I. Introduction

German colonial literature, less prevalent than British Commonwealth literature, has only recently been discovered. There are several prominent authors who with their works provide us with useful insights into a forgotten era of German history. Frieda von Bülow (1857-1909), the founder of the German colonial novel, presents issues in her works that are critical to the understanding of German colonial attitudes and politics. This thesis will look at one of her works, *Im Lande der Verheißung*. First, it is necessary to provide some background on German colonial history, German colonial literature and Frieda von Bülow’s life and works before turning to her most popular novel and its underlying issues.

Colonial Germany

Germany is not known for a colonial past of any significance, standing as it did in the shadow of the world’s greatest colonial powers: England and France. The sun never seemed to set on these two great empires; it did, however, set on the German empire when the newly defeated Germany lost all its colonies and protectorates to its foes with the end of World War I, and the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Little is known about the history of German colonial policy; even Germans only have a vague idea about their country’s colonial past. In order to establish a common ground for the discussion and analysis that will follow, a brief account of the history of German colonial policy, as a general overview, will be provided here. “There is a rich historical literature on German colonialism, both contemporary to the German colonial era and since – richer than many historians suspect” (Wildenthal, *Colonialism* 11). Much of the information about German
colonial history referred to in the following pages was gathered from Wilfried Westphal’s *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonien*, A. Seidel’s *Deutschlands Kolonien* and also Andrew R. Carlson’s *German Foreign Policy, 1890-1914*, and *Colonial Policy to 1914*. These works were essential in providing a comprehensive background on German colonization, as well as German colonial policy.

Historical Background

No major European country had a shorter history of colonial rule than Germany, whose colonial empire lasted only from 1884 to 1919. Nevertheless, “with about one million square miles and about twelve million inhabitants, the German colonial empire was third largest in territory and fifth largest in population …”¹ Germany entered the race for overseas possessions rather late, but the experience Germans had as settlers and explorers provided a solid foundation for Germany’s colonial expansion. The German colonial empire officially began in 1884 when Bismarck made Lüderitz in Southwest Africa Germany’s first protectorate (Westphal 32). In the beginning, the colonial empire was administered through charter companies which were rather unsuccessful. Following this attempt, the imperial government took over the administration by appointing governors who reported back to the emperor. A colonial office was established to help ensure economic success. However, the economic results were disappointing at first (Carlson 51).

Most of Germany’s colonies were in Africa, with German East Africa being the largest and most lucrative. Southwest Africa, Cameroon and Togo were all under German rule by 1911. Other areas of the world placed under German rule were the northeastern

part of New Guinea, Samoa (the islands of Opolu and Sawai), several small islands in the Pacific Ocean (Caroline, Marianne and Marshall Islands, and Bismarck Archipelago) as well as Kiaochow in China (Carlson 50-52). These areas were seized because they were the only territories still available. Compared to England and France, Germany’s colonies were scattered and distant from each other, making it difficult for the administration to govern them.

In the beginning, German opinion was divided over the country’s colonial ambitions. Most people did not want to risk men and taxpayer’s money for the founding of an overseas empire. Even Bismarck did not think overseas territories were a good idea at first (Carlson 42). However, there was a group of colonial nationalists who saw the need for acquiring colonies. First, they feared their nation would be left behind other European nations in prestige, and most importantly, in power. All of the major powers in Europe held overseas possessions and had influence in world affairs, something which Germany also wanted. Colonies could provide a place for German citizens who desired new opportunities or who wanted to escape political and economic distress, but who still wanted to live in German lands. The economic reasons for an overseas interest were the acquisition of raw materials, foods and the opening of new markets for German products.

Over time, the view held by the colonial nationalists gained momentum. “By 1914, and especially between 1907 and 1914, the idea of Germany as a colonial power had become a normal part of German national identity” (qtd. in Wildenthal, Colonialism 13).

