

7 Patriotism, Spectacle, and Reverie Colonialism in Early Cinema

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Cinema started in the heyday of imperial colonialism and soon became the most popular medium of the first half of the twentieth century. As for the German context, colonialism shares two thirds of its history with early cinema, that is 1896–1914.¹ Only recently has colonialism's role in early cinema shifted into the focus of colonial and postcolonial studies.²

The example of two colonial travelogues that this chapter will discuss in detail situates the films at the intersection of colonial ideology and early film aesthetics. Colonial films were more than an exclusive film viewing experience for the colonial lobby. They were examples of cinema embedding in modern culture a new visual experience of film: traveling the world.

For a long time, people have regarded early cinema as primitive, simple in technique, awkward in its aesthetics, and incomprehensible in its narrative.³ They considered early films to have no discursive or rhetorical power and considered them merely the precursor of the later classical narrative or documentary cinema.⁴ Film scholars have attacked the notion of early cinema as a primitive cinema for very good reasons. It is a cinema of a "paradigmatic otherness."⁵ It is a cinema of showing rather than telling and cannot be understood without knowing, e.g., about the specific viewer–film relation in early cinema, its aesthetics, and exhibitional practices.⁶

Historian Winfried Speitkamp suggests that imperial colonialism was the expression of a crisis that shook and shocked the people's self-understanding and their daily lives in the nineteenth century.⁷ The growing consolidation of the world through industrialization and modern infrastructure resulted in an increasing demand for orientation and order that virtually influenced the colonial grab for territory.⁸ Cinema was part of a whole range of media phenomena, such as the world expositions with their colonial and ethnographic sections, photography, trading cards, and picture postcards that emerged in the nineteenth century and made colonialism a testing ground for mass entertainment.⁹

A network of references and orientations characterizes the representational mode of early cinema. It is impossible to imagine cinema's emergence without imperial colonialism's modern infrastructure that gave the

first film operators access to formerly remote and unknown places.¹⁰ Film journals hailed the film camera as the modern substitute for the human eye that could look around the earth's surface.¹¹ Early film programs invited the audiences to travel virtually anywhere in the world and offered a visual encyclopedic knowledge, in which not the event itself but its representation became the real event.¹² For the first time, the colonial public could see "real" colonial life, study the results of colonialism's assumed civilizing cultural mission, and define themselves as the benevolent colonizer in contrast to the primitive colonized Other.¹³ Film carried on colonial narratives and motifs that already had been established when cinema emerged. Conquest fantasies in the form of big game hunting films, demonstrations of the colonizers' superiority, and racial difference in displaying Western technology and downplaying African craft and trade are legion in existing films, reviews, and reports about colonial films.

Besides the general public's voracious visual appetite, German ethnography integrated the cinematographic apparatus in particular to respond to the colonial encounter. National colonial territories offered ethnographers a secure field for ethnographic research that was easy to access.¹⁴ German ethnography's interest in recording and collecting material culture promoted the use of the film camera for ethnographic fieldwork more than in US or British anthropology.¹⁵ Salvage ethnography and the belief in the medium's objectivity made filmmaking the perfect tool for studying and archiving the primitive colonial Other for posterity.¹⁶

A SHORT HISTORY OF GERMAN COLONIAL CINEMATOGRAPHY (1904–1918)

Exact figures for German productions about German colonies do not exist.¹⁷ In contrast to other colonial powers, government officials never produced or controlled films from or about the German colonies.¹⁸ Records suggest that the first films from the colonies reached the German screens around 1904–1905.¹⁹ The Herero Uprising in the German Southwest Africa colony in January 1904 hit the German Empire quite unexpectedly and put German domestic politics under considerable pressure.²⁰ Just a few weeks later German film companies reacted to the new political situation by selling films of the colony at war.²¹

In the following years, colonial films were shown mainly in two different venues: at the branches of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (German Colonial Society) and in public cinemas. Growing competition with local and traveling cinemas caused the cancellation of film screenings.²² The majority of colonial films were nonfiction films such as actuality films, travelogues with views of places and events, scenic films, and films of big game hunting. There was no cinematographic equivalent to Gustav Frensen's *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*.²³

