Indentured Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa (1870-1918): Circulation of Concepts between Imperial Powers

ULRIKE LINDNER

INTRODUCTION

When German mining companies in the German colony of South West Africa pressed their government to recruit Chinese or Indian indentured workers for their enterprises in 1912, a discussion ensued in neighbouring South Africa. In the Transvaal, at that time already part of the Union of South Africa, tens of thousands of Chinese had been imported to work in the mines at the Witwatersrand between 1904 and 1907 (Richardson 1984). The advice of a Transvaal Newspaper to the German colonial minister was to keep German South West Africa as a "white colony" and to refrain from importing Asian coolies as it would endanger the racial order.[1] But German South West Africa proceeded with its endeavour to recruit Indian indentured workers, even though it was not successful, as the Indian government restricted indenture in general.

Almost at the same time, in 1910, a British government committee, the Sanderson committee, exploring the future use of Indian contract migrants in colonial environments, mentioned the "invaluable service" of Indian immigration in many colonies of the British Empire and proposed encouraging the introduction of indentured labourers in the future.[2] It also stated that it would be

1 National Archive of Namibia, ZBU 2076 W IV R1, (transcript, German Consulate, Johannesburg to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, 16 August 1912).

2 Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (Sanderson Committee), Cd. 5192, London HMSO 1910, p. 22.

advisable for British colonies in Africa to attract Indian immigrants, especially in Uganda, at the same time mentioning the growing difficulties that had developed between Indians and Europeans in African colonies with a considerable "white" settler population, such as in Natal and the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya).[3] Both examples firstly show how attractive Asian contract labour seemed to be for colonial governments and colonial entrepreneurs worldwide, including in Africa, and even at a time when the indenture system had already received much criticism due to the abuse and exploitation of indentured workers. It was receding in many parts of the world before WWI, with the final abolition of Indian indenture in 1920 (Tinker 1974: 364). Secondly, they show how contested the discussion about Asian immigrants in colonies with a "white" settler population and other indigenous ethnicities had become, and how the issue of race and of a racial order was developing into a central issue in many colonial societies at the end of the 19th century (Lake/Reynolds 2008).

Indentured labour in the 19th and early 20th century is mainly seen as a phenomenon characterized by Indian and Chinese contract workers, often called coolies, replacing slaves in the plantation productions of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean (especially Mauritius), and South East Asia.[4] However, there were significant numbers of Indian and Chinese indentured labourers working not only in South Africa, but also in various colonies of the European powers in sub-Saharan Africa. They also formed part of the history of labour migration and of bonded labour in colonial Africa. In the period of high imperialism between 1880 and 1918, when the African colonies were increasingly integrated into a post-slavery global economy, demand for 'reliable' contract labour in plantations, mines, and infrastructure projects increased (Lindner 2011: 409, 437-438).

Not only in South Africa but also in other parts of the continent, the colonial powers tried to introduce Asian contract labour and experimented with forms of indenture. This chapter examines different manifestations of indentured labour in late imperial Africa. It will then address a concrete example of negotiation processes and knowledge transfer between imperial powers in Africa around the issue of indentured labour, and will analyze the discussions on the impact of indentured Asian labour on the racial colonial order. As a last point, the chapter will look at the Institut Colonial International, founded in 1894 by British, French, Dutch, and Belgian colonizers as an institution explicitly created for the transfer of colonial knowledge between colonial powers (Lindner 2015), and will

3 Ibid., pp. 12, 93-97.

4 For earlier forms of coolie labour, cf. van Rossum, this volume.

show how information about coolie/indentured labour was discussed and circulated between imperial powers via the institute's publications.

INDENTURED LABOUR IN COLONIAL EMPIRES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Generally, the banning of the slave trade after 1806, and finally the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, triggered a new, highly regulated system of indentured labour. Asian indentured labourers were used worldwide by the British Empire and by other colonial powers to meet the demand for contract work on plantations (sugar, tea) and in mines – generally, in places where the employers were not willing to rely upon free labour and where slave labour was no longer available (Northrup 1995: 17-18). The move towards indentured labour was particularly dominant in sugar-producing colonies such as Mauritius and Guiana (cf. Adamson 1972). The indentured labour system became part of the new imperial economy of the 19th century and spread around the world. Indentured workers from India and China were transported to the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa, South East Asia, and Australia and formed a new labour force, mostly working in plantations and mines.

However, various forms and variations of indentured labour existed before the British Empire initiated regulated forms of colonial indenture, as van Rossum (this volume) has shown in his analysis of the situation in Dutch colonies at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Furthermore, slavery and indenture were often used side-by-side, most prominently in Spanish Cuba, where slavery was abolished much later and where Chinese coolies lived amongst the slaves, with slavery and indenture forming a combined system of bonded labour (Hu-DeHart 1993). Marina Carter has addressed similar developments in Mauritius, where slave labour and the apprenticing of slaves overlapped with the introduction of indentured workers (Carter 1993). The big flows of indentured migration dwindled during and after WWI, as the Indian government stopped indenture to several British colonies after 1911 (Tinker 1974: 314-315). However, similar forms of labour allocation persisted through the next decades, in some industries until the 1970s, as Julia Martinez has shown in her research on pearl diving in Australia (Martinez 2005).

In this article, I use the term "indentured labour" because the phenomenon I am dealing with, a form of inter-colonial regulated work migration by Asian workers in the 19th and early 20th century, is commonly addressed as such, e.g. by Hugh Tinker and David Northrup, who wrote the two comprehensive

histories of this form of work migration in the 19th century (Tinker 1974; Northrup 1995). Asian indentured migration was originally regulated by law in India as early as in 1837, three years after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. According to these regulations, indentured workers from India should go for one or two five-year periods of service to Mauritius, and should have free passage there and back, as well as a certain monthly salary. Before departure, they should appear in front of an officer of the Government of India and an emigration agent, and should receive a written contract (Tinker 1974: 64). The system was first used to meet the needs of the sugar planters in the British colony of Mauritius, who had previously cultivated their plantations using slaves and Indian convicts (Meagher 2008: 29-30).

