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### **Germany's right to recover her colonies, irrefutable facts and figures, english and american testimony**

**Solf, Wilhelm Heinrich**

**Berlin, 1919**

**urn:nbn:de:gbv:46:1-13652**

IX. c. 6224 No. 6.

# GERMANY'S RIGHT TO RECOVER HER COLONIES

IRREFUTABLE FACTS AND FIGURES  
ENGLISH AND AMERICAN TESTIMONY

by

DR. W. H. SOLF

Secretary of State of the  
German Colonial Office

## ARTICLE V

"The free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based on the strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

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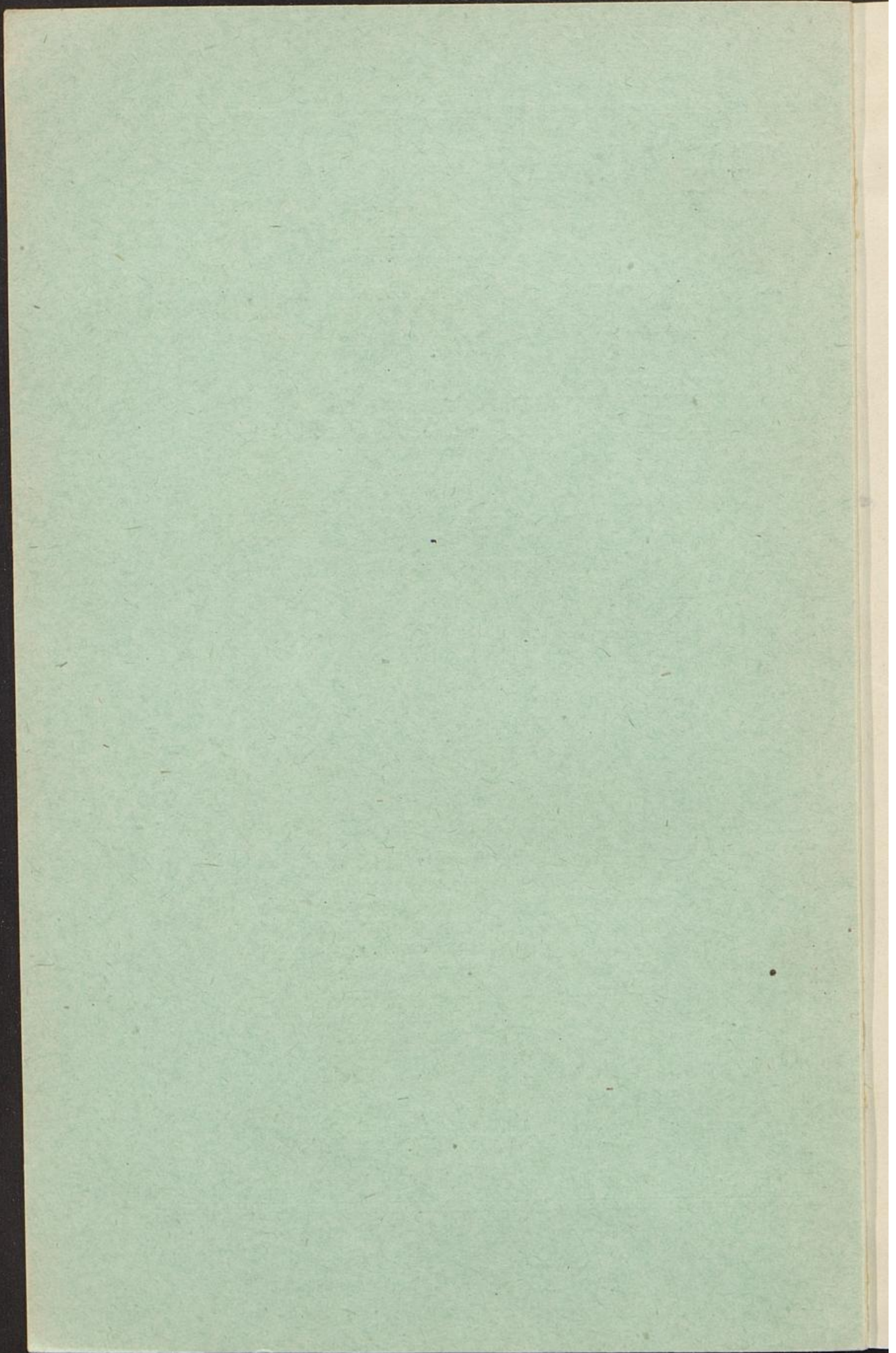
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GERMANY'S RIGHT  
TO REFORM  
HER COLONIES  
BY  
DR. WILHELM  
DIEHL  
BREMEN  
1911



IX.c.6224-6

**I**N the affairs of nations as of men, there are rights so inalienable that merely to question them is to violate every inherent, elementary feeling of justice and commonsense. As such a right the German People have regarded their claim to the recovery of their colonies. This profound and passionate conviction has persisted steadfastly through every hour of the long World War. It may even be said that in assuming that their colonies would naturally be returned to them after the war, the German People have done signal honour to their enemies in crediting them with the just recognition of this clear and incontrovertible claim.

It is a claim based upon three deeply-rooted factors which determine the entire attitude of the German People towards their colonies. First, the bitter knowledge that, owing to their former unfortunate national disunity, their colonization began long after the choice lands of the world had been parcelled out, whence their opportunity for sharing in the great civilizing mission of the Aryan race was confined to toiling in the fields of others; second, that owing to their relatively small European territory and their relatively large increase

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of population, colonies mean to them more than to any other people, and that they are now and in the future a necessity of existence; thirdly, that the acquisition of the German colonies was by means of peaceful negotiation, purchase, exchange and treaty and not by aggression, military conquest, or forcible annexation. It has seldom been an imperialistic, but nearly always an economic policy which has determined Germany's attitude toward her colonies.

In the whole annals of the acquisition of colonies by the great European powers, there is no cleaner record than that of Germany. Even the dominion over the native races was established by protectorate treaties and other peaceful measures, and arms were resorted to only under exceptional circumstances.

