

Transimperial Co-Operation and White Supremacy-Thinking in African Fin-de-Siècle Empires: The Weekly Newspaper “The African World and Cape-Cairo Express”

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Abstract

In the fin-de-siècle, not just competition but also connections and co-operations between European empires increased. This was very manifest in colonial Africa, where related practices involved the racist demarcation of a European elite from Africans. To investigate this phenomenon, this chapter studies *The African World*. A newspaper founded in London in 1902 by Leo Weinthal, a Jewish British South African of German descent, it addressed a white European trans-imperial elite in Africa by collecting and printing information about French, Belgian, German, British and Portuguese colonies, creating a unified knowledge base for a common European interest in colonial Africa that was based on white superiority.

Keywords: transimperial, Leo Weinthal, The African World and Cape-Cairo Express, Journalism, Colonial Africa

During the decades before World War I, one could observe growing forms of trans-imperial connections between European empires, besides an increasing rivalry and competition in Europe.¹ As a prominent example, one should mention the Institut Colonial International (ICI), founded in 1894 in Brussels with Dutch, French, Belgian, German, and British colonial experts as members, discussing and analyzing colonial policy as an inter-imperial endeavor. Over the following decades, the members of the institute met bi-annually and published countless manuals and papers on practical colonialism, be it in the field of agriculture, work management,

¹ See Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880 – 1914* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2011); Ulrike Lindner, “Transimperiale Orientierung und Wissenstransfers: Deutscher Kolonialismus im internationalen Kontext,” in *Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Deutsches Historisches Museum (Berlin: Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum; Theiss Verlag, 2016), 16–29.

or colonial law, substantially underlining the transimperial character of colonial rule.² Co-operation between imperial powers went even as far as mutual support in colonial wars, as documented in my work on the Herero and Nama War in German South West Africa. This genocidal war fought by the Germans was substantially supported by supplies from the neighboring British Cape Colony, even if the Cape Colony remained officially “neutral.”³ Furthermore, as recent research has shown, it was not only military knowledge of colonial wars that traveled significantly between fin-de-siècle empires. Rather, also actors themselves—colonial officers and military experts—moved between colonies of various empires and supported different colonial regimes.⁴

This chapter argues that such forms of co-operation in the imperial world were mainly based on the racist assumption of a European “white superiority” that should not be questioned and was to be upheld against the indigenous populations under all circumstances. The argument of a common “whiteness” was able to overcome various other national and cultural differences, particularly in colonial settings where white people were and saw themselves as a threatened minority.⁵ The chapter concentrates on the new imperial colonies in Africa, where most of the European empires acquired territories during the so-called “Scramble for Africa” in the 1880s. In the African possessions, the notion of co-operation was fostered by similar problems that the colonizers encountered during the fin-de-siècle and equally encouraged by a globalization push in the last decades of the nineteenth century that allowed a growing exchange via new channels of communication and transport.⁶ Furthermore, the advance of mass media in European empires and a growing

² Ulrike Lindner, “New Forms of Knowledge Exchange between Imperial Powers: The Development of the Institut Colonial International (ICI) since the End of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Imperial Co-Operation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*, eds. Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 57–78; see also the article by Florian Wagner in this volume.

³ Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 231–38.

⁴ Tom Menger, “‘Press the Thumb onto the Eye’: Moral Effect, Extreme Violence, and the Transimperial Notions of British, German, and Dutch Colonial Warfare, c. 1890-1914,” *Itinerario* 46, no.1 (2022), 84–108; Tom Menger, “Of ‘Big Bags’ and ‘Golden Bridges’: Thinking the Colonial Massacre in British, German, and Dutch Manuals of Colonial Warfare, 1860-1910,” *European History Yearbook* 22 (2021), 79–97.

⁵ See generally Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987) or for the discussion of the constant problems with black domestic servants in white homes Elizabeth Dillenburg, “Domestic Servant Debates and the Fault Lines of Empire in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa and New Zealand,” in *New Perspectives on the History of Gender and Empire: Comparative and Global Approaches*, eds. Ulrike Lindner and Dörte Lerp (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 179–208.

⁶ See for the globalization push, e.g., Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 451–62.

international press landscape made it much easier to note and compare developments in each other's colonies and territories.⁷ Politics of comparison became a crucial feature of colonial and imperial rule, again fostering transimperial exchange.⁸

The paper particularly focuses on the group of "white"/European people who lived and worked in-between empires—often in the main cities of the new African colonies—and who traveled between different European empires. It analyzes their specific situation, often simultaneously shaped by notions of co-operation and competition, but also by a constant need for imperial comparison. The paper particularly concentrates on the discourse produced by "white" colonizers, who styled and re-invented themselves as a distinct group. The paper thus follows Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé's concept of transimperial history, which sees imperial cooperation, connectivity, and competition as highly entangled phenomena.⁹

The group in question consisted of businessmen, administrators, missionaries, and various other colonial experts such as scientists and engineers.¹⁰ They can be seen as a transimperial "white"/European elite who created a certain lifestyle and self-understanding through common practices and who were able to exert a considerable influence on colonial policies.

In studies on colonial racism, a society structured around a "white" racial ideal with systems of violence and oppression for non-whites is seen as dominated by "white supremacy."¹¹ One would certainly observe a strong structure of "white supremacy" and an unchallenged "white superiority thinking" in the fin-de-siècle African colonies, both forming the everyday life of the European colonizers. Clearly, the white groups were not only shaped by the category of race; their status and self-definition, which granted them many privileges in colonial societies, was strongly influenced by class and personal wealth, too. The group shared a white sociability belonging to an upper-middle-class ideal. "Poor whites" were not part of the group

⁷ See for the growing international press and news market Volker Barth, *Wa(h)re Fakten: Wissensproduktionen globaler Nachrichtenagenturen 1835-1939* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2020), see for Africa André-Jean Tudesq, *Feuilles d'Afrique: Étude de la presse de l'Afrique subsaharienne* (Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine Collection, 1995).