The first colonists to settle in the German colonies and protectorates were missionaries and explorers. Later, farmers, soldiers, nurses and doctors, teachers, administrators, traders and scientists followed to further the colonial cause or pursue
individual objectives. German women were also involved. They either went alone or followed their husbands in support of Germany’s colonial cause. Hospitals, schools, churches and other public buildings were set up and roads were built. German men and women founded several colonial organizations that supported Germany’s colonial ambitions, the largest being the German Colonial Society and the Women’s League (Wildenthal, Empire 203).

As mentioned, most modern-day Germans do not know much about their own colonial past. German colonial history might have been neglected because of what are considered to be false accusations. After World War I, Germany was stripped of its colonies by the Allies, with the explanation that Germany was incapable of governing overseas possessions and that Germans were guilty of violent treatment and the exploitation of natives. Germany had never accepted this explanation, referring to it as “the colonial myth.” Furthermore, the economic success was so minimal and disappointing that pride could not be taken in the governing of foreign territories. Another reason might be that Germany only had a small and short-lived colonial empire compared to other European nations: “They [writers of textbooks] dismiss Germany’s formal empire as a brief episode with an at most superficial impact on Germany both at the time and over the long term” (Wildenthal, Colonialism 11). There has seemed to be little interest in past colonial affairs, much less interest in the colonial literature that came out of this era.
German Colonial Literature

The production of German colonial literature corresponds to the late entry of Germany into the race for foreign territories (Warmbold 219). Even though the German colonial rule was only short lived, there are vast quantities of colonial writings, as Joachim Warmbold expresses: “Colonial literature is mass literature. The publication figures of many works reached numbers that seem incomprehensible today” (220). German colonial writings were very popular during the actual time of colonial rule and during Nazi rule. Since that time, however, that popularity waned to the point that colonial literature became almost unknown. Amadou Booker Sadji explains: “Literary scholarship – and, more particularly, Germanists – has the task of sifting through colonial literature; and this task is all the more important because of the widely held belief that the brief history of German colonialism resulted only in literature which is so meager – at least in comparison with British and French sources – that it is scarcely worth examining” (Grimm and Hermand 22). Also, “most people today are ignorant of the very existence of a German colonial literature on Africa” (Nwezeh vii).

Only recently have German colonial writings been rediscovered, researched and critically analyzed by literary critics, writers, historians and German scholars. As Joachim Warmbold states: “Although once published and disseminated in large editions, German colonial literature was, as recently as ten years ago, among the genres hardly known within German literature” (1). It had played no role at all for literary or cultural history (Berman, Sonderweg 25). Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon also expresses this fact and speaks to the difficulty of locating colonial writings today, due to their past obscurity:

Wer sich heute mit der deutschen Kolonialliteratur beschäftigt, muß sich darüber im klaren sein, daß er
Unlike the British Commonwealth literature, German colonial literature has not yet found a permanent place in German literary history. However, Emil Sembritzki’s reference work *Der Kolonialfreund. Kritischer Führer durch die volkstümliche deutsche Kolonial-Literatur* provides an extensive list of published German colonial literature.

A considerable quantity of various genres of writing came out of the German colonies and protectorates. These include short stories, poems, novellas, plays, and novels, as well as diaries and memoirs. Furthermore, numerous articles on colonial topics were published in acclaimed periodicals and newspapers such as *Kolonie und Heimat* and *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*. Men and women alike contributed to the numerous writings from this era. And “if a work received critical approval of the colonial organizations, its success was practically assured and the author recognized as a colonial writer” (Warmbold 90).

