

Photographer unknown.
*Michał Drzymała transportujący
swoj nowy wóz mieszkalny, przez
Grodzisk (Michał Drzymała trans-
porting his new residential
wagon through Grodzisk), 1908.*



Infrastructures of “Legitimate Violence”: The Prussian Settlement Commission, Internal Colonization, and the Migrant Remainder

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Transgressive Circulations 1: The Land as Medium

In 1908, in partitioned Poland, a small, spontaneous procession formed along the streets of Grodzisk Mazowiecki as the peasant farmer Michał Drzymała, a humble figure in the Polish independence movement, walked his wagon (*wóz*), described in the press as “the Polish village on wheels,” toward the town’s central train station. Drzymała was transporting his new carriage back to a small plot of land he owned in the district of Poznań (or Posen, as it was known at the time). A 1904 amendment to the 1886 Settlement Law had forbidden him to build a home on his newly purchased land. The purpose of the amendment, concealed in paragraph 13b, was to enable local officials to deny building permits to Poles solely on the grounds of ethnicity: “In order to ward off such dangers,” the law stated, “the provision of 13b is to be used emphatically and unrestrictedly everywhere.”¹ Hundreds of building applications were thereafter denied each day to Polish applicants across the Prussian-Polish territories.² The law, however, went a step further when it claimed that any place where one was stationary for more than twenty-four hours was to be legally considered a home. In 1904, Drzymała, in an attempt to circumvent the new restrictions in Prussian Poland, moved his family into an abandoned circus caravan (later updated with a new carriage, paid for by donations), and for the next five years he moved its position several meters each day. The wagon and its transgressive circulations had become unwitting symbols of the occupied nation and its resistance to the colonial building regime in the region, administered by the Prussian state under the aegis of the Royal Prussian Settlement Commission (RPSC).

While Drzymała eventually lost his case (which made its way to the Prussian Supreme Court), it attracted publicity throughout

Europe and helped to catalyze the Polish resistance movement unfolding at the time across the continent under the banner of an antipartition, anticolonial nationalism. A 1907 article in *Le petit journal*, a French daily circular, which featured an image of Drzymała's caravan parked on his land, detailed his case against the Prussian state, arguing that it embodied the resistance of "a mutilated and oppressed but indestructible nation" against the "brutal Germanization" efforts to displace the Poles from their rightful land (Polish territory that had previously belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the Partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795).³ In this dispatch, Gabriel Dauehot relayed to his readers the proposed Expropriation Law, the law of eminent domain, that the Ministry of Agriculture had recently put to the Prussian Landtag, triggered, he argued, by Drzymała's increasingly public protest. Ratified in 1908, this was to be the final and perhaps most punishing amendment to the Settlement Law, one of several "emergency" measures that would come to define its legacy.

The legislative response generated by Drzymała's act of refusal illustrates a significant if little discussed point about the heritage of the Settlement Law; namely, that over the course of the RPSC's campaign, which had confined Drzymała and his family to live in a pattern of continual and coerced movement across his own land, several of its legal provisions were applied nationally as federal policy. The Verein für Socialpolitik played a pivotal role in this transfer of practices, further illustrating the entangled relationship that had developed by this time between the state's interior land-use and housing policies and the urbanization schemes of its various colonial regimes. A careful study of these entanglements, moreover, reveals what Partha Chatterjee calls "a rule of colonial difference"—a mode of representing the "other" as "radically different, and hence incorrigibly inferior," a constitutive feature, he argues, of modern forms of disciplinary power—operating across the German territories, not only in formal colonial or partitioned domains but in architectural and urban situations that were not, in any strict sense of the term, colonial.⁴ It likewise discloses the reciprocal constitution, and shared historical legacies, of certain colonial practices in the German-controlled regions of Eastern Europe and in the African colonial territories, histories typically understood as independent of one another, their continuities made visible in the mechanisms generated by what the historian Helmut Walser Smith calls "the imagination of expulsion" traced here.⁵

As systems of forced labor declined in the second half of the nineteenth century with the rise of a globalized, industrial economy, a transition occurred from private to state control over movement. The state, in its attempt to regulate new patterns of mobility and internal migration, began to monopolize certain means of move-

ment through legal measures, thus marking a distinction between legitimate and transgressive modes of circulation.⁶ The mobility of minority communities was the primary, though by no means exclusive, focus of these interventions. However, state restrictions on mobility were merely one feature of a larger and more general history of forced migrations, set within the frame of territorial “pacification” schemes. Projects of internal colonization broadly understood are yet another expression of this widespread phenomenon, a history that includes, among many examples, the deportations of Armenians in eastern Anatolia during the First World War and the forced migrations of the Greco-Turkish War of 1921–1922.⁷ Richard Bessel and Claudia Haake, in their study of forced removals in the modern world, argue that over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a series of developments aligned to reconfigure past practices of forced migration, marking them as distinctly modern enterprises. These developments included significant changes to, and the wide deployment of, apparatuses of organization and modern technology developed in the governance of subjects that, through the elimination or “thinning out” of minority communities, aided in the creation of many modern states.⁸

The activities of the RPSC disclose the mechanisms of this transition in which, according to Bessel and Haake, political power acquired a new arena of operation; namely, a power over space that was accompanied by increasingly detailed spheres of spatial and demographic knowledge and that foregrounded the role, globally applied, of the built environment as an instrument in the permanent displacement of targeted populations.⁹ Dorota Prasałowicz and Stefan Kieniewicz argue that the Prussian settlement campaign in partitioned Poland was underpinned by a demographic struggle that had united the three partitioning powers—the Russian and German Empires and Habsburg Austria.¹⁰ In the German provinces the struggle took on a uniquely material valence, expressed as a battle for ownership of the soil, commonly known as the *Bodenkampf*, traceable at least to the 1860s and the early years of the agrarian reform movement. Against this backdrop, framed by the *Bodenkampf* and its racialized politics of land, Germany’s inner colonial campaign and its land-use regimen assumed the form of an ambitious planning scheme, the frequently invoked “living border” of German farming settlements, a vital, breathing bulwark to ward against the advancing “Slavic flood.”¹¹

The land seizure amendment to which Dauehot referred in his article was institutionalized by majority vote in 1908, not long after a similar ordinance had been applied in Germany’s colonial territory in Southwest Africa, following the brutally suppressed Herero and Nama uprisings. The very year that Drzymala and his fellow Poles were legally barred from building permanent dwellings on

their own land, a far different, and horrifically violent, battle for land rights ensued in the colonial dependency (*Schutzgebiet*) of German South West Africa (present-day Namibia), to which the story of Drzymała's transgressive circulations is in some sense historically bound.¹² On January 12, 1904, several hundred Herero men invaded Okahandja, a settlement just north of Windhoek, the seat of German Namibia, led by their chief, Samuel Maharero. Over one hundred German men, settlers and soldiers, were killed in an act of retribution that marked the opening of a multisited war of rebellion against the German colonial administration.¹³ At its conclusion in 1907, nearly 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama peoples, whose insurrections were launched from the southern regions of the territory, had been exterminated. In the midst of what amounted to a genocidal campaign, the first of the twentieth century, the German colonial administration issued a new set of settlement regulations that included a vague clause announcing the expropriation of all tribal land.¹⁴ More specific regulations followed in 1906 and 1907, which, together with the earlier declaration, enabled the colonial administration to officially expropriate all land belonging to the Herero and Nama tribes.¹⁵ Much of the land was then gifted in deeds to the returning German soldiers who had fought in the war of resistance. The urban development of German South West Africa after 1907 owed much to this legacy of dispossession, while the same can be said of the modern planning history of the regions then known as Posen and West Prussia, the site of the state's inner colonial campaign and domain of its institutionalized displacements. However, while both territories were exceptional "in the sense that they carried German law into an extra-constitutional space not entirely congruent with the broader corpus of domestic law," expressions of imperial sovereignty in these two "excised colonial zones" varied widely.¹⁶

The two colonial projects, although not administratively related, were conceptualized in similar ways, shared a discourse of development framed by the perceived "unstructuredness" of the land, and were informed by similar sets of laws focused on its permanent redistribution. While this article is primarily concerned with the settlement program in Prussian Poland, the discursive resemblances and structural parallels between the two planning cultures are important. Each presents an architectural history of German modernism seated in expulsionary measures and social reform policies that were dedicated to containing subaltern populations that were categorized as threats to the body politic, at home and abroad, and whose stories provoke an architectural rethinking of historiographies of national belonging and exclusion.¹⁷ The territories and populations of both German Namibia, the most heavily settled by German colonists yet least developed (prior to colonial

intervention) of Germany's colonial protectorates, and the eastern border regions of Prussian Poland were subjected to similar techniques of territorial pacification—practices that helped contour a discourse of land indivisible from the “boundary-setting powers” of modernism.¹⁸

Germany's “Wild East”

In 1893, in a little-known paper (translated into English for the first time in this issue of *Grey Room*) addressed to his colleagues at the annual meeting of the Verein für Socialpolitik, Max Weber advocated for an expansion of the RPSC's program of “interior colonization” (*innere Kolonisation*), an anti-Slavic, antimigrant land-use policy of incentivized settlement and forced displacement established by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1886. “It is not possible,” Weber argued, reporting the results of a large-scale study of East Elbian rural labor he had conducted the previous year, “to allow two nationalities with different physical constitutions—different digestive systems, to be quite plain—to compete as workers in one and the same area.”¹⁹ Mobilizing the language of the popular *Ostmarkenromanen*, the novels of the Eastern Marches, and the aggressive nationalisms that would come to define the genre's affiliated organizations—the German Colonial Society (cofounded by the Verein's Johannes Miquel), the Pan-German League, and the Eastern Marches Society—Weber's address cast “Germandom” as a project both under attack and in decline in the nation's contested eastern borderlands. It was in the context of his lesser-known work on the agrarian question—a subject of intense debate in post-unification Germany and a topic of considerable interest to Weber throughout the 1890s—that Weber, through his studies of the rural economies of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, began to explore the concepts of cultural difference and segregation on which his later theories of race and labor were constructed. A different Weber emerges in these studies than the one we have come to know so well on the basis of his work after 1903.²⁰ As the historian Andrew Zimmerman shows in several groundbreaking texts, this period sees Weber turn his attention to the study of ethnic social politics and produce a corpus of texts in which his racism, nationalism, and social Darwinist leanings clearly surface.²¹ On the basis of the widespread success of his *Habilitation*, completed in 1891, he undertook his sweeping study of the social and economic conditions of agrarian labor in East Elbia at the behest of the Verein, which established Weber “as the primary authority on ‘the agrarian problem,’” at the young age of twenty-eight.²²

The RPSC, to which Weber referred in his study as a model program of economic and agricultural redevelopment in the East, was a centrally organized agency overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture

in Berlin, with local headquarters in Posen. Its executive office included economists, accountants, appraisers, surveyors, builders, a chief architect and planner, settlement managers (*Ansiedlungspraktiker*), and five parliamentary ministers. The commission was authorized by German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to administer the mandates of the 1886 Settlement Law, whose legal architecture, cowritten by Weber's father, a National Liberal member of the Prussian House of Representatives, had introduced new economic weapons (exclusionary credit lending, foreclosures, neofeudal rental contracts) into what had long been described as an ethnic struggle unfolding in the Prussian-Polish provinces.²³

