

Wildenthal, L. (2010). Gender and Colonial Politics after the Versailles Treaty. In Kathleen Canning, Kerstin Barndt, and Kristin McGuire (Eds.), *Weimar Publics/ Weimar Subjects. Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s* (pp. 339-359). New York: Berghahn.

## Gender and Colonial Politics after the Versailles Treaty

Lora Wildenthal

In November 1918, the revolutionary government of republican Germany proclaimed the political enfranchisement of women. In June 1919, Article 119 of the Versailles Treaty announced the disenfranchisement of German men and women as colonizers. These were tremendous changes for German women and for the colonialist movement. Yet colonialist women's activism changed surprisingly little, and the Weimar Republic proved to be a time of vitality for the colonialist movement.

The specific manner in which German decolonization took place profoundly shaped interwar colonialist activism. It took place at the hands of other colonial powers and at the end of the first "total" war. The fact that other imperial metropolises forced Germany to relinquish its colonies, and not colonial subjects (many of whom had tried and failed to drive Germans from their lands in previous years), meant that German colonialists focused their criticisms on those powers. When German colonialists demanded that the Versailles Treaty be revised so that they could once again rule over Africans and others, they were expressing not only a racist claim to rule over supposed inferiors but also a reproach to the Entente powers for betraying fellow white colonizers.

The specific German experience of decolonization affected how Germans viewed their former colonial subjects. In other cases of decolonization, bitter wars of national liberation dismantled fantasies of affection between colonizer and colonized. In the German case, the absence of an all-out confrontation with colonial subjects nourished colonialists' fantasy that Africans, Pacific Islanders, and Chinese had never wanted them to leave. This fantasy was expressed in the titles of interwar colonialist books such as *Master, Come Back* and *When Will the Germans Finally Return?* and through the frequent invocation of individual Africans' statements of loyalty.<sup>1</sup> After 1919, then, [End Page 339] colonialists thoroughly sentimentalized and romanticized the relationship of German colonizer to colonized.

Germany's specific manner of decolonization also affected gender relations among German colonialists. German men could no longer claim the colonies as quintessentially male space. Now the combat front of the First World War, as direct or vicarious experience, took the place of the colonies as a key site of "male fantasies." And, as in the earliest years of colonial

conquest, nurses were the only women allowed into that male space.<sup>2</sup> Colonialist women no longer criticized German men for excluding them from a colonial paradise, but rather joined with the men in criticizing the Entente powers. Colonialist women's fantasies of colonial freedom and independence, as well as their organizational efforts, still sometimes conflicted with men's. Yet colonialist women most often expressed their relationship to German men as one of maternal solicitude and comradeship in the face of a common victimization.

The new, post-1919 German colonialist identity, which was inflected with a profound sense of victimhood, turned out to be well suited to colonialist women. In the pre-First World War colonialist movement, women had to emphasize their uniquely feminine expertise in order to preserve their niche. While the Weimar Republic ended the political inequality of women that had produced those strategies, the strategies themselves persisted. Colonialist women used their new formal political voice to perpetuate their claim to feminine expertise, especially through maternalism.<sup>3</sup> While their rhetoric of unique feminine tasks was a sign of weakness and constrained choices before the war, now that same rhetoric found new salience under conditions of imposed decolonization.

Colonialist women were well suited in several respects to mount agitation in the 1920s and 1930s. Colonialist men's channels of high politics and big business, from which women had always been excluded, had become less important. Diplomatic protests to the Entente powers were fruitless. Business between Germany and its former colonies was at first forbidden, then struggled in the mid-1920s before receiving another blow in 1929. Colonialist women, who had developed their projects at a time when women lacked a formal political voice or recognized expertise in statecraft, science, or large-scale business, were less seriously hampered by these new restrictions. The loss of formal political authority over Africans and Pacific Islanders did not affect their programs as much as it did many colonialist men's because secular colonialist women had always directed most of their efforts at other Germans. Several thousand Germans lived in the former colonies, and colonialist women were able to continue their femininely "unpolitical" work in nursing, schools, settlement of unmarried women, and aid to needy German families.<sup>4</sup>

The Women's League of the German Colonial Society (Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft) and the Women's Red Cross Association for [End Page 340] Nursing in the Colonies (Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz für Krankenpflege in den Kolonien), the two main prewar organizations run by and for colonialist women, argued that the best way to overcome the decolonization imposed by the Entente was a gradual, informal retaking of the former colonies household by household, community by community. Colonialist women's focus on feminine essence and the household, rather than formal political boundaries, was now a positive advantage, for after the First World War the household was the only territory that many Germans felt they could still control. Hedwig Heyl, the home economics expert who served as chairwoman of the Women's League from 1910 until 1920, responded to the Versailles Treaty article that removed the colonies from German rule with the motto, "Wherever Germans are abroad, colonization is taking place, regardless of the territory that may be disputed them."<sup>5</sup> Like much revisionist and antirepublican rhetoric of the interwar years, this motto was both vacuous and extreme. By conflating Germans' mere existence with the power ambitions of colonization, it politicized everyday existence and deformalized the rules and procedures of colonial rule, citizenship, and borders. It also made new alliances possible: older distinctions and rivalries dissolved among advocates of colonial Germans, Germans living in East Central Europe, and Germans in places such as Brazil or Canada. Members of all these groups joined organizations such as the German Protection League for Borderlands Germans and Germans Abroad

(Deutscher Schutzbund für das Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschrum). Legal citizenship was no longer the main criterion of Germanness for Germans whose homes were now located in Poland and Czechoslovakia, or for Germans in the Southwest African mandate who accepted South African citizenship in 1925 in exchange for the right to remain there undisturbed. The definition of who was a German shifted to "cultural" public enactments such as church attendance.<sup>6</sup> Colonialist women's existing formulas for conjuring feminine and German essence were tailor-made for anti-republican and *völkisch*, or racialized German, agitation.

As historians of German feminism have noted, women who had opposed feminism and suffrage rights before the war were as quick as Left-liberal and socialist women to seize their new political rights in 1918.<sup>7</sup> Politically active conservative women in organizations such as the housewives' associations used women's new basic political rights to oppose the republic itself.<sup>8</sup> The rapid prominence of these nationalist and right-wing women is less surprising when seen in the context of their political mobilization in nationalist associations already before the First World War. Women gained experience in committee work, agitation materials, and public speaking in the Patriotic Women's Leagues (Vaterländische Frauenvereine), the German-Evangelical Women's League (Deutsch-Evangelischer Frauenbund), the German League against Women's Emancipation (Deutscher Bund zur Bekämpfung der Frauenemanzipation, and women's nationalist and colonialist pressure groups.<sup>9</sup> The First World War [End Page 341] intensified that training, with its National Women's Service (Nationaler Frauendienst).<sup>10</sup> Else Frobenius (1875-1952), for example, gained journalistic and public speaking skills as general secretary of the Women's League of the German Colonial Society between 1913 and 1922, then discovered after 1919 that party, state, and voluntary association posts "fell into her lap."<sup>11</sup>

