

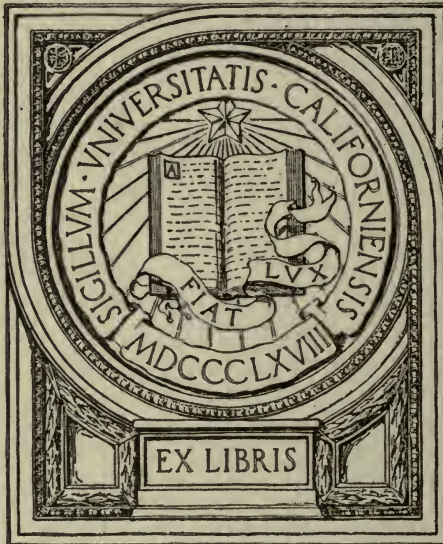
JV
2068
P8

UC-NRLF



\$B 23 180

GIFT OF



EX LIBRIS

GIFT
JUN 5 1918

THE GERMAN COLONIES

What is to Become of
Them ?

BY

RENÉ PUAUX



LONDON :

WIGHTMAN & Co., Ltd.

—
1918

4 2/27/8

JV2068
P8

THE NATIONAL
ARCHIVES

THE GERMAN COLONIES

THE GERMAN COLONIES :

What is to Become of Them ?

PAN-GERMANS who feel absolutely sure of victory—in the absence of such a conviction the projects of annexing Antwerp, the Briey basin, etc., would be paradoxical—will not even discuss the question of whether the German colonies should be restored to their pre-war possessors.

A large section of the public regards their restitution as reasonable enough. It is admitted that a prolific country like Germany needs colonial possessions to take her surplus population; and, as nobody dreams of stifling the German people when it has received its punishment, or of forbidding it to resume a normal and healthy existence, it is expected generally that the future peace treaty will include a clause exchanging the captured German colonies for Alsace-Lorraine or the freedom of Belgium. This is the normal view, seldom discussed, and never opposed.

However, the problem is far less simple than it appears on the surface. In the first place, we no longer live in the times of Ruy Blas, when "niggers" were a kind of merchandise to be bartered for "arsenic" without the least consideration for the "niggers'" views on the matter; in the second, the opinions of the British Colonies, Dominions, Commonwealths and Federations, whose armies conquered the colonies in question, cannot be disregarded.

A short examination of the story of the German colonies, of their significance and administration, will bring one to the conclusion that the restoration of her colonies to Germany is neither necessary nor desirable. The documents dealing with the matter should be laid in their entirety before the plenipotentiaries who arrange the peace treaty. Meanwhile, we will content ourselves by drawing attention to their outstanding points.

I.

It is a mistake to regard the German colonies as colonised by a surplus of population. There are more Germans in Paris than in all the German colonies put together. According to statistics given in the *Almanach de Gotha* for the years 1907-1911, all German emigrants went to North or South America or to Australia to settle. Hardly a couple of dozen made for Africa.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>N.America</i>	<i>S.America</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>
1907 ...	31,696	30,764	579	163	37
1908 ...	19,883	18,211	406	175	33
1909 ...	24,921	20,297	4,256	178	26
1910 ...	25,531	23,233	2,077	128	16
1911 ...	22,690	19,411	2,917	246	18

A column devoted to Asia does not appear in this table, which sums up the movements of German emigration; because, as a matter of fact, the *Almanach de Gotha* records only a single solitary emigrant to Asia—in 1908!

If we now turn to the page of this same *Almanach de Gotha* which deals with German colonies, we find that in an area of 2,913,500 square kilometres, containing 15,651,600 natives, there were only 25,560 whites all told—and those not all definitely Germans—

say, the population of Mostaganem or Chandernagore, within a hundred or two.

The contention that Germany needs her colonies as an outlet for her surplus population is, then, merely bluff. In five years 125,000 emigrants left Germany; and not 150 of the lot settled in German Africa!

There is nothing to be astonished at in this. German colonial theories have never—except possibly in the beginning of things—regarded the German colonies as anything but reservoirs of raw materials which can be exploited more cheaply on German territory than they can be purchased from a neighbour or a neighbour's colonies.

In a pamphlet which appeared in 1912 under the title *Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg* (Germany's World-Policy and No War) and was noticed by Prof. Hans Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and by Maximilian Harden in the *Zukunft*, we find the naïve avowal that Germany has no need of colonies or outlets for population, since she has no men to send them, is far less densely populated than Belgium or England, and requires all the labour she can get. (The millions of men killed or crippled in the war have left gaps which it will take several generations to fill.) Therefore the colonies are only strategical points on the world's trade routes; granaries and mines for supplying Germany; centres of business activity in general.

The question of handing back the German colonies is greatly complicated by this brutal and essentially German mode of reducing the civilising mission of colonial activity to a merely military or economic level, and to the intensive exploitation of exotic wealth. The same also explains the ferocious attitude of German administrators and colonists towards native populations. Never have unfortunate, defenceless human beings been so systematically oppressed, squeezed and

massacred as those who, as we are told, have had to work for nothing and for the King of Prussia—two expressions which the nations of the world have long regarded as meaning the same thing.

This régime had finally revolted even some of the Germans themselves. On March 7, 1914, Deputy Dittmann exclaimed in the Reichstag: "What we Social-Democrats have always prophesied would happen, will happen: the total extinction of the natives in our colonies. The few whites there are like vampires fastened on their necks, sucking their blood from their veins, and the marrow from their bones. Simultaneously with this hateful decimation of the natives we see the expansion of so-called capitalist 'Kultur,' and without a renewal of the wholesale massacres of the Herrero War, or of the horrors committed by Peters, Leist, Arenberg, or those other nigger-drivers who are a disgrace to kultur, the native population of our colonies is disappearing rapidly under the German capitalist régime."

German statistics themselves bear out these words of Dittmann in the Reichstag. In 1894 there were 2,500,000 natives in Togoland; in 1914 only 1,032,000 were left. The Turks, Germany's allies, hardly did better in Armenia in a shorter time. During the Herrero War (1904-1905) 40,000 natives perished; and by 1911 a population estimated originally at 300,000 had been reduced to 140,000.

The names of Peters, Leist and Arenberg mentioned by Deputy Dittmann are those of German officials of high standing, whose hateful and disgraceful behaviour is notorious. Not only was the most repulsive of them, Doctor Karl Peters, a proved murderer, championed by General von Liebert, a member of the Reichstag, President of the Anti-Socialist League and a political friend of Prince Bülow, who wrote, "Little can be

done in Africa without resource to cruelty"; but the Emperor rehabilitated this assassin, whom the Germans styled a "superman" (*uebermensch*), and as a finishing touch his statue by the German sculptor, Karl Moebius, was to be sent to Dar-es-Salaam in August, 1914. So one need not be surprised by the happenings at Dinant and Louvain and by all the atrocities which the German Army has committed since the outbreak of the war. The consistent doctrine—the rule of brute force and the complete exploitation of the weaker party—is revealed in these most recent pages of German imperialism. The generals of 1914 observed in Belgium and France what the German High Commissioners in Africa, long before the European war broke out, made their normal procedure with the knowledge and approval of the Berlin Government.

