



Best of Enemies? Anglo-German Relations and Empire

Abstracts and Short Biographies of Participants for the Conference to be Held at Flinders University (City Campus, Tarndanyangga / Victoria Square, 22-23 June 2023.



Brian Alofaituli - Rev James E. Newell: Mediator or Sympathizer to Samoa's Mau a Pule Movement

The Samoan-led pro-nationalist Mau movements have dominated Samoan historiography and are well covered in numerous Pacific histories. Based on the narrative of the native chiefs and colonial regimes, the storyline suggests that other key groups, namely religious institutions, were merely spectators. A revisionist historical approach challenges the popularized narrative of the movements, specifically, the notion that the London Missionary Society remained "neutral." As is documented, Rev. James E. Newell of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) was instrumental in quelling potential battles between the Mau a Pule movement of Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe and Dr Wilhelm Solf, the German Governor of Sāmoa, between 1908 to 1909. It would seem that Newell was a sympathizer promoting the interest of the Samoans using his knowledge of "le vā" (sacred space between) with Samoan chiefs, but was he a mediator or agent for the L.M.S. and Solf Government to appease the people of Samoa and to continue their collective objectives of maintaining a civilizing mission? This research describes who Rev. Newell was, his contributions to the L.M.S., and why Governor Solf relied heavily on his religious influence. This presentation will look at the Anglo-German relations and collaborations to achieve colonial objectives during this critical period in Samoan history.

Brian T Alofaituli received his PhD in History from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and is currently a Sr. Lecturer and Head of Department in Development Studies at the National University of Samoa. He received a Master's degree in Pacific Islands Studies and in Theology. With his interest in religion and development, Brian Alofaituli also researches in the fields of Pacific historiography, empire, Church history, governance, and migration.

James Bade - Best of Enemies? German Reports on Samoa during World War I

Reports from German residents in Samoa indicate that in the first few weeks after Governor Schultz received news of the outbreak of war on 5 August 1914, Anglo-German relations were possibly the best they had ever been. Schultz called an emergency meeting of key German personnel, with the outcome that no resistance or surrender would be offered, but that temporary occupation would be allowed. Immediately after the meeting, Schultz told the British Consul,

Thomas Trood, of the war situation, and emphasised that all law-abiding British subjects would be protected. Trood accordingly asked British residents to remain strictly neutral. When the British occupying forces arrived on 29 August 1914 in the form of 1400 New Zealand troops and officers, Trood presented the Commander, Colonel Logan, with a petition signed by Trood and 92 British, Belgian and French residents asking the British occupying forces to treat the Germans in Samoa with the same fairness that had been accorded them by the Germans since war was declared. Colonel Logan met with Governor Schultz, and the Union Jack replaced the German flag, though Schultz insisted that this was not surrender, but an occupation. The consequences of a number of developments over the following few weeks further exemplify the sound state of Anglo-German relations: the German officials' meeting with Logan on 30 August; the military intervention in the Tapatapao Chinese rebellion on 31 August; the appearance on 14 September of Admiral Graf Spee's two German warships, the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau*; and the arrival in Apia on 24 September of twelve German sailors from the German ship *Elsass*. In time, the necessity for internment together with questionable administrative decisions strained Anglo-German relations, but "the best of enemies" is certainly an apt description for relations in the early stages of World War I.

James N. Bade, Professor Emeritus of German at the University of Auckland. Co-Director, University of Auckland Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific. He has published extensively on historical German associations with New Zealand and the Pacific. Editor of the following critical editions of particular relevance to this paper: *Frida Peemüller's Memoirs of German Samoa 1910-1920*, Berlin 2022; *Karl Hanssen's Memoirs of his Wartime Experiences in Samoa and New Zealand 1915-1916*, Frankfurt 2016; *Karl Hanssen's Samoan War Diaries August 1914-May 1915: A German Perspective on New Zealand's Military Occupation of German Samoa*, Frankfurt 2011. At present he is transcribing Paul Arendt's eight reports (1915-1916) to the German Colonial Office on conditions in Samoa, the report to the German Colonial Office (20 March 1916) by teacher Ludovica Schultze on the occupation of the German Protectorate of Samoa, and Marggraff's report (10 October 1914) to the Deutsche Samoa-Gesellschaft, Berlin, on conditions in Samoa at the outbreak of war (all held at German Federal Archives, Bundesarchiv Berlin.)

Julius Lucas Becker - Anglo-German Relations and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95. Colonial Collaboration, Economic Interdependency, and Diplomatic Antagonism.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 was far more than a regional power struggle between two Asian empires at the end of the 19th century. The conflict transformed the preexisting power structures, threatened to cause the collapse of Manchu-rule in China, and forced the 'East Asian Question' on the agenda of European diplomats, journalists, and economists. Eventually, the Japanese victory resulted in the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the Triple Intervention by Russia, France, and Germany, who forced Tōkyō to give up her conquests on the Chinese mainland.

Anglo-German relations in the context of the war are a particular case that highlights the phenomenon of flexibility in great power relations in the East Asian context. Both London and Berlin acted in frequently changing constellations with each other and other imperial powers in the Far East. While Britain attempted to mediate the conflict between China and Japan, Germany refused to participate in any intervention. Nevertheless, Berlin reapproached London regarding a possible collaboration in case of the collapse of the Qing Empire. Paul von Hatzfeldt (German ambassador to London) and Lord Kimberley (British Foreign Minister) even began talks about a potential partition of China in February 1895. Kimberley and Rosebery, however, reassessed the situation in the Far East after the Treaty of Shimonoseki since it did not seem to violate any British interests in the region. Subsequently, Berlin aligned itself with her rivals in Paris and St. Petersburg in the Triple Intervention.

Following this estrangement of Anglo-German relations in mid-1895, the situation in China led to another rapprochement. Since the Franco-Russian loan once more isolated Berlin in East Asia and left London on the sidelines, both countries again cooperated, resulting in several Anglo-German loans in the subsequent years. The collaboration (and competition) between Berlin and London eventually led to the acquisition of several railway lines, trade concessions and even economic and (in the British case) military bases at Wei-hai-wei and Qingdao. Thus, the examination of Anglo-German relations sheds light on the changing relationships between the two imperial powers, their respective interdependence in East Asian affairs and the flexibility of great power relations in the 1890s.

Julius Lucas Becker is a PhD candidate in Global History and Governance at the Scuola Superiore Meridionale in Naples, Italy. He researches on the global impact of the First Sino-

Japanese War of 1894/95 with special reference to the conflict's implications on foreign policy, imperialism, public, cultural, and legal perception in Europe. He got his BA from the University of Potsdam, where he studied History, Political Science, and Administration. His Master's was a double degree in International War Studies in Potsdam and Dublin and has been published under the title "To Grab, When the Grabbing Begins". German Foreign and Colonial Policy in the context of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 and the Triple Intervention of 1895' in *The International History Review*.

Eva Bischoff & Anja Schwarz - An Opportune Moment? John Lhotsky and the Role of Humboldtian Science in Early Nineteenth-Century Australia

In December 1833, the Prussian Ministry of Spiritual, Educational and Medical Affairs in Berlin received a detailed list of natural history specimens, which the author, a certain John Lhotsky, invoiced to the Royal Museums Berlin. The writer concluded his letter with the words: "I have spoken to the Governor General Richard Bourke [...] about the possible transplantation of Prussian or German convicts. [...] it is my opinion that the English government would like to enter into a transfusion of foreign convicts." A year later, Lhotsky confirmed his conviction in another letter. The time was right to establish a Prussian colony on Australian soil.

Lhotsky, born 1795 in Lemberg, Galicia (at that time part of the Austrian Empire, now Lviv, Ukraine) travelled, financed by Ludwig I of Bavaria, to the Australian colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land between 1832 and 1838. He identified as Polish and had spent six years in a Viennese prison because of his political writings. With no land title or employment, Lhotsky earned his living in Sydney as a journalist: In his first article in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, published 6 October 1832, he defended the "mental capacities" of Indigenous Australians against the widespread view that Aborigines were incapable of civilisation.

