BUILDING THE COLONIAL BORDER IMAGINARY: GERMAN COLONIALISM, RACE, AND SPACE IN EAST AFRICA, 1884-1895

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ABSTRACT

Between 1884 and 1895 several different factions within Germany attempted to understand and control the spaces and peoples of East Africa, called Ostafrika in German. The tensions between their visions for East Africa and local geographies combined to create what I call the “colonial border imaginary,” a set of divisions and meanings for East African space that determined administrative approaches through the German colonial period and after. The different groups involved proposed different solutions to what Germans approached as a problem of development. Much of the dissension among the different parties was over how to understand the relationship between geographical space and people – in German, Land und Leute.

The German East Africa Company proposed an approach based on remaking Land. By making East African space more like Germany, it could turn its Leute into productive components of the German economy, as well as making the colony an attractive destination for German emigration. The Foreign Office and missionary groups, in contrast, proposed remaking East African Leute before Land. In their thinking, the education and development of East African Leute would turn them into productive subjects and use them to remake Ostafrika’s Land into a productive colony. The Foreign Office’s geographical model slowly won out over the model that the GfK and DOAG, who founded managed the colony through the 1880s, faced a series of crises that proved it unable to successfully administer and develop Ostafrika.
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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Between 1884 and 1895 several different factions within Germany attempted to understand and control the spaces and peoples of East Africa, called Ostafrika in German: members of the Society for German Colonization (Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation, GfdK), the German East Africa Company (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, DOAG), German Foreign Office officials, and German missionaries.¹ The tensions between their visions for East Africa and local geographies combined to create what I call the "colonial border imaginary," a set of divisions and meanings for East African space that determined administrative approaches through the German colonial period and after. The different groups involved proposed different solutions to what Germans approached as a problem of development. Much of the dissension among the different parties was over how to understand the relationship between geographical space and people – in German, Land und Leute. German colonialists disagreed over whether Land had a greater effect on Leute than vice versa, which shaped their proposed solutions to the development problem, as well as the terms in which the problem was posed. If Leute depended on Land, Germans would have to first remake East African spaces to make the colony viable and "civilize" its inhabitants. If, however, Land depended on Leute, German colonialists would have to remake East African societies before changing its spaces.

¹ I will use the term "Ostafrika" to refer to the German colony and "East Africa" to refer to the region in which it was located in order to avoid confusion. By "East Africa," I mean primarily the territory that was part of the German colony, today's mainland Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi, though Germans did at times apply the term to a broader area, including Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, northern Mozambique, southern Somalia, and parts of South Sudan.
The GfdK, Ostafrika’s founder, proposed an approach based on remaking Land. By making East African space more like Germany, it could turn its Leute into productive components of the German economy, as well as making the colony an attractive destination for German emigration. The Foreign Office and missionary groups, in contrast, proposed remaking East African Leute before Land. In their thinking, the education and development [Erziehung] of East African Leute would turn them into productive subjects and use them to remake Ostafrika’s Land into a productive colony. The division over how to imagine the relationship between Land and Leute bled into the differing ways in which Germans imagined the international dimensions of their colonial empire. Missionaries and the Bismarckian Foreign Office believed colonialism could be an international enterprise, with European Christians or European states, respectively, working to create civilization in Africa for the benefit of harmony in Europe and the world.² The GfdK/DOAG and its allies, on the other hand, saw empire as a zero-sum game in which one nation would triumph. The Foreign Office’s geographical model slowly won out over the model that the GfdK and DOAG, who managed the colony through the 1880s, faced a series of crises that proved it unable to successfully administer and develop Ostafrika. The debate over the relationship between Land and Leute implicitly dominated the first decade of German discussions of the colonization of East Africa; it dictated the possibilities for economics and politics in the region and both shaped and was shaped by ideas about race and world geography.

² For missionary internationalism, see Jeremy Best, “Founding a Heavenly Empire’: Protestant Missionaries and German Colonialism, 1860-1919” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2012).
In the same era, the question of the relationship between *Land* and *Leute* was the fundamental issue motivating the development of an academic discipline, that of human geography. Germans led the way in the development of geography as a field. Carl Ritter, a German geographer from the first half of the 19th century, posited a new way of looking at geography. Ritter, in his nineteen-volume *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte der Menschen*, established the study of geography in the German academy. Ritter argued that one needed to look at the relationship between people and landscape, particularly the effect of landscape on societies. He explained the dominant position of Europe in terms of Europe’s superior natural resources and climate.\(^3\) Friedrich Ratzel, the founder of human geography as a field, published his *Anthropogeographie* in two volumes in 1882 and 1891.\(^4\) Ratzel, drawing on his travels in Europe and North America, wrote that cultures could be understood by looking at the relationship between people and their environment. People formed a spiritual bond with the landscapes they inhabited and that one could understand societies by looking at the ways in which they shaped and were shaped by physical geography. Other scholars have drawn attention to other social science discipline’s roles in empire in different contexts.\(^5\)

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This dissertation analyzes the effects of human geography as a crucial piece in the European colonization of Africa.

Ratzel’s ideas did not emerge out of nothing. Felix Driver has identified a type he calls "geography militant," geographers actively promoting and working for imperial projects, in 19th century Europe. Ratzel built upon a tradition of the study of the non-European world in which Germans took a leading role. Immanuel Kant had argued in 1775, and Johann Gottfried Herder in the following decade, that all humanity had begun as one people and had been transformed by climate into different races over time. Alexander von Humboldt had brought human geography into the European popular imagination through his travels to South America in the early 19th century, which he wrote about in popular books that served to popularize scientific exploration around Europe. Humboldt became one of Germany’s heroes as the nation unified, a symbol of German science and a special German gift for understanding the non-European world. Ratzel saw a connection between geography and empire. Geography was "inseparably bound from its outset" with history and politics.

I use Walter Mignolo's concepts of the "colonial difference" and "border thinking" as a means of understanding and then critiquing how Germans conceptualized East

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7 Immanuel Kant, "Von den verschiedenen Racen der Menschen," in Immanuel Kants frühere noch nicht gesammelte kleine Schriften (Link, 1795), 87-106; Johann Gottfried Herder, Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Vienna: Johann von Müller, 1813).

Africa. Mignolo defines the "colonial difference" as the making of value judgments and from them structures of power out of differences between colonizer and colonized. Geography was a central element of European scientific thinking about the non-European world and offered credibility to the colonial movement. Other European nations modeled their colonial administrations after German ones before the First World War, particularly the German application of social and natural science research to colonial rule. Natural and social sciences allowed Europeans to establish sovereignty over Africa as "natural space to be cultivated." Ideas about science and medicine became conflated with social progress in 19th-century Germany, particularly among the Bildungsbürgertum. Germans rallied around the human sciences in the late 19th century as a means of showing their cosmopolitanism through virtue in internationally-recognized science. Geography served as the "chief point of contact" with empire for German pre-university students. It taught students the world in terms of its exploitability for German industry. Geographers rallied around the Land und Leute approach as a means of making geography relatable to students who had called it the "most sterile" subject before

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13 For the case of ethnography, see H. Glenn Penny, Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
Germany acquired colonies. Geographical surveys served to mark and rationalize African landscapes, making them legible to European audiences and available for European exploitation.

Geography is integral to every political project in some way. Conceptions of spaces and the relations between them shape thinking about issues ranging from world historical import to minute, day-to-day changes. The scholars Martin E. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen deploy the concept of metageography, "the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world: the often unconscious frameworks that organize studies of history, sociology, anthropology, economic, political science, or even natural history," to explore the ways in which geographical conceptions often obscure as much as they reveal about historical connections across space. This project is centrally concerned with the development of a particular metageography, the ways in which Germans conceptualized spaces in East Africa, and the ways in which that metageography shaped ideas about race, religion, and history in German East Africa.

Lewis and Wigen describe metageographies as "ideological structures," with the effect that changes in ideology entail changes in spatial categorizations. Geographies shape basic understandings of the natural and human worlds. People from different continents

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15 Demhardt, 16.


17 Ibid., xi.
become distinct and their societies and histories can be compared. "Jigsaw-puzzle" views of the world emerge, in which ideas and people cannot overlap geographical imaginaries. Continental divisions became increasingly important and naturalized as real in 18th- and 19th-century Europe.

Geography "shifted its weight from descriptive exploration to prescriptive domination" over the course of the 19th century. New printing and publication techniques made maps available for European publics and allowed them to participate in visualizing empire. They became the basis for later territorial divisions and arguments over land through the present day. African actors, however, shaped the supposedly "scientific" European visions of African landscapes. In areas where Europeans could not complete full surveys, African ideas about landscape, though they did not exist in the form of paper maps, entered European discourses and created hybrid maps. Sebastian Conrad has written that "Geography was in many respects a national and colonial discipline," celebrated as national achievement. Maps formed a "transnational field of cartographic influence" that shaped European ideas about Africa from the early modern period forward. Cartography was a key part of the visual culture of empire and played

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19 Braun, 18.

20 Ibid., 15.


an important role in promoting colonialism in Germany. European scientific claims were one of the ways in which Europeans asserted their mastery over others. Scientific claims justified European state interventions into people’s lives in both the colonies and the metropole. Germans frequently imagined colonies "as a quasi-empty space, an ideal place for putting social interventions into practice, including the kind of interventions that would meet with seemingly insuperable levels of resistance in Europe." Land appeared empty to European settlers because it was not farmed following European models. In naming spaces in East Africa, Germans marked them as places, turning them into objects of European knowledge. Maps differentiated these places, set them off from one another in a narrative of European exploration.

European mapping created a new sense of landscape, as well as whole new spaces for Europeans to enter. Standardized mapping promised to order the confusion Europeans experienced at African names and understandings for landscapes. Maps made African


24 Other such means included claims to technological and scientific superiority, as seen in Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).


26 Conrad, 142.


landscapes, ethnicity, and politics into ordered territory over which Europeans could exercise sovereignty. Maps do not express truth in the way they claim; they rather show power relations and cultural practices. They "are part of a persuasive discourse, and they intend to convince." As the invention of writing conveyed the control of knowledge in Europe, maps served to control space. Maps of colonial empires "anticipated empire" by depicting conquests before they were effectively be occupied. Denis Wood argues that maps work to "apply social forces to people and so bring into being a socialized space." They do this by showing that things of certain categories are where maps say they are, and state that affairs already exist in the state the map describes; they are arguments that the world exists in a certain way, not statements of fact. There is no need for maps unless social relations call for them, and the strongest force calling for maps is the modern state, which has a need to link people, as well as plan military operations, across spaces across which talking cannot connect them. Maps served as rational forms of control for states across the world beginning in the early modern period. Their power comes from their ability to embed ontological propositions into locative ones, to translate statements about being into statements about place. Whereas anthropology offered a way for Germans to understand humanity according to hierarchy and historical development, geography

30 Michael Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Expeditionen, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005), 178.


32 Ibid., 57.

33 Denis Wood, Rethinking the Power of Maps (New York: Guilford, 2010), 1.
offered a spatial understanding of human difference that could easily be visually represented.  

As the GfdK began its work, European maps were still silent about parts of what was to become Ostafrika. The silences in the map dehumanized the landscape and allowed Germans to conceptualize all such territory within one general category of unknown land. Silences denied African understandings of landscape behind a veneer of science, that it was bad practice to map things that could not be verified. Early German descriptions of East Africa fit into a genre of writing pure descriptions of Land und Leute, lands and peoples. Such writing adopted a veneer of unbiased observation in emotionless descriptions of African people and territories. It focused on quantifiable data - heights of mountains rather than the experience of climbing them, measurements of spears rather than the fighting style of their wielders - to provide a "scientific" description of Africa for metropolitan audiences. Everything named with a German name made a little piece of Africa German.  

German East Africa did not form a neat geographic unit. Even Catholic missionaries imagined borders on the African continent differently. Catholic missions divided the territory that became German East Africa among three different regions: Equatorial Africa, East Africa, and Zanzibar. The doyen of the first generation of

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34 On German anthropology and empire, see Andrew Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

35 I follow J.B. Harley in using "silence" rather than "blank space" because "silence" conveys agency in deciding to depict an area as empty. Harley, 86.

historians of the area, John Iliffe, describes mainland Tanzania's geography as fitting into five distinct regions: the western plateau, the northwest, the southern highlands, the southeast, and the northeast. Besides the obvious exclusion of the segments of German East Africa that did not become part of an independent Tanganyika, the five regions were not unified when the Germans arrived.\(^{37}\) The Nyiginya kingdom in modern-day Rwanda, for example, never had precise borders. It was conceived of as a space with a center and outlying regions with little concern for exact borders. Power was based on control of factors of production, not bordered sovereignty.\(^{38}\)

Continents became important as a geographical category, Dane Kennedy has argued, because they served as a way to classify expanses beyond the reach of states and their surveyors. They had no sovereign and, "[l]ike oceans, continents came to designate empty space, inscribed in the abstract coordinates of longitude and latitude."\(^{39}\) They were empty of people and claims to sovereignty. Whereas 16th-18th century European maps of Africa showed identifiable states and peoples, 19th century maps silenced those states and peoples and portrayed Africa as empty. Information previously available through non-European reports no longer served as valid sources.

