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The Monitoring Physician – Railway Labour, the Colonial Gaze, and Snapshots of African Agency in German Kamerun

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ABSTRACT
This article examines two annotated photo albums of a German colonial railway doctor, Hans Schäfer, in Kamerun. Investigating the gatekeeper role of a doctor in the recruitment process of colonial labour, it also analyses how his visual and written documentation (re)produced a gendered and racialised colonial gaze on work at colonial railway constructions. It draws particular attention to African women's roles in railway work, reproductive labour, and the sex economy.

KEYWORDS
Tropical medicine; colonial labour; imperial infrastructure; visual sources; female (sex) work

Introduction

Colonial business made African men and women move to their workplaces.[1] As this article will show, physicians working at the colonial railways in Kamerun played a decisive part in labour recruitment at both the beginning and end of their journey to the construction camps along the tracks. Generally, medication, doctors and railways counted as central 'tools'[2] to colonise. Besides modern 'machinery' and 'missionaries', German Colonial State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg regarded infrastructure, medicine and 'doctors' as central manifestations of 'theoretical and applied sciences in all fields' that were crucial to his colonial policies from 1907 onwards.[3] In fact, historians have recently stressed that imperial infrastructures, especially colonial railways, did not come from nowhere, but were made by various actors and groups of actors involved in the construction business. Thus unboxing Daniel R. Headrick's 'tools of empire' approach, they investigated the role of stakeholders of imperial infrastructure such as engineers, skilled labourers, animals, (white subaltern) subcontractors, and African work(wo)men, etc. Having investigated the role of these protagonists of colonial railway construction and their scope for action, historians still neglected the job of railway doctors involved in colonial

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railway building. That is why this article examines the role of the railway doctor Hans Schäfer as a monitoring physician. The central approach is that Schäfer's monitoring was twofold: first, working at the colonial railway construction sites between 1909 and 1914 in German Kamerun, the railway doctor obtained an influential position in the construction process of the railways and in the recruitment of the railways' workforce. In particular, he was in charge of assessing the physical integrity of the railway workers on their arrival and throughout their daily labour. Equipped with the right to send sick, weak or emaciated workers back to their place of origin, he obtained an important gatekeeper position in the colonial work economy at the railway construction sites in Kamerun. Secondly, the article investigates how the railway doctor Hans Schäfer perpetrated his individual colonial gaze and how he perceived himself as a crucial stakeholder of German colonialism and how he depicted everyday life and work at the colonial railways in Kamerun.

I investigate the physician's binary monitoring by means of two annotated photo albums about his life and work in colonial Kamerun. Hans Schäfer produced these albums himself decades after his stays in West Africa. This source material is particularly precious, as Paul S. Landau judged photography equally as a tool of empire, as this technology enabled the production of colonial imagery that cultivated European imperial viewing habits, thus legitimised colonial rule, and contributed to the production of visual knowledge that was used by colonial administrations to conquer and rule numerous territories around the world.[4] Consequently, this article focuses on how Schäfer‘s visual and written documentation produced a racialised and gendered colonial gaze on labour at the railways in Cameroon under German rule. Besides documenting the distant origins of migrant workers, the conditions of their journey, and scenes of colonial violence; Schäfer‘s album features a remarkable number of photos that depict African women. The article thus draws particular attention to how the doctor‘s album depicted women at the construction sites, especially in reproductive labour, the sex economy, and regarding sexualised violence. While the album is seen through the physician‘s lens; it also reveals the workforce's ability to shape their working environments, insist on their individual work routines, and resist the colonial gaze of the physician's camera. This article thus sheds new light on labour at colonial infrastructure construction sites, especially in Kamerun, by means of unexamined and rare source material. The monitoring of the colonial physician Schäfer reveals that he not only observed and controlled the flow of workers to the railroads' construction sites. But it also shows how he (re)produced visual sources that were part of colonial command. At the same time, the sources reveal both his individual colonial gaze and, simultaneously, snapshots of African agency.

Given the rapidly expanding field of research on imperial infrastructure and on railways in particular,[5] it is somewhat surprising that scholars have hardly investigated the role of doctors at construction sites of colonial infrastructure

with regard to labour and labour recruitment. Equally, research on (German) colonial medicine has largely focused on 'campaigns' against infectious diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness.[6] An exception is the work of Wolfgang Eckart, who included the role of doctors at German colonial railways in Africa in his overall research on medicine and German imperialism between 1884 and 1945. Given that his central focus was the larger organisation of the colonial medical services, Eckart only devoted a few pages to railway construction in Kamerun, however.[7] In stark contrast to the latest works on labour and colonial railway building in other German colonies,[8] research on colonial railroad construction in Kamerun is comparatively scarce. Besides Kleinöder, who has reassessed the research field and illuminated the crucial role of bridge construction companies and that of skilled labour,[9] other recent works, as well as standard works on the history of German colonialism (in Kamerun), dedicate only a few words Cameroonian railways or they omit it entirely.[10]

To my knowledge, Hartmut Schömann's PhD thesis, conducted in the 1960s, is the only study specifically dedicated to German colonial railways in Kamerun. Developed at the History Department of the Humboldt University in Berlin, some passages, especially Schömann's introduction and conclusion, reflect the Marxist agenda of research in the era of the German Democratic Republic. Nevertheless, Schömann's work appears as the most comprehensive study on German railway construction in Kamerun and the role of African labour. For his research, Schömann drew especially on the debates of the German Parliament (*Reichstagsprotrokolle*) and the sources produced by the German colonial administration and the Colonial Department, which are held by the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin today. Having reassessed these sources, Schömann's thesis appears correct and proves his meticulous research operations.[11] Using these sources, gathering information on labour at the Cameroonian railways is a piecemeal undertaking indeed. The little information provided by single documents is scattered over the entire stock of files under investigation. Having collected and evaluated them comprehensively, Schömann's research results of the main text body are certainly thorough. Precious is also Patrice Mandeng's PhD on German colonialism in Kamerun published in 1973. Dedicating one chapter to labour at the Cameroonian Central Railway, he investigated primarily genuine sources of the German colonial administration in Kamerun, which are held by the National Archives of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Selecting these sources, Mandeng's research therefore complements Schömann's work significantly. Mandeng sometimes even quotes documents issued by (railway) doctors working in the German colony.[12] Nevertheless, part of their research is based on very patchy source material and both Mandeng's and Schömann's research is certainly advanced in years. Moreover, the crucial role of women as revealed by Hans Schäfer's photo albums has been excluded in both works.

Given the centrality of the visual sources, the article first describes Schäfer's professional biography as a physician within the transimperial networks of

tropical medicine who saw – besides other places – not only colonial Kamerun, but also Dutch colonial Indonesia. Following this, the paper gives more details about the physician's two photo albums and his professional life in Kamerun between 1909 and 1914. This paper thus analyses the overarching arrangement of the pictures, reveals the general trends of their visual language, and their dramaturgy. Afterwards, the paper shifts to a focus on male labour at the railways in German Kamerun and illuminates the crucial role of Hans Schäfer as physician at the railroad construction sites. As railway doctor, he obtained a crucial gatekeeper position in the colonial labour market as revealed not only by his visual sources, but also by his extensive notes attached to the photos. The last section of this paper deals with female labour at the railways and its connections to the colony's sex economy.

The Professional Biography of Hans Schäfer (1884–1957) Within the Networks of Tropical Medicine

Doctors and tropical medicine were decisive in European colonialism. Some trained doctors, like Gustav Nachtigal or Max Buchner, acted literally as conquerors in service of the German Empire in West Africa. Their agitation largely contributed to the *Reich's* colonial claim to its colonies Togo and Kamerun. At the same time, doctors like Buchner and Nachtigal were part of transimperial 'networks of tropical medicine'.[13] As medical researchers and tropical practitioners at home and abroad, such doctors within these transimperial networks embraced the self-understanding of being part of a global elite and perceived themselves as agents of the alleged civilising mission of the European colonial powers. As pioneers in the emerging field of tropical medicine, they regarded themselves also as carriers of science and rationality per se. Of course, they aimed to generate nationalist prestige for their motherland as well as for themselves and their career, but they also exchanged ideas within their communities, worked in the service of other colonial powers, and thereby transcended national and imperial boundaries.[14] Ludwig Külz (1875–1938), for example, was not only a government doctor (*Regierungsarzt)* in German colonial Togo and Kamerun between 1905 and 1913.[15] He also 'had a long-lived interest in French colonialism and […] also travelled both Belgium and France to provide his [German] government with a comparative report on French and Belgian tropical medicine and training institutions'.[16] His ideas to segregate the Europeans and especially the German colonial population from the African populations for alleged hygienic and de facto racist reasons were developed within these transimperial networks. In general, segregationist policies were consensus among the tropical medicine community.[17] Hans Schäfer's professional biography also had these transimperial characteristics. After his stays in Kamerun as a railway doctor between 1909 and 1914, he remained loyal to this field of medicine beyond this period in West Africa. Shortly

returning to Europe after his internment as a POW in Kamerun during WWI, he left Germany soon enough. In 1920, he went to polar Svalbard in service of the German Navy, but soon went on to work as a physician in the Dutch Empire. In Sumatra, Schäfer lived and worked until 1939. During WWII, he became a POW once again, first in Sumatra, then in India. Only in 1946, he returned to Germany. There, he continued working as a physician in western Germany for another ca. ten years, before he died in 1957.[18]

