as a repository of Jewish trickery, "powerful Jewish influence" ("starke[r] jüdische[r] Einfluß"),³⁷ the final intention of which was to prevent Germany from developing into a world power. As they failed to find aspects of Peters's life to support their propaganda, the writers of colonial books looked for people of Jewish origin who were actively involved in German colonial policy. According to their arguments, all Germans who opposed Peters's colonial ideology were Jews.

Those whose Jewish origin is documented in anti-Semitic propaganda include Paul Kayser (1845–98). It is known that this Director of the Colonial Affairs Bureau, the precursor of the German Colonial Office, was only opposed to the colonial adventures of Peters at the beginning.³⁸ The authors studied spread the idea that Kayser showed solidarity with other Jews in order to fight the patriotic efforts of Peters. Erich zu Klampen, an author of the Third Reich, claims that it was not the Social Democrats who rejected the German colonial policy and brought about Peters's disgrace; in his view, the Jews were the culprits. In his novel *Ein deutsches Schicksal im Kampf um Ostafrika* (1938), Klampen argues as follows:

Is the Under-Secretary of State [Paul Kayser], an official loyal to the Emperor, acting in agreement with the revolutionary leader and Social Democrat August Bebel? Impossible? Are there not men in the Empire who will stand up and affirm the existence of an international power dedicated to world domination, namely the Jews? They ask: who was Marx? The answer: a Jew. It was he who gave Social Democracy its program. Who are the leaders of Social Democracy? They have names: Lasalle and many others—Jews! Why do you people not ask: who are the opponents of Peters? August Bebel, Jewish Social Democracy and the Foreign Office. You may object that the Foreign Office is not Jewish. Men of the oldest and purest aristocratic lineages rule in the Wilhelmstrasse. Yet who is it that fights and intrigues against Peters? Ministerial Director Kayser. He may present himself as a conservative, loyal to the Emperor, he may even strive for fame and honors for himself in the German Empire, but in the end he must obey the same inner voice which commands him to hate and destroy everything German. Ministerial Director Kayser, who heedlessly surrendered our colonial

possessions in East Africa to England and destroyed the conqueror of German East Africa, is a Jew.³⁹

Thus, according to Klampen, the threat to the German Empire came not from the Social Democrats but from the Jews. The arch rival of Peters was not August Bebel but Paul Kayser.

To understand why those colonial texts were interested in opposing Peters to colonial officials and activists of Jewish origin, we must examine the discourses propagated by the *völkisch* movement during the Empire and thereafter. In fact, one must be acquainted with the term *Gegenrasse* (“anti-race”),⁴⁰ formulated by one of the leading ideologues of Nazism, Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), a term which proclaimed that Jews and Germans were natural enemies. Such allegations are explicit or implicit in the studied texts. In the works of the Weimar era, the reader gains an insight into other conceptions of this so-called inherent antagonism between Jews and Germans. The writers affirm that attempts at harmonious coexistence with Jews are fatal for the “German race.” Edith Salburg, for example, writes about the social contacts between Bismarck and Kayser: “He [Bismarck] knew nothing of the terrible dangers of miscegenation for his race. [But] First Secretary Kayser was no stranger to Peters.”⁴¹

What about the texts written during the Third Reich? Here, the term “anti-race” is clearly formulated. The writers try to explain that the exclusion of Peters from colonial service was not a consequence of the Kilimanjaro killings but the logical result of an innate aversion between Germans and Jews. The following portrait of Kayser as a member of the *Gegenrasse* to the Germans is to be found in Alfred Funke’s book *Der Mann, der Deutschland ein Imperium schaffen wollte* (The Man Who Sought to Build Germany an Imperium), published in 1937:

Kayser and Peters incarnate unconsciously the contrasts of the blood, of the inward view of life and the purposeful sense of duty, which must necessarily lead to conflict and thence to enmity and hatred. Dr. Kayser, of Jewish origin . . . only became Christian upon his entry into Imperial Service . . . Capital was at all times Jewish in its orientation; in Kayser, too, racial feeling was stronger than his devotion to a colonial policy which was not a matter of “business” but rather—as it was for Peters—of the worldwide greatness, standing, self-confidence of the German people.⁴²

With the last sentence, the author essentially told his reader that Peters was working for Germany and Kayser for the Jewish race. Jewish business acumen had thus proved more powerful than the patriotic colonial policy of Carl Peters. If the great hero Peters had failed in his mission, so, Funke implied, the reader must recognize that the Jewish threat to German society must not be considered a banality. Furthermore, the author does

not hesitate to explain why Peters failed in the struggle with Kayser. In his view, the reason was Peters's refusal to hate the Jews. He writes, "Despite all his German consciousness Peters would have never attacked a person because of his Jewish origin."⁴³ For Funke, Peters's disgrace was rooted in his refusal to fight the Jews effectively. Thus, in order to win where Peters had failed, the Nazis must act ruthlessly and resist sentimentality.