The outbreak of World War I made any supply of films from the colonies impossible and marked the end of film production in the colonies. However, between 1917 and 1918 the *Deutsche Kolonial-Filmgesellschaft* (German Colonial Film Society, DEUKO), based in Berlin, shot at least three fiction films and one animated short film in their Berlin studios.²⁴ In contrast to the nonfiction films of the previous years that focused mainly on the modern and urban aspects of colonial life, the DEUKO films presented the agrarian side of colonial life by telling dramatic stories of farmers and planters.²⁵

EARLY FILM AESTHETIC AND THE COLONIAL TRAVELOGUE: TWO CASE STUDIES

Existing colonial films, reviews, and advertisements of films from the colonies reveal that the travelogue was the most suitable form for representing the colonies to a nation-wide audience. Travelogues were composed of different emblematic shots and belonged to one of the most popular genres in early cinema for depicting foreign places and peoples. According to Jennifer Peterson, travelogues explored a "central obsession of Western visual culture from the nineteenth century through the First World War: images of the other and of other places and images of the changing modern world."²⁶ They served "as vicarious travel, as a substitute for actual travel that could be experienced by those without the financial means to tour around the globe."²⁷

One of the first travelogues from the German colonies to reach German screens in 1907 was *Südwest-Afrika* (*Southwest Africa*).²⁸ Georg Furkel of the Deutsche Bioscope shot the film in the concentration camp in Lüderitzbucht in the summer of 1907.²⁹

The film's different views, as listed in its release advertisement, show the influence of a recent political event in the colony. The Herero and Nama Uprising in 1904 defined the media coverage for more than three years. Only three months before the film's release, authorities declared the war officially over. *Südwest-Afrika* integrates the recent events in German Southwest Africa into the process of colonialization and progress. A detailed study of the shot order, which in travelogues often appears scattered and loose, shows how the film's sequential logic softened and toned down the violent past. The film starts with three shots of railway construction workers, the railway construction company's properties, and a panorama of Lüderitzbucht.³⁰ The following nine shots are dedicated to the Herero and Nama prisoners, the "Hottentotten."³¹ In this second series of shots, number eleven, entitled "The main leaders of the Hottentotten: David, son of Isaak—Lazarus of Britain—The small Jakob—Eduard" printed in bold letters in the advertisement, demonstrates the film's climax: showing the leading chiefs of the Nama warriors. After this "visual climax," the following seven shots

show Nama children playing in the concentration camp, a panorama of Swakopmund, life on the jetty, roads and shore, and finally passengers boarding a steamer.³² The three different clusters of shots—Lüderitzbucht, prison camp, Swakopmund—establish rather different spaces of the same locality. The visual climax in *Südwest-Afrika* is the depiction of the prisoners. The film presents the colony as no longer threatened by uprisings and rebellions but as a safe place for traveling and living. In contrast to the prison camp, the shots at the beginning and the end, panoramas of colonial cities and the progress of colonization, emphasize the picturesque aspects of the colonies. Starting and ending with the building of infrastructure and the boarding of an ocean liner, the film recommends the colonies as places worth visiting.

Südwest-Afrika is an example of the organization of different views in early colonial film. The established views evoke colonization's creation of discrete spatial units that facilitated control and administration of the geographic territory.³³

In the sequential logic of the film, the film places Africans in the confined space of the prison. It erases the traces of the colonized Other from the colonial territory that is now filled with the colonizers' presence and modern Western achievements, such as the railroad construction at the beginning or the boarding of a steamship at the end.

The film visualizes colonial history in its own distinctive cinematographic way. The different clusters resemble a narrative cinematographic fade in/fade out of a flashback into the history of German Southwest Africa. With the switch to the prison camp, the film reminds the viewer that the war has only recently ended. The different views in the prison camp cluster illustrate Michel de Certeau's understanding of the division of space as a panoptic practice.³⁴ The prison camp becomes a consumable sight that the viewer can master and control. In this sense, the views function as a controlling camera that is monitoring the prisoners. The film does not present the prison sequence as a documentation of punishment: the film was not meant to be shocking. *Südwest-Afrika* is intercut with the missionary's work in the prison. In this way, the prison has become a place in which the "African warrior's" conversion takes place.

