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GERMAN COLONIZATION

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

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GERMAN COLONIZATION

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M STATIONERY OFFICE.

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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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GERMAN COLONIZATION

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1856 Publication of von Graeve's *Entwurf zur Erwerbung von Kolonien für Preussen.*
1862 Bismarck Minister-President and Foreign Minister for Prussia.
1867 Publication of Friedel's and Kersten's books on colonization.
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1868 Formation of Central Association for Commercial Geography and the Promotion of German interests abroad.
1872-82 Bismarck opposed to idea of German Colonial Empire.
1876 Conference of colonial and geographical experts at Brussels. Formation of International African Society.
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1884 Troubles in Samoa. German annexation of South-West Africa, Togoland, and Cameroon. German New Guinea Company formed. Society for German colonization formed.
1885 The Berlin Act. First Mail Steamship Subsidy Bill passed. Further German attempts at annexation in Africa frustrated. British annexation of Bechuanaland. Charter granted to Karl Peters in East Africa. Boundaries between British and German spheres in West Africa defined. German annexation of Pacific Islands. Agreement between Germany and France on Pacific questions. German East Africa Company formed.
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1906 Marshall Islands taken over by German Empire.
1907 Creation of German Colonial Office. Dernburg's Reforms.
1911 Acquisition by Germany of part of the French Congo.

I
EARLY HISTORY

i. *To the Middle of the Seventeenth Century*

GERMAN historians of the colonial movement are accustomed to look for the origin of this movement to

the early migrations of the German tribes. A thousand years ago North Germans moved eastward in large numbers into the regions inhabited by the Slavonic races; and, having once settled there, gradually extended their influence over large areas, either supplanting or overshadowing the original populations.

Not only Eastern Prussia, but the Russian provinces of Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, known as the Baltic Provinces, were colonized by the Teutonic knightly orders in the thirteenth century. Old German colonies are also found in many other parts of the Russian Empire. In the south, Saxon and Swabian colonists in the twelfth century established themselves in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania), and in parts of Hungary and Bohemia, supplanting the Czechs and other Slavonic communities.

The adventurous spirit of the North Germans was similarly shown in the creation in the thirteenth century of the great trading and maritime corporation, the Hanseatic League, with depots not only in a large number of German towns, but in many foreign countries. "Not Clive, but a Hamburg senator," wrote the Württemberg publicist Moser over a hundred years ago, voicing the German lament even of that distant day over neglected opportunities, "would command the Ganges to-day, had the aims of the Hanseatic towns been supported instead of combated by the old Empire."

The colonizing instinct of the Germans was illustrated in a striking way when, in 1526, the Augsburg trading and banking house of Welser acquired, as security for a loan, the province of Caracas, in Venezuela, in virtue of a charter granted by Emperor Charles V. Swabian families were despatched to the country; but the difficulty of keeping a province so far distant proved greater than the act of acquisition, and twenty years later the Welsers were glad to retrocede their little empire to Spain. In 1531 the Fuggers, not to be outdone by their townsmen, obtained permission

from the same Emperor to search for and exploit minerals on part of the coast of Chile. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Elector of Bavaria and Count Casimir of Hanau unsuccessfully attempted to acquire a portion of Dutch Guiana.

At an early date Germans also took a modest part in exploration. A South German, the geographer Martin Beheim, of Augsburg, accompanied the Portuguese Diego Cam when he discovered the mouth of the Congo in 1484; and there were German expeditions to the interior of South America, led by Schmiedel and Philipp von Hutten, as early as the first half of the sixteenth century.

ii. *The Great Elector*

The first practical attempts to create the beginnings of a German colonial empire were made in the last quarter of the seventeenth century by the Great Elector of Brandenburg. His objects in so doing were more commercial than political or imperialistic in the modern sense, nor were his schemes undertaken without thought of personal advantage. His first foreign venture was the formation of the Brandenburg East India Company in 1647; but towards the close of his reign he conceived the idea of extending his rule to West Africa. In 1681, after unsuccessfully trying to bargain with France for the establishment of a German settlement in Guinea, he acquired territory there on his own account in virtue of treaties with native chiefs; and, a year later, formed the Brandenburg Trading Company for the coast of Guinea, upon which he conferred the right to trade for thirty years under his flag on the African coast occupied by him.

In 1687 the Elector acquired the island of Arguin, lying south-east of Cape Blanco, and by arrangement with Denmark established a depot on the island of St. Thomas, the better to facilitate the slave trade. He also endeavoured to gain a footing in America, and

negotiated for the acquisition of one of the Antilles. His greatest ambition, however, was to have a share in the wealth of the East Indies; and with that end in view he formed his East India Company on the model of the older English (1600) and Dutch (1601) companies of that name, though the project never prospered. He died in 1688 before his colonial schemes had matured or secured a lasting hold upon the imagination or faith of his subjects.

iii. *Frederick I and Frederick II*

Frederick I.—The Great Elector's successor, the first King of Prussia, for a time continued his interest in colonial undertakings. In the second year of his reign his fleet occupied Crab Island, between St. Thomas and Puerto Rico; and later he even conceived the idea of acquiring the isthmus of Panama; but the opposition of Spain prevented the realisation of this bold project. Nevertheless, the time came when he abandoned his father's African enterprise, which had never prospered. After subsidising it for a long time, in the vain hope of retrieving its broken fortunes, he sold it in 1718 to the Dutch West India Company. Thus the first Prussian experiment in colonial enterprise came to a premature and inglorious end. The colonial movement was born out of due time; Brandenburg possessed neither the ships, the money, nor the men needed to carry it to a successful issue.

Frederick II.—Thenceforward, for two centuries, Prussia and Germany remained without colonies. Frederick the Great brought new maxims into Prussian statecraft: and one of these was expressed in the words, "All distant possessions are a burden to the "State. A village on the frontier is worth a princi-"pality 250 miles away." Nevertheless, he had all the Hohenzollerns' appreciation of the importance of maritime trade. He favoured the North Sea and the Baltic ports; promoted the establishment in 1772 in Berlin of a commercial and financial undertaking known as the *Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Maritime Trading Com-

pany) for the negotiation of oversea trade (which continues as a State institution to the present day); and sanctioned the formation in 1750 of the Prussian Asiatic Trading Company of Emden, which city was made a free port in the following year. He refused, however, to be led into colonial adventures.

Looking back upon these early unsupported beginnings, one is impressed by the thought of how nearly Prussia, 200 years ago, was on the way to become a great colonial Power. Had the Great Elector been followed by even a short succession of rulers imbued with his ideas and fired by his imperialistic ambitions, it is not inconceivable that the place of France and Belgium in the African continent might have fallen to Prussia, and through her to the German Empire. The chance was not taken, and it never occurred again.

iv. *Emigration*

While colonization in the territorial sense made no progress, the formation of German settlements in various parts of the world continued. The Baltic provinces of Courland and Livonia attracted many German emigrants; and many small settlements, composed for the most part of agriculturists, were formed in other parts of the Russian Empire. The movement towards that country began in the time of Peter the Great and Catherine II, and continued throughout the eighteenth century. Agricultural colonies of Germans were also formed in Turkey, Greece, Rumania, Palestine, Syria, and elsewhere.

The first migration of Germans to North America had been almost contemporaneous with the Great Elector's colonial adventures. William Penn had visited Germany in 1677; and six years later a small body of German settlers crossed the Atlantic and settled in Philadelphia. These emigrants were followed by others, who settled in townships to which German names were usually given—Krisheim, Crefeld, Sommerhausen, &c. After the devastation of the Palatinate by Louis XIV in 1707, a large number of the im-

poverished inhabitants of that province emigrated to America, often with English help, and formed communities, like Neuburg and Rhinebeck, in the Carolinas. Throughout the eighteenth century isolated bodies of German emigrants, largely religious enthusiasts and refugees, continued to cross the Atlantic.

Soon after the Napoleonic Wars, which left the Continent crushed by misery and impoverishment, emigration—suspended during the Continental blockade—for the first time took ominous dimensions. Large numbers of people now left West and South Germany for North America, Brazil, Mexico, Algeria, and certain of the British colonies, especially Australia, Canada, and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).

Settlements in Brazil.—In Brazil, which had become independent in 1822, the Germans kept together and formed independent and homogeneous communities, in which their old life and traditions were assiduously fostered. German emigration to Brazil had begun about 1818. The first German colonies to be established there were Leopoldina, in the province of Bahia, and São Leopoldo, in the province of Rio Grande do Sul. During the following twenty years many other settlements were formed on the coast and in the interior, land being offered to the new-comers on favourable terms. The civil wars of the years 1835 to 1844 threw the country back, but later the colonies regained the lost ground, and a new influx of Germans began. In the middle of the century German emigration thither began to be organized and regulated by emigration and colonization societies, one of the earliest of which was formed at Düsseldorf in 1843. A Hamburg society, formed in 1849, bought land in Santa Catarina, and founded there in 1850 the colony of Blumenau, now a town of 40,000 inhabitants, the majority being of German descent. Since that time the German colonies in the provinces of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina have in general made considerable progress; while those in the hotter northern provinces, like São Paulo and

Parana, have continued more or less stationary. Moreover, in time the earlier friendly treatment of the immigrants gave place to less cordial treatment, and emigration to Brazil fell into ill-repute; so much so, that in 1859 the Prussian and some other German Governments prohibited it, the prohibition lasting in the case of Prussia for thirty-seven years.

Nevertheless, at the time of the establishment of the German Empire, there were in Brazil some 46,000 Germans, distributed in a large number of fairly homogeneous enclaves, for the most part small, yet clinging tenaciously to the language and domestic life of the homeland. Of these colonies in Brazil a recent German writer, Herr Königsberg, referring particularly to Rio Grande do Sul, says :—

> "These colonies have built a State within a State. Of German customs very little has been lost; also, the German dialect, with its native idiom, is handed down from generation to generation. Portuguese is little spoken, and even then the Germans use it with great difficulty."

The compilers of the *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Ausland* for 1906 estimated the number of inhabitants of German parentage and descent in Brazil at 345,000, of whom 150,000 were in Rio Grande do Sul and 80,000 in Santa Catarina; the number is now believed to be about 400,000, more than one-half in Rio Grande do Sul.

United States, &c.—From 1830 forward the stream of emigration became stronger; and now the United States were the chief gainers. It is estimated that during the three years 1833-35 alone, 85,000 German emigrants settled in the States, while the average yearly emigration during the period 1830-44 is variously estimated at from 20,000 to 40,000. Official returns of the aggregate German emigration during the half-century 1831 to 1880 show the following decennial totals :—

1831-1840	177,000
1841-1850	485,000
1851-1860	1,130,000

1861-1870	970,000
1871-1880	619,000
1831-1880	3,381,000

After allowing for a large amount of repatriation, it has been estimated that during the first eighty years of last century 4,500,000 Germans emigrated, all but half a million seeking new homes in the United States.

In the middle of the century, after the discovery of the goldfields of Australia, there was a large emigration to that country, and so late as 1884 the number of German-born inhabitants of Australia was estimated at 42,000. In the later years of the period a considerable number went also to British North America. In addition, more or less homogeneous colonies of Germans were formed in South America—in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

Emigration Societies.—About the middle of the century a large number of emigration societies were formed, some on a philanthropic, others on a commercial, basis. Such were the German Association for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas, founded in 1842 under the presidency of Prince Solms, which established several colonies of Germans in that State; the Emigration Association of Düsseldorf, a commercial undertaking formed in 1843, which operated in Brazil, without advantage to the emigrants whom it persuaded to go thither; the Prussian Colonization Association of Berlin for the Mosquito Coast, dating from 1844; the Central American Colonization Association, which acquired land for settlement in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and elsewhere; a Prussian association for the assistance of emigrants to West Australia; a Stuttgart association, which founded the colony of Valdivia, in Chile; a Hamburg association, formed as a company in 1849, which assisted in the establishment of German settlements in South Brazil that still survive and flourish; while other associations were formed to assist and regulate emigration

to Argentina, Mexico, and Central America. Of early emigration societies following national and general objects the most noteworthy were the National Association for German Emigration, formed at Frankfort in 1848 for the purpose of organizing emigration on national lines and looking after the welfare of the people sent abroad, and the Association for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization, formed in Berlin in the following year as a sort of advice and intelligence agency for intending emigrants; but local associations were established on the same lines in many of the larger towns, such as Hamburg and Dresden. Few of these organizations had a long life, though some have carried on their activities with varying success to the present day. Their work was supplemented by the efforts of a number of purely commercial and trading associations.

Beyond now and then discouraging or prohibiting the touting activities of emigration agents acting in the interests of undesirable countries, the German Governments took no steps to regulate emigration until the establishment of the North German Confederation in 1867. Since then the Central Government has taken the question more and more under its control; though, it must be added, as much from the desire to prevent the evasion of military service as from concern for the welfare of the emigrants.

v. *Missions and Exploration*

Missions.—Religious missions likewise played a part, though it was not until comparatively recent times important, in preparing the ground for a future colonial movement. The Rhenish, Bohemian, Basel, and Bremen missions, in particular, worked in territories which were later to play a prominent part in that movement.

Exploration.—Still more, however, was Germany's gaze directed outward by the enterprise and reports of her numerous travellers and explorers, who began to

be active in various parts of Africa, Asia, and elsewhere from the beginning of last century. Between the years 1799 and 1804 Alexander von Humboldt carried on his famous investigations in South and Central America, following these in 1829 by his expedition to Northern Asia. Early in the last century J. L. Burckhardt and Friedrich Horneman explored in North Africa, in 1812 and 1816 respectively, both in the service of the English African Association; other German pioneers were E. Rüppell, who travelled in Nubia, the Upper Nile region, and Abyssinia; Hemprich, C. G. Ehrenberg, and Prokesch, who travelled in Egypt; as well as Rose, Schlimper, von Kutte, and Kielmayer.

In the middle of the century exploration received a stronger impetus. Ludwig Leichardt, from 1841 forward, explored Northern Australia, where he eventually met a disastrous end; from 1842 to 1847 W. K. Peters was at work in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa; in 1848 the missionary Rebmann discovered Kilimanjaro; in 1849 James Richardson, Adolf Overweg, and Heinrich Barth undertook expeditions to the region of Lake Chad, the first two being murdered; while Barth, who had previously travelled in North Africa and Asia Minor, discovered the Benue and reached Timbuctoo. J. L. Krapf visited Central Africa, going as far as Lake Nyasa, and later accompanying an English expedition to Abyssinia; and early in the 'fifties Eduard Vogel led an expedition to the Sudan and reached the Wadai, where he was murdered, a fate which also met Karl Moritz von Beurmann in the same region a few years later. Between 1854 and 1860 Baron Heinrich von Maltzan explored Algeria, North Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Upper Egypt, the Sahara, and South Morocco; between 1854 and 1857 the brothers Schlaginzweit travelled in India and Asia; and Albert Roscher in 1859 explored Kilimanjaro.

About the same time Karl von der Decken also led an expedition to East Africa, whence he did not return; Adolf Bastian, the ethnologist, made repeated journeys

in Asia and Africa; in 1861 Gerhard Rohlfs explored West Morocco; and between 1865 and 1867 the same explorer traversed Africa from Tripoli to Bornu, and proceeded by way of Lake Chad and the Niger to Lagos, returning later to Central Africa. In 1864 Karl Mauch explored Matabeleland; and in the two following years Gustav Fritsch travelled through the Orange Free State and Bechuanaland. Between 1869 and 1873 Gustav Nachtigal explored the Libyan Desert and the Upper Sudan; and in 1880-82 Pogge and Hermann Wissmann made their famous march through Africa. Other explorers in that continent from the 'seventies onward were Robert Flegel, who did good work in the Niger and Benue regions in 1879; the brothers Gustav and Clemens Denhardt, who explored the Tana country in 1878; Oscar Lenz, who reached Timbuctoo in 1880; Emil Holub (Central South Africa); Otto Kersten, a companion of von der Decken, who returned to East Africa; Lenz, who explored the Gabun and Ogowe territories in 1873-1877; Buchner, Mechow, Junker, Güssfeld, Schweinfurth, Alexander Ziegler, Gustav Mann, Paulus Dehse, and Eduard Schnitzer (later and better known as Emin Pasha).

It will be noticed how, more than any other quest, the penetration of the still unrevealed secrets of the Dark Continent drew these men as with a magnet; and their collective contributions to African exploration and discovery give them a worthy place beside the explorers and travellers of British, French, and other races.

vi. *Writers and Associations*

Writers.—From the early part of the century also there were publicists who were fully alive to the importance of colonies, and who, observing how Great Britain and other countries had acquired large portions of the African continent, urged Germany to do the same while there was still time. Thus the subject gradually gained prominence in the literature of the day—in

works of travel, political essays, and economical writings. About 1825 Friedrich List, both by writings and platform addresses, began to advocate colonial enterprise as one of the measures supremely necessary to the economic and political development of Germany. Other contemporary political economists, such as Wilhelm Roscher, similarly pressed the claims of a colonial policy.

> "The fruits of colonization," Roscher wrote in one of his earliest works, "are usually reaped only in the second generation, and such long waiting is not to the mind of our time. Yet Germany must lose no time if the last suitable territories are not to be seized by other and more resolute nations."

Much was also written on the subject by less-known writers.

Early in the 'forties, colonization was much discussed in political circles. Charles Greville relates in his *Memoirs* how, when visiting Germany in 1843, he was surprised to hear people talking of the need for "colonies and a navy."[1] The idea of emulating the Great Elector occurred at that time to the fertile mind of Frederick William IV, who sanctioned the opening of negotiations for the purchase of California, then subject to Mexico. The Prussian envoy at Washington favoured the proposal, but Alexander von Humboldt appears to have dissuaded the King.

In 1856 a noteworthy book was published by a military officer named von Graeve, containing "a project for the acquisition of colonies for Prussia" (*Entwurf zur Erwerbung von Kolonien für Preussen*). The author proposed that an arrangement should be made with Mexico for the cession to Prussia of the fertile district of Sonora, in the northern part of the country, a territory about 20,000 English square miles in extent, and with a population at the time of about 120,000. To this colony Prussians were to emigrate in sufficient

[1] *Memoirs*, Second Part, *Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. II, p. 180.

numbers; and the author predicted, among the consequences of his scheme,

> "the reduction of poverty at home, the extension of Prussian trade abroad, the speedy growth of Prussian naval power, and the elevation of Prussia to the position of a World-Power."

As an addition to this project, von Graeve proposed the establishment of German plantation colonies in the South Seas, and particularly in New Guinea, as being at that time an unclaimed territory. The author had foresight, for he suggested that Prussia should carry out these colonial plans before the construction of the Suez Canal; since, when that project was completed, he anticipated a general scramble for territory in Africa and the East, in which England, France, and Holland would be the chief gainers.

Associations.—An important influence upon the colonial movement was exerted by several associations of a scientific character which were formed in the second half of the century. The most important of these was the Central Association for Commercial Geography and the Promotion of German Interests Abroad, formed in Berlin in 1868. The society defined its objects as follows:—

> "The study of those lands in which organized German settlements already exist, the social and commercial conditions and the spread of information thereon, the promotion of emigration to regions where settlers of German origin are already established under conditions favourable to the genius of the German people, the promotion of intellectual and material intercourse between the German colonial settlements and the German Fatherland; and, lastly, the furtherance of trade and navigation and the acquisition of colonies."

There were branches in other capitals and large towns of Germany, as well as in several foreign countries—Argentina, Brazil, and New South Wales. Some of the affiliated societies at home, however, soon cut themselves adrift from the parent organization, and adapted themselves to the special economic interests of

their localities; such were the West German Association for Colonization and Export of Düsseldorf, which became an important propagandist agency in the service of the colonial movement, amalgamating in 1882 with the German Colonial Association, then formed at Frankfort, and the Leipzig and Stuttgart Associations for Commercial Geography. In 1882 the German Colonial Association was founded; and two years later the Society for German Colonization, the forerunner of the German East Africa Company, was formed in Berlin, with the primary object of promoting the establishment of German agricultural settlements in Africa; while the South American Colonization Society was formed at Leipzig.

Of the societies of a more scientific character which indirectly served the colonial cause, the principal were the German Society for the Scientific Exploration of Equatorial Africa, formed in 1873, and the German African Society of 1876; these were in 1878 merged in the German African Society of Berlin. Many of the later African explorers were sent out by the last-named society.

vii. *Acquisition advocated*

While public attention was thus being directed to the question of colonization from many quarters and on many different lines, it is important to note that the colonial advocates of those days did not in all cases propose or contemplate the acquisition of territory; many of them had in mind merely the establishment on foreign soil of German settlements of the old kind. Only from the middle of the century can the colonial question be said to have passed into the stage, if not yet of practical action, at least of practical calculation and design. Travellers and explorers were no longer content to bring back merely the scientific results of their investigations; their efforts now took a more practical and acquisitive turn. Not a few of them returned home fired with imperialistic ambitions,

eager to see Germany emulate the enterprise of the older colonial Powers. Von der Decken, who between 1860 and 1865 explored the Kilimanjaro region and various parts of the East African coast, wrote home in August, 1864 :—

> "I am persuaded that in a short time a colony established here would be most successful, and after two or three years would be self-supporting. It would become of special importance after the opening of the Suez Canal.[1] It is unfortunate that we Germans allow such opportunities of acquiring colonies to slip by."

Five years later Karl Mauch, after exploring the Zambezi and visiting Mashonaland and the Transvaal, wrote of the latter country : "Would to God that this fine country might become a German colony!" Similarly Gerhard Rohlfs, returning to Germany after exploration in the Cameroon country, addressed to his countrymen the appeal : "Is it not deplorable that we "are obliged to assist, inactive and without power to "intervene, in the expansion of England in Central "Africa?"

The movement naturally derived encouragement from the Hanseatic merchants and planters. These traders were settled in Zanzibar, the South-West, and Liberia as early as the 'forties; and during the two following decades they appeared in Sierra Leone, Lagos, Togoland, and the Cameroons, on the west coast, and in Mozambique and Somaliland on the east coast, while further afield they were rivals of British enterprise in Australasia and the South Seas. Not possessing colonies, Prussia, the North German Confederation, and the Empire successively concluded most-favoured-nation-treatment treaties with European States, and treaties of friendship and commerce with independent native rulers, in respect of such territories. Nevertheless, the traders settled in Africa grew increasingly impatient as they saw other countries add to their possessions, while Germany still remained land-

[1] Opened in 1869.

less and inactive, though gradually the African continent was being partitioned. Moreover, all this time the German States were losing heavily by emigration; and the outflow, instead of helping to build up Germanism abroad, for the most part went, as before, to countries where it was bound sooner or later to be merged in the dominant nationalities.

All sorts of colonial schemes were proposed by men whose minds had firmly grasped a great central idea, yet who for the most part had little appreciation of practical politics. Among the countries recommended as fields for colonial enterprise were Madagascar, Formosa, New Guinea, and many other islands of the Pacific—Hawaii, Fiji, Tonga, the Gilbert, Ellice, Marshall, Solomon, and Caroline Islands, the New Hebrides, and the New Britain Archipelago, and also parts of Africa. The proposal to appropriate New Guinea, though entirely unofficial, created excitement in Australia; and the British Government was urged to annex the island at once before it was forestalled. The failure to listen to this warning was attended by disastrous results at a later date.

Considerable influence was exerted by a book published in 1867 by Ernst Friedel, in which he discussed "the founding of Prusso-German colonies in the "Indian and Pacific Oceans, with special reference to "Eastern Asia." In this volume he advanced the thesis, which in later years became an article of faith with the German imperialistic party:—"Maritime "commerce, ships of war, and colonies are three "complementary terms. The value of each is diminished "if one of the three is wanting." About the same time Richard Brenner and Dr. Otto Kersten, who had been members of von der Decken's expedition, proposed the settlement of a part of East Africa by Germans. Brenner had been in Witu the year before, when the Sultan Simba had either asked or authorised him to obtain the protection of Prussia against his enemy the Sultan of Zanzibar, in return for which service he promised to welcome German settlers and traders, though

not, it would seem, to alienate his territory. Kersten wrote a book (*Über Kolonisation in Ostafrika*; 1867), in which he particularly recommended the settlement of the Mombasa, Kilimanjaro, and Victoria Nyanza regions.

II

COLONIAL SCHEMES

i. *Reluctance of Bismarck*

SOME of these projects might have proved feasible had the Government been willing, or in a position, to take action; but these conditions were lacking. Since 1862 Bismarck had been Minister-President and Foreign Minister of Prussia, and since 1867 Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the North German Confederation. He was too much occupied with domestic and military questions, and above all with the problem of Germany's consolidation, to give a thought to projects of colonial expansion. To him it was a contradiction to talk of a German Empire oversea before the German Empire in Europe had been established. German statesmen, in general, were at that time impressed more by the risks than the advantages of colonial empire; and unique opportunities of entering the ranks of colonial Powers were thus allowed to pass by unseized.