### **Germany's African Pioneers.**

Though last of the greater European powers to acquire colonies, Germany was one of the foremost in the pioneer work of opening up such unsettled lands as those of Africa. The names of German explorers and missionaries shine brilliantly in the history of the Dark Continent. The achievements of such men as Heinrich Barth, Wilhelm Junker, Georg Schweinfurth, Gustav Nachtigall, Hermann von Wissmann, Gerhard Rohlfs, Emin Pasha, and many others, belong to the greatest and most splendid in the African roll of fame. The

names and deeds of these men will, for example, be found recorded with high honour in "The History of African Colonization," by one of the most distinguished English authorities upon Africa, Sir Harry H. Johnston. Nor can the pre-war tributes of this former admirer of German colonization in Africa, ever be annulled by the self-contradictory attacks upon German colonization made by him during and under the influence of the war.

The magnificent pioneer work of Germany's explorers establishes an irrefutable historical and ethical claim to Germany's participation in the colonization of the African continent. In the words of President Wilson's 5th Article, it establishes the "equitable claim of the government whose title is to be determined."

### **A Great Nation—Small Colonies.**

The meagreness of Germany's colonial possessions in comparison with those of other and far smaller nations, constituted a glaring injustice and incongruity even before the war. For it must be emphasized again and again that colonies are to the Germany of today and the future not a political luxury, but a vital necessity. Colonies are necessary to Germany for reasons which must and will appeal to the enlightened intelligence of the world—to every mind not eclipsed by the darkness of war or convulsed by its passions. Here facts and figures, statistics and comparisons speak a clear and

powerful language. No one, not wilfully debasing his intellectual integrity, can evade the conclusions to be drawn from these silent but incontrovertible advocates.

### **Eloquent Statistics.**

With the exception of Spain, Germany has the smallest colonial possessions in relation to the size of her home territory. On the same basis, England's colonial possessions are 17 times, Belgium's 14 times, Holland's 11 times, France's and Portugal's 4 times larger than those of Germany.

Based upon the unit of the white population of the mother country, the native population of England's colonies is 43 times, of Holland's 34 times, of Portugal's 8 times, of France's 6 times and of Belgium's 5 times greater than that of Germany's colonies.

Based upon the relative extent of the foreign imports, England has 9 times as much colonial territory at her disposal as Germany, France 7 times, Belgium and Portugal twice as much—whilst Spain and Holland likewise possess a greater field for markets than Germany.

Portugal, with its 6 millions of population, held jurisdiction over  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million natives, Belgium with its  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million inhabitants over 15 millions, whilst Germany with its 70 millions ruled over only 13 millions. The Portuguese are unable to cultivate even their own fertile homeland, whilst the Belgians, despite their industrial

activities, are in no position properly to administer, either with men or money, a country which, like the Congo Basin, is 80 times larger than Belgium itself! The following table will also prove illuminating:

10 Portuguese control more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ sq. Kil. of colonies with 15 Natives						
10 Belgians	"	"	3	"	"	20
10 Frenchmen	"	"	3	"	"	12
10 Englishmen	"	"	$6\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	83
10 Germans	"	"	0.4	"	"	2

### Africa as Europe's Garden.

When in addition to these amazing facts, we further consider that the German territories are to a large extent desert land, and afflicted with a climate detrimental to the white man, the disparity in Germany's disfavour grows still more vast. The natural interests of Germany have never been properly considered even in her scattered colonies. For example, there are boundary rivers, such as the Orange in German South-West Africa and the Volta in Togo, which leave the entire river bed to the neighbouring state, whilst Walfisch Bay in German South-West Africa is still held by England, though of little value to her. A condition such as this must be characterized as a sign of ill-health in the natural economy of the world, a perilous lack of balance and adjustment between home lands and settlement lands, between over-populated Europe and its natural garden and colony—Africa.

### **A Nation's Right to Live.**

The military Balance of Power in Europe was an evil and sinister doctrine, since it took into account neither industrial development nor organic growth. The same evils in an economic and political sense still prevail in the lack of balance and proportion between the various European States and the relative size of their African territories. Surely, to revert to the principle of President Wilson's 5th Article, the needs of a great white nation constitute beyond all question an "equitable claim of the Government whose title is to be determined." The soldier's lust of conquest, the profiteer's desire for gain, the imperialist's greed for annexation, *can never establish a claim so valid as that of an entire people to the right to live, grow and work.*

### **The Factor of Raw Materials.**

Never before has the importance of raw materials become so strikingly evident as in this war. Nations live through their industries, and these live through their supplies of raw materials. The right to live is the most elementary of all human and national rights. This right, translated into terms of modern economics, means the right to work. But the right of nations

to work can be exercised only if the right to obtain sufficient raw materials be freely conceded.

Though Germany's still undeveloped colonies could never be capable of supplying her with all she needs for her subsistence and her industries, there is no doubt that their further development by Germany would tend to relieve the abnormal demand for certain raw materials which will be felt by all great manufacturing nations for a long time to come. Their systematic cultivation according to painstaking German methods would therefore prove an asset to the world at large.

Germany was compelled to draw too many of her supplies from foreign lands or colonies. Her coffee and rubber came from Brazil, her cotton from North America, British India and Egypt, her oil seeds and cattle fodder from the Argentine, British Africa, India, Russia and the United States, her tobacco from Sumatra, the West Indies and Brazil, her rice and tea from China and the East Indies, her wheat from the Argentine, Canada and Eastern Europe, her cocoa from South America, British West Africa and Portuguese possessions, her wool from Australia and the Argentine. This state of dependence compelled Germany to become a strenuous and therefore unwelcome competitor in the world's markets, forcing her to a powerful intensification of her industries, so that she might be able to pay for her purchases by means of her surplus manufactured goods.

### The Fiction of "World Supremacy."

This inevitable development brought about the fiction that Germany was seeking the commercial supremacy of the world, from which arose another fiction, namely that this was to be the forerunner of a political and military supremacy—thus generating envy, suspicion and distrust. The commercial expansion of Germany was however, almost entirely due to Germany's want of colonial expansion. This great land was like a congested workshop, whose denizens must buy from their neighbours what they should have been able to grow in their own garden *and who were then forced to energetic competition in order to pay for the materials which these had sold them.* Here again we observe the vicious circle, the friction, the irritation in international relationships, due to an evil system, a faulty organization and lack of adjustment—sand, as it were, in the wheels of world economics.