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Carl Ritter conflated continents with races in the 1860s. German ethnography was particularly defined by continental divisions. Ethnographic museums divided content by continent rather than by an imagined progression of humanity. Continental divisions determine the ways in which the western academy studies people around the world. They study Europe as history, the Orient with philology and area studies, and Africa with anthropology. "Natural people" [Naturvölker], such as Africans, could not be studied using traditional humanistic disciplines. They existed outside history and had to be studied with social science.

Histories of Africa are especially tied up in narratives about geography. As one popular textbook puts it, "The history of Africa cannot be understood without knowledge of its geography." Johannes Fabian has written, "Central African geography was geopolitics," meaning that European geographic studies served a primarily political purpose. As Lewis and Wigen detail, we today imagine Europe as the continent of environmental "possibilism" [sic], a continent in which people can remake landscapes. Africa appears, in contrast, as a continent of "iron physical laws" that humans cannot

40 Lewis and Wigen, 30.
41 Penny, 35.
43 Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism.
overcome. Maps served as one of the primary means through which European publics consumed Africa. They "not only represented Africa as an object of geographical inquiry to be mastered, but also proclaimed its importance as a site of commercial opportunity and a potential imperial territory."\(^{47}\) Portuguese cartographers were the first Europeans to create maps of the outline of the African continent, in the 15th century. Early modern maps often filled the middle of the content with fictitious sights and peoples. Beginning in the 17th century, mapmakers began to remove the fictitious information from maps, and 18th century mapmakers often decided to exclude all information that could not be scientifically verified.\(^{48}\) European explorers marked the landscape as knowable through naming, and raced to publish their discoveries in map form to claim their own expertise.\(^{49}\) Africa appeared on European maps as a space apart from the rest of the world, a space with its own history as a continent.

German colonists copied precolonial rituals of crossing the border between culture and wilderness when traveling west from the coast.\(^{50}\) They took knowledge and discourses formed through the caravan trade and transformed them into a geographical division of colonial administration.\(^{51}\) The German presence in Ostafrika was notoriously

\(^{46}\) Lewis and Wigen, 43-44.

\(^{47}\) Lambert, 1.

\(^{48}\) Jeffrey C. Stone, *A Short History of the Cartography of Africa* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1995). The continued prevalence of these maps in the GfdK/DOAG world can be seen in the fact that Peters copied an 18th century map by Guillaume Delisle in his 1902 map of Ophir.

\(^{49}\) Fabian, 200-203.

\(^{50}\) Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 222.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 36.
thin and weak. German administrators resorted frequently to force and other military means, such as the fortified *boma*, to maintain power.\(^{52}\) It was bureaucratic on the coast and military in the interior.\(^{53}\) European travelers and colonists in East Africa worked from those local understandings of distance in the colonial encounter. In areas of which they knew nearly nothing, precolonial travelers had to describe distances in terms of travel time, not miles. Such understandings of space fit the needs of travelers just fine. But they did not fit the needs of the colonial state. Remaking landscapes was particularly important to German colonialism of the late 19th century. German colonialism created a new spatial regime in the areas of Africa that it entered. The discourse of German colonialism created and organized spaces in Africa, through the creation of what John Noyes calls "nodal points," points of transformation that define rites of passage between discreet spaces.\(^{54}\) Where East Africa was different from Germany's other colonies and expansion to Eastern Europe was in its history and the overlapping geographical imaginaries in which the region's history played out.\(^{55}\)

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\(^{52}\) Austen, 32-33. *Bomas* were fortified villages or camps.

\(^{53}\) Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 274.


\(^{55}\) Kristin Kopp describes the workings of this process in Poland, Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012). Michael Pesek has called *Raum*, meaning roughly "space" in German, an "industry of meaning" [*Bedeutungsgewerbe*] in the context of *Ostafrika*. People mark space with symbols, monuments and artifacts to make it a point of reference for social and cultural identities. Space was not important to sovereignty in East Africa before German arrival; sovereignty was based rather on control of people than on control of space. German colonists had to construct "rulerless sovereignty" [*herrenlosen Souveränität*] to make claims to East African space. Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 13, 17.
That division between civilization and wilderness continues to affect historiographical approaches to East Africa. Many scholars have argued for a conception of mainland Tanzania’s history as part of an Indian Ocean World, building on Fernand Braudel’s call for scholars to pay attention to the Mediterranean Sea as a space with a shared history among people along its edge over the *longe durée*. The study of the Indian Ocean as a unit offers an antidote, its practitioners argue, to European metageographies through the study of long-term movements of people and ideas across the ocean. Such scholars deploy the concept of "hinterland" to connect areas inland from the coast. I argue that the use of "hinterland," rather than the neutral, almost ahistorical basis it appears as in such works, dates to the German colonial conquest of East Africa. The word "hinterland" is German, and the DOAG used it to argue for a larger territory in East Africa in the late 1880s, a history that complicates current scholarly usage. The hinterland conceptualization of East Africa provided the perfect justification for imagining East African sovereignty the way Germans wanted. It allowed Germans to create layers of sovereignty across Ostafrika and justify projecting power over the coast.

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and narrow corridors inland. German colonialists imagined the coast as simply a gate to the interior, where the true riches of East Africa lay. They demonstrated an understanding of colonies as "gates" to control the goods of the interior, a form of empire that depended on control of ports to control far more territory. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck declared his support for that form of colony in a statement he made on 18 September 1888. He announced that the "coastal strip…is actually of little importance for colonial development. The possibility inherent in this strip derives essentially from relations to the population deep in the interior."

Germans did not invent racial divisions in Ostafrika, but they did turn them into governmental categories of difference and legislate markers of difference into the hierarchies of the colonial state. Ethnicity could serve as a means to control various aspects of East African life. It could create a population of laborers for German plantations. As the examples of Rwanda and Zanzibar show, ethnic and racial difference

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57 For layers of European imperial sovereignty and the creation of different kinds of rule across bounded colonial spaces, see Lauren Benton, A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

58 Frederick Cooper lays out the meaning and importance of the "gatekeeper state" in colonial Africa in Frederick Cooper, Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Ratzel, writing about his travels in the United States, told readers "[t]he countryside has no history, often for thousands of years, for one generation plows, sows, and harvests there just like the next." He described New York and San Francisco as "the gates of entry and departure" for American traffic and trade. Friedrich Ratzel, Sketches of Urban and Cultural Life in North America, trans. Stewart A. Stehlin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 4, 18.


were core parts of East African societies before European arrival.\textsuperscript{61} The people of Zanzibar and the coast drew a line between themselves and the people of the interior based on a civilization-barbarism binary.\textsuperscript{62} For coastal merchants, moving west was a border crossing. They performed ceremonies to mark the crossing of a barrier between culture and nature, between civilization and wilderness. The border between culture and dangerous nature was deeply ingrained in Swahili culture.\textsuperscript{63} But German rule had a significant effect on ethnicity in East Africa. "Swahili," an ethnic category that formerly denoted slave descent, became a general one. Germans adopted nearly wholesale the coastal view of Nyamwezi identity, of Wanyamwezi as porters and laborers to serve the colonial state. Missions played an important role in fixing local languages, creating an element around which to build ethnic identities.

Germans imagined Africans as fundamentally different from Europeans. Germans understood Africa as "nature," existing in timeless opposition to culture and history.\textsuperscript{64} Germans identified Africans as primitive savages from the early part of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{65} Europeans were civilized and industrious, while Africans were natural and lazy, completely without \textit{Kultur}.\textsuperscript{66} German missionaries constructed African religions as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} Vansina, 138.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Jonathon Glassman, \textit{War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Though and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).
\item \textsuperscript{63} Pesek, \textit{Koloniale Herrschaft}, 77-79.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Zimmerman, \textit{Anthropology and Antihumanism}, 7.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Peter Martin, \textit{Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren} (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 1993).
\item \textsuperscript{66} Michael Schubert, \textit{Der schwarze Fremde: Das Bild des Schwarzafrikaners in der parlamentarischen und publizistischen Kolonialdiskussion in Deutschland von der 1870er bis in die 1930er Jahre} (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003), 367-368. French colonists in Algeria similarly constructed the region as a
\end{itemize}
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natural, "drowned in fetishism, superstition, and magic of the most hair-raising sort."67
Germans portrayed African use of the landscape as destructive and irrational.68 Germans
depicted violence and warfare as typical of African peoples and space in Ostafrika.69
German colonialism among Africans and in African space would have to begin at the
most basic level, turning space and people from nature to Kultur.
Different groups of colonists took different approaches to East Africa based on
their own disciplinary training. Disciplinary approaches divided the colony according to
the areas to which they could be applied. German historians wrote of the Swahili Coast's
history of colonization by Portuguese, Arabs, and Indians. Ethnographers studied areas
farther west, where historians could not go, as Germans assumed those regions had no
history. Missionaries also worked primarily in the interior, for there they could imagine
the population, even the parts of it that proclaimed themselves Muslims, was not "really"
Muslim. German missionaries and social scientists claimed that Islam farther west was
little more than a façade over indigenous religion. Missionary rhetoric had to be further
reworked as missionaries worked to convert Muslims, rather than "heathens." Each party
brought its own epistemology to East Africa with it and constructed a geography for the
region to fit that epistemology.
desert empty of people, justifying French occupation for the purpose of improving the land. Paul
Silverstein, Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
2004), 50.
67

Schubert, 133.

68

Thaddeus Sunseri, Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820-2000
69

Michelle R. Moyd, Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday
Colonialism in German East Africa (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 78.


Areas and people on the coast, in "Arab" space, could be administered differently. German colonialism in East Africa appeared to be "pro-Islam" to some contemporaries. Conversion to Islam increased and people with Islamic training served as key intermediaries in the colonial administration. German Orientalism was somewhat different from those of other European nations. Germans at times identified with people from the Orient as kin, not always as Other. Educated Arab and Swahili people, German administrators believed, occupied a position higher on the ladder of Kultur than did Africans. Some became intermediaries in the colonial administration, serving between cultured Germans and natural Africans. The spaces they occupied appeared more cultivated, as well, and could be immediately remade following European models. The idea that Swahili society was not an import from the Middle East, but the creation of Africans, only began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s.

Colonial rule in German East Africa [Ostafrika] aimed primarily at "development." Although Germans differed in their views about what course that development should take and how the "developed" colony should look, the colonial administration and private actors in Ostafrika directed themselves to remaking East Africa into an economic asset for Germany. Development entailed the rationalization of

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71 Suzanne Marchand, German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship (Washington: German Historical Institute, 2009).


73 Juhani Koponen, Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland
Ostafrika into something to which European economic and scientific theories could be applied. The late 19th century saw a transition in European thinking about people from the non-European world. People before thought of as "savages" became primitives as Europeans began to think about difference in terms of development. Other peoples were behind Europe in time and civilization took on a meaning of being in the present. Development was thus an essential element in remaking the world. Germans often imagined colonialism as a conflict between German Kultur and wild landscapes; landscapes were feminized and constructed as obstacles for German men to overcome, but also posed dangers to the health of Germandom. The conquest of Africa offered the promise of revitalizing German Kultur, weakened through the crises of modernization. Both East African spaces and peoples would need to fit German models in order for Germany to profit off of its new colony. Ostafrika had to become, or so Germans in the colony believed, a different kind of place for German colonialism to work. For that kind of exploitation to happen, Germans had to believe East Africa was available for development, that its people or its land could be remade following German models in order to produce things Germany wanted. Germans had to construct East African societies and landscapes as a frontier and as objects for German intervention. In Ostafrika, landscapes were "created as much by social as by natural history." The process in Poland can be seen in Kopp.

Tanzania, 1884-1914 (Helsinki: Tiedekirja, 1995).

74 Mignolo.

75 Kundrus.

76 the process in Poland can be seen in Kopp.

77 Michael Taussig, Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing
ideas about African spaces became tied up in struggles over the future of the colony and the meanings that Germans assigned to empire.

