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SCOPE AND PURPOSE
In response to the increasing interest in the "global" as a field of inquiry, a per-spective, and an approach, *Global Histories: A Student Journal* aims to offer a platform for debate, discussion, and intellectual exchange for a new generation of scholars with diverse research interests. Global history can provide an opportunity to move beyond disciplinary boundaries and methodological centrisms, both in time and space. As students of global history at Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, our interest lies not in prescribing what global history is and what it is not, but in encouraging collaboration, cooperation, and discourse among students seeking to explore new intellectual frontiers.

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Dear readers,

The issue presented to you now represents the cumulative work of numerous student researchers, some of whom presented their work at our Student Conference in Summer 2024, as well as editors, without whom, this issue would not be possible.

Global Histories was begun 10 years ago by the organizers of the first Global History Student Conference as a journal for and by students, as a place for students to meet and share their ideas on the page. Following this tradition, this 10 year anniversary issue of *Global Histories* focuses on critical meetings between groups or individuals and the new interpretation of these meetings. Maria Munch examines the representation of African and Asian slaves and servants living in the Danish capital of Copenhagen during the height of the Danish Colonial Empire. Boaz Levy explores a Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine and how it oriented itself in relation to other cultural and political movements in a time of change. Jounas Al Maana's work illustrates the importance of Trade Unions and their conferences in discussions of Non-Alignment and Pan-Africanism in the early Cold War. Amen Imran closely analyzes the language used in the newspaper *Hindustan,* published in a German Prisoner of War camp, to reveal how it constructed new meanings in the context of war.

Complimenting this theme of meetings, two book reviews round out our issue. Linda Catharine Bowes reviews new scholarship on Guest Workers in East Germany from Angola and Mozambique during the Cold War and I myself review a collection of essays which reevaluate the creation and diffusion of maps created in part by the Jesuit Missionary Matteo Ricci in Ming Dynasty China. Additionally this issue begins with a 10 Year Retrospective on Global Histories and the Global History Student Conference composed of contributions by previous Chief Editors.

Our *Global Histories* team is proud to have successfully continued the Global History Student Conference. From May 31st to June 2nd, 2024, over 30 students travelled from 12 different countries to Berlin to present their research projects and exchange insights about global history. The team is now working on the 2025 conference which we hope will be as much a success as the 2024 conference. We wish good fortune to our conference participants and authors who contributed to this issue, and to our readers, we hope you enjoy reading our latest issue.

Wishing the best for you and your families, regards,
Evan Liddle
Editor in Chief

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the interest and work of all students who submitted an article, essay, or review during the last call for papers. We are incredibly grateful to the authors published in this issue for their fruitful contributions and efforts in revision. These authors include Maria Munch, Amen Imran, Jounas Al Maana, Boaz Israel Levy, Linda Catharine Bowes, and Evan Liddle. Their work throughout the months was intensive, and it paid off in their excellent contributions to this issue. In addition, we would like to extend our immense gratitude to the students on the *Global Histories* journal team and students in our Global History MA program, who devoted extensive time and effort to reviewing and editing the published pieces. These members include, Beril Duman, Miguel Cadórniga Martínez, Guli Dolev-Hashiloni, Kieran Isaacs, Lukas Jung, Phoebe Ka Laam Ng, Evan Liddle, Oliver Ryan, Carla Schmidt, Myeonggil Shin, Margaret Slevin, You Wu, and Yasmin Yablonko.

The attention and dedication these members provided towards the pieces they worked on throughout this semester ensured this issue's high quality. Thanks to You Wu, our team's graphic designer, and her incredible work in the layout and design of our journal, we could deliver another visually appealing issue.

Finally, we are grateful for the continued support and assistance for this project by the Freie Universität Berlin, particularly the Global History faculty, chaired by Prof. Dr. Sebastian Conrad, and the Online Journal Systems team at CeDiS.

10-Year Retrospective

As the current Chief Editor of *Global Histories* it is with great pleasure that I bring to you a retrospective on *Global Histories'* 10-Year Anniversary. This collaborative effort was put together by previous Chief Editors* to give a sense of how the journal has changed over the years and their experiences as editors. The majority of this is in their words.

For each Chief Editor, their path to the journal was different. Initially, *Global Histories* was merely an idea born from the first Global History Student Conference held in spring 2015. According to Alexandra Holms, Chief Editor from 2015-2017, "The journal came out of the first Global History Student Conference (2015). Having made this very successful first event and gathered all these scholars from around the world, the student organisers wanted to see where else they could take this potential they'd brought together. However, Alexandra in their time as Chief Editor and with a new team laid the groundwork for the future. Paul Sprute, Chief Editor after Alexandra from 2017-2018 noted, "when taking over from the first editor, appointed to consolidate the initial project, a sound structure was already in place, including a solid mission statement and an extensive mailing list as well as the journal website and the procedure of organizing the student conference." With this base *Global Histories* continued and began to attract more student volunteers. Ruby Guyot, the longest serving Chief Editor from 2020-2023 describes why she joined. "Working with *Global Histories* was something I would have done even if I did not become editor. I've always loved to write, and count my editorial skills as fairly strong. During my tenure as editor, I particularly enjoyed the opportunity to engage with other writers from around the globe." *Global Histories* was undeterred by the COVID-19 Pandemic. In fact it was during the pandemic that joined up precisely because *Global Histories* offered a means of getting to know one another. Phoebe Ka Laam Ng, Chief Editor from 2023-2024 recalls, "My journey with *Global Histories* began in the autumn of 2020, when COVID-19 struck the world. I missed human connection outside of the online classrooms. When I saw the recruitment email from the journal team, I knew it was my chance to meet other students, and I had no hesitation in joining the team, which was a decision I have never regretted." Phoebe echoed Paul in reflecting upon their time as Chief Editor, "Running both journal and conference, has not been an easy job, and I am always grateful for the precious support from our team. " I myself came to *Global Histories* from my previous career in education and a desire to help others reach their potential, in addition to wanting to make friends and meet people.

Paul Sprute
Chief Editor 2017–2018.

From the start though, *Global Histories* has been a collaborative effort. Not only between the editors and the authors but within the program itself. Alexandra said of the first conference organizers that, "I had just begun the MA, so I hadn't been part of the journey at that point, but the conference organisers pitched the idea to us newcomers and their enthusiasm was contagious." Overall, Alexandra said that "I learned a great deal about collaboration and collective organisation, and the value of communication and trust in the group." Such sentiments preserved, when Paul took over as Chief Editor, he recalled that "... there was a group of very dedicated and thoughtful students running things at least as professionally as any other academic journal." Ruby noted that, "Part of what also makes *Global Histories* so special is its 'by students, for students' creed. Working with a team of editors, proofreaders, and graphic designers from our program gave me the opportunity to engage with really talented classmates from across cohorts." The ethos of "by students, for students" reflects the process of the journal. Almost all major decisions are taken collectively, either through a vote or a consensus process. Selection of articles for publication, choice of editors, as well as final copy editing are done without interference or guidance from faculty of Freie Universität Berlin or Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. These processes have been institutionalized over the course of the journal, with for example the annual meeting for selecting the attendees of the Global History Student Conference becoming an anticipated social gathering that goes an entire day, filled with debate and discussion. The process of revision of articles was also a conduit of collaboration and learning to work with others, Ruby said of the process that, "It was deeply meaningful to spend months with someone in the revision process, going back and forth to bring out the best argument possible, to receive the feedback that they had learned a lot

from the experience." Paul concurred describing both *Global Histories* and the Global History Student Conference as "...great chances to get to know the diversity of writing and projects of students around the world and to make a few contacts."

In its 10-year history, *Global Histories* evolved into an established part of the Global History MA program at the Freie Universität, to the point that now all current Chief Editors give a presentation at the welcoming lecture for each new cohort of students. In this presentation students are given a summary of *Global Histories* and the Student Conference and are invited to join the journal. However, such institutional organization did not initially exist. The first issue was published as a follow up to the first Student Conference held in 2015, with the published articles reflecting the presentations at the conference. Alexandra recalls of the early days, "The greatest challenge was getting off the ground! We had all these amazing authors from across the globe willing to write for us, but we didn't have a shape for the vessel to put them all in. We had practical challenges as well as conceptual questions. We had to build a website and learn how to use the journal software, as well as decide what style guide we would use, how we would evaluate submissions. There were organizational matters to determine; how were we going to make decisions, who would be responsible for what? More fundamentally, what did we want the journal to look like?"

Ruby Guyot
Chief Editor 2020–2023.

These questions to some extent have been answered. Alexandra and their class set up the ground work so that under Paul, there were very few structural changes to the journal. However, the journal continued to grow and diversify. Under both Paul and Alina Rodriguez, Chief Editor from 2018-2020, *Global Histories,* published some of its largest and most diverse issues, including two special issues; one on German Migration to North America and another on German-Latin American political and cultural relations. According

to Paul, “Both *Global Histories* and the student conference were always open to anything that was intuitively global history. This intuition was, of course, shaped through the exciting teaching of many lecturers in the Global History M.A. program but also included our very own preferences, from reviewing a book series of global histories of edibles (specifically Rice and Herring) to an Australian murder mystery in the spy milieu. Every edition was done in a different constellation and a learning experience for everyone involved. That is the perpetual potential of both projects.”

Under Phoebe’s tenure as editor there has been a move to standardize the format of the journal’s layout (font, spacing, and page order) in the name of streamlining the editing process. The separate position of Graphic Designer was created during Phoebe’s tenure as Chief Editor by Cecilia Burgos Cuevas, a volunteer and student of the program who through their own effort established this position over two years of work. This new position spoke to the continued institutionalization of *Global Histories* within the program. Additionally, Phoebe, in the spirit of the “by students, for students” ethos, organized the first Student Salon at the 2023 conference, which they described as, “...a safe space for students to address their concerns in the ‘unconventional academic’ topics: racial, gender, and social inequality and resistance in academia.” The third Student Salon will take place at the 2025 Global History Student Conference.

Phoebe Ka Laam Ng
Chief Editor 2023–2024.

Both *Global Histories* and the conference have grown immensely over the last few years. Under both Ruby and Phoebe, social media accounts were set up to promote both events, which have boosted submissions and according to Phoebe this “...significantly boosted our team’s spirit and made us proud.” Additionally *Global Histories* has been invited to collaborate with other student journals, though the impact of this remains to be seen. At this 10-year anniversary it is important to reflect on the origins of the journal. Alexandra

described the difficulties of the first issue, “Drafting our focus, which is still in the ‘about’ section of the website today, gave us a clear shared goal to aim for. Right from the beginning, we were very clear that we didn’t want this to be a ‘one and done’ thing, but something that would last.” They also note that “I think the whole team were both proud and very relieved to get that first issue online.” Finally, Alexandra notes that without support the journal would not have gotten very far “We were very lucky to have the support of Sebastian Conrad, who saw the value of what we were doing and had the foresight to provide financial support through departmental funding of the conference and a student assistant position, right from the start. Without that support, the journal and conference teams would have faced significantly more challenges in terms of continuity and production. ”

Evan Liddle
Chief Editor 2024 – Present.

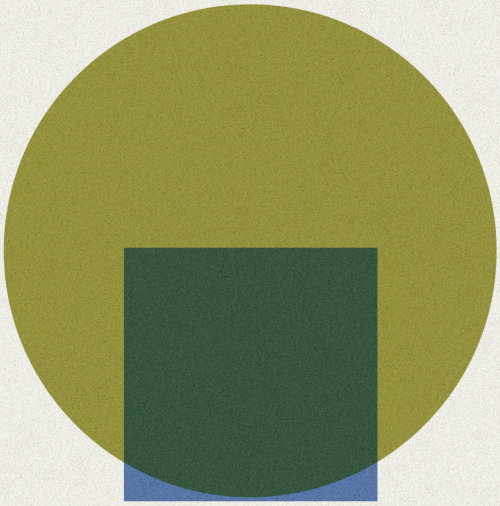
However, this is not to say that things have always been on a positive growth oriented trajectory. More recent issues of *Global Histories* have been smaller, if more closely edited than the pre-2020 issues. While *Global Histories* aims to publish twice a year, the reality is that this has become increasingly difficult to achieve over the last few years and *Global Histories* may move to a single yearly issue. The reasons for this are varied, but I believe it reflects two major changes. On the journal’s side, the increasing financial and social difficulties of living as a student in Berlin has resulted in lower turnouts in regards to university extracurriculars. A quick survey of previous issues of *Global Histories* shows a general decline in the size of the editorial teams since 2020. All of the editors of *Global Histories* are student volunteers at the Freie Universität, giving their time and effort to make this possible. The difficulties of Berlin and in a more general sense, the increasing workload being placed on university graduate students worldwide redirects the time and effort of our hardworking volunteers.

Global Histories has also faced its own challenges and its own limitations. There was a notable case of alleged plagiarism from a scholar in a different country, which resulted in the retraction of the article in question. This incident highlighted the limits of a student journal such as *Global Histories*, the editors are volunteers and not privy to all of the historical debates in foreign academia. Hand in hand with this, the language limits of the journal and its volunteers reflect the limits of global history as a field. While *Global Histories* has published articles not in English, namely in German and Spanish, and published reviews of materials not in English, these remain exceptions not rules. Part of the reason is the demographics of the Global History Program MA; those enrolled in the program must demonstrate English fluency, which already limits who might join the program and therefore become volunteer editors. Additionally, there is the difficulty in finding native speakers in other languages to act as editors for hypothetical pieces, but also a certain level of uncertainty from Chief Editors, myself included, who would be required to sign off on an article without being able to access it ourselves. This naturally limits the number and the nature of the articles that *Global Histories* can publish.

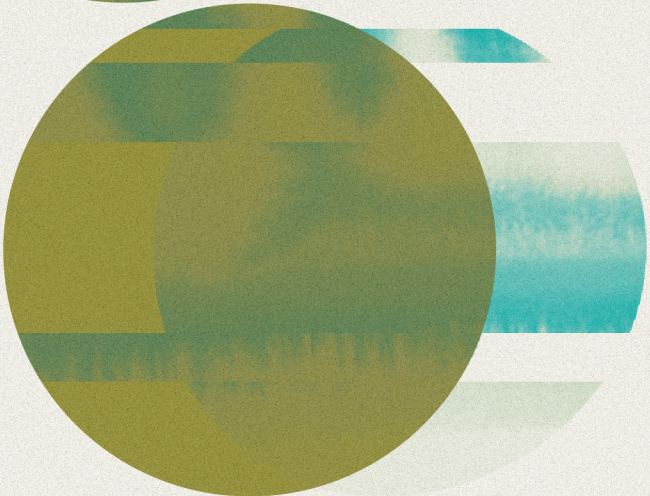
The position of Chief Editor has left an important imprint on those who served the role. Phoebe, in reflecting on her time as editor, indicates that, "One moment I treasured at the conference was realising how motivating it was for other international students to see my representation as a person of colour student leader, which encouraged them to open up and share their thoughts. The leadership experience at the *Global Histories* was eye-opening and a valuable reflection and recognition for myself…I would describe the job as an opportunity to discover one's potential in professionalism, not just in academic editing but also in project management, social media promotion, and interpersonal soft skills. " Ruby comments on the responsibility that the role embodies, "As a team, we worked hard to curate articles that were truly global, insightful, and diverse. Yet there were many things that still went unsaid, particularly from the student perspective. I wanted to speak about the insecurity and uncertainty we faced during the global pandemic; the climate crisis, the ethics of academic work under global warming; and the sexual harassment, discrimination, and intimidation student researchers face in academia, especially as these occurred within our program. I wanted to speak about these things in my letters, but I did not." It was in response to this particular incident of sexual assault committed by a professor against a student in the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin that *Global Histories* has implemented a code of conduct in 2024 with resources for those who have experienced such violence or feel unsafe within the program. Paul, in his words, contemplates the meaning of the project as a whole, "Rather than anything concise or comprehensive, *Global Histories* appeared as a forum and a platform to me. As a project, *Global Histories* was working both towards the

inside and outside. I'm still delighted whenever I come across anyone whom I met through these intense projects, be it former colleagues in the editorial team or authors and presenters, and see what they're working on now. It was a delight to do *Global Histories* and I hope it will remain one to this and future editorial teams." Alexandra remembers her time as editor in terms of the sacrifices she made, "...at the time I was living in an apartment without internet, so for me that meant many long December nights slogging away at it the Grimm Zentrum…" and, yet "I ended up becoming an editor and proofreader with a primary focus on academic history texts, so I guess it made an impact on me!" I cannot say with certainty how this position will impact me, but all I can say with certainty is that the work and effort of those that came before me serves as a point of pride to make sure that *Global Histories* remains a "by students, for students" publication, dedicated to helping budding young scholars get their foot in the door.

**Both another previous editor and myself reached out to Alina Rodriguez, who served as Chief Editor from 2018-2020, multiple times, but we were unable to get in touch with them. We wish to acknowledge their work as Chief Editor, even if they were unable to contribute their own perspective.*



I. RESEARCH ARTICLES



Tracing the African-Asian Diaspora Through Newspaper Ads: Race, Slavery, and Unfreedom in Copenhagen (1759–1854)

ABSTRACT

This article utilises an original collection of newspaper ads that describe the African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) from one newspaper in Copenhagen, Denmark (*Kiøbenhavns Kongelig alene priviligerede Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, shortened KACE, 1759-1854). It is guided by three research questions: (1) What opportunities and constraints did the AAD face in the bound labour market? (2) How was racial slavery practised? (3) Which factors enabled or constrained the AAD in racial trespassing? My argument is two-fold: First, while some were subjected to colonial commodification and naming practices characteristic of racial slavery, others were able to participate in the bound labour market in Copenhagen between 1759 and 1854 in diverse ways. Secondly, the opportunities and constraints faced by the AAD were shaped by intersecting identity markers including race, gender, and age although it seems that maternal heritage was the main factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing in early modern Copenhagen. This project thus contributes to the limited (English) scholarship on Danish colonial history, the growing literature on global labour history, the lived experiences of the AAD in early modern Europe and adds to the debate on racial slavery in European colonial metropoles.

BY

Maria Munch

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Maria Munch recently earned a bachelor's degree in history and politics from the University of Glasgow and is currently pursuing a master's degree in Global Development at the University of Copenhagen. Her research interests include labour and migration, with her bachelor's thesis exploring the transnational dimensions and diverse experiences of (un)freedom among the African-Asian Diaspora in Copenhagen during the colonial period.

Introduction

In the 1700s, the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway was a multilingual imperial power with overseas colonies worldwide: India, West Africa, the Danish West Indies (the US Virgin Islands), and Greenland.[1] It took part in the transatlantic slave trade, trading around 100,000 enslaved people, and its capital, Copenhagen, became a central trading metropole in Northern Europe. Sugar, cotton, and tobacco factories became an integral part of the city landscape with sugar being the most important for Danish exports at the end of the 1700s.[2] Thus, the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway participated in shaping - and was shaped by - an imperial world system which facilitated global flows of people, goods, and ideas. With the rise of global history, such flows have received increasing scholarly attention. This perspective has been applied to labour history too, encouraging historians to examine the different forms of unfreedom created by the imperial world system and colonial labour regimes. In several of these works, fugitive ads have taken a central role, being increasingly recognised as constituting a global phenomenon of labour resistance.[3] Still, only few scholars focus on fugitive ads describing the African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) in the colonial metropole.

Indeed, a detailed study of fugitive ads in Copenhagen is missing and there is limited scholarship on non-European individuals and servants in early modern Denmark-Norway. To my knowledge, only two works have used some of the available fugitive ads, both written in Danish.[4] Gunvor Simonsen argued that people of African descent could participate in the bound labour market in Copenhagen, but that their work was infused with a commercial logic, characteristic of racial slavery.[5] She also argued that the n-word was directly substitutable with "slave" in Copenhagen.[6] In his quantitative study of all fugitive ads (which mostly describe Danish-born white servants) published in the newspaper *Kiøbenhavns Kongelig alene priviligerede Adresse-Contoirs*

1 Known as The Kingdom of Denmark after 1814.

2 Michael V. Pedersen, ed. "Danmark og Kolonierne: Danmark – En Kolonimagt." *Gads Forlag* Vol. 1., (2017), 110.

3 Runaway Slaves in Britain, *"Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom, and Race in the Eighteenth Century." Last modified 2018. Accessed November 29, 2023.* https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/; Marcus Rediker, Titas Chakraborty, and Matthias van Rossum. *A Global History of Runaways: Workers, Mobility, and Capitalism*. (University of California Press, 2019).

4 Hanne Østhus, "Slaver og ikke-europeiske tjenestefolk i Danmark-Norge på 1700- og begynnelsen av 1800-tallet (Slaves and Non-European Servants in Denmark-Norway during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries)." *Arbeiderhistorie* 22, no. 1 (2018): 35–36.

5 "Bound" here encompasses various practices of unfree labour in Denmark, such as "stavnsbåndet" and servitude.

6 Gunvor Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked: Afrikanere i 1700-tallets København." *In Globale og postkoloniale perspektiver på dansk kolonihistorie*, (Aarhus University Press, 2021): 296-97, 277.

Efterretninger (1759-1854) (KACE), Anders Birkemose rejects Simonsen's claims, arguing that black servants were not treated differently than white servants.[7]

A similar debate exists among British historians. Kathleen Chater, for example, argues that there were no significant differences between black and white servants in England and Wales and that racial slavery as an institution did not exist.[8] In contrast, the *UK Runaway Slave Project* argued that "for sale" ads are evidence of racial slavery in the UK.[9] Therefore, the discussion of whether racial slavery was practised in colonial metropoles, and more generally, how race and class intersected to shape opportunities and constraints for the AAD within early modern bound labour markets, are common themes and sites of disagreement among Danish and British historians.

Following cultural theorist Stuart Hall and recent scholarship, I attempted to take a more nuanced approach to this debate. First, I add nuance by studying fugitive and work-related ads in depth which brings the, "non-homogenous character of the class subject" and "differentiated forms of exploitation" to the fore. This illustrates how individual experiences are not shaped simply by class or race, but by the intersection of several identity markers.[10] I included work-related ads because focusing solely on fugitive ads risks excluding "those who lived quiet, unremarkable lives" (those who did not run away).[11] Some scholars even argue that it was the "atypical" person who ran away, further limiting the ability of fugitive ads to make any broader conclusions on the AAD.[12] Second, I add nuance by viewing racial slavery not simply as "a cultural and economic system … unique in the Atlantic World," but as one that was gradually built and had different local expressions.[13] Indeed, racial slavery did not appear in full force as soon as Africans entered the American hemisphere as suggested by Ira Berlin's differentiation between the "Charter" and "Plantation Generations" in America.[14] This

7 Andreas D. Birkemose, "En Slaven Stær: En kvantitativ analyse af bortrømningsannoncer i Københavns Adresseavis 1749 til 1854." Masters' thesis, (Aalborg University, 2022), 10-12.

8 Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660-1807*. (Manchester University Press, 2009), 95.

9 *Runaway Slaves in Britain*.

10 Stuart Hall, *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Foundations of Cultural Studies*, (Duke University Press, 2019), 49-50.

11 Chater, *Untold Histories*, 4-5.

12 Ian Read and Katherine Zimmerman. "Freedom for Too Few: Slave Runaways in the Brazilian Empire." *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 2 (2014): 404–426.

13 Linda M. Heywood, and John K. Thornton. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007). 294.

14 Ira Berlin. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American

perspective enables us to ask how racial slavery was practised across different temporalities and localities rather than debating its existence as a static and uniform institution.

This article thus examines an original collection of fugitive and work-related ads that describe the AAD from the newspaper KACE between 1759-1854.[15] Three research questions guided my research: First, what opportunities and constraints did the AAD face in the bound labour market in Copenhagen? Second, how was racial slavery practised? Third, which factors enabled or constrained the AAD in racial trespassing? I first examine the fugitive and work-related ads respectively to assess questions (1) and (2). Based on these findings, I discuss question (3) in the last section. My argument is two-fold: First, the opportunities available to the AAD within the bound labour market in early modern Copenhagen varied but some were subjected to racial slavery practices. Second, the opportunities and constraints faced by the AAD were shaped by intersecting identity markers including race, gender, and age, but maternal heritage seems to have been the main factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing in early modern Copenhagen.

Some terms need clarification. First, I define racial slavery as the practice of enslavement based on skin colour, distinct from the practice of servitude in the Danish bound labour market based on class, where servants had 6 or 12-month contracts and mostly worked while they were young, then settled down and got married.[16] By contrast, people who were subjected to racial slavery would only have this opportunity if they obtained a freedom letter. Second, I use racial trespassing to denote the transcending of racial slavery or servitude in the sense that people "legally defined as black" inhabited "spaces marked out for white people."[17] Third, I use the term African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) because the project is concerned with racial slavery and therefore the people in question are those who migrated, forcefully or voluntarily, from the Danish West Indies (US Virgin Islands), the Gold Coast in West Africa (Ghana), and the settlements in India. Furthermore, while most fugitive and work-related ads do not specify their origin, the few ads that do, still use the same racial markers such as the n-word and "mulatto" to describe people from both Africa and Asia. Occasionally, there are clues like hair type or name, but mostly their origin remains guesswork.

Society in Mainland North America." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1996): 251–288.

15 I collected these ads using Mediestream, a searchable database. My search terms included racial markers like the gendered versions of the n-word and 'mulatto'.

16 Ole Feldbæk, "Tjenestefolk og Fattige i Danmarkshistorien." Danmarkshistorien.dk. Accessed June 30, 2024. https://danmarkshistorien.lex.dk/Tjenestefolk_og_fattige.

17 Steve Pile, "Skin, Race and Space: The Clash of Bodily Schemas in Frantz Fanon's Black Skins, White Masks and Nella Larsen's Passing." *Cultural Geographies* 18, no. 1 (2010): 25.

Fugitive Ads

I found 47 fugitive ads in KACE between 1765 and 1817, describing 35 different fugitives. This section argues that the fugitive ads evidence that opportunities for the AAD in Copenhagen varied and were shaped by different and intersecting identity markers, including gender, age, and race. Still, some were perceived as enslaved.

