Films of Faith and Colonial Fantasy –
Postcolonial Religious Memories in Inter-War Germany

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In August 1927, the silent black and white film *Afrikanische Reisebilder* (African Travel Images) was approved by the *Berlin Filmprüfstelle* (Film Review Board). This approval allowed the film to be screened publicly and used for educational purposes.[1] Produced by the *Berliner Missionsgesellschaft* (Berlin Mission Society, BM) in cooperation with the *Evangelischer Preßverband für Deutschland* (EPD, Protestant Press Society for Germany), the film was one of the earliest of more than sixty missionary films to be produced in Germany by both Catholic and Protestant mission bodies between the mid-1920s and 1960.[2] Many of the earlier films were documentaries depicting the work of Christian missionaries in non-European locations, including mission fields in locations within former German colonies. After the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, these colonies became mandates administered by allied governments under the direction of the *League of Nations*. German citizens – including missionaries – were excluded from these mandated territories for some five years after the end of the war, much to the chagrin of the missionary societies. In the post-war period, missionary societies used propaganda – including missionary lectures, periodicals, books, magic lantern slides, photographs, and mission festivals – to inform audiences of the perceived injustices and disadvantages that the Treaty of Versailles had imposed on German religious work, while at the same time attempting to raise support for

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[1] Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv in Berlin (ELAB), Berlin Missionswerk (BMW) 1/2359 Afrikanische Reisebilder, Antragsteller: Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, Prüfungsnummer: 16397, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, 20 August 1927.

[2] Kaczmarek and Wulff list 66 films, many of which no longer exist. In the course of this research, I have uncovered at least five further films not listed by them. See: Ludger Kaczmarek/Hans J. Wulff, Missionsfilme, in: Medienwissenschaft, Berichte und Papiere, 160 (2016), 1–15.

German ‹heathen› mission work.[3] By the 1920s, the modern genre of film was increasingly used as religious and secular propaganda in post-colonial collective memory.

The geographical range of the more than 60 missionary films was wide and included footage from Borneo, China, India, Indonesia, East Africa, West Africa, Sumatra, and New Guinea in both documentary and fictional accounts. A distinction was made between films for the inner mission (that is, Christian work in Germany) and the outer, or ‹heathen›, mission (that is, mission work outside Europe amongst non-Europeans). This article will focus on the ‹heathen› missionary films. In these films, not all of these places were postcolonial in terms of being former German colonies, however, Germany itself was post-colonial from 1919, meaning that Germany no longer had colonies. Within the films, the postcolonial focus varied from explicit, as in the films discussed below, to implicit or no focus, such in films that depicted sites not explicitly associated with German colonies. The films presented many images of non-European people and at times the main role was played by an African or a Chinese person. However, as with many other forms of missionary propaganda, non-Europeans were under the colonial gaze of the European viewer. Despite the fact that missionary films presented their subjects as Christians and thus as more than ‹just› ethnographic subjects, the films generally portrayed the non-European as inferior to Europeans, especially in the unconverted state.[4] Despite the wide range of people, places and topics represented in missionary films, scholars such as Moritz Fischer have noted that missionary films have not been the focus of sustained academic attention.[5] He notes that of the few articles that examine missionary films, many are older and focus on specific aspects of missionary films, such as their plots, rather than on how these films contributed to the creation of postcolonial religious memories.[6] The paucity of research may be partly explained by the fact that many of the films

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[3]   Felicity Jensz/Hanna Acke (eds.), Missions and Media. The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century, Stuttgart 2013; Judith Becker/Katharina Storning (eds.), Menschen – Bilder – Eine Welt. Ordnungen von Vielfalt in der Religiösen Publizistik um 1900, Göttingen 2018; Christian Soboth/Pia Schmid (eds.), «Schrift soll leserlich seyn». Der Pietismus und die Medien. Beiträge zum IV. internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2013, Halle 2016.
[4]   Moritz Fischer, Mediale und historische Verflechtungen der Missionsanstalt Neuendettelsau mit dem Missionsfeld Neuguinea im Missionsfilm «Das Evangelium unter den Menschenfressern» (1930), in: Klaus Hock/Claudia Jahnel/Klaus-Dieter Kaiser (eds.), Mission in Film und Literatur, Leipzig 2023, 169–92, here 183.
[5]   Fischer, Mediale und Historische Verflechtungen (see note 4), 177.
[6]   See, for example: Frank Thomas Meyer, Bekehrung mit der Kamera. Filme der äusseren Mission, in: Klaus Kreimeier/Antje Ehmann/Jeanpaul Goergen (eds.), Geschichte des dokumentarischen Films in Deutschland, vol. 2. Weimarer Republik, 1918–1933, Stuttgart 2005, 204–218.

themselves no longer exist. It is through the surviving auxiliary material, including meeting minutes, programs, flyers, advertising material, accompanying booklets, newspaper reports and other textual material, that it is possible to uncover the rationale behind the production of these films as well as their reach. This article will argue that missionary films, as a form of popular media, were used in the creation of postcolonial religious memory in the inter-war period in Weimar Germany. Memories of the colonies in the postcolonial period were often fantasies, rather than based on reality, thus mirroring what Susanne Zantop has described for pre-colonial Germany.[7] As colonial fantasies based on historical realities, these memories can be described as nostalgia. More specifically, this article will draw on what Patricia Lorcin and Renato Rosaldo have independently termed ‹imperial nostalgia›/‹imperialist nostalgia› (Lorcin/Rosaldo) and ‹colonial nostalgia› (Lorcin) to analyse the creation of these postcolonial religious memories. Renato Rosaldo considers that missionaries along with other agents of colonialism such as colonial officials and the military, «display nostalgia for the colonized cultures as it was ‹traditionally› (that is, when they first encountered it).»[8] This, he suggests, is ironic given that these colonial officials were mourning for something that they had helped to destroy. In a similar line of argument, Patricia Lorcin has contended that there is a difference between ‹imperial nostalgia› and ‹colonial nostalgia›, with the former referring to the loss of empire and the associated «decline of national grandeur and the international power politics connected to economic and political hegemony».[9] Colonial nostalgia is described as «the loss of sociocultural standing or, more precisely, the colonial lifestyle.»[10] For Lorcin, these differences are evident in the postcolonial period, which for many empires began in the second half of the twentieth century. For Germany, however, the loss of colonies and empire in the aftermath of the First World War ensured that that they were postcolonial before many other empires.[11] Films such as *Afrikanische Reisebilder* were rife with imperial/imperialist and colonial nostalgia as they were made in the inter-war years to evoke certain memories that drew on both political and religious connections to Germany's former colonies. They are also steeped in postcolonial religious memories, as they engender memories of the colonies as places in which the efforts of German missionaries were seminal to the conversion