German colonial literature first emerged in the form of travelogues and diaries written by explorers and missionaries. Peter Moor’s *Fahrt nach Südwest* by Gustav Frenssen was a popular travel account, well known to readers and critics of German colonial literature. Women who followed their husbands to do missionary or farm work also wrote down their experiences in the form of diaries, memoirs and travelogues. Margarethe von Eckenbrecher’s *Was Afrika mir nahm und gab* is among the well known
autobiographical travelogues which went through several editions, proving the popularity of these travel accounts. Soon, plays, novellas and especially the colonial novel by male as well as female authors followed. German colonial literature received attention when the Nazis took power in the motherland. Previously existing literature was edited and republished, but a new outpouring of colonial writings was evidence of a fresh interest in colonial endeavors and colonial literature. Hans Grimm with his monumental novel *Volk ohne Raum* was the leading representative for colonial literature at this time in German history.

German women contributed a major portion of the German colonial literature, in the genres of travelogues, plays, and especially the novel. Sadji notes: “The contribution of colonial women writers to German colonial literature is most important, both quantitatively and qualitatively” (Grimm and Hermand 22). As mentioned above, colonial women’s writing consisted of diaries and travelogues at first, but short stories, plays, novellas and novels followed. “Among the women writers [...], place of pride must surely go to Frieda von Bülow, whose colonial novels and diaries are exemplary in every respect” as Sadji notes (Grimm and Hermand 24). She was also “among the first authors whose publications succeeded in reaching a wider public” (Warmbold 219). Bülow was the author of various successful colonial writings, but she was known especially for her colonial novels. In her works, she expressed the need for women’s involvement in the colonies and was driven to write by her own ideology of German nationalism and patriotism. Bülow was no exception to the general trend of her time; as Nwezeh explains: “The colonial writers were prisoners of the dominant ideology of their
age…” (3). J. K. Noyes in Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915 also suggests the ‘true’ nature of colonial literature:

If we ask ourselves what colonial literature did, how it worked, not what it reflected, explained or justified, then we will realize that it is one of the many specific praxes which constitute imperialism. It did surely possess a secondary (explanatory or justificatory) role, but it functioned primarily by serving to organize and coordinate a number of other imperialist functions on a different level (Noyes 7).

Although British Commonwealth literature is known to have a great number of colonial novels like Heart of Darkness by Joseph Conrad, Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe or Charlotte Brontë’s Jane Eyre, German colonial novels are much less well known, perhaps because of their predominantly sentimental content, which some critics, like Joachim Warmbald, put in the category of Trivialliteratur (220), or because of the tendency of this literature to propagandize (219).

Nevertheless, German literature has quite a few colonial novels. Some were written during the actual existence of the German colonial empire and often display German nationalism and racial biases. Others were composed after Germany’s colonial ambitions had been crushed with the defeat in WWI, and express a nostalgia for the "good old days that never were; they suppress, deny and repress when dealing with oppression, exploitation, war, death, and the suffering of the colonized" (Warmbold 2).

Edward Said in his monumental work, Culture and Imperialism, points out the connection between the colonial novel and imperial rule. He even goes so far to say that there would not be a European novel, as we know it, without empire. In his opinion, imperialism and the novel fortified each other to such a degree that it is impossible to read one without dealing with the other in some way. Said also asserts that the novel was
used as direct popular propaganda and that it never advocated giving up colonies, furthermore establishing that dominance as a sort of norm. He further points out that the end of the novel generally confirms and highlights an underlying hierarchy of family, property and nation (69-79). Bülow’s novel fits into this pattern, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

Frieda Freiin von Bülow

Frieda Freiin von Bülow took up the pen for the sole purpose of sharing her enthusiasm for the colonies with her readers, getting them excited about the race for overseas possessions, suggesting roles for participation in the colonial cause and defending Germany’s colonial efforts to her readers. Her writings are definitely propaganda, preaching nationalism and patriotism. It is no surprise that Bülow’s works, in an edited form, were later misused by the Nazi regime for their propaganda purposes.