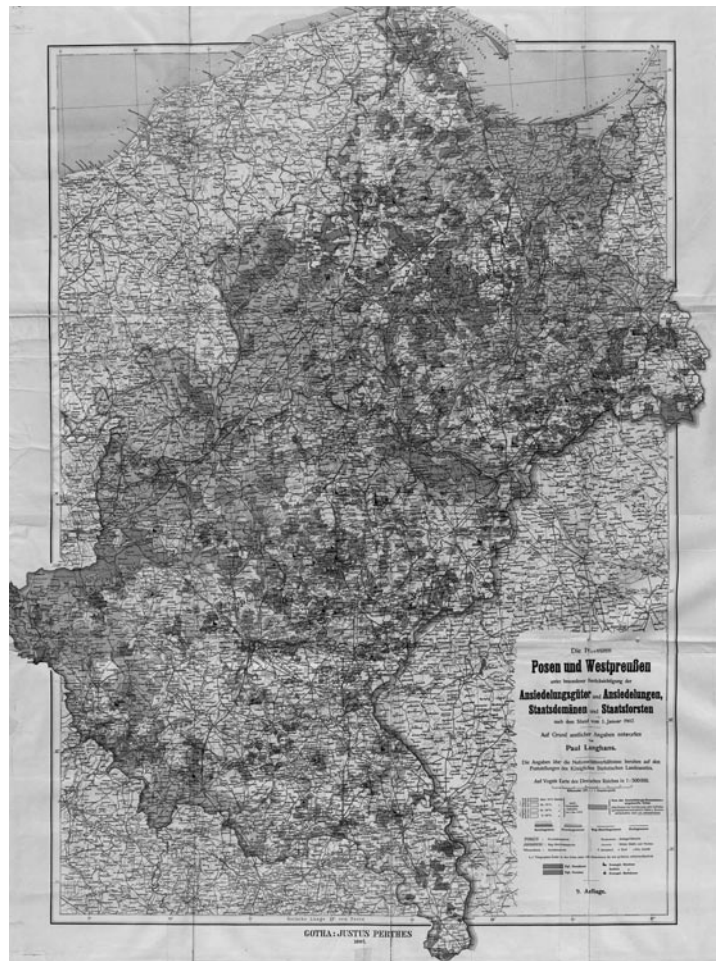
Embraced as a corrective to the so-called demographic threat in Prussia—"to prevent the flooding of these regions by the Polish element," as the Agriculture Minister Robert Lucius put it—the Settlement Law, founded, in Weber's words, on the "*absolute exclusion* of the Russian-Polish workers from the German East," provided the burgeoning science of inner colonialism with an academic and juridical language underwritten by emerging theories of racial and cultural difference.²⁴ As Zimmerman shows, Weber's studies, which describe a culturally differentiated world, helped articulate, indeed pioneered, a "racism of exploitation and subordination" trained on internal minorities and anticipated a type of race thinking that became prevalent only after decolonization, which reversed population movements between colony and metropole.²⁵ Within the context of Weber's studies of rural labor in Germany, in which he denounced the incursion of "foreign nomads" and the "Slavic invasion," he established "a political economy of cultural difference, a generalized theory of the empire presupposed by colonial-imperialism and revealed most directly in the phenomena of migration and internal minorities rather than in foreign conquest."²⁶

In his writings from the 1890s, Weber frequently referred to Germany's project of internal colonization as a strategy of resistance against incursion. Without an appropriate policy that addressed the threat posed by foreign labor, Weber argued in his study, "the displacement of German workers will continue, and, along with . . . the capacity of the depopulating East to resist, the human material need for colonization will be lost."²⁷ As Sebastian Conrad notes in his seminal study of German empire, Weber's warnings were quoted repeatedly in the following years and cited as scientific proof of the need to seal the nation's borders.²⁸ Through these same channels laid by the Verein für Socialpolitik (VfSP; an organization of social scientists founded in 1872 by Gustav Schmoller, Georg Friedrich Knapp, and Lujo Brentano), and its concern over the revolutionary potential of free labor and social democracy, the land-use program of internal colonization came to

be associated with the broader project of overseas imperialism, described by one popular writer, drawing on the vitalist, corporeal rhetoric of the social reform movement, as “broad drainage channels” for the proletarian masses.²⁹

The RPSC, initially endowed with a budget of 100 million marks to forcibly purchase and parcel out bankrupt Polish estates in the eastern border regions of Posen and West Prussia, had aimed to dramatically reduce, and ultimately eradicate, minority landownership through state purchase of vulnerable properties on the open market.³⁰ To consolidate its territorial claims, the commission, together with its chief architect, Paul Fischer, building commissioner of East Prussia, constructed a unique infrastructure of model villages—discussed by the VfSP’s Brentano as the seedbed of a new middle class—for the resettling of German farmers enticed to the east by the commission’s propaganda and its promise of state subsidies. Broadly embraced within Germany, internal colonization was seen to provide an essential state-preserving function. To the Verein, as Zimmerman argues, free labor presented the principal problem in the eastern regions: as laborers freed themselves from paternal domination with the decline of the manorial economy and joined the ranks of the urban proletariat, they also became potential

Paul Langhans. *Die Provinzen Posen und Westpreußen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ansiedlungsgüter und Ansiedlungen, Staatsdomänen und Staatsforsten nach dem Stand vom 1. Januar 1907* (The provinces of Posen and West Prussia, with special consideration of the settlement estates and properties, state domains, and state forests as of January 1, 1907), 1907. From *Königlich Preußische Ansiedlungskommission, Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Twenty years of German cultural work: The activities and mission of the new Prussian colonization in West Prussia and Posen) (1907).



revolutionaries, further exacerbating the problem of the city as an incubator of social democracy. For the Prussian state, on the other hand, the region presented a problem of demographics, with an increasing and primarily migrant East European population drawn to the provinces by West Prussian agribusiness, which relied heavily on cheap foreign labor, and a diminishing German one.³¹ While the project of internal colonization was strongly contoured by Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*—an expansive legislative attack on the expressions of Catholic life within the nation's boundaries and the commission's early records overwhelmingly indicate its concern with the (largely Catholic) Polish population—over time its target expanded to include foreign migrants and Jews of any background.

The Settlement Law, then, was proposed as a measure of national



Top: Paul Fischer. Market square, Golenhofen, ca. 1906.

From Königlich Preußische Ansiedlungskommission, *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Twenty years of German cultural work: The activities and mission of the new Prussian colonization in West Prussia and Posen) (1907).



Center: Paul Fischer. Street view, Golenhofen, ca. 1906. From Hermann Warlich, "Eine deutsche Dorf-Anlage in den Ostmarken" (A German village complex in the Eastern Marches), *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (1906).



Bottom: Paul Fischer. Zweifamilienhaus, Kardorf (Two-family house in the settlement of Kardorf), 1905–1907. From Königlich Preußische Ansiedlungskommission, *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Twenty years of German cultural work: The activities and mission of the new Prussian colonization in West Prussia and Posen) (1907).

security, a means to “protect Germandom from extermination,” as Bismarck explained in his speech to the Reichstag in April 1886.³² The law’s rhetoric drew from a series of military-architectural representations of the “exposed” eastern border that were already in broad circulation, introduced by the mid-century *Ostmarkenromanen* and the long-developing discourse of the Eastern Marches, which had formed around the mutually conjured territorial imaginary of Germany’s “wild East.” This notion of Germany’s “wild” or “savage” eastern frontier was an enduring one—a single, instrumental metaphor that incorporated a profound change in the perception of Germany’s eastern borderlands and the nature of agricultural labor and that served as a rallying point for proto-nationalist thought over the course of the nineteenth century. Carl Fink, in his popular 1897 text *Der Kampf um die Ostmark* (The battle for the Eastern March), drew from the lexicon of the radically nationalist Eastern Marches Society when he described the zones of Polish settlements in eastern Germany as the “foamy splashes of an approaching large Slavic Wave” and repeated an oft-heard refrain for the *permanent construction* of a “firm bulwark where the waves can break.”³³

At the end of the eighteenth century, seeking to counter the growing movements for Polish and Czech national self-determination, and in view of the uprisings of the “third estate” unfolding globally across revolutionary France, Prussian-German authors began to circulate a new trope: a frontier myth that described a vital civilizing mission in Europe’s northeast borderlands—a zone of conflict dating to the time of the Teutonic Order’s often violent incursions into the region. The frontier myth of the Eastern Marches gave rise to what would frequently be referred to as Germany’s “wild East,” a territorial imaginary that over the course of the nineteenth century helped to mediate colonialist thought. The historian Gregor Thum argues that this trope acquired greater historical specificity in the early nineteenth century in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Peace Congress of 1814–1815, which established the borders of the new German Confederation and with its new alignments had pushed the Russian Empire deep into Central Europe. During this time the anticipation of national and ethnic conflict “found its expression in the reintroduction of the medieval term ‘march’ into German

Cover of Carl Fink, *Der Kampf um die Ostmark: Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung der Polenfrage* (The battle for the Eastern March: A contribution to the assessment of the Polish question) (1897).



discourse” in the form of the ambiguous place-name *Ostmark*, the Eastern March, a modern derivation of the Carolingian term *marchia orientalis*. “In the Carolingian Empire,” Thum writes, “the marches were border provinces that were granted a privileged political status in order to fulfill their special duties in defending and expanding the Empire’s boundaries.”³⁴ Those vassals whose lands were located on the border regions of the Holy Roman Empire were given the title *Markgraf*, their sovereign function as count or lord enhanced to include military-political powers reserved exclusively for those who ruled the border territories. Unlike its modern equivalent *Grenze* (meaning border or frontier, derived from the proto-Slavic word *granica*), *Mark* was an imperial remainder, a signifier strongly con-toured by the medieval technics of European empire, of missionary conquest and forced assimilation. While the revival of the term *Ostmark* specifically denoted the territories acquired by the Kingdom of Prussia in the eighteenth-century Partitions of Poland, it nevertheless retained within it the symbolic military character of the original marches, long since absorbed into the territorial matrix of modern Central Europe.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the image of Prussia’s eastern borderlands as a wild, uncultivated frontier or colonial outpost, which situated “the Poles as primitive and ahistorical,” as “lacking the ability to achieve progress without external intervention,” had been firmly established.³⁵ By placing the German state in the tradi-tion of the Teutonic Order, whose aggressive foreign policy had consisted of a violent Christianization of the monastic state’s neigh-bors, its eastern borders no longer appeared merely as the product of dynastical politics but as the result of the order’s “civilizing” colonial interventions in the East. “In other words,” Thum writes, “Prussia’s eastern borders [now] constituted a cultural frontier.”³⁶ At the heart of this appropriative imaginary, discussed extensively in the work of Kristin Kopp, lay a project of *Kolonialaufklärung* (colonial enlightenment): it was through German spatializing prac-tices, she argues, the “mysticized acts of land reclamation” enacted by the Teutons and their knights, that the “irrational” and “unbounded” space of Poland was claimed to have been brought into history, or made cultural, in the Hegelian sense.³⁷ Many decades later, Friedrich Ratzel, the Leipzig University geographer and prominent journalist, would return to this notion of “irra-tional” space in his theory of *Lebensraum*, the purest expression of which, he would argue, was a cultural “ordering” of the ground, a preparation for territorial expansion. Ratzel, like Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel before him, seemed to imply that claims to cultural hegemony achieved their peak legitimizing form during moments of territorial conquest and expansion, which is also to say, cultiva-tion. When the Teutons brought a spatialized order to the unstruc-

tured East, Ratzel argued in a text from 1898, “an entirely new landscape arose, a cultural landscape [*Kulturlandschaft*] full of the signs of the labor that a Volk invests into land through clearing, plowing, and planting it.”³⁸ As many scholars have pointed out, Ratzel’s work played a critical role in helping to establish the notion of settlement as colonization, a link he would apply directly to his advocacy of the RPSC’s project in partitioned Poland.³⁹ In his 1897 study *Politische Geographie*, which laid the foundations of what would become, after 1901, his fully articulated theory of *Lebensraum*, he argued that the German program illustrated how such a process of colonization, which aimed to “establish a cohesive distribution of the ruling people,” was to be achieved.⁴⁰

What should strike us in the first passage above, however, is Ratzel’s use of the term *Kulturlandschaft* (a founding concept in heritage discourse) to frame the link between theories of human settlement, migration, and colonization. This notion of a culturally imprinted geographic space was intimately related to the nineteenth-century concept of *Kulturtechniken*, which surfaced in the lexicon of the mid-nineteenth-century agrarian reform movement. As Bernhard Siegert argues, the term, typically translated as “agricultural or rural engineering,” implied a technologically situated understanding of human culture, the translation of natural space into human space through *techné*.⁴¹ The concept later appeared in German colonial and environmental reform discourse in the form of the word *Kulturarbeit* (cultural work), employed in contexts in which *Kultur*’s dual resonance—the joining of culture to agriculture or technical processes of cultivation (*Kultur* from the Latin *cultura*)—was clearly implied. Through figures such as Ratzel and mediums such as the *Ostmarkenromanen*, a discourse took root, contoured by the colonial frontier fantasy in which the land (*der Boden*) came to function, as Kopp argues, as a cultural field “onto which the benefits of human labor [were] conceptually mapped.”⁴² “Ratzel,” as Woodruff Smith writes, “like other conservative colonialist pamphleteers, believed that *Kultur* as civilization and *Kultur* as agriculture were inextricably linked.”⁴³ In 1906, the Verein für Socialpolitik published a landmark essay on Ratzel’s contribution to the science of cultural geography, written by the settlement geographer Otto Schlüter.⁴⁴ Through Schlüter’s work, and later Carl Sauer’s, Ratzel’s concept of the cultural landscape came to be embraced internationally by several academic disciplines and systems of environmental and cultural management after World War II.⁴⁵ Within this assembly of colonial discourses, steered by the social sciences and reform policy, the concept of the *Kulturboden* was formed.