⁸ Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan, "Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains," in *Imperial Formations*, eds. Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan and Peter C. Perdue (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 12.

⁹ Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, "Transimperial History – Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition," *Journal of Modern European History* 16 (2018), 429–52, 430.

¹⁰ Lindner, "New Forms of Knowledge Exchange," 62–63.

¹¹ See on white supremacy in general: John Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); see also Mark Christian, "An African-Centered Perspective on White Supremacy," *Journal of Black Studies* 33, no. 2 (2002), 179–98; see generally Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

and were always addressed as a grave problem in colonial societies of the fin-de-siècle, as they endangered the whole concept of a white colonial superiority over a non-white majority population.¹² One can thus perceive how these white elite groups in the colonies were also able to create and disperse transimperial knowledge, given their status, their mobility, and their access to colonial institutions.

From 1902 to 1944, the weekly newspaper *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express* offered news and information for colonial circles interested in or living in Africa. It was produced by actors from the aforementioned white group and also aimed at a transimperial elite living or interested in Africa as a readership. Even if the newspaper had a focus on British interests and British South Africa, it always covered news from French, German, Portuguese, and Italian colonies in Africa as well as the Belgian Congo, debated economic development in various colonies, and included society news of the colonial “white” elite in Africa. The newspaper *African World* also sheds light on the process of how such transimperial knowledge was first created and then translated from one empire to another. Comparison between empires became not only a crucial element of imperial rule during the fin-de-siècle; comparative knowledge also shaped the transimperial discourse that was created in the *African World*. So far, this newspaper has not found resonance in research despite being a fascinating source for the oftentimes overlooked phenomenon of transimperial cooperation.¹³ Additionally, it mirrors the self-definition processes of a “white”/European colonial elite in the fin-de-siècle world of Africa and is therefore crucial for understanding the shaping and self-affirmation of the transimperial group of white colonizers.¹⁴

Firstly, the paper will address notions of transimperial cooperation in general and will look at “white supremacy” thinking and practices that created a white European elite in colonial Africa. Secondly, it will look at the weekly newspaper *African World* in more detail and investigate how the newspaper contributed to forming such a European colonial elite by addressing news from all African colonies, reporting on colonial administrators and military men from different empires and always emphasizing the demarcation lines between local African populations and European elites.

¹² See, e.g., for South Africa Thandiwe Ntshinga, “Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment to South African Formations of White Identity,” in *Shades of Whiteness*, ed. Ewan Kirkland (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 65–76. See for East Africa Philippa Söldenwagner, *Spaces of Negotiation: European Settlement and Settlers in German East Africa 1900–1914* (München: Martin Meidenbauer, 2007); see generally Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

¹³ Generally, Africa-oriented newspapers published in Britain during the period of High Imperialism have been only rarely researched; see Jonathan Derrick, *Africa, Empire and Fleet Street: Albert Cartwright and the West Africa Magazine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5.

¹⁴ Katharina Walgenbach, “Whiteness Studies als kritisches Paradigma für die historische Gender- und Bildungsforschung,” in *Transkulturalität: Gender- und bildungshistorische Perspektiven*, eds. Wolfgang Gippert, Petra Götte, and Elke Kleinau (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 53.

Transimperial Cooperation and Practices of Racist Demarcation in Fin-de-Siècle African Colonies

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have stressed the growing importance of “whiteness” and “white superiority thinking” in the colonies of the British Empire at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. In their book *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, they sought to “chart the spread of whiteness as a transnational form of identification.”¹⁵ In this paper, this notion will be expanded and applied to the frame of inter-imperial exchange, support, and self-definition. To do so, the paper maintains that the arguments of transimperial co-operation and racist “white supremacy” thinking should be brought together. It thus focuses on arenas of racist co-operation between empires and the self-styling of a transimperial white elite. Such an analysis should help us understand why transimperial co-operations were so long-standing in the African colonies and were, for example, taken up in Africa shortly after the disruptions of WW1.¹⁶ It should also give more insight into the enduring power of white supremacy thinking, a notion that was shared by all European colonial powers and shaped colonial policies until after World War II.¹⁷

Whiteness as a means of domination was early on identified and criticized by Black scholars.¹⁸ At the Pan-African Congress in London in 1900, W. E. B. Du Bois famously stated: “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.”¹⁹ In another essay, “The Souls of White Folk,” he elaborated on these thoughts and stressed the connection of superiority thinking—what one would call biological racism today—with the period of the late nineteenth and twentieth century: “The discovery of personal whiteness among the world’s people is a very modern thing—a nineteenth and twentieth century matter.”²⁰

¹⁵ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

¹⁶ See as an example the ICI that reassembled shortly after WW1 and continued with its policy of transimperial exchange of colonial knowledge, Florian Wagner, *Colonial Internationalism and the Governmentality of Empire, 1893-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

¹⁷ See, for example, the concept of “Indirect Rule” developed in the 1920s and popular in the British colonies until after WW2. It implied an unchanging inferiority of the African population that should be ruled through traditional chiefs. See for the concept of indirect rule and its problems, Andreas Eckert, *Herrschen und Verwalten: Afrikanische Bürokraten, staatliche Ordnung und Politik in Tanzania, 1920-1970* (München: Oldenbourg, 2007), 39–62.

¹⁸ Walgenbach, “Whiteness Studies,” 46.

¹⁹ His talk was re-printed in a collection of his essays; see W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), vii.

²⁰ W. E. B. DuBois, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921), 30.