We can see, in short, that the whole biography of Peters, his success and his failure, either fitted or were made to fit into the anti-Semitic propaganda of the *völkisch* and National Socialist movement from the times of Wilhelm II to the end of World War Two. The authors of the German colonial literature examined here continually fuelled the alarms that a Jewish conspiracy was working against the world power of Germany.

ARYANISM

We have seen how these authors sought to present other peoples, specifically the British and the Jews, as immoral and decadent "races" which had to be fought with great vigor. Next, I examine how they presented the Germans. With the central concept of Aryanism,⁴⁴ I analyze the function accorded to the figure of Peters in connection with the abolition of mixed marriages (miscegenation) and the complex of *Herrenrasse* (master-race, Aryan race) versus *Zigeuner* (Romany). Since the *völkisch* and National Socialist movement believed that Aryans were the superior race, I first take a closer look at the image of the "blond-haired Aryan" and compare it with the descriptions of Carl Peters in German colonial texts.

In the books analyzed, Peters is portrayed as the authentic German as Nietzsche described him: an Aryan superman, a "blond beast" (*blonde Herrenbestie*). It was therefore hardly a coincidence that the promoter of the film *Carl Peters* (1941) chose a blond actor of striking appearance, Hans Albers, to play the main role. However, this image of Peters already existed in the texts of the Wilhelminian era. In her novel *Tropenkoller* (1896), Frieda von Bülow described Udo Biron (alias Carl Peters) as follows:

He [Udo Biron] looked far more Germanic than his sister, whose appearance verged on the Romany type; he was tall and broad-shouldered with a deep chest, a small head posed upright on his strong neck, blue eyes, a blunt nose and blond curly hair—all in all, the image of Nietzsche's "blond beast", born to rule.⁴⁵

Thus, in this passage, the author presents Peters physically as an ideal German, and reinforces the portrayal with the contrast between Biron and his half-sister Eva: he and his sister are in every respect opposites. His allure is attractive because he is a pure German. She, with her Hungarian mother,

represents the genus of *Zigeuner*; and, in the racial thinking of the time, *Zigeuner* are white primitives.

The authors of the different periods consistently sought to demonstrate that Peters belonged to the Aryan *Herrenrasse*, which meant that he was superior to members of all other races. In his novel *Maria in Petersland*, Josef Viera affirms that the Africans of *Petersland*, the imaginary country founded by Peters, noticed the difference between the quality of German “blood” and that of other Europeans:

The black soldier was a British Askari, and it was wholly appropriate for him to view Günter, of whom he knew nothing except that he was to be kept imprisoned behind the barbed wire, as an enemy of the nation which he served as a mercenary. Nevertheless, the Askari lowered his gaze respectfully whenever the German looked at him. The reason was very simple: the blood to which Günter belonged cannot be humiliated. Even if members of that race are placed behind barbed wire and in the guard of Negroes, yet theirs is the blood of the master-race—indeed, those in whose veins such blood flows bear an obligation to it.⁴⁶

As regards miscegenation, Peters is presented as a role model in the struggle against racial mixing—where the notion of *Mischrasse* (mixed race) applies not only to Africans, but also to other Europeans. The authors and the film-maker attempt to demonstrate that it was a threat to the Germans if they allowed their superior race to be adulterated with other, “lower” races. The novel *Tropenkoller* (1896), by Frieda von Bülow, in which Eva, Peters’s half-sister, is depicted as a *Zigeuner*, has already been mentioned. In another novel, *Der Konsul* (1891), Bülow portrays Josepha, a German Catholic woman, as *Zigeuner*-like because she gets married to Nathanael Lindenlaub, a Jewish businessman. She is “as lovely as sin”;⁴⁷ this is the telling characterization. To demonstrate her “Romany” tendencies, the author describes her first meeting with Sylffa (alias Peters) as follows: Sylffa visits the Lindenlaubs’ shop, Mr Lindenlaub is not present, and Josepha attempts to kiss Sylffa on the mouth. Thus, the reader is invited to observe how a German girl has been shamelessly perverted by her marriage to a Jew. As for Sylffa, he is a member of a superior race and cannot behave like his racial inferiors; accordingly, he refuses to kiss her. The narrator poses two questions: “Why did he feel nothing but aversion and disgust where so many others would simply be glad to enjoy the pleasure offered? Was he inherently superior [*besserer Art*] to the others and for that reason so choosy?”⁴⁸ The narrator does not answer these questions directly, but his terminology reveals his answer: in the language of social Darwinism, the term *besserer Art* means “of better race.”

