

Teaching German Colonialism (1884-1919) in Second-Language Classes: Inter-Imperial History  
and Student Identity Formation

By  
Evva Parsons

Submitted to  
Central European University  
Department of History  
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Cláudia Ninhos (NOVA)  
Second Reader: Professor Rin Odawara (TUFS)

Vienna, Austria – Tokyo, Japan  
2024

Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the Author. Copies by any process, either in full or part, may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the Author and lodged in the Central European Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the written permission of the Author.

## Abstract

As German colonial history has increasingly received public and media attention over the past two decades, research investigating its history and legacies has proliferated. However, that research has not yet reached German language classrooms outside of Germany. This project begins to fill that gap by investigating possible ways of translating academic work on German colonial history to high school German language classes in the United States. The curricula developed in this project rely on careful pedagogical and theoretical selections and align with U.S. national learning standards for foreign language instruction, making them relevant to high school German classes across the United States. In doing this work, the project contributes to the field of public history by bringing history research to a broader public.

Based on archival research, contemporary sources related to legacies of the German colonial past, and a thorough reading of relevant historiography, this capstone designs and explicates two thematic classroom units for teaching about German colonial history in language classes. The first investigates the historical context, repatriation debates, and material heritage of the Benin Bronzes, which German museums acquired through British colonial plundering. The second engages with the life and written works of Hendrik Witbooi, an Indigenous leader in German South-West Africa who resisted German colonial control. Using topical discussions with varied lesson materials, the units can be scaffolded for student language level to engage students with questions of the German colonial past, its legacies, and its representation today. In doing so, the units teach students about German political and historical contexts and support them in developing and articulating their own values and worldviews.

## Acknowledgements

This capstone project is the culmination of two years of learning through the History in the Public Sphere Erasmus Mundus master's program. It thus is the outcome of many excellent classes, discussions, and site visits across three universities with many brilliant professors and peers. I particularly want to thank my advisor, Professor Cláudia Ninhos at NOVA University, for guiding the pedagogical and historiographical considerations so thoughtfully and providing feedback throughout the writing process. I also want to thank my second reader, Professor Rin Odawara at TUFS, for the encouragement and ideas. Both intellectually and emotionally vital to writing this capstone, I also want to thank my peers in the HIPS 2022-2024 cohort, especially, in alphabetical order, Dasja Zonneveldt, Mariame Maouhoub, and Nina Andro. This project is much richer and more thorough for your critical readings and insights.

Thank you to the universities that welcomed and taught me during this program: Central European University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and NOVA University of Lisbon. Special thanks go to the coordinators at each university whose careful work and excellent communication eased the challenges of living in three countries in two years: Mónika Nagy, Yoshiko Fujii, and Graça Leite Santos. This degree was made possible by the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree Scholarship provided by the European Commission. Two internships, at the Open Society Archives in Budapest, Hungary and at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, Portugal provided excellent learning opportunities and shaped the direction of this capstone project. Special thanks go to Jessica Hallett at the Gulbenkian for her energy and dedication to an immersion in museum curation.

This capstone project and master's degree were possible thanks to the encouragement of my family: Meg, Jim, Elise and Elaina. Your long-distance calls and holidays together stabilized me during two exciting and whirlwind years—thank you. My grandparents, whose support of my curiosity started before I could talk, deserve endless credit for how they have bolstered and shaped my intellectual life. Special thanks also go to the Concordia Language Villages community, particularly my coworkers and villagers at Waldsee, whose presence in my life these past 17 years has defined my questions and paths both academically and personally. This especially includes David Oprava, whose generous fellowship is the reason I applied to this master's degree. Finally, I dedicate this work to my grandfather Walter Graff, whose mind and library have always inspired who I hope to be and what I hope to contribute.

# Table of Contents

<b><i>List of Figures</i></b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b><i>Introduction</i></b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b><i>Capstone Context</i></b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b><i>Historiography of German Colonialism</i></b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>A Historiographical Boom</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>Historiographical Frames and Concepts</b> .....	<b>14</b>
Transnational and Inter-Imperial Approaches .....	14
Empire and Colonialism: Defining Concepts .....	16
<b>State of the Research</b> .....	<b>18</b>
<b><i>Selected Pedagogies</i></b> .....	<b>24</b>
<b>Multiperspectivity</b> .....	<b>25</b>
<b>Object-Based Learning</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>Commemorative Museum Pedagogy</b> .....	<b>29</b>
<b><i>Designing a Curriculum: Art Repatriation Unit</i></b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Unit Overview</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Unit Goals and Pedagogies</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Unit Content: Historiography and Source Selection</b> .....	<b>34</b>
Frameworks .....	34
Theory .....	35
Scholarship and Lesson Materials .....	36
<b><i>Designing a Curriculum: Hendrik Witbooi Unit</i></b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Unit Overview</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Unit Goals and Pedagogies</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Unit Content: Historiography and Source Selection</b> .....	<b>44</b>
Hendrik Witbooi's Life and Writings .....	44
Historiography and Lesson Materials.....	47
<b><i>Conclusion</i></b> .....	<b>53</b>
<b><i>Appendix I: Art Repatriation Lesson Materials</i></b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b><i>Appendix II: Art Repatriation Lesson Plans</i></b> .....	<b>92</b>
<b>01 Objects Matter</b> .....	<b>92</b>
<b>02 Whose Objects? The Repatriation Debate in Germany</b> .....	<b>96</b>
<b>03 Calls for Repatriation</b> .....	<b>100</b>
<b>04 Object Stories: Case Studies</b> .....	<b>102</b>
<b><i>Appendix III: Hendrik Witbooi Lesson Materials</i></b> .....	<b>104</b>
<b><i>Appendix IV: Hendrik Witbooi Lesson Plans</i></b> .....	<b>148</b>

<b>01 Hendrik Witbooi.....</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>02 Mechanisms of Control in German South-West Africa: Dispossession and Destruction .....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>03 Resisting Injustice.....</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>04 How Do We Remember? Final Project .....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b><i>Bibliography.....</i></b>	<b><i>161</i></b>
<b>Archival Sources .....</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>Published Sources.....</b>	<b>163</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Ogboh's "Missing in Benin" Intervention .....	38
Figure 2: Lüderitzland (1886) .....	49
Figure 3: Map of Land Use (1906) .....	49
Figure 4: “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps” from the U.S. Library of Congress .....	50
Figure 5: “Restituting Evidence” by Forensic Architecture .....	51

## Introduction

German language education in the United States widely ignores the history and legacies of German colonialism, obscuring a formative and violent part of German history. This is perhaps a symptom of German colonial amnesia – a phenomenon well-discussed in German academic and activist discourse in the past decades.<sup>1</sup> In excluding German colonialism from history covered in language classrooms, educators fail to provide necessary context for students as they learn to communicate not only in a different language, but in a different cultural context. Oftentimes the classroom is located outside of the linguistic and cultural realm of the language being taught and the students' linguistic and cultural inheritances are located outside of or variously overlapping with the language. Therefore, in the language classroom, the cultural and linguistic content is (dis)located from its context and put into conversation, whether explicit or not, with the located context of the room and the people in it. This is a unique challenge for language instructors – to teach nuance of that which is unknown while reflexively referring to the located complexities of the students and site of instruction, all in a second language. In order to teach high school students<sup>2</sup> to engage with the complexity of German colonial history as they develop their language skills and worldviews, this capstone project presents pedagogical materials and an accompanying curriculum from primary and secondary sources to introduce German colonialism in German language classes in the United States, bringing history research to a broader public. In doing so, the project addresses the research question: What are possible ways of translating academic work on German colonial history to high school German language classes in the United States?

---

<sup>1</sup> Lora Wildenthal et al., “The German Colonial Imagination,” *German History* 26, no. 2 (2008): 260.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghn005>.

<sup>2</sup> Ages 14 to 18.



This capstone develops a pilot curriculum for language-immersion students in the high school credit program at Concordia Language Villages (CLV) with the intention of broader applicability in high school German classes across the United States. The target program at CLV provides a relevant pilot framework primarily because students engage intensively with in-depth thematic units for month-long, immersion language instruction, making a history curriculum highly relevant to the teaching style and material. Secondly, the program is fully accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools with learning goals aligned with the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language (ACTFL) Proficiency and Performance Guidelines.<sup>3</sup> Finally, it guides this curriculum because the author has 10 years of experience teaching in the program. The practical outcome takes complementary forms: thematically curated archival and primary source materials for students to engage with in the classroom and a written curriculum based on the secondary literature to orient instructors within those pedagogical materials. The academic portion of the capstone shows the roots of the curriculum designed, locating the lesson content within the existing scholarship on German colonialism. Much academic work cannot be easily introduced to a high school curriculum, so in doing this work this project seeks to bridge academic discourse and history education to reach a wider public.

---

<sup>3</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” (in English: Teacher Handbook for the Credit Program), *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals* (Minnesota: Concordia College, 2016), 4.

## Capstone Context

Language students learn not merely grammar rules and vocabulary words; they learn to communicate across linguistic and cultural differences. For any practical application of a language, students must also develop their understanding of the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts of the places where that language is spoken. This is reflected in the ACTFL World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages. Goal areas—communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities—require that language students “use the language to investigate, explain, and reflect on the relationship between the practices and perspectives of the cultures studied” and “build, reinforce, and expand their knowledge of other disciplines while using the language to develop critical thinking and to solve problems creatively.”<sup>4</sup> The learning goals in the German language program at CLV inform how the curriculum applies these standards. Relevant to this curriculum are the goals of: “improving language proficiency skills in German, including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication” and “improving understanding and knowledge of Germany’s role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically.”<sup>5</sup> These standards emphasize the importance of embedding the language in the relevant political, social, and cultural settings in which it is used in language education.

Aligned with these U.S. national standards and program goals, CLV embraces the pedagogy that students must live the language to learn not only its syntax, but also its cultural and historical contexts. Students, referred to as villagers, arrive at a village designed to teach them the sentences they need to navigate the space as well as some of the tastes, sounds, sights, and ideas

---

<sup>4</sup> “World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages,” *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*, <https://www.actfl.org/uploads/files/general/World-ReadinessStandardsforLearningLanguages.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

of the culture(s) of that language. The program, offered in fourteen languages, is premised on the mission of “inspiring courageous global citizenship.”<sup>6</sup> Since 2020, this includes a commitment to Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Anti-racism (DEIA) goals at every level of the organization, including in curricula. For the German program, curriculum development goals include integrating BIPOC<sup>7</sup> representation to reflect the diversity of German experience, program engagement with questions of identity across cultural and linguistic contexts, and lesson content to engage older and more linguistically advanced students with themes of race and oppression in German history and society.<sup>8</sup> An internal curricular review in 2021 identified a hole in program content related to People of Color in Germany and has sought to both educate instructors in relevant history, politics, and art and create relevant programming.<sup>9</sup> The program engages with history education (including the Holocaust and reunification) but as of yet, does not engage with German colonial history. This project seeks to fill that hole, contributing to the on-going DEIA efforts in equipping instructors to teach units about German colonial history.

When language programs include German colonial history in German language learning, they provide students with important context for understanding German politics and society today. Public discourse in the past decades in Germany has increasingly grappled with colonial history. Academics and activists have brought the violence of forgetting or erasing colonial pasts to the

---

<sup>6</sup> “About Us: Concordia Language Villages,” About Us | Concordia Language Villages, accessed March 30, 2024, <https://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/about-us#:~:text=Our%20Mission,cultural%20sensitivity%20in%20multiple%20languages>.

<sup>7</sup> Black, Indigenous, (and) People of Color. “BIPOC Definition & Meaning,” Merriam-Webster Dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/BIPOC>. The term gained use in the United States through the protests against police brutality prompted by Minneapolis police killing George Floyd in May of 2020. This is also what prompted the CLV language program to commit to anti-racism work in education and create short- and long-term plans to achieve those goals.

<sup>8</sup> These goals were articulated through an internal task force within the German language program and reported to the wider organization in spring 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Examples have included an elective course on citizenship law and racialization and a student-made zine publication for the campus about an Afro German poet, May Ayim.

forefront, pushing European media, academics, and governments to engage with public memories (and their absences) of colonial history.<sup>10</sup> Leading public intellectual Gurminder K. Bhambra argues that former colonial empires “need to consider our colonial past as the basis for thinking about contemporary configurations of the global” because of implications “for how we understand citizenship and belonging in the present.”<sup>11</sup> Some activists and teachers in Germany see the same connection between colonial history and racism today and advocate for compulsory education in colonial history in German schools.<sup>12</sup> Colonial history is thus relevant to German language learners because it is a current societal discussion in Germany and because it defines aspects of German social and political realities today. In such, the project refers to public history in form by making history research accessible to a broader public and in content by engaging students with public discourse surrounding the German colonial past, all while developing students’ linguistic and cultural competencies.

Studying German colonial history also offers language students an opportunity to explore their own identities and worldviews. A foundational aim of schooling is to help students develop and articulate their values. This is evidenced in the UNESCO International Program on Holocaust and Genocide Education, which is designed to promote Global Citizen Education to “empower learners to become responsible and active global citizens who value human dignity and respect for all.”<sup>13</sup> This includes “understanding and confronting violent pasts while at the same time developing the knowledge and values to prevent future atrocity crimes,” which is directly aligned

---

<sup>10</sup> See Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (London: Routledge, 2004) and Gurminder K. Bhambra, “For a Reparatory Social Science,” *Global Social Challenges Journal* 1, no. 1 (June 2022): 8–20, <https://doi.org/10.1332/hico9991>.

<sup>11</sup> Gurminder K. Bhambra, “For a Reparatory Social Science,” 8.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Hille, “Germany’s Colonial History Often Missing at School,” *Deutsche Welle* (Germany), Oct. 10, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/how-german-schools-miss-out-countrys-colonial-history/a-55230081>.

<sup>13</sup> “International Program on Holocaust and Genocide Education,” UNESCO, Nov. 15, 2023. <https://www.unesco.org/en/teaching-holocaust-genocide/iphge>.

with teaching colonial history.<sup>14</sup> Important in language education, classroom engagement with conceptual differences across languages and linguistic contexts – for example, in German the word ‘race’ does not mean what it means in English due to the history of the Holocaust – prepares students to see and move between cultural assumptions with an increased sensitivity to semiotics. Naming and studying these conceptual differences can thus provide students with the meta-awareness to question the structures that define their own worldviews, giving them the tools to ask new questions of the world and of themselves. In designing a meaningful German language education, teaching German colonial history is a compelling avenue to support students in exploring their own identities.

As a long-time instructor in the program in which this capstone will be piloted, I will use my capstone project to incorporate historiographical interpretations of German colonial history into the language curricula to provide vital historical content and skills for critically engaging with German colonial history, its legacies, and its relevance to students’ worldviews. Such a project requires a thorough understanding of relevant pedagogy, German colonialism, its legacies, and the state of the study of German colonialism to translate that research into lesson material that can be used for introductory investigations at various language levels.

---

<sup>14</sup> “Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocide,” UNESCO United Nations Department of Global Communications, Jan. 1, 1970, <https://www.unesco.org/en/teaching-holocaust-genocide>.

# Historiography of German Colonialism

## A Historiographical Boom

German colonial historiography has experienced a boom since the mid-1990s. Long a relegated and historiographically insignificant period in German history study and instruction, criticisms of a German colonial amnesia that willfully ignored past atrocities have shifted the academic discourse and pushed historians to study the topic.<sup>15</sup> The combined work of activists demanding acknowledgement and reparations for German colonial atrocities and academics increasingly using postcolonial and transnational methodologies in the study of history moved the study of German colonial history from a marginal, forgotten period of German studies to a central dimension of the study of German imperialism, European colonialism, and German domestic politics and culture during and after the Kaiserreich.<sup>16</sup> The causes and context of the increased political and historiographical attention to German colonial history hold relevance to this capstone both in orienting the project within the secondary literature and in understanding the relationship between the German colonial past and the political present.

Activists' work and public attention surrounding art repatriation and genocide reparations have prompted some of the increased political and academic engagement with German colonial history. In the early 2000s, the Namibian government and human rights organizations in Namibia applied political and legal pressure on Germany for reparations and recognition of colonial atrocities at the 100-year centenary of the Herero and Nama Genocide. Descendants of victims created a campaign for official German acknowledgement of and reparations for the first genocide

---

<sup>15</sup> Wildenthal et al., "The German Colonial Imagination," 260.

<sup>16</sup> The German Empire, 1897-1918.

of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> In 2001, the Herero People's Reparations Corporation filed a civil suit in a U.S. court requesting \$2 billion in reparations from two German corporations.<sup>18</sup> Though the case was unsuccessful, it brought increased public attention to the topic, especially in German news media. In 2004, a German minister officially apologized for the atrocities and recognition of the genocide entered the political mainstream in Germany.<sup>19</sup> This prompted a conservative backlash that centered the potential financial cost of reparations.<sup>20</sup> In the decades since, the Namibian and German governments have entered into negotiations of development aid as reparations, an approach that has been criticized by many descendants' organizations for its exclusion of descendants from the decision-making process and lack of financial reparations to individuals or communities.<sup>21</sup> Through the work of Herero and Nama activists and the Namibian government, reckoning with the history of the Herero and Nama genocide has entered the public sphere and demanded the increased study and engagement of scholars of German history. As the topics of restitution and reckoning with the German colonial past have become more important in German public discourse, they also become increasingly relevant to German language students learning about the historical and political contexts of the German-speaking world.

Simultaneous to public attention turning to German colonial history, historians began utilizing postcolonial and cultural history-based methodologies to examine the past and re-examine

---

<sup>17</sup> Kaamil Ahmed, "Descendants of Namibia's Genocide Victims Call on Germany to 'Stop Hiding,'" *The Guardian* (London), Feb. 3, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/feb/03/namibia-genocide-victims-herero-nama-germany-reparations>.

<sup>18</sup> Herero People's Reparations Corporation v. Deutsche Bank AG, Casetext (No. 03 Civ. 0991), 2005 and Hisham Aidi, "Forgotten Genocide: Namibia's Quest for Reparations," *Al Jazeera* (Doha), Aug. 7, 2015, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/8/7/forgotten-genocide-namibias-quest-for-reparations>.

<sup>19</sup> Roberto Hitchcock and Melinda Kelly, "Reconciliation between Germany and Namibia: Towards Reparation of the First Genocide of the 20th Century," *International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs* (Denmark), Oct. 12, 2021, <https://www.iwgia.org/en/news/4538-reconciliation-between-germany-and-namibia-towards-reparation-of-the-first-genocide-of-the-20th-century.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Michael Perraudin and Jürgen Zimmerer, *German Colonialism and National Identity* (New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2014), 1.

<sup>21</sup> Aidi, "Forgotten Genocide: Namibia's Quest for Reparations," and Hitchcock et. al., "Reconciliation between Germany and Namibia: Towards Reparation of the First Genocide of the 20th Century."

the existing scholarship. Drawing on postcolonial theory and the history of literature, Susanne Zantop's 1997 book *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* took some of the first steps in the German studies field. Examining the metropole's imaginary of colonial relations and ambitions through literature and popular culture texts, Zantop argues that the fantasies of colonial conquest that preceded colonies shaped the emerging German national identity, contributing to a sense of German superiority through racist colonial discourse.<sup>22</sup> Zantop's analysis relies on the work of Edward Said, whose 1978 book *Orientalism* examines the constructed distinction of "East" and "West" to reveal the imperial productions of knowledge and power that position the so-called Orient as a homogenous, culturally inferior Other through literature.<sup>23</sup> Said's work provided the vectors of analysis and the language to then examine the violence and legacies in the production of imperial knowledge and rule, centering a critical analysis of discourse and narrative. Said's 1993 book *Culture and Imperialism* furthers this work by analyzing social and cultural discourses of imperialism and imperial fantasy.<sup>24</sup> Said's books have prompted methods to examine empire and its history beyond the confines of land and money, centering questions of imaginaries and power in both looking to the past and understanding its legacies in the present. In the tradition of Said's works, Zantop extends the relevance of German colonial history beyond the temporal markers of German colonies (1884-1919) and into an analysis of the socio-political realities of the metropole, ushering in an expanded study of German colonialism in German and European historiography. Within the context of language education, the expanded study of German colonialism makes clear that legacies of German colonialism shape German-language politics, society, and cultural production, making that history relevant to

---

<sup>22</sup> Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>24</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group), 1994.



understanding political and social dynamics today. Further, the scholarship based on source materials common in language classrooms – novels, political cartoons, newspaper articles, poetry, and more – invite curriculum development work that can bring those analyses into the language classroom.

## Historiographical Frames and Concepts

### Transnational and Inter-Imperial Approaches

Simultaneous to Zantop's cultural history work utilizing postcolonial theory, academics in the 1990s increasingly developed transnational and inter-imperial perspectives to ask questions of the past long sidelined by national monographs and comparative history. In the study of history, the term 'transnational' is somewhat loose, describing an approach rather than a specific methodology. Scholars Iriye and Saunier define transnational history in their book *Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* as the study of the "links and flows" of "people, ideas, products, processes and patterns that operate over, across, through, beyond, above, under, or in-between polities and societies."<sup>25</sup> This perspective, like cultural history, examines the past through actors other than the nation-state. Looking at linkages and flows across borders and societies necessarily centers the study of networks and actors under colonial regimes whose lives and political complexity have been disproportionately written out of the narrations of European and world history.<sup>26</sup> This historiographical move to embed German colonial history in a broader global history is common within the field – leading scholars including Sebastian Conrad and Bradley Naranch advocate for an analytical move away from internalist examinations of history for greater

---

<sup>25</sup> Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to Present Day* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 2009), 1047-1055.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, Patricia Seed, "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1444.

insight into the past.<sup>27</sup> The curriculum developed in this project takes transnational history approaches as one of the base theoretical positionings of the units, emphasizing links and flows across space and teaching students to ask questions of the past beyond national borders and nation-states as the primary or only actors. It does so for multiple reasons: because transnational links are vital to understanding German colonialism; in order to reflect the increasingly global and entangled nature of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; and, importantly for a language program, in order to conceptually position the past and its legacies in complex networks that exist across national or linguistic boundaries.

While transnational history questions the delineation of the nation as the unit of analysis, inter-imperial (also referred to as transimperial) history examines the entanglement of empires through competition, cooperation, and connectivity.<sup>28</sup> When the study of empires focuses only on the internal phenomena of an empire, it obscures the co-formations of empires and the “complex, multi-directional maneuvers launched from above, from below, and from beside, by imperialists, merchants, capitalists, laborers, wives, and revolutionaries.”<sup>29</sup> Scholar and professor Laura Doyle argues that an inter-imperial understanding of the past is necessary to both understand our present national and international contexts and to reveal the multi-laterality of imperial and national pasts.<sup>30</sup> In doing so, we can complicate exceptionalist and Eurocentric narrations of modernity, revealing the entanglement of “infrastructures of empire, capitalism, culture, and resistance.”<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Sebastian Conrad, “Rethinking German Colonialism in a Global Age,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 4 (Oct. 11, 2013): 543–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2013.836352> and Bradley Naranh and Geoff Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 1-18.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, “Transimperial History - Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition,” *Journal of Modern European History* 16, no. 4 (Nov. 2018): 429–52, <https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2018-4-429>.

<sup>29</sup> Laura Doyle, “Inter-Imperiality: Dialectics in Postcolonial World History,” *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (2014): 4.

<sup>30</sup> Doyle, “Inter-Imperiality: Dialectics in Postcolonial World History,” 2.

<sup>31</sup> Doyle, “Inter-Imperiality: Dialectics in Postcolonial World History,” 6.

This curriculum seeks to do so by situating the history of German empire in the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century European empire and the many non-imperial actors, especially Indigenous resistors, who shaped decisions and experiences in the colonies and the metropole. In engaging students with these historiographical framings, this curriculum seeks to push them to understand German colonialism as heterogeneous, locally negotiated, shifting, and interimperially situated within a world of competing governments, actors, communities, and dissidents.

### Empire and Colonialism: Defining Concepts

The historiographical conceptualizations of imperialism and colonialism fill many books, requiring a brief explanation of their definition and use in this project. Leading historians of empire Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper define empires as political units which are “expansionist or with a memory of power extended over space, polities that maintain distinction and hierarchy as they incorporate new people.”<sup>32</sup> This they contrast with the nation-state, which is “based on the idea of a single people in a single territory constituting itself as a unique political community.”<sup>33</sup> They make this distinction not to neatly draw distinctions between states or periods of a given state, but rather to examine the political realities that are between and overlapping with these two forms. They do so by examining the imperial repertoires and myths of late 19<sup>th</sup> century European colonialism. In the course of their investigation, Burbank and Cooper question the misleading shorthand of the political history of the world, of “a transition from empire to nation-state, a distinction between premodern and modern states, a focus on Europe and the west as uniquely powerful agents of change, for good or for evil,” instead tracing the varied and changing

---

<sup>32</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 8.

<sup>33</sup> Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, 8.

mechanisms and imaginaries of power in European empires created through shifting negotiations between Indigenous peoples, colonial actors, and metropolises.<sup>34</sup> This focus on imperial repertoires and myths offers insight into the geopolitical changes of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century without flattening them into the common narrative of progress originating in Europe.

With this definition of empire and scope of study of imperial practices, a conceptualization of colonialism can situate this curriculum within the literature. Colonialism, even once limited to modern colonialism, is a phenomenon of “colossal vagueness,” according to historian Jürgen Osterhammel.<sup>35</sup> He goes on to define colonialism as:

“A relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.”<sup>36</sup>

This definition, which underlies much of the historiography of German colonialism since its original publication in 1995 in German, can encompass the highly heterogeneous, legally contradictory, locally negotiated, and changing German colonial landscape.<sup>37</sup> It simultaneously outlines the key characteristics of modern European colonialism which continue to shape the present, particularly the ideological constructions of race and a racial hierarchy. Osterhammel’s definition of colonialism is incorporated into the lesson material in this project because of its analytical clarity and its broad use in the scholarship. The lesson material is drawn from a thematic

<sup>34</sup> Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, xi, 290, 312-316.

<sup>35</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, trans. Shelley Laura Frisch (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 4.

<sup>36</sup> Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, 16-17.

<sup>37</sup> Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36-38.

educational resource for German high school students to learn about German colonial history published by the German organization Schools without Racism, Schools with Courage.<sup>38</sup>

According to Burbank and Cooper, ideological constructions of race and nation and the boundaries enforced to try to maintain those constructions defined the changes in late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century European imperialism. They explain that “imperial expansion overseas both presumed and reinforced a boundary between colonizer and colonized and kept blurring it” in imperial imaginaries that were (and continue to be) incoherent, mutable, and violent.<sup>39</sup> The ideas of race and nation became paramount, alleging to explain or justify while managing to define global geopolitics. This imperial myth of the racialized nation is evident in the German case in the 1913 law which defined German citizenship by blood and ethnicity, implicitly creating a racialized, non-citizen, subordinate, colonial Other in opposition to the ethnically German and white citizen under the German empire.<sup>40</sup> Revealing the history of these violent colonial constructions and their legacies in the present is a fundamental aim of this project.

## State of the Research

An overview of German colonial history and its foremost scholars proves necessary to orient the work of this capstone project. Historian Sebastian Conrad remains a leading scholar on German colonial studies and his overview and methodological considerations in *German Colonialism: A Short History* (2012) inform this project. Conrad begins by tracing three major historiographical strands: 1920s Weimar political revisionism which focused on the necessity of

---

<sup>38</sup> Jeannette Goddar, Sanem Kleff, and Eberhard Seidel, *Kolonialismus Themenheft: Schule Ohne Rassismus*, (in English: Colonialism Thematic Guide: Schools without Racism), (Berlin: Aktion Courage e.V., 2022), 25.

<sup>39</sup> Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, 289.

<sup>40</sup> Fatima El-Tayeb, “‘Blood Is a Very Special Juice’: Racialized Bodies and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Germany,” *International Review of Social History* 44, no. S7 (Dec. 1999): 149–150, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020859000115238>.

reacquisition of German colonies; 1960s critical perspectives as decolonization and East German critiques of imperialism brought colonial history to the forefront, with a methodological focus on social history; a lull in historiographic interest from the mid-1970s to mid-1990s, and then renewed academic attention from the mid-1990s focused on the multidirectional effects of the colonial encounter with a focus on cultural history.<sup>41</sup> These are all informed by their political and social moments. Within the recent academic discourse, Conrad identifies four primary areas of investigation: colonial discourses and imperial fantasies, colonial knowledge and its role in colonial power structures, the constructions of hierarchies and binaries that are belied by the many hybridities and gray areas that existed, and the remembrance of the colonial past.<sup>42</sup> Prefacing his own overview of the German colonies, Conrad complicates comprehensive definitions of colonialism in the case of Germany by reminding that:

“The colonial reality was extremely varied and diverse. [...] The climatic and geographical conditions, the structures of the indigenous societies, the mechanisms of economic exploitation, the ambitions and objectives of the colonizers, and the reactions of local societies often differed to such an extent that it would be more appropriate to talk of colonialisms in the plural.”<sup>43</sup>

This curriculum seeks to impart this complexity to students by selecting unit themes that are necessarily locally situated while inter-imperially reflexive and incorporating critical examinations of imperial fantasies, colonial knowledge, hybridities, and remembrances of the past.

Jürgen Zimmerer, leading historian on German colonial history, writes on these themes with a focus on German South-West Africa. In a 2011 collection with historian Michael Perraudin titled *German Colonialism and National Identity*, Zimmerer includes many scholars’ examinations of imperial fantasies and their effects beyond the temporal or geographic borders of German

---

<sup>41</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, 5-10.

<sup>42</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, 10-13.

<sup>43</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, 13.

colonialism to trace legacies of that past after 1919.<sup>44</sup> In his 2013 collection *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte* (No Place in the Sun: Sites of Memory of the German Colonial Past) he brings together dozens of case studies of institutions, individuals, imaginaries, and monuments to analyze the complex collective memories of the German colonial past.<sup>45</sup> In *German Rule, African Subjects: State Aspirations and the Reality of Power in Colonial Namibia* (first published in German in 2001), he explicates the colonial mechanisms of control to argue the systematic and systemic criminal nature of German colonial policy in German South-West Africa.<sup>46</sup> He has also contributed to the discussion of continuities and similarities between German colonial and Nazi policies and fantasies prompted by memory studies scholar Michael Rothberg with his book *From Windhoek to Auschwitz? Reflections on the Relationship between Colonialism and National Socialism*.<sup>47</sup> While the discussion of colonial influences on Nazi policy does not enter the curriculum proposed in this project, its motivating force for research from the fields of Holocaust and genocide studies is relevant to historiography of Germany and the role of colonialism within that historiography. With these contributions, Zimmerer's work informs this capstone in its historiographical context, its thematic selections, and its lesson content.

The study of German colonialism has received attention from scholars writing from many different sub-disciplines. In their 2014 collection *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, which Conrad describes as without a doubt “the most important volume” on the state of the art of research,

---

<sup>44</sup> Perraudin and Zimmerer, *German Colonialism and National Identity*.

<sup>45</sup> Jürgen Zimmerer, *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der Deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*, (in English: No Place in the Sun: Sites of Memory of the German Colonial Past), (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

<sup>46</sup> Jürgen Zimmerer and Anthony Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects: State Aspirations and the Reality of Power in Colonial Namibia* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2022).