At the moment when key feminist demands had been realized or seemed within reach, and when increased numbers of women were entering universities and even studying the "colonial sciences,"<sup>12</sup> the older ideology of feminine expertise continued to shape women's colonialist activism. Colonialist women and men reiterated the anti-intellectual, professionalized housewifeliness that Heyl had done so much to promote across the women's movement.<sup>13</sup> A pamphlet from during the First World War, for example, sought to gain women's support for the colonial empire by presenting economic problems in terms of a fictional housewife's everyday use of leather, cooking oil, cotton, and chocolate.<sup>14</sup> The pamphlet conflated "household" with "economy" (both *Wirtschaft*). Colonialists offered the female citizen of the Weimar Republic similar fare after the war. For example, during the 1925 "Colonial Week," the colonialist and feminist politician Else Lüders addressed "the housewives of Berlin" on the importance of tropical products for running a household.<sup>15</sup> The conflation of "household" and "economy" connected German women's new political role, which required them to be aware of economic issues, with traditional gender roles.

Both the Women's League and the Women's Red Cross Association came to define Germanness and its propagation in terms of individuals and households, not by state territory. They saw the individual Germans or German families they supported as outposts of German culture. The Women's Red Cross Association expressed this shift in 1922 when it changed the rest of its name from "for Nursing in the Colonies" to "for Germans Overseas" (Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz für Deutsche über See). The organization continued its work among Germans who remained or settled anew in the former colonies (including Qingdao and a new post in Tianjin), but added Germans living in Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Curaçao, Lithuania, Paraguay, Spain, and the United States.<sup>16</sup> The women's organizations no longer claimed to operate throughout various territories, but rather only among German persons and families in

those territories. Before the war the Women's Red Cross Association had never completely excluded colonial subjects from its services; now, it announced that colonial subjects would have to do without their help.<sup>17</sup> For the Women's League, the shift in focus from territory to individual persons meant the end of its attempts to change the sexual behavior of the entire population in a colony. If the Women's League or Women's Red Cross Association decided that recipients were deficient in racial or national virtue, they could easily cut off funds and repudiate them as representatives of German culture. **[End Page 342]** Discarding Germans found unworthy had never been so simple under formal colonial rule, as colonialists' fretting over the difficulty of deporting "white proletarians" indicated. Because the former colonies were no longer the legal responsibility of the German state, Weimar- and Nazi-era heirs of radical nationalism were more untrammled than ever in their selective representation of the former colonies as a pure German space and refuge from the realities of postwar Germany. Colonialist women, as female citizens of the Weimar Republic, now had the same formal access to the state as men-but at a moment when the state had lost importance among colonialists of both sexes.

### Colonial Revision in Weimar

Because colonial revisionism eventually became the property of the far right and especially the Nazi party, it is easy to overlook its appeal across the political spectrum in the early years of the Weimar Republic. Many Germans referred to Article 231 of the treaty, which placed complete responsibility for the war on Germany, as the "war guilt lie" (*Kriegsschuldlüge*). Colonialists adapted that slogan to refer to Article 119 and the Entente's accusations of cruelty as the "colonial guilt lie" (*koloniale Schuldlüge*). As the Left-liberal colonial expert Moritz Julius Bonn recalled, the manner of German decolonization "made many Germans colonial-minded who before had been in the habit of decrying colonies."<sup>18</sup> Anger at the "war guilt lie" and "colonial guilt lie" smothered domestic discussion of Germany's own annexationist war aims, which had included extensive Western and Eastern European lands as well as *Mittelafrika*, a swathe of the continent intended to connect Cameroon with German East Africa.<sup>19</sup>

In 1925, a procolonial caucus formed in the Reichstag. This Inter-Party Colonial Union (Interfraktionelle Koloniale Vereinigung) spanned, from Right to Left, the German National People's Party (DNVP), the German People's Party (DVP), the Catholic Center Party (Z), the German Democratic Party (DDP), and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The SPD, originally an entirely anticolonial party, had developed a wing in favor of "reformed" colonialism in the last years before the First World War. Now that wing gained the support of leading SPD women: Marie Juchacz, Wally Zepler, and Clara Bohm-Schuch proclaimed their opposition to Article 119.<sup>20</sup> Even the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), which had broken away from the SPD during the First World War out of principled opposition to annexations, briefly joined the revisionists: in March 1919 it voted in favor of a National Assembly resolution that called the anticipated Article 119 "unbearable, unfulfillable, and unacceptable."<sup>21</sup> That was the last time the USPD supported colonial revision, however. The new and small German Communist Party (KPD) rejected all precolonial statements. **[End Page 343]**

Likewise, only a few nonparliamentary political associations spoke out against colonial revision. One was the German branch of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom (Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit), to which several important German feminists, including the lawyer Anita Augspurg, belonged.<sup>22</sup> The colonialist movement

followed its public speeches with intense irritation. After a speech in favor of self-determination by peoples of color by Magda Hoppstock-Huth, a male colonialist reporter fulminated: "The 'modern' woman is as barren as this chatter. Women without children and nations without colonies-those are the results of free self-determination!"<sup>23</sup> Helene Stöcker, an important radical feminist and pacifist, participated in the League against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism's famous 1927 congress in Brussels.<sup>24</sup> Opposition to colonial revision could be dangerous in the first years after the war; the colonial soldier turned pacifist and anticolonial journalist Hans Paasche was murdered for his views in 1920.<sup>25</sup> Support for colonial revision, by contrast, posed neither physical nor political risks-which helps explain its ubiquity, including among women's organizations. The Federation of German Women's Associations (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, BDF) actively supported colonial revision. In 1920 its general manager, Dorothee von Velsen, and Else Frobenius organized a coalition of women's organizations to agitate on behalf of borderlands Germans and Germans abroad, including colonial Germans, which numbered, Frobenius claimed, 3 million members. And in 1921, Frobenius and the DVP Reichstag delegate Clara Mende organized a "Women's Committee against the Guilt Lie" (Frauenausschuss zur Bekämpfung der Schuldlüge).<sup>26</sup> These responses to Article 119 were far more common than those of Hoppstock-Huth, Stöcker, or Paasche.

Outrage over the "colonial guilt lie" served to unite Germans more effectively than real existing colonialism had ever done.<sup>27</sup> But new divisions soon arose. Alongside pure colonial revision--the demand for restoration of the colonies in exactly the same form as before the war--proposals for new forms of colonial power emerged. These proposals arose out of pragmatism in the face of the Entente's intransigence rather than from a principled turn away from formal empire. In 1920 former governor of Samoa and colonial secretary Wilhelm Solf suggested that international (white) oversight was appropriate for all colonies, not just the formerly German ones, in order to protect colonial subjects from abuses that had taken place in every modern colonial empire.<sup>28</sup> Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht (DDP) proposed in the early 1920s that the European states and the United States form a chartered company for the joint exploitation of lands extending from Africa to Russia.<sup>29</sup> Former colonial secretary Bernhard Dernburg (DDP) suggested in 1926 that Germans should work to increase their trade in tropical products and to improve conditions for German settlers abroad, but that formal political rule now looked too expensive and difficult due to "the race problem that has arisen in Africa" (he apparently [**End Page 344**] meant pan-Africanism).<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm Külz, now minister of the interior (DDP), favored Schacht's and Dernburg's ideas.