One of the commonest arguments advanced against imperialistic enterprise at that time was the lack of a navy. This argument was used by Bismarck in his first important utterance on the colonial question, in the form of a letter written on January 9, 1868, to von Roon, the Minister of War and Marine, wherein he said:—

> "The advantages expected from colonies for the trade and industry of the mother-country rest, for the most part, on illusions. For the costs entailed by the establishment, support, and particularly by the retention of the colonies, very often exceed—as the experience of the colonial policy of England and France proves—the benefit derived by the mother-land, apart from the fact that it is difficult to justify the imposition of heavy taxation upon the whole nation for the benefit of a few branches of trade and industry."

For the rest, he contended that the defence of colonies was incompatible with the principle of universal service, which contemplated only home defence; that they would be a potential source of international discord; and finally that they were rather a matter for private enterprise than for State action.

It is noteworthy that just before the date of this letter the *North German Gazette*, a journal which even then stood in close relationship to the Government, had published a series of articles (February 1867) advocating the establishment of a German colonial empire. Prussia, the writer said, should acquire colonies before it was too late; the British Empire was still steadily expanding; soon the best chances would have passed away; and meanwhile the country was being bled by emigration. It was understood that these outspoken articles were written by Privy Councillor Lothar Bucher, who had been attached to the Foreign Office for several years, and was destined to be at a later date the most favoured confidant of its famous head. Bucher appears to have imbibed colonial enthusiasm in his earlier journalistic days during residence in England, whose institutions he diligently studied on the spot. In reports on the London Exhibition of 1851, for example, he had written strongly of Germany's need of colonies.

Bismarck, however, was not alone in his opposition to colonization. A strong body of politicians and economists held the same attitude. The individualistic school was still a power in German politics; and with this school the doctrine of non-intervention was an article of faith. Not only so, but British imperialism seemed at the time to offer a warning to other nations. The Indian Mutiny, the resurgence of civil disorder in Canada, and the rising and subsequent political complications in the Ionian Islands were all episodes which seemed to discourage the idea of foreign enterprises. France, owing to her unfortunate adventures in Mexico, had suffered loss of prestige. Even Russia had just sold her possessions in America to the United States (1867). All such events seemed to be opposed to colo-

nial expansion, and their cumulative effect upon German political opinion was distinctly deterrent.

Holding such opinions as those illustrated above, it is not surprising that at the time of the Franco-German War, when in 1871 voices called loudly for the seizure of French colonies—Cochin-China, Tahiti, the Marquesas Islands, Réunion, even Algiers and Madagascar—as a part of the expected indemnity, Bismarck turned a deaf ear to all seductions of the kind. When, during the peace negotiations at Versailles, the idea of acquiring Pondicherry and other French colonies was still urged upon him by men high in position, he replied:—

> "I want no colonies. They are only good for providing offices. For us colonial enterprises would be just like the silks and sables in Polish noble families, who for the rest have no shirts."[1]

Two years later (1873) he said to Lord Odo Russell, the British Ambassador in Berlin:—

> "Colonies would be a source of weakness, because they could only be defended by powerful fleets, and Germany's geographical position does not necessitate her development into a first-class maritime Power."

Bismarck's actions, no less than his words, at that time and later, are not only instructive as proving how completely he was still under the domination of what were then known as "Liberalistic" doctrines, and how far he was from sympathising with large imperialistic enterprises, but they convincingly refute the common assumption that, in taking up the colonial question some years later, he was merely carrying out a long-prepared and deeply-laid design.

ii. *Unofficial Action*

During the first decade of the German Empire the colonial movement continued to be almost altogether an unofficial movement. While the number of its adherents in political, scientific, and commercial circles was steadily growing, the Foreign

[1] Poschinger, *Fürst Bismarck als Volkswirt*, vol. I, p. 63.

Office in Berlin, and most of all its head, the Imperial Chancellor, looked on in cautious inaction, apparently willing at the most to follow, but not willing in any circumstances to lead.

Of the political parties represented in the Imperial Diet only the two Conservative groups and the National Liberals were as yet openly favourable to the movement. The Radicals, true to their individualistic principles, were conspicuously hostile; the Clericals individually were divided in sympathy, yet as a party they held back; while the smaller groups were either unfriendly or sceptical. Public sentiment in general was determined by the attitude of Bismarck himself; and the fact that he was still opposed to the acquisition of colonies was, for the mass of people, a sufficient reason for holding the same view.

During these years Bismarck consistently resisted all the proposals of oversea annexation which colonial enthusiasts continued to press upon his attention. When, in 1872, the ruler of the Fiji Islands, and, in 1874, the Sultan of Zanzibar, asked for the protection of the Empire, he promptly declined to give it; and the Fiji Islands went to Great Britain soon afterwards. Bismarck seemed to welcome the action of the United States Government in proposing to declare a protectorate over Samoa in 1875, and instructed the German Consul there not to carry on a separate policy of his own.

On the occasion of a dispute with Spain in 1874 he avowed the renunciation of colonies as a deliberate act of German policy, while at the same time insisting on the duty of other countries to reciprocate by showing fair play to German trade in their colonial territories. When a German official in the Chinese service proposed the establishment of German settlements in China, and Bismarck was asked by the Crown Prince to consider and report on the idea, the answer which he gave was that Germany had neither money nor the right men for such an enterprise, and that to undertake it would weaken her position abroad. So little jealous was he of

the imperialistic aspirations of other Powers at that time that, at the Berlin Congress in 1878, he urged France to take Tunis, pressed Egypt upon Great Britain, and directed Italy to Tripoli.

iii. *The Colonial Movement*

His known lukewarmness failed, however, to daunt the spirits of the men who were behind the colonial movement. The more difficult it seemed to be to move him, the more their efforts and schemes multiplied. Patriotic feeling had finally revolted at the idea of German explorers continuing to open up undeveloped territories for other nations to appropriate at a later date, and of German emigrants serving simply to populate alien countries and fill up the waste places of their colonial empires.

> "The question for us to consider," wrote the German colonial pioneer Moldenhauer in 1878, "is whether Germany is prepared to do anything else than send scientific missions to Africa, and to strew the continent with the bones of her explorers."[1]

He urged the formation of a powerful company, with or without Government assistance, which should at once obtain for Germany a place in Central Africa.

Several other noteworthy signs of the progress of the colonial idea occurred at that time. Ernst von Weber, influenced, doubtless, by Great Britain's recent annexation of the Transvaal (1877), vigorously urged that Germany should at once, before it was too late, give attention to South Africa and the opportunities which still existed there for successful colonization. In his book, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, published in 1878, von Weber discussed colonial prospects in the Transvaal, emphasising the need for the immediate acquisition of territory, with a view to turning to good account Germany's emigration. In 1879 Dr. Fabri, of the Rhenish Mission, answered affirma-

[1] *Erörterungen über Colonial- u. Auswanderungswesen* (Jahresbericht d. Vereins für Geog. und Statistik). Frankfurt-a.-M., 1878.

tively the question, "Does Germany need colonies?" (*Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?*), in a book in which he discussed the idea of establishing trading settlements in South America, New Guinea, North Borneo, Madagascar, Central Africa, Formosa, and Samoa. In order the better to propagate his ideas, Fabri in 1880 established at Düsseldorf the West German Association for Colonization and Export.

In November 1880 some Berlin bankers and merchants laid before Bismarck a plan for the colonisation of New Guinea. The Chancellor declined to consider it, telling the memorialists that whatever they wished to do must be done without Government co-operation. The same reply was given to the supporters of a North Borneo scheme who likewise tried to win his sympathy. Renewed propagandism was made at this time for action in New Britain, New Ireland, Formosa, and Morocco; and now Damaraland and Namaqualand, in South-West Africa, began to receive serious notice.

At that time every German explorer or traveller, on returning home, urged the advantages and claims of the particular corner of the globe with which he was most familiar. Thus, in 1882, Baron von Maltzan, on returning from Senegal, expatiated on the merits of that country, and endeavoured to establish a company with the object of acquiring land there and throwing it open to colonization by German families. In the same year propagandism was unsuccessfully made for East Africa. In 1878 the brothers Denhardt undertook an exploring expedition to the Tana country, and after an absence of several years returned with fascinating stories of fertile territories, friendly populations, and a favourable climate. More important still, they were the intermediaries of a message from the ruler of the Tana country—the same Sultan (Achmed Simba), who had formerly sought the protection of Prussia through Richard Brenner—asking that he might be allowed to place himself under the ægis of the Empire. Once more (September 1882) the request was refused.

All these schemes, and others less definite, powerfully though they appealed to the zealots of the colonial cause, left Bismarck unconvinced. He is reported to have said to a deputy of the Diet in 1881 :—

> "So long as I am Imperial Chancellor we shall carry on no colonial policy. We have a navy that cannot sail; and we must have no vulnerable points in other parts of the world which would serve as booty for France as soon as we were at war with her."

Yet the colonial pioneers worked on undismayed. In 1880 the Central Association for Commercial Geography called a colonial conference in Berlin; and colonial questions now regularly appeared on the programme of other economic and political conferences.

New Influences.—Nevertheless, unseen by others, and perhaps for a time unperceived by himself, an accumulation of events and influences, acting upon him in many ways and from different directions, were urging Bismarck forward. One episode which helped to modify his attitude on the colonial question was the Fiji islands dispute with Great Britain. When, in October 1874, these islands were annexed by Great Britain, in agreement with their ruler, all lands were made over to the British Crown in the first instance, and questions of title to such properties as were claimed by foreigners were referred to a Commission for adjudication. German traders, some of whom had been settled in the islands since 1860, alleged that obstacles were put in the way of the examination and proof of their titles, and that rightful claims were arbitrarily rejected. Their Government had repeatedly brought specific complaints to the notice of the British Foreign Office, but had failed to secure a settlement. A man of prompt decision himself, this procrastination and apparent unwillingness to give to his countrymen's grievances a fair hearing was a source of vexation to the German Chancellor, and created in his mind, as he said later, the impression that, if Germans oversea were to have effectual protection, they must look for it to the Imperial Government.

The resignation, on the eve of the introduction of Protection in 1879, of his Liberal colleagues in the Prussian Ministry, and particularly of Delbrück, the "keeper of his economic conscience," undoubtedly led Bismarck to regard the colonial question with a more open mind. Still more, however, was he influenced by the colonial activity which other nations, notably France, Portugal, and Belgium, began to show in Africa at the close of the 'seventies, since this gave rise to the apprehension that Germany, unless she asserted herself without delay, would be excluded from any share in that continent.

The first clear indication of a new orientation in the Government's attitude towards colonization came in 1880, when Bismarck invited the Diet to give a guarantee for the payment of interest to a company which was being formed to take over certain German properties in Samoa. These properties belonged to the old Hamburg trading house of Godeffroy, which had fallen into financial difficulties. Herr Godeffroy offered his estates to the German Trading and Plantation Company; but, when the promoters of the company invited the public to subscribe, only one-fifth of the required amount was forthcoming, and the result was that the entire property was mortgaged to a London banking house. At the request of certain German banks, Bismarck interested himself in the matter; and, rather than see an old and large German enterprise pass permanently into English hands, he promised to ask the Diet to give a guarantee of 4½ per cent. interest on a capital of £400,000 for twenty years. The proposal was made to the Diet in April 1880, but was rejected; and, though the necessary capital was raised by other means and the mortgaged property redeemed, Bismarck accepted the Diet's decision as a warning that Parliamentary opinion was not as yet ready for colonial experiments costing public money. The incident only confirmed him in the attitude which he had avowed a short time before in a conversation with Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe, then German Ambassador in Paris,

whose diary contains the entry under date February 22, 1880: "Now, as before, he will not hear of colonies. "He says our navy is not adequate to protect nor our "bureaucracy skilful enough to administer them." For a short time longer Bismarck would not hear of colonial schemes of any kind.

III

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

i. *Colonial Revival*

It is probable that the principal factor in Bismarck's conversion to colonial ideas was the outburst of imperialism which occurred in Europe at the close of the 'seventies, and was the signal for an unparalleled era of exploration and annexation in the African continent. At that time the only important colonial empires in Africa were those of Great Britain, France, and Portugal. Great Britain had hitherto been content with her paramountcy in the south; Egypt and the Sudan were as yet outside her special sphere of active influence. France already controlled Algeria in the north and some small territories on the West Coast, where she was extending her Gabun colony towards the Congo; Tunis, however, was already as good as hers, though she only occupied it in 1881; and she was gradually asserting predominance in Madagascar. Portugal could claim Mozambique on the east coast and Angola on the west, but she also advanced an ancient and obscure title to a considerable region at the mouth of the Congo.

Now was witnessed a wave of imperialism which speedily changed the political aspect of a large part of Africa. The older colonial Powers threw off the lethargy which seemed to have fallen upon them; and new aspirants to empire, such as Belgium, Germany, and Italy, for the first time put forward claims to the vast unappropriated territories. Belgium may be said to have precipitated the ensuing general scramble for territory, which did not end until the partition of that continent had been practically completed.[1]

[1] See, in this connexion, *The Partition of Africa*, No. 89 of this series.

Conference at Brussels.—On September 12, 1876, a conference of geographers and colonial experts met at Brussels, at the invitation of King Leopold, with the object of devising measures for the exploration of Central Africa as part of an international enterprise. The result was the formation of the *Société Africaine Internationale* as a co-operative agency for that purpose. Affiliated national committees were to be formed in the various countries represented at the conference, and twelve such organizations promptly came into existence, the most notable being those of Belgium, Germany, and France. The British delegates, however, instead of forming a national committee, founded in March 1877 the African Exploration Fund of the Royal Geographical Society. In thus following an independent course, Great Britain merely anticipated the action of the other countries; for the branch societies soon ceased to trouble about the international centre, and began to work in their own way for national ends.

Stanley and De Brazza.—In the meantime, H. M. Stanley, returning to Europe from his second expedition to Africa in January 1878, had entered the service of the King of the Belgians, who in November of that year formed the *Comité des Études du Haut Congo*, which soon after became a purely Belgian enterprise, with the name *Association internationale du Congo*. In the following January Stanley again left Europe for Africa, now as the emissary of the new association, and undertook the memorable expedition by which he laid the foundations and erected the framework of the future Congo Free State. De Brazza, who had already explored Central Africa in the service of France, likewise organized a second expedition in December 1879, with a view to penetrating the region between Gabun and Lake Chad, with the result that a vast tract of territory in the Congo basin passed under the sway of France and was organised in 1882 as French Congo.

This action of Belgium and France, with that of Portugal in regard to the Congo a little later, roused the German colonial party to unexampled energy; and

Bismarck now recognised that the time for active intervention had arrived, since the probable alternative was the permanent exclusion of Germany from any share in African territory.

ii. *New German Associations*

Several new and influential propagandist organizations were formed about this time, the principal being the German Colonial Association (*Deutscher Kolonialverein*) of 1882. The initiative was taken by the traveller Baron von Maltzan, who won over Prince zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg for the idea. Both men favoured the establishment of settlements by private action; their aim was to divert the flow of German emigration from American and British countries to oversea territories which should be under the German flag. The first idea was that the association should try to acquire not large territories, but small trading stations—partly because of the great cost involved by the former, but also owing to the fear of arousing the suspicions of neighbouring States—and then to seek the Empire's protection for them. Before the inaugural meeting was held, Prince Hohenlohe had secured the co-operation of the Duke of Ratibor, Counts Arnim, Stolberg, and Frankenberg, and the great colliery proprietor, Herr von Stumm. When, however, Herr von Kusserow, Bismarck's colonial adviser, was consulted, he refused to commit himself, an attitude which was regarded as indicating the Chancellor's disapproval or apathy. Towards the end of the year the statutes had been drawn up; and the constituent meeting was held on December 6, 1882, Prince Hohenlohe becoming president.[1] The Colonial Association enjoyed tolerable success for an enterprise of the kind; by the end of 1884 its membership was over 9,000. Its seat was soon transferred to Berlin, in order that it might

[1] Prince Hohenlohe retained the position of president until 1894.

keep in close touch with the Government and the Parliamentary parties sympathetic to the colonial movement. In course of time, many branch associations were formed.

Influenced by the growth of the colonial sentiment, the German African Society now turned its attention to the question whether more might not be done for the commercial development, in the national interest, of the territories in which it had hitherto taken a merely scientific interest. Accordingly, in May 1882, the society published a considered colonial programme, in which it urged the importance of sending out without delay two separate expeditions, one proceeding from the coast of Angola and working towards the Congo, establishing stations on the way in virtue of agreements with the local rulers, and the other starting from the Benue in the direction of the middle course of the river, and confining itself to exploration pure and simple. The society also addressed to the Government a petition, urging it to use its influence to prevent the Congo and Niger, with their navigable tributaries, from being annexed by any European State, and to keep these waters neutral and open to the trade of all nations on equal terms.

The appearance upon the scene of the German Colonial Association, backed by so many men of eminence in public and commercial life, was a decisive event in the history of the German colonial movement. Another of equal importance remains to be mentioned. On June 28, 1882, a Convention was concluded between Great Britain and France delimiting their spheres of influence on the West Coast of Africa north of Sierra Leone. One of its stipulations was that each State should give to the subjects of the other equal treatment in its colonial territories in that part of Africa. In view of this Convention, and of the fact that other States were likewise negotiating over their relationships and commercial interests in the same region, the idea occurred to Bismarck of bringing Germany into special Conventions with these States, so supplementing

the existing commercial treaties with them, and making German trade in their African territories more secure.

iii. *Bismarck acts*

Accordingly, on April 14, 1883, Bismarck instructed the Prussian envoy to the Hanseatic cities to obtain from their Senates an expression of opinion as to how the interests of German traders on the West Coast of Africa might best be protected and furthered. The result of this enquiry was a long memorandum, dated July 6, 1883, which was prepared by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, and duly placed before the Imperial Government. It pointed out that a large part of the West African Coast was already in the hands of Great Britain, France, and Portugal, and that the tendency of these States was to extend their jurisdiction. It paid a willing tribute to the generous spirit in which the British colonial authorities facilitated trade without distinction of nationality, but complained that other countries were less considerate. As measures of relief, needful in the interest of Germans in particular, it recommended (*a*) the establishment of a German Consul for the Gold Coast; (*b*) the permanent stationing of ships of war in West African waters, for which purpose it was urged that the island of Fernando Po should be acquired from Spain as a coaling station; and (*c*) the conclusion of treaties of commerce and friendship with the more powerful chiefs, with a view to giving to Germany a more prominent position on the coast and ensuring freedom for her trade. Further, the Chamber of Commerce urged the acquisition of a trading colony on the mainland opposite Fernando Po; and the Cameroon country was mentioned as specially suitable for the purpose. Pointing out that Great Britain had her eye upon this region, the report urged that action to this end should be taken without delay, or Germany would be prevented for ever from gaining a territorial foothold in West Africa. It is certain that Bismarck received this

report gratefully, as throwing, perhaps for the first time, a clear light upon his path. In the event, the programme so recommended was in substance carried out.

iv. *The Congo*

In the meantime, abortive action taken by Great Britain and Portugal, with a view to the creation of a more settled commercial status in the Congo region had led to the meeting of the Congo Conference. Ever since the Portuguese explorer, Diogo Cam, discovered the mouth of the Congo (1485), Portugal had claimed, though she had never exercised, suzerainty over the contiguous territory. For the better part of a century successive Portuguese Governments had endeavoured to induce Great Britain to recognise their claim to the West African coast between 5° 12′ and 8° south latitude, which would have given Portugal exclusive control of the Congo mouth. So far had Great Britain been from acknowledging this claim, however, that in 1856 orders had been issued for British cruisers in West African waters to prevent Portugal by force from attempting to extend her dominion north of Ambriz; and thirty years later the Portuguese Government was reminded that these orders were still unrecalled.

Apprehensive of the outcome of the International Congo Association and the expeditions of Stanley and de Brazza, the Portuguese Government again approached the British Foreign Office in November 1882. Lord Granville, deeming that a settlement would "assist in the abolition of slavery and the civilisation of Africa by the extension of legitimate commerce," agreed to negotiate; and without discussing the question of title—as to which he adhered to the attitude of his predecessors—he laid down certain broad principles as a basis of agreement. Upon these principles negotiations continued for more than a year, Lord Granville never concealing his view that the Governments were not engaged in a merely dual arrangement, and that if

an agreement were to ensue it must be one which the other Powers would be willing to accept.

> "It is obvious," he wrote on March 15, 1883, "that there could be no advantage in concluding a treaty which would not be accepted by other Powers whose acceptance would be indispensable before it could come into operation."

While the negotiations were in progress, Portugal tried to obtain from France a similar recognition of her claims, offering in return to agree to the acquisitions lately made by de Brazza in the higher Congo region; but her overtures were declined. A further incident, which increased Portugal's uneasiness and strengthened her desire for an agreement with Great Britain, occurred in September 1883, when the *Institution du Droit international*, meeting at Munich, adopted resolutions declaring that the entire Congo basin, hitherto deemed to be a sort of no-man's-land, should be internationalised and made an every-man's-land by the application to the river and its tributaries of the principle of free navigation, and to the adjacent territories of the principle of the commercial "open door." Against these resolutions the Portuguese Government promptly protested to the Powers; yet, while affirming its claim to the Congo mouth and the coast between Lomé and Chiloango, it professed to repudiate any desire to restrict trade in that region—a disclaimer that came too late to carry complete conviction.

v. *The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty*

The result of the negotiations was the conclusion of a treaty, dated February 26, 1884, by which the British Government acknowledged Portuguese sovereignty on the coast between 5° 12′ and 8° south latitude and in the interior as far as Noki, subject to various stipulations, of which the principal were:—the Congo territory as above defined to be open to the trade of all nations on equal terms; and commerce and navigation on the coast and on the

Rivers Congo[1] and Zambezi and their affluents to be free for the subjects and flags of all nations; no monopolies, exclusive concessions, or differential dues or other imposts to be introduced; no transit dues to be levied on goods passing through the region recognised as under Portuguese authority; complete liberty for religion and missionary enterprise; the Customs tariff not to exceed for ten years the Mozambique tariff of 1877, after which revision to be subject to the consent of both contracting States; rights already enjoyed by British subjects and commerce in all the African possessions of Portugal to be guaranteed, in addition to most-favoured-nation treatment; the contracting States to use all possible means for the purpose of finally extinguishing slavery and the slave trade on the eastern and western coasts of Africa; and Great Britain to have the reversion of any territorial rights claimed by Portugal between 5° east and 5° west longitude on the coast of Mina.

Opposition to the Treaty.—No sooner had the treaty been published than protests poured into London and Lisbon from all sides—from France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Spain, and the United States. From the first the German Government, acting under pressure of the great industrial and mercantile interests, made itself the mouthpiece of the general opposition. Bismarck claimed for Germany no proprietary interest in the Congo basin, but he objected to so large a slice of West Africa, with its great waterway, being disposed of by two States without any reference to the rest, and in particular to the proposal that these two States should alone regulate the navigation and trade of the Congo. In April he informed the Portuguese and British Governments that he could not acknowledge the treaty. While he was sounding the other European Governments as to the expediency of common

[1] In the treaty as first drafted Lord Granville had proposed that the navigation of the Congo should be regulated by an International Commission, and only on Portugal's pressure did he agree to the alternative of a joint Anglo-Portuguese Commission.

action in the matter, the French, Dutch, and Spanish Governments were also conferring upon concerted measures, while the United States Senate had already given a practical sign of its hostile attitude by recommending the President (April 10) to acknowledge the International Association as the preponderant Power in the Congo region, and by proposing the conclusion of an international agreement with a view to ensuring perfect freedom of navigation on the river and its tributaries and freedom of trade for all nations. King Leopold had also been moving, with a view to making secure his Congo dominion. On April 23 he made certain of the support of France by promising her a right of pre-emption in respect of the territories of the International African Association in the event of their changing hands.[1] The day before this arrangement was concluded the United States Government had recognised the flag of the International Association as "that of a friendly Government."

The Treaty abandoned.—Bismarck, looking for an ally in the task of challenging the unpopular treaty, turned to France, as the rival of Portugal in the Congo region and of Great Britain in Egypt. Soon the Governments of all the principal States interested had assured the German Foreign Office that they were in full sympathy with its action; and the organization of resistance to the treaty was consequently easy. On May 5 the German Ambassador in London, Count Münster, was instructed to inform the British Government that Germany sought no privileges on the Congo for herself; yet, on the other hand, that she was opposed to any arrangements which would place her and other Powers at a disadvantage. On May 26 the British Government made suggestions to

[1] This arrangement was notified to the Powers by the French Government on May 31, 1884. It was confirmed by the Foreign Minister of the Congo Free State in a letter of April 22, 1887, to the French Ambassador in Brussels, and was embodied in a formal treaty on February 5, 1895 (see Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty*, II, 546-7).

