

1 Towards a Global History of Labour

1.1 Labour and Non-work in Global History

But what is work and what is not work? Is it work to dig, to carpenter, to plant trees, to fell trees, to ride, to fish, to hunt, to feed chickens, to play the piano, to take photographs, to build a house, to cook, to sew, to trim hats, to mend motor bicycles? All of these things are work to somebody, and all of them are play to somebody. There are in fact very few activities which cannot be classed either as work or play according as you choose to regard them. The labourer set free from digging may want to spend his leisure, or part of it, in playing the piano, while the professional pianist may be only too glad to get out and dig at the potato patch. Hence the antithesis between work, as something intolerably tedious, and not-work, as something desirable, is false.

George Orwell. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. London: 1937.¹

George Orwell's biography and his thoughts on work reflect the fault lines of global labour history.² They thus inspire the present study on global labour history in the context of colonial German East Africa between ca. 1900 and 1920. In this respect, the title of the present study – *Prisms of Work* – reflects its programme. As soon as work is investigated, it fans out in multiple directions. As the manifestation of labour is thus inherently context-dependent, complex, and ambiguous, work is characterised as a prism. Keeping in mind that colonial labour contexts were always prone to various forms of coercion, the study primarily approaches the phenomenon of labour as a product of multifaceted negotiations on behalf of all protagonists involved, in this case at three individual working sites. These workplaces in German East Africa are the construction sites of the *Central Railway* (ca. 1905–1916), the *Otto* cotton plantation near Kilossa (ca. 1907–1916) and the palaeontological excavation sites of the Tendaguru Expedition in the colony's southern region of *Lindi* (ca. 1909–1911).

Central to the investigation of labour at these three places are therefore the following questions: What is the overall setting of each particular place of work and how far are their respective characteristics shaped by global and/or local parameters? Who are the decisive protagonists of labour at each working site that manifest the phenomenon of work through their actions and abilities? Do skills

1 Orwell, George. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. Ed. Selina Todd. London: 2021, pp. 135–136.

2 Touching on the connection of Orwell to global labour history cf. Hofmeester, Karin and Linden, Marcel van der. 'Introduction'. *Handbook The Global History of Work*. 1–12. Eds. Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden. Berlin and Boston: 2018, p. 2. Cf. Orwell, George. 'Marrakech'. *The Orwell Foundation*. Web. <https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/marrakech/> (25 May 2021).

enhance the opportunities to become more autonomous when at work? Are those who have long been perceived as ‘the colonisers’ really a homogeneous group particularly in the daily context of work? Were there lines of conflict between them? If yes, which conflicts occurred, and finally, how did each party justify its point of view? Approaching the prisms of work accordingly, this study deliberately does not investigate topics that have long been broadly discussed either in colonial history or in labour history. First of all, this applies especially to discussions centring on the trope of ‘educating’ the African population to work in the colonies. This study presupposes the omnipresence of such discourses in colonial Africa. It takes such discourses as a given to be always kept in mind especially when interpreting sources in the colonial archives. Secondly, questions of whether colonial labour has to be classified as forced work or not or whether tax work is to be regarded as (un-)free labour are not examined in detail. Rather, this study presupposes that a certain degree of force always lingered in any colonial working relationship, oscillating between the two poles of coercion and voluntariness.

All the questions asked by this study are central for global labour history. Although having greatly expanded in recent years, the research subject of global labour history is still blurry. The genesis of its historiography may be traced back in analogy to George Orwell’s biography and his thoughts on work quoted above. Investigating Orwell’s biography and his *œuvre* more closely, it is striking that Orwell’s career in the service of the British Imperial Police Forces preceding his work as an author has found so little attention, although this period was a fundamental facet of Orwell’s life. After all, Orwell worked as an officer of the Indian Imperial Police in Burma between 1922 and 1928. Despite the fact that Orwell decided to become a writer directly after his return from Burma to England just before the 1930s, Orwell’s Burmese experience as a colonial police officer has only been treated as a sideshow that allegedly had little influence on Orwell’s second career as a writer.³ This general negligence is even more surprising as many of Orwell’s initial, but also later (and longer) writings drew a lot on his experience as a police officer in the British colony.⁴ Undoubtedly, many events in the twenti-

3 Cf. Lynskey, Dorian. *The Ministry of Truth: A Biography of George Orwell’s 1984*. London: 2021, Introduction. Cf. Bowen, John. ‘Introduction’. Orwell, George. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. vii–xxx. Ed. John Bowen. Oxford: 2021. Cf. Hofmeester and Linden. ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

4 Clearly, Orwell processed his experience and feelings about (colonial) despotism, racism and the absurdity of white supremacy in essays such as “A Hanging” (1931), “Shooting an Elephant” (1936) or “Not Counting Niggers” (1939), not to mention his very first novel *Burmese Days* published in 1934. For historical research inspired by George Orwell’s *Shooting an Elephant*, cf. Saha, Jonathan. ‘Colonizing elephants: animal agency, undead capital and imperial science in British

eth century were important to Orwell, but Eric Blair (Orwell's given name) still indeed has something to say about the global history of labour.⁵

Thus, Orwell's thoughts on work quoted above must be linked to the historiography of global labour history. This applies also to his book, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, containing his thoughts on work. This quasi-investigative journalistic book about the hardships of the daily lives of the working class in northern England is not exclusively about the English working class(es). Rather, Orwell drew a lot on his colonial experience in British imperial Burma and links his thoughts about the English working classes to labour and work in colonial Asia. *The Road to Wigan Pier* is generally known for its description of the wretched life of individuals of the working class during the 1930s. Orwell describes the misery of both unemployed people and the working poor in the industrial centres of 1930s England and urges them to overcome this distress by his individual vision of socialism. Yet, laying bare the sufferings of the English working class, who still regarded themselves as citizens of the British Empire at that time, Orwell often explicitly links the hardships of the working classes to British colonialism in *The Road to Wigan Pier*.⁶ But it was not only George Orwell's own experience as an imperial police officer in Burma between 1922 and 1928 that was strongly linked to British colonialism. In fact, Orwell himself was even born in India's Motihari (Bihar) in 1903, as his father Richard Blair worked for the Indian Civil Service. Orwell's father's family had further owned Jamaican sugar plantations and his grandfather had been a deacon in Calcutta, while his mother's family had run a thriving business in shipping and teak for generations in Burma.⁷ Besides these familial aspects of Orwell's background that influenced all of his later writings, Orwell himself connected his early occupation as an imperial police officer to the subject matter of *The Road to Wigan Pier*.⁸ In this very work, Orwell himself is very clear on this interrelationship:

When I came home [from Burma] on leave in 1927 I was already half determined to throw up my job, and one sniff of English air decided me. I was not going back to be a part of that evil despotism. [. . .] I felt that I had got to escape not merely from imperialism but from every form of man's dominion over man. I wanted to submerge myself, to get right down

Burma'. 169–189. *BJHS: Themes* 2. 24 April 2017. Web. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/bjhs-themes/article/colonizing-elephants-animal-agency-undead-capital-and-imperial-science-in-british-burma/34A559317F45848054C76C384BEEB8F3/core-reader> (18 June 2018).

5 Cf. Hofmeester and Linden. 'Introduction', pp. 5–6.

6 Cf. Todd, Selina. 'Introduction'. George Orwell. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. vii–xxxiii. Ed. Selina Todd. Oxford: 2021, pp. vii–xxxiii.

7 Cf. Chaudhuri, Rosinka. 'Introduction'. George Orwell. *Burmese Days*. vii–xxxii. Ed. Rosinka Chaudhuri. Oxford: 2021, p. x.

8 Cf. Chaudhuri. 'Introduction', pp. xiii–xv.

among the oppressed, to be one of them and on their side against their tyrants. [. . .] It was in this way that my thoughts turned towards the English working class. It was the first time that I had ever been really aware of the working class, and to begin with it was only because they supplied an analogy. They were the symbolic victims of injustice, playing the same part in England as the Burmese played in Burma.⁹

Indeed, there are a lot more passages in *The Road to Wigan Pier* where Orwell draws connections to British imperialism.¹⁰ It is therefore correct to stress that it is important “to realize today how closely linked Orwell’s understanding of the ‘class question’ [. . .] was to his experience of imperialism”.¹¹ With Orwell being not only a brilliant writer, but also a sharp observer of his times, some of his further thoughts on labour and working life are also worth noticing, and indeed supply a basis for taking his ideas in *The Road to Wigan Pier* one step further. Accordingly, I argue that Orwell’s thoughts can not only inspire research on the working classes of 1930s England, but they also go to the very heart of current research questions asked by global labour history.

This is because there are striking parallels between the general perception about Orwell’s *The Road to Wigan Pier* and the historiography of labour done in Europe and North America. Just as *The Road to Wigan Pier* has largely been perceived as a work merely reporting about England’s unemployed and working poor, so too labour historians have devoted their energy primarily to analysing labour and the working classes in various nation states of the Global North. During its gilded age in the 1970s, labour history generally investigated the phenomenon of labour by means of the methodology of social and economic history. In this type of research, labour and work were primarily presented as something taking place within the boundaries of individual industrial nation states. In addition, the historians perceived working people as a comparatively homogeneous group, who had similar interests and generally stood up for their interests by collective action and trade union activism. Yet, by the end of the same decade, political developments and new research approaches all around the world facilitated the decline of this approach to doing labour history. First of all, the world experienced the decolonisation of many territories around the globe from the 1940s onwards. This development accelerated in the 1960s with the independence of many former colonies particularly in Africa. With the end of colonial rule, scholars of the Global South now had the opportunity to study the labour history of their newly independent states. Their insights differed significantly from labour historians of the Global North, as they

⁹ Orwell. *The Road to Wigan Pier*, pp. 101–102.

¹⁰ Cf. Orwell. *The Road to Wigan Pier*, pp. 41, 58, 69, 76, 85–89, 94–102, 109–110, 123–124, 132–136, 146–148, 155.

¹¹ Chadhuri. ‘Introduction’, p. xx.

highlighted the central role of forced labour in contrast to the free-wage labour paradigm propagated by old-established labour history. “At the same time, they discovered that the ‘national’ historiography that predominated in Europe and North America was impossible in former colonial territories since their history was inextricably linked with that of the colonial metropolises.”¹² Noticing the research results of their colleagues working in the Global South, labour historians of the Global North thus increasingly acknowledged their methodological nationalism as their primary blind spot in their own historiography of labour. With historians of the Global South pursuing labour history that also took European developments into account, scholars of the Global North realised that it was impossible to write a history of labour by exclusively investigating European or North American nation states. Furthermore, they realised that they had neglected the Global South almost entirely in their research. The second blind spot of conventional labour history was laid bare by feminist historical investigations that illuminated the centrality of female work especially in the domestic sphere. Usually subsumed under the terms ‘reproductive’ and ‘care work’ and generally unpaid work, intense debates from the 1960s to the 1980s clearly showed that (female) work without any salary was indeed also a form of labour.¹³ Other developments further contributed to the decline of this type of labour history. By the fall of ‘the iron curtain’ and the alleged ‘End of History’,¹⁴ labour historians generally took the view that countless works on the history of labour had said everything there was to say about their subject. This trend further accelerated with the decline of the Soviet Union contributing to the understanding that research inspired by Marxist theory – broadly speaking – could neither lead to a better understanding of the past nor the present. Consequently, historical research on labour had slowly but surely lost its significance by the 1990s. Instead, historians increasingly took up research inspired by ‘the cultural turn’ and post-colonialism. As both of the newer approaches rather shied away from ‘materialism’ and the methodology of social and economic history, an analysis of the working ‘masses’ appeared even more outdated. Instead, cultural representations, discourse analysis and corresponding individual practices came to the forefronts of historical investigations.¹⁵

12 Hofmeester and Linden. ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

13 Cf. Hofmeester and Linden. ‘Introduction’, pp. 1–3. Cf. Eckert, Andreas. ‘Area Studies and the Development of Global Labor History’. *The Lifework of a Labor Historian: Essays in Honor of Marcel van der Linden*. 156–173. Eds. Ulbe Bosma and Karin Hofmeester. Leiden: 2018, pp. 156–160. For a longer perspective on the historiography of labour since antiquity cf. Lucassen, Jan. ‘Workers. New Developments in Labor History since the 1980s’. *The Lifework of a Labor Historian: Essays in Honor of Marcel van der Linden*. 22–46. Eds. Ulbe Bosma and Karin Hofmeester. Leiden: 2018.

14 Cf. Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: 1998.

15 Cf. Eckert, Andreas. ‘Why all the fuss about a Global Labour History?’. *Global Histories of Work*. 3–24. Ed. Andreas Eckert. Berlin and Boston: 2016, pp. 3–24. Cf. Cooper, Frederick. ‘The ‘La-

But there was life in the old dog yet. During the last two decades, labour history has increasingly integrated approaches of global history and focused on labour in areas other than the Global North. Just as Orwell's biography now starts to be associated with colonialism and the British Empire, global labour history reassessed the phenomenon of work largely via the analysis of labour in colonial contexts. In these last few decades, the emerging global labour history has expanded its field of research particularly to Africa, Asia, (Latin) America and Oceania. As the overwhelming part of these regions had been areas colonised by western Empires by the 'long nineteenth century' (Eric Hobsbawm) at the latest, global labour history reassessed the old-established works on colonial history. One prominent strand of global labour history took the 'bird's eye-view' and jumped on the bandwagon named 'globalisation'. With the rise of the USA as the only remaining global superpower in the 1990s after the failure of the non-capitalist 'Soviet Bloc' for the time being, globalisation became the omnipresent buzzword permeating not only public discourse but also historical research. As global history of this fashion was thus primarily carried out as the history of globalisation, global labour history too largely focussed on topics strongly related to the trope of 'globalisation' and the Global North as the latter's major perpetrator. In this respect, scholars regarded globalisation as a phenomenon marked by ever increasing goods production, goods consumption, and the global circulation of products, people and ideas. 'Globalisation' was further seen as a process that not only compressed time and space by modern means of communication and transportation, but many historians also took the view that globalisation entailed ever closer interconnections between the most distant parts of the world, mobilising – largely in the literal sense – the global population(s) who were equally and ever more comprehensively integrated into an increasingly globalising world.¹⁶ Highly mobile protagonists of labour thus became the major field of interest. Global labour historians reassessed unfree labour relationships ranging from slavery to

bour Question' in Africa and the World'. *General Labour History of Africa. Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th–21st Centuries*. 617–636. Eds. Stefano Bellucci and Andreas Eckert. Exeter: 2019, pp. 617–623. Cf. Bellucci, Stefano and Eckert, Andreas. 'The 'Labour Question' in Africanist Historiography'. *General Labour History of Africa. Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th–21st Centuries*. 1–16. Eds. Stefano Bellucci and Andreas Eckert. Exeter: 2019, pp. 1–9. Cf. Linden, Marcel van der. *Workers of the World. Eine Globalgeschichte der Arbeit*. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2017, pp. 17–31.