Two observations are worth noting concerning the gender composition of the fugitive ads. Firstly, most ads describe male fugitives. This is common in other studies of fugitive ads. Scholars often explain that men had outdoor work or itinerant jobs, enabling access to - or knowledge of - escape routes, while women were less mobile due to domestic work or motherhood.[18] These explanations do not fit Copenhagen, however. As will be seen, several young men and children that ran away were domestic servants, and thus similarly confined to women in plantation societies. Further, as none of the AAD in the public censuses were married or had children, it was not motherhood which kept them from running.[19] Lastly, most white servants that ran away in the 1780s-90s in Copenhagen were women.[20] This is expected as women constituted most of the servant population, but it confirms that explanations regarding fugitive gender composition often proposed in studies of plantation societies do not apply here.[21]

Secondly, the gender composition is unusually skewed and does not reflect other sources' more equal composition. There was one woman in 35 fugitive ads, but most work-related ads describe women and at least 40% of the AAD were women in the 1801 census.[22] Why it was so rare for the female AAD in Copenhagen to run away is unclear. It is possible that these fugitive ads exist but have been lost or did not appear via my search on Mediestream. If the records are true, however, a plausible explanation is that the female AAD was not subjected to the same modes of exploitation as others were, limiting acts of resistance like flight. Indeed, other sources indicate that white female servants and the female AAD often sought similar work (see section 2). Perhaps then, the female AAD experienced the type of work in Copenhagen as comparatively *less exploitative* than the alternatives and were thus less inclined to run away and risk being returned to worse conditions in the

18 Marvin L. M. Kay, and Lorin L. Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina 1748-75*. (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 125-6.

19 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 277-78.

20 Birkemose, "En Slaven Stær," 84.

21 Østhus, "Slaver og ikke-europeiske tjenestefolk," 36.

22 ID_01, ID_03, ID_04; 'Dansk Demografisk Database (DDD),' Folketællinger - Søg efter Person, Simpel Søgning. *The Danish National Archives*.

colonies. This could partially explain why the gender composition in fugitive ads in the Danish West Indies is more equal.[23] Still, one woman's household position in the 1801 census was noted as "slave," suggesting that some of the female AAD were perceived as enslaved.[24] Notably then, age and gender did not alone determine whether people from the AAD were subjected to racial slavery.

By contrast, the fugitive ads suggest that the young male AAD were particularly vulnerable to racial slavery practices in Copenhagen. Indeed, using young boys as "servants" by elites was common in early modern Europe and my collection of fugitive ads confirms that this practice existed in Copenhagen too.[25] A whole genre of paintings portrays young boys of the AAD, dressed in vividly coloured "luxury" clothing next to or behind their masters.[26] They were used as decorative and exotic displays of wealth, both in art and in real life in European colonial metropoles. The practice was well-established for people from Southern Asia before the onset of the Atlantic slave trade, serving the "hegemonic version of the colonial encounter: conquering the exotic" and illustrating the, "maximum expression of mercantilism: a luxury consumer product imported to satisfy upper class desires."[27]

As Simonsen notes, some fugitive ads indicate that this "performative aspect" of trafficking continued in late 18th century Copenhagen.[28] They can be identified by descriptions of their colourful "luxury" clothing: Isaak, for example, 10 or 11 years old, wore a red turban with a white cover when he ran away in 1765.[29] Accra ran away in 1782, wearing silver shoe buckles and a round hat with a golden ribbon; in 1796, 13- or 14-year-old "Mattæus or This" ran away, wearing a fine white shirt, a black silk scarf, and new shoes with buckles.[30] Several attempted to run away, but because their clothing stood out, they were easily recognised and captured. An ad from 1789, published by the police chief in Copenhagen, for example, stated that the police found and arrested a "n*" the night between the 4th and 5th of January who claimed not

23 Peter Wolff-Tæstensen, "Bortløbne Slaver i Dansk Vestindien: Et Studie af Bortrøbningsannoncer fra The Royal Danish American Gazette (1770–1801)." Masters' thesis, (Aalborg University, 2022). 70.

24 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 3.

25 Hanne Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen: Enslavement in 18th-Century Norway." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 48, no. 5 (2023): 640; Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 292; Chater, *Untold Histories*, 222-4.

26 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 640.

27 José S. I. Díaz, "The Trade in Domestic Servants (Morianer) from Tranquebar for Upper Class Danish Homes in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." *Itinerario* 43, no. 2 (2019): 205.

28 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 640.

29 ID_31.

30 ID_10 & ID_11; ID_20.

to be serving a master but that "the clothes he is wearing suggest otherwise."[31] Changing clothes could thus be a strategy to avoid recapture, which is also suggested in a fugitive ad from 1771, describing an "adult n* boy" who ran away in a "blue Norwegian shirt, black trousers and a turban," adding that he would likely change his clothing.[32]

The few "For Sale" or "To Buy" ads also describe young boys of the AAD, further evidencing that they were particularly vulnerable to commodification, characteristic of racial slavery. An ad published in 1783, for example, requested to buy a "beautiful n* boy, 7, 8 or 12 years old," while another ad from 1785 announced that an 18-year-old "n*" was for sale as the master was leaving Copenhagen.[33] Such ads continued earlier practices of exoticizing and commodifying children of the AAD, clearly illustrated when the governor on St. Thomas was instructed by the West Indian-Guinean Company in 1688 to send "a couple of beautiful small n* children" to Copenhagen who were "well-shaped and pretty black (and) fresh and well-proportioned" along with animals like parrots and flamingos.[34]

Still, the fugitive ads suggest some diversity in the work undertaken by the male AAD. 15-year-old Joseph Cornelius, for example, ran away in 1807 from "his apprenticeship with the captain and carpenter's Mangede's widow."[35] Some had recognised professions, such as "Tobias, cooper of profession;" although the possessive "my n*" suggests that his master still perceived Tobias as his property.[36] Any information regarding a black boy was requested at an inn, where he probably worked in the kitchen.[37] Anton, a "French mulatto," worked at a hotel until he ran away in 1799, wearing a "fashionable green shirt," "red standing collar," "dark blue trousers with red strings, black boots" and "a round hat."[38] Such fine clothing may have been expected in his job, but he may also have served as an exotic display of wealth like Accra or Matthæus did in private households. Still, the examples suggest that the male AAD participated in the bound labour market not only as exotic displays of wealth, but also as apprentices, professionals, and hospitality workers. Again, it seems that age and gender did not alone determine whether the AAD were subjected to racial slavery practices.

31 ID_35. I use 'n*' instead of the n-word (used in the original source) to not reproduce the racial slur and violence associated with it.

32 ID_33.

33 ID_0001 & ID_0002.

34 Pedersen, *Danmark og Kolonierne*, 255.

35 ID_26.

36 ID_34.

37 ID_42.

38 ID_24 & ID_25.

Racial markers and descriptions of skin colour were used frequently to describe the fugitives. Yet, racial markers like "n*" did not directly denote perceptions of skin colour, since a 16-year-old "n* boy" was described as having a "yellow brown" colour.[39] It also did not denote ethnic origin. Origin was rarely mentioned in the ads, but the few that do suggest some geographical diversity: "Peter, born in St. Croix," "the French mulatto Anton," "Abraham, born in Zealand" (Denmark), and Johannes Magnus, "brought here from the coast of Guinea."[40] Still, the ad describing a "Bengali mulatto" suggests that the same racial markers were used whether they were of Asian or African origin.[41] This may support Simonsen's argument that "n*" was used as a substitute for "slave" in Copenhagen, which she argues is a clear indication of racial slavery.[42] Indeed, this would explain why the fugitive Helena was described as a "black n*," which would otherwise seem superfluous.[43] However, as argued below, while such terms were associated with social status, they were not always substitutable with "slave."

Descriptions of scars and deformities can be found in the fugitive ads too and are often used by historians to look for signs of violence in master-servant relationships in the context of racial slavery. Accra, for example, had many scars across his face;[44] J. H. Friedrich had a scar under his left eye;[45] Joseph Cornelius was "otherwise known by a scar on one side of the nose;"[46] and an unnamed boy was missing his big toe on the left foot.[47] Yet these physical marks do not necessarily evidence violence as they could also stem from accidents or diseases. In some cases, violence can be excluded since some diseases left recognisable marks, which were specified: William, for example, was "pockmarked" and one man, "who recently had chicken pox," "had some cuts on his face."[48] One ad specified that a fugitive's finger had been cut by a chopping knife, although he also had an unexplained scar on his left cheek.[49] These physical deformities could have been caused by punishments, but also by accidents or punishments from previous experiences as enslaved elsewhere.

39 ID_30.
40 ID_06, ID_24; ID_25, ID_29, ID_47.
41 ID_002.
42 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 289.
43 ID_03 & ID_04.
44 ID_10 & ID_11.
45 ID_13.
46 ID_26.
47 ID_18.
48 ID_05 & ID_37.
49 ID_42.

Since no ads explicitly suggest physical punishments for the AAD in Copenhagen, the latter explanations may be more likely. Indeed, Pedro Escardo had a "round sign in the shape of a birthmark" burnt on his temple, which suggests that he had been branded, a common practice in some colonies.[50] However, Escardo escaped service as a sailor on a Spanish ship, so it does not necessarily prove that branding was used on the AAD in Copenhagen. The only evidence of corporal punishment in Copenhagen therefore pertains to those who escaped penal labour sentences. One "dishonest slave," for example, with a "mulatto face," ran away from prison with another (white) "honest slave:" they both wore "slave accoutrement" and "iron around the leg," referring to iron chains common in such prisons.[51] Notably, "slave" was used to describe penal labour convicts, and it is the only time "slave" is used in the ads aside from one ad, describing a fugitive "black slave" from an American ship.[52] Further, the terms honest and dishonest were used to distinguish prisoners, part of the penal system and not associated with race: being dishonest meant that a person had been whipped, and once declared "a dishonest slave" you could never be pardoned.[53] Thus, it does not prove racially motivated violence in Copenhagen.

One ad notes that the fugitive should not be punished for running away, suggesting that this was otherwise common practice.[54] However, there is no other indication of violence, certainly not of the type and extent seen in the Danish West Indies, where fugitives often bore physical marks of violence, including bruises, scars, missing body parts, burns, iron chains, and marks from whipping and branding.[55] Thus, the violence characteristic of racial slavery in the colonies was not brought to Copenhagen. Still, avoiding mention of punishments may have been a conscious choice. Scholars, like Köstlbauer, for example, argue that 18th century German Moravian records obscure the extension of racial slavery from the colonies to Europe; Hanne Østhus argues that a similar attitude of silencing was adopted towards Adam Jacobsen in Norway, an enslaved man trafficked from the Danish West Indies.[56] Such silencing of violence in master-servant relationships is possible as some sources indicate that one fugitive from the census, Hans Jonathan, was beaten by his mistress before running away.[57]

50 ID_19.

51 ID_29.

52 ID_16.

53 Birkemose, "En Slaven Stær," 50.

54 ID_13.

55 Wolff-Tæstensen, "Bortløbne Slaver i Dansk Vestindien," 76.

56 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 648.

57 Sarah Abel, George Tyson, and Gisli Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation: Naming Practices in the Danish West Indies." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61,

Work-Related Ads

I found 42 work-related ads between 1783 and 1835. Five ads looked for people of the AAD to work but most ads described people seeking work. Accounting for the obvious repetitions, 34 people sought jobs in Copenhagen. The typical job-seeking ad included a gendered racial marker, description of former work experience, desired work type and start date, possible inclusion of professional skills, linguistic skills, recommendations, and the contact address. Again, this section shows that opportunities for the AAD in Copenhagen varied and were shaped by different and intersecting identity markers, including age, gender, and race, but also that some were subjected to racial slavery.

While work in this period was also gendered for white servants, it seems that the intersection between race and gender determined the type of work the AAD did. Most of the male AAD, for example, sought jobs as domestic servants, many for "the proper gentry." Many noted their hairstyling and barbing skills. Rogier, for example, could "fix hair very well" while a "mulatto … can fix hair very well, and do other things that come with being a servant."[58] Most ads seeking people of the AAD also specified gender, indicating that race and gender determined the type of work people were hired for: Two ads specified that they wanted a "n* boy" and two specified a "n* woman."[59] For young boys, this could be a display of wealth as discussed above. One exception though, describes, "a position available for a white or a black boy," indicating that race may not always have been important for the master.[60]

Like the fugitive ads, the work-related ads indicate that the male AAD participated in various ways in the bound labour market. One "small, free n* boy" put an ad in the newspaper in 1805, for example, wanting "to be employed in a shoemaker apprenticeship with a good master."[61] Notably, this is one of the few ads that clearly states that the person is free. Another ad from 1800 also indicated that young boys could be taken in as apprentices and learn a profession, requesting "a blacksmith that wants to receive a black boy as an apprentice."[62] An ad from 1819 even suggests that "the n* John Henri Maiendix" ran his own business as a shoeshine, stating that he has moved location and "the gentlemen, who wish their shoes and boots to be shined" could get it very cheap, having satisfied several gentry for many years.[63]

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no. 2 (2019): 357.

58 ID_004 & ID_007.

59 ID_001 & ID_008; ID_027 & ID_041.

60 ID_032.

61 ID_016.

62 ID_033.

63 ID_026.

Most of the female AAD sought similar work as white female servants (as nannies, maids, and cooks), but several also sought work on journeys between Denmark and the Danish West Indies. One woman in 1800, for instance, sought to accompany a family to St. Croix and "if required, stay in their service."[64] Another woman, in 1835, worked on such journeys between the Danish colonies and the metropole regularly:

> A n* woman, resident of St. Croix, who has accompanied some kids to Denmark, wishes to be employed by a gentry or others, who may wish her service, that in this time may travel to St. Croix. She … has often been used to serve on such journeys. No claim on wages is made, but she leaves it to them what they will give her…[65]

No claim is made on wages, but it is notable that money is mentioned in this ad. Only one other ad by the 17-year-old "Bengali mulatto" mentions that money is expected in return for service, but a few other women sought to exchange their service for the journey costs.[66] In 1825, a man and a woman sought "separately, an opportunity to go to St. Croix or St. Thomas with someone, who might need their service on the journey."[67] In 1800, another woman similarly sought "a family planning to go to the West Indies" that "would bring along an adult n* woman …. to serve on the journey for the freight."[68] Thus, this may have been a niche opportunity in the bound labour market for the AAD, perhaps particularly for women. They were likely not enslaved, but free to the degree that they could seek (paid) work. An ad from 1824 supports this: "A lady who in a few days travels to the West Indies wishes a free n* woman in her service on the journey."[69]

My collection of work-related ads supports Simonsen's argument that people of African descent could integrate into the Danish bound labour market to some extent. She argues that some adapted to the institutions which regulated the city's labour market, noting that one man used the traditional "changeover day" (1st of May) to seek new employment, and another "free n*" sought employment through "fæstemand Jørgensen," referring to the person in charge of formulating and concluding servant contracts.[70] Several job-seeking ads similarly include the address of the "fæstemand."[71] Six other

64 ID_012.

65 ID_030 & ID_031.

66 ID_002.

67 ID_028.

68 ID_013.

69 ID_027.

70 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 296.

71 ID_019, ID_021, ID_041; ID_020, ID_022, ID_025, ID_029, ID_037.

ads also sought employment from the 1st of May, indicating that their current contract was ending and that they were free to seek new employment.[72] Furthermore, three ads seek employment from the 1st of November, suggesting a 6-month contract.[73]

My collection of job-seeking ads, however, nuances Simonsen's argument that "n*" was used as a substitute for "slave," Several job-seeking people were described with the racial marker "n*" even though they were free and able to seek employment through the city's labour market institutions. In particular, the "small, free n* boy" from 1805, "a young n* woman" from 1785 and a "black n* or servant" from 1792 stated that they had their freedom.[74] Thus, it is possible that "n*" was used to denote "slave" in some cases, but not always.

Still, even for people of the AAD who were not enslaved, their freedom was limited. Firstly, despite being described as free, the phrase "black servant or n*" used in a job-seeking ad suggests the equation of servitude with the racial marker "n*." This indicates that freedom from racial slavery did not necessarily mean freedom from (racial) servitude. Secondly, racial slavery was practised around the same time that this "free" AAD appeared. The Copenhagen court confirmed twice that racial slavery could be legally practised. First in 1774, when four slaves were sold because the West Indian-Guinean company went bankrupt, and then in 1802, when three fugitives were determined to be the property of their mistress and could be sent back to the West Indies.[75] The three for-sale ads I found were published in the same period, between 1783 and 1790.[76] This temporal overlap underlines that the relative sense of freedom and opportunity to integrate into Danish labour market institutions for part of the AAD *co-existed* with the public acknowledgement of legally owning, selling, and purchasing them in Copenhagen.

Racial Trespassing

That racial slavery co-existed with part of the AAD integrating into the bound labour market in Copenhagen suggests that their experiences were multiple and diverse. We may simply conclude that racial attitudes were flexible and changing, especially toward the end of the 18th century when the transatlantic

72 ID_017, ID_018, ID_019, ID_024, ID_025, ID_040, & ID_041.

73 ID_015, ID_020, & ID_036.

74 ID_016; ID_003; ID_005 & ID_006.

75 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 341.

76 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 278.

slave trade was banned in Denmark due to economic and moral challenges. However, it is also possible that racial hierarchies existed, but could be transcended. Some Danish scholars have already engaged with this topic. Danish historian Pernille Ipsen, for example, argues that people of African descent could not transcend racial hierarchies in the Danish metropole even though they had Danish fathers or were married to Danish women and had children.[77] On the other hand, that two West African men who studied at Copenhagen University in the 1730s were educated sons of high-status Ga (ethnic group in Ghana) women and Danish soldiers and baptised in Copenhagen in 1726 suggests that factors like education, religion, and/or heritage may have enabled some transcending of racial hierarchies.[78] In this section, I add to the debate on transcending racial hierarchies in Copenhagen. I specifically examine to what extent transcending racial slavery or servitude was possible through factors associated with the "Atlantic Creole" identity and heritage.

Berlin introduced the concept of the "Atlantic Creole" in 1996, referring to African individuals who came to North America in the 16th and 17th centuries before plantation slavery took hold.[79] Atlantic Creoles entered a "society with slaves" rather than "a slave society," making them one subordinated group in a society where "subordination was the rule."[80] In this way, the AAD in Copenhagen had a similar experience as they entered a society with slaves, not a slave society. Berlin, however, also emphasises that the Atlantic Creoles could utilise their experiences of the Atlantic world's commerce, trade, and cultural differences for their benefit. Since 1996, the concept has been expanded by scholars who have applied it to a range of contexts, but still emphasise racial difference as an opportunity rather than a constraint, and describe Atlantic Creoles as "Christian, mobile, multilingual, and literate."[81] Below I operationalise this understanding of the "Atlantic Creole" as a guide for possible factors that may have enabled racial trespassing.

First, several people of the AAD in early modern Copenhagen were multilingual and linguistic abilities were often noted in work-related ads: a "mulatto," seeking work as a servant in 1815, spoke, "Danish, French, English,

77 Pernille Ipsen, "'Plant ikke Upas-Træet om vor Bolig': Colonial Haunting, Race, and Interracial Marriage in Hans Christian Andersen's Mulatten (1840)." *Scandinavian Studies* 88, no. 2 (2016): 146.

78 Gunvor Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa: Frederik Svane and Christian Protten on the Gold Coast in the Eighteenth Century." *Itinerario* 39, no. 1 (2015): 93.

79 Berlin, "From Creole to African," 254.

80 Ibid., 283.

81 Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa," 106.

Portuguese, and Spanish."[82] Several mulatto women spoke English, Danish and German;[83] one understood "several European languages;"[84] one spoke Danish and French;[85] and some spoke English and Danish.[86] Hence, speaking multiple languages was seemingly a skill sought after and may have enabled some opportunities for multilingual people of the AAD in the bound labour market in Copenhagen.

Second, there were no indications of literacy in the fugitive or work-related ads, but in terms of mobility, many of the AAD seemed constrained. Several West African men faced consistent rejections of their applications for entry to Denmark despite being Christian, literate, and multilingual.[87] Indeed, the central administration's civil servants in Copenhagen drafted a chapter in the 1780s on "How Slaves can be sent to, and how they should be seen in Europe," including a general ban on the entrance of Africans and African descendants in Denmark.[88] The fugitive ad describing Johannes Magnus who was brought to Copenhagen from Guinea "under the obligation of returning him to the same place" is notable in this context, suggesting a temporary stay.[89] Further, the job-seeking ads indicate that the AAD was somewhat dependent on Danish families to return to the Danish West Indies, while several fugitive ads suggest that some attempted to escape the country via Elsinore.[90] Thus, while some people of the AAD in Copenhagen were multilingual and did not enter a slave society as such, there were no indications of literacy, and their mobility was constrained.

Whether people of the AAD in Copenhagen were Christian (the last Atlantic Creole characteristic) is difficult to assess from the fugitive and work-related ads. The only ad that mentions religion describes a man seeking someone to teach his "n* woman" baking, calculation, and Christianity.[91] While it suggests that religious education of the AAD was important to some masters in Copenhagen, it does not mean that religious education would help the woman transcend the social and/or racial hierarchy. Certainly, Christian education or conversion did not mean freedom for the enslaved in the Danish

82 ID_024.

83 ID_029 & ID_030 / ID_031.

84 ID_007.

85 ID_009.

86 ID_012, ID_013, ID_20 & ID_023.

87 Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa," 106; Ipsen, "Plant ikke Upas-Træet om vor Bolig," 143-144.

88 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 280.

89 ID_47.

90 ID_15, ID_25, & ID_46.

91 ID_011.

West Indies.[92] Below, I examine whether it did in Copenhagen. Since no other ads mention religion, I look at naming practices in the fugitive and job-seeking ads and draw on public censuses from 1787 and 1801 and baptism ads describing people of the AAD to examine whether the AAD in Copenhagen was Christian, and if this enabled racial trespassing.

The censuses indicate that baptism was necessary to obtain a recognised name, but not that it would enable racial trespassing. In 1787, for example, the name rubric for a 20-year-old man states: "Jacob-called but has had no baptism as he is a n* and a heathen."[93] In another, the name rubric for a 19-year-old man states: "a n*, not baptised otherwise called Andreas;" it is also stated that his profession is "my property."[94] In the 1801 census, two people of the AAD are also described as "no name" followed by a name of either African or Greek origin, perhaps the name they were given at birth or by slave traders.[95] Thus, Copenhagen mirrored the attitude of the Danish West Indies where it was common only to recognise a Christian name through baptism as a "real" name.[96] Therefore, not all people of the AAD were baptised, and those who were not may have only had one (unofficial) name.

Notably, the most common naming practice for the AAD in Copenhagen was to have one (first) name, suggesting no baptism. Most of the fugitive ads (13) described the fugitive by their first name, although some (10) did have two names such as Johan Peter and Jacob Lauritz; the rest (12) had no name.[97] In the censuses, only 8 out of 43 people of the AAD had more than one name.[98] Notably, the only one who carried three names had his own shoeshine business (John Henri Maiendix), perhaps suggesting some correlation between social status and naming.[99] Certainly, it is plausible that he and others of the AAD with several names would have been baptised, either in the colonies (as it was legally required for all Creole infants to be baptised in the Danish West Indies from 1755)[100] or by their master upon coming to Copenhagen. It was, for example, specified for the fugitive J. H. Friedrich that before his baptism, his name was Franz.[101] In 1776, an unnamed "mulatto, 18 years old,

92 Helen Richards, "Distant Garden: Moravian Missions and the Culture of Slavery in the Danish West Indies, 1732–1848." *Journal of Moravian History*, no. 2 (2007): 60.

93 DDD, 1787. Appendix, table 4, 43.

94 DDD, 1787. Appendix, table 4, 44.

95 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 17 & 18.

96 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 346.

97 Appendix, table 5.

98 Ibid.

99 ID_026.

100 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 344.

101 ID_13.

belonging to" a steward was also baptised and named Gustavus Wilhelm.[102] Another unnamed "mulatto" was baptised in 1796 and given the name Johan Christian.[103] Some of the AAD were thus (re)named upon receiving baptisms in Copenhagen, and often given two European or Christian-sounding names.

Having names that were European or Christian in origin, however, was also common in the Danish West Indies and did not indicate racial trespassing. Indeed, domestic servants were more likely to bear such names, but this was due to "cultural approximation" rather than a difference in social status as they were still enslaved.[104] Similarly, as the AAD in Copenhagen often worked as domestic servants, common European names may have indicated the type or place of work, rather than a difference in social status. That a person of AAD, "belonging to" Mr. Shuster, was baptised in 1760 in Copenhagen and named after the General Governor of the Danish West Indies illustrates that even inheriting a European/Christian name through baptism from a high-ranking white Danish man did not enable racial trespassing.[105]

Some people from the AAD in Copenhagen even had pejorative names or "slave names." As Benson argues, some names can be classified as "slave names," meant to be "injurious, intended to mark slaves out by drawing upon naming forms not used by the dominant class."[106] These were inspired by animals, places, classical figures, especially Greek and Roman heroes, philosophers, orators, or diminutives of European civil names as these resemble "pet names."[107] There are certainly examples of these in the fugitive ads and censuses, such as Accra (the capital in present-day Ghana), Johannes Paulus (John Paul), Agna (diminutive of St. Agnes of Rome), Jaky, Jenny, and Betzy (diminutives of Jake, Jane or Jennifer, and Elizabeth).[108] Manneboy too, probably derived from "man" and "boy," seems a product of the indifference with which slave names were allocated.[109] The persistence of such "slave names" in Copenhagen again indicates that some aspects of racial slavery were practised there.

These cases contrast the naming practices for white servants in Copenhagen. For example, one describes a "cooper apprentice" as "no name

102 ID_0008.
103 ID_0009.
104 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 341.
105 ID_0006.
106 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 337-9.
107 Ibid.
108 Appendix, Tables 4 and 5.
109 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 337.

(n*) watch out."[110] What this warning refers to is unknown, but in the same household, there are two other younger cooper apprentices, named Lars Jensen and Erich Hansen.[111] These are presumably white as they have no racial marker and provide a stark contrast to the former who is also young, male and in the same profession. The lack of baptism could explain why this apprentice could not get his name recognised in the census as with the cases of Jacob and Andreas. However, while baptism may have provided people of the ADD with a recognised (full) name, this did not necessarily enable racial trespassing. Indeed, the Danish court confirmed Hans Jonathan as Henriette Schimmelmann's slave in 1802 even though he was baptised.[112] Hence, while linguistic skills may have benefitted the AAD seeking work, the factors associated with the Atlantic Creole identity generally did not apply to the AAD in Copenhagen and did not alone enable racial trespassing.

Rather, two cases suggest that maternal heritage was the major factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing. First, Hans Jonathan's case indicates that while baptism may allow for a recognised name, it did not enable people of the AAD to escape racial slavery if one's mother were enslaved. Hans Jonathan was born on St. Croix and was the son of an enslaved woman, Regina; he was baptised, and described as "mulatto," "illegitimate," and his father was "said to be the Secretary."[113] Despite having a white father, been baptised, brought to Copenhagen, and served in the Danish army, the court still ruled in 1802 that he was the rightful slave of Schimmelmann. He could thus not avoid the grips of racial slavery. Indeed, inheriting status maternally was common practice in the American colonies, legally known as "partus sequitur ventrem," and it may have followed Hans Jonathan to Copenhagen.[114]

Another ad further underlines the role of maternal heritage in constraining the possibility of racial trespassing. The ad was published in 1773, and mentions the baptism of "mulatto Thomas Thomsen," belonging to Mr Søbøtker, born in the Danish West Indies, whose parents are Johan Gregorius Thomsen, "a white Lutheran Christian" and "Dorinda, a black heathen slave;" he was named Johan Gregorius, likely after his father.[115] Notably, Thomas Thomsen's original name was recognised, contrasting the above-mentioned cases of Jacob and Andreas. Thomsen's father's status may have helped.