Shots of dancing women and playing children temper the violent connotation of the concentration camp in which people were starving and dying from horrible living conditions and forced labor. We could also read the shots as a general acceptance and adaptation to the new environment—the concentration camp. While the depiction of playing children smoothes the transition from the prison camp to more "pleasing" views, such as the panorama of Swakopmund, we can also understand the playing children as a visual humiliation of the prison camp shot. It suggests a possible equalization of men and children. Colonial ideology's rhetoric often compared Africans with children in order to sell its aggressive and brutal action against the native population as a benevolent act to the public. Finally,

the picturesque panorama shots in the beginning and in the end bracket the reminiscence of the colonial war. At the same time, they master and safeguard the prison images. The film integrates the most violent period in German colonial history into a discourse of unstoppable progress and peaceful colonial everyday life.

The aesthetic of the view informs the aesthetics of the travelogue *Südwest-Afrika*. According to film historian Tom Gunning, the travelogue is the *Urform* of early nonfiction film.³⁵ With this term, Gunning highlights “the way early actuality films were structured around presenting something visually, capturing and preserving a look or a vantage point.”³⁶ The view forms part of what Gunning calls the cinema of attractions. The cinema of attractions “directly solicits spectator attention, inciting visual curiosity, and supplying through an exciting spectacle—a unique event, whether fictional or documentary, that is of interest in itself.”³⁷ Filmed gags, vaudeville numbers, or magic films are perfect examples of the cinema of attractions as they demonstrate the exhibitionist character of early cinema most clearly. The differentiation between attraction and view is difficult to maintain. In contrast to an attraction, Gunning considers the view as having greater claim to recording an event of natural or social history: “Views tend to carry the claim that the subject filmed either pre-existed the act of filming [...] or would have taken place even if the camera had not been there (a sporting event, a funeral, a coronation), thus claiming to capture a view of something that maintains a large degree of independence from the act of filming it.”³⁸

Views do not simply unfold a landscape in front of the viewers’ eyes but mime the act of looking so that the camera “literally acts as tourist, spectator or investigator.” The audience’s pleasure in a “view-film” lay therefore also in the “surrogate of looking.”³⁹ The view as a represented place and the experience of the view itself might explain the popularity of the travelogue genre in early cinema. While viewers explored the exotic foreign world of the cultural and ethnic Other through view-shots, it was the travelogue that contained the “fascinating yet potentially threatening moving images.” According to Peterson, “the familiar confines of the travelogue genre” secured the exploration of the unknown:

It is this tension between the ‘different’ and the ‘normal’ that fuels the travelogue. It is a delicately balanced polarity: crudely put, the place presented must merit the curious filmgoers’ gaze, therefore the place must be (constructed as) exotic, yet in this presentation there is at the same time a certain disavowal of that exoticism, a desire to mark what is Other and then contain it, to keep it at arm’s length.⁴⁰

The tension between the different and the normal in a travelogue has been highly efficient and adaptable, as Peterson points out, and characterized films of colonial and exotic landscapes as European locales.⁴¹ Although

travelogues refer to places that exist in the real world, the representation of these places in film is something different. Travelogues presented an entirely new “idealized cinematographic geography” that geographically existed only on the screen.⁴²

The notion of an “idealized cinematographic geography” is most productive for the analysis of the second example of a colonial travelogue *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* (*Hustle and Bustle in Tanga*). While *Südwest-Afrika* focuses on the clear segregation of colonizer and colonized, which is visualized through the inside/outside-the-camp shot structure, the second example from 1909 works in a very different way. This film also retains the topos of segregation, but it combines it with sights that highlight the “harmonious” side-by-side living of colonizer and colonized in the colony. *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* contained the experience of the exotic Other by emphasizing aspects and events in the colonies that were not exotic but quite familiar for Western audiences. The film displayed its chauvinist-patriotic character by highlighting and overemphasizing the colonizer’s dominance, efforts, and success in the new territories: In perfectly crafted photography, effectively supported by tinting and toning in various shades, this interesting recording shows among other things the natives’ quarters with their strange, picturesque mud huts, a street in the native quarter with the vivid hustle and bustle of blacks, Mohammedans, Indians, and so on. We also see the arrival of a train at the small but clean train station, as well as the coming and going of trolleys, rickshaws, baby carriages, distinguished Europeans, black street urchins, and so on. Even the music arrives (the German school’s marching band) happily surrounded by young and old, exactly like in Germany. We also see a children’s party at Bismarck Square with its attractive Bismarck monument, Europeans sitting around a coffee table, amused by an extremely funny chimpanzee, a gym lesson at the German school with round dances, vaulting, and so on. Finally, there are the exercises of the native Askari military troops, whose uprightness and dashing character almost equal that of their German comrades.⁴³

