

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 114

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TREATMENT OF NATIVES
IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

LONDON.

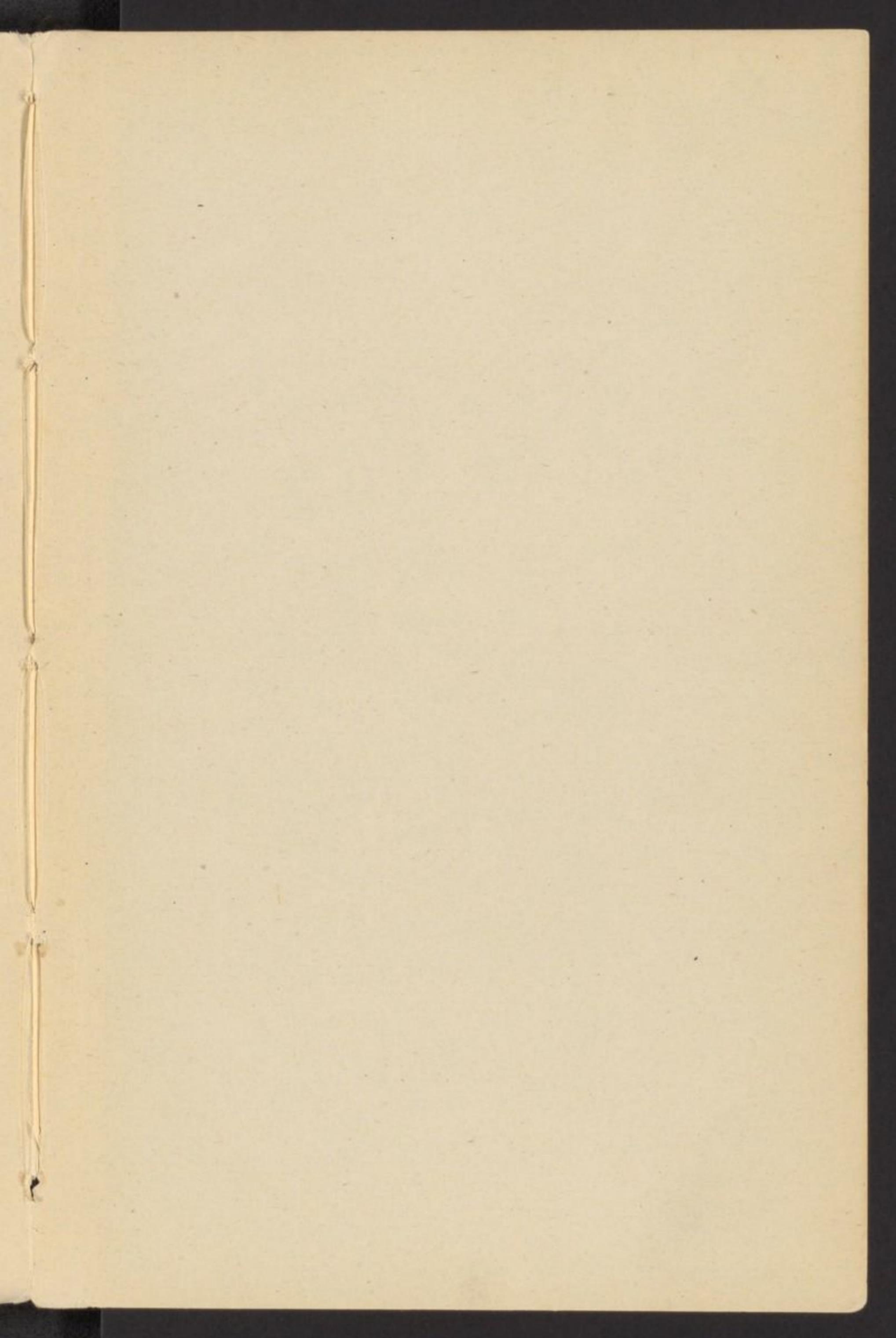
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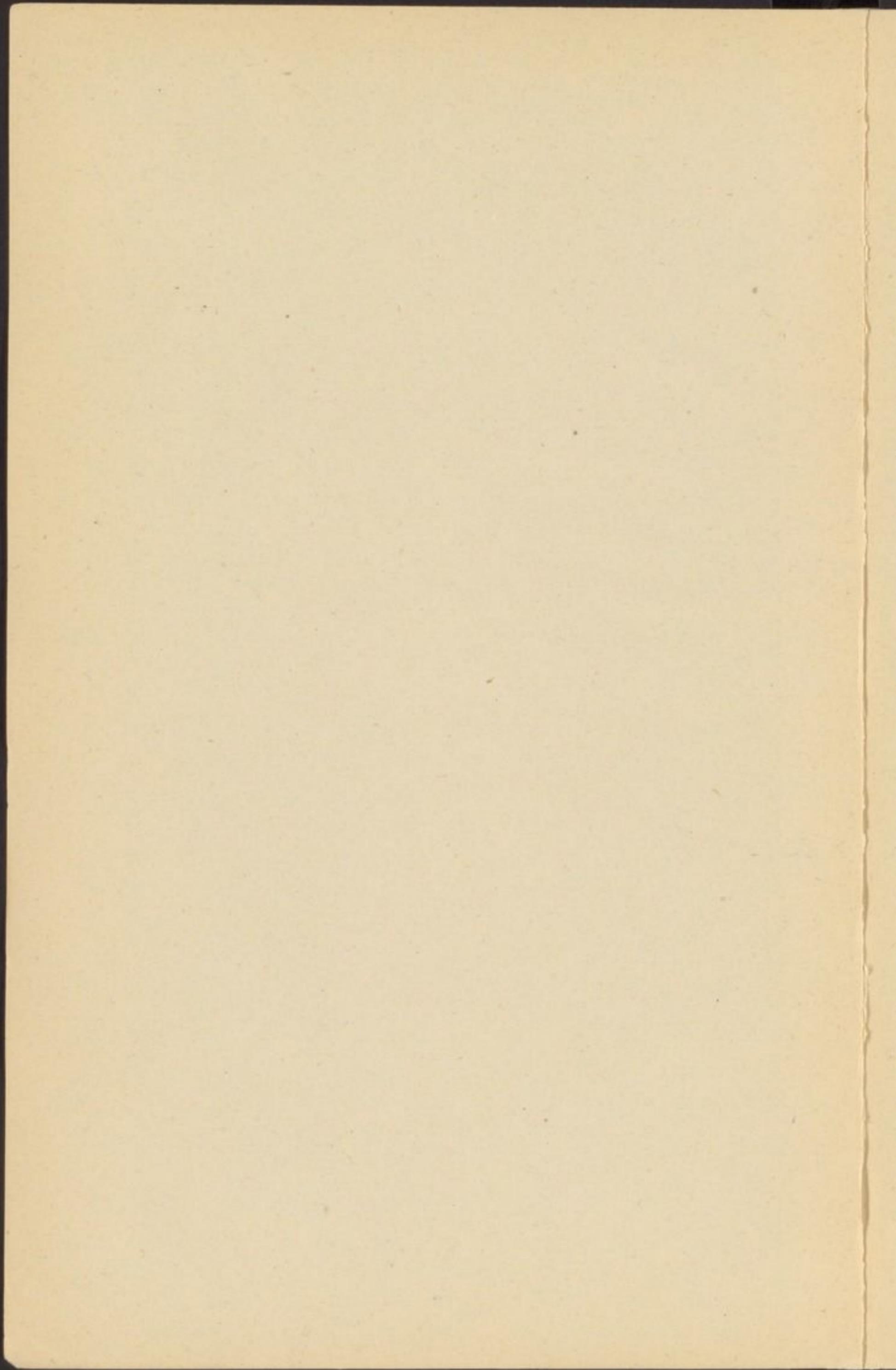
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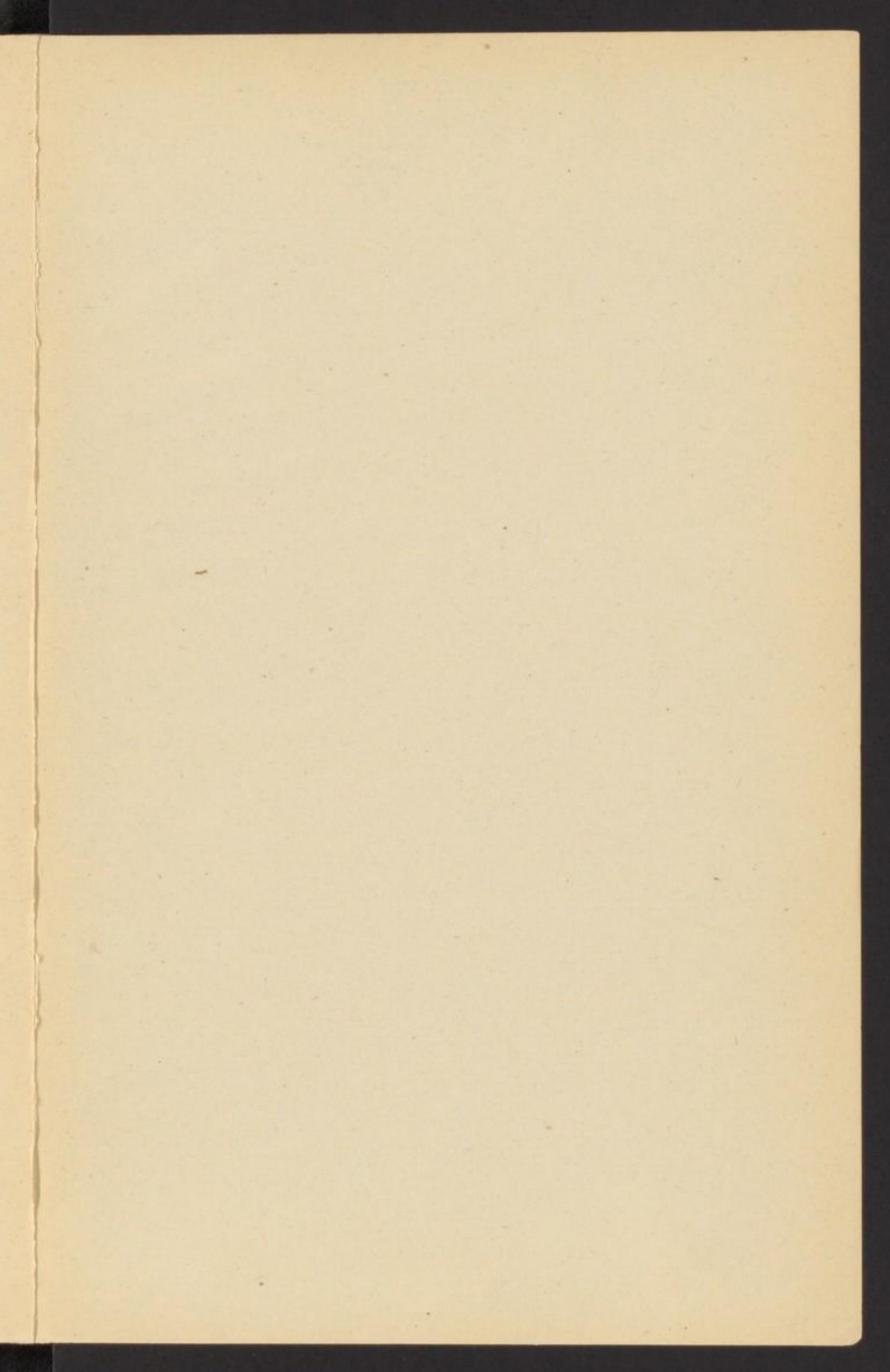