110 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 16.

111 Ibid.

112 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 341.

113 Ibid., 357.

114 Ibid., 336.

115 ID_0010.

Indeed, Chater concludes for the UK that having part white heritage helped, as only those who were mixed race with a rich, white father could enter professions.[116]

However, even if having part white heritage provided Thomsen with a recognised name before baptism, it was not enough to enable racial trespassing. Neither baptism nor inheriting the genes and name of his rich white father ensured Thomsen's freedom. Sure, Hans Jonathan's somewhat illusive heritage and his rumoured father's middling social rank could be blamed for his continued status as enslaved, but Thomsen's father was known and of high social status. Still, he was described as "belonging" to Søbøtker, and in 1777, Søbøtker published an ad in the KACE, threatening consequences for everyone who trusts, "my mulatto n* Johan Gregorious Thomsen" with anything.[117] Thus, it seems that in Copenhagen too, "the mother's mark, not the father's name, determined your fate."[118] Both Thomsen and Jonathan's cases suggest that this practice was transferred to the colonial metropole, again illustrating that some racial slavery practices in the Danish West Indies were mirrored in Copenhagen. That Adam Jacobsen from Østhus' study, enslaved in Norway for 10 years, was the son of an enslaved woman in the Danish West Indies further supports this argument concerning the role of maternal heritage (although it is worth noting that his father had also been enslaved).[119]

Notably, Simonsen uses the ad from 1777 to argue that the phrase "mulatto n*" only makes sense if "n*" refers to his status as enslaved and if mulatto is the racial marker.[120] Indeed, Thomsen may have been enslaved given his mother's status, but as I have shown above "n*" was used to describe servants too. Therefore, the term "n*" was flexible and used to denote various degrees of racial slavery or servitude. The lack of the term "free-coloured" (used in the Danish West Indies) in ads and censuses makes sense due to the limited size of the AAD within Copenhagen, making it unnecessary to define a class of "free-coloured" people. Yet, it may explain why racial markers like "n*" took on various meanings in Copenhagen.

116 Chater, *Untold Histories*, 237.

117 ID_0005.

118 Sadiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 80.

119 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 638.

120 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 289.

Conclusion

In short, this article proposed two claims. Firstly, the AAD participated in various ways in the bound labour market in Copenhagen from 1759-1854, as apprentices, hospitality workers, and professionals, but some were also subjected to colonial commodification and naming practices characteristic of racial slavery. Secondly, their opportunities in the bound labour market were shaped by intersecting identity markers including gender, age, and race, but maternal heritage seems to have been particularly important in determining the possibility of racial trespassing.

In broader theoretical terms, this article utilised an original collection of primary sources to build on the limited (English) scholarship on race, slavery and colonial labour regimes in Denmark. It added nuance to the debate on racial slavery by illustrating the diversity of the experiences of the AAD. Instead of focusing solely on either class or race , I showed that the intersection between different identity markers shaped opportunities and constraints for the AAD in early modern Copenhagen. It also added nuance to the debate concerning racial slavery in early modern Europe by underlining that racial slavery could be practised without being established as a fully-fledged institution. Instead, racial slavery had different local expressions and was experienced differently within one locality.

This article has several limitations and possibilities for further research. Due to its limited scope, I cannot discuss all here, but doing a thorough comparison of Birkemose's and my collection of fugitive ads would further illuminate the relative treatment and status of black and white servants in Copenhagen. Another fruitful route would be to explore how geographical origin shaped opportunities for the AAD.

Links to Appendix

'Search Newspapers', *Mediestream by the Royal Danish Library 2017.* Available at: https://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream [Latest Accessed 23/01/2023].

> NOTE: The specific hyperlink for each source is provided in the appendix, table 1-3, accompanied by the given ID number and exact date of publishing. Table 5 provides an overview of all names found in the ads.

The Danish National Archives. 'Dansk Demografisk Database (DDD)', Folketællinger - Søg efter Person, Simpel Søgning. Available at: https://ddd.dda.dk/soeg_person_enkel.asp [Latest Accessed 10/01/2024].

> NOTE: All AAD found through this database (by search terms 'mulat' & 'n*') can be found in the appendix, table 4.

Links to Appendix

Table 1: Fugitive Ads (Data collected from Mediestream)

ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
ID_01	24-12-1779	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3aa5d2e9-846a-433c-a421-150a0da9b667
ID_02	12-02-1779	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3b311dd4-7715-4f3b-9cb5-ca3c809b9f11
ID_03	10-11-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:4f504a4c-254c-414f-9f23-0bd57ff6d754
ID_04	31-10-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2e0f9f4-a465-4a3a-bcb1-1a48ae697022
ID_05	31-10-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2e0f9f4-a465-4a3a-bcb1-1a48ae697022
ID_06	01-10-1781	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dc67b536-5240-4cdd-abe0-d115d22d93d5
ID_07	10-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f9d85902-be1c-4ec4-b325-c97f47c32ec5
ID_08	09-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8148beba-9fd1-4004-a003-3cbb852a64f0
ID_09	17-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c88ab591-afec-4ade-b654-e4e8f5680af2
ID_10	09-10-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a0694121-9879-41ef-af56-81c9ad56bf15
ID_11	11-10-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:cc96b33b-3a6b-4c64-b7b7-e207d6d2fd50
ID_12	13-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ae044aa8-f2f2-4016-8dc6-f1707e742859
ID_13	03-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:544663db-1369-4857-a174-a8a400661d97
ID_14	13-10-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:65d6a2b0-549a-4917-a387-443e11ff9044
ID_15	29-09-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:54a3dd49-9e25-49a0-a075-da89311430d3
ID_16	21-03-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:617e6528-c822-48b8-8c35-e74d9cd7dd76
ID_17	19-03-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8cc0efa7-4bf0-45b1-99ca-75310ac17204
ID_18	08-06-1789	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a918bca6-27c7-47e5-a66f-633761d6f559
ID_19	29-11-1790	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:91b9a1d7-2fa3-4037-a48a-77bd443b0d68
ID_20	15-04-1796	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f03ae2ea-6dd7-478f-a01d-5ca24303b701
ID_21	27-10-1797	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d9559d93-72b4-44cd-aec6-090d3fff921b
ID_22	25-10-1797	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:524d6052-068a-4814-8c22-44b185d4bc05
ID_23	14-12-1798	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:2b9228f2-45b4-4aa3-8f6d-727abb5a1a65

ID_24	04-10-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:450e795f-69e7-49c4-8179-76f0f9b1cd8b
ID_25	07-10-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:93212192-0f1e-4cb3-97cf-16f454a1405b
ID_26	05-10-1807	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:7361d9fc-a3d2-4f03-b3b5-2101dee8bfbf
ID_27	21-12-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dcbbbfed-fba4-4794-8d30-1a95813373de
ID_28	19-12-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:761c35af-aabc-41b4-bde3-b69721bdd2c4
ID_29	22-11-1817	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d2b62cc0-a840-4328-8be1-5f11a7acd954
ID_30	10-06-1767	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:52f98f0e-9876-4fc3-aaeb-8b8381293e8b
ID_31	06-12-1765	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:25785895-fb13-45d8-8f42-ec80337fdda5
ID_32	15-02-1771	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:607ffa55-85b9-4d4b-811c-68ee4eafba6f
ID_33	02-07-1771	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f56f15a0-075d-46da-9476-84442ccf20f7
ID_34	31-03-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5f6d7e6c-953e-4d96-8dc6-d1a946225c22
ID_35	05-01-1789	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a17c5955-8db4-48f9-92aa-6607ed1b36f7
ID_36	25-11-1802	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:10eab5ff-8e58-4dfe-80d7-38c2c8980b49
ID_37	04-09-1769	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:83ec83cc-663c-4fbb-ac70-7e1ca3aa3437
ID_38	03-07-1778	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5d2b91f5-60af-407b-8762-637fabd7c002
ID_39	19-11-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:84f45317-0e57-42d9-8464-22e302c10936
ID_40	08-01-1787	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:0f7296ee-f554-4eee-8ad5-492527d4f08e
ID_41	09-09-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e4285f4e-076c-4145-b074-940a1dbd9970
ID_42	22-06-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8663ca59-22e9-4289-b604-646ad0e868bf
ID_43	14-02-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:bf5708e5-e756-49d2-9417-94fc47b8755e
ID_44	17-02-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:fc80711a-9d36-4c0d-90b3-bc585d37e482
ID_45	16-06-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e46cf0aa-f076-4f75-bddd-c3b5e6513b07
ID_46	02-06-1766	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:07908147-0974-4985-a26f-0f0292c92adf
ID_47	07-12-1804	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:566b7d32-5c6c-4e63-a8b4-d64950fdeb78

Table 2: Work-Related Ads (Data collected from Mediestream)

ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
ID_001	19-05-1783	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:db86d261-6d2e-47c7-bd28-5c10c8c24504
ID_002	21-05-1784	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b833cf1c-a67b-4210-bf5d-ee0a728d7dea
ID_003	12-07-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e91403da-a4e3-42ee-9d39-ff80991fde78
ID_004	07-05-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a0136f8e-f526-492a-aa4c-a244770d95a5
ID_005	02-04-1792	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b1fbc566-6884-4538-a7eb-419db71ebda1
ID_006	10-04-1792	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c52cd244-a6d8-4308-8d97-60f4cc8399ae
ID_007	24-02-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3338153d-d1db-4fab-a1d1-f429893c2034
ID_008	31-07-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:bc8ecde4-278e-4b05-990c-6d19177760a6
ID_009	06-09-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:12555f36-cffb-41a4-85f0-691e10ae433a
ID_010	17-12-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6964a370-35dc-4e54-9749-20f3e27306d6
ID_011	20-05-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:984b4a05-4112-4a0c-939c-10ad06ba74f6
ID_012	01-10-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3943aede-3d26-40ed-b882-c94c4484c43f
ID_013	11-10-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:881b315e-aa19-401f-8485-966fe2634389
ID_014	18-11-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:1b2d8f51-1cc9-4396-9ac4-2791f8d1eac8
ID_015	07-09-1805	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:88539f1e-cfbf-44d7-8649-ac74db0329af
ID_016	20-06-1805	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d8f61a27-3516-4851-a114-1a6f3c3816dc
ID_017	20-03-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:30746931-d1aa-4db9-b27e-f98aad88ba20
ID_018	01-03-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:40469383-c50f-4b9f-9579-63125a7d5875
ID_019	15-04-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:24915204-9d05-4137-b030-d84834074af5
ID_020	03-10-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:9fd1b49e-241f-4531-880c-0d8edad6a908
ID_021	27-02-1810	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e0eb0598-8d43-420e-b3be-9bce799af6da
ID_022	24-07-1812	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5202d900-f8a9-40a5-a43d-0501da5348b2
ID_023	13-02-1815	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d26cf94a-57d2-463e-9304-ed179a444ecb
ID_024	27-02-1815	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:83f5ccea-7343-4beb-b725-8fae6aed83df

ID_025	24-04-1818	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:de6efca6-9d54-4ce7-a7a9-f01ccf81a5fd
ID_026	12-03-1819	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6d7049ba-1893-4ebf-90ef-4ce4698bafa0
ID_027	22-03-1824	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ed8f14cf-59da-496a-9de2-afd8842ec83a
ID_028	05-09-1825	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8dc1486a-62d1-4b00-a65b-d83f7307d5ee
ID_029	28-11-1831	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e9557443-eb14-41ce-bd90-d5d1c67482fc
ID_030	08-08-1835	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3aa9e4d2-a807-4871-8630-47335ededd50
ID_031	04-08-1835	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:4d99782c-f466-4ca2-8b29-d2da0f01ab1a
ID_032	20-12-1793	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6737215d-1ae8-488c-89c9-5e64de80fa9c
ID_033	18-07-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:15b07278-61ff-4a37-b8e1-c975b4c5b988
ID_034	10-07-1810	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:485bd90e-33d1-4ebb-92f2-45a7e00ddfce
ID_035	14-06-1814	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8de81f12-532a-48eb-b613-f1acfdcf40dc
ID_036	23-08-1808	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e3e082bd-3046-4cb1-828e-f8ee17f0b0ac
ID_037	10-05-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:52ea0251-800a-4550-a147-f12219fa367f
ID_038	23-02-1813	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e129fe2b-47a9-4654-933b-033bad3f4060
ID_039	06-05-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ed1fd97b-f8cb-47d8-8c71-655efaec1185
ID_040	17-03-1795	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f7900a71-c7a5-423b-a018-367cc1c235c6
ID_041	14-03-1804	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a1002ee2-f9be-4f34-a0e9-6c59b3333a13
ID_042	13-10-1824	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:cc351dd5-7e6d-42d6-bc81-bce3d55e10bf

Table 3: Other Ads (Data collected from Mediestream)

Type	ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
Desired to buy'	ID_0001	10-12-1783	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:948a0485-297d-4d89-b51f-bb2714e835c1
For sale	ID_0002	28-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5421bb13-5f32-4ecd-a02e-a13b8ad12b5c
To buy	ID_0003	22-10-1790	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:75444b3f-b5ae-4a35-a8f8-265eb4e3a88c
Freedom letters	ID_0004	18-10-1776	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:824c3afd-a8a7-4ec5-802d-d322827bce24
Søbøtker's warning	ID_0005	12-02-1776	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a86084c3-f2ef-4d71-ae75-5b183e90f5a9
Baptism: Lebrecht1	ID_0006	06-06-1760	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dfe25447-f65c-4ecb-82d4-163e6d2d75a0
Baptism: Lebrecht2	ID_0007	06-06-1760	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2933c60-0bb9-497f-83d6-ce1a2ba205fa
Baptism: Wilhelm	ID_0008	08-03-1765	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:78d97a95-0063-4f77-b26f-4c64d3cc5d40
Baptism: Christian	ID_0009	29-04-1796	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c040129a-f0aa-4439-a41f-9c81e80dc600
Baptism: Thomsen	ID_0010	21-05-1773	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:2ffa73a0-49b0-4bf5-b543-41f5c8bcc073
Fictional Story	ID_0011	23/06/1918	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b6a57661-baa3-4f78-96b2-7f7751d0964a
News Ad	ID_0012	10/07/1911	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:efc8f962-66ff-4d17-8e56-dd5f9ab2937e
Joke	ID_0013	10/03/1905	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:54dc093d-0a90-40c9-8f4f-34365cd10188

Table 4: Public Censuses 1787 and 1801 (Data collected from DDD)

ID	Name	Profession	Household Position	Age	Year
1	Agna (fem. n*)	At Wrisberg		22	1801
2	Agolli (N*)	At Wrisberg		40	1801
3	Amalia (fem. N*)	Slave at Hage's		17	1801
4	Amalia (fem. N*)		Servant	48	1801
5	Betzy (fem. N*)			20	1801
6	Carl Wilhelm (n*)	Servant		16	1801
7	Cathrine (fem. N*)		Servant	17	1801
8	Charlotte (N*)	At J. F. Hage		13	1801
9	Christian (n*)			36	1801
10	David (n*)	Servant J. L. Fix		20	1801
11	Edvard ((Elvard) N*)	See Armstrøm		11	1801
12	Emiliane Regina (n*)	Maid		36	1801
13	Eva Marie (fem. N*)	Maid		22	1801
14	Ferdinant (N*)	At Wrisberg		16	1801
15	Francis (N*)	Servant		12	1801
16	No Name (n*) watch out	Cooper Apprentice		18	1801
17	No Name (N*) Tula	Patient		32	1801
18	No Name (N*) Petrus	Servant		16	1801
19	Isack (N*)	Slave at Hage's		16	1801
20	Jack (N*)	Servant		20	1801
21	Jacob (N*)		N* (plural)	15	1801
22	Joe (N*)			18	1801
23	Johanne (fem. N*)	At Liechtenstein			1801
24	Johannes (N*)	Servant		15	1801
25	Johannes (N*)	At Lillienskiold			1801
26	Juliane Sophie (n*)	Maid		17	1801
27	Lowisa (fem. N*)		n* (plural)	19	1801
28	Ludvig (n*)	At Wrisberg		12	1801
29	Manneboy (N*)	At Wrisberg		22	1801
30	Marie (fem. N*)			24	1801
31	Peinda (n*)	Seamstress		16	1801
32	Peter (N*)	At J. F. Hage		10	1801

33	Pini (fem. n*)	At J. F. Hage		16	1801
34	Rachel (N*)	At Lilliensiold			1801
35	Sabina Helena (n*)	Maid		40	1801
36	Sara (fem. N*)	Househelp		25	1801
37	Thomas (n*)	Servant		16	1801
38	Helena (Mulat)	Seamstress		19	1801
39	Hendrich Mulat	Servant on Farm	Servant	25	1801
40	Jenny (Mulatinde)			22	1801
41	Mulatto Johannes Paulus		Being raised	13	1801
42	Mulatress Marie Katrine		Being raised	15	1801
43	Jacob-called				1787
44	Otherwise called Andreas				1787

Table 5: Names in The Fugitive and Work-Related Ads (Data collected from DDD)

ID	Name	Category
ID_02	Nicolai	Fugitive Ad
ID_01, ID_03 & ID_04	Helena	Fugitive Ad
ID_05	William	Fugitive Ad
ID_06	Peter	Fugitive Ad
ID_20	Mattæus or This	Fugitive Ad
ID_21 & ID_22	Sello	Fugitive Ad
ID_23	Johannes	Fugitive Ad
ID_24 & ID_25	Anton	Fugitive Ad
ID_34	Tobias	Fugitive Ad
ID_10 & ID_11	Accra	Fugitive Ad
ID_30	Isaak	Fugitive Ad
ID_46	Isak	Fugitive Ad
ID_45	Jaky	Fugitive Ad
ID_16 & ID_17	Jaques Tam	Fugitive Ad
ID_19	Pedro Escardo	Fugitive Ad
ID_07, ID_08 & ID_09	Johan Peter	Fugitive Ad
ID_14	Jacob Lauritz	Fugitive Ad
ID_26	Joseph Cornelius	Fugitive Ad
ID_27 & ID_28	Ernst Gilbert	Fugitive Ad
ID_29	Joel (?) Abraham	Fugitive Ad
ID_36	Peter Samuel	Fugitive Ad
ID_47	Johannes Magnus	Fugitive Ad
ID_13	J. H. Friedrich	Fugitive Ad
ID_026	John Henri Maiendix	Work-related Ad
ID_004	Rogier	Work-related Ad

Isolated Nation: Language Orientation and the Sephardi Intellectual Circle of Late Ottoman Palestine

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on Esther Moyal neé Azhari and Dr. Nissim Ya'acov Malul, two members of a Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine. This circle was unique from and related to its counterparts among European Zionists, non-Jewish *Mashriqis*, and the broader Sephardi community within and outside of Palestine. This study investigates the language orientations of these two intellectuals in order to demonstrate the contours of the Ottomanist, *Nahdawi*, and Zionist intellectual traditions from which they drew. This entails a review of the scholarship of the late Ottoman *Mashriq* in general, and this circle in particular. The article then introduces Azhari and Malul, their relationship to this circle, and their connections to Ottomanism, the *Nahda,* and Zionism. The study then analyzes their orientations towards language as expressed in a speech by Azhari and in an essay series by Malul. Through an analysis of Language Orientation, this study demonstrates that the unique intellectual synthesis and activities of Azhari and Malul distinguished them from European Zionists, non-Jewish *Mashriqis*, the Sephardim in Palestine, and the Sephardi community outside of Palestine.

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Introduction

Scholars of late Ottoman Palestine identify an intellectual circle of Sephardi Jews[1] whose experiences across the *Mashriq* resulted in a distinct set of common experiences, joint activities, and shared ideological views.[2] Primarily active between the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the First World War, this circle was characterized by proficiency in Arabic, extensive travel outside of Palestine, experience in journalism, and participation in the founding of the following publications and institutions (discussed at length later in this study): the Hebrew-language journal *Ha-Herut* ("Freedom"), the Arabic-language Zionist journal *Sawt al-Uthmaniya* ("Voice of Ottomanism"), and *Hevrat Ha-Magen* ("Society for Protection," also known simply as *Ha-Magen*, or "The Shield").[3] Ideologically, this circle shared the perception that, "the East" was a specific geographical region variously defined to include parts or the whole of the *Mashriq* and *Maghreb*, with "Eastern" identity having meaningful implications for geography, social networks, culture, and history.[4] Members included Albert Antebi (1873-1919), who was a key intermediary in the process of Zionist land purchases in Palestine, Yosef Eliyahu Chelouche (1870-1934), who helped found the city of Tel Aviv, and Avraham Elmaleh (1885-1976), a journalist and member of the first Israeli *Knesset* (parliament).[5] Scholars typically focus on the differences between this circle and European Jewish intellectuals based in Palestine who were involved in the Zionist movement,[6]

1 Scholars and these historical figures themselves have used many identifiers to refer to this population, including MENA Jews, Mizrahi Jews, and Arab Jews. This article utilizes "Sephardi" to highlight the "Sephardi model" of relations between Jews and non-Jews in the Muslim world, characterized by an interest in both Arab and Zionist culture, coexistence between European Jews and non-Jewish Palestinians, and the unique position of Sephardi Jews to address such issues; Orit Bashkin, "Arab Jews: History, Memory, and Literary Identities in the *Nahḍah*," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* [Online], (June 20, 2022): 8-9, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.1305.

2 "*Mashriq*" ("east") refers to the part of the Arabic-speaking world contrasted by the "Maghreb" ("west"), which includes most of North Africa. This article employs a limited definition of the region including parts of modern Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. This spatial concept of analysis is relevant because it cultivated modern Arab identity via the *Nahda*, and therefore relates to the question of what it meant to be Jewish within an Arab cultural context; Lital Levy, "Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the '*Mashriq*,'" *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 460, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25470275.

3 Moshe Behar and Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, "The Possibility of Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 1 (2014): 47-48, 55, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43917049.; Louis Fishman, "Arab Jewish Voices in Ottoman Palestine: Caught between the Sephardim and Palestinians," *Revue d'histoire culturelle*, no. 2 (2021): 6, https://doi.org/10.4000/rhc.915.

4 Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 47-48.

5 Also included were Hayyim Ben-Kiki (1887-1935), Moshe Matalon (1872-1959), Dr. Shimon Moyal (1866-1915), and Yitzhak Shami (1888-1949); Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 55; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 6.

6 It is critical to emphasize this study does not focus on Sephardi or European Jews outside of Palestine, nor those in Palestine uninvolved in the Zionist movement. There were

often comparing their views on the relationship between Jews and non-Jewish *Mashriqis*.[7] One of the most contentious issues between this circle and European Zionists was whether or not the Jewish community in Palestine ought to establish a Jewish Arabic-language journal,[8] a debate which formed the basis for future distinctions between Sephardi and European Zionist discourses in Palestine.[9]

Language Orientation, the political, social, moral, and epistemological currency with which historical agents view different languages, was central to this debate which served as the foundation of future controversies between Sephardim and European Zionists in Palestine.[10] Therefore, Language Orientation is relevant to understanding further differences between this circle and other intellectuals in Palestine. Although scholars have analyzed the discourse of language in the context of this specific debate, this study goes further by deepening the ties between Language Orientation, this Sephardi

crucial commonalities between Sephardi and European Jews in Palestine, especially with regard to language. For instance, while Sephardi intellectuals in Palestine were much more connected to Ottoman and Arab politics and culture, European Jews still "underwent a process of acculturation and integration within the Arab environment," albeit a quotidian and transactional one; Yair Wallach, "Rethinking the *yishuv:* late-Ottoman Palestine's Jewish communities revisited," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 281-282, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2016.1246230. This study calls attention to the perceptions of difference by European and Sephardi Jews. The commonality of Sephardi Jews perceiving themselves as being "Eastern Jews" and having a favorable relationship to "the East," defined in myriad ways, ultimately distinguished Sephardi intellectuals in Palestine from their European Jewish counterparts; Moshe Behar, "1911: the birth of the Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 313-314, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2017.1295588. Less relevant to Sephardi Zionists were the differences between themselves. For a discussion on how Sephardi intellectuals constructed such a commonality between individuals from communities as divergent as Morocco and Iraq, see Yehuda Sharim, "*The Struggle for Sephardic-Mizrahi Autonomy: Racial Identities in Palestine-Israel, 1918–1948.*" Ph.D diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2013.

7 This study utilizes the term "non-Jewish *Mashriqis*" to reflect that this Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine interacted with various nationalities in the *Mashriq*, and to emphasize that such national communities once had the opportunity to refer to themselves as part of a broader group, such as the *Mashriq* or "Greater Syria"; Behar and Benite, "The Possible of Modern ME Jewish Thought," 60; Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 313; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 5; Abigail Jacobson, "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question' in Pre-First World War Palestine: A Reading of Three Zionist Newspapers," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (April 2003): 126, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4284294.

8 At times, proponents advocated for a bilingual Hebrew-Arabic journal, but at others they advocated for an Arabic journal published by the "Hebrew" community, "Hebrew" here employed as a national rather than linguistic term; Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 314. For consistency, this article describes this as a "Jewish Arabic journal" except when quoting sources.

9 Behar describes "Mizrahi discourse" as "a multifaceted discourse [… that] existed in the pre-1948 modern Middle East, and remains chiefly inside Israel/Palestine today, a distinct sociocultural collectivity consisting of Eastern (non-Ashkenazi) Jews"; Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 313.

10 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 312-331.

intellectual circle, and their *Mashriqi* contexts.[11] This paper argues that the Language Orientation of the Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine demonstrated a unique, albeit unpopular fusion of Ottomanist, *Nahdawi*, and Zionist thought. To this end, this paper analyzes two works by influential members of this circle: a speech by Esther Moyal neé Azhari and an essay series by Dr. Nissim Ya'acov Malul, both members of this circle.[12] On the one hand, these sources emphasized a shared intellectual tradition between Azhari and Malul, while on the other they highlighted important distinctions within the Sephardi intellectual circle.