These proposals infuriated other, more rigid colonialists. Former governor of German East Africa Heinrich Schnee (DVP), the radical nationalist publicist Wilhelm Föllmer, and Franz Ritter von Epp, a *Freikorps* leader and Nazi Party member since 1928, called proposals such as Schacht's a "colonial policy stab in the back" and proclaimed their unswerving insistence that the former colonies be restored to full German control.<sup>31</sup> In the Reich Working Group on the Colonies (Koloniale Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft, KORAG), a coalition of colonialist organizations founded in 1922, they claimed the right to speak for genuine colonial revision. These extreme revisionists, who resisted the stabilization of the Weimar Republic, narrowed the political range of the colonialist movement and, from the mid-1920s, moved it toward the far right.

In the mid-1920s, the colonialist movement still included people whom the Nazis rejected, such as the Reich League of Jewish Front Soldiers member Theodor Freudenberger. He lectured in 1927 on his experiences as one of General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck's army in

German East Africa. Lettow-Vorbeck was colonialists' idol because he led the only German force that was undefeated in the field at the time of the armistice.<sup>32</sup> Freudenberger wished to disprove both the 'colonial guilt lie' and also two "prejudices": that Jews did not do their share of fighting during the First World War, and that Lettow-Vorbeck had been able to hold out so long because there were no Jews among his colonial force (in fact, Freudenberger noted, there were seventeen, some of whom died in action).<sup>33</sup> The notice of Freudenberger's lecture in *Der Kolonialdeutsche*, a periodical that served at various times in the 1920s as the official organ of the German Colonial Society, Women's League, Women's Red Cross Association, and several colonial veterans' associations, shows us that the myth of Jewish underrepresentation on the front in the First World War, exemplified by a census of Jews in the military in 1916, was alive and well.<sup>34</sup> It also shows that while colonial revision was important to Freudenberger, Freudenberger's concerns about anti-Semitism were not important to other colonialists. The notice of his lecture did not comment on how he disproved the "prejudices," but rather only on how well Freudenberger had argued against the "colonial guilt lie."

As for Lettow-Vorbeck, he took active part in armed counterrevolutionary activity since the first weeks of the Weimar Republic. The colonialist movement as a whole exhibited a clear antirepublican tendency by 1928.<sup>35</sup> The stock market crash of 1929 brought more support for far-Right positions. Under Schnee and Epp, the colonialist movement moved ever closer to the Nazi Party between 1928 and 1933. It was not necessarily an obvious partnership, for the Nazi Party had shown almost no interest in overseas colonial issues between 1919 and 1927, while the Right-liberal DVP had established itself as both the most strongly procolonial party and a prorepublican one.<sup>36</sup> The colonialists' [End Page 345] motive for joining forces with the Nazis was to escape their upper-bourgeois reputation and become a true movement of the common people (*Volksbewegung*). The Nazis, meanwhile, wanted to establish an alliance with traditional conservatives. In 1932, Schnee resigned from the DVP; by then he took for granted that the NSDAP was necessary to any solution to the crisis of the republic. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933, by which time the colonialist-Nazi alliance was already in place.<sup>37</sup> The Women's League and the Women's Red Cross Association enjoyed unbroken success across the political divide of 1933. The Women's League expanded from a 1925 membership of 6,500 to 20,560 in 1930, 24,000 in 1932, 25,000 in 1933, and 30,000 in 1936.<sup>38</sup> The Women's Red Cross Association also expanded from the latter half of the 1920s onward, regaining 14,000 members by 1928; in 1935 it reached a longtime goal of founding its own nursing mother house.<sup>39</sup>

### The German Woman as Victim

Throughout the Weimar Republic and into the Nazi era, colonialist women's writings continued to pour forth. Writers of the 1920s portrayed women in the colonies as victims and, as we will see below, also as mothers, and as emancipated comrades. Germany was defeated in 1918, and mobilized Africans were among the soldiers victorious over it. Germans experienced Africans in military authority over them in two episodes: the French, Belgian, and British occupation of the German colonies, and the French occupation of the Rhineland. France's militarization of colonial subjects, already controversial before the war, now became associated with rumors of sexual violence; imperial defeat was associated with sexual violence.<sup>40</sup> This was new: the German colonial empire had not seen any racialized rape scares like the intermittent

"Black Perils" in South Africa between 1893 and 1913, or the rape scare that led to the White Women's Protection Ordinance in British-controlled Papua New Guinea in 1926.<sup>41</sup>

As the Entente powers invaded and occupied the various German colonies, they interned and usually deported German civilians there. Only in Southwest Africa were Germans generally allowed to remain, except for male officials, who were deported mostly to South Africa.<sup>42</sup> Government officials who interviewed deported colonists upon arrival in Germany asked them leading questions with respect to race, in order to assemble evidence of Entente atrocities. "How rapid was the expulsion or escort out of the colony? Who carried it out (colored soldiers?) and how?" asked the official questionnaire. In cases of "maltreatment," the questionnaire asked: "By whom? (perhaps by colored soldiers?)"<sup>43</sup> Over the years, stock phrases of purple prose emerged for describing the deportations. A colonialist man recalled in 1931 the experiences of Ada Schnee, wife of the German East African governor Heinrich Schnee, during the Belgian occupation of the town of Tabora: "The Belgians swept in with wild hordes from the [End Page 346] Congo. The occupation of Tabora was indescribable ... perhaps never before in the world [*sic*] had white women been subjected to such persecution. In the middle of the night the women suddenly found savages in their bedrooms; with shaggy hair, protruding lips and red eyes they stood there with knife in hand before a delicate European woman and demanded everything."<sup>14</sup> The author of this passage had not been present at these events, nor even in Tabora; he was imagining them. In this case we can compare his statement directly with Ada Schnee's own. In her memoir, which by no means sought to minimize the violence and injustice of the Belgian occupation, Schnee described in comparatively sober terms how "many women found themselves suddenly facing a guard of *askari*, with arms at the ready, in their bedrooms."<sup>41</sup> Ada Schnee did mention elsewhere instances of rape during the occupation of Tabora--but the rape victims were African, not German women.<sup>46</sup>

Ada Schnee and Elly Proempeler, the deported widow of the district officer of Tabora killed in the war, did repeatedly mention sexual fear. Unlike the Rhineland protesters, however, they made a point of differentiating among Africans. Proempeler wrote, "I have been asked here at home so often, did not the blacks act very shamelessly toward us women as soon as we were alone," and made a point of contradicting this assumption.<sup>47</sup> She devoted an entire chapter to recording the aid that Africans and Afro-Arabs who had been under German rule rendered her. Here Proempeler was mobilizing the revisionist insistence on mutual affection between colonizer and colonized against a metropolitan racist sexual paranoia. Proempeler and Schnee reserved their language of sexual paranoia for the Congolese and other African soldiers under Entente rule. Even so, none of the memoirs by women deportees records any rape or lesser sexual molestation of a German woman by an African man.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, the deportees' responses to the government interviewers showed that German colonists suffered many serious hardships, such as being forced to march long distances while ill and underfed, arbitrary measures at the hands of local officials, and even stonings by hostile European colonists in French or Belgian colonies. They also indicated outrage and fear at being placed under the guard of African soldiers.<sup>49</sup> But no women among the interview respondents were able to confirm any instances of sexual violence.