7   Susanne Zantop, Colonial Fantasies. Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870, New York 1997.
8   Renato Rosaldo, Imperialist Nostalgia, in: Representations, 26 (1989), 107–22. Here page 107.
9   Patricia M. E. Lorcin, Imperial Nostalgia; Colonial Nostalgia: Differences of Theory, Similarities of Practice?, in: Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques, 39/3 (2013), 97–111.
10   Lorcin, Imperial Nostalgia (see note 9), 97–111.
11   Britta Schilling, German Postcolonialism in Four Dimensions: A Historical Perspective, in: Postcolonial Studies, 18/4 (2015), 427–439.

of so-called ‹heathen› peoples to Christianity. As with many other colonial spaces, converted Christian colonial subject were considered easier to rule than non-Christians. With the deportation of German missionaries from German colonies after WWI, the creation of postcolonial religious memories was an important factor in engendering support for the return of German missionaries to the former German colonies, and indeed for the demand that the former German colonies be returned to German rule.

This article begins by firstly providing some contextual information about the state of German missions in the immediate post-WWI period and how missionary leaders in Germany – particularly Protestant leaders – sought to maintain public interest in the plight of German missions through the creation of postcolonial religious memories in Germany. In a second section, the article examines some of the ways in which media were used to create certain forms of postcolonial memories in the post-war years, before focusing in a third section on missionary films as expressions of postcolonial religious memory. The conclusion argues that the missionary films were part of a range of popular media that used propaganda to further both political and religious agendas through the creation of postcolonial religious memories.

The state of German missions in the post-WWI period

When war broke out at the end of July 1914, German mission leaders in Europe as well as German missionaries in the colonies believed that as religious professionals that they would be immune from the hostilities. This was not the case. As the war spread from Europe to the colonies in Africa and beyond, German missionaries were interned and deported from German and British colonies, with some men being placed in civilian camps for the duration of the war. Before the war, many Protestant and Anglican missionary societies had believed that the Edinburg World Missionary Conference of 1910 had ushered in a new era of cooperation. During the war, however, antagonism between German and British missionary leaders as well as the religious public was evident. These tensions increased after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, which came into force in January 1920. Many German missionary leaders followed popular opinion that the conditions of the treaty had brought financial ruin and national shame on Germany. Despite this antagonism, German missionary bodies relied on international connections for them to continue their missionary work in the former German colonies.

After the war, German missionary leaders were disappointed to learn that the British intended to keep them out of the former German colonies for at least three years, and out of India, where there were a number of German missions, for at

least five years.[12] In early 1922, with the end of the three-year ban in sight, discussions in held various government, commercial, church and missionary circles about whether the ban should be lifted, amended, or extended.[13] Britain was keen to ensure that the international community knew that it was keeping an eye on all missionary practices and not letting in people who might aggravate or incite tensions between colonial governments and local peoples. By March 1924, the *Committee on Missions and Governments*, which was an international committee established in the wake of the Edinburg World Missionary Conference of 1910, decided that the time was ripe to approach the British government and ask for the ban to be lifted. They realised that if they did not act quickly, another group might. If they acted first, they reasoned, then they would be able to help set the agenda for the return of German missionaries and ensure that the *Conference of British Missionary Societies* (CBMS) was part of the review process for the government.[14] The CBMS informed its German equivalent, the *Deutsche Evangelische Missionsbund* (DEMB), of this news in July 1924, which was joyfully received.[15] By September 1924, the ban had been lifted and German missionary societies were already beginning to apply to the CBMS to be ‹recognised› as societies to undertake work in the former colonies. It took another year, until September 1925 for the British *Colonial Office* to place the Berlin, Bielefeld and Leipzig mission societies on the list of ‹recognised› societies that were allowed to work in Tangunyika Territory, thus allowing the Berlin mission to return to its old fields in the former colony of German East Africa.[16] The intervening years had been financially difficult for the general population in Germany, and also for the German mission societies which relied upon donations from the general population. German missionary societies found it difficult to raise the same level of funds for the missions as they had in the pre-war years. Nevertheless, the desire remained for German mission societies to return to ‹their› mission fields remained, with a sense of religious responsibility for newly converted Christians being expressed in many missionary texts and images of the period. The creation of nostalgia for the

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[12] World Council of Churches (WCC), International Missionary Committee Archives (IMCA), 26.4.020, Germany, 2. German Missionary Council correspondence from N:Y. files Bericht über die Verhandlungen mit den Herren J.H. Oldham, Frank Lenwood und Dr. Warnshuis, von 1. bis 3. Juli 1921 im Christlichen Verein Junger Männer, Berlin, Wilhelmstr. 3.

[13] WCC, IMCA, 26.15.10, Colonies (1919–ca.1946), 1. German missionaries return: expiry of Colonial, Exclusion ordinances, 1922–1923, Memorandum of Interview with Mr Batterbee at the Colonial Office – 22 March 1922.

[14] WCC, IMCA, 26.15.10, Colonies, Oldham to Ogilvie (Edinburgh), 31 March 1924.

[15] Archiv der Leipziger Missionswerk [ALMW] II.27.16 Dt. Ev. Missionsbund 1924–1935, Missionsdirektor Schlunk, Deutsche Evangelische Missionsbund, an die Mitglieder des D.E.M.B. und an die Herausgeber der N.A.M.Z. und das E.M.M,. 5 July 1924.

[16] WCC, IMCA, 26.15.10, Colonies, Miss Gibson (CBMS) to Schlunk (Hamburg), 10 September 1925.

mission fields through religious memory was a means of keeping alive the religious and political goals for the return of German missionary societies to the former colonies and the return of these colonies to German rule.

The German mission societies also felt the strain in other areas too, with the occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial troops and the associated moral panic, the hyperinflation of 1923, the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 due to late reparation payments, and the general discontent towards the Treaty of Versailles ensuring that wartime animosities were easy to invoke. Rather than distancing themselves from wider political sentiments, German missionary leaders contributed to the political and religious propaganda circulating in inter-war Germany. They were particularly incensed that Germany was considered by the allies as being an incompetent colonial ruler. This accusation was seen as a moral rebuke of Germany as a ‹civilising› nation, and subsequently of German missionary work. In order to reassert their moral claim to missionary work, as well as to raise awareness among the German public German missionary societies used various media to make their point. As voluntary societies relying upon funds from non-government sponsors and individuals, missionary societies have traditionally been innovative in raising money and support for their work through using the latest technologies available to them. In the late 1920s, this was film.