After the two Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60), Europeans were allowed to trade in the port cities of China, and used their rights immediately to recruit labour for French, British, and Spanish colonies. In the late 1850s, French and Spanish companies had begun to import Chinese indentured workers from several harbours in China, particularly from Canton, to their plantations and mines in the Caribbean and Latin America (Campbell 1923; López 2013). The British Empire also began to use Chinese labour for their colonies in the West Indies. Contracts comparable to the British regulations issued in India in 1837 were created in China from 1859 onwards in order to bring Chinese coolies to the British West Indies (Campbell 1923: 130). Whereas the British government tried to regulate and organize the recruitment of Chinese coolies, in the Spanish case private merchants controlled the trade with indentured workers (López 2013: 16). Not only did indentured Indian and Chinese labourers come to colonies of the British and Spanish Empires, but similar regimes were also used to bring indentured labourers to French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonies and to other colonial settings. The regulations differed to some degree between the different colonial empires, and changed over time; however, the basic system of indenture and the forms of the contracts remained similar for several decades.

From the beginning, the indenture system was extremely open to misuse (Mann 2003: 13). Regulations were insufficiently controlled, or not at all; indentured workers often did not receive correct contracts, and generally received poor pay – very rarely the promised salary. Furthermore, people were kidnapped and forced into indenture. Indentured workers mostly suffered under extremely harsh working and housing conditions. They had to endure horrible transport conditions in crowded ships, and suffered from racial prejudices (Tinker 1974: 161-163). The situation was well known amongst the colonial powers: As early as 1839, a committee appointed by the Government of India published a report on the situation of the coolies on Mauritius. The report clearly

exposed the problems of indentured work and the exploitation and abuse of coolies.[5] The accounts of Indian coolie witnesses were heard, who openly told the committee that they did not receive the promised food, that they were beaten, and that their masters withheld their salaries. They had no means to reinforce their claims, as the police in Mauritius supported the plantation owners. As a coolie woman, Bibee Zuhoorun, stated regarding her treatment by her master, Mr. Boileau, in 1838:

"There was two years and a half wages due to me, but I never did receive one pice [sic], the police did not see that I got any …. I had an allowance of rice served out to me – three small pots full for every seven days, every Sunday a little dholl [sic] and a little ghee, no fish, no turmeric, no tamarind, nothing that was put down in the agreement […] Mr Boileau treats his coolies very ill. The three times I complained of Mr. Boileau at the Police he was summoned but did not attend [.] there was some communication between him and the police and I was sent back - the last time I said I would not work, I would get back to Calcutta, as I could not comply with what he wished me to do, I would not stay with him, and then I was put in the house of correction."[6]

The system of indenture was already being called a "new system of slavery" in British Parliament in 1840 (Twaddle 1993: 1). In Mauritius, the complaints about the abuse of indentured labour led to a moratorium on Indian immigration. However, in 1842, the importing of Indian coolies started again, because the sugar planters were able to use their influence and pressed for more contract labour (Maegher 2008). Generally, the indenture system of sugar production in Mauritius was seen as economically successful. Indentured work migration was allowed to spread to the sugar-producing colonies of the Caribbean. Successful sugar production remained of the greatest interest for the British colonial government, and mostly outweighed any concerns about the ill-treatment of coolies, as for example Adamson has shown in his study of indentured labour in British Guiana (Adamson 1972: 256). Consequently, the Marquess of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Indian Government on indentured Indian labour in 1875:

5 Report of the Committee appointed by the Supreme Government of India to enquire into the abuses alleged to exist in exporting from Bengal Hill Coolies and Indian Labourers of various classes to other countries, 1839.

6 Ibid., p. 66.

"[…] we may also consider from an Imperial point of view, the great advantage which must result from peopling the warmer British possessions, which are rich in natural resources and only want population, by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited, and to whom the culture of the staples suited to the soil, and the modes of labour and settlement, are adapted. In this view, also, it seems proper to encourage emigration from India to Colonies well fitted for an Indian population."[7]

Despite the problems and misgivings, and despite the growing critique in the metropoles, as well as in India and other colonies, the indenture system was used during the next decades to bring hundreds of thousand workers to the plantations and mines of the British and other colonial empires. The official opinion, as also stated in the report of the Sanderson Committee from 1910, which was called to investigate the emigration from India to the crown colonies and protectorates, was that this form of emigration had a highly positive effect on the economy as well as on the development of these colonies in general:

"There can be no doubt that in this manner Indian indentured immigration has rendered invaluable service to those of your colonies in which, on the emancipation of the negro slaves, the sugar industry was threatened with ruin, or in which a supply of steady labour has been required for the development of the Colony by methods of work to which the native population is averse. The Indian immigration has had a twofold effect. It has admittedly supplied labour which could not be obtained in sufficient quantities from other sources. But we were also told by some competent witnesses that according to their observation, in British Guiana and the West Indies at all events, the thrifty and persevering habits of the Indian immigrant have had an educative effect, perceptible though gradual, on those among whom he has come to live and that his example and his competition have introduced new habits of industry and improved methods of agriculture."[8]

The report also stressed that Indians who remained in foreign colonies after indenture might be able to attain certain prosperity; this was judged as a positive effect of the whole system of indenture as well.[9]

In the late 19th century it had become common to send Asian working migrants around the globe, facilitated by the new steamships that could reach

7 Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates 1910, p. 7.

8 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

9 Ibid., p. 22.

distant destinations in far less time. Millions of Chinese and Indians were recruited as coolies (Emmer 1986). Aristide Zolberg (1997: 288) refers to one million Indian indentured labourers (in addition to many other migrants) who left the subcontinent between 1834 and 1916 and worked in Britain's Caribbean colonies; Thomas Metcalf (2007: 136) mentions a figure of 1.3 million. After the end of the Opium Wars, when the Chinese government was forced to lift barriers to emigration, a constantly growing network emerged, which shipped Chinese labourers to America, Africa, Australia, various South East Asian colonies, and South Africa.