### Overcrowded Germany.

Clear-sighted statesmen of all countries had recognized the urgent necessity of granting such a highly-organized and steadily developing land as Germany adequate colonies for its constantly-growing surplus population and for the cultivation of raw materials. SEVENTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE LIVED AND WORKED ON

AN AREA ADAPTED BY NATURE FOR THE SUPPORT OF ONLY ABOUT ONE-HALF THIS NUMBER.

Central Africa was conceded to be the most suitable country for Germany's purposes. Just prior to the war, England, which had recognized the reasonableness of Germany's claim, had almost concluded negotiations with the German Government, relative to the acquisition by Germany of a large part of the Portuguese colonies. This might conceivably indicate that Britain did not at that time think Germany unfit to rule over native races!

Germany's purchases of raw materials from other colonies were out of all proportion to her exports to these colonies. The following figures for the year 1913, will reveal this clearly:

	German Imports from	German Exports to
Australia—New Zealand	300 Million Marks	88 Million Marks
British India	541 " "	150 " "
British W. Africa	134 " "	17 " "
British South Africa	69 " "	47 " "
Egypt	118 " "	43 " "

Germany's exports, which amounted to almost double those of France, were forced to spread themselves over the entire world, whereas France, with one-half of Germany's exports, had her own enormous colonial empire in which to dispose of great quantities of her wares. The same holds good for England—as for instance, in India, England's imports from which were valued at

828 millions of marks and her exports to which at 1,386 millions.

### **Development, NOT Exploitation.**

The principle of German colonization has been construction, not destruction, development, not exploitation. There was a time when the cry was raised, "the Germans are not good colonizers," and there was a time when German inexperience in colonial work seemed to justify this cry. It should never be forgotten that English colonization to a large extent followed *after* the pioneer work—such as the early subjugation and pacification of the savages—had already been accomplished by the Spaniards, Dutch, Portuguese or French. Germany's initial methods may have been far from perfect, but in later years the results under an improved system have been fruitful, as acknowledged by numerous English colonial experts whose opinions shall be quoted later.

### **Common Initial Errors.**

Errors have undoubtedly been committed in Germany's methods of colonization. Let the nation that has not committed such errors fling the first—Blue Book. "It would be un-German and pharisaical," as I have openly declared on another occasion, "were we to contend that our colonial past is spotless. But our catalogue

of sins is neither so lengthy nor so black by a long way as the British."

Colonial crimes and errors occur inevitably under the first influx of adventurous, unruly or exploiting elements. But it is palpable dishonesty to pretend that a nation so highly organized, well-educated and order-loving as the German, should be incapable of developing uncultivated territory or of training and civilizing savage races.

### **The Black Armies of France and England.**

Germany upheld as a sacred principle the solidarity of the white race in Africa. Scrupulously she avoided everything which might savour of a militarization of the black race, or violate the spirit of the Congo Acts, designed to keep Africa immune from all wars and to maintain there the supremacy of the white race. Germany's native forces were confined to a limited number of police troops. France, on the contrary, introduced what practically amounted to conscription in Senegambia, and made extensive levies among the natives of Northern Africa. She hurled the innocent and bewildered children of the desert and the jungle into the hell of European battlefields, where they bled for interests which were not their own and were taught to slay white men in a white man's land with white men's weapons. This unspeakable abomination against Cau-

casian civilization, this betrayal of both the white race and the black, will yet be stigmatized in history as one of the infamies of the age. This violation of immanent laws, ethnological and moral, cannot fail to bring forth its harvest of misery and evil in days to come.

### **“Colonizing Means Missionizing.”**

Germany, as universally acknowledged by all students of African affairs, maintained the most liberal principles of Free Trade and the Open Door in her colonies—contrary to the practice of most other European powers. Scientific hygiene, model town-planning, education, modern methods of agriculture and afforestation were everywhere introduced. I have striven to characterize the new policy which governed Germany in her attitude towards the inhabitants of her colonies, in a speech which I delivered in the Reichstag on March 6, 1913, and from which I beg leave to quote:

“The natives, gentlemen, are our wards, and the German Government is for this reason confronted by the duty of considering the just interests of the natives as its own. For we do not wish to exterminate, but to preserve them. This is a moral duty to which we stand pledged through the hoisting of our flag in our African and South Sea colonies. The exercise of this duty is also actuated by wisdom, for this alone will secure us the possibility of a commonsense commercial policy and thereby the basis of our national participation . . .

"The tribes with which our colonization brings us in contact, occupy a lower plane of culture and are actuated by a lower, frequently much lower viewpoint than the civilized whites. It is not only our legal duty, to which, as the protectorate state we are bound—no, gentlemen, our position as a cultural state obliges us for the obvious sake of civilization itself, to help these tribes and to strive to procure for them better conditions of life than they themselves have hitherto been able to secure in view of their inefficiency and limited capacities.

"*Colonizing means missionizing*, and missionizing in the lofty sense of education towards culture. Precisely as one of the supreme tasks of a leading statesman consists in the proper approximation of the imponderabilia of his own nation, so must the colonizer strive indefatigably to study the thoughts and feelings of the natives, to analyze them and to adapt his methods of work accordingly. And his tasks are many and diversified. The natives are ignorant—they must be instructed. They are indolent—they must be taught to work. They are unclean—they must be taught cleanliness. They are ill with all manner of distempers—they must be healed. They are savage, cruel and superstitious—they must become peaceful and enlightened."

### **The Rights of the Native.**

No nation with a colonial purpose so humane, so lofty as this, need fear comparisons with other lands, nor the aspersions of those who for dubious motives, would now deprive an unfortunate people of the results of their yearlong work, energy and enterprise. A nation with a colonial program such as the foregoing pledges itself in the highest sense of President Wilson's principle—that "the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of

the government whose title is to be determined." This principle I have endeavoured to express in the following formula: "The natives have the right to demand that they should at all times be regarded by the more highly-developed races *as an end and not only as a means.*" Here too—in the field of native interests in the German colonies,—the defamation which has been spread abroad during the war can be refuted by countless impartial tributes paid in times of peace and sanity.