¹⁶ Cf. Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Die Flughöhe der Adler: historische Essays zur globalen Gegenwart*. Munich: 2017, pp. 11–53, 203–214. Cf. Bayly, Christopher. *The Birth of the Modern World. 1780–1914. Global Connections and Comparisons*. Oxford: 2014. Cf. Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: 2009. Cf. Conrad, Sebastian. *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. Cambridge: 2010.

indentured labour and other highly mobile ‘free’ wage workers such as crewmen on ocean steamers. Later, also comparatively immobile workers such as dock workers and railway workers came into focus as their workplaces were particularly influenced by the global circulation of goods.¹⁷

Yet, there was criticism of the global history approach from the very beginning. With its major focus on highly mobile people and various forms of worldwide interconnectedness, global labour historians lost sight of the majority of the global population, who lived comparatively sedentary and immobile lives. Furthermore, the focus on mere mobility failed to assess that there were accepted forms of ‘global’ mobility such as tourism or the global circulation of goods, whereas other forms of movement like those of nomadic people living in colonial territories were subject to restrictions or colonial control and therefore not sanctioned by the imperial powers.¹⁸ Among others, the historian of Africa, Frederick Cooper, was one of the most prominent critics of global history pursued merely as the history of globalisation.¹⁹ In his view, there was neither coherence nor any unilateral direction of what so many people perceived as an ever progressing ‘globalisation’. Acknowledging that there were border crossing flows of information, goods, people and ideas, Cooper still urged for them neither to be taken for granted nor as universal. Instead, any historian of global history must focus on a comprehensive analysis of ‘global’ processes to avoid the danger of teleological research. As a matter of fact, Cooper argues, there certainly is global interconnectedness,

17 Cf. Linden. *Workers of the World*. Cf. Varela, Raquel et al. (Eds.). *Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Workers around the World. Case Studies 1950–2010*. Amsterdam: 2017. Cf. Callebert, Ralph. *On Durban’s Docks. Zulu Workers, Rural Households, Global Labor*. Rochester: 2017. Cf. Castryck, Geert (Ed.). ‘From Railway Junctionure to Portal of Globalization: Making Globalization Work in African and South Asian Railway Towns’. *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung*, 25, 3. Leipzig: 2015. Cf. Damir-Geilsdorf, Sabine et al. (Eds.). *Bonded Labour. Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*. Bielefeld: 2016. Cf. Behal, Rana and Linden, Marcel van der (Eds.). *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History*. New York: 2006. Cf. Lambert, David and Lester, Alan (Eds.). *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: 2010. For a ‘state of the art’ summary of the field cf. Cole, Peter and Hart, Jennifer. ‘Trade, Transport, and Services’. *Handbook The Global History of Work*. 277–298. Eds. Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden. Berlin and Boston: 2018.

18 Cf. Huber, Valeska. ‘Multiple Mobilities. Über den Umgang mit verschiedenen Mobilitätsformen um 1900’. 317–341. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, no. 36. Göttingen: 2010, pp. 317–335.

19 Cf. Cooper, Frederick. ‘What Is the Concept of Globalization Good for?. An African Historian’s Perspective’. 189–213. *African Affairs*, vol. 100, no. 399. Oxford: 2001. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3518765> (12 March 2021), p. 189.

but at the same time, there are certainly also disruptions and stoppages in this process, which tend to be overlooked when focussing solely on global interconnectedness.²⁰ In the meantime, such criticism was taken up by many scholars – particularly trained in African history – who largely observed these warnings. Although others still regard the concept of globalisation as an important analytical category of global history, they refined their approach according to the criticisms and often prefer to speak about ‘globalisations’ (plural), to stress the many facets and characteristics of ‘globalisation’.²¹ On the whole, global labour history has certainly observed the critique and there is now an emerging field of historical research explicitly dedicated to the investigation of global disconnections in global history, for instance.²²

In the wake of this criticism of global history in general and global labour history in particular, other certainties about labour also thought to be safe slowly but surely eroded. Historians increasingly wondered whether labour could exclusively be perceived as mere wage labour and nothing else. With the slow but continuous erosion of social security services since the ‘neo liberal’ 1980s, this perception has changed fundamentally, however. By now, the image of such wage labour typical of the industrial countries as the prototype defining labour as such has certainly waned. Instead, historians sensed that the type of wage labour that had dominated the Global North during the twentieth century was rather the global and historical exception than the rule. With global (labour) his-

20 Cf. Cooper. ‘What Is’, pp. 189–213. Cf. Drayton, Richard and David Motadel. ‘Discussion. The Futures of Global History’. 1–21. *Journal of Global History*, 13. Cambridge: 2018. Web. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms>. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022817000262>. (1 August 2018).

21 Cf. Epple, Angelika. ‘Globalisierung/en’. *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*. 11 June 2012. Web. http://docupedia.de/zg/epple_globalisierung_v1_de_2012 (21 January 2021).

22 The Kru people are a fascinating example of accepted mobility in an overall framework of forced mobility and slavery. As African people originating in west Africa where most humans were enslaved, the Kru – among many other occupations – worked on European slave ships and thus facilitated slavery while rarely being taken into slavery themselves. Cf. Gunn, Jeffrey. *Outsourcing African Labor. Kru Migratory Workers in Global Ports, Estates and Battlefields until the End of the 19th Century*. Berlin and Boston: 2021. Cf. Glasman, Joel and Gerstenberger, Debora (Eds.). *Techniken der Globalisierung. Globalgeschichte meets Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*. Bielefeld: 2016. Cf. Hofmeester, Karin et al. ‘No Global Labour History without Africa: Reciprocal Comparison and Beyond’. 249–276. *History in Africa*, vol. 41, n.p.: 2014. JSTOR. Web. www.jstor.org/stable/26362091 (12 March 2021). Cf. Freund, Bill. ‘Sub-Saharan Africa’. *Handbook The Global History of Work*. 63–82. Eds. Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden. Berlin and Boston: 2018. Cf. Bellucci and Eckert. ‘The Labour Question’. Cf. Adelman, Jeremy. ‘What Is Global History Now?’. *Aeon*. N.d. Web. <https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment> (1 December 2020). Cf. “Global Dis/Connections”. *CAS LMU. Center for Advanced Studies*. N.d. https://www.cas.uni-muenchen.de/schwerpunkte/global_dis_connections/index.html (12 March 2021).

tory having focused predominantly on male protagonists of work, gender has become a decisive desideratum of research. With the dominance of wage labour pushing reproductive and care work into the background, global labour history has largely been a masculine affair. As a lot of care work was done by women or feminised men like personal servants (so-called *boys*), this research gap largely persists.²³ Moreover, doubts about the classical understanding of labour as wage labour especially evolved when scholars attempted to apply the wage labour paradigm of the Global North to analyse labour in the Global South. Particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars realised that the prototypical wage labour dominating the industrial countries rarely existed in so-called developing countries. Trying to overcome their methodological deficiencies, scholars thus readjusted their approach to labour in countries outside the Global North and introduced concepts such as the ‘informal urban sector’ to their research. Although the concept of the ‘informal urban sector’ proved to be an inspiring approach, it soon turned out that this ‘informal urban sector’ was neither informal nor limited to urban spheres. Rather, the ‘informal urban sector’ permeated not only cities and larger towns, but its connections also reached right into rural areas and the labour relations involved followed implicit and explicit rules that mutually bound all labour market participants to each other. Hence, both the two major ideas so central to the concept had to be dismissed.²⁴ Likewise, scholars increasingly refrained from taking the twentieth-century wage labour of the Global North as the yardstick that determined how labour should be measured. Shifting their focus away from the Global North, and particularly away from Eu-

23 Cf. Boris, Eileen. ‘Subsistence and Household Labour’. *Handbook The Global History of Work*. 329–344. Eds. Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden. Berlin and Boston: 2018. Cf. Bryce-son, Deborah Fahy. ‘Domestic Work’. *General Labour History of Africa. Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th–21st Centuries*. 301–332. Eds. Stefano Beclucci and Andreas Eckert. Exeter: 2019. Cf. Huws, Ursula. ‘The reproduction of difference: gender and the global division of labour’. 1–10. *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation*, Vol. 6, no. 1, n.p.: 2012. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.13169/workorgalaboglob.6.1.0001> (4 June 2021). Cf. Cobble, Dorothy Sue. ‘The Promise and Peril of the New Global Labor History’. 99–107. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, Fall 2012, no. 82. Cambridge: 2012. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23391672> (4 June 2021). Cf. Vigna, Xavier et al. ‘Gender history and labour history’. 176–203. *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, no. 38, Working women, working men. N. P.: 2013. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26273601> (4 June 2021). Cf. Aitken, Robbie. ‘Forgotten Histories: recovering the precarious lives of African servants in imperial Germany’. *Locating African European Studies. Interventions, Intersections, Conversations*. 139–150. Eds. Felipe Espinoza Garrido et al. London: 2020.

24 Cf. Cooper, Frederick. ‘Von der Sklaverei in die Prekarität? Afrikanische Arbeitsgeschichte im Globalen Kontext’. *Re:work. Arbeit Global – Historische Rundgänge*. 4–29. Eds. Andreas Eckert and Felicitas Hentschke. Berlin and Boston: 2019, pp. 3–11.

rope, they tried to generate a better understanding of labour in the Global South. In doing so, labour historians consequently attempted to transcend not only the concept of wage labour as such, but also asked larger questions about what labour and work actually meant.²⁵

The subsequent considerations of global labour historians largely echoed George Orwell's thoughts quoted at the very beginning of this study. The fundamental question was this: if labour was not necessarily wage labour, how could you possibly define labour? Hence, scholars reassessed labour by its alleged counterpart or rather complement: leisure. Perceived as the other side of the coin of labour, free-time activities and the innumerable and seemingly ever-increasing offerings of the consumer societies came to the limelight as forms of non-work. In this respect, not only current phenomena of mass consumerism in the Global North after WWII received recurring attention, but also its beginnings in the rapidly industrialising societies of the *fin de siècle*.²⁶ Discussing whether leisure and free time really were the opposite of wage labour, the question arose whether this approach was not too dichotomic and narrowly defined. Thus, even larger questions about labour, leisure and non-work were raised to scrutinise further what work was and how labour could be defined and by which parameters.²⁷ So far, there has not been a clear consensus about the definition of labour among historians. Therefore, the global history of labour should neither be regarded as a uniform new narrative nor as a new historical theory demonstrating how to pursue this kind of research. It rather aims at synthesising various examples of empirical research and is generally open to multiple academic interpretations.²⁸

25 Cf. Eckert. 'Area Studies', pp. 156–173.

26 Cf. Bänziger, Peter-Paul. *Moderne als Erlebnis. Eine Geschichte der Konsum- und Arbeitsgesellschaft. 1840–1940*. Göttingen: 2020. Cf. Hentschke, Felicitas. 'Labour and Leisure in Global History. Summer Academy'. Cfp. 27 March 2018. *HSozKult*. Web. <https://www.hsozkult.de/searching/id/event-86591?title=labour-and-leisureleisure-in-global-history-summer-academy&q=Labour%20and%20Leisure%20in%20Global%20History&sort=&fq=&total=39&recno=10&subType=event> (12 March 2021). Cf. Burke, Peter. 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe'. 136–150. *Past & Present*, no. 146. Oxford: 1995. *Jstor*. Web. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/651154> (1 August 2018). Cf. Akyeampong, Emmanuel and Ambler, Charles. 'Leisure in African History. An Introduction'. 1–16. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, no. 1. Boston: 2002. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3097363> (1 August 2018).

27 Cf. Genner, Julian et al. 'Muße und Arbeit'. Conference Report 12th–14th April 2018. *HSozKult*. Web. <https://www.hsozkult.de/searching/id/tagungsberichte-7814?title=musse-und-arbeit&q=mu%C3%9Fe&page=2&sort=&fq=&total=163&recno=29&subType=fdkn> (25 May 2021).

28 Cf. Re:work. *International Research Center. Work and Human Lifecycle in Global History*. Web. <https://rework.huberlin.de/de/aktuelles.html>. (21 July 2017). Cf. Eckert. 'Why all the fuss', pp. 5–9. Cf. Kocka, Jürgen. 'Arbeit im historischen Grundriss'. *Alltag, Erfahrung, Eigensinn. Historisch-anthropologische Erkundungen*. 445–457. Eds. Belinda Davis et al. Frankfurt o.M. and New York:

This general openness also includes fundamental questions about the inherent meaning of work, labour and employment. More precisely, the semantics of the terms ‘work’ and ‘labour’ have come under thorough scrutiny and must be reflected in any (global) history of labour. There must therefore be some reflection about the terms of ‘labour’ and ‘work’. Already shimmering through George Orwell’s reflections about work cited above, Hannah Arendt described ‘work’ as an activity that is pursued rather autonomously and for its own sake. In contrast to such a high degree of autonomy, ‘labour’ is restricted to those activities pursued to survive or to make a living. Although this rough division between ‘labour’ and ‘work’ is legitimate, it remains too vague for closer historical investigations. In their *Semantiken von Arbeit* (semantics of work), Thomas Sokoll, Jörn Leonhard and Willibald Steinmetz therefore advocate using the terms ‘labour’ and ‘work’ pragmatically. They therefore use the terms interchangeably, which is also done in this study.²⁹

In addition, there are two other aspects to be observed, which are particularly important for the analysis of labour in colonial contexts. First of all, the fundamental understanding that the meanings of the terms ‘labour’ and ‘work’ may change in colonial contexts through the introduction of new labour regimes by the colonisers. Secondly, the insight that a genuine understanding of what labour is may be fundamentally different depending on the views of either the coloniser or the colonised. Julia Seibert has traced back how the meaning of the Swahili word *kazi* changed over the course of Belgian colonial rule in the region of Congolese Katanga between 1908 and 1960. Swahili is the most widespread language in East Africa, spoken from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique and from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the eastern parts of the Congo. Generally, *kazi* translates into both ‘work’ and ‘labour’ and still has the same meaning today. With nuances of meaning differing locally, especially in the Congolese region of Katanga, *kazi* primarily denotes wage labour in industrial contexts. In contrast to *kazi*, there is the verb *kulima*, which is related primarily to agricultural means of

2008, pp. 447–449. Cf. Linden, Marcel van der. ‘The Promise and Challenges of Global Labor History’. *Global Histories of Work*. 25–48. Ed. Andreas Eckert. Berlin and Boston: 2016, p. 30.