Training institutions within the field of colonial medicine encouraged their students to start their career in a colony at a very young age. The major reason behind this idea was that the physical integrity and moral strength of youth would allow for a greater resistance to the alleged degenerative influence of the tropical climate. Schäfer appears to have followed these recommendations. He was born and raised in Görlitz, Saxony, in 1884. After his A-levels in 1903, he studied medicine at the universities of Innsbruck (Austria), Munich, Kiel (1904), Leipzig, Greifswald (1905), and Breslau. After his graduation in Breslau in 1908, he almost immediately left Germany for Kamerun in 1909 at the age of 25. In the German colony, he worked as a doctor at the colonial railways from 1909 to 1911 and then again in 1914. Apparently, Schäfer had developed a keen interest in botany – a discipline that historically had been strongly related to colonialism[19] – already at a very young age. Whether he took classes in tropical medicine, or any other colonial subject, at the many universities he had visited is unclear. The sources under investigation do not provide for any information about his syllabi.[20]

Whether the colonial administration or the construction company was Schäfer's direct employer in West Africa is equally unclear. Nevertheless, he apparently worked at both major railways of Kamerun funded by the *Reich*. The Central Railway (*Mittellandbahn*) was built between 1908 and 1914. It started in coastal Douala and reached ca. 175 km distant Eseka just before WWI. The Northern Railway's construction started in Bonaberi near Douala in late 1906 and reached ca. 160 km distant Nkongsamba in 1911. The two major railways in Kamerun were built under the umbrella of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Eisenbahn Bau – und Betriebsgesellschaft (DKEBBG)* which assigned the actual construction tasks to the company of *Lenz & Co.* from Berlin. The exact number of African workers is difficult to reconstruct as sources and research give conflicting numbers. Gründer mentions that 90,000 workers would have been employed at the construction sites of the railways in Kamerun. This is certainly incorrect. Much larger German colonial railway projects employed ca. 20,000 workers maximum. Further, Gründer does not list any source that could prove his claim.[21] Schömann and Mandeng give detailed numbers regarding the Central Railway in Kamerun, only. According to their sources and official reports, the railway employed between ca. 5,000 and ca. 6,000 workers each month between September 1909 and July 1913. Of those, 30–50 per cent of the entire workforce were either listed as craftsmen or as day

labourers. The latter generally lived close to the newly emerging tracks and started working there as soon as the railhead had come near their homes. Regarding craftsmen, Kleinöder stresses the difficulties in revealing their backgrounds and their overall number. But for April 1911, she is able to give the comparatively low number of ca. 500.[22] The majority of the workers at the Central Railway, i.e. ca. 50–70 per cent, were listed as contract workers, who were generally recruited in regions far away from the actual construction sites.[23] Finally, railway doctor Schäfer conveys the number of 12,000 people who worked at the railways in Kamerun.[24] As the Northern Railway and the Central Railway in the West African colony equalled in lengths and construction time, it seems that the workforce counted ca. 6,000 at each track. Whether this is entirely correct, or whether there was any labour migration from one railroad to the other, is unclear. Besides providing for these numbers, Schäfer compiled two photo albums that feature numerous visual sources about his own life and work in German colonial Kamerun. They not only reveal the living and working conditions along the railroads, but they also illuminate the physician's colonial gaze and his influential gatekeeper position as doctor in service of the colonial authorities. The next section deals with these photos and examines the compilation of Schäfer's visual sources in two albums.

Schäfer's Photo Albums, Topoi, and the Colonial Gaze

Investigating photo albums need to consider their compilation. The way in which visual sources are assembled and annotated sets the narrative of the source material. This reveals how the compiler intended to tell or to remember a certain event or period of his or her life. Importantly, there is often a temporal distance between the production of the visual sources, i.e. the documented event, and the compilation of a photo album. The latter may occur many years after the event. Research has further shown that photo album compilers are not necessarily the photographers or the authors of a visual source. Genuine authors of colonial photography often exchanged their pictures with one another or included postcards and all other kinds of pictures in their albums.[25] The compilation of colonial photography was therefore not only the work of an isolated individual. But photo albums with colonial imagery also reflect(ed) prominent topoi of visual discourses of the colonising societies. These discourses were produced by every day imagery of magazines, postcards, (popular) literature, consumer goods and their advertising. Other producers were the cinema as well as media producing agents of colonialism like missions or colonising protagonists like Schäfer. Consuming these visual discourses, 'individuals acquired vague and diffuse ideas about colonial realities. Through consumption, they practiced colonial viewing habits and evaluation grids that determined what was considered typically "African" or "non-African"'.[26] Largely ignoring the images of early West Arfrican photographers,

e.g. in Cameroon,[27] it is therefore no coincidence that colonial photographers like Schäfer generally reproduced those visual discourses in their own imagery which had their origins in Europe or North America and were most prominent in these imperial societies. The most prominent topoi were the alleged civilising mission of European colonialism, the emphasis on African wilderness and representations of adventurous travels, (big game) hunting scenarios, quasi-ethnographic everyday scenes of African life and work, racialised portraits of African individuals, and sexualised depictions of African women. While visual discourse and official pro-colonial propaganda often excluded scenes of atrocities or physical violence against Africans, private photo compilations often feature these subjects nevertheless.[28] Of course, these aspects are important to investigate Schäfer's albums about his life and work as a physician at the railways in Kamerun properly. The first step to analyse his photos is therefore to give as much information as possible about the albums' provenance and their layout.

Today, the archives of the Ethnological Museum of Munich (*Museum Fünf Kontinente*) keep Schäfer's two photo albums about Kamerun. They were part of a collection that Hans Schäfer's nephew donated to the Museum in 2014. Besides the two Kamerun albums titled '2 Kamerun Bevölkerung [population] 1910–1914' and '4 Kamerun Bahnbau [railway construction] 1910–1914', the donation contained two metal cups named 'Mongolenbecher' [Mongol's cups] as well as one photo album on China before 1939 and another photo album on Shanghai and Stuttgart before 1939.[29] The albums on Kamerun contain 170 photos and one postcard in total. The first album on Kamerun '2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910–1914' contains 93 photos and one postcard and the second album on Kamerun '4 Kamerun Bahnbau 1910–1914' has 77 photos. It seems that Schäfer assembled the albums in the early 1950s just a few years before his death: The postcard contained in 'Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910–1914' had Schäfer's last working address, where he was employed between 1947 and 1955. It was sent by a German company employee resident in Kamerun in 1951 to the physician. The other Kamerun album '4 Kamerun Bahnbau 1910–1914' features one dated photo of 'Gerhard Maager 1947' and another dated photo of 'Ludwig Kühne 1951'. While the postcard is loosely inserted into the album, the two photographs are glued to each one page. I was not able to find any information on 'Gerhard Maager', but Schäfer must have certainly known Ludwig Kühne since his employment in Kamerun. Indeed, Kühne was the leading engineer of the company *Gutehoffnungshütte (GHH)* from Oberhausen in western Germany that built the central railway's bridge over the Sanaga River in Kamerun, for example.[30] Besides the picture of 1951, there are two more photos of the young engineer 'Ing. L. Kühne [from] Sterkerade', now part of the city of Oberhausen. Special about the physician's albums is the fact that Schäfer annotated almost every picture in his album. While most visual sources (of colonial provenance) remain without any comment, the railway doctor often provided for extensive information.

These nuts-and-bolts details not only help the photos' spectator to decipher the visual language of the album. They also reveal how Schäfer, as compiler of the album, anticipated the observation norms of his (potential) album audience and reveal the characteristics of his individual (post-)colonial gaze of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

While it seems that Schäfer shot all the photos of the album '4 railway construction', in his other album, only some were directly taken by himself. Out of the 93 photos of the album about the population, 46, i.e. ca. 50 per cent, were shot by another photographer. Schäfer indicated himself whenever he assembled pictures which were not his own production and provided the names of the corresponding photographers. While the abovementioned engineer Kühne contributed two pictures to the album about the Cameroonian population, government master builder Wilhelm Arnold from Bavaria shot six. With 38 pictures, another government master builder named Völsing shot a great share of the album's photos. Like in the case of Kühne, Schäfer's relationship to Völsing went well beyond the Cameroonian period: Schäfer married Völsing's family member – probably his daughter – Leni in 1920. Leni and Hans Schäfer had apparently first met in Kamerun, when Leni had joined master builder Völsing to Kamerun. Their marriage lasted until 1938, when Leni died. Maybe, Schäfer received Völsing's photos many years after their joint stay in Kamerun through his wife. The archivist of the *Museum Fünf Kontinente* suggested that Schäfer had negatives of at least some photographs compiled in the albums, and the physician might have reproduced them in the late 1940s.[31] Including numerous photographies of his fellows in his album and marrying Leni Völsing, reveals how close his ties to other Europeans in Africa were and how integral they appeared to Schäfer for his visual narratives. Picuteres of Schäfer's fellows dating from the late 1940s and early 1950s demonstrate how their joint experience welded them together for many years. Although Schäfer was not the genuine producer of all visual sources, the albums are certainly his own creation. Their assemblage sets his individual (post-)colonial narrative of how he remembered and retold his experience in German colonial West Africa decades after his actual stays in Kamerun.