Racist theories and theories of Social Darwinism were of course widespread in all European colonial empires as well as in the U.S. during the last third of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. They had a major influence on colonial policy and the relationships between white and colonized people. White colonizers saw it as a fact that the indigenous populations were inferior to them and derived their claim to power in the colonies at least partly from this conviction. Yet, they also felt threatened by the non-white majorities in their colonial territories, a fact that again reinforced the racialized self-identity.²¹ Their mindset was additionally shaped by the constant interactions of Europeans with other ethnicities in the imperial and colonial world. The image of the white European (including the white U.S.-American and the white ruling class in the independent Latin American nations) was practiced, tried, and tested in colonies and dependent territories throughout Africa, Asia, and the Americas. With a growing biologization of society and the spread of racial concepts, being “white” and “European” became important categories of distinction in political and societal debates of the Global North.²² Some scholars even speak of the construction of “the European” in the colonial and imperial world of the late nineteenth century. It was exactly there, in the colonies, where the differences between the white Europeans shrank in distinction to the respective indigenous populations.²³ Especially in Africa, where most European colonial powers either had possessed or conquered colonies at the end of the nineteenth century, the image of being white colonizers and having a common undertaking became a central notion of their colonial life.

Places where the white transimperial colonial elite could be easily observed were the new colonial cities on the African continent. These cities were intended to represent the colonial power’s claim to rule, be it British, German, French, Belgian, Portuguese, or later Italian. The most obvious example of such a representation of power may be Khartoum in Sudan, which Lord Kitchener partially destroyed after his victory over the Mahdi in 1898. He had it rebuilt in the shape of a British Union Jack, thus representing British imperial power spatially.²⁴

²¹ Christian Geulen, *Geschichte des Rassismus* (München: C. H. Beck, 2007), 83–86.

²² Veronika Lipphardt and Kiran Klaus Patel, “Einleitung,” in *Der Europäer – ein Konstrukt: Wissensbestände, Diskurse, Praktiken*, eds. Lorraine Bluche, Veronika Lipphardt, and Kiran Klaus Patel (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), 11.

²³ Mandy Kretschmar and Veronika Lipphardt, “Der Europäer in Übersee,” in *Die Erfindung des Europäers: Begleitbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung*, eds. Frauke Stuhl, Julia Franke and Kiran Klaus Patel (Berlin: Kreuzberg-Museum, 2009), 26–33.

²⁴ Robert K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: Spon, 1997), 166–67.

Most of the African colonial cities were located on the coasts, where the raw materials and agricultural products from the respective colony could be loaded onto ships and distributed to world markets.²⁵ The planning of these cities was in the hands of a variety of colonial experts: colonial administrators, military and railway engineers, physicians as well as architects and urban planners. They all influenced the construction and character of the cities, but not all of them came from the same national background. Already in the planning and building stage, one could observe a strong transimperial exchange of knowledge and various forms of co-operation.²⁶ In the European quarters, the planners paid attention to representative buildings and wide streets where military parades could be held for the self-representation of the colonial power. The following picture shows a typical colonial city street.



Figure 3.1: Military Parade in Dar-es-Salaam [n.d.], Photo Collection of the German Colonial Society, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt a.M., Nr. 071-1999-38.

²⁵ Anthony O'Connor, *The African City* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), 32; see for the new colonial city Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa, Ulrike Lindner, "Wissen-Kontakt-Transfer: Koloniale Stadtplanung am Beispiel Dar-es-Salaam/Deutsch-Ostafrika," *Kunstchronik* 74 (2021), 381–89.

²⁶ Lindner, "Koloniale Stadtplanung," 385.

Unlike in the pre-existing neighborhoods of African towns, the Europeans preferred straight, rectangular street patterns that were meant to represent the colonial order.²⁷ In this way, the power and superiority of the respective colonial rulers over the local population should be spatially represented and experienced.²⁸

Another factor that shaped the demarcation lines between white and non-white in the African colonies was the concern about possible contagions and infections. French as well as British and German colonial administrators and experts argued that the residential areas of the Europeans had to be protected from diseases and other dangers. This could only be done by consistently separating the European areas from the local ones, where endemic diseases such as malaria or yellow fever were suspected.²⁹ In British colonies, for example, health officer William J. R. Simpson (1855–1931), who was highly influential throughout the British Empire and had been stationed in India and West Africa, advocated strict segregation in colonial towns for supposedly biomedical reasons.³⁰ Many of the African colonial cities followed such guidelines, even if they were in fact much more heterogeneous.³¹ Still, official segregation legislation, as in Apartheid South Africa in the 1940s, occurred only rarely in the African colonies of high imperialism. However, the necessity of segregation of the different ethnic groups was regarded as self-evident knowledge that had to be implemented if the aim was to achieve functioning colonial rule.³² The strong racist demarcations shaped everyday life in the colonies and made the colonizers even more aware of their own race.

If one looks at the white elites who lived in the colonies and colonial cities before World War I, one can observe quite a mixed European community: If we take the German colonial town of Dar-es-Salaam as an example, one would find German administrators, experts, planters, and traders, but also engineers, traders,

²⁷ Karl Vorlauffer, "Kolonialstädte in Ostafrika: Genese, Funktion, Struktur, Typologie," in *Kolonialstädte – Europäische Enklaven oder Schmelztiegel der Kultur*, eds. Horst Gründer and Peter Johaneck (Münster: LIT, 2001), 145–202.

²⁸ Liora Bigon, "Urban Planning, Colonial Doctrines and Street Naming in French Dakar and British Lagos, c. 1850–1930," *Urban History* 36, no. 3 (2009), 435.

²⁹ Odile Goerg, "From Hill Station (Freetown) to Downtown Conakry (First Ward): Comparing French and British Approaches to Segregation in Colonial Cities at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 32, no. 1 (1998), 3; Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 224.

³⁰ R. A. Baker and R. A. Bayliss, "William John Ritchie Simpson (1855–1931): Public Health and Tropical Medicine," *Medical History* 31, no. 4 (1987), 450–65.

³¹ Jürgen Becher, *Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora: Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997), 36.