The Chinese emigration was probably the largest non-European migration movement at the end of the 19th century. Although there are no precise figures, it is assumed that between 1860 and 1920, around 15 million Chinese migrated to South East Asia alone (Zolberg 1997: 289-291; Hoerder 2012: 435-439). It would certainly paint a biased picture if one were to consider only the European recruiters as actors. It has been argued that poverty and landlessness in parts of India and China created a pool of migrants who would undergo the conditions of indentured work and would be attracted into the colonial system of indenture (Klein 1993: 20; Northrup 1995: 65). However, there were also free migrants without working contracts who tried to use the opportunities migration might offer to them. Generally, one should stress the fact that forms of contract labour and free labour existed next to each other, being intertwined in many ways, as McKeown (2004) has argued for the Chinese migration in the 19th century. Still, the regulated indentured labour system, being part of the highly suppressive colonial economic order, created a huge migration flow within and between the colonial empires of the 19th century.

INDENTURED LABOUR AND COOLIES IN AFRICA

In Africa as well, due to shortages of labour in many colonies, the colonial powers were generally keen to employ Asian indentured workers, who were judged to be a cheap and reliable workforce. In all the African sub-Saharan colonies, European colonizers depended on the cheap labour of Africans and other ethnic groups, in the plantations of East and West Africa as well as the farms and mines of South Africa, and, in general, for all infrastructural projects such as building roads and railways. In addition to Africans from each colony, there was a strong inter-colonial migration, e.g. from the Portuguese colonies to the mines in British South Africa. The contracts and the forms of occupation in this case of work migration resemble indentured labour, as Legassick and de

Clerq have argued in their research (Legassick/de Clerq 1984). In the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, on the Portuguese Islands of Principe and Sao Tome, forms of indentured labour were used to disguise slavery from the 1870s onwards. In that case, the workers were of African descent, not Asian migrants (Clarence-Smith 1993: 156-157).[10]

Asian indentured workers, mostly addressed as coolies,[11] were imported to regions in colonial Africa where there was a strong demand for cheap and readily available labour, i.e. mainly plantation economy and mining industries. Thousands of indentured workers came from Asian countries to Africa, altogether around 250,000 (Northrup 1995: 37), whose descendants still form significant cultures in South Africa. Here, Indian coolies came to the plantations of Natal, and Chinese workers to the mines of the Transvaal. Around 150,000 Indians arrived in the colony of Natal in South Africa between 1860 and 1911 to work in the tea and sugar plantations (Bhana 1991: 3-4). Indians also migrated to other African colonies. Particularly in East Africa, a long-standing exchange between India and the African coast dominated the commerce in the region and produced a continuing flow of migration. East Africa was even being addressed as the "America of the Hindu" by Sir Harry Johnston, Commissioner of British Central Africa and Special Commissioner in Uganda (1899-1901) (Metcalf 2007: 165). Additionally, around 39,000 Indian indentured workers were brought in for railway-building in British East Africa (Kenya) during the 1890s (Northrup 1995: 37). Chinese labourers also migrated to some sub-Saharan African destinations, most prominently to the Rand mines in the Transvaal between 1902 and 1910 (Bright 2013; Richardson 1984).

If we look at Southern Africa in more detail, the plantations and mining industry of British South Africa had always been based on itinerant and bonded labour. Africans from the whole southern part of the continent worked in the gold mines of Witwatersrand in the Republic of Transvaal, which stood under British suzerainty. In 1909 the mines near Johannesburg employed a total of about 150,000 workers (Legassick/de Clercq 1984: 141; Richardson 1984: 262). Consequently, Indian and Chinese indentured labour was employed in various regions of British South Africa. Indian coolies went to the colony of Natal as early as 1860 to work on the sugar plantations and later on the tea plantations

10 Similar forms of unfree labour were already being used at the beginning of the 19th century when freed African slaves – after the suppression of the slave trade by the British – were quickly indentured and had to stay on in unfree labour contracts (cf. Northrup 1995: 45).

11 For a discussion of the term "coolie", see the introduction of the volume.

(Metcalf 2007: 138). They had five- or ten-year contracts. In the meantime, regulations from India demanded that migrants should be able to stay on after their periods of servitude. Thus many of the immigrant Indians stayed in the British colony after their contracts came to an end. They often went on to work in other areas, including the coal and mining industries. Others became independent traders, or small farmers (Naicker 1971: 276-277).

The huge and growing number of free Indians who settled as traders was considered problematic. In 1882, the Times of Natal, a newspaper of the settlers and the white middle class, was alarmed about the growing number of Indian shops in the colony and asked the Legislative Council of Natal to improve legislation in order to prevent them competing against the white population (du Bois 2012: 46). On the other hand, the colony's tea, sugar, and coffee planters of course favoured the continuation of indentured labour in Natal. The Indian workers themselves had to endure very bad labour conditions under the indenture system in Natal. While some planters complied with the regulations, most planters routinely breached their obligations to provide suitable lodgings, food, and medical care. This was well known by the government of Natal. For example, a commission investigating mistreatment and withheld wages by a sugar planter, Henry Shire, heard 22 coolies and recorded their complaints in 1862. The commission stated: "that he [Shire] has extended the hours of Coolie labour – made unlawful deductions from their pay – placed some of them on half diet and administered flogging by means of Kafirs to others – all of which acts contrary to law."[12] However, the coolies finally had to return to Shire. He was only advised to obey the laws in the future. The Coolie Commission of 1872, enquiring into the discontent on the plantations, also found that illegal floggings, withheld wages, and sexual assault were common.[13] Still, indentured labour continued to be used in Natal because it served the interests of the planters best.

By 1893, the size of the Indian population was almost as high as the European population: 41,000 compared with 43,000 respectively. This was now viewed with growing alarm by most of the Europeans (du Bois 2012: 53). Finally, various laws were passed to restrict the rights of the Indian community after 1893, and moves were made to disenfranchise them. It is well known that

12 The Shire Commission Report, Durban, February 1862, as cited in Meer (1980: 99).

13 Report of the Coolie Commission, appointed to inquire into the condition of Indian immigrants in the colony of Natal and the mode in which they were employed; and also to inquire into the complaints made by returned immigrants to the protector of emigrants at Calcutta, Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons, Government Printers, 1872, as cited in Meer (1980: 118-169).