### **Ill-treatment of German Missionaries.**

The work of the German missionaries among the natives has been in the highest degree salutary and constructive. It has been performed entirely from humanitarian and not from national considerations. For the German missionary institutions have always emphasized the super-national nature of the true missionary goal and the universal fraternity that bound these men to a great and common task. This ideal has always been upheld—from the very day when German missionaries first set foot in stranger colonies—as two hundred years ago in India—where they preceded the English.

The inhuman wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon that body of heroic, God-fearing and self-sacrificing Christian gentlemen, the German missionaries in the British and in their own colonies, furnish one of the blackest pages of the war. It was the ruthless negation

of the very spirit of Christian Missions, the charitable message of which had been so fervently acclaimed at the famous International Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. It was the deliberate destruction of centuries of noble and unselfish labour on the part of German missionaries—work from which chiefly Britain and British natives had profited.

The charges of political conspiracy levelled against these splendid men are utterly without foundation in fact.

Such unjust aspersions against the German missionaries were publicly repudiated by Dr. Frank Lenwood, one of the leading officials of The London Missionary Society, in a letter to "The Challenge" of May 10, 1918, in answer to the allegations of a Mr. Archibald Allen:

"I can only say that though I have searched diligently and have been in a position to get the information, I have found little to justify the impression that German missionaries have been engaged in political propaganda. There were, I believe, one or two cases in West Africa at the time of the military occupation by the British; and in the *whole* of India I have heard of one or two suggestions of hostile propaganda.

"But for the rest all the evidence that I have seen, both positive and negative, *is the other way*. I should lay special stress on the testimony of people such as the Bishop of Chota Nagpur, the Rev. J. H. MacLean, United Free Church, and the Rev. C. E. Philipps of the United Theological College, Bangalore, all of whom have had to do with German Missions since the missionaries themselves have been removed. I think that anyone who knows the Mission field will agree that, if a man has been guilty of any sort of weakness or unworthy conduct, his successor is almost certain to find it out. The general testimony of the men I have quoted, who do

not speak for themselves alone but for many others, is that *they have found nothing to justify the charge against the German missionaries*. Indeed I have seen it suggested that the Germans, with their more self-conscious conception of loyalty, have taken more trouble to teach a definite allegiance to the British Empire than is usually attempted by British missionaries.

“It may further be said that if the German missionaries were in any sense agents intriguing against the British Government, they must have been extraordinarily inefficient to have left so few traces of their action.

“I am driven to the conclusion that the charges against them are due to suspicions, natural enough in war time, *but without real foundation* and that the statement has been repeated so often upon scanty evidence, that it has come to be accepted as a fact. *The great and unselfish service of German missions under the British flag calls for an impartial scrutiny of any statement made against them.*” §

The mental, spiritual and bodily welfare of the simple-minded children of nature in their charge — that is to say, “the interests of the population concerned,” has been the single and supreme duty of the German missionaries — a duty which they performed with unflinching devotion.

Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of South Africa, in an address on “Degrees Day” in Capetown on November 27, 1909, called express attention to the work of a German Mission Station as a model of what good educational training of the natives should be.

The project entertained by certain missionary bodies in England under the influence of war psychosis, of excluding German missionaries from the fields of their yearlong endeavours in spreading the Christian religion

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§ *The italics in this and the following quotations are my own.* W. H. S.

and civilization among the natives, would be a deadly blow at the very heart of Christianity—a prostitution of Christ's clearest precepts to imperialistic politics and militarism.

### German Missionary Endeavour.

Cold figures can give but a scant idea of the immense work performed by the German missionaries *in the German colonies alone*, exclusive of the many missions established for centuries in other colonies, but they may at least afford some conception of the extent of this work. The number of Head Mission Stations, both Protestant and Catholic, in the German Colonies at the beginning of the war, amounted to 465, the European workers to 1868, the natives baptized to 275,350, the native helpers to 129,469, the schools to 4621, and the pupils to 225,809.

The Rev. Cornelius H. Patton, D. D., Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, during the Africa Conference held in New York City on Nov. 20, 21, and 22, 1917, expressed, in connection with Germany's African Missions, the only views and sentiments which are compatible with Christian tenets and an exalted conception of the problem:

“Africa cannot afford to lose the help of the German Societies which were established in various parts of the continent before the

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war. The German missions in Togoland, in the north part of Cameroon, in German Southwest Africa, and in German East Africa, were being blessed of God in signal ways. *They were making a unique contribution to Africa's evangelisation and civilization.* Their Missionaries were second to none in self-sacrifice and zeal. Whatever geographical and governmental changes may occur, *it will be nothing less than a calamity to the Kingdom of God if the Christian people of Germany are to have no further part in Africa's redemption."*

### **Imperialism and Moral Pretexts.**

Those English imperialists and annexationists who, in violation of all right and reason and in adherence to the old and discredited policies of conquest and plunder, see in the German colonies only spoils of war for swelling the already gigantic possessions of England, have sought to conceal their real motives by the time-honoured expedient of construing a moral pretext. It need not be pointed out to the open-minded that such pretexts and the material upon which to base them are easily found when self-interest and the desire to injure the enemy are the ruling impulse and passion. Such evidence of alleged German cruelty and injustice towards the natives as has been compiled—and under what circumstances!—in the English Blue Book, can be duplicated, nay, multiplied in the history of every colony under the sun. It can even be gathered day after day in the records of every European country. For human beings are unjust not only to inferior races, but to their own fellows and compatriots.

It was to be foreseen that the little known field of German colonial activity would furnish a tempting opportunity for those who imagine that war consists in painting the enemy as a monster and a fiend—for the concocters of "German atrocities." High prices were offered for African atrocities. Even German missionaries were promised release from the pestilential camps in which they had been confined, under stipulation that they furnish accounts of German cruelties. All the court records at Windhuk and other towns in German South-West Africa were diligently searched in order to collect instances of maltreatment. These were then strung together and trumpeted throughout the world in the notorious Blue Book as "characteristic" examples of German brutality towards the natives. But the calumniators overleaped themselves. For it must be clear to all thinking men that, if such cases are brought before German courts, the natives must be protected by law, and the perpetrators of wrongs upon the natives tried and punished. By an equally cunning compilation from the police-court records of London, Paris or New York, it might as conclusively be proved that the inhabitants of these cities were grossly incapable of maintaining law and order. What if the civilization of the southern states of the Union were to be judged wholly by a record of isolated instances of lynch law heaped together for purposes of propaganda?