The role of German natural scientists in British-German imperial relations and their relationships with Australia's First Peoples has increasingly become the focus of historiographical research, inspired by Ulrike Kirchberger's seminal article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (2000). Focusing on John Lhotsky, who despite all his efforts and extensive networks never succeeded in

establishing himself as a scholar and whose calls for the Prussian colonisation of Australia went unheard, our presentation will reconstruct the complexity of an entangled German-Australian colonial past. Instead of the continuity of German-British cooperation in the natural sciences diagnosed by Kirchberger, our paper will focus on the contradictions and ruptures as well as the congruencies and mutually reinforcing effects that characterised the role of German-speaking representatives of “Humboldtian Science” (Dettelbach) in early nineteenth-century Australia. In doing so, our presentation will address an important facet of the multidirectional sets of imperial relations.

Eva Bischoff studied Medieval and Modern History, Politics, and Philosophy at the University of Cologne. She obtained her doctorate at the LMU Munich in February 2009. Her most recent monograph, entitled *Benevolent Colonizers in Nineteenth-Century Australia: Quaker Lives and Ideals*, was published by Palgrave MacMillan in 2020. In this book, Bischoff reconstructs the ambiguous role Quakers played in the process of settler colonialism in nineteenth-century Australia. The key question of the study is how did Quakers, considering their pacifism and involvement in humanitarian projects, negotiate the violence of the frontier?

Anja Schwarz is professor of cultural studies at the University of Potsdam. She is co-spokesperson of the Research Training Group ‘minor cosmopolitanisms,’ a programme mainly focussing on PhD training conducted in close collaboration with partners in South Africa, India, Australia and North America. Her main research project over the past few years has focussed on the figure of Tupaia, a Polynesian master navigator who joined the crew of Captain James Cook on his first voyage to the South Seas. Bischoff and Schwarz jointly conduct “Berlin’s Australian Archive: Addressing the Colonial Legacies of Natural History”, a project that critically examines nineteenth-century collections by German speaking naturalists, who worked in the Australian colonies. It brings together representatives of Berlin-based institutions with (Indigenous) Australian museum practitioners, curators, and community knowledge holders. The project is funded by the German Lost Art Foundation.

Andrew Bonnell - German Social Democracy and Anglo-German Relations: The Case of the Boer War

The Boer War is often viewed as a flashpoint in the development of the Anglo-German antagonism before 1914. The Boer War posed a challenge for German Social Democrats, who were strongly critical of British imperialism and the methods by which the British prosecuted the war against the Afrikaners. On these points, German socialists were in agreement with other member parties of the Second International, and they also supported British socialist critics of the war such as Keir Hardie. At the same time, German Social Democrats had to distance themselves from anti-British sentiments emanating from German right-wing nationalist circles, and August Bebel was to devote much effort to countering Anglo-German tensions in the years following the Boer War. At the same time, Social Democrats' sympathies for the Afrikaner struggle for national self-determination against the British Empire rarely extended to an understanding of the situation of Black Africans in South Africa.

Andrew Bonnell is an Associate Professor in History at the University of Queensland. He has written or edited nine books, most recently *Red Banners, Books and Beer Mugs. The Mental World of German Social Democrats, 1863-1914* (2021) and *Robert Michels, Socialism, and Modernity* (2023) and has published numerous articles and book chapters on German and European history. He is on the editorial advisory board of *German History* and *European History Quarterly*.

Peter de Bourgraaf - Decolonisation and Britain – Germany 1–2

“There could be nothing irregular about a native working for a European,” Nobel Prize 2021 winner Abdulrazak Gurnah has his main character Hamza think about a British colonial officer patronizing him, roughly a decade after displacing the Germans. From the perspective of the Asian or African under European rule, the coloniser’s nationality apparently made no difference. At the 1919 Paris peace conference, categorical differentiation was proclaimed by the British delegations.

Not a lot of primary sources on the colonized peoples’ perspective have been secured since Britain’s August 1918 Bluebook, an obvious product of propagandists, which the twin

delegations availed themselves of half a year later in Paris to support their argument on qualified colonialism. Apart from the German colonists, their nationality was ostracized.

The first thesis is that British and Imperial Delegation leaders David Lloyd George and Jan Christiaan Smuts utilized the humanitarian argument as a pretext to conceal their sub-imperialist designs. Thus, as a consequence of sub-imperialism and the Versailles colonial diktat, “Weimar” and the Germans would be barred from the original experience of decolonisation. During the prolonged 1918 Armistice, a kind of decolonisation *avant la lettre* hit the newest among the colonial empires. Thus, Germany could be regarded as the first postcolonial state. A hundred years later on now, other countries do not seem to approach the postcolonial debate with as much as passion as their former junior partner. The second thesis is that Germany took the lead in decolonization and this debate. The definition of colonialism’s demise did not allow for a defenceless country’s colonial dispossession in the fifth and final year of the Great War. Though it can be argued that this one and only “white decolonisation” sped up and spearheaded this painful process. What can we learn from Germany’s unique two-way decolonization? What does Australian professor Clinton Fernandes’ 2022 monograph on sub-imperialism add to the scarce sources on imperialism’s uniquely British expansion?

Peter de Bourgraaf is the founder and director of the Berlin/Amsterdam-based Aufa100 - transnational commission for reappraisal and commemorative culture from 1914. With Central European publishers, the independent historian and lecturer from the Netherlands produced German and English-language monographs of which *Hundert Jahre Urkatastrophe. Der Kolonialvertrag 1919* [in transnational German] (2018) is the most recent one. Subsequent to German and United States Aufa100 debuts in journalistic and scholarly anthologies in 2022, his post-World-War-One centenary evaluation essay “Decolonizing Versailles. The Sleeping Beauty of Memory Cultures” is coming up next. In half a dozen of countries, his lectures and book presentations on the 1918-1919 history and the World-War centennial’s conclusion were in demand. De Bourgraaf is a member of Clio-online, the Europeana Network Association and the Gesellschaft der Freunde Romain Rollands in Deutschland.

James Braund - Keeping Calm and Carrying On until after the War: New Zealand–German Scientific Connections during World War I.

What does a scientific community with longstanding personal and institutional links to Germany do when its country declares war on Germany? This was a dilemma that confronted a number of New Zealand scientists in 1914. Their individual responses were essentially threefold: maintain a discreet silence for the time being; don't sever ties or disavow German achievements altogether; and wait to renew contacts once hostilities are over. By and large, this was an unstated policy that was also adopted on a collective level by New Zealand's coordinating body for science at the time, the New Zealand Institute.

Drawing on Kirchberger's work on German–British scientific links in the long nineteenth century (e.g., Kirchberger 2000, 2001), this paper will briefly outline New Zealand's scientific connections with Germany in the years immediately before, during, and immediately after World War I, and in doing so will also reveal some unexpectedly positive views of German (and therefore: enemy) science that still prevailed in what was arguably Britain's most loyal dominion at that turbulent time. Case studies of complicated wartime scientific loyalties that will be discussed in this paper include a prominent New Zealand plant ecologist trying to have a monograph published in Germany; a German-educated chemist teaching at one of New Zealand's universities; and a German geophysicist who was allowed to continue working in Samoa during New Zealand's wartime military occupation of the former German colony.

James Braund is an Honorary Research Fellow in the University of Auckland's School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics, and has been an active member of that university's Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific since its inception in 1999. Throughout this period, he has assisted with several projects exploring past German ties with Samoa and Tonga, while making side-trips of differing durations into science history and environmental history. In recent years, his personal research has focussed on the many German-speaking scientists and naturalists who worked in the wider Pacific region prior to 1900, with a special emphasis on Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George, the official naturalists on Cook's second voyage.