³² Sarah L. Smiley, "City of Three Colors: Segregation in Colonial Dar es Salaam, 1891–1961," in *Historical Geography* 37 (2009), 178–196.

and settlers from various other European nations, particularly British, Belgian, Italian, and Greek people. Especially engineers, the new modern class of experts, who worked in railway and infrastructure building and were sought after, often moved between colonies.³³ Such a European transimperial community was based on an assumed shared “whiteness” and underlying racist assumptions, but also on a common understanding of being members of an upper-middle colonial class. However, the unity of the European colonizers was often contested. If we take again Dar-es-Salaam as an example, it was not so clear who would belong to that group. For example, Greek merchants were assumed to be “South European,” not “proper white European” and had problems entering the white colonial society.³⁴ Delineations were also clearly linked to status and property. Rich Greek businessmen and ship-owners could move in European circles, while poorer Greek merchants were ostracized. Other groups did not conform at all to the divisions of the colonial society, e.g., rich Syrian merchants, who could be neither classified as “white” nor as “indigenous.”³⁵

It was therefore not only racial demarcation but also the common social life that this group entertained in the colonies that shaped their outlook. Certain activities and self-created traditions, such as tea parties in the governor’s garden, dinners in the clubs, military parades in the streets, balls, and sports events, served to distinguish and demarcate the group from the colonized people and other ethnic groups; they also strengthened their class consciousness.³⁶ The members of the white group in the colonial cities could be seen as an imagined community in the sense of Benedict Anderson’s concept, but also as a community that became manifest through common practices.³⁷

In summary, late-nineteenth-century colonial Africa witnessed the rise of a self-styled white European elite with established practices that stressed co-operation in everyday colonial life. That elite overcame many inter-European rivalries in a colonial situation determined by middle- and upper-class whites’ demarcation vis-à-vis the indigenous population.

³³ Lindner, “New Forms of Knowledge Exchange,” 61–63.

³⁴ Söldenwagner, *Spaces of Negotiation*, 83.

³⁵ Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 168.

³⁶ Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 159–61; Diana M. Natermann, “To Maintain or Adjust?: On the Whiteness of Swedish Men in the Congo Free State (1884–1914),” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 51, no. 3 (2023), 464–86.

³⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1982).

The *African World and Cape-Cairo Express* as a Mirror of Transimperial Co-Operation of a Self-Proclaimed European Elite in Africa

The weekly illustrated newspaper *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express* was published 1902–1944 in London and catered exactly to the group that this paper referred to—an expatriate white colonial elite. It had correspondents in several African colonies and summarized important news from British, German, French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies in Africa for people with a strong interest in the African continent in Britain, but equally for Europeans living in different colonies in Africa.³⁸ The content of the paper had a strong British core and covered particularly the economically interesting colony of British South Africa. However, it was also of use to other European colonizers. The German colonial administration, for example, subscribed to the newspaper and stored many cuttings in its files.³⁹

Generally, the British newspaper market expanded dramatically in the nineteenth century. Besides London-based and provincial daily newspapers, numerous journals and magazines were addressing special topics—amongst them many that dealt with imperial interests. Additionally, in many parts of the empire, be it the white dominions of Australia and Canada, or in India and the Cape Colony, a multifaceted imperial press began to develop.⁴⁰ After the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834 and with the beginning of a so-called “legitimate trade” in West Africa, British-based papers covering several regions of Africa started to be published. One was the *African Times*. Published from 1861, it concentrated on trade in West Africa during its first two decades, later following the wider expansion of the British Empire in Africa during the “Scramble for Africa” in the 1880s.⁴¹ Some of these Victorian journals can be seen as forerunners of the *African World*, but the latter’s unique feature remained the fact that it reported from almost all colonies in Africa.

Leo Weinthal, founder and chief editor of the paper, had had a longstanding experience in British South Africa and the colonial world of Africa in general. He was a British publisher and editor but could also be seen as a protagonist of a transimperial elite. He was born in 1865 in Graaff-Reinet in the Cape Colony, as the son of a Jewish wool merchant who had migrated there from Germany. He died in London in 1930. Weinthal was educated in Hamburg and Port Elizabeth and trained

³⁸ See editorials: *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 14, 1903, No. 53, Vol. 5, 1.

³⁹ See Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin, R 14816. The edition of *The African World* is to be found in this file.

⁴⁰ Chandrika Kaul, “Media and the Portuguese and British Empire: Themes in Comparative Perspective,” in *Media and the Portuguese Empire*, eds. José Luís Garcia et al. (Cham: Palgrave, 2017), 39; Simon Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876–1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1–11.

⁴¹ Derrick, *Africa, Empire and Fleet Street*, 13–15.

as a photographer, but soon developed a strong interest in journalism. Accordingly, he worked as an agent for Reuters in the Transvaal from 1888.⁴² He became an important figure in the Transvaal newspaper business around 1890 and edited the newspaper *The Press*, generally supporting the Kruger government in that decade. After the Jameson Raid in 1895, he had to resign over political issues. During the South African War, he acted as a correspondent for various American newspapers, and moved to London in 1900. He became an ardent supporter of Cecil Rhodes' and Alfred Beit's Cape-Cairo Railway project, penning an encyclopedic publication titled "The Story of the Cape to Cairo Rail and River Route" that was published in the 1920s as a four-volume book.⁴³

Weinthal saw himself not only as an editor and journalist but also as a trans-imperial traveler and writer. In 1902, he published a report of his travels around Africa on German steamboats, including details of all colonial towns in which the steamships stopped, to which Weinthal added short descriptions of Portuguese, German, and Italian colonies.⁴⁴ The guide covered all colonies on steamships' Eastern and Western African routes: Egypt, Italian Somalia, German East Africa, Portuguese Mozambique, Madagascar, British East Africa, German South West Africa, and Portuguese Angola.

Still in 1902, in line with his transimperial and all-African interests, he started the newspaper *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*. It was financially supported by Alfred Beit, a German-British businessman and South African Randlord, co-owner of De Beers and one of the wealthiest men of his generation.⁴⁵ Interestingly, both Beit and Weinthal had a dual-imperial, German-British background and were probably therefore rather inclined to foster transimperial connections. Weinthal thought the time opportune for publishing such an illustrated newspaper that would address most African colonies. And he indeed found an eager readership. When the *African World* celebrated its first anniversary on November 14, 1903, the editorial proclaimed: "[W]e started on the hypothesis that a journal dealing with all Africa was wanted and that, properly conducted, it should prove a success. Our experience since last November has completely justified the hypothesis."⁴⁶

⁴² Anon., "Leo Weinthal," in *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 1 (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1968), 871–72.