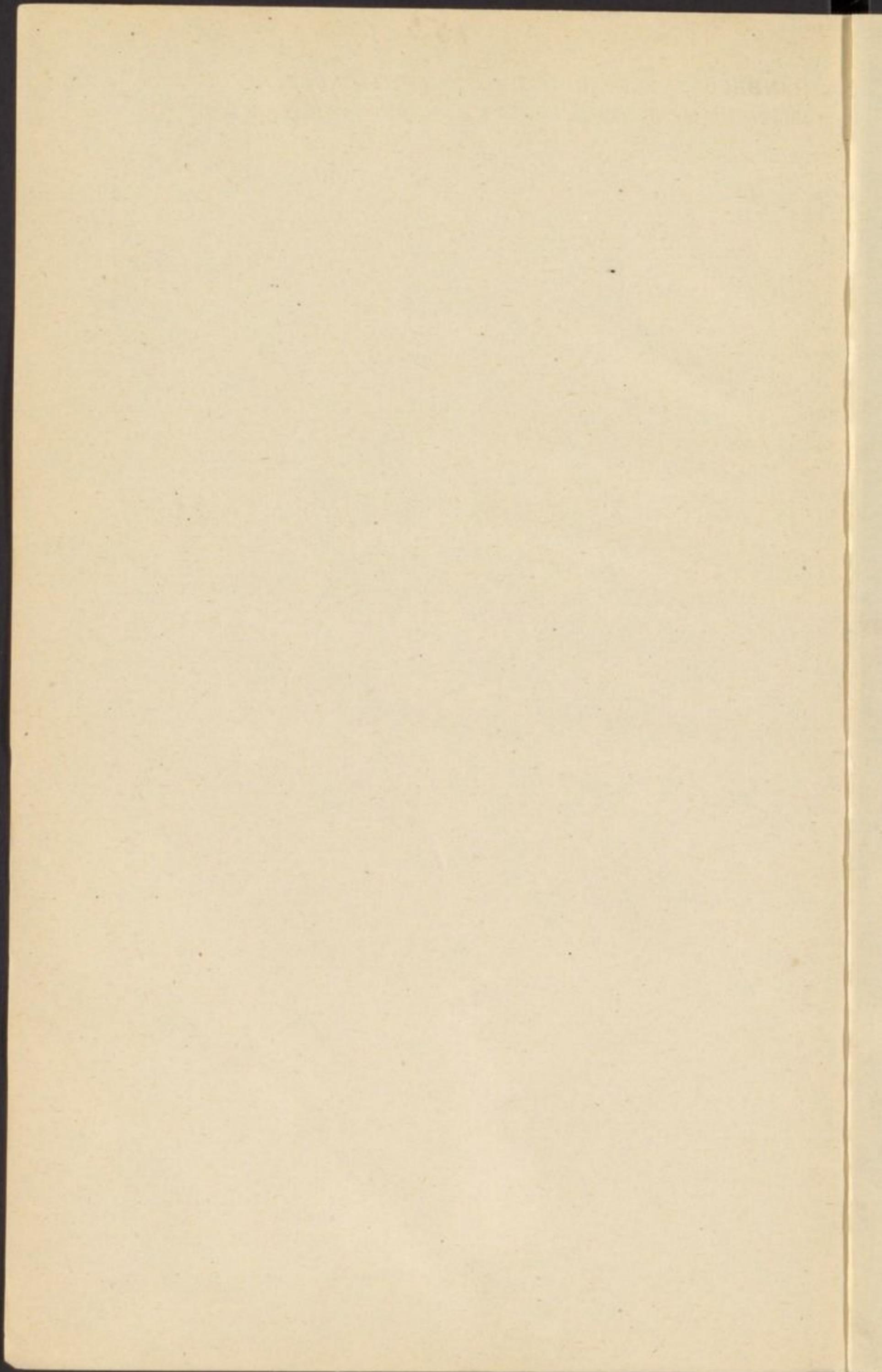


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TREATMENT OF NATIVES
IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

LONDON.

PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE

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1920

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HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THE TREATMENT OF NERVE
IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

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PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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7-19-17
Mar 1917

Editorial Note.

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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TREATMENT OF NATIVES IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

I. THE OFFICIAL ELEMENT

“THE question of German colonial policy is a question of native policy. It is not merely a question of how we are to rule them. . . . Owing to the different structure of our colonies, the task will be different in each of the groups. In the Cameroons and Togo we are ruling native States and native tribes by a bureaucracy somewhat on the lines of the Indian bureaucracy. In East Africa we are creating a mixed colony, planting fragments of a white society amongst dense African masses. In South-West Africa we have created a kind of manorial system with a European lord of the manor and an African serf. Each type has its advantages, each has its drawbacks.”

In these words Prof. Moritz Bonn, of Munich, briefly summed up the system of colonial administration in the German African colonies. He stated further that—

“Germany had not got the class of men she wanted for the colonies she owned. The German peasant who successfully colonized large parts of the world is not the ideal settler for Africa. For Africa, a country of plantations and large farms, is not a peasants' country. . . . We wanted to build up on African soil a new Germany and create daughter States. . . . We carried this idea to its bitter end. We tried it in South-West Africa, and produced a huge native rising, causing the loss of much treasure and many lives. We tried to assume to ourselves the functions of Providence, and we tried to exterminate a native race, whom our lack of wisdom had goaded into rebellion. We succeeded in breaking up the native tribes, but we have not yet succeeded in creating a new Germany.”¹

Such, in brief, is the history of German colonization in Africa. From the period when South-West Africa

¹ Address on “German Colonial Policy,” given before the Royal Colonial Institute, London, on January 13, 1914.

was occupied as a territorial colony—in theory a Protectorate—in 1884, until the present time, Germany has mishandled the native races committed to her care; she has entrusted the administration of vast territories to unsuitable and often venal officials; she has permitted non-commissioned officers, frequently of a brutal type, to acquire too great a preponderance in the actual work of administration; she has allowed her native soldiery an unbridled licence in their dealings with the native races; and, above all, she has degraded, instead of uplifted the natives, disregarded native laws and customs, broken up certain tribes and attempted to exterminate others, and introduced upon African soil the methods of the Prussian bureaucracy.

Bismarck, who in reality was no friend of colonization, foresaw the inevitable course of a colonial policy carried out on the rigid lines of Prussian method. "No success could be hoped for," he said, "from transplanting the Prussian Government official and his bureaucratic system to Africa." Yet this is exactly what happened. Men with no knowledge of African conditions, and whose record in the past was not of the best, were sent out to Africa as administrators; and certainly, until recently, the officials chosen by the Colonial Department were often men who for various reasons were not likely to succeed in the Fatherland.

In the early days there were the scandals and atrocities connected with such men as Karl Peters, Wehlan, Kleist, and Arenberg, and more recently there have been those in which have figured G. A. Schmidt, von Brauchitsch and Dr. Meyer, Governors von Puttkamer and Horn, Captain Dominik, Captain Kannenberg, Captain Thierry, Landeshauptmann Brandeis, von Rotberg, and many more, who will be referred to in due course.

In 1906 Dr. Schaedler stated that—

"the story of our colonies contains a whole series of events of a not too pleasant kind: embezzlements, falsifying of evidence, sensual cruelties, assaults on women, horrible ill-treatment—things that do not contribute to a laurel wreath. It will be

necessary to cleanse and winnow here, to handle matters severely in the Colonial Department, and abroad among the officials of our colonies. The colonies must be no dumping-ground for second-rate people. . . . Men with a past, or who are on the shelf, and officials and officers who are mentally and morally offensive, are no good to us in the colonies, not even if they were royal princes, but would only be suited to drag the German, and I would add the Christian, name in the dust."¹

In the same year the Conservative Deputy, Dr. Arendt, said that—

“ It is unfortunately not to be denied that amongst the many faults which we have committed in our colonial policy must be included the fact that in the beginning the colonies served as a dumping-ground for damaged reputations, and that unsuitable elements were often sent out.”²

In addition to these unsuitable administrative elements, use was made of far more unsuitable instruments on the spot. As the Germans became established in their colonies, they permitted an incredible licence to the native soldiery in their dealings with the unfortunate natives subjected to their control. Much of the brutality and many of the atrocities committed in Africa were due to this favoured element. A British officer who travelled along the Nigeria—Cameroon frontier in 1912-13 informs us that the German native soldier

“ is periodically told on parade that he is a member of the ‘greatest army in the world,’ and that ‘there is only one flag, the German flag; that all others are as dirt.’ He is told that he is invincible and can do no wrong: this he firmly believes. His word is always taken before the word of any number of natives. I have often heard him making a report to his officer which I have known to be an absolute fabrication. The worst of it is, he is always implicitly believed. The German idea is that a German soldier is *ex officio* above suspicion. According to my experience, the average German soldier is an unscrupulous liar, thief, and murderer, and is not to be trusted further than he can be seen.”

¹ Reichstag, November 28, 1906.

² Reichstag, March 15, 1906.

This licence permitted to the soldiery was a matter of German policy, but it was tempered by severe discipline so far as the actual carrying out of instructions was concerned. It is a profoundly significant fact that immediately on the outbreak of war the Governor of Cameroon, Herr Ebermaier, issued the following proclamation specially addressed to this element:—

“ I decree that corporal punishment shall be done away with for the soldiers of the police force and for coloured Government officials, because they have shown themselves faithful; also for all who have had an honourable discharge from the Service. The Commander decrees the same for the soldiers of the Protectorate. You are to understand this: he who serves the Germans faithfully will be treated like a German, and share in the privileged position of the Germans.”¹

The actual administration of justice (see p. 17 *et seq.*) was in a state of chaos. Each official was a law unto himself. Power was given to and exercised by minor officials, almost without appeal to the higher authorities, who failed to exercise any effective supervision over the proceedings of their subordinates. Even non-commissioned officers, and sometimes native sergeants, were entrusted with powers that are quite foreign to our ideas of administration. One official in Togoland² created his native mistress and procuress *Jenufia* (i.e., queen), giving her the power to levy fines and legal dues, and to decide in legal cases in the first instance. Stations were placed in full charge of sergeants. Sergeant Liebert, at the station of Loldorf, practically left the command of the station to his black wife, as he was ill. This woman had three negroes, accused of highway robbery, arrested, and when Captain Kamptz visited the station she handed over the men to him. They were tied up before a 3.7-centimetre gun and blown to pieces. The powers exercised by the subordinate officials were one of the chief causes of the failure of the Germans to administer strict and impartial justice in their colonies.

¹ Proclamation in the *Kamerun Post*, August 8, 1914.

² Herr G. A. Schmidt; see *infra*, p. 35.

While the Governors and superior officials failed to exercise proper supervision in Africa, the Colonial Department, at first a branch of the Foreign Office and afterwards a separate Ministry, did not maintain any sufficient control over the colonial officials. There was a systematic policy of hushing up, and such prosecutions of colonial officials as the force of public opinion compelled the Colonial Department to undertake almost invariably resulted in the infliction of a totally inadequate punishment, and that not because they had been guilty of atrocities, but because they had failed in some point of official etiquette. Thus Karl Peters was condemned at first because he had given false reports of his actions to his official superiors, and had thereby committed a grave breach of duty; Wehlan was condemned to a small fine and transferred to another post; Kleist was at first only removed to another post; von Puttkamer was merely fined and reprimanded; Schmidt was at first sent back to Togoland; Brandeis was merely reprimanded; Horn was dismissed, but retained two-thirds of his pension; whilst Dominik does not appear to have been punished at all, but had a statue erected in his honour, as did Peters when he was finally "rehabilitated" after years of controversy. Imperial or other influence was frequently solicited and obtained for the culprits, as in the cases of Peters and Wehlan; and the Colonial Department consistently refused to make public the documents in connection with these cases.