### Crime in the Colonies.

The colonial history of France and England is far older, but it is also infinitely more bloody than that of Germany, which began practically in 1884. This attempt to besmirch the colonizing methods of the Germans by collecting masses of unverified and unverifiable misdeeds, or by exaggerating the importance of such as may really have occurred, is in itself so transparent and unscrupulous an appeal to passion, prejudice and ignorance, that it might well seem ridiculous, were it not at the same time so appalling a specimen of what is deemed permissible in war. As even every fair-minded Briton would concede, evidence of monumental magnitude and of indisputable historical veracity might be compiled which by its very bulk would annihilate England's moral right to possess a single colony and prove her utter incapacity to govern her possessions for the good of the land and the people.

One would not need to go back so far as the bloody reign of terror under Warren Hastings in India—a land peopled by an ancient and highly-developed race—nor to the beginnings of British colonization elsewhere—the extermination of the Australian tribes, the Maoris of New Zealand, the massacres in the Soudan, the wrongs perpetrated upon the Egyptians and the Africans. Mighty world-wide structures of Imperialism have not been

founded upon love, moral suasion or benevolence of soul, but by force of arms, conquest and egotism.

In spite of British achievements in colonization, British efficiency is not left unquestioned even by the British themselves. As recently as the 31st August, 1918, the London "Statist" declared that: "considering what possibilities our Colonies offer, the length of time they have been in our hands, and further, that England possessed the greatest mobilized capital in the world before the war, we can only regard our Colonies as a danger to ourselves and a reproach to the Motherland. For the greater part, they are completely undeveloped wastes."\*

### **Value of German Exploration.**

Countless English voices in days before the rabies of war dictated policy or indiscriminate abuse of the opponent was considered necessary to patriotism, attest the efficiency as well as the liberality of Germany's modern colonizing methods.

Sir Harry H. Johnston sums up his judgment of the part played by Germans in the discovery of Africa in the following words:

"In the usual wars with the natives, the Germans had also made the mistakes which are so common in the intercourse between white and black. But science has made enormous progress through the

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\* *An asterisk indicates a text which has been translated back into English.*

German exploration of Africa, and it is now a well-established fact that the part which Germany has played in the development of Africa is a very important one . . . . . Although Germany has only just begun her efforts to develop and administer her African territories of more than a million miles in area, no history of Africa would be complete which did not recognize the work which has been achieved by Germans in the geographical development, and in ethnographical, botanical and linguistic research."

### Germany's "Little War."

In 1899, the same authority paid a warm tribute to German efficiency on the Zanzibar coast, commending the beautiful towns, roads and plantations, and remarking that German East Africa would enable the Teuton "to educate and raise into a higher state of civilization a vigorous native people." He likewise supported the German side of the case against the Hereros and Hottentots in German South-West Africa. The uprising of the Hereros, though largely fomented by hostile agents, has generally been used as capital against Germany, though differing in no wise from the innumerable "little wars" to which British historians refer so lightly when they occur in British colonies.

Johnston acknowledges that the German government prosecuted employees of the East Africa Company and others who had been guilty of abusing the blacks—*"Germany wisely did not hush up these affairs, but investigated them in an open court and punished the guilty."* After saying that the unmixed Teuton, Dutchman or

German, may at first be too rigorous with subject races, he writes:

"But he is no fool, and wins the respect of the negro or the Asiatic, who admire rude strength; while his own good-nature in time induces a softening of manners when the native has ceased to rebel, and begun to submit. There is this that is hopeful and wholesome about the Germans. They are quick to realize their own defects, and equally quick to amend them. As in commerce, so in government, they observe, learn and master the best principles."

*"History of African Colonization," Page 414.*

### Sir Charles Eliot's Tribute.

Among the most eminent witnesses against the allegations of those who would rob Germany of her lands, is Sir Charles Eliot, Royal Commissioner for British East Africa from 1901 to 1904. His book, "The East Africa Protectorate" (Edward Arnold, London, 1905) pays many a tribute to Germany. Sir Charles calls attention to the fact that the natives in the German protectorate may be a greater hindrance to colonization than those in the British protectorates. He refers to the fact that in the financial year 1900-01 Germany lavished £617,950 upon this colony, England but £193,438 upon her corresponding colony. "As might be expected, the scientific departments, which have been almost entirely neglected in the British possessions, have received great attention. Elaborate and costly experiments have been made, etc." Furthermore:

"The Germans are said to deal with natives more severely than we do, and to be less popular with them... On the other

hand, natives are said to immigrate into German territory from the Congo Free State and the Portuguese dominions, so that they cannot find the régime very distasteful." *Page 258.*

### **"Every Reason to be Proud."**

Frank A. Melland and Edward H. Cholmeley, in their interesting book "Through the Heart of Africa," (Constable, London, 1912) set down their critical impressions of a journey through German East Africa and summarized them thus:

"Probably some mean between the German rigidity and our own casual elasticity would produce the best results. We should study each other's methods and choose which can be adopted with profit and which discarded. The Germans are openly and admittedly learning from us, with our greater colonial experience. We, on the other hand, need not think that we have nothing to learn from them... On the whole, considering how new colonial work is to the German nation, they have every reason to be proud of what they are doing in their East African Protectorate."