As the greatest colonial novelist in Germany during the actual existence of the German colonial empire, Frieda Freiin von Bülow has been considered the “Creator of the German colonial novel” (qtd. in Warmbold 58) or as Friederike Eigler states: “the founding mother of German colonial literature (Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox, and Zantop 69). She was the first “successful novelist – male or female – to use the German colonies as a setting for fiction” (Wildenthal, Empire 54). Bülow’s colonial writings became very popular in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th century. Im Lande der Verheißung, her most successful colonial novel, was published in 1899, at the height of German colonial expansion. She wrote a few other colonial novels between 1889 and 1897. Bülow was a very successful writer and some of her works went through several editions (Wildenthal,
'Weak' 56). For example, *Im Lande der Verheißung* had already gone through six editions by 1914. Nevertheless, Bülow’s works are not read today and her writings never made it into the German literary canon. She is one of the many 19\textsuperscript{th} century women writers whose sentimental fiction has been rejected and thus remains unknown to most except for a few feminist German scholars who work on recovering works by women writers from the last century (Klotz, White 24).

Frieda von Bülow’s colonial writings not only included novels, novellas, and travelogues, but also several articles on colonial issues published in periodicals like *Kolonie und Heimat*. Bülow experienced the German colony of East Africa first hand. Her colonial works are set in that area and have some autobiographical elements. Because of this, a short biographical sketch of facts relevant for this thesis will be provided next.

Biographical information about Frieda von Bülow given in the following pages was taken and summarized from Sophie Hoechstetter’s biography *Frieda Freiin v. Bülow: Ein Lebensbild*, Anna Brunnemann’s article *Das Literarische Echo*, and Joachim Warmbold’s critical work *Germania in Africa*.

Frieda von Bülow was born into an aristocratic family in Berlin in 1857. She had two younger sisters and two younger brothers. Bülow had her first experience in a foreign land when her father headed the consulate in Smyrna from 1863 to 1866. Shortly after the family’s return to the motherland, Hugo von Bülow died, leaving his wife and children in financial distress. Nevertheless, Frieda and her siblings received adequate education for their social standing. Frieda’s mother moved the family to Neudietendorf in Thuringia, where the children spent the remainder of their youth. Bülow’s mother was a very

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\(^2\) See Endnote 90 in Warmbold 235.
religious woman, but her daughters refused to follow their mother’s beliefs and practices, leaving scars on their relationship for the remainder of their lives.

When Bülow was twenty-four years old, she and her sisters moved to Berlin. Shortly thereafter, Bülow’s sister Margarete drowned while trying to rescue a child who had fallen through the ice on a lake. Margarete’s death was a tragic loss to Bülow, because she and her sister had been very close. Following this event, she sought consolation and time for herself as she traveled through Italy. When she returned to Berlin, she was ready to move on. At that time she encountered the new German enthusiasm for colonial expansion, as did one of her brothers, Albrecht, who went to German East Africa as a company commander for the Schutztruppe. In 1885 Bülow met the legendary Dr. Carl Peters who had “founded” German East Africa. Both felt instantly attracted to each other. Peters encouraged Bülow to colonial involvement and helped her establish the Women’s Association for Nursing.

Sparked by her personal attachment to Carl Peters, Bülow was the first German woman to travel to Africa by herself (Warmbold 51). She arrived in Zanzibar in June, 1887, wanting to offer her help and support for the German colonial cause. She traveled and explored the mainland together with her brother and Carl Peters, to whom she drew continually closer; their affair eventually became public knowledge. After a severe case of malaria, Bülow was forced to return to Germany in April of 1888 due to her health, even though she was aware that the separation from Peters would weaken their relationship. By 1893, she had lost her mother and her two brothers. Albrecht died in 1892 from injuries he had sustained in a conflict with African rebels. Her other brother,
Kuno, committed suicide in 1893 following an unhappy love affair. Bülow’s only remaining family member was her sister, Sophie.