It would not be too much to say that in respect of every official scandal that was revealed through the persistent action of the Clerical and Social-Democratic elements in the Reichstag a hundred secret influences were at work to screen the offenders and to prevent the collection, and certainly the publication, of the scandalous details relating to corruption in the colonies. Deputy Bebel made the following statements:—

" I am absolutely convinced that we should hear much worse things from our colonies than we have heard yet if strict measures were not taken in the colonies to prevent any Euro

pean, and especially any German, who has settled there, from telling in public anything about the abuses that come to light there. A man who was long in Cameroon told me that every commercial employé who made public the smallest details about the loathsome conditions was simply ruined, that every means was used to induce his employer to dismiss anyone who had been indiscreet, and that very explicable motives of camaradie make it particularly difficult to induce the officials to bring abuses to light."¹

"Everything that happens in the colonies is hushed up. . . . Then what have the gentlemen to expect if they are guilty of these abominations and are turned out of the service? Nothing. They are rewarded afterwards."²

Deputy Erzberger made similar charges when speaking about the testimony of missionaries; he said:—

"You certainly cannot believe that all is well and in good order when the missionaries are silent. If the missionaries were always to speak according to their true feelings, then we should learn quite different things. But the missionaries must often be silent, because they are under the power of the respective Governors or District Judges."³

Herr Scholze, one of the few German missionaries who have dared to speak out, said in a lecture delivered at Karlsruhe in 1904:—

"I will not say that the Government directly favoured the pernicious excesses in the colonies. . . . There are men who are indignant at the treatment of the natives, but there is hardly ever one who has the courage to disobey the official order against telling friends of anything that occurs in the colonies or making it public."⁴

Father Schmitz and his associates in Togoland, who exposed the atrocities and immoralities of G. A. Schmidt, were directly threatened by Dernburg in the Reichstag. The Secretary of State said that he had written to the Chapter of Cologne Cathedral complaining of the charges brought by their missionaries against officials in the colony of Togoland, and intimating that if what he termed the unfounded charges did not cease

¹ Bebel, Reichstag, March 20, 1906.

² *Ibid.*, December 1, 1906.

³ Erzberger, Reichstag, December 1, 1906.

⁴ Scholze, J., *Die Wahrheit über die Heidenmission und ihre Gegner*, Berlin, 1905.

he would feel compelled to resort to administrative measures against the missions.

“ This campaign against officials must cease, else it would be impossible to get anyone to enter the Colonial Service.”¹

Schmidt himself issued an order that all natives were forbidden to complain any further to the missionaries of the Catholic Mission, and about the same time Governor von Puttkamer forbade officials in Cameroon to visit the Evangelical Protestant missions established there.²

Officials, such as Herr Wistuba and Herr Poeplau, who did attempt to make the colonial scandals public, were dismissed from the service for dereliction of duty; but the real offenders were usually maintained in their positions. On this point alone a most damning indictment of German administrative methods could be prepared from the available evidence. “ There is abundant testimony that many of the instruments of German administration in Africa were “ men of low character, *roués*, men with a past.”³ Many officials, too, were deeply interested in concessionary companies.

Such was the type of men employed in the German colonies. Although there were undoubtedly honest and straightforward officials, more especially during recent years, they were hampered and restricted by the action of the Colonial Office in Berlin, which, even during the Dernburg regime, when certain reforms were initiated but never carried through, was not cleared of those who had previously insisted that a veil of secrecy should be drawn over administrative scandals in the colonies.

¹ Dernburg, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

² Rören, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

³ Dr. Schaedler, Reichstag, November 28, 1906.

II. FLOGGING IN THE GERMAN COLONIES

IN the treatment of African natives Germany has adopted a standard of her own. General von Liebert, an ex-Governor of German East Africa, a member of the Reichstag, and president of the Anti-Socialist League, declared during the trial of the action brought by Karl Peters against Herr Gruber in 1907, that the acts for which Peters had been condemned were necessary "to open up a black continent to civilization," and that "it was impossible in Africa to get on without cruelty"; and there is ample evidence to prove that von Liebert's view was generally accepted.

In the administration of the German colonies the system of flogging has been one of the chief instruments of oppression. The facts in connection with this degrading system were so notorious and so generally known in adjacent territories that the German African colonies were freely spoken of as the "Colonies of the Twenty-five" (i.e., where twenty-five lashes were the usual punishment) and the "Flogging Colonies."

There is an overwhelming mass of evidence as to the prevalence of this system. On at least two occasions samples of the instruments used have been laid on the table of the Reichstag; on the first occasion a rhinoceros whip,² and on the second a cudgel, described officially as

¹ Rören, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

² "And with what instruments floggings were carried out," said Deputy Bebel on March 13, 1906, "we had an opportunity of judging some years ago in this House, when a party friend of mine laid a rhinoceros whip on the table of the House."

a "little stick." Deputy Rören, a Prussian judge, on the latter occasion said:—

"meanwhile a 'little stick' of this kind with which the thrashing took place has been sent to me from Togo, and I take the liberty of laying this 'little stick' here on the table of the House. Gentlemen, if such an instrument is designated as a 'little stick,' then one can have some idea what sort of a bludgeon they would not dare to call a 'little stick.'"¹

The punishments officially recognised as being permissible are corporal punishment (flogging and birching), fines, imprisonment with hard labour, imprisonment in chains, and death. In the actual administration of flogging a considerable latitude has been allowed. As a matter of fact, flogging has been indiscriminately indulged in. Rören stated that—

"this punishment is not ordered merely for grave misdemeanours or for crimes by judicial sentence, but it is applied on the mere order of administrative officials, even by Station Directors, who officially have only the rank of a subaltern, or by their assistants, or by some overseers of smaller stations, who are taken largely from former non-commissioned officers."²

In theory all floggings are supposed to be entered in a punishment book, but in practice this was frequently not done. Thus Landeshauptmann Brandeis, of the Marshall Islands, who "seems to have flogged quite systematically" for educative reasons, was convicted of this offence, but received a Prussian Order. The Colonial Department wrote to him as follows:—

"The right of the authorities to order flogging for general educational reasons is certainly to be denied. You [Brandeis] do not seem to have kept always within bounds in this direction, particularly not in the case of people who had received the punishment of imprisonment imposed by police or other courts."³

Of the nature of the instrument used and of the atrocious wounds inflicted there is abundant testimony. Four instruments have been used at different times: a

¹ Rören, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dr. Müller, Reichstag, December 4, 1906.

rhinoceros whip or hippopotamus whip, a rope's end, a "little stick" or birch rod, and a salted strap. In Cameroon the Governor, von Puttkamer, found that the rhinoceros whip was "too cruel," and only allowed a rope's end, but in 1907 the Colonial Office again ordered that the sjambok should be used.

This, the official instrument of punishment, is made of strips of rhinoceros hide, 80 to 100 centimetres long by 1 centimetre in circumference, and smooth at the whip end; but certain witnesses, amongst whom was King Akwa (Cameroon), stated that they had only seen beating with a rope's end, bound round at the end with wire—an instrument that must have inflicted atrocious wounds. Herr Bebel described the instrument used as not so much an ordinary rope "but a weapon." He said:—

"it is steeped in hot tar, and when well covered with tar it is dipped in sand to produce a very rough surface; and after the whip thus prepared has become stiff and hard enough, with this instrument, which may possibly cause death, men, women, and children, without respect of persons, are punished up to twenty-five strokes. That is simply barbarous. That is an act of violence committed in the name of civilization against which we protest with the utmost energy."¹

Deputy Dasbach described how a missionary had told him that—

"the flogging was administered in the most cruel way. The soldier who is ordered to give the flogging receives the order to hit with such force that the whip hisses as it comes whirling down, and if the soldier does not flog so hard that the whip hisses he is punished himself."²

Consul-General Knappe, of Shanghai, wrote in an official letter:—

"I have witnessed the carrying out of the punishment of flogging, both in Samoa and in the Marshall Islands. The impression was a disgusting one, both for white men and black."³

¹ Bebel, Reichstag, March 20, 1906.

² Dasbach, Reichstag, March 26, 1906.

³ Erzberger, Reichstag, March 13, 1906.

Rören described the whole process of flogging as "a form of torture." He said:—

"The native, after having been completely stripped, is strapped across a block on a barrel that has been fixed firmly, his hands are bound in front, his feet behind, so that he cannot move, and then he does not get a few blows with an ordinary stick held in one hand, but the strongest among the black soldiers has to wield a plaited rope or a correspondingly thick stick with both hands and with all his strength, and that with such violence that each blow must whistle in the air. Sometimes, if the blow does not whistle, it has to be repeated, and if this is not done the Hausa gets it himself."¹

This repetition of blows alluded to by Deputy Rören has been a common occurrence. The Akwa chiefs complained that they had received many more than the legal number of fifty lashes,² which were to be delivered on two separate occasions.

Flogging as administered in the German colonies produced the most unfortunate results on the natives. The results were both physical and moral. In the case of the Elders of Awete, forty in number, flogged by order of G. A. Schmidt, then Station-Director at Atakpame, so that "pieces of flesh hung from their bodies," the scars were visible three years after the flogging. These men were beaten with four different sticks, which broke one after the other. One witness stated: "I received three wounds, which caused me to be ill for three months," and others, three years after the punishment, showed scars on their buttocks the size of the palm of the hand. Many deputies have protested

¹ Rören, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

² They complained that "without regarding their repeated representations, the natives, without respect of persons, were flogged for every small offence in civil or criminal matters, receiving twenty-five strokes with the rhinoceros whip or with a thick rope's end soaked in coal tar, rubbed in the sand, and dried stiff. For greater offences they were often punished with seventy-five strokes, divided between three occasions; three or four weeks at most intervened between two inflictions of punishment."

against these brutalities. On March 26, 1906, Ledebour said :—

“ Every flogging becomes barbarous, whether given with a rope's end, the sjambok, or a salted strap. First, it is physically detrimental, causing injury and shaking the nerves; it injures the soul, it brutalizes and blunts it; and it brutalizes the officials who order the flogging. . . . The unfortunate result is that by their administration German officials do not spread ‘ Kultur,’ but produce a servile spirit. . . . If that is true, then you have simply worked destruction on the spiritual life of these people.”

Rören has stated that—

“ it is self-evident that on the portions of the body thus struck the blood congeals and then swells, and so it is not uncommon for a man thus flogged to be ill or sickly for the rest of his life. In some cases, even, weak natives have collapsed after flogging and soon died. But all, as a general rule, for months, or even for years, find themselves in such a state of nervous tension that if anyone approaches them unexpectedly they cower and scream aloud, from fear and apprehension lest the spot that was beaten may be touched.”¹

Deaths caused by flogging have been very numerous. A few instances, for which there is ample evidence, may be given. District Judge von Rotberg made a journey from Anecho to Atakpame in March 1903. One of the porters fell under his load, and then tried to run away. He was caught. Von Rotberg knelt upon him, pummelled him on the face with his fists, and then had him beaten with twenty-five strokes from a bamboo cane. The man again collapsed, and von Rotberg had him beaten a second time, with the result that he died. One of the most respected and influential natives in Lome testified that the cane used by von Rotberg's orders was a cudgel with which one might have felled an ox. Another case was even more brutal and disgraceful. It concerned a man named Mesa, who was flogged with the usual twenty-five strokes because he was unpunctual with an official's dinner. Then the official gave him a kick on his private parts, so that the man fell down and remained unconscious for five minutes. Other similar brutalities followed, and another twenty-

¹ Rören, Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

five strokes, so that the following evening the body was carried through the streets of Lome, under the eyes of the white officials, to the monotonous dirge of "The white man has killed the cook." Rören's comment on this case is, "And the official has been sent back to Togoland."

Other cases are connected with Governor Horn, with Captain Kannenberg, with von Brauchitsch, and with the Akwa chiefs. The Akwa chiefs were constantly flogged, and some of them testified to the deaths of relatives after flogging. All these cases—and there are many—are ample evidence of the almost incredible brutality of German officials in their dealings with the natives. /

It would seem, however, that the climax is reached when women are flogged. It is well known that one of the revolts in Cameroon was caused by the Deputy-Governor Kleist ordering the flogging of twenty women, wives of native soldiers, because he considered that they had been too lazy. Herr Rose, of the Colonial Department, admitted that women had been flogged in New Guinea;¹ and so recently as May 1914 Deputy Dr. Müller asked whether it was true that Christian negro girls had been flogged at certain mission stations in East Africa to prevent their marrying non-Christian men. Dr. Müller received the following answer to his question:—

"So far nothing is known *officially*. However, according to German East African papers of March of this year, at a mission station in the Mahen district girls of marriageable age have been flogged for the purposes mentioned in the question."

A non-committal but sufficiently explicit answer.