Gandhi, who came to Durban in 1893, opposed discrimination against Indians. In Natal, he organized protests against obligatory registration, which seriously restricted the freedom to move of all Asians, and was partly successful.[14] Gandhi also fought for the end of indenture in general during the first decade of the 20th century (Tinker 1974: 300).

Chinese indentured migration started considerably later. The South African gold industry had completely collapsed during the Second South African War (1899-1902), and reconstruction began quickly after peace was secured in 1902. The need for labour increased, and could not immediately be met by African workers. Between 1904 and 1907, therefore, about 63,000 Chinese indentured labourers were recruited for the goldmines in the British colony of Transvaal (Richardson 1984: 167). In the Transvaal, the "import" of Chinese labourers was controversially discussed. While the Chinese were judged to be hard workers and were preferred by some mining companies, European workers and traders in particular feared the competition of the Chinese, and were very doubtful about immigration.[15] The Chinese workers therefore had to submit to strict and cruel regulations. The Transvaal administration wanted at all costs to prevent groups of Chinese people from settling permanently in the colony, as had happened in Natal.[16]

Generally, there was a growing insecurity about the influence and impact of Asian labour in the African colonial setting, in which – in the eyes of most colonizers – there should be strict separation between Africans and Europeans. At the end of the 19th century racial segregation became a goal in itself, particularly in African colonies with a settler population. In the British East African Protectorate too, where Indians played an important role in trade, administration, and colony infrastructure, they were viewed with increasing distrust by the growing white settler population after 1900.

14 See for Gandhi in Natal e.g. Lake/Reynolds (2008: 114-133).

15 National Archive of Namibia, ZBU 2076, WIV R1 (transcript, German consulate Johannesburg to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, 16 Aug. 1912), fo. 43.

16 Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde R 1001/8747 (Schnee, Colonial Advisory Board London to German Foreign Office, Colonial Section, 26 Mar. 1906), fos. 142-143.

CIRCULATION OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT INDENTURED LABOUR: THE EXAMPLE OF GERMAN AFRICAN COLONIES

Debates on indentured labour allocation and its consequences circulated through the increasingly globalized economy and through the different colonial administrations in the decades before WWI. Even the short-lived German colonial empire (1884-1918) became part of the global migration market. German entrepreneurs, as representatives of an aspiring colonial nation, were keen to be involved in recruiting indentured labour. Whenever there was a shortage of labour in the German colonies, voices were quick to call for coolies from India or China (Conrad 2006: 168-73). The most significant immigration of Chinese indentured workers can be observed in the German Pacific colonies New Guinea and Samoa. Here, a considerable number of Chinese coolies – altogether around 10,000 between 1889 and 1914 – were brought in to work in mines and on plantations (Steen 2014: 148).

In Africa as well, German colonial companies were keen to employ Asian coolies for mines and infrastructure projects, and on plantations. German agents attempted to bring Indian and Chinese coolies to African destinations for several years. The German East African Company (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft) tried to negotiate the importing of Chinese workers in various Chinese Ports and in Singapore. Finally, around 500 Chinese coolies from Singapore came in the 1890s to work on plantations and in infrastructure projects. However, this experiment proved to be rather disastrous and the coolies returned only after two years, complaining about the bad treatment they had experienced under the Germans (Haschemi Yekani 2015: 63). There were further projects being developed to bring indentured Indians to German East Africa, but they failed after long negotiations (Lindner 2011: 438-439). The government of India had become more reluctant to send Indian indentured workers to non-British destinations during the 1880s (Tinker 1974: 274-278).

In German South-West Africa the discovery of diamonds in 1908 and the forced development of the railways from 1905 onwards meant that the needs of companies and businesses for easily accessible labour grew. Both mining and railway companies wanted to participate in the global labour market, and from 1910 onwards they attempted to recruit Indian and Chinese labour to import into the German colony (Lindner 2011: 410). German companies and mining associations were mainly influenced by conditions in neighbouring British South Africa. Particularly German mine owners and businessmen in the colony who knew about the influx of indentured labour in South Africa hoped that by importing Indians and Chinese they would get better and harder-working

labourers than they thought they could find among the country's indigenous population.

Putting this plan into practice turned out to be difficult. Since 1910, the Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining (situated in Lüderitz Bay in the South of the colony) had been trying to persuade the government that increased immigration of indentured labourers was required to fill existing labour shortages.[17] However, the government of German South-West Africa imposed numerous conditions on the Chamber of Mining: indentured labourers were to be examined for illness at the place where they were recruited, and again before they landed in Africa; they were not permitted to move to the interior of the country; if they withdrew from their labour contracts, they had to be transported home at the Chamber of Mining's expense. The regulations were modelled closely on those that applied to Chinese indentured labourers in the Transvaal, and which were well known in German South West Africa via government reports and newspaper articles.[18] In this case, one can observe a concrete form of knowledge exchange between the two colonies on the topic of Asian labour, both with a rigid racial order and a white settler population.

The German mining companies tried to recruit Indians under such conditions, but the Indian colonial government refused to grant the German colonial government permission to recruit, as German South-West Africa demanded immediate repatriation of the coolies to India and the Indian government would not accept that.[19] The recruiting of Chinese workers seemed too problematic for the government of German South West Africa, as the Chinese government had forced the German colonies in the South Sea to treat the Chinese workers differently from the indigenous population and to grant them certain privileges, after long negotiations between German and Chinese officials (cf. Steen 2014). Since German South West Africa had enforced a rigid racial order after the end of the devastating Herero-and-Nama War (1904-1907), Chinese workers with certain privileges should not complicate the demarcation

17 National Archives of the Republic of South Africa, Pretoria NTS 201 3038/12/7473 (transcript, Consul Müller to Foreign Secretary, 23 April 1912).

18 National Archive of Namibia, BLU 30 (Governor of German South-West Africa to District Office Lüderitz Bay, 20 Apr. 1912). For similar regulations in Transvaal, of which the German Colonial Office took note, see Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde R 1001/8747 (transcript, German Consulate General Shanghai to Chancellor von Bülow, 29 July 1904).