Chelsea Davis - The Empire's Grape Growers: Germans, Skill, and Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope and South Australia

Throughout the nineteenth century, the British Empire remained committed to growing and producing wine as part of its imperial project. In South Australia and the Cape of Good Hope, the colonial state decided that such a commercial endeavour would require 'skilled' white European hands. In both colonies, various government-sponsored immigration schemes actively recruited men and their families from so-called 'wine-growing races' of Europe. There was even shared discourse between the two colonies that this was an appropriate solution to the skilled labour crisis. At the Cape Colony, the colonial state deemed Germans the ideal candidates for emigration, given perceptions about their proclivities for viticulture and military prowess—necessary for combatting unrelenting indigenous frontier violence. In South Australia, German emigration was also prioritized, and conveniently timed with the wave of German Lutherans fleeing parts of Silesia and Prussia from religious persecution. The Barossa Valley, populated with German migrant families, would eventually become one of the most profitable wine regions in all of Australia. Many of these families maintained connections with families and viticultural institutions in Europe, which was crucial for educating and apprenticing subsequent generations of Australian-German winegrowers. Though often idealized as skilled labour, in local practice at the Cape, German labourers did not last long on Cape wine farms, often seeking alternative enterprises, complaining of the pay and forced interactions with workers of colour, while Dutch *wynboers* stressed that they could more easily control their non-white labourers. This paper seeks to examine the interest in German labour and settlement to Britain's wine-producing colonies and how preconceived ideas about race and skill yielded two very different results in local labour practices.

Chelsea Davis is an Assistant Professor of British History at Missouri State University. She received her PhD from The George Washington University in 2021, where her doctoral dissertation, "Cultivating Imperial Networks: British Colonial Wine Production at the Cape of Good Hope and South Australia, 1834-1910," examined the process of founding and integrating Britain's colonial wine industries in Australia and South Africa into the global market. She is currently developing her monograph entitled, *The Empire and the Aphid: Phylloxera, Science, and Race in the Age of Migration, 1860-1910*, which uses the grape vine disease phylloxera as an

entry point to study global migrations of insect ‘invaders’, colonial producers, scientists, laborers, and viticultural knowledge.

Matthew P Fitzpatrick – Banking on China? Anglo-German Cooperation and the Revolution of 1911.’

After the twin disasters of the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising, the Chinese government became heavily dependent on loans from foreign banks to pay its war indemnities and modernise its economy. The revolution of 1911 saw yet another round of foreign borrowing. Central to these arrangements were British and German banks who, alongside the financial institutions of other powers, brokered loans to the Chinese. While some historians have hailed these events as the advent of globalisation in China, this paper explores the costs to sovereignty demanded by these banks and examines the pathway to China's debt peonage created by the imperial cooperation that developed between Germany, Britain and a number of other powers.

Matthew Fitzpatrick specialises in international history, in particular German and European history, as well as the history of European imperialism, German liberalism and nationalism. He is also interested in the comparative history of empires, and intellectual history. He is a current holder of an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship and his most recent monographs are *The Kaiser and the Colonies: Monarchy in the Age of Empire* and *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914*.

Erik Grimmer-Solem - Anglo-German Competition and the Accelerated Modernization of Meiji Japan

While formal European colonial ambitions in the Japanese archipelago ended with the Boshin War, Britain and Germany continued to cooperate and compete for influence in Meiji-era Japan to serve their East Asian strategies. This paper will analyse these channels of influence to highlight how the Anglo-German relationship evolved from a common interest in the “open door” in the 1870s to a growing rivalry in the 1880s. Inexperienced, without a significant navy or merchant marine, and relying heavily on British banks, telegraph networks, and shipping lines,

the German presence in Japan in the 1870s was enabled by Britain's imperial and commercial reach in Asia. Anglo-German relations in these years were amicable and built on dynastic ties and a shared liberal Protestant worldview that underscored kinship and encourage practical cooperation. By the 1880s, however, rivalry began to buffet Anglo-German relations in Japan. Germany's growing industrial prowess and the global reputation enjoyed by its schools, universities, and military led the Meiji oligarchy to privilege German models over British ones for its universities, the legal system, and army and to procure German machinery and weapons, in turn hiring large numbers of German advisors, who began to outnumber the British in these fields. The German government exploited this opportunity by recruiting significant talent to Japan in the hope that this would open up export markets and gain Germany an ally and springboard for its ambitions in China. In other areas, not least the navy, the Japanese leadership nevertheless continued to prefer British models and advisors, often deftly exploiting Anglo-German tensions and British fears of Russia to their advantage. The paper will argue that Japan's modernization was much accelerated by this Anglo-German competition, enabling Japan to ultimately outmanoeuvre the Europeans and defeat the Qing Empire in land and sea engagements in 1895, a significant step in establishing Japan as the predominant commercial and military power in East Asia.

Erik Grimmer-Solem is the Ezra and Cecile Zilkha Professor in the College of Social Studies and Professor of History at Wesleyan University. He received his D.Phil. in economic and social history from Nuffield College, Oxford and was a postdoctoral Harper Fellow at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *The Rise of Historical Economics and Social Reform in Germany 1864-1894* (Oxford University Press, 2003) and *Learning Empire: Globalization and the German Quest for World Status, 1875-1919* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). He has also published more than forty journal articles, book chapters, and reviews that have appeared in such journals as the *American Historical Review*, *German History*, *History and Theory*, *Journal of World History*, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, and *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift*. He has received awards from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and Leverhulme Trust, as well as two distinguished teaching prizes from Wesleyan University.

Jasper Heinzen - A Man's Word is his Bond: Prisoners of War, Internees, and Parole in the First World War

On 11 September 1914, an Australian Naval and Military Force of 2,000 men seized the German Papua New Guinea. The acting governor of the colony, Eduard Haber, surrendered his forces on condition that all officials who were unwilling to swear an oath of neutrality would be repatriated to Germany and that he himself would 'take no further part directly or indirectly in the present war.' By March 1915 the idle Haber regretted his decision. The multilateral efforts that ensued between the German Foreign Office, the Prime Minister of Australia, various British government departments, and the American State Department to arrange the exchange of Haber's parole for the Australian general E.A. Wylde's showcase how the language of honour continued to structure relations between belligerents well into the First World War.

Cultural historians contend that pre-occupations with honour fed into the 'unspoken assumptions' (James Joll) which took Europe over the precipice of war. Yet Ute Frevert and many historians of captivity also posit that the benefits of this honour culture, including the custom to release prisoners of war and civilian internees in exchange for their promise not to perform military services, quickly disappeared in the face of the 'totalizing logic' (John Horne) of industrial warfare. My paper argues, by contrast, that parole did not disappear, and that its survival lays bare spaces within and outside Europe where the British and German empires held to a common humanitarian standard of honour not despite but because of the contradictions that beset western attitudes towards suffering after the turn of the twentieth century. In examining how British and German policies adapted to the deteriorating conditions of captivity, I suggest hopes persisted – especially in overseas territories – that adversaries might return to a modicum of trust and civility.

Jasper Heinzen completed his undergraduate studies at the Universities of Otago and Canterbury in New Zealand before obtaining an M.Phil and PhD from the University of Cambridge. He is currently a senior lecturer in modern European history at the University of York. Research for the book project on which this paper is based (under contract with Oxford University Press) has been supported by a Marie Curie Fellowship at the University of Bern, a EURIAS Fellowship at the Paris Institut d'études avancées, a Leverhulme Fellowship as well as a number of smaller grants. He is the author of *Making Prussians, Raising Germans: A Cultural*

History of Prussian State-Building, 1866-1935 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). His work has also appeared in the *English Historical Review*, *Historical Journal*, *International History Review*, *European History Review*, *German History*, and *Central European History*.

Philip Jones - Utlanders in Adelaide? German scientists at the South Australian Museum during the late 19th century.