Women deportees intended their published diaries to document Entente outrages, and they interpreted the shame of military defeat in terms of women's sexual vulnerability. Yet what these memoirs mainly conveyed was a record of German women's patriotic fortitude and ability to protect themselves, even in the absence of their husbands. Schnee, for example, referred

repeatedly to how she faced down British and Belgian officials by simply refusing to follow their orders. They were victims, but without the stigma of sexual defeat.

Depictions of the second episode of rape scares about colonial soldiers, the so-called black shame on the Rhine (*schwarze Schmach am Rhein*), stand in marked contrast to the expulsion of German settlers from the colonies. [End Page 347] Between 1919 and 1925, France occupied the Rhineland with a military force that included soldiers from French colonies in Africa and Indochina. The occupation elicited outrage from German men and women of all political persuasions.<sup>50</sup> In letters, petitions, and assemblies they expressed their fury at African and other non-European soldiers' exercising military authority over Germans and at purported occasions of violence toward civilians, especially women. Very few of these claims of assaults were substantiated; most were utter invention.<sup>51</sup> The campaign against the "black shame on the Rhine" was fed by the imagination--a quite pornographic imagination, as agitation materials from the campaign show--rather than facts.<sup>52</sup> Both women and men participated. In her pamphlet *Men Unarmed, Women Unprotected*, one agitator, Luise Paasche, asserted that women had to take up the struggle against the war guilt lie and the "black shame on the Rhine" because male political leaders had failed them.<sup>53</sup> Rape symbolized not only defeat at the hands of the uncivilized, but also the weakness of German men, especially those who were in charge of the new Weimar Republic. Black people's presence in Germany was associated with defeat, humiliation, and powerlessness. Interracial desire, which had been admitted and sometimes even praised before the First World War, was now denied and reinterpreted as rape. The 600-800 children born to colonial soldiers and German women were stigmatized as "Rhineland bastards" and subjected to sterilization in 1937.<sup>54</sup>

Both episodes show that racial and sexual fears could overwhelm empirical facts in narratives of the end of German colonial rule. But while a reworking of reality into a symbolic narration took place in both the campaign against the "black shame on the Rhine" and in accounts of the colonial deportations, the stakes for German women were not the same in both. Sexual victimhood inside Germany was additional evidence of the injustice of the Versailles Treaty; indeed, the more extreme the sexual predation, the sounder the case revisionists could launch. Sexual victimhood in the former German colonies had another meaning that made it difficult for colonialist women to express. White women's sexual vulnerability was one of the oldest arguments for excluding them from the African colonies--but colonialist women during and after the First World War wanted to forge ahead with colonial projects, even in the absence of formal colonies. They had no intention of disqualifying themselves from active roles in the former colonies.

### **The German Woman as Mother**

The Women's League posed as an organization that stood above politics. With the loss of formal empire, this depoliticized notion of female colonialist activism took on even more importance. It was achieved primarily through [End Page 348] images of maternal solicitude. Adda von Liliencron, the first chairwoman of the Women's League, played the role of mother for "sons" (colonial soldiers); Hedwig Heyl did the same for "daughters" (women entering professionalized housework and other new or reformed women's careers); and Hedwig von Bredow, chairwoman between 1920 and 1932, presented herself as a mother to both sexes and all ages. Bredow was the first Women's League chairwoman to see a German colony firsthand (she



traveled to Southwest Africa in 1927-28 when she was 75 years old, and to Tanganyika and Southwest Africa in 1931), and gained the nickname of "Mother of the Germans in Africa" (Mutter der Afrikaner).<sup>55</sup> The Women's League represented itself as a caring and providing mother of colonial Germans: it offered loans to colonists' family members who happened to be visiting Germany in summer 1914 and were stranded there, it placed colonists' children with families in Germany as "colonial godchildren" (*Kolonialpatenschaften*), and it welcomed the deportees back to Germany, receiving them with food and clothing.<sup>56</sup>

The mothers of Germans abroad continued their pre-First World War efforts to maintain German culture in communities abroad. They focused especially on youth and on schools, as institutions both close to home and ostensibly beyond politics.<sup>57</sup> They quickly complained that the mandate administrations were neglecting the needs of German communities. Now other Europeans or whites, not "natives," were the greatest threat to German culture. Meanwhile, the Women's League saw African youth not as the object of German colonizing efforts but as rivals for the resources of the mandate administration.<sup>58</sup> Frobenius's successor as general secretary of the Women's League, Nora von Steinmeister, complained in 1933: "For negro children in today's Southwest and East Africa, the best has been provided, the mandate government and the missions have built beautiful schools for them. Even high schools are available for negro children-but German parents for the most part lack the means to provide even only a primary school education for their children."<sup>59</sup> They demanded accommodation for white German students in the colonies.

The mandate administrations at first rejected German colonists' requests for special German schools or for German programs within existing white children's schools. Southwest Africa was the first to yield on the issue, and in late 1922 the Women's League began to reconstruct and expand German kindergartens, pupils' dormitories, and schools in Lüderitzbucht, Gibeon, Keetmanshoop, Karibib, and Swakopmund.<sup>60</sup> In 1932, the Women's League established a dormitory, the "Hedwig von Bredow House," for German children from all over the mandate who were attending school in the capital, Windhoek. In April 1933, the Women's League opened the Hedwig Heyl Housekeeping School (Hedwig-Heyl-Haushaltungsschule) in Windhoek. The Women's League also shipped books and periodicals, as long as they were not "too modern," for the edification of youth and families in the mandate.<sup>61</sup> **[End Page 349]**

After 1925, when Germans were allowed to reenter Tanganyika, as many as two thousand Germans settled there, mostly as coffee planters.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to Southwest Africa, German East Africa had offered hardly any schools for white German pupils before the war. The Women's League created new schools during the 1920s in Lupembe, Sunga, and Oldeani.<sup>63</sup> The Women's League also sent governesses to isolated farmsteads in Tanganyika, Southwest Africa, and Angola, where Portugal allowed a number of German colonists to relocate. The Women's League also made an effort to complete children's sentimental education as Germans by bringing them to Germany for apprenticeships or university education.<sup>64</sup> It gave scholarships and operated dormitories for them in Bad Harzburg (1936), and in Wuppertal and Blankenburg (1939). Meanwhile, to sustain the interest of Germany-born youth in the former colonies, the Women's League carried out procolonial agitation in the schools, helped organize "colonial youth groups" (which had to join the Hider Youth in 1933), and contributed to a colonialist periodical for youth created in 1924, *Jambo*.