Nevertheless, Schäfer's photo albums contain (almost) all of the widespread visual colonial discourses. The albums (re)produce them not only by their visual language, but also by their overall structure and their subdivisions. As mentioned above, the source's general structure is revealed by the titles of the two albums under investigation. Schäfer dedicated one album specifically on railway construction and the other on the Cameroonian population(s). The photo album about railway construction features three subsections: one without any title featuring 34 pictures, the second titled 'Bahnbau [railway construction]' with 24 photos, and the third 'Brückenbau [bridge construction]' having 19 photos. These three sections reveal topoi of the alleged civilising mission of the German *Reich* in Kamerun, manifested in pictures of European

settlements, architecture, and infrastructure in Africa. In addition, they feature European protagonists of this civilising mission like engineers, doctors, heads of German railway construction companies, and scenes of African labour at railway construction sites. With *Gutehoffnungshütte* framing and advertising their bridge over the Sanaga River both as technical masterpiece and colonial prestige project,[32] it is no coincidence that Schäfer dedicated 12 of 19 pictures to this particular bridge. The remaining seven document general scenes of bridge construction or other railway bridges near Lebnjock or over the Dibamba River. With eleven pictures, the vast majority of the subsection titled railway construction features scenes of African labour at railroad building sites. The others comprise railway buildings like the station in Douala (3), or scenes that document how the newly built track cut through apparently untamed and wild bushland (8). The untitled subsection features one picture of Mount Kamerun, three of Douala and another three pictures of railway facilities. With 15 photos, the vast majority document the presence of Europeans at the railway constructions in Kamerun: they depict engineers like Kühne or senior figures of the construction companies like '*Geheimrat* Bouyé' or '*Geheimrat* Lenz' of *Lenz & Co.* The other photos (6) either feature the houses of the railways' master builder with his family and their African personal servants. The other five show Schäfer's dwellings. The only portrait of Hans Schäfer depicts the physician with his luggage in 1912 in Edea. Below, Schäfer's annotation says: 'I go for bush',[33] an obvious reference to his self-understanding as a colonising protagonist and as a self-proclaimed part of the civilising mission to Africa. In contrast to numerous of Schäfer's contemporaries, the physician did not include any pictures featuring hunting tropes and hardly any other adventurist topoi in his albums.[34]

Schäfer's other album about the Cameroonian population equally (re)produces colonial discourses about the civilising mission. It features the subsections 'Küstenn[…] [coastal n(…)] (47)', 'Bamum (8)', 'Bakossi (7)', 'Hängebrücken [suspension bridges] (18)', 'Haussah' (1 postcard and 5 photos), and 'Schutztruppe [German colonial military] (19)'. Interestingly, the subsection on suspension bridges only features 14 photos of this actual type of bridge. The remaining four show scenes of caravans or simple roads. This suggests that Schäfer perceived these suspension bridges as part of pre-colonial infrastructure. This compilation of pre-colonial infrastructure contrasts significantly with those photos showing the railway bridges built by German companies. While the railway bridges appear as civilising elements of the colonisers' conquest of Africa, the infrastructure of African manufacture appears as an integral part of the wilderness, urging the viewer to believe in the necessity to tame and exploit the allegedly uncivilised territory by modern technology like railways.[35] The album's compilation thus fuses pre-colonial infrastructure, nature, and the African populations into one theme.

Taming the African wilderness went hand in hand with categorising the local population(s) and disciplining African bodies. Besides tropes of African wilderness as revealed by pre-colonial infrastructure in the album 'Kamerun population', Schäfer generally racialises the population(s) of the colony. Consequently, his album assigns each population group the physician sought to distinguish one particular category. These subsections postulate the clear-cut ethnical or racial identity of the African people depicted.[36] Creating these divisions, Schäfer's major differentiation and hierarchisation of human beings is the distinction between European and African. Using the contemporarily widely used but disrespectful German N-word for black people signifies this fact. Within Schäfer's racialised category of *Küstenn[…]*, the railway doctor attempted to depict supposedly typical representatives of Bakoko, Yaunde, Wute, Banyangi or Makka people. Strikingly, the physician often had doubts about his racial categories as he noted below one picture 'Bakoko or Yaounde woman' or 'Yaounde Woman?' below another. In fact, for example, the Ewondo often referred to as Yaunde, lived inland and not on the coast as the German term *Küste* (coast) suggests. The same applies to the Maka. It generally seems that Schäfer lacked decent knowledge about west African peoples and their origins. The albums' categories are thus incorrect in this respect.[37] Furthermore, (individual) African identities in different regions of the continent were never as delimited from one another as colonial discourse and colonial sciences presented them to be. Generally, individuals or population groups claimed various forms of (ethnical) belonging and readily adapted them to socio-economic circumstances.[38] Repeatedly, Schäfer highlights the supposedly civilising influence on the African population: If Schäfer suspects Christian missionary influence on the habits of the African populations, he noted 'Duala, Christianised n[…] women […]'[39] below a photo, for example. The pictures on the Bamum, Haussah, and Bakossi form special subcategories. Whereas the latter pictures depict scenes of everyday life in simple African villages, the Haussah images stress their role as famous West African traders.[40] The subsection on Bamum even depict their King Njoya, who had treaties with the Germans, the architecture around his palace, and the numerous wives of the ruler. All these were imageries Njoya attempted to (co-)produce himself on other occasions as he was well aware of the power of visual language.[41]

The physician's album manifests the topos of disciplining African bodies, especially by the colonial military. 19 pictures of the so-called *Schutztruppe* comprise a sub-section in the album on the Cameroonian population. The photos never depict individuals. Instead, the African soldiers in service of the German colonial military appear exclusively in a group. The individual soldiers are always part of a parade, perform a roll call, or take part in a canoe race on the Edea River on the occasion of *Kaiser's* birthday.[42] The

very last picture of the *Schutztruppe* subsection, depicts a scene of colonial violence. Schäfer explained the scene by the annotation: '"25" = Flogging under the supervision of the labour commissioner, called "flockmassa" [flog master]. 1914. "Ultima ratio regis" [the last resort of the king] […]'.[43] Accordingly, the photo shows an African soldier of the German colonial military who strikes a young man with a whip on his back. In the background a campfire is burning, and a hut and two tents of the construction camp appear. In the foreground the labour commissioner, responsible to supervise colonial labour protection rights, supervises the public punishment. A few African men watch the scene while four men fix the victim by holding one extremity each. Corporal punishments, despotism and physical violence were normal in colonial working environments. In Kamerun, colonial law did not allow employers to hand out corporal punishment. This was the prerogative of the colonial state. In practice, however, corporal punishment under a certain threshold was tolerated and beatings resulted from minor and largely unspecified infringements at the workplace such as go slow, laziness, indolence, or disrespectfulness towards the (German) employer. In more serious cases such as theft, public whippings occurred. From ca. 1909 onwards, colonial labour laws demanded labour commissioners supervise these public floggings. As the number of the labour commissioners was very low, they were often not present in accordance with the law. Thus, floggings occured without any supervision.[44] As far as the dramaturgy of Schäfer's album is concerned, the album's final picture documenting physical violence at the railway construction site is the taming's and disciplining climax: the alleged modernisation of pre-colonial infrastructure is first and directly followed by the disciplined bodies of the African soldiers in service of the German colonial military. As the last picture of the subsection, the brutal scene of corporal punishment as 'last resort of the king', i.e. the German colonial authorities, over the colonised bodies closes the entire album. It therefore strongly advocates and postulates Schäfer's personal visualised claim to power in Kamerun. This is also stressed by language. First, Schäfer seems to identify with his role as colonial ruler using the word 'king' (rex/regis). Second, the physician's usage of Latin ('ultima ratio regis') to describe the scene is crucial. Using the language of the Ancient Roman Empire to explain a scene of the early twentieth century in West Africa, the German colonial railway doctor places himself in the tradition of an Ancient Emperor who allegedly civilises the face – and characterless barbarians of a recently conquered territory. Including this scene in his albums in the late 1940s and early 1950s reveals the longevity of such colonial gazes and (visual) discourses about Africa. It further reflects the ongoing sense of this being still appropriate decades after the end of German colonial rule and during the onset of decolonisation.[45]

Male Labour at the Railway Construction Sites

Throughout his entire photo compilation, Schäfer reflects a remarkable difference in the display of gender. The general thematic division of the two albums reveals this fact. Except for European women, the first album titled '4 Kamerun railway construction' does not contain a single photo of an African woman. Yet, there are 31 photos that depict African men. All these photos in the album are strongly related to the men's working tasks, illustrating that Schäfer valued them solely as human labour. If single African men or African men in small groups of up to three people are depicted, they are exclusively shown as personal servants[46] of the senior European railway personnel. As cook or washman, they almost appear like a furnishing item of the colonisers' households. Apart from that, the depicted African men merge almost exclusively into an anonymous mass of railway workers as revealed in Figure 1.