With the death of her brother Albrecht, Bülow had inherited a settlement in German East Africa which her brother had founded and she had helped to finance. As a new landowner, she had the opportunity to travel to East Africa for a second time. She wanted to settle there permanently and farm the land that had been left to her. The German Foreign Office, however, refused to let her, as a single woman, run a private estate. Unable to live her dream, she transferred her inheritance over to the German East Africa Company and returned home to Germany. She had also broken off any relations with Peters, who had turned his back on the motherland. He had been dismissed from his position as imperial commissioner for German East Africa after being accused of the mistreatment of natives. As she lost her dream of Africa and Carl Peters, Bülow sought comfort in traveling, making her way through Europe with her good friend, Lou Andreas-Salomé for the period of two years. Her health, however, started to deteriorate rapidly. Bülow died of cancer at the University Hospital in Jena in 1909, at the age of 52.

Bülow’s literary career started later in her life. Her sister Margarete had actually been the more talented writer in the family, completing her first novel by the age of eighteen. After the three Bülow sisters had moved to Berlin, a publisher named Julian Schmidt had convinced Margarete to write a new version of her first novel. Her sister Frieda was supposed to provide helpful feedback. After Margarete’s death, Bülow helped Schmidt publish her sister’s works.

Bülow did not start to write until she had returned to Germany after her first stay in Africa in 1888. She still wanted to support the colonial cause, but knew that she could
not do this directly through her presence in the colony. Therefore, immediately after her return, she decided to try to convince fellow Germans of the need for colonial involvement by putting her experiences and impressions from her stay in Africa into writing. Reiseskizzen und Tagebuchblätter aus Deutsch-Ostafrika, published in 1889, became her first colonial work. By 1893, she had already written and published another four works, Am Anden Ende der Welt (1890), Der Konsul (1891), Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Novellen (1892), and Ludwig von Rosen (1892). This outpouring of colonial writings was interrupted when Bülow returned to German East Africa for the second time and later by her extensive travels through Europe.

By 1897, however, Bülow had written and published another colonial work, Tropenkoller, which was based on her experiences from her second journey to Africa. This work was later translated into French. Her last colonial work, Im Lande der Verheißung, was published in 1899. After that, Bülow turned away from writing propaganda for the German colonial cause and turned to write so-called “women’s literature” (Warmbold 58). From now on she would take up the pen only to write for and about women. Through the combination of her female perspective and her experiences in the colonies, Bülow had created something new in her novels (Brunnemann 597):
German colonial literature with a feminine touch.

Im Lande der Verheißung

Bülow’s colonial novel Im Lande der Verheißung provides many insights into German nationalism, colonial ambitions and policy. In this work, a white young woman takes on the role of a “mother” through the circumstances and challenges that she is
facing in her new home: colonial Africa. A fair, young, and inexperienced German woman takes on the responsibility of looking after a motherless, unruly, and dark-skinned girl who she feels needs to be brought into womanhood and "civilization". The fact that Bülow herself, a white woman, is writing about a white woman in the role of a "mother" is quite intriguing, considering her poor relationship with her own mother, and the fact that she was never married and had no children of her own. One can therefore ask why Bülow created such a relationship in the novel, since she usually relied on her own experiences and examples from her own relationships in her writings.

Frieda von Bülow was a nationalist and patriot. Her biographer states:


She believed in and supported German colonial ambitions. This becomes apparent in her novel. She also believed in and supported the idea of female participation in the German colonies and protectorates, trying to find roles that women could play in the colonies. In Im Lande der Verheißung, Bülow provides her female hero with a role and purpose in the German colony of East Africa. This role of nurturer is represented by a foster-mother, Maleen, the female protagonist, who feels compelled to bring Maria, a motherless African girl, into womanhood and "civilization", and thus into maturity. Maleen’s "civilizing mission" in the form of imperial motherhood compares to Germany’s nationalist goal to "civilize" Africa, and illustrates Bülow’s own nationalist ideology,
passion for conquest (Hochstetter 118), patriotic enthusiasm (Hochstetter 119) and colonial ambitions.