Media and Memory

In the 1920s, memories of the German colonies were maintained in the public memory through events such as colonial balls, festivals, and exhibitions as well as through popular culture such as books, magazines and adventure novels. These various forms of popular culture were a means of disseminating colonial propaganda among the youth and non-elite elements of society. As various scholars have demonstrated, the memories of the German colonies were carefully crafted to reflect ideologically infused cultural memories and commemorative culture.[17]

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[17] See, for example: Christiane Bürger, Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte(n). Der Genozid in Namibia und die Geschichtsschreibung der DDR und BRD, Bielefeld 2017; Sebastian Conrad/Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914, Göttingen 2006; Horst Gründer, «... Da und dort ein junges Deutschland gründen». Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, München 1999; Horst Gründer, Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonien, Paderborn ⁴2000; Horst Gründer/Hermann Joseph Hiery (ed.), Die Deutschen und ihre Kolonien. Ein Überblick, Berlin 2017; Ulrich van der Heyden/Joachim Zeller (eds.), Kolonial Metropole Berlin. Eine Spurensuche, Landshut 2002; Ulrike Lindner, Koloniale Begegnungen. Deutschland und Grossbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914, Frankfurt am Main 2011; Britta Schilling, Postcolonial Germany. Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation, Oxford 2014; Minu Haschemi Yekani/Ulrike Schaper, Pictures, Postcards, Points of Contact: New

As Aleida and Jan Assmann have noted, commemorative culture focuses both on the public and private forms of memory, incorporating both collective and subjective perceptions of historical connections.[18] Notably, commemorative culture focuses primarily on the ‹how› rather than the ‹what› of the memory act. The Assmanns built on the work of the French social philosopher Maurice Halbwachs from the 1920s on ‹collective memory›. In their work, the Assmanns conceived of ‹collective memory› in terms of communicative and cultural memory, with the former term describing an oral transmission of personal memory, whereas the latter term refers to an institutionalised mnemonic.[19] In examining collective memory of German colonialism, scholars have examined various objects and genres. Winfried Spietkamp and Joachim Zeller have examined material culture, particularly memorials commemorating colonial heroes, to demonstrate how colonies were heroically remembered in postcolonial Germany.[20] Britta Schilling has examined mass consumer culture, such as books, festivals and colonial balls, to show how memories were constructed, but also how many of these memories were transferred through generations to people who had no personal connection to colonial spaces.[21]

The colonial revisionist movement used both text and images to maintain the memory of the colonies in German society, and many of the colonial imagery styles that circulated in the post-war years had their origins in imperial era advertising. In his work on advertising in Imperial Germany, David Ciarlo has demonstrated how advertising images developed a pictorial style in which patterns of racialisation were evident.[22] Such images that were developed and refined during the colonial period exaggerated visual distinctions of race in order to maintain the boundary between colonised and colonisers, while ensuring that colonial subordinates were confined to their roles as inferior and infantile.[23] This mode of representation was most prevalent during the colonial period as a means of creating

Approaches to Cultural Histories of German Colonialism, in: German History, 35/4 (2017), 603–623. Joachim Zeller, Kolonialdenkmäler und Geschichtsbewusstsein. Eine Untersuchung der Kolonialdeutschen Erinnerungskultur, Frankfurt am Main 2000.

[18] See, for example: Astrid Erll, Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung, Stuttgart 2005; Aleida Assmann, Transformations between History and Memory, in: Social Research, 75 (2008), 49–72.

[19] Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, München ⁴2002.

[20] Winfried Speitkamp, Erinnerungsorte und Erinnerungskulturen in Afrika, in: Sonja Klein/Vivian Liska/Karl Solibakke/Bernd Witte (eds.), Gedächtnisstrategien und Medien im interkulturellen Dialog, Würzburg 2011, 273–82; Joachim Zeller, Kolonialdenkmäler und Geschichtsbewusstsein (see note 17).

[21] Schilling, Postcolonial Germany (see note 17).

[22] David Ciarlo, Advertising Empire. Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany Cambridge, Massachusetts/London 2011.

[23] Yekani/Schaper, Picture, Postcards, Points of Contact (see note 17).

difference through the ascription of inferiority and thus to providing a legitimising claim to justify colonial rule. From the 1920s, there were also numerous ‹Kolonialfilme› (colonial films), which used images from the former colonies to underline the political movement for their return. These films were very popular and by the end of the 1920s, the market was saturated with them.[24] By the end of the 1920s, Catholic and Protestant missionary groups were also using the new medium of film to present to their supporters particular images of Africa and the other ‹lost› colonies in order to generate funds and support. These films did not draw on exaggerated advertising images, although images were also an important part of missionary propaganda. Rather, the visual stereotypes that missionaries relied on were ones that made a clear distinction between the ‹needy› Other and the generous Christian supporter.[25]

Memories of the former German colonies were particularly maintained through members of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* [DKG, German Colonial Society], which in 1925 was incorporated into the *Kolonialen Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft* [KORAG, Reich's Colonial Working Group], and from 1933 into the *Reichskolonialbund* [Reich's Colonial Federation]. Dr. Heinrich Schnee (1871–1949), a former colonial governor and the president of the DKG between 1930 and 1936, was the foremost campaigner for the return of the colonies.[26] He was well known for his writings including his 1926 publication *Die Kolonialschuldlüge,* which was quickly translated and published in England under the title *German Colonization Past and Future.*[27] This book, like many of his other writings, argued passionately for the return of the colonies to ensure Germany's demographic and social security and refuted the claim that Germans were incapable of being good colonial administrators.[28] Schnee's refutation of the ‹colonial guilt lie› lay in the same tradition as the rebuttal of the ‹lie of German war guilt›

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[24] Gerlinda Waz, Heia Safari! Träume von einer verlorenen Welt. Expeditions-, Kolonial- und ethnographische Filme, in: Klaus Kreimeier/Antje Ehmann/Jeanpaul Goergen (eds.), Geschichte des dokumentarischen Films in Deutschland, vol. 2. Weimarer Republik. 1918–1933, Stuttgart 2005, 187–203.

[25] Becker/Storning, Menschen – Bilder – Eine Welt (see note 3).

[26] Katharina Abermeth, Heinrich Schnee. Karrierewege und Erfahrungswelten eines deutschen Kolonialbeamten, Kiel 2017.

[27] It also appeared quickly in the United States. See: Heinrich Schnee, German Colonization Past and Future. The truth about the German colonies, New York 1926.

[28] Heinrich Schnee, Die Koloniale Schuldlüge, 8th edn, München 1927. For an analysis the discusive continuites and similarities between his work and the agenda of the NSDAP see, for example, Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, Nazifying Colonialism: Settler Colonialism and the Fate of Germany's Colonial Chronotope, in: Settler Colonial Studies, 6/1 (2016), 23–44.