As it traveled across the nineteenth century, the metaphor of Germany’s “wild East” formed powerful conceptual links between

the land and the people, so that by the end of the century they had become metonyms for one another. One result of this process of cosignification, as Kopp claims, was that the soil itself, perhaps the most potent symbol of the material landscape, now seen as culturally imprinted by the labor of enacting political community through land reclamation, became “the marker of that which [could] now be referred to as ‘Germany.’”⁴⁶ The modern folklore of the Eastern Marches used similar processes of reconstitution to depict Teutonic conquest not only as civilizing but, more crucially, as nation producing, as border drawing. Hegel, too, in *The Philosophy of World History*, played with this distinction. The notion of a cultivated (or cultured) landscape was equally, if tacitly, indispensable to his treatise on historical belonging, where the distinction between historic and ahistoric people was made at the level of those who draw and maintain borders versus those who were seen to live in a state of “perceived borderlessness,” a distinction he alludes to throughout the “Geographical Basis of History,” one of the final sections of the text.⁴⁷ Hegel’s first real engagement with the trope of the border, however, occurred in an earlier three-part study, *The Science of Logic*. The first of the three books, published in 1812, dedicated to the “logic of being,” features a rigorous discussion of the essential function of the border in the structure of thought—the border, as Hegel understood it, was a necessary but also contradictory category, one that simultaneously negates and instantiates (Hegel uses the term *aufheben*).⁴⁸ In his early work, as in Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s, the border (*Grenze*) was seen to mark the passage from nothingness to being. Hegel wrote, “through the border something is what it is, and in the border it has its quality.”⁴⁹ This logic of the border as an instantiating threshold reappeared in his later theory of historical development (as it did in Fichte’s theory of national belonging), laid out in *The Philosophy of History*, according to which, in one telling example, the Slavic population remained firmly outside its restricted horizon.⁵⁰

The Poles even liberated beleaguered Vienna from the Turks, and the Slavs have to some extent been drawn within the sphere of occidental reason. Yet, this entire body of peoples remains excluded from our consideration, because hitherto it has not appeared as an independent element in the series of phases that reason has assumed in the world. Whether it will do so hereafter is a question that does not concern us here; for in history we have to do only with the past.⁵¹

In the final turbulent years of the *Vormärz* era, before the uprisings of 1848, the terra-political trope of Germany’s “wild East” acquired a distinctly architectural valence when it began appearing within a new literary genre later known as the *Ostmarkenromanen*,

the novels of the Eastern Marches. A hallmark of the genre, perhaps best illustrated by Gustav Freytag's 1855 *Soll und Haben* (Debt and Credit), was the frequent depiction of Prussia's eastern border as a vulnerable territory under siege by a Slavic invasion from the east. The borderlands were typically represented in architectural metaphor, in the form of fortresses and makeshift barricades and rotting manor houses, while roving bands of German peasants, armed with pitchforks and burning torches, were cast as modern-day Teutonic knights.⁵² *Soll und Haben*, Thum claims, was arguably the first text to introduce a large German audience to the idea of a frontier situation in the east, and with its Prussian orientation "testified to a shift of attention from the Austrian to the Prussian borderlands after 1848."⁵³ Christoph von Tiedemann, Bismarck's protégé and a key architect of the Settlement Law, drew on the genre's rendering of the Slavic threat when he described Germany's inner colonial project as a modern expression of a centuries-long foreign policy: "It is about an ancient struggle for rule between the Poles and the Germans," he declared.

Let us call the thing by its true name. It is not our intent to turn the Poles into Germans, which in my opinion would be a white washing. What we want however is that we no longer allow ourselves to be pushed from the land that we have conquered through centuries of long struggle with the sword and the ploughshare!⁵⁴

Even the RPSC's propaganda—overseen by Heinrich Sohnrey, a prominent rural reform activist—seemed to make a similar claim.⁵⁵ But Tiedemann's report to the Reichstag in January 1886 was where the metaphor of the Eastern Marches, and its quasi-colonial rule of violence, acquired lasting legislative form. "For something more drastic to occur to ensure the Germanizing of Posen," he wrote, "then one should not contain oneself to the clearance of foreign Polish elements, one would also remove where possible the dangerous domestic Polish elements [German citizens of Polish background] from the province and, in a more effective way than hitherto, replace them with German elements."⁵⁶

Transgressive Circulations 2: "The Body as Medium"

The Settlement Law, whose goals were starkly illuminated in Tiedemann's report, marked a transition to what Matthew Fitzpatrick calls a policy of "radical demographic intervention."⁵⁷ This transition was heralded by a shift in German discourse that occurred over the course of the 1860s, when debates on internal minorities and the German nature of the Prussian east traveled from the cultural zone of the *Ostmarkenromanen* to the arena of agrarian and demographic reform. As Robert Koehl argues, the

politics of the land question (variously described as the *Bodenfrage* or *Bodenkampf*) were strongly contoured by this transition. “The key word in every speech and book of the period,” he writes, “is *Agrarpolitik*, sometimes *Bevölkerungspolitik*: agrarian policy—population policy.”⁵⁸ The legislative movement against internal minorities that heralded this biopolitical shift, of which the Settlement Law was the paramount achievement, began with a series of increasingly restrictive state policies that targeted marginalized populations and their freedom of movement. These policies, which ranged from punitive residency acts and controlled seasonal passports, to exclusionary citizenship reforms and population purges, signaled a new approach to border control, of which architecture was to become a vital feature.

Beginning in 1882—the same year the German Colonial Society was founded (further marking the entanglement of these discourses)—and concluding in 1885, the state issued several executive deportation orders, resulting in the forcible expulsion from Berlin and the eastern German provinces of nearly 40,000 nonnaturalized Poles and Jews, the majority of them migrant workers who hailed mainly from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. As Conrad details, the state thereafter monitored the movements of these and other foreign laborers within Germany through controlled seasonal passports. The passports, together with the purges and a series of harsh residency laws, served to prevent the permanent settlement in Prussia of noncitizen migrants. “We wanted to be rid of foreign Poles,” Bismarck claimed of the purges, while discussing the proposed settlement program in a speech to the Reichstag, “because we have enough of our own. . . . For the Poles, times of quiet are not times of reconciliation and peace.”⁵⁹

H.L. Propagandaplakat zur Landarbeiteransiedlungen in Westpreußen und Posen (Propaganda poster for the agricultural workers' settlements in West Prussia and Posen), ca. 1900. © Deutsches Historisches Museum/S. Ahlers.



During this period the grammar of the *Bodenfrage* took on new terms such as *extermination* and *invasion*, as clearly indicated in the language of the Settlement Law. Both Conrad and Philip Sarasin argue that this fateful shift in vocabulary was symptomatic of a new proto-modernist contagion paradigm that focused, in Sarasin's words, on "the body as medium" and which served as a useful metaphor that drew together a series of anxieties over migration, disease, and foreign infiltration—"sources of anxiety," Conrad writes, "for a political system that was paying increasing attention to population issues and to issues of composition."⁶⁰ From the early nonprofit housing societies, such as the Berliner gemeinnützige Baugesellschaft, and the founding of the Inner Mission, to the movement of environmental and land reform associations, such as the Bund für Heimatschutz (Federation of Homeland Protection; Germany's first environmental protection organization) and the Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer, to the transformations of Germany's penal and labor colonies—all were indelibly contoured, as were the *Ostmarkenromanen* in their way, by the emerging science of bacteriology, which linked debates about human mobility with fears over the movement of parasitic microorganisms. In general, Conrad adds, "the idea of foreignness threatening the boundaries of the body or of the state could not be separated from the idea of 'racial' difference. . . . For the eastern European Jews, especially, this link between bacteriology, hygiene policy and racism . . . would prove fatal."⁶¹ Within this context the notion of the *Volkskörper*—the social body of the nation—acquired a powerful new valence, as did the instruments and techniques devised to protect it. One such set of instruments materialized in the practices of inner colonialism and was brought into visible relief by the RPSC's self-representations.

This shift in Prussian Poland toward a policy of containment or eradication signified a shift away from an imperial and largely assimilationist attitude to minority subjectivity and toward a more comprehensively colonial approach, underpinned by what Fitzpatrick calls the "totalizing concept of *displacement*"—or, in Weber's words, the "grounds of absolute exclusion"—central to colonialism.⁶² The character of the RPSC was largely contoured by this shift, and a review of its planning culture sheds light on the ways these related discourses of displacement took hold of the architectural imagination in the early years of the design reform movement. In a frequently cited article from 1885, written at the conclusion of the Berlin Africa Conference for *Die Gegenwart*, a weekly periodical dedicated, as its subtitle indicates, to "literature, art, and public life," the German philosopher Eduard von Hartmann, author of *The Philosophy of the Unconscious*, argued that the German gaze needed to shift to the east. "As important as the

question of external colonization is,” he wrote,

I believe the issue of internal colonization is even more important. For this reason, it is not sufficient to simply expropriate all Polish estates and to make German peasant villages from them; we must also ensure that a steady stream of German colonists is enticed by sufficient premiums to further occupy the German estates.”⁶³

In his article, von Hartmann addressed the Prussian settlement campaign as a program of “extermination” (*Ausrotten*) dedicated to extinguishing the material traces of Polish life present within the German territories. The activities of the RPSC and its influence on modern planning should be seen against this backdrop suffused with the ambient violence of Germany’s burgeoning *Kolonialpolitik* in all its myriad vernaculars.

Model Settlements: The Surveilled Community

The RPSC operated officially from 1886 to 1924, though it functioned in name only after November 1918, when Poland regained its independence after the armistice with Germany. By the close of its operations, more than 200,000 ethnic Germans had been settled by the commission in the targeted regions of Posen and West Prussia. By 1910, according to the estimations of Hans Kampffmeyer, a planning activist and founder of the German Garden City Movement, the project occupied well over one million acres and had established six hundred new villages along the eastern borderlands.⁶⁴ It was an ambitious planning scheme that left permanent traces on the land—material markers of the *Bodenkampf*, a critical episode in German history. Yet, surprisingly few historiographical accounts are dedicated to the activities of the commission, and fewer still have been written on the concept and techniques of internal colonization that the RPSC pioneered.⁶⁵ The commission is likewise mostly absent from architectural and planning historiography, across languages, with few exceptions, such as a brief treatment by Kenny Cupers in his recent article on *Bodenständigkeit*.⁶⁶ The image I give it here, however, and the genealogy I am attempting to trace diverge in significant ways from Cupers’s rendering, though some important overlaps remain. My interest in the Prussian project of internal colonization lies not only in the formal, aesthetic relationship it bears to the broader enterprise and legacies of the German colonial empire, as well as the significant imprint it left on the languages of German architectural modernism (a relationship that is just beginning to be traced), but, more specifically, in the ways it contoured a flexible concept of minority subjectivity that played a key role in establishing the terms under which planning and land activists shaped the urban

imagination at the turn of the twentieth century. Drawing on Magdalena Gabrowska's recent work on subaltern East European feminisms, a further goal is to bring what Gabrowska calls, following Edward Said, "the invisible second world" to bear on emerging postcolonial inquiries into German planning history, to further expand and complicate transnational narratives that center East-West and South-North dynamics.⁶⁷

Unlike other historical forms of internal colonization typically directed at populating empty lands, the scheme of the RPSC, as Scott Eddie notes, was unusual in that it was directly aimed at changing the ethnic balance of a population in an already settled region. Because of this characteristic, he argues, the Prussian program is often cited as the model for other governmental and quasi-governmental settlement programs, such as Benito Mussolini's project in the Pontine Marshes in the 1930s, the state settlement schemes in Israel and Sri Lanka in the 1950s and 1960s, and even more recent projects such as those documented in Rafi Segal, David Tartakover, and Eyal Weizman's *A Civilian Occupation*.⁶⁸ To Eddie's speculation I would add its more local, contemporary impact on the architectural imagination. The commission exerted a subtle influence over a generation of iconic German planners, from Hans Kampffmeyer and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, founders of the German Garden City Movement, to Theodor Goecke, coeditor with Camillo Sitte of the leading urban planning journal *Der Städtebau*. Hans Kampffmeyer, who in 1920 launched the journal *Der Siedler* (The settler) with Otto Neurath, went so far as to suggest the Prussian model be applied to the planning of industrial workers' settlements. Every year, he argued, the commission's chief architect planned dozens of new villages with a noteworthy economic efficiency; this, for Kampffmeyer, further cemented its status as a model for similar programs of planning reform. "If the Settlement Commission has not exactly achieved its national goal of pushing back the Poles," he reasoned in his 1910 study of the commission's activities published in the journal *Heidelberger Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen*, "it has at least gained great economic importance."⁶⁹ In this same text, he stunningly claimed that "the final goal of the developing [Garden City] movement is an internal colonization."⁷⁰