The reports issued by the Commission of Enquiry into the atrocities in Belgium and France have horrified many people. I know Scandinavians who still hesitate to credit the awful details. If those reports have reached Dar-es-Salaam, Windhoek, Buea, Lomé and the British, French and Portuguese colonies adjacent to the German, the evidence collected has certainly been accepted on sight as betokening a re-enactment on European soil of a tragedy that is only too common in Africa.

Prussian brutality has experienced little trouble in finding men ready to carry out the work of oppression and slaughter. The Prussian instinct is suited to the task; freedom of action has given full scope to its innate cruelty. The Germans have behaved in their colonies as if they were in conquered countries, wherein one never moves without a revolver. Their object being not to conciliate the natives, but to exploit them and make themselves feared, they have maintained a continuous state of war, the only one in which they feel really comfortable.

We have several portraits of German torturers to illustrate the history of German colonisation.

There is Prince Prosper d'Arenberg, a lieutenant in German West Africa, who murders a native and misbehaves with many women. William II. commutes the sentence which had to be passed upon him, and a little later he is re-tried and acquitted as having merely shown lack of judgment.

Next, Wehlan, an official in the Cameroons. He has the natives flogged to wring money from them, and is encouraged in his behaviour by his chief, the colonial Governor, Herr von Zimmerer, who adopts the same method of raising cash to pay his private debts, and has villages burned when the quatum is not paid with sufficient promptitude. Wehlan is recalled from Africa on account of the scandal and given a notary's berth at Berlin.

Leist, Deputy-Governor of the Cameroons, has native soldiers' wives flogged in their husbands' presence, and seizes other women ostensibly as hostages and outrages them. The outcome of these excesses, which are apparently due to sadism, is a revolt of a hundred or so of the soldiers who have had to witness their wives' degradation. They attack the Governor's palace and kill a judge whom they mistake for Leist. The European colony takes refuge on an English ship while the Germans get to cover on a gunboat. Supports arrive, and Governor Leist's ideas of "Kultur" are immortalised by hangings galore. Leist is merely given another post.

Herr von Puttkamer, Governor of the Cameroons, is the son of a minister of State and a nephew of Bismarck. His colonial administration was distinguished by a series of scandals. The money budgetted for road construction was used by him to build houses for his officers' native concubines and for himself. The

Governor drew commissions, in the shape of shares, from private commercial enterprises favoured by him. He has admitted that his officers inflict nameless mutilations on natives suspected of relations with the negresses kept by the officers for their own pleasure. He shielded Captain Dominik when he committed the crime, unparalleled since the Massacre of the Innocents, of putting 52 babies into baskets, flinging them into the *Nachtigal* rapids and so drowning them all. He countenanced the bringing in of the ears of enemy slain to get exact figures; listened without a frown to the report of the summary execution, by Captain Kamptz, of three natives accused of theft; and entertained at his table von Brauchitsch, Meyer, two judges in league with them, and other cruel wretches.

The oppressive régime developed by von Puttkamer, who was notorious as a gambler and roué in Germany long before his appointment to the post, and owed his selection to influential relatives among the German ruling caste, could not but end in arousing feelings of revolt and despair among the tribes victimised by it. After vain protests against the sufferings they had to bear, the chiefs—King Akwa, Manga Bell (chief of the Donkalas), and Ekwala Deido (chief of the Deidos)—faced a journey to Berlin in the endeavour to get justice from the Colonial Office. They were met with fair words, but on their return their miseries were made worse than ever, and the Akwa chiefs therefore decided to send a petition to the Chancellor and to the Reichstag, which they supposed to be all-powerful. A third copy of it was addressed to Mpundo Akwa, son of King Akwa, who was studying at Altona, and was considered to be a fit person to act as ambassador extraordinary—as King Akwa entertained the illusion that the Germans felt a special respect for a native prince who paid Germany the compliment of going thither to learn her justice, science and strength.

The petition was held up on arrival in Berlin by the Colonial Office and returned to von Puttkamer, who promptly arrested the thirty signatory chiefs. He then had them tried by von Brauchitsch and Meyer, the very magistrates whose exactions were shown up in detail by the document. King Akwa was condemned to nine years imprisonment, Mukuri to seven years, and the others to terms of various lengths.

As the facts eventually came out in Germany and the scandal could not be hushed up, a re-trial was ordered, and this merely reduced the sentences. Herr Dernburg declared in the Reichstag that a criminal, or even a disciplinary, action could not lie against officials denounced in the native chiefs' petition; and added that obviously one could not quite "approve of" the manner in which natives are tried and sentenced in the Cameroons, though he was issuing instructions that would put everything right. The basis of the Akwa chiefs' complaints was not even investigated; yet these poor men had not made their solemn protest until their patience and endurance were exhausted.

Their list of charges sums up the chief features of German rule in the Cameroons as conducted by von Puttkamer :

1. The confiscation of their lands and houses at Duala, in violation of the treaty signed by them and Doctor Nachtigal. (Another "scrap of paper" !)
2. The brutal manner in which these confiscations were carried out.
3. Numberless floggings, continued even till the victims died under them.
4. Unpaid forced labour.
5. Illegal acts of the German officials.
6. The burning of villages.

7. The murder of natives.
8. The imprisoning of chiefs.
9. The extortion of King Akwa's signature.
10. The indignities inflicted on this sovereign, who was often thrown into prison.
11. The seduction of a young engaged girl by Chief Justice Meyer and Councillor von Brauchitsch.
12. The breaking of promises made with regard to the rewards offered for discovering petroleum springs.

Dernburg, the Minister for the Colonies, evidently thought that these charges were not worth investigation, and Puttkamer remained in command of the colony for a year and a half. But as he could not possibly be retained, he was eventually brought before a disciplinary court on the convenient charge of having obtained a faulty passport for a *demi-mondaine* with whom he lived in the Government House. He was fined 1,000 marks and reprimanded; which was regarded at Berlin as a very smart way of getting rid of a more than compromising associate.

We now take the case of Herr G. A. Schmidt, District Governor of Togoland. One day this official ordered the young girls of Atakpane to present themselves at a ball given at his house, threatening with a fine of 20 marks any mother who should forbid her daughter to accept his invitation. The Governor's immorality was notorious, and the object of his so-called ball for young native girls obvious enough. Complaints were, therefore, lodged with the Catholic Mission near by, which ordered *ex cathedra* its catechumens not to go to the Governor's house. Schmidt, furious at this, issued an order forbidding natives to complain to the Mission. Now, a little later, a native girl, Ayena by name, informed the Fathers that

Schmidt kept in his harem her young sister Adjaro, less than fourteen years old, whom he flogged and abused in a disgusting manner. Ayena had suffered similarly for three weeks and then managed to escape. The head of the Mission then sought out Lieutenant Preyl, temporary district judge, to acquaint him with the facts. Preyl excused himself on the ground of lack of authority, and asked for a memorandum in writing to forward to his chiefs. The Superior drew out his charge, accusing Schmidt of seducing a minor—a crime which native custom punishes with death—and sent it to Lieutenant Preyl.