(known in German as the ‹Kriegsschuldlüge›), which was also aired in both government and public discourses.[29] Beyond such formal settings, the memories of the former colonies were upheld through a variety of media, including text, exhibitions, lectures, colonial balls, popular literature and school-books, cigarette collecting cards and, increasingly from the late 1920s, film.[30]

Protestant Missionary Films

Missionary films were a popular form of infotainment, a portmanteau of information and entertainment. By the winter of 1930/31, there were 13 Protestant missionary films in circulation. This is a significant number considering that the first one, *Afrikanische Reisebilder*, was only approved by the censors in August 1927. The beginning of Protestant missionary films began in March 1926, when Mission Inspector Ludwig Weichert (1887–1936) of the Berlin Mission was granted permission by the mission board to take up to nine months' leave from his duties in Berlin to undertake an evangelistic tour of the German congregations in South Africa. The Berlin Mission wanted for him to visit their mission stations, for which they would pay the costs, and encouraged him to visit Dar es Salaam on his outward voyage.[31]

Weichert was a good candidate as his duties as an inspector of the Berlin Mission included evangelical work as well as Christian publishing and communication.[32] Between May 1926 and May 1927, he travelled through the former German colony of Deutsch-Südwestafrika (now Namibia), then a mandate of the Union of South Africa. He also journeyed through the Union of South Africa and the former Deutsch Ostafrika (now mainland Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda), which

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[29] Klaus Große Kracht, Kriegsschuldfrage und zeithistorische Forschung in Deutschland, in: Zeitgeschichte Online, 3 (2004), in: ‹https://zeitgeschichte-online.de/site/ 40208199/default.aspx› (8 August 2018); Dirk van Laak, Über alles in der Welt. Deutscher Imperialismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, München 2005. See also Hans Zache, Die Deutschen Kolonien in Wort und Bild, Berlin/Leipzig ²2004.

[30] Schilling, Postcolonial Germany (see note 17); Christian Rogowski, «Heraus mit unseren Kolonien!» Der Kolonialrevisionismus der Weimarer Republik und die Hamburger Kolonialwoche von 1926, in: Birthe Kundrus (ed.), Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Deutschen Kolonialismus, Frankfurt/New York 2003, 243–262; Birthe Kundrus (ed.), Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des Deutschen Kolonialismus, Frankfurt/New York 2003; Jeff Bowersox, «Neuer Lebensraum in unseren Kolonien». Die Berliner Kolonialausstellung von 1933, in: Ulrich van der Heyden/Joachim Zeller (eds.), «...Macht und Anteil an der Weltherrschaft». Berlin und der Deutsche Kolonialismus, Münster 2005, 177–183; Marta Tuschik, Kolonialpropaganda in Kolonie und Heimat in Wort und Bild: «Weibliche Kulturmission» und «Rassenfrage», in: Peter Albrecht/Holger Böning (eds.), Historische Presse und ihre Leser. Studien zu Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Intelligenzblättern und Kalendern in Nordwestdeutschland, Bremen 2005, 337–345.

[31] ELAB, BMW 1/64, Comitee Verhandlungen 1926–1927, 2 March 1926, Meeting point 8.

[32] ELAB, BMW 1/64, Comitee Verhandlungen 1926–1927, 2. February 1926.

was then a British mandate. He took a film camera with him on tour, having been trained in the new medium by the Berlin film operator Friedrich Paulmann before his departure.[33] Weichert's role as a travelling documentary filmmaker was subsequently emulated by many other missionaries, who were given a camera and told to film life in the mission fields. The documentary genre allowed for a great deal of artistic freedom and meant that missionary societies could guide, but not dictate, what was captured on film.[34]

Five months after Weichert's return to Germany, the film passed through the Berlin Film Review Office allowing it to be used for educational purposes as well as missionary film evenings. The film *Afrikanische Reisebilder* was in five acts. The first act depicted the pre-colonial state of various African peoples, the second act – considered the most valuable due to its uniqueness – showed a ‹heathen› ritual, the third act portrayed the conflicts that arose when Europeans came into contact with Africans, and the fourth and fifth acts described the work of the German missions in the former German colonies and in South Africa.

This film, similar to many other missionary films both Protestant and Catholic, was aimed at young adults, schoolchildren, and Sunday school children, as well as men's, women's and youth groups, through flyers as well as advertisements in local and church newspapers. Missionary films were usually shown in both daytime and in evening sessions, preferably during school hours. Tickets for the public viewings were sold in advance in bookstores, through associations, Bible groups, and Sunday schools. In addition to the profits from ticket sales, collections for the mission were taken at the events.[35] The films were shown in church halls and centers in cities and in the countryside with affordable ticket prices to allow as many people as possible to attend. Rebekka Habermas has argued that it was through missionary organisations in the countryside that rural Germans learned about the colonies during the colonial period.[36] Films, I contend, informed such groups about the post-colonial state of German missions. Beyond missionary organisations and Christian circles, screenings were advertised in secular newsprint, which sometimes gave synopses of the films. Initially the films were silent black and white films, with accompanying booklets suggesting the musical accompaniment. Later, records, including some with African music, were played to

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[33] ELAB, BMW 1/64, Comitee Verhandlungen 1926–1927, 2 March 1926, Meeting point 8.

[34] See: ELAB, BMW 1 2355, Filmgelegenheiten mit anderen Missionsgesellschaften, 1929–1939, Bd.2a, Hans Lokies (Gossner Mission) to Baumgart (Missionsfilm GmbH), 28 April 1930.

[35] ELAB, BMW 1/2359, Afrikanische Reisebilder. Ein Film von der alten Kultur der Europäischen Zivilisation und der deutschen Mission im Lande der Mohren. (Evang. Presseverband für Deutschland/Evang. Bildkammer, Berlin-Steglitz 1927), 28.

[36] Rebekka Habermas, Colonies in the Countryside: Doing Mission in Imperial Germany, in: Journal of Social History, 50/3 (2017), 502–517.

accompany the films, and some films contained sound.[37] The screening of a missionary film was a protracted event accompanied by singing, lectures and other forms of information and entertainment extending the experience to around two hours.[38] All of this was undertaken for the benefit of German missions, including many in former German colonies in Africa.