During 1886 the German government held a colonisation conference in Berlin, seeking views on the advantages and disadvantages of colonial expansion. South Australia was the only Australasian delegate. Adelaide businessman A.C. Wertheimer presented a rosy view of German immigration to the colony, citing prominent and successful business identities, scientists and scholars. Also present at the conference was J.W. Haacke, whose term as Director of the South Australian Institute Museum had been cut short in mid-1884, barely two years after his appointment. Conflict with the Institute Board had been advanced as the principal reason, but a tinge of xenophobia can also be detected. Before his departure Haacke had appointed a fellow German, Amandus Zietz, to the staff. He rose quickly to become Assistant Director, and by the mid-1890s more than a third of the staff was German. By that time though, the South Australian economy had deteriorated and the public service experienced pay cuts and lay-offs. Zietz's correspondence with his old colleague J.D.E. Schmeltz, Director of the Leiden Ethnographic Museum tells a story of growing anti-German sentiment in South Australia. 'We Germans', he wrote, 'are being more and more restricted as Utlanders'. My paper will investigate Zietz's claims and some of the background to his situation and Haacke's forced resignation.

Philip Jones has written about Aboriginal material culture, art and frontier history since the early 1980s, when he began working as a curator of Australian ethnography at the South Australian Museum. His fieldwork has taken him to the Simpson and Tanami Deserts and the ethnographic museums of Europe and the U.S.A. He has curated more than 30 museum exhibitions, ranging from photographic history to exploration history. His *Ochre and Rust: Artefacts and Encounters on Australian Frontiers* (2007) won the inaugural Prime Minister's literary award for non-fiction. Current projects include a biography of Norman Tindale and a study of collector networks.

Martin Kalb - Messing with Empires? Simon Kooper and Anglo-German Relations

They had finally captured him. On 3 March 1907, on the edge of German Southwest Africa (Namibia), and deep within the Kalahari Desert, a German patrol surprised Simon Kooper (Kopper, Cooper, /Gomxab). As the captain of the Fransman Nama (Franzmann, !Khara-khoen) Kooper had only reluctantly signed a ‘protection treaty’. He rose up against the Germans in 1905, making use of an inaccessible desert frontier environment and the territory of neighboring British Bechuanaland Protectorate. Now, Kooper seemed to comply with Major Pierer and began informing his men to surrender. Yet Pierer had to march back to the Auob River due to a lack of water, allowing Kooper to disappear southeastward into the Kalahari Desert. The Nama captain had foiled the Germans once again – and with that he further complicated issues along the border of Southwest Africa, South Africa, and British Bechuanaland.

My paper centers on Anglo-German relations within this complex trans-imperial frontier space. How did officials interact regarding this borderland? More specifically, how did they deal with African resistance? In September 1907, the Cape Mounted Police briefly coordinated with German authorities to murder Jakob Marengo (Morenga). Shifts in British imperial policies, limited funds in Cape Town, and the overall difficulties of tracking down Kooper in the desert soon prevented such cooperation. A subsequent German mission to capture or kill Kooper in British Bechuanaland then failed. Diplomatic discussions accessible in archives in Germany, the United Kingdom, Namibia, South Africa, and Botswana, along with newspaper articles and personal accounts, underscore subsequent multidirectional imperial relations and entanglements between an array of authorities; oral interviews and traditions capture indigenous attempts to manage and direct relations with both empires. A more comprehensive discussion of Kooper’s agency and the Kalahari Desert finally underscores the importance of African resistance and environmental factors.

Martin Kalb is a historian of modern European history with an emphasis on Germany and its empires. His current research focuses on colonial and environmental history, with article publications in *Environment and History* and *German History*. His recent monograph, titled *Environing Empire: Nature, Infrastructure, and the Making of German Southwest Africa* (2022) employs historian Emmanuel Kreike’s concept of ‘environmental infrastructures’ to better

understand the creation of Germany's colony; that volume also aims to disrupt settler narratives. Martin Kalb holds the position of Associate Professor of History at Bridgewater College, a small liberal arts college located in Virginia.

Skye Krichauff – German Missionaries and British Officials in Early Colonial South Australia

Dresden missionaries Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schürmann arrived in Adelaide in 1838. Sponsored by philanthropic businessman George Fife Angas, they travelled to South Australia with in-coming Governor George Gawler, with whom they established mutually respectful relations. With his arrival in the colony the following year, the new Protector of Aborigines, Matthew Moorhouse, challenged some of the missionaries' practices and ideals. Moorhouse simultaneously depended on the missionaries' knowledge of the local people's language and customs to carry out his official duties.

During the early years of the colony, Teichelmann and Schürmann were highly significant cross-cultural mediators who played a crucial role in satisfying humanitarian concerns regarding the treatment of the Empire's colonized people. Drawing on Colonial Office correspondence, the Protector's reports, and Teichelmann and Schürmann's diaries and correspondence, this paper demonstrates, and the complexity and diversity of the missionaries' relations with British government officials, colonists, and local Aboriginal people.

Skye Krichauff is an ethno- and oral historian who combines the methodologies of history, anthropology. She is interested in colonial cross-cultural relations, the relationship between history and memory, and how societies live with historical injustices. She is currently employed as an ARC Research Fellow on the linkage project 'The South Australian Frontier and its Legacies'.

Roland Leikauf - A Speck in the Ocean: Crossing Empire Borders between Germany and Australia in the early 1930s

The developments that made Germans the largest non-English speaking migrant group in the Commonwealth of Australia were sometimes tempestuous (the Prussian revolution, the Revolution of 1848), but equally often rooted in the personal sphere. Both World Wars rapidly dissolved this dominance, and while World War II was a focal point, it only accelerated developments that were prevalent during World War I and the interwar years. This transformation in German presence and prominence in parts of the British Empire would have been very visible. Analysing it on a personal level, however, would need a special source, a *Gewährsperson* aka eyewitness on a long journey that transitioned through borders easily.

The voyage of this type that the German Oskar Speck undertook lasted for six years. He left Germany in 1932 and arrived in Australia, only to be interned as an enemy “alien”. His means of transportation was a simple folding kayak, and it carried him through numerous encounters with the power structures and influences of the British Empire. Speck was an illustrious personality with strong opinions. Most of his belongings were donated to the Australian National Maritime Museum. Researchers have been fascinated by this collection, but often from a narrow perspective: Speck as an adventurer, his journey as a maritime feat.

This article surmises that his diaries, recordings and photos can be used for another approach: to analyse the relationship between Germany and the British Empire, using the viewpoint of someone who experienced the transformations raw and in situ. Speck is an ideal source to understand how macrostructural developments that impact the boundaries between nations project into the microsphere of personal interactions. Speck is never unbiased, but he is aware of the rapid shifts in Anglo-German relations, making his journey an ideal tool to understand how these changes impacted those who lived and journeyed in the region.

Roland Leikauf is the Curator for Post-war Immigration at the Australian National Maritime Museum in Sydney, Australia. Before migrating to Australia in 2021, he worked for museums in Germany as a curator and historian. At the Hadamar Memorial Museum, he researched and prepared a new permanent exhibition about the murders of Nazi “Euthanasia” that were perpetrated in what is now the museum building. At the House of History, the largest state-funded museum in Germany, he worked on several exhibitions and developed a collection policy

aimed at refugees and migrants, especially from war-torn Syria. Before finishing his PhD in Siegen, Germany, he worked as a freelance public historian. His PhD “Welcome to my Bunker”, which was published by transcript publishing in Germany, analysed the different strategies of memory construction on the websites of veterans of the Second War in Indochina. At the University of Hamburg, he studied history, European ethnology and media studies

Iris Leung – German Missionaries in British Hong Kong During and After World War One.

My presentation will examine one of the rare moments in history when German missionaries were officially declared as the enemy of the British Empire. It explores the attitude and actions of the Hong Kong colonial government towards German Protestant missionary societies during and after the First World War, covering the period from the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 to the return of German missions in the late 1920s.

During the war, concerns on national security and colonial events made mission-friendly Britain introduce empire-wide discriminatory measures towards German missions. Their workers were expelled and their assets were seized by the various colonial administrations. To prevent the total collapse of German mission work, allied missions and churches joined forces to salvage the work and property of German missions in British territories. Their efforts led to the creation of Article 438, the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which entrusted German mission property to the custodianship of local allied missionaries.