Although colonial propaganda claimed otherwise,[47] Schömann and Mandeng stress the harsh conditions at the railways' construction sites. Besides the physically demanding tasks of colonial railway construction, such as earthworks, gravel hammering, track laying or carrying of construction

Figure 1. 'Construction of the Central Railway 1912–1914. Apparently moving the tipper waggons to a new Shaft. […]'.

material for at least 10 h per day, excluding breaks, wages were low and extra hours were frequent. Additionally, medical care as well as housing and food supply were insufficient. Moreover, the colonial administration usually recruited the railway workers by force or made false promises about the working conditions at the construction sites. As the Cameroonian populations often resisted recruitment, the colonial administration sent the colonial military to kidnap workers and sometimes took the wives of targeted workers as hostages to force the men to work at the railways. As the homes, especially of the contract workers, were hundreds of kilometres away from the construction sites, the labour force often arrived exhausted at the construction camp, as they had to walk the entire distance.[48] Examining the official medical reports of Berlin's Colonial Office, Eckart characterises the labour conditions as 'catastrophic'.[49] According to the official numbers, the workers' death rate at the Central Railway in Kamerun between 1911 and 1912 was almost 10 per cent. In the same period, of 5.583 almost 3,000 turned seriously ill and suffered from diseases such as severe dysentery or lung diseases of all kinds.[50] Between 1909 and 1911, the overall death rate of the contract workers at the Central Railway, who generally made up at least 50 per cent of the entire workforce, was 11.3 per cent. The railways dismissed another 11 per cent before the actual end of their contracts due to illness.[51]

In 1908 and 1909, there were several incidents when the colonial administration sent penal labourers to the railway construction sites. This was part of reprisal policies after the Maka and the Omwang had resisted the colonial intrusion to their territories. Although Schömann does not provide for any exact numbers, he stressed that their 'death rate was extraordinarily high'.[52] If individual cohorts of workers were exposed to unhealthy environments such as swamps or ponds, received inappropriate foods, or contracted epidemic diseases, the death rates of the corresponding worker cohorts rose to 30 or even 50 per cent. As a result, Schömann even claims that potential African workers preferred plantation labour to railway work, if they had the choice to do so.[53] If this was really a general trend is not entirely clear, as there were also instances of plantation workers changing to the railways, as plantation labour in Kamerun was also unbearable. In any case, on average, 20.1 per cent of all contract workers ran away from the Central Railway each year, underlining their general reluctance to railway labour. As a rule, the longer the construction process, the less railway workers could be found by the colonial authorities and the employers. Many workers had died, had turned sick, or were too weak to sustain the harsh railway labour. It thus became increasingly difficult to replace them. Railway doctors reported that 50 per cent to two-thirds of the workers recruited were not fit enough to start working at the railroads. Colonial authorities even judged that entire districts like Edea had only a share of 25 per cent of able-bodied men among their total population in 1911.[54]

Schäfer is fairly explicit about the coercive character of labour recruitment and the harsh labour conditions at the railways as Figure 2 shows. Below the picture, the physician explained the depicted scene and the role of a railway doctor in colonial Kamerun in the recruitment process:

> Newly arrived railroad workers, "recruited" 4-500 km away from the track's railhead in the hinterland. A special railroad doctor (Prof. Haberer) carried out the examination for fitness, but despite this we often received "exchanged" miserably weak people who had to be returned by me, the railroad doctor. Probably up to 10% of them were lost through exhaustion […] on the home march.[55]

The picture, which Schäfer even put twice in his album, shows a group of ca. 40 male railway workers. They align in a semicircle which has four rows. Those men in the three front rows are sitting on the ground and those in the backrow are standing. They all appear to be clothed with a blanket only. In contrast to the sitting men, the bare chests of the standing men are clearly visible. Most of their uncovered upper bodies appear muscular and strong, especially of those in the centre backrow. In contrast, the bodies of those further out appear skinny and malnourished. Due to their sitting position, similar observations are hardly possible for the men of the front rows. But most of all men share similar facial expressions. I identify these as simultaneously expecting and worried. The face of one man, who sits right at the centre of the semicircle in the foreground

Figure 2. 'Newly arrived railway workers […]'.

of the picture, is clearly revealed; sharing the expectant and worried facial expression of his fellows, I further detect pain and reluctance in his direct view into the camera. This only individualised man, who is also the only one who wears a shirt and has a hat, might have had an important role among this cohort of workers or even in their recruitment. His exact part is unfortunately not mentioned by the sources, however. Apart from the visual language, the railway doctor's annotation reveals his awareness about the catastrophic recruitment practices. It further stresses the significant position of the railway doctor within this process. The quotation marks highlight the word 'recruited'. I interpret this as clear evidence that Schäfer was aware that the colonisers forced people to walk up to 500 km to the railway's construction sites and that recruiting workers to the railways took the characteristics of kidnapping which was accompanied by the colonial military.[56]

Strikingly, Schäfer mentions that doctors like his colleague Prof. Haberer obtained a central position in the labour recruitment process from the very beginning. Accordingly, Haberer was directly involved in labour recruitment. Accompanying the recruitment troops, it was obviously the railroad doctor's job to assess whether a potential worker was fit enough to leave his or her home, survive both the long journey to the construction site and the subsequent labour conditions on the spot. Yet, the medical examination had two stages. Besides the initial check-up performed by Haberer, another physician re-examined all the workers arriving at the prospected workplace for a second time. As Schäfer explains, this second check-up was one of his jobs as railway doctor in Kamerun. This occupation was very influential, as Schäfer had the power to decide whether the arriving workers were fit enough to survive the harsh working and living conditions along the colonial tracks. If the physician decided that a worker was not healthy enough to stay for work at the railways, Schäfer turned him down and sent him back home on a long and dangerous journey. It seems that Schäfer regarded this practice as a justified form of punishment against African subversion: although his colleague Haberer had finished the initial check-up, the targeted workers sent other unchosen ('exchanged') people to the railways. It seems that the targeted workers or the networks behind them could find other people – maybe the most destitute of a village or those that the leaders could spare – to replace them. This not only points to African agency, but also to social conflicts within African societies, and to the colonial situation in which people had to make tough choices and sacrifice one person to save the other.

In addition, Mandeng quotes another doctor in service of the colonial administration (Dr. Ufer), who could clearly delineate the fitness of the workers when recruiting. As he gave priority to the railways' construction process that demanded the supply of sufficient workers, he selected unsuitable people anyway.[57] It is therefore not very surprising that, when rejecting any emaciated people, whether exchanged or not, Schäfer was prepared to accept

self-declared death rates of at least 10 per cent in any case.[58] Even if he had judged the workers as fit enough to work at the railways, he subsequently encountered similar death rates on average (11.3 per cent see above). Certainly, the death rate would have been higher, had he accepted any men to the workplace. But as a rule, the railway doctor took the high mortality rates of railway workers as a given. In an official report issued by Schäfer himself and quoted by Mandeng, he explained:

> The fact that, despite all efforts to reduce mortality, hardly any success has been achieved in these three years [1909-1911], but rather that the mortality rate has remained almost constant for the same length of working hours, seems to me to indicate that we cannot change much in this regard and must accept the high loss of human life as an unavoidable cost.[59]

This proves that Schäfer recalled the realities of railway labour in Figure 2's annotation, when compiling his photo albums in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Apparently, he found nothing scandalous neither about the recruitment of forced labour nor about the labour conditions which claimed a lot of lives when annotating the photo albums decades after the end of German colonialism.

On other occasions, Schäfer did not present himself as a helpless railway doctor who had no influence on his environment. On the contrary, he even presented himself as able to influence colonial labour policies at the highest levels. Below the second copy of Figure 2, he noted on the previous page of the album: 'newly arrived contract workers from the forest country 1914. 1 year contract, through my efforts, with help of Exc. Solfs extended to two years!!!' Apparently, Schäfer portrayed himself to have had the power to alter the duration of colonial labour contracts by lobbying Colonial State Secretary Wilhelm Solf himself. Solf, in office since 1911 until the end of formal German colonial rule after WWI, had previously been incumbent of several top-ranking positions in the colonial service. Among others, he had been the Governor in the German colony Samoa between 1900 and 1911. In 1913, Solf visited Kamerun and strongly supported the opening-up of Kamerun by infrastructures such as roads and especially railways.[60] Solf's support for Schäfer's prolongation of the railway workers' contracts appears therefore plausible. Indeed, the contracts of the workers became longer in the construction process. In 1909, contract workers had to stay at the railways for six months only. In late 1910, the construction management lobbied the colonial administration successfully to enlarge the contracts to one year, as the training of the workers demanded a lot of time. The management argued further that the mortality rate would lower significantly if the workers stayed longer than six months. As the recruitment of labour became increasingly challenging in the course of the construction process, the construction management further planned to enlarge the contracts from 1913 onwards. Finally, they reached an agreement with the

colonial administration and the first men with a contract of two years started working at the Central Railway in July 1914. Although it is not entirely clear how influential the young railway doctor Schäfer was in this process, he appears to have been one of those who succeeded in lobbying for longer contracts. After all, this decision was not undisputed. Several district officers and the labour commissioner were uneasy about the contracts' longer duration as they feared the increased absence of the workmen in their home districts and the corresponding negative impact on their families and home societies. Nevertheless, these sceptics finally agreed to prolong the contracts, as rapid railway construction remained the top priority.[61] Schäfer's participation in successful lobbying that addressed the Colonial State Secretary himself already points to his decisive role in the colonial labour market. It is further highlighted by his power to turn down arriving workers, whom he judged as unfit for railway labour.