The German East Africa Company Begins the Colonization of East Africa

The German colonization of East Africa began with an expedition by three members of the GfdK in 1884. Those three men, Carl Peters, Joachim Pfeil, and Karl Jühlke, went to Usagara, a region in the northeast of mainland Tanzania, with the intention of signing treaties with local rulers that would transfer ownership of territory to the GfdK. The expeditions’ members had little knowledge of societies in the area. What they did know came almost entirely from European expeditionary accounts, most prominently those of Henry Morton Stanley. These travelogues presented lone European heroes marching through the unknown, civilizing Africa through their own courage. They portrayed empty spaces calling out for European penetration. Germans were heavily involved with the precolonial European exploration of East Africa, often in the service of other nations or private organizations.78 Travel allowed untrained Europeans to gain legitimacy as knowledgeable about the extra-European world.79 Precolonial explorers were agents of what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the "anti-conquest," strategies of asserting European hegemony over the extra-European world while at the same moment protesting innocence in the imperial project. Science was central to the anti-conquest, and travelogues legitimated new natural and social sciences as frameworks for understanding the world. Sciences provided the means by which Europeans could travel not to discover,

78 Fabian.

79 Penny, 39.
but to conduct surveillance, appropriate resources, and establish administrative control. They constructed landscapes as empty and without history. Spaces became meaningful only through their possibility for European exploitation.  

Precolonial explorers believed they were creating scientific knowledge about the areas they traversed and created an ethos of a "proto-professional whose duties were carried out in the service of science, society, and the state."  

They collected samples, kept journals, and created knowledge that could be verified by European audiences. Many precolonial explorers of Africa were German, due to Germany’s strong scientific training and lack of domestic or imperial opportunities for trained men. Exploration offered a high-profile, though risky, career for men fed up with the lack of other opportunities. They braved danger in order to turn themselves into "privileged sites of truth and knowledge." Zanzibar served as a gateway state for Europeans to reach the African interior, and profited from its role. A "culture of exploration" formed in Europe through metropolitan discussions, public articles, reviews, novels, and poetry. On their expeditions, explorers acted out their imagined futures for Africa, playing the part of the colonial ruler and disciplining the porters and soldiers on their expeditions like colonial subjects.  

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81 Kennedy, 2-3.  
82 Ibid., 94.  
83 Driver; exploration travelogues, especially those of Alexander von Humboldt created the impetus for the development of German ethnography, see Penny.  
-women in Europe and North America." Their activities "all stood for far more than the individualstheirse Rev themselves or the particular activities in which they engaged.\textsuperscript{85} Travelers had to overcome a living landscape that blocked them at every turn.\textsuperscript{86} Travelogues appealed to both popular and elite audiences as providers of both adventure and scientific knowledge.\textsuperscript{87}

Those travelogues formed a central element of what Susanne Zantop calls "colonial fantasies," by which she means German ideas about the extra-European world that by the 1880s "formed a cultural residue of myths about self and other(s) that could be stirred up for particular political purposes - progressive as well as reactionary ones - whenever the need arose." Germans defined themselves through their colonial fantasies and imagined themselves as imperialists before actually acquiring any colonies. Colonial fantasies emerged in the 1770s and were a "collective obsession" by a century later. Through colonial fantasies, Germans could define themselves as better than other Europeans and non-Europeans on blank spaces without the historical baggage of Europe. They necessarily, then, required blank spaces on which Germans could act them out.\textsuperscript{88}

The GfdK deployed colonial fantasies to break with the path of Hanseatic trading firms’ interactions with East African societies when they went to East Africa in 1884. The Hansa firms had built relations with Zanzibar based around trade on Zanzibari terms.

\textsuperscript{85} Roberts, 225.

\textsuperscript{86} Taussig, 290.


The GfdK, among other groups, focused on "emigrationist" colonialism in its propaganda, a view of colonies as places to absorb German immigration that was otherwise going to the Americas. The GfdK acted against the wishes of the Hansa firms already established in East Africa. The GfdK’s members, led by Carl Peters and Joachim von Pfeil, set out to explicitly conquer East African space for Germany and create a formal German overseas empire. Peters, described by one historian as a "psychopath" who possessed the same "spirit" as Hitler, believed in colonialism as a unifying force for German society. A more recent biographer has described Peters’ motivations as creating colonies as "a status symbol for the young Reich… an essential ingredient of Germany's self-image," a Germany that Peters believed had been forged through war. Pfeil, whom the same historian calls a "Gentleman-Globetrotter," had tried to make his fortune in South Africa but had failed and returned to Germany to formulate a new plan. Peters and his fellow GfdK/DOAG founders expressed a feeling that James Clifford has identified as central to late 19th- and early 20th-century European ethnography in the non-European world, a "feeling of lost authenticity, of 'modernity'"

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89 Woodruff Smith contrasts emigrationist colonialism with "economic" colonialism, focused on economic exploitation. The GfdK and DOAG certainly practiced both, and the division is most useful in terms of metropolitan propaganda, rather than colonial administration. Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).


91 Fritz Ferdinand Müller, *Deutschland, Zanzibar, Ostafrika. Geschichte einer deutschen Kolonialeroberung* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959), 99. Müller’s approach is bombastic and ideological. He set out to draw connections between the *Kaiserreich* and Nazism within the context of East German ideological divides during the early Cold War.


93 Müller, 113.
ruining some essence or source." They searched for a traditional world that they could reshape into something new.\textsuperscript{94} Colonialism was a central element in the development of German bourgeois identity over the second half of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{95}

Peters, Pfeil, and their co-conspirators signed a series of treaties with local leaders of various statuses in the Usagara region. In the treaty ceremonies, Peters attempted to mimic the actions of an African potentate in order to perform the transfer of power from his co-signer to Germany. Performance was a central aspect of European exploration in Africa, a way Europeans created meaning out of their travels.\textsuperscript{96} The treaties served to insert Germany into the history of East Africa at a specific moment, marking a caesura of German conquest. Peters shifted East African travel from science to explicit colonialism because science did not serve his vision of the German nation.\textsuperscript{97} The GfdK in many ways resembled American filibusters active in Central America in the middle of the century. They embraced an aggressive expansionism and a martial vision of manhood outside the auspices of state-directed colonialism. Filibusters saw a lack of opportunity at home and sought opportunity abroad through national expansion. They believed American institutions should be brought to other people, and that Anglo-Saxon manhood should


\textsuperscript{95} Conrad, 17-18.


\textsuperscript{97} Pesek, \textit{Koloniale Herrschaft}, 169.
take control of more of the earth. German colonists in East Africa displayed similar worries about a crisis in German masculinity. Though the treaties appeared dubious even to European observers, the GfdK convinced Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm I to issue a letter of protection (Schutzbrief) for the territory acquired. Usagara became the core area of the colony of German East Africa (Ostafrika). After receiving the Schutzbrief, the GfdK’s leadership created a new organization, the DOAG, to manage its acquisitions.

The treaties invented Zanzibari sovereignty along European lines in order to legitimate German claims to the west. In reality, Zanzibar worked as commercial empire rather than a territorial one. Even Zanzibari authority on the mainland was informal and based on control of trade, not control of territory. Even contemporaries thought the treaties were dubious and that their African co-signers did not understand their contents. If they were understood, it is likely that the two sides took much

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100 The reasons for Bismarck’s willingness to support formal colonialism have been much debated. For an overview of the debates, see Conrad, 21.

different meanings from the treaties. As Pratt has argued, European "discoveries" in the extra-European world only became real once they were written down for European consumption. They nevertheless provided the justification for Bismarck and the Kaiser to issue a Schutzbrief to the GfdK. The Sultan of Zanzibar, Barghash bin Said, protested, but Bismarck threatened to bombard Zanzibar until he gave in. The treaties mark the beginning of the company’s geographic project. The GfdK initially attempted to sever the areas distant from the coast from historical connections with the coast and Zanzibari rule in order to make its colony profitable with no connection to the coast.

The GfdK argued that Ostafrika could be made into a profitable colony and an object of German glory through a focus on its Land. Building on the descriptions of precolonial travelers, Peters and his associates told the German public that Ostafrika’s spaces resembled the Germany of centuries long before. Through rational administration and cultivation, it could be made to look like the Germany of today. Its people would become useful subjects and labor through that cultivation. Mission societies and the Foreign Office disagreed. They argued that Germany would first have to rebuild local societies to turn their people into productive labor and subjects before they could do the work of remaking East African space into what Germany needed.

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103 Roberts, 190.
104 Pratt, Roberts.
105 Perras, 63.
The official press ignored the news of the *Schutzbrief*, but the lack of initial interest should not be taken as a judgment on *Ostafrika’s* importance.\footnote{Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and Kreuzzeitung. Mary Evelyn Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany’s Colonial Empire, 1884-1918* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), 109.} For one thing, *Ostafrika* was Germany’s "most valuable" and "most important" colony at the time.\footnote{Conrad, 51; Smith, 91.} *Ostafrika* dominated metropolitan discussions of the German colonies until at least 1900 as the nation’s biggest, most populated, and presumably most economically important colony.\footnote{Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa c. 1884-1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 99.} German rule in *Ostafrika* was particularly retributive and violent.\footnote{Philippa Söldenwagner, *Spaces of Negotiation: European Settlement and Settlers in German East Africa 1900-1914* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006), 18.} The colony’s administration carried out sixty-one major punitary expeditions between 1891 and 1897.\footnote{Conrad, 79.}

The choice of Germany to study the making of colonial racial and spatial conceptualizations in Africa might seem strange. Germany had few colonies compared to the United Kingdom or France, and the entire lifespan of the Germans overseas empire was barely over thirty years. But the study of German colonialism has become an important topic for historians. As Sebastian Conrad has identified, the German colonial empire interacted with other empires and was a major player at the moment of high imperialism. Additionally, colonialism was significant for the history of metropolitan Germany. It shaped economics, political debates and the development of the Reichstag, high and popular culture, and intellectual life in Germany, both during the colonial period.
Conceptions of and ways of acting in the world developed in the colonies came back to Germany and became part of German practice in Europe, particularly in occupied territories. Colonialism remained important for Germany through a much longer period than the one covered in this study. Imperial knowledge was perhaps the most influential aspect of colonialism on metropolitan society. As John Phillip Short has argued, "[r]hetorics and techniques of empirical, objective, and scientific authority shaped and sustained colonialism as the exuberance of the 1880s faded to boredom and indifference, or incomprehension, or was challenged by deep pessimism or vitriolic socialist critique." Colonialism became a means of knowing and describing the global world in rational and scientific terms, though those descriptions always existed in tension with enchanting views of the extra-European world. It drew in nearly everyone in German society.

The GfdK formed as just one of many political interest groups in the Kaisereich. The German middle classes conducted most of their political agitation through interest groups in the so-called Interessenpolitik, through which they held sway over much of German society. The GfdK was just one of many interest groups involved in colonial affairs. These groups provided the impetus behind the German move to overseas empire,

111 Conrad, 3-4; Smith, 119-122.


113 Short, 11.

but it played an important role in the rise of right-wing politics in Germany. The organization formed as the culmination of decades of liberal agitation for the creation of an overseas empire, agitation that portrayed empire as a force to unify a Germany split into separate states and torn apart by the pressures of modernity by creating a shared purpose around which Germans could unite. Empires could guarantee the economic success central to German national identity. Precolonial Germans projected hopes and dreams about the future onto a proposed colonial empire from the late 18th century.

A joint boundary commission, with one commissioner each from Germany, the United Kingdom, and France, met to determine the borders of Zanzibar on the mainland, in order to set an eastern border for the GfdK territory, from 1885 to 1886. Answers were unclear. Barghash had positioned his people in coastal towns to claim his rule was followed there. The minimalist position on the size of Zanzibar won out; the commission allotted Barghash only a ten-mile wide strip along the coast. Even contemporaries thought the decision was arbitrary. The decision to only draw borders for Zanzibar

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115 Fitzpatrick; Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann identifies six main factors that contributed to colonial enthusiasm in Germany: emigration, Germany's rise as a trading power, the growth of missionary societies and the campaign to end the slave trade, the growth of geographical societies, colonial pressure groups, and colonial propaganda. Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, "The Purpose of German Colonialism, or the Long Shadow of Bismarck's Colonial Policy," in German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 195-196.


118 Deutsch, "Inventing an East African Empire."
gave the DOAG the opportunity to expand its holdings westward. The border between Zanzibar and the Ostafrika of 1886 became the permanent border between Arab and African in the larger colony. Scholars have noted the problems this posed. As it existed in the middle of the 1880s, Ostafrika was a "true interior region" with no direct connection to the Indian Ocean, allowing Zanzibar to continue to exercise control over trade through restrictions and customs.