In Hong Kong, there were four German missions operating in the colony at the outbreak of the War: the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Women’s Missionary for China and the Hildesheim Missionary Society for the Blind. My study examines the implementation of the empire-wide restrictive measures towards German missions in Hong Kong and the roles of local British missionaries in supervising the orphaned German mission work and their custodianship of German mission property. Based on the findings of government and mission records, I argue that the implementation of the empire-wide enemy mission policy in Hong Kong after the First World War was driven not by political concerns, as the case of the Gold Coast and India, but, rather, by economic factors, particularly those connected with Hong Kong’s shortage of land space.

Iris Leung is a PhD candidate in History under the joint programme offered by University of Hong Kong and King's College London. She hopes to complete her PhD at both universities in early 2023. She received the Master of History with distinction at SOAS University of London. Before her pursuit of historical study, she worked at the stock exchange of Hong Kong for many years as a corporate planner and researcher.

Greg Lockwood - Missionary in the Middle: Clamor Schurmann as Sub-Protector of Eyre Peninsula Aborigines during the Settler-Aborigine Wars, 1840-42.

Representing the Dresden Mission Society and commissioned for service among South Australia's Aborigines, the 31-year-old Christian Teichelmann and 23-year-old Clamor Schurmann boarded the Pestonjee-Bomanjee on 27 May, 1838. Their Mission Director, Wermelskirch, had urged them to keep a diary. This presentation will consist largely of excerpts from Schurmann's diary which has been submitted for publication by Wakefield Press.

As their ship sailed from Plymouth, Schurmann was impressed by his fellow passengers giving 'good old England three rousing cheers.' It grieved him to think 'of [his] 'dear Germany where such love of the fatherland ... was foreign.' Their fellow passenger, Governor Gawler, befriended the two Germans. His secretary, George Hall, lent them a copy of the 'Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements).' Schurmann's concurrence with the evidence of British colonial injustices caused Gawler some concern that the young man might stir up Aboriginal rebellion. Nonetheless, he asked him to teach his daughter German. The girl's chronic seasickness soon brought her lessons to an end. Gawler showed the missionaries every consideration throughout their early years in SA.

Schurmann gained Gawler's confidence to the point where the Governor appointed him Sub-Protector of Aborigines in the new (1839) British settlement at Port Lincoln. Three weeks after Schurmann's arrival in Boston Harbour on 16 September 1840, 12-year-old Frank Hawson was murdered. This incident sent shockwaves through the settlement, and became the prelude to the many Government Resident and settler reprisals detailed in the diary. Under Gawler's direct supervision, Aboriginal-settler relationships in the Adelaide and Encounter Bay areas had been

much more stable. At Port Lincoln, caught in the middle, Schurmann carried out his unenviable, almost impossible role.

Greg Lockwood's father, Allan, was a newspaper editor in Natimuk, Victoria, then Horsham. His uncle Douglas was a journalist in Darwin; his half-uncle, Rupert, was another journalist. His mother, Winifred, was the great granddaughter of missionary Clamor Schurmann. After Schurmann became a parish pastor at Tarrington, via Hamilton, two of his sons, Carl and Rudolph, settled in Natimuk. Lockwood had his first piano lessons in the gracious home of Carl's daughters, Emma and Hilda. Rudolph was his direct forebear. His education was at Natimuk State School, Horsham High, Immanuel College, Adelaide University (B.A., 1964, majoring in Greek and German), Melbourne University (B.Ed., 1966), and Luther Seminary leading to ordination and commissioning for PNG (1971), and Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis (ThD, 1983). He taught at teachers' colleges and seminaries in PNG, Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana (1991-2000) and Australian Lutheran College (2004-2011). In between, he served parishes in Bridgewater and Bendigo.

Amrita Malhi - Anglo-German-Siamese Competition on the Malay Peninsula: A Backdrop to Holy War?

In 1964, Australian historian K.G. Tregonning wrote that it was "almost possible to say that Germany made Malaya British." Although there were no proven German interests on the Malay Peninsula in 1873, it was in that year that Britain's policy of non-intervention switched dramatically, and by 1890, it had appointed Advisers and Residents in Perak, Selangor, Sungai Ujong, and Pahang. "It was a British fear of what might happen, rather than any knowledge of what was planned to happen, that led to intervention on the west coast," Tregonning concluded.

By the early 1900s, in contrast, the "German threat" to British interests had become more serious. Germany had begun building a navy and had acquired an empire in Africa, China, and the Pacific. Its expanding trade links with Siam, moreover, opened opportunities for it to establish outposts in Siam's Malay tributaries, then an open frontier between Siam proper and Britain's Malay States. British fears of a German naval base off the Malay Peninsula grew as Germany also expressed an interest in nearby Sulu.

This paper analyses the machinations that Germany triggered in Kelantan, not only by Britain but also by Siam, the Kelantan elite, and Malay rebels in the state's hinterland. It traces the connections between Anglo-German-Siamese competition for the Malay Peninsula and the politics of the resulting rebellion in 1915, which was one of three east coast rebellions between 1890 and 1928. Did the experience of competitive colonialism, including the contest to seal up the Siamese tributaries, lead the Kelantan rebels to respond with a *perang sabil* (holy war)? Was this war part of a more generalised response across the Siamese tributaries, as a later uprising in Terengganu suggests?

Amrita Malhi is a senior development policy adviser and an Honorary Senior Lecturer at Flinders University and the Humanities Research Centre at The Australian National University. She is currently working on a book on a Holy War in a neighbouring Siamese Malay tributary, Terengganu, in the 1920s. She is also planning a second book project on Malaya's north as an incubator of Malay communism through the 1950s and 60s, and how those politics helped drive the creation of Malaysia's developmentalist state from the 1970s onward. Amrita is also a consultant and frequent commentator on contemporary Malaysian politics. Her work is published in the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *The Muslim World*, *Itinerario*, and edited volumes with Oxford and Edinburgh University Presses. She has an article on the Malayan Emergency and its New Villages forthcoming in *Bandung*.

Marvin Martin - Insiders or Outsiders? The Role of German Lutheran Missionaries at the Hermannsburg Mission in Central Australia

German missionaries had, as Matthew P. Fitzpatrick and Peter Monteath aptly put it, "insider-outsider roles" within the British colonies of Australia. On the one hand, they were outsiders, as their aims and practices did not always align with the colonial government. On the other, they were also insiders, as they were in close contact with, and their actions had profound impacts on the lives of, Indigenous peoples. Due to this ambivalent position within the British Empire, some scholars suggest that there was, as Regina Ganter coined it, a "German difference" in how German missions in Australia operated. Their different national, philosophical and religious background allegedly allowed German missionaries to better sympathise with Indigenous

peoples and motivated them to protect Indigenous peoples from the excesses of British colonialism.

This paper examines the complex role of Germans within the British Empire, by investigating the history of the German Lutheran Hermannsburg mission in Central Australia from its establishment in 1877 to the end of World War One. It explores the shifting triangular relationships between German missionaries, Western Aranda Aboriginal people and the Australian colonial government. Probing the idea of a “German difference”, this paper explores how the German missionaries’ agenda, motivations and key mission practices (mis-)aligned with the colonial government and how the missionaries’ aims and practices impacted the lives of Aranda people.

As an example of the transnational and transimperial connections between Germany, the British Empire, and Indigenous peoples, this paper complicates the notion that Germans were disinterested contributors or “quiet achievers” in white Australian society. Instead, it suggests that German missionaries were deeply implicated in the processes of Australian colonialism. Despite their different aims and motivations, the German missionaries and Australian colonial government worked together to change Aranda culture, at a time when the Anglo-German diplomatic relations were deteriorating.