²⁹ Finally, Arendt uses the term ‘action’ to describe any voluntary activities pursued for or on behalf of the civil society. As the civil society is irrelevant to the present study it is left out here. Cf. Leonhard, Jörn and Steinmetz, Willibald. ‘Von der Begriffsgeschichte zur historischen Semantik von ‘Arbeit’’. *Semantiken von Arbeit: Diachrone und vergleichende Perspektiven*. 9–59. Eds. Jörn Leonhard and Willibald Steinmetz. Cologne et al.: 2016, pp. 30–59. Cf. Sokoll, Thomas. ‘Alteuropäisches Erbe, moderne Ausprägung und postmoderne Verwerfungen im Arbeitsbegriff’. *Semantiken von Arbeit: Diachrone und vergleichende Perspektiven*. 393–409. Eds. Jörn Leonhard and Willibald Steinmetz. Cologne et al.: 2016, pp. 393–397. Cf. Kocka. ‘Arbeit’, pp. 445–449.

production. As the imposition of wage labour, i.e. *kazi*, was the result of Belgian colonial labour regimes in the Congolese region of Katanga, Seibert traces back shifting meanings of *kazi* by analysing contexts of labour in Congolese mines throughout Belgian colonial rule (1908–1960). Around 1900, *kazi* described forms of coerced labour. Although the slow yet constant imposition of wage labour was a global process closely related to the establishment of capitalist modes of production, it was never a natural process. Instead, wage labour had to be introduced actively. This process was generally marked by conflicts, and the imposition of wage labour was most violent in colonial territories in the period between 1885 and 1960. Nevertheless, it was a very complex process that also included the introduction of more liberal forms of wage labour at the same time. With Katanga being very rich in natural resources and therefore constituting the most important industrial region of central Africa, both the Belgian colonial administration and the Belgian mining industries joined forces to maximise the profits of the region. Key to this undertaking was to stabilise the labour market. To make wage labour more attractive to the local population, the colonial state and the companies thus introduced incentives such as constant pay, company dwellings or medical care for those employed in the industrial sector from the 1920s onwards. These labour policies enhanced the workers' capacities to take an active role in the arrangement of employment relationships and working conditions. Despite numerous conflicts in such labour negotiations, the increasing power of Katanga's mine workers led to comparatively liberal wage labour conditions. These transitions with respect to labour conditions on the spot were also reflected in language and the meaning of the word *kazi*. While *kazi* was still associated with slavery and forced labour at the beginning of the twentieth century, it had fundamentally changed its meaning by the 1930s: *kazi* was increasingly associated with the appreciation of individual work performance and opportunities for upward mobility within the social order of the copper mining industry. Therefore, Katanga's concept of *kazi* still bears connotations of freedom and modernity today and has lost its original connotation of forced labour and slavery.³⁰

Besides this semantic analysis of *kazi* in Belgian colonial Katanga, football provides for another illustrative example. It shows how blurry the line between labour and non-work may prove to be in colonial contexts. Like almost anywhere else in the world, football is one of the most popular sports on the African continent today. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the sport was

³⁰ Cf. Seibert, Julia. 'Kazi. Konzepte, Praktiken und Semantiken von Lohnarbeit im kolonialen Kongo'. *Semantiken von Arbeit: Diachrone und vergleichende Perspektiven*. 209–223. Eds. Jörn Leonhard and Willibald Steinmetz. Cologne et al.: 2016, pp. 209–211, 223. Cf. Eckert. 'Why all the fuss', p. 18.

largely unknown in Africa. Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler have analysed an incident that took place at the compound of the Rhodesian *Roan Antelope Mine* in 1932 when the company attempted to benevolently offer their staff leisure activities. This incident reveals a lot about clashing views on colonial labour:

The compound manager [. . .] bemoaned the mine workers' lack of enthusiasm for the soccer and the drill teams organized by the mine management to occupy employees in their non-working hours. The manager showed particular irritation at the failure of the African workers to recognize 'leisure' when they saw or experienced it: 'they have the idea', he wrote, 'that whatever is required of them, whether it be an exhibition of Physical Drill or game of football, it is required of them solely for the amusements of the Bwanas [here: colonizers].' He continued incredulously: 'We have had several instances of natives having failed to turn up for a game of physical drill and putting forth the excuse that they did not get overtime pay for doing the 'work'.³¹

In this incident, the attempt to privilege wage labour by means of after-work opportunities for leisure failed. Instead of making wage labour more agreeable to the local workforce, the mine workers in Rhodesia protested the unpaid 'extra work', which was solely a leisure activity in the colonisers' eyes. Both this example about conflicting views about work and leisure as well as that of the transforming semantics of *kazi* in Congolese Katanga show that there may be a thin line between labour, leisure and non-work. Furthermore, they reveal that the parameters that constitute the meaning of labour are fundamentally dependent on the context and on all protagonists involved in any labour relationship. Hence, an analysis of labour must always be an analysis of one particular site of work that takes the agency of all individuals involved in the process of labour into account. Historically speaking, research on labour should focus on individual case studies that seek to include the perspective on the micro-level as well in general.³² In this respect, the buzzword for historical investigation has long been, and still is, 'agency'.

With historians having used agency predominantly as another cipher for any acts of resistance against slavery or colonialism, scholars criticising such a narrow understanding of agency remained unheard for a very long time.³³ In the

31 Roan Antelope Consolidated Mines (RACM), Monthly Compound Report, ZCCM, Box 10.7.10c. Qutd. in: Akyeampong and Ambler. 'Leisure in African History', p. 5. Generally, 'bwana' (Swahili) translates into 'sir'.

32 Cf. Sokoll. 'Alteuropäisches Erbe', pp. 393–409. Cf. Kocka. 'Arbeit', pp. 453–455.

33 Cf. Johnson, Walter. 'On Agency'. 113–124. *Journal of Social History*, vol. 37, no. 1. Oxford: 2003. A very recent example on reading (largely African) agency overwhelmingly as resistance cf. Daughton, J.P. *In the Forest of No Joy. The Congo-Océan Railroad and the Tragedy of French Colonialism*. New York: 2021, pp. 172–213. For a broader application of (African) agency cf. Lawrence, Benjamin N. et al. (Eds.). *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks. African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa*. Wisconsin: 2006. Cf. Iliffe, John (Ed.). *Modern Tanzanians. A Volume of Biographies*. Dar es Salaam: 1973. Cf. Auslander, Leora. 'Accommodation, Resistance, and Eigensinn.

background of the rise of global history, this has changed to a certain degree. A growing number of historians have been insisting on an understanding of agency beyond mere acts of resistance on the part of the enslaved, colonised or subalterns. Lynn M. Thomas, for example, highlights the fact that the genuine question for a historian is not to reveal whether any individual under investigation possessed agency or not. Thomas rather takes the general capacity for agency as a foundational assumption, “while posing the *form, scale and scope* of that capacity and those forces as research questions to investigate.”³⁴ Naturally, this understanding of agency may include acts of resistance against colonial rule, for example. But historical investigation has not only to reveal that there was agency to acts of resistance. It must go beyond to the questions of how such resistance was carried out in detail and under which circumstances. Naturally, an understanding of agency beyond resistance also includes forms of cooperation or collaboration between the colonised and the colonisers, for instance. Of course, the capacities to agency vary greatly according to the circumstances. But if any individual has at least “some capacity to shape the world around [him or her]”,³⁵ there is no doubt that an individual has not only agency to resistance, but also to cooperation or collaboration. Historical research therefore must examine the circumstances and parameters in which any form of agency is exerted and investigate why, when and how an individual chooses a specific action from the broad spectrum ranging from resistance to collaboration and beyond. For this global history of labour, adopting both this broader understanding of agency and the central threads of global labour history has numerous consequences.

First of all, this research project chooses to investigate the global history of labour by examining three sites of work in the colony of German East Africa: the construction sites of the *Central Railway* (1905–1916), the *Otto* cotton plantation near Kilossa (ca. 1907–1916) and the palaeontological Tendaguru Expedition between ca. 1909–1911. Each of these places of labour had dynamics of its own and followed its own logics. At all three sites of work, labour was not only prone to various forms of coercion, but it was also the result of constant negotiations of all protagonists involved in the process of work. Secondly, the overall setting of each work site must be examined thoroughly as it is the background setting for any agency on the part of all those involved in labour. Generally, the topography of

Évolués and Sapeurs between Africa and Europe. *Alltag, Erfahrung, Eigensinn. Historisch-anthropologische Erkundungen*. 205–217. Eds. Belinda Davis et al. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2008.

³⁴ Thomas, Lynn M. ‘Historicising Agency’. 234–239. *Gender & History*, vol. 28, no. 2. Oxford: 2016, p. 235.

³⁵ Thomas. ‘Historicising Agency’, p. 325.

each workplace underpins the colonisers' claim to control any events on the spot. If transgressions to this colonial rule *en miniature*³⁶ occur, the clash between claim and reality becomes obvious. If no transgressions occur, one must wonder why this is the case. Thirdly, in any case the capacities for action of the individual protagonists of labour must be considered, asking the question why an individual carries out a specific action of resistance, cooperation, collaboration, or anything else. Naturally, an individual does not act in a vacuum. He or she always has to adjust his or her actions not only to the (societal) circumstances, but also to his fellow human beings. Any action is therefore always the result of a complex process also valid in any context of labour. Thus, the inter-individual relationships of all protagonists involved in each work site under investigation must be examined closely. All in all, decent investigation in global labour history demands the usage of macro- and micro-perspectives to grasp the multifaceted phenomenon of work.³⁷

1.2 Current State of Research

The three places of work under investigation have been selected for the following reasons. Each of them has been central to studies investigating the history of German East Africa. At the same time, studies on them have neglected decisive aspects as far as the history of labour is concerned. This holds true not only for the historiography on German colonialism in general, but also for works of global history. Although imperial infrastructures and railway building have featured prominently in global and colonial historiography, colonial railways have predominantly been perceived as 'tools of empire' that were anonymously established in a colony. In existent research, it mostly appears that they were built by invisible hands and the existing studies on colonial infrastructures neglect those people who actually made the infrastructure become a reality.³⁸ As far as labour at the construction sites of the *Central Railway* in German East Africa is concerned, if at all, two groups of people were considered. Recently, Sebastian Beese has investigated the roles of Euro-

³⁶ Cf. Stoyke, Michael. 'Suche nach einem Europa *en miniature*: Chinas Städte in den Augen europäischer Reisender um 1900'. *Welt-Räume. Geschichte, Geographie und Globalisierung seit 1900*. 147–174. Eds. Iris Schröder and Sabine Höhler. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2005.

³⁷ Cf. Sokoll. 'Alteuropäisches Erbe', p. 401.

³⁸ Cf. Headrick, Daniel R. *The Tools of Empire. Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. New York and Oxford: 1981. Cf. Laak, Dirk van. *Imperiale Infrastruktur. Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas 1880 bis 1960*. Paderborn et al.: 2004. A recent exception is Daughton's study on the *Congo-Océan Railroad* built after WWI in French colonial Congo. Cf. Daughton. *In the Forest of No Joy*.

pean railway experts like engineers, while the remaining research has investigated the role of African men and women in charge of manual railway construction. Other protagonists of labour involved in the construction process working every day with the African workforce have largely been ignored. As research on business history in Africa before WWI is still scarce in general,³⁹ little is also known about the railway construction companies and their engineering personnel working and interacting with other personnel on the spot. In this respect, the decisive presence of Indian artisans and South-(East) European railway sub-contractors or rather labour recruiters, who were all decisive in building the railway, has largely been overlooked. Likewise, apart from the engineers, whether persons occupied at the railway were regarded as skilled workers or not, and whether their skills influenced their standing in the context of colonial labour have generally not been considered. If there is research on these issues, it is still very much work in progress.⁴⁰

39 Cf. Austin, Gareth. 'African Business History'. 141–158. Ed. John F. Wilson. *The Routledge Companion to Business History*. London: 2017, p. 145. Cf. Oestermann, Tristan. 'Review on: Samarin, William J. *The Black Man's Burden. African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubangi Rivers, 1880–1900*. New York: 2019'. *HSozKult*. 30 August 2021. Web. <https://www.hsozkult.de/searching/id/reb-96367?title=w-j-samarin-the-black-man-s-burden&q=oestermann&sort=&fq=&total=21&recno=1&subType=reb> (6 September 2021).

40 Cf. Koponen, Juhani. *Development for Exploitation. German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*. Helsinki and Hamburg: 1994, pp. 297–314, 410–413. Cf. Tetzlaff, Rainer. *Koloniale Entwicklung und Ausbeutung. Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Deutsch-Ostafrikas 1885–1914*. Berlin: 1970, pp. 81–100. Cf. Reichart-Burikukiye, Marianne. *Gari la Moshi – Modernität und Mobilität. Das Leben mit der Eisenbahn in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Münster: 2005, pp. 24–72. Cf. Biermann, Werner. *Tanganyika Railways – Carriers of Colonialism. An Account of Economic Indicators and Social Fragments*. Münster: 1995. Cf. Divall, Colin. 'Railway Imperialisms. Railway Nationalisms'. *Die Internationalität der Eisenbahn. 1850–1970*. 195–210. Eds. Monika Burri et al. Zürich: 2003. Cf. Hertsch, Florian M. and Mutlu, R. (Eds.). *Die Bagdad-bahn. Ein Umriss deutsch-türkischer Beziehungen. Gesammelte Beiträge*. Hamburg: 2016. More nuanced and inspiring the latest approaches cf. Monson, Jamie. *Africa's Freedom Railway. How a Chinese Development Project changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*. Indiana: 2009. Cf. Panel "Railway Imperialism Reconsidered" of the Society for the History of Technology (SHOT) in Milan (Italy) in November 2019. Cf. "Changing Track. Redirecting Research on Colonial Railways. Workshop on Colonial Railways in Africa c. 1880–1960". *EUI Florence* (Online): 9 November 2020. Cf. Decker, Julio. 'Lines in the Sand. Railways and the archipelago of colonial territorialization in German Southwest Africa, 1897–1914'. 1–36. Web. *Science-direct.com*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2020.09.002> (15 March 2021). Cf. Kleinöder, Nina. 'A Place in the Sun? German Rails and Sleepers in Colonial Railway Building in Africa, 1905 to 1914'. 1–23. *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, 65, no. 1. Berlin: 2020. Cf. Beese, Sebastian. *Experten der Erschließung. Akteure der deutschen Kolonialtechnik in Afrika und Europa 1890–1943*. Paderborn: 2021. Cf. Todzi, Kim Sebastian. 'Colonial Capitalism in Action. The New Social and Economic History of German Colonialism'. *HSozKult*. 14 April 2021. Web. <https://www.hsozkult.de/searching/id/event-97072?title=colonial-capitalism-in-action-the-new-social-and-economic-history-of-german-colonialism&q=colonial%20capitalism%20in%20action&sort=&fq=&total=139&recno=1&subType=event> (31 May 2021).