Berlin for the modification of the treaty: would Bismarck, it asked, be willing to appoint a German delegate to the Congo Commission? Bismarck's reply was, in effect, that it was too late to talk of modifications, and that the treaty must be abandoned and the work be done again by a different method and with different intentions. The Portuguese Government, he said, had already proposed an international conference; and to such a conference Germany would be prepared to send a plenipotentiary. Referring to the general question, he claimed for all Powers equal rights in the Lower Congo regions. "We are not in a position," he wrote, "to admit that the Portuguese or any other nation "have a previous right there."

Finding that the treaty was heartily disliked on all hands, the British Government formally abandoned it. Lord Granville had some reason for resentment that Bismarck had taken the question out of his hands in so brusque a fashion; and in a communication to the Berlin Foreign Office (June 30) he reminded that statesman that

> "but for the persistent opposition of the British Government, unsupported by any other Power, Portugal would, in all probability, have long since established herself in the Congo district. Great Britain refused the recognition of her sovereignty; and the object of the recent negotiations has been to give that recognition which, as Portugal claimed, was withheld by her (Great Britain) alone, in return for substantial guarantees of freedom for the commerce of the world."

vi. *The Berlin Conference*

Conference Proposed.—Already Bismarck had actively taken up the idea of an international conference; and, M. Ferry having accepted it, he prepared the ground by conversations with Baron de Courcel, the French Ambassador to Berlin. Before agreeing to take part in the conference, Lord Granville required to be informed of the general intentions of the conveners, and to be assured that they had no idea of pressing upon the Powers a cut-and-dried programme

prepared in advance, after the manner of some earlier international conferences. He was informed that the programme comprised the questions of freedom of commerce in the Congo territory; the application to the Congo and Niger of the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna (Articles CVIII to CXVI) regarding freedom of navigation (duly modified, as they had been already in the case of the Elbe, Danube, and other rivers); and the determination of the formalities under which new annexations on the coasts of Africa were to be considered effective. As to the last, Bismarck gave the assurance that his Government would "ensure that the "principles unanimously laid down by the jurists and "judges of all lands, including England, shall be "practically applied."

Satisfied by this and later explanations that the two Powers were in substantial agreement as to the aims to be followed, Lord Granville gave his assent on October 22; and four days later the German and French Governments invited all the States of Europe and the United States of America to a conference to be held in Berlin. Just before it met, Germany concluded a convention with the International Association of the Congo (November 8), acknowledging it as a sovereign State, in return for guarantees securing freedom for German trade and protection for the lives and properties of German citizens, including the right to settle and traffic in land therein.

The Conference.—The conference met on November 15, 1884, and its sessions lasted until February 26 of the next year. Bismarck both opened and closed the proceedings with statesmanlike speeches, but took little part in the intermediate proceedings. The results of the conference were embodied in the General Act of the Conference, better known as the Berlin Act, of February 26, 1885.[1]

At the closing session of the conference Bismarck

[1] For the principal provisions of this Convention see *The Belgian Congo*, No. 99 of this series, pp. 195-8.

used words which just thirty years later were to acquire a sombre significance :—

> "The special conditions in which you have opened up wide tracts of territory to commercial enterprise have required special guarantees for the preservation of peace and public order. The evils of war would assume a specially fatal character if the natives were led to take sides in disputes between the civilised Powers. After careful consideration of the dangers which might attend such contingencies, in the interests of commerce and civilisation you have sought to devise means to withdraw a large part of the African continent from the oscillations of general politics, and to confine the rivalry of nations therein to the peaceful pursuits of trade and industry."

vii. *The Congo Free State*

A further result of the conference was the formation of the territories of the International African Association into the International State of the Congo, and the acknowledgment of this State by all the Powers. In April 1885 King Leopold was authorised by the Belgian Parliament to become head of the new African State, which was to be joined to Belgium in personal union; and on August 1 the King notified the Powers of his assumption of this position and of the change of the name of his new kingdom to the Congo Free State. This State was declared "eternally neutral."[1] The actual boundary claims of the States territorially interested in the Congo question were adjusted by means of independent negotiations.

For Germany in particular, next to the assurance of fair play for her trade, the principal effect of the Berlin Conference was that it brought her for the first time into the full current of colonial politics. While the Conference was deliberating, her Government was busily engaged in proclaiming protectorates both in Africa and in the Southern Seas.

[1] The Congo State was annexed to Belgium in 1908.

IV

PERIOD OF ACQUISITION

(a) The Preliminaries

i. *British Policy in South Africa*

Although her explorers and travellers had occupied themselves more with North and Central Africa than with any other parts of that continent, when Germany made her first colonial acquisitions it was to the South that her attention was turned. There Great Britain was supreme, though from the middle of last century the attitude of the Home Government had been unfavourable to the extension of imperial responsibilities, notwithstanding that open and subterranean endeavours of many kinds were even then being made to counteract British influence. This attitude received official avowal in 1850, when, in endorsing the annexation of the Orange River, the Privy Council besought the Queen to let that be the last British appropriation in South Africa, and recommended

> "that all officers who represent or who may hereafter represent Your Majesty in Southern Africa should be interdicted in terms as explicit as can be employed, and under sanctions as grave as can be devised, from making any additions, whether permanent or provisional, of any territory, however small, to the existing dominions of Your Majesty in the African continent."

Fifteen years later (1865) a Committee of the House of Commons unanimously recommended the same policy of abstention in regard to West Africa, affirming that any further extension of territory or assumption of government, or new treaties offering protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient. The position then taken was confirmed when, in 1867, the Governor of Cape Colony, Sir Philip Wodehouse, urged the declara-

tion of British sovereignty over the south-west coast as far as the 22° of south latitude, which would have brought into the Empire about 450 miles of the coast from Cape Colony northward; for the answer of the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, was a definite refusal. All that was done at that time was to annex some of the small guano islands in the neighbourhood of Angra Pequena.

In 1868 a German missionary society, the Rhenish Mission of Barmen, which since 1842 had been working in Namaqualand and Damaraland, on the south-west coast of Africa, formally petitioned the British Government to make itself responsible for the peace and good government of these regions by annexing them outright, and the Government of the North German Confederation supported the society's request for protection. A promise of protection was given to the German residents, but no move was made in the direction of annexation.

Nor was the Imperial Government much more responsive when, in 1875, the Cape Parliament petitioned it to annex Whale (Walfisch) Bay and other parts of that coast. The Cape authorities followed up this action by the despatch to the country in 1876 of a Commissioner, Mr. J. C. Palgrave, to explain to the tribes "the benefit they would derive from colonial rule and "government, which they had from time to time in "past years expressed themselves desirous of securing." The result of the mission was that an overwhelming majority of the chiefs and native population, as well as the German missionaries and other Europeans resident in the country, pronounced strongly in favour of annexation by the British Crown. In consequence of these proceedings, Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor at the Cape, in a despatch to Lord Carnarvon dated November 13, 1877, urged that British sovereignty should be proclaimed over the entire coast from Cape Colony to Angola, as well as from Natal to the frontiers of Portuguese territory on the opposite coast; but his advice was not followed, the Government appropriating

only Whale Bay and a tract of adjacent coastal territory, annexed to Cape Colony in 1884. Basutoland, the Griqua Lands, and the Transvaal had in the meantime come under the British Crown; but the Kaffir, Zulu, and Basuto wars had discouraged the Imperial Government from adding to its responsibilities; and even the ardour of the forward party in Cape Colony, seemed to have cooled down.

In July 1880 war broke out between the Hereros and the Namaquas. In November, incited thereto by the Rhenish Mission, the German Government requested Great Britain to extend to German missionaries and traders resident in the disturbed countries the same measure of protection which might be given to British subjects. Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, gave the desired undertaking, but subject to the reservation that Great Britain could not assume responsibility for any events occurring outside British territory, which was said to be confined to "Whale Bay and a very small portion of country immediately surrounding it." In order to make clear the British attitude on the question of territorial sovereignty, Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, on December 30 of the same year, informed Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner for South Africa, that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government the Orange River was to be regarded as the north-western frontier of Cape Colony, and that the Government would not support the extension of British jurisdiction over Great Namaqualand and Damaraland In 1880, in fact, all British officials were withdrawn from Damaraland, and Whale Bay remained the only point on the south-west coast at which British influence was represented.

ii. *England and the Transvaal*

A growing section of the German colonial party had for some time entertained the idea of establishing German influence in South Africa; and

the tension between Great Britain and the Dutch communities there afforded an opportunity for unofficial intrigue, of which full use was made. The Transvaal Government itself was said to have invited German intervention, though it may reasonably be doubted whether the Boers, with their strong love of independence, would have welcomed Germany's formal protection on any terms. Nevertheless, energetic endeavours were made by Germans resident and travelling in South Africa to further their country's influence, not only in the Transvaal, but in the other territories outside the effective suzerainty of the British Crown.

German Views.—The Dresden traveller Ernst von Weber is reported to have put before Bismarck in 1872 the idea of offering German protection to the Transvaal. Germany was then settling down after a great war; and Bismarck, unwilling to face new responsibilities, refused to consider the suggestion. Four years later two colonial politicians, representing influential trading firms, financiers, and others, approached the Chancellor with a systematically worked-out plan of colonization which, if it had been practicable, might have made Germany a serious rival to Great Britain in South Africa. The idea was to establish German colonies in the neighbourhood of the Transvaal Republic; and, with this end in view, to acquire either Delagoa Bay (belonging to Portugal) or Santa Lucia Bay (part of the still independent native kingdom of Zululand) and construct a railway thence to Pretoria, the capital of the Boer Republic. That done, German emigration was to be diverted from the United States to South Africa by means of State-assisted steamship services; and it was predicted that a large and prosperous German community could be formed within ten years.

Bismarck appears to have been impressed by the scheme; but he also saw the risks which its execution would involve, and he was not satisfied that the nation would be prepared for a venture of the kind. In particular, he feared to do anything that might excite the

jealousy or sensibility of either Great Britain or France. All he promised, therefore, was to submit the scheme to his advisers for careful examination; and more than that it does not appear to have received.

Nevertheless, the German political literature of the day laid growing stress upon the call of Germany to be a pioneer of civilisation in South Africa, as one of the most natural outlets for German population and enterprise. The historian Treitschke even professed to foresee the end of British sway there.

In 1879 von Weber again put into concrete form the aspirations of the imperialists whose attention was centred upon South Africa. In an article which he contributed to the *Geographische Nachrichten* of the Berlin Geographical Society in November of that year he proposed, as a preliminary step, the pursuance of what would now be called a policy of "peaceful penetration." Germans were to emigrate to South Africa in large numbers, and so to possess the land.

> "What could not such a country, full of such inexhaustible natural treasures, become if, in course of time, it were filled with German immigrants? . . . A constant mass of such immigrants would gradually bring about a decided numerical preponderance of Germans over the Dutch population, and of itself would by degrees effect the Germanisation of the country in a peaceful manner."

It was his idea to use the Transvaal as a base from which to push forward German influence step by step to the Zambezi.

British Views.—Von Weber's article attracted the attention of Sir Bartle Frere, who, in alarm, forwarded a translation of it to the Colonial Office in London. The British Ambassador in Berlin, Lord Odo Russell, in a despatch of September 18, 1880, discounted von Weber's idea when it was submitted to him for observations, and that of German colonization in general.

> "Herr von Weber's plan," he wrote, "will not meet with any support either at the hands of the German Government or on the part of the German Parliament, while German emigrants feel more attracted by a republican form of government

than by that of a Crown colony. The German Government feel more the want of soldiers than of colonies, and consequently discourage emigration. The German Parliament has marked its disinclination to acquire distant dependencies, however advantageous to German enterprise, by the rejection of the Samoa Bill. Under present circumstances, therefore, the plan for a German colony in South Africa has no prospect of success."

That had been Lord Odo Russell's opinion ever since Bismarck had assured him, seven years before, that he wanted no colonies, since they would only be a source of weakness.[1] He was undoubtedly still right in refusing to believe that the German Government would risk a rupture with Great Britain in the interest of any such scheme of aggression as von Weber proposed; but he was wrong, as events were speedily to prove, in assuming that Bismarck would indefinitely continue his opposition to colonization on principle. Reassured by the ambassador's report, however, the Home Government appears to have thought no more about either von Weber's scheme or the prospect of having Germany as a colonial neighbour in South Africa or anywhere else.

(*b*) The Acquisitions

In the following survey of Germany's colonial acquisitions, which now began, it will be convenient to take these in chronological sequence.

[1] Lord Odo Russell appears to have kept the Foreign Office in this belief long after the justification for it had disappeared. In a despatch of February 7, 1885, to the ambassador's successor, Sir Edward Malet, Lord Granville wrote: "Until the receipt of a report from Lord Ampthill [Lord Odo Russell] of June 14 last [1884] of conversations he had had with Prince Bismarck, and up to the interviews which I had about the same time with Count Herbert Bismarck, I was under the belief that the Chancellor was personally opposed to German colonization. The reports of Lord Ampthill were continuously and strongly to that effect; and on March 15, 1884, his Excellency, referring to the agitation on the subject among the shipping and commercial classes in Germany, stated that it was well known that the Prince was absolutely opposed to their ardent desire for the acquisition of colonies by Germany, and was determined to combat and oppose their growing influence."

i. *South-West Africa.*[1]

Unofficial Action.—If to most onlookers in other countries the sudden change in the attitude of Germany appeared inexplicable, the shock which it caused them was solely due to the fact that they had not sufficiently, if at all, distinguished in the past between official policy and private action—the one hitherto consistently hesitant, unsympathetic, and unwilling to countenance colonial enterprise in the absence of a clear national mandate; the other concentrated with unwearying zeal upon its objective, and urging forward the Government with all the force and resource at its command.

It was a Bremen merchant, F. A. E. Lüderitz, who in the end virtually forced the hand of his Government, and committed it to action of which the consequences were to be so important and far-reaching. Lüderitz fixed upon the portion of South-West Africa lying north of the Orange River, and forming part of Namaqualand, as his sphere of operations. This territory, with the adjacent Damara-

[1] The nucleus of the South-West African Colony was the Bay of Angra Pequena, with an adjacent area. The story of the Angra Pequena episode is told in the form of diplomatic despatches from the British side in "Correspondence respecting the Settlement at Angra Pequena, on the South-West Coast of Africa" (C. 4190, August 1884); "Further Correspondence respecting the Settlement at Angra Pequena, on the South-West Coast of Africa" (C. 4262, December 1884); "Copy of a Despatch from the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, K.G., to Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, relative to the establishment of a German Protectorate at Angra Pequena and along the neighbouring coast" (C. 4265, December 1884); "Further Correspondence respecting the claims of British subjects in the German Protectorate on the South-West Coast of Africa" (C. 5180, August 1887); with "Memoranda of Conversations at Berlin on Colonial Matters between Mr. Meade, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, and Prince Bismarck and Dr. Busch" (C. 4290, February 1885). From the German side in "Angra Pequena," a series of despatches covering the period November 4, 1880—October 15, 1884, published by the German Foreign Office in the latter year.

land, had been repeatedly visited and explored from early in the eighteenth century forward, but no nation had deemed its possession of value, and the British claims extended only to Whale Bay and several of the islands lying off Angra Pequena.

On November 16, 1882, Lüderitz informed the German Foreign Office that he intended to despatch a cargo of merchandise to a point on the south-west coast of Africa between the 22nd and 28th degrees of south latitude still in the hands of native rulers, with whom his representative had instructions to conclude agreements, giving him, in return for a yearly tribute, a monopoly of trade in their territories and complete rights over lands to be acquired for trading purposes. It was his wish to place these prospective possessions under the protection of the Empire, and he therefore asked whether and upon what conditions such protection would be given.

Bismarck's Intervention.—Bismarck took time to reply to this enquiry. After satisfying himself as to the *bona fides* of Lüderitz and his project, he communicated with the British Government, which, in the following February, was asked to state whether it exercised the rights of sovereignty over, or intended to extend protection to, that region, and was desired, if such were the case, to give protection to Lüderitz's enterprise, failing which the Government would do it, yet "without having the least design to establish a footing in South Africa." Lord Granville replied on February 23, 1883, that the Government of the Cape had "certain establishments on the coast," but that, without knowing more precisely where the proposed German factory was to be set up, he was not in a position to say whether the British Government would be willing to afford protection to it or not. He therefore asked for details, in order that the Cape Government might be asked to report whether and to what extent the German wishes could be met.

It is a fair assumption—and the point is important in view of subsequent developments—that at this time

the German Government would have been perfectly satisfied if the British Foreign Office had signified its willingness to give protection to the undertaking of Herr Lüderitz, and that it had no idea of intervening in South-West Africa, except in the event of a refusal. The enquiries made at Bismarck's instigation, the written reply of Lord Granville, and a despatch forwarded in consequence to Berlin by the German Ambassador, Count Münster, all justify this conclusion. The action of the British Foreign Office, therefore, was perfectly regular, and such as was called for by the German communication.

It does not appear that the more precise information desired by the British Foreign Office was supplied from Berlin, or that Lord Granville gave further thought to the question until his attention was again called to it abruptly seven months later. It is probable that Bismarck's omission to locate the Lüderitz claims, as he was invited to do, was deliberate, and was due to a decision to change his ground. At a later date he disclaimed the idea that he had intended merely to seek British protection for the German settlement to be established, complained that a meaning and intention which he had never entertained were read into his enquiry, and said that what he wanted was to have his own action regularised from the beginning. This exposition of his attitude was made, however, under the influence of bitterness created by misunderstandings; and there seems no reason to doubt that his motive in approaching the British Government was in the first instance really friendly, and had for its object to discover whether the ground was free or not. It is clear that, as soon as the British Government, though unable as yet to claim the South African territory, began to act in a way that suggested that a claim would presently be advanced, Bismarck asked himself why Germany should not appropriate the country and take under her own protection those of her subjects who might settle there.

Lüderitz in South-West Africa.—Meanwhile Lüderitz had got to work. His agent reached South-West Africa on April 9, 1883, and on May 1 acquired from the chief, Joseph Frederick, a tract of land on the Bay of Angra Pequena about 200 English square miles in extent, with a coast-line of 10 miles. Whether the purchase price was £200 and 100 rifles or £100 and 200 rifles, Lüderitz does not appear to have paid much for his acquisition. The first news of his action reached Great Britain in the form of a paragraph, telegraphed to the London *Daily News* from Cape Town on July 9, and published by that journal on the 12th; but it does not appear at first to have seriously impressed either the Government or public opinion. The Foreign Office was encouraged in taking the matter lightly by a despatch from the British Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin, Sir John Walsham (August 31), who, recalling the despatch of Odo Russell (now Lord Ampthill) of September 9, 1880, gave the assurance:—

> "It would be a mistake to suppose that the Imperial Government have any present intention of establishing Crown colonies, or of imitating . . . the practice adopted by France of assuming a protectorate over any territory acquired by a French traveller or explorer. The German Government are opposed to any plan which might hamper their foreign relations; and I believe that what Lord Ampthill stated in his despatch, to which I have referred, is as true to-day as it was in 1880."

At the Cape feeling was far less tranquil. As soon as news of Lüderitz's action was received there, a British gunboat proceeded to Angra Pequena; but on arrival (September 8) its commander was informed by the German naval officer already installed there that he was now in German waters.

Anglo-German Relations.—As no further word had come from the British Foreign Office, Bismarck on August 18, 1883, informed the German Consul-General at Cape Town that the Government had decided to give protection to Lüderitz's acquisitions in so far as they were not in conflict with other well-founded rights,

whether of the native population or the English. On September 10 the German Chargé d'Affaires in London told the Foreign Office what Lüderitz had done, and now asked the pointed question whether the British Government claimed suzerainty over the bay of Angra Pequena, and, if so, on what grounds its claim rested. It was significant that there was no longer any suggestion of a desire for British protection. As no reply had been given to their enquiry by November 16, the German Ambassador called on Lord Granville in order to repeat it. In the meantime Lüderitz had extended his Angra Pequena acquisition, and had now secured a strip of territory 20 geographical miles deep running along the coast from the Orange River to the 26th degree of south latitude—a fact notified to the Berlin Foreign Office on November 20.

On the following day Lord Granville replied to Count Münster's enquiry that, although the British Government had not proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty along the whole coast, but only at certain points, such as Whale Bay and the Angra Pequena islands,

> "they consider that any claim to sovereignty or jurisdiction by a foreign Power between the southern point of Portuguese jurisdiction at latitude 18° and the frontier of Cape Colony would infringe their legitimate rights."

Bismarck refused to accept the view that territory which Great Britain had never claimed might not be claimed by any other country, as involving the application of a British Monroe doctrine to Africa. Accordingly, acting on instructions, the German Ambassador on December 31, 1883, wrote to Lord Granville, citing the repeated British disclaimers of sovereignty in the disputed region, and stating:—

> "The fact, confirmed by your Lordship, that British sovereignty beyond the frontier of Cape Colony is limited to Whale Bay and the islands off Angra Pequena is one of the assumptions under which the Imperial Government is justified and entitled to grant to the house of Lüderitz the protection of

the Empire for a settlement which this firm contemplates establishing on territory outside the sovereignty of any other Power on the south-west coast of Africa."

He also recalled the British theories on the subject of occupation and sovereignty, according to which a country was not justified in claiming rights over territories which it did not actually govern; and added that, if Great Britain now claimed territorial sovereignty over the whole of South-West Africa, he must ask on what title such a claim was based, and what steps had been taken to give adequate protection to German subjects and their properties.

For nearly four months more the British Foreign Office gave no further sign, though in the meantime the Cape Government had been asked if it was prepared to take over the disputed territory—a question to which no immediate reply was given. During this time Bismarck, to all appearance, was still halting between two opinions on the general question of colonization. More than once he told the Diet that, if it did not want colonies and was not prepared to meet the contingent liabilities, he would certainly not force them upon it; and that it was for the nation and not the Government to give the necessary impetus to practical measures of the kind.

Before he finally made up his mind he caused a memorandum on the whole question of the acquisition and administration of colonies to be prepared by the Director of Colonial Affairs in the Foreign Office, Herr von Kusserow. In this important report, dated April 8, 1884, the view was taken that the Government should proceed by the method of Royal Charters, such as had been granted to British colonial companies—and, so lately as 1881, to the British North Borneo Company—leaving the administration of the territories to the companies, and confining the Empire's responsibility to the stationing of ships of war in African waters and the establishment of a sufficient consular system. This view Bismarck adopted, and it became the keynote of his attitude towards all later colonial enterprises.

Bismarck acts.—When the negotiations with Great Britain had lasted a year without reaching a definite issue, Bismarck determined to follow his own course. Herr von Kusserow has related how, in the same month, he asked his chief whether he should again enquire in London when an answer to the note of December 31 might be expected, upon which Bismarck rejoined, "Now we will act!" He thereupon sent, on April 24, 1884, to the German Consul-General at Cape Town a telegram (the substance of which was simultaneously conveyed to the German Ambassador in London for communication to the Government there) settling once for all, so far as Germany was concerned, the question of suzerainty over the disputed territory. The telegram ran thus:—

> "According to reports of Herr Lüderitz, the English colonial authorities doubt whether his acquisitions north of the Orange River can claim German protection. You will publicly declare that he and his settlements are under the protection of the German Empire."

The dilatory temper of the Government in London was still reflected at the Cape; and it was only after prolonged delay that the Governor informed the Colonial Secretary (May 29) that it had been

> "decided to recommend Parliament to undertake the control and cost of the coast line from the Orange River to Walfisch Bay, including Angra Pequena,"

though Germany had already proclaimed a protectorate over part of this region.

In the meantime Lord Derby had told a deputation of South African merchants (May 16) that, while Great Britain had never regarded Angra Pequena as British territory, she had claimed "a sort of general right" to object to any other Power annexing it; and he repeated Lord Odo Russell's *obiter dictum* of September 1880, to the effect that Germany had no intention of establishing colonies. Three days later he stated in the House of Lords that Great Britain had hitherto

neither made a formal claim to Angra Pequena nor established a Government there. On May 24 the German Government was still asking for a reply to its note of December 31, 1883. Two days earlier the Foreign Office had asked the Colonial Office that "no unnecessary delay" might be allowed to occur in returning an answer to that communication.

On June 3 the German Consul-General at the Cape informed his Government that the Colony was prepared to take over the entire coast as far as Whale Bay, including Angra Pequena. In communicating this information to the Ambassador in London, the German Foreign Office instructed him to inform Lord Granville that it could not acknowledge the occupation proposed, and contested the right of the Cape in the matter. In reply to this protest, Lord Granville, whose hands were tied owing to the complications with the Colonial Office and the Cape Government, promised to do his utmost to adjust the dispute. On the 10th Bismarck himself sent a long despatch to Count Münster, instructing him to recall to Lord Granville's mind the history of the Angra Pequena episode, and stating that, in asking the British Government in the first instance whether it would be willing to protect the Lüderitz undertaking, he did so only *pro formâ*, knowing that it was not in a position to do so without assuming a territorial status which did not at the time exist.