The DOAG’s difficulties in making its interior colony profitable came to a head in a pair of crises in 1888. I use the concept of the "state of exception" to explore the German interventions in East Africa of 1888-1890. Walter Benjamin discussed the concept in 1940, when he wrote that "the tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of exception’ in which we live is the rule." Giorgio Agamben has written that western politics requires the state of exception to exist, that sovereign power depends on the creation of a biopolitical body and the inclusion of bare life in the political realm. The sovereign exists inside and outside the political order; sovereignty is defined by exceptions created by rules suspending themselves. It is defined spatially, by where its order is valid. Agamben tells us that totalitarianism is defined by the creation of a state of exception of a "legal civil war that allows for the physical elimination not only of

119 Perras, 105.


political adversaries but of entire categories of citizens who for some reason cannot be integrated into the political system."\(^\text{123}\)

One crisis was the plight of Emin Pasha, born Eduard Schnitzer in Prussian Silesia. Emin was the governor of Equatoria, a province of Egypt south of the Sudan. When the Mahdi took Khartoum in 1884, he cut Emin off from contact with Europe. His case came to light through the writings of Wilhelm Junker, a Russian explorer. Junker was for a time trapped with Emin before making his escape to the East Coast and back to Europe. "Rescuing" Emin became a cause célèbre around Europe from 1886-1888. A British expedition under the command of Henry Morton Stanley went up the Congo beginning in 1887 to find Emin and drag him out of Africa.\(^\text{124}\) Stanley, however, struggled mightily on his expedition and was not heard from in Europe for some time. Carl Peters, seeing an opportunity, began organizing a German expedition to beat the British and find Emin.

Emin Pasha captured the *Zeitgeist* of the liberal, bourgeois European experience of the colonial encounter in Africa perfectly. Colonial propaganda portrayed the Germany that Germans hoped could exist and the empire served as a space for Germans to debate politics and project identities. Colonies could serve as "crisis therapy" to recover the


German nation from the throes of industrialization.¹²⁵ He appeared the epitome of the angst of the German Bildungsbürgertum so apparent in Peters’ descriptions of the difference between Germany and the United Kingdom.¹²⁶ Emin was a professional, a medical doctor trained in Germany who, finding opportunities limited in Germany, had sought them elsewhere. In the colonialist writings and speeches of the Emin Pasha Committee and Wilhelm Junker, Emin had created a rational administration that had brought prosperity and civilization to Equatoria, deep in the heart of Africa. He thus served as a shining example of what Bildungsbürger rule could do in East and Central Africa. By remaking East African Land, the Bildungsbürger administrator could modify East African Leute into loyal, productive subjects.

Bismarck was unimpressed. The plans for the Emin expedition were the prompt for his famous, ”my map of Africa lies in Europe,” which he wrote Eugen Wolf in December 1888. In that letter, he expressed confusion about the expedition’s goals. It was unclear whether Emin was ”Mohammedan” or Christian, whether he ”remained German,” and whether he even wanted to be rescued.¹²⁷ The expedition created problems for Bismarck. Arne Perras has called it ”the first significant incident in which the

¹²⁵ Kundrus.

¹²⁶ Bildungsbürger competed with the nobility and the bourgeoisie over who could best know the colonized and control the German colonies. They attempted to show the superiority of the sciences they controlled over the bourgeoisie’s economic knowledge and the nobility’s military skills, George Steinmetz, The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); ”The Uncontrollable Afterlives of Ethnography: Lessons from ‘Salvage Colonialism’ in the German Empire,” Ethnography 5, no. 3 (2004): 251-288.

¹²⁷ Bückendorf, 418.
government was confronted with a nationalist opposition.”

No longer could Bismarck count on unquestioning support for his brand of German nationalism. Bismarck saw the Emin expedition as a threat to good relations with the United Kingdom.

The Bildungsbürger vision collapsed even as the planning for the expedition was underway. The DOAG negotiated with the Bismarck regime to force Zanzibar to lease it the coast for a large sum in order to make its territory profitable. But the company’s efforts to make the lease of the coast profitable - increased customs, regulation of land ownership, and increased regulation of social activity - provoked resistance among the towns’ residents. In what Germans and other Europeans called the "Bushiri Rebellion," planters, merchants, and other coastal men of influence protested against the DOAG in forms that mirrored those of precolonial anti-Zanzibari resistance.

The DOAG was unable to maintain its position with its meager resources. It appealed to Sultan Khalifa of Zanzibar and the British consulate for help. Khalifa sent troops and the German navy provided fire support and marine landings, but they could do little more than stem the tide. Chancellor Bismarck, looking to create an international basis for taking control of the coast, negotiated with the British, Portuguese, Italian, and Vatican governments to establish a blockade of the coast. The international basis of the blockade made Bismarck’s colonialism appear benign and in the best interests of a broader European civilizing mission rather than German national goals.

128 Perras, 167.

129 Townsend, 136.
In its negotiations with foreign governments, the German Foreign Office claimed that the primary opponent of German colonialism in East Africa was the nebulous "Arab slave trade." In so doing, it deployed rhetoric prominent in late 19th-century Europe. The United Kingdom had pressured Barghash into banning the sea transport of slaves and closing Zanzibar’s slave markets in 1873. The measures failed to stop the trade as merchants developed means of avoiding them.\footnote{Bushiri did claim the mantle of the heir of earlier Arab migrants to the region, and Pangani elites used stories of Arab conquest to bolster their authority, which may have contributed to the German stories. Jonathon Glassman, \textit{Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast}, 1856-1888 (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 235.} Charles Lavigerie, the Catholic Church's primate of Africa, had called for a Europe-wide campaign to eliminate the slave trade in 1886. Lavigerie depicted slavery as a blight on Africa created by Arab slave raiders. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries constructed the presence of Islam in East Africa as an army of slave raiders fighting with Christendom for control of the wilderness.\footnote{Schubert, 191, 200. Anti-slavery campaigns also provided the justification for the creation of the Congo Free State in Belgium. Guy Vanthemsche, \textit{Belgium and the Congo}, 1885-1980, trans. Alice Cameron and Stephen Windross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).} Bismarck used Lavigerie's call to make his military operation into an opportunity for rapprochement with the Catholic Center Party in the wake of the \textit{Kulturkampf}, as he turned his animosity toward socialism.\footnote{Townsend, 117.} With one fell swoop, Bismarck appeared to reconcile Germany and the United Kingdom as well as his government and the Catholic Center Party. Concerned Germans formed an Anti-Slavery Committee in 1890 which raised 2 million marks from a public lottery in the second half
of 1891. That money accomplished little and the committee was defunct by 1894, but the donations shows public involvement in the slavery issue in Germany.\textsuperscript{133}

The idea that the Bushiri War was a clash of civilizations remained prominent in the historiography of East Africa. Norman Bennett described the entire era as one when "the followers of two major world religions met in intense competition for the mastery of East Central Africa’s lands and peoples."\textsuperscript{134} Nonetheless, Bennett describes Bushiri as following traditional forms of resistance against Zanzibari interference in coastal affairs, and Bwana Heri, who led the fighting near Saadani, as fighting to preserve patterns of life.\textsuperscript{135} Bennett also notes that Europeans derided African Islam as not "real" Islam, its practitioners only partially understanding the religion. Islam became the great enemy of progress in European colonialist eyes and Europeans deployed rhetoric of crusading against Muslims in Africa.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{133} David Lambert argues that the debate over Atlantic slavery in the late 18th and early 19th century was intricately tangled with geographical practice. Lambert.


\textsuperscript{135} Bennett, 175.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 7, 11, 15.
The scholarly consensus now is that the war began as a spontaneous defense of rights and traditions by people of the coast against the new German incursion. Swahili society reacted following traditional models of resistance against German attempts to mimic imagined Zanzibari rule. The war was more complicated than Germans thought. At least three different groups pursued their own goals: one in Pangani under Bushiri’s leadership, which later joined with the jumbes of Bagamoyo; one led by the Kilwa Kivinje liwali Matoro in alliance with the Yao; and one in Saadani, led by Bwana Heri. The three did not unite in their goals or operations. Germans were unable to conceive that the simple peasants they believed Africans to be could lead a rebellion without Arab leadership.

The blockade, however, was almost entirely unsuccessful. Much of the coastal dhow traffic continued to elude the European warships, and German naval officers attributed nefarious motives to merchants shipping goods that were still allowed. The result of the blockade was greater animosity toward the German presence on the coast and no easing of the protests. Bismarck decided that the coastal protests needed to be met with force, and organized a military expedition to gain control. To head the expedition, Bismarck chose Hermann Wissmann. After a six-year term as a lieutenant in the Prussian Army, Wissmann had made his name in the 1880s as an explorer of Central and East Central Africa. He had twice crossed the African continent from west to east.

137 Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*; Bückendorf, 364.
138 Bückendorf, 364.
140 Bennett, 170.
His combination of a Prussian military background and reputation as an explorer of Africa made him Bismarck’s choice.

By reading rumors of Peters’ demise, Bushiri’s motivations, and Wissmann’s battles, we can see the ways in which Germans imagined East Africa and the shift in understandings of the Land und Leute relationship. In a moment of crisis for Germany’s colonial empire, the different factions took opposing positions on what the future of German colonialism would be. Peters’ vision for Ostafrika collapsed as he disappeared.

As Ann Laura Stoler has argued for the colonial archive, "these discrepant stories provide ethnographic entry into the confused space in which people lived, to the fragmented knowledge on which they relied, and to the ill-informed and inept responses that knowledge engendered.” Incomplete European knowledge of the situation resulted in shared refrains and space for subalterns to present their own knowledge and narratives to the colonial administration. Only some rumors could emerge from local discourses into metropolitan ones. They had to follow expectations and format for what Germans expected from "Africa," ”Africans," or "Arabs." Rumors reveal the meanings people assigned to colonial power. Luise White argues that rumors "allow historians a vision of colonial worlds replete with all the messy categories and meandering epistemologies many Africans used to describe the extractions and invasions with which they lived.”

White tells us that written sources can be read as rumor in the way oral sources often are. I argue that they can carry the same power for Europeans involved in the colonial

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Rumors tell us the possibilities that Europeans imagined for Africa and the ways in which they conceived of Africa as a space for European empire. They tell us the values and meanings of the Germans involved in the construction of Ostafrika; truth was less important than a rumor’s value in a political argument. In the case of the Emin Pasha expedition, rumor and fact became indistinguishable parts of the same discourse in metropolitan discussions about Ostafrika. As Luise White has argued, Africans accepted European pretensions to knowledge but interpreted them in ways that colonial officials could not understand.  

In the wake of Wissmann’s expedition, the new German chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, moved to create a lasting basis for German rule in East Africa and for imperial rapprochement with the United Kingdom. In the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, Germany agreed to give up any claim to Zanzibar, and the two powers drew a northern border for Ostafrika that excluded Uganda. The Reich took over the DOAG’s territory west of the coast, and signed a treaty with Khalifa’s successor, Sultan Ali of Zanzibar, transferring full sovereignty over the coast to the Kaiser. Zanzibari power on the mainland crumbled as its customs revenue dried up during the fighting. Unlike the British in Zanzibar and

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143 Ibid., 5.


145 Bennett, 164.
Kenya, Germany did not abolish slavery in Ostafrika, though both continued to depend on (former) slaveowners.\textsuperscript{146}

The German administration had little effect on the path to slave emancipation. It attempted to change the form of slavery, from a form negotiated through social interaction to one regulated by the state. It helped owners find and capture slaves that had escaped during the war.\textsuperscript{147} A severe outbreak of rinderpest in the Northeast in 1891 killed as much as 3/4 of the population in some areas, and led to many women and children being sold as slaves. This created a massive influx of slaves right at the moment the government administration was being established and created an impetus for the regulation of the slave trade.\textsuperscript{148} The colonial administration tended to ignore slavery in reports to its metropolitan superiors, and instruct district officers to regulate it.\textsuperscript{149}

The new governor, Julius von Soden, followed Wissmann’s model for administration and divided the coast into five districts, Tanga, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, Kilwa Kivinje, and Mgan/Lindi, on 9 June 1891.\textsuperscript{150} German colonialism theoretically followed British indirect models, but methods differed greatly across Ostafrika.\textsuperscript{151} Germany was unique among European colonial powers in that it legally recognized

\textsuperscript{146} Frederick Cooper, \textit{From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890-1925} (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).

\textsuperscript{147} Deutsch, \textit{Emancipation without Abolition}, 98.

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 173.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 136.

\textsuperscript{150} Bückendorf, 448.