⁴³ C.W.H., "Leo Weinthal, C.B.E – Obituary," *Journal of the African Society* 29 (1930), 449–50; see also Leo Weinthal, *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route from 1887 to 1922* (London: Pioneer Pub. Co., 1923–1926).

⁴⁴ Leo Weinthal, "Round Africa" by the D.O.A. [*Deutsch-Ostafrika*] Line: *A Guidebook for Passengers to North, East and South Africa* (London: A. Andrews, 1902).

⁴⁵ See for Alfred Beit: Henning Albrecht, *Alfred Beit: The Hamburg Diamond King* (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2012).

⁴⁶ *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 14, 1903, No. 53, Vol. 5, 1.

From the start, the *African World* covered all parts of Africa and addressed colonies of different empires. Still, on the front page of each issue, the Coat of Arms of the British Crown, a roaring lion, and three pictures of famous sights in British colonies in Africa (the Victoria Falls, the Egyptian sphinx, and Table Mountain at the Cape) were displayed. This was of course a sign that the expansive British Empire that covered huge parts of Africa was indeed at the core of the newspaper. The headings “Commerce,” “Exploration,” “Mining,” and “Finance” on the title page characterized some of the main themes of the paper.

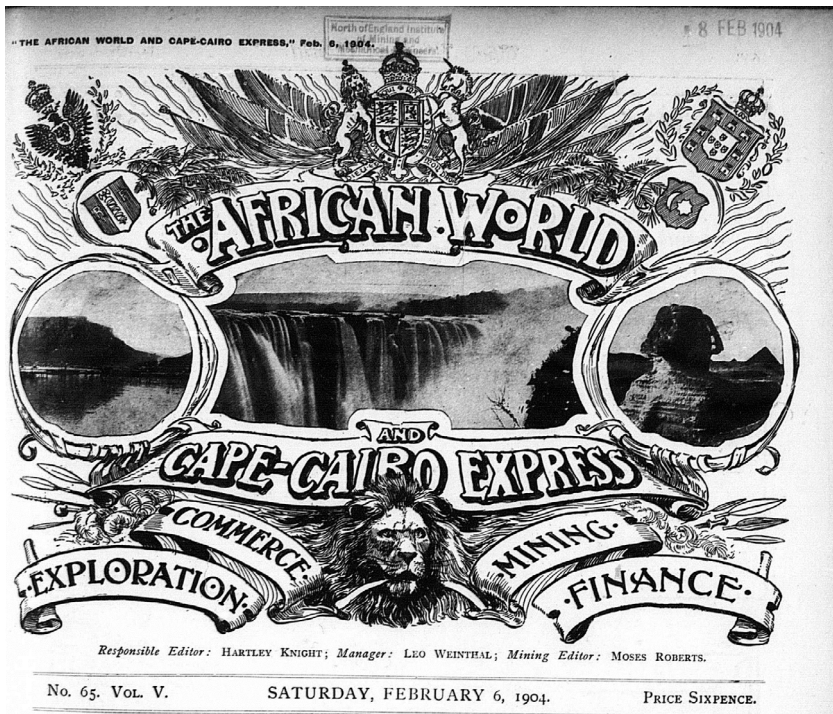


Figure 3.2: The African World and Cape-Cairo Express, February 6, 1904, No. 65, Vol. 5, 1.

Until 1914, the first page hardly changed—only the picture of Table Mountain was replaced by a picture of a South African city and the sphinx by pyramids.⁴⁷ In December 1903, the first Annual of the newspaper was published. The editorial

⁴⁷ See, e.g., *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 21, 1903, No. 315, Vol. 25, 1.

announcing “The African World Christmas Annual” stressed again the unique approach of the weekly newspaper:

“To the best of our knowledge it represents the first attempt that has ever been made to deal with the affairs of all Africa inside the covers of a single publication, and to combine with a mass of information much that is in a lighter vein. The prominent features of African progress are discussed by writers whose ability to deal with the subjects of which they treat is unquestionable, and prominence is given to the story of the South African development.”⁴⁸

A typical issue of the *African World* had around fifty to sixty pages, containing articles and reports, but also many illustrations, photographs, and advertisements. Ads took up around ten to fifteen pages in every issue, clearly being the main financial backbone of the paper.⁴⁹

Fifty to sixty percent of the newspaper articles concentrated on mining, finance, and company news with a strong bias towards British Southern Africa and its gold and diamond economy and therefore addressing the interests of its British recipients. At the same time, the reader would also find business reports from West and East Africa, Egypt, and other regions, including the colonies of non-British, European empires, e.g., news from railway companies in German and French colonies or the Deutsch-Ostafrika shipping line. *The African World* also included a broad section on “News from Greater Africa.” As the index of volume 14, consisting of the issues from February to May 1906⁵⁰ shows, the *African World* presented news from Central Africa, the Congo Free State, East Africa, Egypt, French Africa, German Africa, Italian Africa, North Africa, Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia, and West Africa in almost every issue.⁵¹ Topics included economic developments as well as wars and uprisings in various colonies, discussions of labor questions, problems of colonial administration, and news on explorations or scientific achievements concerning Africa. For example, the November 21, 1908 issue of the newspaper reported, under the heading “German Africa Progress,” short articles on “The Ousambara Line,” “Heliograph Signals,” “The Cameroon Forests,” and “To Fight Sleeping Sickness,”

⁴⁸ *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, December 5, 1903, No. 56, Vol. 5, 1.

⁴⁹ See *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, August 19, 1905, No. 144, Vol. 12, with 48 pages of which 13 pages consisted of advertisements for colonial railways, colonial shipping lines, banks investing in Africa, shops selling outdoor and mining gear, etc.

⁵⁰ One volume comprised twelve to thirteen issues in three months.