The Women's Red Cross Association concentrated on that other primary task of German mothers, nursing, declaring that "there can be no more beautiful task for the German woman than to see to it that Germans abroad do not have to do without German nursing care in case of need

or illness.<sup>65</sup> It managed to retain one hospital in the former colonies during the war, the Princess Rupprecht Convalescent Home in Swakopmund, Southwest Africa; all others were seized. But it was permitted to resume activities in Tanganyika in 1925 and Cameroon in 1927, and it regained or founded anew several hospitals and clinics during the Weimar Republic.<sup>66</sup> It also continued its prewar efforts to sustain kindergartens. It took on one new project: to "promote the image of Germandom in Turkey" by training "young Turkish women from good families" as nurses.<sup>67</sup> Like the Women's League, the Women's Red Cross Association sought to provide for the cultural needs of German youth, forming its own youth groups in Germany in 1926.<sup>68</sup>

In 1926, the Women's League resumed what had been its main prewar effort: the sponsorship of unmarried women's emigration. The first women emigrants to be sponsored after the war went to Southwest Africa and Tanganyika; in 1929 the Women's League began to send women to South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, South America, and Mexico as well.<sup>69</sup> The numbers of women sponsored soon surpassed those of the prewar years.<sup>70</sup> Colonialist women and men still disputed which was the best sort of women to sponsor.<sup>71</sup> The Women's League's continuing interest in women with certification led to the founding of a third colonial housekeeping school in Germany in 1926. A cooperative venture of the Women's League, the Holstein town of Rendsburg, and the Reich Ministry of Education (the Women's Red Cross Association had dropped out after showing early interest), its first students enrolled in 1927.<sup>72</sup> Unlike the earlier schools at Bad Weilbach and Witzzenhausen, the school in **[End Page 350]** Rendsburg was a resounding success. Enrolled at full capacity from 1930 onwards, it grew in size continuously and remained in operation far longer—until 1945--than its predecessors had during the era of actual colonial empire.<sup>73</sup> Also unlike the earlier women's schools, the Rendsburg school was intended not only to train "girls and women" (between seventeen and thirty-four years of age) from Germany for Africa, but also to train colonists' daughters in the ways of metropolitan Germanness. Its first pupils included young women from the Southwest African mandate.<sup>74</sup> Its curriculum taught skills such as housecleaning, cooking, butchering, cheesemaking, woodworking, and livestock care, as well as basic medical skills and "colonial sciences;" especially foreign languages, politics and, beginning in 1930, genetics (*Vererbungslehre*).<sup>75</sup>

Agnes von Boemcken described in 1930 how the domestic tasks, such as cooking, sewing, and nursing, were not necessarily the most important thing the school offered:

The deeper, more beautiful part of this school is this: that all who were united in a joyful year of youth should enter into life with the consciousness: We are German women, called upon to contribute in the smallest daily realms of life to keeping German that which is German .... We women, we German women want to prove that it is not governments and peoples who can take or give colonies as they see fit, but rather that they are built up and preserved through quiet, unobtrusive work; that the German wife and mother will be victorious in spite of all treaties and international agreements.<sup>76</sup>

In Boemcken's rendition of Hedwig Heyl's decade-old motto, women were inherently revisionist because, as mothers, they lived and worked in a realm that was beyond politics and more powerful than politics.

## The German Woman as Emancipated Comrade

During and after the First World War, comradeship became a ubiquitous term for both sexual and nonsexual relationships between women and men.<sup>77</sup> Men emerged from the war more vulnerable than before; women experienced new powers. Gender relations no longer presumed to the same extent women's dependency on men. Instead, women represented themselves working alongside men or even supplanting them. Yet while the prewar legal and social subordination of women changed in the 1920s and 1930s, equality did not take its place. The interwar period was a time of men's ambivalence about women and of women's ambivalence about emancipation.<sup>78</sup>

Across Europe, the "reconstruction of gender" and reordering of women's lives, appearances, and aspirations in the wake of the First World War was fundamental to the reconstruction of national identity.<sup>79</sup> At a time when masculine identity was extremely vulnerable, women emerged as symbols of a coherent [End Page 351] culture and society, helping to limit, or at the very least provide a framework for, political change. Germans vented their fascination and irritation with the new possibilities of women through the image of the "New Woman." The dream of some and nightmare of others, the New Woman was politically enfranchised and economically and sexually independent. Free of family responsibilities, she embraced consumerism and entertainment and lived for herself. Both contemporaries and historians have been skeptical of the image of the New Woman, seeing it as a mask obscuring women's actual circumstances of continued low pay and family burdens. Indeed, the New Woman was more image than reality, given that few women really possessed much of their own economic security and autonomy from family responsibilities. Even if women did enjoy new freedoms, those freedoms were linked to new limitations and expectations: to be a cheerful, sexy, and tireless rationalized worker at home and in the workplace.<sup>80</sup>

Although the Right and far Right excoriated the New Woman, there were some women of those political views who evinced a New Woman-like independence. One was the anti-Semitic publicist Lenore Kühn (1878-1955), who was twice divorced, received a doctorate in philosophy in 1908, and joined many far-Right causes during Weimar, including the neopagan and anti-Semitic German Faith Movement (*Deutsche Glaubensbewegung*). She edited a women's supplement to the DNVP's official journal, and briefly published her own monthly, *Woman and Nation* (*Frau und Nation*) in the mid-1920s. She also penned a sex manual, *Diotima, The School of Love*, at the suggestion of Eugen Diederichs, a noted publisher close to the youth movement. She intended *Diotima* to be a "natural history of love" that avoided the "usual conflation of the social-ethical and the purely erotic."<sup>81</sup> After 1933 Kühn was quite close to Nazism without ever joining the party. Other, similarly independent-minded far-Right women did become active in the NSDAP, such as Lydia Gottschewski and Elsbeth Zander.<sup>82</sup> Some colonialist women also displayed a New Woman-like independence, such as Else Frobenius (1875-1952), who, twice-divorced and childless, was continuously immersed in her career as a journalist, book author, and expert on political matters affecting borderlands Germans and Germans abroad from before the First World War through the end of the Second World War.