Likewise, the *Otto* cotton plantation near Kilossa is not unknown in historiography on German colonialism. Moreover, it is especially Thaddeus Sunseri who has stressed the significance of German colonial cotton schemes in East Africa and highlighted large-scale plantations like *Otto*'s. With Sunseri considering African labour and the workers' individual agency at such cotton plantations, he even touched upon the decisive role of labour recruiters providing for the workforce necessary in the colonial labour market. As a matter of fact, Sunseri's research largely remained within the boundaries of the German East African colony and has not addressed the typical questions asked by global (labour) history. Especially since Andrew Zimmerman's seminal work *Alabama in Africa* on the global dimension of colonial cotton schemes that linked cotton production of the southern US American states to German colonial Togo, and Sven Beckert's new history of global capitalism *Empire of Cotton*, it is not enough to remain within the boundaries of one single African colony when it comes to the history of cotton cultivation and textile production. As any history of global textile and cotton production has "given little space to labour",⁴¹ the present study thus investigates labour at the *Otto* cotton plantation from a global perspective without neglecting decisive parameters on the spot. Furthermore, it reinvestigates the central role of the Indo-German plantation manager in Kilossa, Ranga Kaundinya, who was not only confronted with discriminatory discourses when at work, but also with profound management failures of his boss. Another issue concerns technological innovations intended to reduce manual African labour in Kilossa. Although *Otto* tried to cultivate the cotton plantation by huge steam ploughs, the attempt failed miserably. Thus, the skill of the African workforce remained decisive to grow and harvest this cash crop. Describing the mode of cotton plantation using African labour as 'the living machine', Kaundinya soon realised that this machine of manual African labour had defeated the modern engines of the steam ploughs.⁴²

Labour features only little in research about the Tendaguru Expedition. While research about the palaeontological Tendaguru excavations has been widely no-

41 Riello, Giorgio. *Cotton: The Fabric that made the Modern World*. Cambridge: 2013, p. 11.

42 Cf. Sunseri, Thaddeus. *Vilimani. Labor Migration and rural Change in early colonial Tanzania*. Oxford: 2002. Cf. Bleifuß, Gerhard and Hergenröder, Gerhard. *Die "Otto-Plantage Kilossa" (1907–1914). Aufbau und Ende eines kolonialen Unternehmens in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Wendlingen am Neckar: 1993. Cf. Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton. A New History of Global Capitalism*. New York: 2015. Cf. Riello. *Cotton*. Cf. Zimmerman, Andrew. *Alabama in Africa. Booker T. Washington, The German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*. Princeton: 2010. Cf. Robins, Johnathan E. *Cotton and Race Across the Atlantic. Britain, Africa, and America, 1900–1920*. Rochester: 2016. Cf. Powell, Jim. *Losing the Thread. Cotton, Liverpool, and the American Civil War*. Liverpool: 2021. Cf. Dejung, Christof. *Commodity Trading, Globalization and the Colonial World. Spinning the Web of the Global Market*. New York and London: 2018.

ticed by historians, this research has been rather situated in research fields on the history of colonial objects as well as in research on the history of science and imperialism. Regarding work, only one article explicitly deals with labour at the dinosaur fossil excavation sites. Examining visual sources, Mareike Vennen analysed how labour was captured by the view of the colonial camera and subsequently orchestrated to celebrate the industrious and well-organised excavation works. Particularly, East African fossil preparators and porters, who transported tons of petrified bones hundreds of kilometres from the Tendaguru Mountain to the coastal town of Lindi on the Indian Ocean, were staged in contemporary photography. Yet, there were also other profoundly skilled people working at the Tendaguru, whose roles have so far been neglected both in research on palaeontological excavation sites and in (colonial) history and who were indispensable for the success of the expedition. Although acknowledged in published and widely read books on the Tendaguru issued around 1912, the role of African labour has not been studied in detail. In this respect, two groups are of special interest. These are the personal servants working for the colonisers, such as the so-called *boys* who were especially in charge of housekeeping, as well as the East African chefs responsible for the daily meals of the Europeans. As there were generally only two German palaeontologists present at the Tendaguru, their personal servants were central for the smooth functioning of the excavations. Moreover, apart from the article by Vennen, the remaining literature on the Tendaguru Expedition was published only a few years after the millennium, and it therefore does not address the more recent questions raised by global (labour) history. Apart from such research on the excavations at the Tendaguru proper, several recent studies have been released that ascertained a widespread ‘dinomania’ which captured North American and European societies in the ‘long nineteenth century’. The dimension of the West’s longing for ever greater and more spectacular fossil finds all around the world must be included into research on labour at the Tendaguru Mountain, of course.⁴³ Taken together, the present study investigates global labour history by means of these three profoundly individual places of work, each with its own dynamics. Although all of them were

43 Cf. Vennen, Mareike. ‘Arbeitsbilder – Bilderarbeit. Die Herstellung und Zirkulation von Fotografien der Tendaguru-Expedition’. *Dinosaurier Fragmente. Zur Geschichte der Tendaguru-Expedition und ihrer Objekte. 1906–2018*. 56–77. Eds. Ina Heumann et al. Göttingen: 2018. Cf. Vennen, Mareike. ‘Träger-Arbeiten. Die Zirkulation kolonialer Dinge und Bilder der Tendaguru-Expedition (1909–1913)’. *Der Träger. Zu einer ‘tragenden’ Figur der Kolonialgeschichte*. 157–180. Eds. Sonja Malzner and Anne D. Peiter. Bielefeld: 2018. Cf. Maier, Gerhard. *African Dinosaurs unearthed. The Tendaguru Expeditions*. Indiana: 2003. Cf. Mogge, Winfried. *Wilhelm Branco (1844–1928). Geologe – Paläontologe – Darwinist. Eine Biographie*. Berlin: 2018, pp. 199–222. Cf. Rieppel, Lukas. *Assembling the Dinosaur. Fossil Hunters, Tycoons, and the Making of a Spectacle*. Harvard: 2019. Cf. Nieuwland, Ilja. *American Dinosaur Abroad. A Cultural History of Carnegie’s Plaster Diplodocus*. Pittsburgh: 2019.

part of the ‘colonial globality’ taking place around 1900 (S. Conrad), each remained strongly dependent on local parameters. This field of tension between the local and the global set the stage for all the protagonists who together created the phenomenon of labour at each place of work.

The publication of handbooks generally indicates when historiography has reached a new state of research. Regarding global labour history, two works especially are fundamental: Hofmeester and van der Linden’s *Handbook The Global History of Work*, and Bellucci and Eckert’s *General Labour History of Africa*. While disagreeing about the historical applicability of the concept of ‘globalisation’, both handbooks nevertheless take a broad approach to labour. This approach includes consideration of, among others, forms of free and unfree labour, the military and police, crime and illegal work, sport, tourism and entertainment, entrepreneurship, international organisations, domestic work, and gender, as well as forms of labour protest and (trade union) activism, and micro- versus macro-perspectives.⁴⁴ Given this vast research scope, it is of course impossible to assess the entire state of research of all research subjects and all areas of interest to global labour history. Besides the larger questions of global labour history outlined above, I therefore first concentrate on the state of research regarding labour and work in German colonial East Africa. Subsequently, I outline the existent studies that have been done on the three places of work under investigation, checking whether they had anything to say about labour at the (construction sites of the) *Central Railway*, the *Otto* plantation in Kilossa and the Tendaguru Expedition.

In old-established works of German colonial history, labour and work usually feature as a sub-chapter. Generally, these works assess the colonial administration’s labour policies and their implementation. Themes such as direct and indirect policies of forced labour on the part of the German colonial administration feature prominently. Thus, convict labour during warfare, e.g. during the Maji Maji War 1905–1908 or the introduction of taxation or labour card systems to provide indirect incentives compelling the East African population to work for the colonisers are fundamental to this research. Furthermore, these studies focus on legal reforms of labour policies or labour as a component of general colonial economic policies.⁴⁵ In regards to both, the most comprehensive work on German

⁴⁴ Cf. Hofmeester and van der Linden. ‘Introduction’, pp. 1–12. Cf. Cooper. ‘The ‘Labour Question’, pp. 617–623. Cf. Bellucci and Eckert. ‘The ‘Labour Question’, pp. 1–16.

⁴⁵ Cf. Gründer, Horst. *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*. Paderborn: 2004, pp. 157–160. Schinzinger, Francesca. *Die Kolonien und das Deutsche Reich. Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der deutschen Besitzungen in Übersee*. Stuttgart: 1984, pp. 83–94. Cf. Iliffe, John. *Tanganyika under German Rule. 1905–1912*. Cambridge: 1969, pp. 49–81, 166–200. In his *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Iliffe generally puts the results of his study of the German colonial period in a broader frame-

colonial policies in East Africa certainly is Juhani Koponen's *Development for Exploitation*, which deconstructed the development and progress paradigms towards 'Third World' Tanzania. In Koponen's view, the concept of (wage) labour is exported to the German colony to integrate the latter into the world market. Primarily serving heterogeneous German economic interests, Koponen names this process 'the creation of labour'. It consists largely of the colonial state's pursuing active labour policies and creating a modern labour market. Thereby, besides economic incentives, direct forms of forced labour such as convict or compulsory labour, as well as indirect forms of forced labour, such as taxation, were integral.⁴⁶ Written thirty years ago, Koponen's research approach and the corresponding discourses around the 'development paradigms' are certainly not up to date. His work is nevertheless extensive and covers a wide range of colonial policies on labour and thus acquires almost the status of a handbook on German colonial policies in East Africa. Remarkably, it also seems that Koponen's concluding thoughts on the "indirect and complex [...] links between colonialism and capitalism" that were "mediated through the colonial state" and its "creation of labour" may well be connected to the latest discussions around the (new) history of global capitalism.⁴⁷ Especially connected to global labour history, various questions about the manifold forms of free and unfree labour in relation to the global expansion of capitalism are currently being reassessed; not least regarding labour regimes in (colonial) Africa.⁴⁸

work of social and economic history in mainland Tanzania from 1800 to Tanganyikan independence in 1961. On this occasion however, he highlights the role of the African population. Exemplifying several population groups like the Wanjamwezi, he illustrates their integration to the colonial labour market. Cf. Iliffe, John. *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge: 1979, pp. 135–162. Cf. Tetzlaff. *Koloniale Entwicklung*, pp. 193–279.

⁴⁶ Cf. Koponen. *Development*, pp. 321–437.

⁴⁷ Koponen. *Development*, p. 665, cf. pp. 663–677.

⁴⁸ For a summarising discussion on the relationship of global labour history and the history of capitalism cf. Edwards, Andrew David et al. (Eds.). 'Capitalism in Global History'. E1-e32. *Past and Present*, vol. 249, Issue 1, November. Oxford: 2020. Web. <https://academic.oup.com/past/article/249/1/e1/6007772> (15 May 2023). Cf. Kocka, Jürgen. 'Introduction'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 1–12. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016. Cf. Komlosy, Andrea. 'Work and Labor Relations'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 33–70. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016. Cf. Eckert, Andreas. 'Capitalism and Labor in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 165–186. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016. Cf. Austin, Gareth. 'The Return of Capitalism as a Concept'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 207–234. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016. Cf. Beckert, Sven. 'The New History of Capitalism'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 235–250. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016. Cf. Linden, Marcel

Overwhelmingly ignored by recent studies on German colonial East Africa have been regional studies. This is contrary to their value, as especially Norbert Aas' work investigates the economy and East African workers in the colony's south. It is particularly revealing regarding the general context of labour regarding the Tendaguru Expedition, as the palaeontological excavations took place in the southern region of *Lindi*.⁴⁹ The African workers' legal status in the context of labour is illustrated by the works of Schröder, Aas and Sippel.⁵⁰ With respect to the African workers' recruitment and their relationship as (forced) labourers towards European settlers, Söldenwagner provides some insights besides Aas and Sunseri.⁵¹ A few passages of Horst Gründer's works deal with (forced) workers at Protestant and Catholic missions, while Rebekka Habermas rightly demanded to include the history of Christian missions in global history and to stress the perspectives and actions of the colonised populations involved in the Christian missions. This applies to mission pupils or members of the Christian churches who worked on the construction sites of the *Central Railway*, for instance.⁵²

For the interconnectedness of the ideology of 'educating to work' in the German *Reich* and its colonies, Sebastian Conrad's research has induced scholarly debates. Although it is yet "far from clear whether the radicalization of the labour

van der. 'Final Thoughts'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 251–266. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016.

49 Cf. Aas, Norbert. *Koloniale Entwicklung im Bezirksamt Lindi (Deutsch-Ostafrika): Deutsche Erwartungen und Regionale Wirklichkeit*. Bayreuth: 1989. Cf. Arnold, Bernd. *Steuer und Lohnarbeit im Südwesten von Deutsch-Ostafrika 1891–1916*. Münster and Hamburg: 1994.

50 Cf. Aas, Norbert and Sippel, Harald. *Koloniale Konflikte im Alltag. Eine rechtshistorische Untersuchung der Auseinandersetzungen des Siedlers Heinrich Langkopp mit der Kolonialverwaltung in Deutsch-Ostafrika und dem Reichsentschädigungsamt in Berlin (1910–1929)*. Bayreuth: 1997, pp. 29–71. Cf. Schröder, Peter, J. *Gesetzgebung und "Arbeiterfrage" in den Kolonien. Das Arbeitsrecht in den Schutzgebieten des Deutschen Reiches*. Berlin: 2006, pp. 609–613. Cf. Sippel, Harald. "Wie erzieht man am besten den Neger zur Plantagen-Arbeit?" Die Ideologie der Arbeitserziehung und ihre rechtliche Umsetzung in der Kolonie Deutsch-Ostafrika'. *Arbeit in Afrika*. 311–333. Eds. Kurt Beck and Gerd Spittler. Hamburg: 1996. Cf. Heyden, Ulrich van der and Becher, Jürgen (Eds.). *Mission und Gewalt. Der christliche Umgang mit Gewalt und die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Afrika und Asien in der Zeit von 1792 bis 1918/19*. Stuttgart: 2000. For colonial law and African agency when at court cf. Schaper, Ulrike. *Koloniale Verhandlungen. Gerichtsbarkeit, Verwaltung und Herrschaft in Kamerun, 1884–1916*. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2012, pp. 205–227. Cf. Habermas, Rebekka. *Skandal in Togo. Ein Kapitel deutscher Kolonialherrschaft*. Frankfurt o.M.: 2016.

51 Cf. Söldenwagner, Philippa. *Spaces of Negotiation. European Settlement and Settlers in German East Africa. 1900–1914*. Munich: 2006, pp. 147–206. Cf. Aas. *Koloniale Konflikte*.