⁵¹ See *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, Index to Volume 14, Supplement to *The African World*, July 28, 1906, iii.

dealing with the current developments in the four German colonies in Africa.⁵² Additionally, the newspaper listed the most important shipping lines around Africa, noted their departures and arrivals, and showed possibilities for tourism and safaris in Africa.⁵³

Not only did *African World's* topics refer to a transimperial white elite in Africa, the newspaper also addressed that group directly as an audience. It thus contributed to the formation and constitution of that elite. This issue was manifest in the section "Points about People" that featured the white colonial elite of Africa, consisting of higher-ranking colonial administrators and experts as well as important businessmen. That section noted their arrivals and departures in and from various colonies, announced marriages and deaths, and delivered congratulations.⁵⁴ Even if it mainly concentrated on personalities from the British Empire, it always included well-known German, Portuguese, and Belgian colonial figures, too, creating the shared sense of a transimperial group with a common interest.⁵⁵ It is also clear that the paper addressed the higher social class of European colonizers and businessmen who were able to afford rather luxurious travel and who enjoyed leisure time in Africa. Another aspect was various reports on people of different nationalities working in certain African colonies. One article mentioned Italian administrators in the Belgian Congo. And the newspaper listed the mixed European heritage of white inhabitants of East African cities.⁵⁶ Even if it is not clear how deliberately such stories were chosen by the publishers in order to stress a transimperial, pan-European outlook, these groups of Europeans did live in colonial Africa. However, they were hardly addressed by ordinary colonial press organs

⁵² "German Africa Progress," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 21, 1908, No. 315, Vol. 25, 79.

⁵³ "Shipping Intelligence," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 14, 1903, No. 53, Vol. 5, 21.

⁵⁴ "Points about People," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 10, 1906, No. 170, Vol. 14, 286–88.

⁵⁵ See, for example, "Points about People," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, August 12, 1905, No. 144, Vol. 12, 219: "Mons. Renè Garnier, entrusted with a commercial mission by the Governor-General of Algeria, is now at Brussels and has addressed an appeal to Belgian merchants desirous of entering into trading relations with Algerian producers. Captain Lenfant, accompanied by Lieut. Mailles, has also arrived in Brussels to confer with the German officer who will direct the Cameroon-Congo delimitation mission.," p. 221: "The passenger list of the 'Eleonore Woermann', which left Hamburg on the 9th inst., reached us last night too late for inclusion in our shipping pages. The list is a fairly long one and among others we note the names of a number of Reichstag deputies, who (...) are making an educational tour in the German-African colonies." One would find similar reports on international colonial travelers in every edition.

⁵⁶ "Across Widest Africa," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 17, 1906, Vol. 21, 283.

that focused primarily on the colonies and colonists of one particular empire. In sum, the newspaper *African World* conveyed the impression of a transimperial European white elite with shared social interests.

In all debates, *The African World* strictly supported white colonialists and settlers and rejected any criticism of their behavior towards the indigenous African populations. It championed a strong white supremacy thinking. A case in point was the German explorer and colonial expert, Carl Peters, who had lost his position as colonial administrator due to abuse and extreme cruelty in the 1890s, and was later partly rehabilitated by the German Emperor. Peters' rehabilitation was met with strong criticism in the German parliament, on which the *African World* reported, wholeheartedly taking Peters' side:

A perusal of the report of the scandalous debate in the Reichstag this week, in the course of which the notorious Socialist Bebel indulged in foul personal libels on Dr. Carl Peters, leaves a nasty taste in the wake. (...) Whatever the mistakes made by Dr. Peters, he always behaved in a manly and patriotic manner throughout (...). To Carl Peters Germany owes to-day one of her finest over-sea colonies, which but for crass official mismanagement in its early phases and complete want of enterprise till very recently would be now have been a source of great commercial prosperity to the fatherland. It is always easy for men of the stamp of Bebel to pose as critics; it is far more difficult to find men like Carl Peters who have recklessly risked their lives on many occasions to carry the flag of their king and country into unknown regions.⁵⁷

Similar arguments were used to support the behavior of Leopold II and his administration in the Congo. Despite mounting criticism of Leopold's rule and his predatory capitalism in the Congo all across Europe and much evidence, *The African World* held the administration of the Congo in high esteem. An interview with Sir Henry Morton Stanley, who strongly supported Leopold's rule, was printed in an issue in November 1903. Stanley was even quoted with the following statement: "Sir H.M. Stanley says not more than truth when he declares that no living sovereign has done more for humanity than King Leopold, first by suppressing the slave trade, and then by adopting other measures for the amelioration of the lot of the natives."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ "Cui bono," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, March 24, 1906, No. 176, Vol. 14, 355.

⁵⁸ "A Notable Defense and Challenge to the Congophobists," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 21, 1903, No. 54, Vol. 5, 80.

In a later issue, *The African World* quoted a rather questionable source, A. Henry Savage Landor, a successful travel writer who was rather notorious for inventing stories.⁵⁹ Landor attributed the atrocities in the colony to alleged cannibalism in certain regions of the Congo, which was in fact never practiced there:

From thence he [Mr. Landor] proceeded (...) to Yacoma, where he was given a hearty reception into the Congo Free State by Commandant Van Luffen. The traveler noticed the promising surroundings – the beautiful farm, the thriving live stock, and the ingeniously constructed plough – but he was reminded that the ‘picturesque’ natives were also cannibals. Here is the explanation of the ‘Congo horrors’, the source of the gruesome photographs, and the suggestions of cold-blooded cruelty against officials trying to do their best in the midst of a land dominated for centuries innumerable by ignorance, brutality, and the lust for blood.⁶⁰

Almost everything was taken as a sign of white moral superiority and good governance, e.g., war dances that went along orderly and without upheavals at a reception of British royalty in Lorenzo Marques in the Portuguese Colony Mozambique. The *African World* writes on the occasion:

“It was also something much more than that it was a supreme object lesson in the proper and absolutely safe handling of thousands of armed natives without any outward display of force whatsoever; at a time, too, when in other parts of South Africa, the native mind is showing signs of restlessness, and his temper is one of subordination. It is an ability—call it an art if you will—which the Portuguese seem to possess to its full, this power of easy handling of untutored natives in the mass – an exhibition of the European’s purely moral and intellectual control over the Kaffir....”⁶¹

Overall, the view of a united white superior class in the African colonies was constantly formed and reified in the articles and reports of the newspaper.