District Judge von Rothberg and his adjutant Lang obtained an escort of 19 black soldiers from Schmidt, went to the Mission, placed the Fathers under arrest, rummaged everywhere—even in the chapel, the altar of which they desecrated—took possession of all papers, and led the missionaries off to prison, where they remained for 21 days quite cut off from the outside world. Schmidt caused the disappearance of the telegram addressed to the Supreme Court of the Cameroons; and with his friend Kersting (who already had on his conscience the murder, by revolver, of a negro chief whose head he had cut off as a trophy and sent to the Berlin Museum*) proceeded to examine the witnesses. The German Court of Justice condemned the Superior of the Mission, alleging that young Adjaro, the principal witness, had apparently been hypnotised (*sic*).

When this scandalous episode was brought before the Reichstag by Deputy Roren, he disclosed the fact that Schmidt, not content with a harem of five girls, had promoted his black concubine, a woman named Sisakbe, who pandered to his debaucheries, to the rank of *Jenusia* (queen), had made her carry a sword, and

* Session of the Reichstag of December 1, 1906.

had entrusted her with the administration of justice and the collection of taxes.

In spite of these disclosures, Schmidt was kept in Togoland, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking in the Reichstag on December 3, 1906, declared that this campaign against German colonial officials must cease, if it were not to become impossible to find men for the administrative staff!

I have already mentioned the case of Captain Dominik, whose men drowned 52 babies in the Nachtigal rapids. The German Government commissioned a statue of Dominik from the sculptor, Karl Moebius, from whose hands came also the monument of another notorious brute: Peters. Dominik's statue was sent to the Cameroons in 1912, and a replica of it set up in Jaunde on May 5, 1914.

At this same station of Jaunde another German official held sway, Lieutenant Schenneman, who had three natives castrated because he suspected them of relations with his mistress.

We have not yet completed this gallery of German colonial officials, for there is Captain Kannenberg, who fired into a hut close by to silence a woman and a child whose crying kept him awake, and had two village chiefs scourged to death for not answering some questions satisfactorily. Kannenberg was condemned to three months' imprisonment, then immediately pardoned and given his full pension by Stuebel, the Director of Colonies. A department official who ventured to raise doubts as to the legality of this pension was brought before a disciplinary court and discharged.

Next we get Captain Brandeis, another flogging expert, who meted out this punishment to the Marshall Islands natives whenever he felt so disposed, but left no records of it in his registers of judicial penalties.

for form's sake Brandeis was reprimanded—and presented with a Prussian decoration.

Then, too, Captain Kamptz, mentioned already, who shot down Cameroons natives with a machine-gun at three feet distance; captain Thierry, who hunted natives like game; and Karl Mezger, who fired into every village he passed through, killing or wounding the natives just to win respect for German might.

In Togoland also we find Doctor Gruener, Herr von Doering, and Doctor Kase, whom the natives nicknamed “the monster of Manga.” In the annals of the crimes committed in this unhappy colony are cases of “punishment at the stake,” a form of torture with which our men have made acquaintance in German prison camps.

II.

At a time when Germany still possessed a conscience this unbroken series of crimes and cruelties committed in her colonies provoked indignant protests in the Reichstag.

On March 15, 1906, Deputy Arendt stated that the colonies were merely a refuge for men of damaged character. On March 13, 1906, Bebel said :

“There is not a single one of our colonies, whether in Africa, or in the Pacific islands, or in Australasia, which is not the scene of revolts. The Governor of East Africa, Count Goetzen, has himself admitted that the hut-tax, the veto on opening up the forests and hunting game, and forced labour for road making, etc., have contributed to this unrest. But flogging has done more than anything else to bring about this rebellious spirit. In one year, in the Kilwa district, 434 floggings are recorded, and in the colonies taken together, 4,783, not counting those of an unofficial character. The instrument of torture, a rhinoceros-hide whip, breaks the skin at the first blow. Severe illness, and, in many cases, death, follows. The employment of such a means of punishment exasperates the natives and rouses their anger to a terrible pitch—a matter not to be wondered

at. It would be a miracle were things otherwise. Moreover, in 1914, 13 natives were sentenced to death, 223 to more than one year's imprisonment, 429 to six to twelve months, and 6,154 to less than six months."

Bebel then read out a letter that appeared in the *Strasburger Post*, in which the writer describes an incident in which he took part :

"On August 23rd, at 5 a.m., we surprised the natives at Kibata, just as they were endeavouring to cross the river. There was at the spot a narrow bridge of lianas, which they had to negotiate, so we got into them nicely. Seventy-six of them were killed, without including those who fell wounded into the river. Many tried to swim across, but were torn to pieces by the crocodiles which swarm there. In the middle of the river there was a sand-bank, on which those who escaped the crocodiles tried to rest, but our bullets found them all right. What a sight it was! I was on the river bank, behind a fallen tree. I fired 120 rounds. The prisoners were hung in every case."

Bebel protested against this hideous way of waging war. On March 17, 1906, he returned to the charge. He examined the case of Peters, who had his young servant girl hanged for stealing a few cigars, and his concubine on suspicion of infidelity; who sacked and burned villages; and was guilty of such a succession of crimes that the traveller, Eltz, a German who happened to be in Africa at the same time as Peters, wrote in the *Voss Gazette* : "You, Doctor Peters, have committed acts such as Germany will not thank you for."

On March 20, 1906, Bebel related how, at Duala, Police Inspector Wieck distributed petroleum and matches among his men, to set fire to native houses which the Road Department wanted out of the way, so that new streets might be laid out. The Socialist leader disclosed the fact that the instruments used for flogging were soaked in tar and then rolled in sand, to increase their cutting powers.

"That is pure barbarism, an act of cruelty perpetrated in the name of civilisation and Christianity, against which we protest

with all our might. The things we hear of as happening in our colonies match the deeds of Oriental despots. How can people, who pride themselves on their civilisation, be guilty of such acts?

“I am quite convinced that, if a conspiracy of silence were not the rule, we should hear yet worse things. A man who lived in the Cameroons told me that every clerk who disclosed any scandal might regard himself as done for. All means were employed to get him recalled. As for the officials, they are firmly bound by the ties of comradeship.”

On December 1, 1906, Bebel described the scandalous contracts of the Tippelskirch and Woermann firms, whose business had so profited by the Herrero war that, in common with all German merchants of S.W. Africa, they regarded the war as a very fine thing. Bebel took advantage of this occasion to quote the following proclamation by General von Trotha :

“I, the great general of the German soldiers, send this letter to the Herreros. The Herreros are German subjects no longer. They have killed, stolen, cut off the ears and other parts of the body from wounded soldiers, and now are too cowardly to want to fight any longer. I announce to the people that whoever hands over to me one of the chiefs shall receive 1,000 marks, and 5,000 marks for Samuel Maherero. The Herrero nation must now leave the country. If it refuses, I shall compel it to do so with the ‘long tube’ (cannon). Any Herrero found inside the German frontier, with or without a gun or cattle, will be executed. I shall spare *neither women nor children*. I shall give the order to drive them away and fire on them. Such are my words to the Herrero people.”