It was common knowledge among the Cameroonian populations that living and working conditions at the railways were harsh and abusive. Schäfer documented this fact below a picture of two other railwaymen. Both are sitting on the ground. One dresses the hair of the other. In the background a coloniser appears, whose head is not visible, while another African man appears barely visible in the background. Both men in the foreground wear a necklace that carries a metal plate that Schäfer describes as 'identification number'. In Germany, critics of German colonial policies denounced the practice to mark the railway workers by these identification numbers. For instance, in a notorious *Reichstag* debate, MP Gustav Noske described them as 'dog tags'. Although the term was commonly used by the German military to identify their soldiers,[62] as one of the few experts on colonial policies of the Social Democrats, Noske implicitly claimed that the railway authorities and the colonial administration treated the Cameroonian railway workers like animals. Of course, pro-colonial protagonists like Hans Schäfer rejected Noske's accusation and justified their usage for bureaucratic reasons. According to the physician's opinion, the railways' administration required them to manage the books of the workers' 'payroll accounts'. In fact, this number plate as bureaucratic distinguishing feature was equivalent to a stigma in colonial society indeed. Schäfer himself even claimed that those who wore the number plates were referred to as '"number people"' in Kamerun. Besides this rhetoric and telltale stigma, Schäfer further conceded that these 'number people' were 'admittedly treated somewhat contemptuously' by '"free men"', i.e. by those who were exempt from colonial railway labour in the West African colony.[63] To be sure, the identification numbers were understood as discriminatory marks not only in Germany, but also in Kamerun and other (German) colonies. In German South West Africa, for example, colonial legislation introduced a compulsory passport from 1907. It required a colonised individual to carry a clearly visible metal plate with an identification number. It was generally worn around

the neck, and it was very similar to the Cameroonian 'dog tags' of the railway workers. Yet, it was forced upon any colonised individual and as it combined passport, duty book and population register, its usage for colonial control and command went beyond the usage of the tags at the railways in Kamerun, however.[64]

In any case, railway workers were never passive to their environments. Recent research about colonial labour has shown that especially skilled workers like craftsmen or office clerks were able to eke out advantages at the workplaces of the construction sites. As their qualified labour was strongly sought after, they could often choose their employer or place of employment themselves. Furthermore, they received comparatively high wages and usually worked independently. This also applied to railway construction in various German colonies.[65] Apart from skilled labour, experienced workers in charge of physically very demanding but simpler tasks like shovelling or carrying, sought individual advantages in the racist colonial labour market. Like their skilled colleagues, they attempted eking out better working conditions, receiving better pay, or shunning the most notorious employers and supervisors. Preferences in how to perform a particular type of railway labour also document their active role at the railroads' construction sites. In Schäfer's album their agency is revealed by few photos like Figure 3.

The picture shows an African railway worker and a wheelbarrow on a street. In the background of the scene, there is dense vegetation of a supposedly tropical forest. The railway worker carries the wheelbarrow on his head, stabilising it with both hands. As wheelbarrows are generally intended to be pushed by

Figure 3. 'Railway construction 1912–1914. This scene is not "staged"! […]'.

their users, the unconventional way of its usage irritated Schäfer. Below the picture he noted: 'Railway construction 1912–14. This scene is not "staged"; The n[…] considered this type of wheelbarrow transport to be the "method of choice"!' Especially the underlined words 'not' and 'this' illustrate the railway doctor's irritation, if not annoyance. Schäfer would have preferred the ordinary European usage of pushing wheelbarrows instead of carrying them, of course. Annotating this picture in his album, Schäfer appears to presume on a conversation with a reader/ spectator. The physician is confident that he or she will understand and agree with his opinions, as he has framed and shaped the album's page to cajole readers into certain kinds of understandings that are based on his assumption of shared values and opinions about what is right and wrong to do. In contrast to this (post-) colonial perspective, numerous African societies carry any materials on their heads. Analogically, the depicted railway worker apparently simply chose to use the wheelbarrow according to his customs of transport. Strikingly, there are also written sources of other German colonial railway constructions in far distant colonies that report similar incidents. Engineers of the *Central Railway* in German East Africa, for instance, equally complained about African workers, who carried wheelbarrows on their heads instead of pushing them. At times, the engineers or railway sub-contractors abandoned the usage of wheelbarrows, as the African workforce insisted on carrying loaded wheelbarrows on their heads.[66] Although railway employers attempted to force their vision of modern labour into the colonial environment, as symbolised by the wheelbarrow, they were neither able to enforce it without opposition. Nor were the colonisers entirely able to transform African ways of work to their colonial agenda. Yet, not only male workers attempted to manifest their agency when working in the disadvantaging railway construction environment. The same holds true for women, who comprised a fair share of the labour camps' population in Kamerun.

Female Labour at the Railway Construction Sites

Research on labour at colonial infrastructures like railways has seldom investigated the role of women at the construction sites. In fact, the few existing works prove that women were decisive in the building process of a colonial railway, albeit in lower numbers, since colonisers tended to exclude them from railway labour as soon as enough male workers were available to perform the same task. But even if women were not the recruiters' preferred choice for railway labour, their presence at the railroads' construction sites remained crucial to labour and the construction process. Women usually accompanied male railway workers as their wives or spouses to the construction camp and were generally in charge of cooking, water supply, or child-care (as children were equally present at the construction sites). In short, while some women

worked on the railway itself, a lot of their work was about enabling men to perform wage labour as railway workers. The total number of women present at railroad constructions is difficult to assess, as the colonial administration generally included only men to their workers' statistics. Complementing these statistics with other sources like self-narratives has shown that between ca. one-third and one-half of the entire population of a construction camp at other colonial railway construction sites were female.[67] If they did not perform railway labour or reproductive labour, they often arrived independently at the railroads. As beer-brewers or petty traders, they were significant suppliers of simple consumer goods for the customers at the worksite, who were mainly railwaymen. Other women worked as sex-workers. Generally, the colonial authorities sanctioned sex-work at the construction sites. At least in the German East African case, both the colonial administration and the construction companies regarded the presence of women and opportunities to buy sex at the construction camps as reasons why male workers would either accept longer working contracts at the construction sites or the availability of commercial sex functioned as an incentive to start working at the railroads. Of course, European men like engineers, overseers, labour recruiters or railway subcontractors were customers of the sex-workers, too. Generally, the distinction between sex-work and sexualised violence blurred.[68]

Schäfer's photo albums equally reflect the centrality of women at the Cameroonian railways. Indeed, the photos depict women at or close to the construction sites. As mentioned above, the physician excluded them from the album 'railway construction'. Instead, Schäfer compiled any photo of an African woman to his album titled 'Kamerun population'.[69] In total, 33 photos in this album depict women. In accordance with colonial visual discourses, Schäfer's selection of women's photos in his compilation has a clear tendency to sexualise the depicted individuals.[70] The mere compilation proves this fact. Whereas male railway workers generally merge into the anonymous mass of the labour force, women are either depicted individually or in small groups. Of the 33 photos, Schäfer connects 16 of these photos to the subject area of sex. Regarding the album's subsection on Bamum, any women depicted are either King Njoya's 'wives', 'beauties', or part of his 'harem'. Besides sexualising Njoya's wives by labelling them as 'beauties' or members of the 'harem', Schäfer certainly alludes to the reality that Njoya had married many women indeed and that the king subsumed them as part of his socio-economic prestige and power.[71] Apart from that, the Bamum women share one aspect with those women, whom Schäfer identifies either as Christian or as in contact with the European Christian missions to Africa: they are all well-dressed, and their clothes cover both their upper and lower bodies.[72] The other depicted African women are generally topless. Schäfer routinely comments their appearance. He is particularly frank if he disliked a woman's appearance like the size or shape of her breasts. The wife of his chef, a Banyangi woman, was especially

not ‘a pearl’ to his view. Apparently, Schäfer especially disliked the Banyangi’s tradition to file their teeth, which gave them a particular thin and pointy shape.[73]

In Figure 4, Schäfer’s annotation to the photo depicting two African women and one small child illustrates further the presence of women and their crucial role for railway construction. He gives the annotation. ‘2 railway workers’ wives from the coast. Child with picture of the Virgin Mary (baptised). The n[…] carry as much as possible on their heads, including chamber pots, umbrellas and dinner pots’. The photo reveals two fully dressed, but barefoot women at a railway construction camp. They stand directly next to the newly built or provisional track of the colonial railway. One looks directly into the camera and is smiling, the other turns her back towards the photographer. On her back, the latter carries a baby with a plate, which Schäfer identifies as picture of the Virgin Mary. In the background, the results of railway construction work are seen; on the left there are cut trees ready for further processing. On the right, the workers’ camp, comprising of simple huts appears. Smoke rises from a campfire near one hut where another person is visible. With Schäfer identifying the two women as wives of railway workers, his annotation as well as the items on their heads suggest their decisive role in reproductive labour. The pots on their heads apparently contain food that they have probably prepared for their men working at the railroad.

These women demonstrate the crucial role of support workers to the railway projects. Moreover, Schäfer’s album also provides a rare view of the women who were determined to actual construction work at the Cameroonian railways.

Figure 4. ‘Two railway workers’ wives from the coast […]’.