> "My intention in these soundings," he wrote, "was directed towards obtaining from England an official acknowledgment that those coastal territories were in the European sense *res nullius* . . . towards obtaining from England the certainty and acknowledgment that she had hitherto had no demonstrable legal claims or title to occupation in those regions. England might have exhaustively answered our question in a week without referring it to the Cape, since it was only a question of a declaration of the legal, demonstrable status of England at that time."

He reproached Lord Granville and Lord Derby with having interpreted his question as an invitation to England to annex the coast herself. He had a feeling,

he said, that England was not treating Germany as an equal; and he instructed Count Münster that he must not encourage the idea that Germany was willing to sacrifice her vital interests to her wish for a good understanding with Great Britain, sincere though that wish was. Count Herbert Bismarck, an official in the Berlin Foreign Office, was sent to London with these instructions, nominally in order to communicate them with greater emphasis, but in reality to take charge of colonial affairs at the Embassy.

British Diplomacy.—The Angra Pequena episode, perplexing enough because of the conflicting claims involved and the fact that on the British side two Departments of State, whose sympathies were not entirely identical, were concerned, was further complicated by extraneous issues. Cross-currents of a political character were flowing all the time, so that it soon became hopeless to expect that the question involved would be decided solely on its merits. It was in the summer of 1884 that the collective protest of the Powers against the Anglo-Portuguese Congo Treaty of the preceding February was organised, Germany here working cordially with France. Moreover, Great Britain was at that time hampered by her uncertain position in Egypt; and it rested with Germany to cast a decisive influence either for or against her. It was Bismarck's boast that he could at all times be either a good friend or a good enemy; and he was now in the best possible position for bargaining with the British Government.

In a despatch of May 5, forwarded to Count Münster for communication to the British Foreign Secretary, he gave practical expression to his favourite maxim, "Do ut des"; for he said frankly that, while he was able and willing to co-operate with Great Britain on the Egyptian question, there must be a *quid pro quo*, and that it must be offered in the domain of colonial affairs. Later Bismarck complained in the Diet that he had received no reply to this despatch, which for better effect he produced to the astonished deputies. Lord

Granville promptly rejoined that his Government had not answered it because it had not received it. Enquiry brought to light the fact that Bismarck had himself countermanded it.

It was at this time, too, that Germany first raised the question of the cession of Heligoland. Lord Granville has left a memorandum, dated May 17, 1884, in which he records how Count Münster in confidential conversation had suggested the cession of the island.

> "It was (the ambassador had said) a place of no importance to us in its present state, whereas it would be of immense importance to Germany, to ourselves, and the whole world if it was made into a good harbour of refuge. This would be an expensive work for us to undertake. We could not be expected to go to such expense, whereas Germany would be quite ready to undertake it. Prince Bismarck wished to cut a canal into the Baltic, which also would be a great advantage to us, as the most powerful maritime nation of the world. But Heligoland, which, of course, would be always open to our ships, would be a necessary key to such a plan."[1]

The idea that Heligoland might one day pass into German hands was not a wholly new one. It had occurred to Lord Granville twelve years before; but now that the proposal was made by Bismarck he professed discreet surprise, and for the moment the question was allowed to drop.[2]

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Life and Letters of the Second Earl Granville*, vol. II, p. 351.

[2] In January 1885, while a second colonial dispute, regarding New Guinea, was in course of adjustment, Bismarck, through his mouthpiece in London, raised the question again. He laid stress once more on the advantages to British shipping and commerce of the harbour to be constructed; but now no disguise was made of the intention strongly to fortify the island should it change hands. Once more Lord Granville treated the question, in Bismarck's own phrase, "dilatorily." It was, however, his opinion that "the cession would be unpopular in itself," and that Liberal Ministers would not be the best people to make it, but "it sometimes occurs to me whether it would not be a price worth paying if it would secure a perfectly satisfactory end to the Egyptian financial mess." It fell to another Foreign Secretary to give the

In the existing circumstances it was inevitable that considerations of policy quite as much as those of equity would decide the attitude of the British Foreign Office on the Angra Pequena question. As a result of conversations between Lord Granville, the German Ambassador, and Count Herbert Bismarck, the Cape Government was enjoined on June 17 to suspend action; and four days later the British Cabinet decided to acknowledge Germany's sovereignty.

Attitude of the Cape.—Nevertheless, the Ministers at the Cape clung for some time to the hope that the southwest coast might still be saved for the colony, believing that Germany was more concerned to have protection for her subjects than to annex territory. To some extent Lord Derby encouraged this hope. On July 14 he telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson the Government's decision not to oppose Germany's claim to give protection to German subjects who had acquired concessions or formed settlements where British jurisdiction did not exist, but offered to proclaim British authority in any other places on the coast where British subjects had valid claims if the Colonial Parliament would agree to meet the cost. He suggested, therefore, that the coast from Angra Pequena northward should be placed under British protection. In consequence of this message, the Cape Parliament two days later passed resolutions in favour of annexing the entire coast from the Orange River to the Portuguese frontier, inclusive of the German acquisition, and thereafter sent Mr. J. C. Palgrave as Commissioner to Hereroland for the purpose of winning over the native population and the chiefs.

Informed by the German Consul-General of what was being done, Bismarck again intervened with a decisive step. Two German vessels of war were ordered to the spot, and on August 7

final answer, for in June 1885 the Gladstone Ministry fell, and the first Administration of Lord Salisbury succeeded.—*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 425 and 362.

the territory from the Orange River to the 26th degree of south latitude was declared to be under the Empire's protection; while early in September possession was taken of the coast from the latter point to the Portuguese frontier north of Cape Frio, with the exception of Whale Bay. In the meantime Bismarck (August 22) addressed to the British Foreign Office a strong despatch, in which he protested against the resolutions of the Cape Parliament, complained again of the long delays of the British Government, accused it of playing fast and loose with Germany in the matter, and told Lord Granville that the continuance of friendly relations between the two Governments required that the colonial resolutions should not be approved.

This reminder that Bismarck could be disagreeable if he liked could not be ignored by Ministers severely hampered by the Egyptian question. The British Government now decided to recognise Germany's claims to the entire coast, with the exception of Whale Bay, only stipulating for an undertaking that British rights and interests should be protected, and that no penal settlement should be established in the new colony. To this proposal Bismarck replied that it was self-evident that British rights would be respected; but as to the question of a penal settlement said that, though Germany had no intention of establishing one, he would give no promise on the subject, since he disputed the British right to require it. On September 22 the British Government finally accepted the German annexation unconditionally, and the episode was regarded as closed.

Just before this (September 17) the Cape Government had sent home a final protest that

> "no weight has been attached to the wishes of the colony with regard to the coast-line from the Orange River northward, notwithstanding the offer of the colony to undertake all responsibility and cost in connection with the coast."

It also urged the Government to annex the remaining unappropriated portions (*i.e.*, the fertile interior) of

Damaraland and Namaqualand, a suggestion to which Lord Derby discreetly replied (November 11) that

> "it would not be in accordance with international amity to annex the territory immediately adjacent to the existing German limit."

Lord Derby did his utmost to pacify wounded colonial feeling; yet, in a letter of December 4 to Sir Hercules Robinson, he stated frankly that to have further pressed a claim to the south-west coast and its back-country would have been unjustifiable. He pointed out that the dispute related to "a strip of territory to which England had no sufficient legal title," and in which German trading and missionary interests were apparently more considerable than British.

> "Great Britain," he said, "which already possesses large tracts of unoccupied territory, could not fairly grudge to a friendly Power a country difficult of development, with regard to which it might have been said that we had never thought it worth acquiring until it seemed to be wanted by our neighbour."

Acquisition of South-West Africa.—The formalities necessary to the definitive assumption of sovereignty by the German Empire were conducted by Dr. Gustav Nachtigal,[1] who had already been despatched to Africa as Imperial Commissioner. Nachtigal arrived at Angra Pequena in October, having first made a series of annexations in West Africa,[2] and he at once concluded further treaties with the native chiefs in the name no longer of Lüderitz, but of the Empire. The boundaries still remained to be fixed, and this task was facilitated by the declaration of the British Government that it did not desire to make any annexations west of 20° E. longitude, which was accordingly regarded as the dividing-line between the two spheres of influence east and west. Later (March 1885) a joint Commission met at Cape Town in order to adjust more formally the respective frontiers, and its work was completed to mutual satisfaction in September. In December of the following year a similar agreement was concluded with

[1] See p. 63. [2] See pp. 64, 65.

Portugal, the River Kunene being accepted as the northern boundary of the protectorate.

In the meantime Lüderitz, who had been a national hero for more than a year, proved financially to be a man of straw. He had talked impressively of his own resources and of the "princely merchants" who were behind him; and the public had taken him at his own valuation. When, however, the money of his powerful patrons was needed it was not forthcoming. Early in 1885 an English company offered to buy up his claims; but Berlin banking houses came to the rescue, and on April 5 the German South-West African Colonial Company was formed, with a capital of £60,000. After Lüderitz's lands, titles, and rights had been paid for and other initial expenditure incurred, only a balance of some £15,000 remained for general purposes. It was evident that the company had not sufficient money to administer and develop the colony; and the Government, therefore, against its will and contrary to its principles, appointed a Commissioner to transact the necessary administrative and judicial work.

Whatever may be said of the wisdom of opposing Germany in the first instance, on the strength of claims which must have been known to be untenable, it remains to be added that South-West Africa was lost to the British Empire by indecision and want of foresight. Both the Imperial and Cape Governments had considered the question of annexation for many years, and on each occasion had failed to make up their minds. A wholly unprejudiced English writer says:—

> "Every scrap of evidence that could prove British rights over the coast was sought for and put forward; but, when it came to be coolly weighed, there was no shadow of documentary proof that any step had ever been taken to annex any part of the region except Walfisch (Whale) Bay and one or two guano islands off Angra Pequena. The evidence was all the other way. British Ministers had repeatedly during the past twenty-five years positively declined to undertake the responsibility of annexing Damaraland and Namaqualand. . . . It

was only after the country had been irrevocably lost that any real desire for its possession seems to have found expression in Cape Colony."[1]

ii. *The First Mail Steamship Subsidy Bill: The Diet and Colonization*

While the Angra Pequena dispute was still unsettled, Bismarck seized the opportunity which it offered of directly testing the sentiment of the Reichstag on the general question of colonization by asking its approval of a scheme of mail steamship subsidies. At that time the German Government paid in these subsidies the sum of £15,000 yearly, a small fraction of the amount similarly expended by Great Britain, France, and even Italy and Austria-Hungary. In 1884 it was proposed to subsidise lines to East Asia and Australia to the maximum amount of £200,000 a year for fifteen years.

Opposition in the Diet.—In the Budget Committee the Progressist deputies Richter, Bamberger, and Rickert fiercely opposed the colonial idea, Bamberger representing the entire movement as ridiculous, dangerous, and menacing to the world's peace. In his reply to these and other critics, Bismarck vigorously repudiated the idea that Germany must not think of embarking on colonial projects from fear of offending other nations, though he incidentally paid a cordial tribute to the fairness which had always been shown by the British Government towards the trade of other nations. Dealing with the extent of the Government's liabilities in taking up the colonial question, he declared that its intention was to give to the colonial enterprises not money, but only protection. He had no intention to create garrisons, forts, barracks, harbours, and a large administrative apparatus. The colonial adventurers would themselves have to bear the cost of administration; and, if the colonies failed, the loss and discredit would fall on them and not on the Empire.

[1] J. S. Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, p. 186.

Passing of the Bill.—The debates on the Bill were continued until June 28, but the measure was not carried further that session. Nevertheless, the debates proved an effective piece of propaganda for the colonial movement. When the Reichstag reassembled in November, after a general election on a military measure, the Government reintroduced the Bill in a larger form, for a mail service to Africa had been added and the subsidies increased to £270,000. In the end the line to Africa was struck out and the subsidies reduced to £200,000; and, so amended, the Bill was passed on April 31, 1885. The grouping of parties in the final division was significant, as broadly indicating their attitude then and for a long time to the general question of colonial policy. The majority in favour of the Bill comprised the two Conservative factions, the National Liberals, and a section of the Clericals, while the minority consisted of the German Progressists and the People's Party (both Radical groups), the Social Democrats, the Poles, and a majority of the Clericals

iii. *Further Colonial Schemes in South Africa*

Santa Lucia.—German efforts to colonize South Africa at that time were not confined to the west coast. In 1884 German agents also tried to obtain a foothold in Santa Lucia Bay, Delagoa Bay, and Pondoland. Encouraged by his swift success in Angra Pequena, in May Lüderitz sent an agent named Einwald to Zululand in order to secure land concessions there, and for a time his designs seemed to be prospering. Later in the year concessions were, in fact, obtained on his behalf from Dinizulu and other chiefs; and it was even hoped to gain control of Santa Lucia Bay, whence it was proposed to construct a railway to the Transvaal. Great Britain, however, had prior claims there, and they were asserted with a promptitude which had been lacking in the Angra Pequena affair. Einwald had

already telegraphed to Berlin informing the Government that he had concluded certain treaties, and asking that a vessel of war might be sent to annex the bay at once. Before his treaties reached Germany the British authorities on the spot heard of his action; and the British flag was hoisted in the bay by the commander of H.M.S. *Goshawk* on December 18, and possession formally taken in the name of the British Crown. The German Government formally protested against this act, but later withdrew its protest, giving an undertaking on June 25, 1885, that it would annex no territory south of Delagoa Bay.

Pondoland and Delagoa Bay.—A German attempt to gain a foothold in Pondoland was similarly frustrated; for there likewise British treaty rights were indisputably clear. Equally delusive were the hopes which were centred upon Delagoa Bay, a region definitely recognised as Portuguese since July 1875, though subject to Portugal's undertaking that she would not cede it to any Power other than Great Britain.

Bechuanaland.—In the case of another territory bordering on the Cape, viz., Bechuanaland, the British authorities forestalled both Dutch and German ambitions. The Dutch of the Transvaal had for some years been pressing into this territory, the British Government protesting, and had concluded treaties of protection with the native chiefs in 1884. In 1885 Bechuanaland and the abortive little republics of Goschen and Stellaland, founded by the Dutch, together with the Kalahari Desert, were annexed, and the Dutch settlers compelled to withdraw within their own frontiers. The effect of this annexation was that a British possession cut off German South-West Africa from the Boer States.

Boer War.—Nevertheless, Germany's unofficial agents continued for a long time to direct their efforts and hopes to South Africa as a sphere of colonial expansion. It was jealousy of British influence far more than concern for the independence of the Dutch communities that inflamed German feeling at the time of the

Jameson Raid of December 1895, and still more during the Boer war of 1899-1902.[1]

iv. *Togoland and Cameroon*

Nachtigal and Buchner.—No sooner did the news of Bismarck's changed attitude on the colonial question become known than German traders settled or interested in other parts of Africa hastened to conclude treaties with the native chiefs, and in this way large tracts of territory passed into their hands for utterly inadequate considerations or none at all. It was notorious that small kingdoms were to be bought in Africa at that time for a little money and much brandy.

The next acquisitions were made in West Africa, where German traders had long been settled both on the coast and in the interior. Early in 1884 the Government appointed Dr. Nachtigal, then Consul-General in Tunis, as a roving Imperial Commissioner, and instructed him to visit, in the gunboat *Möwe*, various parts of the west and south-west coasts of Africa, accompanied by Dr. Buchner. Both men were experienced travellers.

On April 16 the German Ambassadors in London, Paris, and Lisbon were directed to inform the Governments to which they were accredited of Nachtigal's intended journey to the West African coast, and its objects, so far as these could be disclosed, and to ask that they would afford him assistance. The communication made to the British Foreign Office was to the effect that Nachtigal had been instructed to report on the state of German commerce on that coast, and to "conduct, on behalf of the Imperial Government, nego-"tiations connected with certain questions." The last

[1] The *Grenzboten* of July 4, 1895, wrote: "For us the Boer States, with the coasts that are their due, signify a great possibility. Their absorption in the British Empire would mean the blocking-up of our last way towards an independent agricultural colony in a temperate climate. Will England obstruct our path? If Germany shows determination, never."

words aroused no suspicion at the Foreign Office, and the desired courtesies were accordingly shown. When the British Government told the story of the movements of the Nachtigal expedition, it claimed that it had for some time been preparing to annex Cameroon. Nevertheless, official action to that end does not appear to have been expedited on the receipt of the German message; the consul (Hewett) accredited to Cameroon was then absent from the country on leave, and a month passed before he was directed to return to his post.

Nachtigal's instructions gave the first place to the acquisition, in the name of the Empire, of territory in Angra Pequena and on the West African coast between the Niger delta and Gabun, particularly the portions opposite the island of Fernando Po, in the Bight of Biafra, west from the mouth of the Cameroon River as far as Cape St. John; but Little Popo was also to be visited with the same aim in view.

Nachtigal's Acquisitions: Togoland.—Nachtigal's journey, viewed as one of acquisition, proved very fruitful. Like many of the early German imperialists, he proceeded on the principle of annexing territory first and investigating titles and negotiating with other claimants at leisure, confident that, after his claims had been sifted, something substantial would remain. Although, therefore, acting thus, he seized several blocks of territory which had to be abandoned later, Germany was able to retain the bulk of his West African acquisitions, and they made an appreciable addition to the new colonial empire. Early in July he declared Togoland a German protectorate, hoisting his flag at Little Popo (visited by a German vessel of war in the preceding January, on which occasion some of the local chiefs had asked for Germany's protection), Bagida, and Lomé, and in September in Porto Seguro. Later it was found that the French had already concluded treaties with the chiefs of Little Popo, though these treaties had not been divulged; and, when they

were brought to his knowledge, Bismarck promptly acknowledged the prior title.

Cameroon.—From Togoland Nachtigal proceeded to Cameroon. Here his operations were no less successful, though they evoked strong protests from the British Government. The attitude of Great Britain towards this part of West Africa likewise had been strangely wanting in foresight. Several times in recent years the chiefs had petitioned to be placed under the British Crown, but their petitions were either ignored or answered evasively. The British Government had decided, in November 1883, to annex Victoria, in Ambas Bay, where the English Baptists had had a mission since 1858, and to proclaim a protectorate over the Oil River districts; but these designs were not carried into effect until Germany had appeared on the scene. When Nachtigal presented himself in Cameroon, King Bell and his fellow chiefs, weary of British delay and disregard, at once placed themselves under German protection.

British Action.—In the meantime (May 16) Consul Hewett had been instructed to return to his post and inform the chiefs that the Queen was prepared to "extend to them her power and protection." He was warned, however, that it was not intended to annex Cameroon at present, but only to obtain the chiefs' assurance that they would be willing to cede their territory when asked to do so. Nachtigal concluded his treaties on July 12, just in time to forestall the absent British Consul; for, when Mr. Hewett arrived in the Cameroon River on the 19th, the German flag had been hoisted for five days. Nachtigal acquired Biafra Bay territory from Bimbia to Little Batanga, and he also hoisted his flag at Benita and at points south of Great Batanga; but, as soon as it was pointed out that the latter territories were claimed by France, he withdrew.

Mr. Hewett did all that was now possible; he annexed Victoria, the island of Mondoleh, and other minor points, and later proclaimed a protectorate over

the whole of the still unclaimed coast-line from the Rio del Rey to Lagos, including the Niger delta and the Oil Rivers. On August 29 the British Government formally protested against Germany's annexation of Cameroon and Bimbia, pointing out that both in 1879 and 1881 the chiefs of these territories had sought British protection; that an examination of their petition had been promised in 1882; and that in the following year they had reiterated their desire to have British protection and no other. In other words, the British Government had for five years known that Cameroon was waiting to be taken; and yet, although all that time the German colonial movement was increasing in vigour and persistence, it had failed to make sure of the now lost territory. Germany's answer was that, whatever the British Government might have intended to do, it had not done it, and that the territory was under no protection at all at the time of its seizure. Bismarck, in turn, protested later against the British appropriation of Ambas Bay as an act intended "to "prevent the possibility of an expansion of our pos-"session."

In Germany Nachtigal's prompt and skilful stroke created great jubilation, though this received a momentary check when news of the outbreak of disorders came from Cameroon in October and vessels of war had to be sent out. In England Germany's easy acquisition of a colony which, it was felt, should have fallen to the British Crown, occasioned corresponding mortification, though the public resentment was directed quite as much against the Government Departments which had been guilty of lax and unbusinesslike methods as against the country which had profited by their procrastination.

Definition of Boundaries.—In April 1885 the two Powers defined the boundaries of their contiguous territories, Germany simultaneously withdrawing her protest against the hoisting of the British flag in Santa Lucia Bay, and undertaking not to make acquisitions

of territory or establish protectorates between the colony of Natal and Delagoa Bay.

The Niger.—German action in another part of West Africa at that time was frustrated, but by private enterprise. In April 1885 Herr Flegel, who had long been settled in Lagos, and had already done much exploration on the middle Niger and the Benue, was commissioned by the German African Society and the German Colonial Society to secure a foothold on the former river. Before this could be done, however, the British United African Society despatched Mr. Joseph Thomson to that region; and that intrepid explorer succeeded in concluding treaties with the Sultans of Sokoto and Gando, by which these territories came under British protection before Flegel arrived at his destination.

v. *German East Africa*

Zanzibar.—From time immemorial the Sultan of Zanzibar[1] had claimed sovereignty on the mainland from Warscheik in the north to Cape Delgado in the south, and far into the interior. The United States had concluded a commercial treaty with him so early as 1835: Great Britain followed in 1839, and France in 1844. In 1859 the German Hanseatic cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, likewise entered into treaty relationships with Zanzibar (the treaty being transferred later to the North German Confederation and the Empire), though German traders had been settled in the island since 1844.

All this time and for long afterwards British influence, both politically and commercially, was supreme at the Sultan's Court, and it was directed towards maintaining the independence of his kingdom, formally acknowledged by Great Britain and France together in 1862. So highly did Seyyid Bar-

[1] Until the death of Sultan Said in 1856, Zanzibar formed part of the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat, with whom the earlier treaties were concluded.

gash esteem the British connection that in 1878 he was willing to give to Sir William Mackinnon a seventy years' concession, transferring to him the Customs and administration of the entire interior of East Africa as far as the lakes; but Lord Beaconsfield, who was then Prime Minister, declined to accept on behalf of the Empire a responsibility so large. Nevertheless, much valuable work was done at that time by British enterprise for the development of the interior. Sir William Mackinnon and Sir T. Fowell Buxton constructed a road running 60 miles inland from Dar es-Salaam; James Stewart, the engineer, made a road between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa; and the African Lakes Corporation, formed in 1878, opened up a portion of Nyasaland, introducing plantations, and doing much for the material civilisation of the native population. Sir John Kirk, who had been Livingstone's companion on the Zambezi, had been the British representative at Zanzibar since 1868; and he remained at his post for twenty years, during which time he enjoyed the Sultan's complete confidence and maintained British influence upon a firm foundation.

German Exploration.—Long before Germany began to regard East Africa from the standpoint of practical colonization, German explorers had been active in various parts of the country. In 1867 Brenner, travelling in Witu, persuaded a sultan of the country to seek through him the protection of the Prussian Government; but, though duly made, the request was not complied with. Two years later Kersten vainly urged the annexation of the country south of the Juba. In 1875 Vice-Admiral Livonius recommended the Admiralty to place Zanzibar itself under the protection of the Empire; and in the same year Ernst von Weber again advocated the settlement by Germans of the Juba country. Later, in 1879, the three travellers, Clemens and Gustav Denhardt and Dr. Fischer, endeavoured to interest the nation and the Government in Witu.

Germans at Zanzibar.—While Germans were thus busy unofficially in East Africa, their Government was not inactive in Zanzibar. The appointment of a permanent consul-general and the conclusion of a most-favoured-nation commercial treaty, to supersede that which the Empire had inherited in 1871, had been talked of since 1880, and in 1884 both projects were realised. This move led the British Government to invite an exchange of views; and there was relief in London when the German Foreign Office in November gave the assurance that it did not aim at establishing a protectorate over Zanzibar. Although at that time the Cameroon episode was only a few months old, Lord Granville drew from this assurance the conclusion that Germany " considered that country beyond the sphere of her political activity " (letter to Sir Edward Malet, January 14, 1885), a conclusion soon to be proved unfounded.