Some interwar colonialist women undertook journeys alone to the former colonies for purposes quite apart from marriage and motherhood, and so may be seen as colonialist exemplars of the New Woman. While such journeys were not unprecedented, their completely positive and serious reception in the colonialist movement was. Suspicion or sarcasm no longer inevitably greeted single women who were not intent on marriage, as it had before the war.<sup>83</sup> In 1928, a

naturalist Gulla Pfeffer became the first German woman to carry out a research expedition in Africa "without aid or accompaniment by other Europeans."<sup>84</sup> Several women produced political travelogues after journeys around the former [End Page 352] colonies by automobile and airplane. They visited scattered German settlers and reported on political and economic conditions. In the late 1930s, Ilse Steinhoff toured Southwest Africa, South Africa, and Tanganyika by herself, briskly dismissing the notion that her trip required any special bravery, and published a book of her photographs.<sup>85</sup> Another photojournalist, Eva MacLean, published an account of a trip she undertook alone to Cameroon.<sup>86</sup> Women like Steinhoff and MacLean needed no husband or family to take them to the colonies. They presented themselves as independent advocates of revisionism who were fully capable of judging Germans' political future and Africans' attitudes, much as Paul Rohrbach and Wilhelm Külz had done before the war. Indeed, they claimed to be able to do everything men did, and some things--such as adhering to rules of hygiene while on safari—better.<sup>87</sup>

Interwar colonialist women's writings often depicted a comradeship with German men that permitted independence for women without feminist critique of existing social relations. A 1937 colonialist novel by Christine Holstein, for example, portrays a wife whose husband's physical frailty serves as a plot device for her guilt-free emancipation.<sup>88</sup> The two are struggling farmers, in part because of the lasting effects of her husband's injuries sustained in the First World War. After her husband's death, she becomes a skillful farmer and proudly surveys her fields, "with sharp eyes sweeping across the wide open spaces, satisfied with her herds, her cornfields, her bank account."<sup>89</sup> Even though Southwest Africa was so far from Germany, and not even officially German any longer, it remained a colonial setting where women could weave together feminine independence, German chauvinism, deference to a (dead) husband, and economic success. As these writings suggest, the image of the emancipated woman from the early years of the Weimar Republic persisted among colonialist women in the Nazi period, even as the meaning of that emancipation was hollowed out.

## Notes

This essay was originally published as a chapter in my book *German Women for Empire* (Durham 2001). It is reprinted here with permission of Duke University Press.

1. Ida Schuffenhauer, *Komm wieder Bwana. Ein deutsches Schicksal* (Berlin, 1940), and Senta Dinglreiter, *Wann kommen die Deutschen endlich wieder? Eine Reise durch unsere Kolonien in Afrika* (Leipzig, 1935). On loyalists see, e.g., Johanna Rosenkranz, "Eine Hamburger Schule zeigt ihre Kolonialschau," *Die Frau und die Kolonien*, no. 12 (December 1937): 184, and "Brief eines Kamerun-Negers," *Übersee- und Kolonialzeitung* 8, no. 19 (1 October 1928): 327. Colonialists frequently invoked the colony Togo and the East African soldiers (*Askari*) who fought under General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck in the First World War as collectively loyal. E.g., Heinrich Schnee's *German Colonization Past and Future: The Truth About the German Colonies* (London, 1926), esp. 167-68; and Adjai: Oloukpona-Yinnon, *Unter deutschen Palmen. Die "Musterkolonie" Togo im Spiegel deutscher Kolonialliteratur (1884-1944)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998).
2. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies. Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History* (Minneapolis, 1987), and Regina Schulte, "The Sick Warrior's Sister: Nursing During the First World War," in *Gender Relations in German History. Power, Agency and Experience from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996), 121-41.
3. On maternalist rhetoric after 1918, see Raffael Scheck, "Women against Versailles: Maternalism and Nationalism of Female Bourgeois Politicians in the Early Weimar Republic," *German Studies Review* 22 (1999): 21-42.

4. There had been 14,830 Germans in German Southwest Africa in 1914; colonialists counted about 12,000 in the mandate by 1930. In German East Africa before the war, there had been 5,336 German colonists; by 1930 there were 2,000 in postwar Tanganyika. Wilhelm Arning, "Die Stellung des Frauenbundes in der Kolonialpolitik von heute," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit*, ed. Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft (Berlin, 1930), 39.
5. Cited in Else Frobenius, *30 Jahre koloniale Frauenarbeit* (Berlin, 1936), 17.
6. Arning, "Die Stellung des Frauenbundes," 39.
7. Raffael Scheck, "German Conservatism and Female Political Activism in the Early Weimar Republic," *German History* 15 (1997): 34-55, and Ute Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich. Diskurs, soziale Formation und politische Mentalität* (Göttingen, 1998), 241-45.
8. Renate Bridenthal, "Professional Housewives: Stepsisters of the Feminist Movement," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Atina Grossmann, Marion Kaplan, and Renate Bridenthal (New York, 1984), 153-73.
9. Doris Kaufmann, *Frauen zwischen Aufbruch und Reaktion. Protestantische Frauenbewegung in der ersten Hälfte des 20 Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1988), and Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich*, esp. 130-51.
10. Sabine Hering, *Die Kriegsgewinnlerinnen. Praxis und Ideologie der deutschen Frauenbewegung im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Pfaffenweiler, 1990), 47-80.
11. Else Frobenius, "Der goldene Schlüssel. Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben," 132. This is a typescript written in 1942-1944 and now published as *Erinnerungen einer Journalistin zwischen Kaiserreich und Zweitem Weltkrieg*, ed. Lora Wildenthal (Weimar, 2005).
12. Weimar-era women in the colonial sciences included the linguist Elise Kootz-Kretschmer and anthropologist Hilde Thurnwald.
13. Heyl responded to the war with even greater determination to "promote and uplift the calling of the housewife and mother in all strata of the population." Frobenius, "Der goldene Schlüssel," 103.
14. Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, ed., *Die deutsche Hausfrau und die Kolonien* (Berlin, n.d.), 9.
15. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 5, no. 5 (1 May 1925): 99.
16. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 5, no. 1 (31 December 1924): 15 and 6, no. 17 (1 September 1926): 294-95, and *Die Brücke zur Heimat* (1928): 170 and (1929): 60.
17. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 4, no. 11 (29 October 1924): 195.
18. Moritz J. Bonn, *Wandering Scholar* (New York, 1948), 149.
19. Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York, 1967), 102-3, 317-19, 359-60, 596.
20. Adolf Rüger, "Das Streben nach kolonialer Restitution in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren; in *Drang nach Afrika. Die deutsche koloniale Expansionspolitik und Herrschaft in Afrika von den Anfängen bis zum Verlust der Kolonien*, ed. Helmuth Stoecker (Berlin, 1991), 265; and Alfred Mansfeld, ed., *Sozialdemokratie und Kolonien* (Münster, 1987).
21. Mary E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884-1918* (New York, 1966), 387.
22. Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, hereafter BA DKG 158, Bl. 56-58 ("Nie wieder Kolonien!" flier).
23. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 8, no. 5 (1 March 1928): 77, 78 (quote). On Hoppstock-Huth, see Ute Gerhard, *Ünerhort. Die Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1991), 352, 384.
24. Hans Zache, "Deutschland und der Kongress der 'unterdrückten Völker,'" *Koloniale Rundschau*, no. 4 (1927): 99.
25. Hans Paasche, *Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschland*, ed. Franziskus Hähnel (Munich, 1988), 117.
26. Frobenius, "Der goldene Schlüssel," 122, 125.
27. Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York, 1986), 196-230, and Rüger, "Das Streben nach kolonialer Restitution."
28. Wilhelm Solf, *Afrika für Europa. Der koloniale Gedanke des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Neumiinster i.H., 1920).
29. Adolf Rüger, "Richtlinien und Richtungen deutscher Kolonialpolitik 1923-1926;" in *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Afrika. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Peter Sebald*, ed. Peter Heine and Ulrich van der Heyden (Pfaffenweiler, 1995), 454, 461; and Franz Ansprenger, *The Dissolution of the Colonial Empires* (New York, 1989), 125-26.
30. Rüger, "Richtlinien," 461. Külz's position is also documented there.
31. *Ibid.*, 460-61. Föllmer was editor of the populist and race purity-oriented *Koloniale Zeitschrift* before the war.