<sup>47</sup> Jürgen Zimmerer, *From Windhoek to Auschwitz? Reflections on the Relationship between Colonialism and National Socialism* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2024). The referenced Michael Rothberg book is *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009).

historians Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley provide insight into the range of study.<sup>48</sup> They understand the study of German colonialism – including its imaginaries – as an expansive and enduring expression of German empire.<sup>49</sup> They make this argument to push scholars to assess colonialism’s impact where it intersects with other topics, “putting colonialism back within the various and overlapping historical contexts from which it first emerged [which] simply means reconnecting a long-separated historiographical branch to where it rightly belongs—with the general ebbs and flows of modern German and global history.”<sup>50</sup> Naranch and Eley’s collection coupled with other leading works include thematic engagements with: German military strategy and administration from scholars including Isabel Hull and Dirk Bönker;<sup>51</sup> the co-productions and overlaps of colonial science, (alleged) humanitarianism, and colonial administration from scholars including George Steinmetz, Deborah J. Neill, and Andrew Zimmerman;<sup>52</sup> the entanglement of “Germanness” and a German national identity with the production of a colonial Other (Jeff Bowersox, John Phillip Short, and Heike I. Schmidt);<sup>53</sup> the mutual influences of the metropole and colonies, especially colonial ambitions and their public reflections and productions in the metropole (Geoff Eley, Jeff Bowersox, and Brett M. van Hoesen);<sup>54</sup> gender and power (Heike I. Schmidt, David Ciarlo, and Britta Schilling);<sup>55</sup> genocide and race (Shelley Baranowski, Brian

---

<sup>48</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, 205.

<sup>49</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, 5.

<sup>50</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, 3, 6.

<sup>51</sup> Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 7–91 and Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapter 14.

<sup>52</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

<sup>53</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapters 8, 10, and 5.

<sup>54</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapters 1, 8, and 15.

<sup>55</sup> Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapters 5 and 9; Perraudin and Zimmerer, *German Colonialism and National Identity*, Chapter 11; and Britta Schilling, *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014).



Vick, and David Ciarlo);<sup>56</sup> and colonial fantasies (Susanne Zantop and Wolfgang Struck).<sup>57</sup> These themes overlap and dialogue with one another and offer lines of inquiry for much future research. This capstone contributes to that on-going work by translating some of the scholarship into material for high school classrooms.

This brief overview of the diverse, varied, overlapping histories of German colonialism and study of those histories makes clear that any sort of comprehensive curriculum teaching German colonial history, or any phenomenon in history, could demand years of students' attention. This project does not seek to be comprehensive, rather to investigate certain fundamental dynamics of German colonial history and its legacies with students in ways that can strengthen their skills in asking questions of the past, strengthen their linguistic and cultural competencies as students of German, and perhaps prompt further lines of inquiry in their studies. To do so, the curriculum focuses on two in-depth examinations. The first is of the repatriation of the Benin Bronzes from German museums to Nigeria and the second is of the life and works of Hendrik Witbooi, an Indigenous Nama leader in what became German South-West Africa who resisted German colonial intrusion. Both topics are necessarily focused on movement between and across national and imperial borders, showing students the embedded nature of German colonialism. Both topics address the production and implications of colonial knowledge while centering the same gray areas that question and rebut those constructions. Finally, both topics necessarily refer to political public discussions in the present as they are framed by contemporary discourse around repatriation and commemoration. In doing so, this curriculum refers to the four main historiographical strands as

---

<sup>56</sup> Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama. *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), Chapter 3. Perraudin and Zimmerer, *German Colonialism and National Identity*, Chapter 1. Naranch and Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Chapter 9.

<sup>57</sup> Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* and Perraudin and Zimmerer, *German Colonialism and National Identity*, Chapter 17.

elucidated by Conrad while communicating the specificity and complexity of local colonial encounters.

## Selected Pedagogies

The proposed curriculum is oriented within a specific set of didactic tools in language and history education. From language education didactic practices this curriculum emphasizes and incorporates repetition, content-based instruction, and immersion. Repetition is a basic and well-studied tenant of language education. A 2017 study on the topic found that learning second-language words through repetition promotes neuroplasticity at the network level, meaning it contributes to language learning at the cognitive level.<sup>58</sup> This, however, should not entail mechanical repetition of words but rather be combined with content-based instruction. Content-based language instruction was first theorized in 1989 within the context of communicative language pedagogy (born from constructivist pedagogies) and eschews the rote memorization of traditional, lecture-based education and instead focuses on student comprehension through cohesive content.<sup>59</sup> The content-based approach seeks to engage and motivate students by building language learning around thematic information that students work to understand and discuss.<sup>60</sup> It takes a comprehension-based approach where instructors encourage students to work to understand the idea that is being communicated and not focus on translating each word in spoken or written material. This, mixed with more frontal instruction on specific grammatical forms, builds the basis for many language classrooms, including those at Concordia Language Villages.

In some language classes, especially as learners reach intermediate levels, educators emphasize immersion-based language learning usually built upon the tenets of content-based

---

<sup>58</sup> Ladan Ghazi-Saidi and Ana Ines Ansaldo, "Second Language Word Learning through Repetition and Imitation: Functional Networks as a Function of Learning Phase and Language Distance," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 11 (Sept. 28, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2017.00463>.

<sup>59</sup> D. M. Brinton, M. A. Snow, and M. B. Wesche, *Content-Based Second Language Instruction* (New York: Newbury House, 1989).

<sup>60</sup> Marjorie Bingham Wesche, "Content-Based Second Language Instruction," *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Sept. 3, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195384253.013.0019>.

language instruction. Immersion schools and parallel programs that use content-based instruction have taught students in a second language or bilingually in the United States since the early 1970s, with marked results in second language proficiency, higher standardized testing scores in English (as the first language), and higher metalinguistic awareness.<sup>61</sup> This curriculum falls within the scope of immersion education and could be used in history classes in immersion schools or in language classes with the content-based instruction approach which aligns with the coherent, thematic unit style proposed in this project. The choices to build this curriculum around these didactic practices and pedagogical understandings of language instruction are informed by the author's experience in language instruction along such principles.

## Multiperspectivity

From history education, this curriculum draws on the teaching tools of multiperspectivity, object-based inquiry, and visual analysis. Multiperspectivity is the epistemology that history is necessarily mediated by selection and interpretation and is therefore composed of many coexisting narratives.<sup>62</sup> To build history instruction around this principle requires the curricula and instructors to show that each perspective is constructed and context-dependent while teaching students the skills to identify and trace the emergence and development of various perspectives.<sup>63</sup> The Council of Europe, an inter-parliamentary and intergovernmental organization working in democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Europe, outlines some of the dimensions of analysis instructors

---

<sup>61</sup> Tara Williams Fortune, "What the Research Says about Immersion," *Chinese Language Learning in the Early Grades: A Handbook of Resources and Best Practices for Mandarin Immersion* (Asia Society, 2012), 10-11.

<sup>62</sup> Bridget Martin, "Integrating Multiperspectivity in the History Classroom," *Observatory on History Teaching in Europe* (Aug 5, 2022), 2-3, citing Bjorn Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, Itzél Zuiker, and Theo Wubbels. "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End? An Analysis of the Uses of Temporality." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 46, no. 4 (June 27, 2018).

<sup>63</sup> Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching a Guide for Teachers* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003), 9-10, 13.

can call upon to teach with multiperspectivity: the multiplicity of vantage points through time, the multiplicity of interpretations across contexts, and the selections and omissions surrounding historical materials and their preservation.<sup>64</sup> A multiperspective approach is “underpinned by the fundamental assumption that students need to understand that anyone who is studying the past must come to terms with and tolerate discrepancies, contradictions, ambiguities, dissenting voices, half-truths and partial points of view, biases and preconceptions.”<sup>65</sup> This has the potential to add complexity and nuance, foster appreciation for contestability and ambiguity, highlight previously marginalized voices, and encourage empathy, open-mindedness, and appreciation of diversity and difference.<sup>66</sup> This curriculum takes guidance from research and practices in multiperspectivity because of its increasing relevance in a globalized and interconnected world that moves away from nationalistic and ethnocentric narrations of the past. It is founded on analytical and interpretative skills that are both foundational to the study of the past as well as important intercultural skills for students of world languages.

## Object-Based Learning

The curriculum also draws on object-based learning and visual analysis. Objects and images provide valuable lesson material both as multiperspective evidence of history that can offer multiple interpretations and in developing students’ close observation and critical thinking skills. Object and image-based learning develops visual analytic skills, fosters inquiry and active learning, engages students cognitively, sensorily, and affectively, and can promote different

---

<sup>64</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching a Guide for Teachers*, 18-19, 26-17.

<sup>65</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching a Guide for Teachers*, 60.

<sup>66</sup> Martin, “Integrating Multiperspectivity in the History Classroom,” 1.

examinations of subject content compared to text- and lecture-based lessons.<sup>67</sup> It supports student skill development in “observation, inquiry, evaluation, group work, speaking, listening, and deduction,” all important aspects of history and language study.<sup>68</sup> Objects and images have specific relevance in language classrooms. They can complement content-based language instruction by giving students further access points to engage with topics for meaning and comprehension. Used as props, they are an excellent and common tool for students to build associations between the language and its meaning.<sup>69</sup> Visual literacy, a skill built from visual analysis, also holds particular relevance in the language classroom. We understand visual culture through the assumptions and conditionings with which we are raised, which can differ across languages and cultures (as well as within them).<sup>70</sup> For language educators, this means that students may be interacting with different cultural productions and interpretations of visual culture, making images and objects a compelling starting point for conversations about cultural contexts.<sup>71</sup> These many benefits of object and image-based teaching inform its use in this curriculum.

Object- and image-based learning in this curriculum follows the steps of description, classification, and interpretation. This process is common in museum education and emphasizes important skills for cross-disciplinary investigations for language and history students.<sup>72</sup> Skills include language communication progressing from practical to conceptual as students move from

---

<sup>67</sup> Vicki Dale, Nathalie Tasler, and Lola Sánchez-Jáuregui, “Object-Based Learning: Active Learning through Enquiry,” *University of Sussex - Ideas for Active Learning* (July 1, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.20919/opxr1032/69>.

<sup>68</sup> “Object Based Learning for School Groups in Museums,” Museums and Galleries of New South Wales, (May 18, 2022), <https://mgns.w.org.au/sector/resources/online-resources/education/object-based-learning-school-groups-museums/#:~:text=Objects%20can%20be%20used%20to,from%20young%20and%20old%20alike>.

<sup>69</sup> Donna Brinton, “The Use of Media in Language Teaching,” in *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language*, ed. Marianne Celce-Murcia, 3rd ed. (Heinle & Heinle, 2001), 459.

<sup>70</sup> Ellen Sieber and Sarah Hatcher, “Teaching with Objects and Photographs: A Guide for Teachers,” Mathers Museum of World Cultures (Indiana: Indiana University, 2012), 7.

<sup>71</sup> Sieber and Hatcher, “Teaching with Objects and Photographs: A Guide for Teachers,” 7.

<sup>72</sup> Helen J Chatterjee, “Object-Based Learning in Higher Education: The Pedagogical Power of Museums,” *The University Museums and Collections Journal* 3 (2010): 180.

describing what they see to interpreting that information. They also include an epistemological awareness as students engage with the different interpretations that can result from different decisions during classification. This curriculum uses two public curricular resources to practice those skills: the U.S. Library of Congress' Teacher's Guide for Analyzing Maps and a model museum information form based on the German Museums Association's "Guidelines for the Documentation of Museum Objects."<sup>73</sup> The Association's watermark is copied onto the information form for the sake of students' cultural immersion in the German museum landscape with accreditation included in the lesson material. In building lesson material selection and lesson plans around object- and image-based pedagogy, this curriculum seeks to engage students in language, history, and cross-disciplinary learning.

This selection of didactic tools reflects the ACTFL standards, history and social studies standards across U.S. states, and the author's experience in museum education and German language instruction.<sup>74</sup> This slew of pedagogical tools should not present a list to intimidate the instructor looking to teach using this curriculum, rather serves to inform the selection of material and lesson plans for each unit. Because the curriculum aims for applicability across state and even national borders, potential instructors are encouraged to use those didactic tools that are most relevant to their contexts and institutions.

---

<sup>73</sup> "Teacher's Guide: Analyzing Maps," U.S. Library of Congress, 2012, [https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/teachers/getting-started-with-primary-sources/documents/Analyzing\\_Maps.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/teachers/getting-started-with-primary-sources/documents/Analyzing_Maps.pdf) and Monika Hagedorn-Saupe, rep., *Leitfaden Für Die Dokumentation von Museumsobjekten*, (in English: Guidelines for the Documentation of Museum Objects), (Berlin: Deutscher Museumsbund e.V., 2011), [https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Institut\\_fuer\\_Museumsforschung/Publikationen/Materialien/LeitfadenDokumentation.pdf](https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Institut_fuer_Museumsforschung/Publikationen/Materialien/LeitfadenDokumentation.pdf).

<sup>74</sup> "World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages," *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*, <https://www.actfl.org/uploads/files/general/World-ReadinessStandardsforLearningLanguages.pdf>.

## Commemorative Museum Pedagogy

Beyond the pedagogical practices important to language education, history education, and their intersections, the curricular material presents the challenge of engaging students with historical violence. This is termed difficult history – histories of pain, suffering, oppression, and grief – and creates both unique learning opportunities and unique challenges in the classroom.<sup>75</sup> In learning about difficult history, students learn that the lives and experiences of often marginalized groups matter in being remembered, students gain context about the construction of political and social realities today, and in many cases students are taught about the atrocities of the past with an eye toward the future and the prevention of repetition.<sup>76</sup> To do so, difficult histories present learners with historical information and interpretations that can induce anxiety, resistance, and stress.<sup>77</sup> Due to this, pedagogies for educators teaching difficult history require sensitivities that teaching other types of historical events may not demand, actively addressing the traumatic nature of the lesson content.

Dr. Julia Rose, museum pedagogy researcher, proposes a framework for educators working with difficult histories: Commemorative Museum Pedagogy (CMP). CMP functions at two levels. It guides the historiographical work of responsibly researching and interpreting difficult histories as well as the classroom work of creating safe learning environments and preparing for and engaging with learners' varied responses to the difficult history. Both apply to this curriculum, with the pedagogical guidance in material selection functioning behind the scenes and the guidance in classroom practices applied in the lesson plans.

---

<sup>75</sup> Julia Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 4-9.

<sup>76</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 4.

<sup>77</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 4.



Rose gives historians tools for producing ethical representations and interpretations of the past that balance between learners' emotional responses to traumatic information and the responsibility to teach human suffering without glossing over its horrors.<sup>78</sup> She outlines how history workers can combine three components—the Face, the Real, and Narratives—to create educational materials. The Face is the humanization of the historical individual or group excluded from the narrations of the past. The Face must be multidimensional, including the relationships to families, communities, cultures, places, and nations beyond basic descriptors.<sup>79</sup> The material must be specific, avoiding anonymity, and use active voice in talking about historical subjects.<sup>80</sup> The Face is combined with the Real: the documents, objects, testimonies, photographs, and other historical traces. Necessarily, presentations of the Real must acknowledge to learners their own partial nature, their own relationships to the present, and the gaps or absences in the record.<sup>81</sup> The construction of the Face with the Real allows for the emergence of the Narrative. Narratives have four components: stories about historical subjects, recognition of the partiality and biases of representations, interpretation that demonstrates how the history matters, and opportunities for learners to reflect, discuss, and express ideas.<sup>82</sup> The Narrative should include multiperspectivity and should not seek to resolve tensions, but rather help learners investigate those tensions without seeking a comfortable resolution.<sup>83</sup> These principles guide the selection of historical evidence for classroom materials and the thematic units of the curriculum designed in this capstone project.

Commemorative Museum Pedagogy also provides tools for educators to anticipate and respond to learners' anxieties and resistances when learning difficult history. The underpinning of

---

<sup>78</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 102.

<sup>80</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 103-105.

<sup>81</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 108-114.

<sup>82</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 117.

<sup>83</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 118-120.

the CMP classroom approach is understanding that learning about traumatic historical events can create a “loss in learning” for students, meaning that a learner’s sense of morality, their understanding of the world, or their understanding of their own identities and ancestors can be shaken by the new information.<sup>84</sup> This destabilization of a learner’s worldview can prompt resistance, avoidance, or apathy in students. It is important that the educator does not take the resistance as the end of a student’s engagement and rather understands it as part of the learning process. An educator’s sensitive interventions can help guide those resistances through the psychological process of mourning to lead learners toward historical empathy. With CMP underpinning the classroom practices for educators teaching difficult histories, students have the space and support to engage with material that can prompt learning crises and, rather than shutting down, can work through what that information means to them, further developing their own worldviews and values. Due to the nature of the content in this curriculum, these approaches to both content selection and classroom practices inform this project.

---

<sup>84</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 72.

# Designing a Curriculum: Art Repatriation Unit

## Unit Overview

Examining the repatriation of colonial art with a focus on the Benin Bronzes offers German language students both an entry point to study colonial history and a linguistically flexible topic that can meet students at their language level. Current activism and political debates have pushed the discourse around art repatriation in the past few years as museums and governments react to former colonies' demands for repatriation, making it an especially relevant and contemporary topic for German language students. The 2020 protests of the Humboldt Forum re-opening exemplified that debate and brought questions of colonial legacies in German politics and culture as well as questions of reckoning with the colonial past to the news headlines and parliament, creating a wealth of coverage and discourse.<sup>85</sup> These varied sources, including newspaper articles, digital maps, protest coverage, interviews, reports, artistic interventions, and the pieces of art themselves, ensure that instructors can tailor the lessons to their students' language level. Importantly, the topic is necessarily both inter-imperial and connects the history of German colonialism to the present, lending itself to the historiographical framings of this curriculum.

## Unit Goals and Pedagogies

The art repatriation unit seeks to fulfill important goals in both students' historical knowledge and in their historical analysis skills while fostering language learning. Content-wise,

---

<sup>85</sup> As the Humboldt Forum planned to reopen in Berlin in 2020, the institution came under heavy criticism and was widely protested because it holds stolen art, especially Benin Bronzes, in its collection, it fails to conduct provenance research on those objects, and it exhibits them in colonial and uncritical narratives. See Graham Bowley, "A New Museum Opens Old Wounds in Germany," *The New York Times* (Oct. 12, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/12/arts/design/humboldt-forum-germany.html>.

the unit situates late 19<sup>th</sup> century German colonialism within a broader timeline of modern European imperialism, taking the 1884 Berlin Conference as a point of inflection. Students will learn about the context of the 1897 Benin Punitive Expedition and how it was both a product of and contribution to the systematic violence, militarism, and extraction that museum professional and archaeologist Dan Hicks terms corporate-militarist colonialism that emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> With this understanding of some of the unfolding political, economic, military, and social contexts, students can then engage with some of the ways that art looting and ethnographic and anthropological museums contributed to the colonial production of knowledge premised on European superiority and ‘race science’ as a colonial tool. This examination is founded on the “key assumption of postcolonial theory that knowledge and power are interrelated and that control of the epistemological systems is a precondition for dominance and control.”<sup>87</sup> The aim of this content is to introduce students to German colonial history and to orient them within the context of the current political discourse around art repatriation from European museums to former colonies. Through reading and discussing news articles, poetry, museum didactic texts, and a detailed timeline, students will improve their language skills while interacting with these historical topics with material scaffolded for their language level.

Students will not only learn specific historical content but will also develop critical analysis skills to better equip them to engage with history and politics. First, this unit emphasizes visual analysis skills based on the three steps of describing, classifying, and interpreting objects and images with a critical focus on the range and implications of classification and interpretation choices and perspectives. Those lessons will draw on object-based pedagogy to practice visual

---

<sup>86</sup> Dan Hicks, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (London: Pluto Press, 2021).

<sup>87</sup> Wildenthal et al., “The German Colonial Imagination,” 253.

analysis skills. Building on that foundation, the unit develops students' skills in identifying and articulating historiographical interpretations by pushing them to consider the different ways that the history of the Benin Punitive Expedition and its scattered booty has been narrated in different temporal and spatial contexts. This is based in multiperspectivity, centering a plurality of voices and perspectives.<sup>88</sup> In emphasizing and stretching these skills in students, this unit aims to teach students to identify and parse multiple perspectives and to make connections between the European colonial past and its influences in the present. Ultimately, students should end the course with an understanding that narrations of the past are constructed, mutable, and powerful and gain the skills to examine various narrations critically.

## Unit Content: Historiography and Source Selection

### Frameworks

To achieve these learning goals, the unit utilizes inter-imperial and transnational frameworks, a strong grounding in the scholarship surrounding the repatriation of 19<sup>th</sup> century looted art, and a careful selection of historical and contemporary primary sources. While transnational and inter-imperial frames underlie the entire curriculum, the art repatriation unit is particularly well-suited to introducing students to the multi-laterality of German colonial history and the actors (individual, institutional, material, governmental, etc.) operating across, within, and between borders. The discussion surrounding the repatriation of art from German and European museums that was plundered, purchased, or gifted under colonial conditions has arisen as a transnational conversation between former European colonies, former empires, and the many overlapping communities that negotiate within and between those entities. Because of this, the

---

<sup>88</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 10.

German context is unintelligible if isolated from the broader global history and current politics surrounding repatriation. In beginning with a unit that is so deeply tied to 19<sup>th</sup> century British colonialism, its multiple non-state actors, and its co-constructions with German imperial practices and cultural institutions, as well as to debates today that variously intersect with national borders, this unit sets students up to examine the German colonial period, its imaginary, and its legacies across empires and beyond governments.

## Theory

In terms of theory, the unit is based on articulations of the relationship between power, knowledge production, and narrations of the past from postcolonial theory. Aimé Césaire, critical theorist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a founding academic of the anti-colonial *Négritude* movement, situates the museum as central to the colonial project, tying the violence of ethnological museum collecting, categorizing, and displaying to colonial violence and domination in his 1955 text “Discourse on Colonialism:”

“And what of the museums, of which Europe is so proud? It would have been better, all things considered, if it had never been necessary to open them. Better if the Europeans had allowed the civilisations beyond the Continent of Europe to live alongside them, dynamic and prosperous, whole and unmutated. Better if they had let those civilisations develop and flourish rather than offering up scattered limbs, these dead limbs, duly labelled, for us to admire. After all, by itself the museum is nothing. It means nothing. It can say nothing. Here in the museum, the rapture of self-gratification rots our eyes. Here, a secret contempt of others dries up our hearts. Here racism, no matter if it is declared or undeclared, drains all empathy away. No, in the scales of knowledge the mass of all the museums in the world could never outweigh a lone spark of human empathy.”<sup>89</sup>

Césaire, along with many other 20<sup>th</sup> century anti-colonial scholars, explored themes of colonialism, decolonization, identity, and cultural heritage in texts including “Discourse on Colonialism.” In

---

<sup>89</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*, xi.

the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars including Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak articulated critiques of power and cultural production in the emerging field of postcolonial studies that today underlie critical examinations of museums and their collections. These theorizations of modern European colonialism and its legacies arose from detailed analyses of dynamics of power that governments, activists, and communities have critiqued, resisted, and shaped for decades. One example of that is the 1936 claim for restitution of the Benin Bronzes to Benin, led by Akenzua II, the Oba of Benin from 1933 to 1978.<sup>90</sup> Within this intellectual context, the unit on art repatriation relies on 20<sup>th</sup>-century postcolonial theorizations of power and colonial legacy as well as statements and writings by political and activist actors in the art repatriation discourse.

### Scholarship and Lesson Materials

Scholarship from the past few decades informs the content and its presentation in the unit. Important texts include Fatima El-Tayeb's 2020 article "The Universal Museum: How the New Germany Built its Future on Colonial Amnesia," the 2018 Sarr and Savoy report *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics*, and Dan Hicks' 2020 book *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*. El-Tayeb, professor and director of graduate studies in Race, Ethnicity, and Migration at Yale University, lays bare the internalist and amnesic narration of a German past that claims a universalist Enlightenment history while obscuring German colonialism and its legacies.<sup>91</sup> She argues that in positing German and European modern history and identity as internalist rather than co-constituted

<sup>90</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*, 196.

<sup>91</sup> Fatima El-Tayeb, "The Universal Museum: How the New Germany Built Its Future on Colonial Amnesia," *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 2020, no. 46 (May 1, 2020): 76-78, <https://doi.org/10.1215/10757163-8308198>.

with 19<sup>th</sup>-century imperialism, the borders of Europe and of Germany are portrayed as stable and natural, rather than as the shifting and largely imaginary concepts they are. While the constructedness of those borders does not make them any less real, to obscure their historical and continued construction reinforces a power dynamic of a dominant European/German versus a subordinate and generalized Other.<sup>92</sup> El-Tayeb therefore argues that Europe must understand colonial history as European history and that doing so includes a critical reassessment of the supposedly humanist collections in European museums that in fact are founded on and reproduce the same colonial mentality of European superiority and Indigenous inferiority.<sup>93</sup> Emeka Ogboh's artistic intervention in Dresden in 2020-2021 is an example of this in the lesson content. Ogboh hung posters modeled after a combination of missing poster and museum text around the city declaring the Benin Bronzes in Dresden museums "missing in Benin" (Figure 1). Students will describe the poster precisely, try to interpret the poster pictured and a second image of the poster at a metro stop, read an article and artist's statement commenting on his aim to bring questions of power and colonial legacies to public attention, and then write postcards home from an imagined trip they are on in Dresden in 2021. (For the full lesson materials and plan, see Appendices I and II.)

---

<sup>92</sup> The concept of the Other throughout the curriculum also refers back to Edward Said's development of the concept in his 1978 book *Orientalism* and Benedict Anderson's political theorization in his 1983 book *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>93</sup> El-Tayeb, "The Universal Museum: How the New Germany Built Its Future on Colonial Amnesia," 77-80.





Figure 1: Ogboh's "Missing in Benin" Intervention

As illustrated by this lesson activity, the unit is founded on El-Tayeb's critiques and understandings of memory of the colonial past and integrates them by teaching students to critically assess questions of power and narrative in historical context.

Sarr and Savoy's pioneering work on the repatriation of African cultural heritage both provides some of the material for the unit and supports the content learning goal of connecting the present to the past. Commissioned by the French government to inform national repatriation policy, the report is a seminal political and historical work regarding art repatriation since its publication in 2018. The text investigates the Eurocentric conceptions of the nation and the museum and how colonial collections reinforce those, the implicated status of archives, and the potential political futures of the cultural heritage so long conscripted to a narration of the past dictated by Europe.<sup>94</sup> Though focused on the French case, the report locates the discussion of art repatriation within a

<sup>94</sup> Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics* (France: Ministère de la Culture, 2018), pg 36-40.

transnational framework, it includes important background and insight into German and European contexts, and it has shaped the political discourse.

Content-wise, the unit relies heavily on Dan Hicks' work in *The Brutish Museums*. Hicks, a curator at Oxford University's anthropological and archaeological museum and professor focusing on heritage and material culture, opens his book by questioning the universalist 'world culture' museum and the forms of knowledge in its material collections. He theorizes from the position that "European voices have a service to fulfil in the process of restitution: one of sharing knowledge of the process of cultural dispossession, and of facing up to the colonial ultraviolence, democide, and cultural destructions that characterised the British Empire in Africa during the three decades between the Berlin Conference of 1884 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914."<sup>95</sup> From this point, he gives an in-depth account of the 1897 Benin Punitive Expedition and the events leading up to and following it, from that developing a few key theories to understand the British colonial project in the Niger River Delta from 1884 to 1914, two of which inform this unit: corporate-militarist colonialism and necrology.

The 1884 Berlin Conference marks a change in European colonialism in Africa because it began a period of corporations joining the driving forces – until then commerce, Christianity, and 'civilization' – of colonial projects as empires chartered joint companies to fund and lead their imperial expansion.<sup>96</sup> Militarism rose to 'pacify' areas targeted for their resources, markets, and exploitable labor, with England, France, and the Netherlands waging more than 100 colonial military operations between 1871 and 1914.<sup>97</sup> These operations were termed 'disturbances,' 'troubles,' 'uprisings,' and 'punitive expeditions' rather than being understood as a broader,

---

<sup>95</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, xiii.

<sup>96</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 56.

<sup>97</sup> Henk Wesseling, "Imperialism & The Roots of the Great War," *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (March 2005): 101, <https://doi.org/10.1162/0011526053887338>.

consistent military policy across empires.<sup>98</sup> In describing the period as one of corporate-militarist colonialism and grounding that terminology in the historical evidence, Hicks brings the scale and brutality of violence that stands behind the Benin Bronzes in display cases in Europe to the forefront.

With the context of violence and loss clear, Hicks proposes a theory of necrology in reference to Achille Mbembe's work on necropolitics, the study of who deserves to live and who must die (often by the power of the state, building on Foucault's concepts of biopower and biopolitics).<sup>99</sup> Hicks inverts the material culture analytical tool of examining 'the social life of things,' meaning the layers of meaning an object gains through each new interaction or context, and pushes for a reading of material objects that instead investigates the death and loss behind an object accessioned to a European or North American museum under colonial contexts.<sup>100</sup> In excavating the cultural loss behind an object, the object is repositioned as an unfinished event within its contemporary political reality rather than a fixed entity, making "visible how much is unfinished."<sup>101</sup> This, Hicks argues, must inform the work of restitution and the memory and teaching of British colonial history from 1884 to 1914, the violence of which has been systematically euphemized and trivialized. While the lesson content does not explicitly use Hicks' terminology of necrology, the activities are designed to help students embed their engagement with the Benin Bronzes in a broader historical understanding of the violence behind the Bronzes' presence in European museums and at the center of repatriation discourse. The final project for the unit provides an example:

---

<sup>98</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 53.

<sup>99</sup> See Achille Mbembe and Steve Corcoran, *Necropolitics* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019) and Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76* (PENGUIN Books, 2020).

<sup>100</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 26, 36, 153-154.

<sup>101</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 153-154.

“For the final project in the class, you will choose one object from the Benin Digital catalogue that is in a German museum and imagine it has been repatriated and its display case is empty. What wall text do you write for the space next to where the Bronze used to be displayed? Go through the research process to present the object to the class, then a creative process to imagine its repatriation. Research the questions: Where is it from? Where was it displayed? When did it move? Who moved it? What does it represent or symbolize? To whom? What information is missing?

Present your Benin Bronze in class, including the museum wall text you’ve written to be displayed with the empty case.”<sup>102</sup>

In doing so, students will touch on Hicks’ methodology of objects as an unfinished process and therefore an imaginative future.

As detailed in appendices I and II containing the classroom materials and lesson plans, this unit brings together sources from newspapers, activist interventions, museums, and secondary literature to represent and interpret the corporate-militarist colonial past of the Benin Bronzes that sit in European and North American museums today. These sources present culturally authentic (meaning not created for the purpose of language instruction) and relevant forms of language use, pushing students to understand complex topics from multiple sources in their second language. This topic is a valuable contribution to the curriculum’s learning goals because it can support students in making compelling and complex connections across empires, because it links the past to the present, because it fosters close observation and critical thinking skills, and because it is a highly visual and tactile topic that can be adjusted for many different language levels based on student need.

---

<sup>102</sup> Appendix I of this project, item 1.22 “Final Project Rubric.”

## Designing a Curriculum: Hendrik Witbooi Unit

### Unit Overview

The second curricular unit covers Hendrik Witbooi's life, political works, and anti-colonial resistance to introduce students to the structures and negotiations of German colonialism in German South-West Africa, now Namibia. As referenced when tracing the increased public attention to German colonial history, demands for recognition of and restitution for German colonial crimes in Namibia have entered public discourse in Germany in the past two decades, making this example particularly topical and relevant to German language students. Hendrik Witbooi was a prominent Indigenous leader—of the Witboois, a sub-group of the Nama peoples—who variously negotiated and resisted German colonialism in German South-West Africa. Honored as a national hero in Namibia today, Witbooi's life and legacy, recorded in his correspondences and journals, provide an entry point for students to learn about the actors and ideologies of the period while tracing their significance in the present, with a focus on land dispossession and physical violence. Focusing on Hendrik Witbooi supports students in empathizing with the past and allows for accessible linguistic patterns common in narrating a biography to access complex ideas of power, sovereignty, and societal structures. The unit materials and activities contribute to students' historical knowledge of German colonialism in German South-West Africa, centering Indigenous resistance and agency.

### Unit Goals and Pedagogies

The unit seeks to strengthen students' understanding of the conditions of colonial violence with a focus on land dispossession and military violence, students' historical empathy, students' ability to analyze maps as primary sources, and students' abilities in tracing the legacies of the past

in the present. Linguistically, the unit seeks to increase students' proficiency in the interpretive, interpersonal, and presentational modes through reading and listening to various sources, discussing those sources, and synthesizing and sharing information verbally and in writing. These goals are in line with the historical content, analytical skills, and linguistic capabilities pursued in this curriculum.