Films were often accompanied by program booklets. The booklet for *Afrikanische Reisebilder*, for example, provided information on how the film should be presented, including a suggested program for the evening, communal songs and an introductory lecture.[39] Although the text often described the ‹European-American civilisation› in Africa, and thus moving beyond a German-centric approach, the film included references to peoples among whom German missionaries had worked, including the Herero and the Nama (referred to in the text by the contemporary term ‹Hottentots›), and to mission stations established before the war. There was also a reference to the Woermann shipping line from Hamburg to West Africa, which had been the dominant shipping line in the colonial period thus reminding the viewer of the pre-colonial connections between Germany and Africa. The suggested musical accompaniment was overwhelmingly from German-speaking countries, with composers such as Haydn, Schubert and Wagner being prominently represented alongside folk tunes such as *Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf*, providing a German-centric auditory program, despite all of the visual material being from places no longer under German political control.

According to the booklet, the first images in the film were intended to «awaken in the viewer the memory of his [sic] geographical knowledge of Africa.»[40] This reawakening of memories of Africa was also a means of reconnecting the viewer with the pre-war, and therefore colonial, memories of German missionary activities in Africa. For many Protestant missionary societies, geographical knowledge was an important aspect of the knowledge production of foreign places, with maps and/or geographical descriptions found in all missionary publications, reminding the reader (and viewer) of the geographical reach of the Protestant missionary enterprise.[41] Beyond the missionary activities, maps were an integral part of the colonial enterprise in which the production of geographical knowledge was part

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[37] Advertisement page, in: Deutsche Reichs-Zeitung, 31 December 1932, 19.
[38] «Ein Missionsfilm», in: Aufwärts: Christliches Tageblatt, 12 February 1928, 2.
[39] ELAB, BMW 1/2359 Afrikanische Reisebilder. Ein Film von der alten Kultur der Europäischen Zivilisation und der deutschen Mission im Lande der Mohren. (Evang. Presseverband für Deutschland/Evang. Bildkammer, Berlin-Steglitz 1927, 5.
[40] ELAB, BMW 1/2359 Afrikanische Reisebilder. Ein Film von der alten Kultur der Europäischen Zivilisation und der deutschen Mission im Lande der Mohren. (Evang. Presseverband für Deutschland/Evang. Bildkammer, Berlin-Steglitz 1927, 7. German original: sollen in dem Beschauer die Erinnerung an seine geographischen Kenntnisse von Afrika wecken.
[41] David Onnekink, Kingdom Come: The Eschatology of Missionary Maps, in: International Bulletin of Mission Research, 45/3 (2021), 248–256.

of a broader display of control and symbolic power through the rendering of complex cultural and political environments into two-dimensional objects.[42]

Some of the first images in the film that Weichert shot were of the Jammerbucht, south of Lüdenritz in Kharas, near Pomana, in Namibia. The accompanying booklet focused not on the ocean, but on Pomona, a once-thriving town that served the diamond rush from 1908, stating:

> «This is the Pomona that saw so many human passions unleashed in the early years of this century, for it was here that the richest finds were made in the diamond fields of Lüderitzbuch. Anyone who has read Hans Grimm's novel ‹Volk ohne Raum›, one of the most valuable books published in the German language in recent decades, will remember the name Pomona and will regard this coastal landscape with particular interest.»[43]

The discovery of diamonds in German South West Africa in 1908 was considered an economic boom for the colony as the quantity and quality of the diamonds had a good standing on the world diamond market. By the second year of mining, the production was the fourth largest in the world.[44] With the loss of German South West Africa, the German Empire also lost access to the rich diamond fields, with this economic separation was rendered by the Treaty of Versailles and the transformation of German colonies into mandates was considered unfair by many colonial revisionists in the inter-war period. The call to remember these valuable diamond mines set the scene for the film on German missionary work in Africa, connecting imperial and economic expansion with missionary work through reference to popular colonial revisionist literature of the period.

Yet the film was more than just a gentle reminder to viewers of their geographical knowledge or the reach of German missions. The accompanying booklet explicitly connected the film to the colonial revisionist debates of the time by referencing Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum*. Grimm wrote the book over five years from 1920 to 1925, with the first of two volumes published in 1926, the year

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[42] There is a large amount of material on this topic, see for example: James R. Akermann (ed.), The Imperial Map. Cartography and the Mastery of Empire, Chicago 2009.

[43] ELAB, BMW 1/2359 Afrikanische Reisebilder. Ein Film von der alten Kultur der Europäischen Zivilisation und der deutschen Mission im Lande der Mohren. (Evang. Presseverband für Deutschland/Evang. Bildkammer, Berlin-Steglitz 1927, 7. German original: Das ist das Pomona, daß in den ersten Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts soviel menschliche Leidenschaften entfesselt gesehen hat, denn hier wurden die reichsten Funde auf den Diamantfeldern von Lüderitzbuch gemacht. Wer den Roman von Hans Grimm «Volk ohne Raum» gelesen hat, eins der wertvollsten Bücher, das in den letzten Jahrzehnten in deutscher Sprache erschienen ist, der wird noch ohne innere Ergriffenheit sich auf den Namen Pomona besinnen und wird dies Küstenbild mit besonderem Interesse schauen.

[44] Bruno Simmersbach, Vom Bergbau in Südwestafrika, in: Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft / Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, 72/3 (1916), 417–424.

before the film's release.[45] The book followed the adventures of Cornelius Friebott as he experienced WWI in Africa and the aftermath of the loss of the German colonies. It was a patriotic and painful description of the struggle for the German Empire's right to exist after WWI and included issues such as the demand for the return of the colonies as a means of countering the overpopulation of postwar Germany. Grimm's book underscored the political sentiments of the time, including a hatred of England and socialism. It also contained descriptions of both the English and German versions of colonialism, which contributed to the counter-claims of the ‹Kolonialschuldlüge› (lie of colonial guilt).[46] The reference to Grimm's book thus set the tone imperialistic and colonial nostalgia.

In addition to the film, Weichert also published a book of his travels in 1927 entitled, *Mayibuye iAfrika! Kehre wieder, Afrika! Erlauschtes und Erschautes aus Südwest-, Süd- und Ostafrika* (Return, Africa! (Back to Africa!) Heard and seen from South-west, South and East Africa). This book contained over 60 illustrations of his travels through South and South-East Africa (see Image 1). By 1928, the book was in its second print run. In 1929, a fictionalised feature film with the same title, *Kehre wieder, Afrika! (Mayibuye iAfrika!)*, was released, indicating the significance of the phrase.[47] According to Weichert, the phrase *Mayibuye iAfrika* was a Zulu freedom song in Natal calling for the return of Africa for Africans.[48] Weichert's film, and even more so his book addressed both colonial and imperial nostalgia, that is, the loss of empire and the associated loss of international political importance (imperial nostalgia), and «the loss of sociocultural standing or, more precisely, the colonial lifestyle»[49] (colonial nostalgia). The loss of the German Empire was seen as an insult to Germany's standing in the post WWI European political arena, and the loss of the colonies for the German missionary societies was seen as a loss of their spheres of influence. Weichert's book *Mayibuye iAfrika* (1927) was not a travelogue, as the one reviewer suggested, but a mixture of sweeping historical overviews of colonisation, comparisons of the colonial politics of various European empires and a nostalgic view back to a simpler Africa before the negative effects of Europeanisation had taken hold. It promoted German mission work and provided an overview of the state of the mission

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45 George H. Danton, Hans Grimm's «Volk Ohne Raum», in: Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht, 27/2 (1935), 33–43.