Karl Peters.—In the meantime Dr. Karl Peters, a young and ambitious journalist and pseudo-scientist, with a strong love of adventure, was endeavouring to stimulate interest in the Zambezi country. He even succeeded in gaining audience of Bismarck, but failed to impress that wary statesman. As the German Colonial Society was not sufficiently aggressive, Peters and some of his friends formed, in March 1884, the Society for German Colonization. Its object was to make a more decisive move in colonial enterprise, by diverting the stream of emigration to German oversea territories. A proposal for colonization in the interior of Mossamedes (Angola) having been discountenanced by the Foreign Office as impinging upon territory claimed by Portugal, Peters and his associates fell back upon the alternative of an expedition to East Africa, a project which had the support of von Weber. Accordingly, the company adopted the outlines of a scheme for the establishment of an agricultural and trading colony in the Usagara or some other suitable territory; and a mission was despatched to Zanzibar to equip the necessary expedition.

The object of this mission, though not published to the world, came to the knowledge of official circles, with the result that, on the arrival of the travellers in Zanzibar, the German representative there informed them, in the name of the Imperial Chancellor, that no protection could be given either for their land acquisitions or their personal safety, and that whatever they chose to do would be done entirely at their own risk. Undeterred by their rebuff, the party crossed over to the mainland early in November, landing at Sandani. Following the Wami River inland, as soon as they had passed the narrow strip of territory within which the Sultan of Zanzibar exercised direct suzerainty and entered the Usagara country, they concluded treaties with a number of native chiefs on behalf of the society. Before the end of the year territories lying north of the port of Bagamoyo, with an area of 60,000 square miles, had been acquired virtually as a free gift.

In the following February Peters was back in Berlin with a wallet full of treaties, not a few of which had undoubtedly been obtained from the chiefs by misrepresentation or in ignorance of their meaning. By means of glowing descriptions of the country and its prospects, he now succeeded without difficulty in forming the German East Africa Company for the exploitation of his acquired rights.

Grant of Charter.—The Government, which had refused to countenance Peters when he sought its patronage with empty hands, now readily gave him (February 12, 1885) the desired imperial letter of protection, the first of the kind to be issued. The charter stipulated that the Company should administer its territories on the British Chartered Company plan; that it should remain a German undertaking; and that its directors should be German subjects. The new Company having been successfully launched, help came from influential sources. The Prussian *Seehandlung*, a State banking enterprise, invested £25,000 in the venture; and the Emperor and some of the other German princes also took shares. Peters soon returned

to East Africa in order to further the Company's interests there and add to its already large domain.

Attack on the Sultan.—In the meantime, the Government was preparing to face a new political situation in East Africa. In December, 1884, it was announced in the German Press that Dr. Rohlfs was on his way to Zanzibar; and new apprehensions were aroused in England that an attack upon the independence of the Sultan was contemplated. The Foreign Office invited assurances on the subject; but the answer from Berlin was evasive. Lord Granville's fears were in reality quite justifiable. Before long it became evident that the German representative in Zanzibar was bent on squeezing the Sultan out of the territories in the interior of East Africa over which he claimed suzerainty, with a view to supplanting him by the German East Africa Company. The agents of this company had already made further expeditions into the interior, returning with more treaties of the usual kind, professing to confer a title to large territories in Swahililand, Somaliland (both coast and interior), and elsewhere. The brothers Denhardt also returned to their old haunt, the Tana country, having formed a Tana Committee and received a promise of imperial protection for any enterprise they might establish there. Now they were instrumental in placing the Sultan of Witu under the Empire's protection, which was offered in May.

Suspicious of the proceedings which had taken place on the mainland, the Sultan of Zanzibar telegraphed to the German Emperor on April 25, challenging the action of the German expeditions. He also sent troops into the interior to enforce his authority, whereupon a German squadron was sent to Zanzibar to overawe him (August 7). In the end (August 14), on the advice of the British Government, given through Sir John Kirk, he withdrew both his protests and his men, and acknowledged the German claims.

British Attitude.—Made wary by untoward experiences in other parts of Africa, Lord Granville had

decided to play for safety; and he certainly carried concession to an extreme length, at the Sultan's expense. In a despatch of May 25 Lord Granville had assured Bismarck that Great Britain had no desire to oppose Germany in her projects of colonization in East Africa; but, on the contrary, would welcome her co-operation there in the cause of civilization, the suppression of slavery, and commercial development. With what was, perhaps, an excess of consideration, he also volunteered the information that an English financial group (the British East Africa Association, the prime mover in which was Sir W. Mackinnon) was interesting itself in a project for developing certain territories between the coast of East Africa and the lakes, to which it proposed to carry a railway, adding that the Government would not support the scheme

> "unless they were fully satisfied that every precaution were taken to ensure that it would in no way conflict with the interests of the territory that has been taken under German protectorate, nor affect that part of the Sultan's dominions lying between that territory and the sea."

To this despatch Bismarck replied with a request that action in regard to the new British company might be deferred until it had been ascertained exactly what territories had been acquired by the German expeditions.

Agreement with Germany.—By this time Bismarck had discovered that Peters and the Denhardts, like Lüderitz of earlier fame, lacked both substance and responsibility; and that, if given too free a hand, they might involve the Empire in serious difficulties. Hence, when Lord Granville proposed the appointment of a boundary commission to consider titles and delimit the spheres of influence of the two countries, he at once agreed. A change of Government in June brought Lord Salisbury to power and to the Foreign Office, but he continued the conciliatory policy of his predecessor. The boundary proposal was pursued further; and eventually the British and German Governments concluded an agreement (October 29—November 1, 1886),

by which the northern limit of the German sphere of influence and the southern limit of British influence were determined. The whole of the delectable Kilimanjaro region, where Sir H. H. Johnston had obtained valuable concessions of territory in 1884, passed under German control; while the country north of the Tana and that lying to the north-west of the British sphere, including Uganda, were also left free for German operations. To the Sultan of Zanzibar were assigned the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Mafia, a strip of coast 10 nautical miles wide, and certain towns. The little Witu country, more important for its position than its proportions, remained independent, though recognised as falling within Germany's province. As a final stroke of irony, Germany agreed to adhere to the Anglo-French agreement of March 18, 1862, declaring the independence of Zanzibar, and to try to persuade the Sultan to come under the Congo Act of 1885, while Great Britain undertook to support Germany in negotiations with Zanzibar for the leasing to her of the duties leviable in Dar es-Salaam and Pangani.

The Sultan's authority was now whittled down to a shadow of his ancient claims; but he was helpless, and accordingly he signed the agreement on December 4. France formally accepted it on the 7th. By a further agreement of December 30 with Portugal the River Rovuma was confirmed as the boundary between German East Africa and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

Outside Germany it was generally believed that, owing to the undue compliance of the British Foreign Secretary (at that time Lord Iddesleigh), that Power received more than her due share of the partitioned territory, though a later readjustment (1890) removed some of the resulting disadvantages for Great Britain.

vi. *New Guinea*

German Interests.—While German agents were busy with colonial projects in various parts of Africa, the

old idea of securing a foothold in the Pacific was revived in a practical way. From the middle of the nineteenth century, and in some cases from an earlier date, German firms had had trading stations and factories in all the important groups of islands in the Western Pacific; and occasionally German vessels of war visited these. Moreover, the acquisition of part of New Guinea was one of the projects put forward most persistently by the earlier imperialists in the course of their propagandism for the colonial movement. The Dutch had already obtained the western portion of the island, while British influence was only represented by a land company to which its Government had granted a charter in November 1881.

The question of colonizing in New Guinea was again taken up seriously in Germany in 1880. In November of that year Herr A. von Hansemann, a Berlin banker, acting on behalf of the German Maritime Trading Company (*Deutsche Seehandelsgesellschaft*), laid before Bismarck a memorial on the subject of colonial endeavours in the South Seas, but was informed (February 15, 1881) that the rejection of his Samoan proposals by the Reichstag (see p. 26) made impracticable "a vigorous initiative" in the direction proposed. In November of the following year the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* published an article, which was attributed to Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs, strongly advocating the seizure and colonization of New Guinea. A translation of this article appeared in the Australian newspapers, and created alarm.

Australian Interest.—There was a general demand that Great Britain should at once occupy the unappropriated portions of the island, though the *Sydney Morning Herald* stated that, "If the place is to be "annexed by any other Power than England, we should "be glad to see it in the hands of Germany." Responding to the pressure of colonial feeling, the Queensland Government in April 1883 annexed the eastern part of the island. Before deciding

upon its attitude towards this irregular measure, the Colonial Office (June 18), recalling the fact that the Australian colonies had long wished New Guinea to be annexed, invited the Foreign Office to say whether the Government could

> " rely with full confidence on the absence of interference by any foreign Power in New Guinea, pending the declaration of the Queen's pleasure with respect of the prayer of the Australian Governments."

It is evident that the Foreign Office and its advisers in Germany thought as little of the proposal of Dr. Rohlfs as they had done of von Weber's proposals regarding South Africa; for Lord Granville replied (June 26) that he had no reason to believe that any foreign Power contemplated action in New Guinea. Thus assured, Lord Derby, in a despatch to the Queensland Government (July 11), declared its act to be not only *ultra vires*, and in consequence null and void, but also impolitic.

Nevertheless, the question was not allowed to fall into the background in Australia; and in December of the same year an inter-colonial convention, meeting at Sydney, adopted resolutions in favour of the annexation by Great Britain of all New Guinea except where the Dutch already had rights, and of the adjacent islands, and also declaring that the further acquisition by any other Power of territory in the Western Pacific south of the Equator would be highly detrimental to the security and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, and that

> " in the opinion of the convention, no purchases or pretended purchases of land made before the establishment of British jurisdiction or dominion in New Guinea or other islands of the Pacific, not having a recognised Government, should be acknowledged, excepting in respect of small areas of land actually occupied for missionary or trading purposes."

In Germany these resolutions were interpreted as tantamount to the declaration of another Monroe doctrine in favour of Great Britain in the Pacific; and they led to protests both there and amongst Germans

settled in the South Seas, who, remembering Fiji, promptly claimed the protection of their Government. In England, too, feeling ran high, public opinion on the whole warmly taking the colonial side. In January 1884 the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Julian Pauncefote, assured the German Ambassador in London that the Government had no intention to make further acquisitions of territory in the South Seas. Lord Derby, however, departed from this negative attitude in a despatch of May 9 to the Australian Governors, wherein he intimated that the Government would be willing to consider a proposal to give protection to the east coast of New Guinea after the colonies had decided how they would meet the cost; adding that the Government would agree to station a High Commissioner and staff there if the colonial Parliaments would undertake to contribute towards the cost.

At this time the Berlin bankers Herren Hansemann and Bleichröder were again promoting a *consortium* for the purpose of acquiring territory in New Guinea. The New Guinea Company was formed accordingly (May 26); and Dr. Otto Finsch, of Bremen, who was well acquainted with the South Seas, was forthwith sent to Sydney with instructions to proceed thence to the north-east coast of the island and also to the New Britain group and acquire on behalf of the Company such territories as were to be had. Simultaneously (June 27) the Government was requested to give to the prospective possessions of the Company imperial protection. Hearing of this scheme, the Australian colonies at once promised the £15,000 required by the Home Government; and the British Colonial Office decided to send a Commissioner to New Guinea with a view to the early annexation of the South Coast.

Bismarck's Intervention.—On August 8, 1884, the German Ambassador called on Lord Granville in order to protest against the claims of the Australian colonies, particularly those advanced at the Sydney convention. He said that Germany admitted as natural the wish of the

colonies that the south of New Guinea should come under British rule, but contended that there were portions of the north side of the island which offered a legitimate sphere for German enterprise; and he suggested that the two Governments should come to an agreement as to their respective spheres of influence, intimating at the same time that a German expedition intended visiting the north coast. To these representations Lord Granville gave the conciliatory answer that, while an extension of British authority to the island was imminent, it should

> "only embrace that part of the island which specially interests the Australian colonies (*i.e.*, the south coast), without prejudice to any territorial questions beyond these limits."

He also accepted the idea of a boundary conference, and expressed the opinion that the two Governments would find it easy to arrive at an understanding.

On the strength of this assurance Bismarck, on August 19, informed the German Consul-General at Sydney that it was intended to hoist the German flag on the north-east coast of the island and on the New Britain Islands, where German settlements already existed or were planned. On the following day Herren Hansemann and Bleichröder were promised imperial protection for their South Sea undertakings. The German Government also notified to the British Foreign Office the names of the Commissioners who would represent Germany in the proposed boundary negotiations. In the meantime, as a result of negotiations between the Home and Colonial Governments, the British annexation proposal had taken a more definite and more extended form; and on September 19 the German Government was informed that it was intended to proclaim British sovereignty over all the coast of New Guinea not occupied by the Netherlands (with the adjacent islands), except that portion of the northern coast comprised between 145° east longitude and the eastern Dutch boundary. There can be little doubt that this measure was decided upon under the direct pressure of colonial opinion, and that this

pressure had been greatly strengthened by the apprehension that a penal settlement might be established on the island.

British Concessions.—Since, however, the German Government took exception to the larger British proposal, as going beyond the limits laid down by Lord Granville on August 8, and suggested that the spheres of the two Powers in the north and north-east of the island should be the subject of a friendly understanding, the British Foreign Office (October 9) decided to restrict the protectorate to the south coast, with the contiguous islands, " without prejudice to any territorial question beyond these limits." A protectorate was accordingly proclaimed in this reduced form on November 6.

The reservation with which Lord Granville hedged his undertaking to the German Government caused misunderstandings no less acute than those which had arisen over the Angra Pequena question. Obviously the only reasonable interpretation of the words was that, while for the present only a restricted area of the island was to be annexed, the British Government understood that the extension of this area was to be a matter of negotiation; and that, until such negotiation had taken place, the *status quo* would be observed by both Powers in relation to the rest of the country. Bismarck, however, professed to believe that the words " without prejudice to any territorial question beyond these limits " meant that Great Britain explicitly renounced in Germany's favour the idea of any further annexation[1]—a view difficult to reconcile either with his perfect knowledge of diplomatic forms or his exceptional acquaintance with the English language.

While the two Foreign Offices were in correspondence, Dr. Finsch had been active on behalf of the German New Guinea Company; and in November and December the north coast of the island, from the Dutch

[1] Interview with Sir Edward Malet, reported in despatch of January 24, 1885, to the British Foreign Office.

frontier to the Gulf of Huon, was annexed at various points, and after it the New Britain Islands, the Powers being notified to that effect on December 23. This countermove created great excitement in Australia; and public opinion there was also irritated at the restraint and moderation shown by the Home Government under what was regarded as a dangerous menace. Great Britain now hastened to seize the last stretches of territory still unappropriated. A vigorous exchange of despatches was the result, the German Government complaining of the action of Great Britain in thus anticipating the frontier negotiations; while the British Government contended that Germany herself should have made no acquisition of territory at all in the Western Pacific until these negotiations had taken place.

In a despatch of January 28 the Berlin Foreign Office even claimed that the German annexation of part of the north coast was intended to embrace the whole; and, as for the islands in the New Britain archipelago, it denied that the German Government had ever intended to make their occupation a matter of negotiation. It was true, Bismarck said, that Germany had anticipated British action in regard to these islands; but he recalled the fact that, as soon as there had been any thought of German annexations in Africa, Great Britain had hastened to annex the adjacent territories, as in the case of the Guinea coast, in order to prevent the possibility of her neighbour's expansion. It was, therefore, legitimate to assume that, if the German Government had not taken New Britain in good time, the British Government would once more have stepped in. In an interview with Sir Edward Malet on January 24, 1885, Bismarck anticipated the terminology of a later political controversy when he spoke of the policy of "enclosure" or "encirclement" (*Einschliessungssystem*) which Great Britain seemed bent on pursuing towards Germany.

Ill-feeling in England and Germany.—The New Guinea episode, following so closely upon the Angra

Pequena and Cameroon disputes, marked the climax of misunderstanding and ill-feeling between the two nations. No modern statesman was readier than Bismarck to fight for what he conceived to be his country's rights; and he was no doubt honestly persuaded at that time that Great Britain intended to pursue a dog-in-the-manger policy in relation to German colonization, and would carry that policy just so far as she thought she could do so with impunity. To a representative of the British Colonial Office who had an interview with him on December 24, 1884, he confessed keen disappointment that Great Britain should have sought to obstruct Germany in the Pacific as she had done in Africa.

> "He said that we had immense possessions in that part of the world; that we had already more land than we could colonize for years to come; . . . and that it was not worthy of us to grudge Germany a settlement on the coast of New Guinea, separated from Australia by the islands and the south shore which we had taken. He added that up to two years ago he had done everything he could to facilitate British policy in Egypt and elsewhere, but for some time past he had been treated in a different manner by England, whose actions did not accord with her professions."[1]

It was difficult for Bismarck to appreciate the position of British statesmen, habituated to rely solely on diplomatic sources of information, and therefore unacquainted with the nature and force of the German colonial movement, and now suddenly called upon to adapt themselves to the idea that Germany was as free to take unappropriated territories as any other State; and it was certainly embarrassing for these statesmen to strike a fair and safe compromise between the claims of the colonies, on the one hand, and, on the other, the need of remaining on amicable terms with a Great Power which at that time was able to make their path either rough or smooth in Egypt.

[1] Mr. R. H. Meade, in *Memoranda on Conversations at Berlin on Colonial Matters* (February 1885).

Even in the midst of the war of despatches, Bismarck never lost for long his characteristic sanity of judgment. In a speech made in the Diet in January 1885 he reproached Great Britain for her insularity of outlook, yet asserted his wish and intention to retain her friendship.

> "We live on good terms with England," he said. "That England, in the consciousness that 'Britannia rules the waves,' should be somewhat astonished when her 'landlubber' cousins—for so we appear to her—suddenly go to sea, need not cause wonder. Nevertheless, we still stand in the traditional friendly relations to England, and both countries will do well to maintain these relations."

In spite of this, a few weeks later he brought a long series of accusations against the British Government and British policy on the colonial question, some entirely groundless and the rest trivial. The accusation which would have been most damaging, had it been justified, was the neglect of the Foreign Office to reply to the important despatch of the previous May, in which Germany had made deliberate approaches to Great Britain, with a view to amicable co-operation in Egypt—the despatch which, as has already been stated, was countermanded by Bismarck himself, and, in consequence, was never delivered. But the aggravation, incisive as was the expression of it at the moment, did not go deep; and a few days later Bismarck sent his eldest son to London on another special mission, charged with power to adjust the outstanding causes of friction. The British Cabinet was still divided on the question of no-surrender or compromise; and it was only the decided stand taken by Mr. Gladstone that turned the scale. For him the question of Egypt was paramount; and, assured that Germany would make no trouble on the Nile if Great Britain was accommodating in the Pacific, he threw his influence strongly on the side of concession. Writing to Lord Granville on March 6, 1885, he said:—

> "I do hope that you are pressing forward the Pauncefote settlement of the north coast of New Guinea, which seems to me the main or only point remaining. It is really impossible

to exaggerate the importance of getting out of the way the bar to the Egyptian settlement. These words, strong as they are, are, in my opinion, words of truth and soberness; as, if we cannot wind up at once these small colonial controversies, we shall, before we are many weeks older, find it to our cost."[1]

An understanding favourable to German claims was arrived at; Bismarck was appeased; and, while he hastened to relieve the tension of public opinion in Germany, the British Foreign Secretary and Premier sealed the pact of peace by conciliatory speeches from their places in Parliament. On March 6 Lord Granville said:—

"There appears to be suspicion in Germany that we do not give full recognition of the present position of that great nation. I believe, on the contrary, that there is no country in which not only politicians but all classes of the population appreciate more and with greater pleasure the important position which Germany has taken in Europe since its unification."

Mr. Gladstone endorsed his colleague's utterances a few days later (March 12) in the House of Commons in the memorable words:—

"If Germany is to become a colonizing Power, all I say is, 'God speed her!' She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of mankind."

Anglo-German Agreement of April 25-29, 1885.—In its final form the agreement (April 25-29) secured to Germany the northern portion of the island between 141° of east latitude and 8° of south longitude, with half of the unexplored interior and all the islands lying off the north coast. She withdrew her claim to the long, narrow eastern end of the island, however, while Great Britain ceded the Gulf of Huon and Rook and Long Islands. The New Britain group of islands also remained to Germany. The northern part of New Guinea was now renamed Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, while Germany henceforth called the New Britain Islands the Bismarck

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Life of the Second Earl Granville*, vol. II, pp. 431, 432.

Archipelago. By a subsequent agreement (April 10, 1886) the two Powers delimited their respective spheres of interest in the Western Pacific generally. Germany gained by that agreement the Bougainville, Choiseul, and Isabel Islands, belonging to the Solomon group, though the two last named were subsequently (1899) ceded to Great Britain (see p. 85).

Outstanding points of dispute in other parts of Germany's newly-acquired empire were also adjusted early in 1885, and the Fiji Islands land disputes were settled at that time, the German claimants receiving compensation to the amount of £10,620, instead of £140,000 as originally demanded.

While in this way the early colonial disputes ended with smooth words on both sides, their influence upon the German colonial movement was unquestionably stimulative. More than anything else, it was the action of Great Britain, first on the question of Angra Pequena, and then on the Congo question, which determined Bismarck's future attitude towards that movement. From the first moment when he found himself confronted by British opposition, in a claim for what he believed to be Germany's just rights, there could be no doubt whatever that he would go through with the colonial programme at all costs. Opposition also drew together the colonial enthusiasts as never before, creating out of isolated groups, composed far more of theorists and visionaries than of practical men, a strong and determined party, and welding a mass of inchoate sentiment into a real national cultus.

vii. *The Marshall, Caroline, Pelew, and Mariana Islands*

German Interests in the Pacific.—In their search for unappropriated territory in the South Seas, German vessels of war in 1885 claimed the Marshall Islands—so called after an English sea-captain who discovered them at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1878 Germany had secured the island of Jaluit as a coaling station, but she had made no claim to

sovereignty. That claim was now advanced; for the whole of the twenty-four little atolls were appropriated in October 1885 without protest.

Germany and Spain.—A claim to the Caroline, Pelew, and Mariana (Ladrones) groups made about the same time was not equally successful; for Spain had claimed these islands since the fifteenth century.

Accordingly when, in the summer of 1885, Germany took possession of these islands, together with the Brown and Providence Islands, the Government of Madrid promptly protested, pointing out that in the spring of 1884 it had already caused the Spanish flag to be hoisted in the Carolines, and that it had nominated a Governor just before Germany stepped in. Bismarck offered to submit the question to arbitration; and, this proposal being supported by the British Government, the Spanish Government agreed, while stipulating that the Pope should be the arbitrator, a condition acceptable to Bismarck, who had but lately made his peace with Rome on the Church and State controversy.

Papal Award.—The award was to the effect that the title of Spain to the Caroline, Pelew, and Mariana Islands was indisputable; but that, in order to support it, a regular administration must be introduced, and provision be made for the security of the subjects of other countries and of their property. Germans were to be given full rights to trade, establish plantations, and hold property in the islands, and Germany was also to be allowed to have a naval station The two Powers accepted the Pope's decision, and on December 17 a treaty was signed accordingly.

Caroline Islands, &c., acquired.—The war with the United States in 1898 deprived Spain of much of her colonial empire, and she was now willing to part with the Caroline, Pelew, and Mariana Islands. Accordingly, in virtue of her right to pre-emption, Germany bought them in February 1899 for 16¾ million marks (about £837,500). By an agreement dated November 8, 1899, Germany ceded Choiseul and Isabel, two of

the Solomon Islands, to Great Britain, retaining the northern islands of the group.

Germany and France.—On December 24, 1885, an agreement was concluded with France under which Germany renounced all claims to, or attempts to seize, the Windward Islands or the New Hebrides; while France undertook, in the event of her annexing these islands, to respect the rights of German traders settled therein. As part of the same agreement, the limits of the German and French spheres of influence in the Western Pacific were determined by an agreement concluded on April 6, 1886. Germany surrendered her small settlement on the Dembiah River, in West Africa, an enclave in a French sphere of influence; while France ceded to her Little Popo, and also abandoned her claims in respect of Porto Seguro. The boundaries of the possessions of the two States in the Bight of Biafra were also fixed.

viii. *The Samoan Islands*

German Interests.—It was at a much later date that Germany secured permanent proprietary rights in the Samoan group of islands. Her commercial interests there, however, went back to the 'sixties, when the Hamburg firm of Godeffroy, already named, acquired a large share in the trade of Samoa, and also important estates, which later passed into the hands of the German South Sea Trading Company. Great Britain, which from the beginning of the century had taken a foremost part in the civilising and Christianising of the islanders, had also, like the United States, large mercantile interests in the islands. In 1876 the German Government concluded a treaty of friendship with the Tonga Islands, and in 1877-79 a similar treaty with the Samoan Islands, stipulating the neutrality of the islands, protection for the lives and property of Germans, and most-favoured-nation treatment. By the Tonga treaty Germany secured the right to use the island of Vavau as a coaling station;

and the Samoan treaty assigned to her the harbour of Saluafata, near Apia, in Upolu, for the same purpose.