Specific pedagogies and theoretical concepts help the unit achieve these goals. Pedagogically, the unit employs Julia Rose's Commemorative Museum Pedagogy to engage students in the painful history of German colonial land dispossession and violence, focusing on Witbooi's life to illustrate a broader and complex landscape of resistance and oppression. In CMP, instructors seek to "move learners from "what it was like" and "how this makes me feel" to imagining how the historical injustices can inform their possible actions and decisions in the present and the future."<sup>103</sup> This methodology guided the unit from an account of genocide to an in-depth study of Hendrik Witbooi, seeking to focus on his life and resistance to teach historical empathy and center his life and writings in a study of German colonial history. The unit also relies on visual analytic pedagogies as students learn to describe, analyze, and interpret maps and other primary sources, utilizing a U.S. Library of Congress teaching resource to do so.<sup>104</sup> The theoretical framing, like the rest of the curriculum, is based in postcolonial articulations of the systems of knowledge and power that were produced by and continued to produce late 19<sup>th</sup>-century European colonial realities.

The lesson material is composed of Hendrik Witbooi's writings (translated into German), historical maps that trace the encroaching violence of land dispossession in German South-West Africa, scholarship that guides the interpretations of Witbooi's decisions and actions, and a

---

<sup>103</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History*, 125.

<sup>104</sup> "Teacher's Guide: Analyzing Maps," U.S. Library of Congress.

contemporary investigative and artistic project that addresses questions of colonial legacies and reparations in Namibia. In introducing students to these sources and guiding them through the difficult work of learning about historical injustices, the unit seeks to prompt students to be critical, thoughtful, and empathetic when engaging with the past, all in their second language.

## Unit Content: Historiography and Source Selection

### Hendrik Witbooi's Life and Writings

Hendrik Witbooi was born circa 1830 near Pella, south of the Orange River in what today is South Africa. His grandfather Kido was the leader of the Witboois, a sub-group of the Nama.<sup>105</sup> The Nama had migrated north from Southern Africa starting in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to escape encroaching settler violence from the Boers, the white descendants of Dutch settlers in Southern Africa.<sup>106</sup> In 1863, Kido led the Witbooi people further north to Gibeon, bringing them into the Herero peoples' cattle-raising territory.<sup>107</sup> This prompted over two decades of cattle raiding and fighting between the Nama and Herero as well as increased contact with German Christian missionaries (the Rhenisch Missionary).<sup>108</sup> From 1868 to 1879, Hendrik Witbooi pursued a Christian education and baptism.<sup>109</sup> Throughout the 1870s, led by Hendrik Witbooi's grandfather and then father, the Nama rejected proposals for British protection against the Boers, thus

---

<sup>105</sup> Camissa Museum, "Hendrik Witbooi (1830 - 1905)," Home - Camissa Museum, accessed May 14, 2024, <https://camissamuseum.co.za/index.php/7-tributaries/5-maroons-orlam-drosters/hendrik-witbooi>.

<sup>106</sup> Horst Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), 18.

<sup>107</sup> Hendrik Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," *Scriptura* 108, (2011): 330.

<sup>108</sup> Hendrik Witbooi and Wolfgang Reinhard, *Afrika Den Afrikanern! Aufzeichnungen Eines Nama-Häuptlings Aus Der Zeit Der Deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 Bis 1894*, (in English: *Africa for Africans! Records of a Nama Chief from the Time of German Conquest of South-West Africa, 1884 to 1894*), (Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf, 1982), 35 and Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 330.

<sup>109</sup> Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 330.

maintaining political autonomy.<sup>110</sup> In 1880, Hendrik Witbooi heard a divine voice telling him to lead his people further north and in 1884 separated from the Witboois with 200 followers to try to do so.<sup>111</sup> He lost multiple skirmishes against the Herero, pushing him and his people back to Gibeon.

In 1888, Hendrik Witbooi became the leader of the Witbooi people and settled in Hornkranz, west of Gibeon, when his father died.<sup>112</sup> He refused German colonial proposals of protection treaties, writing to Herero and Nama leaders that the protection treaties were oppressive and harmful to the Nama and Herero.<sup>113</sup> In April of 1893, German colonial troops attacked Hornkranz and massacred his people. For over a year after the massacre Hendrik Witbooi led guerrilla military resistance against the German colonial forces and appealed to Nama, Herero, and British correspondents for political and military support.<sup>114</sup> Hendrik Witbooi capitulated in September of 1894, signing a protection treaty that he upheld until 1904.<sup>115</sup> In 1904, Herero leader Samuel Maherero led an initially highly successful uprising against the repressive German colonial government.<sup>116</sup> With German military reinforcements and a military goal of complete annihilation, now recognized as genocide, the German colonial forces brutally attacked the Herero people and forced them into the Omaheke desert to die of thirst and starvation.<sup>117</sup> Speculated to be in response to reports of the brutality against the Herero, as well as due to German settler threats to the Nama

---

<sup>110</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)*, 19.

<sup>111</sup> Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 330-331.

<sup>112</sup> Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 331.

<sup>113</sup> Witbooi and Reinhard, *Afrika Den Afrikanern! Aufzeichnungen Eines Nama-Häuptlings Aus Der Zeit Der Deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 Bis 1894*, 132-134.

<sup>114</sup> Jeremy Silvester, *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History* (Windhoek, Namibia: UNAM Press, 2015), 45 and Petrus Hendrik van Rooyen, "The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893," *Scientia Militaria* 49, no. 1 (March 2021), 62-65, <https://doi.org/10.5787/49-1-1249>.

<sup>115</sup> Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 331.

<sup>116</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)*, 144.

<sup>117</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 152-155; Zimmerer and Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects*, 42.



and the on-going expropriation, dispossession, and rightlessness of Nama people under colonial rule, in October Hendrik Witbooi broke the protection treaty and led a surprise uprising against the German colonial military.<sup>118</sup> He led a guerrilla war of resistance with 1,000-2,000 troops against 15,000 German colonial troops until his death from a battle wound in October of 1905.<sup>119</sup> In his last known letter, he wrote to German general von Trotha:

“Peace will spell death for me and my nation, for I know there is no place for me in your midst. As regards your offers of peace, what else are you doing than lecture me as you would a schoolchild. You know only too well that I have rendered you many a service in times of peace, but in your peace I can see nothing but a desire to destroy us to the last man.”<sup>120</sup>

Due to the records of his correspondences including this letter, Witbooi is famous for his political communication, maneuvering, and anti-colonial resistance to German control from the 1880s until his death.<sup>121</sup> He corresponded with Nama and Herero leaders and German officials as well as kept a journal, much of which is intact and available today. Historians have studied his writings and political actions for decades, focusing on his religiousity, his disruption of and rebuttal to the genocidal colonial gaze, his role in the evolution of German colonial policy in German South-West Africa, his role in the Herero and Nama unity of 1892, his commemoration, his archival traces and gaps, and more.<sup>122</sup> Commemorated today as a hero, he is an ambiguous and complex historical

---

<sup>118</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 181-182.

<sup>119</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 186, 190.

<sup>120</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 189-190.

<sup>121</sup> Dederling, 3539.

<sup>122</sup> See Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi;” Elizabeth Baer, “Chapter 1: The African Gaze of Resistance in Hendrik Witbooi and Others,” in *The Genocidal Gaze: From German Southwest Africa to the Third Reich* 17–44, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2017). <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/56612>; Adam A. Blackler, “From Boondoggle to Settlement Colony: Hendrik Witbooi and the Evolution of Germany’s Imperial Project in Southwest Africa, 1884–1894,” *Central European History* 50, no. 4 (Dec. 2017) <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008938917000887>; Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*; Werner Hillebrecht, “Monuments – and what Else? the Controversial Legacy of German Colonialism in Namibia,” in *The Cultural Legacy of German Colonial Rule*, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017) doi:10.1515/9783110525625-006. <http://www.degruyter.com/doi/10.1515/9783110525625-006>, and Ellen Ndeshi Namhila, “World Library and Information Congress,” (Durban: International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions, 2007) respectively.

figure whose life and writings are an important example of a historical actor operating across and between colonial empires, a contemporaneous critic of colonial ideologies of European superiority, and a rebuttal to metropole-centric narrations of the German colonial past.

### Historiography and Lesson Materials

The unit relies on scholarship that traces the systemic and systematic mechanisms of colonial violence and control in German South-West Africa to reveal the structurally racist and structurally criminal nature of that colony.<sup>123</sup> Historian Jürgen Zimmerer argues that accounts of German colonialism in German South-West Africa must include the micromechanisms of control and oppression to be able to evaluate the options and decisions of historical actors, whether individuals, communities, or states.<sup>124</sup> Zimmerer traces multiple micromechanisms including land dispossession, physical violence, expropriation, a divided and unequal legal system, the control of movement, forced labor, and more.

This articulation of the pervasive, structural violence of German colonialism in South-West Africa and resistance to it was first undertaken by historian Horst Dreschler in 1980 when he detailed, in the contemporaneous context of SWAPO<sup>125</sup> resistance to South African control, how German colonialism had shaped the devastating political conditions of the 1980s and how resistance to that exploitation was central to Namibian history.<sup>126</sup> Scholars and activists since Dreschler have increasingly turned to structural understandings of violence and its effects, from

---

<sup>123</sup> Zimmerer and Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects: State Aspirations and the Reality of Power in Colonial Namibia*, xi.

<sup>124</sup> Zimmerer and Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects*, xii.

<sup>125</sup> The South West Africa People's Organization, the independence movement in Namibia that became a political party after independence from South Africa in 1990.

<sup>126</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*.

historian Isabel Hull’s examination of Wilhelminian military culture to Forensic Architecture’s 2022 investigation “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia.”<sup>127</sup> In line with this historiography, the research revealing the structural nature of the colonial violence and its micromechanisms of control are an integral understanding of German colonial presence in German South-West Africa for this unit. The unit focuses on two of these vertices of control: land dispossession and destruction through military violence. This selection was made based on Hendrik Witbooi’s writings, which address the themes of land dispossession and destruction directly, and the conceptual accessibility of these violences for high school students. Further curricular work could build on this unit, introducing further micromechanisms of German colonial control in South-West Africa to the classroom.

A few texts compose the backbone of the interpretation of Witbooi’s writings, context, and political actions in this unit: Zimmerer’s *German Rule, African Subjects*, historian Wolfgang Werner’s “A Brief History of Land Dispossession in Namibia,” and scholar Adam Blackler’s paper “From Boondoggle to Settlement Colony: Hendrik Witbooi and the Evolution of Germany’s Imperial Project in Southwest Africa, 1884-1894.” Zimmerer’s book traces how the systemic violences of land dispossession, the destruction of Indigenous political and social structures, forced economic dependence in the form of forced wage labor, and the deprivation of rights accelerated over the thirty years of German colonialism in South-West Africa. The unit traces this argument primarily through an investigation of primary source maps and their changes over time. For

---

<sup>127</sup> Hull, *Absolute Destruction Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* and Eyal Weizman, Imani Jacqueline Brown, Agata Nguyen Chuong, Ashkan Cheheltan, Tobechukwu Onwukeme, and Christoffer Horlitz, “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia,” Forensic Architecture, April 11, 2022, <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/restituting-evidence-genocide-and-reparations-in-german-colonial-namibia-phase-1>.

example, students compare an 1893 map of Lüderitzland (Figure 2)<sup>128</sup> and a 1906 map of land use (Figure 3).<sup>129</sup>



Figure 2: Lüderitzland (1886)

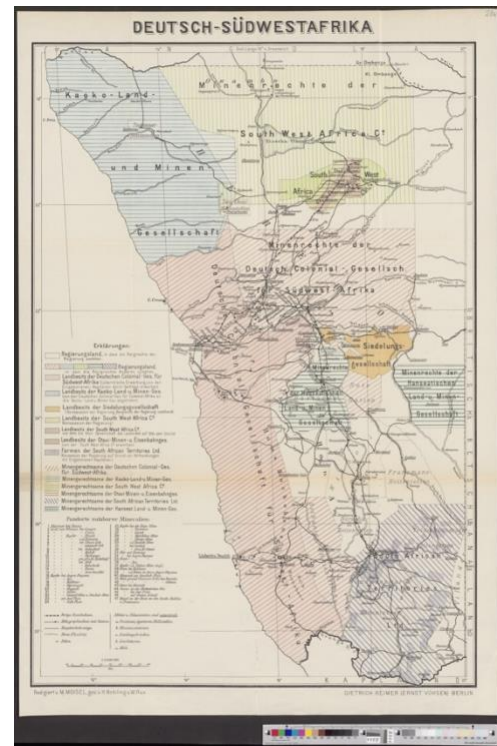


Figure 3: Map of Land Use (1906)

Students go through the map analysis from the U.S. Library of Congress’ Teacher’s Guide to Analyzing Maps (Figure 4) before writing short answers to the questions: “What do these sources suggest about the motivations of German colonialism in German South-West Africa? Where do you see evidence for that?”

<sup>128</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (in English: Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage) 323326-11/3.

<sup>129</sup> Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives, Lichterfelde, Berlin), BArch R 1001/KART 10511.

## TEACHER'S GUIDE ANALYZING MAPS



Guide students with the sample questions as they respond to the primary source. **Encourage them to go back and forth between the columns; there is no correct order.**

### OBSERVE

**Have students identify and note details.**

Sample Questions:

Describe what you see. · What do you notice first? · What size and shape is the map? · What graphical elements do you see? · What on the map looks strange or unfamiliar? · Describe anything that looks like it does not belong on a map. · What place or places does the map show? · What, if any, words do you see?

### REFLECT

**Encourage students to generate and test hypotheses about the source.**

Why do you think this map was made? · Who do you think the audience was for this map? · How do you think this map was made? · How does it compare to current maps of this place? · What does this map tell you about what the people who made it knew and what they didn't? · If this map was made today, what would be different? · What would be the same?

### QUESTION

**Have students ask questions to lead to more observations and reflections.**

What do you wonder about...  
who? · what? · when? · where? · why? · how?

### FURTHER INVESTIGATION

**Help students to identify questions appropriate for further investigation, and to develop a research strategy for finding answers.**

Sample Question: What more do you want to know, and how can you find out?

#### A few follow-up activity ideas:

##### Beginning

Have students write a brief description of the map in their own words.

##### Intermediate

Study three or more maps of a city or state at different time periods. Arrange them in chronological order. Discuss clues to the correct sequence.

##### Advanced

Search for maps of a city or state from different periods, then compile a list of changes over time and other differences and similarities between the maps.

For more tips on using primary sources, go to

<http://www.loc.gov/teachers>

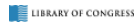


Figure 4: “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps” from the U.S. Library of Congress

Through combining Zimmerer’s insight into German South-West Africa, archival maps, and a close analysis, the curriculum works to show students the structural patterns of land dispossession.

Historian Wolfgang Werner focuses specifically on land dispossession and the exploitation of Namibian resources and labor to accumulate power and wealth in German settlers’ control. These aggressive land policies were “shaped and influenced by resistance from indigenous communities,” and Dreschler argues, prompted unified Herero and Nama resistance to German

colonists in 1892.<sup>130</sup> Blackler goes even further in examining Indigenous agency in the anti-colonial struggle in German South-West Africa, showing that “Opposition to foreign rule was so relentless in DSWA [German South-West Africa] that German administrators never gained full control of the colony until after Lothar von Trotha carried out the first genocide of the twentieth century.”<sup>131</sup> In the lessons, this argument is made through a timeline of Hendrik Witbooi’s resistance and the his writings that detail the reasons for his resistance. A contemporary research project augments students’ understanding of these historical phenomena. Forensic Architecture’s 2022 project “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia” includes a video titled “Land Grab” that details the effects of settler colonialism on land ownership in Namibia today (Figure 5).<sup>132</sup>

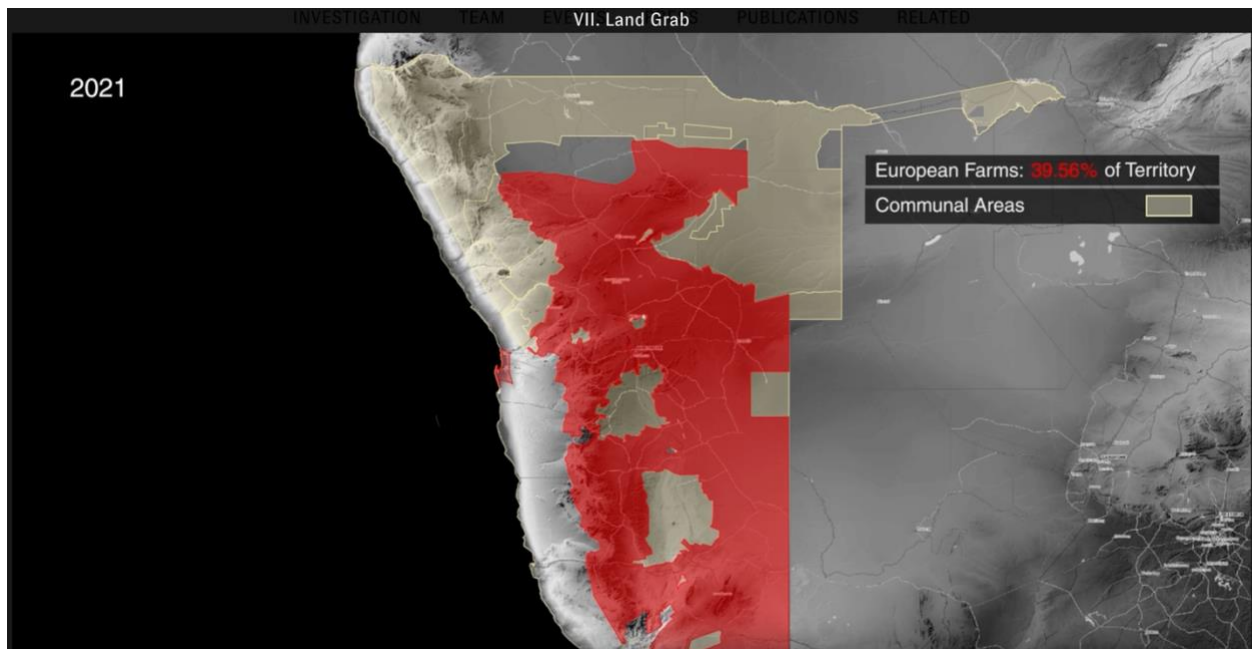


Figure 5: “Restituting Evidence” by Forensic Architecture

<sup>130</sup> Wolfgang Werner, “A Brief History of Land Dispossession in Namibia,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, no. 1 (March 1993): 137, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079308708351>. Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, IX.

<sup>131</sup> Blackler, “From Boondoggle to Settlement Colony: Hendrik Witbooi and the Evolution of Germany’s Imperial Project in Southwest Africa, 1884–1894,” 453.

<sup>132</sup> Eyal Weizman et al., “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia.”

In incorporating contemporary projects, this unit seeks to engage students with the current political debates as well as highlight the connections between the past and the present. Importantly, students are prompted to reflect on those legacies by designing a commemoration for Hendrik Witbooi in Germany for the final project, having already learned about his commemorations in Namibia and some of the details of his life.

As further explicated in the appendices III and VI containing the lesson materials and lesson plans, the unit follows a chronological narration of Witbooi's life with thematic focuses on land dispossession, the 1893 massacre at Hornkranz, resistance to German colonialism, and how the colonial past is remembered today. It includes Witbooi's writings, a protection treaty from 1885, and contemporaneous maps as primary sources. It relies on top scholarship to interpret those sources in a variety of activities, pushing students to practice critical analysis and historical empathy. The material is necessarily inter-imperial as Hendrik Witbooi's political writings and actions demonstrate some of the complex and co-constitutive relationship between colony and metropole as well as blur the lines between the allegedly separate entities. In learning about his life with the support of these scholarly interpretations, students will engage with the German colonial past, will be able to investigate narrations of that past, and will have the space to develop both historical empathy and an understanding of how the past affects the present and future.

## Conclusion

Working at the intersection of language and history education, this capstone project designs and explicates two curricular units for teaching German colonial history in high school German language classes based on primary sources and historiographically rigorous interpretations. The units, designed for a specific language instruction program in the United States with potential for broader applicability for other German language students, translates current academic research to lesson materials to reach a broader public, contributing to public history work that bridges the divide between university history departments and society. The two units focus on the repatriation of art acquired under colonial circumstances and the life and works of Hendrik Witbooi respectively, both increasingly discussed and researched topics in Germany. This adds a second layer of engagement with public history to this project: the curriculum contributes to the public discourse surrounding German colonial history by arguing, by its very creation, that learning about the German colonial past matters. It joins the polyphony of activists and scholars calling for increased attention to colonialism and its legacies through one contribution to one facet of the public sphere, the language classroom, with the hope that it joins a growing mass of history dissemination and discussion in the public sphere. Its novel contribution is its design for German language classrooms outside of Germany, an area which the increased discourse around German colonial history has not yet reached. The units also rely on a public history framing of the topics by having students engage with questions of how the past is narrated in museums in the first unit and questions of how various communities commemorate historical figures in the second. In doing so, this project dialogues with German colonial history in the public sphere at multiple levels.

The units offer valuable contributions for high school students in their language competencies, their understanding of German politics and history, their critical analysis skills, and



their development of a thoughtful and self-reflective worldview. The units do so by aligning with national and program-specific learning goals and standards. They do so with the support of various pedagogies including content-based learning, multiperspectivity, object-based learning, and Commemorative Museum Pedagogy. These approaches help instructors guide students through complex and difficult topics with a focus on student comprehension and reflection. Based on topical discussions in Germany, both units utilize a plethora of relevant and authentic lesson material in the form of coverage of contemporary protests, artistic interventions, news articles, and more to pique students' interest. The selected themes both meet important criteria: they lend themselves to introductory investigations at multiple language levels through their compelling and varied mediums, they are transnationally and inter-imperially situated, they engage with questions of where knowledge comes from and how power has shaped epistemes, they trace a relationship between the past and the present, and they illustrate the complexities, hybridities, and gray areas that composed late 19<sup>th</sup> century colonialism.

Importantly, the units are built upon a careful reading of the historiography and incorporate both primary archival sources and contemporary artistic and investigative sources. Relying on leading historians including Sebastian Conrad, Jürgen Zimmerer, and Bradley Naranch, the units engage with the fundamental aspects of German colonialism while detailing specific, complex, and locally constituted events and individuals. Scholarship behind this project includes complementary disciplines—anthropology, museum studies, postcolonial studies, and gender and race studies—to create thorough analyses of the topics. Those analyses then guide students through the topics with compelling, accurate, and representative sources that facilitate student learning, questioning, and reflection. This project makes clear how many more topics and themes in the

historiography of German colonialism could be translated to German language classroom curricula, inviting further public history work through curriculum development in this area.

# Appendix I: Art Repatriation Lesson Materials

## Table of Contents

<i>1.1 Object Information Form .....</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>1.2 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” image.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>1.3 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” image detail.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>1.4 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” video .....</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>1.5 Tagesspiegel article “Protest am Eröffnungstag” photo .....</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>1.6 Tagesspiegel article “Protest am Eröffnungstag”.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>1.7 Vermisst in Benin Poster.....</i>	<i>633</i>
<i>1.8 Vermisst in Benin Poster in Metro Stop .....</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>1.9 Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden article “Vermisst in Benin: eine künstlerische Intervention von Emeka Ogboh” .....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>1.10 Postcard .....</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>1.11 Benin Bronzes Timeline text and photos.....</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>1.12 Benin digital website map .....</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>1.13 Benin Bronzes image .....</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>1.14 Benin Bronzes wall texts.....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>1.15 Benin Bronzes Hicks summary .....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>1.16 Osundare poem .....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>1.17 Sarr and Savoy Report Excerpts.....</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>1.18 Adichi Speech .....</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>1.19 El Penacho image .....</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>1.20 El Penacho Weltmuseum description .....</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>1.21 El Penacho Intervention Audioguide.....</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>1.22 Final Project Rubric .....</i>	<i>90</i>

## 1.1 Object Information Form<sup>133</sup>



### Information about the Object from the Leitfaden für die Dokumentation von Museumsobjekten

Inventory Number
Material
Short description (colors, size, etc)
Technique
Approximate time
Object description
Notes
Date and Name of the author of this form
What is the object?

<sup>133</sup> Hagedorn-Saupe, *Leitfaden Für Die Dokumentation von Museumsobjekten*.

1.2 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” image (in English: German History Museum “Quartet of a Lost Land”)<sup>134</sup>



Source: Katharina Oguntoye, *Deutscher Kolonialismus | Quartett “Verlorenes Land,”* (in English: German Colonialism | Quartet of a Lost Land), (2016; Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDkxr-nGaPI>, min 0:11.

1.3 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” image detail (in English: German History Museum “Quartet of a Lost Land”)

<sup>134</sup> Lesson materials are cited in the footnotes for the sake of the capstone project and its submission to the panel and in the text body for the sake of instructors using the curriculum.



Source: Same as above.

1.4 Deutsches Historisches Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” video<sup>135</sup> (in English: German History Museum “Quartet of a Lost Land”)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDkxr-nGaPI>

1.5 Tagesspiegel newspaper article “Protest am Eröffnungstag” (in English: Protest on Opening Day) photo

<sup>135</sup> Katharina Oguntoye, *Deutscher Kolonialismus | Quartett “Verlorenes Land,”* (in English: German Colonialism / Quartet of a Lost Land), (2016; Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum), video.





## Protest am Eröffnungstag Demo gegen das Humboldt Forum in Berlin

Vor der Eröffnungsfeier für das rekonstruierte Berliner Schloss gab es Proteste gegen den Neubau. Es ging um Raubkunst und Menschenknochen.

20.07.2021, 14:27 Uhr

Der Verein „Decolonize Berlin“ demonstriert am Mittwochmittag gegen die Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums. Unter dem Motto „Defund the Humboldt Forum“ protestieren bisher etwa 100 Personen lautstark gegen das neue „Universalmuseum“ am Lustgarten in Mitte.

Sie kritisieren die Zurschaustellung von kolonialem Raubgut und rufen dabei immer wieder „Defund the Humboldt Forum“. Teilweise klopfen Teilnehmer:innen auch auf Pfannen.



Tahir Della, einer der Demo-Veranstalter, erklärte, man verlange die Rückgabe aller Objekte, die im kolonialen Kontext nach Berlin gekommen seien.

Eine Performance-Künstlerin auf der Demo am Lustgarten in Berlin-Mitte. © Anna Thewalt

<https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/demo-gegen-das-humboldt-forum-in-berlin-4265185.html>

<sup>136</sup> Nicolas Lepartz, “Protest am Eröffnungstag: Demo gegen das Humboldt Forum in Berlin,” (in English: Protest on Opening Day: Demonstration Against the Humboldt Forum in Berlin), *Tagesspiegel*, (Berlin, Germany), July 20, 2021, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/demo-gegen-das-humboldt-forum-in-berlin-4265185.html>.



Translation:<sup>137</sup>

### Protest on Opening Day: Demonstration Against the Humboldt Forum in Berlin

Before the opening celebration for the reconstructed Berlin Castle there were protests against the new building. It was about stolen art and human bones.

The organization “Decolonize Berlin” demonstrates on Monday against the opening of the Humboldt Forum. Under the motto “Defund the Humboldt Forum” so far about 100 people are protesting loudly against the new “universal museum” at Lustgarten in Mitte [a location in Berlin].

They criticize the exhibiting of colonial looted art and chant “Defund the Humboldt Forum.” Some participants also bang on pans.

Tahir Della, one of the protest organizers, explained that they demand the repatriation of all objects that came to Berlin under colonial conditions.

(Photo caption: A performance artist at the demonstration at Lustgarten in Berlin Mitte.)

---

<sup>137</sup> By the author, Evva Parsons.

1.7 Vermisst in Benin (Missing in Benin) Poster<sup>138</sup>

Vermisst seit  
**1897**

Vermisst von  
**Bini/Nigeria**

**VER**



**MISSST**

Höhe  
**44.5cm**

Breite  
**33.5cm**

Gewicht  
**15.3kg**

**Beschreibung**

Gelbguss. Hohe militärische Anführer zeichnen sich durch eine zeremonielle Ausrüstung und spezielle Insignien aus. Sie tragen als Kennzeichen ihres Ranges eine rechteckige Glocke als Schutzsymbol und zur Signalgebung auf der Brust, außerdem einen Schurz mit Leopardenabbild oder eine Halskette mit Leopardenzähnen.

Für weitere Informationen  
scannen Sie den Code oder  
besuchen Sie

[www.vermisstinbenin.de](http://www.vermisstinbenin.de)



Source: Emeka Ogbob, “Vermisst in Benin,” Researchstudio, 2021,  
<https://researchstudio.co/work/vermisst-in-benin-missing-in-benin>

<sup>138</sup> Emeka Ogbob, “Vermisst in Benin,” Researchstudio, 2021, <https://researchstudio.co/work/vermisst-in-benin-missing-in-benin>.

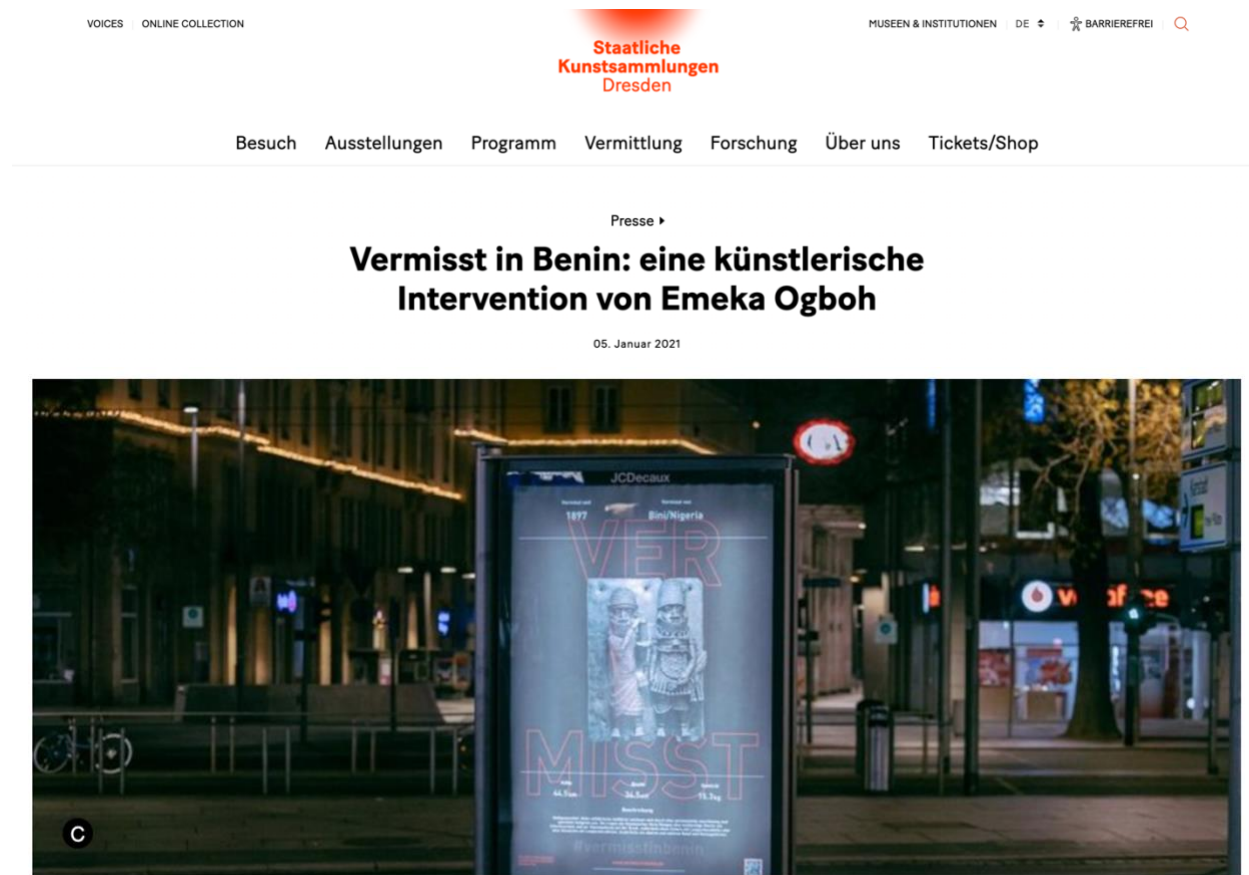
## 1.8 Vermisst in Benin (Missing in Benin) Poster in Metro Stop<sup>139</sup>



Source: Emeka Ogbah, “Vermisst in Benin,” Researchstudio, 2021,  
<https://researchstudio.co/work/vermisst-in-benin-missing-in-benin>

<sup>139</sup> Emeka Ogbah, “Vermisst in Benin.”