46 Danton, Hans Grimm's Volk Ohne Raum (see note 45), 33–43; Schnee, Die Koloniale Schuldlüge (see note 28); Woodruff Smith, The Colonial Novel as Political Propaganda: Hans Grimm's «Volk Ohne Raum», in: German Studies Review, 6/2 (1983), 215–235.

47 Kaczmarek/Wulff, Missionsfilme (see note 2).

48 Ludwig Weichert, Mayibuye iAfrika. Kehre wieder, Afrika!, Berlin 1927, iv, 176.

49 Lorcin, Imperial Nostalgia (see note 9).

fields in those parts of Africa to which Weichert had travelled.[50] The book was embedded in the politics of the time indirectly alluding to the discontent over the Treaty of Versailles, and in particular of the stationing of thousands of black French colonial soldiers in the occupied Rhineland from 1918–1930 referring to the 1925 book *Die schwarze Welle*, which was a so-called ‹Negerroman› by Afim Assanga, edited and published by Fritz Oswald Bilse.

Within *Mayibuye iAfrika* the reference to *Die schwarze Welle* was in the context of disgruntled African French colonial subjects and the bitterness that they felt towards their colonial rulers, despite being French subjects.[51] This reading of the book questioned French colonial rule and is to be read in the context of the ‹colonial guilt lie›. However, the reference also conjured up images of the French colonial soldiers occupying the Rhine and the moral hysteria of the period, associated with the so-called ‹Schwarze Schmach› (Black horror on the Rhine).[52] This term and the moral panic that it ensued was used to discredit the Treaty of Versailles and to divert attention from German war crimes by suggesting that the French were also guilty of moral misconduct. Popular films such as *Die Schwarze Schmach* (1921), which played to packed cinemas, ensured that the images and moral panic circulated beyond the borders of the Rhineland.[53] The missionary film *Afrikanische Reisebilder* and its accompanying material followed these trends in popular culture, highlighting colonial and imperialistic nostalgia, while arguing for the support of German missionaries in their disrupted religious work in the former colonies.

Afrikanische Reisebilder set the tone for further missionary films in the interwar years. In October 1927, the *Missionsfilmgenossenschaft* (Mission Film Company) was established to ensure the cooperation, rather than competition between Protestant missionary societies. It was modelled on contemporary secular film societies such as the *Deutsche Lichtbild-Gesellschaft*, which produced films, booklets, catalogues, texts for accompanying lectures and other material to facilitate the distribution of their films. The Catholics had already established a missionary film company in 1922 and began producing films on the inner mission in 1925 and the ‹heathen› mission in 1926.[54] The Protestant Mission Film Company initially consisted of the Berlin, Herrnhut and Leipzig mission societies, and its

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[50] P. A. Freytag, Buchbesprechung: «Kehre wieder, Afrika! (Mayibuye i Afrika!), Erlauschtes und Erschautes aus Südwest-, Süd- und Ostafrika», von Ludwig Weichert, Berlin 276 S., Geheftet 7 Mk., Gebunden 8,50 Mk, in: Africa (London 1928), 2/2 (1929), 208–208.
[51] Weichert, Mayibuye iAfrika (see note 48), 86.
[52] Giesela Lebzelter, Die «Schwarze Schmach». Vorurteile–Propaganda–Mythos, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 11/1 (1985), 37–58.
[53] Waz, Heia Safari! (see note 24).
[54] Kaczmarek/Wulff, Missionsfilme (see note 2), 1–15; «Katholisches aus aller Welt», in: Hamborner Volkszeitung, 21 May 1922, 2.

first film was a silent black and white film entitled *Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrikafilm in 5 Akten* (Andrea, the son of the sorcerer. An East African film in five acts.).[55] Set in the former German colony of German East Africa in the area where the Berlin and Herrnhut missions operated, this fictionalised story followed the life of a converted man called Andrea, who was the son of a sorcerer/witch doctor and through his religious convictions converted his entire village to Christianity. Advertising material for the film depicted a man with a contorted or stern face, reflecting the serious nature of the film (See Images 2 and 3). As with *Afrikanische Reisebilder* the film was full of imperialist and colonial nostalgia. The accompanying booklet set the scene, recounting: «We see the wistful memories of the ruins of dilapidated mission buildings, the overgrown ruins of the first Berlin mission station Alt-Wangemannshoh with the graves of the first white men who died there.»[56] The text then continues by providing a synopsis of the plot. Finally, the booklet also provides information on the work of the three mission societies (Berlin, Herrnhut and Leipzig) in the former German East Africa, reminding the reader of the religious connections to the former colonies and the devastation that the war had brought to these erstwhile flourishing missions. Indeed, as one of the film's critics noted: «One can learn something of the blessing of the mission from it. And that is what matters to us.»[57] The film was not only directed at the religious community. This is evident from the concluding comment in the booklet by Professor Julius Richter, an influential missiologist and proponent of the return of the German colonies. His comment reads in full:

> «‹Andrea› is predominantly a missionary film which shows the work of the Berlin Mission, the Moravian Church and the Leipzig Mission in German East Africa in an outstanding way. At the same time, however, there are so many magnificent landscape images and, in the long drive ‹Across German East Africa›, such a profound illustration of the whole country that I have no doubt that this report will also find a wide audience among colonial friends.»[58]

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[55] ALMW II.27.16 Dt. Ev. Missionsbund 1924–1935, Minutes from the DEMB in Herrnhut, 14 and 15 October 1927, section 3.

[56] ELAB, BMW 1/202361, Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrikafilm in 5 Akten, n.d. n.l.

[57] ELAB, BMW 1/202361, Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrikafilm in 5 Akten, n.d. n.l., 21.