In 1907, the RPSC published a three-hundred-page catalogue of its activities, titled *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: 1886–1906* (Twenty years of German cultural work: 1886–1906). A remarkable document, with which Kampffmeyer and Goecke were clearly familiar, its curated selection of demographic records, cartographic maps, financial graphs and charts, photographs, and floor plans rendered visible the *Gesamtkunstwerk* aesthetics of inner colonialism, an approach subtly contoured by the Semporian

language of anthropological type.⁷¹ The catalogue's title, in this sense, is worthy of note. It was almost certainly a reference to Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten* series, a best-selling collection of treatises published in nine volumes from 1901 to 1917 that purported to address the "decay" of modern life, as evident in modernism's antitraditionalist forms. In these texts, Schultze-Naumburg, an architect, art critic, and vocal cofounder of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, propagandized what became known as the *Heimatschutzstil* (literally, homeland protection style), a regionally based, modern interpretation of the medieval vernacular architecture native to Central and Northern Europe that emphasized the use of local materials and rural building traditions. Popularized by Theodor Fischer, Hermann Muthesius, Heinrich Tessenow, and Paul Fischer, among others—the style drew its inspiration from the Bund für Heimatschutz, established in 1904 by the cultural reformers Ernst Rudorff, Schultze-Naumburg, and Ferdinand Avenarius.⁷² William Rollins argues that in the German colonial era the geopolitical agendas of German environmentalism and imperialism were "inextricably intertwined."⁷³ The aesthetics of the German Garden City Movement and the prewar *Siedlungen* were strongly contoured by the *Heimatschutz* approach and its environmental claims, as were the settlements designed by Fischer for the commission, which rank among the first examples of the style.

The *Kulturarbeiten* series promoted the concept of vernacular architecture as socially regenerative. Bound to this was an equally powerful suggestion that it also functions in a defensive capacity; its form could be revitalizing, but, more important for Schultze-Naumburg, the *Heimatschutzstil* was above all talismanic in its vigilance against subversion. That is, it drew borders at the level of architectural detail. The editors of the RPSC's catalogue repeatedly emphasized this capacity of its planning model, later described by Fischer as a village with a "closed core."⁷⁴ "Self-contained, efficient rural communities," the catalogue states,

each with a church and a school, equipped with shared communal assets and organized into powerful cooperatives—this will be the basic form of [our] modern agricultural settlements. The sprawling farmland, managed by the settler and his family *without the employment of foreign labor*, forms the backbone of our founding communities.⁷⁵

A section in the catalogue titled "New Settlement Techniques" outlined the task of the commission. In modern times, the editors wrote, the village (in its ethnic purity) had lost its importance, and the RPSC's goal was to restore it.⁷⁶ That the program appealed to planning activists such as Kampffmeyer is of little surprise.

Robert von Zedlitz-Trützschler and Rudolf von Wittenburg,

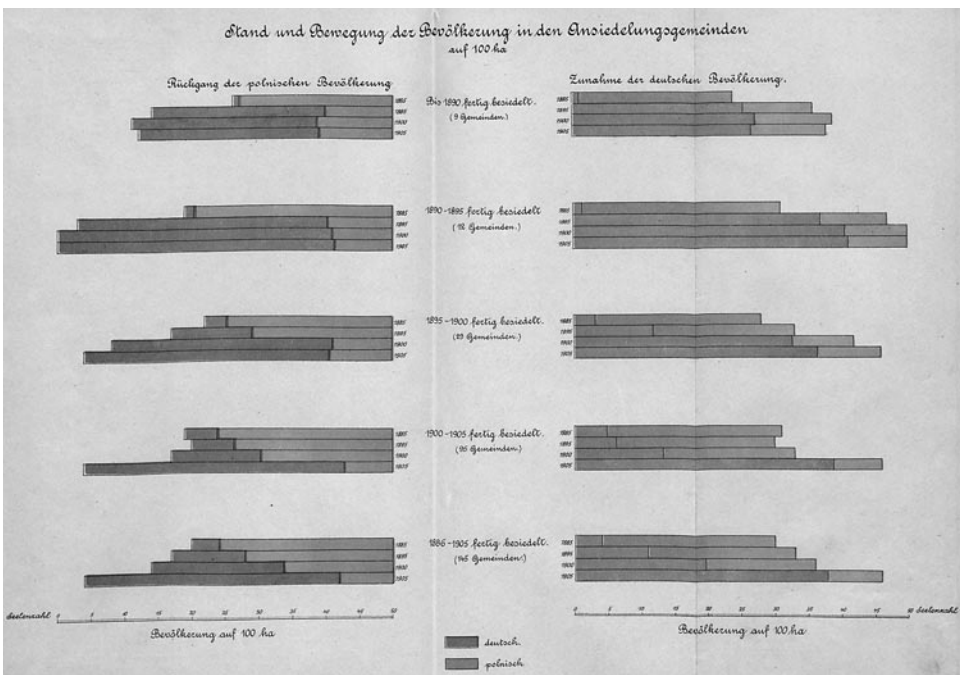
longtime advisers to the RPSC and its first two presidents, described the villages as “model settlements” (*Modellsiedlungen*), a foundation on which to launch a new national movement of rural land reform.⁷⁷ The towns were planned according to Fischer’s concept of the closed village, based on a rational street plan and a relative density of housing. The purpose, Fischer explained in a text from 1911, was to avoid dispersing the farmsteads too widely across the land and instead to create a “closed village” that would cultivate unity among the German inhabitants while obstructing contact with the local Polish population.⁷⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the settlements were also planned along confessional lines, as Zimmerman notes, segregating the German Catholics from the Protestants and keeping both groups separated in turn from their non-German confessional counterparts outside the settlement lines.⁷⁹ One imagines that Weber’s corporeal rendering of cultural difference—“different digestive systems”—may have been influenced, after his tour of the settlements in the course of his studies of rural labor in the German east, by the segregations generated in the commission’s model towns.

The order of spatial knowledge presented in the RPSC’s catalogue, as well as its demographic argument, took up home in the annals of architectural and planning circulars. The catalogue and its mappings speak, in this regard, to the feverish proliferation of documentary mediums, particularly among architectural circles, in the early years of the twentieth century. The catalogue’s political-cartographic achievement in this sense (and here I borrow a pivotal observation made by Timothy Mitchell) was to render the inner colonial state legible to the extent that it reconstituted the ambiguous and violent terrain of internal colonization as a materially identifiable space of national calculation.⁸⁰ According to the catalogue, for example, the commission’s settlements in Posen contained sixty-seven blacksmiths, sixty-one of them German and six Polish; its market towns in the province of Danzig were home to sixteen German wagon makers, only one of them Polish; those in Bromberg housed twenty carpenters, nineteen of them German and one Polish; and so on per trade. Other tables indicate the marriage status of each settler per village, the number of seasonal workers employed per farmer, and crop profit generated per settlement. Still another provides the receipt and distribution of building materials over a ten-year period, from 1895 to 1905, per district—limestone, cement, iron, round timber, lumber, and bricks. One chart catalogues the number and type of trees and livestock sold to its renters per district. One particularly revealing record, titled “Settlement and Urban Development,” documents the migration patterns that took place across the colonial territories of Posen and West Prussia from the signing of the Settlement Law until 1905; it

charts the movement of bodies and households, of Germans, Poles, Evangelicals, Catholics, and Jews. At the bottom of the chart, two rows indicate the consistent decline of Jews in the region. Another graph records demographic shifts from 1886 to 1905, focusing particularly on the decline (*Rückgang*) of the Poles and the rise (*Zunahme*) of the Germans in the region.⁸¹

This archival approach was set in motion with each application submitted to the RPSC's administrative offices. A set of personal documents, including criminal records from previous places of residence, marriage papers, and vaccination reports, when available, was included with each application. Zimmerman notes that under directives issued by the Office of Imperial Health (Kaiserlich Gesundheits-Amt), supervised by Robert Koch, an eminent bacterial scientist renowned for his work on sleeping sickness in German East Africa, all settlers who came from the eastern regions, although ethnically German, were examined and immunized against smallpox by the district-appointed physician, while those from the west were not.⁸² As Lenny Ureña Valerio argues, the disciplinary practice of immunization, part of a medical discourse of epidemic disease developed specifically for and deployed in the eastern borderlands, was a constitutive feature of the internal colonial program, one that was carried out by the medical professionals dispatched to the region with "a sense of cultural mission."⁸³ In implicating Polish subjectivity and those affected by it as a source of epidemic infection, positing, as Ureña Valerio argues, a direct link between the presence of disease and the need for Germanization efforts in the Prussian-Polish hinterlands, it joined the missionary imperative of earlier European colonial models to the modernization efforts that characterized later colonial endeavors, and thus offers an instructive example of the collaboration

**Stand und Bewegung
der Bevölkerung in den
Ansiedlungsgemeinden (Status
and movement of the population
in the settlement communities),
1907. From Königlich Preußische
Ansiedlungskommission,
Zwanzig Jahre deutscher
Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und
Aufgabe neupreußischer
Kolonisation in Westpreußen und
Polen (Twenty years of German
cultural work: The activities and
mission of the new Prussian
colonization in West Prussia
and Posen) (1907).**



between scientific expertise and nationalist thought. Here, the language of risk and contagion that characterized the Eastern Marches discourse after the 1860s consolidated in direct corporeal interventions, quite literally into the bloodstreams of the people. As both Zimmerman and Ureña Valerio show, the medical practices of this community of experts played a major role in establishing parameters for new national and racial identifications. A critical feature of this new *spatialized* order of “racial” knowledge, of these new categories and norms, was the expanded function assigned to the border or the boundary, to the administration of border controls, and to subsequent shifts in the concepts and practices of containment, quarantine, and colonization.

Once acquired, RPSC land was then subdivided into standardized parcels, with larger plots reserved for farming families and smaller plots for the families of craftsmen, blacksmiths, builders, and so on, who were typically housed in adjoining two- or four-family homes. The settlements were provided with educational, religious, communal, financial, and cooperative facilities. The cooperatives—the dairies, distilleries, drainage companies, mills, and bakeries—were an important financial technology in the commission’s scheme, which aimed to generate an economic infrastructure of profitable settlements, a feature that Kampffmeyer’s analysis discussed at length. The commission mediated nearly every element of life on its properties, selling livestock, feed, and building materials, often of its own production, to its settlers, and kept a careful watch, as its catalogue indicates, over the movement of the raw materials, persons, animals, and commodities under its supervision. Kampffmeyer was particularly interested in the settlement practitioners (*Ansiedlungspraktiker*), experts in both the purchase of land—“a business,” he claimed, “which has little scholarship”—and the cultural management of its inhabitants.⁸⁴

The RPSC’s financial structure, overseen by Prussian Finance Minister Johannes Miquel (a VfSP member), was perhaps the most innovative feature of the state project of internal colonization, symbolized by a neofeudal rental contract and fortified by the introduction of bank credit into the scheme. The Land Bank and the Land Purchase Bank, both established by the commission, were instrumental to the ministry’s colonization efforts, and both advertised widely. The Poles, in an attempt to counter colonial land claims, responded by founding their own collective lending institutions, such as the Bank Ziemiński (Land Bank), and private corporations such as the Spółka Rolników Indywidualnych and the Bank Parcelacyjny.⁸⁵ For the members of the Verein für Socialpolitik, as Zimmerman details, the tenancy contract was seen as an innovative technology, used as a means of preserving the social stability that had characterized feudalism, but within the economic and

legal framework of capitalism.⁸⁶ By the last decades of the nineteenth century, he argues, the tenancy contract had become a well-established means of maintaining coercion over formally free labor, as Prussian landlords had responded to the end of serfdom by placing entire families under their household authority as contract-bound cottagers. Following this example, “the Settlement Commission conceived of the farmers on its estates as owners, rather than renters, but sought to refashion mortgage agreements to mimic the labor coercion of the [neofeudal] rental contract.”⁸⁷ With the Tenure Act of 1890, steered through the Reichstag by Miquel, the practice of the rental contract pioneered by the RPSC—which itself represented a complex merging of several dissimilar land use regimens of feudal vintage—was applied at the state level.