32. Although British and Belgian forces had occupied most of German East Africa by late 1916, Lettow-Vorbeck's force did not surrender until after Germany itself did in November 1918. On Lettow-Vorbeck, see Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*.
33. "Kolonialpropaganda beim jüdischen Frontsoldatenbund," *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 7, no. 5 (1 March 1927): 75.
34. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 73-75.
35. Hildebrand, *Vom Reich zum Weltreich*, 89-100.
36. *Ibid.*, 100, 219, 437.
37. *Ibid.*, 100-247, esp. 185-87 on Schnee.
38. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 27; and Steinmeister, "Jahresbericht ... 1929/30," 7. Its rapid expansion in the latter half of the 1920s reawakened the old conflict with the German Colonial Society over men who joined the former but not the latter. DKG 158, Bl. 18 (Steinmeister to DKG, 24 July 1929); Bl. 27 (DKG to Women's League, 10 June 1929); Bl. 191-92 (letter fragment), and the lists of men's names in BA DKG 158, Bl. 103-58, 177-90, which included Dernburg, Kuhn, Lindequist, Meyer-Gerhard, and Ramsay (Bl. 108, 184).
39. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 8, no. 9 (1 May 1928): 147, and Hildegard von Lekow, "50 Jahre Rotkreuzarbeit;" in Heinrich Schnee et al., *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien* (Leipzig, 1937), 290.
40. Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 193-238, and Melvin E. Page, "Introduction: Black Men in a White Men's War," 2-3, in Melvin E. Page, ed., *Africa and the First World War* (New York), 1987.
41. Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington, IN, 1991), 5-6.
42. Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 125.
43. BA RKA 1895, Bl. 4 (questionnaire).
44. Hans Draeger, "Ada Schnee, die Gartin," in Hans Draeger, ed., *Gouverneur Schnee. Ein Kündler und Mehrerer deutscher Geltung. Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1931), 125-26.
45. Ada Schnee, *Meine Erlebnisse während der Kriegszeit in Drutsch-Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1918), 110.
46. *Ibid.*, 109.
47. Elly Proempeler, *Kriegsgefangen quer durch Afrika. Erlebnisse einer deutschen Frau im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1918), 33.
48. These are Schnee, *Meine Erlebnisse*; Proempeler, *Kriegsgrfangen quer durch Afrika*; Maria Roscher, *Zwei Jahre Kriegsgefangen in West- und Nord-Afrika. Erlebnisse einer deutschen Frau* (Zurich, 1918); and Maria Matuschka, *Meine Erirmerungen aus Deutsch-Ostafrika von 1911-1919* (Leipzig, n.d.[1919]).
49. Reichskolonialamt, ed., *Die Kolonialdeutschen aus Kamerun und Togo in französischer Gefangenschaft* (Berlin, 1917); on African soldiers as guards, see 2, 160, and throughout the cited memoirs.
50. Some smaller number of Africans and other non-Europeans may have remained part of the occupation force until the end of the occupation in 1930. Gisela Lebzelter, "Die schwarze Schmach. Vorurteile-Propaganda-Mythos," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 37-58; Robert C. Reinders, "Racialism on the Left. E. D. Morel and the 'Black Horror on the Rhine,'" *International Review of Social History* 13 (1968): 1-28; and Tina Camp, Pascal Grosse, and Yara-Colette Lemke-Muniz de Faria, "Blacks, Germans, and the Politics of Imperial Imagination, 1920-60;" in *The Imperial Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susaane Zantop (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 208-14.
51. Sally Marks, "Black Watch on the Rhine: A Study in Propaganda, Prejudice and Prurience," *European Studies Review* 13 (1983): 297-334, and Reiner Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbasterde: Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit 1918-1937* (Dusseldorf, 1979), 23.
52. See the images reproduced in May Opitz, Katharina Ogunroye, and Dagmar Schultz, eds., *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, trans. Anne V. Adams (Amherst, MA, 1992), 46-47, and Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbasterde*, 14, 31.
53. Luise Paasche, *Männer wehrlos, Frauen schutzlos. Unsere Propagandareise gegn die Schuldflüge* (Neckargemünd, 1927), esp. 17-18; see also 20-28.
54. Camp, Grosse, and Lemke-Muniz de Faria, "Blacks, Germans, and the Politics of Imperial Imagination, 1920-60," 208 (statistic), and Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbasterde*.
55. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 18 (see also 27); and Else Frobenius, "'Und wenn sie gleich alt werden .. .' Dem Gedächtnis von Hedwig von Bredow," *Die Frau* 40 (1932-33): 93.
56. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 13-14. Some twenty years later, when the first German deportees from Tanganyika began to arrive in Germany in 1940, the Women's League (then Division IV of the Reich Colonial League) repeated these tasks. Agnes von Boemcken, "Deutsche Rückkehrer aus Ostafrika in der Heimat," *Die Frau und die Kolonien*, no. 3 (March 1940): 17-21.