It was only in 1899, however, after a long period of disorder and civil strife, that there was established in this island group the political status which gave to Germany her present territorial sovereignty in two of the larger islands. There is no more remarkable passage in the history of the German colonial movement than that which tells how Germany gradually overcame British claims in the Samoan islands, until in the end the country which had done most to bring the native population under civilising influences saw itself entirely supplanted. Only the briefest outline of a tangled story can be given here.

Troubles in Samoa.—Early in November 1884 the Samoan King, Malietoa, concluded with the German Consul at Apia, Dr. Strübel, a treaty which would virtually have placed all the affairs of the islands—administration, justice, finance, police, &c.—under German control. Later it became known that the fickle Sovereign had six days before petitioned the British and New Zealand Governments to take his realm under protection. The explanation which he gave of his equivocal attitude was that the German treaty was forced upon him, and that he was not even fully cognisant of its meaning. Nevertheless, at that time the British and German Governments exchanged pledges to respect the independence both of the Samoan and Tonga Islands; and Bismarck, in reply to remonstrances against the Consul's action which reached him from England and the United States, declared his intention to adhere to the *status quo.* When, however, Malietoa sought to disclaim his own contract, the German Consul (January 1885) occupied Apia with troops drawn from a German vessel of war in Samoan waters, and hoisted the imperial flag. The German Government volunteered news of this irregular act in London, and disowned it.

For four years the Samoans were involved in internecine strife over the rival claims of pretenders—

Malietoa, Tamasese, and Matuafa—fomented by attempts on the part of the German Consul to assert a dominating influence in the islands for his country, attempts to which the British and American Consuls offered joint resistance. It cannot be said that these attempts were supported in Berlin; for, when the Consul (now Dr. Knappe) at the end of 1888 urged his Government to annex Samoa, in order to enforce a peace on German terms, Bismarck repudiated the idea by telegraph as "obviously impossible." Just before this, in authorising the Consul to employ German troops to enforce satisfaction for injury done to German subjects and property, the Chancellor had warned the Consul as follows:—"Injury to American or English property "in the event of measures against insurgents to be "carefully avoided."

Conversations were now taking place between the three Governments concerned, in which all agreed that it was high time that order should be restored in the islands. A climax was reached when, in January 1889, the German Consul declared war against the inhabitants of Samoa without distinction, and used open threats against his British and American colleagues. Bismarck, who never lost a due sense of proportion throughout the Samoan troubles, repudiated the irascible Knappe's proceedings as indiscreet and contrary to his instructions, and removed the Consul from office.

The Samoa Act.—At Bismarck's invitation, representatives of the three Powers now met in Berlin (April 29, 1889), in order to adjust difficulties; and the result was the Samoa Act of June 14. This stipulated that the islands should remain independent and neutral; that the citizens and subjects of the three Powers should have equal rights therein; and that none of the Powers should exercise any separate control over the islands or their government. Various administrative arrangements were also made.

Nevertheless, tribal feuds over the succession question continued to keep the islands in disorder, while the new administrative measures provided many occasions of friction amongst the Europeans. In 1899 the three Powers were agreed that a kingship was impossible where there were so many pretenders, and that the Samoa question could be settled only by drastic action. They therefore appointed a Commission to place the government of the islands on a new basis, and it met in Apia in May. As a result the kingdom was abolished, all administrative powers being transferred to the Consuls of the three Powers; and, what was more important, the natives were disarmed.

Final Settlement.—Even these measures, however, proved merely transitional, for it was soon seen that a *condominium* would not work, and that the islands must either pass into the hands of one of the Powers or be partitioned. Great Britain proposed that they should fall to her as the pioneer of civilisation in the South Seas, in consideration of territorial concessions to Germany in West Africa; but to this Germany refused to agree. In the end, by the Anglo-German Convention and Declaration of November 14, 1899, Great Britain withdrew altogether from the Samoan group, surrendering in favour of Germany all her rights over the islands of Upolu and Savaii, and in favour of the United States all her rights over the island of Tutuila and all the islands of the group east of 171° W. longitude; while Germany, in return, renounced in favour of Great Britain all her rights over the Tonga Islands and Savage Island, including the right of establishing a naval and coaling station, and her share of the Solomon Islands (including the Howe Islands) east and south-east of, but excluding, the island of Bougainville-Buka. Great Britain also made concessions in West Africa, and Germany reciprocated in East Africa. A tripartite Convention of December 2 brought into the settlement the United States, which

renounced her rights and claims in respect of Upolu and Savaii and other smaller islands of the Samoan group. The German islands were, as from January 1900, placed under a Governor in the person of Dr Solf, later Secretary of State for the Colonies.

ix. *Kiaochow*

The last of the protectorates, Kiaochow, was acquired in 1898. This was Germany's only Eastern acquisition; and it was the price of blood. In October of the preceding year the officers of a German vessel of war were attacked by Chinese; and a little later a German mission station shared the same fate, two missionaries being killed. In addition to requiring money compensation for these crimes, the German Government in November occupied the Bay of Kiaochow, in the province of Shantung, and in the following month obtained a ninety-nine years' lease, carrying full suzerain rights, of the bay and a strip of the adjacent mainland. To the concession was attached the right to build a railway into the interior. The acquisition was in general warmly approved in Germany. As the port was intended to be a naval depot, it was at once placed under the Admiralty. It is worthy of note that, more than a quarter of a century earlier, Kiaochow had been prominently marked on the German map of acquisitions desirable but not then expedient; it had been reported on to this effect by the scientific expedition of Baron von Richthofen, which was sent to China by the Prussian Government in 1860.

x. *French Congo*

The latest of Germany's colonial possessions came to her in 1911, and its acquisition was part of the final Morocco settlement. In that year Germany agreed to recognise the paramount influence of France in the Sultanate, while France ceded to Germany, by way of compensation, about 100,000 square

miles of her Congo empire; and agreed, in the event of the disruption of the Congo Free State, to waive her right of pre-emption regarding it in favour of the international regulation of the question, *i.e.*, regulation by the Powers which were parties to the Congo Act of 1885. France also renounced in Germany's favour her right of pre-emption in respect of the Corisco and Elobey Islands, belonging to Spain. By the acquisition of part of the French Congo the Cameroon colony was extended to the Congo and Ubanghi Rivers.

V

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PERIOD

THE later history of the German colonies and a brief review of their administration may be conveniently divided into three periods, of which the first dates from 1886 to the resignation of Prince Bismarck in the spring of 1890; the second from that time to 1907; and the third from the creation of the Colonial Office in 1907 to the outbreak of the Great War.

(*a*) BISMARCK'S LAST YEARS, 1886-1890

i. *The First Years of Germany's Colonial Experience*

Trading Companies.—From the earliest years a large amount of enterprise was shown in the development of the colonies, many companies being formed at home —mostly in Berlin—with the help of banking institutions for the exploitation of their resources. Thus at the end of 1886 Dr. Peters and his friends formed the East African Plantation Company, and the parent East Africa Company ceded to it 50,000 acres of land in return for shares. Two years later the German Plantation Company was formed for operations in the same colony. Similarly, in the interest of the West African colonies, the German West African Company was established about the same time for general trading purposes. These companies were the forerunners of a large number of plantation, agricultural, land-investment, mining, timber-cutting, and general trading companies, which brought to the African colonies much capital and enterprise, though for a long time the rewards were far from encouraging.

First Impressions.—Unquestionably the first impressions created by a more intimate knowledge and a more sober appreciation of the colonies were discouraging. Many of the missions and expeditions of investigation returned home disenchanted. Every one of the colonies had been represented to the Government and the public as a potential El Dorado, only needing energy, enterprise, organization, capital, and the patronage of a solicitous Government to develop boundless resources. In no single case did experience justify these roseate forecasts. Large portions of the first of the colonies, South-West Africa, proved to be waterless desert; East Africa was found to be roadless and trackless, with a fever-breeding climate; and New Guinea was a raw, unexplored waste.

Further, almost everywhere, except in Togoland and the island groups of the Pacific, the native populations were sullen and unfriendly, if not openly hostile, resentful at the presence of intruders who, coming they knew not whence, brought with them a spirit of domination and proprietorship which was too often irritatingly aggressive, seldom tactful, and hardly ever suave and considerate. It was not long before dissatisfaction took serious forms in several of the colonies. This was particularly the case in South-West Africa, Cameroon, and East Africa. In the first-named colony the Herero tribe from the first disputed German sovereignty; and in 1889 a body of German troops had to be sent out, the Diet voting the necessary money reluctantly.

ii. *Government of the Colonies*

It has been shown that, when at last he allowed himself to be drawn into the colonial movement, Bismarck never entertained the idea that the Empire should take over and govern the territories to which it promised its protection. Accordingly, during the early years the Central Government endeavoured to restrict to the smallest possible

limits its interference in the actual work of local administration. The constitutional and judicial status of the colonies was determined by a law of April 16, 1886, afterwards amended several times, which authorised the Emperor to exercise the executive power in the protected territories in the name of the Empire. The effect of this arrangement was that the general principles of administration were prescribed by Ministerial decrees and orders, greatly to the dissatisfaction of those political parties at home which were ever on the look-out for the extension of the powers of the Imperial Parliament. Only when the calls upon the Diet for money began to multiply did it become easier for that body to assert its wish for a more direct share in the government of Greater Germany in the way of legislation and free discussion. Revenue for local purposes was levied in various ways, *e.g.*, in New Guinea, Cameroon, and Togo chiefly by import duties; in South-West Africa by export duties on cattle, ostrich feathers, ivory, and hides; in other colonies by trading and poll-taxes, &c.

To the last Bismarck adhered, in principle at least, to the system of "protective colonization"; *i.e.*, the Empire was to give protection to the traders in respect of their territories, but the traders were to administer these territories through chartered companies, formed for commercial purposes. His faith in chartered company government survived even the proof of its failure to promote Germany's oversea empire, since he had not allowed for several contingencies which went counter to his maxims and upset his calculations. One was the financial difficulties with which the early colonial companies, with hardly a single exception, had to struggle from the beginning.

Fiscal Policy.—From the first the fiscal policy followed in the colonies was based on the principle of equality for all nations. Bismarck repeatedly contrasted the liberal treatment shown to German trade in the British colonies with the more or less monopolistic methods applied in the French, Spanish and

Portuguese possessions; and the British policy of "the open door" adopted by him has been followed consistently ever since.

Maladministration.—The early colonial adventurers were impatient for results, hoping to reap without first sowing. Viewing the colonies only or chiefly from the commercial side, the merchant adventurers, the "Hanseatics" and financiers, organized in their companies and syndicates, showed little aptitude or desire for the delicate work of administration. Long before Bismarck gave place to a successor, therefore, it had become evident that the Empire would have to shoulder a large part of this burden.

Nor, for many years, did the record of imperial administration itself prove a successful one; for this was for Germany a new and untried domain. For a long time many of the men sent out were of the wrong type —wrong in training, character, and mode of life. Bismarck had once expressed the fear that to establish an imperial colonial bureaucracy might be to pack it with "questionable existences." Of doubtful characters the colonial service had far too many in the early years; and their immoral, cruel, and often revolting practices were a source of profound discontent and the direct occasion of many local insurrections.[1]

Attitude of the Diet.—All through these early years the attitude of the Imperial Diet in general continued to be, if not actively hostile, at least apathetic; and only amongst the ranks of the avowed "colonial politicians" and the Pan-Germans—not yet organized into a militant league—was genuine enthusiasm shown for the new imperialistic movement. No one did more to keep back the colonial movement and create distrust in it than the Radical leader of those days, Eugen Richter. The picture which he drew of the colonies in a speech made on November 24, 1885, was not likely to stimulate enthusiasm or draw from the pockets of

[1] See, on this subject generally, the paper on *German Treatment of Natives*, No. 114 of this series.

Hamburg merchants or Berlin and Frankfort financiers the money so sorely needed for works of development.

> "In East Africa," he said, "the natives are driven to work with the whip; in Cameroon they are poisoned with brandy; Angra Pequena is a bankrupt concern, and three imperial officers squat there in a sea of sand watching the German flag; while in New Guinea no German yet lives, and there is no trade at all."

The public in general, which had seemed to welcome the first practical fruits of the movement with jubilation, soon showed signs of reaction; and it was evident that much of its enthusiasm had been due to the quick and dramatic march of events in 1884 and 1885, and had been less the reflection of a genuine imperialistic stirring than a response, half-patriotic, half-sentimental, to the Chancellor's appeal to the national pride for support in a diplomatic contest with an older colonial Power which appeared to resent rivalry in its special domain.

iii. *Colonial Troubles*

The year 1888 was dark with events which were a cause of much immediate anxiety, and foreshadowed still greater future ill. In September news reached Germany of a serious rebellion in East Africa, where Peters had already entered upon a course of brutality and crime which was to earn for him at a later date a sinister name. Following the example of the British East Africa Company, Peters obtained for the German East Africa Company the right to administer for fifty years a large part of the territory on the mainland (from the Umba southward to the Rovuma) over which the Sultan of Zanzibar claimed suzerainty. This country was to be administered "in His Highness's name and under his flag, and subject to his sovereign rights"; and the Sultan was to receive liberal yearly compensation out of the Customs revenue.

Peters' Company had no sooner taken over its new and delicate responsibilities than, owing to the indis-

cretions and provocations of its officials, the country was thrown into rebellion. Peters had summarily replaced the Sultan's officials by the Company's agents, and had ostentatiously hoisted the German flag in a country over which the Company exercised no sovereignty whatever. Called upon to send soldiers to quell the revolt of his subjects, the Sultan despatched a few troops, but they at once joined the rebels; and it fell to an ex-naval lieutenant of British birth, named Matthews, now a general in the Sultan's service, to take a relief force to the mainland and rescue the Germans from danger. In a despatch to the German Consul-General in Zanzibar (October 6) Bismarck condemned the hoisting of the flag as "neither called for nor advisable," and said that the disorders might have been avoided

> "if the Company's agents had taken the precaution to restrict their action within the needful limits, which is the presupposition of the success of risky undertakings in an unknown territory."

No defence of the German East Africa Company was possible, but its follies threw upon the Home Government the responsibility for repairing them; and Bismarck had no difficulty in convincing the Diet that the best way to prevent the recurrence of similar untoward incidents was to keep the Company under restraint. He was still, he said, "no colony man" in the conventional sense; yet he was convinced of the wisdom of placing East Africa under the Empire's more direct control. The Diet approved his proposal on January 1, 1889, and Captain Hermann (later von) Wissmann, an experienced African explorer, was chosen to be the first Imperial Commissioner.

Wissmann in East Africa.—In accepting the offered position, Wissmann had to withdraw from another African enterprise for which his services had already been secured. This was an expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, as a rival to that which H. M. Stanley had already undertaken by way of the Congo (January 1887). Before he was able to take over his new duties,

the situation in East Africa had become alarming; for the powerful chief Bushiri, of the Pangani country, jealous for the future of the slave trade, in which he had a profitable interest, had placed himself at the head of the rising, which was now general and had spread to the British sphere of influence. The impotence of the Sultan of Zanzibar in the territories over which he had claimed sovereignty was now plainly proved; and, on his failure to restore peace, the British and German Governments agreed to institute a joint blockade of the coast (December 2), with a view to suppressing the trade in munitions of war and slaves simultaneously.

Wissmann arrived in Zanzibar on March 31, 1889, and took over both the administration and the military command. With the force of Sudanese and Zulus which had been raised for his service, he gradually beat down Bushiri's opposition; and before the end of the year the arch-rebel had been captured and executed, though the disorders continued for a long time. The insurgents retaliated by the indiscriminate massacre of the white settlers—not sparing even the missionaries, of whom between thirty and forty lost their lives—and the destruction of their property.

Karl Peters.—Meanwhile, Peters had pressed forward the Emin Pasha relief scheme; and, though the Government refused to have a hand in it, he left Europe for Zanzibar in February 1889, and succeeded in crossing to Kwaihu Bay, in Witu, in June, passing his party as English. So far as the search for Emin Pasha was concerned, Peters was too late. It fell to Stanley to find the sequestered explorer, if, indeed, he was ever lost. In truth, Peters's solicitude for a fellow-craftsman was only a pretext for another buccaneering *coup*. His primary object had from the first been to secure more treaties and more territories. It had been his hope to establish a line of German settlements from the coast at Witu, following the Tana River, to Victoria Nyanza and Uganda, so securing for Germany a powerful influence in the basin of the Upper Nile. Peters did, indeed, conclude a number of new treaties, both on

the Tana and in Uganda, which, if enforced, would have greatly circumscribed British influence in the interior. Unfortunately for his plans, however, the German and British Governments had already begun to negotiate upon their position and claims in East Africa; and, when he reached the Victoria Nyanza in the autumn of 1890, he learned to his chagrin that during his absence the map of that disputed part of the continent had been redrawn, with the result that most of his treaties were worthless, and his efforts to that extent wasted. This arrangement was one of many territorial adjustments embodied in the Anglo-German African Convention of July 1, 1890.

iv. *Caprivi becomes Chancellor*

Two months earlier Bismarck had ceased to be Imperial Chancellor; and the responsibility for the further prosecution of the colonial movement had fallen to Count von Caprivi. One of Bismarck's latest services to the colonial movement was the introduction of a subsidised steamship line to South and East Africa at a yearly cost to the Empire of £45,000. This addition brought the cost of the mail steamship services to £324,500 per annum.

(*b*) The Colonies under the Foreign Office, 1890-1907

i. *The Colonial Department and Council*

Caprivi was even less a colonial enthusiast than the first Chancellor; and one of his earliest utterances, for which the colonial party never forgave him, was to the effect that no greater misfortune could happen to Germany than that the whole of Africa should fall into her hands. One of the first measures of the new Government was to create a separate Colonial Department of the Foreign Office (April 1, 1890). Dr. Krauel, who had hitherto proved an efficient *referent* (or reporter) on colonial affairs in that Ministry, was at first put at its head, but was

succeeded three months later by Dr. Kayser. The new Department continued to be under the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in so far as relations to other Powers were concerned; but otherwise it was subject to the immediate control of the Imperial Chancellor.

In October a Colonial Council, consisting of representatives of the companies engaged in the protected territories and of experts of various kinds, was formed, to serve as a board of reference and advice. The first members included bankers, merchants, shippers, and representatives of the Christian missions, besides ex-State officials (*e.g.*, ex-consuls); and the Council met for the first time on June 1, 1891. For some years it served a useful purpose, and it was only dissolved in order to give place to a cognate organization differently constituted.

ii. *The Anglo-German Agreement of July* 1, 1890

In the meantime, the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1, 1890, had been concluded, ushering in a new era in the colonial relationships of the two Powers, beclouded in the past by so many misunderstandings. This agreement, important in many ways for Great Britain, was the first great attempt to round off Germany's African possessions and to give some sort of finality to her position as a colonial Power. Both Powers freely made concessions in the interest of a genuine *concordat*.

East Africa.—In East Africa new boundaries were defined. In the north Germany ceded in favour of Great Britain all claims in respect of Witu and the Somaliland coast; and the immense region from the littoral to the Congo Free State was divided in such manner that Great Britain took the territory lying north, and Germany that lying south, of the Umba—Lake Jipé line across Lake Victoria to the frontier of the Congo Free State. Further, Germany agreed to acknowledge a British protectorate of Zanzibar with Pemba; while the British Government, in return,

undertook to move the Sultan to cede to Germany his coast territory in East Africa and the island of Mafia. By an exchange of declarations between the British and French Governments (August 5, 1890), the agreement of 1862, by which the two Powers affirmed the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, was modified, France recognising a British protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, while Great Britain recognised a French protectorate in Madagascar.

West and South-West Africa.—In West Africa the boundary between Togo and the British Gold Coast Colony was again adjusted, and in Cameroon there was a rectification of the western boundary between the German and British possessions. In South-West Africa the boundary between that colony and British Bechuanaland was delimited, and Germany was given access from her protectorate to the Zambezi by the cession to her of a strip of territory known as "the Caprivi strip" (*Caprivi-Zipfel*).

Heligoland.—The most important concession made to Germany was the cession to her of Heligoland, a transaction upon which, as we have seen, Bismarck had twice sounded Lord Granville, on each occasion with discouraging results. Lord Salisbury allowed the island to go in the interest of an amicable and, as he hoped, a permanent all-round settlement. In notifying to the British Ambassador in Berlin (June 14, 1890) the decision of his Government, he wrote :—

> "It (Heligoland) was probably retained by this country in 1814 because of its proximity to Hanover, the crown of which was then united to that of England. It has, however, never been treated by the British Government as having any military or defensive value, nor has any attempt or proposal been made to arm it as a fortress. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would constitute a heavy addition to the responsibilities of the Empire in time of war without contributing to its security. There is no reason, therefore, for refusing to make it part of a territorial settlement, if the motives for doing so are adequate."

This comprehensive colonial agreement gave unalloyed satisfaction in neither country. In Germany

most unreasonable opposition came, as usual, from the Pan-Germans, who, with their habitual greed, not only wanted Heligoland, but grudged every one of the concessions which their Government had made in order to obtain it.

Government Explanation.—Petitions to the Diet against the treaty were organized on a large scale; and, in order to still the tumult, the Government thought it necessary to publish in the *Official Gazette* on July 30 an elaborate exposition of the treaty, with a statement of its motives in concluding it. Referring to Germany's relations with Great Britain, and the anticipated effect of the agreement upon them, this notable *exposé* said :—

> " The governing endeavour was still further to preserve and strengthen the friendly relations between the two States, as grounded in their common stock and in historical development, and in this way to serve our own interests, together with those of the peace of the world. . . . There should be no room for the idea of our being ultimately dragged into a quarrel with England on account of a colonial dispute. . . . We urgently wish to hand on to the future the long-standing good relations with England."

The memorandum added that " the period of treaty-making and flag-hoisting " should now be regarded as at an end, and that the duty of the future must be to develop the territories acquired and their resources—a work estimated to need half-a-century of patient labour.

iii. *East Africa*

A little later an arrangement was, with Great Britain's good offices, concluded with the Sultan of Zanzibar, by which that ruler ceded his suzerain claims on the coast of the mainland in return for a payment of £200,000. In the same month which saw the conclusion of this treaty, the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference adopted a series of far-reaching measures, at once repressive and remedial, for enforcement in Africa.

In the first year of the Caprivi régime important changes were introduced in the government of East Africa. It was clear that the country could not be handed over again to the East Africa Company, which had proved incapable of governing it, and, moreover, was heavily encumbered financially. Accordingly, an agreement was concluded (November 20, 1890) whereby the Empire took over, as from January 1, 1891, the administration of the coast, the interior, and the island of Mafia, and Customs revenue was henceforward collected on account of the Imperial Government. In order to enable the Company to meet the interest and instalments due in respect of a loan of about half-a-million pounds, £200,000 of which represented compensation to the Sultan of Zanzibar for the cession of his fiscal rights, as before stated, the Government undertook to pay to it, until the loan was liquidated, £30,000 a year from the revenue from the East Africa Customs duties. The Company, on the other hand, was to carry out certain harbour works.

Like the New Guinea Company, the East Africa Company now restricted itself to commercial operations. It retained the right to take possession of unappropriated land, to share equally with the finders in all mineral discoveries which might be made, and to receive a royalty on the output, also to have the first claim to railway concessions, and the right to establish a bank of issue. The Diet ratified this agreement in February 1891; and simultaneously a further vote was granted for the suppression of the slave trade and the carrying into effect of the new system of administration. Baron von Soden, hitherto in Cameroon, was appointed the first Governor.

Wissmann carried on the war against the insurgents until the beginning of 1891, when comparative tranquillity was restored. He had hoped to suppress the rebellion at a cost of £100,000. When more than seven times that sum had been voted, the bill was still far from being paid. One result of the campaign was that

the troops which Wissmann had gathered round him were converted into a standing force.

Activity of Peters.—Unfortunately for the colony, Baron von Soden had been given as coadjutor a man whose influence in the colony had already been evil, and was destined to become still more so. This was the notorious Dr. Peters. Bismarck had kept the colonial pioneers and "flag-hoisters" well in hand, and when they had transgressed the bounds of discretion and safety he had not hesitated, *more suo*, to call them to account with arbitrary promptitude, or even publicly to repudiate their doings. After his dismissal, these men and their nominees, had they had their way, would have monopolised the colonial service both at home and abroad. Peters, whose unruly conduct had drawn upon him Wissmann's severe censure, was one of the first thorns to pierce the side of the new Chancellor. Although his personal reputation was (to say the least) indifferent, Peters was more than ever *persona grata* amongst the imperialists; and, when the Pan-German League was formed in 1891, he became at once its special hero. Both in his own and his friends' opinion, no position in the colonial hierarchy was superior to Peters' talents or deserts; and in deference to pressure something had to be done for him. Accordingly, after Wissmann's return to Europe in February 1891, Dr. Kayser offered Peters the position of Imperial Commissioner in the interior of Africa, to act under von Soden, the new Governor of East Africa. The appointment soon turned out to be disastrous.