19 Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, R 1001/1232 (Crowe, Foreign Office, to Imperial German Embassy London, 25 Sept. 1912).

lines between "white" and "native", and the mining companies abstained from recruiting Chinese labour (Lindner 2011: 421).

The mine owners now attempted to hire Indians in Natal and the Cape Colony to work in the German colony. If Indians had stayed on in a colonial setting after their contract had ended, they were to some extent free to choose their new work.[20] A German company which had been mining copper and lead in Namibia since about 1900 employed around 200 Indian coolies as workers in the German colony in 1910. They had been recruited not in India, but in the Cape Colony, where the hiring of Indian workers whose contracts had expired was permitted. However, for the Indian workers contracts in the German colony were hardly attractive, and work recruitment was never successful: only around 300 Indians ever lived in the German colony as indentured workers.

Some general points can be highlighted through the example of German-British transfer of knowledge about indentured labour, and through the German discourse on coolies. In German African colonies as in many other colonies, business and mining associations were keen on Asian labour, trying to convince the administrations to facilitate the immigration of coolies. Here the stereotype of the reliable, strong, hard-working Asian coolie seemed to be the prevailing view.

However, there were different views from the side of the colonial administration and the settlers. These arguments can be found in German African and British African colonies with a white settler population who saw free Asian migrants as a threat and wanted the terms of indenture to be restricted. Generally, two main problems were addressed when dealing with indentured labour in the African setting: First, the possible competition between Asians and Europeans in colonies with some white settlement in Africa. Asian workers were increasingly regarded as competition by the European population. Even in German East Africa, with a small population of free Indians and hardly any indentured Indian workers, the so-called "Indian Question" was widely discussed in the settler-dominated East African press (Lindner 2011: 442-443). Most of the colonies that put up legal barriers to the immigration of Asians justified them in similar ways, namely that because of their modest needs and low standard of living by comparison with Europeans, Asians, and in particular Indians and Chinese, were superior to the "white race" in the ongoing competitive (Darwinian) struggle. Therefore they had to be regulated and their

20 National Archive of Namibia, ZBU 2076 W IV R2 (Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining to Consulate Durban, 12 June 1912), fo. 49.

rights to be restricted.[21] Administrations and white settlers wanted to prevent Asian workers from developing into competitors of the Europeans in the colony.

The argument of competition can be found not only for colonial Africa, but on a more general level as well: Even the Sanderson Report on Indian emigration from 1910, in general stressing the allegedly positive consequences of the system of indenture, conceded that the success of some of the Indian traders created jealousy amongst the European population in several colonies, including in British East Africa.[22] The British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protections Society, being highly critical of the system of indenture, particularly of the recruiting procedures, was also quite outspoken with regard to concerns about competition between Europeans and Asians:

> "The conditions under which the coolies leave India, the terms of the indentures, the legislation of the Colonies, combine to wean the coolie from his Indian home: consequently the fittest not only survive but settle down to live in the colony, ultimately competing successfully with both the Whites and indigenous natives." (Harris 1910: 2)

Kay Saunders has explored similar conflicting interests in Queensland in Australia; here too, planters had sought to import Asian indentured labour from the Pacific islands, China, and India for sugar production. The immigration of Asian coolies collided with a developing "white-only" policy of the settler colony Australia and with the interests of the growing European unions, who wanted to dispense with Asian labourers as competitors during the last decade of the 19th century (Saunders 1984).

Secondly, and strongly connected with the issue of competition, was the discussion of the place of the Asian migrants in the racial order of the colony. To come back to the example of German South West Africa: The colonial government wanted at all costs to prevent indentured labourers from settling permanently in the colony. Despite being considered a threat to the white population, it was a major concern that they should not complicate racial structures by forming an additional group between the African and the European population. Racial categorization played a considerable role in the way the colonial government dealt with the immigrant groups of Indian and Chinese indentured workers. Indians and Chinese people were classified by most of the

21 Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, R 1001 /8731 (The Treatment of Asians in Foreign Colonies, 1912), fo. 1.

22 Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates 1910, p. 22.

racial categorizations in use during the age of high imperialism as occupying a median position between "white" and "black".[23] Contact with these ethnic groups represented a special challenge to the mostly dichotomic racial concepts of the European colonial administrations in Africa, as they had to deal with intermediate groups with certain rights between those of the Europeans and those of the indigenous population.

The racial constructs and stereotypes applied to Indians and Chinese were of course never definitive, but were constantly changed and challenged. In the German context, Chinese people had long been regarded as members of a nation with a highly developed civilization. It was not until the middle and end of the 19th century that, under the influence of new racial theories, they were classified as a lower "Mongolian race" that was clearly inferior to the "white Caucasian/ European race" (Leutner 1986: 409-11; Mühlhahn 2000).

Such racial categorization combined with social Darwinist thinking about competition between certain "races" developed a strong influence on the perception of indentured Asian labourers, particularly in colonial settings with a settler population. Clearly, the arguments about the advantages and disadvantages of indentured labour travelled between the colonies of different European empires. The dangers of the impact of Asian indentured workers on colonial societies were widely discussed, particularly in the African colonial setting with its mostly strict racial order, at least at the end of the 19th century. In the German case, the colonial administration in German South West Africa, lacking knowledge in such matters as the allocation of Asian workers, took the experiences of the colonial government in the South African British colonies Natal and Transvaal as a starting point for their own considerations and reactions to Asian immigration. However, one can observe the transfer of knowledge on a much wider scale.

CIRCULATING IMPERIAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT INDENTURED LABOUR VIA THE METROPOLES – THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE INSTITUT COLONIAL INTERNATIONAL

As I have argued in my research, during the two decades before the outbreak of WWI, imperial cooperation and knowledge transfer reached a considerable scope, not only between neighbouring colonies, as shown here for Southern

23 Thieme, 'Die Halbweißen Frage in Samoa', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 26 Mar. 1914, p. 1, as cited in Gründer (1999: 295), cf. also Wareham (2002: 55).