1.9 Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden article “Vermisst in Benin: eine künstlerische Intervention von Emeka Ogboh” (in English: State Art Collection of Dresden article “Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh”)<sup>140</sup>



**Vermisst in Benin: eine künstlerische Intervention von Emeka Ogboh, 30. Dezember 2020**

Die Plakataktion “Vermisst in Benin”, die noch bis zum 11. Januar 2021 im Dresdner Stadtgebiet zu sehen sein wird, ist eine Intervention des Künstlers Emeka Ogboh. Gegenstand der Intervention sind die Benin-Bronzen aus der Sammlung des Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden.

Die Benin-Bronzen handelt sich um Skulpturen aus dem historischen Königreich Benin im heutigen Nigeria. Die Skulpturen waren ein Teil von Gedenkaltären für die Vorfahren des Königs, wurden in Ritualen benutzt oder waren bildliche kulturelle Dokumente. Die Skulpturen berichten von der Bedeutung Benins in der afrikanischen Geschichte und seiner globalen Vernetzung. Die Bronzen sind von britischen Kolonialtruppen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Zuge einer sogenannten “Strafexpedition” in Benin City geplündert und nach Großbritannien

<sup>140</sup> “Missing in Benin: an artistic intervention by Emeka Ogboh,” Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (in English: State Art Collection Dresden), (Dresden, Germany), Jan. 5, 2021, <https://www.skd.museum/en/besucherservice/press/2021/vermisst-in-benin-an-artistic-intervention-by-emeka-ogboh/>.

gebracht worden. In den Jahren darauf gelangten sie auch an das Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

Die Benin-Sammlung des Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden ist ein besonders umstrittenes Sammlungskonvolut, weil sie aus einem kolonialen Kontext stammen. Sie ist Teil eines großen Bestandes von Benin-Bronzen, die sich im Besitz europäischer und nordamerikanischer Museen befinden.

Die fünf Bronzen, die im Mittelpunkt von Emeka Ogbohs künstlerischer Intervention stehen, kamen zwischen 1899 und 1904 an das Dresdner Haus. In seiner Arbeit “Vermisst in Benin” macht Ogboh die Abwesenheit der Bronzen zum Thema. Nicht nur die Geschichte der Plünderung und des Raubs steht damit im Fokus, sondern auch das daraus resultierende Fehlen der bedeutsamen materiellen Zeugnisse dieses kulturellen Erbes im heutigen Nigeria.

**Emeka Ogboh:** “‘Vermisst in Benin’ ist eine künstlerische Intervention, die versucht, die Restitutionsdebatte um die Kunstwerke aus Benin, die sich gegenwärtig im Besitz des Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden befinden, zu beschleunigen und in den öffentlichen Fokus zu rücken. Ich habe die Intervention aus einem Gefühl der Ungeduld und Notwendigkeit heraus geschaffen, um den stagnierenden und abstrakten Diskurs um koloniale Reparationen mit der Dringlichkeit und Ernsthaftigkeit einer öffentlichen Bekanntmachung zu versehen. Die Arbeit ist eine grundlegende Annäherung an ein Gespräch, das einfach schon zu lange andauert und das fest ins öffentliche Bewusstsein gehört.”

Source: “Vermisst in Benin: an artistic intervention by Emeka Ogboh,” Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden, Germany), Jan. 5, 2021, <https://www.skd.museum/en/besucherservice/press/2021/vermisst-in-benin-an-artistic-intervention-by-emeka-ogboh/>

Translation:<sup>141</sup>

Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh

(Photo Caption: Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 2020.)

The poster initiative “Missing in Benin,” which will run in Dresden until January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, is an intervention by artist Emeka Ogboh. The subjects of the intervention are the Benin Bronzes in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (Ethnology Museum Dresden).

The Benin Bronzes are sculptures from the historic Kingdom of Benin in today’s Nigeria. The sculptures were a part of memorial altars for the king’s ancestors, were used in rituals, or were visual cultural documents. The sculptures tell the role of Benin in African history and in a global network. The Bronzes were plundered by British colonial troops at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>141</sup> By the author.

during a so-called ‘punitive expedition’ in Benin City and were taken to Great Britain. In the following years they ended up in the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden.

The Benin collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde is a particularly controversial collection because it comes from a colonial context. These Bronzes are part of a big inventory of Benin Bronzes held in the possession of European and North American museums.

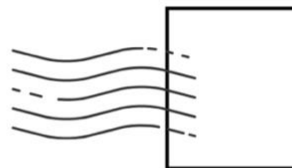
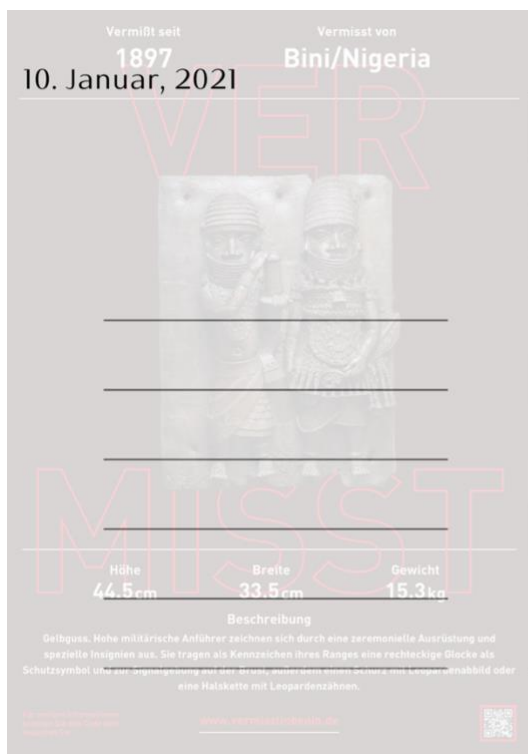
The five Bronzes at the center of Emeka Ogboh’s intervention came to the Dresden institution between 1899 and 1904. In his work “Missing in Benin” Ogboh thematizes the absence of the Bronzes. Not on the history of the plundering and the theft but also the resulting absence of important material testimonies to the cultural heritage of today’s Nigeria stand in focus.

Emeka Ogboh: “‘Missing in Benin’ is an artistic intervention that tries to accelerate and increase public attention to the restitution debate surrounding the artworks from Benin currently in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. I created the intervention out of a place of impatience and necessity to provide the stagnating and abstract discourse around colonial repatriation with the urgency and seriousness of a public intervention. The work is a fundamental rapprochement to a conversation that has simply been taking too long and that belongs firmly in the public consciousness.”

## 1.10 Postcard<sup>142</sup>



GRÜSSE AUS DRESDEN



Adresse:

---



---



---



---

<sup>142</sup> Created by the author. Translation: "Greetings from Dresden."



## 1.11 Benin Bronzes Timeline text and photos<sup>143</sup>

Note: Delete the timeline entries in parentheses for less linguistically advanced students.

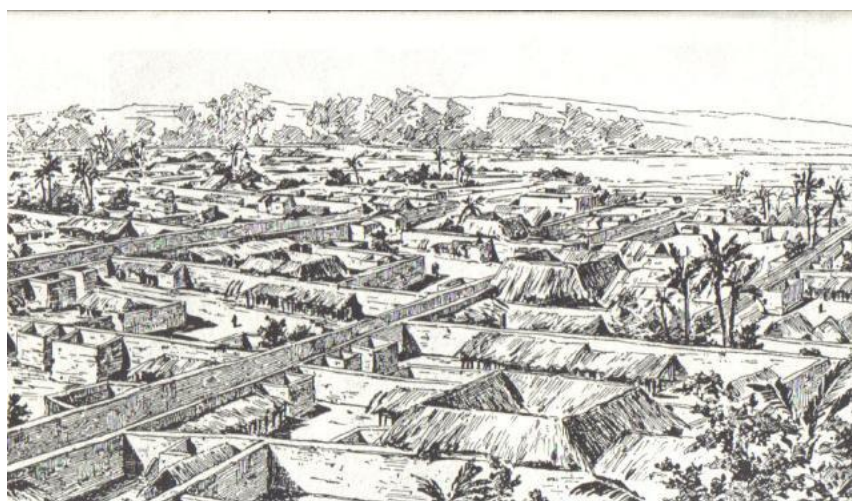
11<sup>th</sup> century:

Ancient urban center that will become Benin City is first established.

11<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries:

Benin City develops, over centuries,

- Trade network with lots of art patronage
- Massive network of earthworks (ditches, banks, walls, drainage) in fractal urban design
- A “unique urban landscape of royal palaces, mudbrick residential houses, mausoleums, ancestral shrines or altars, courtyards, artisan workshops, administrative and religious buildings, compounds, pavements, and sacred trees.”<sup>144</sup>
- Complex religious and political structures (that levied a tax on trade that the British didn’t like)



A drawing of Benin City made by a British officer in 1897.

Source: Koutonin, Mawuna. “Story of Cities #5: Benin City, The Mighty Medieval Capital Now Lost without Trace.” *The Guardian*, March 18, 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/18/story-of-cities-5-benin-city-edo-nigeria-mighty-medieval-capital-lost-without-trace>.

~1650 to 1850 (mostly between 1700 – 1850):

European imperial forts running the Atlantic Slave Trade built and used along the coast. In the 1700s, the Bight of Benin is the second-highest enslavement coastal area.

<sup>143</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 53 – 131.

<sup>144</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 130.



- [By 1740, British are the predominant traders in enslavement in the area.]

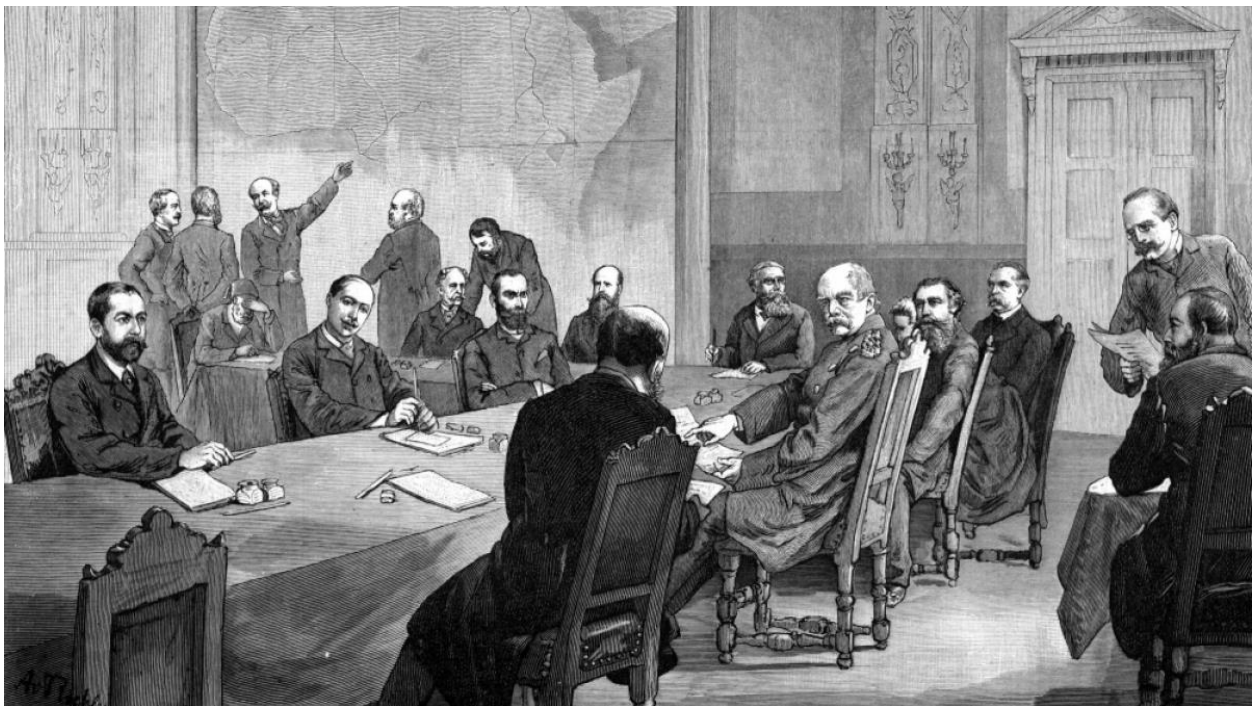
1861-1862:

Annexation of Lagos as a British Colony and Protectorate.

Summary pre-1884: Britain heavily involved in the Benin Bight and West Africa, first as slave traders at imperial forts, then as militarist enforcement of anti-slavery, then as increasingly as supporting local leaders who would agree to British commodity monopolies and oversight over diplomacy. The driving factors are: Commerce, Christianity, and civilization until 1884.

1884: Berlin Conference

“The General Act of the Berlin Conference ‘indirectly acknowledged a British protectorate as already existing on the Niger’, where no such entity yet existed.”<sup>145</sup>



Source: Gathara, Patrick. “Berlin 1884: Remembering the Conference That Divided Africa.” Al Jazeera, November 15, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/11/15/berlin-1884-remembering-the-conference-that-divided-africa>.

[1884-1892 Treaties:

---

<sup>145</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 58.

“Relationships with local chiefs were central to the Niger Coast Protectorate’s mode of operation, and they signed 342 treaties between 1884 and 1892. The threat of military attack for any refusal to co-operate with increasingly bold British demands was ever-present, from both the Company and the Protectorate.”<sup>146</sup> (NCP = Niger Coast Protectorate, the government wing of early corporate colonialism that granted the charter to the RNC).]

[1885: Corporate Militarist Colonialism Emerging

- “A British Protectorate was declared across the ‘Niger Districts’ between Lagos in the west and Cameroon – newly annexed by Germany – in the east, and across territories along both banks of the Niger River. But from the start, there was ambiguity about what a ‘Protectorate’ meant, whether its role was to respect local sovereignty or to transition towards the status of a Crown colony, and the extent to which the British government was accountable for the rule of law in these areas... In the view of the company, the model set by Germany in Cameroon, which ‘with her usual practical ability had at once recognised that Central Africa could only be developed, in the first instance, by Companies combining administrative authority with commercial influence’, and had ‘immediately given the necessary powers to the East African Company’, was one that the British government should follow.”<sup>147</sup>

[1886: Goldie’s Royal Niger Company founded

- Under gov charter, the RNC basically rules the area with “‘exclusive trading and sovereign rights ... to levy duties to defray the costs of administration.’”<sup>148</sup>

1887 to 1900: East and West Africa Campaign that ran between 1887 and 1900:

- “There are scores of individual actions across years of sustained warfare, which are broken up as ‘disturbances’, ‘troubles’, or ‘uprisings’ rather than being understood as larger campaigns. As Wesseling concludes: ‘The conquest and pacification of Africa by Britain and Germany was a continual process. Not a year passed without a war; in fact, not a month passed without some kind of violent incident or act of repression.’”<sup>149</sup>

[1887: King Jaja deposed

- Protectorate removes, tries, and exiles King Jaja of Opobo. (King of one of two powerful states in the area at the time.) “During a trade dispute in 1887, the Protectorate tricked him by arranging a meeting and taking him as a prisoner or hostage.”<sup>150</sup>

[~1890:

---

<sup>146</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 64.

<sup>147</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 59

<sup>148</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 62.

<sup>149</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 53.

<sup>150</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 65.

“The RNC became increasingly direct in their use of force, and increasingly coerced the Protectorate into military engagements. Goldie’s language was of ‘opening up’, ‘breaking into’ Africa. Both the Company and the Protectorate developed their own Constabulary – ‘or a military force, to give it its proper name’.”<sup>151]</sup>

1889 to 1891: Unsuccessful British attempts at treaties with Benin Kingdom.

- British officials discuss trying to overthrow the Oba.

1892: Oba of Kingdom of Benin signs treaty allowing British trade and removing commodity restrictions.

- Protectorate officials start writing about overthrowing the Oba so they can make more profit. They propose using punitive expeditions to force trade.<sup>152</sup>

[1893: Brussels Act

- Prohibited arms sales in Niger Coast Protectorate, ensuring European military advantage.]

Summary 1884 to 1897:

- Growing violence using punitive expeditions. Soldiers shoot with machine guns into towns along the river, killing indiscriminately
- Growing British interest in deposing the Oba to someone friendly to British trading interests
- Increasing collaboration between the Company and the government, especially military.

January 1897: Phillips Incident

- Jan 3<sup>rd</sup>: Phillips, colonial consul, and eight other British men arrive in Gwato to visit the Oba in Benin City to ask him to eliminate obstacles to British trade. Phillips warned he will be killed if he continues on to Benin City.<sup>153</sup>
- Jan 4<sup>th</sup>: Phillips and his party attacked en route to Benin City. Four are killed, two escape, and the records are unclear what happened to the remaining three.<sup>154</sup>
- Newspapers reported it as a massacre and announced punitive measures.<sup>155</sup>

February 1897: Benin Punitive Expedition

- Feb 1897, 5,000 men (soldiers and scouts, guides, etc) invade Benin City as a naval expedition along the river. Extremely violent campaign with the goal of destroying all

---

<sup>151</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 63-64.

<sup>152</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 67-68.

<sup>153</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 91-92.

<sup>154</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 93.

<sup>155</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 94.

surrounding towns by burning them to the ground. British firepower was more than 3 million brass bullets in pistols, rifles, and machine guns. Indiscriminate firing into the foliage, “mowing down” people and jungle. Hundreds of buildings burned, dozens of towns destroyed.<sup>156</sup>

- [Dual campaign of Company and Protectorate: two Company attacks in the North (Niger and Soudan) simultaneous with Protectorate attack in Benin City, all designed to increase British control.<sup>157</sup>]
- “‘Phillips massacre’ was nothing but a pretext for the real massacre. The fact is that an attack on Benin City had been planned for years, and the momentum gained significant pace under the new Coalition Government after the summer of 1895. [The economic motivation and the pure sham of the humanitarian justification for the expedition have been clear to historians for decades. Numerous official reports stated clearly that ‘an expedition was pre-paring in December by the protectorate forces against Benin City’, before the Phillips incident, and it is clear in terms of simple logistics that an operation of this scale could not have been planned and delivered between mid-January and mid-February 1897.”<sup>158</sup>]



Source: “Benin Bronzes.” Pitt Rivers Museum. Accessed May 2, 2024.

<https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/benin-bronzes>.

April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1897: House of Commons Discussion

- “‘Everyone knew that the object of that expedition was not to put a stop to these cruelties [of enslavement and intertribal war] but to open up trade,’ MP for Mayo East John Dillon told the House of Commons on 2 April 1897.”

Benin Punitive Expedition Effects:

- “The sacking of Benin City in February 1897 was an attack on human life, on culture, on belief, on art, and on sovereignty. It developed in the forced march of mounting indiscriminate violence and democide on the Niger Delta wrought by the energies of the Company and Protectorate feeding off each other: removing chiefs and killing, terrorising

<sup>156</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 110-112, 117, 119.

<sup>157</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 102.

<sup>158</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 84.

and displacing civilians, as part of a new period of large-scale, high-profile military operations concerned with regime change and the removal of royal power.”<sup>159</sup>

- [Destruction of place and people in pursuit of commodities based on the myth that there was nothing there before and made possible by machine guns.<sup>160</sup>
- Massive city destroyed, parts (including palace) burned to the ground, urban layout and earthwork network all destroyed.<sup>161]</sup>

Aug 1897 some of the Benin Bronzes go on display in London.<sup>162</sup>



Source: Bodenstein, Felicity. “1897: Benin War Trophies in the British Illustrated Press.” Translocations. Ikonographie. Accessed May 2, 2024.

<https://transliconog.hypotheses.org/kommentierte-bilder-2/1897-benin-war-trophies-in-the-british-illustrated-press>.

1897: Letter from Richard Kandt to von Luschan, the deputy director of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin

- “Generally, it’s difficult to acquire an object without employing at least some violence. I reckon that half the objects in your museum were stolen.”<sup>163</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 113.

<sup>160</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 124-125.

<sup>161</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 130-131.

<sup>162</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 146.

<sup>163</sup> Hicks, *The Brutish Museums*, 37.

In German:

*„Überhaupt ist es sehr  
schwer, einen  
Gegenstand zu erhalten,  
ohne zum mindesten  
etwas Gewalt  
anzuwenden“*

**DER FORSCHUNGSREISENDE RICHARD KANDT  
1897 IN EINEM BRIEF AN DEN ORGANISATOR DER  
BERLINER SAMMLUNG, FELIX VON LUSCHAN**

Source: Susanne Memarnia, “Bronzen für Preußen,” (in English: Bronzes for Prussia), *taz archiv* (Berlin, Germany), May 22, 2021. <https://taz.de/Bronzen-fuer-Preussen/!5773939/>.

[1899 Hague Convention, prohibiting some of the terror and extreme violence from the Benin Expedition.

- The Hague Convention: “Explicitly forbids ‘the employment of arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering’, the bombardment of towns and villages, attacks on defended settlements without warning, any failure in ‘sparing of buildings dedicated to art’, ‘any destruction or seizure of the enemy’s property that is not imperatively demanded by the necessity of war’, and ‘the giving over of a town taken by assault to pillage by the victorious troops’.”<sup>164</sup>
- Developed in part in response to the atrocities of the Benin Punitive Expedition: the indiscriminate attack on human life in which tens of thousands died; the purposeful and proactive destruction of an ancient cultural, religious and royal site; and the looting of sacred artworks.”<sup>165]</sup>

By 1919:

- Berlin has the largest Benin Bronze collection in the world, with over 580 pieces.<sup>166</sup>

1936 Oba of Benin Akenzua II demands the repatriation of the Benin Bronzes

<sup>164</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 113.

<sup>165</sup> Hicks, *The British Museums*, 114.

<sup>166</sup> Susanne Memarnia, “Bronzen Für Preußen,” (in English: Bronzes for Prussia), *Die Tageszeitung/taz archive* (Germany), May 22, 2021, <https://taz.de/Bronzen-fuer-Preussen/!5773939/>.

[2018 Sarr and Savoy Report

- French government report published recommending the repatriation of art taken in colonial contexts]

2022 Germany repatriates 23 Benin Bronzes to Nigeria

- Hundreds of Benin Bronzes still in German museums

1.12 Benin digital website map:<sup>167</sup>

<https://digitalbenin.org/map?type=institutions>

1.13 Benin bronzes image<sup>168</sup> (choose any):

<https://digitalbenin.org/catalogue?page=1&seed=hdtk-en34w-tx1b5-2gcat>

---

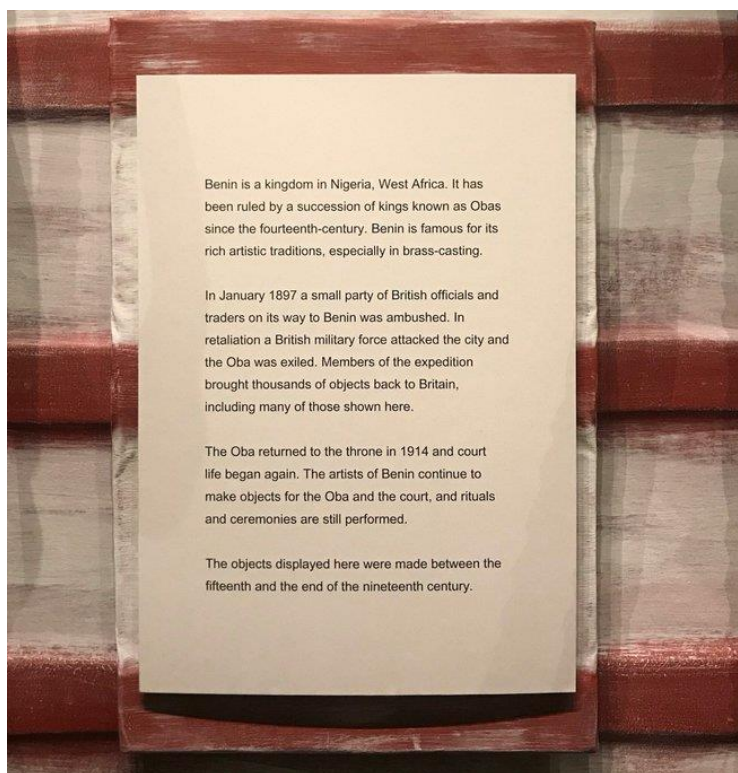
<sup>167</sup> “Digital Benin Map,” Digital Benin, accessed March 10, 2024, <https://digitalbenin.org/map?type=institutions>.

<sup>168</sup> “Catalogue,” Digital Benin, accessed March 10, 2024, <https://digitalbenin.org/catalogue?page=1&seed=hdtk-en34w-tx1b5-2gcat>.



## 1.14 Benin Bronzes wall texts (2)

1: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, England, 2019<sup>169</sup>



<sup>169</sup> Dan Hicks, “To Start Things Off-the @pitt\_rivers Is the 3rd Largest Collection of Benin Bronzes Globally. Our Display and Texts Need Updating. with My Colleague @marenkaodlum We’ll Be Thinking about How-through Dialogues in Nigeria, Oxford, Birmingham, Bristol, and beyond #Benindisplays Pic.Twitter.Com/Qkivjkcvtg,” Twitter, July 1, 2019, <https://twitter.com/profdanhicks/status/1145683525187903491>.

## The Benin plaques

When the British reached Benin City in 1897, the royal palace was being rebuilt with brass sheeting, and some 900 brass plaques from the old building were found half-buried in a storehouse. The plaques were probably cast in the 16th century to clad the wooden pillars of the Oba's palace, and mostly show scenes of palace life and ritual. Castings showing the plaques *in situ* suggest that they were made in matching pairs.

Many are damaged as nails were driven straight through them to hold them in place, but no record exists of how the plaques were originally arranged. Oba Ovonramwen remarked that leopards were attached to horizontal beams as the leopard lies along the branches of trees which suggests a distinction – followed here – between vertical and horizontal plaques.



Benin City as shown in O. Dapper's *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten*, 1668.

## The Discovery of Benin Art by the West

The West discovered Benin art following the sack of Benin City by the British in 1897.

In the 1890s Benin resisted British control over southern Nigeria. In March 1897, retaliating for the killing of British representatives, a punitive expedition conquered the capital. Thousands of treasures were taken as booty, including around 1000 brass plaques from the palace.

The Foreign Office auctioned the official booty to cover the cost of the expedition. Large numbers of ivories, brass and wood works were retained and sold by the officers.

Benin treasures caused an enormous sensation, fuelling an appreciation for African art which profoundly influenced 20th century Western art.

About 16 museums, mostly in Britain and Germany, purchased the works, notably the British Museum and the Berlin Museum. In the 1970s, interest in Benin grew. Now, around 85 museums in 18 countries have Benin collections, the largest being in Britain, Germany, the US and Nigeria.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s the British Museum sold around 30 objects to Nigeria.



The Benin expedition, 1897. In the foreground is a selection of booty, taken from Benin City, including a brass plaque.

<sup>170</sup> Dan Hicks, “Meanwhile Here Is the Interpretive Text for the Benin Displays at the @britishmuseum, the Largest Collection of the Bronzes, as Well as Ivories and Other Material. We’re Interested in How the Language Differs





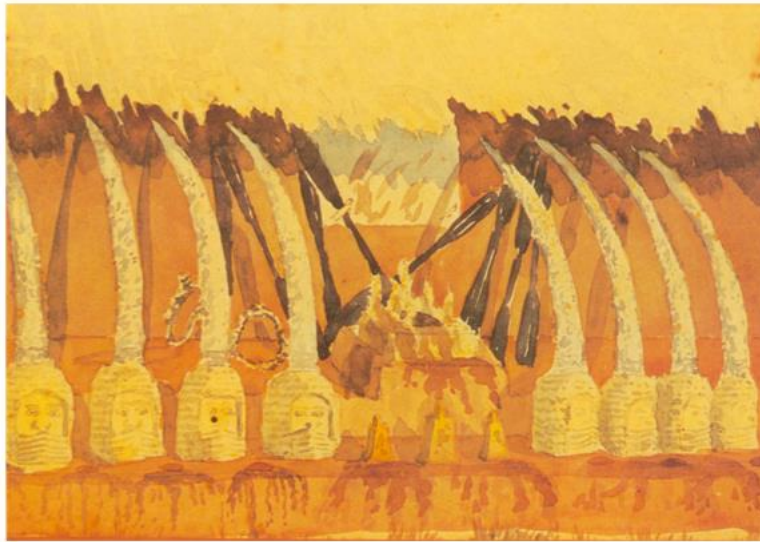
### 1.15 Benin Bronzes Hicks summary



V. Bronze Benin head, mid-17th century, given to Queen Elizabeth II from the collections of the National Museum, Lagos by General Yakubu Gowon in June 1973. Royal Collection Trust (accession number RCIN 72544).

“Among the Benin Bronzes, “There are also the well-known brass commemorative heads, some more than 500 years old (Plate V). They were made to be placed on shrines (Plates VIa and VIb) to physically embody the ongoing presence of royal ancestors – Kings and Queen Mothers in coral regalia of crowns and tightly bound neck collars of wound strings of coral beads that reach the bottom lip, and a single bead hung in the centre of the forehead. Scores of carved ivory tusks were made from at least the early 18th century (Plate VII), designed to be placed in the hollow tops of the heads, and carved in each case as a form of unique historical record of sovereignty, of politics and of culture. It is possible that the tusks replaced the plaques as the means of

documenting and memorialising court history. Some had intricate relief carvings of royals, priests, palace officials, warriors, Europeans, leopards, snakes, mudfish (air-breathing catfish), divine artefacts and others. The heads and ivories were arranged on 35 royal ancestral shrines: one for each of the unbroken line of Obas that began with Ewuare I who reigned from 1440 ce, more than four and a half centuries before the attack.



VIa. Watercolour of an ancestral shrine by Captain George LeClerc Egerton, 1897. Pitt Rivers Museum/Dumas-Egerton Trust (accession number 1991.13.3).



VIb. Photograph of an ancestral shrine at the Royal Palace, Benin City taken during the visit of Cyril Punch in 1891. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution. EEPA.1993-014.

The Benin Bronzes hold significance because they “document events through images and storytelling in a non-literate society; memory and prophecy cast in material form. Soon after seeing them, Ormonde Maddock Dalton of the British Museum described them as ‘a valuable manuscript’ – ‘a new “Codex Africanus” not written on fragile papyrus but in ivory and imperishable brass’. In the Edo language, the verb *sa-e-y-ama* means ‘to remember’, but its literal translation is ‘to cast a motif in bronze’, the act of casting constituting a form of recollection.”<sup>171</sup>

83

1.16 Osundare poem<sup>172</sup>

*Horses of Memory*

Niyi Osundare  
1998

I ask for Oluyenyetuye bronze of Ife  
The moon says it is in Bonn

I ask for Ogidigbonyingboyin mask of Benin  
The moon says it is in London

I ask for Dinkowawa stool of Ashanti  
The moon says it is in Paris

I ask for Togongorewa bust of Zimbabwe  
The moon says it is in New York

I ask  
I ask  
I ask for the memory of Africa  
The seasons say it is blowing in the wind

The hunchback cannot hide his burden

---

<sup>172</sup> Sarr and Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics*, 88.