52 Cf. Gründer, Horst. *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus. Eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen Kolonialzeit (1884–1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas*. Paderborn: 1984, pp. 239–254. Cf. Habermas, Rebekka and Hölzl, Richard (Eds.). *Mission Global. Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*. Cologne et al.: 2014.

discourse in Germany has anything to do with colonial experiences and practices”,⁵³ Conrad takes the view that the godlike status of work in German society at the *fin du siècle* led to discourses demanding forced labour in Germany and in East Africa, and vice versa.⁵⁴ Building largely on Conrad’s insights and further discourse analysis, Minu Hashemi Yekani has recently reinvestigated labour in German East Africa by taking a closer look at Indian and (southeast) Asian indentured labourers at colonial plantations, on discourses about work and Islam in colonial schools and on destitute middle class Central Europeans whom Yekani described as precarious whites.⁵⁵ Like Philippa Söldenwagner, Yekani emphasised by her concept of ‘precarious whites’ that the colonisers were not a homogeneous group, but a society with various gradations. The same applies to the colonised populations, of course, and Yekani also stresses that there were special discourses directed against Indian or Chinese workers in German East Africa, for example.⁵⁶

The fact that German colonial society in general and the colonial administration in particular was heterogeneous is decisive for analysing labour at all three places of work under investigation herein. As not only global but also social and economic history are rediscovering their interest in infrastructure, this applies first to the construction of the *Central Railway* in German East Africa between ca. 1905 and 1916. Deconstructing colonial infrastructure as mere ‘Tools of Empire’, historians focus on various individual protagonists and groups involved in such large-scale infrastructure construction processes. In the first place, this focus needs to consider the railway construction companies and the banks financing such large-scale endeavours.⁵⁷ In German East Africa, this was the company of *Philipp Holz-*

53 Eckert. ‘Why all the fuss’, p. 17.

54 Cf. Conrad. *Globalisation*, pp. 77–143. Connected to Conrad’s ideas but widening the approach cf. Axster, Felix and Lelle, Nikolas (Eds.). «*Deutsche Arbeit*». *Kritische Perspektiven auf ein ideologisches Selbstbild*. Göttingen: 2018.

55 Cf. Yekani, Minu Hashemi. *Koloniale Arbeit, Rassismus, Migration und Herrschaft in Tansania (1885–1914)*. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2019. Yekani’s insights about indentured labour and the colonial school system largely correspond with Koponen’s. *Development*, pp. 321–365. The same applies for colonial schools; her insights largely correspond with Krause’s cf. Krause, Ingo Till. “*Koloniale Schuld*”? *Die Schulpolitik in den afrikanischen Kolonien Deutschlands und Britanniens im Vergleich*. Hamburg: 2007, pp. 66–99. Cf. Yekani, Minu Hashemi. “‘Inder und Chinesen werden unsere Kolonie nicht in die Höhe bringen’. Arbeit, Klima und der ‘Rasse’-Diskurs in Tansania (1885–1914)”. 209–225. Eds. Felix Axster and Nikolas Lelle. «*Deutsche Arbeit*». *Kritische Perspektiven auf ein ideologisches Selbstbild*. Göttingen: 2018.

56 Cf. Söldenwagner. *Spaces*, pp. 53–69, 207–242.

57 Cf. Headrick. *The Tools of Empire*. Cf. Biermann. *Tanganyika Railways*. Cf. Divall. ‘Railway Imperialisms’, pp. 195–210. Cf. Hertsch. and Mutlu (Eds.). *Die Bagdadbahn*. Cf. Monson. *Africa’s Freedom Railway*. Cf. Panel “Railway Imperialism Reconsidered”. Cf. “Changing Track.” Cf. Decker. ‘Lines in the Sand’. Cf. Kleinöder. “‘A Place in the Sun’?” Cf. Todzi. ‘Colonial Capitalism in Action’.

mann from Frankfurt on Main, which was, under the umbrella of the *Ostafrikanische Eisenbahngesellschaft (OAEG)*, the company in charge of planning and carrying out railway construction on the spot. One of the large-scale infrastructure's most prominent perpetrators and largest financial player was the *Deutsche Bank*, which had already been involved in infrastructural planning work in German East Africa since ca. 1900. Previously and simultaneously, the *Deutsche Bank* financed the famous *Bagdadbahn* in the Ottoman Empire, which was likewise constructed by *Philipp Holzmann*. Both the construction company and the bank from Frankfurt had also been involved in various other infrastructure projects in the Americas, Africa and Asia. With business history in (colonial) Africa only scarcely investigated,⁵⁸ general research on these companies focussed either on a broader audience or followed classic narratives of business history that focussed on individual companies or banks, neglecting their impact on their colonial fields of activities or their connection to the (new) history of capitalism.⁵⁹

With social and economic historians rediscovering their interest in German colonialism especially with respect to railways,⁶⁰ historians have still disregarded the central role of outsourcing in the colonial tracks' construction process. This is in

58 Cf. Austin. 'African Business History'. Cf. Oestermann. 'Review on: Samarin, William J'. In Daughton's work, the decisive role of the construction company *Société de Construction des Batignolles* remains largely in the background and its stakeholders remain overwhelmingly anonymous. Instead, Daughton focusses on men, who were central for French colonialism or its governmental administrations like Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza or "Governor-General Raphaël Antonetti [. . .] who built it [the railway]" and local governmental administrators like Georges Pacha. Daughton. *In the Forest of No Joy*, p. 57, cf. 23–92.

59 Cf. Franzke, Jürgen (Ed.). *Bagdad- und Hedjazbahn. Deutsche Eisenbahngeschichte im Vorderen Orient*. Nuremberg: 2003. Cf. Pohl, Manfred. *Von Stambul nach Bagdad. Die Geschichte einer berühmten Eisenbahn*. Munich: 1999. Cf. Rösser, Michael. 'Transimperiale Infrastruktur? Personal, Unternehmer und Arbeit beim Bau der Zentralbahn in Deutsch-Ostafrika'. *Moderne Transimperialitäten. Rivalitäten, Kontakte, Wettstreit*. 274–289. Eds. Laurent Dedryvère et al. Berlin: 2021. Cf. Rösser, Michael. "Shenzi Ulaya". *Deutsch griechische Verflechtungen von der Bagdadbahn zum kolonialen Deutsch-Ostafrika*. *Online-Compendium der deutsch-griechischen Verflechtungen*. Zentrum Modernes Griechenland der Freien Universität Berlin: 02 March 2022. Web. <https://comdeg.eu/compendium/essay/109893/>. (02 March 2022). Also published in Greek as 'Shenzi Ulaya' — Ελληνογερμανικές Διασταυρώσεις: Από τον Σιδηρόδρομο της Βαγδάτης στην Αποικία της Γερμανικής Ανατολικής Αφρικής'. *Online-Compendium der deutsch-griechischen Verflechtungen*. Zentrum Modernes Griechenland der Freien Universität Berlin: 02 March 2022. Web. <https://comdeg.eu/el/compendium/essay/109893/> (02 March 2022). Cf. Pohl, Manfred. *Philipp Holzmann. Geschichte eines Bauunternehmens. 1849–1999*. Munich: 1999, pp. 81–140. Cf. Bähr, Johannes et al. *MAN. The History of a German Industrial Enterprise*. Munich: 2009. Cf. Plumpe, Werner et al. *Deutsche Bank. Die globale Hausbank 1870–2020*. Berlin: 2020, pp. 79–164. Cf. Gall, Lothar et al. *Die Deutsche Bank. 1870–1995*. Munich: 1995, pp. 52–82.

60 Cf. Kleinöder. '“A Place in the Sun”?'. Cf. Todzi. 'Colonial Capitalism in Action'.

stark contrast to the fact that outsourcing is one of the central elements of capitalism to lower costs and to externalise liabilities that might apply in any business operation.⁶¹ Indispensable for both prestigious infrastructural projects – the *Bagdadbahn* in the Ottoman Empire and the *Central Railway* in German East Africa – were first and foremost South(-East) European sub-contractors, who not only carried out construction work as such. They also recruited the largest share of the East African workforce necessary to build the *Central Railway* in the German colony. In addition, they occupied a conflict-laden intermediate position in the colonial society of German East Africa as the European population was very heterogeneous. Divisions amongst the colonisers with each other had three major fault lines. These were, firstly, class and standard of living; secondly, nationality; and thirdly, discourses about race. Often these three categories intersected. According to the German colonial discourses dominating German East Africa, citizens of the German *Reich* generally regarded themselves as not only superior to the African populations, but also looked down on white people who were not genuine *Reichsdeutsche*, such as several Boer or Russian-German families who had migrated to the German colony along the Indian Ocean. In this respect, both Yekani and Söldenwagner also make short references to the role of South(-East) Europeans, and especially Greek residents in German East Africa, but only treat them as a sideshow.⁶² Yet, these South(-East) European railway sub-contractors and labour recruiters, especially Greek sub-contractors, were judged as *shenzi ulaya* ('white negroes').⁶³ In addition, their role was decisive as far as labour is concerned. Either as railway sub-contractors or free-lance labour recruiters, Greeks, especially, were indispensable players not only for railway construction but also for the entire colonial labour market. Investigating their

61 Cf. Komlosy. 'Work and Labor', pp. 39–63. Cf. Grazia, Victoria de. 'The Crisis of Hyper-Consumerism: Capitalism's Latest Forward Lurch'. *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. 71–106. Eds. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden. London et al.: 2016, pp. 80–96.

62 Cf. Söldenwagner. *Spaces*, pp. 53–69, 207–242. Cf. Yekani. *Koloniale Arbeit*, pp. 197–264. Cf. Dejung, Christof et al. 'Worlds of the Bourgeoisie'. *The Global Bourgeoisie. The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire*. 1–40. Eds. Christof Dejung et al. Princeton: 2019. Cf. Hunter, Emma. 'Modernity, Print Media, and the Middle Class in Colonial East Africa'. *The Global Bourgeoisie. The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire*. 105–122. Eds. Christof Dejung et al. Princeton: 2019. Cf. Dejung, Christof. 'From Global Civilizing Missions to Racial Warfare: Class Conflicts and the Representations of the Colonial World in European Middle-Class Thought'. *The Global Bourgeoisie. The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire*. 251–272. Eds. Christof Dejung et al. Princeton: 2019. Cf. Drayton, Richard. 'Race, Culture and Class: European Hegemony and Global Class Formation, circa 1800–1950'. *The Global Bourgeoisie. The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire*. 339–358. Eds. Christof Dejung et al. Princeton: 2019.

63 Cf. Rösser, Michael. '*Shenzi Ulaya*'. On white subalternity cf. Fischer-Tiné, Harald. '*Low and Licentious Europeans*'. *Race, Class and "White Subalternity" in Colonial India*. New Delhi: 2009. Cf. Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York and London: 2012.

role illuminates another recent field of research about the history of work: the history of labour intermediation. Especially because the history of labour intermediation has primarily focussed on the Global North, asking larger questions about Greek railway sub-contractors and labour recruiters in German East Africa contributes to a better understanding of global labour history and the workings of ‘colonial capitalism in action’.⁶⁴ The Greek role in global labour history is especially relevant, because the latest publications about the global history of labour have considered the Ottoman Empire and South-East Europe, but neglected Greek involvement in general, and in (East) Africa in particular. The same applies to historians of South-East Europe who have included global approaches and colonialism into their research, but generally neglected the Greek perspective. Overwhelmingly, historiography on Greece still focusses on the history of the nation state itself, or on the Greek diasporas especially in North America emerging in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁵

64 Cf. Wadauer, Sigrid et al. ‘Introduction: Finding Work and Organizing Placement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’. *The History of Labour Intermediation. Institutions and Finding Employment in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. 1–22. Eds. Sigrid Wadauer et al. New York and Oxford: 2015. Cf. Wadauer, Sigrid et al. ‘Concluding Remarks’. *The History of Labour Intermediation. Institutions and Finding Employment in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. 415–420. Eds. Sigrid Wadauer et al. New York and Oxford: 2015. Exception to the dominance of the Global North cf. Mishra, Amit Kumar. ‘Sardars, Kanganies and Maistries: Intermediaries in the Indian Labour Diaspora during the Colonial Period’. *The History of Labour Intermediation. Institutions and Finding Employment in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. 368–387. Eds. Sigrid Wadauer et al. New York and Oxford: 2015. Cf. O'Donnell, Anthony. ‘Organizing the Labour Market in a Liberal Welfare State: The Origins of the Public Employment Service in Australia’. *The History of Labour Intermediation. Institutions and Finding Employment in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. 388–414. Eds. Sigrid Wadauer et al. New York and Oxford: 2015. Cf. Sunseri, Thaddeus. ‘Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography’. 581–598. *African Affairs*, Vol. 95, no. 381. Oxford: 1996. Web. Jstor. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/723445> (11 April 2018), pp. 593–598. Cf. Hill, M.F. *Permanent Way. Vol II. The Story of the Tanganyika Railways*. Nairobi: 1957, pp. 77–90.

65 Cf. Papastefanaki, Leda and Kabadayi, Erden M. (Eds.). *Working in Greece and Turkey. A Comparative Labour History from Empires to Nation States, 1840–1940*. New York and Oxford: 2020. Cf. Papastefanaki, Leda and Potamianos, Nikos (Eds.). *Labour History in the Semi-periphery. Southern Europe, 19th-20th centuries*. Berlin and Boston: 2021. Cf. Lockman, Zachary (Ed.). *Workers and the Working Classes in the Middle East: struggles, histories, historiographies*. Albany (NY): 1994. Cf. Calic, Marie-Janine. *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region*. Munich: 2016. Cf. Brunnbauer, Ulf and Buchenau, Klaus. *Geschichte Südosteuropas*. Stuttgart: 2018, pp. 13–36, 108–230. Cf. Rösser. ‘Shenzi Ulaya’. Cf. Kaloudis, George. *Modern Greece and the Diaspora Greeks in the United States*. Lexington: 2018. Cf. Gallant, Thomas W. *Modern Greece. From the War of Independence to the Present*. London: 2016. Cf. Frangos, Stavros K. *Greeks in Michigan*. Michigan: 2004. For the Greek Diaspora cf. Clogg, Richard (Ed.). *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*. Basingstoke:

Furthermore, there is another group of protagonists involved in railway construction in German East Africa that has not received sufficient historical attention yet. Regarding colonial labour in general, Indians have played a pivotal role as indentured labourers on plantations all around the globe or as railway workers constructing the *Uganda Railway*, for instance.⁶⁶ However, their role as skilled workers who were indispensable to the construction of German East Africa's *Central Railway* has not been considered in any detail. Working especially as carpenters and smiths at the construction sites or as clerks in the offices of the railway companies, their involvement has either been treated as a sideshow or even denied by old-established works on German colonial history.⁶⁷ Moreover, skilled labour was not only decisive regarding Indians; skill also mattered for other groups involved in railway construction. The East Africans themselves comprised the majority of people involved in railway construction in the German colony, and they actively shaped their working environments, of course. Although there are studies that acknowledge the African role in labour at the *Central Railway*, they generally disregarded the Africans' relationship to the great variety of other stakeholders of labour in the colonial context of German East Africa. Usually, the East African perspective on work has been analysed only in relation to actions or legislation of the colonial administration. In contrast, their relationship to (South-East) European railway sub-contractors, for example, has not been considered. Furthermore, historical research has generally limited its focus to published or printed sources in this respect.⁶⁸

2001. Cf. Tziovas, Dimitris (Ed.). *Greek Diaspora and Migration Since 1700. Society, Politics and Culture*. Ashgate: 2009.