There is one photo showing 'Wute women, South Cameroon on the railway. 1914. Approach 3–400 km!!',[74] for example. Indeed, Mandeng mentions briefly that women and children were used to substitute male railway workers when no other (healthy) workmen could be recruited. Apart from mere substitition, the women's and children's employment also served to lower the death rate of the workforce's statistics.[75] In fact, it is difficult to assess the overall ratio of women present at the railways' in Kamerun, but probably 10 per cent or ca. 1,200 women were present at the construction camps. Yet only one single picture of Schäfer's provides information about the overall number of women present at the construction sites. This picture depicts a topless young 'Jaunde woman' carrying her baby on one of her arms. Schäfer identifies her as 'wife of a railway worker'. In contrast to the photos' visual language, which hints at the woman's reproductive labour (carrying a baby), Schäfer's annotation is obviously linked to the issue of sex-work at the Cameroonian railways. He estimates below the picture: 'For every hundred labourers there will have been at most! 10 women! Comment superfluous!' Besides the obvious hint to sex and sex-work by the doctor's statement 'comment superfluous!', the positions of the exclamation marks enforce the physician's perspective: Schäfer clearly attempted to provide the spectator and reader with an idea of the omnipresence of sex-work at the Cameroonian railways, albeit he shunned to mention it explicitly.[76] Yet, like at other colonial railway construction sites, sex-work was common at the railways in Kamerun.[77] Below another picture, Schäfer is very clear in his annotation (Figure 5):

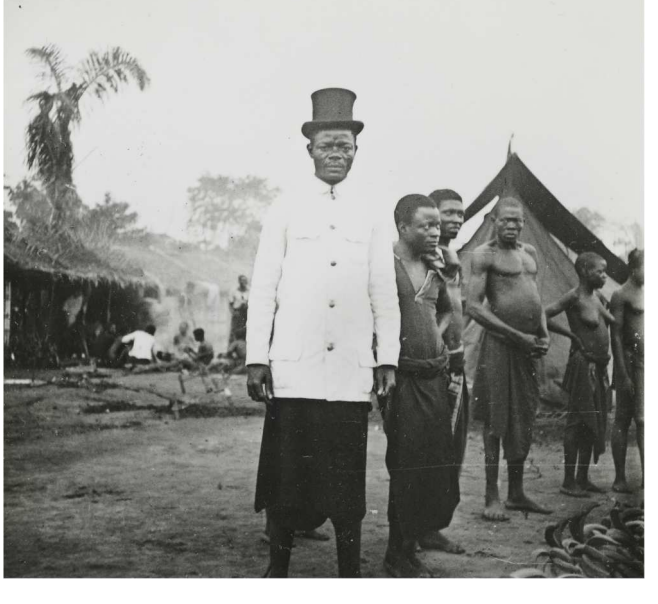

Figure 5. 'King Bialjaka, km 150 of the Central Railway. […]'.

> 'King Bialjaka, km 150 of the Central Railway. He exchanged – probably with great pleasure! – the Cylinder – still a rarity in the Bakoko bush! – of a love-hungry former colonial pioneer in 1914! for one of his 'Mammys': both partners in the deal satisfied!'

Whether this photo really depicts a ruler is not important here. The most important aspect of this picture is the fact that Schäfer provides not only information on the issue of sex-work at railway construction sites, but he is also commenting on the issue of pimping at labour camps of colonial railways that has barely been investigated yet. Pimping therefore remains a desideratum with respect to research on colonial infrastructure.[78] This is especially relevant as the newly built railways often met communities, e.g. in southern Cameroon, were women were clearly subordinate to their men and were often treated as objects of a man's household. Nevertheless, there were also examples of women who reached influential positions in their familiy or even in their society. According to Oestermann, such complex situations also interacted with local sexual norms that allowed women considerable sexual freedom on a continuum ranging from marriage to prostitution.[79] Unfortunately, there are no other pictures in Schäfer's albums that could further reveal this aspect.

In any case, Schäfer provides for some information that demonstrate how closely sex-work, pimping and sexualised violence were intertwined. In Schäfer's subsection 'Haussah' of the album 'Kamerun population' one single picture is telltale. The photo depicts the portrait of a very young short-haired woman. The railway doctor describes her as a 'girl'. She looks straight into the camera. Although the drop shadow covers her eyes, her view appears firm and determined. She wears an earring, a bracelet and a necklace. All pieces of jewellery lay emphasis on her uncovered upper body and her breasts. She sits in front of what appears to be a house and is probably performing some kind of unidentifiable handicraft. Below the photo, Schäfer noted: 'Haussah girl in Ndunge 1910. "She no gree [agree]! Baumassa send me 3 times, ["]she no gree [agree]". Very graceful!!! "From Papuas [?] – Cameroon" [?] […]'.[80] From this annotation the interconnection between sex-work, pimping and sexualised violence is obvious. First of all, Schäfer sexualises the Haussah's appearance by judging her look as 'very graceful'. This is emphasised by his usage of three exclamation marks and the visual language that stresses her breasts. Secondly, her age raises questions about sexual child abuse. According to Schäfer, she was still a girl. Thirdly, the Haussa woman's reluctance to become part of the colonial sex economy becomes obvious. In his annotation, the railway doctor apparently repeats a conversation he had witnessed. This conversation reveals that the young Haussah woman had refused to become the object of pimping. Apparently, the 'baumassa', i.e. a European railway master builder, had sent one of his African employees to recruit her as a sex-worker. The phrase 'she no gree!!', i.e. 'she did not agree!!', clearly shows her reluctance towards sex-work. According to Schäfer's

accounts, the young Haussa woman repeated her refusal three times. Whether her resistance remained ultimately successful is unclear.[81]

Besides female opposition against sexualised violence, Cameroonian women also resisted the camera's colonial gaze as such. So far, this article has avoided reproducing the sexualised colonial gaze, showing pictures of overt colonial violence, or revealing photos that sexualise African women. They have not been included, and instead, I treated them exclusively as historical sources. Generally, photography was a means to colonial power and conquest. Cameras were both recording tools and a means to demonstrate power and control. Especially in the colonies, photographers experimented comparatively early with the ways to visualise and reframe the depiction of violence. One particular target of colonial photographs were (dead) bodies of the colonised as (war) trophies, for example.[82] Certainly, photographic violence and the sexualised gaze intersected, as male photographers depicted female bodies in accordance with the gendered viewing habits of their societies[83] and often sexualised pictures became trophies of (colonial) conquest. Facing this visual realm of violence raises the question, whether it is justified to reproduce any pictures of disturbing content. Confronting herself with the 'nagging ambivalence' of showing even atrocity photographs of the Holocaust, Valerie Hébert is still convinced that it is justified to show these pictures if they are thoroughly examined. The most important reasons are that photographs are 'utterly accessible' and 'more accurately communicate […] a multilayered experience than words can. […] Further there is an irrefutability and literalness to photographs' that gives a certain perspective on an event that really took place. Moreover,

> spectatorship is the prerequisite for rights discourse because we only recognise rights in their absence, and photographs are uniquely able to depict this absence. The right to bodily integrity, freedom, and life itself are never so clearly justified as when we see images of abuse […].

One can thus 'teach others lessons about state-led violence' and reveal the perpetrators of violence and atrocities as well as their motivations.[84]

The reason why I chose to reproduce the following picture is that it reveals not only the violence of the colonial camera and its photographer, but also the resistance of Cameroonian women to the colonial gaze as such. Moreover, the faces of the individual women shown are obscured or blurred and therefore the protection of privacy could be sustained (Figure 6).

The photo, which was taken by Schäfer's colleague Arnold, depicts a group of eight women. Behind and next to them, several simple houses are visible. The houses are surrounded by palm trees and probably banana plants. The photo was thus most likely taken in the women's home village or at another permanent settlement of the local populations. All of the depicted women appear entirely undressed. In his corresponding annotation, Schäfer highlights this fact:

Figure 6. 'Completely undressed N[…] women in the Bana district 1911 […]'.

'completely undressed n[…] women in the Bana district 1911, 40 km distant from the railhead Konsemba!' Labelling this picture as particularly authentic,[85] the physician further stresses the isolation of the region, claiming that 'the government had only allowed me to pass through the area 6 months before I was there. On the 1908 Moisel Map of Kamerun there is also a white spot 100–200 kilometres to the north. As the crow flies, 150 kilometres from the coast!'[86] Apparently, intruders like Schäfer were uncommon in this area. On top, they were not welcome in the homelands of the depicted women on their arrival. Certainly, they refused the usage of the camera and appear to be scared: setting themselves up behind one another, they attempted to avoid the colonial gaze of the camera by hiding behind one another. Their reluctance and simultaneous vulnerability are further revealed by the posture of their arms. All of them cross their hands and cover their united palms over their genitals. Although it is not clear whether the women were ordered to this gesture, it is most plausible to assume that they prevented the visual intrusion to their privacy themselves. They thus evaded the colonial gaze as much as possible. The scene conveys their shared feeling of discomfort and the violence of the colonisers' photography. Simultaneously, the picture reveals the women's resistance, which turns the colonial agenda upside down. The depicted women frustrate the capturing of undressed female bodies as a trophy by the camera in an allegedly unexplored territory. The perpetrated sexualised colonial gaze is therefore simultaneously a snapshot that documents the agency of these women and their decision to resist the view of colonisers collectively.