\textsuperscript{151} Smith, 167.
slavery, fearing it would lose the support of slave-owning allies.152 It declined in prevalence anyway, but through the work of slaves trying to gain control over their own lives. German rule did have the effect of increasing social mobility by changing the distribution of resources between owners and slaves.153 Soden, who had served the Foreign Office since German Unification and had been governor of Cameroon and Togo before he went to Ostafrika, tried to use coastal people and Kiswahili as intermediaries to deal with areas to the west. The administration built its first school in Tanga in 1892 with the goal of eventually replacing old elites in office.154 Missions expanded to the west and new mission societies began work in East Africa with the creation of official government control.155

The structure of the administration was as follows: coastal towns and their vicinity were ruled through direct German control; coastal districts and some interior districts were ruled by a German district commissioner directly above Arab akidas, each of whom was assigned some jumbes; interior districts were ruled through paramount chiefs; and in Rwanda, Burundi, and Bukoba German officials advised "traditional" kings.156 Soden’s divisions solidified the divide between African and Arab space, and his

152 Deutsch, Emancipation without Abolition.
153 Ibid.
155 Ibid., 217.
administration’s use of Swahili and Arab intermediaries, as well as dealing through chiefs in the interior, ensured the victory of the Foreign Office’s model of *Leute* over *Land.*
CHAPTER 2 – PRECOLONIAL EAST AFRICA

The German colonial project in East Africa entailed the reimagining of the region's precolonial history in order to justify German intervention. German colonists produced a variety of different versions of East African history to support their geographic and development visions for the colony. The writers of those histories often had little knowledge of the realities of East African history; the GfdK members who founded the colony, for example, depended largely on the aggressively imperial travelogues of Henry Morton Stanley. They and their supporters often denied the people of East Africa a history of autonomous political development. Some segments of the colonial movement in Germany attempted to be more evenhanded. Missionaries, most prominently, attempted to gain a fuller understanding of the societies in which they worked. Missionary accounts still drew lessons about much wider swathes of East Africa from local conditions and do not provide a full picture of the precolonial history of Ostafrika. A brief survey of that history is necessary before discussing the German intervention.

The East African coast had first become heavily imbricated in international trading networks in the 8th century, as Indian and Arabian slavers and merchants began traveling farther afield on their trading journeys. Swahili settlements began as Bantu farming communities and only later built trade connections across the ocean. ¹ The cultural connections built up through prolonged cultural contact drew the coast intimately into trans-oceanic economic and cultural networks. The people of the coast, who began

calling themselves Swahili, after the Arabic word for "coast," became part of an Indian Ocean World, their lives organized more by cultures and geographies of the ocean than by those on the African continent. Most of the Swahili converted to Islam in the 12th century, though they integrated their new religion with their previous religious practices, creating their own syncretic form of Islam. Conversion to Islam provided townspeople with political capital; it made them not only of the coast, but of a larger world that included both the Holy Land and the Indian Ocean. Connections across the Ocean, particularly to the Islamic heartland in the Middle East, became markers of prestige among members of coastal society. Coastal people distinguished themselves from people inland through the concept of wastarabu, a sort of Arab-ness, a marker of the superiority of Islamic culture over non-Islamic people. 

Arab and Persian merchants on the coast gradually became Africanized, both culturally and through marriage, over the course of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

Its connections to the Indian Ocean trade made the Swahili Coast an appealing target for Portuguese raiders when they entered the Indian Ocean world in the 16th century. The Portuguese violently conquered many of the cities of the coast as a way to capture gold from Sofala and form a way station between Lisbon and Goa. The Portuguese conquest disrupted the trade system of the centuries before and threw the rich cities of the coast into two and a half centuries of poverty. The destruction and disorder

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that the Portuguese conquest caused reduced the coast to a shadow of its former power, and made it available for another conquest in the 18th century. Europeans also made the slave trade a central element in the coast's economy, as the French began exporting slaves in the 18th century.

Omani forces swept down the coast in 1698, conquering Zanzibar and making it a center of Omani power in the Indian Ocean. Swahili merchants of the coast rebuilt the coastal trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. They acquired ivory and slaves from areas to the west and exchanged them for cloth, hardware, dates, beer, salt, munitions, and precious metals from around the Indian Ocean. The growing wealth of the coast is visible in the decision by Hamad bin Said, the Sultan of Oman, to occupy Kilwa in 1784-85 in order to capture its trade.

Merchants conducted trade with the interior with human porters, as they were readily available and there were no navigable rivers running west from the coast. Yao, Nyamwezi, Kimba, and Sumbwa porters pioneered the caravan trade over the 18th and early 19th centuries. Yao from the coast of Lake Malawi brought slaves to the coast, connecting the Great Lakes to the Indian Ocean once again following the disruption in trade caused by the Portuguese invasion of the coast. Sagara migrations, the distribution of natural resources, and the central position of Nyamwezi, as well as a seasonal agriculture system that allowed young men to leave the area during the dry season in the

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trading system stimulated Nyamwezi porters to begin the caravan system in the 1720s.\textsuperscript{5} The trade grew briskly, as Wanyamwezi and Arab traders established connections based on their mutual mercantile interests. Arab traders built major settlements at Tabora and Ujiji, but political power and control of labor remained in the hands of Nyamwezi rulers.\textsuperscript{6} The caravan trade created the conditions for the development of wage labor before European arrival as Nyamwezi porters formed their own culture of labor through their work on the caravan routes, a culture of free wage labor. They were able to control wages and working conditions in the trade, even after European explorers and merchants began participating.\textsuperscript{7} The most important trade route, the central route to Lake Victoria, opened in the 1840s and the pioneering period of the trade was over by about 1850. The network of routes and stops stabilized thereafter.\textsuperscript{8} The creation of the caravan trade integrated the areas along the caravan routes into the world economy. Not only coastal merchants and Nyamwezi, but also political leaders along the routes, who charged tolls, \textit{hongo}, to passing caravans, became wealthy.

Historians have described the caravan trade and its results as the most important development in 19th-century East Africa. Jutta Bückendorf has described the 19th century as a "century of upheaval" in East Africa before German colonialists arrived. John Iliffe called the century a period of "structural change" in economics.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 41-44.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Ralph A. Austen, \textit{Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889-1939} (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 15-18, 21.
\item \textsuperscript{7} Rockel.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Jutta Bückendorf, \textit{"Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!" Deutsche Kolonialpläne und afrikanische Realität} (Münster: Lit, 1997), 86; Rockel.
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tensions increased along with economic changes. This ensured that German colonists arrived in an unstable situation full of tension between rulers and ruled. Various influences from inside and outside the region drastically changed economic and political organization, with consequences at every level of East African life. Competition for new economic resources meant politics were unstable as different factions attempted to control resources.

Zanzibar became so wealthy that the Omani sultanate moved its capital to the island in the 1830s. Zanzibari access to coastal ports became central to its economy from the early 19th century. Wealth accumulated in the port towns as merchants traded with regions to the west. Tanga and Pangani traded with the Kilimanjaro region, Saadani, Bagamoyo, and Mbwamaji with the central route, and Kilwa with the south. The Sultans of Zanzibar chose not to attempt direct control over the mainland. Zanzibari power was that of a "commercial empire," producing goods for export on Unguja and Pemba, and trading farther and farther west as the century wore on. Sultan Barghash bin Said, who ruled from 1870 until 1888, built a western-trained army and naval strength under British supervision in order to maintain his empire. He increased his power in the

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9 Iliffe, 77, 83, 87.
10 Bückendorf, 51-52.
12 Jan-Georg Deutsch, Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa c. 1884-1914 (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 37.
13 Sheriff.
northern coastal towns of Pangani and Saadani, and stationed troops in Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam.\textsuperscript{15} His revenues reached 1.25 million dollars a year by the early 1880s, and leaders as far west as the Great Lakes looked to Zanzibar as the "focal point of the East Central African world."\textsuperscript{16} Zanzibari sovereignty, however, followed the form of \textit{primus inter pares}, and political initiative was left to individuals rather than the state.\textsuperscript{17} Trade from the primary harbors on the Swahili coast, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, and Pangani, traveled through Zanzibar, anyway, giving the sultans the economic benefits of conquest.

Slavery became more widespread in the 19th century as East Africa integrated into the world economy. It became a central aspect of society on the coast in the period before German arrival. Political groups and slaveowners depended on slaves as dependents in order to provide prestige and labor power.\textsuperscript{18} Plantation agriculture and slavery slowly developed along the coast over the course of the 19th century and spread west along the caravan routes.\textsuperscript{19} Slavery took different forms in different parts of what came to be \textit{Ostafrika}, but in all cases it required consent from the enslaved and the possibility of social mobility.\textsuperscript{20} Slaves used patron-client terms to struggle for status


\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 64-67.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 119.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 123.


\textsuperscript{19} Iliffe, 72-73.

\textsuperscript{20} Deutsch, 78.
within Swahili society and demand inclusion in the community life of the coastal towns. Sufism was a particularly powerful venue through which migrants to the coast could claim belonging in coastal society. \(^{21}\)

Many former slaves adopted a Swahili identity in the 19th century as a means of demanding belonging in coastal society. Swahili distinguished themselves from people inland with the concept of *ustaarabu*, meaning roughly "Arabness." \(^{22}\) They highlighted the aspects of their culture that connected them to Arabia, in particular Islam and the Kiswahili language. Kiswahili was a literary language whereas the languages of the interior were not. Swahili society depended on three concepts: *ustaarabu*, meaning "long-standing and wise tradition;" *utamaduni*, meaning "urbanity or belonging to a town;" and *ushenzi*, meaning "barbarism." \(^{23}\) Each town had its own set of social categories and tensions based on its history and socio-economics. \(^{24}\) The majority of people west of the coastal towns did not practice Islam in 1890, though tenets of Muslim allegiance were becoming part of local power idioms. Islam marked a person as being of coastal society, which entailed connections to the Indian Ocean World that the coast possessed. Conversion to Islam marked a person as belonging to more than just the local.

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\(^{22}\) Iliffe, 47.


Bagamoyo became the main port for ivory and gum copal exports from the 1870s forward.\textsuperscript{25} The city was ruled by twelve \textit{diwans}, who paid regular tribute to the Zaramo to the town’s west in exchange for allowing caravans to pass through.\textsuperscript{26} The sultans focused their energy on maintaining loose control over the coastal cities, posting officials in each one to administer tolls and periodically sending troops to maintain control over trade when it was necessary. Indian merchants moved to the coast in significant numbers in the 19th century. One such merchant, Sewa Haji, dominated the trading community of Bagamoyo from the 1870s through the late 1890s. His firm supplied Arab, African, and European caravans with trade goods and porters and bought the ivory they brought back to the coast. He had representatives stationed at the primary towns of the interior.\textsuperscript{27}

Zanzibari merchants took control of trade deep into the interior, where the trading frontier continued to move west through the 1870s and 1880s as merchants searched for people to enslave and elephants to hunt. Sultan Majid made regular payments to patrician members of coastal society to recognize his rule and create a sort of state apparatus.\textsuperscript{28} Barghash had a political representative in Tabora, the main trading city near Lake Victoria. Tabora became an important Arab outpost because Unyanyembe was the most receptive state to Arab settlement. The Sultanate secured its position in trade with the interior in its treaties with European merchants and governments. It ensured a state

\textsuperscript{25} Brown, 33.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 137-140.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., iii-iv, 186, 188.
\textsuperscript{28} Bennett, 23.
monopoly over trade in ivory and copra. Arab merchants became integrated into local politics there, but maintained connections to Zanzibar. From the middle of the century, merchants from the coast gained the upper hand in trade as the ivory frontier moved west and they settled along the caravan routes. They also had the advantage of securing long-term credit from Zanzibar. After a failed intervention in a war in Unyamwezi in the early 1870s, Barghash largely left politics in the Great Lakes alone. A set of local rulers emerged in the late nineteenth century with bases of power in military control of the caravan routes. Porters carried commodities, knowledge, and Islam along the caravan routes. They were integrated into the world economy through trade and international networks of information. Merchants rushed to Ujiji in the 1860s and 1870s as the ivory frontier moved west. Sultans Majid and Barghash played the imperial rivals United Kingdom and France off each other to ensure his own freedom of action on the mainland.

29 Bückendorf, 82.
30 Iliffe, 49; Deutsch, 22-23.
31 Bennett, 35-38.
32 Deutsch, 20.
33 Bennett, 114.
Trade brought coastal merchants and African partners into daily contact, particularly around the towns of Tabora and Ujiji. Ujiji was growing rapidly in the middle of the 1880s. Its population boomed from 3000 to 8000 between 1883 and 1887. Migrants came to the coast through the second half of the century to participate in new industries, trade and planting. Identities were fluid, and almost everyone belonged to multiple cultural communities. Swahili, for instance, is used to roughly mean the people of the coast, but also had connotations of former-slave status. Kiswahili spread as the language of the central and northern trade routes, but it was not the only language of trade. Kiyao was the lingua franca of the southern route, and Kinyamwezi of the western plateau. An administrative elite, trained in an Islamic education system, developed on the coast in the second half of the century. Such education was prestigious in coastal society. Knowledge of Islam was an elite privilege.