This thesis will look at the relationship that exists between Maleen and Maria in *Im Lande der Verheißung*, in the context of Bülow’s ideology of German nationalism and German colonial policy, and in comparison with Germany’s “civilizing mission” in Africa. After a brief discussion of the aspects of post-colonial theory which I will employ in my analysis of Bülow’s novel, and a review of the literature written about this novel, in chapter II, I will first summarize and then more closely examine Bülow’s colonial novel *Im Lande der Verheißung* in terms of the prevalent “mother/daughter” relationship, providing evidence in the form of examples from the text itself.

Chapter III will discuss Maria’s character, looking at her level of maturity, and the role she is forced to play as the colonized, hybrid, “noble savage” and “The Other”. In order to illustrate the issues of hybridity, displacement and language more clearly, I will first look at Lou Andreas-Salomé’s work *Im Zwischenland*, comparing the maturity of the girls in this work with Maria’s level of maturity. Maria’s character and her relationship with her “mother” is thereby easier to relate and recognize. In doing this, I will utilize some of Lou Andreas-Salomé’s essays on psychoanalysis as well.

The fourth chapter will examine Maleen’s character and the role she takes on as the “imperial mother”. By briefly discussing what roles German women actually filled in the colonies, I will analyze Maleen’s role(s) more in depth, focusing mainly on her role as the “imperial mother”. Aspects of hegemony and language will be discussed from the post-colonial perspective.
In chapter five I will analyze the German “civilizing mission” with Germany as the motherland and the German protectorates as the daughter colonies which “need” to be brought into civilization. I then will compare this with the mother/daughter relationship between Maleen and Maria as Maleen feels responsible to bring Maria into womanhood and “civilization”. I will also look at Germany’s and Maleen’s “civilizing mission” in terms of the white man’s, as well as the white woman’s burden. The final chapter will provide my summary and concluding remarks.

Theoretical Background

In order to adequately investigate the fair “mother”/dark “daughter” relationship in Bülow’s colonial novel *Im Lande der Verheißung*, I will employ relevant concepts and perspectives derived from post-colonial theory applied from a feminist point of view. Feminist aspects in post-colonial terms such as the imperial woman, “the other” woman, the relationship between brother and sister (imperial), and their relationships are particularly significant to this analysis.

Bülow’s novel was written during the period of colonization, and Bülow was a member of the colonizing power. Said notes in his work *Culture and Imperialism* that cultural forms, such as the novel, were particularly important to the formation of imperial attitudes (xii). The story is told from the perspective of the colonizer, not the colonized, describing a reality that was only the reality of the white colonist. Said states: “Life in one subordinate realm of experience is imprinted by the fictions and follies of the dominant realm. But the reverse is true, too, as experience in the dominant society comes to depend uncritically on natives and their territories perceived as in need of *la mission*.
civilisatrice” (xix). This will become apparent in the discussion and analysis of this work. The post-colonial conceptions of hybridity, displacement, language and hegemony will become important tools in this analysis. These are discussed and applied in the context of the fair “mother”/dark “daughter” relationship in this novel, as well as the rhetoric of the “civilizing mission.

Review of Literature

Frieda von Bülow and her writings have been rediscovered only recently. Several recent dissertations and other publications, which will be discussed below, analyze Bülow’s life and works. However, until now, only the nationalist, feminist and gender aspects of these works have been discussed and analyzed in the historical and political context of that time. None of these publications provide a thorough analysis of the relationships that can be found in Bülow’s works, especially the relationship between the German woman and ‘the other’ girl in Im Lande der Verheißung.