Translation:

Die Pferde der Erinnerung

Niyi Osundare  
1998

Ich verlange Oluyenyetuye, Bronze des Lebens  
Der Mond sagt die ist in Bonn

Ich verlange Ogidigbonyingboyin, Maske Benins  
Der Mond sagt die ist in London

Ich verlange Dinkowawa, Hocker der Ashanti  
Der Mond sagt der ist in Paris

Ich verlange Togongorewa, Büste Zimbabwes  
Der Mond sagt die ist in New York

Ich verlange  
Ich verlange  
Ich verlange die Erinnerung Afrikas  
Die Jahreszeiten sagen sie weht im Wind

Der Buckelige kann seine Last nicht verstecken

Übersetzt von Evva Parsons



### 1.17 Sarr and Savoy Report Excerpt<sup>173</sup>

From *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics* by Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, 19-20:

#### *A Rather Long Wait*

At the end of the 1970s, confronted with the inflexibility of the old colonial powers and under pressure from its Member States, UNESCO attempted to tackle the question of restitutions head-on. On June 7, 1978, in one of the most moving and beautiful essays ever produced on the subject in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, who was then the director of UNESCO, pleaded in favor of a re-balancing of global cultural heritage between the global North and the global South. His call for “A Plea for the Return of an Irreplaceable Cultural Heritage to those who created it” deserves to be read and re-read, considering that it poses with fairness and with gravity the question that still continues to concern us today—as if no discussion had already taken place concerning the restitution of cultural heritage 40 years earlier:

“The peoples who have been victims of this plunder, sometimes for hundreds of years, have not only been despoiled of irreplaceable masterpieces but also robbed of a memory which would doubtless have helped them to greater self-knowledge and would certainly have helped others understand them better. [...] They know, of course, that art is for the world and are aware of the fact that this art work, which tells the story of their past and shows what they really are, does not speak to them alone. They are happy that men and women elsewhere can study and admire the work of their ancestors. They also realize that certain works of art have for too long played too intimate a part in the history of the country to which they were taken for the symbols linking them with that country to be denied and for the roots that have taken hold to be severed. [...] These men and women who have been deprived of their cultural heritage therefore ask for the return of at least the art treasures which best represent their culture, which they feel are the most vital and whose absence causes them the greatest anguish. This is a legitimate claim.”

---

<sup>173</sup> Sarr and Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics*, 19-20.

## 1.18 Adichie Speech<sup>174</sup>



Startseite > Diaspora > „Eine unvollständige Geschichte.“ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichies Rede zur Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums

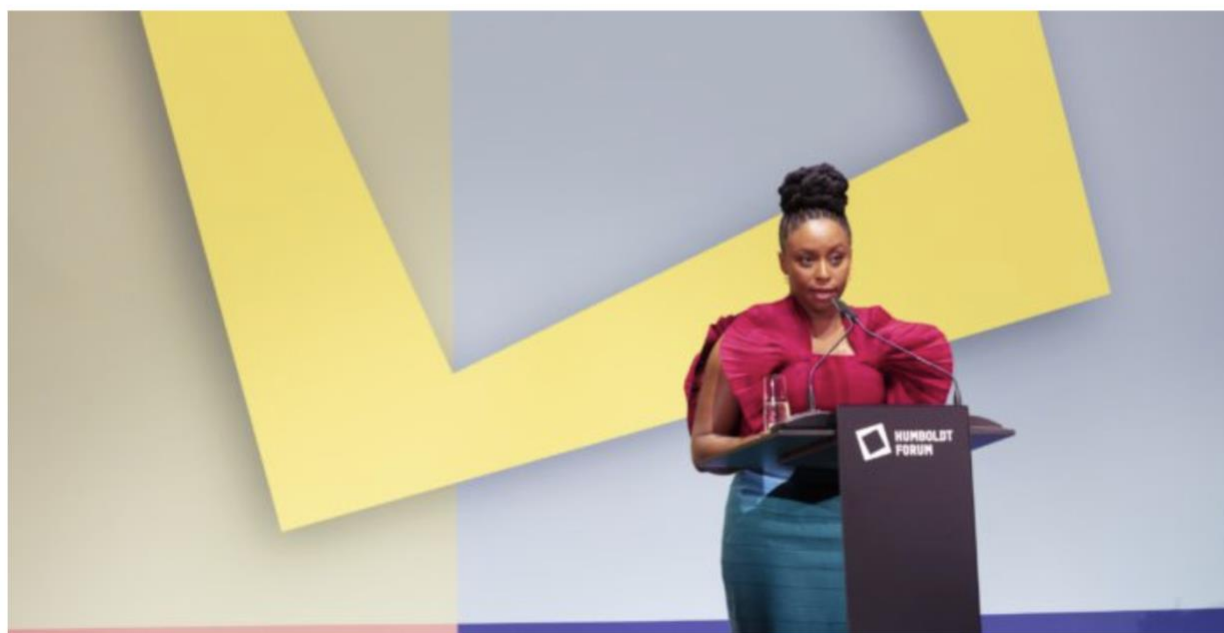
# „Eine unvollständige Geschichte.“ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichies Rede zur Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums

Diaspora

Kultur

4. Oktober 2021

0 2192



Schriftstellerin Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. © Stiftung Humboldt Forum im Berliner Schloss / David von Becker

<sup>174</sup> Martin Roggenbuck, “Eine unvollständige Geschichte.’ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichies Rede zur Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums,” (“An Incomplete Story.” Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s Speech for the Opening of the Humboldt Forum), *Lona* (Berlin, Germany), Oct. 4, 2021.

*Die nigerianische Schriftstellerin Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie war neben Bundespräsident Frank-Walter-Steinmeier und Bundeskulturministerin Monika Grütters eingeladen, die zeremoniale Gastrede bei der Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums zu halten.*

Das Humboldt Forum ist seit Jahren Gegenstand großer öffentlicher Auseinandersetzungen zu dem Umgang Europas mit der eigenen kolonialen Vergangenheit. Nun wurden am Mittwoch, den 22. September, die Ausstellungsräume im rekonstruierten preußischen Stadtschloß eröffnet.

**„Das Humboldt Forum wurde als Ort konzipiert, die universale Geschichte der Menschheit aus vielfältigen Perspektiven zu erzählen. Das ist eine anerkennenswerte Idee. Doch sie ist unvollständig. Denn, wiederum, müssen wir uns mit der Frage nach Macht auseinandersetzen. Wer erzählt die Geschichte? Wer ist der\*die Erzähler\*in und wer der\*die Erzählte? Wer hat entschieden, dass afrikanische Kunst als ‚Ethnologisch‘ markiert wird? Wer hat das Recht das ‚Andere‘ auszustellen?“**

Text: Martin Roggenbuck

Source: Martin Roggenbuck, “Eine unvollständige Geschichte.’ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichies Rede zur Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums.” (“An Incomplete Story.” Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s Speech for the Opening of the Humboldt Forum.) *Lonam* (Berlin, Germany). Oct. 4, 2021. <https://www.lonam.de/eine-unvollstaendige-geschichte-chimamanda-ngozi-adichies-rede-zur-eroeffnung-des-humboldt-forums/>

Translation:<sup>175</sup>

“An Incomplete Story.” Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s Speech for the Opening of the Humboldt Forum.

(Photo caption: Author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie.)

The Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie was invited, along with President Frank-Walter-Steinmeier and Minister of Culture Monika Grütters, to give the ceremonial opening speech at the opening of the Humboldt Forum.

The Humboldt Forum has been the subject of a large public controversy about Europe’s dealings with its colonial past for years. On Wednesday, the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, the exhibition rooms in the reconstructed Prussian city palace were opened.

“The Humboldt Forum was conceived as a place to tell the universal history of humankind from diverse perspectives. That is a commendable idea. But it is unfinished. Because, once again, we must confront the question of power. Who tells the history? Who is the narrator and who is narrated? Who decided that African art will be categorized as “ethnological” art? Who has the right to exhibit the “Other?”

---

<sup>175</sup> By the author.

### 1.19 El Penacho image<sup>176</sup>



Source: Marcos González Díaz, “Penacho de Moctezuma: cómo terminó en Austria este Tesoro prehispánico (y otras piezas emblemáticas que están fuera de México),” (in English: Penacho of Moctezuma: How a prehispanic treasure ended up in Austria (and other emblematic pieces that are outside of Mexico)), *BBC* (London, England), Oct 14, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-54534222>.

### 1.20 El Penacho Vienna Weltmuseum (Vienna Ethnological Museum) description<sup>177</sup>

Link: <https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/ausstellungen/penacho-pracht-passion/>

### 1.21 El Penacho Intervention Audioguide<sup>178</sup>

Link: <https://www.truthaudioguides.org/>

<sup>176</sup> Marcos González Díaz, “Penacho de Moctezuma: cómo terminó en Austria este Tesoro prehispánico (y otras piezas emblemáticas que están fuera de México),” *BBC* (London, England), Oct 14, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-54534222>.

<sup>177</sup> “Penacho. Pracht & Passion: Der altmexikanische Federkopfschmuck in Wien,” (in English: Penacho, Splendor, and Passion: The ancient Mexican Feather Headdress in Vienna), *weltmuseumwien* (Vienna, Austria), 2012, <https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/ausstellungen/penacho-pracht-passion/>.

<sup>178</sup> Xokonoschtletl Gómora, “Audioguide zur Wahrheit Deutsch,” (in English: Audioguide of the Truth German) *Audio Guías de la Verdad*, (in English: Audioguide of the Truth), 2022, <https://www.truthaudioguides.org/>.

## 1.22 Final Project Rubric

For the final project in the class, you will choose one object from the Benin Digital catalogue that is in a German museum and imagine it has been repatriated and its display case is empty. What wall text do you write for the space next to where the Bronze used to be displayed? Go through the research process to present the object to the class, then a creative process to imagine its repatriation. Research the questions: Where is it from? Where was it displayed? When did it move? Who moved it? What does it represent or symbolize? To whom? What information is missing?

Present your Benin Bronze in class, including the museum wall text you've written to be displayed with the empty case.

	1 Excellent (20 points)	2 Good (17 points)	3 Satisfactory (14 points)	5 Insufficient (10 points)
Use of language patterns – written and spoken	Project makes use of many language patterns, including: description, analysis, and interpretation of Benin Bronzes; [insert all or most patterns emphasized in course].	Project makes use of many language patterns, including: description, analysis, and interpretation of Benin Bronzes; [insert some patterns emphasized in course].	Project makes use of some language patterns, including: [insert 1-2 patterns emphasized in course].	Project does not make use of language patterns like [insert language patterns emphasized in course].
Use of multiple sources – primary and secondary	Project references five or more sources from in-class activities, including a Benin Bronze as a source.	Project references three to four sources from in-class activities, including a Benin Bronze as a source.	Project references two sources from in-class activities.	Project does not reference sources from in-class activities.
Demonstrated understanding of historical material	Project demonstrates evidence of the selected Benin Bronze as a complex and important historical object, including broader context and significance using multiple sources.	Project demonstrates evidence of the selected Benin Bronze as an important historical object, including broader context using multiple sources.	Project demonstrates evidence of the selected Benin Bronze as an important historical object, including broader context using two sources.	Project does not demonstrate evidence of the context nor significance of the Benin Bronzes.
Creative expression	Project includes a detailed visual and description of the space with the empty museum display including reasoning for creative decisions. It includes	Project includes a detailed visual and description of the space with the empty display case. It includes potential visitor reactions.	Project includes a description of the space with the empty display case.	Project does not include a visual nor description of the space with the empty display case.

	potential visitor reactions.			
Clear connection between the past and the present	Project articulates multiple reasons for why the Benin Bronze was repatriated, how its absence is explained in the museum today, and why it is explained in that way.	Project articulates 1-2 reasons for why the Benin Bronze was repatriated and how its absence is explained in the museum today.	Project includes one reason for why the Benin Bronze was repatriated and how its absence is explained in the museum today.	Project does not include any reasons for why the Benin Bronze was repatriated nor how its absence is explained in the museum today.
Total points:	100	85	70	50

## Appendix II: Art Repatriation Lesson Plans

### 01 Objects Matter<sup>179</sup>

#### Lesson Materials:

- 12-15 varied everyday objects or images. Could include kitchen utensils, sporting equipment, currencies, household décor, art supplies, pieces of games, clothing items, etc. Have a diversity of function and shape with some overlap (for example, a metal spoon, wooden spoon, and plastic spoon); a mixture of colors with some overlap (for example, multiple shades of green)
- 1.1 Object information form
- Whiteboard
- 1.2 and 1.3 German History Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” image and image detail
- 1.4 German History Museum “Quartett Verlorenes Land” YouTube video and method to show the YouTube video in class.

#### Learning Objectives:

- Critical observation and visual literacy
- Objects as sources of information
- Multiperspectivity

#### Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany’s role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>180</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 3 hours

#### Describing Objects

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Describing Objects – warm-up	Look at a household object as a class. Ask the students what they see and elicit as much detail as possible, writing vocab and repeating sentence structures. Be specific – ask about materials, ask how students know something is eg made from wood or eg a bowl. Adjust emphasized language structures to class level and repeat frequently, writing question and answer structures down to support student retention.	1-2 images/objects for students to describe	8 mins

<sup>179</sup> Informed by Sieber and Hatcher, “Teaching with Objects and Photographs: A Guide for Teachers,” 31-36.

<sup>180</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

Describing Objects – dictation comprehension	The instructor describes an image/object that the students cannot see and the students draw what they hear being described. Focus on the same linguistic patterns emphasized in the warm-up. After dictation, have students show their images and compare between them. Finally, reveal the image the instructor was describing.	1 image or object. If using objects, bring folders behind which to hide the objects being described	8 mins
Describing Objects – student application	Pair students and give partner A an image they do not show partner B. Then partner A describes the image while partner B draws what they hear described. Compare image with drawing. Reverse roles.	Objects/images	14-20 mins
Describing Objects – comprehension check	Each student describes one difference between what they drew and the image their partner was describing to them. Encourage student use of emphasized linguistic structures.		8 mins
Total			38-44 mins

#### Describing Objects – Categorizing<sup>181</sup>

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Describing Objects – Categories of Observation	Place all objects/images on a table together. Imagine we're museum curators designing an exhibition with these images/objects. Choose object/image as a group and ask what students observed about it last class. Write the categories of observation as they come up (supplying the ones the students don't name). Include the sources of knowledge for each category. If curators, this is first step of designing an exhibition.	Same objects/images from last lesson; whiteboard	6-10 mins
Describing Objects – object information forms	Using the objects/images on the table, have students choose one (without moving it from its place on the table) and fill out the object/image information forms individually or in groups. Have students note what information is unknown.	1.1 Object observation form; objects/images	6-10 mins
Describing Objects – What am I?	In pairs, have students exchange object information sheets and guess which object/image the other is describing.		5 mins

<sup>181</sup> Sieber and Hatcher, "Teaching with Objects and Photographs: A Guide for Teachers," 34-36.



Describing Objects – If I could talk	Have students write short stories from the perspective of one object. Share in the group.		10 mins
For next class	Students should each bring an object with them for the next class that represents them in some way.		
Total			27-35 mins

### Interpreting Objects

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Interpreting objects – telling stories	Have each student show the object they brought to class. Present in pairs or in the group, first describing and then explaining why it represents oneself. Focus on questions of “what” and “why.” What story is this object telling? Would this person’s sibling tell a different story of the same object? Goal is to indicate the importance of context in interpretation and multiperspectivity.	Objects students brought	10-15 mins
Interpreting objects – describing	Show students the Quartett Verlorenes Land image. Have them describe what they see. Show the detail if they are struggling to read parts of the text or need more prompting. Have students describe in as much detail as possible. Identify together that they are cards.	1.2 and 1.3 Quartett Verlorenes Land images – project or print	6 mins
Interpreting objects – hidden stories	Why might these cards exist? Who might have made them? Who might have used them? When? Can have students discuss in pairs initially and then share in the group. Note unknown information.		6-10 mins
Interpreting objects – context	Watch the Deutsches Historisches Museum video giving context about the object. (Pause after sections to discuss or watch multiple times, based on class comprehension needs.) What did we learn about this object? What was important in the information How did our understanding change?	1.4 Quartett Verlorenes Land video ( <a href="#">Link</a> )	8-10 mins
Interpreting objects –	Have students write short (~100 words) museum wall texts for the Quartett		10-15 mins

comprehension check	Verlorenes Land object alone or in pairs. Share in the group.		
Total			40-56 mins

## 02 Whose Objects? The Repatriation Debate in Germany

### Lesson Materials:

- 1.5 Tagesspiegel article “Protest on Opening Day” photo
- 1.6 Tagesspiegel article “Protest on Opening Day”
- 1.7 Missing in Benin poster
- 1.8 Missing in Benin poster at metro stop
- 1.9 State Art Collection of Dresden article “Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh”
- 1.10 Postcards (one per student)
- 1.11 1897 Punitive Expedition Timeline cut into one date per strip of paper
- 1.11 1897 Punitive Expedition Timeline photos
- 1.12 Digital Benin Project map (and way to project it)
- 1.13 Printed or projected Benin Bronze
- 1.14 Two Benin Bronzes wall texts
- 1.15 Benin Bronzes Hicks Summary

### Learning Objectives:

- Critical observation and visual literacy
- Multiperspectivity
- Synthesizing historical materials

### Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany’s role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>182</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 3 hours

### Repatriation Content Introduction

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Engaging with the debate – Humboldt Forum	Look at the Tagesspiegel newspaper photo together. Have students describe what they see, practicing the observation skills from the previous classes. Be sure to ask what, where, when, how, and why and note what information is unknown from the image.	1.5 Tagesspiegel article photo (printed double-sided or projected)	6-8 mins
Engaging with the debate – Humboldt Forum	Read the article as a group. Clarify any vocab. Note info that adds to an understanding of the photo.	1.6 Tagesspiegel article	8-10 mins

<sup>182</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

Vermisst in Benin – describing	Look at the poster together. Have students describe what they see as precisely as possible. Follow up by asking students to try to interpret. What is this referring to? What is it communicating? What could it mean? Write silently for 1-2 minutes then share in the group.	1.7 Missing in Benin poster	5-10 mins
Vermisst in Benin – context	Look at Vermisst in Benin at a metro stop. How does this photo change our understanding of the poster?	1.8 Missing in Benin poster at metro stop	3 mins
Vermisst in Benin – context	Read the State Art Collection of Dresden article extracts “Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh.” Have students discuss.	1.9 Article “Missing in Benin: An Artistic Intervention by Emeka Ogboh”	10-15 mins
Comprehension Check	Have students imagine they are on a trip to Dresden in January of 2021. Have them write a postcard home describing the poster they saw at the metro stop and why it is hanging there. Have them include their opinions on or reactions to it. Have each student read their postcard aloud.	1.10 Printed postcards	10 mins
Total			42-56 mins

#### Benin Bronzes Historical Context

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-Up	Prompt students to summarize the content of the previous class.		5 mins
Timeline	Divide strips of paper among students each student keeping their information secret. Line them up and have them sort themselves chronologically based on the date on their paper. Once in order, have each student read their strip and everyone check that the chronology is accurate. Any inaccurately positioned students should move to the correct position. Have students leave the strips in order on the ground where they were standing.	1.11 Timeline in strips, eliminating dates and text in parentheses for lower language levels and keeping timeline photos separate	10-15 mins
Photos	Place photo illustrations on the ground. Have students try to match photos to the	1.11 Timeline photos	10-15 mins

	appropriate date. Have students discuss as placing photos, give reasons for which they match to what. Discuss what information can be gained from the images and how that sorts them in time.		
	Optional: an activity about narrating the timeline with only 3 dates/events. Have each student choose 3 and build the historical narrative around those 3. Share which they chose and why. Compare the different dates each student chooses and the different stories they tell.		15 mins
Maps – Digital Benin Project	Use the digital map to illustrate the global distribution of Benin Bronzes. Have students discuss: where are the bronzes located? What patterns can they see from the map? Knowing some of the timeline, what reasons could they give for those patterns? Can do orally or in writing.	1.12 Benin digital map ( <a href="#">Link</a> )	10 mins
Comprehension Check	Have each student share one new thing they learned from the timeline.		8 mins
Total			58-68 mins

#### Benin Bronzes: Materialism, History, and Power

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-Up	Describe a Benin Bronze in partners then in the group. Focus on language patterns.	1.13 Benin Bronze image (printed or projected)	8 mins
Benin Bronze Display Text 1	The class period will compare various presentations and interpretations of the Bronzes. Show the museum descriptions one at a time, reading together, clarifying, and discussing each as you go. Include context of where and when it was displayed.	1.14 Benin Bronzes wall texts	15 mins
Benin Bronze Display Text 2	See above.	1.14 Benin Bronzes wall texts	15 mins
Benin Bronze Hicks	See above.	1.15 Benin Bronzes Hicks' Summary	15 mins
Comprehension Check – Various Narrations	Have each student share one piece of information that they would include in a wall		8 mins

	text about a displayed Benin Bronze and why.		
Total			59 mins

### 03 Calls for Repatriation

#### Lesson Materials:

- 1.16 Osundare poem
- 1.17 Sarr and Savoy Report excerpts
- 1.18 Adichie speech
- 1.19 El Penacho image
- 1.20 El Penacho Weltmuseum description
- 1.21 El Penacho intervention audioguide

#### Learning Objectives:

- Critical observation and visual literacy
- Multiperspectivity
- Synthesizing historical and political materials

#### Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>183</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 2.5 hours

#### Repatriation Benin Bronzes

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-Up	Have students summarize the previous class.		8 mins
Osundare Poem	Read Osundare's poem "Horses of Memory" together.	1.16 Osundare poem	10 mins
Discussion	Discuss the poem, prompting students to identify Osundare's argument for repatriation and how he makes that argument.		10 mins
Sarr and Savoy	Read the Sarr and Savoy report excerpt.	1.17 Sarr and Savoy excerpts	10 mins
Discussion	Discuss, prompting students to identify Sarr and Savoy's argument for repatriation and how they make that argument.		10 mins
Adichie Speech	Read Adichie's speech.	1.18 Adichie speech	10 mins
Discussion	Discuss, prompting students to identify Adichie's argument for repatriation and how she makes that argument.		10 mins
Comprehension Check	Have each student share one reason for repatriation from any of the sources.		8 mins

<sup>183</sup> "Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs," *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

Total			76 mins
-------	--	--	---------

#### El Penacho in the Weltmuseum Vienna, a case study

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-Up	Describe the image of El Penacho in detail. Focus on language patterns.	1.19 El Penacho image	8 mins
El Penacho in Vienna: a case study	Read the Weltmuseum webpage about El Penacho. Clarify vocabulary and discuss.	1.20 El Penacho Weltmuseum description	15 mins
El Penacho in Vienna: Intervention	Tell students that Mexican activists and politicians have been demanding the repatriation of El Penacho. In 2022, two activists created an audioguide intervention in the museum, telling a different story of El Penacho. ( <a href="#">Context for instructors.</a> ) Listen to the audioguide and discuss.	1.21 El Penacho audioguide intervention	15 mins
Discussion	Facilitate a discussion about El Penacho in the Weltmuseum. Encourage students to draw connections to the Americas, to U.S. museums, and to Indigenous repatriation movements.		15 mins
Comprehension Check	Each student shares one thing audioguide interview changed in their perception of El Penacho.		8 mins
Total			61 mins



## 04 Object Stories: Case Studies

### Lesson Materials:

- 1.13 Benin Digital website
- 1.1 Object Information Form
- 1.22 Final Project Rubric

### Learning Objectives:

- Critical observation and visual literacy
- Multiperspectivity
- Synthesizing historical materials
- Interpreting and communicating historical materials – create a narrative based on primary and secondary sources and justify the selections made

### Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>184</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 1 hour of instruction, project length at instructor's discretion

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Object research – description	Looking at the Benin Digital catalogue with a filter for the “Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliches Museum zu Berlin,” (Ethnological State Museum of Berlin) choose an object as a class and display in full-screen (with no written information).	1.13 Digital Benin website	3 mins
Object research – description	Have students describe the object in detail in partners or in the group.	1.13 Digital catalogue projected	5 mins
Object research – description	Using the “institution data” field to the right of the object, have students fill in as much of an object information sheet as they can alone or in partners.	1.1 Object information forms; 1.13 digital catalogue projected	10 mins
Object research – description & context	Now, using the “digital Benin research” field to the right of the object, what information can you add to the object information sheet? Do you need to add new categories for that	1.1 The same object information sheets, 1.13	10-15 mins

<sup>184</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

	information? What could they be? Work in pairs then share in the group.	digital catalogue projected	
Object research – context	Finally, search for any accompanying documents in the archive. Filter for the institution where the object is held and the object group at the top. Then check the filters in the “specified objects” category to see if the object you are researching is associated with any archival materials.	1.13 Digital Benin website	10-15 mins
Total			38-48 mins

#### Final Project – Case Studies

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Object research – case studies	For the final project in the class, each student will choose one object from the Benin Digital catalogue that is in a German museum and imagine it has been repatriated and its display case is empty. Go through the research process to present the object to the class, then a creative process to imagine its repatriation. Have students write a museum wall text for the space next to where the Bronze used to be displayed. Have students research the questions: Where is it from? Where was it displayed? When did it move? Who moved it? What does it represent or symbolize? To whom? What information is missing? Assign as homework or in-class assignment as fits the needs of the class.	1.13 Benin Digital; 1.22 Final Project Rubric	As suited for class.
Final Reflection	Assign students a 1-2 page reflection. Prompt them to reflect on and write about what they learned in the unit, what they enjoyed and didn’t enjoy, what surprised them, and what they would like to learn more about.		

## Appendix III: Hendrik Witbooi Lesson Materials

### Table of Contents

<b>2.1 Witbooi Statue</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>2.2 Hendrik Witbooi Timeline</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>2.3 1884 Berlin Conference: Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>2.4 Library of Congress Analyzing Maps Worksheet</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>2.5 Berlin Conference Text for Timeline</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>2.6 Osterhammel Definition of Colonialism</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>2.7 German Colonialism: Geographic Mosaic Video</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>2.8 Lüderitzland Map, 1886</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>2.9 Nutzungsgebiete Map (Land Use Areas Map)</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>2.10 Meilenschwindel (The Mile Con)</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>2.11 German Colonial Society for South-West Africa Text</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>2.12 1885 Protection Treaty Excerpt and Transcription</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>2.13 1887 Map</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>2.14 Witbooi's 1892 Letter to Fredericks</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>2.15 Policy Analysis Table</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>2.16 Hornkranz Massacre Timeline</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>2.17 Forensic Architecture Hornkranz Summary</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>2.18 Hornkranz Massacre: Narrations in Germany</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>2.19 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to the English Magistrate</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>2.20 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to Baster Captain van Wyk</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>2.21 Strategies of Resistance Analysis Table</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>2.22 Timeline of Uprising and Resistance</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>2.23 Witbooi's 1905 Letter to von Trotha</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>2.24 Forensic Architecture video: Land Grab</b>	<b>145</b>
<b>2.25 Final Project Rubric</b>	<b>146</b>

## 2.1 Witbooi Statue<sup>185</sup>



Source: Antonia Kleikamp, “Dieser „Kapitain“ Führte Den Kolonialaufstand in Deutsch-Südwest an,” (in English: This ‘Captain’ led the colonial rebellion in German South-West), *WELT*, October 3, 2022, <https://www.welt.de/geschichte/kopf-des-tages/article241337231/Hendrik-Witbooi-Kriegsherr-und-Nationalheld-Namibias.html>.

<sup>185</sup> Antonia Kleikamp, “Dieser „Kapitain“ Führte Den Kolonialaufstand in Deutsch-Südwest an,” (in English: This ‘Captain’ led the colonial rebellion in German South-West), *WELT*, October 3, 2022, <https://www.welt.de/geschichte/kopf-des-tages/article241337231/Hendrik-Witbooi-Kriegsherr-und-Nationalheld-Namibias.html>.

## 2.2 Hendrik Witbooi Timeline

18<sup>th</sup> century to the the early 19<sup>th</sup> century

The Nama/Khoikhoi people migrate from Southern Africa across the Orange River into South-West Africa to escape annihilation by the Boers (white descendants of Dutch settlers in Southern Africa).<sup>186</sup> The Witboois are a sub-group of the Nama people.

Ca. 1830

Hendrik Witbooi is born near Pella, now part of South Africa near the Namibian border. He is the grandson of Kido, the Witbooi chief.<sup>187</sup>

1842

The Rhenisch Missionary arrives in South-West Africa, German missionaries who seek to convert the population to Christianity.<sup>188</sup>

1856

Witbooi starts working as a teacher at Keetmanshoop<sup>189</sup>

1863

Kido, Hendrik's grandfather and Witbooi chief, leads the Witboois in a migration across the Orange River from the northern cape to eventually settle in Gibeon.

- The group has contact with missionaries
- Kido is baptized as David Witbooi by the missionaries<sup>190</sup>

1860s-1892

Conflict between the Witbooi Nama and Herero over grazing land and cattle. Cattle raiding and violent attacks back and forth.<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>186</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 18.

<sup>187</sup> Camissa Museum, "Hendrik Witbooi (1830 - 1905)," Home - Camissa Museum, <https://camissamuseum.co.za/index.php/7-tributaries/5-maroons-orlam-drosters/hendrik-witbooi>.

<sup>188</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 18.

<sup>189</sup> Camissa Museum, "Hendrik Witbooi (1830 - 1905)."

<sup>190</sup> Bosman, "A Nama 'Exodus'? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi," 330.

<sup>191</sup> Witbooi and Reinhard, *Afrika Den Afrikanern! Aufzeichnungen Eines Nama-Häuptlings Aus Der Zeit Der Deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 Bis 1894*, 35.

1868 – 1879

Hendrik Witbooi becomes close with Christian missionary Johannes Olpp, who lives and works in Gibeon during this period. Olpp baptizes Hendrik Witbooi during this period. Hendrik Witbooi pursues a Christian education.<sup>192</sup>

1870

The Rhenisch Missionary stocks are high, mostly earned with the import of weapons and ammunition into South-West Africa. The German government wants to protect that wealth, so is tacitly fine with British influence in South-West Africa.<sup>193</sup>

Diamonds found in southern Africa and mined for huge profits. Speculators, including merchants like Lüderitz, start hoping to control land for more diamond mining.<sup>194</sup>

1870s

Fighting between the Witbooi Nama and the Hereros as the Witbooi Nama try to settle on land where the Herero raise cattle.<sup>195</sup>

1880

The Rhenisch Missionary calls for German intervention in South-West Africa, appealing to popular opinion in the metropole.<sup>196</sup>

Increased fighting between the Nama and Herero peoples.

British officials who had been trying to establish influence leave South-West Africa.

1880

Hendrik Witbooi barely survives a skirmish with the Herero. On his way back to Gibeon, he hears a divine voice telling him to lead his people further north.<sup>197</sup>

1884

Hendrik Witbooi separates from the Witboois with a following of 200 compatriots, trying to

---

<sup>192</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 330.

<sup>193</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 19.

<sup>194</sup> Steven Press, *Blood and Diamonds: Germany’s Imperial Ambitions in Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021).

<sup>195</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 330.

<sup>196</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 20.

<sup>197</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 330.

settle further north. He is repelled by the Herero, led by Captain Maherero, in three separate attempts to settle in the north. Two of his sons die in the second attempt.

April 1884

Bismarck declares Lüderitzbucht (Lüderitz Bay) under German protection, a loosely defined status.<sup>198</sup>

1888

Henrik becomes chief of the Witbooi people after his father's death. His leadership is contested, though, so he leaves Gibeon to settle in Hornkranz.



Reconstruction of the settlement at Hornkranz<sup>199</sup>

Source: Eyal Weizman, Imani Jacqueline Brown, Agata Nguyen Chuong, Ashkan Cheheltan, Tobechukwu Onwukeme, and Christoffer Horlitz. "German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre." Forensic Architecture, April 12, 2024.