Moreover, in the report of Mining Assessor Hasslacher, mentioned below, it is stated that not only were women flogged, but children also: /

"At the Magistracy of Morogoro the flogging punishment of children is carried out with a 44½-in.-long *kiboko* [i.e., *sjambok*], instead of, as usual elsewhere, with a cane or light stick."

¹ Ledebour, Reichstag, March 29, 1906.

This excessive flogging is admitted by all who know the German colonies, and the constant use of the whip has been noticed even by Dernburg himself. Speaking to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on the Colonial Estimates on February 18, 1908, after his visit to Africa, he said :—

“ On the coast it makes a very unfavourable impression on one to see so many white men go about with negro whips. I even found one on the table of the principal pay office in Dar es-Salaam; it is still the usual thing, and anyone who has been there will confirm what I say. . . . The State is always asked to carry a whip in its hand.”

The most biting comment on this statement is afforded by the testimony of a pastor at Dar es-Salaam, who stated that the negroes who went with Dernburg on the expedition from Muansa to Tabora had said: “ No, we will not travel with him again; we were never in our lives beaten as in Herr Dernburg’s expedition.”¹

The number of floggings officially entered on the punishment sheets probably represents by no means all the cases of brutal treatment by official order, and certainly does not include the many unofficial floggings that took place. This view is supported by a statement in a Report on Labour Compulsion in the Morogoro District by Mining Assessor Hasslacher, dated 1914. He states that :—

“ Nowhere on the estates were punishment registers kept of the punishments by flogging which were executed on the natives by individual planters, at times actually on women and little children, in a shameless—I would almost say blood-lustful—manner. . . . Although, as far as I have ascertained, the punishment by flogging is freely used in the magisterial district of Morogoro and its subordinate centres, still, these official punishments are as nothing compared with the innumerable administrations of the punishment by flogging on the European estates, and would scarcely come into the balance in a complete statistical statement of the flogging administered in the Morogoro district.”

¹ Quoted in the Reichstag by Ledebour, on March 17, 1908.

Later in the same report occurs the following:—

“ *Plantation of Dorendorf*: Measureless and senseless flogging was done, according to the statement of my guaranteeing informer, the plantation-assistant Winter. Does Herr Mahnke [the district magistrate] really believe that the labourers who were apportioned to this plantation had voluntarily come to these orgies of flogging?”

Deputy Erzberger on March 19, 1906, said “flogging is used too generally, in my opinion”; and he stated that in 1903 in East Africa 2,293 natives were sentenced to floggings and birchings, and 2,994 natives received floggings as additional punishments. Deputy Noske, on April 30, 1912, gave the figures for 1910:—

“ The number of natives who are condemned sometimes to very trying imprisonment is most striking. . . . Realise that in East Africa alone in one year 10,144 longer or shorter sentences of imprisonment were given. That, considering the comparatively small district subject to German administration, is a colossally high number of convictions. . . . The number of floggings in South-West Africa rose correspondingly. It rose from 928 in 1909 to 1,262 in 1910. In South-West Africa we have from 70,000 to 80,000 natives subject to the German administration. Among this small number of persons no fewer than 2,371 cases of more or less severe punishment were imposed. That is such an enormous percentage that one really does not understand on what principles justice is administered. . . . In Cameroon, besides 54 negroes who were sent out of life into death, 3,516 coloured people were punished with imprisonment; in 881 cases fines were imposed, and in 1,909 floggings. . . . A similar increase in the convictions, and, of course, also in the flogging cases, is to be recorded from Togo. That little land had not fewer than 5,206 convictions. . . . Now, surely, there can be no doubt that the Reichstag has no wish that we should make Togo into a flogging area. . . . We have had pretty bad conditions there, and do not want them to be made worse.”

In the Morogoro district of German East Africa, according to Herr Hasslacher, the number of floggings has greatly increased. He states:—

“ Since Herr Mahnke has been in charge of the Morogoro magistracy the number of punishments of natives, namely, with floggings, has undergone an alarming increase. . . . The

annual report, to be found in the local records of the magistracy of Morogoro for 1912-13, expresses itself as follows on this matter: 'The Native Criminal Law Administration has considerably grown during the year under review. It ran up from 877 sentences in the preceding year, and 933 in 1910, to 1,812 sentences. The increase touches chiefly the fourth group of offences; it deals with a more rigorous prosecution of breach of contract.' "

On another occasion Bebel gave the numbers for East Africa. "According to the Memorandum of 1904-5," he said, "in the district of Kilwa alone there were 434 floggings; in the whole colony 4,783, besides unofficial floggings."¹ It may be taken, therefore, that the number of official floggings has been out of all proportion to the population under German control; whilst the floggings indulged in by planters and settlers, without the intervention of officials, have been exceedingly numerous. /

¹ Bebel, Reichstag, March 13, 1906.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

THE administration of justice in the German colonies has not been placed upon any sure and stable foundation. It has been, as a matter of fact, the *fons et origo* of most of the troubles that have occurred. The law itself has also been in a most unsatisfactory and chaotic state. Under the original charters of some of the colonies, as, for instance, East Africa, the officials were given an absolutely free hand, and were subject only to the ultimate control of the Emperor;¹ and in others the law was administered in an absolutely arbitrary manner, according to the personal ideas of the individual official.

The natives were governed like a conquered people, although, as a matter of fact, in many cases they were (in theory at least) only under the protection of the German Empire. No man was safe from arrest and imprisonment, and none were able to obtain justice when they dared to complain against the tyranny of officials. The word of native witnesses was seldom accepted in a court of law, unless it coincided with the official view; and, moreover, natives were not put on oath.²

The powers of the subordinate officials were such that they exercised extensive rights of punishment without reference to the higher authorities; and punishments were not infrequently administered without judicial proceedings, as was shown by Rören in the Reichstag on December 3, 1906. "The real hardship is," he said, "that this punishment is not ordered

¹ On this point consult the Charter granted to the German East Africa Company.

² Deputy Rören, December 3, 1906.

merely for grave misdemeanours or crimes by judicial sentence." Moreover, those administering justice were subservient to the Governor, as was stated by District Judge von Rotberg, who said:—

"As the judges in the Protectorates are also administrative officials, they are also, in the opinion of the Foreign Office, bound in their actions as judges by the intentions of the Governor placed above them."

Rören's comment upon this was:—

"This certainly is a terrible state of things, and if this idea really exists at the Foreign Office, then it is indeed time that it should be overhauled thoroughly. In my whole life I have never held any other view than that the judge, in using his judicial functions, was bound by nobody's intentions, neither the Governor's, nor the Minister's, nor those of anybody else, but only by his own conscience."

The intimidation of witnesses is authenticated in instances too numerous to give in detail. Speaking of the horrible case of Mesa the cook, Rören said that not only had the official concerned not been punished but he had been allowed to return to his duties, "of course, to influence the black witnesses, so that when the enquiry takes place they dare not say any more about it." In the case of G. A. Schmidt the intimidation of witnesses was notorious and was practised openly; whilst in the case of the Akwa chiefs, intimidation was carried on as an organised system by those who were interested in hushing up the affair.

No special code was used in the German colonies. On May 1, 1912, Deputy Dr. Müller called attention to this matter as follows:—

"Our civil and military administration of justice is simply untenable. I point out that in mixed trials, therefore in the cases between natives and non-natives, there exists a free right of the Kaiser to decide. With regard to the right of native justice and administration there exists an incredible insecurity concerning the powers of the administrative authorities in this sphere. . . . One judge uses the German penal code without further ado. . . . He uses the penal code without turning to the right or the left for the primitive conditions of the colonies. Another does not use the penal code at all. Yet another uses something analogous to it. . . . In short, our

criminal proceedings are in a condition which must be stopped as soon as possible, which leaves the natives entirely without rights. That is how it happens that the punishment of flogging is used quite differently in individual colonies, and that in some colonies there is now an immense amount of flogging, whilst in others little flogging has been used. It is just the same as to remands, seizures, carrying out of punishments, and the way of accepting evidence and defence."

Another deputy, so late as May 17, 1914, showed that there had been no improvement. Deputy Dove asked:—

"Wherein does the whole reason for mistrust really exist? In this, that in our colonies the state of justice is so undeveloped that government and administration of justice are in the same hands."

A few years previously Deputy Storz had compared the British and German systems:—

"Nothing shows the difference in the position as to the rights of natives in German and English colonies so much as the administration of justice: the English solemn, earnest, entirely hedged in by guarantees of justice; at the German courts everything without form, and even if the intention to deal out justice be there . . . everything surrounded with the appearance of force and arbitrariness. The English District Commissioner can only act in things of small moment. Appeal can be made to the English judge, who travels about the country and judges cases in the first instance. With us, on the contrary, the officer and agriculturist without judicial training appointed as Director of the station, can decide on the life and death of the natives. True, the sentence needs confirmation by the Governor, but he goes by the report of the official who acted as judge. . . . The consequence is that the reputation of the German race suffers. An urgent demand has been rightly made to end this system of absolute arbitrariness and absolute absence of equity in our colonies."¹

The most glaring cases of injustice could be adduced to support the contention that the administration was corrupt and venal; but it is only necessary here to state that Governor von Leutwein, of South-West Africa, published a table in his book on that Protectorate, showing the differences in the sentences meted out to Europeans and natives respectively.

¹ Storz, Reichstag, March 24, 1906.

IV. FORCED LABOUR

THE general statement that a system of forced labour, closely akin to actual slavery, has been in operation in the German colonies, is fully borne out by the representations of those who know the actual condition of things with reference to the supply of labour for the plantations and for public works, such as railways, harbours, and roads.

In the German colonies labour must be supplied by the native chiefs when asked for, and upon terms dictated by the local administration. There is no such thing as an open labour market, where wages are adjusted according to the laws of supply and demand. The wages paid are fixed by the official concerned with the labour administration, and a planter may not pay more than the local rate of wage.

The hut tax has been designed primarily to force the natives to work, German opinion being that, in return for the so-called benefits of European civilization, the natives should render an equivalent service to the State. This opinion may be gathered from the views expressed by three representative Germans. Lieutenant-Colonel von Morgen, the leader of an exploring expedition in Cameroon, stated in 1907 that—

“the only real tax, which is also of cultural value, is compulsory labour. We can do nothing in the tropics without native workmen, and especially cannot make progress in Cameroon, whose future depends on plantations. As we in Germany have compulsory schooling, so there must be compulsory work in the colonies. . . . As to how this labour is to be supplied, and for how long, the District Judge must decide.”¹

¹ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (1907), pp. 318-19.

A similar view was expressed by Major von Wissmann on January 16, 1902; whilst Karl Peters expressed himself as follows:—

“ A very good recipe is the demand of a hut tax from every nigger over the age of sixteen—and one of not less than five pounds; so that they are forced to work. Otherwise we shall soon be responsible for a lot of lazy *canaille* from Algoa Bay to the Great Syrtis, who will force Europe to give up the opening up of Africa unless the colonists follow the example of the Tasmanian pioneers and simply exterminate the useless rabble. . . . To me the most advantageous system seems to be one in which the negro is forced, following the example laid down by Prussian military law, to devote some twelve years of his life to working for the Government. During this time he should receive food and shelter and a small wage, say about two shillings a month, like a Prussian soldier.”¹

Prior to the outbreak of the war, the practice in German East Africa and Cameroon is stated to have been as follows:—

Labour was divided into day (or casual) labour and contract (or recruited) labour. The day labourers were not bound to any master, and worked on plantations near their own homes. They were usually given piece-work, and paid for it on the same day. Contract labourers were recruited up-country, and were signed on for 180 or 240 working days. In East Africa thousands of men were recruited yearly in Unyamwezi, Usekuma, Songea, Ungoni, and other back-country districts for the plantations in the coastal belt. Many of these men were “raw natives” who had little idea how far they were going, what work they were to do, and under what conditions they were to live. The recruiting agents paid the native chiefs and headmen one rupee or more for each black man recruited, and naturally the headmen coerced as many of their followers as possible, in order to swell their commission receipts. In some cases

¹ Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients* (1902), pp. 252 and 278.

the recruiter got into touch with the Government official of the district, and the latter simply announced to the people that so many labourers were required, and his native underlings proceeded to muster the necessary men through the native chiefs and headmen, who were first intimidated.