Histories of the land question in postunification Germany typically cast it as a struggle between competing German interests, pitting the conservative *Junker* class against bourgeois industrialists. What remains underexplored, however, is the movement for an “agrarian-industrial” state, a development shaped by the same anticipation of ethnic and class conflict that characterized the discourse of the Eastern Marches. For figures such as Weber, Max Sering, and Miquel, inner colonization offered a way toward just such a state.⁸⁸ Seen from this perspective, the racialized politics of

the land question, consistently minimized in economic and architectural histories of the period, become increasingly apparent. Even Sering, in his 1893 study of the Prussian settlement campaign, drew on the military-political metaphor of the *Ostmark* in his impassioned defense of the project. “Only then,” he cautioned, “does private property in land gain its full moral and economic value. . . . Such a middle class forms the firmest bulwark against all the cravings of misguided urban masses to destroy violently the state structure.”⁸⁹

In 1897, the VfSP’s Brentano published an essay on agrarian reform in Prussia, written for the UK’s Royal Economic Society, in which he argued that the colonial issue, which had returned to the foreground of political debate in Germany, had altered the trajectory of the land reform movement then underway. This return, he claimed, had sharply contoured the agricultural modernization policies of the 1890s, in particular the methods of

Land bank advertisement.
From *Archiv für innere
Kolonisation* (Journal for
internal colonization) (1912).

LANDBANK

BERLIN N.W. 40, Hindersinstraße 8.
Gegründet 1895.
20 Millionen Mark Aktienkapital, 20 Millionen Mark Obligationen.

Geschäftsstellen:

für Brandenburg, Schleswig-Holstein und Königreich Sachsen:
Berlin N.W. 40, Hindersinstr. 8; für Schlesien und den
Reg.-Bez. Posen: Breslau, Gartenstr. 85; für Westpreussen und
den Reg.-Bez. Bromberg: Danzig, Kassabischer Markt 17/20;
für Ostpreußen: Königsberg, Paulstr. 5; für Pommern:
Stettin, Am Königstor 1; für Westdeutschland: Hannover,
Alexanderstr. 2.

Ankauf größerer Güter für eigene Rechnung.
Kommissionsweiser An- und Verkauf grösserer und kleinerer
Güter.
Rentengutsgründung.
Verkauf von Gütern aller Art (Rittergüter, Restgüter, Bauern-
stellen usw.) aus den eigenen Besitzungen der Bank, zu
günstigen Bedingungen mit geregelten Hypotheken.
Abgaben von Hypotheken mit Gewährleistung für Eingang
von Kapital und Zinsen.
Ankauf für eigene Rechnung bis Ende 1910: 496 Güter mit
rund 234 630 ha.
Verkauf bis Ende 1910: aus eigenem Besitz rund 211 441 ha.
Kommissionsweise: rund 17 395 ha.
An zusammen 810 Käufer.

General- und Spezialprospekte

Über den jeweiligen Besitzstand der Bank und die Hypo-
thekenabgabe kostenlos. Bei Schreiben an die Bank und
ihre Geschäftsstellen wird **genaue Adresse** (siehe oben)
erbeten.

land distribution in eastern Germany. “The need to put a stop to the constantly increasing *re-Polonisation* in Posen and West Prussia,” he wrote, “brought the colonization question again to the fore.”⁹⁰ However, as Brentano details, the original 1886 Settlement Law allowed for land transfer to be made only by leasehold or as private property. That changed, he writes, when the Prussian Finance Minister Miquel—“the once enthusiastic admirer of Karl Marx”—“seized the opportunity to introduce Möser’s idea [concerning the “overlordship” of the state] into the legislation.”⁹¹ “At a time when the whole world was endeavoring to change the condition of peasants,” Brentano wrote,

into that of free owners of their land, he [Möser] came forward as an advocate of maintaining the State of different classes with unequal privileges. He did not actually wish to retain the existing serfdom, but he wanted to *replace* it, not by free peasant proprietors, but by tenants with hereditary leases, who, though personally free, had to render services and rents to the landlords.⁹²

The House of Representatives amended the Settlement Law according to Miquel’s proposals, deciding that the transfer of land could be made either on full payment of capital or rent. The rental system, however, rendered it virtually impossible for farming families to make themselves freeholders. The result, according to Brentano, was the creation of a “new peasant class.” And “besides,” Brentano mused, “other limitations from feudal times were [also] introduced.”⁹³ “The bill became law, and created a new type of land tenure, namely, rented land, or portions of soil held by an inheritable, alienable title charged with a fixed rent.”⁹⁴ At the heart of Miquel’s policy overhaul sat Möser’s paradigm of “overlordship,” which, according to Brentano, went as follows: Over the laborer is to “stand the State and a landlord, to both of whom he has to pay dues, rents, and services; nor is he to have the free control of this farm. He may cut no wood without the consent of his landlord.” Möser’s notions, which hinged on showing that “free property in the soil was a chimera,” were largely ignored by the Prussian government of his time, but Miquel, Brentano argued, resurrected Möser’s legacy when he established the feudal relationship between landlord and laborer as the starting point and goal of his land-tenure policies while finance minister.⁹⁵ The RPSC’s financial scheme served as the template for the federal Tenure Act, and thus it was through Miquel’s efforts in the laboratory of internal colonization that “the Bismarckian practice of ethnic expulsion gave way to population control by bank credit.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, it was with such carefully constructed rental and mortgage agreements broadly applied, as Zimmerman argues, “that small farms and rural

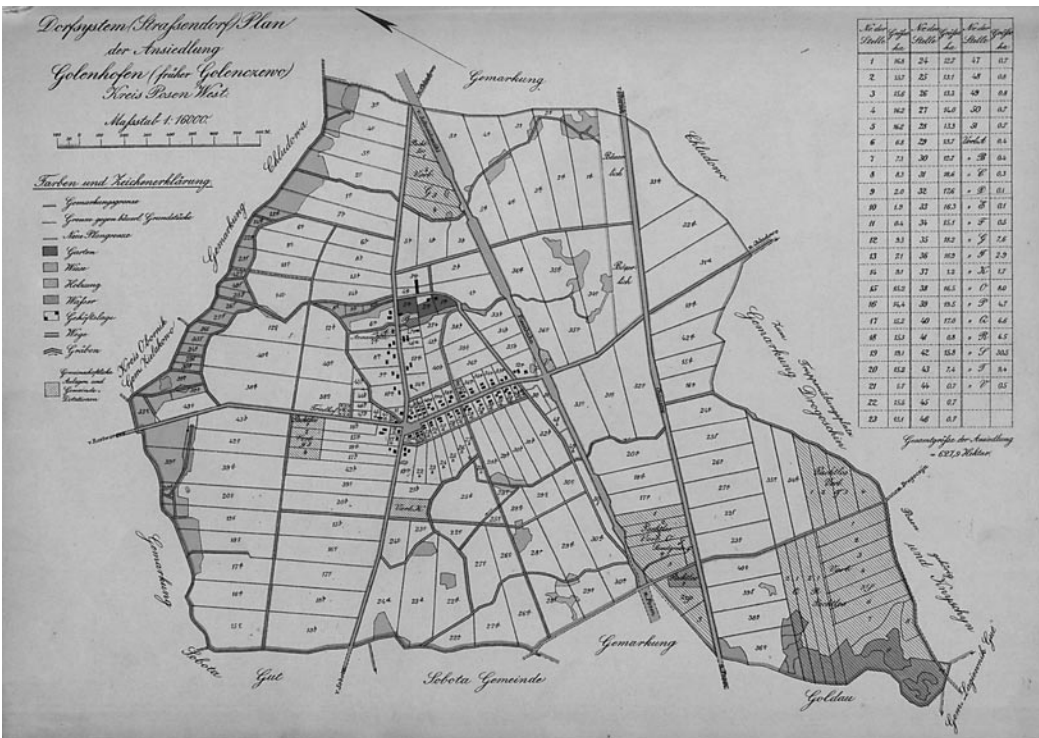
villages in Germany, like tenant farms in the United States, now offered the means of controlling workers of any ethnicity.”⁹⁷

Type and Race in the Modern Village

The village of Golenhofen, cut from the land of a bankrupt Polish manor estate, provides a noteworthy example of the aesthetic legacy of the RPSC’s resettlement program and its specter of “overlordship.” Golenhofen, as it was called at the time, is a German variant of the original Polish name “Gołęczewo.” The village lies just north of the city of Poznań (*Posen* in German), the site of the commission’s headquarters and one of the oldest and most historically significant cities in Poland. The commission purchased the land in 1901 from its Polish owner, Zygmunt Ostoja-Błociszewski. The village was designed by Fischer and constructed rapidly, from the ground up, over two years (1904–1906). Interested planners, architects, politicians, journalists, and bureaucrats involved in colonial governance overseas were given tours of Golenhofen, which was promoted as a model colony and used to demonstrate the success of the colonial project. Bernhard Kampffmeyer was one of those to tour Golenhofen (in 1910), and in 1914 his colleague Goecke praised the village in the pages of *Der Städtebau*, describing Fischer’s regional “template” as helping to chart a new paradigm for modern town planning.⁹⁸

Over forty of Fischer’s buildings designed for this settlement now hold protected status on the European Union’s Register of Monuments. The town today recalls certain neighborhoods of Windhoek, Namibia—territory settled by German colonists on land expropriated from native tribes following the Herero and Namaqua

Paul Fischer. *Dorfsystem (Straßendorf) Plan der Ansiedlung Golenhofen (früher Golenzewo) (Village street plan of the Golenhofen settlement [previously Gołęczwo]), ca. 1904–1906. From Königlich Preussische Ansiedlungskommission, *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Twenty years of German cultural work: The activities and mission of the new Prussian colonization in West Prussia and Posen) (1907).*



genocide (which occurred, coincidentally, during the years of Golenhofen's construction), where a sizable number of colonial-era *Beamter Wohnungen* (civil servant homes) remain. The structures in both locations bear the same indexical marks of the *Heimatschutzstil* favored by Fischer and the RPSC, a style promoted during these years by Avenarius and Schultze-Naumburg of the Bund für Heimatschutz and the Deutscher Werkbund. As in Golenhofen, the planning model for Windhoek clearly indicates its segregationist impulses. The town's core was reserved for German families, while the native populations were housed in what were called *Werften* (literally "dockyards" or simply "locations"), prisonlike worker's colonies located on the town's periphery near Windhoek's industrial sites. After 1907, at the conclusion of the Herero and Nama war of resistance, the remaining population, as Patrick Hege and George Steinmetz note, "was filtered through an elaborate system of collection stations" and "resettled into government and concentration encampments."⁹⁹ Like one of Fischer's closed villages, Windhoek's urban core remained a domain reserved almost solely for ethnic Germans, settled in homes whose aesthetics recalled in almost precise detail the settler communities of Prussian Poland.

With bricks made of local clay and timber cut from native wood, the buildings of Golenhofen offered a visual lesson in traditional craft methods and timber-frame construction. Fischer's constructions bore visible marks of assembly and spoke a perceptibly modern dialect of rural Biedermeier. The large, mixed-use community house (*Gemeindehaus*) in the market square, with its wide-gabled, terra-cotta roof, symbolic Semperian *fachwerk* detailing, tall chimneys, stark façade, and abstracted half-onion dome (common in Eastern and Central European church architecture), offered a template of the RPSC's architectural vernacular, what the critic Hermann Warlich would describe as an "inconspicuous" *Volk*-oriented modernism, a perfect summary of the *Heimatschutz* plat-

P.E. Schroedder. *Drei Villen am Hügel* (Three villas on the hill), Windhoek, Namibia, no date.
© National Archives of Namibia.