⁶⁶ Cf. Behal and Linden (Eds.). *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism*. Cf. Yekani. *Koloniale Arbeit*, pp. 44–50. Cf. Yekani. 'Inder und Chinesen'. Cf. Hill, M.F. *Permanent Way. The story of the Kenya and Uganda railway, being the official history of the development of the transport system in Kenya and Uganda*. Nairobi: 1976, pp. 141–246. Cf. Mangat, J.S. *A History of the Asians in East Africa c. 1886 to 1945*. Oxford: 1969, pp. 1–96.

⁶⁷ Cf. Reichart. *Gari*, p. 66. Cf. Tezlaff. *Koloniale Entwicklung*, pp. 88. Cf. Hill. *Permanent Way. Vol. II*, pp. 57–108.

⁶⁸ Cf. Sunseri, Thaddeus. "'Dispersing the Fields': Railway Labor and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania". 558–583. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, vol. 32, no. 3. N.P.: 1998. Web. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/486328.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A219c27ca837ae53f96b249dce27189f7> (20 June 2018), pp. 558–565. Cf. Sunseri. 'Labour Migration'. Cf. Sunseri, Thaddeus. *Vilimani*. Cf. Reichart. *Gari*. Cf. Tezlaff. *Koloniale Entwicklung*, pp. 143–279. Cf. Koponen. *Development*, pp. 321–440. Cf. Iliffe. *Tanganyika under German Rule*, pp. 66–108, 134–139, 203. Cf. Iliffe. *A Modern History*, esp. pp. 41–163. Cf. Gottberg, Achim. *Unyamwesi. Quellensammlung und Geschichte*. Berlin: 1971, pp. 69–92.

Skill also mattered at the *Otto* cotton plantation near Kilossa. At this large-scale plantation, the southwest German company *Otto* attempted to follow the topical call for German cotton autarky around 1900. Failing to cultivate the cotton monocultures by modern steam ploughs intended to save labour costs, *Otto* consequently remained dependent on the manual labour of the East African workforce. Although there are some studies about the *Otto* plantation and labour, they have several shortcomings. They are either limited in scope or neglect the aspect of the Pietist global company networks of *Otto*. Moreover, they disregard the overall global dimension of colonial cotton around 1900, linking numerous spheres of cotton cultivation and textile production between Europe, colonial Africa and the USA.⁶⁹ With skill thus also mattering in cotton cultivation, the biography and family background of the Indo-German plantation manager working in Kilossa, Ranga Kaundinya, is crucial. Recruited through the Pietist networks of the Swabian company, *Otto* hired the supposed cotton expert Kaundinya, whose family had had links to the Ottos for two generations, for their newly established enterprise in German East Africa. Although there is some research available that investigates *Otto*'s Pietist company networks and the history of the Kaundinya family, they still neglect Ranga Kaundinya's position as a white subaltern in colonial East Africa and his place in the Pietist networks of the *Otto* company. Analogous to the societal standing of the Greeks in German colonial East Africa, the Indo-German was not only vilified as 'half-Oriental' by top ranking representatives of the German colonial administration, but also discriminated against by his own European employees at *Otto*'s cotton plantation in Kilossa.⁷⁰

Functioning as a quasi-counter case to both the construction of the *Central Railway* and the *Otto* plantation, the Tendaguru Expedition was distinct from the dynamics and realities of labour relationships at the other two places of work in many ways. Conducting palaeontological excavations at the remote Tendaguru Mountain in the southern district of *Lindi* in German East Africa, there were generally only two leading German palaeontologists consistently present at this place of work. The vast majority of ca. 500 workers were East Africans who thus obtained an employment with substantial autonomy. With individual excavation

69 Cf. Sunseri. "Dispersing". Cf. Sunseri. 'Labour Migration'. Cf. Sunseri. *Vilimani*. Cf. Bleifuß and Hergenröder. *Die "Otto-Plantage"*. Cf. Beckert. *Empire of Cotton*. Cf. Riello. *Cotton*. Cf. Zimmerman. *Alabama in Africa*. Cf. Robins. *Cotton and Race*. Cf. Powell. *Losing the Thread*.

70 Cf. Konrad, Dagmar. *Missionsbräute. Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Baseler Mission*. Münster et al.: 2001, pp. 45–47, 87–89, 308–309, 338–340, 469–470, 475. Cf. Eggers, Erik (Ed.). *Handball. Eine deutsche Domäne*. Göttingen: 2007, pp. 73–76. Kaundinya, R. *Erinnerungen aus meinen Pflanzern Jahren in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Leipzig: 1918. Cf. Brahmputr, Gango Rao. *Indien. Seine Stellung zum Weltkrieg und zu seiner Zukunft*. Tübingen: 1916.

sites being several day's march away from each other, the two German palaeontologists could hardly ever supervise their workers comprehensively. They rather had to rely on the knowledge, skill and reliability of their excavators and preparators at any time. Yet, research on the Tendaguru and other palaeontological excavations has only either presented the general history of the expeditions as such, the widespread 'dinomania' of the western societies around 1900, or used the excavations to illuminate the object history of the dinosaur fossils. So far, research on the Tendaguru has treated labour as a sideshow.⁷¹ Although corporal punishments of East African workers also occurred at the Tendaguru, violence, normally typical of any colonial employment, was largely absent there. Investigating the specific reasons for this very special labour relationship, the role of the German palaeontologists' generally experienced and skilled personal servants – their so-called *boys* and chefs – is also examined in more detail. Also, the role of women at all three sites of work is considered. Even though many women⁷² at the *Central Railway*, the *Otto* plantation, and the Tendaguru were in charge of reproductive labour, there is also clear evidence that they were likewise constructing the railroad, working the cotton fields and contributing to the excavations at the Tendaguru. With this great variety of protagonists involved in labour and labour relationships at the three different sites of work, a great variety of historical sources required consultation. Their spectrum, value and shortcomings, as well as the methodological approach to them are outlined in the following sections.

71 Cf. Vennen. 'Arbeitsbilder'. Cf. Maier. *African Dinosaurs*. Cf. Mogge. *Wilhelm Branco*, pp. 199–222. Cf. Rieppel. *Assembling*. Cf. Nieuwland. *American Dinosaur*. Cf. Roolf, Christoph. 'Dinosaurier-Skelette als Kriegsziel: Kulturgutraubplanungen, Besatzungspolitik und die deutsche Paläontologie in Belgien im Ersten Weltkrieg'. 5–26. *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 27. Weinheim: 2004.

72 Cf. Dennis, Carolyne. 'Women in African Labour History'. 125–140. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. XXIII, 1–2. Leiden: 1988. Cf. Akurang-Parry, Kwabena Opare. 'Colonial Forced Labor Policies for Road Building in Southern Ghana and International Anti-Forced Labor Pressures, 1900–1940'. 1–25. *African Economic History*, no. 28. N.P.: 2000. Web. *Jstore*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601647> (12 November 2017). Highlighting the role of women and families within Askari households also cf. Moyd, Michelle R. *Violent Intermediaries. African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Athens (Ohio): 2014, pp. 148–206. For an ethnological approach to late twentieth-century skilled women in Nairobi cf. Wurster, Gabriele. 'You have to balance. Über die Verknüpfung von Beruf und Familie bei qualifizierten Frauen in Nairobi'. *Arbeit in Africa*. 275–287. Eds. Kurt Beck and Gerd Spittler. Hamburg: 1996.

1.3 'Double Geographies', Self-Narratives and the Colonial Archive(s)

The historian of Africa Michael Pesek used the metaphor *Inseln von Herrschaft* ('Islands of Sovereignty') to describe the ephemeral character of the German colonial state. Accordingly, German colonial rule remained precarious throughout German formal colonialism and the colonial administration could, at best, exert comprehensive rule only in the direct environments of governmental strongholds.⁷³ Whereas the German term *Inseln* means 'islands' in English, the German term *Herrschaft* does not translate well. In English 'sovereignty' means primarily legal superiority, whereas *Herrschaft* implies also cultural aspects of dominance that go beyond the legal sphere. Keeping this remark in mind, I argue in the following that colonial economic or scientific endeavours such as the three places of labour under investigation may also be interpreted as 'Islands of sovereignty'. Besides political and military centres of the colonial administration, it was also colonial economic undertakings that established and maintained the power of the coloniser over the colonised. Pesek himself stresses that places such as Tabora or Kilossa were devoid of significant colonial penetration before colonial economic endeavours were established there. Governmental strongholds or military stations, and with it the 'colonial state's' representation, had only been rudimentary during the first half of colonial rule in Tabora or Kilossa. This only changed when economic activity was stirred in Tabora by the construction of the *Central Railway* and the establishment of large-scale plantations, such as the *Otto* plantation in the region around Kilossa. Indeed, such colonial economic endeavours must also be regarded as representatives of colonial rule; and as representatives of colonial rule, they may also be regarded as 'islands of sovereignty' that adapted, renegotiated, and integrated pre-colonial power structures and thus also constituted centres of colonial agitation.⁷⁴ The same holds true for the Tendaguru Expedition, which took place in a very isolated area in the *Lindi* region of German East Africa. As

73 Cf. Pesek, Michael. *Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Expeditionen, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880*. Frankfurt o.M.: 2005, pp. 19–21. Stressing the precarity of colonialism on a rather discursive level and particularly for the Cameroonian case cf. Hamann, Ulrike. *Prekäre Koloniale Ordnung. Rassistische Konjunkturen im Widerspruch. Deutsches Kolonialregime 1884–1914*. Bielefeld: 2016. For a sociological-historical approach for the case of Togo cf. Trotha, Trutz von. *Koloniale Herrschaft. Zur soziologischen Staatsentstehung am Beispiel des «Schutzgebietes Togo»*. Tübingen: 1994.

74 Cf. Pesek. *Koloniale Herrschaft*, pp. 244–259. Cf. Kundrus, Birthe. 'Die Kolonien. Kinder des Gefühls und der Phantasie'. *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*. 7–18. Ed. Birthe Kundrus. Frankfurt o.M.: 2003, pp. 7–16. Cf. Sabea, Hanan. 'Pioneers of Empire? The Making of Sisal Plantations in German East Africa, 1890–1917'. *German Colonialism Revisited. African, Asian and Oceanic Experiences*. 114–129. Eds. Nina Berman et al. Ann Arbor: 2017, pp. 114–126.

the only colonial stakeholder in a vast area, the excavation camp must also be regarded as representative of German colonial rule. As an 'island', each contested place therefore also bore its individual characteristics and dynamics that shaped the daily realities of labour, which were dependant on the presence and actions of all actors involved in work.

Characterising the German colonial sphere of influence as ephemeral and incomplete, it must be stressed that any island – whether taken only metaphorically or geographically – is never a completely cut-off entity that has no connections to the outer world. Rather, analysing the history of Sri Lanka, Sijut Sivasundaram has coined the term *islanding* to express his view that an island's (dis)connections to its surrounding waters and its neighbouring as well as faraway land masses are constantly made, adapted and rearranged.⁷⁵ Such an understanding of an island, that stresses the multiple relationships featuring their immediate and faraway surroundings, concords with the major insights about space and global labour history. Andreas Eckert and Angelika Epple similarly emphasise the multiple intersections between research approaches of area studies and global labour history. These observations are also pertinent for the present research. At the heart of these discussions is the presupposition that any spatial entity may never be regarded as a stable and fixed container, which can be analysed without considering its connections to other areas.⁷⁶

An analysis of spatial entities must therefore understand space as a relational category and differentiate between *space* (Raum), *place* (Ort) and *location* (Stelle). Following the sociologist Martina Löw's understanding of *spaces* as relational concepts means that the concept of *space* goes beyond one specific *location* and one specific *place*. Still, a specific *location* as well as a specific *place* are fundamental features to constitute the more comprehensive and relational concept of *space*.⁷⁷ Moreover, the constitution of a *space* is very much dependent on the presence of individual protagonists, their actions and the specific arrangement of a *space's* overall structure.⁷⁸ This understanding of space is highly relevant for

75 Cf. Sivasundaram, Sujit. *Islanded. Britain, Sri Lanka, and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony*. Chicago and London: 2013, pp. 5–17, 24–27.

76 Cf. Eckert. 'Area Studies', pp. 156–173. Cf. Epple, Angelika. "Global History' und 'Area Studies'. Plädoyer für eine weltgeschichtliche Perspektivierung des Lokalen'. *Area Studies und die Welt. Weltregion und neue Globalgeschichte*. 90–116. Ed. Birgit Schäbler. Vienna: 2007, pp. 92–113. Cf. Middell, Matthias and Naumann, Katja. 'Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalisation'. 149–170. *Journal of Global History*. 5. London School of Economics and Political Science: 2010. Web. <https://cambridge.org/core/terms>. <https://doi.org/10.1017/51740022809990362> (27 March 2019), pp. 149–156.

77 Cf. Löw, Martina. *Raumsoziologie*. Frankfurt o.M.: 2015, pp. 9–68, 263–273.

78 Cf. Löw. *Raumsoziologie*, pp. 9–68, 152–157, 224–230, 263–273.

historical research as the historian can only pick one history out of many histories to reveal the connections between the local and the global. Quite often, it is not clear whether these connections can really be judged as representative and if there is any linear transfer between the local and the global or the other way around.⁷⁹ Global history should therefore seek the global through the specific, i.e. through the local.⁸⁰ An adequate means to reveal the global through the local is to highlight the autonomy of individual protagonists on the local level while simultaneously considering global processes. Accordingly, people and therefore also historical protagonists have never been passive recipients of global processes, but certainly obtained opportunities for agency ranging from resistance to collaboration to act out on the local level. Of course, they do not live in a vacuum, but rather within certain structures that pose limitations on their actions. Thus, historical events have always been the result of constant negotiation of individuals with their fellow human beings, societal structures, and their environment.⁸¹ The *space* of the colonial globality around 1900 must therefore be seen through the lens of local *places* especially regarding labour. That is why this research investigates labour through the lenses of the construction sites of the *Central Railway*, the *Otto* plantation in Kilossa, and the palaeontological excavations at the Tendaguru. As these three *places* of work had each its own characteristics and dynamics, they were individually embedded in the global *space*. At each place of labour, local parameters as well as the protagonists' actions and labour relationships constituted what work meant in the overall global context. Approaching global labour history accordingly has therefore fundamental consequences for the selection and analysis of the historical sources under investigation. This applies first to the analysis of the self-narratives that have been studied to analyse the global history of labour at the three selected sites.

Schröder and Höhler have already considered Löw's sociological concept of *space* in their research about the global practice of geographies, the craft of mapping, and maps as historical sources.⁸² In this respect, one map represents one particular world view, and it is therefore not surprising that there can be numer-

79 Cf. Conrad, Sebastian. *Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung*. Munich: 2013, pp. 27–28. Cf. Conrad, Sebastian. *What is global History?* Princeton: 2016, pp. 115–141.