Marvin Martin is a PhD researcher and the history postgraduate representative at Monash University. Originally from Berlin, Germany, Marvin completed the master’s programme Global History at the Freie Universität Berlin and the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Before studying Global History, he received a bachelor’s degree in History and Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin and completed an exchange year at the University of Kent in 2014-2015. An additional exchange year at the University of Melbourne in 2017-2018 sparked his research interest in Australian colonial and Indigenous history. In his PhD thesis, he combines his German background with colonial history and examines the everyday encounters between German Lutheran missionaries and mostly Western Aranda people at the Hermannsburg in Central Australia from 1926-1962, with a focus on Aboriginal agency.

Peter Monteath – Erhard Eylmann, Anthropology and Empire.

The German anthropologist Erhard Eylmann made his three visits to Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, just as relations between Britain and Germany were sliding toward the catastrophe of 1914. In Eylmann's own experience tensions reached a point of palpability, as he described in the diaries of his travels through South Australia. Nonetheless, in both his fieldwork practice and in his resulting publications, Eylmann was able to draw on both German and British connections and to occupy positions which stood at odds with the broader context of global Realpolitik. This paper investigates the case of Eylmann to consider the place of anthropology within both the wider settler colonial project in Australia and the relationship between the German state(s) and the British empire. In doing so it draws on Eylmann's published and unpublished work to probe the complex interplay of rivalry and cordiality in the emergence of the discipline of anthropology as a handmaiden of European empire-building.

Peter Monteath is a Professor of History at Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. He was born and grew up in Brisbane before attending the University of Queensland, Siegen University (Federal Republic of Germany) and Griffith University. He has taught previously at The University of Queensland, Griffith University, Deakin University, The University of Western Australia and The University of Adelaide. He has also been Adjunct Professor at The University of St. Louis Missouri and the Technical University of Berlin, where he was an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow. Currently he is the Vice President and Executive Dean in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University in Adelaide. He writes about various aspects of European and Australian history, with a particular interest in things German.

David X Noack - 'Contenders, Lesser Evils, and Indifference: Anglo-German relations in Central Asia, 1919–1933

After the end of the First World War, the British continued to consider their former enemy the Germans in Central Asia as their contender. The erstwhile Central Power allegedly worked with the newly established Soviet Union to undermine British influence in the region that includes Persia, Afghanistan, the Chinese province of Xinjiang and immediately after the Great War furthermore Bukhara and Khiva. Along similar lines as the Great Game of the 19th century (in

Russia more appropriately called the Tournament of Shadows) the British confronted the Soviets from 1919 until 1933 in Central Asia – but this time, the Germans were involved as well. The Weimar Republic initially regained its influence in the region due to its opposition to the Entente and non-membership in the League of Nations. During the course of the Second Tournament of Shadows, the Germans tried to find new markets after the end of their colonial empire and the British aimed to secure buffer zones along the frontiers of British India, the crown jewel of the Empire.

The British perception of the Germans in Central Asia changed in the course of the years 1919–1933. In the beginning, they were considered enemies close to the Soviets. In the mid-1920s, Britain’s politicians, diplomats and military officers started to consider the Weimar Republic as the lesser evil in contrast to rising Bolshevik influence. The Germans on the other side always underestimated the British influence in Central Asia. Rarely, the former perceived the latter as their enemies. The Germans had a more utilitarian approach and always evaluated everything within their trade-focused approach. The analysis of British and German perceptions in Central Asia from 1919 until 1933 shows what kind of (mis)perceptions by decision-makers in London and Berlin shaped great power politics of a declining power and a rising great power.

David X. Noack is a PhD candidate of Mannheim University (dissertation topic: ‘The Second Tournament of Shadows: The Policy of the Great Powers Germany, Great Britain and Soviet Union in Soviet and Chinese Turkestan 1919 to 1933’) and lecturer at Bremen University. His research focuses on Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the British Empire in the 20th century.

Sarah Panzer - Britain’s Junior Partner: the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in German Media

In 1902 Britain and Japan signed a treaty committing both countries to safeguarding each other’s interests in northeast Asia, principally against Russian expansionism. Notable as the first treaty negotiated and signed by a European power and an Asian state as equal partners, the Anglo-Japanese alliance also represented a major departure from the British government’s previous posture of “splendid isolation.” Renewed and expanded in 1905, in recognition of Japan’s success during the Russo-Japanese War, and again in 1911, the Anglo-Japanese alliance defined

and delineated the contours of international affairs in East Asia for the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Germany, whose own imperial interests in East Asia frequently collided with those of Japan in particular, observed the Anglo-Japanese alliance with ambivalence. A significant presence during Meiji Japan's efforts to modernize itself politically, economically, and militarily, Germany's reputation in Japan had been severely tarnished as a result of the Triple Intervention. Many German scholars and policymakers rued their government's short-sightedness in alienating Japan, even more so when Japan demonstrated its new military capabilities against Russia at Mukden and Tsushima. Over the next decade, contributors to Germany's liberal press and media represented the Anglo-Japanese alliance as not just a threat to German geopolitical ambitions but also an indictment of Wilhelmine diplomacy. Japan, by contrast, gradually emerged in this media as an idealized counter-model to both Germany and Britain in its ability to successfully navigate international politics without surrendering either its strategic self-interest or its national honour. Analysis of German media representations of the Anglo-Japanese alliance thus reveals a new perspective on the Anglo-German rivalry, one in which both states were the targets of critique for failing to uphold a truly liberal vision of international politics.

Sarah Panzer is Assistant Professor of Modern European History at Missouri State University. Her dissertation "The Prussians of the East: Samurai, Bushido, and Japanese Honor in the German Imagination, 1905-1945" (University of Chicago) won the 2015 Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize. Her recent publications include "The Archer and the Arrow: Zen Buddhism and the Politics of Religion in Nazi Germany," *Journal of Global History* (2022) and "Death-Defying: Voluntary Death as Honorable Ideal in the German-Japanese Alliance," *Central European History* (2022). She is currently finishing her first monograph, which examines the German-Japanese relationship during the first half of the twentieth century as an alternative or counter-modernity.

Marina Pérez de Arcos - Anglo-German Imperial Entanglement in Africa: Cameroonian Internees in Spain during the First World War.

In 1916, thousands of Germans and Cameroonians fleeing British troops crossed the border into Spanish Equatorial Guinea, becoming ‘perhaps the only large group of Europeans to ever become refugees in the African continent’ (Sundiata, 1996). In addition, some 60,000 African soldiers followed the Germans. Many of these refugees were interned in neutral Spanish Fernando Po, an island off what is today mainland Equatorial Guinea, or transported from Africa to the Iberian Peninsula, where they remained for the duration of the war. Spanish authorities had to contend with British and German pressures and requests.

Nsango, a Cameroonian man, servant to Paul Bieger, a German colonial soldier interned in Spain, was allowed to leave Bieger in 1917. However, believing he too was detained, the transatlantic ship company in Barcelona did not allow him to board the vessel. The Spanish Foreign Ministry intervened and asserted, ‘Nsango was not interned and could move freely.’ The Spanish Foreign Ministry also allowed German priests to exit Spain during the war as they were supposed to under the Geneva Convention while letting several German internees’ wives travel from Germany into Spain, much to the complaint of British authorities. These intense transcontinental movements and events, however, remain a little-known chapter of German colonial history or even First World War history.

Overall, scholars have focused mainly on belligerents rather than neutrals and war aims rather than humanitarianism during the Great War, albeit with some exceptions like Maartje Abbenhuis’s work on neutrality (2014) and Jaclyn Granick’s work on Jewish humanitarianism (2021). In addition, the literature has traditionally emphasised experiences on the Western Front in Europe rather than other fronts, although slowly casting a more global gaze (Tanielian, 2017). However, thousands of Spanish documents on this rich Afro-European Anglo-German experience are waiting to be systematically analysed and integrated into the international literature on war, internment, humanitarianism and migration. The paper will offer initial insights, which are part of a larger research project.