<https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/german-colonial-genocide-in-namibia-the-hornkranz-massacre>

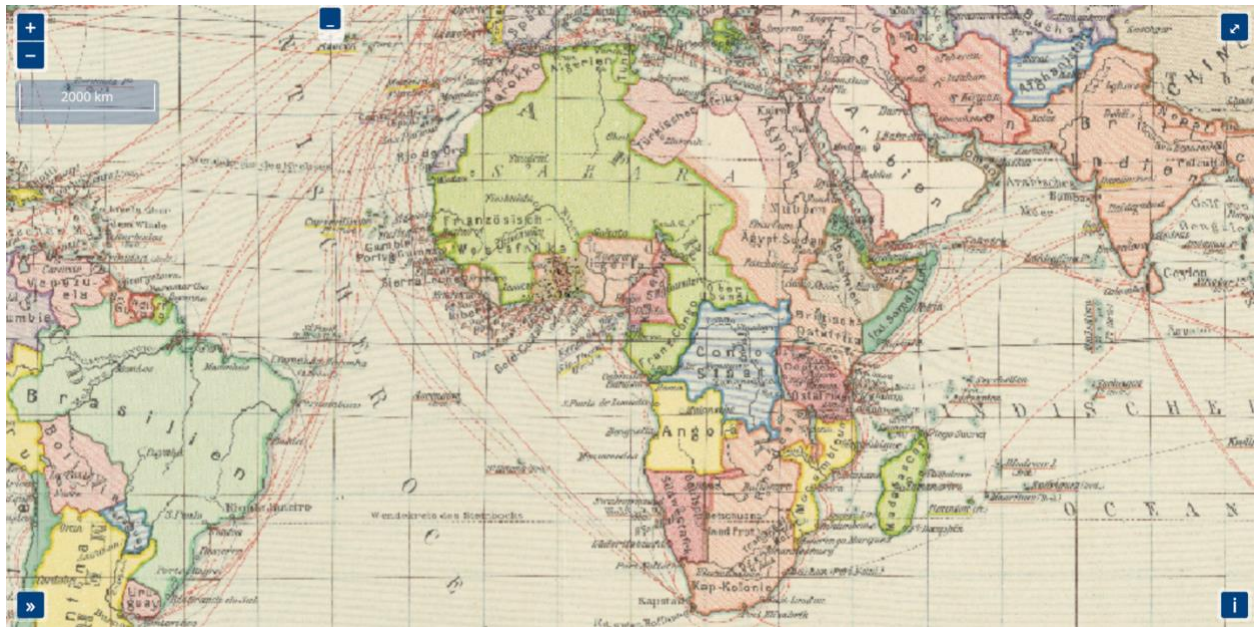
<sup>198</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 22.

<sup>199</sup> Eyal Weizman, Imani Jacqueline Brown, Agata Nguyen Chuong, Ashkan Cheheltan, Tobechukwu Onwukeme, and Christoffer Horlitz. "German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre." Forensic Architecture, April 12, 2024. <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/german-colonial-genocide-in-namibia-the-hornkranz-massacre>.



## 2.3 1884 Berlin Conference: Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas<sup>200</sup>

No 1. Erdkarte zur Übersicht des deutschen Kolonialbesitzes  
(No. 1 Map for Overview of the German colonial possessions)  
1907; Scale: 1:50.000.000  
Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
(German National Library)



Source: Sprigade, Paul and Max Moisel. "No 1. Erdkarte zur Übersicht des deutschen Kolonialbesitzes." (in English: Map for Overview of the German colonial possessions) Grosser Deutscher Kolonialatlas (in English: Big German Colonial Atlas), (Berlin, D. Reimer), 1907. <https://archivfuehrer-kolonialzeit.de/map?coord=10.334427937821099+3.305984069767746+3.02>

<sup>200</sup> Paul Sprigade and Max Moisel, "No 1. Erdkarte zur Übersicht des deutschen Kolonialbesitzes," (in English: Map for Overview of the German colonial possessions), Grosser Deutscher Kolonialatlas (in English: Big German Colonial Atlas), (Berlin, D. Reimer), 1907.



## 2.4 Library of Congress Analyzing Maps Worksheet<sup>201</sup>

### TEACHER'S GUIDE ANALYZING MAPS



Guide students with the sample questions as they respond to the primary source. Encourage them to go back and forth between the columns; there is no correct order.

#### OBSERVE

**Have students identify and note details.**

Sample Questions:

Describe what you see. · What do you notice first? · What size and shape is the map? · What graphical elements do you see? · What on the map looks strange or unfamiliar? · Describe anything that looks like it does not belong on a map. · What place or places does the map show? · What, if any, words do you see?

#### REFLECT

**Encourage students to generate and test hypotheses about the source.**

Why do you think this map was made? · Who do you think the audience was for this map? · How do you think this map was made? · How does it compare to current maps of this place? · What does this map tell you about what the people who made it knew and what they didn't? · If this map was made today, what would be different? · What would be the same?

#### QUESTION

**Have students ask questions to lead to more observations and reflections.**

What do you wonder about...  
who? · what? · when? · where? · why? · how?

#### FURTHER INVESTIGATION

**Help students to identify questions appropriate for further investigation, and to develop a research strategy for finding answers.**

Sample Question: What more do you want to know, and how can you find out?

**A few follow-up activity ideas:**

*Beginning*

Have students write a brief description of the map in their own words.

*Intermediate*

Study three or more maps of a city or state at different time periods. Arrange them in chronological order. Discuss clues to the correct sequence.

*Advanced*

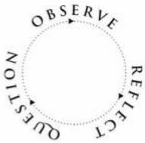
Search for maps of a city or state from different periods, then compile a list of changes over time and other differences and similarities between the maps.

For more tips on using primary sources, go to

<http://www.loc.gov/teachers>

<sup>201</sup> “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps,” U.S. Library of Congress.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS TOOL



OBSERVE	REFLECT	QUESTION

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

## 2.5 Berlin Conference Text for Timeline

### 1884 Berlin Conference

Bismarck gathered European imperial leaders in Berlin to formally divide among themselves the land area of Africa.

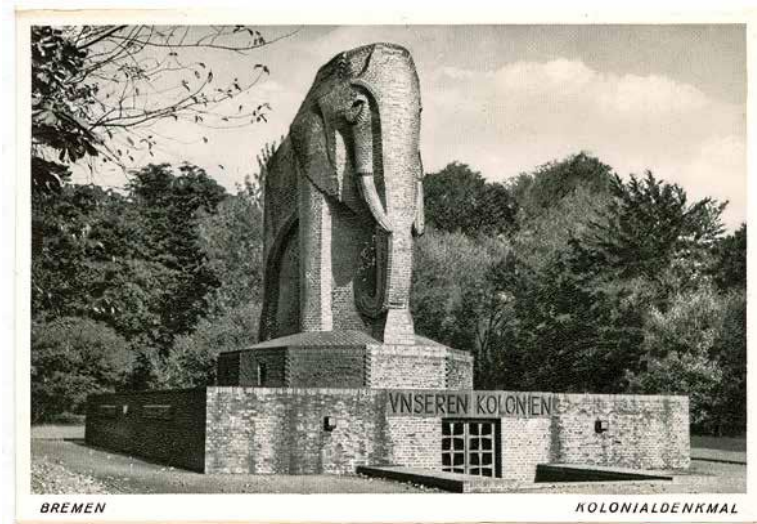
The European justifications for the dividing of Africa into territories for European empires included ending enslavement (which Europeans blamed on African collaborators), establishing rules between colonizers to promote an orderly colonization, and ‘opening’ Africa to the European economy.<sup>202</sup> This came from and furthered:

1. The myth of European superiority and humanitarianism, where Europe teaches and protects the rest of the world.
2. The economic drive for exploitable resources, cheap labor, and markets for goods.
3. The competition between European empires to have big and powerful spheres of economic and ideological control or risk losing their power to the other empires.

---

<sup>202</sup> Zimmerer, *Kein Platz an Der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte Der Deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*, 140.

## 2.6 Osterhammel Definition of Colonialism<sup>203</sup>



### **Ko-lo-ni-a-lis-mus** ist...

*erstens* ein Herrschaftsverhältnis über ein fremdes Territorium. Der Kolonialismus-Begriff ist von dem Begriff des Imperialismus zu differenzieren, der auch informelle Ansprüche auf andere Gebiete umfasst.

*zweitens* eine Fremdherrschaft, bei der sich die kolonisierenden und kolonisierten Gesellschaften kulturell und sozial sehr stark unterscheiden.

*drittens*, wenn die Kolonialherren von ihrer eigenen kulturellen und technischen Höherwertigkeit überzeugt sind. In der Neuzeit verbinden sich damit in der Regel sendungsideologische Rechtfertigungsdoktrinen, die auf einem rassistischen Weltbild gründen.

*Nach Jürgen Osterhammel:*  
*Kolonialismus. Geschichte, Formen, Folgen.*

<sup>203</sup> Jeannette Goddar, Sanem Kleff, and Eberhard Seidel, *Kolonialismus Themenheft Schule Ohne Rassismus* (Berlin: Aktion Courage e.V., 2022), 25.

Translation<sup>204</sup>

Colonialism is...

First, a relationship of domination over a foreign territory. Colonialism is different from imperialism in that it also refers to informal claims over other areas.

Second a foreign domination in which the colonizing and colonized societies are socially and culturally very different.

Third, the colonizers are convinced of their own cultural and technological superiority. In the modern era this is connected to missionary ideologies as justifying doctrine that are founded on a racist worldview.

From Jürgen Osterhammel  
Kolonialismus. Geschichte, Formen, Folgen.

---

<sup>204</sup> By the author.

## 2.7 German Colonialism: Geographic Mosaic Video<sup>205</sup>

Interview from the Deutsches Historisches Museum (German History Museum):

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ\\_LSAjgHww](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ_LSAjgHww)

---

<sup>205</sup> John Kantara, “Deutscher Kolonialismus | Geografisches Mosaik,” (in English: German Colonialism | Geographic Mosaic), Deutsches Historisches Museum (in English: German History Museum), Sept. 27, 2016, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ\\_LSAjgHww&themeRefresh=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ_LSAjgHww&themeRefresh=1).

## 2.8 Lüderitzland Map, 1886<sup>206</sup>



Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, (in English: Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage), 323326-11/3, “Deutschland und England in Süd-Afrika: mit einer Karte von Lüderitzbucht.” (In English: Germany and England in Southern Africa: with a map of Lüderitz Bay, 1886), 1886. [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN798832150&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0093&view=overview-toc&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0007](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN798832150&PHYSID=PHYS_0093&view=overview-toc&DMDID=DMDLOG_0007).

<sup>206</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 323326-11/3, (in English: Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage), “Deutschland und England in Süd-Afrika: mit einer Karte von Lüderitzbucht,” (in English: Germany and England in Southern Africa: with a map of Lüderitz Bay, 1886), 1886. [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN798832150&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0093&view=overview-toc&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0007](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN798832150&PHYSID=PHYS_0093&view=overview-toc&DMDID=DMDLOG_0007).

For Timeline:

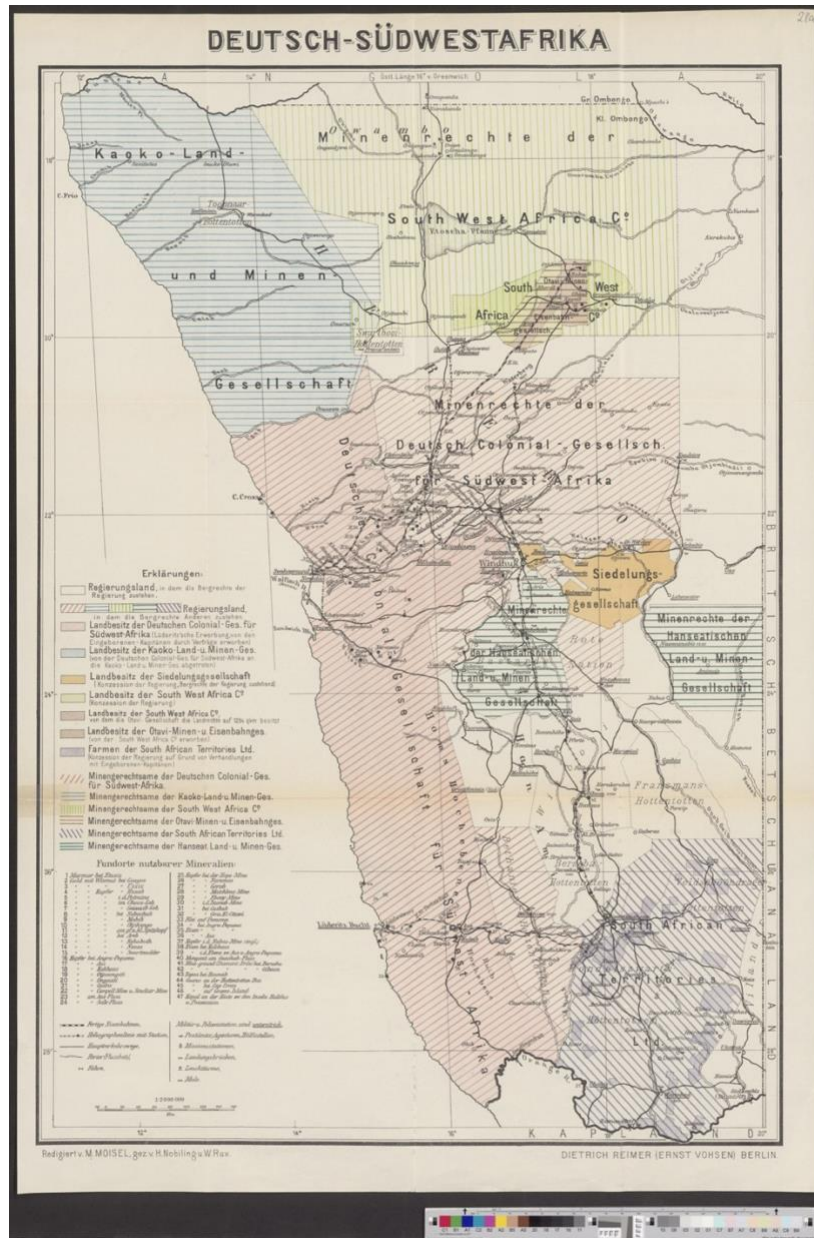
1883 Lüderitz, a tobacco merchant from Bremen, bought land from Nama captain Josef Fredericks hoping to find diamonds or other valuable minerals on territory not yet claimed by other European empires.



## 2.9 Nutzungsgebiete Map (Land Use Areas Map)<sup>207</sup>

Approx. 1906 Map: Land use of various associations (agricultural, mining, railways)

Ca. 1906 Map: Nutzungsgebiete verschiedener Gesellschaften (Landwirtschaft, Bergbau, Eisenbahn)



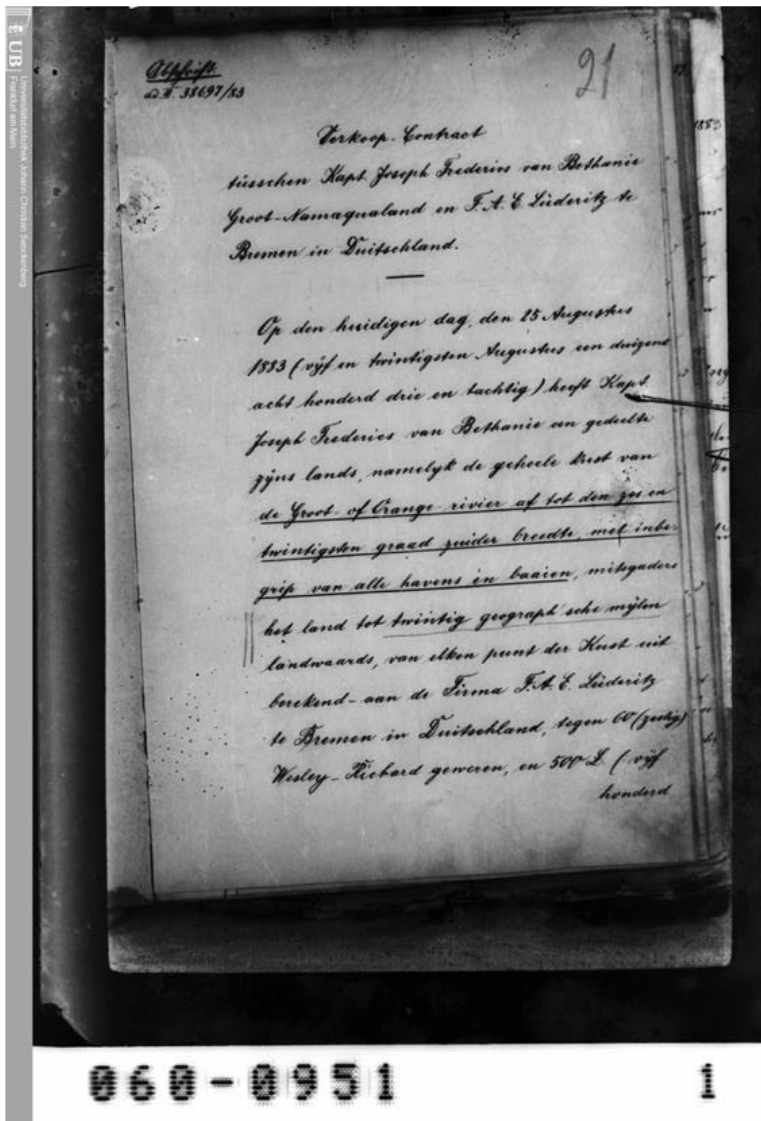
<sup>207</sup> Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives, Lichterfelde, Berlin), BArch R 1001/KART 10511, "Nutzungsgebiete verschiedener Gesellschaften (Landwirtschaft, Bergbau, Eisenbahn)," (in English: Land Use by various Societies (Agriculture, Mining, Railways), 1906-1911), 1906-1911.

<https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/4eb3d199-292a-4d45-abd1-bf6ab0b68eb7>.

Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives, Lichterfelde, Berlin), BArch R 1001/KART 10511, “Nutzungsgebiete verschiedener Gesellschaften (Landwirtschaft, Bergbau, Eisenbahn)” (in English: Land Use by various Societies (Agriculture, Mining, Railways), 1906-1911.  
<https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/4eb3d199-292a-4d45-abd1-bf6ab0b68eb7>.

For Timeline: This map is from some time between 1906 and 1911.

## 2.10 Meilenschwindel (The Mile Con)<sup>208</sup>



“Frederiks ging von englischen Meilen von ca. 1,6 km aus, Lüderitz beharrte später auf der deutschen Meile, die 7,5 Km lang war. Er war sich des Schwindels durchaus bewusst, denn er schrieb an Vogelsang: „Lassen Sie Joseph Frederiks aber vorläufig in dem Glauben, daß es 20 englische Meilen sind.”

“Frederiks assumed English miles of about 1.6 km per mile, Lüderitz later insisted on German miles, which were 7.5 km per mile. He was aware of his deceit, writing to Vogelsang [his representative for the purchase]: “Let Joseph Fredericks believe for now that it is 20 English miles.”

Source: Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main Koloniales Bildarchiv. (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main Colonial Image Archive), 060-0951-01. “Abschrift. Verkoop Contract tusschen Kapt. Joseph Frederics van Bethanien Groot-Namaqualand en F.A.E. Lüderitz te

<sup>208</sup> Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main Koloniales Bildarchiv, (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main Colonial Image Archive), 060-0951-01, “Abschrift. Verkoop Contract tusschen Kapt. Joseph Frederics van Bethanien Groot-Namaqualand en F.A.E. Lüderitz te Bremen in Duitschland,” (in English: Transcript. Contract of Sale between Captain Joseph Frederics of Bethanien Greater Namaqualand by way of representative of Lüderitz of Bremen in Germany), 1889, <https://sammlungen.ub.unifrankfurt.de/kolonialesbildarchiv/content/titleinfo/11427241>.

Bremen in Duitshland.” (in English: Transcript. Contract of Sale between Captain Joseph Fredericks of Bethanien Greater Namaqualand by way of representative of Lüderitz of Bremen in Germany), 1889. <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/kolonialesbildarchiv/content/titleinfo/11427241>.

For Timeline:

1883 When Lüderitz bought land from Fredericks, he tricked Fredericks into thinking their contract is in English miles (1.6km/mi) and then insisting it was German miles (7.5km/mi).

## 2.11 German Colonial Society for South-West Africa Text

Die Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika:

1885 The Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika (German Colonial Society for South-west Africa) is founded by bankers, politicians, and industrialists. The Society buys Lüderitz's land and the German government grants the Society monopoly rights in German SWA.

<sup>209</sup> Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, BArch, R 151/2380, fol. 11-1, „Schutz- und Freundschaftsvertrag“ zwischen Kolonialisten und den Herero von 1885,” (in English: “Protection and Friendship Treaty between colonists and the Herero from 1885), 1885. <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/aee512f2-379a-4be3-baa9-f46b8463e65f/>.



letzten Act von dem Tripolitaner Kommissar  
oder dessen Stellvertreter unter Zuziehung eines  
Vorsitzungsmitglieds stattfinden werden

### Artikel V

Der Oberfürstling Maharero verpflichtet sich,  
möglichst zur Befestigung des Friedens in Samaria  
beide Seiten und gewisse Dörfer und den Kauf-  
verhältnissen beizubringen und bei obigen Ver-  
hältnissen mit seinen Unterfürstlingen oder mit  
anderen Fürstlingen der Kaufverhältnisse in  
Vermittlung oder Fortführung des Tripolitaner Kommissars  
Regierung beizubringen, das Tripolitaner Kommissar  
anzuwenden

Der vorstehende Vertrag ist im Geiste des Missions-  
vertrages vom 22. October 1884  
nach Dicht in der gegenwärtigen Absichtigung von  
den Delegierten der Kaiserlichen Regierung das  
Tripolitaner Kommissar, sowie von Maharero und  
den ausgesandten Unterfürstlingen, Köpfen und  
Großen unterzeichnet resp. unterschrieben worden,  
woraus die obel datirte Missionen  
sich derselben in die Landesgrenzen östlich  
beziehen und förmlich ausgesandte Gesandtschaften  
sowie alle sonstigen Missionen zu sein. Dergleichen  
sind die nachstehenden Zungen und das Kaiserliche  
mitunterzeichnet

H. J. H. E. Böhmig  
Kaiserliche Missionen in der Luft  
für die Kaiserliche Missionen in der Luft

C. G. Pöthner  
als Zungen

Wilhelm

Joseph

Deutschland C. G. P. J. J.  
J. P. Pöthner

H. Dicht.

als volkrechtlich

als, bestimmt

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig Maharero Kadyamuka

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

+ H. J. H. E. Böhmig

Kavisi

Picaria

Martin

Niedemann

Sendenidya

Lamerel

Johann

Barnabas

Daniel

Stachopos

## Transkription

Schutz- und Freundschaftsvertrag zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und den Hereros.

### Artikel I

Der Oberhäuptling Maharero von dem Wunsche geleitet, die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen, in denen er und sein Volk seit Jahren mit den Deutschen gelebt, zu befestigen, bittet Seine Majestät den Deutschen Kaiser, die Schutzherrlichkeit über ihn und sein Volk zu übernehmen. Seine Majestät der Deutsche Kaiser nimmt dieses Gesuch an und sichert dem Maharero seinen allerhöchsten Schutz zu. Als äußeres Zeichen dieses Schutzverhältnisses wird die deutsche Flagge geheit.

### Artikel II

Der Oberhäuptling der Hereros verpflichtet sich, sein Land oder Theile desselben nicht an eine andere Nation oder Angehörige derselbe ohne Zustimmung Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers abzutreten, noch Verträge mit anderen Regierungen abzuschließen ohne jene Zustimmung.

### Artikel III

Der Oberhäuptling sichert allen deutschen Staatsangehörigen und Schutzgenossen für den Umfang des von ihm beherrschten Gebietes den vollständigsten Schutz der Person und des Eigenthums zu sowie das Recht und die Freiheit in seinem Lande zu reisen, daselbst Wohnsitz zu nehmen, Handel und Gewerbe zu treiben.

Dr. jur. H. E. Göring X Handzeichen des  
Maharero Katyamuaha

X Martin  
X Nicodemus X Sem(...)ya X Samuel

Kaiserlich Deutscher Kommissar des Reichs  
für das südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet.

X Johannes Barnabas  
X Daniel

C. G. Büttner.

Mavekopo als Dolmetscher

Als Zeugen:  
Wilhelm  
Josophat.

Deutsche Colonial-Gesellschaft für  
Südwest-Afrika per procura August  
Lüderitz.

Ph. Diehl

Nels, Sekretär

X Kaviseri  
X Riarua



Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, BArch, R 151/2380, fol. 11-1, „Schutz- und Freundschaftsvertrag“ zwischen Kolonialisten und den Herero von 1885.” (In English: “Protection and Friendship Treaty between colonists and the Herero from 1885), 1885. <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/ae512f2-379a-4be3-baa9-f46b8463e65f/>.

Translation<sup>210</sup>

Treaty of Protection and Friendship between the German Reich and the Herero.

### **Article I**

Chief Maharero, led by his wish to secure the friendly relationship between his people and the Germans, asks his Highness the Kaiser of Germany to assume protective authority over him and his people. His Highness the Kaiser of Germany accepts this request and guarantees his protection to Maharero. As a sign of this protection, the German flag will be raised.

### **Article II**

Chief Maharero will not cede any part of his land to nor enter into any contract with any nation, government, or foreign national without prior consent from the Kaiser of Germany.

### **Article III**

The Chief ensures that all German citizens and individuals under German protection will have security of person and property and the rights to free movement, possession of land, and free trade and industry within his territory.

Dr. H. E. Göring Esq. X  
Signed by Maharero Katyamua  
German imperial Commissioner for the  
South-West African Protectorate.  
C. G. Büttner.  
Als Zeugen:  
Wilhelm  
Josophat.  
Ph. Diehl

X Kaviseri  
X Riarua  
X Martin  
X Nicodemus X Sem(...)ya X Samuel  
X Johannes Barnabas  
X Daniel  
Mavekopo als Dolmetscher  
German Colonial Society for South-West  
Africa per procura August Lüderitz.  
Nels, Sekretär

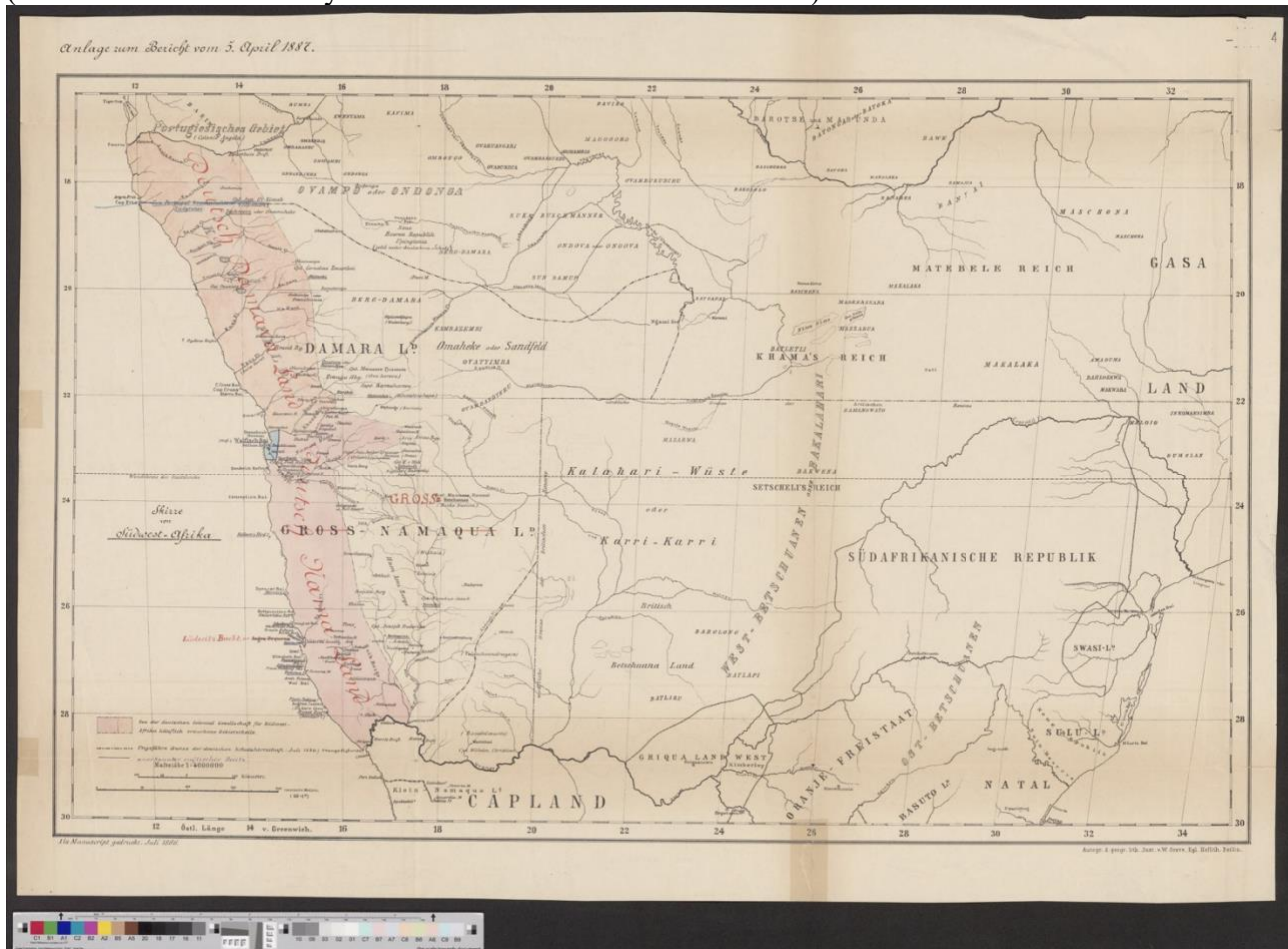
Source: BArch, R 151/2380, fol. 11-12

---

<sup>210</sup> By the author.

## 2.13 1887 Map<sup>211</sup>

“Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika. - Landgebiete”  
(German Colonial Society for South-West Africa. – Land areas)



Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. BArch R 1001-KART/10637. “Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika.- Landgebiete,” (in English: German Colonial Society for South-West Africa, - Land areas), 1887.

<https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/eb868dee-6e9f-4df4-b457-57acb15d5544/>.

<sup>211</sup> Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, BArch R 1001-KART/10637, “Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika.- Landgebiete,” (in English: German Colonial Society for South-West Africa, - Land areas), 1887.  
<https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/eb868dee-6e9f-4df4-b457-57acb15d5544/>.

## 2.14 Witbooi's 1892 Letter to Fredericks<sup>212</sup>

Witbooi an Joseph Fredericks (ein Nama Kapitein)

Hornkranz, 27. Juni 1892

Mein lieber Kapitain Joseph Fredericks!

Ich schicke Euch diese paar Zeilen und ersuche Euch sehr freundlich und aufrichtig zu Eurem und meinem Besten um Folgendes. [...]

Ich bin sehr ungehalten über Euch und alle Kapitaine von Groß-Namaqualand, die Ihr deutschen Schutz angenommen habt und dadurch den weißen Menschen Rechte und Einfluß in unserem Land gebt. Die Sache mit den Deutschen sehe ich mit ganz anderen Augen an. Sie geben vor, Euch vor anderen großen Nationen schützen zu wollen. Mir scheint aber, sie selbst sind die große Nation, die mit Gewalt in unser Land kommen will. Ich sehe sie mit Gewalt regieren und in unserem Land Verbote aufstellen. [...]