Conclusion

Hans Schäfer functioned as a significant interface between business and labour in German colonial Kamerun. As a railway doctor, he obtained a crucial position at colonial railway construction sites. Analysing his annotated photo albums about his job at the German colonial railways between ca. 1909 and 1914 revealed his significance in the overall labour recruitment process. He was the one with the power to either impede or facilitate the supply of the labour force to the building sites of the railway construction companies. Three aspects are striking. First, Schäfer was indeed able to facilitate labour supply to ensure rapid railway construction. Using his influential position, he lobbied successfully to double the duration of the workforces labour contracts. Usually employed for one year, the railway doctor apparently contributed to convince Colonial State Secretary Bernhard Solf to raise the general duration of the working contract to two years in 1914. Secondly, Schäfer could not only facilitate but also impede labour supply at the railroads' construction sites. He was the one to decide whether potential workers were fit enough to survive the harsh living and working conditions at the Central Railway and the Northern Railway in German colonial Kamerun. This position gave him the power to turn weak, sick or emaciated people arriving at the workplaces hundreds of kilometres back home. According to his own accounts, this was almost like a death sentence for a substantial part of men and probably women after their arrival at the projected worksite. Directing people in need of the most basic provisions back to a journey of hundreds of kilometres by foot, they were simply left to their own devices. Of course, accepting unfit men to the workplace would have most probably entailed their death, because of the harsh working conditions. In this respect, Schäfer presented himself as a railway doctor without any influence to alter these catastrophic conditions of labour recruitment and everyday work. This is in stark contrast to his self-presentation as an influential individual, who even succeeded in convincing Colonial State Secretary Solf to change the duration of the working contracts. Thirdly, railway doctors like Schäfer were also directly involved in the recruitment of railway workers. As the recruitment of workers in a colonial environment often featured physical violence, blackmailing and forms of kidnapping, the examination of Schäfer's albums has revealed that railway doctors like his colleague Haberer apparently joined recruitment troops to the home villages of potential workers. In these villages, the railway doctors had the power to decide whether a potential worker was fit enough to work for a colonial railway construction company and subsequently targeted for recruitment. If doctors like Haberer judged an individual fit enough, labour recruiting forces certainly considered a railway doctor's advice or simply obeyed.

Schäfers influential position in the context of business and labour in German colonial Kamerun is further revealed by his relationships to top-ranking men of the construction business. His albums depict Mr Bouyé and Friedrich Lenz, boss of the railway constructing company of *Lenz & Co.,* several times. His close relationships to master builder Völsing and engineer Kühne further highlight the railway doctor's strong ties to the businesses in charge of railway construction in Kamerun. Kühne, employed by *Gutehoffnungshütte,* was the decisive man for the company's bridge constructions. Apparently, Schäfer remained in contact with Kühne for decades. Schäfer's albums not only feature pictures of the engineer when at work in Kamerun between 1909 and 1914, but they also depict him in the late 1940s or early 1950s. It is therefore obvious that Schäfer's occupation as colonial railway physician had not only significant ties to the railway construction business in West Africa. But these ties also merged with his private life and remained a part of it for decades. Most notably, he married the relative, probably the daughter, of a colonial railway master builder, Leni Völsing.

The interconnections between Schäfer's private and professional life with railway business in Kamerun also found expression in his photo albums. Just like many other photo albums of the time, Schäfer did not take all of the pictures of his two private albums himself. The photographs about the life and work in colonial Kamerun also contain a substantial number of photos that were taken by engineers like the abovementioned Kühne or his (probable) father-in-law Völsing. As visual sources, they document every day life and work of the colonial labour force working at both the Central and the Northern Railway in Kamerun. They thus tie the colonial business of railway construction back to the subject area of labour. Of course, these sources reflect the most widespread colonial discourses of the time through their visual language. Among others, the most prominent visual discourses were the alleged civilising mission of Africa by infrastructure construction, the exoticization of African flora, fauna, as well as people, the presentation of male African workers as anonymous masses of labour power, and the sexualisation of African women. In this respect, Schäfer's albums are also clearly part of the colonial gaze that (re)produced colonial imageries, legitimised colonialism and thus enacted colonial rule. The fact that the album's compilation occurred decades after formal German colonialism, but still speaks the (visual) language of the colonial era, proves – by the individual perspective of the colonial railway physician Hans Schäfer – the longevity of colonial claims to power that reached right into the onset of decolonisation.

But the photos, in combination with their extensive annotations also provided new insights into the subject area of colonial railway construction work, especially in Kamerun. Besides revealing the central role of physicians working at colonial railways as mentioned above, they also documented the agency of individual workmen to insist on their own way of doing railway work. For instance, the worker carrying the wheelbarrow on his head only

leaves the anonymous masses of railway workers as presented in other pictures due to his reluctance to accept the European or rather colonial way of wheelbarrow usage. As research on female labour and imperial infrastructures is still scarce, the analysis of Schäfer's photo albums has stressed the significant role of women regarding labour at the construction sites. As wives or spouses, they were in charge of any kind of reproductive labour and therefore genuinely enabled their partner's wage labour at the railroads. Furthermore, Schäfer's albums document the subject area of sex-work and its proximity to pimping and sexualised violence. Yet, in this overall context of the sexualised colonial gaze executed by the railway doctor's camera, the albums reveal the simultaneous violence of the colonial camera and snapshots of African resistance to the (visual) colonial intrusion. This resistance was directed not only against forms of sexual violence like in the Haussah girl's rejection to become a sex-worker. But this resistance is also revealed by the eight women of the Bana district who evaded the colonial gaze by their defensive and dismissive movements and gestures.

There remain several research desiderates, however. The most prominent concerns Schäfer himself. The sources under investigation are almost silent on his life after his stays in Kamerun. Certainly, Schäfer must have been a keen physician of tropical medicine, who remained loyal to his specialised field beyond his stays in West Africa. His occupation took him to northern Europe and Dutch colonial Indonesia after WWI before he returned to Europe after WWII. The sources held by the *Museum Fünf Kontinente* in Munich do not provide for any material about his life and work in the Dutch Empire, however. Schäfer's stay in this colony thus remains unexplored. It is therefore unclear whether Schäfer's previous experience in Kamerun had any influence on his later work as a colonial physician in Sumatra. Whether he changed his colonial gaze during his life and work in Indonesia remains equally unknown, but worthwhile to investigate by means of other suiting (visual) sources. The research desiderate prevails also for the general history of postcolonial German tropical medicine in the Dutch Empire after WWI. Whereas there is research on German doctors in Dutch colonies during the first half of the nineteenth century, there is considerably less information on the period after the foundation of the German *Reich*.[87]

Notes

1. Rudolph, *Globale*, 70–136, 143–51; Lyon, *Forged*, 132–201.
2. Headrick, *Tools*, 3–16, 58–82, 118–210.
3. Dernburg, *Zielpunkte*, 9.
4. Landau. "Empires".
5. Beese, *Experten*; Daughton, *Forest*; Rösser, *Prisms*, 65–205; Lyon, *Forged*.
6. Bauche, *Medizin;* Neill, *Networks;* Ehlers, *Europa*; Webel, *Politics;* Ehlers, "Medical,"; Isobe, *Medizin;* Webel, "Ziba,"; Eckart, "Colony,"; MacKenzie, "Experts".

7. Eckart, *Medizin*, 174–9, 231–4, 349–54.
8. Rösser, *Prisms*, 65–205; Lyon, *Forged.*
9. Kleinöder, "Skilled"; Kleinöder, "Bridging".
10. Gründer, *Geschichte*, 150–1; Speitkamp, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte;* Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte;* Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft*, 30, 38, 81–2, 263–4, 292; Wirz, *Vom Sklavenhandel*, 26, 33–5, 135–9; Winkler, "Das Kameruner", 267–81; Authaler, *Deutsche*, 72, 121, 170; Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 261, 276, 282, 417, 471; Oestermann, "Opportunity"; Todzi, *Unternehmen.* On mobility in Cameroon see also Nkwi, *African*.
11. Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau;* BArch. R 1001/ 3232; BArch. R 1001/ 4293; BArch. R 1001/ 4069g; BArch. R 1001/ 4249; BArch. R 1001/ 4250; BArch. R 1001/ 4429; Verhandlungen des Reichstags 268. Berlin, 1911.
12. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 99–134.
13. Neill, *Networks.*
14. Ibid.*,* 50.
15. Külz, *Blätter*.
16. Neill, *Networks*, 84.
17. Külz ideas largely contributed to the plans of the German colonial government to segregate and dispossess the Douala population from the colonisers in Kamerun. Neill, *Networks,* 84; Eckhart, *Medizin*, 217–30; Eckert, *Douala*, 92–192.
18. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. Hans Schäfer Kamerun.
19. Yota et al., *The botany;* Kaiser, *Wirtschaft*.
20. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. Hans Schäfer Kamerun. Archives of the University of Wroclav (AUW).4650.21.2025.KK. E-Mail by Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein. Archiv der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel (03/04/25). E-Mail by University Archives of the University of Greifswald (02/04/25).
21. Gründer, *Geschichte*, 150–1; Rösser, *Prisms*, 82–98.
22. Kleinöder, "Skilled," 7. For craftsmen see also Rösser, *Prisms*, 132–51.
23. Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau*, 21, 29–104, 166; Mandeng, *Auswirkungen,* 106–8, 134–5; Schroeter, *Eisenbahnen*, 52–61; Baltzer, *Kolonialbahnen*, 70–6; Eckart, *Medizin*, 232; Reichs-Kolonialamt, *Schutzgebiete,* 78; Reichs-Kolonialamt, *Medizinal-Berichte*, 365–6.
24. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-1914. Küstenn[…], "bei einer notwendigen Beschäftigung".
25. Bopp, *Fremde*, 9–23, 69–94, 123–39; Schilling, *Postcolonial*, 155–94; Wurzer, *Atem*, 97–112; Landau, "Empires," 145–6.
26. Wurzer, *Atem*, 94; Landau, "Empires," 141–4.
27. Banks and Zeitlyn, *Visual Methods*, 79; Geary, Images; Geary, "Different Visions?"; Landau, "Empires," 159–60; Ranger, "Colonialism".
28. Wurzer, *Atem*, 87–115; Foliard, *Violence*, 113–47, 240–65; Jäger, "Plätze," 162–86; Ciarlo, "Rasse"; Zeller, *Bilderschule*; Landau, "Empires," 142–59.
29. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. For a discussion about photographs and archives see Klamm and Schneider, "Unboxing".
30. Kleinöder, "Bridging".
31. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1.
32. Kleinöder. "Bridging".
33. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 4 Kamerun Bahnbau 1910-1914, "K Edea 1912".