[58] ELAB, BMW 1/202361, Andrea Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrikafilm in 5 Akten, n.d. n.l., 21. German original: «Andrea» ist ja überwiegend ein Missionsfilm, der die Arbeit der Berliner Mission, der Brüdergemeine und der Leipziger Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika in geradezu glänzender Weise zur Anschauung bringt. Zugleich sind aber so viele großartige Landschaftsbilder und bei der großen Autofahrt «Quer durch Deutsch-Ostafrika»

By explicitly referring to the territory as ‹German East Africa›, rather than the mandated territory of Tanganyika, and by referring to ‹colonial friends›, Richter noted the colonial and imperial nostalgia in this missionary film. Indeed, this film as well as other missionary films, found a «wide audience among colonial friends»[59] following a general trend for colonial revisionist films among the general population. In November 1927, more than 1,000 people watched *Afrikanische Reisebilder* in screenings in Ammerdorf, near Halle (Saale) in Saxony-Anhalt.[60] The film was also popular in the Erzgebirge region, where it was shown to great acclaim in Aue in November 1928 and then again in March 1929.[61] When the missionary film *Andrea* was shown in Grünhain in March 1929, it was as if the «guests had been taken to the former German colony of East Africa.»[62] The explicit connection to the former German colonies was taken up by the secular colonial movement. For example, the *Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (Women's League of the DKG) in Bünde showed *Afrikanische Reisebilder* as one of two films at its film night in October 1932. This film, stripped of its religious connotations in the subsequent newspaper report of the event, was seen as contributing to the «evening's complete success for the German colonial cause», which, in the words of one of the organisers, «was the preservation of the German character and the revival of German economic power in countries which now seem lost to us.»[63] This event used various forms of media to ensure that the cultural memory of the colonies persisted, even among people who had set foot in the colonies themselves.

Conclusion

Missionary films were both films of faith and films of colonial fantasy. They grew out of the tradition of missionary propaganda, which missionary societies used to create a certain image of ‹heathen› missions in order to garner support for their spiritual work. In particularly, the earlier films from the post-war and post-colonial period of the 1920s were imbued with colonial revisionist motifs and accompanied by texts replete with imperialistic and colonial nostalgia. The spirit of the

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eine so tief einführende Veranschaulichung des ganzen Landes geboten, daß ich nicht zweifele, dieser Bericht wird auch in den Kreisen der Kolonialfreunde eine weitgehende Teilnahme finden.
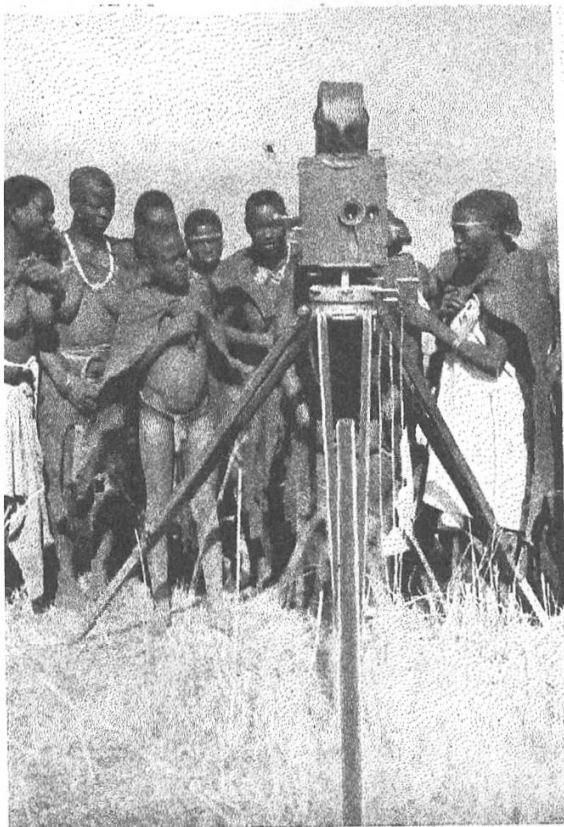
[59] Waz, Heia Safari! (see note 24).
[60] «Vermischte Nachrichten aus der Provinz», in: Hallische Nachrichten General-Anzeige für Halle und die Provinz Sachsen, Friday, 11 November 1927, 9.
[61] «Was bringen die Kinos? », in: Auer Tageblatt: Anzeiger für das Erzgebirge, 2 March 1929, 3.
[62] «Grünhain», in: Erzgebirgischer Volksfreund, 14 March 1929, 6.
[63] «Die gestrige Filmvorführung des Frauenbundes der D.K.G.», in: Bünder Tageblatt (Ennigloher Zeitung), 20 October 1932, 318.

times led many Germans to believe that they had been wronged by the Treaty of Versailles and that the lie of colonial guilt was a stain on Germany's international reputation. In this light, missionary films provided an outlet for popular colonial revisionist ideas as well as providing a sanitised version of missionary work in the moving images that connected former German work in the colonies with the promise of a religious continuation in German postcolonial spaces. They harked back to a period in which Germans were the ‹rightful› colonial rulers and bearers of religious ‹truth›. Like other forms of missionary propaganda, missionary films relied on complex networks and the cooperation of many people, including non-Europeans in the mission fields. The films themselves were embedded in the political and religious thought of the period, and in the films discussed as well as the accompanying material referred to more highly politicised texts that refuted the claims against Germany and thus contributed to the demand for the return of the German colonies. In the turmoil of the late 1920s, the connection between political and religious memory making was blurred by the use of colonial and imperialistic nostalgia in missionary films.

Phot. Paulmann

Der Kurbelkasten im Herzen Afrikas

Image 1: Der Kurbelkasten in Herzen Afrikas, Photo Paulmann. From: Ludwig Weichert, Mayibuye iAfrika. Kehre wieder, Afrika!, Berlin 1927, xxi.

Image 2: Poster for Andrea. Berliner Missionswerk: Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrika-Film, Archivsignatur: BMW 1/2361.
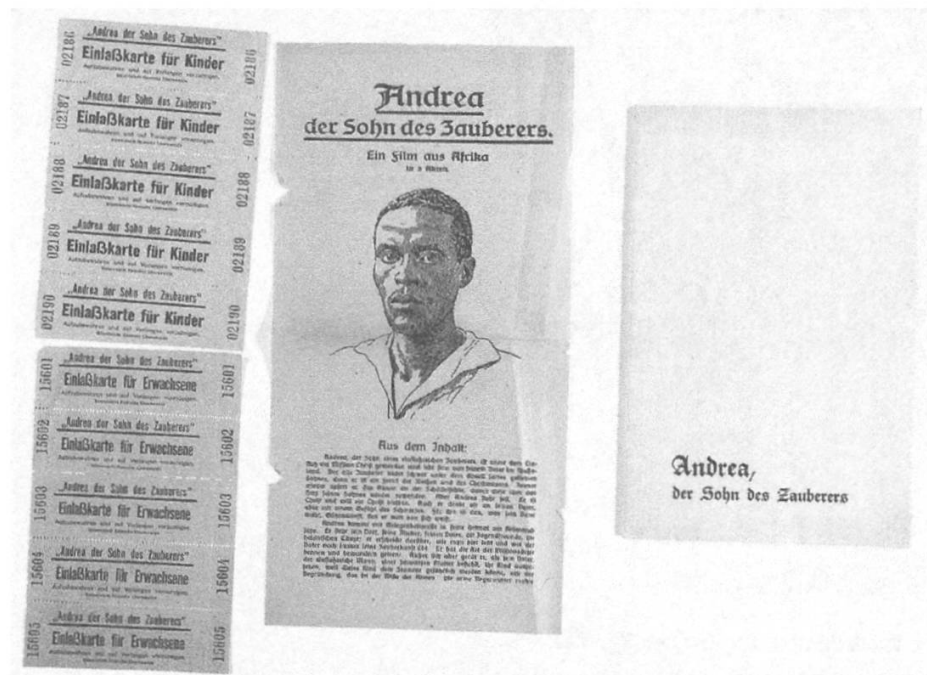