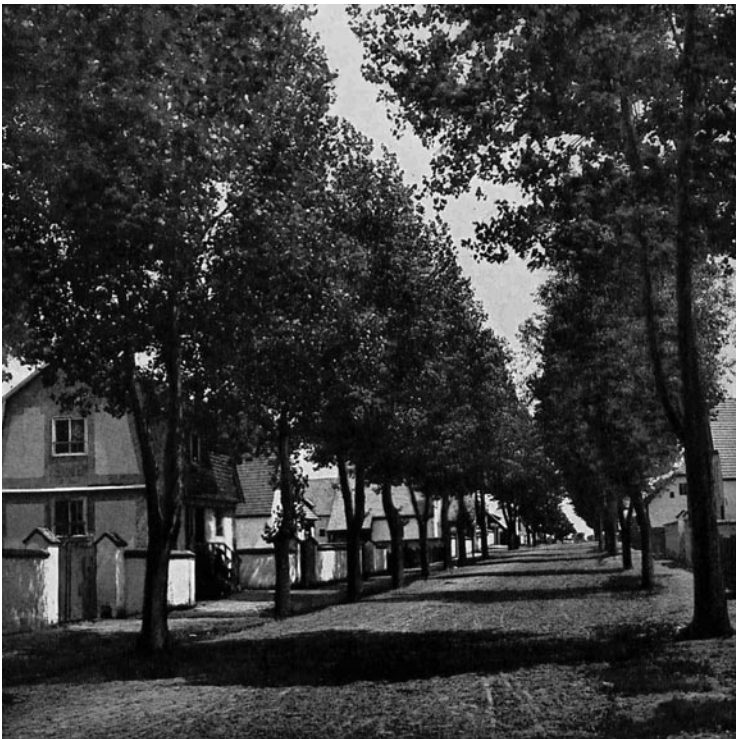


form. That Warlich, a prominent figure in the design reform movement in Munich, would review the settlement is significant and speaks to the place of the commission's project within the reform movement of the time. Several photographs featured in his article on Golenhofen—"Eine deutsche Dorf-Anlage in den Ostmarken," published in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* in 1906—illustrate Fischer's (and, in a broader sense, the Ministry of Agriculture's) planning model of the closed village, with remarkable clarity. What is striking in these photographs is not what appears to be the randomly unique details of each building—they all exhibit roof lines, window treatments, and façade compositions drawn from the same set of interchangeable features, an architectural kit of parts—but rather the notable regularity of the settlement's organization. The street lines, their widths, the gable heights, and the close placement of each house to the road distinguish the picturesque order of a pastoral but regimented modernism, clearly and crucially marked by an approach concerned with the "total environment."

In his article, Warlich compared the interiors of Fischer's buildings in Golenhofen, in "their simplicity and [sense of] unity," to the work of Munich architect and city planner Richard Riemerschmid, a founding member of the Deutscher Werkbund and the Vereinigte Werkstätte für Kunst im Handwerk (United Workshops for Arts and Crafts) and a driving force behind the Munich Secession.¹⁰⁰ His interior architecture, which integrates elements of German vernacular with the style of the English Arts and Crafts movement, deeply influenced the languages of German modernism. Riemerschmid's interest in the role of machine reproduction in the design process and his early experiments with mechanically reproducible parts helped

shape the Werkbund debates on *Typisierung*. Riemerschmid collaborated with Muthesius on the site design for the settlement of Dresden-Hellerau, Germany's first Garden City, a landmark in the history of modern town planning. As Warlich's article indicates, Golenhofen was seen as an important precedent in the development of Germany's contribution to the Garden City typology. When Warlich described Fischer's "settler village" as an important example of "cultural work" (*Kulturarbeit*), whose "civi-

Photographer unknown. Street view, Golenhofen, ca. 1906. From Hermann Warlich, "Eine deutsche Dorf-Anlage in den Ostmarken" (A German village complex in the Eastern Marches), *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (1906).



lizing” effect had helped to “salvage the [German] East,” he offered his readers a model of “inconspicuous” modernism grounded in a practical aesthetics of hygiene and linked to the moral benefits of property. “Today,” he wrote,

we want . . . to create folk art on a broad basis; this can be done by gradually, but firmly, acquainting the people with certain cultural values of the present day, by constantly surrounding them with creations of modern art in inconspicuous and unobtrusive form. . . . The Royal Settlement Commission has made a valuable start in this direction, among which, from an artistic point of view, the newly created village complex of Golenhofen in Posen is outstanding. Its creator and overseer, the government building commissioner [Paul] Fischer, has constructed a settler village here in this beautiful landscape, on a sunny plain bordered partly by rolling wooded hills. . . . Fischer’s outstanding village complex, which is unique in Germany to date, is home to a piece of important cultural work for the East, the comprehensive appreciation of which will only be possible later on, when its exemplary effect will have been achieved.¹⁰¹

In 1907, the widely read journal *Die Gartenkunst*, one of the vehicles of the German Garden City Movement in its early years, published a review of Fischer’s design titled “Golenhofen bei Posen: Ein Musterdorf” (Golenhofen, near Posen: A model town).¹⁰² The author argued that the settlement of Golenhofen should

be regarded as a model village in every respect. And in fact, the village that has been constructed here is unlike no other in either East or West Germany . . . Fischer . . . has shown himself not only as a practical master builder and an expert in agricultural enterprises, but also as a sensitive artist who has understood how to create something beautiful with relatively few means.¹⁰³

The issue of *Die Gartenkunst* that carried this review, as well as the issue that followed it, featured essays by Hans Kampffmeyer, Schultze-Naumburg, Goecke, and Deutscher Werkbund member Joseph August Lux, the editor of the cultural circular *Die hohe Warte* and a central figure in the planning of Hellerau. Considering the author’s ambition, the essay was well placed to make an impact, given that *Die Gartenkunst* was a critical feature of the media apparatus that helped shape the culture of architecture and planning in German-speaking Europe and its colonial territories in the prewar years.

A curious image accompanied the review: a photograph of a rotting, partially collapsed farmhouse. Its state of decay, the author

wrote, in tones that echo the racial discourse of the Settlement Law, signified the state of the land “under a Polish economy.”¹⁰⁴ The RPSC’s catalogue featured a similarly suggestive image of decomposition—similarly totemic and similarly haunting.¹⁰⁵ A folio of images was included in the catalogue, organized by type: the farmhouse and barn, the worker’s house, the community house and market square, the village street, and the church—underscoring, once again, the organizational importance of the concept of type in the cultural aesthetics of inner colonialism. The series of exemplary workers’ houses (*Arbeiterhäuser*) opens with a photograph of a dilapidated Polish sharecropper’s cottage in Strielau, with the descriptive title *Strielau—polnische Instkate*. Discarded and rotting furniture sits abandoned by a hay stall at its entrance, the building’s roof and wall beams buckle, clear signs of patchwork repair cover its collapsing surfaces, its fences of untreated wood twist and curve chaotically. In contrast, the image above it, a commission farmstead with livestock, speaks overwhelmingly of order and vitality. The commission, the comparison seems to suggest, is a life-preserving enterprise.

Like the image of the collapsing farmhouse found in the *Die Gartenkunst* review, the rotting cottage in the RPSC’s catalogue is intended as an object lesson, an architectural remainder in its final state of decomposition, an evocative symbol of what the commission had set out to eradicate: minority landownership and migrant land tenure. The emotional affect of the building’s decay, the hint at contamination fear, is further heightened in its comparison to the crisp, clean, organized modernism of the colonial farmsteads and workers’ houses featured in the *Arbeiterhäuser* series of images. The contrast between the rotting Polish cottage and the “hygienic” settler homes provides a visual example of what Kopp describes as the trope of “racialized space” common to the literature of internal colonization, here presented in architectural form. “As in all of the

Photographer unknown.
Dilapidated farmstead. From
W. Kiehl, “Golenhofen bei Posen:
Ein Musterdorf” (Golenhofen
in Posen: A model village),
Die Gartenkunst (1907).



inner colonial texts,” she writes,

Germans and Poles are shown to externalize their racial identities in the means by which they produce space: German space is rationally, hierarchically, and morally ordered; it is clean, modest, and well kept. Polish space is a manifestation of the opposite: it is always filthy and in disrepair; it is irrationally ordered (often erasing the line dividing human from animal) and reflects an amoral work ethic.¹⁰⁶

Here, again, the dichotomy of rational and irrational (or wild or savage) space returns in the form of a visual argument that indicates an approach to type-based thinking rooted to the Weberian paradigm of cultural difference.

A collection of floor plans included in this section of the catalogue provides another example of the differentiating function that type played in the RPSC’s project. Eleven examples of *Ansiedlertypen*, “settler types,” are featured, ten of them farmsteads (*Bauerngehöft*) on varying hectares and one an example of a two-family worker’s home (*Arbeiter-Dopplewohnhaus*) with a workshop attached. In 1919, Fischer published a guidebook titled *Ländliches Bauwesen* (Rural construction), one of many he would assemble during his time with the commission, drawing on the norms he helped establish for the colonial settlements, which were, in turn, derived from the extensive studies he had conducted of rural construction and settlement patterns throughout the eastern regions. “The selected examples” offered in *Ländliches Bauwesen*, he wrote, “are linked to tried and tested types.”¹⁰⁷ Cupers, in his discussion of Fischer’s legacy, argues that despite “the centralized, rational system that underlay the commission’s building production—and which could have easily led to highly standardized forms and types—Fischer was adamant about engineering architectural diversity.”¹⁰⁸ For Cupers, Fischer’s commitment to regional vernaculars further aligns him with the *Heimatschutz* approach, to which Fischer was clearly sympathetic. However, I would caution against overlooking the ordering role that type and norm were assigned in the project of internal colonization. They were, I propose, essential features of the commission’s contributions to design discourse.

Arbeiterhäuser (Workers’ houses).
Top: *Gehöft mit Ansiedlervieh* (Farmstead with colonizer’s cattle).
Bottom: *Strielau—polnische Instkate* (Strielau—Polish sharecropper’s cottage).
From Königlich Preußische Ansiedlungskommission, *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Twenty years of German cultural work: The activities and mission of the new Prussian colonization in West Prussia and Posen) (1907).



Gehöft mit Ansiedlervieh

Arbeiterhäuser



Strielau — polnische Instkate

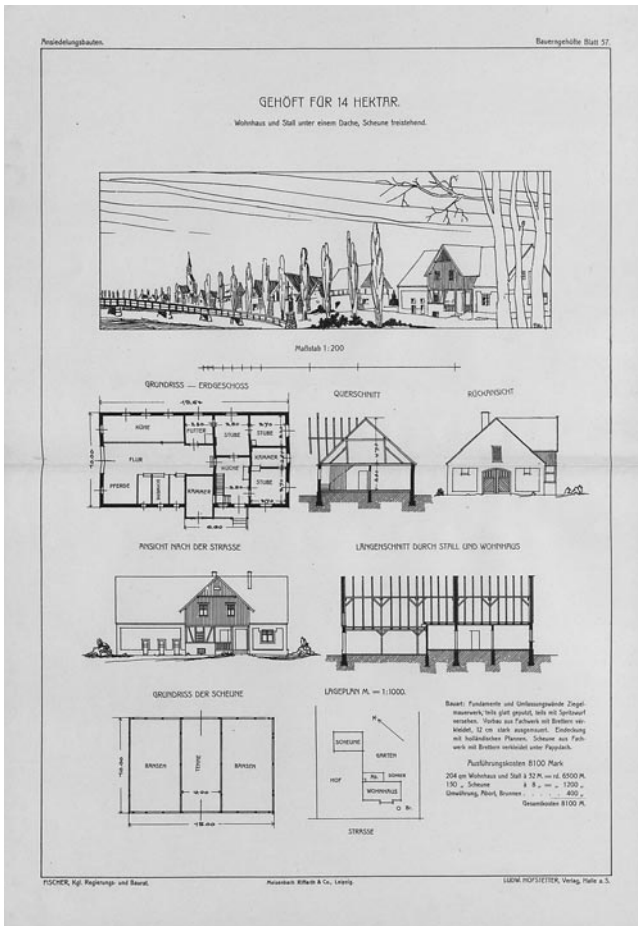
Seen through this lens, connections to later type-based theories of habitat and human settlement become possible.