Leben und Treiben in Tanga is an example par excellence of Peterson’s notion of an idealized cinematographic geography in terms of colonial life.⁴⁴ A short report in the East African colonial newspaper the *Usambara Post* offers information about the cinematographic production of this film for the audience in Germany. It shows that the line between view and attraction in this film is hard to define from the point of production.⁴⁵ According to the newspaper report, filmmakers carefully staged the film so that the “authentic” joyful afternoon was the result of three days of shooting.⁴⁶

The title of the travelogue suggests that viewers are not watching a particular day or event in Tanga. The film presents the “hustle and bustle in Tanga” in the timeless present and assures the viewer that he or she is watching life just as it is; everything that is happening in the film could happen again, any time, any day.⁴⁷

It is again a careful study of the review that reveals how the film tells the "evolutionary tale" by contrasting the African quarter with its "picturesque, strange mud huts" with the European part of the town and its "clean train station," the main street, and Bismarck Square.⁴⁸ The mention of a tinting/toning in the review indicates the possibility that the contrast between the mud huts and the white of the colonial architecture received stronger emphasis in the film.⁴⁹ The shots of the vivid hustle and bustle in the native quarter seem merely to be the exposition for the presentation of German East Africa as a preferred place for living. As the summary shows, the film depicted colonial life as rather joyful. Living in the colony did not involve making any sacrifices or giving up habits or traditions. The marching band, a children's party, and a well-set coffee table remind the viewer of a cliché Sunday activity. The remark that everything is "exactly like in Germany" refers to an important aspect in German colonial ideology that characterizes the rhetoric of all colonial media at that time: the transformation of the African colonies into a mirror image of Germany. The new space with which the German public might identify was a significant feature to be found in almost all films from the colonies.⁵⁰

Film reviews in the trade press show that colonial films were not often concerned about the dangers of the African jungle or the incalculability of life in the tropics. They depicted the colonies as an extension of the metropolis. Films from the colonies did not present the territories as being different from Germany but rather stressed the similarities. Colonial film reviews mention the depiction of "beautiful European buildings," a German hotel, or the existence of a modern advertisement pillar in the streets of Swakopmund.⁵¹ Remarks like these show that film travels to the colonies were no nostalgic or idyllic "view" into a preindustrial time. Although farming and settling were important aspects of German colonial ideology, there is no indication that colonial films were particularly interested in this topic. Cinema's cultural-epistemological rooting and emergence in the context of modernity aimed instead at representing the colonies as progressive modern, urban, and therefore familiar spaces. The first tourist guide for the East African colony for example works hard at conjuring up the similarities between different topographies: the Pugu Mountains recall Thuringia,⁵² the Amani region is a tropical picture of the Vosges⁵³ and Dar-es-Salam the African Potsdam.⁵⁴

Very similar is the visual function of the social events on Bismarck Square in *Leben und Treiben in Tanga*. The party on the square "with the attractive Bismarck monument" leaves no doubt that even if the location is Africa, the setting is German. The different views expressed in the film create an idealized colonial life that stands in sharp contrast to the people's complaints and their frustration about the monotony of colonial existence. The film suggests that life in Tanga was anything but a "palm-desert tropical treadmill" as a German East African colonial journalist had described it.⁵⁵

The representation of the colony as an extension of Germany refers to a second characteristic of colonial rhetoric, the active colony and the colony in motion. Shots of trains, ships, local traffic, the loading and unloading of goods, and the presentation of colonial production processes are legion in films and reviews. Shots like these signified technical progress by demonstrating to the viewer at home the continuous progress and productivity of German colonization. *Leben und Treiben in Tanga*, too, is concerned with the idea of progress, mobility, and the functioning of the colony but it adds to this important social sights. By showing the progress and social functioning of the colony, the film depicts Tanga as the ideal colonial city. As the review of the Tanga film shows, the travelogue focuses exclusively on kinetic events. The "hustle and bustle" of the colonized population in the native quarter, the arrival of the train, trolleys, rickshaws, baby carriages, passing Europeans, the local children's marching band, the chimpanzee, gym lesson, and military drills stand for a range of different cultural and social activities in the colonial city. The baby carriages point out that the East African colony was creating new "German life" that guarantees the future of the German colony. The phrase, "watching the hustle and bustle," often used in reviews on colonial film screenings, illustrates that travelogues were associated with watching life flowing and passing by in front of the viewers' eyes. It was not the observation of a particular moment like in a photograph or illustration but a continuous change of different activities that people expected to see, even in the colonies.⁵⁶