Returning to the Peters business, Bebel related how Councillor Hellwig, who had informed against Peters, was retired by Secretary of State von Richtofen. Murmurs ran through the Reichstag, and when it was called to order Bebel exclaimed: “All the calls to order in the world will not efface the shameful fact of the corruption of the German Empire.”

On March 7, 1914, the Socialist Deputy Dittmann stated in a speech from which we have already quoted :

“The German Empire has now pursued a colonial policy for thirty years: but what we know of our colonies gives us little reason to hold jubilee. . . . A member of the Centre, who speaks annually on colonial questions, has himself admitted that ‘if things continue as they are, Germany can no longer accept the responsibilities of her colonial policy.’”

Deputy Dittmann drew a moving picture of the forced labour imposed on the negroes, of the bad faith shown by German colonists, backed up by the authorities, who kept back for themselves the larger part of the wages promised. He disclosed the fact that, whereas the East African Company’s dividends rose to 15 per cent. in 1912, the black’s wages had risen only a centime a day between 1907 and 1912.

The natives preferred to take to the bush or emigrate to adjacent colonies. The German authorities then hunted them and threw recalcitrant labourers into chains. In conclusion, Herr Dittmann said:

“Gentlemen, I believe that level-headed people must regard our colonial policy as the product of a mad-house.” (The speaker was here called to order by the President for insulting the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but continued): “Who can deny that this development of oppression, the offspring of capitalism and exploitation, is at the bottom of the evil, and that the only way of improving matters is to prevent these profit-hunters from battenning on the colonies? If a poll-tax be introduced in Ruanda and Urundi to compel the natives to work, and a revolt is the result, it is to be feared that the tragedy of the Herreros in South-West Africa will appear a mere bagatelle beside the massacres which will take place in the north-west corner of East Africa. In South-West Africa it was a matter of but 80,000 Herreros: in Ruanda and Urundi, one has to do with 3,500,000 natives.

“Peaceful colonisation is possible, however. I would remind you of the Jesuit State of Paraguay, and refer you to the experiences of missionaries and explorers of Africa. You will see that the prosperous condition of the British colony of Nigeria is due to the very complete economic independence of the black population. While our cocoa plantations in the Cameroons yielded us 4 million marks’ worth of produce in 1912, the independent peasant proprietors of Nigeria sent 40 million marks’ worth into the world’s markets.”

On May 17, 1914, Deputy Dove asserted in the Reichstag that the German colonial idea of justice was so primitive that government and the administration of justice was left in the same hands, so that it was impossible to protect right against the abuses of power.

In 1906, Erzberger of the Centre announced in the sessions of March 13 and 15 that the Colonial Department had consistently hid the truth, and Prince von Hohenlohe, on behalf of that Department, put up the defence that the officials of the Imperial Department were so overworked that documents might well have escaped their attention.

On May 6, 1906, Erzberger disclosed in the Reichstag the fact that the statistics of the importation of alcohol into the colonies showed a terrible increase. In three years they had risen in Togoland from 8,500 hectolitres to 18,000, and in one of the German West African colonies poisonous alcohol made up 27 per cent. of the total of the German import trade.

On March 7, 1914, Erzberger said :

"Without being mentioned by name, I have just been credited (a reference to Dittmann's speech) with the opinion that, if the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not manage to improve matters at the earliest possible moment, I should no longer be able to bear the responsibility for voting the Imperial money credits for our colonial policy. I most heartily endorse that opinion and am ready to face all consequences.

"From every page of the official reports from the Protectorate for the years 1912-1913 comes the heart-rending cry of black labourers toiling in the plantations. If these reports be studied carefully, one learns of things which could hardly have been thought possible. If some of our plantations in East Africa or the Cameroons cannot be worked profitably unless they are enriched by the natives' life-blood, surely a curse will fall on all our colonies and our German fatherland. Such plantations should not be allowed to exist.

"I have before me statements issued by the Cameroons Planters' Association. The mortality statistics are shocking. In the Victoria plantations, Cameroons, the death-rate among native

labourers is 7.89 per cent. for 1909 and 9.11 per cent for 1913. In the Prince Albert plantation it reached 28.80 per cent in 1913."

On May 19, 1914, a deputy, Doctor Frank, drew the Reichstag's attention to an article in the *Rhine and Westphalia Gazette* (of May 10, 1914) in which it was proposed that German lawyers should combine in refusing their assistance to people of other races. "In this way," exclaimed Frank, "the issue of the battle for right would be made entirely dependent on the nationality of the person wronged."

Doctor Frank then went on to explain that this ostracising policy of German lawyers originated in the affair of a certain native of the Cameroons, Din by name, who had just reached Berlin and been arrested at the Colonial Office's orders on the recommendation of a district magistrate named Roehm. The latter had sent a cablegram about an alleged plot by the chief Duala Manga, whom he had just had arrested for an attempt to separate off the German Protectorate of the Cameroons and transfer it to British protection. Roehm added: "Din is now in Berlin. There is reason to suspect that he went to Europe to work out the plans already referred to." On the strength of this telegram the Colonial Office at Berlin had Din arrested, and no stone was left unturned to prevent him finding a counsel to defend him among members of the German Bar.

Deputy Frank, in drawing attention to this case, added: "I am convinced that this business marks the beginning of a reign of terror in the Cameroons."

A few days earlier, Deputy Wels had told the Reichstag that Din, when arrested at Homburg immediately on his arrival there, wished to telegraph to his counsel at Berlin, Doctor Halpert, but that his telegram was cancelled. As for the memorandum which Din had entrusted to Doctor Halpert to be presented in the

Reichstag, the Colonial Office had confiscated it on the pretext that it contained passages which were regarded as insulting to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Deputy Wels considered these acts of suppression to be insulting to the Reichstag as imposing a censorship on its papers, seeing that the men elected by the people had the right to hear all complaints.

Din was not merely arrested on reaching Germany to prevent the disclosure of the sufferings and injustice inflicted on his brothers, the Dualas, but informed that he would be imprisoned again when he returned to Africa for violation of the German emigration laws by leaving the colony without permission from the Government—the very people against whom he meant to lodge a complaint.

One can hardly imagine a more complete combination of hypocrisy, bad faith and high-handedness, or a more thorough-going tyranny. We are not dealing here with old history, or with doings of the early days of German colonisation, when mistakes were pardonable, but with things that happened in the spring of 1914.