Not long before the outbreak of war, in October 1913, a new "labour ordinance" was passed, under which time-expired men were entitled to draw their expenses home to the interior from their employers; but formerly men got back again, if they ever did, as best they could. This ordinance stated that in exactly the same way as natives had to pay the hut tax, so they had to perform labour, and, in fact, that labour was a compulsory contribution to the welfare of the State.

The labour thus requisitioned in German East Africa was obtained most frequently by methods amounting to force; and what occurred there went on also in Cameroon, where the conditions seem to have been still worse. In that colony there was constant friction between the planters, the merchants, and the Government with regard to the supply of labour. The merchants complained bitterly that natives who had been in the habit of supplying the traders with the products of their own industry—rubber, coconuts, palm kernels, and the like—were constantly forced to work on the plantations or on the public roads, and were kidnapped from the caravan routes for this purpose. Their charges were laid before the Union of West African Merchants, especially by Herr J. K. Vietor, who laid complaints before the Governor, and was instrumental in having the matter raised in the Reichstag. Herr Vietor wrote:—

"If in former times with us in Germany abuses such as slavery, bondage, and villanage existed, that is no reason to introduce them also in our colonies, where we have the development entirely in our own hands."¹

¹ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, March 6, 1902.

Similarly Herr J. Scholze stated that—

“ the desire of the planters, whose wishes the Cameroon Government is only too ready to meet, was completely to impoverish and expropriate the natives living on their domains in order to force them to work at low wages on the plantations. . . . Old men, children, and weaklings were forced to work by Commissioners of the Government and the planters, who shrank from no tricks for this purpose. My heart bled often to see these poor people withering away. I was ashamed that such things could be in a German Protectorate.”¹

“ The death-rate on the plantations has been very high. / On some, which are well managed, it is normal, but on others it is far above what should be the average. Thus Herr Scholze has stated² that within a year a quarter of the labourers died; whilst Herr Vietor has estimated³ the death-rate to be at least 20 per cent.:—

“ Already in 1902 I was obliged, in consequence of communications received, to demand publicly in a lecture the better treatment of the people, as 20 per cent. of the labourers died yearly. In 1904 I visited Cameroon for the first time, and heard, chiefly from the officials themselves, how bad things looked on the plantations. . . . Whilst I was in Cameroon last year I was told that in six months on the Tiko plantation 50 to 75 per cent. of the workmen had died, as was acknowledged by the manager.”⁴

Deputy Erzberger, on March 7, 1914, gave the following figures in the Reichstag:—

“ The workmen's death-rate on the Victoria plantation of Cameroon was, in 1909, 7.89 per cent.; in 1910, 3.31 per cent.; in 1912, 10.24 per cent.; in 1913, 9.11 per cent. . . . In Prince Albert plantation I find it to be 26.8 per cent. on the average in 1913.”

“ Owing to the constant withdrawal of natives from their own homes, whole districts in Cameroon were becoming depopulated. Many of these natives never returned to their homes. They either died or were left

¹ *Die Wahrheit über die Heidenmission*, 1905.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, May 1, 1902.

⁴ Report presented to the Union of West African Merchants, 1914.

stranded on the plantations, in debt to the storekeeper and unable to get away. The same appears to have been the case in German East Africa, for Hasslacher states in his report, mentioned above, that—

“ It is a generally known fact that in the Morogoro district the native who once had taken a worker’s ticket with a planter could hardly ever get free from this labour relationship to that particular employer. The employer did not give the natives their discharge certificates and wages until the men had taken on another work-ticket.”

The system in reality is peonage in its worst form. On this point there is the testimony of Father Burgt, quoted by Deputy Erzberger on March 7, 1914. Speaking of conditions in East Africa, he says:—

“ Some who ran away from the plantations are supposed to be ‘ sundowners ’ who will return. . . . They will not come back; not a third returns. Many die of small-pox and dysentery while still on the road; of others their families never hear again. I know many mothers and wives here who wait seven, eight, ten years, and all in vain, for son or husband.”

And speaking of the moral effect on the negroes of this forced labour, Father Burgt says:—

“ What do these negroes who have been fetched from the interior take back with them to the neighbourhood from which they came? What they bring as all their reward is, besides syphilis and other dirty diseases, an unbelievable insolence, vanity, a breath of Islamism, but, above all, an outspoken contempt for all Wasungus—so Europeans are called in the native language. That is the wood from which one carves rebels, and it is already growing in plenty.”

It being plain that large districts have been denuded of their male population, to the detriment of the birth-rate in the villages,¹ some evidence may be given as to

¹ On this point there is the testimony contained in the Report presented to the Union of West African Merchants on January 3, 1914. The writer states:—

“ I have sought to test how far the depopulation, which is admitted on all sides as a result of the plantations, has progressed, but have not found any statistics from Cameroon about it. The only thing is a small return that in the Mahea tribe 167 out of 263 have not borne offspring, and the remaining

the methods adopted to bring the men to the plantations. On this question there is an abundance of evidence, most of it of recent date. Thus in a report from Duala, dated September 24, 1913, the writer says:—

“ Against such official recruiting we merchants must protest with all energy. . . . It is simply intolerable that the Government should tear the men from their families, and also, as is clearly proved, arbitrarily take the men recruited against their will to these prescribed plantations. . . . No German Government must be responsible for forcing the people against their will to work on plantations, especially on plantations which have a bad name, where the people know that every third, fourth, or fifth man dies. It is simply iniquitous to tear people who have their own property and who are busy as farmers, from their work, or to take married men against their will from their families. That, in plain German, is simply slavery for a time, instead of, as formerly, for life.”

That this view was gradually forcing itself upon the mercantile community, in contradistinction to the plantation owners, is illustrated by the action of a Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, which, in spite of great pressure brought to bear on its members, sent a vigorously worded remonstrance to the Governor of Cameroon on March 18, 1913. Speaking of the unrest in the Edea district, the signatories state:—

“ We do not think that the Government is fully cognizant of the effect which the continuous enlistment of labour and the unrest among the natives has had in this district. Not only the mercantile community, but also the missions, have complained of this to the local Bezirksamt. . . . The bush people are absolutely afraid of coming to Edea, and in various districts the chiefs have declared that they prefer to let the kernels spoil in their houses rather than send them to Edea, as in the latter case they are apprehensive that the people, together with their kernels, may be seized.”

96 women had 189 children. Among the Bales, out of 40 Yaunde wives (half the women), 30 per cent. were childless, and the 27 remaining had 53 children. Only among the Batangas 38 wives had 144 children. Unfortunately, however, the reasons are not given why so many women have no children. Were so many men really away as porters and workmen, or were there quite other reasons? Anyway, the question of population appears bad enough in Cameroon.”

The Chamber, in particular, protests against a certain Behrens, stating that the name Behrens "is in itself sufficient to fill the natives with a holy terror."

The whole matter was ventilated in the Reichstag on March 7, 1914, when Deputy Erzberger, the leader of the Centre Party, stated in reference to his words in the Budget Committee¹ :—

"I was quoted just now, without being named, as declaring that if the Secretary of State did not succeed in removing these abuses in our colonial policy as quickly as possible I could no longer bear the responsibility of allowing Imperial money to be voted for colonial policy. I hold to that decision most emphatically, and I am ready to take all the consequences arising from it."

A similar statement had been made by Rören on December 3, 1906, when referring to the atrocities in Togoland. He said :—

"With this system the colonies cannot develop healthily, and therefore one must have scruples about giving them another *heller* for the development of the colonies, which seems entirely precluded under these conditions."

On March 7, 1914, Deputy Dittmann, a Social Democrat, produced what can only be described as a damning indictment of forced labour in the German colonies. After speaking of the enormous loss of life, Dittmann continued :—

"The effect on the natives of the exploiting reign of capitalism is simply awful. What has become known in the last few weeks puts a definite end to the naïve representation that since the Dernburg era a good time had dawned for the natives through the reforms introduced; it shows, on the contrary, gentlemen, that an awful decimation of the native population runs parallel with the coming to the fore of the so-called capitalistic 'Kultur.' . . . We Social Democrats have always pointed to this fact, and drawn from it the most telling arguments against the capitalist's colonial policy. This year we live to find a simply overwhelming wealth of proof as to the

¹ "If things continue like that Germany can no longer accept the responsibility for its colonial policy. . . . If things go on thus I can vote no more supplies for colonial policy."

correctness of our assertions, brought from the middle-class side. . . . Gentlemen, the natives are dragged by treachery and force from their home districts to places where they die in masses. That concerns Cameroon and East Africa particularly. Ostensibly there is no forced labour there, as the Secretary of State, Dr. Solf, assures us in Committee. In fact, however, the system of work-tickets introduced by the Government in East Africa really means a brutal compulsion to forced work on the plantations, for every black man must prove by this card that he has worked at least twenty days each month for white men. If he cannot he is dragged to the district police station, and there officially flogged with a sjambok, according to the new order regarding work; this is done even without any request from the employer. Gentlemen, surely there we have without doubt the most brutal compulsion to plantation work it is possible to conceive."

On May 12, 1914, Deputy Wels quoted a letter from the Bishop of Cameroon in which the latter showed that—

"Cameroon was suffering from depopulation in a truly terrible degree; the land has only miserable remains of population where twenty years ago there were flourishing villages"¹;

and Dr. Solf, addressing the representatives of the South Cameroon Chamber of Commerce in 1913, said:—

"It is a sad state of things to see how the villages are bereft of men, and how women and children carry heavy burdens; how the whole life of the people appears on the roads. What I saw on the high roads at Jaunde and Ebolowa has grieved me most deeply. Family life is being destroyed; parents, husbands, and wives and children are being separated. No more children are born, as the women are separated from their husbands for the greater part of the year. These are wrong conditions and difficulties which must cease."²

In South-West Africa the conditions have been deplorable. Not only were the natives deprived of their lands as a punishment for the Herero Rebellion, but Herr von Lindequist issued a decree placing all Hereros, Hottentots, and Bastards, with the exception

¹ The words are those of Wels, but convey the sense of the Bishop's letter.

² *Koloniale Rundschau* (1913), p. 740.

of the Bastards of Rehoboth, under forced labour.' A recent testimony is that of Dr. Walker. A farmer stated to Dr. Walker:—

“ Every native capable of working is registered and wears a brass label with a number on, and the name of the town where he dwells. When we require labourers we simply ask the police to send them, and the natives have to come whether they want to or not.”²

¹W. H. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, London, 1908, p. 393.

²H. F. B. Walker, *A Doctor's Diary in Damaraland*, London, 1916.

V. TREATMENT OF CHIEFS

IN the British African colonies the native chiefs retain many of their former privileges, form a most important link in the administrative system, are consulted by the various Governments, and are generally looked up to and respected by the tribes under their control. In the German colonies the chiefs have generally been degraded into agents of the Government. Where they have not been powerful enough to withstand the aggressions of their rulers, they have been systematically ill-treated, flogged, and imprisoned for the most trivial offences. They have been degraded in the eyes of their followers, robbed of their former privileges, and left only with the authority that has been delegated to them. Certain powerful Mohammedan Sultans in East Africa have been specially favoured as a matter of policy, but the majority of the lesser chiefs and headmen have ceased to exercise any tribal influence over their people. There is ample evidence that the main object of German administration has been to destroy tribal organization, to seize the tribal lands, and to render the natives amenable to discipline so that they may be employed as labourers on the plantations and public works. This degradation of the chiefs is one of the most serious blots on German administration.

In Cameroon the chiefs have been treated with the greatest barbarity. The well-known case of the Akwa chiefs is sufficient evidence on this point. Akwa one of the two principal chiefs in the Duala region was constantly imprisoned, and on December 5 1905, was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment

because he and his people had dared to complain to the Reichstag about their ill-treatment. This savage sentence, subsequently reduced by administrative orders from Berlin, stands as a permanent record of the way in which local officials have punished in an entirely illegal and arbitrary manner those who have offended them. The German Colonial Office, represented by Dernburg, admitted that "the sentencing of the natives in Cameroon cannot be approved," and, although naturally anxious to shelter Governor von Puttkamer, the nephew of Bismarck and son of a powerful Minister, was forced by public opinion to consent to an enquiry into the proceedings of its officials in Cameroon.