In addition to the film's visual aspects that depicted Tanga as being representative of the German East African colony, as a colony of progress and an expansion of the German *Reich*, the film also offers images that indicate the ambivalence of the colonial discourse.

Colonial films were mainly focusing on the colonizer's life and his achievements and, if at all, only occasionally on life of the colonized population. *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* is no exception. The film starts in the African quarter, moves to the city, and focuses on European colonial life for the rest of the film. The structure of the film corresponds to the confines of the travelogue genre. The "entertaining" narrative of evolution that juxtaposes the white tourist with native people was quite common, as Fatima Rony points out.⁵⁷ In a "shielding gesture" of the picturesque, filmmakers juxtaposed Europeans with the native Africans to establish a safe subject positioning for the viewer so he or she could identify with the modern Western traveler.⁵⁸

Films from the colonies gave colonized people little chance to establish an individual identity so that the colonial audience usually conceived the Other's identity as a stereotype. Examples of these stereotyped images in colonial discourse were part of the previous travelogue: the native as the uneducated child or savage warrior, whom the European must watch over, control, and convert to Christianity. Homi K. Bhabha defines the stereotype as an ambivalent ideological construction. According to Bhabha,

“an important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of fixity in the ideological construction of otherness.”⁵⁹ For Bhabha, fixity is “a paradoxical form of representation that connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition.”⁶⁰ The demonic repetition of the stereotype’s ambivalence is characteristic for this travelogue. The review describes the natives’ mud huts as picturesque *and* strange and again contrasts it with the colonizer’s part of the town, the clean train station. The ambivalence of colonial discourse becomes even more complex in the depiction of the colonized Other. Bhabha emphasizes that otherness expressed in the colonial stereotype is an object of both desire and derision.⁶¹ Within the “conflictual economy of colonial discourse,” Bhabha considers colonial mimicry an *ironic* compromise.⁶²

German colonial ideology considered colonization a cultural missionary duty that aimed at civilizing and educating the colonized Other. Films about schooling and training, such as *Die Fortschritte der Zivilisation in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika* (*The Progress of Civilization in German East Africa*; Pathé Frères, 1911) or *Eine Kolonialschule in der deutsch-ostafrikanischen Provinz Usambara* (*A Colonial School in the Usambara Province of German East Africa*; Pathé Frères/Germania Film, 1912), were particularly suited to present the results of the German cultural mission. *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* starts with the “hustle and bustle” in the native quarter, moves to the “black street urchin,” who is contrasted with the “distinguished Europeans” and finishes with the apotheosis of Askari soldiers.⁶³ The film presents the last shot of the military exercises as the result of a successful colonial cultural mission.

Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable other as the subject of a difference that is almost, but not completely the same.⁶⁴ The ambivalence of the mimicry that aims at turning the Other into someone similar, but who will never be the same as the colonizer, also bears a moment of resistance and uproar that threatens colonial power. This threatening moment is also present in *Leben und Treiben in Tanga*. The Askari soldiers’ almost perfect drills are a representational form of colonial mimicry. The film captures the fascination within the authoritative colonial discourse, but it expresses at the same time the impossibility of this containment.⁶⁵ The desired similarity between Askari and the German comrades speaks for Germany’s success of colonization, but the imitation of the colonizer’s “physical exhibitionism” disrupts colonial authority, and undermines and threatens colonial power. The image of a colony in which colonizer and colonized lived joyfully together existed only at the expense of colonialism’s possible demise.

Films from the colonies show how moments of oppression, segregation, and most extreme colonial violence, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, went hand in hand with picturesque, tourist sights and entertainment. Colonial films did not require an elaborate cinematographic rhetoric but

operated in the confines of the early film aesthetics that turned any place and its people into a visual joy ride.