The European war prevents us knowing what was the upshot of the Din affair. We are certain only of this—that he came to Berlin, not to engineer a transference of the Cameroons to England—a ridiculous fiction—but to acquaint the Reichstag with the colony's grievances. The matter is a fit sequel to the scandalous treatment of the Akwa chiefs, who were thrown into prison by von Puttkamer for daring to petition the Reichstag to redress their wrongs. District Officer Roehm, fearing Din's disclosures, had first imprisoned Duala Manga, then trumped up a grotesque and ridiculous plot, and cabled home to persuade a Ministry, which was only too glad to hush up the scandal, to sanction Din's imprisonment.

A further examination of the parliamentary records concerning German colonial matters brings more and more evidence to light.

On November 29, 1906, Deputy Kopsch exclaimed in the Reichstag :

“The Imperial Chancellor has stated that the publicity given to these (colonial) scandals has injured Germany’s reputation abroad. I agree with what my colleague, Schaedler, said—that it is not the publicity given to the scandals, but the scandals themselves which have injured Germany’s name in other countries.”

On March 20, 1906, Deputy Ledebour characterised these excesses committed by the Prussian system of administration as the complete negation of justice; and three days later he described how the Togoland natives had been robbed by the great German company which had just acquired their lands at a rate of $2\frac{1}{4}$ centimes per acre. On the 26th Ledebour ended his speech for the day (in which he showed how the Legation Counsel Rose had contradicted himself in the matter of Captain Brandeis, whose guilt he first denied and then admitted) as follows :

“The pitiful thing about it all is, that the administration, as conducted by German officials, does not spread Kultur, but merely breeds in the people a servile spirit. If this is a fact, all you have done is to destroy the people’s spiritual life.”

On May 8, 1907, Ledebour revealed a fact which at that time seemed to disgust some of the deputies, though nowadays it apparently would not make any German turn a hair; namely, that out of 1,800 Hottentot prisoners incarcerated on Sharks Island (Luderitz Bay) 1,200 had died in less than nine months.

The Prussian prison-camp rule of 1914-1917 had nothing to learn, for the kraal-guards of William II. had served an apprenticeship in Africa and knew their business!

On March 17, 1908, Ledebour again criticised the

German colonial system, and gave some edifying facts about the way in which taxes were levied. In a single village 40 natives had been executed because they could not pay up a few marks' worth of taxes. Then, turning to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dernburg himself, he quoted the opinion of blacks employed as carriers for the journey made by Dernburg from Muansa to Tabora: "No! We won't go with *him* again; we were never so beaten in our lives as during Herr Dernburg's expedition."

On December 4, the deputy, Doctor Mueller, read out in the Reichstag a letter published in the *Cologne Gazette*. It described how the magistrate of one district, in order to civilise the natives and teach them to drink out of a glass instead of putting the soda-water bottles to their mouths, had the hardihood to issue an order which condemned to flogging, followed by imprisonment, any native caught drinking from a bottle, and to a heavy fine the retailer who sold him the bottle.

Does not this absurd and criminal way of looking at things reveal the real nature of the vaunted German Kultur? On April 30, 1912, Deputy Noske explained to the Reichstag the disquieting conclusions to be drawn from statistics of punishments in the German colonies. In East Africa the German judges had in one year passed no fewer than 10,144 sentences of imprisonment. These figures, which are enormous relatively to the population, show to what a state of anarchy and revolt German administration had reduced the colony.

In German South-West Africa floggings had increased from 928 in 1909 to 1,263 in 1910. German tribunals had sentenced 2,371 people in 1910, in this same colony, which has only 70,000 to 80,000 native inhabitants. In the Cameroons 52 persons were sentenced to death, 3,516 to imprisonment, 881 to fines,

and 1,909 to flogging. And the official report stated that flogging sentences had increased by *only* 26 per cent. ! In Togoland sentences numbered 5,206.

On May 1, 1912, Deputy Noske quoted a calculation made by Professor Schillings, a German expert on African affairs, according to which 200,000 natives had been done to death in the German colonies.

On December 3, 1906, Deputy Rosen, while speaking of the floggings to which the blacks were subjected, described the horrible wounds that resulted, and expressed his astonishment at the licence allowed the humblest sub-official or Prussian non-commissioned officer to inflict this shocking torture. These tyrants give all and sundry 25 strokes with a hippopotamus-hide whip for the merest trifle—to a cook because dinner is a bit late or not quite to his master's taste; any excuse serves.

“ Our colonies are nicknamed ‘ the colonies of the twenty-five ’ or ‘ flogging colonies ’ in adjacent French and English colonies.”

On November 28, 1906, Deputy Schaedler asserted that :

“ The history of our colonies contains a great variety of unsavoury features; theft, deceit, sadic cruelty, violations, horrible tortures—all of them such as one would not brag about. A good sweeping and cleaning out by a strong hand is needed in the Colonial Office and among the officials who run our colonies, which should not be asylums for second-rate people. Officials and officers of broken fortunes and bad moral reputation are not, in our opinion, the men needed in our colonies, not even if they be royal princes: but they are admirably suited for dragging the name of Germany—I might even say that of Christianity—in the mud.”

On March 26, 1906, Deputy Storz :

“ Nothing shows better the difference between the German colonial and the British colonial view of the rights of natives than the manner in which justice is administered. The English-

man is responsible, serious, and completely influenced by the guarantees of justice. In German courts, on the contrary, no respect is paid to forms, and, even if the intention to be just exists—and I would not like to say that it does not—the general impression given is that of the supremacy of power and high-handedness. The English District Commissioner has full jurisdiction in small matters only, and an appeal may be made to the English judge who goes on circuit to hear appeals.

“Among us, on the other hand, the officer or colonist, who has no idea of what justice is, is appointed station chief and has power of life and death over the natives. Certainly, a sentence must be confirmed by the Governor before it is carried out, but the report is sent in by the very person who acted as judge. As a consequence the reputation of the German race has suffered. This despotic system, and the utter absence of equity in our colonies, should be put an end to.”

On March 13, 1914—a few months before the war—Deputy Wels thus summed up the state of things in the German colonies :

“Extremely severe strictures have been passed on the development of the Cameroons, and by speakers of nearly all parties. I will remind you only that deputy Erzberger (of the Catholic Centre) brought into this House the letter from the Bishop of the Cameroons, which showed that the Cameroons was suffering from depopulation in an alarming degree, and that only a few wretched remnants of races are left in what, twenty years ago, was a prosperous country.

“That country has been utterly destroyed under the rule and law of the German Empire. The Colonial Secretaries of State have drawn up a whole list of fine instructions for developing the country, but they have done nothing towards granting the population a peaceful self-development.”

III.

We have just reviewed on the one hand the most notable instances of German tyranny in the colonies, and on the other the opinions of Germans themselves about the system which the Berlin Government approves and maintains.

We will now take a number of examples and try to get an insight into German mentality. We have become only too well acquainted with it during the war; it evinces itself always in the same manner.

We have Peters ordering the death of a young negress, his mistress, suspected of infidelity, and stating in his report that he had had her hanged as a "spy"—an easy way out of the business. Who will ever know how many Belgian women condemned on the same charge have paid with their freedom for refusing to yield themselves to the lust of Prussian officers?