Language Orientation in the late Ottoman Empire was complex and fluid; an individual's belonging to one specific community and it's related language did not necessarily exclude that individual from identifying with another community or it's language, in part because few forces in the Ottoman government or its many religious communities stimulated the use of a specific language.[13] This was reflected in *Ottomanism*, an ideology which came about in the late 1800s during the Ottoman *Tanzimat* ("reorganization") reforms and proliferated after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution.[14] Ottomanism can be defined as an ideology under which the empire granted subjects equality, with the objective of uniting them through a sense of common citizenship and territory, and dissuading them from forming separatist nationalist movements along ethnic or linguistic lines.[15] Therefore, cultural movements which were not necessarily separatist, such as the *Nahda* ("awakening"), were able to flourish under Ottomanism. The *Nahda* can be described as multiple movements during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries which sought to revive the Islamic Golden Age through the renewal of Arabic literature and the adoption of European sciences.[16] Arabic occupied a central role for *Nahdawais* (the participants in the *Nahda*), who sought to turn it into, "a

11 For instance, Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers," 126.

12 Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 55; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 6.

13 Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives: Language and Religion in the Ottoman Empire and its Successor States," in *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities and Their Languages in the Emerging Nation States of the Middle East (1920-1950)*, ed. Murre-van den Berg, Karène Sanchez Summerer, and Tijmen C. Baardamurre (Koninklijke Brill NV, 2020): 2, 4-5, 27, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv2gjwzqw.

14 Daniel J. Schroeter, "The Changing Relationship between the Jews of the Arab Middle East and the Ottoman state in the Nineteenth Century," in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century* ed. Avigdor Levy (University of Syracuse, 2002): 88.

15 Ibid.; Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine,* (Stanford University Press, 2011): 61, http://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=17157.

16 Moshe Behar, "Fusing Arab *Nahda*, European *Haskalah,* and Euro-Zionism: Eastern Jewish thought in late-Ottoman and post-Ottoman Palestine," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 273, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2017.1295589; Bashkin, "Arab Jews" 2-3.

modern language of literature, science, and politics."[17] This linguistic mission was intimately tied to pan-Arab nationalism, with the modernization of Arabic serving as, "an instrument to forge an 'Arab' people," from the multiple societies, regions, religions, and religious denominations of the Arabic-speaking Ottoman provinces.[18] Furthermore, the *Nahda* had a multilingual character: *Nahdawais* drew from works in a variety of world languages to develop the ideas they published in Arabic, their thought compared the historical and ethnic trajectories of Arabic to other languages, and they often employed translations of the same works in multiple world languages.[19] The language orientations of these Ottomanist and *Nahdawi* intellectual traditions stood in direct contrast to a hegemonic Hebrew language orientation then developing in the Zionist movement in Palestine. Historically, Palestine was multilingual, and the Jewish community there expressed itself in multiple languages both privately and publicly.[20] Moreover, the official Zionist discourse accepted multiple languages, including Arabic, for practical purposes and as a means to further Zionism.[21] Nevertheless, according to the contemporary historian Liora R. Halperin, "the Zionist vision, writ large, was to create a self-sufficient Hebrew culture [... to] signal the end of dependence on surrounding cultures."[22] She continues, " [...] the imperative for [Hebrew] monolingualism came from the perception that Jews [in Palestine] were, and could manifestly be, an autonomous nation in the European model."[23]

The Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine integrated elements from all three of these intellectual traditions. During the 1908 Revolution, the Young Turks reinstated the *Tanzimat*-era constitution, boosting Ottoman identity among Palestine's elites and popularizing Ottomanism among Palestine's Sephardi community.[24] Contemporary historians such as Moshe Behar, Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, Louis Fishman, and Abigail Jacobson find that the Hebrew journal *Ha-Herut* ("Freedom"), which avidly supported the revolution and Ottomanism, consistently represented the Sephardi intellectual

17 Bashkin, "Arab Jews" 3; Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 21.

18 Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 4-5, 21-22.

19 Bashkin, "Arab Jews" 3-4.

20 Liora R. Halperin, "Majority and Minority Languages in the Middle East: The Case of Hebrew in Mandatory Palestine," in *Minorities and the Modern Arab World: New Perspectives*, ed. Laura Robson (Syracuse University Press, 2016): 177, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1j2n7nw.

21 Liora R. Halperin, *Babel in Zion: Jews, Nationalism, and Language Diversity in Palestine, 1920-1948.* (Yale University Press, 2015): 5, 15, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x1sx3.

22 Halperin, "The Case of Hebrew," 176.

23 Halperin, "The Case of Hebrew," 179.

24 Wallach, "Rethinking the *yishuv*," 280-281. For Ottomanism, see Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*.

circle.[25] Furthermore, many of the individuals in this Sephardi intellectual circle had *Nahdawi* ties, with the scholars Lital Levy and Orit Bashkin specifically mentioning Azhari, Malul, Elmaleh, and Dr. Shimon Moyal for their cultural contributions.[26] Before settling in Palestine, many of these intellectuals or their families had roots in Jewish communities across the *Mashriq* and *Maghreb*.[27] Like other Sephardim in Palestine, they maintained ties to their communities of origin.[28] However, they diverged from other Sephardim in Palestine and elsewhere because they engaged with a network of *Nahdawais*, traveling across and outside of the *Mashriq* and contributing to the Arabic press centers of Cairo and Beirut. This circle was also unique compared to European Zionist intellectuals in Palestine: while both contributed to the Hebrew press, the latter lacked the former's involvement in the Arabic press and command of the Arabic language.[29]

Nevertheless, the Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine was decidedly Zionist; they subscribed to the revival of Hebrew, and they believed the emerging hostility between European Zionists and non-Jewish Palestinians[30] was based on the latter's misunderstanding of the former's aims.[31] Generally, this circle upheld cooperation between Jews and non-Jewish Palestinians while opposing concepts such as "Hebrew Labor."[32] However, scholars should not overemphasize this circle's focus on non-Jewish Palestinians and mediation, for in many cases the Sephardi intellectuals failed to satisfy critiques of Zionism from the perspective of non-Jewish Palestinians.[33] Instead, they aimed to shut down criticism of Zionism in the Arabic press altogether while propagandizing Zionism to both Jewish

25 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 313-314; Wallach, "Rethinking the *yishuv*," 288; Regarding *Ha-Herut* as representative of the Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine, see Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 313-314; Behar and Benite, " Jewish Thought," 55; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 4; Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers," 106-107.

26 Lital Levy, "The Nahḍa and the Haskala: A Comparative Reading of 'Revival' and 'Reform,'" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 16, no. 3 (2013): 306-307, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1475262X.2013.891391; Bashkin, "Arab Jews" 10, 14.

27 Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 47-48.

28 Ibid.; Bashkin, "Arab Jews," 9-10, 14; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 9.

29 Ibid.

30 While I have used "non-Jewish *Mashriqis*" elsewhere, I here specify "non-Jewish Palestinians" to emphasize that Palestine and Palestinians were at the center of this contention.

31 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 314; Menachem Klein, "Arab Jew in Palestine," *Israel Studies* 14, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 145.

32 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 314; "Hebrew Labor" refers to a European Zionist concept which argued the Jewish community in Palestine should only employ Jews.

33 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 4-5; For more on the role Sephardi Zionists played in mediation, see Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor, *Oriental Neighbors: Middle Eastern Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine*, (Brandeis University Press, 2016).

and non-Jewish *Mashriqis*.[34] This resulted in criticism from the non-Jewish *Mashriqi* press.[35] Relatedly, this circle's *Nahdawi* convictions were a point of contention with regards to many European Zionist intellectuals in Palestine, who tended to view Arabic with hostility and derided the circle's connections to Arab culture as assimilationist.[36] At the same time, the combination of their transnational experiences in the *Nahdawi* circles of Beirut and Cairo on the one hand, and their relationship with Zionist institutions in Jerusalem on the other, distinguished this circle from the broader Jewish community in Palestine as well as the many Sephardi communities outside of Palestine.[37]

This study focuses on the writings of Esther Moyal neé Azhari and Dr. Nissim Ya'acov Malul. While other studies have discussed Azhari and Malul,[38] this article argues they do not emphasize simultaneously the Ottomanist, *Nahdawi*, and Zionist intellectual traditions which Azhari and Malul adopted, nor do they specifically compare these two historical figures. Furthermore, Azhari and Malul's Language Orientations were representative of this circle, and therefore merit additional research. Azhari and Malul were representative of this Sephardi intellectual circle in three ways. First, because of the influential role they played in the issues most important to the circle: developing a Jewish Arabic press and defending Zionism in the extant Arabic press. For example, in January 1914, Malul, Azhari, and her husband Dr. Shimon Moyal were the sole founders of *Sawt al-Uthmaniyya* ("The Voice of Ottomanism"), a journal which sought to propagandize Zionism to non-Jewish Mashriqi readers.[39] Moreover, Azhari and Malul were co-founders of *Hevrat Ha-Magen* ("Society for Protection," also known simply as *Ha-Magen*, or "The Shield"), an organization which sought to challenge perceived Arab

34 Ibid.

35 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 10.

36 Behar specifically mentions Yosef Klausner, YH Brenner, Ya'acov Rabinovitch, and the publication *Ha-Poel Ha-Tzair*, among many other instances; Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 314-317, 319-320, 323, 325, 329.

37 Bashkin, "Arab Jews: History, Memory, and Literary Identities," 9-10; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 8; Lital Levy, "Partitioned Pasts: Arab Jewish intellectuals and the case of Esther Azharī Moyal (1873–1948)," in *The Making of the Arab Intellectual: Empire, public sphere and the colonial coordinates of selfhood,* ed. Dyala Hamzah (Routledge, 2013): 136.

38 See Bashkin, "Arab Jews;" Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy;" Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians;" Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers;" Levy, "Partitioned Pasts"; Abigail Jacobson, "The Sephardi Jewish Community in Pre-World War I Jerusalem: Debates in the Hebrew Press," *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 14, (2001), https://cris.huji.ac.il/en/publications/the-sephardi-jewish-community-in-pre-world-war-i-jerusalem-debate;

39 Behar and Benite, "The Possibility of Modern Middle Eastern Thought," 55; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 8; Jacobson, "The Sephardi Jewish Community," 34. The paper largely failed, with contributors Malul and Moyal ridiculed in the Palestinian press which deemed *Sawt al-Uthmaniyya* a Zionist paper, even anti-Muslim; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 10, 12.

antisemitism and anti-Zionism in the Arabic press.[40] Second, both Azhari and Malul achieved considerable status in *Nahdawi* society independent of these activities, which are discussed later in the study. Third, Malul received special recognition by this circle for his impact in the Arabic press. Specifically, after arriving in Jaffa in 1911, Malul was well-received by this Sephardi intellectual circle because of his extensive experience defending Zionism in the Arabic press.[41] However, Azhari did not receive the same recognition during her career. For example, while *Ha-Herut* published extensively on which Jewish writers proficient in Arabic could champion a Jewish Arabic journal, its editors never named Azhari.[42] Louis Fishman claims the views towards women of the more conservative Jewish community of Palestine, in addition to Azhari's weaker possession of Hebrew, contributed to her diminished influence in Palestine when compared to her status in *Nahdawi* society.[43]

Nahdawi Elements of Language Orientation

Within the Sephardi intellectual circle of late Ottoman Palestine, Esther Moyal neé Azhari clearly demonstrated a fusion of Ottomanist, *Nahdawi,* and Zionist thought, while specifically leaning towards the intellectual tradition of the *Nahda*. Azhari was born in Beirut in 1873 to a Sephardi family. Despite being raised in a family of lower status than other Jewish families in Beirut, Azhari achieved a remarkable education; she memorized the Quran, studied with a respected Arab writer, obtained a degree from the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut, and taught in several Beirut schools while serving as member and founder of multiple women's organizations.[44] Like many *Nahdawais*, Azhari translated various European texts into Arabic, with venues including the local Jewish theater, Beirut publications, and prestigious Cairene journals.[45]

40 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 13-14; Halperin, *Babel in Zion,* 163-164.

41 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 6-7; Behar calls Malul "the most authoritative individual on Arabic journalism by Jews;" Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 318. Furthermore, Malul's Arabic writings in the defense of Zionism were celebrated by his contemporaries; Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers," 26-27.

42 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 8.

43 Ibid.

44 Levy, "Partitioned pasts," 136; Moshe Behar and Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics, & Culture, 1893-1958, (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2013): 30, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv102bhzm.

45 Behar and Benite, *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* 30; Levy, "Partitioned pasts," 128-129, 136-138; Shmuel Moreh and Philip Sadgrove, *Jewish Contributions to Nineteenth-Century Arabic Theatre: Plays from Algeria and Syria - a Study and Texts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 80-81.

In 1894, Azhari married Shimon Moyal, a Jew from Jaffa who also constituted a member of this intellectual circle.[46] After marrying, the couple moved to Istanbul, later spending several years traveling between Cairo, Safed, Tiberias, and Beirut before settling in Cairo, a *Nahadawi* center. There they joined the vibrant *Nahdawi* society of native Egyptians and Syrian migrants. Shortly after the move, Azhari founded *al-Aila* ("The Family"), a bimonthly journal which was devoted in part to *Nahadawi* topics such as literature and science and well-received by the Cairene press.[47] Azhari's involvement in the *Nahda* can be confirmed through this brief introduction to her educational background, her relationship with *Nahdawi* circles, her corpus of translation, and her contributions to newer scholarly and literary genres in Arabic.[48] Azhari and Moyal would move to Jaffa between 1908-1909, where they became heavily involved in Ottomanist and Zionist politics (discussed later in this study).[49]

We can glean the *Nahdawi* character of Azhari's Language Orientation from a commencement speech she delivered to the 1911 graduating class of the American College for Girls in Beirut. Azhari said, "Note, my dear ladies, that you are Arab Syrians and that your knowledge of English or French does not make you an Englishwoman or a Frenchwoman."[50] For Azhari, "no matter how hard," her audience tried "to hide your [Arab Syrian] nationality […] the Westerner will remind you [of it] through her treatment of you." Azhari linked language to nationalism in this portion of the speech, arguing the acquisition of English and French threatened an Arab Syrian identity she sought to promote. Following her logic that language could pose a cultural threat, Azhari pressed her audience to,

> [...] stop following Westerners in every situation, whether good or bad. Let us go back and learn our language [Arabic], refine its expression when we talk, and make our children keen on learning it along with the poetry of our poets and the proverbs of our wise men. Let us go back to giving our sons and daughters names that remind us of our great history and the poems of our significant poets.[51]

46 Levy, "Partitioned pasts," 136; regarding Shimon Moyal, see Behar and Benite, " Jewish Thought," 55; Fishman, "Arab Jewish Voices," 6.

47 Ibid., 137.

48 Additionally, Bashkin has included Azhari in her article on Arab Jews and the *Nahda*; see Bashkin, "Arab Jews," 4-5, 15.

49 Levy, "Partitioned pasts," 138.

50 Beirut, then still a part of the Ottoman Empire, was at times understood as part of "Greater Syria." ; Esther Moyal neé Azhari, "Khitab" ("Speech"), *al-Hasna'*, (October 1911): 24-29, in *Modern ME Jewish Thought*, ed. by Behar and Benite, 31-37.

51 Esther Moyal neé Azhari, pages 24-29 in an article entitled "Khitab" ("Speech") in the journal *al-Hasna',* October 1911, in Behar and Benite, *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* 31-37.

Azhari then endowed the Arabic language with political currency, demanding, "Let us establish an Eastern Arab [referring to the *Mashriq*] Civilization in which the woman will make half the effort to promote and glorify it in front of civilized people."[52] Present in Azhari's language orientation was the central *Nahdawi* concept that the Arabic language in particular was a tool which could produce a single Arab people from the diverse Arabic-speaking provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[53] By contrast, according to Azhari, foreign languages like English and French misled the "Eastern Arab Civilization."

While the language orientation of this speech emphasized the *Nahdawi* character of Azhari's thought, it should not betray her commitments to Ottomanism and Zionism. For instance, Azhari's call to establish an Eastern Arab Civilization should not be read as a promotion of separatist nationalism. *Nahdawais* could share Azhari's commitment to Arabic and a related Arab identity without excluding themselves from other Middle Eastern identities or languages.[54] Furthermore, her vast experiences giving Ottomanist speeches, hosting Ottomanist celebrations, publishing in the Ottomanist press, and associating with Ottomanist organizations also evinced her dedication to the Ottoman Empire.[55] In order to better understand Azhari's relationship to Zionism, her colleague, who joined in many of her Zionist efforts and leaned further towards that ideology, must be introduced.

Zionist Elements of Language Orientation

From the Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine, Dr. Nissim Ya'acov Malul also represented a synthesis of Ottomanist, *Nahdawi*, and Zionist thought. However, Malul was more committed to Zionism than Azhari. Malul was born in Safed in 1892 to a family which had inhabited Palestine for generations and, as a child, his family immigrated to Tanta and then Cairo.[56] Malul began his journalistic career writing for the prestigious *al-Muqattam* ("The Mokattam," a hill range near Cairo) paper, also publishing in the widely-read Egyptian and Lebanese press with a focus on responding to perceived antisemitic attacks.[57] Moving to Jaffa in 1911, Malul weighed in on the prospects of a Jewish Arabic journal, the topic of much debate between this Sephardi intellectual circle and the European Zionist intellectuals in

52 Ibid., 37.
53 Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 21-22.
54 Ibid., 6.
55 Levy, "Partitioned pasts," 128-129, 138, 147-150.
56 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 6.
57 Ibid., 7.

Palestine.[58] In this early 1911 discussion, which Moshe Behar has termed "the birth of the Mizrahi-Ashkenazi controversy" because of the ethnic characteristics of the debate, Malul argued for the importance of a Jewish Arabic journal on the basis that the Ottomans expected Jews to publish in Arabic and the lack thereof created a "silence" signifying "betrayal" to the empire.[59] Malul would go on to work in the Arabic press bureau, established by the Zionist movement in 1911 in order to monitor the opinion of Zionism in the Arabic press and publish pro-Zionist articles in existing Arabic journals.[60]

The 1911 controversy over the proposal of publishing a Jewish Arabic journal resurfaced in 1913, when a dispute erupted between Malul and Ya'acov Rabinovitch, a European Zionist writer.[61] Rabinovitch had written an article in the popular labor Zionist paper *Ha-Poel Ha-Tsair* (*"The Young Worker"*) objecting to three of Malul's activities: a proposal to form a Jewish Arabic teacher's union, his support for "Arab Rights," and his aim to create a Jewish Arabic-language journal.[62] Malul responded with a series of three essays, defending his position in *Ha-Herut*.[63] The contemporary historians Moshe Behar and Zvi Ben-Dor Benite emphasize the ethnic dimensions of this debate by focusing on Rabinovitch, who rebutted Malul's proposals for the teaching of Arabic and a Jewish Arabic teachers union, casting the Sephardim as, "Arabised intellectuals" who represented an, "internal threat" to the Zionist movement.[64] Abigail Jacobson argues the essays broke from the Zionism of both European Zionist intellectuals and this Sephardi intellectual circle given the wide array of critiques from both parties.[65] Dedicating analysis to the Language Orientation of Malul's essays by and relating them to their specific intellectual contexts expands upon the existing scholarship. While these essays do indicate *Nahdawi* influences which distinguished Malul's Zionism from his European Zionist contemporaries, he clearly adopted elements of a hegemonic Hebrew Language Orientation.

In his first essay, Malul offered two options for the future of the Jewish community in Palestine. Malul advocated for a plan to galvanize the study of

58 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 324.

59 Ibid.

60 Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers," 110-111, 119.

61 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 329; Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 50.

62 Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: She'elat Limud 'Ivrit-'Aravit" ("Our status in the country: the question of Hebrew teaching of Arabic"), *Ha-Herut*, (17 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 65-67.

63 Ibid.

64 Behar and Benite, "Jewish Thought," 50-51.

65 Jacobson, "The Sephardi Jewish Community," 27; Jacobson, "Three Zionist Newspapers," 121, 125-126.

Arabic in the Jewish community in Palestine through the formation of a Jewish Arabic teachers union and the composition of an Arabic textbook. According to Malul, the alternative option was to, " [...] cease teaching Arabic [… and] become a Jewish nation in our own right with our own unique language, customs, and public and private affairs."[66] While such a nation reflected the hegemonic Hebrew vision of an independent Jewish community in Palestine, for Malul such an outcome was dangerous. He warned,

> [...] we will become an isolated nation, separated from all other peoples living under Ottoman rule. We will not [be able to] engage with the existing nation [of non-Jewish Palestinians] in any way, thereby destroying this [linguistic] connection with the outside world, and our situation will become similar to that faced in the past by Spain, Portugal, and now in Russia.[67]

Malul's Ottomanist thought is clearly indicated by the currency he placed on remaining connected to the Ottoman Empire, and how he rebutted the idea of an independent Jewish nation. For Malul, the inability of the Jewish community to engage with its multilingual Ottoman landscape was akin to what he perceived as the isolation of Jewish communities in Europe.[68] Perplexingly, though perhaps in line with that multilingual reality, Malul wrote, " [...] there is no requirement for a nationalist person to know his language […] the nationalist is one who experiences feelings of nationalism […] through his nationalist deeds."[69]

Nahdawi strains of thought also permeated his ideas, eliciting fascinating comparisons between Malul and Azhari. Malul wrote, "it is criminal to teach our children all those European languages that push them to leave the country and live in the Diaspora."[70]At the end of his third essay, Malul argued,

> If we, the heirs of Rabbi Yehudah Ha-Levi and Maimonides, wish to follow in their ways, we must know Arabic well and merge with the Arabs the way they, the great sages, did. As a semitic nation we must reinforce our semitic nationhood and not blur it within European culture. By utilizing

66 Halperin, "The Case of Hebrew," 176, 179-180.

67 Behar and Benite argue Malul intended to warn the Jewish community of Palestine of "repeating the pattern" of "ghettoization" as experienced in "some locations in Europe before the twentieth century"; Behar and Benite, *Modern ME Jewish Thought*, 66.

68 Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 2, 4-5, 27.

69 Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: She'elat Limud 'Ivrit-'Aravit" ("Our status in the country: the question of Hebrew teaching of Arabic"), *Ha-Herut*, (17 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 65-67.

70 Ibid.

> Arabic we can create a real Hebrew culture, but if we blend it with European elements we will simply be committing suicide.[71]

Like other *Nahdawais*, Malul here argued for the power of Arabic to create a nation.[72] Just as Azhari linked the Arabic language to an "Eastern Arab Civilization," Malul believed Arabic would forge "a semitic nation" and "a real Hebrew culture." In line with Azhari, Malul found European languages and culture to be misleading, which convinced the children of settlers "to leave the country and live in the Diaspora."[73]

Nevertheless, there are significant distinctions between Azhari and Malul. He called "the fears about learning Arabic and assimilating with the other people of this land, and losing our sense of nationality […] nonsense" because "it is unimaginable and impossible that such a toddler culture [Arab] could push us back." Malul's paternalistic view of Arab culture certainly clashed with Azhari's views and contradicted his former statements. For instance, his call to "merge with the Arabs" contradicted directly his claim that "it is not true […] that I call for merging and assimilation with them [the non-Jewish Palestinians]."[74] Malul's paternalistic attitudes toward Arabic distinguished him from Azhari, cautioning against a strictly *Nahdawi* reading of his thought. Introducing the Zionist elements of his language orientation contextualizes these apparent contradictions.

In his second essay, Malul reminded the audience of the 1911 controversy over the Jewish Arabic-language newspaper proposal. While Malul had previously argued for the Jewish Arabic-language journal on the basis that it would propagandize Zionism to non-Jewish Arabs,[75] here Malul's target was Sephardim, writing,

> Who does not know that our [Jewish] brothers in Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and the rest of the countries of the Orient do not really care about the movement to settle the Land of Israel, and in general are very removed from all this business of our national movement? These brothers of ours do not know any language except Arabic. So […] the

71 Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: Sof" ("Our status in the country: end"), *Ha-Herut*, (19 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 69.

72 Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 21-22.

73 Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: She'elat Limud 'Ivrit-'Aravit" ("Our status in the country: the question of Hebrew teaching of Arabic"), *Ha-Herut*, (17 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 67.

74 During the 1911 controversy, Malul also described paternalistically the non-Jewish Arabs in Palestine as a "minor culture;" Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 8.

75 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 324.

> best means to draw their hearts toward us is by creating a journal […] in Arabic. In this journal we can speak to our [Jewish] brothers about the benefits of the national movement and […] enfold our Oriental brothers within the wings of nationalism.[76]

According to Malul, the Sephardim outside of Palestine were agnostic on Zionism and the only avenue for propagandizing was Arabic. In this section, Malul reflected a hegemonic Hebrew language orientation, where Arabic was simply a practical tool to further the aims of Zionism.[77]

Conclusion

Both Azhari and Malul were dedicated Zionists, evinced by their roles in propagandizing Zionism through *Sawt al-Uthmaniya* and Ha-Magen. For example, Azhari, Malul, and other members of Ha-Magen played with a variety of strategies to promote Zionism, including running Jewish candidates for Ottoman parliamentary elections, building legal teams to prosecute anti-Zionist papers in Ottoman courts, shutting down Arabic papers through contacts in Istanbul, and bribing "medium"[78]Arabic papers to publish Zionist responses to anti-Zionist articles.[79] In light of these Zionist activities alone, it would appear Azhari and Malul were mostly influenced by Zionism and Ottomanism.

Therefore, these sources on Language Orientation play a critical role in understanding these historical figures, which not only blended Zionism and Ottomanism, but *Nahdawi* thought as well. The Language Orientations of Azhari and Malul fit into the multilingual late Ottoman Empire.[80] Neither of them sought to separate from the Ottoman Empire, and both viewed European languages and culture as misguiding. Thus, Azhari and Moyal shared Ottomanism as a foundation of their thought. However, the extent

76 Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: Hishtatfut ba-Ta'amula li-Drishat Zekhuyot ha-'Arviyyim ve-Yisud 'Iton 'Aravi-Yehudi" ("Our status in the country: participating in the struggle for Arab rights and establishing a Jewish-Arab newspaper"), *Ha-Herut*, (18 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 67-69.

77 Halperin, *Babel in Zion,* 5, 15.

78 In a 1914 article, Malul divided the Arabic press into four groups: "free papers" ignored Zionism, "medium papers" only reprinted arguments on Zionism, "extremist papers" strongly opposed Zionism, and "protector papers" supported Zionism; Jacobson, "The Sephardi Jewish Community," 29-30. However, Rashid Khalidi's survey of the Arabic press between 1908-1914 found all but one were anti-Zionist; Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (Columbia University Press, 2010): 122-124, https://hdl-handle-net.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/2027/heb00158.0001.001.

79 Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 13-14; Halperin, *Babel in Zion*, 164.