The only comprehensive biography of Frieda Freiin von Bülow was written one year after her death. Sophie Hoechstetter, the biographer, became Bülow’s closest friend in the last years of her life. This substantial biography provides valuable insights into Bülow’s life and relationships, especially with her sister Margarete, her mother and her friends. Hoechstetter also discusses two of Bülow’s works in terms of their content and autobiographical elements. Another biographical work, an article by Anna Brunnemann, which was published in Das Literarische Echo during Bülow’s lifetime, offers a brief sketch of the writer’s life and lauds her works and accomplishments. However, some of Brunnemann’s facts differ from Hoechstetter’s.
Joachim Warmbold, one of the earlier critics of Bülow’s life and work, in his book *Germania in Africa: Germany’s Colonial Literature* discusses colonial literature and its implications in general. In one of his chapters, he focuses on Bülow by providing a brief but thorough biography, a general overview of her works, and a short discussion and analysis of Bülow’s view of Africa, in terms of the setting, the reality and realism, using *Im Lande der Verheißung* as an example. However, he reduces Bülow’s works to the level of mere racist sentimentality, and questions the author’s perception of the Africa reality.

In his general discussion of colonial women’s literature in *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture*, the often cited critic Russell Berman discusses the works of other critics who deal with colonial women’s writings. His book includes a specific discussion of Bülow’s works, her critics and the issue of women’s emancipation.

In *Blacks and German Culture*, Amadou Booker Sadjī’s essay mentions Frieda von Bülow as one of the German colonial women writers, who through her works described a certain kind of Africa. Sadjī cites *Tropenkoller* and *Im Lande der Verheißung* as significant examples of the way the protagonists described Africa, and how the description changed throughout the novel. This analysis is rather short and does not discuss any other aspects of Bülow’s writings.

Lora Wildenthal has written several books and articles on German women’s involvement in colonial affairs and subsequently colonial women’s writing. Her recently published work *German Women for Empire* (2001) dedicates an entire chapter to Bülow’s feminine radical nationalism. By providing a brief summary of Bülow’s life in
the beginning, Wildenthal demonstrates Bülow’s involvement in colonial affairs, her ideology and her struggle for German women’s participation in the colonial cause. Wildenthal’s article ‘When Men Are Weak’: The Imperial Feminism of Frieda von Bülow addresses the same issue: women’s participation and role in German colonial policy.

A dissertation by Marcia Klotz, White Women and the Dark Continent: Gender and Sexuality in German Colonial Discourse from the Sentimental Novel to the Fascist Film, discusses the love relationship between Maleen and Ralf Krome in Im Lande der Verheißung. The issue of gender and identity with its political implications is the focus of her discussion. In her introduction, Klotz briefly discusses the mother/daughter relationship between Germany and her colonies, but does not apply this concept to the relationships found in Bülow’s works.

Friederike Eigler’s essay in the collection The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy, explores issues of gender and racism in Bülow’s Im Lande der Verheißung. In this essay, she discusses in detail the characters of Maleen and Maria and how they perceive each other. Eigler fails, however, to put Maleen and Maria into the context of a relationship. She touches very briefly on Maleen’s role as a mother, but only in relation to the African workers she employs at the end of the novel. She does not include the character of Maria at all.

Barbara Ann Shumannfang, in her dissertation Envisioning Empire: Jewishness, Blackness and Gender in German Colonial Discourse from Frieda von Bülow to the Nazi Kolonie und Heimat, also provides an in-depth analysis of Maleen and Maria, but does not relate to them as mother and daughter. She does, however, discuss the way they
mimic, portray and regard each other, especially from Maleen’s perspective. In the
beginning of her chapter on Bülow’s *Im Lande der Verheißung*, Shumannfang briefly
touches on the way the colonizer forces her culture on the colonized, which will be part
of the discussion in this thesis.

Many of these critical works also relate Bülow’s nationalism to fascism, showing
how her works were exploited by the Nazis because of the racism and patriotism that can
be found in her writings. Although these critical works on Bülow focus on various
aspects of the work in question, such as Bülow’s nationalistic ideology, feminism, and
political agenda, none of the works thus far analyzes the relationship between Maleen and
Maria in terms of a mother/daughter relationship and the German “civilizing mission”.