And Wegener, demanding delivery of ebony from the Muroka chiefs, and, on encountering a natural enough request for payment, sending troops to the recalcitrant village. There is killing and wounding, and the official report speaks of a "regular fight."

Then, too, the English missionaries in German East Africa who were thrown into prison when the war broke out on the pretext that they were teaching flash-signalling to the natives and arranging signals with acetylene lamps. Now, there were no acetylene lamps in the place. To establish their case, the German officers gave three natives a hundred strokes each and made them give confirmatory evidence.

In the Cameroons, District Commissioner Freiherr von Ludingshausen, member of a well-known family of Prussian generals, had himself attended on his walks by an orderly armed with a cudgel and under orders to strike anybody who did not uncover when the commissioner passed. This is exactly what happened in Zabern in 1913 and happens every day in Belgium.

In South-East Africa we have the case of a native whose extradition, on a charge of swindling, was demanded by the German authorities from those of the

adjacent British colony. The British handed the man over, and he was immediately shot by the Germans. (This case is described in the *Gold Coast Leader* of October 24, 1914.)

Lieut. Fechner organised a native revolt at Batusi in order to win a decoration and promotion for suppressing it.

In German East Africa the authorities seized native women as hostages, to compel their husbands to work—a method applied to families in Alsace Lorraine.

The system of issuing requisition vouchers, which, it is hardly necessary to state, are not honoured, is practically universal. Ridiculous prices are offered for all kinds of things, seized without ceremony and nominally paid for with a piece of old cotton cloth or a bottle of adulterated rum. The natives have now taken to hiding all curiosities of any value, such as carved ivory, carpets and carved wood, since German collections were being increased by them too cheaply.

Is evidence needed to prove that in Africa, as in Europe, German troops have driven civilians (carriers and even native women) in front of them to act as shields?

Questions of morality are among those which require careful handling. There is a general tendency for German officials to have one or more native concubines, but the seduction of minors also is equally prevalent, and the commission of unnatural acts, too, has unhappily been verified. There is too wide an ignorance of the fact that Berlin is one of the most licentious cities in the world: the Eulenbourg scandals, which compromised even the inner circles of the Hohenzollern Court, lifted a corner of the veil hiding the deep corruption of Germany. The Germans have been enriched suddenly by trade and become greedy of enjoyment. Under cover of neo-hellenism and artistic exhibitions,

pornographic displays have assumed a popularity in Germany which few people suspect; and a so-called science has lent its aid to unbridled licence. People have even dared to defend in print unnatural acts—crimes of which the Reichstag has been requested to take official notice. When we recall old Krupp and the naked *éphèbes* dancing in the garden of his Capri villa, or read the scandalous chronicles of Berlin, or think of the huge output of pornographic publications in Germany (an edifying collection could be made out of the things of this kind found on German prisoners in astonishing numbers), one no longer is amazed by the evidence that reaches us from the colonies.

What are we to think of Baedeker and Mayer's agent, who bought 24 women, by whom he had 40 children, or of that German opinion about the production of these half-castes without recognised rights: *Wir verschönern die Affenrasse* (we are improving this monkey race)? When the question of intermarrying between whites and natives was brought forward in the Reichstag in May, 1912, Baron von Richthofen, a National Liberal, talked very big about German pride of race. It was nothing that a German should seduce native girls and then abandon them and the children which he had by them, for these Germans who did the natives the honour of "improving" their ape-like bestiality could not condescend to take notice of the common laws of morality and Christianity.

The war has shown us how far the German army has put into practice the vices, brutality, and immorality that harbour in the German soul. In other respects, too, as we have proved above, interesting analogies exist. Everybody is acquainted with the famous declaration of the German "intellectuals" which asserted that all the charges brought against Germany were false. It is a refrain of *Es ist nicht*

wahr (It is not true). The formal denial of actual evidence appears to be a mental perversion. Other people would put forward excuses, arguments, explanations. The German prefers a flat denial.

On March 16th, 1896, Count Arnim, a Conservative, mounted the Reichstag platform to defend his friend Peters. He maintained that Peters had never had any relations with the young negroes whom he had hanged, and drew a picture of the High-Commissioner-explorer as an innocent victim. Doctor Kayser, manager of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, then produced an official document in which Peters himself confessed that the young negress was his mistress. Though the facts were well-known and admitted, Count Arnim still resorted to his *Es ist nicht wahr*.

The Conservative *Post*, Baron von Stuerm's paper, was indignant at this attack on Peters, " especially as he had just been conducting a vigorous campaign in the country for strengthening the Fleet " (April 27th, 1897). What an insight this gives us into that German mentality, whose only anxiety is to apotheosise Prussianism! What matters the dishonour of its apostles? The cause comes before everything; nothing counts but the cause!

What shall he say of the logic of Herr von Bottischer, Minister of the Interior, and of Director Hollwig, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who put up the excuse that the country in which Peters committed his crimes was, at the time, still regarded as foreign territory? So, if Peter's actions were not considered crimes by the Kilimanjaro natives, who had suffered from them, and if the native chiefs were accustomed to behave in a similar fashion, no charge could lie against Peters. This extraordinary casuistry, which prostituted the civilised world's moral laws in order to allow a German to behave like a cannibal in cannibal country, and like

a bandit in a country of brigands, aroused Bebel's wrath, and he declared that the civilised world would be greatly surprised on learning the Prussian Government's theories of law.

Equally surprised would the civilised world be by the opinion of Doctor P. Rohrbach, the famous linguist, now one of the leading spirits of German propaganda. In 1913 he laid it down that the natives in the German colonies must not be taught to read or write any European language. (See the articles by the German doctor, John Kunst, which appeared in the *African Times* and *Orient Review* in February-March, 1913.)

The German Government practically adopted Rohrbach's recommendations, and, if the missions had not charged themselves with educational work (in German East Africa, in 1904, the State schools contained only 5,000 pupils as against the 70,000 in the mission schools), it would have been a very long time before the native youth got to know German "kultur."

Granted the general tendencies of German colonial policy, which the examples given establish clearly enough, it is quite obvious that the missions could not be particularly popular with the authorities, since missionary work is inspired by diametrically opposed motives. The apostles of Christian charity and equality, no matter what their sect, endeavour, by teaching the Holy Scriptures to the blacks, to elevate their minds and souls and wean them from the evil habits which endanger their salvation. Their influence is thrown into the scales against immorality, indecency, drunkenness, theft, and cruelty. So the missionaries find themselves at odds with unscrupulous officials who made a practice of loose living, disregard the marriage sacrament, encourage the importation of poisonous spirits of the worst quality, merely to profit German

distillers, condone compulsory sales which look uncommonly like theft, and, on their own responsibility, administer the law with ruthless cruelty. The flagrant difference between European morality, as taught by the missionaries and as practised by the officials and colonists, may well puzzle the unfortunate natives.