80 Murre-van den Berg, "Arabic and its Alternatives," 2, 4-5, 27.

to which they were committed to *Nahdawi* or Zionist traditions differed. While these strains were not necessarily opposed, their writings on Language Orientation revealed the possibility for contention. Azhari leaned closer to *Nahdawi* traditions, glorifying Arabic and its role in forging an "Eastern Arab Civilization." Malul echoed this Language Orientation as well, arguing that the Jewish community needed Arab culture in order to become a "semitic nation" and a "real Hebrew culture."[81] However, unlike Azhari, Malul also invoked elements of a hegemonic Hebrew language orientation, where Arabic was the language of a "toddler culture," whose ability to "reinforce our semitic nationhood" and propagandize to Sephardim was simply a practical means to the ends of Zionism.

While both Azhari and Malul were Ottomanists, *Nahdawais*, and Zionists, the former represented an intellectual tradition weighted towards the *Nahda* while the latter leaned closer to Zionism. By focusing on their Language Orientations, the readers can appreciate the complicated ways in which Azhari and Malul synthesized Ottomanist, *Nahdawi*, and Zionist intellectual traditions while contributing to both *Nahdawi* society and Zionist institutions. As a result, both Azhari and Malul distinguished themselves from non-Jewish *Mashriqis*, European Zionists, Sephardim in Palestine, and Sephardi communities outside of Palestine. Unique in their cultural contributions, journalistic endeavors, and political thought, the Sephardi intellectual circle in late Ottoman Palestine was the target of criticism from both European Zionists and non-Jewish *Mashriqis*, the circle itself becoming an "isolated nation" to use Malul's words of warning.[82]

81 This article considers Malul's use of the term "semitic" to be national, rather than racial or linguistic. According to Behar and Benite, Malul was "an advocate of semitic Jewish nationalism," though they do not elaborate; Behar and Benite, *Modern ME Jewish Thought*, 62. Furthermore, Malul himself connects the "semitic nation" with a "semitic nationhood" opposed to "European culture," not race or language; Nissim Ya'acov Malul, "Ma'amadenu ba-Aretz: Sof" ("Our status in the country: end"), *Ha-Herut*, (19 June 1913), in *Modern ME Jewish Thought,* ed. by Behar and Benite, 69.

82 Behar, "Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy," 314-317, 319-320, 323, 325, 329; Fishman, "Sephardim and Palestinians," 10.

Beyond Propaganda: Reimagining the *Hindostan* Newspaper (1915–17) as a Theatre of the First World War

ABSTRACT

Despite significant scholarship on prisoner of war (POW) camps across Europe, camps for colonial POWs are relatively under-researched within the scope of First World War history. This paper evaluates the production and dissemination of the newspaper *Hindostan*, printed in Urdu and Hindi, and distributed in POW camps for British Indian soldiers in the contemporary German state of Brandenburg. A major part of the German wartime propaganda strategy to regulate war-related news, publications like *Hindostan* (inspired by Orientalist writings) were disseminated to incite anti-colonial rebellions in British colonies like India and weaken the Empires of Britain and France. This research locates *Hindostan's* development within the wider context of German Orientalism and propaganda strategies, Indian anti-colonial activity in Berlin, and the socio-cultural lives of Indians connected to internment camps, producing a holistic understanding of Berlin's wartime landscape. The *Hindostan's* 67 issues published between 1915 and 1917, were not merely a medium of German propaganda and Indian reception. *Hindostan* reflects how POWs and various Indian and European actors positioned and repositioned themselves in a warscape where meanings of colonists and the colonised, home and periphery, and allies and enemies were constantly contested. Exploring the historical, linguistic, and thematic intricacies of *Hindostan's* Urdu editions, this research reveals how a multitude of actors played significant roles in the creation and reception of *Hindostan.* This shows how the propaganda war was a site of negotiation and contestation, thereby becoming a dynamic theatre of the Great War.

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Introduction

Scholarship on South Asian participation in the First World War has mostly produced studies on anti-imperial revolutionary networks and Indian nationalism in the wake of the British Empire.[1] Although there has been a considerable amount of scholarship on prisoner of war (POW) camps across Europe, camps for colonial POWs are relatively under researched within the scope of First World War history. Recent scholarly interest in Indian POW experiences has drawn attention to newspapers written in South Asian languages and disseminated amongst prisoners in German POW camps from 1915-1918. This essay evaluates the camp newspaper *Hindostan*, a rare historical source printed in Urdu and Hindi and distributed exclusively in the Zossen (Weinberglager) and Wünsdorf (Halfmoon Camp) camps in the contemporary German state of Brandenburg, where many Indian POWs were held. The dissemination of the newspaper was part of the German wartime propaganda strategy that aimed at regulating war-related news, uplifting the German fighting spirit, and dispiriting the Entente troops. The German propaganda strategy was based on Orientalist Max Von Oppenheim's writings on using pan-Islamic rhetoric to destabilise Islamic territories by inciting mass anti-colonial rebellions in British colonies, such as India, and weakening the empires of the Entente.[2]

This paper aims to assess the process of *Hindostan's* production in a rapidly changing war climate where Indian nationalism was on the rise and anti-colonial revolutionary networks operated across Europe. How did the German propaganda machine, in conjunction with the *Indisches Unabhängigkeitskomitee* (the Indian Independence Committee or the IIC), influence the creation of *Hindostan*, both of which were involved in its production? By exploring the historical, linguistic, and thematic intricacies of *Hindostan's* Urdu editions, this research shows how the newspaper was not just a medium of German propaganda.

A reconstruction of Indian lives in connection with POWs' camp spaces and German wartime administration focuses on blurring boundaries between the identities, spaces, and ideas that they engaged with. Despite being subject to stringent German control and management of information, the camps

1 For the purposes of this paper, Indian nationalism refers to the collective efforts and discourses surrounding the movement for Indian independence from the British Empire. Here, "Indian" encompasses individuals from the regions that constitute modern-day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

2 Heike Liebau, "The German Foreign Office, Indian Emigrants and Propaganda Efforts Among the 'Sepoys,'" in *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*, eds. Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, and Roy Ahuja (Social Science Press, 2011), 100–101.

housed prisoners in an environment where political news and intercultural interaction provided an impetus for discussion within and outside them. POWs and South Asian collaborators to the German propaganda machine navigated through their surrounding social networks, "positioning" and "repositioning" themselves according to rival claims to their loyalty by British and German authorities.[3] German propaganda strategists, their Indian collaborators, and their targeted audiences "reconstructed" the war as it was waged by playing a role in *Hindostan's* production and reception. This illustrates how the "propaganda war" evolved into a dynamic theatre of the First World War, where narratives, perceptions, and ideologies were actively shaped and contested amidst the backdrop of a global conflict.[4] This is not only a valuable contribution to global histories of the First World War, but also to South Asian literature.

Literature Review

Santanu Das has made an extensive contribution to recently emerging social histories of Indian soldiers during the Great War, which looks at soldiers as, "social actors in contexts other than acts of warfare."[5] Drawing on soldier memoirs, images, and songs, the bulk of his scholarship recovers alternatives to Eurocentric war memories and stresses the need to expand the frame of studies on soldier experiences in terms of sources and methodology. Hence, the camp newspaper *Hindostan*, as a relatively under-researched source, is a valuable addition to understanding the complex nature of war experiences when situated within the wider context of the German propaganda machine, Indian anti-colonial activity in Berlin, and the socio-cultural lives of Indians connected to wartime internment camps.

Further research on regimental censorship and its role in shaping primary sources on soldier war experiences can be found in David Omissi's research, which explores the distortions produced by layers of mediation and censorship processes in soldier letters.[6] However, Omissi does not situate his analysis of soldier letters within a wider context of the colonial enterprise

3 Franziska Roy and Heike Liebau, "Introduction," in *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany,* eds. Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, and Roy Ahuja (Social Science Press, 2011), 2.

4 Ibid., 8.

5 Santanu Das, "Reframing life/war 'writing': objects, letters and songs of Indian soldiers, 1914–1918," *Textual Practice* 29, no. 7 (2015): 1265.

6 David Omissi ed., *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914–18* (Springer, 2016); see also David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860–1940* (Springer, 2016).

and its sociocultural impact on ordinary Indians.[7] Nevertheless, Omissi's understanding of the multiple and intricate ways censorship affected soldier letters is a valuable part of social histories attempting to approach a more complete understanding of wartime experiences. His research points to the inherent complexities involved in interpreting wartime literary sources.[8]

Gajendra Singh has also made valuable contributions to recovering authentic social histories of soldiers during the Great War, showing how linguistic and thematic interpretation of wartime sources can help decipher content despite censorship. Although Singh's primary focus is also personal letters of Indian soldiers, her research is significant to analyses of wartime sources like *Hindostan*. It highlights how linguistic details can point toward static yet changing meanings, signifying complex thought processes, and circumventing censors.[9] A soldier's readings of their environment and the war news that reached them were shaped by contending colonial narratives, which resulted in a process of, "social, cultural, and religious identities under fluid de- and re-construction."[10] Even though the *sipahis'* (soldiers') language was deeply conditioned, it was precisely "those conditions in which letters were written" that fostered multiple meanings within their writings.[11]

Heike Liebau is one of the few scholars who has done extensive archival research on South Asian POWs in German camps. Utilising sources and documentation from the German Foreign Office, Heike's analysis of the Hindi and Urdu versions of *Hindostan* is situated within an extensive study of German Orientalism, propaganda goals, and Indian anti-colonial activities in wartime Berlin. She evaluates German strategies to monitor and control Indian revolutionary or nationalist forces to weaken the British Empire amidst a network of loosely organised Indian independence committees making political manoeuvres for their own goals.[12] Her study thus considers the global context of both Germany and India's war strategies to understand how Berlin acted as a warscape for an intricate, complex, and mutating matrix of actors. It also includes a linguistic and sociocultural analysis of the newspaper series. This makes her recent examination of *Hindostan* a holistic and authentic

7 David Omissi, "Europe Through Indian Eyes: Indian Soldiers Encounter England and France, 1914–1918," *The English Historical Review* 122, no. 496 (2007): 371–96.

8 Ibid.

9 Gajendra Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers and the Two World Wars: Between Self and Sepoy* (A&C Black, 2014), 3.

10 Gajendra Singh, "India and the Great War: Colonial Fantasies, Anxieties and Discontent," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14, no. 2 (2014): 351.

11 Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers*, 3.

12 Heike Liebau, "Undertakings and Instigations: The Berlin Indian Independence Committee in the Files of the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (1914–1920)," (2020).

contribution to First World War history, opening the relatively under-researched source and topic for further study.

Liebau's work is a valuable source to better understand the context of the Berlin warscape where the newspapers were developed and read. Its collection of thematic essays explores how the complexity of camp environments placed POWs within obscure "interstices" of war and empire, where ideas of colonists and the colonised, home and periphery, and allies and enemies were continuously being contested.[13] Evaluating the rigidity of propagandist endeavours and the fluidity of wartime networks with each other, it reconstructs POWs' experiences and reveals identities beyond just propagandists and their audiences. Its holistic approach forms the basis for this study, which aims to expand Liebau's research on Indian POW's and *Hindostan* by situating it within the developing context of German Orientalism and its ideological impact on wartime policy. My research interprets the linguistic, thematic, and stylistic features of *Hindostan's* Urdu language issues that show the complex and, "mutually affecting" nature of European contact with the colonial world.[14] It reveals *Hindostan* as a valuable site where social and political multi-directionality of German and Indian, "lived encounters" are made visible through the fog of a propaganda war.

For this purpose, this paper will first analyse the historical evolution of German Orientalist traditions, which forms an essential background to understanding the propaganda policies of *Hindostan* and the chosen content. It will then delve into understanding how the German propaganda strategy evolved alongside academic and political Orientalist traditions in the years leading up to the war. This analysis will be supplemented by a study on how the war atmosphere shaped German perceptions of the "Orient" and ideas of Islamic warfare.[15] The paper will then illustrate a contextual analysis of *Hindostan's* content and structure to show how these perceptions formed a dynamic process of propaganda creation and dissemination. The final chapter

13 Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers*, 1066.

14 Kris Manjapra, "The Illusions of Encounter: Muslim 'Minds' and Hindu Revolutionaries in First World War Germany and After," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2006): 364.

15 In this research, the term "Orient" refers to both the imaginary and real territories as constructed by German Orientalist traditions, including its academic and political dimensions. Most scholarship on German Orientalism during the First World War explores the specifics of German interaction with the "Orient" but fails to clearly define it. Within the context of this paper, the "Orient" is defined as the territories studied and represented in German Orientalist research and state strategies, with a particular focus on the "Orient" as understood by the German propaganda machine during World War I. See Gottfried Hagen, "German Heralds of Holy War: Orientalists and Applied Oriental Studies," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 145–62; Langbehn von Volker and Mohammad Salama, *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (Columbia University Press, 2011).

will show how *Hindostan's* production was situated within a wider political context characterised by a complex interplay of multiple actors including the Indian Independence Committee, the German Foreign Office, and Orientalist intellectuals amidst the First World War.

German Orientalism

Edward Said professed that German Orientalist culture involved a more professional study of texts rather than a focus on drastic or systematic expansion of the German Empire, and therefore possessed, "a kind of intellectual authority" over the Orient.[16] Scholarship on Said's work has overwhelmingly focused on Orientalism's connection to British and French imperialism, leaving the role of the German Empire relatively overlooked in this conceptual framework. Thus, understanding German Orientalism requires interrogating this definition and German imperial practices together. Jennifer Jenkins posits that German Orientalism goes beyond Saidian traditions and is shaped by Indo-European philology and the romantics' search for Germany's, "ancient, but national Aryan past."[17] Consequently, studies that rethink the conceptual categories of Orientalism, nationalism, and imperialism are significant to understanding German Orientalism and how academic traditions surrounding it went beyond scholarly interests, impacting national and imperial visions. The development of German Orientalist scholarship and practices forms an essential backdrop to understanding sources like *Hindostan.* It illustrates how the Orient was perceived within the German Empire and its significance for the wartime formulation of national and imperial policy.

Suzanne L. Marchand posits that modern German cultural institutions and scholarly disciplines like *Orientalistik* (Orientalism) emerged amidst ideas surrounding cultural relativism and Christian humanism in the post-romantic period.[18] Marchand illustrates how German Orientalist traditions before the Imperial Age emerged amidst domestic political contexts and were not utilitarian. Rather, their development from 1820-40 was largely

16 Jennifer Jenkins, "German Orientalism: Introduction," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 97.

17 Jenkins, "German Orientalism," 98. Jenkins posits that the scholarship of German Romantics forms early roots of Germany's nationalist search for its cultural identity.

18 Christian humanism, which flourished in Protestant territories, emphasises that all peoples and nations are equally near to God and capable of obtaining virtue and wisdom via reason and faith. According to Marchand, this idea, "made possible the career of Christian humanists/ism and with it the long-subordinate career of Orientalists/ism." Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 341.

within the context of the Humboldtian academy's dedication to Wissenschaft (scientific study), not Nutzbarkeit (utility).[19] Ideas of understanding the Orient and training oneself in its language and cultures were largely geared towards enriching cultural output and advancing research. Though beyond the scope of this study, German Orientalist traditions were also shaped by a long history of church-state relations and discourses surrounding Jewish emancipation and liberal nationalism.[20] Marchand's research illustrates that the meaning of the Orient was thus heavily contested. Knowledge of the Orient was not only expressed through scholarly norms, but also came from missionaries, diplomats, and journalists who travelled through the region. German Orientalist traditions were neither solely geared towards empire building nor entirely objective and free from political or cultural commitments.[21]

German Orientalist traditions further developed in the Age of Imperialism and when Germany had an empire between 1884 and 1914. As Marchand shows, after 1884, a powerful pro-colonial lobby influenced the *Kaiser* and bureaucracy to establish soft power in regions where Germans could acquire profits without ruling them directly.[22] A number of pro-colonial institutions devoted to researching the Orient and cultural exchange began to emerge in Germany. Marchand shows that Germany's interactions with "Oriental" empires were not marked with oceanic commerce and territorial control but was rather based on establishing relationships with, "powerful nations on one's own unstable borders."[23] Additionally, Germans had been integral to European and imperial knowledge production of the Orient in the late 17th century with their involvement in the global spice trade with the Dutch and British East India Companies. Thus, the imperial experience further nuanced the figure of the "Orientalist," making academic and non-academic experts central to a diverse set of discourses around the Orient. The imperial context created a "cacophony of voices" on the Orient.[24] As German Orientalist traditions began to take the utilitarian nature of knowledge production into account, it was not always clear which organisations could acquire funding from the German state and claim Oriental expertise.

Orientalist expertise was geared towards propaganda activities during the First World War. Although the total number of Orientalists involved in the war effort is not known, it had a "sub-academic economy," with full

19 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 333.
20 Ibid.
21 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 336.
22 Ibid.
23 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 28.
24 Ibid., 340.

employment for all speakers of Oriental languages.[25] Between 1914 and mid-1916, the German War Ministry sent 352 private individuals seeking employment as prison camp translators to the *Seminar Für Orientalische Sprachen* (Seminar for Oriental Languages, SOS) for training. Orientalist experts were further encouraged to write brochures and articles for the German public, emphasising Germany's friendly and harmonious relationship with the Turks, and the compatibility between Islam and German *kultur* (culture). Experts like Friedrich Delitzsch and Enno Littmann specifically wrote appraising pieces on Muslim theology, peace, and the Ottoman Turks.[26] Carl Becker produced a large collection of pro-Turkish propaganda and even argued that the "German-Turkish brotherhood was worth not only the sweat, but even the blood of noble men."[27] Significantly, not only did the number of German-Turkish friendship societies increase exponentially during wartime, but many of them were also transparently devoted to producing propagandist content and training military officers and civilians in the languages of the Orient.

The war effort was a catalyst to the formalisation of German Orientalist institutions and networks. This ultimately culminated in the creation of the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient* (Intelligence Agency for the Orient, NfO) under the leadership of Orientalist Max Freiherr von Oppenheim,[28] which served as the official German body responsible for the coordination and regulation of all propaganda activities directed towards the Orient, including the production of propagandist newspapers like *Hindostan.*

The NfO formalised the use of Islam and *jihad* (Holy War) as a propagandist tool in Orientalist and wartime discourses. Even before the First World War, Wilhelm II had professed Muslims and the Islamic Caliphate as "friends"

25 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 447.

26 Friedrich Delitzsch, an Assyriologist, published *Die Welt des Islam* (The World of Islam), praising the Turks, the probity of Islamic theology, and the genius of the Prophet Muhammad. Interestingly, Delitzsch had never shown an interest in the modern Orient before the war. Additionally, Enno Littmann, a philological Orientalist, wrote *Der Krieg und Der Islamische Orient* (The War and the Islamic Orient), further defending the Turk ruling classes and assigning blame to non-Turks for the Ottoman Empire's shortcomings.

27 qtd. in Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 449. Carl Becker composed an essay: *Islamopolitik* (Islamic politics), encouraging deep ties with the Ottoman Empire. He also went as far as to say that the Asiatic people deserve self determination and the right to rule themselves. However, it is interesting to note that he did not denounce colonialism entirely. He defended German colonies in Africa, citing racial superiority over the African people.

28 Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (born in 1860) was a German lawyer, archaeologist, Orientalist, and diplomat. During World War I, Oppenheim famously devised the German wartime policy of using ideas of *jihad* and pan-Islamism to incite rebellions within the Muslim populations of Entente controlled territories.

of the German emperor in 1898.[29] However, the development of Orientalist traditions during wartime produced an organised effort led by Oppenheim to use Islam to incite rebellion in British colonies and weaken the Entente. In a 136-page memorandum in October 1914, Oppenheim detailed how the Reich could utilise Islam and the Caliphate as one of its most important "weapons" to defeat Britain.[30] The draft laid out plans of how Germany could practically achieve this objective by encouraging, directing, and controlling Turkish pan-Islamist propaganda. His plans included instructions on how to incite revolutions in vast territories with Muslim populations ranging from Egypt to India and Afghanistan.[31] As Marchand shows, Oppenheim's real significance for German *Orientpolitik* (Oriental politics) lay in organising pre-war discourses surrounding the Orient and Islam into a coordinated program and institution. Producing the propaganda newspaper *El Dschihad* (The Holy War) for Muslim POWs in 1915 and the Hindi and Urdu editions of *Hindostan*, the NfO became one of the driving forces of the German propaganda machine's activities aimed at India and the countries of the Orient during the war.[32]

Hindi and Urdu were partly chosen to reach specifically British Indian subjects and partly because of the language expertise within the NfO. Liebau asserts that from the beginning of April 1915 till August 1918, a total of 67 issues of *Hindostan* appeared in both these languages.[33] Although camp newspapers were common during wartime in Europe, they were often produced by POWs themselves, containing content about camp life, reports of cultural events, and advertisements of local goods sold in camps. However, such content was absent from the issues of *Hindostan*, which was produced outside the camp under complete NfO supervision. As Liebau posits, the rules for the distribution of *Hindostan* were very restrictive. Printed editions were scarce as they were to be exclusively distributed within the *Inderlager* (Indian Camp) which was in a separate area within the Halfmoon Camp at Wünsdorf. Although scholarship on *Hindostan's* readership does not specify the number of soldiers who received copies, it mentions that printed copies of Urdu

29 After Otto von Bismarck's death in 1898, Wilhelm II left on a 6 week *Orientreise* (Orient Trip) and toured the Ottoman Empire. He assured the Ottoman Muslim population of the German Empire's friendship. This event was covered heavily by European and Muslim newspapers.

30 Max von Oppenheim, *Denkschrift betreffend die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde* (1914).

31 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 438.

32 *El Dschihad,* meaning *Al-Jihad* or the Holy War, was to be printed in Arabic, Russian, Turko-Tatarian, Georgian, Hindi, and Urdu to reach prisoners from these regions. Oppenheim initiated the production process of printing camp newspapers in January 1915, which were to be distributed in the Halfmoon camp in Wünsdorf and the Weinberg camp in Zossen.

33 Heike Liebau, "Hindostan (newspaper)," ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson (1914).

editions were reduced over time from 700 to 200 prints per issue and that POWs often read it aloud in groups.[34]

German Orientalists, Indologists, and propagandists within the NfO not only chose texts to be printed in the newspapers, but also wrote texts in the respective languages, and supervised the work of appointed Indian translators and writers.[35] Indian collaboration was heavily based on translation work for specific content which German officials engaged with on a regular basis. Consequently, an intertwined Orientalist and propagandist effort played a key role in *Hindostan's* production.[36] Its printed texts, rooted in using discourses surrounding Indian nationalism and *jihad*, elaborated on propagandist arguments that were regularly presented in the talks given in the camps. As the next section shows, Orientalist traditions impacted German perceptions of South Asian societies and more specifically, Islamic warfare. This did not only play a major part in the formation and execution of German propaganda for the Orient but situated *Hindostan* in a wider and dynamic historical war time context.

German Propaganda and *Jihad*

Rising anti-British and French attitudes within the war context increased the relevance of debates on religion. Political discussions surrounding Muslim societies overlapped themes of pan-Islamism and *jihad* or holy war within the context of World War I. The Ottoman entry into the war on October 31st, 1914, and the Sultan's declaration of holy war the following month officially brought Islam into the fold of the Central Power's war strategy. German endorsement of using Islam to mobilise Muslims against the Entente is evident from how an Urdu translation of the Ottoman Sultan's *jihad* declaration in 1914 served as the titular story for *Hindostan* Nr. 4, issued in April 1915.[37] The translation was followed by a call to action for Indian Muslim prisoners. This was a profound reinforcement of the terminology used in issue Nr. 1,[38] which had categorised

34 Not all POWs in the *Inderlager* could read. Although the literacy rate is not known among them, academic and anthropological research on the POWs in camps shows many of them attended elementary or regimental schools. See Britta Lange, "South Asian Soldiers and German Academics: Anthropological, linguistic and musicological field studies in prison camps," in *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian prisoners in World War I Germany,* eds. Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, & Roy Ahuja, (Social Science Press, 2011), 147-184.

35 Liebau, "Hindostan (newspaper)."

36 Rebekka Habermas, "Islam debates around 1900: Colonies in Africa, Muslims in Berlin, and the role of missionaries and orientalists," in *Migration and Religion*, (Brill, 2012), 123-154.

37 *Hindostan*. 1915-17. Issue 1-67. Newspaper. Rare Books Collection. State Library of Berlin.

38 *Hindostan*, Nr. 1.

Germany and the Central Powers as *Musalmanon ke sachay dost* (true friends to the Muslims) and the Entente as *Islam ke dushman* (enemies of Islam).

The terminology used in *Hindostan's* first few issues redefined conceptions of allies and enemies for the POWs from a German perspective, with its language encouraging armed action against, "the enemies of Islam."[39] Early issues of the *Hindostan* cite the Ottoman Sultan's activities extensively, detailing how the Turkish army had joined forces with the Germans and Austrians for *jihad,* and how their victories on the battlefield were divinely ordained.[40] Furthermore, by characterising the figure of the Sultan as a righteous *ghazi* (Muslim warrior)*, Hindostan's* literary voice used Ottoman efforts to legitimise its own endorsement of *jihad*.[41] As Marchand suggests, it is debatable whether the idea of using *jihad* for propaganda was entirely a German invention. The Ottoman use of *jihad* to advance their own political agenda shows how the tactic had never been exclusive to the Germans. The use of *jihad* as a political policy was a significant element within the broader context of pre-war and wartime politics.

These published references to *jihad* originated from and furthered German academic discussion on its contested meaning in 1914. The declaration of *jihad* by the Ottoman Sultan with the full endorsement of the Germans invoked a strong response from the Western European powers. Marchand writes that fear of, "'the East set aflame' had already been simmering before the war" and the Entente newspapers were quick to report on how the German "barbarians" had raised the Muslim East against European Christians.[42] On the other hand, German Orientalist Carl Becker insisted that the *jihad* that the Germans and Ottomans encouraged was a "modern one, a political and tactical call to arms by a state that just happens to be Islamic."[43] Becker asserted how one had to view this new form of *jihad* not through the lens of, "obsolete volumes of the *Shari'a,*" but by understanding it as a product of "awakened nationalities."[44] The call to *jihad* in the First World War showed that the Eastern nations were not, as Western ones had so often assumed, incapable of modern forms of behaviour, including *realpolitik* (practical politics) pursuits of self-interest. To Becker, the "tactical use of religion" during the Great War was evidence of Eastern modernity.[45]

39 *Hindostan*, Nr. 1.

40 *Hindostan*, Nr. 1, and Nr. 6.

41 *Hindostan*, Nr. 8.

42 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 437.

43 qtd. in Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 444.

44 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 444.