In dem Schutzvertrag sehe ich keine Wahrheit, Beständigkeit und keinen Nutzen für Volk, Häuptling und Land. Für mich bedeutet er vielmehr Schmälerung, Verachtung und die Errichtung eigener Herrschaft über Kapitaine, Volk und Land; denn die Deutschen lassen sich im Gebiet der Kapitaine nieder, ohne erst um Erlaubnis zu bitten, drängen den Menschen, denen die Gebiete gehören, ihre Gesetze auf, verbieten das freie Herumstreifen auf den Wegen, verbieten ihnen freie Verfügung über ihr eigenes Wasser und über die Weide; sie verbieten den Landeseingeborenen die Jagd auf ihr eigenes Wild; verbieten den Menschen, mit Gewehr auf irgendeinem Platz zu erscheinen, geben den Menschen bestimmte Uhrzeiten und Tage als Termine an und halten die Menschen außerhalb der Wohnplätze an. So hart, unerträglich, unmöglich und schädlich ist das deutsche Gesetz; ferner ist es drückend und kleinlich. Es wirkt nur zum Schaden und zur Bedrückung des Menschen. Ich verstehe nicht, was Ihr Kapitaine gedacht habt, als Ihr Euch unter den dieser Menschen stelltet. Zu meinem und zu Eurem Besten, lieber Kapitain, gebe ich Euch den Rat: Gebt den Weißen keine Rechte auf unseren Plätzen, zwischen uns und auf unseren Wegen.

Ich grüße Euch von Herzen,  
Euer Freund und Kapitain,  
Hendrik Witbooi.

---

<sup>212</sup> Witbooi and Reinhard, *Afrika Den Afrikanern! Aufzeichnungen Eines Nama-Häuptlings Aus Der Zeit Der Deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 Bis 1894*, 132-134.

Translation:<sup>213</sup>

Witbooi to Joseph Fredericks (a Nama Captain)

Hornkranz, 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1892

My dear Captain Joseph Fredericks!

I send you these few lines to kindly and sincerely ask you to do the following for your good and for my good. [...]

I am very displeased with you and all the captains of Great Namaqualand who have accepted German protection and thereby given white people rights and influence in our land. I see the matter with the Germans very differently. They act as though they want to protect you from other great nations. But it seems to me that they themselves are the great nation that wants to come into our country with violence. I see them ruling by force and imposing bans in our country. [...]

I see no truth, longevity, nor use for our people, leaders, or land in the protection treaties. To me they instead mean diminishment, contempt and the establishment of their own rule over the captains, the people, and the land; for the Germans settle in the territory of the captains without asking permission, impose their laws on the people to whom the land belongs, forbid freedom of movement, forbid use of their own water and fields; they forbid those from here from hunting their own game; they forbid the people to carry weapons anywhere, give the people certain times and days as appointments and stop people in the street. So harsh, unbearable, impossible and harmful is the German law; furthermore, it is oppressive and petty. It only works to the people's detriment and oppression. I do not understand what you captains were thinking when you joined these people. For my own good and for yours, dear captain, I give you this advice: give the white people no rights in our lands, in communication between us, and on our roads.

I greet you from the bottom of my heart,  
Your friend and captain,  
Hendrik Witbooi.

---

<sup>213</sup> By the author.

## 2.15 Policy Analysis Table

	Winners	Losers
Alleged		
Actual		

## 2.16 Hornkranz Massacre Timeline

Ca. 1889 – 1892

German military commander Curt von François tries to convince Hendrik Witbooi to sign a protection treaty with the German colonial administration. Hendrik Witbooi refuses repeatedly.<sup>214</sup>

November 1892

Herero and Nama make peace to ally against the German imperialists.<sup>215</sup>

1893 – 1902

Increasing expropriation of Herero and Nama land and cattle, economically ruining those communities.<sup>216</sup>

1893 – 1902

Intense anti-imperial resistance with many armed conflicts between people of Southwest Africa and German colonialists.<sup>217</sup>

12. April 1893

Massacre at Hornkranz. Von François unexpectedly attacks Hornkranz, massacring 88 Witboois, 78 of them women and children.<sup>218</sup>

Immediately following the Massacre at Hornkranz

The Witboois begin a guerrilla war which soon found the Germans helpless and immobile in Windhoek, as Witbooi had managed to capture most of their horses.<sup>219</sup>

18 April 1893

Hendrik Witbooi writes a letter to another Nama captain detailing the massacre and asking for solidarity and military support.

---

<sup>214</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 331.

<sup>215</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 69.

<sup>216</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, X.

<sup>217</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, X.

<sup>218</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 331.

<sup>219</sup> Jeremy Silvester, *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History*, 45.

20 April 1893

Hendrik Witbooi writes a letter to the English Magistrate detailing the massacre and asking for diplomatic support and weaponry.

15 September 1894

Hendrik Witbooi signs a protection treaty with the new German military commander, Theodor Leutwein. Hendrik Witbooi moves back to Gibeon. He maintains the terms of the protection treaty, collaborating with the German military against resistance from other Indigenous groups. He maintains correspondence with Leutwein and other top political actors.<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>220</sup> Bosman, “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi,” 331.

### **12 April 1893: The Attack and Aftermath**

The German troops approached the settlement in the early hours of 12 April, planning to attack under the cover of night without any warning.

Hendrik Witbooi, who was allegedly sitting outside of his house when he noticed the approaching troops, ordered all Nama fighters to retreat and take up defensive positions along the riverbed, where he expected the ensuing battle to take place. Instead, the German troops stopped when they reached the sleeping village and proceeded to target the defenceless population that had stayed behind. The brutality of the onslaught came as a shock to Hendrik Witbooi, who had not expected the Germans to unleash such ‘uncivilised’ tactics upon another sovereign nation.

Sixteen thousand rounds of bullets were reportedly discharged by the Germans in the span of just thirty minutes.

The massacre yielded 88 victims: ten men, including one of Hendrik Witbooi’s sons, and 78 women and children.

The following day, the German troops returned to raze what remained of the settlement to the ground. Promptly after, a garrison was established on the ashes of the Witbooi settlement, reinforcing the Germans’ clear intention to claim the land and prevent the Witboois from ever returning.

Over the next year, the Witbooi Nama made several attempts to return to Hornkranz, resulting in four more skirmishes on the site. Eventually, they were forced to sign a protection treaty in Naukluft in August 1894, which cemented the dispossession of their land.

In 1908, Hornkranz was sold off to a private owner and a police station was established on its premises. Today, the police station building is the main farmhouse.

---

<sup>221</sup> Weizman et al., “German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre.”

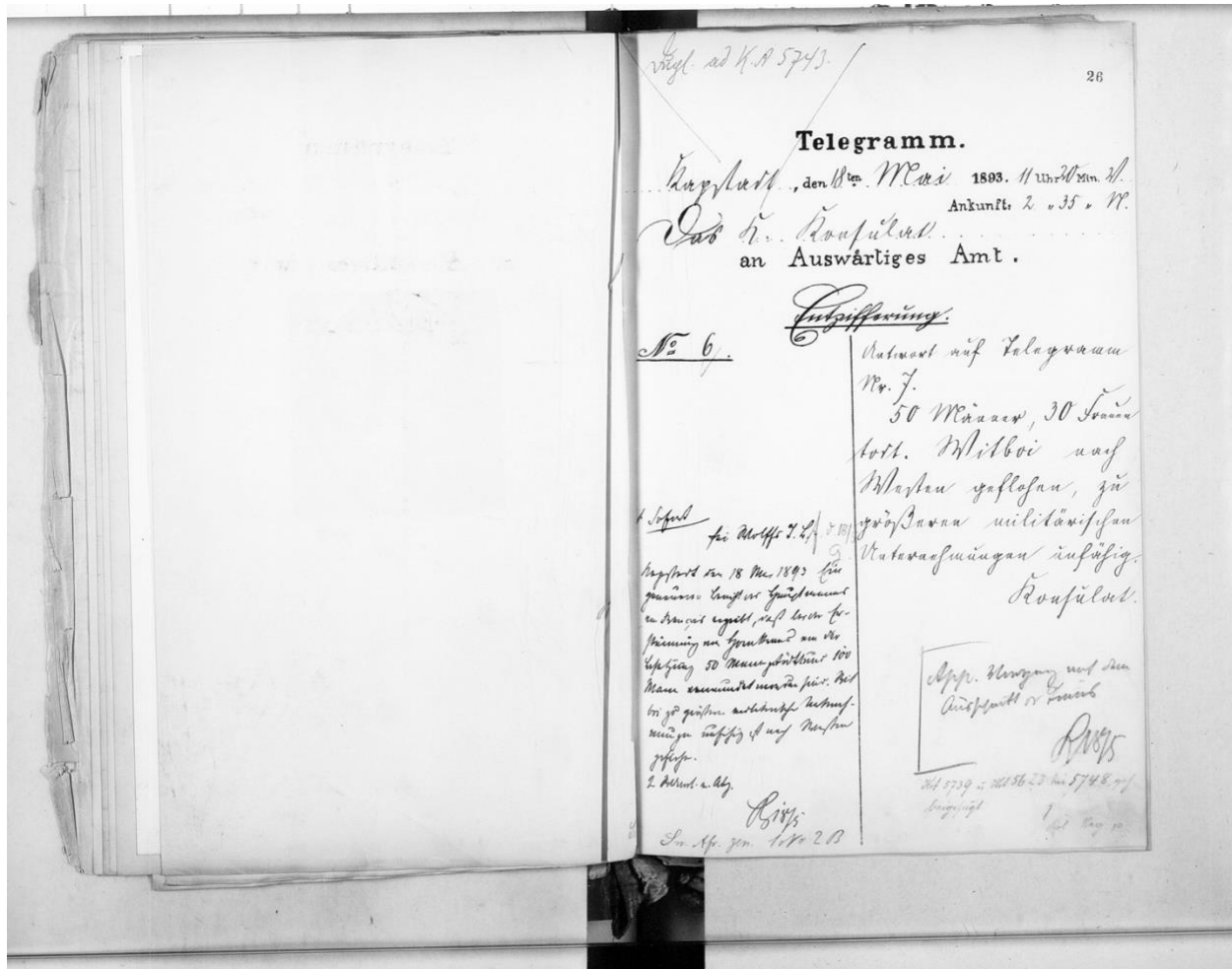




Diagrammatic map showing the formation of the German attack (orange arrows) and the partial retreat of the Witbooi fighters toward the river, where they expected the German soldiers to follow them. Descendants narrate that instead, the Germans attacked the defenseless women and children of the settlement. (Forensic Architecture/Forensis)

Source: Eyal Weizman and Agata Nguyen Chuong, “German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre,” Forensic Architecture, April 12, 2024, <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/german-colonial-genocide-in-namibia-the-hornkranz-massacre/>.

## 2.18 Hornkranz Massacre: Narrations in Germany<sup>222</sup>



Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. BArch R 1001/1483. “Militärisches Einschreiten der Schutztruppe. - Kämpfe gegen Hendrik Witbooi Bd. 1.” (In English: Military Interventions of the Schutztruppe [German colonial troops]. – Fights against Hendrik Witbooi Vol. 1, 1893), 1893,

<https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/d11673c0-7f24-4cbc-b58e-5ccf57104528/>, 26.

### Summary

“The first report of the Hornkranz raid reached the Foreign Office in Berlin on 15 May 1893. It was a cable from the German Consul-General in Cape Town saying that Hornkranz has been “stormed” and adding: “Witbooi’s losses 80 dead and 100 wounded.” The “victory message” was immediately passed on to the German press for publication. Three days later a

<sup>222</sup> Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, BArch R 1001/1483, “Militärisches Einschreiten der Schutztruppe. - Kämpfe gegen Hendrik Witbooi Bd. 1,” (in English: Military Interventions of the Schutztruppe [German colonial troops]. – Fights against Hendrik Witbooi Vol. 1, 1893), 1893, <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/direktlink/d11673c0-7f24-4cbc-b58e-5ccf57104528/>, 26.

second cable arrived from Cape Town which read: “50 men and 30 women dead, Witboois have fled westward, incapable of any major military operation.” Dr. Paul Kayser, Director of the Colonial Department, used this as a basis for the following report disseminated by Wolff’s news agency: “According to a detailed account given by Capt. François, 50 men were killed and 100 wounded in the attack on Hornkranz. Witbooi, incapable of undertaking any major military operations, has fled westward.”

The officials responsible for this falsification in the Colonial Department had not reckoned with the British press which had already carried extensive reports about the German “exploits” in Hornkranz with special emphasis on the fact that nearly all of the victims had been women and children. As these reports were immediately taken up by a number of German papers, the official German version was thus subjected to an “undesirable revision.” August Bebel, the German Social Democratic leader, raised the matter in the Reichstag, calling on the Government to explain the brutal treatment meted out by the German soldiery at Hornkranz to women and children. In reply, Dr. Kayser resorted to downright falsehood, dishing up the freely invented story “that the Hottentots in Hornkranz took cover behind their womenfolk, which explains why so many of the latter were killed.”<sup>223</sup>

Source: Dreschler, Horst. *Let Us Die Fighting : The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)*. London: Zed Press, 1980, 71.

---

<sup>223</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 71.

20 April 1893

The English Magistrate in Walvis Bay

Dear Lord,

I've already told you of my conflict with the Germans. Now I have to tell you about the big blow that the Germans inflicted on me. Captain von Francois launched a surprise attack on me on April 12, without a word, and without any mistake on my side. He did not even warn me beforehand.

Two of my elders went to Windhoek and came back with a note from the captain that he would soon be sending me a letter for a treaty. While I was still waiting for this letter, the captain moved in with his troops, without anyone knowing it, and he attacked early in the morning, before sunrise, while we were still sleeping. When we awoke, the troops was already inside our camp, and started firing all over the place. I had no proper ammunition with me, because I was not involved in a war, and because I was not expecting that kind of thing from the Germans. They always boasted about their great power of people and weapons, so I didn't expect such a powerful man – in addition to the ruling representative of the emperor of a civilized nation – to carry out such a cowardly raid against a small and unimportant person like me, as if he wanted to rob me – because they were actually sneaking in while we were still sleeping.

He destroyed my settlement and killed my people without distinction: small children, women, and men. He burned the dead bodies of some of the people he shot. He took some of the women away. That is how brutally the captain dealt with my camp, as I would never expect from any White man.

He killed ten men, and 75 women and children, while I could not fight back, but had to flee with my people. Because, as you know, you have unanimously decided to stop my ammunition supply. That way, the Germans shed the blood of innocent women and children. And he said he wouldn't stop until he destroyed me.

So again, I report to you, dear Magistrate, as a friend, please tell the Cape Government urgently of these things. Let the Cape government call the German government accountable, to see if they are aware of this attack, and whether it has been done at their command. And if they do, and approve of it, then I plead with you, dear Magistrate, to allow Britain to open my arms supply, that I can defend myself. Because I can't think that such actions as the Germans have ever done can be seen as justified or proper or honest by any civilized power. First, the Germans stop my

---

<sup>224</sup> Van Rooyen, "The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893," 64-65.

ammunition supply, and as soon as I can't defend myself, like a bull without horns, they attack me. According to me, it's murder, because I am as helpless as a woman.

That's why I ask your mighty gentleman if you can't say anything to reject or stop this illegal and deliberate act of violence. Also, help me with weapons and ammunition in my desperate condition. Help me with Martini Henry ammunition. Open up the provision of firearms, because the Germans say they will play havoc with me and with all the captains in Namaqualand, as well as with the Herero.

The Germans set fire to the world without a cause. Please announce these terrible and sad events to all the leaders of Britain and Germany, and make it quick. Let them hear about this.

So much for the moment. I greet you courteously. Your friend,  
Hendrik Witbooi.

Source: Van Rooyen, Petrus Hendrik. "The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893." *Scientia Militaria* 49, no. 1 (March 2021).  
<https://doi.org/10.5787/49-1-1249>, 64-65.

## 2.20 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to Baster Captain van Wyk<sup>225</sup>

After the attack, Witbooi wrote a letter to the Baster (part of Namaland) captain, Hermanus van Wyk, in which he described the attack in the following manner:

April 18 1893

Captain von Francois attacked us early in the morning while we were sleeping unsuspectingly, and while I was trying to protect my people, we were unable to drive them back. The captain invaded the camp and ruined it in such a brutal way as I could never imagine a member of a civilized White nation capable of – a nation that knows the rules and ways of warfare. But this man robbed me, killing little children on their mothers' breasts, and older children and women and men. The bodies of the people killed were burned inside the grass huts, their bodies burnt to ashes. With pertinence and terribly harsh action Captain von Francois did his work, in a shameless operation.

As far as I am concerned, the Germans set fire to this whole country in order to crush the whole of Hereroland and Namaqualand, so as to possess our entire land, and to make us their subjects and their slaves. So, dear brother, get up, let us oppose the Germans for the cause of our country and our nations. It's an attack on us all. Come to my aid, dear brother, with weapons, such as guns, a keg of gunpowder, and Martini Henry shells and lead. As you know, the Germans stopped my arms supply, and now that I am unarmed, they attack me. Please let me hear from you soon.

Source: Van Rooyen, Petrus Hendrik. "The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893." *Scientia Militaria* 49, no. 1 (March 2021).  
<https://doi.org/10.5787/49-1-1249>, 62-63.

---

<sup>225</sup> Van Rooyen, "The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893," 62-63.

## 2.21 Strategies of Resistance Analysis Table<sup>226</sup>

	Who's doing the action?	What is that person doing?	Who is it directed toward? What's their relationship to the actor?	When? What happened before?	Why? (What are the actor's goals?)	How does the actor try to achieve those goals?
Witbooi's letter to the English Magistrate						
Witbooi's letter to van Wyk						

This table tells me:

This table suggests that:

This table does not mention:<sup>227</sup>

<sup>226</sup> Print table from landscape orientation.

<sup>227</sup> These three questions are taken from Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching a Guide for Teachers*, 27.

## 2.22 Timeline of Uprising and Resistance

12<sup>th</sup> January, 1904 Herero Uprising against German colonial forces led by Samuel Maharero, prompted by the expropriation and rightlessness of the Herero under German colonialism.<sup>228</sup> The Herero gain control of all of their former territory, lay siege to the German fortresses, and claim most of the German settlers' livestock.<sup>229</sup> Witbooi's forces support the Germans, following the terms of the protection treaty.

Early 1904 The Herero are winning the war despite a flow of German reinforcement. The German government circulates inflammatory propaganda against them to stir up hatred and political support for the cost of the war in the metropole.<sup>230</sup> The military objectives increasingly exclude negotiations and pursue forced, absolute submission of the Herero people.<sup>231</sup>

### 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1904 Battle of Waterberg

The Herero people were gathered in Waterberg, expecting an offer of peace as they were winning the war, and instead the German colonial military attacked brutally. After two days of fighting, the Herero broke through the German lines to retreat. The German troops pursued them, pushing the Herero into the Omaheke desert to try to annihilate the people through starvation and thirst.<sup>232</sup>

Late August, 1904 Jacob Morenga, nominal and informal head of the Bondelswarts, rebels against German colonial control in the south, defeating a German patrol group.<sup>233</sup>

2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1904 Extermination Order which begins the genocide against the Herero people.

1904-1908 Genocide against the Herero people enacted through: the German military driving the population into the Omaheke desert where many died of thirst, forced internment and labor under brutal and often fatal conditions, and punishment for the uprising in the form of terrible conditions and high death rates from maltreatment and lack of medical attention.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>228</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 132.

<sup>229</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 144.

<sup>230</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 146.

<sup>231</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 148 and Hull, *Absolute Destruction Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*.

<sup>232</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 152-155; Zimmerer and Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects*, 42.

<sup>233</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 179.

<sup>234</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 207.



October 1904 Witbooi leads a surprise Nama uprising against the German colonialists.<sup>235</sup> Immediate causes included the reports of the brutal violence against the Herero people, the German settlers and missionaries threatening the Nama peoples with disarmament and dissolution of their political system.<sup>236</sup> Long-term causes included the expropriation of Nama cattle, dispossession of Nama people from their land, and the rightlessness Nama people experienced under German colonial rule.<sup>237</sup> Witbooi urged the other Nama kaptein to support the uprising and some joined the uprising.

1904-1907 The Nama, led by Witbooi, wage guerilla warfare with 1,000-2,000 troops against 15,000 German colonial troops. The war was costing Germany lots of money and becoming unpopular in the press in Germany as it dragged on.

29 Oct, 1905 Witbooi dies of a battle wound near Vaalgras

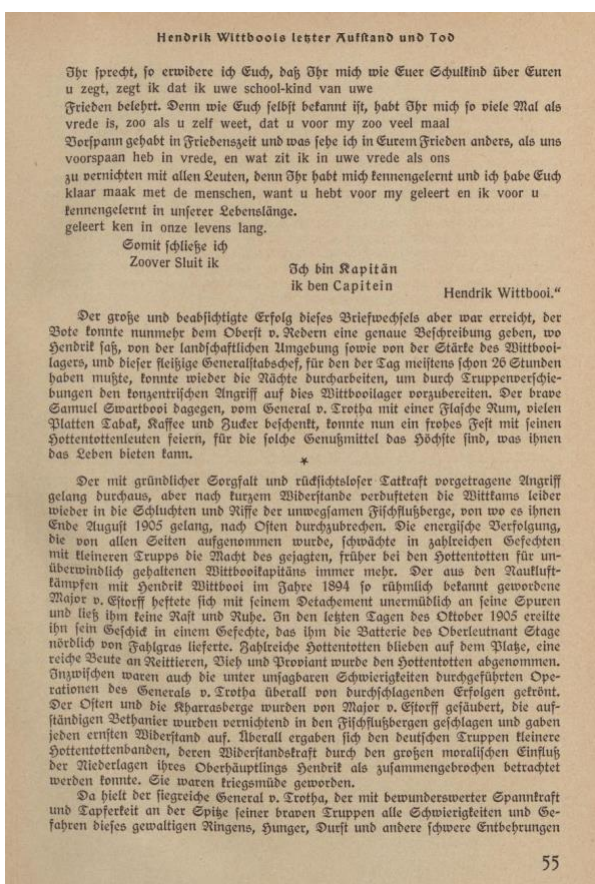
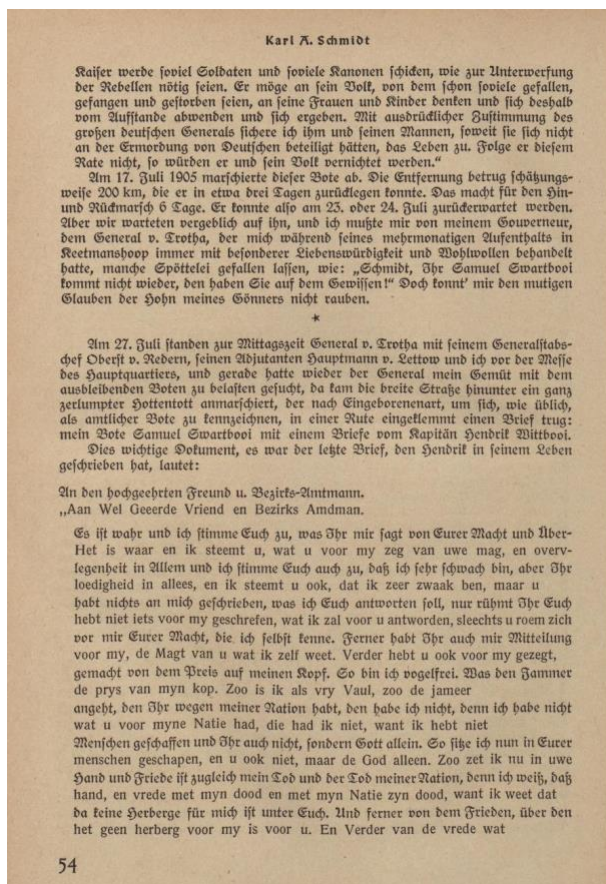
---

<sup>235</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 181.

<sup>236</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 182.

<sup>237</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 181.

## 2.23 Witbooi's 1905 Letter to von Trotha<sup>238</sup>



Source: Schmidt, K A. "Hendrik Witboois Letzter Aufstand Und Tod." *Deutsche Rundschau* 239-240 (1934). <https://archive.org/details/deutsche-rundschau-band-240/page/54/mode/2up>, 54-55.

Transcription:

Arrived 27 July 1905

An den hochgeehrten Freund und Bewirks-Amtmann,

[...]

Was den Jammer angeht, den Ihr wegen meiner Nation habt, den habe ich nicht, den ich habe nicht Menschen geschaffen und Ihr auch nicht, sondern Gott allein. So sitze ich nun in Eurer Hand und Friede ist zugleich mein Tod und der Tod meiner Nation, den ich weiß, daß da keine Herberge für mich ist unter Euch. Und ferner von dem Frieden, über den Ihr sprecht, so erwidere

<sup>238</sup> Karl A Schmidt, "Hendrik Witboois Letzter Aufstand Und Tod," *Deutscher Rundschau* Bd. 240 (1934), <https://archive.org/details/deutsche-rundschau-band-240/mode/2up>, 54-55.

ich Euch, daß Ihr mich wie Euer Schulkind über Euren Frieden belehrt. Denn wie Euch selbst bekannt ist, habt Ihr mich so viele Mal als Vorspann gehabt in Friedenszeit und was sehe ich in Eurem Frieden anders, als uns zu vernichten mit allen Leuten.

Somit schließe ich

Ich bin Kapitän

Hendrik Witbooi

Translation:<sup>239</sup>

Hendrik Witbooi to General von Trotha in late July of 1905, refusing to submit:

“Peace will spell death for me and my nation, for I know there is no place for me in your midst. As regards your offers of peace, what else are you doing than lecture me as you would a schoolchild. You know only too well that I have rendered you many a service in times of peace, but in your peace I can see nothing but a desire to destroy us to the last man.”<sup>240</sup>

Thus I finish

I am captain

Hendrik Witbooi

---

<sup>239</sup> By the author.

<sup>240</sup> Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting*, 189-190.

## 2.24 Forensic Architecture video: Land Grab<sup>241</sup>

Explanatory video “VII Land Grab” from the Forensic Architecture investigation “Restituting Evidence:”

<https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/restituting-evidence-genocide-and-reparations-in-german-colonial-namibia-phase-1>.

Scroll down to the video titled “VII Land Grab.”

---

<sup>241</sup> Weizman et al., “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia.”

## 2.25 Final Project Rubric

### Rubric

For the final project, you will design a commemoration for Hendrik Witbooi in Germany. What kind of commemoration would you propose (holiday, statue, museum exhibition, dance performance, etc)? Why? Where? What information would be communicated? How?

	1 Excellent	2 Good	3 Satisfactory	4 Sufficient	5 Insufficient
Use of language patterns – written and spoken	Project makes use of many language patterns, including: description, analysis, and interpretation of sources; [insert all or most patterns emphasized in course].	Project makes use of many language patterns, including: description, analysis, and interpretation of sources; [insert some patterns emphasized in course].	Project makes use of some language patterns, including: [insert some patterns emphasized in course].	Project makes use of some language patterns, including: [insert 1-2 patterns emphasized in course].	Project does not make use of language patterns like [insert language patterns emphasized in course].
Use of multiple sources – primary and secondary	Project references five or more sources from in-class activities, including at least two sources written by Hendrik Witbooi.	Project references four sources from in-class activities, including at least two sources written by Hendrik Witbooi.	Project references three sources from in-class activities, including one source written by Hendrik Witbooi.	Project references two sources from in-class activities, including one source written by Hendrik Witbooi.	Project references fewer than two sources from in-class activities or no sources written by Hendrik Witbooi.
Demonstrated understanding of historical material	Project demonstrates evidence of Hendrik Witbooi as a complex and important historical actor, including context and significance of his life using multiple sources.	Project demonstrates evidence of Hendrik Witbooi as an important historical actor, including context and significance of his life.	Project demonstrates evidence of Hendrik Witbooi as a historical actor, including context of his life.	Project includes some context of Hendrik Witbooi's life.	Project does not include context and significance of Hendrik Witbooi's life.

Creative expression	Project includes a detailed visual and description of a creative commemoration including reasoning for creative decisions.	Project includes a detailed visual and description of the creative commemoration.	Project includes a visual and description of the proposed commemoration.	Project describes the proposed commemoration.	Project does not include a visual nor description of the proposed commemoration.
Clear connection between the past and the present	Project articulates multiple reasons for why Hendrik Witbooi would be commemorated in Germany today and how the proposed commemoration would do so, including how it would access various audiences.	Project includes one or more reasons for why Hendrik Witbooi would be commemorated in Germany today and ways to do so.	Project includes a reason for why Hendrik Witbooi would be commemorated in Germany today.	Project includes a reason for why Hendrik Witbooi would be commemorated today.	Project does not include reasoning for why and how to commemorate Hendrik Witbooi.

## Appendix IV: Hendrik Witbooi Lesson Plans

### 01 Hendrik Witbooi

#### Lesson Materials (in Appendix III)

- 2.1 Witbooi Statue
- 2.2 Hendrik Witbooi Timeline – will add to throughout the unit
- 2.3 1884 Berlin Conference: Großer Detuscher Kolonialatlas
- 2.4 Library of Congress Analyzing Maps Worksheet
- 2.5 Berlin Conference Text for Timeline
- 2.6 Osterhammel Definition of Colonialism
- 2.7 German Colonialism: Geographic Mosaic Video
- 2.8 Lüderitzland Map, 1886
- 2.9 Nutzungsgebiete Map

#### Learning Objectives:

- Gain basic knowledge of Hendrik Witbooi and the context of German colonialism in German South-West Africa by synthesizing historical materials
- Critical observation and visual literacy
- Analysis of maps as primary sources

#### Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>242</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 3 hours

#### Hendrik Witbooi: An Overview

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	To get students thinking about the topic, do a go-around answering the questions: Are there any statues of famous people in your city? If yes, do you know who they are? If no, have you seen statues of famous people when visiting other places? Did you find out who they are? Why or why not?		8 mins

<sup>242</sup> “Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs,” *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

Hendrik Witbooi – Intro	Project or distribute the image of the statue of Hendrik Witbooi in Windhoek. Have students describe the statue in detail, identifying what they can learn about it from the photo. Use language patterns and visual analysis skills from the previous unit.	2.1 Witbooi statue	10 mins
Witbooi's Life: a timeline	Timeline Part 1: Hendrik Witbooi's life. This will begin a timeline that can hang in the classroom along the wall or on large sheets of paper and will be added to over the course of the unit. Distribute the strips with dates and details from the timeline among the students. Have them line up on a bench or other surface that requires balancing, and sort themselves by date into the correct chronological order, using language patterns. Check as a class that the order is accurate and have students add their event(s) to the timeline on the wall. Clarify any vocabulary.	2.2 Hendrik Witbooi Timeline (cut into strips)	20-25 mins
Comprehension Check	Have each student share one reason they guess that Hendrik Witbooi has a commemorative statue in Windhoek.		8 mins
Total			46-51 mins

#### Hendrik Witbooi: Context of German Colonialism

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	Prompt students to each share one detail they remember from Hendrik Witbooi's life.		5-8 mins
Intro to German Colonialism: the Berlin Conference	1884 Berlin Conference. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prompt students to share anything they know about the 1884 Berlin Conference. Ensure they have the context of Bismarck gathering European imperial leaders in Berlin to formally divide among themselves the land area of Africa.</li> <li>- Look at the grosser deutscher Kolonialatlas map together.</li> </ul>	2.3 1884 Berlin Conference: Großer Detuscher Kolonialatlas	5-8 mins



Intro to German Colonialism: Observing Maps	Looking at the großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas map, have students identify and note details. Fill in the Library of Congress worksheet together, in pairs, or separately. Starting with the leftmost column, ask questions like: Describe what you see. What do you notice first? What size and shape is the map? What graphical elements do you see? What on the map looks strange or familiar? Describe anything that looks like it does not belong on a map. What place or places does the map show? What words do you see? <sup>243</sup>	2.3; 2.4 Library of Congress Analyzing Maps worksheet	15 mins
Intro to German Colonialism: Reflecting on Maps	Filling in the middle column, now ask students: Why do you think this map was made? Who do you think the audience was for this map? How do you think this map was made? How does it compare to current maps of this place? What does this map tell you about what the people who made it knew and didn't know? If this map were made today, what would be different? What would be the same? <sup>244</sup>	2.3	15 mins
Intro to German Colonialism: Questioning Maps	Filling in the far-right column, prompt students to ask questions about the map. Have them write down or discuss in pairs what they wonder about: Who? What? Where? When? Why? How? <sup>245</sup>	2.3	15 mins
Comprehension Check	Have each student share 1-2 questions the map brought up for them.		10 mins
The Berlin Conference: Adding to the Timeline	Read the text accompanying the grosser deutscher Kolonialatlas map together. Clarify any vocabulary and discuss if and how this changes their understanding of the map. Add both the Berlin Conference and the map to the Hendrik Witbooi timeline (for 1884).	2.5 Berlin Conference text for timeline	8 mins
Total			73-79 mins

<sup>243</sup> “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps,” U.S. Library of Congress.