57. While its statutes were not officially changed, the Women's League did publish a revised set of organizational goals that placed youth and education at the top. See, e.g., endpapers of *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* [1930]. See also Gertrud Schröder, "Fraufgaben in Südwestafrika," *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 8, no. 1 (1 January 1928): 7.
58. Karl Körner, "Vom deutschen Schulwesen in Südwest," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* [1930]: 14.
59. Nora von Steinmeister, "Aus dem Leben der Kolonialdeutschen," in *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Anton Mayer (Potsdam, 1933), 304. See also RKA 995, BL 224 (flier, n.d.).
60. Körner, "Vom deutschen Schulwesen in Südwest," 13.
61. Anne Maag, "Einrichtung von Lesemappen und Büchereien in Südwestafrika," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* (1930): 20-21.
62. The reentry dates for Germans in other former colonies varied according to each territory's administrative decision. Germans managed to repurchase expropriated plantations in Cameroon from 1925; in 1928, Germans were allowed to reenter New Guinea. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 26.
63. Theodor Gunzert, "Deutsches Schulwesen in Ostafrika," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* (1930): 9-10. See also BA RKA 995 passim, and Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford, 1971), 162, 188.
64. Margarete von Zastrow, "Fortbildung afrikanischer Jugend in Deutschland," *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* (1930): 31-34.
65. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 8 (1928): 58.
66. Hildegard von Lekow, "Rotkreuzarbeit in den Kolonien," in *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Anton Mayer (Potsdam, 1933), 289-291, and Hintrager, "Unsere Frauenauswanderung," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit*, ed. Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft (Berlin, 1930), 26-27.
67. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 6, no. 12 (15 June 1926): 214; 6, no. 15 (1 August 1926): 261; and 7 (1927): 411 (quote).
68. *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 6, no. 4 (1 March 1926): 62; and no. 8 (15 April 1926): 134.
69. Nora von Steinmeister, "Jahresbericht des Frauenbundes der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft 1929/30," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* (1930): 5. On Tanganyika, see BA RKA 72 passim.
70. In 1929-30, for example, the Women's League dispatched eighty-eight women and girls to Southwest Africa and Tanganyika, including sixty-four unmarried women. Steinmeister, "Jahresbericht ... 1929/30," 4.
71. Men still saw marriage and motherhood as the main goals. Hintrager, "Unsere Frauenauswanderung," 30; and Paul Rohrbach, *Afrika. Beiträge zu einer praktischen Kolonialkunde* (Berlin, 1943), 289. Hintrager, one of the authors of the German Southwest African ban on intermarriage, now directed the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs (*Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen*). See also BA RKA 72, BL 94 (Gunzert to Women's League, 20 August 1928); and BL 240 (Gunzert to Women's League, 28 March 1931). The new consensus that emerged is apparent in Nora von Steinmeister, "Jahresbericht ...," 5 and Hintrager, "Unsere Frauenauswanderung," 30; see also "Die Akademikerin ist die beste Kolonistin," *Die Frau und die Kolonien* 1, no. 11 (November 1932): 145. An article encouraging women to study at university appeared in the Women's League organ in 1937: Susi Teubner, "Mädel mit Kopf fürs Studium," *Die Frau und die Kolonien*, no. 12 (December 1937): 179-80.
72. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 24, and Mechtild Rommel and Hulda Rautenberg, *Die kolonialen Frauenschulen von 1908-1945* (Witzenhausen, 1983), esp. 31, 33, 35.
73. Rommel and Rautenberg, *Die kolonialen Frauenschulen*, 87.
74. Frobenius, *30 Jahre*, 24; Rommel and Rautenberg, 52; and BA Rdi 27215, BL 3 (Korner, "Bericht," n.d. [1934]).
75. Rommel and Rautenberg, *Die kolonialen Frauenschulen*, 40, 67. Its curriculum, like that of the Bad Weilbach school, was based on the Reifenstein school run by Ida von Kortzfleisch.
76. Agnes von Boemcken, "Koloniale Frauenschule Rendsburg," in *Koloniale Frauenarbeit* (1930): 18-19. See also 17.
77. One of countless examples, in this case from the pen of a colonialist woman, may be found in Else Frobenius, "Eine Frauenfahrt an die Front," *Die Frau* 24 (1916-17): 541. See Elisabeth Domansky, "Military and Reproduction in World War I Germany," in *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany 1870-1930*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), 461-62.
78. Renate Bridenthal, "Something Old, Something New: Women Between the Two World Wars," in *Becoming Visible*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuar (Boston, 1987), 473-97.
79. Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago, 1994); Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain*

- (Princeton, NJ, 1993); and Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945* (Berkeley, CA, 1992).
80. Else Hermann, Siegfried Kracauer, and Hilde Walter, as excerpted in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 207-8, 216-18, 210-11; Friedrun Bastkowski, Christa Lindner, and Ulrike Prokop, eds., *Frauenalltag und Frauenbewegung im 20. Jahrhundert. Bd. 2: Frauenbewegung und die "Neue Frau" 1890-1933* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980); and Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, "Beyond *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: Weimar Women in Politics and Work," in *When Biology Became Destiny*, ed. Grossmann, Kaplan, and Bridenthal, 33-65.
  81. Detlev Kühn, "Lenore Kühn--eine nationale Mitstreiterin der Frauenbewegung," *Nordost-Archiv*, no. 61-62 (1981): 39-56, and no. 63-64 (1981): 31-54 (quote on 32-33). See *Diotima. Die Schule der Liebe* (Jena, 1930), which was published anonymously and ran into several editions up to 1965.
  82. On Gottschewski and Zander, see Claudia Koonz, "The Competition for a Women's *Lebensraum*, 1928-1934" in *When Biology Became Destiny*, ed. Grossmann, Kaplan, and Bridenthal, 199-236; and Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1987).
  83. Lene Haase satirized that prewar response to a German woman traveling alone for pleasure to German Southwest Africa in her book *Raggys Fahrt nach Südwest. Roman* (Berlin, 1910); see also Clara Brockmann, *Die deutsche Frau in Südwestafrika: Ein Beitrag zur Frauenfrage in unseren Kolonien* (Berlin, 1910).
  84. Gulla Pfeffer, "Meine Kamerun-Nigeria-Expedition," *Der Kolonialdeutsche* 8, no. 18 (15 September 1928): 304. See also Gulla Pfeffer, *Die weisse Mah. Allein bei Urvölkern und Menschenfressern*, Minden i.W., 1929.
  85. Ilse Steinhoff, *Deutsche Heimat in Afrika. Ein Bildbuch aus unseren Kolonien* (Berlin, 1939), unpaginated. During the Second World War, Steinhoff worked as a reporter in Croatia. See her article "Ein neuer Staat entsteht" in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* of 15 May 1941, 550-51, repr. in *Konkret* (January 1992): 36-37.
  86. Eva MacLean, *Unser Kamerun von heute. Ein Fahrtenbuch* (Munich, 1940). An example of her short journalism is Eva MacLean, "Shopping in Sansibar," *Die Frau und die Kolonien*, (1932): 139-43. See also Dinglreiter, *Wann kommen die Deutschen endlich wieder?* and Louise Diel, *Die Kolonien warten! Afrika im Umbruch* (Leipzig, 1939).
  87. Inge Wild, "Der andere Blick. Reisende Frauen in Afrika," *Etudes Germano-Africaines*, no. 10 (1992): 125.
  88. Christine Holstein, *Deutsche Frau in Südwest. Den Erlebnissen einer Farmersfrau im heutigen Afrika nacherzählt* (Leipzig, 1937). Holstein was the pseudonym of Margarete Jähne.
  89. *Ibid.*, 139.