The trade boom increased access to markers of status inland, leading to competition to prove one’s generosity and connections to overseas areas. Cultural

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35 Bückendorf, 93.
36 Ibid., 93.
37 Glassman, Feasts and Riot; John Iliffe estimates the labor migration within mainland Tanzania at 100,000/year, Iliffe, 45.
38 Glassman, Feasts and Riot.
39 Deutsch, 31-32.
40 Iliffe, 79.
42 Glassman, Feasts and Riot, 24-25.
elements from many different societies in East Africa, Swahili, Zanzibari, Nyamwezi, Manyema, Zaramo, Yao, and others, became part of the culture of travel. Local rulers, who scholars have termed "big men," built power through control over resources or travel along the trade routes. Big men used connections with the coast to build their own political power and deploying markers of ethnic identity fluidly as they fit political circumstances. New definitions of sovereignty emerged; the goal was to control slaves, ivory, weapons, and cloth, and to gain and keep followers through the supply of those goods, or lack thereof. Many big men controlled markers of coastal society, including Islam. Spreading Islam farther would have endangered their own privilege of connections to the coast. Big men could use trade goods to build a personal following and arm their men with firearms. One Nyamwezi big man, Mirambo, dominated the area between Tabora, Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Victoria from the 1870s through the early 1880s by building up his military power and capacity to raid his neighbors. Mirambo played Arab merchants and European missionaries off each other for his own ends. After losing a war with Unyanyembe and Tabora over trade in 1876, Mirambo attempted to build direct connections with European traders. His kingdom, however, began collapsing upon his death in December 1884.

The Haya and Sukuma of northwest Tanzania developed centralized political institutions based on ritual kinship in the decades before German arrival. The most

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43 Pesek, 326.
44 Pesek; Becker.
45 Austen, 15-18, 21.
46 Bückendorf, 33-4.
powerful kingdom among the Haya was Karagwe, whose princes had established more power over peasant cultivators in the 1860s. The area southeast of Lake Victoria saw constant warfare with no central political institutions. The area immediately to the west of the coast experienced unrest in the 1860s and 1870s as Ngoni migrants moved there from the south. West of Bagamoyo, Pagani, and Saadani was dominated by the Waseguha, who had expanded their power through slave raids using firearms traded through Zanzibar. To the west, the Wagogo controlled trade through the control of water along dry sections of the central trade route.

The Shambaa kingdom of Usambara drew tribute from the coastal towns. The kingdom was torn apart by civil war between the late 1860s and late 1880s, a war finally won by Semboja. Semboja built alliances with merchants to increase trade and increase his power. To the west, disunified Wapare societies were falling apart under attack by Maasai and slave raiders. To their west, Nyamwezi rulers, the ntemi, copied Ngoni military organization to dominate interior trade. Ntemis Swetu and Ifundikira built Unyanyembe into the most powerful political entity in the region in the first half of the 19th century. Near Mount Kilimanjaro, Chagga societies were split into many different kingdoms, and Maasai societies fought frequent wars against one another and others.

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47 Austen.
49 Ibid., 29-31.
50 Ibid., 32-33.
51 Ibid., 43
In southern Tanzania, Ngoni, Yao, and Wahehe polities formed the main economic and political powers in the second half of the 19th century. Ngoni migrations from southern Africa created a new political balance. Their *ruga ruga* warriors raided surrounding regions and created a military basis for political power that became the model for state building throughout central Tanzania. Ruga ruga warriors created new levels of violence across the areas they traversed. Munyigumba unified the Wahehe following that model around the middle of the century, eventually dominating the central trade route between Tabora and Kilossa. Yao societies also moved into southern Tanzania, from Mozambique. They became the primary intermediaries in the ivory and slave trades in Kilwa Kisiwani and Kilwa Kivinje. By the 1870s, they were conducting their own raids. Kiyao became the primary trade language in southern Tanzania.

European states and merchants changed the workings of the ocean over the course of the 19th century. Steam ships allowed for trade outside of the monsoon season, the telegraph allowed for quick communication about changes in world markets, the Suez canal allowed for much faster transit between Europe and the Ocean, and European maps rationalized the Ocean’s spaces. The local trade, however, remained in the hands of merchants who carried goods by dhow. The 1870s saw a more intrusive European

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52 Ibid., 17-20.
54 Iliffe, 57; Bückendorf, 23.
55 Bückendorf, 20-22.
presence, more British pressure against the slave trade, and more Zanzibari attempts to increase state power.\textsuperscript{57} The Church Missionary Society and the Catholic White Fathers both established footholds in Buganda in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{58} The White Fathers were founded specifically to tend to East Africa, after the Primate of Africa, Charles Lavigerie, called for more attention to the region.\textsuperscript{59} Catholic missions promised to drag the "wild" people of Africa into civilization.\textsuperscript{60} Five missionary societies were in the future Ostafrika by 1884. The Holy Ghost Fathers were established at Bagamoyo in 1868, and had built a station inland at Mhonda in 1877. The White Fathers built a station in Ujiji in 1879. The Anglican Universities Mission had stations at Magila and Masasi, the Church Missionary Society at Mpwapwa after 1876, and the London Missionary Society at Mirambo after 1878.\textsuperscript{61} Most early converts to Christianity were marginal young men.\textsuperscript{62}

Germans had first entered the societies and markets of East Africa in the 1850s, when the Hamburg trading houses O’Swald and Hansing established posts on Unguja to trade European manufactured goods for ivory.\textsuperscript{63} The initial Hansa traders integrated into existing trade networks relatively seamlessly, not challenging the status quo on the coast.

\textsuperscript{57} Bennett, 53.
\textsuperscript{58} Austen, 20.
\textsuperscript{59} Bückendorf, 135.
\textsuperscript{60} Michael Schubert, \textit{Der schwarze Fremde: Das Bild des Schwarzafrikaners in der parlamentarischen und publizistischen Kolonialdiskussion in Deutschland von der 1870er bis in die 1930er Jahre} (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003), 153.
\textsuperscript{61} Iliffe, 84.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 87.
The ivory-focused trading house Heinrich Adolph Meyer joined O’Swald and Hansing in 1874.\textsuperscript{64} Precolonial German travelers and merchants depended on local logistical support and knowledge in traveling through East Africa.\textsuperscript{65} They became just one of several foreign elements involved in the caravan trade, drawing East Africa into the world economic system.

Germans were not the first outside group to intervene in the region politically and economically. The 19\textsuperscript{th}-century in East Africa was, clearly, a time of great upheaval. The growing demand for ivory in world markets, and slaves in Zanzibar, gradually integrated areas as far west as the Great Lakes into the world capitalist economy and created something of a unified economic system over the course of the century. The economic system was not, however, politically unified. Despite Zanzibari claims to a large empire, the coast and the interior developed different political institutions. Both saw the rise of centralized power structures, which came into conflict in the last few decades before the German arrival. German colonists therefore arrived in a region in turmoil and transition. Their attempts to conceptualize a framework for understanding the area that was to become \textit{Ostafrika} offered little hope of success, despite the claims of modern science.


CHAPTER 3 – THE "POLICY OF RASHNESS": THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN COLONIZATION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN COLONIZATION OF EAST AFRICA

On 27 February 1885, the Imperial German government issued the German East Africa Company (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, DOAG) a letter of protection [Schutzbrief] for East African territories the company claimed. The Schutzbrief was the culmination of the DOAG’s campaign to found a German overseas colony. The company (under its previous formation, the Society for German Colonization [Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation, GfdK]), had undertaken an expedition to the Usagara region in East Africa to acquire territory. The members of the expedition, Carl Peters, Joachim Graf von Pfeil, and Karl Jühlke, signed a series of treaties with local men and women they labeled "sultans" which ceded sovereign rights to territory to the German expedition. Peters returned to Germany claiming control of 2,500 square miles of East African land.

The Schutzbrief ratified the GfdK’s "policy of rashness" [Überstürzung], by which it meant direct action to create a German empire through private initiative. It provided government imprimatur to a radical political project that created a German colony through legal maneuvering. The company threw itself into the existing race for colonies, and began an even more aggressive attempt to acquire territory, sending expedition after expedition to sign treaties further afield in East Africa to acquire ever more land. Peters and Pfeil believed that the mere acquisition of land for Germany would

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1 German East Africa was the fourth and final of Germany's long-term African colonies to be founded. The DOAG Schutzbrief followed Bismarck's recognition of Southwest Africa, Togo, and Cameroon in 1884.
lead to a powerful overseas empire. They used their treaties to create a private empire for the benefit of the German nation. The GfdK would build its empire on the pretense of a three-pronged project to reimagine East Africa's and the world's historical and contemporary geographies.

The policy of rashness was framed by the DOAG/GfdK’s annoyance with what it termed the "theorizing" of the mainstream colonialist movement within Germany. The larger Kolonialverein, founded in the same year, had a membership more directly attached to the structures of power within Germany and was able to better participate in the interest group politics characteristic of the Kaiserreich. In breaking with the "theoretical" colonialist movement, the GfdK closely resembled another group of radical expansionists from earlier in the century, the American filibusters. Filibusters were private American imperialists who attempted to conquer much of the western hemisphere for the United States in the late antebellum period. They were characterized by a martial view of manhood and an aggressive vision of territorial conquest. They regarded Central America as a new frontier as opportunities in North America disappeared. In his move to

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East Africa, Carl Peters mimicked the actions of American filibusterers to such an extent that Bismarck later denigrated him with the label.⁴

Indeed, similar to the American filibusters, the GfdK latched onto pervasive "colonial fantasies" in 1880s Germany. Such was the prevailing political aspiration in Western Europe. It was a foregone conclusion that powerful nations had empires. Travelogues produced tropes and topoi about Africa that German colonialists could call upon to create Africa for metropolitan audiences. Travelogues, beginning with Alexander von Humboldt’s, placed non-European places in totalizing European frameworks. Metaphors about African space in pre-colonial travel literature made it more familiar to German readers by comparing it to German landscapes and history, and made it seem available for German expansion. Indigenous societies appeared static and unchanging in the eyes of travel writers. German travelers, in contrast, appeared as actors, able to change and affect the places and societies they encountered. Travel writing domesticated the exotic and engaged European publics with imperial projects. The first element of the GfdK’s geographical project was repurposing travel writing from what Mary Louise Pratt calls the "anti-conquest," meaning the establishment of control through observation and totalizing frameworks of knowledge rather than violence, into a new form that narrated an explicit physical conquest of land.⁵

⁴ BArch R 1001/250, pag. 27.

⁵ Susanne Zantop, Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Pre-Colonial Germany, 1770-1870 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds., The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Russell Berman, Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Allen F. Roberts, A Dance of Assassins: Performing Early Colonial Hegemony in the Congo (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
Theories abound as to why Bismarck was willing to give in to the colonialist movement he had resisted for so long, especially to an organization with so aggressive a program. Bismarck not only issued the *Schutzbrief*, but also used naval power to enforce it when the Sultan of Zanzibar, Said Barghash, resisted from May through August, 1885. Most prominent are theories of social imperialism (that Bismarck wanted to divert socialist sentiment overseas) and that he wanted to draw Germany and France closer together against Britain. Why exactly Bismarck changed his course on colonial expansion is not as important for understanding the colonial border imaginary as the fact that the GfdK treaties gave him a basis to do so and that he was willing to commit naval force to enforce the treaties.\(^6\)

Other historians, notably Michael Pesek and Jan-Georg Deutsch, have discussed the treaties’ function in creating an imagined precolonial political reality out of an East African political environment for European audiences that bore little resemblance to the

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reality of East African politics. The treaties on which the GfdK based its claims were fabrications of the reality of East African politics, a fact obvious even to many contemporaries. The form of those fabrications, however, is important for understanding how Germans imagined East Africa and colonial rule. As the second element of the GfdK’s geographical project, the treaties established a sovereignty based in land, in contrast to political realities on the ground, thus construing East Africa’s politics as similar to medieval Europe. They construed their African signers as independent princes with full rights over their territory, as understood in Europe. The treaties' African co-signers may not have understood exactly what the GfdK was after, but likely saw Germany as a counterweight to Zanzibar in local politics and a source of the prestige goods so important in Big Man politics. They likely understood the treaties as rituals recognizing German power that would have to be repeated in the future, with the exchange of further goods, rather than as outright transfers of control over land.