The "Complaints of the Akwa Chiefs" is too long a document to be quoted in full. Briefly, they asked that the persecution by the local German Government of themselves and their King should be brought to an end. They represented that their King was the supreme chief for them, and that, if he were treated so brutally, the minds of the people could never rest, and discord was the inevitable result.

"We beg most humbly," they concluded, "for immediate help on the part of the illustrious German Reichstag; for such a continuance of abominable treatment of our King is a great and unendurable disgrace to us."

The complaints were about numerous cases of flogging and ill-treatment, the imprisonment of sixty chiefs and heads of families, the spoliation of lands, forced labour, disregard of solemn treaties, and the taking of betrothed native girls by high officials. The whole document forms a powerful indictment of German methods in Cameroon.

Of actual brutal treatment of chiefs there are numberless instances. A British officer who was in Cameroon prior to the war relates how the native soldiers were sent out to "visit" certain villages. He says:—

"Visiting consists of burning, looting, and bringing in the headmen chained together, or trussed up with their arms

behind their backs. . . . The whole party returns to the 'post,' bringing in the chiefs. The corporal is patted on the back according to the amount of rubber brought in, and no questions asked."

In German East Africa Captain Kannenberg caused two village chiefs to be flogged because they would not tell him the meaning of certain words. One received 75 lashes, the other 100. The first died during the night.

VI. CHARGES AGAINST INDIVIDUALS

THE proved atrocities in the German colonies are so numerous that only a few of the better known can be mentioned here. For purposes of reference they are arranged under the names of the officials chiefly concerned:—

Prince Prosper Arenberg.

This officer, whilst serving in South-West Africa in the year 1900, was condemned at Windhoek for the revolting murder of a native and for violent assaults on native women. The court-martial of the First Guards Division subsequently very properly condemned him to death. The case attracted great interest in Germany. Powerful family and social influences were exerted on behalf of the Prince, and the sentence was commuted by the Emperor to one of fifteen years' imprisonment. Arenberg was removed to the fortress at Tegel, a re-trial was ordered, and the Prince was pronounced of unsound mind and acquitted. Family influence in this case was stronger than the law, and the case proved a favourite weapon in the hands of the Social Democrats.¹

Dr. Karl Peters.

This man, appointed Imperial Commissary in German East Africa as a reward for his exploring activities, committed numerous atrocities, and is one of the most odious figures in German colonial history. In

¹ See *Prinz Prosper Arenberg und die Arenberge*, No. 1 of *Sozialdemokratische Agitations-Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1904.

his own books he has spoken of these deeds without shame. In an open letter to him Herr Eltz says:—

“ Before God and man, you are responsible for the devastation of fertile country-sides, responsible for the deaths of my comrades von Bülow and Wolfram, of our brave soldiers, and hundreds of Wadschaggas.”¹

In October 1891 Peters arbitrarily caused a native youth, named Mabruk, to be hanged at his station at Kilima-Njaro, and in January 1892 he had a native girl, called Jagodja, hanged at the same place. The former was accused of stealing cigarettes, but the real crime was that he had visited Peters' native concubines. The latter was one of Peters' concubines (whom he termed his “ princesses ”), who had fled for protection to a neighbouring chief. This girl was brutally whipped (with other women) day after day, “ so that the blood flowed copiously and the captives were finally unable to scream.” The girl Jagodja was flogged until her back resembled “ chopped meat.”

Peters was brought before the Disciplinary Court at Potsdam on April 25, 1897, six years after these crimes, and condemned to be dismissed the Service, not for the crimes he had committed, but because he had given false reports of his actions to his superiors. He appealed, and the Court of Second Instance at Leipzig confirmed the former sentence. Yet, eventually, owing to the pressure of the Colonial Party, Peters was granted his pension by the Emperor, and a statue has since been erected in his honour at Dar es-Salaam. The case created immense interest in Germany, where the “ man with the bloodstained hands,”² as he was called by the natives, became the centre of a controversy extending over twenty years.

Herr Wehlan.

This official in Cameroon was proved to have been guilty of the most revolting cruelties towards the natives, whom he had caused to be flogged, tortured,

¹ *Vossische Zeitung*, October 19, 1892.

² Statement by Scavenius, the Danish explorer, in *Politiken* March 1, 1896.

and executed on the slightest pretext. At his first trial, in January 1896, before the Disciplinary Court, he was sentenced to a fine of £25, and at the second trial the first sentence was upheld. Wehlan remained an official under the Colonial Department, and was subsequently rewarded with the post of notary in Berlin.

Herr Kleist.

This man, Deputy-Governor of Cameroon, caused a rising in 1893 by flogging twenty women, wives of native soldiers. The men were drawn up on parade to witness the flogging, and—

“each of the women received ten strokes with a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and Herr Kleist stood by and looked on.”

He was tried before the Disciplinary Court on October 16, 1894, charged with undue cruelty and with improper conduct, accompanied by acts of violence, towards other women left in his charge as hostages. The Court held that he had not exceeded his rights. At a second trial on April 7, 1895, he was dismissed the Service because his conduct had “injured the prestige of the German Empire.”

Governor von Puttkamer.

This man was nephew of Bismarck and son of a Prussian Minister. He was appointed Governor of Cameroon, although Herr von Soden, a former Governor, had informed the Chancellor, von Caprivi, that he was a gambler and spendthrift.

During Governor von Puttkamer's administration in Cameroon numerous scandals and atrocities occurred. The actions with which he was charged in the Reichstag on December 2, 1906, were the following:—

- (1.) Allowing houses to be built with public money for the concubines of the officials, and also a residence for himself.

¹ Statement of an eyewitness writing in the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

- (2.) Receiving gratuitous shares in several colonial companies.
- (3.) Conniving at acts of the greatest barbarity committed by officers of the colonial forces.
- (4.) Permitting the mutilation of natives killed in battle by the cutting off of their private parts as trophies.
- (5.) Keeping a German woman at Government House, whom he called his "cousin," and supplied with a forged passport to return home in an assumed name.

It was during von Puttkamer's administration that the Akwa chiefs complained to the Reichstag, and were therefore sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.

Most powerful influences were exerted to screen von Puttkamer from exposure, but in spite of every attempt to hush up the affair the Government were obliged to bring him before the Disciplinary Court, and he was tried on April 25, 1907, on the following charges:—

- (1.) Issue of an incorrect passport to a "lady friend."
- (2.) Illicit participation in colonial companies.
- (3.) Undue interference with the administration of justice.

He was fined £50 and reprimanded; but much of the evidence was suppressed and pertinent witnesses were not called. /

Herr G. A. Schmidt.

This is one of the most revolting cases in the annals of German colonialism. Schmidt, an official in Togoland, began his career by summoning the native girls at Atakpame to a dance at his station, and threatening their mothers that if they did not allow them to appear they would be fined twenty marks. The Catholic missionaries intervened, and Schmidt issued instructions that no complaints were to be carried to the mission.

Schmidt kept a harem of young native girls, some under the age of puberty. The family of one girl, whom he had kept forcibly, flogged, and otherwise shamefully treated, complained to the missionaries, with the result that, in the words of Deputy Rören¹—

“ at four o'clock in the morning the District Judge, von Rotberg, who had returned meanwhile, came on horseback, as did also his assistant Lang, together with two more, and nineteen black soldiers; came, not to the station building to arrest the criminal, but to the mission. They forced their way into the mission, dragged the Fathers, as they were, out of bed, declared them arrested, without having a warrant, or without even answering their questions as to why they were arrested. They hunted through the mission buildings, even through the chapel, uncovered the altar, rummaged through the sacristy . . . and then the Fathers were surrounded by the nineteen soldiers with loaded rifles, and led off to prison.”

Here they remained for twenty-one days, forbidden postal communication with the outside world, and prevented from hearing confession. Meantime all possible witnesses were intimidated, and Schmidt's personal friend, Kersting (who had had a chief shot with a revolver and had afterwards had the man's head cut off), interrogated them before judicial proceedings could be taken. The acquittal of Schmidt became a foregone conclusion, in spite of the evidence of the missionaries as to his immoral relations with the young girls.

The missionary, one Schmitz, who had laid the information against Schmidt, was then cited before the court and given fourteen days' imprisonment for bearing false witness, and it was held that one of the ill-treated children, Adjaro, “ had been subject to hypnotic influences or had made her statements in the delirium of fever.” Father Schmitz subsequently appealed against his sentence, and was acquitted.

One further fact came out in the evidence. On May 7, 1903, Schmidt proclaimed his black concubine, Sisakbe, formally and officially as *Jenufia* (i.e., queen), invested her with a sword of office, and gave

¹ In the Reichstag, December 3, 1906.

her the judicial right to decide in legal quarrels. Yet this man, after these proceedings had become known, was sent back to Togoland by the Colonial Department, and was not dismissed from the Service until the whole affair had been ventilated in the Reichstag and the suppression of the revolting details was no longer possible.

Captain Dominik.

It is asserted that Captain Dominik, then a lieutenant, when in charge of a punitive expedition against the Bahoho, in Cameroon, attacked a small village in the neighbourhood of the Nachtigal Rapids, and either ordered or allowed his black soldiers to put fifty-two little children, who remained alive after the general massacre, into baskets and throw them into the rapids. It is, however, maintained by the apologists for Dominik that he had not sufficient control over his black soldiery.

What is certain is that Dominik was responsible for permitting one of the atrocious customs of native warfare by the troops under his command. He allowed his men to cut off the privy parts of fallen foes. Deputy Bebel on December 1, 1906, said:—

“ Formerly the order had been given to cut off their ears, but the soldiers cut off the women’s ears also to increase artificially the number of fallen foes. In order to overcome this, Dominik gave orders for their heads to be cut off, but this proved inconvenient.”

For this practice Dominik, after representations from the British Government, sent through the German Embassy in London on August 10, 1902, was reprimanded. A monument to Dominik was sent to Cameroon in 1912, and a replica was unveiled at Yaunde on May 5, 1914.

Lieutenant Schennemann.

Lieutenant Schennemann, the Station Director at Yaunde, Cameroon, had a black wife, and hearing rumours that she was too intimate with certain natives,

he ordered a native sergeant, named Duara, to punish the three blacks whom he suspected in such a manner that they should not have the power to repeat the offence.

The sergeant went to the wrong village, and fearing that if he could give no proof of having obeyed his orders he would be soundly thrashed, he seized the first three negroes he met, threw them to the ground, and, lying as they were, had them mutilated in the fashion ordered by Schennemann. The men thus mutilated were left to their fate.¹

Captain Kannenberg.

This horrible case was revealed by three deputies in the Reichstag—Bebel, Erzberger, and Ledebour—on March 13 and 15, 1906. One night in 1898 at Kongwa, German East Africa, Kannenberg was disturbed by the crying of a child. He left his tent, put his gun through the grass wall of a hut, where a woman and a child lay, and shot the woman in the back. He then fired further shots. An enquiry was instituted, but no proceedings followed.

The second case, mentioned on page 31, was the excessive flogging of two chiefs. One of the men died during the night, and Kannenberg was prosecuted, received three years' imprisonment, and was ordered to be dismissed from the Service. Almost immediately he was granted imprisonment in a fortress, and shortly afterwards he was pardoned and given his full pension.

Landeshauptmann Brandeis.

This official, when in charge of the Marshall Islands, contrary to legal decrees, ordered natives to be flogged repeatedly, and did not allow the floggings to be entered in the punishment book. Although this was admitted by the Colonial Office, he was subsequently granted an Order for his meritorious services.

¹ Bebel, Reichstag, December 1, 1906.

Captain Kamptz.

This case illustrates "summary justice" in Cameroon. Kamptz was in command of the Protectorate troops, and passing through the station of Lolodorf he found that Sergeant Liebert, who was in charge, had fallen ill, and that his black wife was acting in his stead. This woman had arrested three negroes accused of highway robbery. Kamptz had the men brought before him and condemned them to death. The execution was carried out in the most barbarous fashion. A cannon was loaded, the prisoners were placed one after the other at one metre's distance in front of the gun, and shot to pieces.