<sup>244</sup> “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps,” U.S. Library of Congress.

<sup>245</sup> “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps,” U.S. Library of Congress.

## Hendrik Witbooi: Context of German Colonialism

Warm-up	Have each student share one event/date they remember from the timeline thus far.		8 mins
Colonialism Definition	Read the Osterhammel definition of colonialism together, clarifying any vocabulary.	2.6 Osterhammel definition of colonialism	5 mins
Colonial Motivations: Power and Ideology	<p>Watch the Deutsches Historisches Museum video “Deutscher Kolonialismus: Geografisches Mosaik” together, pausing or watching multiple times for comprehension. Ask students:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What did Professor Kantara say in the video?</li> <li>2. What is geography for Professor Kantara?</li> <li>3. What does the 1884 Berlin Conference represent to Professor Kantara?</li> <li>4. Professor Kantara says the geographic mosaic is an object of power. What does he mean by that?</li> <li>5. Whose perspective does he say is present in the object? Whose is absent?</li> <li>6. Why is it an important object for him?</li> </ol> <p>Add the Berlin Conference to the timeline</p>	2.7 German Colonialism: Geographic Mosaic Video ( <a href="#">Link</a> )	15-20 mins
Colonial Motivations: Money	<p>Commerce and Companies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Look at the Lüderitzland map and read the description together. Add to the timeline.</li> </ul>	2.8 Lüderitzland Map, 1886	5 mins
Colonial Motivations: Money	Show students the Nutzungsgebiete map. In pairs or as a class, have students go through the steps of the Library of Congress map analysis. They can fill the columns in iteratively, it does not have to be in a specific order. Have students share their answers. Have them discuss: What were some of the motivations for German colonialism in German SWA based on this map?	2.9 Nutzungsgebiete Map; 2.4 Library of Congress Analyzing Maps Worksheet	20 mins

In-Class Assignment	Alone or in pairs, have students write responding to the prompt: “What do these sources suggest about the motivations of German colonialism in German South-West Africa? Where do you see evidence for that?”		8-10 mins
Comprehension check	Have students share all or part of their writing.		5-8 mins
Total			66-76 mins

## 02 Mechanisms of Control in German South-West Africa: Dispossession and Destruction<sup>246</sup>

### Lesson Materials (in Appendix III)

- 2.8 Lüderitzland Map, 1886
- 2.10 Meilenschwindel (Mile Con)
- Timeline thus far (2.2 and 2.5)
- 2.11 German Colonial Society for South-West Africa Text
- 2.12 1885 Protection Treaty Excerpt and Transcription
- 2.13 1887 Map
- 2.14 Witbooi's 1892 Letter to Fredericks
- 2.15 Policy Analysis Table
- 2.16 Hornkranz Massacre Timeline
- 2.17 Forensic Architecture Hornkranz Summary
- 2.18 Hornkranz Massacre: Narrations in Germany
- 2.19 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to the English Magistrate
- 2.20 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to Baster Captain van Wyk
- 2.21 Strategies of Resistance Analysis Table

### Learning Objectives

- Be able to articulate two colonial mechanisms of control in German South-West Africa: land dispossession and physical violence
- Be able to give examples of Hendrik Witbooi's resistance to colonial mechanisms of control
- Analysis of maps as primary sources

### Learning Standards

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>247</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 4 hours

### Mechanisms of Control: Land Dispossession

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	Ask students to share one thing they would like to know about Hendrik Witbooi. What limits our information about his life and works?		5 mins

<sup>246</sup> The focus on these two mechanisms of violence are drawn from Zimmerer and Mellor-Stapelberg, *German Rule, African Subjects: State Aspirations and the Reality of Power in Colonial Namibia* and from Weizman et al., "German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre."

<sup>247</sup> "Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs," *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

The Lüderitz Land Purchase	Prompt students to summarize what they know about Lüderitz, perhaps referring back to the map of Lüderitzland. Ask them what he did in 1883. Then add more context: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Together, look at the Meilenschwindel document and the German translation together. Prompt students to react to the text. How would they react? What would they try to do to seek justice? Could do verbally or in writing.</li> </ul>	2.8; 2.10 Meilenschwindel	10-15 mins
Protection Treaties: changing the map	From looking at the Lüderitzland map, draw students' attention to the Nutzungsgebiete map where it hangs in the timeline. What forces shaped the changes in the map? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Read 1885 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft text together. Add to timeline.</li> </ul>	Timeline thus far; 2.11 German Colonial Society for South-West Africa (DKG) Text	8-10 mins
Protection Treaties: The 1885 Herero Treaty	How did the DKG expand their control for economic exploitation? Read the example protection treaty as a class. Clarify any vocabulary. Together, summarize what the treaty did.	2.12 1885 Protection Treaty Excerpt	20 mins
Protection Treaties: changing the map	Look at the 1887 map together. As a group, describe the map and then identify changes from 1884. Be sure to practice the linguistic patterns (questions of location and relative location, vocabulary related to maps and geography). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Make sure students note the DKG territory</li> <li>- Make sure students note the territories under protection treaties</li> </ul>	2.13 1887 map	10 mins
Comprehension check	Go around the group and have students each share one change in the map over time that they noticed. What do they think might be important about that change? Make sure students are linguistically able to describe the maps		8 mins
Total:			61-68 mins

## Resistance to Land Dispossession: Witbooi's Writings

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activity	Materials	Time Allotment
--------	--------------------------------	-----------	----------------

Warm-up	Ask students a go-around question to warm up their language use.		5 mins
Understanding protection treaties: Witbooi's writings	Read and discuss Witbooi's letter to Fredericks together. Clarify any vocabulary. Add to timeline.	2.14 Witbooi's 1892 Letter to Fredericks	20 mins
Understanding protection treaties: winners and losers	Using the policy analysis table, fill in the alleged winners in the treaty. Who does the protection treaty say it is for? Who does it say it will help? Who does it say it will hurt? Then, fill in the actual winners and losers based on Witbooi's letter. Who did the policy actually help? Who did it actually hurt? You can add more to this table in later lessons if desired.	2.15 Policy Analysis Table	15 mins
Understanding protection treaties: Discussion	Prompt students to discuss the protection treaties and their effects, starting with the analysis table. Effects identified should include loss of land and loss of political autonomy. Ask questions about how their perspective on the treaty may have changed as they read more sources about it. As a comprehension check, be sure each student responds.		10-15 mins
Total			50-55 mins

#### Mechanisms of Control: Destruction

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	Warn students that the topic will be heavy and about colonial violence.		2 mins
The Hornkranz Massacre Context	The Hornkranz Massacre overview. Distribute the strips with dates. Follow the same activities as for the timeline of Hendrik Witbooi's life.	2.16 Hornkranz Massacre Timeline, cut into strips	10 mins
The Hornkranz Massacre Summary	Together, read the Forensic Architecture summary of the Hornkranz massacre. Have students spend 3-5 minutes writing about how this summary changes their understanding of the massacre. Discuss as a	2.17 Forensic Architecture Hornkranz Summary	15-20 mins

	group, leaving space for questions or silence as students absorb the painful details.		
The Hornkranz Massacre Narrations	Read the summary of the German media coverage of the massacre together. The summary is from the book by historian Horst Dreschler <i>Let Us Die Fighting : The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)</i> published in 1980. Have students spend 3-5 minutes writing about how this summary changes their understanding of the massacre. Discuss as a group, leaving space for questions or silence as students absorb the painful details.	2.18 Hornkranz Massacre: Narrations in Germany	15-20 mins
Discussion	Discuss, leaving space for questions or silence as students absorb the painful details. Ask students: In what ways did the German colonial forces try to control Hendrik Witbooi and the Witboois? How did your understanding of the massacre change with each source? Why would this matter today?		10-15 mins
Comprehension Check	Have each student share one detail that must be included in a summary of the massacre.		5-8 mins
Total			52-75 mins

## Resistance to Destruction: Witbooi's Actions

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	Warn students that the topic is again heavy and about colonial violence. Ask a go-around question to warm up their language use.		7 mins
Resistance: Diplomacy	Read Witbooi's letter to the English together, clarifying any vocabulary. Ask students: How did Witbooi respond to the massacre?	2.19 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to the English Magistrate	10-15 minutes
Resistance: Solidarity	Read Witbooi's letter to van Wyk, clarifying any vocabulary. Ask students: How did Witbooi respond to the massacre?	2.20 Witbooi's 1893 Letter to van Wyk	10-15 mins

Strategies of Resistance	In pairs or small groups, have students fill the details of the three methods of resistance they've just read in the analysis table. (Leave the final row blank.) After filling in the table, discuss as a group. Try to answer the questions below the table together.	2.21 Strategies of Resistance Analysis Table	10-20 mins
Comprehension Check	Make sure each student has shared something during the discussion. Prompt anyone who hasn't.		2 mins
Total			39-54 mins



### 03 Resisting Injustice

#### Lesson Materials (in Appendix III)

- 2.22 Timeline of Uprising and Resistance
- 2.23 Witbooi's 1905 Letter to von Trotha
- 2.24 Forensic Architecture Video: Land Grab

#### Learning Objectives

- Be able to articulate two colonial mechanisms of control in German South-West Africa: land dispossession and physical violence
- Be able to give examples of Hendrik Witbooi's resistance to colonial mechanisms of control
- Analysis of maps as primary sources

#### Learning Standards

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>248</sup>

Time Allotment: approx. 1.5 hours

#### Resistance: The Nama Uprising

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Warm-up	What is one thing that you would like to know about Hendrik Witbooi that we don't have information about? What are possible reasons we don't have that information?		5 mins
	Timeline of Uprising and Resistance Distribute the strips from the timeline. Follow activities from Timeline Part 1 and 2.	2.22 Timeline of uprising and resistance, cut into strips	25-30 mins
	Read Witbooi's letter to von Trotha together or alone. Clarify vocabulary. Using the strategies of resistance table from last class, fill in the final row answering the questions about the letter to von Trotha.	2.23 Witbooi's 1905 Letter to von Trotha;	20 mins
	Look at the statue of Hendrik Witbooi again, projected or printed. As a discussion or solo writing activity, ask students to respond to the questions: How did Witbooi resist?		20 mins

<sup>248</sup> "Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs," *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

	<p>Why did Witbooi resist?</p> <p>What sources can we use to learn about his life and works? What information is missing? What are possible reasons that information is missing?</p> <p>What are reasons for remembering his resistance today?</p> <p>It may work best to ask the questions one at a time, moving on to the next only after speaking or writing about the previous.</p>		
Optional in-class or as homework: Effects today	Watch the Forensic Architecture video tracing the causes and effects of land dispossession. Have students discuss or write about the causes and effects of land dispossession in German South-West Africa and now Namibia.	2.24 Forensic Architecture Video: Land Grab ( <a href="#">Link</a> – scroll down to VII Land Grab video)	20 mins
Comprehension Check	Make sure each student shares their answer for the final question about the Witbooi statue of what possible reasons for remembering Hendrik Witbooi today include.		5 mins
Total			95-100 mins

## 04 How Do We Remember? Final Project

Lesson Materials:

- 2.25 Rubric

Learning Objectives:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the complexity of Hendrik Witbooi as a historical actor
- Synthesizing and interpreting historical materials – create a narrative based on primary and secondary sources and justify the selections made
- Make a connection between the past and the present

Learning Standards:

- To improve language proficiency in German including the interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes of communication
- To improve understanding and knowledge of Germany's role in the global community – historically, politically, economically, and artistically<sup>249</sup>

Time Allotment: In-class or as homework as makes sense for the program.

Stages	Teaching and Learning Activities	Materials	Time Allotment
Final project	Design a commemoration for Hendrik Witbooi in Germany. What kind of commemoration would you propose (holiday, statue, museum exhibition, dance performance, etc)? Why?	Rubric	Teacher's discretion
Final Reflection	Assign students a 1-2 page reflection. Prompt them to reflect on and write about what they learned in the unit, what they enjoyed and didn't enjoy, what surprised them, and what they would like to learn more about.		
Total			Teacher's discretion

---

<sup>249</sup> "Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs," *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*, 13.

# Bibliography

## Archival Sources

### **Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage** (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

323326-11/13

Deutschland und England in  
Süd-Afrika : mit einer Karte  
von Lüderitzbucht, 1886 (in  
English: Germany and  
England in Southern Africa:  
with a map of Lüderitz Bay,  
1886)

### **German Federal Archives, Lichterfelde, Berlin** (Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde - BArch)

*Imperial Colonial Office* (Reichskolonialamt) (R-1001)

BArch R 1001/1483

Militärisches Einschreiten der  
Schutztruppe. - Kämpfe  
gegen Hendrik Witbooi Bd.  
1, 1893 (in English: Military  
Interventions of the  
Schutztruppe [German  
colonial troops]. – Fights  
against Hendrik Witbooi Vol.  
1, 1893)

BArch R 1001/KART 10511

Nutzungsgebiete  
verschiedener Gesellschaften  
(Landwirtschaft, Bergbau,  
Eisenbahn), 1906-1911(in  
English: Land Use by various  
Societies (Agriculture,  
Mining, Railways), 1906-  
1911)

BArch R 1001-KART/10637

Deutsche Kolonial-  
Gesellschaft für Südwest-  
Afrika.- Landgebiete (in  
English: German Colonial

Society for South-West  
Africa, - Land areas)

*Imperial Government in German South-West Africa*  
(Kaiserliches Gouvernement in Deutsch Südwestafrika) (R-151)

BArch R 151/2380, fol 11-12

„Schutz- und  
Freundschaftsvertrag“  
zwischen Kolonialisten und  
den Herero von 1885 (in  
English: “Protection and  
Friendship Treaty between  
colonists and the Herero from  
1885)

**Goethe University Frankfurt am Main Colonial Image Archive**  
(Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main Koloniales Bildarchiv)

060-0951-01

Abschrift. Verkoop Contract  
tusschen Kapt. Joseph  
Frederics van Bethanien  
Groot-Namaqualand en  
F.A.E. Lüderitz te Bremen in  
Duitschland (in English:  
Transcript. Contract of Sale  
between Captain Joseph  
Frederics of Bethanien  
Greater Namaqualand by way  
of representative of Lüderitz  
of Bremen in Germany)

## Published Sources

- “About Us: Concordia Language Villages.” About Us | Concordia Language Villages. Accessed March 30, 2024. <https://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/about-us#:~:text=Our%20Mission,cultural%20sensitivity%20in%20multiple%20languages>.
- Ahmed, Kaamil. “Descendants of Namibia’s Genocide Victims Call on Germany to ‘Stop Hiding.’” *The Guardian* (London), Feb. 3, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/feb/03/namibia-genocide-victims-herero-nama-germany-reparations>.
- Aidi, Hisham. “Forgotten Genocide: Namibia’s Quest for Reparations.” *Al Jazeera* (Doha), Aug. 7, 2015. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/8/7/forgotten-genocide-namibias-quest-for-reparations>.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2017.
- Baer, Elizabeth. “Chapter 1: The African Gaze of Resistance in Hendrik Witbooi and Others.” Essay. In *The Genocidal Gaze: From German Southwest Africa to the Third Reich*, 17–44. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2017. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/56612>.
- Bayly, Christopher A., Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, Patricia Seed. “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History.” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441-1464.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K. “For a Reparatory Social Science.” *Global Social Challenges Journal* 1, no. 1 (2022): 8–20. <https://doi.org/10.1332/hieo9991>.
- “Benin Bronzes.” Pitt Rivers Museum. Accessed May 2, 2024. <https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/benin-bronzes>.
- “BIPOC Definition & Meaning.” Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Accessed July 8, 2023. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/BIPOC>.
- Blackler, Adam A. “From Boondoggle to Settlement Colony: Hendrik Witbooi and the Evolution of Germany’s Imperial Project in Southwest Africa, 1884–1894.” *Central European History* 50, no. 4 (December 2017): 449–70. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008938917000887>.
- Bodenstein, Felicity. “1897: Benin War Trophies in the British Illustrated Press.” Translocations. Ikonographie. Accessed May 2, 2024. <https://transliconog.hypotheses.org/kommentierte-bilder-2/1897-benin-war-trophies-in-the-british-illustrated-press>.
- Bosman, Hendrik. “A Nama ‘Exodus’? A Postcolonial Reading of the Diaries of Hendrik Witbooi.” *Scriptura* 108, (2011): 328-341.

- Bowley, Graham. "A New Museum Opens Old Wounds in Germany." *The New York Times* (Oct. 12, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/12/arts/design/humboldt-forum-germany.html>.
- Brinton, D. M., M. A. Snow, and M. B. Wesche. *Content-based second language instruction*. New York: Newbury House, 1989.
- Brinton, Donna. "The Use of Media in Language Teaching." In *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language*, edited by Marianne Celce-Murcia, 3rd ed., 459–76. Heinle & Heinle, 2001.
- Burbank, Jane and Frederick Cooper. *Empires in world history: Power and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Camissa Museum, "Hendrik Witbooi (1830 - 1905)," Home - Camissa Museum, accessed May 14, 2024, <https://camissamuseum.co.za/index.php/7-tributaries/5-maroons-orlam-drosters/hendrik-witbooi>.
- "Catalogue," Digital Benin, accessed March 10, 2024, <https://digitalbenin.org/catalogue?page=1&seed=hdtk-en34w-tx1b5-2gcat>.
- Chatterjee, Helen J. "Object-Based Learning in Higher Education: The Pedagogical Power of Museums." *The University Museums and Collections Journal* 3 (2010): 179–82.
- Conrad, Sebastian. *German Colonialism: A Short History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Conrad, Sebastian. "Rethinking German Colonialism in a Global Age." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 4 (Oct. 11, 2013): 543–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2013.836352>.
- Dale, Vicki, Nathalie Tasler, and Lola Sánchez-Jáuregui. "Object-Based Learning: Active Learning through Enquiry." *University of Sussex - Ideas for Active Learning*, (July 1, 2022). <https://doi.org/10.20919/opxr1032/69>.
- Díaz, Marcos González. "Penacho de Moctezuma: cómo terminó en Austria este Tesoro prehispánico (y otras piezas emblemáticas que están fuera de México)." (In English: Penacho of Moctezuma: How a prehispanic treasure ended up in Austria (and other emblematic pieces that are outside of Mexico.)) *BBC* (London, England). Oct 14, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-54534222>.
- "Digital Benin Map." Digital Benin. Accessed March 10, 2024. <https://digitalbenin.org/map?type=institutions>.
- Doyle, Laura. "Inter-Imperiality: Dialectics in a Postcolonial World History." *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 16, no. 2 (2014): 159–96. doi:10.1080/1369801X.2013.776244.

- Dreschler, Horst. *Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima. “‘Blood Is a Very Special Juice’: Racialized Bodies and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Germany.” *International Review of Social History* 44, no. S7 (Dec. 1999): 149–69. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020859000115238>.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima. “The Universal Museum: How the New Germany Built Its Future on Colonial Amnesia.” *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 2020, no. 46 (May 1, 2020): 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10757163-8308198>.
- Fortune, Tara Williams. “What the Research Says about Immersion,” *Chinese Language Learning in the Early Grades: A Handbook of Resources and Best Practices for Mandarin Immersion*. Asia Society, (2012).
- Foucault, Michel. *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76*. PENGUIN Books, 2020.
- Gathara, Patrick. “Berlin 1884: Remembering the Conference That Divided Africa.” Al Jazeera, November 15, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/11/15/berlin-1884-remembering-the-conference-that-divided-africa>.
- Ghazi-Saidi, Ladan, and Ana Ines Ansaldo. “Second Language Word Learning through Repetition and Imitation: Functional Networks as a Function of Learning Phase and Language Distance.” *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 11 (Sept. 28, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2017.00463>.
- Gilroy, Paul. *After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?* London: Routledge, 2004.
- Goddar, Jeannette, Sanem Kleff, and Eberhard Seidel. “Kolonialismus Themenheft.” *Schule Ohne Rassismus*. (In English: Colonialism Thematic Guide: Schools without Racism.) (Berlin: Aktion Courage e.V.), 2022.
- Gómora, Xokonoschtletl. “Audioguide zur Wahrheit Deutsch.” (In English: Audioguide of the Truth German.) *Audio Guías de la Verdad*, (in English: Audioguides of the Truth) 2022, <https://www.truthaudioguides.org/>.
- Hagedorn-Saupe, Monika. Rep. *Leitfaden Für Die Dokumentation von Museumsobjekten*. (In English: Guidelines for the Documentation of Museum Objects.) Berlin: Deutscher Museumsbund e.V., 2011. [https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Institut\\_fuer\\_Museumsforschung/Publikationen/Materialien/LeitfadenDokumentation.pdf](https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Institut_fuer_Museumsforschung/Publikationen/Materialien/LeitfadenDokumentation.pdf).
- Hedinger, Daniel, and Nadin Heé. “Transimperial History - Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition.” *Journal of Modern European History* 16, no. 4 (Nov. 2018): 429–52. <https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2018-4-429>.



- Herero People's Reparations Corporation v. Deutsche Bank AG, Casetext (No. 03 Civ. 0991), 2005.
- Hicks, Dan. "Meanwhile Here Is the Interpretive Text for the Benin Displays at the @britishmuseum, the Largest Collection of the Bronzes, as Well as Ivories and Other Material. We're Interested in How the Language Differs between the BM, @pitt\_rivers, and Other Collections #BeninDisplays Pic.Twitter.Com/Kanly0n2qk." Twitter, July 1, 2019. <https://twitter.com/profdanhicks/status/1145683532209184768>.
- Hicks, Dan. *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*. London: Pluto Press, 2021.
- Hicks, Dan. "To Start Things Off-the @pitt\_rivers Is the 3rd Largest Collection of Benin Bronzes Globally. Our Display and Texts Need Updating. with My Colleague @marenkaodlum We'll Be Thinking about How-through Dialogues in Nigeria, Oxford, Birmingham, Bristol, and beyond #Benindisplays Pic.Twitter.Com/Qkivjkcbtg." Twitter, July 1, 2019. <https://twitter.com/profdanhicks/status/1145683525187903491>.
- Hille, Peter. "Germany's Colonial History Often Missing at School." *Deutsche Welle* (Germany), Oct. 10, 2020. <https://www.dw.com/en/how-german-schools-miss-out-countrys-colonial-history/a-55230081>.
- Hillebrecht, Werner. 2017. "Monuments – and what Else? the Controversial Legacy of German Colonialism in Namibia." In *The Cultural Legacy of German Colonial Rule*, 113-126. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110525625-006. <http://www.degruyter.com/doi/10.1515/9783110525625-006>.
- Hitchcock, Roberto, and Melinda Kelly. "Reconciliation between Germany and Namibia: Towards Reparation of the First Genocide of the 20th Century." *International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs* (Denmark), Oct. 12, 2021. <https://www.iwgia.org/en/news/4538-reconciliation-between-germany-and-namibia-towards-reparation-of-the-first-genocide-of-the-20th-century.html>.
- Hull, Isabel V. *Absolute Destruction Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- "International Program on Holocaust and Genocide Education." UNESCO. Nov. 15, 2023. <https://www.unesco.org/en/teaching-holocaust-genocide/iphge>.
- Iriye, Akira, and Pierre-Yves Saunier. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to Present Day*. Houndmills: Macmillan, 2009.
- Kantara, John. "Deutscher Kolonialismus | Geografisches Mosaik." (In English: German Colonialism | Geographic Mosaic.) Deutsches Historisches Museum (German History Museum) Sept. 27, 2016, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ\\_LSAjgHww&themeRefresh=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ_LSAjgHww&themeRefresh=1).

- Kleikamp, Antonia. "Dieser „Kapitain“ Führte Den Kolonialaufstand in Deutsch-Südwest An." (In English: This 'Captain' led the colonial rebellion in German South-West.) *WELT* (Oct. 3, 2022). <https://www.welt.de/geschichte/kopf-des-tages/article241337231/Hendrik-Witbooi-Kriegsherr-und-Nationalheld-Namibias.html>.
- Koutonin, Mawuna. "Story of Cities #5: Benin City, The Mighty Medieval Capital Now Lost without Trace." *The Guardian*, March 18, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/18/story-of-cities-5-benin-city-edo-nigeria-mighty-medieval-capital-lost-without-trace>.
- Langbehn, Volker and Mohammad Salama. *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- "Lehrerhandbuch für den Leistungskurs." (In English: Teacher Handbook for the Credit Program.) *Concordia Language Villages Teaching Manuals*. Minnesota: Concordia College, 2016.
- Lepartz, Nicolas. "Protest am Eröffnungstag: Demo gegen das Humboldt Forum in Berlin." *Tagesspiegel* (Berlin, Germany), July 20, 2021. <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/demo-gegen-das-humboldt-forum-in-berlin-4265185.html>
- Martin, Bridget. "Integrating Multiperspectivity in the History Classroom." *Observatory on History Teaching in Europe*, (Aug. 5, 2022).
- Mbembe, Achille, and Steve Corcoran. *Necropolitics*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019.
- Memarnia, Susanne. "Bronzen für Preußen." *Die Tageszeitung/taz archiv* (Berlin, Germany), May 22, 2021. <https://taz.de/Bronzen-fuer-Preussen/!5773939/>.
- "Missing in Benin: an artistic intervention by Emeka Ogboh." Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (in English: State Art Collection Dresden). Dresden, Germany, (Jan. 5, 2021). <https://www.skd.museum/en/besucherservice/press/2021/vermisst-in-benin-an-artistic-intervention-by-emeka-ogboh/>.
- Namhila, Ellen Ndeshi. "World Library and Information Congress." Durban: International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions, 2007.
- Naranch, Bradley and Geoff Eley. *German Colonialism in a Global Age*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.
- "Object Based Learning for School Groups in Museums." Museums and Galleries of New South Wales, (May 18, 2022). <https://mgns.wa.gov.au/sector/resources/online-resources/education/object-based-learning-school-groups-museums/#:~:text=Objects%20can%20be%20used%20to,from%20young%20and%20old%20alike>.

- Oguntoye, Katharina. *Deutscher Kolonialismus | Quartett "Verlorenes Land."* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDkxr-nGaPI>.
- Ogboh, Emeka. "Vermisst in Benin." Researchstudio. 2021. <https://researchstudio.co/work/vermisst-in-benin-missing-in-benin>.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Translated by Shelley Laura Frisch. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005.
- "Penacho. Pracht & Passion: Der altmexikanische Federkopfschmuck in Wien." (In English: Penacho, Splendor, and Passion: The ancient Mexican Feather Headdress in Vienna.) *weltmuseumwien* (Vienna, Austria), 2012, <https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/ausstellungen/penacho-pracht-passion/>.
- Perraudin, Michael, and Jürgen Zimmerer. *German Colonialism and National Identity*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2014.
- Press, Steven. *Blood and Diamonds: Germany's Imperial Ambitions in Africa*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 2021.
- Roggenbuck, Martin. "Eine unvollständige Geschichte.' Chimamanda Ngozi Adichies Rede zur Eröffnung des Humboldt Forums." (In English: "An Incomplete Story." Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Speech for the Opening of the Humboldt Forum.) *Lonam* (Berlin, Germany). Oct. 4, 2021.
- Rose, Julia. *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Sarr, Felwine, and Bénédicte Savoy. *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics*. France: Ministère de la Culture, 2018.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1994.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Schilling, Britta. *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Schmidt, K A. "Hendrik Witboois Letzter Aufstand Und Tod." *Deutsche Rundschau* 239-240 (1934). <https://archive.org/details/deutsche-rundschau-band-240/page/54/mode/2up>.
- Sieber, Ellen and Sarah Hatcher. "Teaching with Objects and Photographs: A Guide for Teachers." *Mathers Museum of World Cultures*, Indiana: Indiana University, 2012.

- Silvester, Jeremy. *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History*. (Windhoek, Namibia: UNAM Press), 2015.
- Sprigade, Paul and Max Moisel. “No 1. Erdkarte zur Übersicht des deutschen Kolonialbesitzes.” (in English: Map for Overview of the German colonial possessions) *Grosser Deutscher Kolonialatlas* (in English: Big German Colonial Atlas), (Berlin, D. Reimer), 1907. <https://archivfuehrer-kolonialzeit.de/map?coord=10.334427937821099+3.305984069767746+3.02>.
- Stradling, Robert. *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003.
- “Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocide.” UNESCO United Nations Department of Global Communications. Jan. 1, 1970. <https://www.unesco.org/en/teaching-holocaust-genocide>.
- “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Maps.” U.S. Library of Congress, 2012. [https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/teachers/getting-started-with-primary-sources/documents/Analyzing\\_Maps.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/teachers/getting-started-with-primary-sources/documents/Analyzing_Maps.pdf).
- Van Rooyen, Petrus Hendrik. “The German Attack on the Witboois at Hornkranz, Namibia, April 1893.” *Scientia Militaria* 49, no. 1 (March 2021). <https://doi.org/10.5787/49-1-1249>.
- Wansink, Bjorn, Sanne Akkerman, Itzél Zuiker, and Theo Wubbels. “Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End? An Analysis of the Uses of Temporality.” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 46, no. 4 (June 27, 2018): 495–527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2018.1480439>.
- Weizman, Eyal, Imani Jacqueline Brown, Agata Nguyen Chuong, Ashkan Cheheltan, Tobechukwu Onwukeme, and Christoffer Horlitz. “Restituting Evidence: Genocide and Reparations in German Colonial Namibia.” *Forensic Architecture*, April 11, 2022. <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/restituting-evidence-genocide-and-reparations-in-german-colonial-namibia-phase-1>.
- Weizman, Eyal, Imani Jacqueline Brown, Agata Nguyen Chuong, Ashkan Cheheltan, Tobechukwu Onwukeme, and Christoffer Horlitz. “German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: The Hornkranz Massacre.” *Forensic Architecture*, April 12, 2024. <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/german-colonial-genocide-in-namibia-the-hornkranz-massacre>.
- Werner, Wolfgang. “A Brief History of Land Dispossession in Namibia.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, no. 1 (March 1993): 135–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079308708351>.
- Wesche, Marjorie Bingham. “Content-Based Second Language Instruction.” *Oxford Handbooks Online*, (Sept. 3, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195384253.013.0019>.

- Wesseling, Henk. "Imperialism & The Roots of the Great War." *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (March 2005): 100–107. <https://doi.org/10.1162/0011526053887338>.
- Wildenthal, Lora, Jürgen Zimmerer, Russell A Berman, Jan Rüger, Bradley Naranch, Birthe Kundrus, and Maiken Umbach. "The German Colonial Imagination." *German History* 26, no. 2 (April 1, 2008): 251–71. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghn005>.
- Witbooi, Hendrik and Wolfgang Reinhard. *Afrika Den Afrikanern! Aufzeichnungen Eines Nama-Häuptlings Aus Der Zeit Der Deutschen Eroberung Südwestafrikas 1884 Bis 1894*. (In English: Africa for Africans! Records of a Nama Chief from the Time of German Conquest of South-West Africa, 1884 to 1894.) (Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf), 1982.
- "World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages." *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*. Accessed June 7, 2024. <https://www.actfl.org/uploads/files/general/World-ReadinessStandardsforLearningLanguages.pdf>
- Zantop, Susanne. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Zimmerer, Jürgen, and Anthony Mellor-Stapelberg. *German Rule, African Subjects: State Aspirations and the Reality of Power in Colonial Namibia*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2022.
- Zimmerer, Jürgen, ed. *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der Deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*. (In English: No Place in the Sun: Sites of Memory of the German Colonial Past.) Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013.
- Zimmerer, Jürgen. *From Windhoek to Auschwitz? Reflections on the Relationship between Colonialism and National Socialism*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2024.