*Page 101.*

### **Roosevelt's Opinion.**

Among those who have fulminated most furiously against Germany during the war, is Theodore Roosevelt. Yet he too may be summoned into court as a witness on behalf of the nation he has so unjustly aspersed, even though the judgment given below applies in common to both the German and the English:

"They were men of undoubted capacity and action: one had only to look at them in order to understand why Germany has developed so rapidly in East Africa. They are first-class men, these

Englishmen and Germans; they are both doing work in East Africa from which the whole world profits. There is room enough for both, and there is absolutely not the slightest reason for anything but the most friendly rivalry. It is devoutly to be wished in the interests of both and also of those less closely concerned, that their relations to one another should continue to grow steadily better—and not only in East Africa, but everywhere.”\*

“*African Game Trails.*”

The well-known American traveller, E. A. Forbes, wrote as follows in the “*American Review of Reviews*” (1911):

“*Of all the lords of Africa, the German has the cleanest hands and the best prospects. His African invasion was characterized by the most artful diplomacy, but even his bitterest enemy could scarcely declare that he did not play fair.*”\*

### Germany's Treatment of Natives.

Forbes paid considerable attention to the manner in which Germany trained her natives:

“Without any flourish of trumpets or the noisy help of the press agent, the German is training Young Africa according to his own ideas, and he does not mind how much trouble it takes. I have closely observed the Germans in their intercourse with their half-savage protégés on the West Coast. *Administration and government on the black continent are largely a question of temperament, and to all appearances the Germans are less liable to give way to irritation and excitement than other white men.* I have studied all the white races engaged in the work of awakening Africa, and I cannot avoid the conviction that the German native will develop himself as highly as all the others, if indeed, not more highly.”\*

About 1910 the successes achieved by the German colonial system began to attract uncommon attention

in England. It was openly confessed that many of these colonies might well serve as models even to the British, despite their long experience in this field. For example, "The United Empire," the official organ of the Royal Colonial Institute, published the following (July, 1913):

"Wherever the German may be, the school-master is abroad. With the missionaries, the colonial governments have developed education to quite an astonishing extent. The number of native children attending schools is rapidly on the increase, and this is chiefly due to the peaceful and harmonious manner in which the missions and the administration have supported one another's efforts. The Government's administrative work in hinterland districts has been much facilitated by the help of missionaries, and we have the pleasing spectacle of the Government, the missionaries, and the troops working without friction, hand in hand, in the administration of the colonies and the education of the natives."

Louis Hamilton, a well-known English colonial writer, one by no means over-friendly to Germany, and very critical of the red-tapeism that afflicted much of its administration, called attention to the great and fruitful work which Germany was accomplishing in the schools for colonial training which she had established at home:

"Germany leads the world in education; taking the word as meaning mainly cultivation of the intellectual powers. It is therefore perhaps hardly surprising that her colonial education should be good."  
*("United Empire," Jan. 1911.)*

The same writer in another number of the same magazine (Sept. 1912), also called attention to the value

and high cultural significance of the work which Germany was accomplishing in her model settlement of Kiaou-chau in China.

### **An Englishman on the Hereros.**

Henry Samuel, Esq., a well-known authority on South African affairs and an intimate friend of Cecil Rhodes, extolled the work of Germany in her southwest African possessions.\* Furthermore he declared that Germany must give up the attempt to reform the natives, who belonged to the lowest types of the human race. This was a hopeless way to begin. According to his point of view it was necessary to get rid of the Hereros by placing them on reservations—according to the Australian system. The development of the colony could be hoped for only through settlement by whites. Here we have nothing less than a direct and expert British admonition to the German colonists to cease attempting to better the natives!—surely an admonition scarcely “in the interests of the population concerned.” Had such an opinion been vouchsafed by a *German* colonial authority, we should undoubtedly find it flaring in capitals in the pages of the English “Blue Book” as a particularly damning proof of the immorality of the German policy towards the blacks.

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\* “*The Observer*”, 1911.

### **The Liberal German Commercial Policy.**

The Commercial Supplement of the London "Times," (Jan. 1913), in contrasting conditions in the French and German colonies, remarked:

"Blind selfishness, on the contrary, does not characterize the German; when he acquires a colony, he invites everyone—Germans and Englishmen, Portuguese and Frenchmen, to carry their capital and their trade there. In none of the west African colonies does the merchant meet with more friendly encouragement than in German Togoland and the Cameroons, where liberty, equality and fraternity is the motto of the governing power."\*

The chief organ of British interests in Africa, "The African World," (March 13, 1913) observed that the German colonial administration was governed by the same principles as that of the English in East and West Africa. Professor Macmillan Brown of Canterbury University in New Zealand, in the "Daily Telegraph" of August 27, 1913, expressed great admiration for the humane character of the German officials in the South Sea Islands. Other eminent British colonial authorities, Viscount Milner, the Hon. George Foster, Canadian Minister of Commerce, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lucas, and Robert Melville, Esq., are cited in the "United Empire" of February 1914, in commendation of the German colonial system.

### **First Extension—then Extinction?**

The manner in which organized calumny of German colonial politics has gone to work, even under re-

pudiation of opinions held and openly proclaimed in times of peace, is well illustrated by the *volte-face* of an English colonial writer, the missionary John H. Harris. In 1917 Mr. Harris published a pamphlet against the restitution of the German colonies. Yet in his book "Dawn in Darkest Africa" (1914), he made a strong plea for the *extension* of the German colonies through incorporation of a part of the Belgian Congo. If Germany in 1914 was fit not only to govern her colonies, but to extend them, why should she be deemed incapable of doing this in 1917?

### **"Treated like Indian Rajahs."**

The same lamentable contradiction between reason in peace and rage in war may be seen, as already indicated, in the utterances of Sir Harry Johnston. In his book, "Commonsense in Foreign Politics" (London, 1913), he clearly and frankly recognized Germany's dire need for colonial expansion and advocated arrangements which would enable her to extend her possessions in East Africa and the Cameroons. He likewise bespoke the extension of German influences in the Balkans and Mesopotamia. No word is said in this book of German incapacity for colonization. Even during the war, Sir Harry Johnston wrote in the "Daily News":

"Germany was fortunate enough to be in a position to send out several good Governors, who were on excellent terms with the nat-

ives. As a matter of fact German rule from the 'nineties right up to the outbreak of the war, was by no means unpopular in East Africa. The leading native chiefs were treated as we treat the Indian Rajahs and the Arabs became so thoroughly reconciled to the German dominion that they became powerful allies of the Germans." \*

### Tribute of Famous African Expert.

Let E. D. Morel, humanitarian, thinker, lover of Africa—a man whose name shall yet shine brightly among those of the spiritual heroes of the war who have dared to speak and, speaking, suffer for the truth, be the last witness among many more who might be cited. Mr. Morel is one who has realized the supreme importance of this question to the future well-being, peace and progress of the world:

"Having said so much, I am bound to state that Sir Harry Johnston's proposal to exclude Germany from any share in African territorial sovereignty appears to me bad and impracticable. From the point of view of the interests of the native population it would be justifiable if German rule in Africa had shown itself very much worse than that of other Powers who have exercised, or who exercise, African territorial rights. *But it has not.* There has been nothing comparable in German administration with the hideous tragedies of the Congo Free State and French Congo, the latter in such marked contrast to French administrative rule north of the Bights. The guerilla warfare against the Hottentots in South-West Africa was characterised by many atrocious incidents, but so have other African campaigns waged by other Powers, as Sir Harry Johnston would be the first to admit. A European administration of Africa is not to be fairly judged by what occurs in a state of war; else whose records would be clean? German rule in Africa

has had certain patent defects. But it was steadily improving. The last two German Colonial Secretaries were sincere reformers. The last one had personally visited the British West African Dependencies (which is more than any British Colonial Secretary has ever done), and had openly expressed his admiration for our policy in Nigeria. He was engaged in orienting German policy in the same direction when the war broke out.

“A powerful school of thought had arisen in Germany under the leadership of Westermann and Vohsen in favour of a native policy similar to that which we have pursued with success in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The administration of native races was quite a new problem to Germany. She was learning and profiting by her mistakes. One decided point to her credit as against the other European Powers, Britain excepted, was her maintenance of the open door for international trade, and this has an important indirect bearing upon native interests. From the point of view of the natives a policy aimed at excluding Germany from Africa would not, therefore, be justified.

“From the wider point of view it would be very short-sighted. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Allies are eventually in a position to ‘dictate’ peace-terms to Germany and to impose, as part of those peace-terms, Germany’s exclusion from the Colonial field; they would, if they so acted, be sowing the seeds, not of a lasting peace, but of a renewed conflict. It is a moral, physical and strategic impossibility to bottle up an elemental force such as that which the German people incarnate. It simply cannot be done . . .

“If the Allies succeed in reducing Germany to an unconditional surrender, it is clear they will be in a position to impose such terms as they choose. But they cannot destroy the German people or that people’s industrial capacities. Hence I fear that the sort of ‘punishment’ which Sir Harry Johnston would like to see inflicted upon Germany would be a punishment, inflicted, not only upon the German people, but upon the British and French people as well . . .

“On what logical grounds could ‘France’ be made to say to ‘Germany’: ‘I, with my forty millions of people, claim the right to possess four and a half million square miles of territory in Africa,

where I differentiate against your goods, and I claim the right to increase my possessions still further. But I deny you with your seventy millions of people and expanding birth rate and foreign trade, the right to hold a single inch of African soil?' Or on what grounds of reason could 'Britain' be made to say to 'Germany': 'My flag flies over one-fifth of the world's surface, but although your population is greater than mine and increasing more rapidly, as is your trade, than mine, I deny to you, not only the right to possess an inch of African territory, but I also claim the right, whenever it may suit me, to encircle the whole of my enormous domain with a tariff wall against you?' That way lies; not peace, but endless strife; not statesmanship, but madness; not relief for the peoples of France, Britain and Germany, but added burdens."

*"Truth and the War," London 1916.*

These words express not only the deeply-stirred conscience of an eminent publicist, inspired by a glowing devotion to justice, and distressed at seeing his country in the wrong, but also the vision of a prophet just as fervent in his devotion to peace among men.

### **The Breaking of the Congo Acts.**

Who carried the war into Africa? Who unloosed the infernal passions of human slaughter in a continent already dark with human tragedy, misery and strife? Let it never be forgotten that war in Africa was begun in direct violation of the Congo Acts of 1885—treaties which had been signed by the leading nations in order to preserve the harmony and prestige of the white race among the black. At the outbreak of the war, Belgium, on August 7th, 1914, proposed that the

Congo Acts which had been formulated upon the initiative of Dr. Kasson, American Ambassador to Germany, be maintained and the war kept out of the neutralized colonies. France refused to accede to this on August 16th, and England on August 17th. Hereupon fratricidal war burst upon territory which solemn pacts had decreed should be kept free from its horrors. Should an attempt be made to support the purely imperialistic claim of annexation by the purely militaristic plea of forcible conquest, then both, by virtue of the Congo Acts, must be negated through the illegality of the very declaration of war against these German colonies.

### **The Miracle of Lettow-Vorbeck.**

The heroic struggles of General Lettow-Vorbeck, his exhausted and decimated forces and their faithful black comrades, cut off from all supplies from and contact with the motherland and battling against splendidly-equipped troops twenty times their superior in numbers, will remain one of the monumental defences in history. Harried by illness and privation, confronting and overcoming frightful obstacles and difficulties, the magnificent spirit of this small body of colonial Germans kept up the hopeless fight for over four years until the fainting motherland herself gave the signal to surrender. *German soil in Africa has been twice sanctified by German blood, German arms have gloriously defended the title to German land.*

### The Phantasy of U-boat Bases.

Another reason which has been advanced for refusing to give back the German colonies to their rightful owners is the charge that the Germans would use them as bases for U-boats. The argument was coined for propaganda purposes and is wholly specious. Naval bases for battleships or submarines are either legal or illegal, according to the new laws to be formulated by common consent of the nations. If illegal, they must be forbidden to *every* nation, if legal, permitted to *all*. If the League of Nations, or if revised international law, determine that naval bases are not to be maintained in colonies, they will naturally not be maintained in German, any more than in English colonies. If submarine warfare be declared illegal, there will be no submarine bases, either English or German.

Colonial submarine bases without heavy and formidable fortifications and considerable bodies of troops to ensure them against attack by land and sea and air, would moreover be useless, and Germany, despite Sir Harry Johnston's fantastic bugbear of a militarized German Africa, *has always adhered strictly to the ideal of the non-militarization of her African subjects*. Nor can submarine bases be constructed in secret. To deprive Germany of her African colonies under the pretext that she might erect such bases there, is to attempt to cloak projected

robbery with transparent sophistry. To assume that because, in time of war, Germany under its old Imperial government, erected a submarine base in Flanders, the new democratic, non-militaristic Republic of Germany would erect such bases with aggressive intent in its African colonies in times of peace, is to close one's eyes to the immense changes which have come upon the world. Not naval stations, nor submarines, but future laws governing the traffic of the seas in a non-militaristic world, which includes a free, non-militaristic ocean, must be the determining factors, if the League of Nations is to have a firm foundation in actuality.