Africa, but also on a more general inter-imperial level (Lindner 2011, Lindner 2015). One of the rather prominent examples of this development is the Institut Colonial International in Brussels (ICI), which was founded in 1894 in Brussels by Belgian, French, Dutch, and British colonial administrators and experts to promote the exchange of colonial knowledge between imperial powers (Daviron 2010, Lindner 2015, Wagner 2015). From the beginning, the ICI devoted a lot of time to the discussion of labour shortage, labour allocation, and labour management in colonial economies, including the use of indentured labour.

The small office of the ICI was situated in Brussels, and the yearly or biannual sessions of the institute took place either in Brussels or in the capital cities of other member states. The explicit aim of the institute was to share knowledge of colonial rule, as stated in the first session in 1894.[24] The philosophy of the institute was based on the new French concept of "colonisation comparée", developed by the economist and publicist Joseph Chailley in 1892, one of the founders of the Institute (Singaravelou 2012: 149). Soon after its foundation the institute invited members of many imperial nations who joined in the common endeavour to develop and share colonial knowledge. The following European empires with colonies in Africa had permanent delegates at the institute before WWI: Germany, Britain, Belgium, France and Portugal.

The institute was able to attract high-profile experts from different colonizing nations. In 1912/13, the institute had as presidents and vice-presidents Lord Reay, former governor of Bombay; Bernhard Dernburg, former German colonial secretary; and Joseph Chailley, director of the French Colonial Union. Among the members one would find e.g. Baron Descamps, one of the ministers in the Belgium government concerned with the Congo; and Prince August d'Arenberg, president of the Committee of French Africa, and president of the Suez-Canal Company.[25] The number of delegates grew from 70 in the beginning to 150 at the end of the 1920s (Daviron 2010: 482). The most active members before WWI were France, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands (Singaravélou 2012: 153), Great Britain was less prominent in the ICI. This was seen

24 Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu (1894: 4): "De créer des relations internationales entre les personnes qui s'occupent d'une façon suivie de l'étude du droit et de l'administration des colonies, hommes politiques, administrateurs, savants, - et de faciliter l'échange des idées et des connaissances spéciales entre hommes compétents."

25 Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu (1907:14); Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu (1912: 21); Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu (1921:15, 21).

as a grave problem by contemporary delegates, as Great Britain's expertise in colonial matters was still unequalled and a stronger engagement of British delegates was hoped for. However, Great Britain had less interest in forms of comparative colonization than the continental European imperial powers, and was very reluctant to participate in the undertakings of the institute (Lindner 2015: 68).

The institute organised yearly or biannual meetings in Belgium (Brussels, The Hague) or in the capital cities of other member states, dealing with topics of colonial administration, colonial law, colonial economy and, quite substantially, with the organization of labour in colonial settings. The ICI printed extensive reports of the meetings with elaborate and detailed expert studies (cf. Institute Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1895). Furthermore, the ICI published books in the series "La bibliotheque colonial international". In this context, too, the topic of labour was extensively covered, e.g. with three volumes collecting and interpreting labour contracts in German colonies, the Belgian Congo, and in French, British, and Dutch colonies, published from 1895 to 1898. The volumes also included various regulations of indentured labour in colonies of European imperial powers.[26]

Regarding the indentured labour of Asian coolies, the institute soon aimed to develop an international regulation that would allow all European colonial empires to recruit Asian labour. Already in the first session of the institute in The Hague in 1895 the problem of "insufficient" colonial labour was addressed (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1895: 221-223). Different African colonies with plantation economies were debated, and labour legislation in French, German, and Dutch colonies was discussed, for example in the German African colonies Togo and Kamerun with their cocoa and coffee plantations. Labour was addressed as a problem in colonies with an "insufficient" indigenous population, but also in colonies with local people who were – in the eyes of the experts of the ICI – unwilling to work. Such problems were identified in several African colonies of the delegates.

It was clear that indentured labour and the importing of Asian coolies was a favoured concept to overcome such problems, particularly in the German and French African colonies. The ICI, being mostly focused on the economic profit of the colonies, emphasised the advantages of indentured labour, contrary to colonial settler societies. In the discussion of the institute – similar to the German discourse – the stereotype of the hard-working Asian coolie was

26 Institut Colonial International (ed.) (1895-98): Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale. La Main-d'oeuvre aux colonies. Vol. 1-3, Paris: A. Colin.

dominant (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1895: 141), following the interests of companies, businesses and plantation-owners worldwide.

However, it was also seen that misuse would bring strong criticism, especially from the broad abolitionist movements that had been criticizing indenture during the last decades as forms of disguised slavery. Thus, the ICI was keen to develop formal regulation that would allow several European empires to move workers more regularly between colonies, and which would generally facilitate indentured migration (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1895: 226-229). France was particularly engaged in that question, as the sugar plantations of French Reunion were far less successful than its neighbour, British Mauritius. Mauritius profited considerably from the enormous influx of Indian indentured labour (Daviron 2010: 484).

During the next meetings until 1900, the delegates of the ICI tried to develop a draft for an international treaty that would regulate the employment of Asian coolies in European colonies. The draft only focused on inter-colonial migration, not on countries "inhabited by savages still independent with no regular government and not submitting to the law of nation at it has been developed in European nations" (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1899: 43). China was seen as a huge problem when the ICI tried to prepare a treaty. China had a regular government and was not under colonial rule; however, the ICI members considered China unable to join in a treaty with European states, as China was not seen as an equal, according to the racial concepts prevalent during high imperialism.

During the meetings, in several sessions, the delegates addressed the consequences of immigration of Asian indentured workers on a broader level. Within the ICI too, the racial complications that followed the engagement of indentured labour were debated and seen as a problem. Racial stereotypes shaped the discussion of Indian, Chinese, and African workers. Indians were seen as effective but "*remuants et querelles*" (agitated and quarrelsome), while the Chinese were considered very hard workers, "almost like blacks" (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1895: 225-226). The perceived advantages and disadvantages of different ethnic groups were thoroughly addressed in the discussions of the ICI.

During the next meetings, the ICI tried to outline a treaty for the allocation of indentured labour between colonial empires; however, this was abandoned as not feasible in 1899 (Daviron 2010: 483). The delegates now developed a regulatory model that several European colonial empires should adopt. A draft for a possible inter-colonial regulation was drawn up, trying to standardize recruitment, work contracts, transport, arrival in the country of destination, and the

control of contracts and working conditions in the colonies (Institut Colonial International, Compte Rendu 1899: 357-366).