45 Ibid.

At the same time, German propaganda efforts aimed towards the Muslim world portrayed *jihad* as fighting the designated enemies of Islam. Even early issues of the *Hindostan* made extensive references to pan-Islamic activities and sentiments, publishing sensational headlines from other war theatres that displayed Muslim regions of modern day Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan at war with the Entente.[46] Such excerpts were then reinforced with content that used linguistic terms like *fatwa sharif* (religious ruling under Islamic law) and speeches by figures like *molvis* (Islamic religious leaders), which were specifically part of South Asian religious cultures.[47] *Hindostan's* production was thus situated in a war climate where two concurrent realities were constructed: on the one hand, *jihad* was portrayed as evidence of Eastern modernity, while on the other, it sanctioned a holy war against the British purely for the sake of German interests.

The endorsement of *jihad* in the *Hindostan* newspaper was not simply the result of German policy but emerged from the simultaneous navigation of Germans and Ottomans in a mutating warscape. There is considerable research that shows that the Ottomans were initially critical of a *jihad* declaration during the war.[48] Although doubtful of the declaration as the empire had European Christian allies in 1914, the Ottomans went along with the unrealistic German expectations to incite uprisings in British colonies. However, they also promoted *jihad* to achieve Ottoman policy objectives, signing an alliance with Germany that extracted a wide range of assurances, such as the abolishment of capitulations, protection of Ottoman territorial integrity, and annexations in case of victory.[49] Isabel Hull's research shows that the Ottomans had to be bribed with a considerable amount of material benefits and debt relief to join the Central Powers and prioritised their own diplomatic interests during the war.

Although the Germans were determined to utilise *jihad* in their propaganda and war strategy, the Ottoman Empire concurrently formed its own *jihad* policy during the conflict amidst rising Arab nationalism. Consequently, discourses surrounding the concept of Holy War in Islam illustrate how the wartime meaning of *jihad* was also contested. As the next sections illustrate, a contextual analysis of *Hindostan's* content shows that it was not only a propagandist production but was also shaped by a complex wartime environment amidst conflicting discourses surrounding German Orientalism, *jihad*, and the agendas of Indian actors central to its production.

46 *Hindostan*, Nr. 1, and Nr. 24.

47 *Hindostan*, Nr. 8.

48 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 439-40. See also: Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute destruction: Military culture and the practices of war in imperial Germany* (Cornell University Press, 2019).

49 Habermas, "Islam Debates around 1900."

Hindostan: A Contextual Analysis

Although *Hindostan's* content alternates between familiar themes, there are visible discrepancies in the newspaper that reflect the various individualistic elements at play in its production. Time spans between earlier issues fluctuated between a few days and sometimes even two weeks, which shows that production patterns were dependent on writing, printing, and organising staff.[50] This disorder in printing is further reinforced by an inconsistency in the structure and language of the newspaper content; translations were done by different people for every issue.[51] Additionally, as Germans found it difficult to compose the newspaper using the official printing press, most of the issues were written by hand and then mass produced.[52] While issues from 1915-1916 were shorter in length with considerable spacing in between words, issues from 1917 were generally more lengthy and with a different written script. The handwriting visibly changes from issue to issue (Nr. 3 - Nr. 4; Nr. 18 - Nr. 19; Nr. 44 - Nr. 45),[53] reinforcing Liebau's observation that different Indian collaborators assisted production for each issue.

The language selection for *Hindostan's* editions was based on the ethnic, religious, and linguistic composition of the prisoners in the POW camps.[54] Hindi and Urdu editions often differed in their content, the former publishing stronger and more frequent pieces on secular nationalism and the latter on pan-Islamism, *jihad*, and the Ottoman caliphate.[55] German supervisors picked texts for translation to Hindi and Urdu from other papers and controlled writing processes, thematically separating the two South Asian languages. However, traces of the Punjabi language in between Urdu columns draw attention to an inconsistency in this stark separation, offering glances at an individualistic linguistic character from within the propagandist voice. The masthead of *Hindostan's* Hindi edition featured the phrase *Vande Mataram* (I salute you, O Mother), which had historically resonated with Hindu nationalism through its personification of the Indian land as the "Mother Goddess."[56] This phrase was notably missing in the Urdu edition. Interestingly, the phrase appears at the end of the Urdu issue Nr. 42, almost as an afterthought, thereby

50 The first issue was disseminated on March 5, 1915, while the second issue was published on April 20, 1915.

51 Liebau, "Hindostan (newspaper)."

52 Ibid.

53 *Hindostan,* Nr. 3, Nr. 4, Nr. 18, Nr. 19, Nr. 44, and Nr. 45.

54 Liebau, "Hindostan (newspaper)."

55 Ibid.

56 A.G. Noorani, "Vande Mataram: A Historical Lesson," *Economic and Political Weekly* 8, no. 23 (1973): 1039-1043.

illustrating a nuanced interplay of individualism and writer anonymity visible through German regulation.[57]

The anonymity and inconsistency of South Asian personnel offered rare glimpses into different literary styles and a subtle sense of individualism between the lines. Many of the issues featured *hub-ul-watni ki nazam* (patriotic poems) with different poetic metres, content, themes, and vocabulary that has not been explored in First World War archives.[58] Interestingly, poetic verses in the Urdu edition illustrate ideas closer to secular patriotism and the figure of an Indian or *Hindustani* rather than a Muslim. A poem from *Hindostan* Nr. 17 describes the land of *hind* (India) as the *qibla* (the direction of prayer in Islam). Using this analogy, the poem reflects a prioritisation of nationalistic thought over religious motivations. Moreover, some verses from *Hindostan* Nr. 42 encouraged Hindu and Muslims to rise above rank and monetary gain to unite under the singular mission of a free India. Therefore, despite appearing as a strictly governed propagandist paper, a closer look at *Hindostan's* composition hints at the diverse ideas that emerged from dynamic political and cross-cultural interactions in the backdrop of the First World War.

This dynamism is also reflected by the interaction between South Asian collaborators and German authorities, who often negotiated through the propaganda process rather than just disseminating and receiving propagandist instructions. The specific tasks and roles of Indian collaborators were not known, and two of the notable translators, Tarachand Roy and Todar Mal, were not even members of the Berlin Indian Independence Committee (IIC).[59] Todar Mal had even refused to collaborate initially, but then translated Gurmukhi texts for the Germans.[60] Liebau notes that Reinhard Kaundinya, a German Christian of Indian origin was directly involved with text production, and paid through the IIC even though he was not a member.[61] Not all individuals involved in writing and translating pieces for the newspaper worked towards the same goals. *Hindostan's* linguistic and thematic composition shows that it was, "not just a source of German propaganda for the POWs but was also a result of a conflicting process of negotiations between South Asian (Muslim

57 *Hindostan,* Nr. 42.

58 *Hindostan,* Nr. 17, Nr. 42, Nr. 59, and Nr. 60.

59 Liebau, "Hindostan (Newspaper)," 238. Liebau notes that Mansur Ahmed, a member of the IIC and propagandist in the Halfmoon Camp had initially written many texts in the Urdu edition of *Hindostan.*

60 *Gurmukhi* is an Indic script used in present-day Punjab, India. It is predominantly used by Sikhs to write the *Punjabi* language.

61 Liebau, "Hindostan (Newspaper)," 240.

and Hindu) intellectuals in Germany, German missionaries, scholars, and politicians acting from various backgrounds with different agendas."[62]

Furthermore, early issues of *Hindostan* drew extensive historical parallels between the Indian War of Independence of 1857 and the First World War, describing the British as *khoonkhar* (bloodthirsty) and vindictive. For instance, Issue Nr. 5 begins by establishing a comparison between the brutal retribution that the Indians had faced after their loss in 1857 and forced conscription in the First World War.[63] Its headline invokes both a remembrance of British callousness and the need to act against them in the present. It reads *angraizon ka zulm mat bhoolo, ab uthnay ka waqt aa gaya hai* (do not forget the barbarity of the British, it is time to rise up against them).[64] Further issues also encouraged patriotic sentiments in Indian readers, emboldening them to revolt against the British as their forefathers had done in 1857.[65] However, later issues of the newspaper illustrate a gradual departure from ideas relating to Indian independence and patriotism, instead focusing on German military expeditions and successes in the war.[66]

Interestingly, some South Asian propagandists were not even Muslim, but used Muslim aliases to engage in pan-Islamic rhetoric and encourage anti-British sentiments.[67] Simultaneously, some South Asian revolutionaries and members like Hindu nationalist Har Dayal and pan-Islamist Mohamed Barakatullah expressed reservations about being involved in *Hindostan's* production, citing clandestine publications and anti-colonial activity as a more strategic path to independence than waging *jihad*.[68] Multiple Indian ideologies and thoughts are well reflected in the *Hindostan*, which oscillates between themes of Indian patriotism, pan-Islamic ideology, and *jihad*.[69] The 8th issue of the paper evokes multiple images of a dishonoured and enslaved Indian nation, posing rhetorical questions for its readers about India being a nation *jo ek zamanay mein tamaam dunya ke mulkoun mein sarr buland*

62 Ibid., 249.

63 *Hindostan*, Nr. 5.

64 Ibid.

65 *Hindostan*, Nr. 10.

66 *Hindostan*, Nr. 37, Nr. 42, and Nr. 43.

67 Heike Liebau, "Hindostan: A Camp Newspaper for South-Asian Prisoners of World War One in Germany," in *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany,* eds. Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, & Roy Ahuja, (Social Science Press, 2011), 234.

68 Ibid. Indian revolutionaries and participants also faced censorship in their own communication at times; letters written to and from Har Dayal were controlled, opened, and sometimes even translated by Josef Horovitz, a German expert in Islamic and Oriental studies.

69 *Hindostan*, Nr. 4, Nr. 6, and Nr. 24.

raha hai (a nation that was once one of the proudest in the world).[70] On the other hand, its 11th edition extensively reports on *jihad* in Afghanistan and refers to the Entente soldiers as *Muhammad (s) sahab ke dushman* (enemies of the Prophet Muhammad).[71] Some editions declare Muslims as deeply loving of Islam and the Prophet, and the Entente powers as the enemies of their religion, respect, and progress.[72] Hence, it is interesting to note that the editions regularly cite both Muslims and Indians to be the victims of the Entente powers simultaneously and often without connection to each other. The issues do not follow any structure for content or present detailed evidence for the claims made in them. This suggests a deliberate strategy to provoke unrest without a coherent narrative, blending the grievances of distinct groups to fuel discontent across multiple fronts.

Although the Hindi versions of the paper mostly focus on utilising anti-colonial and nationalist rhetoric without the mention of *jihad*, *Hindostan's* Urdu papers illustrate how various conflicting ideas were simultaneously used to incite anti-British sentiment in readership. Although the Urdu and Hindi editions were separated in language and content, the singular title *Hindostan* invokes a complex confluence of religious and ethnic nationalism. An analysis of the contextual complexities surrounding German propaganda requires a redefinition of the actors in and around it. As German propaganda activities were conducted in a war atmosphere where multiple ideas were communicated, it can be understood as a "process involving mutable official strategies" by which actors tried to influence specific audiences and were also affected by them.[73] The next section studies how *Hindostan's* production was an inherent part of a dynamic, interactive, and multifaceted process of propaganda creation and dissemination.

Producing *Hindostan*: The IIC and the NfO

The study of intellectual dynamism in wartime Berlin necessitates a more nuanced understanding of the actors involved in and surrounding the German propaganda process. A separate bureau, the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient* (Intelligence Agency for the Orient, NfO) was created to manage propaganda for, "Oriental countries" and their, "special conditions."[74] Although working in close cooperation with the Central Office for Foreign

70 *Hindostan*, Nr. 4, Nr. 6, Nr. 8, Nr. 24, and Nr. 30.

71 *Hindostan*, Nr. 1, and Nr. 8.

72 *Hindostan*, Nr. 4.

73 Liebau, "German Foreign Office," 97.

74 Ibid., 100.

Services, the specialised NfO functioned independently, basing its activities on Max von Oppenheim's strategy of revolutionising the enemy's colonies and the "Muslim World."[75] Although South Asian POWs were major targets of German propaganda organised by the NfO, they were also surrounded by Indian emigrants organised in the Berlin Indian Independence Committee (IIC), and many other Indian networks with diverse aims. Hence, as Liebau suggests, discerning a dualism of an "active, propaganda-producing group" and an "inactive, propaganda-consuming or receiving group" is problematic.[76] Despite asymmetrical power dynamics, the actors can be differentiated by a wide array of interests, instead of being perceived as, "homogenous and anonymous entities."[77]

Although German propaganda for Indian POWs had specific aims, it originated from a wider culture of wartime propaganda activity centred around the strategy of psychological warfare. Heike Liebau draws attention to how facts and arguments in German publications not only often differed from the truth, but were arranged in ways that turned them into a driving force for public opinion and even policies.[78] This is illustrated by *Hindostan's* regular column about *Hindustan mein bechaini* (unrest and mutiny in India) which is featured in numerous issues. The literary style used for this column is vague and sensational, repeating the term *bechaini* (unrest), and detailing uncorroborated and incomplete news of discontent.[79] The propaganda machine curated information to form new streams of thought for its target audience.

South Asian anti-colonial activity in Germany was not limited to collaboration with the Germans. The Foreign Office reached out to many emigrants to participate in the propaganda process, offering financial and logistical support for their anti-colonial efforts. As Liebau posits, participation may also have been a means for many Indians living in Germany to avoid internment during the war. However, South Asian intellectuals, students, and emigrants partaking in various anti-colonial activities had already developed independent networks extending across Europe and the United States. Indian students from Halle, Abhinash Chandra Bhattacharya and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya approached the German foreign ministry as early as 1914, expressing their faith in Germany to defeat the British, and thus free colonised

75 Liebau, "German Foreign Office," 100.

76 Ibid., 97.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 98. See more: Brigitte Hamann, *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wahrheit und Lüge in Bildern und Texten* (Piper, 2004).

79 *Hindostan*, Nr. 9, Nr. 14, and Nr. 16.

nations from "slavery and oppression."[80] Hence, a loose union of Indian emigrants and exile communities formed the Berlin Indian Independence Committee (IIC) in 1915 to organise their anti-colonial activity and collaborate with the NfO during the war.

Although South Asians could only assist in translations and highly regulated writing in *Hindostan's* Hindi and Urdu editions, their participation showed that the propaganda process produced "collaborators," an impermanent and mutating category of actors that were neither strictly propagandists nor its audience.[81] As Oppenheim explained, *Hindostan's* purpose was to instigate anti-British sentiments amongst Indian POWs, inspire them to travel to the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan, convince Indian troops to mutiny, and wage *jihad* against the British. Although it was often referred to as "Oppenheim's Indian Committee" in its early days, the IIC's chief objective was not German military success, but India's eventual freedom from colonial subjugation. Hence, despite the NfO's extensive control over *Hindostan's* production and reception, the newspaper stems from academic and political collaboration that not only had an impermanent and unclear structure, but subtly oscillated between a multitude of interests.

Around the same time, as the IIC focused on the long-term aim of Indian liberation, its political developments outgrew German interests. It was evident that the goal of the military establishment in Germany was to recruit *jihad*-ists and rebels from among the Indian prisoners of war to fight alongside the Turkish Army against the forces of the Entente. However, the IIC, while still in collaboration with the NfO, was following a more long-term aim of fostering anti-British sentiment among the Indian people, ultimately moving towards complete Indian independence.[82] Ultimately, the IIC's shifting membership and disregard for Germany's short-term aims opened offices in neutral countries like Switzerland and Sweden to circumvent Berlin's increased military intervention.[83]

Although there was a certain amount of dual membership, members of the IIC were not always members of the NfO. The latter's leadership, including Oppenheim in its early days, had considerable power in designating its Indian collaborators. Hierarchies between the two organisations were clearly defined by the Germans in terms of "members" and "coworkers."[84] German personnel

80 Liebau, "German Foreign Office," 103.

81 Ibid.

82 Liebau, "German Foreign Office," 129.

83 Ibid., 107.

84 Ibid., 108.

were not only authorised to control the work done by natives but also to keep them under their surveillance. In 1915, the IIC was also charged with meeting standards prescribed by German authorities. Important decisions were to be approved by the Foreign Office or even military authorities and "German trustworthy people" were installed at each stage of the propaganda process.[85]

The IIC's loose internal structure and fluctuating membership meant that it had numerous differing interests. Most members were only associated with it for a certain period and in some cases, even the distinction between formal members and allies was not clear. The IIC reflected the complexities of the Indian Independence movement where personal conflicts between committee members, religious differences including attitudes towards pan-Islamism, and diverse political experiences caused a constant phenomenon of internal frictions in its shifting body. This is particularly reflected by the various references to enemies and victims in *Hindostan's* issues. Its first edition mentions both *Hindostan ke dushman* (enemies of the Indian nation) and *Musalmanon ke dushman* (enemies of Muslims) at different points. Images of a pain-stricken *Hindostan,*[86] or Indian nation and evocative claims of the Entente nations' intention to oppress all Muslims in the world are present in the same edition.[87] *Hindostan's* text, therefore, constantly switches between categorising either Indians or Muslims as victims of the Entente, reflecting the co-existence of various interests and streams of thought.

Conclusion

By enjoining the German-Ottoman alliance with Muslim sympathies for the caliphate, German authorities assumed that Muslim POWs would be responsive towards pan-Islamic ideas. However, it is evident that *Hindostan's* impact did not live up to German expectations. Although the war reports in the newspaper were read with great interest in the Indian camps, they did not seem to have any considerable effect in inciting rebellious attitudes against the British. Moreover, camp propagandists discovered that despite the newspaper's dissemination, POWs did not find the ideas in the newspaper convincing unless visits from native collaborators legitimised its content.

85 Ibid.

86 *Hindustan rota hai. Iss ki awaaz sunno. Woh takleef ke samundar mein dooba hai. Iss ko bachao. Aur jab tum aisa karo ge toh tumhara naam attal rahe ga* (*Hindostan* is harkening for you, listen to her cry. She is in a sea of pain and only you can save her. And if you act today, your names will be decorated for centuries to come). *Hindostan,* Nr. 5.

87 *France, Inglistaan, aur Ruus chahtay hain ke musalmaanoun pe zulm kia jaavay aur sab musalmaan maar daalay jaavein* (France, England, and Russia desire to oppress Muslims around the world. They hope to annihilate Islam for their own gains). Ibid.

Even German commanders found the Indian emphasis on patriotic action and agitation as troublesome for German regulation and control within camps, which as Ravi Ahuja argues, was not the object of their propaganda.[88] Although Ferdinand Graetsch observed that POWs wanted more of the paper, the fact remains that only 49 out of a 1,000 POWs joined the *jihad* in Turkey and none incited mass revolts against the British in India. Consequently, it can be argued that reducing *Hindostan* to a mere source of German propaganda is far from forming authentic and holistic assessments of the complicated cross-cultural interactions that took place during the First World War.

As Heike Liebau mentions in her writings, although there is still considerable research to be done on *Hindostan*, it reflects conflictual, concurrent, and dynamic interests in its production process. As the content and production context of its Urdu editions illustrate, the newspaper hints at competing narratives of German propagandist control and Indian individualistic contributions. At the same time, much of its content also merges the two voices into a singular propagandist one. As this research shows, despite German regulation, *Hindostan's* production oscillates between the many thematic avenues amidst a changing war context, reflecting a fluidity in the political and socio-cultural positioning of the identities involved in it. The fact that these con-current, overlapping, and diverse ideas find their way into newspaper production and composition shows that *Hindostan* is not just a historical source of propaganda but can also be characterised as a rare theatre of the First World War. Further research on the pieces published in it and the personalities who wrote them could become a ground-breaking step in exploring the historical intricacies of this theatre.

Studies on *Hindostan's* production and reception amidst the context of the First World War are significant for the wider literature on colonial prisoners of war in Germany, which is a relatively under-researched topic in historical studies. This assessment is formed by observing how German Orientalist traditions evolved through the German academic and political context and impacted its propaganda strategy in the years leading up to and during the war. These traditions also played a pivotal role in forming German perceptions of Islamic warfare and its utilisation to incite rebellion in the Entente's global empire to weaken it. Simultaneously, this paper demonstrated how diverse political experiences and the shifting nature of Indian collaboration complicated the German propaganda process. It also assessed *Hindostan's* linguistic and thematic composition, illustrating the interplay of converging

88 Roy Ahuja, "Lost Engagements? Traces of South Asian Soldiers in German Captivity, 1915-1918," in *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany,* eds. Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, & Roy Ahuja (Social Science Press, 2011), 17-53.

and diverging motivations in it. By situating *Hindostan* in a wider historical context it is evident that it is not just a source of German propaganda but embodies interactive and conflictual processes of production during the First World War.

The Founding Conference of the *All-African Trade Union Federation* 1961 in Casablanca: Trade Union Pan-Africanism and Non-Alignment

ABSTRACT

At the end of May 1961, the trade union world focused on Casablanca and the founding of the *All-African Trade Union Federation* (AATUF). Under the influence of the Pan-African movement, led by figures like Kwame Nkrumah, African trade unions gathered in Casablanca, with Moroccan trade union leader Mahjoub Ben Seddiq serving as host. The conference was held in light of the transitions of the decolonization processes in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, the networking of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist actors, as well as the global systemic competition of the Cold War. The conference embodies a transitional space in the process of decolonization, a moment of in-between where new political and social identities were being formed and in which paths for a postcolonial and Pan-African future were negotiated from a trade union perspective beyond national boundaries. The central conflict at the conference was the question of non-alignment. The conference resulted in the establishment of exclusive membership for the AATUF, signifying the emergence of an independent trade union organization in Africa that explicitly opposed the membership of international trade union confederations from both the West and the East. As will be argued, the aim was not to exclude international cooperation and solidarity, but to autonomously shape Pan-African developments.

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Introduction

In the late 1950s and 1960s, as Cold War dynamics and the process of African decolonization became more interconnected, the focus of anti-colonial struggles shifted towards the Global South. During the interwar period, cities like London and Paris were major centers of anti-colonial activities in Europe. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, new centers of decolonization emerged in the Global South, becoming crucial *hubs of decolonization*.[1] These hubs were notably shaped by conferencing, serving as epicenters for anti-colonial networking and gathering points for anti-imperialist activists. Examining conferences provides an opportunity to de-center Western perspectives on history and challenge Eurocentric interpretations of internationalism by focusing on actors from the Global South in these conferences.[2] Additionally, in the 1950s, the networking of national independence movements in Africa intensified, with the emergence of hubs contributing to the overall strengthening of these networks. The Pan-African movement aligned itself with African independence movements,[3] highlighting the significance of non-state actors alongside governmental engagements in the anti-colonial and Pan-African movements across national borders. The historian Hakim Adi has illustrated that conferences have been a central aspect of Pan-African politics since the early twentieth century.[4] From the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, diaspora movements began to unite with national independence movements, leading to a re-centering of Pan-Africanism around African actors and locations. This transition, as notably emphasized by Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore and the establishment of the *All-African People's Movement*.[5] Since then, the focus has shifted towards a continental perspective of Pan-Africanism, aiming for the unification of,

1 Eric Burton, "Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and 'Eastern' Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar Es Salaam," in *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East,'* ed. Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegar Fonseca (De Gruyter, 2019), 25–26, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-006.

2 I understand conferencing as: "The defining arena of modern internationalism precisely because it was simultaneously a space of scientific analysis and a forum for political action, a place where internationalism was both studied and implemented." Stephen Legg et al., ed., *Placing Internationalism: International Conferences and the Making of the Modern World* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), 7–12.

3 In using the term "Pan-African," I make no distinction between the specific idea and movement of Pan-Africanism. The long history of Pan-Africanism illustrates the diverse viewpoints and heterogeneous perspectives within and about Pan-Africanism. Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

4 Hakim Adi, "Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Comintern, the 'Negro Question' and the First International Conference of Negro Workers, Hamburg 1930," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 1, no. 2 (2008): 237–54, https://doi.org/10.1080/17528630802393711.

5 Philmon Ghirmai, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen*, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen* (Transcript Verlag, 2019), 73.

"the whole of the African continent," including North Africa and its Arab populations. The continental orientation has expanded the Pan-African idea of Black unity based on "race" to a broader concept, encompassing colonial history and geopolitical aspects.[6] Pan-Africanism during this phase of global decolonization is closely tied to African nationalism[7] and remains deeply connected to the African diaspora.[8] From the 1950s onward, Pan-Africanism fully shifted its focus to the African continent. Various currents from the Anglophone tradition merged with Francophone movements, such as the Négritude movement, and with Arab and North African influences. These developments were profoundly influenced by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's strong alignment with Africa and the Algerian Revolution, which became a powerful symbol of the Pan-African movement.[9] The Casablanca Conference, which is the focal point here, was framed by Kwame Nkrumah conception of Pan-Africanism. For Nkrumah, this concept underscored the imperative of robust African collaboration in the struggle for independence from European powers and their neo-colonial ambitions.[10] Among other things, South-South cooperation was seen as promising, while developmental models based on American or Soviet examples were deemed unsuitable for postcolonial societies.[11] This leads to a central question of this study and a key point of contention at the Casablanca Conference: the role and connections of African trade unions with international labor organizations from the West and the East. Although the conference endorsed the principle of non-alignment, it highlighted significant areas of conflict. This paper examines the interactions between African trade unionists and international organizations, as well as the discussions and debates that arose among them during the conference.

Historian Frederick Cooper noted that insisting on a clear distinction between colonial and post-colonial African history is insufficient. Rather, it is the transitions and intermediate phases that define the developments for the African continent. At the heart of these transitions were the opportunities for workers, farmers, students, and elites to shape post-colonial futures, which emerged from the ruptures exacerbated after the Second World War. Various networks formed within, against, and around the colonial state, extending

6 Opoku Agyeman, *The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism: The Case of the All-African Trade Union Federation* (Lexington Books, 2003), 21.

7 Imanuel Geiss, *Panafrikanismus. Zur Geschichte Der Dekolonisierung* (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 12.

8 Lisa Hoppel, *Internationalistischer Nationalismus: Lehren aus dem panafrikanischen Befreiungskampf*, Edition kritische Forschung (Promedia, 2019), 93.