Image 3: Berliner Missionswerk: Andrea, der Sohn des Zauberers. Ein Ostafrika-Film, Archivsignatur: BMW 1/2361.

*Films of Faith and Colonial Fantasy – Postcolonial Religious Memories
in Inter-War Germany*

After the ‹loss› of the colonies at the end of the First World War, German missionary societies turned to the medium of film to spread information about religious work including work in the former German colonies. Between 1927 and 1960, over 65 missionary films were produced by Catholic and Protestant missionary societies, many with an explicit connection to the former German colonies. The media of film has not been examined in terms of how this media contributed to postcolonial religious memory making. This article focuses on Protestant missionary films and their supporting documentation to argue that they were imbued with ‹imperial nostalgia›/‹imperialist nostalgia› (Lorcin/Rosaldo) and ‹colonial nostalgia› (Lorcin) as well as reference used by the popular colonial revisionist movement to make moral claims for the return of the colonies and the role of German missionaries. In the cultural and political turmoil of the late 1920s, the connection to political and religious memory making was blurred through the use of colonial and imperialistic nostalgia in missionary films.

Films – Propaganda – Protestant mission – Post-Colonial Germany – Inter-War period.

*Filme des Glaubens und der kolonialen Phantasie – Postkoloniale religiöse
Erinnerungen im Deutschland der Zwischenkriegszeit*

Nach dem ‹Verlust› der Kolonien am Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs nutzten die deutschen Missionsgesellschaften das Medium Film, um über die religiöse Arbeit auch in den ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien zu informieren. Zwischen 1927 und 1960 wurden über 65 Missionsfilme von katholischen und evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften produziert, viele davon mit einem ausdrücklichen Bezug zu den ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien. Das Medium Film ist bisher nicht daraufhin untersucht worden, wie es zur postkolonialen religiösen Erinnerungsarbeit beiträgt. Dieser Artikel konzentriert sich auf protestantische Missionsfilme und die sie begleitende Dokumentation, um zu zeigen, dass sie von ‹imperialer Nostalgie›/‹imperialistischer Nostalgie› (Lorcin/Rosaldo) und ‹kolonialer Nostalgie› (Lorcin) durchdrungen waren und von der populären kolonialen Revisionsbewegung als Referenz genutzt wurden, um moralische Ansprüche für die Rückgewinnung der Kolonien und die Rolle der deutschen Missionare geltend zu machen. In den kulturellen und politischen Turbulenzen der späten 1920er Jahre wurde die Verbindung zur politischen und religiösen Erinnerungsarbeit durch die Verwendung kolonialer und imperialistischer Nostalgie in Missionsfilmen verwischt.

Filme – Propaganda – protestantische Mission – postkoloniales Deutschland – Zwischenkriegszeit.

*Films de foi et de fantaisie coloniale – Mémoires religieuses postcoloniales
dans l'Allemagne de l'entre-deux-guerres*

Après la ‹perte› des colonies à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale, les sociétés missionnaires allemandes se sont tournées vers le cinéma pour diffuser des informations sur le travail religieux, y compris dans les anciennes colonies allemandes. Entre 1927 et 1960, plus de 65 films missionnaires ont été produits par des sociétés missionnaires catholiques et protestantes, dont beaucoup avaient un lien explicite avec les anciennes colonies allemandes. Le média du film n'a pas été étudié en termes de contribution à l'élaboration de la mémoire religieuse postcoloniale. Cet article se concentre sur les films de missionnaires protestants et leur documentation afin de démontrer qu'ils étaient imprégnés de ‹nostalgie impériale›/‹nostalgie impérialiste› (Lorcin/Rosaldo) ainsi que de ‹nostalgie coloniale› (Lorcin) et qu'ils étaient utilisés par le mouvement révisionniste colonial populaire pour revendiquer moralement le retour des colonies et le rôle des missionnaires allemands. Dans l'agitation culturelle et politique de la fin des années 1920, le lien avec l'élaboration de la

mémoire politique et religieuse a été brouillé par l'utilisation de la nostalgie coloniale et impérialiste dans les films missionnaires.

Films – propagande – mission protestante – Allemagne post-coloniale – entre-deux-guerres.

Film missionari e di fantasia coloniale – Memorie religiose postcoloniali nella Germania interbellica

Dopo la ‹perdita› delle colonie alla fine della Prima guerra mondiale, le società missionarie tedesche fecero uso del mezzo cinematografico per diffondere informazioni sul lavoro religioso, compreso quello nelle ex colonie tedesche. Tra il 1927 e il 1960, le società missionarie cattoliche e protestanti produssero oltre 65 film missionari, molti dei quali con un esplicito collegamento alle ex colonie tedesche. Il mezzo cinematografico non è stato analizzato in termini di contributo alla costruzione della memoria religiosa postcoloniale. Questo articolo si concentra sui film missionari protestanti e sulla loro documentazione di supporto, sostenendo che essi erano impregnati di ‹nostalgia imperiale›/‹nostalgia imperialista› (Lorcin/Rosaldo) e ‹nostalgia coloniale› (Lorcin), e che furono il riferimento utilizzato dal movimento popolare di revisione coloniale per avanzare rivendicazioni morali per la restituzione delle colonie e per il ruolo dei missionari tedeschi. Nel fermento culturale e politico della fine degli anni Venti, la connessione con la costruzione della memoria politica e religiosa fu offuscata dalla messinscena della nostalgia coloniale e imperialistica nei film missionari.

Film – propaganda – missione protestante – Germania postcoloniale – periodo interbellico.

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