Eventually however, the ICI never managed to implement an international regulation of Asian labour. The ICI, as a non-governmental, small international organization, was not in a position to negotiate a treaty. The main problem was that Great Britain, a major supplier of indentured labour, was not interested in such a treaty (Daviron 2010: 485). Furthermore, during the first decade of the 20th century, the Indian government restricted indentured migration considerably as an answer to growing nationalist agitation in India, as already discussed above. Neither the French nor the Germans had been successful in bringing new Indian coolies to their colonies (cf. Lindner 2011, Tinker 1974),

Already during the last years before the First World War, the discussions and publications of the ICI concentrated much more on how to recruit more local labour for plantations and mining in colonies with certain schemes, and how to employ certain constraints and contracts to retain the labourers in their workplaces.

What should be important here is that the ICI – institutionalizing colonial knowledge transfer and creating new forms of regular discussion and meetings between political and scientific experts – also served as a forum to circulate knowledge about indentured labour between imperial European powers. At least before WWI, indentured labour was still seen as a key issue by colonial empires to maximise the profit in their colonies, mainly to maintain the plantation economy in old colonial dependencies, but also as a possible way to create a plantation economy in new African protectorates. In the discussions of the institute one can also observe the decrease of formally regulated indentured labour, particularly from India since the 1910s, and the appearance of new forms of bonded labour, especially in Africa, now often locally recruited.

CONCLUSION

First of all, it is clear how closely the colonies of various empires were involved in the global streams of indentured labour migration. Even the short-lived German empire was part of the ongoing discussions and negotiations. It is also important to stress that Africa was an integral part of the indentured migration movements. Indentured labour was still seen as a solution for labour allocation in Africa shortly before WWI, as the discussions in the colonies, in the ICI, and the Sanderson report clearly indicate.

With the increasing scientific interest in colonization and with a further differentiation of colonial knowledge, the exchange of colonial knowledge reached new dimensions. The administrations of different colonial empires became more interested in their neighbours and tried to learn from one anothers' experiences with indentured labour, as we could observe in the German-British example and on a more general level in the discussions of the ICI. However, one should also emphasise that the ICI established and intensified ties between imperial powers in order to manage and exploit colonial labour. Seeing it from a postcolonial perspective it was an institution that served to institutionalize the construction of Eurocentric knowledge about colonized people – turning coolie labour into a commodity.

Furthermore, it is obvious that the immigration of Asian workers became a highly contested issue at the end of the 19th century, not only because of the mounting criticism regarding the abuse of indentured workers. It was also closely connected with discussions of racial demarcation and social Darwinist concepts. While European companies, planters, and many colonial experts – such as the ICI delegates – wanted to take advantage of the opportunities offered by globalized Asian migration, local colonial administrations and settlers often insisted on maintaining a strict policy of regulation, which was strongly associated with anxieties related to racial difference. In the period of high imperialism coolie labour thus stood at a point of intersection between many conflicting aims: those of maximizing the profit of colonial dependencies in an increasingly globalized economy, of suppressing the worst abuses of the system in order to prevent upheaval in the sending colonies, and at the same time that of strengthening racial demarcation and European superiority in colonial societies.

REFERENCES

Adamson, Alan (1972): Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838-1904, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bhana, Surendra (1991): Indentured Indian Emigrants to Natal 1860-1902: A Study Based on Ship`s Lists, New Delhi: Promilla & Co.

Bright, Rachel K. (2013): Chinese Labour in South Africa, 1902-1910: Race, Violence and Global Spectacle, Basingstoke et al.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Campbell, Persia Crawford (1923): Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire, London: P.S. King & Son.

Carter, Marina (1993): "The Transition from Apprenticeship to Indentured Labour in Mauritius." In: Michael Twaddle (ed.), The Wages of Slavery:

From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England, London: Frank Cass, pp. 114-130.

Clarence-Smith, William Gervase (1993): "Cocoa Plantations and Coerced Labor in the Gulf of Guinea." In: Martin A. Klein (ed.), Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 150-170.

Conrad, Sebastian (2006): Globalisierung und Nation im Deutschen Kaiserreich, München: C. H. Beck.

Daviron, Benoit (2010): "Mobilizing Labour in African agriculture: The Role of the International Colonial Institute in the Elaboration of a Standard of Colonial Administration, 1895-1930." In: Journal of Global History 5/3, pp. 479-501.

Du Bois, Duncan (2012): "The 'coolie curse': The Evolution of White Colonial Attitudes towards the Indian Question, 1860-1900." In: Historia 57/2, pp. 31-67.

Emmer, Peter Cornelis (1986): "The Meek Hindu: The Recruitment of Indian indentured labourers for service overseas, 1870–1916." In: Peter Cornelis Emmer/Ernst van den Boogaart (eds.), Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp. 187-207.

Gründer, Horst (1999): '... da und dort ein junges Deutschland zu gründen': Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

Haschemi Jekani, Minu (2015): Die (Un-) Erwünschten. Rassismus, Arbeit und koloniale Ordnung an der Küste Tansanias, 1885-1914, Diss. phil., European University Institute Florence.

Harris, John H. (1910): Coolie Labour in the British Crown Colonies and Protectorates, London: Edward Hughes & Co.

Hoerder, Dirk (2012): "Migrations and Belongings." In: Emily S. Rosenberg (ed.), A World Connecting: 1870-1945, Cambridge/London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 435-592.

Hu-DeHart, Evelyn (1993): "Chinese Coolie Labour in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labour or Neoslavery?" In: Slavery & Abolition 14, pp. 67-86.

Institut Colonial International (ed.) (1894): Compte Rendu des Séances tenues à Bruxelles les 28 et 29 Mai 1894, Brussels: Typographie-Lithographie Populaire.

—— (1895): Compte Rendu de la Session tenue à la Haye, les 9, 10, 11 et 12 Septembre 1895, Paris: Armand Clon et Cie.

—— (1899): Compte Rendu de la Session tenue à Bruxelles 5, 6, et 7 Avril 1899, Brussels: Èstablissements généraux d'Imprimerie.