80 Epple. 'Global History' und 'Area Studies', pp. 92–112, p. 113.

81 Cf. Rothermund, Dietmar. 'Globalgeschichte als Interaktionsgeschichte: Von der Außereuropäischen Geschichte zur Globalgeschichte'. *Area Studies und die Welt. Weltregion und neue Globalgeschichte*. 194–216. Ed. Birgit Schäbler. Vienna: 2007, pp. 194–199.

82 Cf. Schröder, Iris and Höhler, Sabine. 'Welt-Räume: Annäherungen an eine Geschichte der Globalität im 20. Jahrhundert'. *Welt-Räume. Geschichte, Geographie und Globalisierung seit 1900*. 9–50. Eds. Iris Schröder and Sabine Höhler. Frankfurt o.M. and New York: 2005, pp. 20–30.

ous maps to describe just one location, region or phenomenon. Besides these world views cast into maps, there are also mental maps or imagined geographies of particular territories and phenomena that represent an individual's view not only of the local, but also of the global.⁸³ These mental maps were and are often cast into self-narratives, which are important sources for the analysis of labour at all three places of work under investigation. Analysing travel writings, David Gregory first examined self-narratives in accordance with a relational understanding of *space*. In this respect, he coined the term *double geography* to characterise how individual mental maps of European travellers to Egypt were (re)produced and (re)imagined when encountering the (colonial) 'other'.⁸⁴ Travelling to 'the Orient', nineteenth-century tourists had a twofold experience. On the one hand, they modelled their experience in Egypt around their own expectations, which were strongly influenced by contemporary discourses of the metropole. On the other hand, the tourists' Egyptian experience was not merely a matter of European phantasy. They also interacted with the Egyptian population, every now and then, and published on this experience, which included their anticipated experience, in various travel writings. Thus, Gregory stresses the real dimension of nineteenth-century tourism to Egypt as these travels and literary productions were not merely the results of unrealistic colonial phantasies but had a basis in reality as well.⁸⁵

The concept of *double geographies* thus enables us to illustrate the relationships between colonisers and the colonised in more detail. Reading self-narratives through the lens of *double geographies* generates new perspectives on the coloniser, the colonised, their interrelationship and the colonial *places* where such encounters occurred.⁸⁶ The encounter with the new, unknown and unfamiliar always required strategies to cope with 'the other'. As such attempts always remained disputed, they required constant confirmation to ease the coloniser's mind and functioned as an attempt to affirm the claims of colonial superiority. The fact that such attempts required constant repetition to have any effect shows how difficult the

⁸³ Cf. Schröder and Höhler. 'Welt-Räume', pp. 33–34. Cf. Struck, Wolfgang. 'Einleitung'. *Karten-Meere: eine Welterzeugung*. 7–21. Eds. Wolfgang Struck et al. Wiesbaden: 2020. Cf. Schröder, Iris. 'Von der Ordnung zur Unordnung zur Umordnung'. *Karten-Meere: eine Welterzeugung*. 87–107. Eds. Wolfgang Struck et al. Wiesbaden: 2020. Cf. Struck, Wolfgang. 'Von der Schwierigkeit, eine Linie zu ziehen'. *Karten-Meere: eine Welterzeugung*. 125–135. Eds. Wolfgang Struck et al. Wiesbaden: 2020.

⁸⁴ Cf. Gregory, David. 'Scripting Egypt. Orientalism and the Cultures of Travel'. *Writes of Passage. Reading Travel Writing*. 114–150. Eds. James Duncan and David Gregory. New York: 1999, p. 119.

⁸⁵ Cf. Gregory. 'Scripting Egypt', p. 146.

⁸⁶ Cf. Stoyke. 'Suche', pp. 148–149.

maintenance of colonial rule proved to be, not only in material, but also in symbolic terms. That is why reading self-narratives by means of *double geographies* helps to uncover ambivalences, insecurities, ruptures and contradictions in the European narrator.⁸⁷ Uncovering such contradictions is not only relevant with respect to analysing the (work) relationship between coloniser and the colonised. Contradictions, ambivalences, insecurities, and ruptures are central to analysing the conflict-laden intermediate position of white subaltern South(-East) European railway sub-contractors working at the *Central Railway* and that of the Indo-German plantation manager Ranga Kaundinya at the *Otto* plantation in Kilossa. They are equally important for the analysis of the labour of precarious white railway sub-contractors and precarious white German plantation employees in Kilossa.

It is crucial to understand that *double geographies* are not only valid for published self-narratives such as colonial travel writings. Self-narratives should not merely be used as sources to investigate an individual's inner self. Quite on the contrary, investigating the spatiality of self-narratives presupposes that a person's self-concept derives not merely from his or her closed-off 'inner life', but is decisively shaped by his or her own body, actions, social relationships, individual senses of belonging and cosmological or religious worldviews.⁸⁸ Hence, self-narratives presuppose 'relational-selves' to highlight that individuals constitute *space* through their actions, while individuals and their writings are themselves constituted by the *space* that surrounds them.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Cf. Stoyke. 'Suche', pp. 169–171.

⁸⁸ In contrast to the old-established source category of ego-documents (*Ego-Dokumente*), the approach of self-narratives denies the seclusion of the inner life of an individual from the 'outer' world and the production of self-narratives as a phenomenon of the process of western individualisation starting with the early modern enlightenment era. The allegedly separated sphere of an individual mind that commands the production of ego-documents and an independent exterior world surrounding this lonely mind are dismissed. Self-narratives rather entail that an individual mind is intertwined with its environment and that these two spheres mutually influence each other. Cf. Bähr, Andreas et al. 'Räume des Selbst. Eine Einleitung'. *Räume des Selbst. Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*. 1–25. Eds. Andreas Bähr et al. Cologne et al: 2007, pp. 1–5.

⁸⁹ Cf. Ulbrich, Claudia et al. 'Selbstzeugnisse und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven'. *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven*. 1–20. Eds. Claudia Ulbrich et al. Cologne et al: 2012, pp. 1–9. Cf. Medick, Hans. 'Introduction. Relational Selves'. *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven*. 75–77. Eds. Claudia Ulbrich et al. Cologne et al: 2012, pp. 75–77. Cf. Ulbrich, Claudia. 'Europäische Selbstzeugnisse in historischer Perspektive – neue Zugänge'. 1–20. *FU-Berlin*. Web. https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/institut/arbeitsbereiche/ab_ulbrich/media/UlbrichEurop_ische_Selbstzeugnisse.pdf (10 May 2019). Cf. Watson, Julia. 'The Spaces of Autobiographical Narrative'. *Räume des Selbst. Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*. 13–25. Eds. Andreas Bähr et al. Cologne et al: 2007, pp. 15–25.

Having been predominantly used to analyse the history of the Early Modern period, self-narratives claim to offer an approach that may be applied to various periods, for example to sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this respect, self-narratives encompass a great variety of sources such as autobiographies, diaries, personal correspondence and memoirs. While some scholars would exclude (in)voluntary testimonies of defendants and witnesses at court from the corpus of files that may be regarded as self-narratives,⁹⁰ other historians do indeed regard files that were produced during legal proceedings as self-narratives. In this respect, it is of course crucial to highlight that court testimonies may well have been the product of varying degrees of force. Moreover, their character is less immediate and more indirect, as court files are usually not produced by the testifying individual him- or herself, but by court officials.⁹¹ Although a similar intermediation between the reporting individual and the resulting self-narrative may also occur when writers are employed to, e.g. take dictation of an individual's diary, the indirect character of especially court testimonies always has to be made explicit.⁹²

Generally, self-narratives do certainly have their shortcomings, just as all sources do. Their acknowledged potential for spatial analysis, as well as the opportunity to provide a micro-perspective on events of global history, appears promising, however. This is enhanced by the fact that they provide the opportunity to investigate actual protagonists in transcultural settings, living in an environment characterised by the tension between the local and the global. In colonial environments, multiple feelings of belonging to various social and cultural groups often emerge, and self-narratives are fitting source material to highlight such diverse and constantly contested senses of belonging that are central to the conflict-laden intermediate position of white subalterns and precarious whites in German East Africa. Moreover, self-narratives often enable insights into the (world) views of people who did not belong to the groups of elites or experts. This holds particularly true for files pro-

⁹⁰ Cf. Sauer, Michael. 'Selbstzeugnisse als historische Quellen'. 2–11. *Geschichte Lernen*. Heft 156. Seelze: 2013, pp. 2–3.

⁹¹ Cf. Preuss, Monika. 'Das Unsagbare sagen. Aussagen über Sexualität von Jüdinnen und Juden in amtlichen Verhörprotokollen'. *Selbstzeugnisse und Ego-Dokumente frühneuzeitlicher Juden in Ashkenas. Beispiele, Methoden, Konzepte*. 167–184. Eds. Birgit E. Klein and Rotraud Ries. Berlin: 2011, pp. 167–170. Cf. Jancke, Gabriele. 'Jüdische Selbstzeugnisse und Ego-Dokumente der frühen Neuzeit in Ashkenas. Eine Einleitung'. *Selbstzeugnisse und Ego-Dokumente frühneuzeitlicher Juden in Ashkenas. Beispiele, Methoden, Konzepte*. 9–26. Eds. Birgit E. Klein and Rotraud Ries. Berlin: 2011, pp. 12–15.

⁹² For the case of an employed writer who changed the content of the diary of the German merchant Heinrich Witt cf. Wetzel, Christa. 'Schreibend leben (1799–1892). Heinrich Witt und sein Tagebuch im Lima des 19. Jhs.'. *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven*. 139–154. Eds. Claudia Ulbrich et al. Cologne et al: 2012, pp. 144–146.

duced in legal proceedings, as most of the defendants and witnesses at court were ordinary people, who would generally not produce any self-narratives on their own.⁹³ Last but not least, regarding (German) colonial history in East Africa and global history as such, self-narratives have not been exhaustively incorporated into investigating the phenomena of labour. Often the focus lies on the elite and standard works of German colonial history in East Africa, which rarely quote self-narratives, while they also disregard colonial court files if they are not about legal history.⁹⁴ This is why self-narratives such as Clement Gillman's and Edwin Hennig's diaries, published autobiographical sources like those of Ranga Kaundinya and the German labour recruiter Heinrich Langkopp, and (in-)voluntary court testimonials of (African) witnesses and defendants at court in German East Africa provide for a significant corpus of sources in this study. The production of these sources is strongly tied to the three places of labour, which are analysed in the following. They serve to reveal the contested character of the places of labour, but also provide for an adequate picture of collective and intra-individual *spaces*. Of course, special attention must always be paid to the question of whether any self-narrative was published or not.

All other sources consulted herein are held in colonial archives. Investigating colonial archives "as a process rather than [. . .] as things", Laura Ann Stoler has placed influential emphasis on the fact that any archive does not simply offer content via sources, but that especially colonial archives were "epistemological experiments" that represent "cross sections of contested knowledge". Applying this view to the sources under investigation, any colonial archive does not only contain content about colonial rule, but as colonial rule inscribed itself into this very institution, the colonial archive also served as an "intricate technolog[y] of rule" itself.⁹⁵ This does of course not mean that Stoler generally rejects the usage of the colonial archive. In fact, she urges us to treat especially colonial archives as "cultural artifacts of fact production, of taxonomies in the making, and of disparate notions of what made up colonial authority".⁹⁶ The consequence of such an approach to the colonial sources held in the archives is not to judge whether information from the archives is fiction or fact. This more profound approach to the colonial archive intends to trace back the production and consumption of the alleged 'facts' contained in the sources. To her, this is especially relevant as reading any colonial source against the grain presupposes the understanding of how

⁹³ Cf. Ulbrich. 'Selbstzeugnis und Person', pp. 1–19.

⁹⁴ Cf. Koponen. *Development*, pp. 678–686.

⁹⁵ Stoler, Ann Laura. 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance'. 87–019. *Archival Science*, 2. N.P.: 2002, p. 87.

⁹⁶ Stoler. 'Colonial Archives', p. 91.

an archive works in the first place and how any representative of the colonial administration used the files held in this archive to actually exert colonial rule. Only after this precondition is observed may the historian read sources and entire archives against the grain, checking for irregularities, misconceptions, flaws and other disturbances, which are pivotal to identify those themes that were crucial to the colonial administration and therefore also pivotal to illuminate the workings of colonial rule.⁹⁷ Such disturbances in the colonial archives and their reading against the grain are not only important to generate a better understanding for the workings of the colonial archives and colonial rule. They are also key for the attempt to access the perspective and room for manoeuvre of the colonised and subalterns, who were rarely ever recorded in the colonial archives at all. Although even prominent representatives of the subaltern studies group soon voiced the criticism that it will hardly ever be possible to regain such genuine subaltern voices, any historian investigating global or rather colonial history must always remain attentive to voices unheard and groups of people and individuals neglected by historical research.⁹⁸ Just as the reliability of any historical source always has to be questioned, the colonial archive thus urges any historian to even more thorough investigation, and the usage of a great variety of sources beyond just one single colonial archive.

1.4 Sources

Even though the colonial administration had an ephemeral character, it was of course a decisive player in German East Africa. Gradually expanding the structures of the colonial state by enhancing bodies of civil administration at the expense of quasi-military rule especially after the Maji Maji War, many more files were produced from ca. 1908 onwards. This is relevant not only for files produced

97 Cf. Stoler. 'Colonial Archives', pp. 92–109. Cf. Stoler, Laura Ann. *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: 2009, pp. 17–54, 237–278. Cf. Nagel, Jürgen G. *Die Kolonie als wissenschaftliches Projekt. Forschungsorganisation und Forschungspraxis im deutschen Kolonialreich*. Habilitationsschrift an der FernUniversität in Hagen. Fakultät für Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften. May 2013. Web. https://www.academia.edu/41830319/Die_Kolonie_als_wissenschaftliches_Projekt_Forschungsorganisation_und_Forschungspraxis_im_deutschen_Kolonialreich (21 June 2021).

98 Cf. Büschel, Hubertus. 'Das Schweigen der Subalternen. Die Entstehung der Archivkritik im Postkolonialismus'. *Archiv – Macht – Wissen. Organisation und Konstruktion von Wissen und Wirklichkeiten in Archiven*. 73–88. Eds. Anja Horstmann and Vanina Kopp. Frankfurt o.M.: 2010. Cf. Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Postkolonialität und subaltern Artikulation*. 17–118. Ed. Hito Steyerl et al. Vienna and Berlin: 2020.

by the colonial administration regarding colonial labour policies in general, but also regarding railway construction in particular. With the colonial administration enhancing its labour laws during State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg's assumption of office in the newly established Colonial Department in Berlin from 1907 onwards, not only new labour legislation was issued, but also governmental bodies to supervise railway constructions were established and significantly enhanced by 1911. As far as the files of the colonial administration held in the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam regarding labour policies are concerned, there are consequently many more sources available from ca. 1909 onwards. This is primarily because there were more governmental bodies existent that could genuinely produce any files. With more labour laws established in German East Africa, more legal transgressions also occurred. In turn, these legal transgressions in the context of labour also found their way into files produced by colonial courts. Thus, especially regarding the construction of the *Central Railway* and the *Otto* plantation in Kilossa, the files of the colonial administration held in Dar es Salaam are the major sources under investigation in this study. In particular, the records of the colonial governmental bodies supervising railway construction, like the railway commissioners (*Eisenbahnkommissare*), have been pivotal to analysing labour at the railroad's building sites. They are accompanied by court files that report about the transgressions regarding labour legislation not only at the *Central Railway*, but also at the *Otto* plantation in Kilossa. With railway construction being a very complex endeavour, other bodies of the colonial administration also document various aspects relevant for railway construction. This applies to those governmental bodies in charge of the health sector, labour in general, but also those responsible for foreign relationships to other colonies like neighbouring British East Africa. Their records include considerations about inter-colonial competition with the *Uganda Railway*, or settlement and migratory schemes of Indians who had been targeted to migrate from British colonies as settlers or railway employees for German East Africa since the late 1890s.