Marina Pérez de Arcos has taught International History and International Relations at the University of Oxford and the London School of Economics for over a decade. She is currently Head of History and Politics at LSE’s Forward College-Europe, a new higher education

institution with campuses in Lisbon, Paris, and Amsterdam. She is a Research Associate at Oxford's Centre for International Studies and will serve as the German History Society's Acting Secretary starting next year. Her latest publication on humanitarianism and the First World War is the *International History Review*'s most-read article of the year. She is the co-founder of the LSE-FU Berlin's 'New Directions in the History of Internment in the two World Wars' project and the runner-up of the Emerging Female Talent Award from the International Society for First World War Studies. She holds a DPhil and an MPhil from the University of Oxford.

Baijayanti Roy - Indian Diasporic Nationalism and Leftist Anti-Imperialism in 1920s Berlin.

Based on hitherto unused archival materials, this paper examines the emergence of a predominantly left-wing anti-colonialist group of Indians in post WWI Berlin. Historical research on Indian diasporic anti-colonialism in Berlin after the First World War has focussed primarily on the nationalist turned Marxist revolutionary, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya or "Chatto" who relocated to Moscow after 1932. This paper draws attention to other lesser known Indians who loosely formed a group around "Chatto."

This group included Indian nationalists who had participated in anti-British propaganda and activities during the First World War with the support of the German government, as well as new arrivals from India in the 1920s. The newcomers included radical communists and more "mainstream" nationalists fleeing colonial repression, apart from conventional students and professionals who were politicized by "Chatto." Berlin in the 1920s provided a relatively safe space for Indian anti-colonialists including those who combined nationalism with the internationalist ideology of Marxism.

Drawing mostly on British surveillance records, the paper will focus on the political trajectories of some of these "transboundary" individuals. It will examine the connections between them and the international left-wing organisation - the League against imperialism, and with the intelligence service of the Soviet Union (GPU). Another aim of the paper is to review the part played by the German state in encouraging Indian nationalist aspirations, particularly towards the end of the 1920s. In conclusion, the paper will briefly comment on the transformations brought about by the Nazi assumption of power, which led many of these Indians including radical

Marxists to pragmatically bury their pasts and collaborate with the new regime in different ways. The Nazi regime also showed remarkable flexibility in accommodating them.

Baijayanti Roy studied modern Indian and modern European history at the University of Calcutta in India. She received her PhD from the Goethe University, Frankfurt. Her dissertation has been published as a monograph titled *The making of a Gentleman Nazi: Albert Speer's Politics of History in the Federal Republic of Germany* (2016). She is currently affiliated to the History Department of the Goethe University and is writing another monograph, tentatively titled *Knowledge of India and Nazi politics*. She has published and spoken on different subjects including Nazi Germany, Hindu nationalism, the history of German Indology as well as on aspects of the historical relationship between Germany and India.

Jan Rüger: Rewriting the Anglo-German Relationship

The lecture discusses how we might go about rethinking Britain and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The model of the 'rise and fall of the great powers' suggests a general rule, according to which Britain and Germany were destined to end up in antagonism and war. The counter-narrative paints Anglo-German conflict as a tragic accident which could have been avoided if only Britain had kept out of European affairs. Rather than rely on either of these flawed narratives, the lecture engages with three aspects that are key to rewriting the Anglo-German relationship: a long timeframe, reaching from the early eighteenth century to the present; an approach which brings together European and global dynamics; and an acute awareness of the experiences of those who lived this relationship on the ground. Bringing these three dimensions together allows us to contemplate a new history of Britain and Germany in the modern age.

Jan Rueger is professor of history at Birkbeck, University of London. He is currently writing a history of Britain and Germany from 1714 to the present. He is the author of *Heligoland: Britain, Germany and the Struggle for the North Sea* (2017) and *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire* (2007).

Yves Schmitz - British Traders, Cape Town, London and Hendrik Witbooi – United against German Southwest Africa?

Within the early history (1884-1894) of the “Schutzgebiet” German Southwest Africa, Hendrik Witbooi and his followers were the most imminent threat to the establishment of German control in the region. One of the reasons why Witbooi was perceived as so dangerous were his close ties to local British traders, who smuggled firearms and ammunition to the Witbooi from South of the border. These traders were accused of acting as a fifth column for Cape colonial businessmen and politicians, who made no secret of their wish to annex the whole of the German colony, especially the (in)famous Cecil Rhodes, who was directly involved in the arms trade. These plans were not just harshly criticised by German officials, but also by British administrators in London, who insisted on a close collaboration to fight regional gun smuggling.

Within the slow establishment of German control in the region, the different western and indigenous actors were trying to further their political and economic goals through collaboration and confrontation. The proposed paper will address these very different positions, showing that the lines of conflict lay not just between the colonial powers, but also between actors in the periphery and the metropole.

Yves Schmitz studied history at the Universities of Hamburg and Exeter, and has completed a PhD in comparative imperial history at the University of Marburg, Germany in 2021. He is currently working as a researcher at the “global mobility” department of the University of Duisburg-Essen. His recent book is *Illegaler Waffenhandel in imperialen Grenzregionen. Randfiguren im Südlichen Afrika und Nordamerika im späten 19. Jahrhundert*, Köln 2022.

Richard Scully - Australian Satirical Images of Germany: British Entanglement or Autonomous Developments?

This paper explores the way in which Australian-based cartoonists and satirical artists depicted Germany and the Germans from the 1850s to 1914. While metropolitan British representations have been explored in great detail (e.g. Scully, *British Images of Germany*, 2012), the satirical engagement with the various German questions (political, commercial, cultural, and military) in the British Antipodes has received very little attention. This is unsurprising, as only the comic

representations of the Irish and Chinese have received more than cursory treatment in either the British or Australian contexts (Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 1971 & 1997; Hall, 'Now Him White Man', 2014; Matthewson, *Cartooning China*, 2022; Tan, 'Early Chinese Portrayals in Western Political Cartoons', 2022). Detailed appreciations of Australian cartooning have also largely stagnated since the boom in interest in the 1970s (Lindesay, *Inked-In Image*, 1970; Mahood, *Loaded Line*, 1973; King, *Other Side of the Coin*, 1976; King, *Stop Laughing, this is Serious*, 1978). But long-lived Australian satirical journals on the model of the London *Punch* provide a useful source base for interrogating attitudes towards Germany and the Germans; including *Melbourne Punch* (1855-1925), *Sydney Punch* (1856, 1857, 1864-1888), *Ballarat Punch* (1857, 1867-1870), *Adelaide Punch* (1868, 1878-1884), *Queensland Punch/Figaro* and *Punch* (1878-1885; 1885-1890; 1890-1901; 1901-1936), and *Ipswich Punch* (1871-1872); to say nothing of *Tasmanian Punch* (1866); *Hobart Town Punch* (1867-68; 1878); *Fun, or The Tasmanian Charivari* (1867); and *Tasmanian Punch* (1869-70, 1877-78). Although staffed largely by immigrants from metropolitan Britain, distinct difference in portrayal of Germany are evident in the Australian cartoon context, as concerns over commercial and military penetration on Australia's Pacific doorstep, as well as domestic immigration, produced different reactions from those seated around the *Punch* table in Fleet Street. Although not comprehensive, this paper explores some of the prevailing stereotypes that infused real-world Australian-German interactions in a key period.

Richard Scully, BA (Hons), PhD (Monash), FRHistS, MAICD is Associate Professor in Modern History at the University of New England, Australia. His work on the history and function of political cartooning was the subject of an ARC DECRA (2013-2016), and of several books, including *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism & Ambivalence, 1860-1914* (Basingstoke, 2012), and *Eminent Victorian Cartoonists* (3 volumes, London, 2018). Analyses of cartoon images of Germany and the Germans have appeared in articles for the *German Studies Review*, *European Comic Art*, and *Victorian Periodicals Review*; and chapters in *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence* (Clayton, 2009), and *Chroniquer la guerre de 1870* (Paris, forthcoming). Richard is a Life Member of the Cartoon Museum (London) and the Political Cartoon Society, as well as an Associate Member of the Australian Cartoonists Association.