To support such an outlook, *The African World* also featured the shared sociability of the “white” colonizers. It occasionally congratulated rulers of other European empires. As an example, a page with photographs served to congratulate the German Emperor Wilhelm II on his silver wedding in February 1906:

⁵⁹ Landor never published in contemporary scientific journals. His self-stylization as explorer and adventurer in his autobiography which was published in the year of his death is extreme; see A. Henry Savage Landor, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer*, (London: Unwin 1924).

⁶⁰ “Across Widest Africa,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 17, 1906, Vol. 21, 283.

⁶¹ “Portuguese Africa,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, April 7, 1906, No. 178, Vol. 14, 481.



Figure 3.3: Supplement to *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 24, 1906, No. 172, Vol. 14.

The African World clearly served European social interests. In its issues and annu-als, it functioned as a travel and society guide and sometimes even as a gossip magazine. Sojourns in colonial towns and at safari destinations were promoted as leisure activities for the colonial elite in Africa and Europe. Recent research has highlighted that mass communication and a growing mass press contributed to the forming of a new class of media-savvy European-American High Society during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁶² The members of this group traveled between luxurious hotels during the respective season in New York and Europe, accompanied by journalists styling them into trendsetters and “high society.” Many

⁶² For the growing significance of an international high society, see Juliane Hornung, *Um die Welt mit den Thaws: Eine Mediengeschichte der New Yorker High Society in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2020), 67–69.

of them added the luxurious hotels of Egypt or the princely states in India to their itineraries.⁶³

The African World featured Egypt regularly as an important African destination for the European–American High Society during the winter period. In December 1903, Bernie Mansfield, the correspondent in Cairo, reported:

“The season by now can be regarded as fully opened. The season hotels have opened their doors, and at both Ghezereh Palace and the Savoy Hotels there are many tourists. Bookings for both these ‘chic’ hotels are very numerous, and all first-class hotels hope to have full houses shortly after Christmas. Shepheard’s and the Grand Continental Hotels are almost full already. The Anglo-American Nile Steamer and Hotel company opened their season to-day, sending up the great stern-wheeler Mayflower to Assuan with a large number of passengers.”⁶⁴

The Opera house in Kairo was obviously equally of interest: “I may now say that we badly require a new or re-modelled Opera House. The Egyptian government gives a subsidy each year of no less a sum of BP 4,000 to ensure good opera in Cairo, the idea, I presume, being to present an attraction to visitors in the season.”⁶⁵ Mansfield, complaining about the smallness and the “shoddy construction” of the building, calls for an enlargement or even a completely new building. The most important social event seemed to have been the Khedive’s State Ball in Egypt: “The annual state ball given by his Highness the Khedive took place at Aberdeen Palace on Wednesday evening last and in point of brilliancy was in keeping with its many predecessors.”⁶⁶ The correspondent described the astonishing setting, the picturesque uniforms of Egyptian nobility, and the wonderful gowns of all the “European ladies.” Over the years, the European-American (moneyed) aristocracy that frequented Egypt was regularly highlighted in *The African World*.

Other points of interest around Africa for an imagined moneyed European tourist community as readers were also discussed, e.g., the sights and peculiarities of Aden, where all the steamboats on the Eastern African route stopped, or the new crown colony of the Seychelles, which was introduced to the readers with some

⁶³ The German moneyed aristocracy had also traveled to Egypt since the turn of the century. The Thyssen Family, e.g., preferred the Shepherds Hotel: Simone Derix, *Die Thyssens: Familie und Vermögen* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 209–10.

⁶⁴ “The Season,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, December 12, 1903, No. 57, Vol. 5, 234.

⁶⁵ “Khedival Opera House,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, December 12, 1903, No. 57, Vol. 5, 234.

⁶⁶ “The Khedive’s State Ball,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 6, 1904, No. 65, Vol. 5, 699.

pictures of the governor's house and the landing pier.⁶⁷ The German colonial town Dar-es-Salaam featured quite prominently in the *African World* before 1914. In 1904, for example, the newspaper wrote about the German colonial city: "Handsome streets, a charming position, a model system of sanitation and tasteful buildings in the villa style, give Dar-es-Salaam the appearance of an up-to-date European town."⁶⁸ Later, in 1913, *The African World* ran a whole issue on German East Africa, with several pieces on the colonial society of Dar-es-Salaam, showing again the typical practices of self-identification as a "white"/European group. The newspaper also included articles on German East Africa as a tourist destination for safaris.⁶⁹



Figure 3.4: *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, November 15, 1913, Special Edition German East Africa, front page.

⁶⁷ "Round about Aden," and "Round Africa," in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, December 5, 1903, No. 56, Vol. 5, 189 and 191.

⁶⁸ "German Africa," in *The African World and Cape Cairo Express*, June 6, 1904, 236.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., *The African World and Cape Cairo Express*, November 15, 1913, Special Edition German East Africa.

The discussion of social occasions, colonial cities as tourist destinations, and “high society” events in Egypt clearly contributed to the forming of a certain class of “white” colonizers who connected the interests of different colonial empires in Africa.