The leitmotiv of miscegenation is even stronger in the texts written after 1933. They ignore Peters’s obvious penchant for African women. Of course, they omit to mention that the true reason for the Kilimanjaro

hangings was almost certainly Peters's jealousy, the result of his attraction to his African concubine. Their hero's way of life disappears mysteriously in almost all narratives of the Third Reich. In the film *Carl Peters* (1941), for instance, Selpin's version of Peters show no interest in African women. It is to be presumed that, at this period—in which sexual contact between Aryan and non-Aryan was viewed as *Rassenschande* (racial dishonor) and was officially a crime—any allusions in such a direction would have been intolerable.

We should conclude by returning to the thesis of Hannah Arendt that all racial discourses of the Nazis were first explored and exploited in the colonial sphere. The present essay has sought to examine how three such ideologies—Anglophobia, anti-Semitism and Aryanism—were propagated in colonial literature at the time of Wilhelm II, during the Weimar Republic and in the Hitler era. We saw how the authors persistently attempted to paint a new portrait of the character of Peters (often diverging greatly from what appears to have been the historical Peters), in order to fit him into *völkisch* and National Socialist discourses. Finally, it must be acknowledged that they did this with some success—so well, indeed, that Walter Frank (1905–45), the Nazi historian who edited Peters's collected works (and later committed suicide at the end of Hitler's regime), could praise Carl Peters as “one of the great educators of the German nation.”⁴⁹

NOTES

1. See Arne Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856–1918: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).
2. See Constant Kpao Sarè, *Carl Peters et l'Afrique: un mythe dans l'opinion publique, la littérature et la propagande politique en Allemagne* (Hamburg: Dr. Covac, 2006), p. 440.
3. See Kurt Büttner, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Kolonialpolitik in Ostafrika* (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), pp. 45–7; Fritz F. Müller, *Deutschland, Sansibar, Ostafrika. Geschichte einer deutschen Kolonialeroberung 1884–1890* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959), pp. 43–5.
4. See Martin Baer and Olaf Schröter, *Eine Kopffagd. Deutsche in Ostafrika. Spuren kolonialer Herrschaft* (Berlin: Links, 2001), pp. 34–6. See also Mary E. Townsend, *Macht und Ende des deutschen Kolonialreiches* (Münster: Lit, 1988), pp. 134–6.
5. See August Bebel, “Die Kolonialpolitik ist mit Blut geschrieben,” in *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, vol. 4 (Munich: Saur, 1995), pp. 92–53.
6. See Martin Reuss, “The Disgrace and Fall of Carl Peters: Morality, Politics and *Staatsräson* in the Time of Wilhelm II,” *Central European History*, 14 (1981), 110–41.
7. “Dr. Carl Peters Estates and Exploration Co.” (later South East Africa Ltd.). See “Mein zweiter Aufenthalt in England,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, ed. by Walter Frank (Berlin: Beck, 1944), pp. 95–107. On the “Ophir” theory, see Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985), p. 170.