Fischer's *Ländliches Bauwesen* was preceded by an earlier series of catalogues that almost exclusively featured his designs for the RPSC; the first collection was published on Golenhofen's completion, in 1907. These, too, were presented as planning templates. Both offer a hint of the "elementarism of the formal structures" of the *Wohnsiedlungen* to come—a "flaunted seriality," to borrow from Manfredo Tafuri, "of the elements, from the cell, to the block, to the overall organism."¹⁰⁹ This approach to seriality predates by some years the more canonically modernist avant-garde preoccupation with the montage. Here it functions as an aesthetic device that arose from the registers of information meticulously assembled by the commission. Its presence functions as a marker, a minor fragment, perhaps, that signals the emergence of a new regime of political power, the crossing of a threshold in which "power over persons was reorganized as a power over space."¹¹⁰ Following Kampffmeyer and Goecke's enthusiasm for the commission's planning model, one could argue that the archive Fischer and the commission amassed—the drawings, plans, maps, demographic records, police reports, marriage registers, debt contracts, drainage reports, raw material, and labor indices that fixed the land and its

workers "as a system of objects" to be surveyed, possessed, policed, and exchanged—offered a blueprint for the public housing estates that followed in their wake.¹¹¹

In 1909, as Fitzpatrick recounts, the German Conservative Count Kuno von Westarp argued in a speech to the Reichstag that, "according to German national law, there is no concept of the Polish nationality. . . . The Poles are Prussian citizens, they are citizens of the German Empire and belong to the German people."¹¹² Nonetheless, in 1885–1886, at the height of Germany's colonial consolidations, Prussia had sought, Fitzpatrick argues, to combat precisely this denied Polish nationality, just as it sought, as Weber's texts indicate, to legislate against burdensome internal minorities.¹¹³ These state-based interventions helped define a new era of border controls in

Paul Fischer. *Gehöft für 14 Hektar* (Farmstead for 14 hectares), 1907. From Paul Fischer, *Kleine ländliche Gemeindebauten und Dorfschänken* (Small rural community buildings and village inns) (1907).



Germany—an era distinguished at its inception by forced population transfers, restrictive passports, and racially motivated building restrictions, land distributions, and immunization policies. For Weber, these interventions functioned as an essential feature of the modern experience, according to which the state maintained a monopoly on the “legitimate” use of violence and control. “Today,” Weber claimed in his 1919 speech “Politics as a Vocation,” “the relation between the state and violence is an especially intimate one.”¹¹⁴

Architecture and planning were central components of this network of power that assembled along the eastern borderlands. The legal case that Polish peasant farmer Drzymała pursued against the Prussian state and the protest he staged in meter-by-meter scale as he hauled his “Polish village on wheels” across his land are testaments to the racist policies of the Prussian state that were laid in the circuitry of its settlement campaign and defined its landscape of forcefully controlled mobility. Inspired by Fischer’s exemplar of the modern village, the languages of German architectural modernism and its politics of land absorbed and redistributed the anxieties over migrant mobility so prominent at the time, just as they likewise later served as a screen onto which critiques of modernism were projected, as the example of the infamous “Arab village” photomontage of the *Weißenhofsiedlung* illustrates.¹¹⁵ The discourse of planning reform in particular, as it took shape during the years of the RPSC’s tenure, was perhaps most strongly influenced by the type-based, segregationist impulses of the commission’s building program. Listen carefully to the claims of those reformers most closely associated with the early garden cities and *Siedlungen*, from the Kampffmeyer cousins to Muthesius, and you might now hear the faintest echo of Drzymała’s subversive circulations and detect the heavy drag of his caravan’s wheels.

Notes

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1. Ansiedlungskommission für Westpreußen und Posen, *Gesetz und Ausführungs-Bestimmungen über die Ansiedlungs-Kommission* (Berlin: Royal Prussian Ministry of the Interior, 1904), 26.

2. Witold Jakóbczyk, "The Prussian Settlement Commission's Activities (1886–1897)," *Polish Review* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1972): 12.

3. Gabriel Dauehot, "La Prusse contre La Pologne," *Le petit journal*, 27 November 1907, 1–2. For more on Michał Drzymała's case, see Józef Podgóreczny, *Michał Drzymała: Prawda, legendy, anegdoty* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1971); and Kazimierz Wajda, *Wóz Drzymały* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1962).

4. Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments, Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 33.

5. Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, Race across the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 233.

6. For an excellent if brief history of this transition, see John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement,'" *Sociological Theory* 16, no. 3 (November 1998): 239–59. See also Sebastian Conrad, *Globalization and the Nation in Imperial Germany*, trans. Sorch O'Hagan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 144–202.

7. For more on the relation between these two cases, see Donald Bloxham, "Internal Colonization, Inter-imperial Conflict, and the Armenian Genocide," in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010). See also Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007).

8. Richard Bessel and Claudia B. Haake, "Introduction," in *Removing Peoples: Forced Removal in the Modern World*, ed. Richard Bessel and Claudia B. Haake (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11.

9. Timothy Mitchell argues that this transition occurred in the context of modern colonial interventions. Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 90.

10. See Dorata Przaszałowicz, "Overseas Migration from Partitioned Poland: Poznań and Eastern Galicia as Case Studies," *Polish American Studies* 60, no. 2 (Autumn 2003): 59–81. See also Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski, 1795–1918* (Warsaw: PWN, 1975).

11. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Von der "Deutschen Doppelrevolution" bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges*, vol. 3 of *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (1849–1914; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1995), 964.

12. This material on the RPSC in partitioned Poland forms part of a larger project that draws together a series of related planning endeavors in Germany and its colonial territories from roughly 1885 to 1918.

13. Helmut Bley, *Namibia under German Rule*, trans. Hugh Ridley (Hamburg:

Lit, 1996), 149.

14. Wolfgang Werner, "A Brief History of Land Dispossession in Namibia," *Journal of African Studies* 19, no. 1 (March 1993): 139. See also Horst Dreschler, *Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism 1884–1915* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1981); and Peter Katjavivi, *A History of Resistance in Namibia* (London: J. Currey; Addis Ababa: OAU, Inter-African Cultural Fund; Paris: UNESCO Press, 1988).

15. Werner, "A Brief History," 139.

16. Matthew Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871–1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), 232.

17. Kathleen Wilson, "Introduction: Histories, Empire, Modernities," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire 1660–1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3. On the subject of shared social and cultural reform projects and the feedback loop between colony and metropole, see John Marriott, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and Progress in the Colonial Imagination* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "The Migrant and the Madman: Work and Labor in the Historical Consciousness of a South African People," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 2 (May 1987): 191–209; Debora L. Silverman, "Art Nouveau, Art of Darkness: African Lineages of Belgian Modernism, Part I," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 18, no. 2 (Fall–Winter 2011): 139–81; and Debora L. Silverman, "Art Nouveau, Art of Darkness: African Lineages of Belgian Modernism, Part II," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 19, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 175–95. I use the term *subaltern* here in a Gramscian sense to designate populations kept firmly outside of the closed horizon of hegemonic power structures.

18. Here I borrow a phrase used by William Rollins, "Imperial Shades of Green: Conservation and Environmental Chauvinism in the German Colonial Project," *German Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (May 1999): 195.

19. Max Weber, "Die ländliche Arbeitsverfassung" (1893), in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1924), 456–57. Also quoted in Andrew Zimmerman, "Decolonizing Weber," *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (2006): 62. For a thorough treatment of Weber's relationship to the Polish question, see Hajime Konno, *Max Weber und die polnische Frage (1882–1920): Eine Betrachtung zum liberalen Nationalismus im wilhelminischen Deutschland* (Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2004).

20. Relative to the large body of scholarship on Weber's work from roughly 1903 (the year that marked his reentry into scholarly polemics after his emotional collapse in 1898) until his death in 1920, little is known about the early stage of his lifework, beginning with his dissertation on late medieval trading companies in the Mediterranean, completed in 1889, and his *Habilitation* on agrarian practices in ancient Rome published only two years later, which, as Alan Sica notes, garnered him instant acclaim in German academic circles. Alan Sica, "The Unknown Max Weber: A Note on Missing Translations," *Mid-American Review of Sociology* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1984): 6.

21. Scholars have begun the task of resituating Weber within an expanded frame, commencing with Wolfgang Mommsen's watershed study *Max Weber and German Politics*. Andrew Zimmerman's work has played an equally critical role in this shift. See W.J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890–1920*, trans. M.S. Steinberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Zimmerman, "Decolonizing Weber." See also Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in*

Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); and G.A. Abraham, "Max Weber: Modernist Anti-pluralism and the Polish Question," *New German Critique* 53 (1991): 33–66. For a critical volume of translations, see *Reading Weber*, ed. Keith Tribe (New York: Routledge, 1989).

22. Weber's *Habilitation*, a history of agrarian practices in Rome, was overseen at the University of Berlin by the state statistician and professor of economics August Meitzen, whose settlement studies of the *Ostsiedlung* and its effect on the "cultural conditions" of the Slavic population would have been well known to Weber. See August Meitzen, *Die Kulturzustände der Slawen vor der deutschen Kolonisation* (Wrocław: Max, 1864); and August Meitzen, *Die Ausbreitung der Deutschen in Deutschland und ihre Besiedelung der Slawengebiete* (Jena, 1879). Meitzen published extensively on settlement geography, migration, and rural land practices. See August Meitzen, *Der Boden und die landwirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des preußischen Staats*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1868/1873); August Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Hertz, 1895); and August Meitzen, *Wanderungen, Anbau und Agrarrecht der Völker Europas nördlich der Alpen* (Berlin: Hertz, 1895). Also of note is Meitzen's 1882 text *Das deutsche Haus in seinen volkstümlichen [sic] Formen* (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1882), a short study of the geography and "folk forms" of the German house. See also Sica, "The Unknown Max Weber," 8.

23. For primary source accounts, see Verein für Socialpolitik, *Zur inneren Kolonisation in Deutschland: Erfahrungen und Vorschläge* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1886); Paul Langhans, *Die Thätigkeit der Ansiedlungs-Kommission für die Provinzen Westpreußen und Posen 1886–1902* (Gotha: Perthes, 1902); Martin Belgard, *Parzellierung und innere Kolonisation in den 6 östlichen Provinzen Preußens 1875–1906* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1907); Georg Minde-Pouet, *25 Jahre Ansiedlung: Zum 25. Jahrestag der Königlichen Ansiedlungs-Kommission für Westpreußen und Posen in Posen; 1886–1911* (Eulitz, 1911); Carl Falk, *Die Ansiedlungskommission für Westpreußen und Posen in und nach dem Kriege, Ergebnis und Abschluß ihrer Tätigkeit* (Berlin: Ebering, 1927); Józef Feldman, *Bismarck und die Ansiedlungskommission* (Kraków, 1928); Otto Hartmann, *Die Liquidation der Königlichen Ansiedlungskommission* (Leipzig: Glausch, 1926); and Hans Dietrich Max von Lucke, *Über die Ansiedlungskommission und ihre kulturelle und national-politische Wirksamkeit* (Greifswald: Adler, 1919).

24. Robert Lucius, *Verhandlungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten*, 9 February 1886; and Weber, "Die ländliche Arbeitsverfassung," 456–57.

25. Zimmerman, "Decolonizing Weber," 53–54.

26. Zimmerman, "Decolonizing Weber," 54.

27. Max Weber, *Die Lage der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland: 1892*, in *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Horst Baier, et al., vol. 3 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), 926, quoted in Conrad, *Globalization and the Nation*, 157.

28. Conrad, *Globalization and the Nation*, 157.

29. Ernst von Weber, *Die Erweiterung des deutschen Wirtschaftsgebietes und die Grundlegung zu überseeischen deutschen Staaten* (Leipzig, 1879), 50–51, quoted by Conrad, *Globalization and the Nation*, 134.

30. Robert Koehl, "Colonialism inside Germany: 1886–1918," *Journal of Modern History* 25, no. 3 (September 1953): 262.

31. Zimmerman, "Decolonizing Weber," 61.

32. "Rede von Bismarck vor des Hauses der Abgeordneten am 15. April 1886,"

in *Reden des Fürsten von Bismarck*, vol. 6, ed. Otto de Grahl (Köthen: Paul Schettler's Erben, 1888), 217–18.

33. Carl Fink, *Der Kampf um die Ostmark: Ein Beitrag zur Beurtheilung der Polenfrage* (Berlin: Walther, 1897), 5. Fink's text was later used to help define the society's platform.

34. Gregor Thum, "Megalomania and Angst: The Nineteenth-Century Mythicization of Germany's Eastern Borderlands," in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 49. For a brief review of the Vienna Peace Congress, see Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 388–98.

35. Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 126, 147.

36. Thum, "Megalomania and Angst," 45. David Blackbourn, in his seminal study *The Conquest of Nature*, makes a similar argument. See David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2017), esp. ch. 5.

37. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 147.

38. Friedrich Ratzel, *Deutschland: Einführung in die Heimatkunde* (Leipzig: Grunow, 1898), 255, quoted in Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 147–48.

39. For recent discussions of this in architectural historiography, see Peter Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); and Kenny Cupers, "Bodenständigkeit: the Environmental Epistemology of Modernism," *Journal of Architecture* 21, no. 8 (2016): 1226–52.

40. Friedrich Ratzel, *Politische Geographie: Oder die Geographie der Staaten, des Verkehrs und des Krieges*, 2nd. ed. (Berlin: R. Oldenburg, 1903), 149–50.