Even more significant for the argument of a transimperial “white” interest and a white “superiority thinking” was the coverage of colonial wars in the *African World*. Texts in the section “Around Africa,” very often discussed the “troubles” with “natives” in various colonies, be they German-, French-, Portuguese-, or British-controlled. Overall, *African World* conveyed the message that the white colonizers would properly handle the “troubles,” quickly suppress “customary turbulences,” and react immediately and with suitable harshness and brutality. For example, regarding Italian Africa, “Troubles in Somaliland” reported in 1905 that “the latest reports received by the Government from Somaliland state that Marka is no longer blockaded by the Bimal, and that two of the three rebellious tribes have submitted in consequence of the reverses which they suffered at Gilib last August.”⁷⁰

Moreover, in the period 1904–1907, the Herero and Nama War in German South West Africa as well as the Maji-Maji War in German East Africa featured quite prominently, too. Almost every issue brought some news on the two wars, describing them mostly as “troubles” that should be speedily crushed.⁷¹ The German East African uprising was attributed to “heathen practices.” Even if the war was protracted, headings like “Rebels Totally Defeated” dominated the reports;⁷² and criticism of the German military was entirely absent. Rather, the main message was that any uprising would be problematic for the standing of all “white” colonizers in Africa. Thus, in 1906, *The African World* wrote on the Herero and Nama war that

“[E]verybody in South Africa – Briton, Boer or German – will be glad to see this protracted struggle come to a close as the successful resistance being offered by the badly armed and generally badly equipped rebels can – especially under present circumstances – produce nothing but a demoralizing effect on the native mind, and will cause a heavy loss to German prestige throughout the Dark Continent.”⁷³

The African World’s coverage of colonial wars show that the notion of transimperial co-operation was common, at least in colonial wars against indigenous populations in Africa. Militaries shared a significant amount of knowledge and

⁷⁰ “Troubles in Somaliland,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, October 21, 1906, 498.

⁷¹ See, e.g., “The Trouble in South West,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, September 30, 1905, 348; “The Rising in German East Africa,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, August 26, 1905, 117.

⁷² “East Coast Revolt Spreading,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, September 9, 1905, 211.

⁷³ “Germany’s Little War,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, February 17, 1906, 85.

sometimes cooperated directly. And some high-ranking officers traveled between empires, as Tom Menger has shown.⁷⁴ The general racist argument of European or Western superiority over “savages and semi-civilized races” was omnipresent, justifying more brutal forms of war than in Europe. Crucially, European colonizers accepted measures that were forbidden by international law and seen as inhumane in European wars as necessary against “savages.”⁷⁵ These measures included killing prisoners of war, destroying fields, carrying off livestock, burning stores and houses, and therefore destroying indigenous population’s livelihood, as the Maji-Maji War showed.⁷⁶ *The African World* fully supported this stance. Similar convictions were clearly shared by all European colonial powers, and shown in steadfast mutual support in colonial wars.⁷⁷

The African World habitually emphasized that indigenous problems could arise in any African colony. This fear united all European colonial rulers; conquering and ruling Africa thus was a transimperial shared task and helped form a transimperial shared white European identity.

Whereas *The African World* published broad and positive articles on German Africa until June 1914,⁷⁸ the understanding of a common task in Africa was fundamentally challenged with the outbreak of World War I. Reporting changed immediately. Now, the *African World* concentrated on patriotic topics and stopped reporting on the colonies of other empires as one can observe in the issues in August 1914.⁷⁹ However, after the war in the 1920s, the newspaper returned quickly to its transimperial outlook.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Tom Menger, “The Colonial Way of War: Extreme Violence in Knowledge and Practice of Colonial Warfare in the British, German and Dutch Colonial Empires, c. 1890-1914” (PhD thesis, Universität zu Köln, 2021), in print, Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., the famous manual on “Small Wars” by Charles Callwell, the classical introduction into colonial/“savage” war that was well received not only by the British military but equally by the French and German military, Charles E. Callwell, *Small Wars, Their Principles and Practice* (London: Harrison and Sons 1906), 40–41; see also Ulrike Lindner, “Kriegserfahrungen im Empire: Von den Kolonialkriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Europa 1914: Wege Ins Unbekannt*, eds. Nils Löffelbein, Silke Fehleemann, and Christoph Cornelißen (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 81–101.

⁷⁶ Ludger Wimmelbucker, “Verbrannte Erde. Zu den Bevölkerungsverlusten als Folge des Maji-Maji-Krieges,” in *Der Maji-Maji-Krieg in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1905-1907*, eds. Felicitas Becker and Jigal Beez (Berlin: Christoph Links, 2005), 87–99.

⁷⁷ See the more than 30 reports written by attached British officers Trench and Wade on the Herero and Nama War between 1905 and 1907, who argue in that vein. The National Archives, War Office, TNA, PRO, WO 106/268 and WO 106/269, *passim*.

⁷⁸ “German Africa,” in *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, June 6, 1914, 257.

⁷⁹ *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, August 8, 1914, now featured huge pictures of the king and of the National Relief Fund, and the heading changed to “Mining and Financial News.”

⁸⁰ *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, Index to Vol. 65, February 3, 1919 to May 3, 1919.

Conclusion

Transimperial exchanges, co-operation, and identity formation in Africa were central to the European colonial elite in the *fin-de-siècle*. This development was based on a belief both in “white superiority” and in belonging to a common social class embracing all upper-middle and upper-class European colonizers. The “white”/European societies in the colonial cities of Africa would not have functioned without the underlying conviction of a common racist superiority that was expressed in demarcation processes via many aspects and was concretized in social-class-coded daily practices. At the same time, the “white”/European groups were able to create and spread forms of transimperial knowledge and information.

A weekly newspaper covering business and society news around Africa, *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express* helped form, maintain, and multiply these convictions. It also helped reify the racist demarcation of the “white”/European class against African indigenous populations. It foregrounded a shared sociability of the white colonizers across different colonies and empires. Although a product of the British imperial world, it was able to construct a transimperial outlook on Africa and helped form a transimperial “white”/European elite in Africa. Moreover, especially when reporting on colonial wars, *The African World* stressed that white superiority was to be upheld against the indigenous populations under all circumstances—a conviction that quite self-evidently included and indeed necessitated knowledge transfer and mutual support between empires. At the same time, the newspaper also shows that the “white”/European elite and its supremacy thinking was contested in daily colonial life. It had to be constantly re-established in practice and discourse—and finally, in World War I, would become more fundamentally challenged.

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