8. Mentioned by Uwe Wieben, *Carl Peters. Das Leben eines deutschen Kolonialisten* (Rostock: Neuer Hochschulschriftenverlag, 2000), p. 65.
9. See the article by Michael Salewski, "Pathologischer Ehrgeiz. Carl Peters war eine Galionsfigur des Alldeutschen Verbands," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8 August 2005, p. 6.
10. On the monuments to Peters, see also Joachim Zeller, "'... Sein Wirken und der Gedenkstein sind umstritten.' Die Denkmäler für Carl Peters im Geschichtsunterricht," *Geschichte, Erziehung, Politik*, 6 (1997), p. 365f.
11. See the book by Heinrich Schnee, *Die koloniale Schuldlüge* (1924), 12th edn (Munich: Knorr & Hirth, 1940).
12. See Wieben, *Carl Peters*, pp. 83–90.
13. *NS-Reichsspiegel*, vol. 6, 1937. Quoted by Walter Frank, in Carl Peters, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 92.
14. On German colonial literature concerning Africa, see Joachim Warmbold, "Ein Stückchen neudeutsche Erd . . ." *Deutsche Kolonial-Literatur* (Frankfurt/M.: Haag & Herchen, 1982).
15. "Die Begründerin des deutschen Kolonialromans. Zum 75. Geburtstag von Frieda Freiin von Bülow," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 44 (1932), p. 272.
16. See "Wie schön war die Zeit. Kolonialschuldlüge und Kolonialnostalgie in der Weimarer Republik," in Martin Baer and Olaf Schröter, *Eine Kopffjagd. Deutsche in Ostafrika*, pp. 145–55.
17. Edith Salburg, *Carl Peters und sein Volk* (Weimar: Duncker, 1929).
18. Paul Baecker, "Carl Peters 1856–1918," in *Die großen Deutschen. Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. by Willy Andreas, vol. 4 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1936), pp. 228–43.
19. Josef Viera, *Maria in Petersland. Roman* (Breslau: Bergstadt, 1937); Josef Buchhorn, *Weg in die Welt. Ein Schauspiel um den deutschen Mann Carl Peters* (Schöneberg: Schwabe, 1940).
20. *Carl Peters gewinnt Deutsch-Ostafrika*, ed. by Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Berlin, 1939).
21. See an image of the stamp in G.L. Steer, *Judgment on German Africa* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1939), title page.
22. There are more than 22 streets named after Carl Peters in Germany, according to Arne Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism*, p. 253.
23. In 1939, a fleet tender of the *Kriegsmarine* was given the name "Carl Peters." See <<http://www.german-navy.de/kriegsmarine/ships/fleettender/carlpeters/history.html>> [accessed 1 September 2008].
24. Mentioned by Klaus Hildebrand, *Vom Reich zum Weltreich. Hitler, NSDAP und koloniale Fragen 1919–1945* (Munich: Fink, 1969), p. 435.
25. See Dorothea Hollstein, *Antisemitische Filmpropaganda* (Berlin: Verlag Dokumentation, 1971), p. 334.
26. Kay Dohnke, "Völkische Literatur und Heimatliteratur 1870–1918," in *Handbuch zur "Völkischen Bewegung" 1871–1918*, ed. by Uwe Puschner (Munich: Saur, 1999), p. 668.
27. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951).
28. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
29. For an overview, see Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Studien zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Nationalsozialismus* (Münster: Lit, 2008).
30. Admiral z. D. Breusing, "Im übrigen meine ich, dass Englands Weltherrschaft zu zerstören sei!" in *Alldeutsche Blätter*, 24 (1914), p. 333f.
31. Carl Peters, "England, unser eigentlichster Feind" (1918), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, p. 506.

32. Frieda von Bülow, *Im Lande der Verheißung. Ein deutscher Kolonial-Roman* (1899) (Dresden: Reißner, 1914), p. 306.
33. Edith Salburg, *Carl Peters und sein Volk* (Carl Peters and his People), pp. 3–7.
34. Klaus Hildebrand, *Vom Reich zum Weltreich*, p. 421.
35. Otto Küster, in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 23 March 1941, p. 6.
36. See Arne Perras, *Carl Peters*, p. 183.
37. Phrase cited from Max Robert Gerstenhauer, *Der völkische Gedanke in Vergangenheit und Zukunft* (Leipzig: Armanen, 1933), p. 25.
38. In the discussion of the Kilimanjaro killings, Kayser in fact tried his best to protect Peters. See Martin Reuss, “The Disgrace and Fall of Carl Peters,” p. 128f.
39. Erich zu Klampen, *Carl Peters. Ein deutsches Schicksal im Kampf um Ostafrika* (A German Fate in the Struggle for East Africa) (Berlin: Siep, 1938), p. 193f.
40. See Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 9th edn (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1937), pp. 304–6.
41. Edith Salburg, *Carl Peters und sein Volk*, p. 170.
42. Alfred Funke, *Carl Peters. Der Mann, der Deutschland ein Imperium schaffen wollte* (Berlin: Metten, 1937), p. 46–8.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
44. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) was one of the initiators of the concept of Aryanism. See, for instance, Chamberlain, *Arische Weltanschauung*, 7th edn (Munich: Bruckmann, 1934).
45. Frieda von Bülow, *Tropenkoller. Episode aus dem deutschen Kolonialleben* (Berlin: Fontane, 1905), p. 11f.
46. Josef Viera, *Maria in Petersland*, p. 331f.
47. Frieda von Bülow, *Der Konsul. Vaterländischer Roman aus unseren Tagen* (Berlin: Fontane, 1891), p. 61.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
49. Walter Frank, “Einleitung: Carl Peters,” in Peters, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, p. vi.