Other significant source material about labour at the *Central Railway* produced after 1909 is held in the Railway Museum in Nairobi. Individually stored in the archive, when examining the sources in Nairobi in March 2020 I had the impression that they have largely been unknown or at least scarcely used by historians so far. The reason for this neglect derives probably from the fact that there is hardly any information available that provides for the files' provenance. The most plausible explanation for the German colonial files' location in today's Kenya are probably the territorial reorganisations of the East African colonies after WWI and WWII. As those files produced by German colonial bodies in East Africa between 1890 and 1918 are generally held in the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam, files about the *Central Railway* in Nairobi's railway mu-

seum might have been relocated to Kenya after WWI for the first time. With the Treaty of Versailles deciding to transform the vast majority of German East Africa into a Mandate of the League of Nations, Tanganyika Territory, as the German colony was called subsequently, fell under British administration. This remained the case until Tanganyika's independence in 1961, although the East African territory was now a British Mandate under the United Nations after WWII in 1948. In charge of the Mandate, British rule in East Africa included also taking over the formerly German colonial railways, of course. Whether any circulation of railway files between Tanganyika Territory and Kenya had taken place in the interwar period is difficult to assess. In any event, it seems most likely that the files of the *Central Railway* were transferred from Dar es Salaam to Nairobi in the 1950s after the establishment of the East African High Commission in 1948. Deriving from administrative actions to delegate war efforts more effectively, the British idea behind the High Commission was to put railways and harbours, telecommunications, postal services and the collection of certain taxes under one umbrella. While the territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda kept their integrity and their individual governors, their combined territory was largely administrated through the High Commissioner resident in Kenya. With this administrative centralisation of the railway infrastructure in the Kenyan capital, the East African Railways and Harbours Administration probably ordered some German colonial files, apparently arbitrarily, from Dar es Salaam to be transferred to Nairobi. Today, they are still held in the city's railway museum. With the publication of M.F. Hill's *Permanent Way: The Story of the Tanganyika Railways* on behalf of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration in Nairobi in 1957, it is very likely that the files were taken to the Kenyan capital for the purpose of the book's production.⁹⁹ Whether this was all really the case, must remain unclear, however.

As the files of colonial railway construction held in Germany were almost entirely burnt during WWII, there remain only a few scattered and unsystematic folders in the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin. Thus, the *Bundesarchiv* has been consulted primarily to access a few files produced by the Colonial Department from 1907 onwards and for microfilms of files of German East Africa's district offices. In respect of the *Central Railway*, a few patchy files of the construction companies *Philipp Holzmann*, *Krupp* and *MAN* also survive in the *Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main* as well as in *Krupp's* archives in Essen and in the company archives of *MAN* in Augsburg. Moreover, there is extensive inventory held by the archives of the *Deutsche*

⁹⁹ Cf. Banfield, Jane. 'Federation in East Africa'. 181–193. *International Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2. N.P.: 1963. Web. *Jstor*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40198786> (14 June 2021). Cf. Hill. *Permanent, Way*. Vol II. pp. v–vii.

Bank, which have especially been consulted for the railway's planning stage. As financing the railway and its profitability are generally of no interest in this research, many files sighted were not interpreted for this study. Especially regarding the issue of skilled African labour, the mission archives of the Moravians in Herrnhut have proven to provide precious material. Particularly, the files and reports of the railway mission, which targeted East African railway workers as future Christians, were consulted. In addition, other mission files produced by numerous individual Moravian missionary stations in German East Africa as well as the correspondence of the mission's board, e.g. with *Philipp Holzmann*, were consulted. Finally, Nairobi's newspaper *The Indian Voice of British East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar* provided significant information highlighting the role of Indian (skilled) labour at the railway between 1909 and 1911. Moreover, the newspaper provides for the Indian point of view regarding colonial labour. It therefore balances those anti-Indian and anti-Greek discourses primarily revealed by the German settlers' press organ, *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Zeitung (DOAZ)*, which has been consulted thoroughly.

Apart from the articles about railway construction published by the *DOAZ*, there is thus an obvious source gap for the initial period of railway construction between ca. 1905 and 1908. With the colonial administration following a *laissez-faire* approach in these initial years of railway construction, it hardly ever produced any files about labour conditions along the railroad. As the files of the construction companies were furthermore destroyed during WWII, the close examination of the self-narratives of the Anglo-German railway engineer Clement Gillman, employed by *Philipp Holzmann* from 1905 until WWI, bridges this gap. Throughout his career, Clement Gillman kept extensive and detailed diaries, which are stored in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. Working as a railway engineer and geographer as well as living through many decades of German and British colonial rule in East Africa until his death in 1946, his self-narratives are precious to any historian who attempts to study colonial railway construction in this region. Gillman's self-narratives are of particular importance, as recent studies on the role of colonial railway engineers in German East Africa have neglected this source material entirely. Even though he wrote a history on the European railway engineering personnel in German colonial (East) Africa and mentioning Gillman repeatedly in his study, Sebastian Beese only consulted Gillman's published accounts, for example. By contrast, in this research project about global labour history, Gillman's diaries and personal correspondence produced until the early 1920s are examined thoroughly.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Hoyle, B.S. *Gillman of Tanganyika 1882–1946. The Life and Work of a Pioneer Geographer*. Avebury: 1987. Cf. Beese. *Experten*, pp. 12, 61, 79, 87, 91, 110–120.

Regarding the *Otto* cotton plantation in Kilossa, several archives were consulted. First of all, there are two folders in the Tanzanian National Archives that document the correspondence between the textile company, the *Gouvernement*, and the local bodies of the colonial administration. They are accompanied by files held in the *Stadtmuseum Wendlingen am Neckar* near Stuttgart, the place where the company was founded, and the company files held in the *Technoseum – Landesmuseum für Technik und Arbeit* in Mannheim. In Wendlingen, especially the diary of one of the company's senior members, Fritz Otto, who travelled to German East Africa to inspect his plantation in Kilossa, was consulted. In Mannheim, especially the company's chronicles produced in the 1930s are precious for this study. Besides, further files about other economic activities of *Otto* in German East Africa as well as correspondence between ca. 1900 and 1930 were of special value. Of course, the published autobiography of Ranga Kaundinya, reporting about his time as an Indo-German plantation manager in Kilossa, is a pivotal source – which can be classified as self-narrative – for this study.¹⁰¹ Regarding the Tendaguru, besides the diaries and personal correspondence of the palaeontologist Edwin Hennig held at the University Archives in Tübingen, the Natural History Museum Berlin holds all remaining files informing about the paleontological excavation works. They are completed by quasi-autobiographical works by Edwin Hennig published a few months after his stay in German East Africa, and others with longer temporal distance released in the 1950s.¹⁰²

1.5 Outline

Any global labour history is not only embedded in global, but also in regional and local contexts. Chapter 2 thus situates this global history of labour in the Indian Ocean Area to illustrate the region's interconnections especially with the Arabian Peninsula and India. While the characteristics of the Indian Ocean Area had largely been independent from Europe and North America, this began to change during the nineteenth century. Gradually, the seas between the East African coast and western Oceania came under British dominance. In the first two-thirds of the nineteenth-century German influence was negligible, while Britain dominated trade and politics between India and East Africa centred on the Zanzibar Archipelago. This situation first changed when the German *Reich* intensified its imperial ambi-

¹⁰¹ Cf. Kaundinya. *Erinnerungen*.

¹⁰² Cf. Hennig, Edwin. *Am Tendaguru. Leben und Wirken einer deutschen Forschungsexpedition zur Ausgrabung vorweltlicher Riesensaurier in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Stuttgart: 1912. Cf. Hennig, Edwin. *Gewesene Welten. Auf Saurierjagd im ostafrikanischen Busch*. Rüslikon bei Zürich: 1955.

tions in East Africa and the German chartered company *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG)* eked out territorial possessions on the East African mainland in the 1880s. When Britain and Germany reached an agreement about their imperial spheres of influence in the western Indian Ocean, German East Africa was founded as a German colony and Zanzibar became a British Protectorate in the 1890s. As Zanzibar, the economic centre of the region, was now cut off from its major trading hinterland, German colonial policy makers planned to readjust the colonial economy primarily by large-scale infrastructure policies, i.e. railway building. In the context of the heyday of European imperialism, the construction of large-scale infrastructure, especially railways, was seen as the most important tool to not only exert influence beyond a nation's boundaries, but to make any colony an economic success. In this respect, the German *Reich's* most prestigious imperial railway was the *Bagdadbahn* in the Ottoman Empire, which sought to connect Berlin to Bagdad via Constantinople not only to emphasise German imperial claims, but also to challenge the British privileged access to the Indian Ocean via the Suez Canal and the Strait of Hormuz. In German East Africa, too, railway construction was the decisive strategy to open up the territory and make the colony an economic success, especially once Colonial State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg took office in 1907. As historical investigations on imperial infrastructure have regarded large-scale infrastructure as mere 'tools of empire', hardly anything is known about the railroads' construction, however.

Chapter 3 thus investigates the prisms of work at the construction sites of the *Central Railway*. In German East Africa, the *Central Railway* from its coastal capital Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika was the largest and most important infrastructural project in the colony. Its construction and especially the labour relationships of all protagonists involved in railway building are thus analysed. Between the colonial administration and its supervising bodies, and the construction company *Philipp Holzmann*, there were constant disputes over respective areas of authority and a tendency to veil controversial information about labour conditions. Supervising deficiencies increased as *Holzmann* outsourced the majority of railway building to numerous South(-East) European sub-contractors, who themselves outsourced track sections to sub-sub-contractors. Moreover, these predominantly Greek sub-contractors were not only indispensable for railway construction as such, but also for the recruitment of the African workforce. With the background of Greek people in East Africa being largely unknown, a section investigates the general history of Greeks in (East) Africa and their migration from the Ottoman Empire, working for the *Bagdadbahn*, to the railway construction sites in German East Africa. Generally, South(-East) Europeans were judged as white subalterns according to the hegemonic colonial discourses, ranking them between coloniser and the colonised. Although colonial discourse claimed them responsible for almost any shortcomings

regarding labour conditions at the *Central Railway*, a closer analysis shows that German and Greek railway sub-contractors treated the African workers equally badly. Likewise unknown is the decisive role of skilled Indian craftsmen, who came to work at the *Central Railway's* construction sites in German East Africa not only from India, but also from British East Africa, where some of them had previously worked at the *Uganda Railway*. Especially in the initial years of railway construction their skilled labour was in high demand. Slowly but surely, their comparatively expensive labour was replaced by that of skilled East Africans, although some Indians certainly remained at the railroad's construction sites until the completion of the railway. Despite there being general African agency at the railway construction sites, skill development enhanced especially the East African workers' abilities to resist (physical) abuse and to eke out advantages in the colonial labour market. This analysis not only applies to Indian craftsmen working at the *Central Railway*, but also to skilled East Africans who had received their training at missionary schools of the Moravians. As there is hardly any source material for the railway available between 1905 and 1907, the diaries of the Anglo-German railway engineer Clement Gillman substitutes for the missing evidence on a micro-level. It also serves as a valuable source to illuminate the daily labour relationships of all protagonists involved in individual construction camps. Here, the role of female labour is also analysed thoroughly.

Although Bernard Dernburg's allegedly 'reformed colonial policies' only scarcely enhanced colonial labour conditions, the Colonial State Secretary's call for determined colonial policies and large-scale investments in German East Africa was answered. The construction of the *Central Railway* stirred economic expectations and contributed to the German textile industry's investment in cotton plantations in German East Africa. That is also why the second case study investigates the history of the *Otto* cotton plantation in Kilossa. Chapter 4 thus examines the company's cotton enterprise in German East Africa within the logics of the 'empire of cotton'. The analysis here of the global textile industry intermingles with Pietist networks of the *Otto* family in India, where they recruited an Indo-German planter as manager for their enterprise in German East Africa. When at work, he faced not only prejudice as a white subaltern by the colonial administration and his German employees, but also had to grapple with the mismanagement of his superiors. Of course, the role of the African workers is also illuminated, suggesting that their skill in plantation labour helped them to eke out advantages in the racist colonial labour market. In addition, African labour remained indispensable at the cotton plantation as the introduction of modern steam machinery proved disastrous for the company's production. Furthermore, the chapter sheds light on precarious white German plantation workers in Kilossa, investigating their role against the backdrop of other white subalterns like South(-East) European railway sub-contractors in the colony.

With sensational discoveries in science boosting an empire's prestige, the Tendaguru Expedition handily refurbished the reputation of German colonialism. With colonial warfare, especially in German South West Africa and German East Africa between 1904 and 1908 initially damaging the reputation of German colonialism, the exceptionally successful dinosaur fossil finds in German East Africa's south excited the German public and boosted the *Reich's* prestige as a colonising power at home and internationally. Chapter 5 thus deals with the third case study of this global labour history and investigates work relationships at the Tendaguru Mountain in the colony's region of *Lindi*. In comparison to the *Central Railway* and the *Otto* plantation, the palaeontological excavation site at the Tendaguru is even more characterised by skilled East African labour. With only two German scientists being present constantly at the large-scale excavations, the entire endeavour would not have been possible without the great number of skilled East African porters, excavators, and fossil preparators. Although the 'scientific dino-mania' around 1900 was certainly also part of the colonial globality at that time, the omnipresent dependency on skilled East African labour at the Tendaguru reveals that this third case study was more profoundly shaped by East African pre-conditions compared to the two other case studies. Although physical violence also played its role in labour relations at the Tendaguru, it was almost negligible compared to the force exerted at the railway or in Kilossa. With many East African excavators even migrating long distances voluntarily for work at the Tendaguru, and the general significance of their skill and ability for the palaeontological excavation works, the last case study functions almost as a counter-case completing the multifaceted prisms of work in German East Africa. Finally, and especially at the Tendaguru, the role of reproductive labour and domestic and care work is not only investigated by examining female labour, but also by examining the central role of the two German palaeontologists' personal East African servants, their so-called *boys* and *chefs*.