For a long time East Africa continued to be the scene of native unrest and disaffection, and military expeditions were frequent. Of the origin of these conflicts a German writer says:—

> "The endless struggles were caused as often by accidental violations of the habits and customs of the natives, private disputes, and mutual misunderstandings, as by attacks by the bearers of the numerous caravans which were continually on the move in a country without waterways. These bearers

demanded food from natives who often had little for themselves, and did violence to the women. If the villages defended themselves, sanguinary conflicts and reprisals resulted."[1]

It was only when the authorities had placed the caravan system under strict control, made the traders concerned responsible for the harm done, and established on the principal routes rest-houses, regularly provided with food supplies, that such occasions of conflict were gradually removed.

In 1892 the first serious reports of the brutalities of Peters reached Germany. The Government ignored them as long as possible; but the more attempts were made to discourage and silence discussion in the Diet, the more disquieting was the effect created in the country. In the autumn Colonel (Baron) von Schele was put in command of the colonial force; and in September 1893 he became Governor in place of Baron von Soden. Von Schele endeavoured to suppress insurrectionary movements by rigorous measures; but the more harshly the natives were treated, the more desperate they became; and murders of German traders and explorers were not infrequent, leading to further drastic reprisals. These constant punitive expeditions kept the colony in a condition of unrest and created a depressing effect at home.

Von Schele resigned the Governorship in February 1895, and the appointment of Major von Wissmann was welcomed as auguring a fresh start. During Wissmann's short administration either the natives were better behaved or the military force was better controlled, for his presence in the colony coincided with a marked decrease in expeditions. He returned to Germany in the summer of 1896, however; whereupon these enterprises began again, and, one chastisement leading to another, the country was thrown again into the old condition of disorder for another year. Together with an alteration of the

[1] Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik*, p. 197.

native labour contract, a house and hut tax was introduced in November 1897, and proved a new source of friction; for the object of the hut tax was not primarily to raise revenue, but to stimulate the natives to more industrious habits. It was intended that in the less developed districts of the interior, where metallic money was but little known, the natives should be allowed to pay their tax either in goods or labour. The danger of the tax was pointed out at the time, but the warning passed unheeded.

iv. *Slavery*

While the Powers, in conjunction, had endeavoured to root out the slave-traders in East and Central Africa, the German Government had begun to adopt measures with a view to discouraging and gradually suppressing all kinds of domestic slavery, both in the East African and West African colonies. Imperial ordinances were issued on September 1 and November 29, 1891, regulating the ransoming of slaves in East Africa; and a little later somewhat similar ordinances were issued in Cameroon and Togoland. The provisions of these ordinances speedily became known amongst the native populations; and, as soon as the slaves learned that they were able to buy their freedom by the payment of a comparatively small and easily-earned sum, the right was largely exercised. Simultaneously, the sentiment of independence was strengthened amongst the natives. A Foreign Office report on East Africa in 1894 stated :—

> " A few years ago no labourer would have dared to bring a civil or criminal action against his master. Now they can do so, not only before the Government tribunals, but before their own native Courts—a sure sign of the civilising influence exercised by the Government and the missions over native public opinion."[1]

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[1] Foreign Office (1894) Miscellaneous Series, No. 346, *Report on the German Colonies in Africa and the South Pacific* (C. 7582-7).

v. *South-West Africa*

In the meantime, important changes had been made in the administration of South-West Africa. After several years of uphill work, the German South-West African Colonial Company, formed to acquire the Lüderitz contracts and companies, came to the end of its resources; and in 1899 there was serious talk of selling the entire undertaking to an Anglo-Dutch Company. The proposal came to the knowledge of the Government, which refused consent to its execution and took over the task of administration.

A brighter future seemed to open for the colony with the grant of concessions to mining companies, particularly a company formed for the working of the Otavi Mines, to which it undertook to build a railway from the coast. Large cattle-breeding farms were also established; an important grain trade was organized; and regular steamship communication between Swakopmund and Cape Town was instituted.

vi. *Cameroon*

Here, in spite of frequent collisions with the natives, there was steady material progress. In 1891 the Diet voted £71,000 for the construction of two trade roads. Harbour works were built on the Cameroon River; administrative buildings and a hospital were erected; schools were opened; telegraphic communication with the outer world was instituted; and plantation enterprise was encouraged by the establishment of a botanical garden.

In December 1893 more disorders occurred, following a mutiny amongst the Dahomey members of the native police force. Subsequent investigation established the fact that the causes of the mutiny were insufficient payment of the soldiers, frequent cruel beating of the Dahomey women, and other excesses against the natives. There was a sharp debate on the subject in the Diet, in

the course of which both the Colonial Director, Dr. Kayser, and the Chancellor von Caprivi, with insufficient knowledge of the facts, tried to justify the incriminated officials. Public opinion was not satisfied, however, and the Deputy-Governor was required to answer before the Disciplinary Court at Potsdam. The Court acquitted him of responsibility for the rising, but found him guilty of immoral acts and of exceeding his official power; and he was sentenced to be removed to another office at a reduced salary—a mild punishment which only increased the prevailing dissatisfaction. The result was that the affair found its way to the Imperial Supreme Court at Leipzig, which, on a re-trial, ordered the officer to be cashiered and to pay the costs of the proceedings, while the local judge was now likewise dismissed the service.

Development of Cameroon.—In the second half of the 'nineties more was done to develop Cameroon as a plantation colony, particular attention being given to the cocoa plant. A large trade in wild rubber also sprang up, and large concessions in respect of rubber-bearing land were assigned to several companies. In the Diet there was much criticism of one such concession (to an Anglo-German group), and bitter complaint that the Colonial Council had been ignored, though in the end the Government's action was supported, in the belief that it might prove a means of directing foreign capital to the colony. Nevertheless, the opinion was widely held and expressed that the system of concessions was being seriously abused, and that a too hasty surrender of Crown rights in this way could not prove to be to the permanent advantage of the colony.

During the years 1898-1901 there were more disorders, due largely to disputes between carriers and the inhabitants of the villages on the trade routes where they lodged, and to the inconsiderate treatment of the natives by the whites, the consequence being a series of expeditions, the only results of which were

great loss of life and deeper disaffection. Of these expeditions a German writer says:—

> "Apart from the loss of human life and the heavy expenditure incurred, these enterprises occasioned growing odium, as it became gradually known that the incautious and inconsiderate treatment of the natives by the whites was often the chief cause of the risings. It was also shown that often the ardent wish of young officers and officials to gain military distinctions disposed them to these warlike measures."[1]

vii. *West Africa: Anglo-German Agreement*

After long negotiations an agreement was concluded with the British Government in 1893 resettling the frontier between the protectorates of the two countries. Great Britain also abandoned Victoria, on Ambas Bay, to Germany, which paid £4,000 by way of compensation to the English Baptist Missionary Society. In the following year Germany secured a better boundary between Cameroon and the French Congo.

viii. *Togoland*

Unlike the larger African protectorates, Togoland, with several intermissions, has had a tolerably quiet and uneventful history; and this fact, together with its industrious population, the fertility of its soil, and its valuable tropical resources, has been reflected in an almost unbroken, if inconspicuous, course of prosperity. The trade of the colony suffered for a long time from the lack of good landing-places on its narrow coast-line, the result of which was that traffic to and from the country chiefly passed by the River Volta through British territory at Kwitta, or by the River Mono through French territory at Grand Popo. In 1897 a satisfactory Franco-German boundary was secured in the east, and in 1899 a frontier adjustment was arranged with Great Britain by the exchange of contiguous territories.

[1] Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik*, p. 259.

The relations between the governing authorities and the native population in this colony have been less strained than in the other German colonies; and, with a few exceptions, the expeditions into the interior have been of a scientific and economic and not of a military character. The administrators have kept in touch with the natives through the chiefs—a course the more practicable owing to the small extent of the colony. The plan of calling the chiefs together periodically for the ascertainment of their wishes and the hearing of grievances was introduced early in the 'nineties with good results. At the same time, although no specially scandalous outrages have been brought to light, there is plenty of evidence of maladministration and oppression of natives. Forced labour and flogging in particular have been as common in Togoland as in any of the German colonies; and, so far as can be ascertained, there is a general and strong desire on the part of the chiefs that they should remain under the British flag and that their country should not be returned to Germany. White planters have not been attracted to the country in large numbers; but much has been done to train the population to regular labour, and to assist it, by means of agricultural schools, experimental stations, and other measures, to cultivate successfully cotton, coffee, and cocoa. In 1904 the building of a railway from Lome into the interior by way of Palime was begun, the estimated cost, £390,000, being advanced to the colony by the Empire as a loan.

ix. *New Guinea*

The history of the New Guinea colony, Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, and the Bismarck Archipelago has, on the whole, been uneventful. From 1885 until May 1889 the German New Guinea Company appointed and paid its own administrator on the chartered company principle. From the latter date until August 1892 the Home Government appointed an

Imperial Commissioner, though the Company still bore the cost. When the Company's resources had been exhausted, this colony, with the Bismarck Archipelago, passed (in April 1899) into the custody of the Empire, the effect being that the entire cost of administration became henceforth an imperial liability. The Company now devoted itself solely to plantation enterprises; but here, too, it had little success; and a run of ill-luck, due to bad harvests, labour difficulties, epidemics, and loss of vessels, further crippled it. The Government did its best to open up the country by the construction of roads, by the exploration of the interior, and by cultivating friendly relationships with the natives; yet development was slow. Occasional disorders led to punitive expeditions against the natives in the interior, but these only encouraged reprisals, from which the missionaries and the traders were the chief sufferers.

x. *Chancellorship of Prince Hohenlohe*

On the retirement of Caprivi, in 1894, Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe succeeded to the Chancellorship and the colonial burden. Without any marked enthusiasm for colonial enterprise, he had, nevertheless, a conscientious desire to face fairly the Empire's responsibilities toward its oversea dominions. His attitude on the colonial question was explained in a speech made in the Diet on December 11, 1894, wherein he said :—

> "The maintenance of our colonial empire is a duty to our national honour and a sign of our national prestige. We shall not fail to defend that empire, but we must also so shape it that it may attain economic independence and not be left behind by the neighbouring territories, and so that the future of German colonial policy shall not be compromised. The German name would be belittled in the world if the German nation were unwilling to take part in the mission of culture by which the past cruelties of slavery will be abolished and the light of Christianity be carried into the Dark Continent."

This was the standpoint of the thinking section of the nation in general, excluding only the Radical and

Social Democratic parties, which still continued to oppose colonization on principle; and when, in a Parliamentary speech at that time, Herr Richter, whose estimate of the colonial policy never transcended the test of pounds, shillings, and pence, endeavoured to discredit the colonial movement with a laboured calculation proving that every German then in the colonies cost the Empire £500 a year, he failed to impress the Diet. Nevertheless, it was true that the Empire's financial burden was increasing. In that year the imperial subsidies amounted to £300,000, made up of £185,000 for East Africa, £85,000 for South-West Africa, and £30,000 for the Cameroons; Togo alone among the African colonies was able to pay its way.

The Military Authority.—It fell to Hohenlohe to strike the first blow at a subtle evil which, hitherto recognised insufficiently by the Government, and by the Diet and the nation hardly at all, was making the efficient administration of the colonies impossible. The military authorities, both at home and in the colonies, had long been gaining the upper hand, disputing power with the civil administration, and claiming an authority and functions which did not belong to them, and could not be exercised by them without throwing the entire system of administration into confusion. Even the position of the Colonial Director, Dr. Kayser, seemed to be threatened by the military power. The vicious system of government thus set up discredited the recognised colonial administrators, and told fatally against efficiency. Owing to the aggressive spirit shown by the officers in command, conflicts with the native populations became almost a normal condition; and in 1893 there were campaigns in East Africa, the Cameroons, and South-West Africa simultaneously. Of the effect of this system in East Africa in particular, Dr. Zimmermann says—

> "Quite as much bad blood was caused by the over-government by the officers, who at last compelled the blacks, on pain of flogging, to make military salute to every white man, summarily expelled dogs from the streets in the coast towns, and made no effort to disguise the fact that they only regarded the

traders as a necessary evil. Since, however, the costs were always voted, and the Imperial Chancellor always succeeded in excusing his military colleagues, it would have been long before a change had occurred had it not become unavoidable owing to the ever-deepening differences of opinion between the colonial administration and the military government, which pursued its own course without regard to expense or to public opinion."[1]

It was Hohenlohe who introduced the first practical checks upon military rule in the colonies. By an Imperial Order of December 12, 1894, the functions of the colonial administration at home were more clearly defined; and it was made plain beyond doubt that the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office was alone competent to deal with colonial questions other than those of a purely political character. A state of administrative ambiguity and obscurity was thus alleviated; but it still remained necessary to apply to the military power a corresponding measure of restraint in the colonial territories themselves. When, in April 1895, Major von Wissmann was appointed to succeed Baron von Schele as Governor of East Africa, the higher military command in Berlin refused to concede to him any authority over the troops, or even to allow him to act as deputy in the absence on leave of the officer in command. In order to put an end to this absurd conflict of jurisdiction, Hohenlohe now succeeded in placing the colonial troops immediately under the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office.

Colonial Council reorganized.—In May 1895 the organization of the Colonial Council was amended and its membership increased, with a view to bringing in more talent and giving to it a more representative character. The Council was supposed to meet twice a year at least, but oftener if needful, and one of its principal functions was to discuss the colonial budgets before their presentation to the Diet. Standing Committees were appointed to deal with special questions,

[1] Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik*, p. 201.

such as sea communication between Germany and the colonies, railway construction in the colonies, and the means of encouraging emigration thither.

At the end of 1894 the colonies had been going concerns for ten arduous years.[1]

When Dr. Kayser ceased to be the Colonial Director, in the autumn of 1896, it was stated that during his term of office the white population had increased in Cameroon to 230, in Togo to 96, in South-West Africa to 2,025, and in East Africa to 1,250; while the trading companies, firms, and undertakings had increased in Cameroon from 11 to 16, in Togo from 11 to 18, in South-West Africa from 12 to 23, and in East Africa from 1 to 13; and the total number of plantations was 31. The aggregate trade turnover of the colonies now had a value of £1,500,000, of which one-third represented trade between the colonies and the German Customs territory (*i.e.*, the Empire and Luxemburg). Hospitals, with laboratories well equipped for research work in connection with tropical diseases, schools, regular postal and telegraph services, roads, and latterly railways, had also been freely provided.

Peters and Schröder.—In 1896 came the first open revelations of the excesses of Peters in the East African colony. They were made in the Diet by the Socialist deputy Herr Bebel, during the discussion of the colonial estimates in February and March, and were accompanied by an equally revolting charge against the German planter Friedrich Schröder. Public report, due to newspaper disclosures, had long occupied itself with the unsavoury subject, but the Colonial Director had not dared to defy the powerful influences which had thrown a screen round these notorious evil-livers. Compelled now to declare whether it would investigate the accusations or further persist in hushing them up, the Government chose the former alternative. Proceeded against in the Disciplinary Chamber at Potsdam, Peters was, on April 24, 1897, found guilty of the

[1] Foreign Office *Miscellaneous Series*, 1894, No. 346 (C. 7582-7), p. 54.

execution in 1891 of a native boy in circumstances which threw a lurid light upon his moral deterioration; and of having on many occasions been guilty of conduct disgraceful to his office. He was sentenced to dismissal from the colonial service without pension and to the payment of modified costs of proceedings. As a result of an appeal he was, in the following November, ordered to pay the whole costs.[1]

Schröder's brutalities had been so notorious that in 1892 the Governor had only been prevented by secret influence from expelling him from the colony; a brother of the incriminated trader was, in fact, a member of the Colonial Council. He withdrew from the colony for a time, but on his return renewed his cruelties, both to the natives and to the Chinese coolies under his control, showing barbarity to children and adults indiscriminately. He too was prosecuted, and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

xi. *Baron Richthofen, Director*

Dr. Kayser was followed as Colonial Director by Baron von Richthofen, whose strongest qualifications for the position were a knowledge of the methods of British colonial administration, his freedom from bureaucratic narrowness, and his relations with the commercial and financial world. He saw that the healthy development of the colonies required that the military power should be further subordinated to the civil authority; that administration should proceed from certain definite principles, and not merely reflect the subjective ideas of an ever-changing officialdom; and that a serious attempt should be made to introduce order and settled ways into the colonies and to adjust outstanding disputes and possibilities of friction with other colonial Powers. There were also minor sources of mischief to be remedied. Many administrative officials had introduced the caste system

[1] See *German Treatment of Natives*, No. 114 of this series, p. 33.

which flourished at home, and it had proved a source of much mischief. To the remedying of these defects Richthofen addressed himself with good-will and not without effect.

Franco-German Agreement.—In the early years of his régime an arrangement was concluded with France regarding the West African territories. Germany had long wanted to secure an approach thence to the Niger, but all attempts had hitherto been obstructed by the rights or claims of France or Great Britain. The much-desired Niger highway still proved inaccessible; but France made other concessions, including the surrender of a strip of land extending from Klein Popo to the Mono River, giving the Togo colony a better frontier in the east towards Dahomey. The formal convention on the subject was signed on June 23, 1897.

South-West Africa.—Here, at this time, was relapse rather than progress; for in 1897 rinderpest had made its appearance, and had rapidly spread throughout the whole country, carrying off a large part of the cattle, then the mainstay of the native population. Climate and want of water proved from the first the principal drawbacks to the development of the agricultural resources of this colony. Nevertheless, all that was practicable was done by the Government to assist the farmers to make the best use of the land, as by well-sinking, irrigation, storage works, the establishment of agricultural stations and nursery gardens, and skilled advice by experts in South African agriculture.

xii. *Dr. von Buchka: Concessions*

In March 1898 Baron Richthofen was succeeded in the Colonial Department by Dr. von Buchka, who had not had much experience of colonial affairs, and proved less able than his predecessors to keep under control either the colonial officials at home or those in the protectorates. Giving way to bureaucratic influence, he repeatedly allowed important decisions to be taken without consulting the Colonial Council. Such were the grant

in 1898 of a valuable concession to a Hamburg company, formed under Anglo-German auspices, for the exploitation of forest rubber in South Cameroon, and the conclusion in the following year of an important contract with the New Guinea Company, a contract surrendered shortly afterwards.

Rhodes in Berlin.—At the beginning of 1899 Cecil Rhodes visited Berlin in pursuance of some of his African schemes, and was cordially received by the Emperor. Rhodes was at the time maturing his project of a telegraph line to run through the interior of Africa from north to south. The result of his negotiations was the conclusion of a contract between the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company and the German Government (March 15, 1899), by which the line was to pass through German East Africa; and by another contract, concluded later in the year, the British South African Company undertook to come to an arrangement with the German Government in relation to the building of certain railways then contemplated.

Concessions in Cameroon.—In 1899 the success of the South Cameroon Company encouraged the promoters of that enterprise to form another syndicate for the exploitation of a still larger tract of territory in the northern part of the colony; and the Government agreed. The Governor of East Africa, Colonel Liebert (who had followed von Wissmann in 1896), also proposed about this time to give to a German adventurer named Deuss a concession to exploit timber and coal throughout a territory 4,630 square miles in extent in the Nyasa and Tanganyika regions. On this occasion the Colonial Council was consulted (June 1899); though, as the Imperial Chancellor took care to point out, as an act of grace; for he claimed the right to confirm all such arrangements unconditionally. The Council approved the North Cameroon concession, subject to certain modifications, but condemned the Deuss project and recommended its revision. Owing to the more sceptical spirit in which the public now regarded these

bargains, other concession projects, which had been maturing in the background, were either abandoned or postponed.

Prince Arenberg.—At the close of 1899 there were more disclosures of the brutal treatment of natives in South-West Africa. Prince Arenberg, a young officer attached to the colonial defence force, was found guilty of the violation and murder of native women, and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a fortress and to deprivation of officer's rank. The affair created great indignation in Germany; and public sentiment was further outraged when it became known that the criminal, owing to his birth, had been unjustly favoured by the Governor long after his excesses had become notorious. The whole episode created so much feeling that the Prince was tried by court-martial, as a result of which he was, in 1901, sentenced to death. He was promptly reprieved by the Emperor and sentenced instead to fifteen years' penal servitude, though shortly afterwards steps were taken to declare him insane, and so to secure his liberation. The nation was also disappointed at the alarming rate at which expenditure in the colonies, with the accompanying call upon the home taxpayers, continued to increase, and the absence of any prospect of relief. The deficits which had to be made up by the Empire now reached a total of £1,500,000.

xiii. *Bülow, Chancellor: Dr. Strübel, Director*

Dr. von Buchka had proved neither a strong nor a conciliatory administrator; and some time before his resignation in June 1900 the Diet had become impatient for a change. His successor was Dr. O. W. Strübel, whose appointment preceded by only a few months the promotion of Count von Bülow to the Chancellorship, in the place of Prince Hohenlohe (October 1900). During Strübel's term of office a modified system of self-government was introduced in the colonies by the formation of Legislative Councils, open,

of course, only to white men, on the British Crown Colony pattern.

Kiaochow.—Already good progress had been made with the development of the protorate of Kiaochow. By agreement dated October 16, 1900, the British and German Governments undertook to abstain from obtaining for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and to direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the existing territorial status of the Chinese Empire. This agreement settled the permanent limits of the protectorate. In the course of a few years the harbour and town were entirely Europeanised, and a stagnant port was converted into a busy centre of shipping and industry. In June 1899 a company was formed in Berlin, with a capital of £2,700,000, of which £675,000 was at once subscribed, for the building of the Shantung Railway. Coal was found in the protectorate at an early date, and has been worked by mining concessions given on terms by the Government. Iron has also been found in large quantities (see *Kiaochow*, No. 71 of this series, p. 26). Much has been done by the Government for the afforesting of the hills behind Kiaochow.

The Herero Rebellion.—To Dr. Strübel's time fell, in 1903, the most disastrous event in the history of the German colonial movement—the Herero insurrection in South-West Africa, the tragic result of an accumulation of grievances and aggravations spread over many years. The Hereros had never been happy under German rule, the whole spirit of which was contrary to their independent and freedom-loving instincts. So far back as 1893 a partial rising against the new rule took place. There had for some time been warfare between the Hereros and the Hottentots, the latter led by the well-known chief, Hendrik Witbooi; and, convinced that tranquillity would not be restored until Witbooi was reduced to submission, the Home Government in 1892 had made preparations for an expedition against him. While these were in progress

news came from the Imperial Commissioner in February 1893 that Witbooi had suddenly made peace with the enemy tribe with a view to joint action against the Germans. The military authorities do not appear to have attached great importance to the warning; for only a few hundred troops were despatched to the colony in consequence. While this force was on its way the commanding officer in the colony, Captain von Francois, had defeated the rebels; but Witbooi and the best of his followers escaped, and thenceforward became a terror to the colony. Convinced at last that the situation called for a serious effort, the Government early in 1894 despatched to the colony Major Leutwein to investigate and report on the actual condition of affairs. Leutwein himself took charge of the military measures. Trapping Witbooi in the hill country of the Rankluft, he made him sue for peace (September), which was granted; but the chief and his tribe were placed under close surveillance at Gibeon. In the following year Leutwein became Governor of the colony as well as military commander.

The losses caused by the epidemic of rinderpest in 1897 created great discontent, the more so since the idea became prevalent that the havoc was due less to disease than to the preventive inoculation enforced by the German authorities. Disorders occurred in that year, but Leutwein succeeded in quelling them without great difficulty; and it is noteworthy, in view of later developments, that on both occasions the Hottentot leader, Hendrik Witbooi, gave the Germans valuable help in the restoration of peace. In the summer of 1899 the Hereros were again restive, but once more Leutwein secured tranquillity with the aid of the chiefs of the tribe and without the use of force. At the end of that year more serious trouble was caused by the excesses of the officer Prince Arenberg, already mentioned, and the light view taken of them by the Governor's Court. From that time the spirit of revolt smouldered continuously, needing but a little gust to fan it into flame.

The German settlers added greatly to the combustible material by the callous manner in which they systematically defrauded the natives. The latter were dependent upon the merchants for all the goods they needed, even to the primary necessities of life; yet, though they were always paying, they were never out of debt. If money could not be wrested from the natives by pressure or menace, their cattle and stock-in-trade were carried away or their land confiscated. When the individual debtor had been exhausted, claims were enforced against his chief or the whole tribe.