NOTES

1. Different approaches to early cinema’s periodization exist. The reference for this chapter is Simon Popple and Joe Kember, *Early Cinema from Factory Gate to Dream Factory* (New York, NY: Wallflower, 2004).
2. Guido Convents’ inspiring empirical study of colonial cinematography of the different European powers in Africa virtually remained unheard of at its time of publication. Recent studies have shown the range of cinematographic activities and the different distribution, exhibition, and reception contexts that framed colonial films in the colonial era and beyond. See Guido Convents, *A la Recherche des Images oubliées: Préhistoire du cinéma en Afrique: 1897–1918* (Bruxelles, BL: Organisation Catholique Internationale du Cinéma et de l’Audiovisuel [OCIC], 1986); Assenka Oksiloff, *Picturing the Primitive: Visual Culture, Ethnography, and Early Cinema* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001); Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Propaganda, Sciences, and Entertainment: German Colonial Cinematography in Africa; A case study in the history of early nonfiction cinema” (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2003); and Tobias Nagl, *Die unheimliche Maschine: Rasse und Repräsentation im Weimarer Kino* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2009). For a general introduction to colonial representation, see Ella Shohat and Stam Robert, eds., *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994).
3. A new and more profound understanding of early cinema has been the result of a new, revisionist film historiography that argues for an understanding of early cinema in its own right. A good introduction for the American context are David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (London, UK: Routledge, 1985) as well as Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1990). For the German context, see Thomas Elsaesser and Michael Wedel, eds., *A Second Life: German Cinema’s First Decades* (Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press, 1996) as well as Corinna Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinetographie: Formale, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung 1907–1911* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994).
4. Tom Gunning, “Before documentary: Early nonfiction films and the ‘view’ aesthetic,” in Daan Hertogs and Nico de Klerk, eds., *Uncharted Territory: Essays on Early Nonfiction Film* (Amsterdam, NL: Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum, 1997), pp. 9–24.
5. Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 24.
6. Although an exact and sound understanding of production, distribution, and exhibition contexts is important, it cannot be discussed in detail in this short chapter. See *Early Cinema: Space-Frame-Narrative* (London, UK: British Film Institute and Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 1990).
7. Winfried Speitkamp, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (Ditzingen: Reclam 2005), p. 14.
8. Ibid. p. 15.
9. Alexander Honold and Oliver Simons, eds., *Kolonialismus als Kultur: Literatur, Medien, Wissenschaft in der deutschen Gründerzeit des Fremden*

- (Tübingen and Basel: Francke Verlag, 2002); Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Sunna Gieseke, eds., *Koloniale und postkoloniale Konstruktionen von Afrika und Menschen afrikanischer Herkunft in der deutschen Alltagskultur* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2007); Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche* (Berlin: Quintessenz Verlag, 2002); David Ciarlo, "Visualizing Colonialism and Consuming Race in German Mass Culture, 1885–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2003); Stefanie Wolter, *Die Vermarktung des Fremden: Exotismus und die Anfänge des Massenkonsums* (New York, NY: Campus, 2002); Joachim Zeller, *Bilderschule der Herrenmenschen-Koloniale Reklamesammelbilder* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2008).
10. Tom Gunning, "The Whole World within Reach: Travel Images without Borders," in Jeffrey Ruoff, ed., *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 25–41.
 11. Gustav Melcher, "Von der lebenden Photographie und dem Kino-Drama," *Der Kinematograph*, no. 112, 2/17/1909.
 12. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, eds., *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
 13. Between 1884 and 1914, the proportion of the earth's surface controlled by colonial powers rose from 67 percent to 84 percent. This means that whenever people went to see a film in their local cinemas, most likely the program included films that had been shot in colonial territories. Ella Shohat and Stam Robert, eds., *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, p. 16.
 14. For a discussion of ethnography in early German cinema, see Assenka Oksiloff, *Picturing the Primitive*. The book offers a very interesting analysis of early nonfiction and ethnographic films at the crossroads of early, primitive cinema and ethnography's interest in the primitive body as an object of study. Oksiloff's book is not a history of early ethnographic filmmaking and should not be read as such. She bases her theoretical approaches on assumptions and suggestions with little historical evidence and relies too much on secondary sources, some of them dubious.
 15. Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001); Anna Grimshaw, *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Anthropology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jay Ruby, *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film & Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
 16. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "First Contact: The Beginning of Ethnographic Filmmaking in Germany, 1900–1930," *History of Anthropology*, Newsletter 34, no. 1 (2007): pp. 3–9.
 17. An examination of early German film journals suggests that their number was roughly between fifty and sixty films between 1907 and 1918. See Herbert Birett, *Das Filmangebot in Deutschland 1895–1911* (Munich: Filmbuchverlag Winterberg, 1991); *Erste Internationale Film-Zeitung 1907–1918*, *Der Kinematograph 1907–1918*, *Lichtbild-Bühne 1908–1918*, and *Der Film 1916–1918*.
 18. This is suggested by Fatimah Tobin Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 85. There is no evidence for this suggestion. In fact, colonial authorities were often less enthusiastic in supporting such projects. The Imperial Colonial Office's unfamiliarity with the new medium made it cautious toward film companies and exhibitors that were offering assistance in promoting the colonies on film. For a detailed discussion, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann,