The DOAG’s expeditions subsequent to the *Schutzbrief* demonstrate what may have been the company's most radical geographical project: reordering world geographies. The second set of treaties the GfdK members signed with East African "sultans" was explicitly aimed at denying historical links between the interior and the

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8 Roberts, 33.
Swahili coast, meaning the Indian Ocean littoral. Different European groups used a variety of regional schema for understanding the area in the middle of the 1880s. The initial DOAG efforts in East Africa sought to invent space as "African," outside of western historical time and progress. The DOAG conception of Africa grew out of long-term European imaginaries of Africa and Latin America as behind Europe in time and dominated by nature rather than man. Such "African" space would be both available for and in need of German development. The GfdK/DOAG argued that reshaping the Land of Ostafrika to be more like Germany would in turn reshape its Leute into proper colonial subjects.

The DOAG Uses and Reimagines African Travel

Peters emphasized his childhood in writing about his development as a colonialist figure. His life had always been marked by concerns about geography. He grew up on the Elbe, which, he told readers of his memoirs, formed the historical border between Germans and Slavs. Peters’ father was a friend of Carl Claus von der Decken, a German explorer of East Africa. The older Peters had told young Carl of David Livingstone’s travels and, pointing to East Africa on a map, told him "here lies the future of Africa."

The Franco-Prussian War turned the then 13-year-old Peters into a German nationalist, which would later fuel his drive to conquer East Africa for Germany. After attempting for a short period careers as a jurist and a novelist, Peters decided that he should apply himself to "practical matters." He considered going to North America to start a business, but his uncle called him to London after Peters' aunt died. There, Peters developed his ambitions of empire. He studied British colonial policy through documents from the 16th
and 17th century in the public record office and by talking to people who had been the colonies. He saw the British as more economically independent and free from state control to acquire territory anywhere in the world, all because of Britain's colonial empire.  

The second key figure in the GfdK's founding, Joachim Graf von Pfeil, was born in Neurode, Silesia in 1857. Pfeil was the only member of the initial GfdK expedition who had previously spent time in Africa. Pfeil and Peters, though of different origins, bonded over their biographies. Pfeil had been inspired to go to Africa by an indirect connection to Gerhard Rohlfs, a relative of one of his Gymnasium teachers. Rohlfs had made his name traveling in North Africa and Abyssinia in the 1860s and 1870s. The teacher exposed Pfeil to travelogues popular at the time: Andersen, Baldwin, the Forsters, Cook, and Humboldt. He moved to British South Africa in 1873 to found a German colony, and spent nine years there. Pfeil learned much from British and Boer colonists in a period he later described as his "colonial political schooling." Among the observations he made were the workings of law in Natal, above all what he called the "law of cheapness" [Billigkeit], administering territory for as little money as possible. There was no need for "abstract law" before an area was thickly settled; an ad hoc system of law would serve until then. He returned to Germany in the early 1880s and joined the nascent colonial movement. When they first met, Peters and Pfeil spent hours discussing ideas for


10 Pfeil did not name specific books in his memoir. Hans Christian Andersen, Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster, James Cook, and Alexander von Humboldt were among the most renowned travel writers of 18th- and 19th-century Europe.
taxation and building, and built their "entire intellectual life on the ground of colonial problems." After his work with the GfdK/DOAG, Pfeil worked in other German colonies, New Guinea and Southwest Africa, at times for the Kolonialrat.

The GfdK formed on 19 August 1884 at a meeting of colonial enthusiasts in Berlin. At its founding, the organization's officials declared its mission was to "secure an overseas Heimat for our nationality." Three conditions mattered for choosing such a place: it had to not be in another European nation's sphere of interest, it could not be in another nation's language area, and it must offer conditions for agriculture. Peters hoped that one of the expeditions could find "wide stretches in which German agriculturalists can progress," as much of Africa was still unexplored by Europeans. Members of the GfdK suggested possible places to find such wide stretches over the next few months. Joseph Freiherr Molitor von Mühlfeld called for greater emigration to Argentina, Major Friedrich Wilhelm Alexander von Mechow suggested colonizing on the Kwango River, and Alexander Merensky recommended what is today southern Angola. Peters took up the Merensky plan, but the rest of the organization voted it down because it was clear the German government would never support it due to worries it would create unnecessary tension with Portuguese claims. While laid up with an illness in Lorenzo Marques (now Maputo, the capital of Mozambique) before his return to Germany, Pfeil had dreamt up a plan to acquire land in East Africa. Great riches, he believed, were to be made on Lake

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11 Joachim Graf von Pfeil, Zur Erwerbung von Deutsch-Ostafrika (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1907), 47.

12 Pfeil’s desire to found a German "colony" in South Africa demonstrates the different meaning that held for Germans in the Kaiserreich. He meant not the establishment of official imperial rule from Berlin, but the settlement of Germans in South Africa to make a German community. BArch N 2225/2, pag. 2; Joachim Graf von Pfeil, Zur Erwerbung von Deutsch-Ostafrika (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1907), 11, 45-47.
Nyasa/Malawi. He went to Zanzibar, but fell ill with fever, and was unable to travel to the mainland. He returned to Germany. With no real intelligence about the possibilities for German colonialism in East Africa, the GfdK depended on travelogues for its information. Pfeil suggested Usagara, which Henry Morton Stanley had described in glowing terms. The GfdK approved his plan by unanimous vote on 16 September 1884. The GfdK’s plan called for sending a group of men "familiar with African relations" to buy land and raise the German flag. The society would declare the land German and encourage German settlers to go there.\textsuperscript{13}

The GfdK expedition departed from Trieste on 1 October 1884. Accompanying Peters and Pfeil were Karl Jühlke, an old school friend of Peters, and a member of the GfdK. Also along was August Otto, a young businessman traveling at his own expense to explore trade opportunities in the area. The expedition's members operated secretly. Ever paranoid, they believed that foreign countries and the German government would do all they could to hinder the effort. They took bizarre routes to get to Trieste to throw off public opinion and spread rumors by planting propaganda in Berlin restaurants that their expedition was going to assist the Boers against the British. Once in Zanzibar, they, according to Peters, convinced most of the Europeans there that they were part of the Congo expedition, the British that they were on a shooting trip, and the Germans that they were going to study the Great Lakes. Peters wore what he described as an "old man's beard" in order to look more respectable. Despite their efforts to conceal their goal, it was

soon an "open secret" that the men were in Zanzibar to annex land. The Foreign Office sent its ersatz consul in Zanzibar, William Henry O'Swald, a letter stating that it would not protect any territory the GfdK acquired. It stated further that it would not even guarantee the lives of the expedition's members.14

Their optimism and aspirations were deeply grounded in their naïveté. Members of the GfdK knew about East Africa almost entirely through travelogues. Travelers were the "pioneers of culture" in Africa and connected metropolitan audiences with faraway places.15 East Africa was left out of the first wave of travel literature, in which European explorers and geographers focused their attention on the Americas. In 1851, Henry Venn, secretary of the British Church Missionary Society (CMS), declared that any further exploration in Africa must proceed from the East Coast. The first to take up that call was Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German missionary working for the CMS. Krapf and his assistant, Johannes Rebmann, sent a map back to Europe showing a huge lake, arousing great interest among the European geographic community. British, German, and Belgian explorers had traveled through Eastern Africa under the auspices of scientific societies. Travel accounts, their authors claimed, could provide the same representation of truth as photography. Krapf remained a hero within the German Protestant missionary movement.


15 Explorers created what George Steinmetz has described as the "precoloniality" of German imperialism with regards to East Africa, the "ideological raw materials" for the creation of a German colonial empire. George Steinmetz, The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 14.
as the first trailblazer of their mission in East Africa. German explorers worked for the British government and the International Africa Association (or its German arm) and the Hamburg Geographical Society had sent the doctor Gustav Fischer to explore west to Lake Victoria.\(^{16}\)

The tales of daring and adventure produced in travel literature about East Africa provided material around which readers could construct their own dreams and visions of what East Africa could be. Both Peters and Krapf cited maps of East Africa as inspiration for their own explorations. The empty space, devoid of people or history, drawn on maps where East African land should be, provided the seed for wild fantasies about what that territory would hold, and for what Europeans could do with it once they discovered its contents. Travelogues created a discourse of "colonial fantasies" around East Africa before European attempts to take possession of territory began. Germans had already colonized the world in their minds before Germany had any colonies. They experienced it through travel accounts or fiction. Travelogues were part of a "cultural residue" that Germans could use to create national myths and ideas about the Other. They depended on a set of tropes and methods that made the world into something knowable and

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controllable for Germans. Travelogues marked territory with meaning for European audiences. Of all the precolonial travel literature on East Africa, Pfeil and Peters both cited Henry Morton Stanley’s and David Livingstone’s travelogues as inspirational.

Livingstone and Stanley were the most prominent European travelers to Africa in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Stanley "brought Africa into style," according to one German newspaper. Stanley convinced the GfdK leadership that land could be found in East Africa that would suit German farmers. Peters believed that Stanley had put the area that was to become Ostafrika in a better light than any other traveler. When Pfeil heard the news of Stanley’s travels in "deepest Africa," the travelogues of his youth ran back through his mind and "powerfully enflamed in me the need for mental activity." He borrowed travelogues from a neighbor; particularly inspiring was Livingstone.

The GfdK’s initial work in East Africa also drew inspiration from American adventurers. Peters used the term "adventurers" [in English) to describe the GfdK's initial fundraising. Like the GfdK, American filibusters were inspired by a vast travel literature encouraging expansion. Filibusterers invaded several Central American and Caribbean countries, without support from the American government, to try to expand the realm of

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17 Zantop; Fabian; Pratt; Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox, and Zantop; Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft.

American republicanism in the 1840s. The process of colonization was also a process for American men to negotiate manhood at home; imperial spaces provided a stage for American men to demonstrate their strength, intellect, bravery, and superiority. Filibusters too harbored grand dreams of national empire, believing empire "offered opportunities for individual heroic initiative and for success in love and war, which seemed to be fading at home." Similarly, Germany's expansion seemed to have stopped after unification in 1871, and those who wanted to create a greater Germany had to look beyond the European continent for territory into which the country could expand.

American filibuster literature worked to make Central American landscapes "appealing and familiar - not threatening or foreign," to United States audiences and equated foreign places with parts of the United States through analogy and metaphor. Filibusters attempted to construct their enterprises as the "natural" course of history. Empire was inevitable whether enacted by Americans or someone else. They acted out a new American society in which class, ethnic, and sectional divisions disappeared behind white, Anglo-Saxon manhood. Peters entertained fantasies of going to the United States earlier in his life. He and Jühlke had discussed moving to Chicago to found a newspaper. Fantasies of founding an overseas Germany to rival the United States or Australia even ran through Pfeil’s imagination in his descriptions of the fauna of South Africa. He wrote

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19 Greenberg, 3.

20 Peters, Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 1, 64; Greenberg, 3, 61. Alexander von Humboldt constructed the Americas for Americans as well as Europeans.