Captain Thierry.

It was commonly reported, stated Deputy Ablass on December 15, 1905, that Thierry "had simply shot down the natives like game, and that he was notorious in the whole of the Protectorates for his cruelty." The particular crime with which he was charged was that he had shot down the father of a pupil of the Catholic Mission at Lome, who, for fear of Thierry, had fled up a tree. His crimes were brought to the notice of the Colonial Department on November 22, 1904, but no action was then taken.

Governor Horn.

Waldemar Horn was Governor of Togoland during the period when the numerous scandals connected with Schmidt, Metzger, Kersting, von Rotberg, and other officials occurred. His case was discussed in the Reichstag on March 19, 1906, by Dr. Ablass and others. From the speeches then made it appears that Horn was warned at the end of 1903 by his subordinates that if he did not resign his conduct would be denounced. He returned to Berlin on leave, and requested an enquiry. Yet it was not until March 1906 that Legationsrat Rose informed the Reichstag that the charges brought against him had proved to be true.

His trial took place before the Disciplinary Court on May 6, 1907, upon the main charge of causing the death of a native in 1902. It appeared in evidence that a native had been sentenced to a term of five years in chains and to two floggings of twenty-five lashes each for petty theft. By the Governor's orders, after the first flogging he was bound to a post fully exposed to the heat of the sun. From time to time the man was unfastened in the hope that he would confess where he had hidden the money. Then he was tied to the post for a further period of twenty-four hours, without water or food. The next morning the Governor noticed that the native looked "rather exhausted," and he expired shortly afterwards.

For this crime the High Court of Togoland and Cameroon had sentenced Horn in 1905 to a fine of 900 marks or three months' imprisonment. The Disciplinary Court sentenced him to be dismissed the Service with the loss of one-third of his pension.

Chief Justice Dr. Meyer and Regierungsrat von Brauchitsch.

In the "Complaints of the Akwa Chiefs" these two officials in Cameroon are accused of forcibly taking two young girls, betrothed to natives, as their concubines. The complaint is—

"that Regierungsrat von Brauchitsch had bought and taken to wife the betrothed of Rudolph Masako, and Supreme Judge Dr. Meyer the betrothed of a young man, Diberabari."

This complaint was made by Chief Akwa Elma, who stated that—

"von Brauchitsch had declared repeatedly on palaver days that it was forbidden to take the wife of another for oneself."

A further complaint was that before a Court consisting of von Brauchitsch, Assessor Reichhof, and others, King Akwa had been forced to put his mark to a document. In the report of the Committee of the

Reichstag on these proceedings and on the sentencing of the Akwa chiefs is the following:—

“ The impression produced is that the officials seem to be those really accused. Apparently they were unable to adapt themselves to the customs and habits of the natives, and to judge them from that standpoint. Several officials, as seems to result from their own statements, appear to have been guilty in their official handling of the matters of the worst kind of mistakes, and even of punishable offences, namely, misuse of official power, robbing others of freedom, inflicting bodily injuries, and, in one instance, forcing a signature against the decree of the Imperial Chancellor of February 27, 1896.”

As illustrating how officials in Cameroon regarded sensual crimes with violence, the following case may be cited. The representatives of two commercial depots in Cameroon, stated Dr. Ablass, were walking one day on the Akwa road, when they met the wife of a chief, “ who is an educated man, having attended a gymnasium in Germany.” These men went up to that chief’s wife in broad daylight and forcibly made an indecent assault upon her, but natives ran to her assistance and set her free.

“ Thereupon a complaint was made to von Brauchitsch, and he decided that the two representatives of commerce should be punished. But no punishment is recorded. On the contrary, all that could be ascertained was that the two gentlemen had a very pleasant social meeting with Herr von Brauchitsch a few days later.”¹

¹ Deputy Dr. Ablass, Reichstag, March 19, 1906.

VII. BRUTALITIES IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

THE brutalities committed by German farmers and settlers in South-West Africa have been so numerous as to be out of all proportion to similar cases that occur from time to time in newly settled countries where the arm of the law is weak.

In March 1907 a young German farmer in the Ontjo district was condemned to three years' imprisonment for killing a native woman and causing the deaths of two others. One woman who fled from her employer in consequence of his brutalities was pursued and shot, while another woman and a girl were tied to trees and left to their fate.

In 1915-16 ten cases of extreme brutality were dealt with by the British administration. These cases afford some evidence of what has been going on in this colony for many years:—

1. A farmer, Walter Böhmer, shot at a number of natives who had deserted from their employment, and killed two. He had already been condemned by a Protectorate Court in 1912 for beating to death a native who was in a weak condition and consumptive.

2. Carry Venuleth, a farmer at Okajati, caught two bushmen, a man and a woman, brought them before a mock court, consisting of himself and two others, and had them shot.

3. A farmer named Holtz murdered a native who had deserted from his service by striking him on the head with a very heavy knife and afterwards shooting him in the back and stomach.

4. A farmer, Karl Georg Schroeder, killed a native servant with three shots from a revolver.

5. Stoetzer, a farmer at Gobabis, killed a native herd by firing at him, buried the body, and made no report of his proceedings.

6. Antonius Setecki punished a young native herd in a most atrocious manner. The boy had lost two calves. He was locked in a room, tied with reins round his neck and hands, the latter being secured by placing behind the knees a stick to which the rein was attached. Next day the boy was taken out and tied to the farmer's horse with the rein round his neck. He was beaten with a stick, and Setecki then threw the rein over the branch of a tree, hoisted the boy up till his toes just touched the ground, and kept him in this position, repeating the torture three or four times during his journey.

7. A German woman, Freifrau von Werder, shot an aged native.

8. Johann Binkowski, a police sergeant, shot a native and left his body lying unburied.

9. A police officer, Frank Juzek, killed a native at Okhambahe. The boy, who was in custody for theft, had got away, and was recaptured and tied up by Juzek, who had him knocked about and thrashed. Next day the boy, whose hands were tied behind him and whose feet were in leg-irons, was unable to move. He was kicked severely and stamped upon, and the following day he died.

10. Two farmers, named Nauhas and Jakubowski, captured a bushman, put a chain round his neck, tied him to a cart-wheel, and ordered a native to flog him with a twisted rein. The man was thrashed for nearly an hour. Then Jakubowski recommenced the thrashing, and the man was left tied to the cart-wheel all night. In the morning he was dead.

Cases of a similar character were reported by a party of Boers and others who had offered their services as transport riders during the Herero Rebellion. Their

testimony was contained in the *Cape Argus* for September 25, 1905. It referred to the deliberate killing of the wounded, the inhuman thrashing of women, their employment upon excessively hard labour so that at Angra Pequena five or six women died every day, and other similar atrocities. Mr. Griffiths, one of the party, related how a petty chief, who had dared to lift his hand as if to strike a soldier, was tied to a waggon-wheel in such a manner that he was practically hanging by the wrists, and was left there for three days and nights without food or water. The man was then hanged, after having been brutally kicked and clubbed by rifles. Another case was connected with a native woman and her baby. The woman was carrying a heavy burden on her head and the baby on her back. She fell forward in the sand, and the sergeant thrashed her and the baby for five minutes.

More recently Dr. Walker has stated¹ :—

“ I have seen photographs of executions and floggings, all very barbarous. Natives are generally hanged to trees with their arms free, so that they linger a long time, preventing suffocation by holding on to the riems with their hands. On one occasion our troops found some bodies hanging from a branch by means of barbed wire round their necks; bodies, too, were found fastened together in graves, with every indication of being buried alive.”

¹ H. F. B. Walker, *A Doctor's Diary in Damaraland*, London, 1916.

VIII. RISINGS AND REBELLIONS

THE numerous risings that have occurred in the German colonies afford the best commentary on German methods of administration. They have been due to a variety of causes, such as expropriation of the tribal lands, seizure of sacrificial cattle, maladministration of justice, excessive floggings and general severity of treatment, invasion of native rights and customs, flogging of women, forced labour and recruiting of natives by means of forced levies, or to a combination of all; but in every case they have been suppressed with a ruthless barbarity that, if committed by a less powerful nation, would have roused a storm of indignation throughout the civilized world.

Three of these rebellions were of an exceedingly serious nature, and resulted in the massacre of whole tribes of natives. Various estimates have been made of the number of natives killed in these unnecessary wars, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of that made by Professor Schillings, the naturalist, at one time an official of the German Colonial Department, who stated that "by this barbarous method of warfare 200,000 people were shot down in a few years."¹ In the Herero Rebellion, the best known of these wars, the greater part of the tribe—men, women, and children—was exterminated, and out of a total of 80,000 only about 20,000 escaped from the ruthless barbarity of the Germans. In the Majimaji Rebellion in German East Africa 75,000 persons succumbed to

¹ Quoted from a speech by Deputy Noske, Reichstag, May 1, 1912.

German ferocity;¹ and in the previous Bushiri Rebellion large numbers of natives and Arabs were slain. All of these risings could have been prevented.

German methods of warfare are well illustrated in a letter quoted by Bebel on March 13, 1906. The writer said:—

“ On August 23, at 5 A.M., we surprised the rebels at Kibata as they were attempting to cross the river. There was a long, narrow bridge there, which they had to cross, so that we could pick them off comfortably. There were seventy-six dead, besides those who fell wounded into the river. Many wanted to swim the river, but were torn to pieces by the crocodiles. In the middle of the river was a sandbank where they wanted to rest; but here too the shots caught them. That was a sight! I stood by the river behind a fallen tree and shot 120 rounds. The prisoners were always hanged.”

The details of the Herero Rebellion in South-West Africa are too well known to need recapitulation here.² This tribe was ruthlessly driven into the desert to perish of slow starvation, after General von Trotha had issued his proclamation of October 2, 1904, stating that Hereros, with or without arms, would be shot, and that the whole nation must leave the country. No attempt was made to negotiate with the rebels. No quarter was given. Women and children were shot or hanged.

“ We tried to assume to ourselves the functions of Providence,” stated Dr. Bonn, of Munich University, “ and we tried to exterminate a native race whom our lack of wisdom had goaded into rebellion.” One of the leading German anthropologists, Professor Dr. Luschan, has said:—

“ I am entirely convinced that our late war in South-West Africa might have been avoided, and that it was simply the result of neglect of the teachings of ethnology on the part of the leading officials.”

In other words, the Germans did not take the trouble to understand the natives. And, alluding to this,

¹ Statement by Deputy Ledebour, on the authority of Dernburg, March 17, 1908.

² See *South-West Africa*, No. 112 of this series, p. 16.

another eminent anthropologist, Dr. Dietrich Westermann, said: "Those are wrongs of which the onus rests directly on our colonial policy."

With regard to the Herero Rebellion, the Germans have been convicted many times by their own speeches and writings. Probably the most telling picture of this horrible campaign is that written by Gustav Frenssen, a German pastor, entitled *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwestafrika*. As a realistic study of German warfare, every word of which can be substantiated, this book is of the highest value.

The Bushiri Rebellion, which was the first serious rising in East Africa, caused much bloodshed all along the coast, and Kilwa especially was a scene of great carnage. This rising amongst the Arabs was caused by the overbearing behaviour of the German officers and officials, who went into the Arab houses whenever they liked and walked through the harems of the principal Arabs.

The Majimaji Rebellion of 1905 was an even more serious affair. It started in the coastal district and spread inland as far as Uhehe; but the behaviour of the Wahehes, who remained loyal to the Government and formed a barrier to the spread of the rebellion westward, prevented a general conflagration throughout the colony. The rising was suppressed with the greatest barbarity. Large districts were denuded of their food supplies and the crops burned, and the natives who had escaped from the devastated areas were driven back again to their homes, where some thousands died of actual starvation.