- "Propaganda, Sciences, and Entertainment." As Christian Rogowski shows in Chapter 11 in this volume, contact between the colonial lobby and film producers did exist.
19. Early plans for producing films in the colonies can be dated to 1898, when a certain Dr. Stuhlmann asked the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (DGK; German Colonial Society), the biggest colonial pressure group in Wilhelminian Germany, for financial support for the production of films in the colonies. *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Berichte über die Sitzungen des Ausschusses der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (Berlin: Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, 1893–1914), 5/10/1898, p. 6.
 20. Horst Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004).
 21. In April 1904, the *Internationale Kinematographen-Gesellschaft GmbH* of Berlin offered two "interesting" scenic films (*Naturaufnahmen*) from German Southwest Africa of 20 meters length. *Der Artist*, no. 1002, 4/24/1904. 20 meters correspond to one minute of projection time.
 22. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Locating Early Film Audiences: voluntary associations and colonial film," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 22, no. 3 (2002): pp. 291–304.
 23. Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa: A narrative of the German campaign*. Trans. Margarete May Ward (London: Archibald Constable; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).
 24. The DEUKO's Colonial films were: *Der Verräter* [The Traitor] 1917, *Farmer Borchardt* 1918, a short animated film on the occasion of the commemoration of the colonial victims day in April 1918, and *Der Gefangene von Dahomey* [The prisoner from Dahomey] 1918. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Kolonie und / oder Heimat? Ein Stück ungeschriebener Filmgeschichte," in Achim Barsch, Helmut Scheuer, and Georg-Michael Schulz, eds., *Literatur-Kunst-Medien: Festschrift für Peter Seibert zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2008), pp. 321–334.
 25. On the notion of *Heimat* in colonial films, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Kolonie und / oder Heimat? Ein Stück ungeschriebener Filmgeschichte."
 26. Jennifer Peterson, "'Truth is stranger than fiction': travelogues from the 1910s in the Nederlands Filmmuseum," in Daan Hertogs and Nico de Klerk, eds., *Uncharted Territory: Essays in Nonfiction Film* (Amsterdam, NL: Nederlands Museum, 1997), pp. 75–90 (p. 76).
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
 28. *Der Komet*, no. 1158, 6/1/1907, p. 16.
 29. Colonial authorities first used the term "concentration camp"; it was not an invention of Nazi terror. For an excellent introduction and analysis of the Herero and Nama Genocide and the camps, see Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Völkermord in Deutsch Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2003).
 30. (1) Workers constructing the railway shafts at Aus; (2) administration buildings of Lenz & Co. in Lüderitzbucht; (3) panorama of Lüderitzbucht, taken from Diamant Mountain.
 31. (4) Samuel Isaak, sub-captain of Hendrik Witboi; (5) dance of the Hottentot women; (6) service of the missionary in Lüderitzbucht; (7) camp of the Hottentots and captured Hereros; (8) continuation, camp of prisoners in Burenkamp, Lüderitzbucht; (9) overall view of the camp; (10) captured Hottentot and Herero women returning from collecting water; (11) the main leaders of the Hottentots: David, son of I, aak [sic]—Lazarus of Britain—The small Jakob—Eduard; (12) group of the main leaders and the head people; (13) Hottentot children playing in the prison camp.