### **The Real Value of Native Petitions.**

It has been reported that a kind of petition had been signed by the chieftains of various native tribes in the German colonies, expressing their desire to remain under British rule. The trickiness of such a manœuvre and the worthlessness of such evidence scarcely require comment. One need only imagine how easily the Germans would have been able to secure by purchase, persuasion or force, similar petitions from the simple-minded natives in the British Colonies, had the fortunes of war brought such colonies into German hands. One need only think of the petitions which would surely be signed not merely under coercion by savage or half-

savage or aboriginal chieftains in British Africa, but *voluntarily* by millions of cultivated Irishmen, Indians and Egyptians, demanding independence from English rule, in order to appreciate the grotesqueness of such petitions as that in question.

Once more it is easy to annul such spurious and trumped-up evidence by means of the witness borne by an impartial American author. On page 480 of his book "The New Map of Africa, a History of European Colonial Expansion and Diplomacy," (The Century Co., New York, 1917) Mr. H. A. Gibbons utters the following judgment:

"The ability of German officers in Kamerun and East Africa to command the loyalty of their native troops and the co-operation of the inhabitants of these two colonies is a big surprise to France and Great Britain, and disproves the thesis that the natives of the portions of Africa over which Germany ruled were eager to welcome British and French liberators."

If the old unhappy policies of political and military robbery, and the lawless doctrines of annexationist imperialism are not to triumph in the new and better world which mankind hopes to create after the cataclysm, then equity, order and organization must prevail. Germany demands nothing more than fair play, and the force and righteousness of her demand are in no degree lessened by the fact that she voices it whilst stricken, starved and bleeding from a thousand wounds.

### The "Equitable Claim."

Germany's claim to the recovery of her colonies is based upon the irrefutable fact that, by every written or unwritten law of colonisation, they are now as much her soil as the soil of Pomerania. Her claim is based upon something higher than mere expediency or interest. It is based upon a moral right, as this right is in turn reinforced by an imperative need. She bases her claims to the recovery of her property upon arguments which must receive the sanction of all honourable men, upon those ideals which President Wilson has enunciated in the Fifth Article of his Programme.

**"The free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based on the strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."**

### Rights Above Interests.

Germany and her enemies have both accepted this liberal doctrine of the American President as the basis for peace negotiations. *Any deviation from its clearly-formulated clauses would prove a flagrant violation of a solemn agreement.* Germany has nothing to fear from a "free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment,"

but she has the right to protest against implacable enemies bent wholly upon her ruin, being considered *impartial* adjusters of questions that concern not only the belligerent nations, but the world at large. She has the right to demand that the world should set rights and needs above mere interests or desires.

### **The Demand of the German People.**

Germany's equitable claim to her colonies is established by German achievements in pioneer work, by the indefatigable and ever-ripening labours carried on by her missionaries, her settlers and her officials in the great task of bringing light, comfort and order to the primitive races according to the advanced principles upheld by her best colonial leaders. It is augmented by the economic and territorial necessities which beset her geographically in Europe, now in a greater degree than before, owing to losses of her own home territory. It is confirmed by the *unanimous demand of the German People*, that their colonies be returned to them to foster, administer and develop in accordance with the common task of the White Man in Africa.

*"The politician would be very short-sighted who underrated the greatness of the German character, or reckoned on the evanescence of German dominion in strange lands,"* says Sir Harry Johnston.

The appropriation of Germany's colonies in order to swell the already gigantic bulk of England's possessions, or for any other purpose, would not only constitute an unforgivable crime against the new German Republic, but a crime against the future peace of the world, against the lofty ideal of the League of Nations upon which betrayed humanity bases its hopes, against the common civilization of the white race and the problems it must solve in unity—or not at all.

### **“The White Man's Burden.”**

Africa is the ward of Europe and not the monopoly of a few nations. Germany, as an integral and important part of Europe, cannot and must not be excluded from participation in the common task and the common field. Her exclusion from Africa would do violence to every conception of justice, and remain a monument of wrong and outrage in the world's eyes, crowning with folly and infamy a war of unparalleled hatred, wrong and misery.

It would signify that the new and hopeful German Democracy, born amidst such agony, and all the ideals for which it stands, would be largely ruined. Unforgettable, ineradicable bitterness would be lodged in the souls of 70 millions of people.

It is the ethical duty of a world organized for peace and advancement to see that Germany is not made a victim of short-sighted revenge, political ferocity or newspaper slanders, but that she be given sufficient space to breathe, that she be given room wherein to labour, in order that she may find an outlet for her enormous energies and aid in the great work of reconstruction and of new creation. It should also be remembered that Germany hitherto has had little outlet save the military career for those adventurous spirits which make the best colonists.

The enormous heart-breaking problems which the war and the loss of the war have placed upon her are utterly impossible of solution if access to the oversea lands built up by her foresight and her industry, be denied her.

### **The Youngest Republic's Right to Live.**

International good-will and equilibrium cannot be established by the wanton dismemberment and mutilation of the youngest and second largest Republic in the world, a republic whose future form of government will undoubtedly be based upon the most advanced and elevated principles of democracy. It would prove a great and unpardonable historic wrong if a nation in the moment of its achievement of political freedom at home, should be fettered abroad.

The essentially peace-loving people of the German Republic must not be left to cherish feelings of unendurable wrong, for these would remain as corrosive poisons in the heart of Europe, fomenting hatred and wrath and embittering and undermining all European and international relations for generations to come.

### **An Appeal to the World's Conscience.**

Germany does not come as a petitioner for the return of what is indisputably her own, *but as one who has placed her faith in the pledged word which the United States, their President and their Allies gave to the world.* She comes to demand her right to live, and also to lift her voice in warning lest the unreasoning hatred or the blind arrogance of the victors should seduce them into committing an irreparable wrong.

The German Republic appeals to the conscience of the world and to all thinking men and women who embody that conscience. It appeals to the wisdom of its enemies, to the sane minds that lift themselves beyond blindness and passion into the serene altitudes in which alone a just and permanent peace can be established.