9 Hoppel, 120–21.

10 Ghirmai, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen*, 129.

11 Ghirmai, 80.

across the entire continent and beyond.[12] The scholar Gerard McCann emphasizes the critical role of trade unionism in the African freedom struggle during the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in the aftermath of World War II. He highlights how trade unions served as vital platforms for organizing and mobilizing African workers, who played a key role in the broader anti-colonial movements. The unions not only fought for better working conditions but also became strongholds of political activism, advocating for independence and self-determination across the continent.[13]

This contribution focuses on the Pan-African trade union movement, highlighting the founding conference of the *All-African Trade Union Federation* (AATUF) in May 1961 in Casablanca. The conference in Casablanca and the associated attempt to institutionalize Pan-African trade union networks in the form of the AATUF represented an interstitial space of decolonization. At the conference, over 400 stakeholders from the labor union world convened, and the African delegates established the AATUF. The conference was imbued with the Pan-African ideals of Ghanaian Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and saw conflicts between radical and moderate union representatives regarding post-colonial visions and the role of unions in achieving them. The history of the AATUF encapsulates various debates on the different trajectories of decolonization within the Pan-African movement. Unlike Opoku Agyeman, who sees the interests of the Western powers as the main reasons behind the failure of the Pan-African trade union movement,[14] Gerard McCann identifies the reasons for the organization's dissolution in 1973 in the different

12 Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 7–8. The visions and networks were predominantly shaped by men, as formal politics remained a masculine domain during the phase of restructuring, both during and after the formal independence movements in Africa. The 'masculinization of politics,' evident in the leadership of politics, trade unions, and administration, reinforced the position of men. Frederick Cooper, "Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective," *The Journal of African History* 49, Nr. 2 (2008): 192.
In this study, the focus is primarily on the male actors at the conference. Studies that focus on the trade union activities of women include, among others: Immanuel Harisch, "African Trade Unions in the World of Organized Labor" (2023); Yevette Richards, *Maida Springer: Pan-Africanist and International Labor Leader* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000). Works on women in the Pan-African movement in Africa and the diaspora include, among others: Zoline Makini Roy-Campbell, "Pan-African Women Organising for the Future: The Formation of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation and Beyond," *African Journal of Political Science* 1, Nr. 1 (1996): 45–57; Erik S. McDuffie, "The Diasporic Journeys of Louise Little: Grassroots Garveyism, the Midwest, and Community Feminism," *Women, Gender, and Families of Color* 4, Nr. 2 (2016): 146–70.

13 Gerard McCann, "Possibility and Peril: Trade Unionism, African Cold War, and the Global Strands of Kenyan Decolonization," *Journal of Social History* 53, no. 2 (2019): 349, https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shz099.

14 Opoku Agyeman, *The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism: The Case of the All-African Trade Union Federation* (Lexington books, 2003).

interests of the individual trade union centers, above all in Kenya and Ghana.[15] Focusing on the founding conference of the AATUF, the current study reveals the origins of contentious issues driven by global interests, as reflected in the diverse positions taken by African actors. In exploring decolonization in North Africa, the transnational literature review predominantly focuses on Egypt and Algeria.[16] With Casablanca at the center of this contribution, a focal point emerges that has received little attention in transnational research on decolonization so far.

The context of the interconnections under investigation here is shaped by the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the competition of the Cold War, as well as the history and ideology of Pan-Africanism. Pan-African activities from the 1950s onwards unfolded within the framework of the so-called "Bandung Era" (1955-1975), a period characterized by the negotiation and experimentation of alternative political and social projects for the post-colonial phase across national, linguistic, and ideological boundaries.[17] Su Lin Lewis and Carolien Stolte, with their focus beyond the grand diplomatic stage of the Bandung Conference, open up the perspective on the "Other Bandungs" and the networking and solidarities of non-state actors in the course of decolonization.[18] Stolte particularly emphasizes trade union networks as actors in local, regional, and global decolonization networking.[19]

These connections are evident in the movement of Pan-Africanism. Alongside the *All-African* movement initiated, among others, by George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, an important step towards an independent Pan-African trade union movement was the founding of the *Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire* (UGTAN) in 1957 in Guinea. As Immanuel Harisch argues, the founding congress of UGTAN marked, at the trade union level, the emancipation from the metropoles and the embedding of African

15 McCann, "Possibility and Peril," 352.

16 Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*, Oxford Studies in International History (Oxford University Press, 2016); Reem Abou-El-Fadl, "Building Egypt's Afro-Asian Hub: Infrastructures of Solidarity and the 1957 Cairo Conference," *Journal of World History* 30, no. 1 (2019): 157–92; Eric Burton, "Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and 'Eastern' Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar Es Salaam," in *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East,'* ed. Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegar Fonseca (De Gruyter, 2019), 25–56, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-006.

17 Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, "Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa," *Radical History Review*, Nr. 131 (2018): 176.

18 Su Lin Lewis und Carolien Stolte, "Other Bandungs: Afro-Asian Internationalisms in the Early Cold War," *Journal of World History* 30, Nr. 1–2 (2019): 1–19.

19 Carolien Stolte, "Introduction: Trade Union Networks and the Politics of Expertise in an Age of Afro-Asian Solidarity," *Journal of Social History* 53, Nr. 2 (2019): 331–47.

nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the African anti-colonial struggle.[20] The principle of independence from the international trade union federations, the *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (ICFTU) and the *World Federation of Trade Unions* (WFTU) set the tone for the question of non-alignment in trade union Pan-Africanism, which was then extensively debated and decided upon in Casablanca in 1961. In the case of the AATUF, the question of non-alignment pertains to the affiliation to those international federations. The ICFTU was established in 1949 after a division within the WFTU, which had originally been created in 1945 as the leading organization connecting labor unions across Europe, America, and colonial and dependent territories. Amid rising geopolitical tensions and growing ideological differences regarding the relationship between industrial trade unionism and anti-colonial liberation movements, a fierce competition for influence in Asia and Africa began between the communist-dominated WFTU and the newly formed, anti-communist ICFTU.[21] The ICFTU was the international trade union federation of the Western liberal capitalist countries.[22] In the ICFTU, unlike the WFTU, American liberalism and European social reforms predominated.[23]

Whether or not unions belonged to either federation, the internationalist sphere became another battleground of the Cold War. However, when it comes to the unions of the decolonizing world, it is not sufficient to solely use the Cold War as a reference point for rivalry. A "third" way and an "interstice" emerged alongside the two major international federations, as Afro-Asian and Pan-African trade union movements developed.[24] One of the largest endeavors along this path is the founding of the *All-African Trade Union Federation.*

The source material for this contribution is derived from the archive of the *International Institute for Social History* (IISH) in Amsterdam. The IISH houses the archive of the *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (ICFTU). Carolien Stolte describes the ICFTU archive as a, "goldmine of 'grey literature'" regarding global labor union activities.[25] The trade union archive provides an important mirror to African trade unions and access to

20 Harisch, "African Trade Unions in the World of Organized Labor," 125.

21 Anthony Carew, "Conflict Within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s," *International Review of Social History* 41, no. 2 (August 1996): 148–49, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000113859.

22 Harisch, "African Trade Unions in the World of Organized Labor," 6.

23 Kurt P. Tudyka, "Internationaler Bund Freier Gewerkschaften (IBFG)," in *Internationles Gewerkschaftshandbuch*, ed. von Siegfried Mielke (Leske und Budrich, 1982), 4.

24 Stolte, "Introduction," 334.

25 Carolien Stolte, "Introduction: Trade Union Networks and the Politics of Expertise in an Age of Afro-Asian Solidarity," *Journal of Social History* 53, no. 2 (2019): 342, https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shz098.

correspondence from African trade union representatives.[26] The material for this work primarily consists of correspondence between the ICFTU Secretariat and various trade unions associated with the ICFTU from Europe, the USA, and Africa. In addition to the correspondence, the two central folders also contain the union's own reports, newspaper clippings, and press releases in the months before and after the conference, which have been incorporated into the study. The box pertaining to the Casablanca conference also includes the bound final report on the agenda item regarding the role of unions by the conference chair, Mahjoub Ben Seddiq. The ICFTU maintained active contact with trade unions in Africa and consistently sought to expand its influence across the entire African continent: therefore, it monitored the founding of the AATUF closely. Although the ICFTU delegation was only invited to observe the conference in Casablanca, the issue of affiliation with international trade union federations was a central and contentious topic at the conference and therefore significant for the overall establishment of the AATUF. Following the Afro-Asia Networks Research Collective, I was able to rely on collaborative assistance in this work.[27] Immanuel Harisch shared archival material about the Conference in Casablanca of the *Free German Trade Union Federation* (FDGB) in the SAPMO (Foundation Archive of Parties and Mass Organizations of the German Democratic Republic) collection from the Federal Archives in Berlin Germany.

The Path to Casablanca and the Invitation Policy

On May 25, 1961, union representatives from national trade union centers gathered in Casablanca. Delegations invited as observers, including the ICFTU and WFTU, along with associated unions from Europe, witnessed a contentious conference where the question of membership in the two federations of the East and West, and thus the issue of non-alignment, took center stage. The inception of a Pan-African trade union organization can be traced back to the Francophone trade union developments of the UGTAN in 1957, influencing the Anglophone movement and the pivotal Pan-African conference, the *All-African Peoples' Conference* (AAPC) in Accra in 1958, where the establishment of an organization under the name AATUF was first formally decided.[28] The conference in Accra was chaired, among others, by the young trade union

26 Immanuel Harisch, "African Trade Unions in the World of Organized Labor," (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2023), 43.

27 Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, "Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa," *Radical History Review* no. 131 (2018): 179–80, https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-4355317.

28 Opoku Agyeman, *The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism: The Case of the All-African Trade Union Federation* (Lexington Books, 2003), 129.

leader Tom Mboya from Kenya, who would emerge as an important voice in the debate on non-alignment during the conference in Casablanca.[29] The significance of a continent-wide trade union federation was underscored by Kwame Nkrumah, who referred to a Pan-African trade union federation as a "dynamic and positive instrument in the realization of a United States of Africa" in his opening speech at the 1958 congress.[30] Delegates of the first AAPC recognized that establishing a sustainable movement and conducting effective conferences required the institutionalization of the network and the transnational negotiation space under the name *All-African Peoples' Conference Organization* (AAPCO).[31]

In November 1959 Nkrumah, in collaboration with Abdoulaye Diallo, who was tasked with the role of Secretary-General of the AAPC, invited various representatives of trade unions to Accra. This move aimed to bring the official founding of the AATUF closer and to emphasize the necessity of trade unions being non-aligned. A preparatory committee was established during a conference, with its headquarters in Accra.[32] This committee consisted of nineteen members, led by Mahjoub Ben Seddiq of the *Union Marocaine du Travail* (UMT). Alongside him, six others formed the preparatory secretariat, deciding to hold an inaugural congress in May 1960 in Casablanca.[33] Invitations had already been sent to the ICFTU for a conference scheduled from May 6th to 12th, 1960.[34] Tom Mboya, who was not part of the committee, wrote to the ICFTU, informing them that the congress had been postponed. He noted that this postponement occurred without consultation with the committee and was attributed to a decision by Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah.[35] However, in 1960, the second AAPC took place in Tunis, where just like on the first AAPC in Accra, numerous trade unions participated. These included the *Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens* (UGTA), the *Gambia Labour Union*, the *Kenya Federation of Labour* (KFL), the Moroccan UMT, the *Nigerian Trade Union Congress*, and the *Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunesiens* (UGTT). In Tunis, the contrasting positions on the non-alignment of trade unions within international trade union federations had already become distinctly evident. Since Tom Mboya did not attend the conference, Ahmed Tlili, the chairman of the AAPC and head of the UGTT, recommended that the ICFTU send as many

29 Zeleza, "Pan-African Trade Unionism," 164.

30 Kwame Nkrumah, cited in *Zeleza*, 174.

31 Ghirmai, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen*, 136.

32 Imanuel Geiss, *Gewerkschaften in Afrika* (Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1965), 71.

33 Agyeman, *The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism*, 130.

34 Invitation by Ben Seddiq to ICFTU, March 27, 1960, IISH 3914.

35 Letter, Tom Mboya to ICFTU, Mai 27, 1960, IISH 3914.

representatives as possible to Tunis to influence the trade union issue in favor of the ICFTU.[36]

At the third AAPC in Cairo in March 1961, the significance of the AATUF for the Pan-African project was once again emphasized, "The Conference [...] [c]alls for the immediate launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation as an effective means of counteracting neo-colonialism."[37] The convening of a founding congress for the AATUF was agreed upon and described as an important means for the post-colonial future. In April 1961, the committee set the date for the founding congress on May 25, 1961, in Casablanca, during another preparatory meeting.[38] Unlike the first AAPC, the organizers of Casablanca implemented a more exclusive invitation policy, primarily involving members of the Casablanca Group.[39] The CIA report on the conference reveals who was ultimately invited as voting delegates: *Union Marocaine du Travail (Morocco)*, *Ghana Trade Union Congress (Ghana)*, *Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (Algeria)*, *Egyptian Confederation of Labour (Egypt)* , *Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée (Guinea)*, *Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (Mali)*, *Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN)*, and *Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunesiens (Tunisia)*.[40] The selection of invited participants reflected a tendency toward a more radical Pan-African faction.

The conference directly revealed the dissatisfaction of African trade unions, which stemmed from either being excluded entirely or being invited merely as observers under the existing invitation policy. In the entrance hall of the conference in Casablanca, three representatives from the *Congress of Industrial Organizations* from Liberia stood with a sign that read: "Liberia is in Africa." In this way, they expressed their frustration that they were only invited as observers and not as delegates.[41] The differences also surfaced during the opening speech of King Hassan II of Morocco. Outside the hall, clashes occurred between the *Union Marocain de Travail* (UMT) and smaller groups

36 Philmon Ghirmai, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen*, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen* (Transcript Verlag, 2019), 150–51.

37 Colin Legum, *Pan Africanism: A Short Political Guide*, Rev. ed., Pall Mall Series of Short Political Guides 3 (Pall Mall Pr., 1965), 257.

38 Geiss, *Gewerkschaften in Afrika*, 88.

39 The division within the Pan-African movement of that time can be categorized into a radical Casablanca Group and a moderate Monrovia Group. Casablanca was synonymous with radical Pan-African positions at that time, under the leadership of Ghana and Guinea. Amzat Boukari-Yabara, *Africa Unite !: Une histoire du panafricanisme* (La Découverte, 2017), 177.

40 Central Intelligence Agency, "The All Africa Peoples Conference in 1961," 1 November 1961, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP7800915R001300320009-3.pdf (latest access: July, 2024).

41 "Goodbye to ICFTU," *Link*, June 11, 1961, IISH 3915; CIA Report, "All Africa," 15.

from the *Union Générale des Travailleurs du Maroc* (UGTM), who supported the king and were not invited to the conference,[42] resulting in 17 people being injured.[43] This confrontation epitomized the conference, which was marked by national and international fault lines. The issue of national trade union centers joining the international trade union federations, WFTU and ICFTU, was particularly contentious. These conflicts were closely scrutinized by the observers who were as numerous as the officials from the African states. Representatives from other trade unions, women's associations, and Christian labor associations from around the world, as well as international representatives from embassies in Rabat[44] and delegates from East Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were in attendance as observers.[45] According to *The New York Times*, a total of 38 nations and approximately 400 trade union representatives were present at the conference.[46] The number of participants and observers underscores the international significance and interest in the conference and the development of the Pan-African trade union movement.

The World of Organized Labor Focus on Casablanca – The Critique of the ICFTU

> The eyes of the world are turned on this Congress which has a vital contribution to make not only to the development of African Personality and of African trade unions consistent with the genuine will of workers and nobody else's, but also to the history of the world.[47]

The General Secretary of the ICFTU, Stefan Nedzynski, emphasized in his speech at the conference in Casablanca the significance of the founding of the AATUF for the international organized labor movement and the "history of the world."[48] Nonetheless, the ICFTU explicitly opposed the AATUF. Tensions between the ICFTU and the idea of an independent African trade union federation began to escalate as early as 1957 with the first *African Regional Trade Union Conference* in Accra, where union allies of the ICFTU within Africa from Tunisia and Kenya convened with the aim of establishing regional

42 "The All Africa Peoples Conference in 1961," CIA Report, 15, November 1, 1961.

43 "Goodbye to ICFTU," *Link,* 11. Juni 1961, IISH 3915.

44 "Afrikanische Gewerkschaften zwischen West und Ost," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* June 10/11 1961, IISH 3914.

45 "La neutralité: remporte la victoire au congrès africain des ouvriers," Journal Al-Akhbar, June 1, 1961, IISH 3914.

46 "Africa. He who controls Labour," *New York Times*, June 9, 1961, IISH 3914.

47 Speech ICFTU Stefan Nedzynski, SAPMO Barch DY 34/11405.

48 Ibid.

organizations affiliated with the ICFTU on the continent. At the second *African Regional Trade Union Conference* in 1959 in Lagos the decision was made to accelerate the establishment of a corresponding organization named the *African Regional Trade Union Organisation* (AFRO), that would undermine the necessity of an independent African trade union organization led by Africans, such as the AATUF. AFRO was eventually founded in November 1960 in Tunis.[49] The efforts to establish their own Pan-African networks like AFRO demonstrate that Pan-African and Afro-Asian ideas and practices played a central role for the ICFTU, albeit in a temporary and subordinate position, rather than as non-aligned organizations.[50]

Another key actor representing the ICFTU in the world of organized labor was the *American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations* (AFL-CIO). The Secretary-General of the federation, Irving Brown, observed the conference in Casablanca and the general labor developments in Africa with great interest. His activities, which were funded in part by the CIA, aligned with an US-American anti-communist strategy against Soviet influence in the Third World.[51] Brown sought to find as many partners as possible in the colonies for his interests.[52] In his report on the conference in Casablanca his criticism towards the Ghana-Guinea Union[53] was evident both in content and language, as he derogatorily referred to the actors as "boys."[54] In the same report to the ICFTU, Irving Brown expressed his concerns about the AATUF and the organization's co-optation by Ghana and Guinea.[55] The ICFTU itself went so far as to claim in a press release two weeks after the end of the conference, "The Casablanca Conference was rigged."[56]

The accusation of manipulation by the preparatory committee was loudly voiced after the conference by the ICFTU and associated unions, such as the

49 Tiyambe Zeleza, "Pan-African Trade Unionism: Unity and Discord," *Transafrican Journal of History* 15, (1986): 175.

50 Leslie James, "George Padmore and Decolonization from below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire," in *Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 381.

51 Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life: Jay Lovestone; Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (Random House, 1999), 285–86.

52 David Stenner, *Globalizing Morocco: Transnational Activism and the Post-Colonial State* (Stanford University Press, 2019), 43.

53 The Ghana-Guinea Union was a political association. What is particularly noteworthy was that, for the first time, national sovereignty could be subordinated to the sovereignty of a united Africa and its corresponding political project. Colin Legum, *Pan Africanism: A Short Political Guide*, Rev. ed., Pall Mall Series of Short Political Guides 3 (Pall Mall Pr., 1965), 45; Hoppel, *Internationalistischer Nationalismus*, 128.

54 Report AFL-CIO by Irving Brown, IISH 3914.

55 Ibid.

56 Press Release ICFTU, June 15, 1961, IISH 3915.

prominent Kenyan Federation of Labor under Tom Mboya. The accusations began with the invitation policy. In a press release, the KFL accused the organizers of explicitly inviting, "splinter and non-existent" unions to the conference, which would then vote according to the organizers' interests, but lacked a real basis in the national centers.[57] In the same announcement, the KFL further alleged that the conference venues were not only occupied by numerous delegates and international observers, but also by individuals specifically tasked with actively promoting the organizers' interests during the sessions.[58] A sense of division permeated the entire conference, leading Lawrence Bohra from the *Nigeria Trade Union Congress* to propose an agenda item stating that there were, "first-class" and, "second-class" Africans at the conference.[59] Some states are alleged to have attempted to assert their interests manipulatively during the founding conference of the AATUF, such as the allegation that, "the seats left vacant by [the ICFTU] were filled with observers."[60] Criticism of the conference went so far as to accuse the Casablanca Group, particularly Ghana and Guinea, of now acting as colonizers in Africa for European purposes, following the Europeans.[61] The accusations and positions of the ICFTU and its affiliated unions are extensive. The following section will outline the viewpoints of the WFTU and its affiliated unions, especially those from the German Democratic Republic.

The Support of the WFTU for the Establishment of the AATUF

> The World Federation of Trade Unions considers the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation to be a great success of the forces fighting for the unity of the Trade Union Movement in Africa. […] The All-African Trade Union Federation and the African workers have … a sincere friend – The World Federation of Trade Unions.[62]

According to this quote from the *African Communist* from September 1961 cited in the CIA report about the conference, the WFTU welcomed the establishment of the AATUF. The *Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB)*, as a member of the WFTU, sent a delegation to Casablanca as observers and confirmed the WFTU's support for the establishment of the AATUF. From this observing role, the FDGB report on the conference emphasized, "the pan-

57 Press Release KFL, June 1, 1961, IISH 3914.

58 Ibid.

59 "Goodbye to ICFTU," *Link*, June 11, 1961, IISH 3915.

60 Letter Nedzynski to Mboya, June 1, 1961, IISH 3914.

61 Press Release Union Syndicales Libres du Cameroun, June 16, 1961, IISH 3915.

62 "The All Africa Peoples Conference in 1961," CIA Report, 15, November 1, 1961.

African character and the [...] will of the workers of the entire Africa for unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism."[63] The establishment of the AATUF was considered significant not only for the role of trade unions but also for the African Liberation Movement as a whole.[64] According to the FDGB, delegations from Mali and Guinea, as well as the *Trade Union Congress* from Kenya and Angola, most convincingly represented the interests of the communist bloc.[65] Furthermore, the contributions of African union representatives, who were in close contact with the WFTU and specifically the FDGB, and some of whom had attended trade union schools in East Germany, were highlighted by the FDGB delegation. The FDGB regarded the conference as a success for the labor movement in Africa. The influences of the ICFTU were cited at the conference as the reason for the division of the working class. The WFTU accused the ICFTU or the United States of causing division.[66]

By the time of the Casablanca conference, the influence of the WFTU in Africa had already waned due to conflicts with the French *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) and the formation of the UGTAN. One can observe a restructuring of WFTU's strategy after the withdrawal of many West and North African trade unions from the CGT and thus also from the WFTU; as a result, the influence of the WFTU had become practically extinguished by the year 1960. Therefore, there was a shift within the WFTU towards a more pragmatic African policy, moving away from orthodox European Marxist standards and adopting a more tailored and realistic approach for the continent.[67] The WFTU went as far as to oppose membership in other international trade union federations apart from the AATUF, aiming to counter the influence of the Western ICFTU in Africa, which had become more significant until then. For the WFTU, the establishment of the AATUF was therefore a new opportunity to strengthen its connections with African trade unions. The WFTU expressed solidarity with the people of Africa in their struggle against colonial oppression, racial discrimination, human exploitation, and capitalist development.[68] The WFTU's policy towards trade unions in Africa was influenced by the recognition of the role of trade unions in the struggle for independence and social transformation of society. This was partly because there were only a few communist parties in African countries, as they were often banned, and so the trade unions were expected to fill their place ideologically and theoretically.[69] This led to

63 Einschätzung, [undated], SAPMO Barch DY 34/11405.

64 Historische Übersicht der AATUF vom FDGB, SAPMO Barch DY 34/11405.

65 Einschätzung, [undated], SAPMO Barch DY 34/11405.

66 Ibid.

67 Geiss, *Gewerkschaften in Afrika*, 65–66.

68 Zeleza, "Pan-African Trade Unionism," 175.

69 Geiss, *Gewerkschaften in Afrika*, 66.

increased support for Pan-African trade unions and the AATUF from the WFTU, as well as trade unions from the Communist bloc in general.[70] In this context, it becomes evident how trade union internationalism became an arena of the Cold War. The following will focus on the positions of African actors regarding the question of non-alignment around the founding of the AATUF.

The Issue of Affiliation

The major conflict line that was already brewing before the conference was the question of non-alignment with international trade union federations. The issue of affiliation in international trade union federations, especially the ICFTU and the WFTU, played a role in all decolonizing regions, but particularly in Africa, where international organizations defined the lines of the Cold War.[71] The South African journalist Colin Legum had already observed that the question of affiliation with the international trade union federations became "the source of the angriest of all divisions on the pan-African front."[72] At the conference, delegate Dialossida from Guinea criticized the, "beating around the bush," and called for a concrete discussion on this issue.[73] Already in 1957, the UGTAN had positioned itself as a transnational organization against dual membership of unions. This meant that unions that were members of the UGTAN could not also be affiliated with the ICFTU or the WFTU.[74] These conditions set by the UGTAN paved the way for the *Ghana Trade Union Congress*, which until 1957 was a close partner of the ICFTU in Africa, to adopt a radical Pan-African position and evolve, "from an ICFTU favorite to a Pan-African bulwark."[75] The experiences of the UGTAN and the emphasis on independence from international affiliations influenced Ghana's Trade Unions withdrawal from the ICFTU towards a Pan-African policy.[76] Regardless of interventions by the WFTU, the UGTAN's positions influenced the stances of Nkrumah and other union representatives regarding independence from the two international organizations. Following Harisch's argument, who has extensively covered international Networks of African Trade Unions, this shift towards non-aligned Pan-African trade union politics should not be attributed

70 Ibid., 86.

71 Gerard McCann, "Possibility and Peril: Trade Unionism, African Cold War, and the Global Strands of Kenyan Decolonization," *Journal of Social History* 53, no. 2 (2019): 351, https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shz099.

72 Legum, *Pan Africanism*, 81.

73 "La neutralité: remporte la victoire au congrès africain des ouvriers," Journal Al-Akhbar, June 1, 1961, IISH, 3914.

74 Harisch, "African Trade Unions in the World of Organized Labor," 304.

75 Harisch, 301.

76 Geiss, *Gewerkschaften in Afrika*, 87.

to the influence of the WFTU. Instead, it reflects the Ghana Trade Union Congress' spontaneous decision to join the UGTAN at the 1959 Congress in Conakry, which suggests minimal active influence from the Communist trade union bloc and underscores the agency and self-determination of African actors.[77]

Opoku Agyeman and Gerard McCann both point out that the central point of contention was primarily the differing positions of Ghana and Kenya, with Kwame Nkrumah, a key architect of contemporary radical Pan-African politics under the label of "All-African," and Tom Mboya, a significant partner of the ICFTU in Africa, at the forefront of this dispute.[78] Influenced by the experiences of the UGTAN and Casablanca, Nkrumah advocated in 1963 for the independence of the Pan-African trade union movement:

> The development of a united African trade union movement will give our working classes a new African consciousness and the right to express themselves in the councils of world labour unfettered by any foreign view and uncoerced by external forces. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions are organizations committed to the ideological policies of West and East. The All-African Trade Union Federation will give the world a new force independent of both of them, and loyal not only to the needs of the new Africa and the new African, but also to the international working class.[79]

Nkrumah remained committed to the idea of non-alignment, which excluded affiliation in one of the existing international trade union federations such as the ICFTU and the WFTU. Non-alignment was a central tenet in the international movement of the Third World and was a key aspect of Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism, where the struggle for political freedom and independence was linked with the trade unions. Therefore, connections with non-African organizations could pose a threat to the Pan-African project.[80] For Nkrumah, there was a danger that trade unions could be drawn into the dynamics of the Cold War through financial support, which is why he opposed affiliation: "This is a dangerous situation as it can drag Africa into active participation in Cold

77 Harisch, 304.

78 Opoku Agyeman, "Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya: Non-Alignment and Pan-African Trade Unionism," *Présence Africaine* 103, no. 3 (1977): 59–85, https://doi.org/10.3917/presa.103.0059; McCann, "Possibility and Peril."