In 1905, a German traveller named Scholze, issued in Berlin a pamphlet entitled : *Die Wahrheit über die Heiden Mission und ihre Gegner* (The Truth about the Mission to the Heathen and its Opponents). He quoted the complaint of the *Kolonial Zeitschrift* (1905, Part VI.), about " the millions of German money squandered yearly on missions, and the sewing-bees at which foolish women make clothes for little black monkeys " ; that " the converted negro is Africa's most worthless product " ; and that " the men become scoundrels and the women flirts."

Scholze confirms what we said on an earlier page—viz., that the missionaries' endeavours are handicapped by the black's immorality and his consumption of alcohol. The missionaries are regarded as spoil-sports, who spy on the officials and colonists, help the natives to lodge complaints, report acts of injustice, protect the natives from the abuse of power, and so are a regular clog on the free development of the immoral and cruel fancies of the men who represent the Empire's Government and trade. Further, by teaching the natives the Christian doctrine of the equality of all human beings in the sight of God, they do harm to the Prussian creed, which does not recognise this equality, but aims at making colonial native subjects the passive instruments of its economic expansion.

It is obvious that missionaries who are obliged to protest to the Government Council of the Cameroons to get pregnant women and nursing mothers excused forced labour on road construction (*See Report of the*

Bremen merchant, Herr Victor, a member of the German East African Merchants' Union, January, 1914) could not well be welcome in official circles.

Nothing is more significant of this than the step taken by Herr Dernburg, Colonial Secretary of State, to get the Chapter of Cologne Cathedral, which supports the German Catholic missions in Africa, to move the Archbishop to forbid the missionaries to interfere any longer in what did not concern them. (See the Schmidt case in Togoland, Reichstag Session of December 3rd, 1906.) In his letter to the Chapter, Dernburg hinted that, if these groundless complaints did not cease, he would find himself compelled to take judicial steps against the missionaries.

The treatment inflicted on the venerable Cardinal Mercier and on the Belgian clergy displays the same mentality. Any attempt to interpose in the name of right and humanity against the tyrannical atrocities of the German must be crushed, no matter how lofty and sacred its object.

IV.

We must now consider another feature of German colonisation—the native army.

In 1899, Captain von Wissmann organised the first native force in German East Africa, containing some Soudanese and Zulu elements, to make head against the Arab rising under Bouchiri. In July, 1914, this body of troops had on its strength 261 Europeans and 2,500 natives. In South-west Africa, there was a white army of 2,000 men, and a police force composed of 800 whites and 250 blacks. In the Cameroons, 1,500 blacks and some non-commissioned officers were commanded by 61 German officers.

When war broke out, the Germans recruited forcibly in East Africa about 15,000 fighting men, and 20,000-25,000 non-combatants, who were paid in "provisional notes," which the Imperial Bank will certainly not take in exchange for hard cash.

We will not speak of the conditions under which war was waged—how the Germans sacrificed the natives without compunction, flogged the refractory, put the carriers in chains, and exposed them to the enemy's fire as screens, etc. We have here a story of martyrdom which, at some future time, will be more fully told. But we will give the following proclamation, issued at Duala on August 8th, 1914, by Ebermaier, Governor of the Cameroons, as it will interest war historians.

TO THE NATIVES OF THE PROTECTORATE.

The German Emperor has called his people to arms against France and Russia, who threaten them. The Russian fleet has been thoroughly beaten. A German army has penetrated Russia and another army has occupied Belgium, and is on the point of invading France.

England is jealous of us because the Germans are more industrious and better men than the English. She was afraid to attack us single-handed, and now has attacked us treacherously in the rear.

The German Empire has enough soldiers and ships to fight successfully even now that England has come in. A powerful and faithful ally, the Emperor of Austro-Hungary, is helping us with soldiers and ships. So, too, is the Sultan of Stamboul, the head of Moslem believers. In Germany no man who can carry a rifle remains at home: all have hastened to fight the enemy, while the women help to care for the wounded and the children gather in the harvest. The whole nation is as one family, and has forgotten all its squabbles and differences.

You, natives, who have lived with Germans for a whole generation, know that Germans, though stern, are just: stern towards the bad, just to the good. Any of you who tries to help our enemies will feel our severity. But those who remain faithful will be rewarded. I, therefore, decree that all men of the police and native Government employees will no longer be subject to

corporal punishment, since they have shown themselves loyal. The same applies to those who have been honourably discharged. The Commander-in-Chief orders the same abolition of corporal punishment in regard to soldiers of the Protectorate. You must plainly understand this: he who serves the Germans loyally will be treated as a German, and will share the privileged position enjoyed by Germans. People of the Cameroons, I hear from Bululand that thousands of Bulus are off to fight the French and Belgians. You will show yourselves equally loyal in this hour of danger, side by side with the Germans. And you will get to see that your choice has been a wise one.

The Imperial Governor,
EBERMAIER.

Ebermaier's *communiqué* of August 8th is a pretty fair specimen of German respect for the truth. It tells of the utter rout of the Russian Fleet, though the only exploits of the German Fleet in the Baltic had been to fire a few rounds at Libau from the cruisers *Augsburg* and *Magdeburg*, which immediately afterwards prudently withdrew; and of the occupation of Belgium as an accomplished fact, though Liége had fallen only the day before.

A notable feature of this proclamation is the sudden abolition by the German authorities of corporal punishment. It is a confession of a bad conscience, of the fear of rebellion and desertion. The wolf becomes a lamb.

The fact that they were so indulgent towards the native troops shows that the leaders did not feel that they had their men any too well in hand, though these men, who had been carefully picked, already enjoyed special privileges. Well paid, well equipped, armed with an excellent rifle, well fed, and well housed, the German African soldier benefited by the favour always extended by the House of Prussia to the armed man, the instrument of its greatness and formidable power. The professional training of these soldiers was exceedingly thorough. They were constantly reviewed

and made to listen to speeches intended to impress their imaginations. They belonged, they were told, to the greatest army in the world. There was only one flag—the German! All others were mere rags. They were invincible, and must make no mistake about that. The soldier's word was never doubted. Evidence given by him in a court of law must not be gainsaid, as it would not do to lessen his authority and prestige by proving him guilty of perjury.

Imbued with such ideas, and sure of impunity, the native soldiers had no scruples about committing all kinds of misdeeds. Those stationed at small posts on the frontiers* of neighbouring colonies won a name as highway robbers. Any complaints addressed to the German authorities were taken no notice of, in accordance with the Prussian dogma of the supreme authority of the soldier. When the frontier between Nigeria and the Cameroons was being adjusted, the villagers on both sides asked permission to move their homes a good distance from it, to be out of reach of the German frontier guards.

Previous to 1914, Germany would not use black troops for anything but local purposes, police work and terrorism. The wars conducted in her African colonies, as well as her experiences on the Western Front, have shown her that the warlike negroes possess a high standard of courage and endurance. It cannot be doubted that if, after the war, the colonies were given back to Germany, this knowledge would be turned to account. We should witness the gradual creation of a German African Army, fed by the fourteen million natives under the German domination. All material that might thenceforward not be required in Europe, would find its way to Dar-es-Salaam, Duala, and Lomé, and we should see the Pan-German plan of expansion begin all over again in Africa, to the injury of neighbouring colonies.