What is true of the larger rebellions is also true in a greater or less degree of every campaign which the Germans have undertaken in Africa. In certain colonies these revolts have been incessant. The record of Cameroon from 1891 to 1903 is stained with needless bloodshed; and since 1904 there have been in the same colony no fewer than seventeen military expeditions of one kind and another. That of East Africa includes many such expeditions between 1891 and 1903,

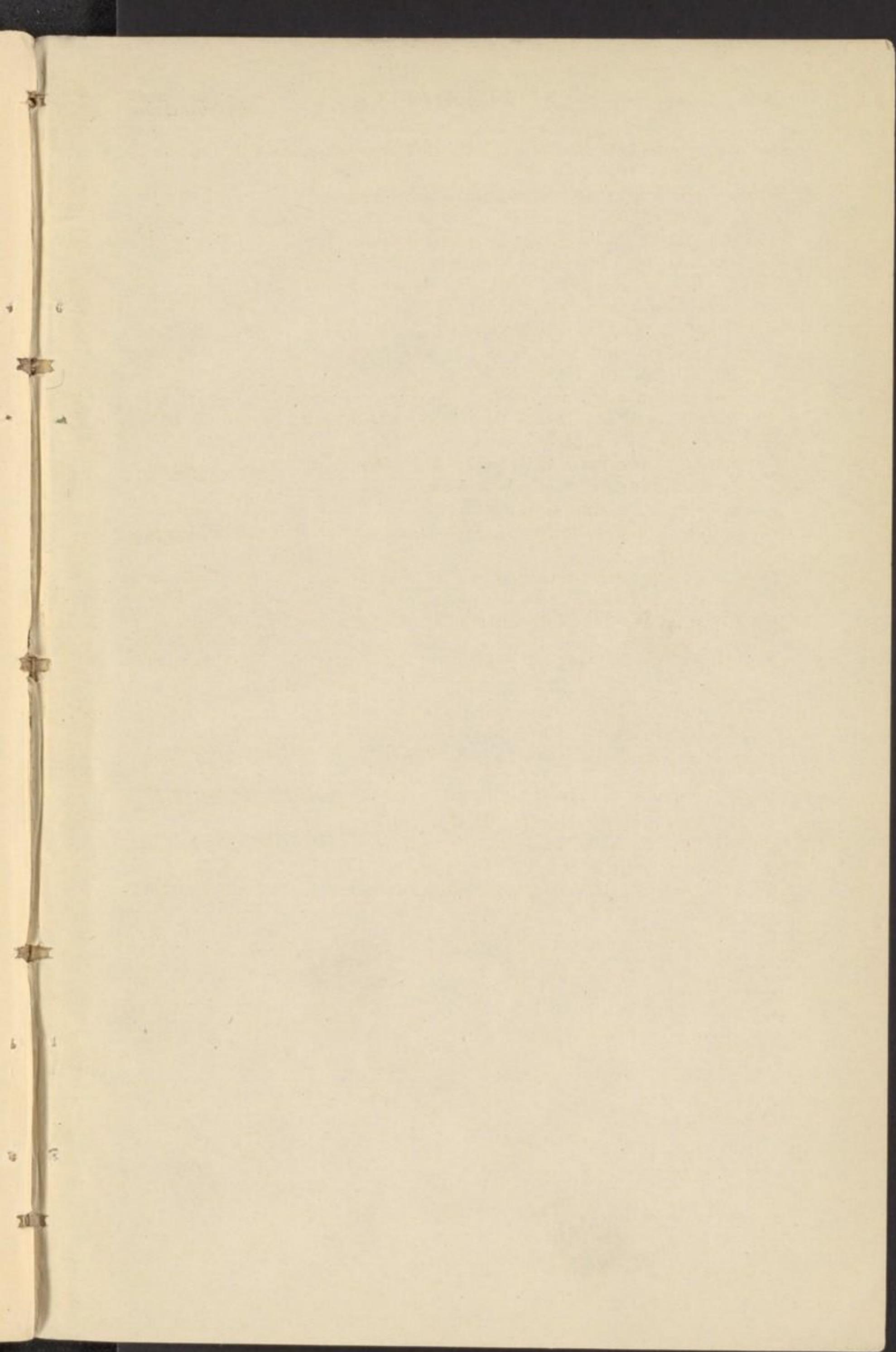
culminating in the suppression of the Majimaji Rebellion of 1905.¹ In South-West Africa the years 1893 and 1894 brought the expeditions of von Leutwein against the Witboois, and between 1894 and 1901 there were four other campaigns. In November 1903 the Bondelzwarts rose in rebellion, and thereafter came the Herero rising.

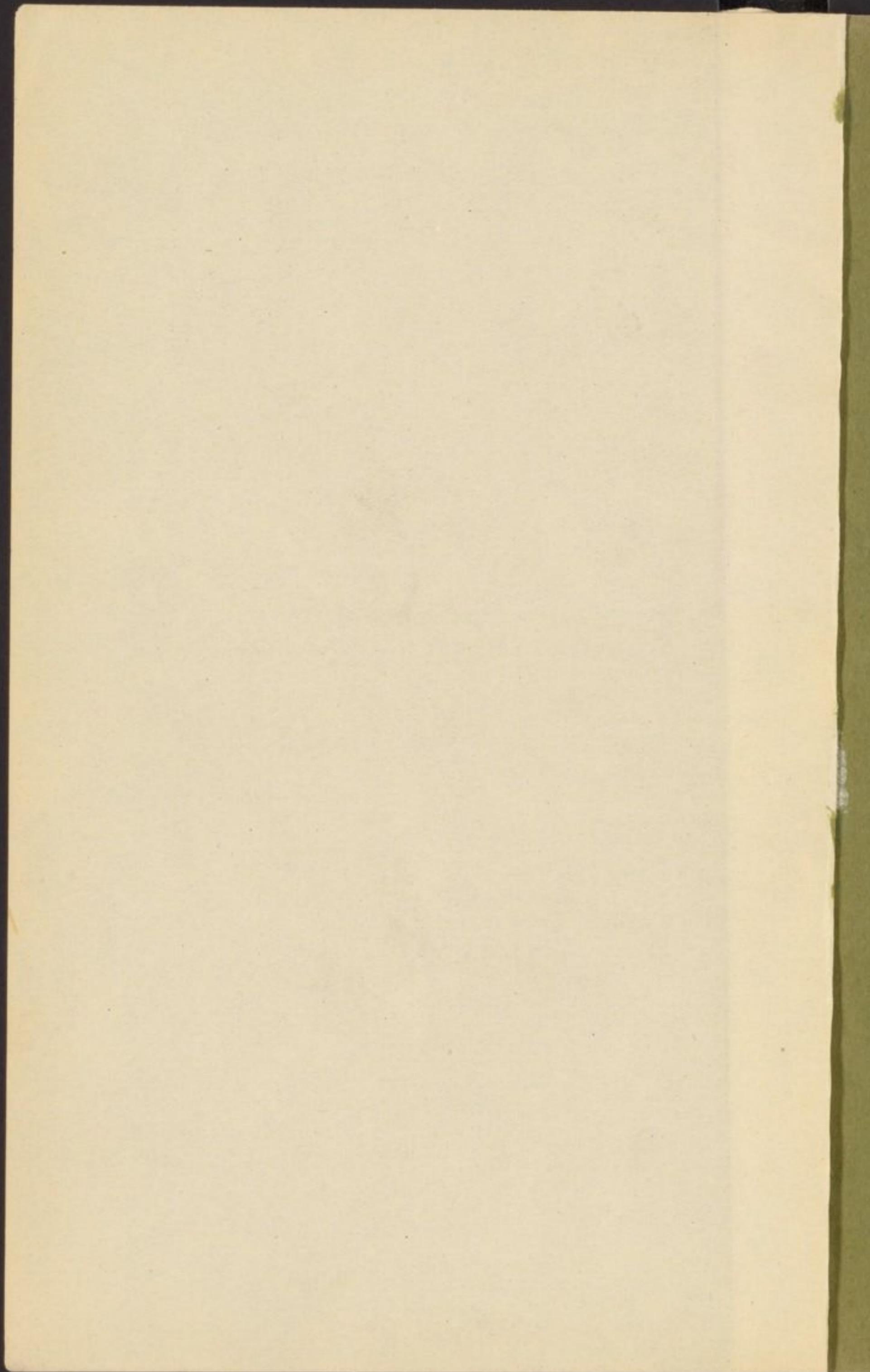
¹ *La Dépêche coloniale*, July 31, 1914.

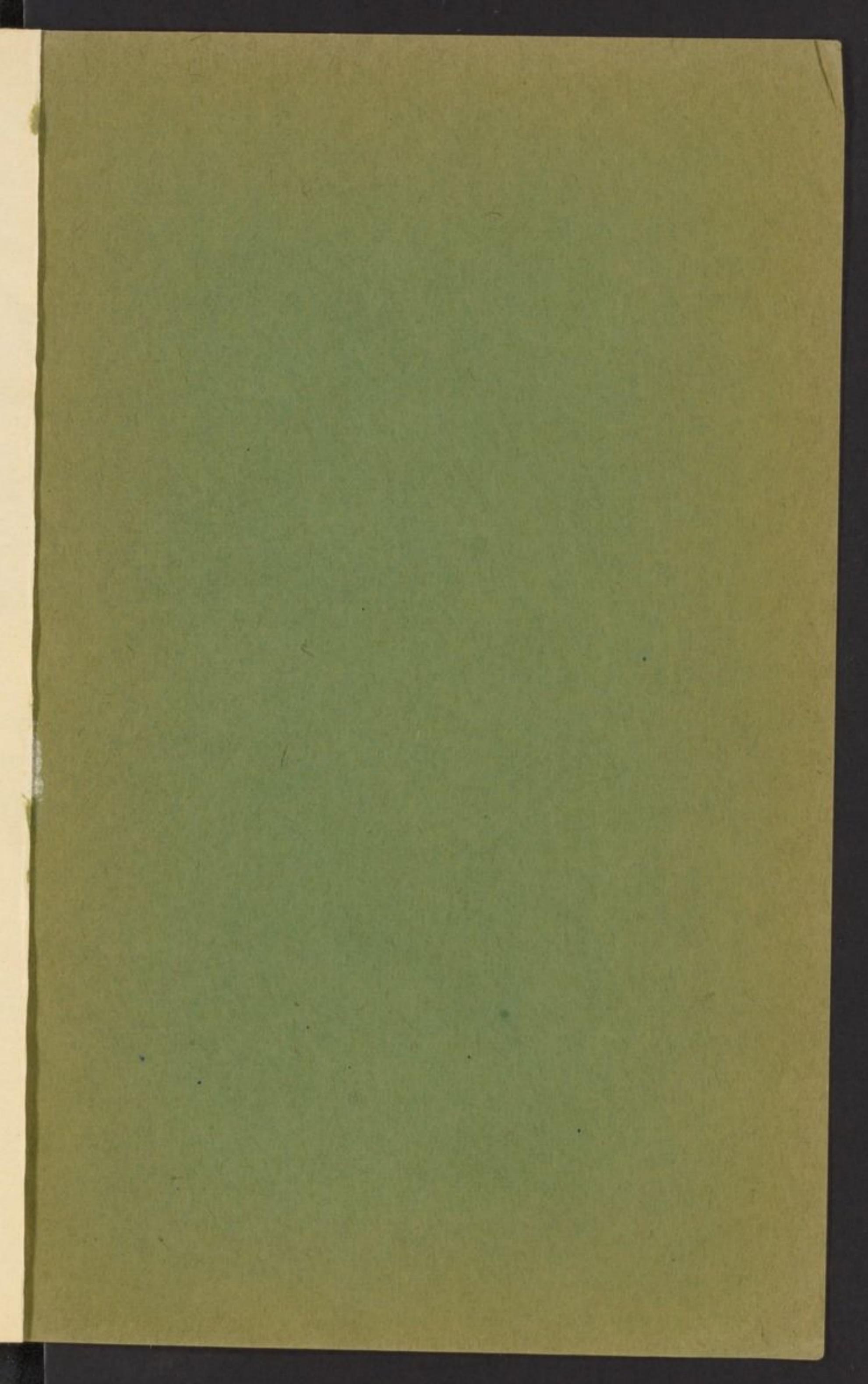
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LONDON :

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