79 Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), 128.

80 Opoku Agyeman, "Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya: Non-Alignment and Pan-African Trade Unionism," *Présence Africaine* 103, Nr. 3 (1977): 62.

War politics and deprive us of our safeguarding weapon of independent non-alignment." [81]

Tom Mboya, who was appointed by Nkrumah as the chairman of the AAPC in Accra in 1958, evolved into a counterforce against Nkrumah's Pan-African ideas and the AATUF with his resistance to the termination of membership in the international federations.[82] For Tom Mboya non-alignment and membership were not mutually exclusive. He built helpful relationships with the ICFTU through the trade union movement in Kenya, which he did not want to abandon due to the requirements of the AATUF.[83] As Philmon Ghirmai illustrates, for Mboya and his supporters, these memberships were closely tied to personal gains, assistance for independence movements, and support for the development of young nation-states and their economies, benefits they were unwilling to relinquish.[84] At the conference, these differing views were fiercely debated. Diallo Seydou from Guinea had strong words for those advocating membership in other international federations than the AATUF, accusing them of continuing "treacherous agreements with former colonial masters."[85] The subsequent debate was conducted through 27 official speeches.[86] The meetings of representatives from the delegations were held throughout the day, but they did not reach a clear conclusion. Due to this conflict and the aforementioned accusations of manipulation against the conference organizers, many ICFTU-affiliated unions like the KFL ceased to attend meetings, and left the conference before the final report was adopted. In these conflict situations Mahjoub Ben Seddiq, chairman of the Casablanca conference, emerged as an important mediator, "who declared that he guaranteed complete freedom of expression to every delegate and observer," as the newspaper *Link* wrote about him in the aftermath of the conference.[87] The final report of the conference contained the following wording regarding the issue of membership in international trade union federations:

> AATUF is an independent organization, rejecting all foreign interference in African trade union affairs. It consists of independent national trade union organizations which may not be affiliated to international trade union organizations. However, as an interim measure, the national trade

81 Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 127.

82 Agyeman, "Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya," 59.

83 Agyeman, 63.

84 Ghirmai, *Globale Neuordnung durch antikoloniale Konferenzen*, 151.

85 "Afrikanische Gewerkschaften zwischen West und Ost," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* June 10/11, 1961, IISH 3914.

86 "La neutralité: remporte la victoire au congrès africain des ouvriers," *Journal Al-Akhbar*, 1. Juni 1961, IISH, 3914.

87 "Goodbye to ICFTU," *Link*, June 11, 1961, IISH 3915.

> union organization affiliated to international trade union centers at the time of this Congress, will be allowed a period of 10 months in which to disaffiliate.[88]

The neutrality of AATUF in the Cold War competition was emphasized, and a deadline of ten months for withdrawal from all international trade union federations was decided.

Bandung Spirit in Casablanca

The understanding of non-alignment by AATUF in the final report also emphasized the importance of international solidarity within the Pan-African trade union movement.[89] The first item on the conference agenda addressed the developments of trade unions in Africa and the role of the working class. Mahjoub Ben Seddiq presented the programmatic report titled "1st All African Trade Union Conference: Doctrine and Orientation," emphasizing an internationalist stance. He advocated that the common struggle of "workers of the world" against exploitation should serve as the foundation for the AATUF:

> […] the Pan-African Center will maintain brotherly and egalitarian relations with the workers of the world. All isolationism on the level of African struggle would, in fact, be a backward step and would be false […] Thus the international relations of the Pan-African center will be founded on free collaboration with all the workers of the world within the framework fixed by its Charter.[90]

Later in the report he argues that at the same time, the concrete demand for new ways and concepts to shape and produce societies in Africa is crucial for its decolonial character, as only its own African perspective can determine the shaping of the future.[91] This perspective did not only encompass the national borders within their own countries but was informed by a view of the entire African continent. This analysis was fueled by Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African ideas concerning the workers:

> Nkrumah believed that there was much more uniting African labour than merely exploitation and alienation. His call for trade union solidarity

88 Charter of the AATU, ICFTU Report on the "First All-African Trade Union Conference," 26. Juni 1961, IISH 3914.

89 Agyeman, "Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya," 76.

90 Legum, *Pan Africanism*, 222.

91 Mahjoub Ben Seddiq, *1st All African Trade Union Conference. Doctrine and Orientation*, Casablanca 1961, 8-9, IISH 6233/8.

> was more than Marx's workers of the world uniting. Nkrumah believed that African workers would set aside their racial, ethnic, and religious differences and unite to take power from capitalist exploiters who had perverted Africa's indigenous socialistic world.[92]

Nkrumah's hope was that with the establishment of the AATUF, a practical platform for the internationalism of workers in Africa would emerge, advocating for a post-colonial and sustainably independent Africa.

With explicit reference to Bandung, the connection of the working masses in Asia, Africa, and Latin America was emphasized, highlighting the associated task of solidarity. In understanding the role of trade unions, the Third World character of the AATUF becomes evident, "at the same time, and almost the same circumstances, similar masses are leading the same courageous struggle in Asia and Latin America against the same enemies: Imperialism, Feudality and Reaction."[93] The doctrine reiterated the principle of non-alignment and emphasized independence from foreign ideologies, including independence from European powers. The demand for independence from existing trade union federations stemmed from the risk of being drawn into the dynamics of the Cold War, from which the African continent explicitly sought to distance itself. This included the general trend of the Bandung Era, reflecting the position of non-alignment, "in fact the African Trade Unionism must be an authentically African Expression, and not an African Version of a foreign trade union policy."[94] Ben Seddiq emphasized "intercontinental solidarity" as a historical task.[95] This comprehensive position paper on the orientation of labor movements in Africa highlights primarily African contexts and internationalist solidarity.

Conclusion

The founding conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation in 1961 marked a significant moment in the decolonization process. In Casablanca, prominent African trade union representatives came together to exchange ideas, develop common visions for further decolonization, and strengthen trade union cooperation. This conference was more than

92 Robert Anthony Walters, "Kwame Nkrumah and the All-African Trade Union Federation: Labour and the Emancipation of Africa," in *Visions of African Unity: New Perspectives on the History of Pan-Africanism and African Unification Projects*, ed. Matteo Grilli and Frank Gerits (Springer Nature, 2021), 78.

93 Ben Seddiq, *Doctrine and Orientation*, 4.

94 Ibid.,7.

95 Ibid., 9.

just a "manipulated" event by the Casablanca Group. It was rather a step forward in the institutionalization of Pan-African trade union networking in the context of the Bandung Era. The founding conference illustrates how conferences in the sense of *conferencing* became places of negotiation on trade union internationalism beyond national borders. Casablanca has since become a central *hub of decolonization* at the trade union level, laying the foundations for further Pan-African trade union organizing on the continent. The conference became a battleground for influence to the ICFTU, which sought to strengthen its influence and that of its allied unions, and the organizers of the AATUF. While the WFTU supported the establishment of an independent African trade union federation, the ICFTU struck conciliatory tones during the conference. However, serious accusations against the organizers after the conference indicated that the ICFTU rejected the establishment of an independent Pan-African trade union organization and continued its efforts to extend and strengthen its influence across Africa. The question of non-alignment and international trade union federations showed how the dynamics of the Cold War politically influenced Pan-African trade union networking and inter-African debates on the issue of cooperation at trade union level. The much discussed resolution rejecting membership in international federations laid the groundwork for independently operating trade unions in Africa and emphasized the principle of non-alignment. The conference signaled independent trade union organization in Africa, explicitly rejecting the membership to international trade union federations from the West and East. Its goal was not to exclude cooperation but rather to promote independent anti-colonial and Pan-African development.

II.
BOOK REVIEWS

Remembering African Labor Migration to the Second World: Socialist Mobilities between Angola, Mozambique, and East Germany. By Marcia C. Schenck. Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022. Pp. 377. ISBN: 9783031067754.

REVIEWED BY

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ABOUT THE REVIEWER

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> "They went to the future, came back to the present, expecting to help take their homes forward in time, but ended up stranded in the past."[1]

A growing body of scholarship is examining labor migration between the Cold War's Second Worlds and Third Worlds, specifically the Eastern European socialist states including the Soviet Union and newly independent states in what has later been called the Global South within the context of global history and the history of globalization(s).[2] These studies focus on a subset of actors within the broader category of "socialist mobilities," a term Christina Schwenkel has conceptualized as the circulation of diverse people, goods and knowledge.[3] By pursuing the question of what qualified labor migration as "socialist," key scholars such as Christina Schwenkel and Alena Alamgir have analysed the role of state(s) and state-socialist ideologies in shaping the flows of laborers.[4] Furthermore, the field has effectively challenged the perception of socialist states as geographies of stasis and immobility by disrupting Western-centric views of linear globalization in a post-Cold War chronology.

It is precisely the derailment of linearity that led Marcia C. Schenck, Professor of Global History at the University of Potsdam, to view the 21,000 Mozambican and 2,500 Angolan worker-trainees who migrated to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1979-1990 as "time travellers."[5] In her book, *Remembering African Labor Migration to the Second World*, Schenck

1 Marcia C. Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration to the Second World: Socialist Mobilities between Angola, Mozambique, and East Germany* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 281.

2 Alena K. Alamgir and Christina Schwenkel, "From Socialist Assistance to National Self-Interest: Vietnamese Labor Migration into CMEA Countries," in *Alternative Globalizations*: *Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World,* ed. Steffi Marung, Artemy M. Kalinovsky and James Mark, 100-125 (Indiana University Press, 2020); Alena K. Alamgir, "Mobility: Education and Labor," in *Socialism Goes Global: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the Age of Decolonisation*, ed. Paul Betts and James Mark, 290–317 (Oxford University Press, 2022).

3 Christina Schwenkel, "Rethinking Asian Mobilities: Socialist Migration and Post-Socialist Repatriation of Vietnamese Contract Workers in East Germany," *Critical Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2014), https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14672715.2014.898453 (accessed June 21, 2024). 236.

4 A non-exhaustive list of recent contributions could include: Alena K. Alamgir, "Labor and Labor Migration in State Socialism," *Labor History* 59, no. 3 (2018), https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0023656X.2018.1428721 (accessed June 21, 2024); Hana Bortlová-Vondráková and Mónika Szente-Varga, "Labor Migration Programs Within the Socialist Bloc. Cuban Guestworkers in Late Socialist Czechoslovakia and Hungary," *Labor History* 62, no. 3 (2021), https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0023656X.2021.1908972 (accessed June 21, 2024); Patrice G. Poutrus, "Ausländische Arbeitsmigrat*innen im 'Arbeiter-Und-Bauernstaat'. Die Sogenannten Vertragsarbeiter in der DDR," in *Gewerkschaften im Gedächtnis der Demokratie. Welche Rolle spielen soziale Kämpfe in der Erinnerungskultur?*, ed. Stefan Berger, Wolfgang Jäger and Ulf Teichmann, 227–46 (Transcript, 2022); Ulrich van der Heyden, *Das Gescheiterte Experiment: Vertragsarbeiter Aus Mosambik in Der DDR-Wirtschaft (1979-1990)* (Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019).

5 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration*, 281.

enriches the existing body of research on socialist mobilities by positioning the migrants themselves as the protagonists of her work. Having experienced life in East Germany, she argues, worker-trainees gained insight into the industrialized socialist futures envisioned for Angola and Mozambique. However, upon returning to their war-torn homelands they encountered profound loss both financially and emotionally.

Time shapes the structure of the book, which follows the journey of worker-trainees from their lives in Mozambique and Angola, through their experiences in the GDR, to the present. Following a prologue, chapter two establishes the book's argument and methodology. Schenck threads together an impressive source base of 268 interviews into a "collective biography" and aims to construct an interpretation around this oral history, building on secondary literature as well as sources beyond the institutional GDR archives.[6] While this unconventional methodological approach elevates the African migrants' perspectives, there is some ambiguity as to how the interviews are integrated with Schenck's additional sources. Schenck categorizes the interviews as primary source material, but simultaneously acknowledges that they serve an illustrative purpose, indicating that her narrative relies quite heavily on archival sources and existing scholarship.

The book is organized around the dualities of the state and the individual, work and consumption, integration and exclusion, loss and gain, and past and present. In chapter three, Schenck contrasts state-centric conceptions of the Mozambican and Angolan labor migration schemes to the GDR with the expectations of the migrants themselves. The East German regime intended to bolster the East German economy by training young African workers and simultaneously benefit their home countries by sending back skilled professionals needed for industrial development. However, as Schenck argues, these official ambitions were challenged by migrants' diverse motivations which ranged from economic opportunities and educational prospects to personal desires to live abroad and escape civil wars in their home countries. Additionally, the GDR's proclaimed objectives rarely reflected reality, as only a minority of migrants received training that would have allowed them to make an immediate economic impact upon their return. The migrants' experiences are also central to the following chapter, which sheds light on their life in the GDR. Schenck emphasizes that while migrants were trained as workers, they also lived as consumers. Contrary to the paradigm of limited consumerism in socialist societies, which assumes comparison to a Western capitalist subject position, the GDR offered relative abundance to migrants who had experienced scarcity in their conflict-ridden homelands.

6 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 29.

In the fifth chapter, the social lives of the migrants are explored. Schenck portrays them as "intimate strangers" who integrated into East German society while simultaneously facing policies designed to discourage long-lasting bonds, the eviction of pregnant worker-trainees before 1989, serving as one particularly restrictive example.[7] Even though socialist rhetoric proclaimed equal brotherhood, racism and xenophobia existed and further grew after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Facing German policies aimed at preventing the permanent settlement of migrants, this was one key reason for Angolans and Mozambicans to leave the GDR.

The abrupt end to the migration scheme resulted in a loss of transnational ties, as Schenck demonstrates in chapter six. However, she challenges narratives of victimhood, portraying the return of the worker-trainees not solely as an experience of social exclusion, but also as a transformative process that constituted a strong group identity. This is especially apparent in the case of Mozambican "madjermans," who still fight today for the disbursal of unpaid wages, which they earned during their employment in the GDR, but the wages were appropriated by the Mozambican government.[8] Schenck argues that many returnees lost their roles as actors in global mobility and cultural exchange, only to become "spectators of twenty-first-century globalization from the sidelines."[9] The final chapter brings the African worker-trainees into the conversation about post-socialist nostalgia, or what Schenck terms "eastalgia."[10] This longing for certain aspects of life in the GDR, Schenck concludes, serves as a vehicle for criticism of the present and the imagination of a better future.

While labor migrants did not become the "New Men" driving socialist modernization that their socialist governments initially envisioned, they did return to Africa as new individuals, armed with different expectations of their governments. Schenck's nuanced and empathetic study manages to shift the discourse away from simplistic narratives that deem socialist migration schemes as a failure and migrants as their victims towards a more balanced understanding of complex outcomes. One of the book's notable strengths lies in its exploration of several under-researched areas. First of all, Schenck demonstrates the productivity of adopting a bottom-up rather than top-down perspective within migration studies, hence adding to our understanding of the lived experience of Mozambican and Angolan worker-trainees. Readers will moreover encounter a compelling argument for diversifying the study

7 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 160.

8 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 170.

9 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 300.

10 Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 283.

of globalization(s) in Schenck's work. She successfully does so herself by characterizing socialist migration as multidirectional and acknowledging African societies as active contributors to globalization. In addition to these broader insights, Schenck nuances our understanding of life in East Germany by analysing it through the eyes of Black African migrants–a viewpoint given scant attention in the past. Lastly, she highlights the reciprocal effect of transnational migration by asserting that the migrant's experience of life in the GDR caused migrants to view Mozambican and Angolan society and politics from a different perspective.

This innovative and rich book has some weaknesses that offer starting points for further developing avenues of research. I am not convinced that Schenck successfully parallels and intertwines the distinct, yet similar migration schemes of Angola and Mozambique. Although the author acknowledges constraints in thoroughly examining the Angolan case due to its smaller scale and limited academic discussion, the Mozambican narrative consistently overshadows that of Angola. Specifically, the depiction of the "madjermans" community, which is compellingly portrayed and arguably the most captivating aspect of the book, pertains solely to Mozambique.[11] Angola lacks a comparable community and has indeed provided financial compensation to worker-trainees. Moreover, in analysing the afterlives of migrants, Schenck places a strict focus on those migrants who returned to Mozambique and Angola, leaving little space for how Africans that stayed in the united Federal Republic of Germany would retrospectively view their experience.

Overall, *Remembering African Labor Migration to the Second World,* is an inspiring read for those interested in alternative accounts of globalization, the history of socialist labor migration, the experiences of migrants in East Germany, and contemporary activism in Mozambique. Schenck's study effectively challenges dichotomies of global East-West and East-South relations. She analyzes the labor migrations programmes within their unique social and historical context, resisting a comparison between capitalist and socialist forms of labor that uses the former as the benchmark against which the latter is assessed. Furthermore, she situates the worker-trainees not as passive recipients of a state-organised project, but successfully demonstrates how individuals themselves evaluated and navigated their experiences between the Third, Second, and against the background of the First Worlds.

11 Following their return from East Germany, Mozambican workers earned the moniker "madjerman." Originating from the Changana language spoken in southern Mozambique, this word translates to, "those from Germany." While often used derogatorily in Portuguese-speaking media, many workers proudly adopt it as a self-identifier, as evidenced by the madjerman activist group. See Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration,* 6, 41, and 221.

Readers eager for more of Schenck's work can anticipate her forthcoming manuscript *Decolonization, Development, and the Organization of African Unity: The creation of the African refugee regime in global perspective, 1963-1984*.

Remapping the World in East Asia, Toward a Global History of the "Ricci Maps," by Mario Cams and Elke Papelitzky (eds.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2024. Pp. 320. ISBN: 9780824895044.

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In the traditional histories of science, fields such as geography, astronomy and cartography were developed in Europe and diffused to the rest of the world. The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci was one of the central figures contributing to this Eurocentric narrative since the sixteenth century. Ricci worked at the late Ming Chinese court in Beijing and produced several well-known cartographic maps (the so-called "Ricci Maps") based on European Renaissance Era knowledge to introduce "modern, correct geography" to China, so the story goes.[1] Against this Eurocentric account, *Remapping the World in East Asia: Toward a Global History of the "Ricci Maps,"* presents a refreshing counterpoint.

Remapping the World is a collection of essays from various scholars, edited by sinologists Mario Cams and Elke Papelitzky, both contributing their own essays. Papelitzky's research interests lie in Chinese maps and mapmaking in a global context, and her contribution focuses on the Japanese reception of Ricci-inspired maps from China (chapter six). Cams specializes in the cartography of early modern Japan and China, and has worked to bring Chinese maps to wider audiences through his online *QingMaps* project.[2] His contribution to the book traces the incorporation and later repackaging of the information in the Ricci Maps into maps in Chinese mapmaking traditions (chapter five).[3]

The volume is divided into two parts. The first part of the book, chapters one to five, focuses on the physical materials, the local conditions under which the maps were made and how such materials affected the distribution and structure of the maps. The second part of the volume, chapters six through eleven, explores the wider circulations and co-creation of maps and knowledge across East Asia and Europe.

In a broader context, the increasing popularity of global history in the last two decades has meant increasing attention paid to pre-modern interactions between various Asian and European merchants, missionaries, and soldiers in popular histories. In stories like these, Matteo Ricci is still at the center of global discourse regarding the circulation and co-construction of cartographic knowledge. Around the 400th anniversary of Ricci's death in 2011, a number of published popular books in English celebrated Ricci, framing him as filling a

1 For examples of this framing in English publications, see R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011); Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011).

2 For this paper, "early modern" refers to 1450–1750 CE. For debates around this term, see Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *What Is Early Modern History?* (Cambridge Medford: Polity, 2021).

3 Mario Cams and Elke Papelitzky, eds., *Remapping the World in East Asia: Toward a Global History of the "Ricci Maps"* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2024), 140, 148–149.

gap in Chinese cartographic knowledge.[4] *Remapping the World* seeks to move beyond this unidirectional narrative with two approaches.

The first approach focuses on the production of the maps and other artifacts and their transmission across Asia, as opposed to seeing these artifacts as symbols of singular worldviews. This emphasis interrogates the decision-making process of the map makers and their later distributors, shedding light on local contexts, local agencies, and local debates over epistemologies that circulated within the territory of early modern Korea, Japan, and China. This echoes the Taiwanese theorist Chen Kuan-hsing's "Asia as method" framework, a method by which "Asia" is recognized as a series of heterogeneous regions, and its history is constructed through references and interactions between these regions. Such can be seen in this volume, an inter-Asian discussion and utilization of cartographic knowledge, such as maps made in China and their transmission and transformation in Korea and Japan.[5]

The second approach puts those local agencies, contexts, and debates within a global framework, looking beyond a single political body. Without ignoring the locality and materiality of the maps and other artifacts under study, the contributors nonetheless want to demonstrate how new versions of maps created and distributed during the early modern period, both within and between Asia and Europe, combined local elements with the newer geographic knowledge. This volume attempts to move beyond the idea of Ming-European nation-state interactions or a clash of civilizations, traditionally the story of the Ricci Maps. Rather, these chapters concentrate on the interaction and tensions between multiple systems of cosmological and geographic knowledge in a global context.[6]

The contributors to *Remapping the World* employ a wide range of methods and approaches. Examining the materials on which maps and globes were created, chains of custody, linguistic analysis of place names, consideration of publishing markets, and the geographic implications of folklore. For instance, in Chinese historian Wang Yongjie's essay (chapter three), there is a closely detailed genealogy of various editions of the *Zhifang waiji* ("Record of Foreign Lands," 職方外紀), an atlas produced in Ming China after Ricci's death. Wang demonstrates via close analysis of the printing and map prefaces that the *Zhifang waiji* was not only inspired by Ricci's work, but also incorporated older understandings of the world beyond Ming China.

4 Hsia, *A Jesuit*; Fontana, *Matteo Ricci*; Laven, *Mission to China*.

5 For more on "Asia as Method," see Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward De-imperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

6 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World*, 5.

Differences in printing location and discrepancies between editions reveal a multidirectional circulation of knowledge between northern and southern Ming China in terms of place names and intended audience, as opposed to the Ricci story, which is centered in northern China.[7]

The aforementioned example also highlights one of *Remapping the World*'s major strengths: a wide range of non-English language scholarship. Contributors Wang Yongjie, Yang Yulei, Lin Hong and Soh Jeanhyoung are all academics from Chinese and Korean universities, their chapters in *Remapping the World* are their first English language publications. Their chapters include a higher proportion of non-English secondary literature versus other contributors, which add more fine-grained analysis of language and local histories. One such example is the contribution of Korean intellectual historian Soh Jeanhyoung, whose detailed analysis (chapter eight) of the overlap between a Korean legend and Korean maps inspired by the Ricci Maps explores the implications of language utilized in the maps.[8]

Additionally, *Remapping the World* is a unique case study in histories of interaction and the exchange of ideas. Specifically, because many recent works that explore the history of science, epistemologies and intercultural constructions of knowledge usually focus on the Age of Imperialism, the nineteenth century, and science under colonialism.[9] As mentioned by Cams and Papelitzky in the introduction, this volume examines multiple systems of cosmological and geographic knowledge interacting in a global context where military and political power has not empowered one over others. That is not to say that politics is ignored in the analysis. Papelitzky's contribution (chapter six) focuses on the influence of anti-Christian censorship in Tokugawa Japan on maps arriving there from China.[10] Chinese historian Yang Yulie (chapter seven) demonstrates how maps produced in Korea during the Joseon dynasty, while incorporating information from Ricci Maps, gave precedent to older Sinocentric geography and astronomy, a reflection of Joseon Korea's political allegiance to Ming China.[11]

While *Remapping the World* is a fascinating and broad read, it is not without weaknesses, such as the terminology. The introduction stresses that the purpose of the book is to avoid a clash of civilization dichotomy and

7 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World,* 79–97.

8 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World,* 206–222.

9 For the quintessential example see, Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

10 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World*, 161–170.

11 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World,* 198–203.

explore multiple systems of knowledge via the process of artifact creation. However, the variety of knowledge systems remains unclear. The term "Renaissance Geography" appears several times as a term for the knowledge Ricci and his collaborators possessed, and the terms "Sinocentric," "Ming Geography," and "Ming Worldview" are used to describe political and geographic understandings originally in Ming China.[12] However, neither of these terms are elaborated or given a historiographic analysis in the introduction or a single location within the book. The editors of the volume sought to avoid binary worldviews, but it is hard to appreciate the scale of the process of transformation and integration of worldviews if they were never made clear in the first place.[13] This weakens the book's accessibility to non-experts.

Another weakness of the volume comes in its inability to move beyond the state as a medium of analysis. The postscript of the work notes that *Remapping the World* wished to show that there was no such thing as Chinese or Japanese Cartography; rather, a network of creators and distributors utilized a variety of methods to create maps for various means.[14] Yet the influence of the state on the process of making maps and their contents is visible throughout. Even if the reader wishes to focus on the networks over the state actors, the volume implicitly reminds the reader of the structure of the state. Several of the major chapters that explore the networks of creation and distribution are framed through a national lens. To the credit of the contributors, there are efforts to look at other actors beyond state actors that influenced map production, such as Wang and Papelitzky (chapters three and six), who both closely examine the role of book markets as a force in the creation of particular maps. However, even these examine book markets in a national framework, such as in Tokugawa Japan and Ming China. State actors cannot be ignored as a force in map production, while the volume's structure still has space to improve if the editors wish to minimize the states' significance.

In conclusion, *Remapping the World* is a fascinating refashioning of the Ricci Maps utilizing global history and an inter-Asian lens of analysis. Its variety of approaches and broad base of scholarship make it invaluable to historians

12 For uses of "Renaissance Geography" in the book, see Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World*, 2–5, 9, 148, 161, 206, 220. For uses of "Sinocentric," "Ming Geography," and "Ming Worldview," see Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World*, 125, 140, 188, 196, 200–202, 217.

13 There are a plethora of works covering "Renaissance Geography," however a quintessential one would be Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*. (John Wiley & Sons, 2016). For an introduction to "Sinocentric Geography" see Edward Q Wang, "History, Space, and Ethnicity: The Chinese Worldview," *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 285–305.

14 Cams and Papelitzky, *Remapping the World*, 296–297.

of science, cartography and early modern encounters. Despite some issues of terminology, it is an excellent introductory work with full-color illustrations and a pleasure to read for both experts and laypeople alike.