34. Yekani, *Privilege*, 87–98; Schillings, *Blitzlicht*; MacKenzie, *Nature*; Landau, "Empires," 146–9.
35. Blackbourn, *Conquest*, 21–70, 239–96; Jäger, "Plätze," 167–9; Fisch, "Africa," 347–75; Zeller, *Bilderschule*, 105–22.
36. Landau, "Empires," 155–9.
37. Quinn, *In Search;* Ngoh, *Cameroon.*
38. Ranger, "Colonial"; Fowler and Fanso, *Encounter*; Fowler and Zeitlyn, *African*; Davidson, *West Africa*, 63–90. For Schäfer's uncertainty on African ethnicities see also Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. Kamerun. Bahnbau 1910–1914, "Banyangi? Oder Makka? mit befeilten Zähnen".
39. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-1914, "Duala, christianisierte N[…] Frauen beim sonntäglichen Kirchgang 1912. […]".
40. For the Haussah as traders see Lovejoy, *Ecology*, 155–94; Davidson, *West Africa*, 71–7; Wirz, *Vom Sklavenhandel*, 193–201; Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft*, 146–9.
41. Osayimwese, "Architecture"; Landau, "Empires," 159–60; Leypey and Fomine, "Concise"; Orosz, "Njoya's Alphabet"; Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft*, 151–2; Ranger, "Colonialism"; Ngoh, *Cameroon*, 33–6, 73–6, 82–4.
42. Landau, "Empires", 149–55.
43. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-1914, "'25' = Prügelstrafe[…]"
44. Rösser, *Prisms*, 193–4, 203–4, 326–8, 342; Schröder, *Gesetzgebung*, 235–53, 350–5.
45. Schilling, *Postcolonial*: Kum'a, *Was wollte Hitler*; Linne, *Deutschland*; Kum'a, *Was will Bonn*, 66–106; Michels, "Kennwort"; Landau, "Introduction," 2.
46. Rösser, *Prisms*, 319–28; Rösser, "Mule and Men"; Aitken, "Forgotten"; Landau, "Empires," 157–8.
47. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910–1914. Küstenn[…], Bahnarbeiter "Nummerpeople"! Gut genährt und muskulös […]", "Bahnarbeiter beim 'shop-palaver' […]"
48. Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau*, 29–31, 76, 96–102; Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 102–29. For colonial labour recruitment (at railways) see also Rösser, *Prisms*, 179–86; Daughton, *Forest,* 93–113; Lyon, *Forged*, 139–50; Rudolph, *Diamanten*, 74–122; Martino, *Touts*.
49. Eckart, *Medizin*, 231.
50. Ibid, 231–4. For similar death rates at railway constructions during the French colonial period see Quinn, *In Search*, 86–9.
51. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 110–1.
52. Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau*, 97; Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 102–3.
53. Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau*, 97–8; Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 128–9; Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 487–644.
54. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 110, 119–21; Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 487–644.
55. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 4 Kamerun Bahnbau 1910-1914, Bahnbau, "Neu angekommene Bahnarbeiter […]". For Haberer's involvement in campaigns and research regarding the sleeping sickness and leprosy see Neill, *Networks*, 159, 193; Eckart, *Medizin*, 204–5, 210–11.
56. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 102–12, 128–9. For labour recruitment (at other colonial railways) see Rösser, *Prisms*, 89–96, 122–31; Rösser, "Transimperiale"; Daughton, *Forest*, 93–113; Lyon, *Forged*, 139–50; Rudolph, *Diamanten*, 74–122.
57. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 118–20.
58. Eckart, *Medizin*, 204–5. For (cross-border) labour recruitment in German South West Africa see also Rudolph, *Diamenten*, 70–136, 143–51; Lyon, *Forged*, 132–201.

59. Archives nationales de la République Fédérale du Cameroun (Arch. Nat. RFC). No. 825, p. 7. Qudt. in Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 111.
60. Erbar. "Solf, Wilhelm". "Solf, Wilhelm Dr. Phil." In *Deutsches Koloniallexikon.* Kilian. *Kaisers*, 558–9. On the flouting of legitimate contracts by both governors and private enterprises see also Martino, *Touts*; Rösser, *Prisms*, 270–5; Yekani, *Koloniale Arbeit*, 44–114.
61. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 123.
62. Transfeldt and Brand*, Wort*, 170. Also commonly used in other militaries, see Maier and Stahl, *Identification*.
63. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910–1914, "bei einer notwendigen Beschäftigung." Schömann, *Eisenbahnbau*,102–3. For a critical assessment of Noske regarding German colonial policies, but also regarding his role as Minister of Defense during the Weimar Republic see Rösser, *Prisms*, 65–72. For local conceptions about work for others and personal freedom and autonomy see Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 178–80, 228–30, 488–50.
64. Zimmerer, *Deutsche*, 77–84.
65. Rösser, *Prisms*, 132–69, 270–5, 306–38; Kleinöder, "Skilled"; Lyon, *Forged*, 69–131, 202–7, 224–60; Gunn, *Outsorucing*.
66. Rösser, *Prisms*, 189–92.
67. Ibid*,* 194–9.
68. Ibid*,* 194–206; Reichart, *Gari,* 45–7, 68–76. For the Congo-Océan Railroad see Daughton, *Forest*, 13, 37–40, 72–3, 94–5, 128–52, 169–70, 281. For further reading see Mulvihill, "Prostitution"; Heying, *Huren*.
69. Regarding the exclusion of women from railroad construction scence see Frauwallner, "In//Out of Frame".
70. For a further reading on perpetrator photography, female bodies and gender see Glowacka, "(Re)framing Gender", 191–222.
71. Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft,* 151–2; Osayimwese, "Architecture"; Ngoh, *Cameroon*, 93–5.
72. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Bamum. Küstenn[…], "Bahnarbeiterfrauen von der Küste […] Mission beeinflusst […] 1914.", "Duala. Christianisierte N[…]Frauen am sonntäglichen Kirchgang 1912. […]", "Mein Hauspersonal 1910-14. […]."
73. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Küstenn[…], "Banyamgifrau mit befeilten Zähnen. […]", "N[…]frau von der Küste. 'Weniger wäre mehr'!", "Gallerie 'schöner' Frauen". There is also a picture of men with filed teeth by Schäfer. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. Kamerun. Bahnbau 1910–1914, "Banyangi? Oder Makka? mit befeilten Zähnen."
74. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Bamum. Küstenn[…], "Wute Frauen. Süd Kamerun an der Bahn. 1914."
75. Mandeng, *Auswirkungen*, 120.
76. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Küstenn[…], "N[…]frau von der Küste. 'Weniger wäre mehr'!", "Banyangifrau mit befeilten Zähnen. […]"
77. For sex-work at other colonial railways see Rösser, *Prisms*, 194–206; Reichart, *Gari*, 45–7, 68–76; Daughton, *Forest*, 13, 37–40, 72–3, 94–5, 128–52, 169–70, 281. Further reading on sex work see Rich, "'Une Babylone'"; Aderinto, "Journey".

78. Reichart, *Gari*, 45–7; Rösser, *Prisms*, 358–60. For sex, prostitution and sexualised violence see also Kilian, *Des Kaisers*, 212–21; Walther, *Sex*, 13–52.
79. Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 71–2; Quinn, *In Search*, 32–3, 71–3.
80. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich.. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Haussah.
81. For female articulation towards male sexual violence in German South West Africa see Muschalek, "Intimacy". For sex work, rubber and plantation business see also Oestermann, *Kautschuk*, 482–5.
82. Foliard, *Violence*, 28–77, 181–216; Landau, "Empires," 141–59.
83. Glowacka, "(Re)Framing"; Landau, "Empires," 155–7.
84. Hébert, "'Not to Tiptoe'," 46–53.
85. Landau, "Empires," 153–5.
86. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Sammlung Fotografie, Munich. Fo-85-1. 2 Kamerun Bevölkerung 1910-14. Küstenn[…], "völlig unbekleidete N[…]Frauen im Banabezirk 1911. […]"
87. Pols, *Nurturing*; Teichfischer, "Transnational"; Wagner, *Colonial*, 68–75; Ligtenberg, "Germanophone"; Teichfischer, "German-Jewish".

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