—— (1907): Compte Rendu de la Session tenue à Bruxelles les 17, 18 et 19 Juin 1907, Brussels: Établissements généraux d'Imprimerie.

—— (1912): Compte Rendu de la Session tenue à Bruxelles les 29, 30 et 31 Juillet 1912, Brussels: Augustin Challamel.

—— (1921): Compte Rendu de la Session tenue à Paris les 17, 18 et 19 Mai 1921, Brussels: Établissements généraux d'Imprimerie.

—— (1895): Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale. La Main-d'oeuvre aux colonies. Vol. 1: Documents officiels sur le contrat de travail et le louage d'ouvrage aux Colonies. Colonies allemandes. Etat indépendant du Congo. Colonies françaises. Indes orientales néerlandaises, Paris: A. Colin.

—— (1897): Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale. La Main-d'oeuvre aux colonies. Vol. 2: Documents officiels sur le contrat de travail et le louage d'ouvrage aux Colonie. Indes anglaises, Colonies anglaises, Paris: A. Colin.

—— (1898): Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale La Main-d'oeuvre aux colonies. Vol. 3: Documents officiels sur le contrat de travail et le louage d'ouvrage aux Colonie. Colonies Françaises, Surinam, Paris: A. Colin.

Klein, Martin A. (1993): "Introduction: Modern European Expansion and Traditional Servitude in Africa and Asia." In: Martin A. Klein (ed.), Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3-36.

Lake, Marilyn/Reynolds, Henry (2008): Drawing the Global Colour Line. White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Legassick, Martin/Clercq, Francine de (1984): "Capitalism and Migrant Labour in Southern Africa: The Origins and Nature of the System." In: Shula Marks/Peter Richardson (eds.), International Labour Migration: Historical Perspectives, Hounslow: Temple Smith, pp. 140-160.

Leutner, Mechthild (1986): "Deutsche Vorstellungen über China und Chinesen und über die Rolle der Deutschen in China 1890-1945." In: Heng-yue Kuo (ed.), Von der Kolonialpolitik zur Kooperation: Studien zur Geschichte der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen, München: Minerva-Publikation, pp. 401-443.

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

—— (2015): "New Forms of Knowledge Exchange between Imperial Powers: The Development of the Institut Colonial International (ICI) since the End of the 19th Century." In: Volker Barth/Roland Czetowski (eds.), Encounters of

Empires: Interimperial Transfers and Imperial Manifestations, 1870-1950, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 57-78.

Lopez, Kathleen (2013): Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Mann, Michael (2003): "Die Mär von der freien Lohnarbeit: Menschenhandel und erzwungene Arbeit in der Neuzeit. Ein einleitender Essay." In: Comparativ 13/4, pp. 7-22.

Martinez, Julia (2005): "The End of Indenture? Asian Workers in the Australian Pearling Industry, 1901-1972." In: International Labor and Working-Class History 67, pp. 125-147.

McKeown, Adam (2004): "Global Migration 1846-1940." In: Journal of World History 15/2, pp. 155-189.

Meagher, Arnold J. (2008): The Coolie Trade: The Traffic in Chinese Laborers to Latin America 1847-1874, Philadelphia: Xlibris Corporation.

Meer, Y.S. (ed.) (1980): Documents of Indentured Labour: Natal 1851-1917, Durban: Institute of Black Research.

Metcalf, Thomas (2007): Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mühlhahn, Klaus (2000): Herrschaft und Widerstand in der „Musterkolonie" Kiautschou, München: Oldenbourg 2000.

Naicker, N.P. (1971): "Indians in South Africa." In: Anirudha Gupta (ed.), Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa. Report of an International Seminar, New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 274-302.

Northrup, David (1995): Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Supreme Government of India to enquire into the abuses alleged to exist in exporting from Bengal Hill Coolies and Indian Labourers of various classes to other countries (1839), Calcutta: G.H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press.

Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (Sanderson Committee) (1910), Cd. 5192, London: HMSO.

Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (1910) Part II, Minutes and Evidence, Cd. 5193, London: HMSO.

Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (1910) Part III, Papers laid before the committee, Cd. 5194 London: HMSO.

Richardson, Peter (1984): "Chinese Indentured Labour in the Transvaal Gold Mining Industry, 1904-1910." In: Kay Saunders (ed.), Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834-1920, London: Croom Helm, pp. 260-291.

—— (1984): "Coolies, Peasants and Proletarians: The Origins of Chinese Indentured Labour in South Africa, 1904-1907." In: Shula Marks/Peter Richardson (eds.), International Labour Migration: Historical Perspectives, Hounslow: Temple Smith, pp.167-185.

Saunders, Kay (1984): "The Workers' Paradox. Indentured Labour in the Queensland Sugar Industry to 1920." In: Kay Saunders (ed.), Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834-1920, London: Croom Helm, pp. 213-259.

Singaravélou, Pierre (2012): "Les stratégies d´internationalisation de la question coloniale et la construction transnationale d´une science de la colonisation à la fin du XIXe siècle." In: Monde(s) 1/1,pp. 135-157.

Steen, Andreas (2014): "Germany and the Chinese Coolie: Labour Resistance and the Struggle for Equality 1894-1914." In: Nina Berman/Klaus Mühlhahn/Alain Patrice Ngang (eds.), German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian and Oceanic Experiences, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press 2014, pp. 147-160.

Tinker, Hugh (1974): A New System of Slavery: Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920, London: Oxford University Press.

Twaddle, Michael (1993): "Visible and Invisible Hands." In: Michael Twaddle (ed.), The Wages of Slavery: From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England, London: Frank Cass, pp. 1-12.

Wagner, Florian (2015): "Private Colonialism and Internationalism in Europe, 1870-1914". In: Volker Barth/Roland Czetowski (eds.), Encounters of Empires: Interimperial Transfers and Imperial Manifestations, 1870-1950, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 79-107.

Wareham, Evelyn (2002): Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonisation in German Samoa, Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Zolberg, Aristide R. (1997): "Global Movements, Global Walls: Responses to Migration, 1885-1925." In: Gungwu Wang (ed.) Global History and Migrations, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 279-307.