41. Bernhard Siegert, "Introduction: Cultural Techniques, or, The End of the Intellectual Postwar in German Media Theory," in *Cultural Techniques: Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 9.

42. Kopp, "Germany's Wild East," 147.

43. Woodruff Smith, "Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum," *German Studies Review* 3, no. 1 (February 1980): 62.

44. See Otto Schlüter, "Die leitenden Gesichtspunkte der Anthropogeographie, insbesondere der Lehre Friedrich Ratzels," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 22 (1906): 581–630.

45. Various international bodies adopted the term as a conservation category in the 1990s, and in 1992 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's World Heritage Committee added cultural landscapes as a category of protection to the World Heritage Convention of 1972. See Michael Jones, "The Concept of Cultural Landscape: Discourse and Narratives," in *Landscape Interfaces*, ed. H. Palang and G. Fry (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 21. See also John Leighly and William W. Speth, "The Emergence of Cultural Geography," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 57 (1995): 158–80; and Robert C. West, ed. and trans., *Pioneers of Modern Geography: Translations Pertaining to German Geographers of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century* (Baton Rouge: Geoscience Publications, Louisiana State University, 1990).

46. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 147.

47. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 188.

48. For a discussion of the role of Hegel's border discourse in the field of border studies, see Vladimir Kolosov and James W. Scott, "Selected Conceptual Issues in Border Studies," in "Modeling and Benchmarking of Borders," special issue, *Belgeo, Revue belge de géographie*, no. 1 (2013): 1–20. See also Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1996); and Bas Arts, Arnoud Lagendijk, and Henk von Houtum, eds., *The Disoriented State: Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009).

49. G.W.F. Hegel, *The Science of Logic* (ca. 1812–1816), trans. A.V. Miller (New York: Humanity Books, 1999), 126.

50. Thinking with Étienne Balibar, I speculate that Hegel's border discourse drew much from Fichte's work, in which the notion of the border or boundary featured as an essential category in both his cognitive and political philosophy. In his *Addresses to the German Nation*, a series of public lectures given at the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1808 while Prussia languished in its subordinate position as a client state in Napoleon's First French Empire, Fichte (in the "Thirteenth Address," described by Balibar as the prototype for modern nationalisms) put forth a powerfully instrumental image of national self-understanding—an image of the people bounded, protectively and exclusively, by what Fichte referred to as the "internal border." "[T]he first, original, and truly natural borders of states," he wrote, "are beyond doubt their internal borders. Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds." Fichte's theory of the internal border, variously known as the "inner nation," was anchored to the concept of a place of refuge (*Zufluchtsort*). "This refuge," Balibar writes, was interpreted by Fichte as "the invisible liaison woven between [Germans] by the bonds of language, the invisible unity of what will soon be called the *Kulturnation*." Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, 5th ed. (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1978), 207; and Etienne Balibar, "Fichte and the Internal Border: On *Addresses to the German Nation*," in *Masses, Classes, Ideas: Studies on Politics and Philosophy before and after Marx*, trans. James Swenson (New York: Routledge, 1994), 67.

51. G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J.B. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), 350.

52. See Kristin Kopp, "Reinventing Poland as German Colonial Territory in the Nineteenth Century: Gustav Freytag's *Soll und Haben* as Colonial Novel," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion in the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 11–37. See also Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and the Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997). On the *Ostmarkenromanen* and Freytag's contribution, see Izabela Surynt, *Das "ferne," "unheimlich" Land: Gustav Freytag's Polen* (Dresden: Thelem bei w.e.b., 2004).

53. Thum, "Megalomania and Angst," 51.

54. Christoph von Tiedemann, *Verhandlung des Hauses der Abgeordneten*, 30 January 1886, 225–28. See Fitzpatrick's reading of Tiedemann's report, *Purging the Empire*, 119.

55. See Georg Stöcker, *Agrarideologie und Sozialreform im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Heinrich Sohnrey und der Deutsche Verein für ländliche Wohlfahrts- und Heimatspflege, 1896–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2011).

56. Christoph von Tiedemann, "Denkschrift betreffend einige Maßregeln zur Germanisierung der Provinz Posen," January 1886, in Ministry of Justice Files, Legislation and Administration of the Provinces of Posen, West Prussia, and

Upper Silesia, I HA Rep. 84a, document no. 4066, Geheimis Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation), Berlin.

57. Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*, 99.

58. Koehl, "Colonialism inside Germany," 271.

59. Otto von Bismarck, *Verhandlungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten*, 28 January 1886, 170, 172, quoted in Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*, 116.

60. Philipp Sarasin, "The Body as Medium: Nineteenth-Century European Hygiene Discourse," trans. Brian Hanrahan, *Grey Room*, no. 29 (Fall 2007): 48–65. See also Philipp Sarasin et al., eds., *Bakteriologie und Moderne: Studien zur Biopolitik des Unsichtbaren 1870–1920* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2007); and Conrad, *Globalization and the Nation*, 154.

61. Conrad, *Globalization of the Nation*, 188.

62. Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*, 96; Weber, "Die ländliche Arbeitsverfassung," 456–57.

63. Eduard von Hartmann, "Der Rückgang des Deutschtums," *Die Gegenwart* 27, no. 1 (1885): 1–5.

64. Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Entwicklung eines modernen Industrieortes, und die Lehren, die sich daraus für die industrielle Ansiedlungs-Politik ergeben," *Heidelberger Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen* 1, no. 4 (1910): 62.

65. The work of Sebastian Conrad and Andrew Zimmerman has left arguably the most critical stamp on contemporary discourse related to the RPSC; however, neither of their studies are comprehensive accounts of its activities. Among other key secondary texts dedicated to more comprehensive accounts of the commission's history are Witold Jakóbczyk, *Pruska komisja osadnicza: 1886–1918* (Poznań: Wydaw. Poznańskie, 1976); Hannelore Bruchhold-Wahl, "Die Krise des Großgrundbesitzes und die Güterankäufe der Ansiedlungskommission in der Provinz Posen, in den Jahren 1886–1898" (Ph.D. diss., University of Münster, 1981); Scott Eddie, *Landownership in Eastern Germany before the Great War: A Quantitative Analysis* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008); Scott Eddie, *The Ethnopolitics of Land Ownership in Prussian Poland, 1886–1918: The Land Purchases of the Ansiedlungskommission* (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2002); Nelson, ed., *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East*; and Richard Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire 1871–1900* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1981). For a more recent, if controversial, contribution, see Elizabeth B. Jones, "The Rural 'Social Ladder': Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 4 (October–December 2014): 457–92.

66. See Cupers, "Bodenständigkeit."

67. Magdalena Grabowska, "Bringing the Second World In: Conservative Revolution(s), Socialist Legacies, and Transnational Silences in the Trajectories of Polish Feminism," *Signs* 37, no. 2 (January 2012): 400.

68. Scott Eddie, "The Prussian Settlement Commission and Its Activities in the Land Market, 1886–1918," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East*, 39, 58. See also Rafi Segal, David Tartakover, and Eyal Weizman, eds., *A Civilian Occupation* (London: Verso, 2003).

69. Kampffmeyer, "Die Entwicklung eines modernen Industrieortes," 62–63.

70. Kampffmeyer, "Die Entwicklung eines modernen Industrieortes," 64.

71. A vital new body of research charts the role of race in modern architecture. Two forthcoming books on the subject, both published by University of Pittsburgh Press, are Charles Davis, *Building Character: The Racial Politics of Modern*

Architectural Style and Race and Modern Architecture, edited by Davis, Irene Cheng, and Mabel O. Wilson. See also Charles Davis, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Body: The Metaphorical Integrations of Race and Style in Structural Rationalism," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (2010): 341–48.

72. For more on this connection, see Cupers, "Bodenständigkeit."

73. William Rollins, "Imperial Shades of Green," 187.

74. Paul Fischer, "Landschaftsbild und Ansiedlung," in *Fünfundzwanziger Jahre Ansiedlung: Zum 25. Jahrestage der Königlichen Ansiedlungs-Kommission für Westpreußen und Posen 1886–1911*, ed. Georg Minde-Pouet (Leszno, 1911), 21–29.

75. *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit: Tätigkeit und Aufgabe neupreußischer Kolonisation in Westpreußen und Polen* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1907), 47; emphasis in original.

76. *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit*, 48.

77. See Bruno Fischer, "Die bisherigen Präsidenten der königlichen Ansiedlungskommission," *Deutsche Dorfzeitung*, 27 September 1908, 306–7.

78. Fischer, "Landschaftsbild und Ansiedlung," 22. See Verena Jakobi, "Heimatschutz und Bauerndorf: Zum planmäßigen Dorfbau im Deutschen Reich zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. diss., Technischen Universität, Berlin, 2003).

79. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*, 80–95.

80. Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, 90. See also Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848–1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015).

81. *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Kulturarbeit*, 241, 250–51, 254–55, 242–43, 262.

82. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*, 105.

83. Lenny Ureña Valerio, "An Empire of Scientific Experts: Polish Physicians and the Medicalization of the German Borderlands, 1880–1914," in *Liberal Imperialism in Europe*, ed. Matthew Fitzpatrick (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 168–69.

84. Kampffmeyer, "Die Entwicklung eines modernen Industrieortes," 65.

85. Giuseppe Motta, *Less than Nations: Central Eastern European Minorities after WWI*, vol. 2 (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 298; Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 68; and Koehl, "Colonialism inside Germany," 267.

86. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*, 106–8. For more on the contracts, see Koehl, "Colonialism inside Germany," 32–34; Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire*, 39–41; and Eddie, "The Prussian Settlement Commission and Its Activities in the Land Market, 1886–1918," 44–47.

87. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*, 108.

88. For an excellent discussion of Sering's role in this movement and the function of internal colonization in defining the potential of the so-called agrarian-industrial state, see Robert Nelson, "From Manitoba to the Memel: Max Sering, Inner Colonization and the German East," *Social History* 35, no. 4 (November 2010): 439–57.

89. Max Sering, *Die innere Kolonisation im östlichen Deutschland* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1893), 8.

90. Lujo Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," *Economic Journal* 7, no. 25 (March 1897): 15; emphasis added.

91. Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," 15. Justus Möser was an eighteenth-century chief justice and author of juridical and social theory, well known among historians for introducing the concept of *Heimat* (homeland) into German legal discourse.

92. Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," 9; emphasis added.
93. Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," 16.
94. Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," 16.
95. Brentano, "Agrarian Reform in Prussia," 9. See also Lujo Brentano, "Justus Möser, der Vater der jüngsten Agrarreform in Preußen," *Beilage der Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, February 1897.
96. Koehl, "Colonialism inside Germany," 261.
97. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa*, 110.
98. Theodore Goecke, "Der Bebauungsplan in Stadt und Land," *Der Städtebau* 11, no. 2 (February 1914): 20.
99. Patrick Hege, "The German Variation: A Sketch of Colonial *Städtebau* in Africa, 1884–1919," in *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-colonial Planning Cultures*, ed. Carlos Nunes Silva (London: Routledge, 2015), 170. See also Georg Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
100. Hermann Warlich, "Eine deutsche Dorf-Anlage in den Ostmarken," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 18 (April–September 1906): 533.
101. Warlich, "Eine deutsche Dorf-Anlage," 533–35.
102. W. Kiehl, "Golenhofen bei Posen: Ein Musterdorf," *Die Gartenkunst* 9, no. 4 (September 1907): 70–73.
103. Kiehl, "Golenhofen bei Posen," 70.
104. Kiehl, "Golenhofen bei Posen," 73.
105. This is similar to the wasteland discourse that accompanied the picturesque and the enclosure of both England and India. For more on this, see Vittoria di Palma, *Wasteland: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); and Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
106. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 86.
107. Paul Fischer, *Ländliches Bauwesen*, ed. Gerhard Jobst and Paul Fischer (Berlin: Verlag Von Wilhelm Ernst und Sohn, 1919), iv–v.
108. Cupers, "Bodenständigkeit," 1244.
109. Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. P. d'Acerno and R. Connolly (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 214.
110. Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, 90. See also Bessel and Haake, eds., *Removing Peoples*; and Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*.
111. Mitchel, *Rule of Experts*, 91.
112. Kuno von Westarp cited by Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*, 122.
113. Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*, 122.
114. Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" (1919), in *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1964), 78.
115. This postcard was recently reproduced and discussed by Thomas Elsaesser in "The Architectural Postcard: Photography, Cinema, and Modernist Mass Media," *Grey Room*, no. 70 (Winter 2018): 80–101.