32. (14) panorama of Swakopmund; (15) hustle and bustle on the jetty; (16) jetty, taken from the boat; (17) Roadstead and surf in Swakopmund; (18) passengers boarding the "A. Wörmann," Swakopmund.
33. John Noyes points out the contradiction of spatiality in colonial discourse, since "an ever increasing segmentation and fragmentation of space on almost every level" runs counter to the concept of the colony as a unity. John Noyes, *Colonial space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa, 1884–1915* (Chur, CH: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), p. 162.
34. Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), p. 36.
35. Tom Gunning, "Before Documentary: Early Nonfiction Films and the 'View' Aesthetic," p. 14.
36. Ibid.
37. Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," in Thomas Elsaesser with Adam Barker, eds., *Early Cinema: Space-Frame-Narrative* (London, UK: British Film Institute and Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 56–62 (p. 58).
38. Tom Gunning, "Before Documentary: Early Nonfiction Films and the 'View' Aesthetic," p. 14.
39. Ibid., p. 15.
40. Ibid., p. 81.
41. Ibid., p. 76.
42. Jennifer Peterson, "World Pictures: Travelogue Films and the Lure of the Exotic 1890–1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1999), p. 1.
43. *Der Kinematograph*, no. 150, 11/10/1909.
44. Tanga is also the setting of Wolfgang Struck's analysis of a popular fictional TV production on German colonialism. As Struck shows, the film works within a very similar aesthetic structure as the popular travelogues in early cinema. See Chapter 13 in this volume.
45. Tom Gunning, "Before Documentary," p. 14.
46. *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 7/8/1905.
47. The assumed authentic rendering of an event was an important issue for ethnographers, whether German, British, or American, for choosing the film camera in the early years of its scientific use. See Anne Grimshaw, *The Ethnographer's Eye*, pp. 15–31.
48. On colonial urban planning, see also, Andreas Eckart, "Koloniale Stadtplanung und europäischer Rassismus: Die Enteignung der Dualla," in Wilfried Wagner, ed., *Rassendiskriminierung, Kolonialpolitik und ethnisch-nationale Identität*, 2. Internationales Kolonialgeschichtliches Symposium 1991 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1992), pp. 206–216.
49. For the genre of fiction, Richard Dyer shows that early orthochromatic film stock was insufficient to make white actors appear white. As a consequence, actors had to be made white through intensive make-up. Richard Dyer, *White*, first published 1997 (London, UK: Routledge, 2008), pp. 89–103.
50. Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 2.
51. *Duisburger Generalanzeiger*, 12/18/1905.
52. F. Karstedt, *Deutsch-Ostafrika und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen] 1914), p. 227.
53. Ibid., p. 172.
54. Ibid., p. 217.
55. The article describes the journalist's visit to a variety in Dar-es-Salam in July 1905. *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 7/8/1905.

56. Culture as a lived experience was an important aspect for the ethnographer's use of the cinematographic apparatus. See Grimshaw, *The Ethnographer's Eye*, p. 24.
57. Fatima Toben Rony, *The Third Eye*, p. 83. In this respect, the "entertaining narrative of evolution" has not vanished from today's tourist snapshots or television travel documentaries.
58. Ibid., p. 80.
59. Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (London, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2004), pp. 94–120 (p. 94).
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 96.
62. Ibid., p. 122.
63. In cinema, the apotheosis is a characteristic formal element of closure for the *féerie*—a fairy tale-like genre. See Frank Kessler, "La féerie Pathé," in Michel Marie and Laurent le Forestier, eds., *La Firme Pathé Frères 1896–1914* (Paris, F: AFRHC, 2004), pp. 133–142.
64. Ibid., p. 126.
65. In *Der Weisse im Spiegel der Farbigen*, ethnologist Julius Lips shows that the colonizers' presence and work was a central theme in the art of the natives. Lips gives the example of a relief carving from the Palau islands that shows the ethnologist Paul Hambruch performing photographic anthropometric studies of the natives (pp. 248–249). Another example shows a caravan in the East Africa colony that depicts the colonizer's dachshund on the top of the caravan. A third example in which German discipline was clearly understood as a characteristic of the obedient German *Untertan* (man of straw) shows the native's analytic take on the ridiculousness of the wanna-be "serious" colonial official (p. 105). Julius Lips, *Der Weisse im Spiegel der Farbigen* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1983).