Yorim Spoelder - A Prussian Prince in British India: Imperial Sightseeing, Colonial Learning and Anglo-German Relations on the Eve of the First World War

Drawing on colonial archives and textual/visual sources collected in Berlin, London and New Delhi, this paper uses the Indian tour of the Prussian crown prince Wilhelm in 1911 as an entry point to explore Anglo-German relations prior to the First World War. The visit of the Kaiser's son, and Queen Victoria's great grandson, appeared to have strengthened Anglo-German ties while the strong representation of German industry at the Allahabad Exhibition, attended by the crown prince, promised to herald an era of German commercial expansion in India. It was not to be, and only a few years later Germans were, as "enemy aliens", denied entry to India or locked up in internment camps. In 1911, however, the future was still contingent and the aim of the paper is three-fold. On one level, it explores the dynamics of transimperial knowledge exchange and schemes for cooperation, and shows that members of Wilhelm's entourage drew important lessons from British technologies of rule, the organization of the army, and economic policy for Germany's African colonies. It is argued that, even if there was a competitive edge to pre-war Anglo-German relations abroad, shared colonial and commercial interests often prevailed over mistrust and rivalry. On another level, the paper reflects on the role of royal actors in furthering (overlapping) imperial, economic and nationalist agendas by comparing Wilhelm's tour with the strikingly similar itineraries of the Csesarewitch (1890-1) and the Habsburg archduke Franz Ferdinand (1892). It also contextualizes Wilhelm's tour in light of the earlier German royal visits to India of Waldemar von Preußen (1844-46) and Ernst Ludwig von Hessen (1902). Finally, this paper scrutinizes the agency of India's Princely rulers and explores how they were incorporated/inserted themselves in the choreography of colonial pageantry that accompanied Wilhelm's visit.

Yorim Spoelder is a postdoctoral research fellow at Freie Universität Berlin specialized in the modern connected histories of Europe, South and Southeast Asia. His forthcoming book *Staging the Nation Beyond the Raj: Transimperial Knowledge Networks and Visions of Greater India, 1800-1950s* will be published by Cambridge University Press. He is currently working on a book which explores the identity politics and socio-cultural history of Eurasians resident in Calcutta, Goa, Colombo, Singapore, Hanoi, Batavia and Hong Kong during the era of high imperialism. Another project compares the history of royal cosmopolitanism and colonial pageantry in British

India and the Dutch East Indies. Spoelder previously held various fellowships at Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg, Freie Universität Berlin and IHEID Geneva, was a guest scholar at EHESS Paris, and affiliated as a researcher with the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi. He contributes regularly to the *Asian Review of Books*.

Tobias Wagemann - Colonial Policing in the Pacific Ocean: The Perspectives of Local Indigenous Policemen in British and German New Guinea (1884 - 1918)

From the 1880s to the end of the First World War, British and German colonial administrations are created on the eastern side of Papua New Guinea. Far from a thorough invasion, colonial administrators face structural problems and local resistance leading to growing anxieties regarding colonial order. Hence, colonial police forces—drawn essentially from Pacific Islanders—start playing a key role in assessing western legitimacy in both colonies. Both police forces grow until 1914 and reach 932 policemen in German New Guinea and 237 in British New Guinea. Yet, this police formation changes during the Great War. Some policemen are involved in the battles in German New Guinea whilst others join the new Australian colonial administration in the 1920s.

Colonial administrations in the Pacific Ocean have generally been excluded from an analysis on colonial violence due to an alleged distance with European metropolises. Thus, this paper would point towards a comparative study of the local administrations of British and German New Guinea to highlight the mobility and action of Melanesian policemen on colonial grounds in a moment of high global interactions. In doing so, it will draw on the archives of the British and German local administrations to inquire how Pacific Islanders manipulate, imitate and resist colonial order when they join the colonial police force. Furthermore, the paper would attempt to supersede binary readings of a German or British experience of colonial violence to conceptualise how colonial policemen take action in transimperial networks of colonial policing. In doing so, it would further interrogate how colonial rule worked as a joint process in the South Seas which leads to cooperation, resistance or revolts by a variety of actors on the ground.

Tobias Wagemann's academic experience in history occurred between Ireland and France. He graduated from University College Dublin in 2020 with a Master in Global History. In 2022, he

also validated a Master's degree in Transnational History at the École Normale Supérieure and the École Nationale des Chartes. He is now a first year doctoral student at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris (ENS-PSL-IHMC). His research focuses on colonial history in a transnational and comparative perspective. More specifically, his thesis is entitled "Colonial Policing in the Pacific Ocean: A Comparative Study of German and British New Guinea (1880s – 1920s)". This work is under the co-direction of Professor Hélène Blais (ENS-PSL-IHMC) and Isabelle Merle (CNRS-CREDO).

Jakob Zollmann - The "Only Door of Entrance". On the Peskiness of Colonial Borders: The Anglo-German Walvis Bay Border Dispute and Arbitration, 1878–1914

The "artificiality" of colonial borders in Africa has often been discussed and lamented. Irrespective of the important insight that state borders can never be "natural", three – sometimes conflicting – attributes of the historic realization of these borders are characteristic: First, these colonial borders were drafted according to the needs of the colonial powers during the Berlin "Congo Conference" in 1884/5 or, mostly, later during bilateral negotiations. Second, they were negotiated at the green tables in Europe by privy councillors without any knowledge about the ethnography and geography of those African regions they were to partition with their new borderlines. Whereas the first two suggest a cooperative modus operandi, a third attribute complicates this picture: the competition between European powers over the partitioning of territories in Africa. Contemporaries were well aware of this competitive aspect and described it with two evocative metaphors: First, the slicing of the often quoted "magnificent African cake" as Belgium's King Leopold put it in 1877; and second, the "scramble for Africa", as coined in Great Britain in 1884 and implying that this slicing of the cake was more a (chaotic) race than anything else.

The Anglo-German debates, negotiations, and finally the legal dispute about the British Walvis Bay territory border give an example of the fact that this "scramble" actually continued well after the border negotiations had ended. The British Walvis Bay enclave – the only suitable natural harbour for several hundred miles to the north and south of the (stormy) Atlantic coast – was since 1884 surrounded by German Southwest Africa (GSWA). This lack of a proper harbour was felt harshly and considered "unjust" in the neighbouring GSWA. The German party was not only

not satisfied with the size of its piece of the “African cake” in this region; nor was it a mere dispute about the course of the border. For years, Germans argued that their ‘piece of the cake’ was rendered worthless by the sheer existence of the Walvis Bay territory. As one South African newspaper conceded in 1907: Without Walvis Bay “German Damaraland is something worse than a ‘white elephant’.” The Germans wanted to have an altogether different piece; that is, they wanted to include Walvis Bay in their territory.

Since 1906 negotiations were held between Berlin and Whitehall to determine at least the course of the border and international arbitration proceedings were agreed on, with a Spanish law professor as arbitrator. My presentation will analyse the (pre-)history of this arbitration case (decided in 1911) and the role indigenous populations played in these disputes - including the 'economic' fortunes the border offered them as well as some strata of the settler population.

Jakob Zollmann read history, philosophy, and law in Berlin, Paris, and San Francisco. He has taught at the Free University Berlin and the University of Namibia, Windhoek, where he also undertook research. He was Visiting Fellow at the German Historical Institutes in Paris, London, and Washington D.C. Since 2011, he is researcher at the Center for Global Constitutionalism of the WZB Berlin Social Science Center. He is currently Visiting Fellow at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. His research focuses on the history of international law and on the (legal and social) history of colonial Africa. He has published *Koloniale Herrschaft und ihre Grenzen. Die Kolonialpolizei in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2010 and *Naulila 1914. World War I in Angola and International Law*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2016. A book manuscript on the *History of Interstate Arbitration, c.1700–1940* is currently under preparation.