The most serious grievance related to the land question, for the natives had gradually been dispossessed of the lands upon which they had been accustomed to herd their cattle without restraint; and this grievance grew and deepened as they saw the large ranches of the white settlers multiply from year to year.

> "We notice with dismay," ran one of their petitions to Governor Leutwein, "that our lands pass one after another into the hands of the whites, and in consequence we humbly pray your Excellency not to authorise any sale of land here, and to transfer all the lands which have not yet been sold into a great reserve, for we should then be certain, we and our children, that we should have a territory where we could live and cultivate our farms."[1]

Leutwein did, in fact, take the side of the natives on this question, setting aside for their use extensive reserves, and making all sales and transfers of land to white settlers dependent upon his sanction. In 1897 a territory of about 124,000 acres was assigned to the Witboois, and later one of 325,000 acres to the Herero tribe of Otjimbinque; but these measures did not compensate for the loss of the old freedom to feed their herds wherever they pleased.

By 1898 the usurious ways of the traders had become so notorious that the Governor issued regulations prohibiting the suing for old debts, and applying the Prussian statute of limitations, according to which

[1] Leutwein, *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Berlin, 1906-9.

commercial debts are no longer actionable after the expiration of two years. He would have liked to destroy the credit system entirely, had so radical a remedy been possible; but it was not. When the traders protested against these and other remedial measures, the question was referred to the Colonial Council at home, and a revised code of regulations was issued. This code annulled the debts of natives to Europeans after the expiration of one year, if legal proceedings had not already been taken to enforce them; abolished the practice of instituting claims against the tribes for the debts of individuals; prohibited the distraint of draught oxen or of any articles necessary to a native's occupation; and reformed legal procedure generally.

Deprived of their lands, crippled in their liberties, cheated by the traders, the Hereros determined to crush their adversaries as they themselves had been crushed; and, when the opportunity of revenge came, they took it without thought of the consequences. This opportunity occurred at the end of 1903, when troops had been sent to the south of the colony to suppress disturbances there; for reports of Hottentot victories encouraged the Hereros to rise. At the outset many German settlers were murdered, while the property of all was destroyed indiscriminately; but no other whites, whether British or Dutch, were molested. By the end of January 1904 the rising in the south had been suppressed. Guerrilla warfare followed for some months, the advantage being, on the whole, with the natives, who, knowing their own country better than did the white men, inflicted upon their pursuers heavy losses. In June General von Trotha was sent out from Germany with a considerable force of troops; and before the summer was over he succeeded in inflicting upon the main body of the Hereros a severe defeat. The remnant fled across the frontier into British territory, where they were disarmed. Just when it was hoped that the danger had been overcome, news came that Hendrik Witbooi and his people had broken out in the south. Other tribes made common cause with Witbooi;

and for more than a year longer the colony was the scene of desperate fighting. Witbooi himself succumbed to a wound in the autumn of 1905; and General von Trotha was able to return to Germany in November. Considering the unequal odds against which the untrained and ill-armed Hereros had to contend, his campaign could not be regarded from the military standpoint as a brilliant performance. What had been lacking in skill, however, was made up for in severity. Conspicuous amongst his achievements in this respect was the notorious proclamation of October 20, 1904:—

> "The Herero people must now leave the country," ran this document; "if they do not I will compel them with the big tube. Within the German frontier every Herero, with or without a rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will not take over any more women and children, but I will either drive them back to your people or have them fired on."

General Trotha endeavoured to justify himself later by the plea that he had only wished to terrify the insurgents, and had no intention of carrying out his threats literally. Against this statement must be placed the facts that the frequent shooting of women was attested by eye-witnesses, and that the Hereros were, in fact, driven over the frontier, and perished in large numbers in the Kalahari desert. The proclamation excited much disgust in Germany; and, though in the Diet the Government defended the general, the revolt of public opinion was too strong to be ignored, and the withdrawal of the obnoxious ultimatum was ordered.

It was not until March 1907 that the rebellion was entirely quelled, by which time all but an insignificant number of the Hereros had either been killed or had fled the country. Colonel Leutwein estimated the native population of South-West Africa as a whole in 1898 at 300,000; in 1912 it was estimated at only one-third of that number. The campaign cost Germany several thousand lives and £30,000,000. It also left to the colony a legacy of large deficits; for, even when the war was over, special measures of a military and remedial character cost the Empire many millions of pounds

during several succeeding years. A German verdict upon the desolating effects of the war upon the country was: "Nearly everything is destroyed; only the bare "land remains, and even that has to be reconquered." Dr. Paul Rohrbach summed up the situation later in the words:—

> "The land question is solved, for the Hereros have lost their land, which is now fiscal property and is settled by whites. The cattle question is also solved, for the whole of the live-stock of the Hereros has been destroyed; there are hardly any cattle left."

East Africa: Railways.—During the late 'nineties the inauguration of a system of railway construction in East Africa seemed to herald brighter prospects for that colony. The first project to be taken in hand was the Usambara railway from Tanga, on the coast, to Speke Bay, on Victoria Nyanza. It was a venture of the German East Africa Company, though behind it was a Government guarantee of interest; and the first section of the line was opened by the beginning of 1896. The railway was not a great success; and in 1899 the Empire bought the undertaking for £100,000, with a view to completing it and working it as a State undertaking. The more important scheme of a Midland railway, to run from Dar es-Salaam to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, had to encounter much opposition before it was successfully launched. The Imperial Government's demand for small votes, in aid of the necessary preliminary survey works, was repeatedly refused by the Diet, which held that the project was needlessly ambitious, and that, if carried out at all, it should be a private and not a State risk.

Risings in East Africa.—In 1895 an influential committee, upon which were represented the German East Africa Company and the Deutsche Bank, aided by a Government grant of £15,000, undertook to institute a preliminary survey. This having been made, a report was presented to the Imperial Chancellor in June 1896. The gist of the report was that a strong company would

be prepared to construct the line, provided the Government would agree to give a guarantee of interest and to concede to it certain other valuable privileges. The Diet for a long time refused to undertake any liability. Its hostile attitude was due, perhaps, less to opposition to the railway on principle than disappointment and irritation with the general mismanagement of affairs in the colony. The soldiers were again engaged in expeditions, for the tribes were restless owing to discontent, caused partly by dearth, but still more by the tactless way in which the hut tax had been introduced, and the severity with which opposition to it had been crushed. A German writer, Dr. Hans Weber, reported that the enforcement of the tax had cost no fewer than 2,000 native lives. The Government was unable to resist the outcry caused by the stories of cruelty which reached Germany; and in March 1901 Governor Liebert had to be relieved of his office. Under the influence of these events, the Diet refused to assent to the railway scheme for several years; but at length, in June 1904, it agreed to guarantee interest at 3½ per cent. upon a capital of £1,050,000, which was to be raised by a company for the construction of a narrow-gauge line as far as Tabora. In the meantime, considerable votes had been granted for the completion of the Usambara railway.

Count von Götzen, who had travelled much in Africa and elsewhere, succeeded Liebert as Governor. He, too, was a military officer, but free from the domineering spirit of the German military caste; and his more tactful way of handling the natives restored quiet to the colony for a time. In July 1905, however, there was a further native rising, again caused, as was stated in the Diet, by the indiscreet attempts of local officials to enforce the hut tax by exacting forced labour in lieu of its payment. Many lives were lost, and a strong body of marines had to be landed before the insurrection could be quelled. Count Götzen resigned at the beginning of 1906, and was succeeded by Baron von Rechenberg, who had already served in an

administrative capacity in East Africa. At this time the trade of the colony had a value of £1,800,000, of which £1,250,000 represented imports and £550,000 exports, about one-half falling to Germany in each case.

xiv. *Prince Hohenlohe, Director*

In November 1905 Dr. Strübel was succeeded as Colonial Director by Prince von Hohenlohe-Langenburg. The time was untoward for the occupant of this unenviable office; for, not only was the Herero campaign still in full progress, but the Centre party in the Diet, led by Herr Erzberger, had begun the disclosure of a long sequence of colonial scandals, personal and financial, which threw back the colonial movement in national esteem, though in the end its effect was unquestionably wholesome.

The Akwa Chiefs.—An unfavourable light was thrown upon the relations between the colonial officials and the natives by an episode which took place in Cameroon. In September 1905 the Imperial Diet received a petition from a number of chiefs of that colony complaining of the behaviour of the German officials. Instead of submitting their grievances to an independent investigation, the Government called for a report upon them from the men incriminated. The answer of these men was the prompt institution of criminal proceedings against their accusers in Cameroon, with the result that by the beginning of December they had all been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment with hard labour. It appeared also that the petitioning chiefs had been arrested at once, in order to prevent their escape. The Colonial Department at home declined to confirm the sentences without further investigation; and in the end it quashed the whole proceedings and instituted a new enquiry by another and more impartial judge.

The matter came before the Diet, which took the side of the natives, condemned the refusal to them of even-handed justice, called for the revision of the entire

judicial status in the colony, the prohibition of the practice of putting to forced labour, keeping in chains, and even flogging natives who had been arrested pending trial, and calling for a new trial by an independent judge, the enquiry to include charges now made against the Governor. The result was that the Governor, Herr von Puttkamer, was called to Berlin to answer for himself. All kinds of unpleasant disclosures were now made; and the Diet freely occupied itself with the episode, while the Government did its best to discourage discussion and close the affair. As a result of disciplinary proceedings the Governor was found guilty of administrative laxity, and retired from the colonial service; while minor officers, both at home and in the colonies, had to be cashiered before the Diet was appeased. The Colonial Department of the Foreign Office was reorganized.

The Marshall Islands.—Early in 1906 a change was introduced in the administration of these islands. The contract between the Imperial Government and the Jaluit Company was annulled, and the government of the islands was transferred to the Empire, being carried on from New Guinea by the help of a district judge stationed in the islands. Henceforth the Jaluit Company devoted its attention exclusively to trading, like the New Guinea Company.

xv. *Dr. Dernburg, Director*

Before he had held his thankless office a year, Prince Hohenlohe was removed (September 1906). For years the cry of the Diet and the nation had been for the appointment to the position of Colonial Director of a practical business man. Such an appointment was now made in the person of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, who at the time of his call was the general manager of the Darmstädter Bank, one of the larger German banking corporations. He entered upon his task with complete understanding both of its character and its difficulty. It was his business, if

possible, to rehabilitate the colonies, put them on a new and sounder footing, bring efficiency into their administration and order into their finance, give to the development of their resources the serious and sustained stimulus for the lack of which most of the colonies had hitherto languished, and, by the employment of these and similar measures, to give back to the colonial movement the public confidence which had in so large a degree been forfeited.

He was prepared for obstacles and opposition, and these he encountered in more than one unexpected place. He had not long been in office before he made the discovery that the solicitude which the Centre party had been showing for the good government of the colonies was not entirely disinterested. After resisting in private continued interference and pressure from that quarter, Dr. Dernburg made a full disclosure to the Diet of the illegitimate influence which the Centre had for a long time been asserting and of the system of "co-government" which it had endeavoured to set up in this department of national affairs. In resentment at this ingratitude, the party, which was then not only the strongest single group in the Diet, but also held the balance of power, joined hands with the Social Democrats, and succeeded in withholding from the Government the funds needed for prosecuting the military measures in South-West Africa and for the construction of a railway from Lüderitz Bay to Kubub.

Defeated in the division lobby, the Government replied to the challenge by dissolving the Diet and appealing to the nation against the two parties which had thus sacrificed the public interest to political rancour. The result of Prince Bülow's appeal to the Radicals to make common cause with the Conservative and National Liberal groups in the ensuing electioneering campaign was the formation of the famous *bloc*, which so far carried the country that the elections gave the Government a substantial majority, by the aid of which the needed votes were promptly obtained.

(c) The Colonial Office Period, 1907-1914

i. *Dernburg, Colonial Secretary*

One of the earliest consequences of the new prominence given to colonial enterprise was the conversion (May 1907) of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office into a separate Imperial Office for colonial affairs, under the Chancellor. Dernburg, already Director, became the first Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had made the elections an occasion of a vigorous crusade in various parts of the country, in the course of which he expounded, at conferences and public meetings, different aspects of the colonial question. Like the practised financier that he was, he accomplished wonders by the use of imposing figures which no one could dispute, because no one was in a position to test them. Instead of the colonial empire being the bankrupt enterprise which the nation had been led to believe it, he represented it as one of wonderful promise, needing only capital, labour, railways, and faith for its full development. He thus in a short time succeeded, as no preceding colonial administrator had done, in re kindling the early colonial ardour and in creating a confidence in colonial enterprise which had never existed before in an equal degree. And although, as he had held out hopes which events failed to substantiate, the inevitable reaction followed, colonial pessimism never again took possession of any large section of the nation; nor were the wisdom and duty of keeping the colonies and supporting them with energy and enterprise ever again questioned, even by Radicals or Social Democrats, though both continued to criticise colonial administration, not seldom for its good.

Dernburg made it his purpose to master colonial questions by personal contact; and, to that end, after spending some time in London for the purpose of learning what he could of British methods of colonial administration, he made long journeys of investigation in East and South-West Africa, as well as in the

adjoining British colonies. From Africa he brought home much useful experience, which he was not slow to use, together with the conviction that for past failures German administration, and still more the German traders, were largely to blame.

In nothing did the "practical business man" more completely justify himself than in his prosecution of an energetic policy of railway construction. It was a hard task to persuade the Diet that more railways were an imperative need; but in the course of several years it was induced to vote large sums in grants and loans for this purpose. Still more effective for immediate purposes, however, was the discovery of diamonds in the sand dunes of Lüderitz Bay, and of gold and other precious minerals, in small quantities, in other parts of South-West Africa. In 1907 no diamond-prospecting company existed, but three years later there were over sixty such enterprises. Dernburg also succeeded in stimulating the zeal of the Hamburg merchants; and one of the most valuable results was the establishment there of a Colonial Institute for the training of candidates for the colonial service. The Hamburg institution, though the most important, is not, however, the only agency of the kind; for increasing attention has long been given to the vocational training of colonial officials. Finally, it will remain to Dernburg's lasting credit that he championed the right of the native population to humane treatment, and endeavoured to enforce the claims of morality in trade and of justice in administration. In February 1908 the Colonial Council was abolished, and for a time no other organization was put in its place.

ii. *Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor: Later Secretaries*

The Imperial Chancellor and the Colonial Secretary laid down office within a year of one another—Prince Bülow being succeeded in July 1909

by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, and Dr. Dernburg in June of the following year by Dr. von Lindequist, the Colonial Under-Secretary. Von Lindequist held the office until November 1911 only, when he was succeeded by Dr. W. H. Solf, for twelve years Governor of Samoa, who retained the office until 1918. During Lindequist's brief tenure of office the Colonial Council was revived (July 1910) in the form of a Standing Commission of eleven members, whose purpose was likewise to advise the colonial administration on economic questions. In order that this Commission might keep in touch with the commercial needs of the country, the Chambers of Commerce of the larger towns were invited to appoint representatives upon it. Three years later (June 1913) its members were increased to twenty-five, with a view to the representation of a larger number of States and of branches of trade and industry.

iii. *Later Years*

During the years immediately preceding the Great War comparative quiet reigned in the colonies, and much useful development work was either completed or taken in hand. In the African colonies in particular, fertile territories were being more and more opened up to cultivation, the natural produce of the forest and jungle more systematically harvested, and mineral resources, where these existed, developed; while simultaneously the railway system was being extended, roads and waterways were being improved in the interest of transport, and much was being done for the welfare of the native populations by the extension of the hospital arrangements, sanitary measures, better housing, &c.

Railways.—Among these progressive measures the increase of the railways occupied a foremost place. In East Africa before the outbreak of war the Usambara (now called the North) Railway had been carried to its

terminus in the Kilimanjaro district, a distance of some 218 miles from the coast; while the Midland Railway from Dar es-Salaam had nearly reached Lake Tanganyika; it has since been completed, the entire length being about 777 miles. In Cameroon in 1914 the Northern Railway, 100 miles in length, had been completed, and the Midland Railway carried a distance of 93 miles. In Togo three lines into the interior, all running from Lome, with a total length of 203 miles, had been completed. In South-West Africa the State railway, from Swakopmund to Windhoek, a distance of 238 miles; the Otavi Railway, 428 miles; and the North—South and Southern Railways, 317 and 339 miles long respectively, were completed.[1]

Nevertheless, it is admitted that even now, broadly speaking, only the coast districts and the immediate hinterlands have come under the hand of progress, while in the more distant interiors little has, as yet, been accomplished. Only when these vast regions have been opened up and their resources disclosed will the full value of the colonies be determined. To this end are necessary—besides a condition of peace, order, and security—capital, labour, and still more railways.

East Africa.—Considering the prospects of the several African colonies in the light of the knowledge and experience already gained, it seems safe to say that the future of East Africa, the largest and most valuable of them, will for a long time depend almost altogether upon its development as a plantation colony, and that its importance for the purpose of emigration is quite negligible. The same applies more or less in West Africa, except that in Cameroon there is valuable mineral wealth, which will attract white settlers so long as it lasts.

South-West Africa.—South-West Africa, on the other hand, has justified its reputation as an agricul-

[1] The above figures do not include certain lengths of local light railway and some private lines. The total mileage has been greatly increased since 1914.

tural and pastoral colony; and, for some time prior to the outbreak of war, the increase in its herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats was steadily augmenting the wealth of the country, the native population benefiting equally with the white farmers. It is true that the labour difficulty has never been successfully overcome; and, until stable conditions are created, this will continue to be a handicap. Nevertheless, it would appear that, in districts where for various reasons there is not a natural dearth of labour, employers who are prepared to offer their labourers tolerable conditions, and in general humane and considerate treatment, have in normal times little cause for complaint.

> "As a rule," writes a British consul in a report upon German South-West Africa in 1913, "a farmer who knows how to manage his servants and understands their limitations has no difficulty in getting his work done. On some farms there are sufficient labourers for every emergency, while on others there are a few dissatisfied servants who take the first opportunity they can of changing their master."

These words merely attest the fact that black human nature does not in fundamentals greatly differ from white.

One of the great difficulties under which the farmers of this colony have hitherto laboured has been that of credit. Owing to a run of bad seasons and to inadequate facilities for disposing of their produce, they had fallen more and more into the hands of the traders, who were accustomed to make advances on their live-stock, which was often credited at below its value. In 1913 an endeavour was made to remedy this evil by the establishment of a land bank, with a capital of £500,000. Its object is to offer farmers credit on reasonable terms in the form of long-period loans, so relieving them from the anxiety attaching to dependence upon private credit institutions, able to call in their money at short notice. It will be an important part of the bank's work to make advances on favourable terms for the purpose of permanent works of amelioration.

As irrigation is extended and more accessible and

profitable markets are found, it is probable that the permanent prosperity of the colony will depend rather upon stockbreeding and agriculture than upon its mineral wealth. At the same time, there would appear to be little likelihood that the colony will offer a large field for settlers. The view generally held is that, from the agricultural standpoint, the country offers the best chance to the large cattle-breeder and rancher. Thus the farms bought or leased during a given year were found to average nearly 20,000 acres. On the other hand, the small settlers who have tried to establish themselves in the colony have generally failed. Endeavours have been made to settle peasant communities both of German and Boer families upon large areas of land; but these settlements do not appear to have prospered, and the Boer farmers in particular soon returned home.

At the present time, however, mining enterprise is on the increase; for, contrary to early expectations, South-West Africa has proved exceptionally rich in minerals. Copper has been found in considerable quantities; tin, lead, silver, gold, and also wolfram and galena have been traced; but as yet coal has not been found in quantity sufficient to be profitably worked. So far as immediate results are concerned, diamond mining has proved most remunerative, though it remains to be seen how long this enterprise will last.

Mining concessions were very numerous in the early days of prospecting, but now they have, in the main, found their way into the hands of six or seven large companies, of which the most important are the German Colonial Company and the Otavi Mining and Railway Company. The entire mining enterprise of the country is regulated by the Imperial Mining Ordinance of 1905; and mining concessions in general have been latterly granted by the Government with far greater care and discrimination than was formerly the case. The Government has from the first severely controlled the diamond-mining industry, and in recent years has gone so far as to regulate the production by a series of

ordinances. The whole of the output has to be disposed of by a *Régie*, in which the Government is interested equally with the producers. Its interest in the healthy development of the diamond industry is all the greater since a large part of the revenue of the colony is derived from this source.

In considering the future of South-West Africa in particular, the question of its future ownership is one of critical importance. Before the war it was evident that German colonial writers were by no means agreed as to the permanent tranquillity of the colony. Some writers even anticipated the outbreak, at no distant day, of a violent struggle between whites and blacks, in which one of the two would have to go under. Writing of the Ovahereros in particular, Dr. Carl Dove, a recognised authority upon German South-West Africa says:[1]—

> "The mass constitutes a permanent menace to security because an ungovernable hatred of the whites lies in the hearts of these people, a hatred which no baptismal water will exorcise and no education eradicate so long as the rulers of the country continue to be whites."

Accordingly, he calls for the application to the natives not of a clement, but a rigorous régime. Their white masters must "go over to a method of treatment which the Boers have always applied to the Kaffirs," for "leniency towards the blacks is cruelty to the whites."[1]

iv. *White Population in the Colonies*

The following table shows the extent of the white population (Germans being given separately) and the strength of the military and police forces in the various colonies; the population figures relating to January 1, 1913, and the others being those of the colonial estimates for 1914:—

[1] *Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, p. 195.

	White Population.		No. of Colonial Troops.		Police Force	
	Total.	Of whom Germans.	German.	Native.	German.	Native.
East Africa	5,336	4,107	260	2,472	67	2,140
Cameroon	1,871	1,643	205	1,650	47	1,450
Togo	368	320	..	..	9	560
South-West Africa	14,830	12,292	1,967	589	516	370
New Guinea and Bismarck Archipelago	968	746	..	..	32	932
Caroline, Pelew, Marianna, and Marshall Islands	459	259	..	..		
Samoa	544	329	..	..	2	52
Kiaochow	4,470	4,256	2,625	..	34	100
Totals	28,846	23,952	5,057	4,711	707	5,604

v. *Cost of the Colonies*

The increasing extent to which the German Imperial Government made itself responsible not merely for the administration but for the opening-up of the colonies, the development of their economic resources, the creation of improved means of locomotion and transport by land and water, and the health of the native populations, was reflected in a constant growth of expenditure, and consequently of the deficits, which had to be met, in large part, out of taxation in Germany. The ordinary expenditure of the colonies, including Kiaochow, their own revenue, and the resulting deficits, since the establishment of the Colonial Office in 1907, were as follows:—

	Total Expenditure.	Own Revenue of the Colonies.	Deficits.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
1907	73,130,000	23,580,000	49,550,000
1908	155,530,000	24,110,000	131,420,000
1909	68,110,000	42,530,000	25,580,000
1910	82,450,000	48,720,000	33,730,000
1911	96,690,000	53,180,000	43,510,000
1912	87,630,000	64,520,000	23,110,000
1913[1]	105,810,000	67,930,000	37,880,000

Since 1908, however, a considerable amount of non-recurrent expenditure for colonial purposes, not always in the nature of capital investments, has been covered by loans. In the case of East Africa, Cameroon, and Togo these loans were taken over by the colonies themselves, the Empire meeting the interest and repayments —an arrangement no doubt devised in order to remind the colonies that the imperial subsidies, though for the time being inevitable, were given as an act of grace, and were not to be regarded as prejudicing the expectation of the Imperial Government that the colonial administrations would be prepared to bear their own burdens as soon as they should have reached a suitable stage of development. Such extraordinary expenditure, which does not appear in the annual budgets of the several colonies, was as follows :—

	Marks.
1908	37,370,000
1909	33,080,000
1910	35,950,000
1911	33,280,000
1912	31,490,000
1913	52,200,000

If we add to the ordinary expenditure the extraordinary, non-recurrent outlay which has been met by

[1] The figures for this year are those of the Colonial Estimates.

loans since 1908, the gross expenditure was as follows:—

	Marks.
1908	192,900,000
1909	101,190,000
1910	118,400,000
1911	129,970,000
1912	119,120,000
1913	158,010,000

vi. *Taxation*

A word may be added as to the principal sources of taxation in the various colonies. Apart from Customs duties, these were in 1914 as follows:—

East Africa.—A house and hut tax and a trade tax; but revenue is also derived from gun, game, and timber-felling licences, a spirit tax, death duties, and harbour dues.

Cameroon.—A poll and house tax, spirit licences, a trade tax, and tribute levied in the Lake Chad region, with gun licences and harbour dues as minor sources.

Togo.—A poll tax, licences to trade in rubber and spirits, and a trade tax, with gun and dog taxes.

South-West Africa.—A brandy tax, spirit licences, trade, land, beer, and dog taxes, supplemented by road and carriage, gun, and game licences.

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LONDON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

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