As, on the other hand, Parliament and public opinion in France, England, Belgium, and Portugal were formally opposed to the development of militarism in the colonies, we were gradually sinking into a position of inferiority. Yet Germany alleged that the Three Years law—a purely defensive measure—was aimed at her, and condemned as a violation of the *pax Africana* any steps which we might desire to take to prevent this perilous situation and the piling up of armaments—at once ruinous and dangerous—arising afresh on the soil of the Dark Continent.

What, we may ask, would be the ultimate fate of the white minorities were German militarism once established in Africa?

V.

We now approach the end of this cursory account. We have indicated, by convincing examples, the administrative methods employed in its colonies by the German Government; the contempt for the native, who is regarded as mere human cattle; the rule of the good pleasure (and especially of the evil pleasures) of the German official; the glorification of cruel and criminal despots, and forgiveness for all their misdoings because they have worked hard to spread the terror of the German name; the German interpretation of what power means; the despoiling of natives, who have no chance whatever of getting justice done them; inhuman treatment seen in wrongful and often fatal floggings; forced labour; degradation brought about by the importation of alcohol in large quantities. The outcome of these methods has been continual rebellions, all ending in bloodshed. The natives have perished by hundreds of thousands in these colonial wars, while others have died from exhaustion, bad

treatment, or the ravages of alcohol, in the plantations or on the roads which they have had to construct for the Government with strokes of the whip as their only payment. Others, again, have fled into neighbouring colonies ruled by other Powers. From 1914 to 1917, the troops of the Entente have been hailed as liberators wherever they have gone.

When the day of making peace comes, will it be allowable to merely hand her colonies back to Germany? The peace-loving Powers of the Entente were attacked by Germany and Austro-Hungary, and have derived the energy which during all these long months has taken the place of organised preparedness, from the longing to abolish, once and for all, the danger, fatal to all expansion, of a German hegemony being riveted on the neck of the whole world.

We have so many allies, because it was plain that the entire world was taking a definite side in a struggle that has raged for centuries between two principles—Power and Freedom. We are fighting for the setting up of a statute which at last will allow all human beings to breathe freely and to know the sure protection of laws and justice that favour none.

Germany remains faithful to the Hohenzollerns and their ways, and offers no guarantee of fair treatment to the natives of her old colonies. The parliamentary power of the Socialists and some generous minds in the Reichstag has not been able to bring about any change for the better in the course of the last twenty years, nor will it be able to do so in the future, since the war has proved the absolute subservience of those boasted Liberals to the autocratic system by which Germany is governed. It is a question not of policy, but of mentality. *Deutschland über alles* is not a marching song, but a dogma.

Were we to restore her colonies to Germany to-

morrow, we should be guilty of a crime against humanity, for we should expose the natives not only to falling again under the hateful yoke, but to the terrible revenge of their old masters, whose cause they deserted to welcome their liberators.

A letter found in the Cameroons on a German officer, and addressed to one of his comrades, another local official, contained the following reference to the Dualas and Iabassis, two tribes which had long been victimised by the Germans, and quite naturally had gone over to the enemy as soon as the war began:—
“ Liebe Dualas, liebliche Iabassis, Rache ist süß ”
(Dear Dualas, beloved Iabassis, revenge is sweet!). You may guess what is in store for tribes like these, to whom Ebermaier promised to teach the meaning of German severity!

Can the civilised world possibly hand over 14,000,000 defenceless beings to the machine-guns and lash of German “ Kultur ” without incurring a terrible responsibility? Official Germany put it on record in 1917 that she would not evacuate Belgium unless her colonies were restored. On August 4th, 1914, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg admitted in the Reichstag that the violation of Belgian neutrality was a breach of international law. “ Das Unrecht—ich spreche offen—das Unrecht das wir damit tun, werden wir wieder gut zumachen suchen, sobald unser militarisches Ziel erreicht ist ” (The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice which we have committed we will endeavour to atone for as soon as our military aims are attained.)

For three years Belgium has been dying under the yoke of German tyranny. Nowadays there is no question at all of restoration: the setting free of Belgium is only a lever to employ against the Allies to make them give back the colonies.

In his speech of December 20, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

“ As to the German colonies, that is a matter which must be settled by the great international Peace Congress . . . The wishes, the desires and the interests of those countries must be the dominant factor in settling their future government.”

All minds which love justice should rally round this formula. Opinions are unanimous on this subject. In a recent letter from the Cameroons we read :

“ As regards the whole question of German rule in the tropics, the natives are most affected by it, and no arrangement concerning the conquered German colonies should be come to without a proper consideration of the natives who live in them.

“ I have no hesitation in saying that, were we to hand over the natives to the mercy of the German officials, those responsible for such an act would be guilty of the most hateful crime imaginable.”

Here is a letter from a Cameroons native, dated August 24, 1915 :—

“ We have not seen anything more of a single one of those who went away with the Germans. I am told that they were killed because the Germans are cruel. His Majesty George (King of England) has sent Englishmen and Frenchmen to save us from our enemies. Your sisters and brothers in Christ send their kindest regards to you and your family.”

A Cameroons missionary writes :—

“ It would be a regular disaster to the Cameroons natives were Germany allowed to resume her fatal administration of East Africa.”

Another, who had spent twenty years in East Africa, says :—

“ It would be disastrous to the natives if Germany again got possession of East Africa. Not only would the Germans treat with special severity those who had shown themselves, in one way or another, well disposed towards the English, but it would do immense damage to England's prestige among the natives of Central Africa, Uganda and Rhodesia, as showing weakness. Many natives and native chiefs have told me that they had been informed by the Germans that the English possibly might take

East Africa, but that it did not matter, since Germany would be sure to come back and settle up accounts with the natives and their chiefs.

"The recollection of the treatment already meted out to them by the Germans has naturally made the natives cautious, yet most of them have shown themselves well disposed towards the English."

Thus a native Christian of Togoland, August 29, 1914:—

"Hurrah! Hurrah! We are delivered from the Germans like the Children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh."

Do we need further evidence, more quotations? The question of the German colonies is one fraught with grave consequences to humanity at large. One cannot compare it with that of annexations, as the latter are contrary to the general principles on which the coming peace must be based.

The German colonies have not existed forty years, and cannot be regarded as territory genuinely German in origin, language, traditions, culture and manners. In official documents Germany speaks of them only as *protectorates*. The term is evidently used ironically, considering how Germany has "protected" the natives of her colonial domains.

Peace should ensure for the world a long era of freedom and progress. But it would not be right, while leaving no stone unturned to obtain justice for some people, to take no account of the rest (fourteen millions of them) merely because they have black skins,

UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

MAR 27 '40

521ans 41B

MAY 5 1954

JUN 01 2004

YC 09719

380050

JY 2008
P5

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