21 Greenberg, 61.
that he had encountered coyotes and dingoes there, animals native to and associated with North America and Australia, respectively, not, however, in Africa.\footnote{Greenberg, 45-46, 61-62, 70, 87; Pfeil, 21, 68.}

Pfeil’s and Peters’ accounts of their expedition were in many respects similar to earlier travelogues. Explorers’ biographies, particularly a childhood passion for geography, were often prominent in their accounts. Decken’s editor noted the explorer’s love of history and geography as a child, as well as his distaste for ancient languages. He had traveled around Europe, but it soon held no more interest for him. He thought about joining the British imperial service, but wanted to work for Germany instead. Krapf told readers that he had developed his passion for East Africa in his first year of school. His father bought him an atlas, young Ludwig opened it to a map of East Africa, and asked his father why there were no city names. Krapf read many further travel accounts and wanted to see the world. He became a missionary, giving a higher purpose to his travel, as a compromise between his own ambition to see the world and his father's ambition for him to become a minister.\footnote{Kersten, 379-381, 385; W. Claus, \textit{Dr. Ludwig Krapf, weil. Missionar in Ostafrika} (Basel: C.F. Spittler, 1882), 5-6.}

Travelers had to believe they were following a higher calling. They traversed places unknown to them with a great deal of personal danger and had to depend on aid networks of which they had little knowledge. That higher calling was often religious, as it was in Krapf’s case. Missionaries argued that they had a duty to tell Europeans about the African interior so that they would be more enthusiastic about bringing the gospel there by learning the manners, modes of thought, and languages of locals, and explaining to
them European intentions. In other cases the higher calling was scientific, to broaden the European base of knowledge by exploring the unknown. Whatever their calling, explorers fell back on familiar tropes to describe their journeys.24

The GfdK occupied a particular position in the German colonial movement. As Pfeil told it, the colonial movement was split between a theoretical party left over from Germany's pre-unification days and a party of movement, willing to make sacrifices for colonies. Germany had reached a "world historical moment, when Germany could take Africa for itself." But available land was running out, and the established Kolonialverein was doing no practical work. The GfdK planned to turn the theoretical discussions of empire in Germany into deeds. The Kölnische Zeitung described the GfdK as "young, enterprising men." They were emblematic of the generation of Germans of the Bildungsbürgertum who came of age following unification and sought outlets for their ambitions that did not appear available in Germany itself. The qualifications of the expeditions’ members did not fit those expected of European expeditions to Africa. None of the four had a scientific background. Pfeil defended their qualifications, stating that Peters had written a Habilitation, he had lived in South Africa, Jühlke’s father was a famous horticulturalist, and Otto had thought about going to Japan. The claim that those qualifications were valid was preposterous. The GfdK had dropped all of the pretensions to science or religion that earlier expeditions had made.25

Prominent in many European travel accounts was a marker of leaving civilization behind and entering areas they termed "wilderness." Decken included a section, "To the border of the wilderness" in his travelogue. Krapf stood on the Ndunguni hills that separated Wanikaland from the "wilderness" and looked back, thinking of the work, emergencies, and dangers that his expedition had gone through to spread the gospel there. Stanley described saying "goodbye" to "civilized life" when leaving Bagamoyo. Ludwig von Höhnel wrote that the inhabitants of Taveta were the "last link with civilization" for travelers heading west from the coast. Joseph Thomson told readers that once past the coastal plantations, "with surprising abruptness," the traveler reached "a scene of desolation and sterility." He credited Rebmann for having "penetrated the cultivated coast region."26

The East African wilderness was a place to experience the sublime. A traveler could get lost in his thoughts of home, or the future, as "the present disappears." Stanley wrote of the "sublime hour" in which his dreams would be realized. John Hanning Speke described a "fairy-like, wild, and romantic" landscape that was more fantastic than

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25 Pfeil, 40-41, 68; Peters, Die Gründung, 36-37; Some members of the colonial movement in Germany had suggested the need for an organization like the GfdK that could gather capital by selling stock and could have personnel both in Germany and in the colony. Such an organization could separate trade and legal functions, and hire experts to carry out various develop projects, as seen in "Wie soll man kolonisieren?,” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, September 1 and 15, 1884, 339-340, 364-366; BArch R 8023/265, pag. 41; David Blackbourn and Richard Evans, eds., The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class (London: Routledge, 1994); Dieter Langewiesche, Liberalismus in Deutschland (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988).

anything he had seen outside a theater. Joseph Thomson described Lake Nyasa/Malawi as "a perfect Arcadia, about which idyllic poets have sung, though few have seen it realized." At Lake Tanganyika, he "felt as if we had passed from a purgatory to a paradise." Charles New wrote that nothing could be more "sublime" than to see God's work. Mount Kilimanjaro exhibited "unparalleled grandeur, sublimity, majesty, and glory." Travelers defended their own wonder at landscapes by comparing it favorably to Africans' reactions. Thomson thought it obvious the "untutored savage" would see magic in the existence of Mount Kenya.27

Peters too marked a border between wilderness and civilization. The tone of Peters' account changed when the expedition left Zanzibar for the mainland from dry narrative to fantastical descriptions of the wilderness. The natural landscape became central to his retelling. The seas were blue, the foliage green and fresh. Peters declared that he would never forget the peculiar beauty of the first few days of the march. Before the expedition lay salvation; behind it lay fiasco and ruin. He felt as though he "were on another planet where life glowingly pulses through nature" and was overcome by yearning and melancholy. Like other travelers, Peters worried about the wilderness. He got lost hunting and feared being stuck alone for the night. He later got sick and had to be carried on in a litter, which required a great deal of "strength of will and cold-bloodedness." He thought he would die and told Jühlke to rush on to the coast get the treaties to Germany. On his return to the coast, Peters again marked a border. He and

Jühlke saw the cross of the French mission at Bagamoyo and took it as a sign that they were nearing the European "cultural world," [Kulturwelt].

But at the same time, Peters dreamed of home. He thought of a tavern near his hometown and drinking German beer to relieve his thirst. He and Jühlke spent their afternoons discussing the Heimat. At one point, he dreamed he was not really in Africa. Encounters with "civilization" gave the expedition's members strength, and the loss of civilization weakened them. An encounter with an English missionary and his wife going west gave Pfeil "new strength." Captain Bloyet of the Belgian station at Kondoa restored Pfeil to health. Pfeil and Kurt von Toeppen, who later brought a caravan to resupply him, sat around singing German songs in what they imagined was never before disturbed silence. When Otto died of Fever, Pfeil collapsed, his knees unable to hold him.

There was always a veneer of science over the magical descriptions in precolonial explorers' accounts. Peters and Pfeil, like the filibusters, took the ideas from those travelers’ accounts and stripped out any pretensions to science. They instead focused on the German aspects of the expedition - Peters repeatedly dreamed of beer and beer halls; he spent his free time reading Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s Laocoon - bringing Germany to Africa in their own persons. Pfeil brought many of the tropes of travel literature to

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29 Historical anthropologists have written about the prevalence of descriptions of dreams or dream-like states in travelogues. Being "out of one's mind" was a common trope in precolonial travelogues. Explorers imagined Africa as a place of "Fever," a state Johannes Fabian describes as "an ideology, a myth needed to make sense of the mortal dangers of exploration," a state that placed Africa outside of European frames of reality and which required what Allen Roberts has called "an aesthetic hygiene" in order to develop Africa. Fabian, 61; Roberts, 100.

bear. He found the "far interior" especially "alluring." He thought it especially valuable that he had learned to "depend totally on myself among the wild relationship of time and land to quickly assess the situation" and determine a course of action.  

That modification to precolonial travelogues was essential, as the expedition was not in Africa to explore, but to conquer. Peters and Jühlke spent their first night on the mainland firing off their revolvers into the air. Peters told metropolitan audiences that East Africa had a "passive need for colonization (Kolonisationsbedürftigkeit)." He noted in his papers that Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, a public figure in the German colonial movement, had told him that Peters had been Genghis Khan in an earlier life. The expedition’s accounts of its actions, therefore, needed only those elements of precolonial travel literature that would support such actions. Peters and Pfeil used the form of earlier travelogues, but stripped out the religious and scientific issues earlier travelers had emphasized to instead focus on conquest. Peters noted that critics had called him and his compatriots adventurers. But he took delight in the term, claiming that the British empire too was started by adventurers, Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh.

The Gf dk was borne out of the nationalist movement of the nascent German nation. Peters wrote that it flowed naturally from unification and compared Germany's situation to that of the Roman Republic during the Second Punic War. Like Rome, Germany was a great land power. It had to develop overseas power in order to compete with Carthage, in which role Peters cast the United Kingdom. Peters saw the difference

31 Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft, 169; Wagner; Pfeil, 25-27.

32 Peters, "Die Usagara-Expedition," 292-293; Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 1, 17; Die Gründung, 53, 61; Wagner 84.
between Britain and Germany in the present as one of opportunity. The British had a middle class because its young men had a chance to go make something of themselves in the colonies; Germany just had officials and military officers, as there were no other opportunities for young men if they did not emigrate to the Americas or the British Empire. Emigration meant losing one's Germanness, as the emigrant adopted aspects of local culture. The future of the German Volk was at stake. Germandom could be absorbed fully into Britondom. The German system subordinated individuals to their Stand, and they did not know how to exercise individual agency. Colonialism could make Germany money, and every other powerful state in history from the Phoenicians and Hellenes to the British and Dutch had formed a national empire. A private enterprise could combine German virtues with British ones. Peters brought with him Lessing's critique of Voltaire's *Semiramis*, which he read during his free time, and which served as a passing claim for German superiority over France.  

Peters' praise of the Jesuit mission reveals the vision of the future of German empire as an integrative experience. In the wake of the *Kulturkampf*, Chancellor Bismarck's struggle against the power of the Catholic Church in Germany, and in an organization that promoted the Protestantism of its members, Peters wrote of the Jesuits, "whatever one may think of the Jesuit order, it is out of the question, that it fulfills a

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cultural labor [Kulturarbeit] in the true sense of the word in East Africa. Its station forms so to say the first mighty bracket, on which the white race pushes into the most luxuriant section of the rough Dark Continent. The importance of this mission for East Africa is approximately the same as that of the Christian in Germany one thousand years ago." He at once carried the reader back to the medieval past and offered a possible unifying force for Germany in the midst of the Kulturkampf. German Protestants and Catholics could work together to civilize East Africa, bringing both sides of the religious divide together into one national mission.  

Explorers frequently denied the people they encountered in the East African interior a history outside of natural processes and fell back on European history or literature to explain Africa. Decken described the Sultanate of Witu's history as one that put the Ghibelline-Guelph feud of medieval Europe to shame. Speke wrote that the Wanyamwezi had no history until Indians started to write about them. Travelers drew comparisons between African societies and ones more familiar to European audiences. Charles New, a British CMS missionary, described the Galla as the "Ishmaelites" of Africa, barbarous and ferocious perpetrators of deeds too horrible to describe. Thomson compared himself to Caliban, and the cicadas around him to Titania. Baur and Le Roy compared Kingo to medieval French kings, Charlemagne, Louis the Fair, and Henri IV.

34 Wagner, 46.
Duff MacDonald thought the Great Lakes region resembled what Britain had looked like centuries before Christianity.\(^{35}\)

Peters cited European history to make his argument, but in a circumscribed, German way. Peters named the unknown geographical landmarks he came across after German royalty or explorers - the Kaiserin, Johann Krapf, and Georg Schweinfurth. When he crossed the Tana River, Peters wrote that he felt like Frederick the Great at the Battle of Kollin, an image he drove home by quoting Friedrich Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke." In all of his accounts of East African travel, Peters resorted frequently to quoting poetry to demonstrate his Germanness or a European spirit of exploration. On a later expedition, he quoted Louise Brachmann's "Columbus" to describe his "great journey towards the west." He described his feeling upon landing in Zanzibar as the same as the "conqueror of Mexico" (presumably Cortes) must have felt when he burned his ships behind him. Peters thus connected himself directly to the past history of European conquest in Central America.\(^{36}\)

The East African coast, unlike the interior, had a history in European eyes. Its history of Portuguese and Omani conquest was better known to Europeans than anything that had happened farther west. European travelers adopted many of the ideas about differences between coast and interior from Swahili society. People there drew borders

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between the civilization of the coast and areas farther west, the inspiration for the border drawn between civilization and wilderness by European travelers, and marked the crossing of those borders with ceremonies. Coastal people believed in the inferiority of interior societies as compared with Swahili society. Pfeil wrote that the coast had been linked to the "cultured people" of Asia and the Mediterranean "since the beginning of time." A higher culture had developed on the coast through contact with Arabs.  

But to read European travelogues, people of the coast only made trouble for the people in the interior. War in central Africa was cruel and barbarous, driven by the Arabs, and societies riven by petty factionalism. Worst of all was the slave trade. Human beings were "hunted as legitimate game" by Arab slave raiders. On the other hand, the European had to work with Arabs and other "Mohammedans" to accomplish his goals. European travelers portrayed Arabs as exercising some agency over the landscape in a way that Africans could not. The people of the interior did not even really have a religion, according to Étienne Baur and Alexandre Le Roy. European travelers were dependent on the infrastructure of the precolonial caravan trade, which was still in the hands of local people along the routes.  

Europeans primarily defined the Arab presence in East Africa by slavery. Following the largely successful and completed campaign to eliminate the slave trade on the Atlantic Ocean, European attention turned to the slave trade on the Indian Ocean as a humanitarian cause in the years preceding the GfdK incursion into East Africa. As noted  

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37 Kersten; Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft; 72-77; BArch N 2225/29.  
in the previous paragraph, Catholic missionaries used the specter of an Arab slave trade to argue for the creation of missions in East Africa. The United Kingdom justified a series of interventions in Zanzibari affairs in order to strengthen its strategic position in the Middle East on the basis of an Arab slave trade in East Africa it imagined as far beyond its actual dimensions. European governments, explorers, merchants, and missionaries combined to paint a picture of the slave trade in East Africa as an imposition from Arabs on the coast and as a completely foreign element to the "natural" African societies they imagined in the interior.

Explorers tightly linked people to the land they inhabited, German explorers using the phrase "Land und Leute" to describe the relationship. Spaces and the peoples who inhabited them appear in travelogues as inseparable, both part of the same whole. The phrase was rather ubiquitous in German colonialist discourse of the era. Landscape was inseparable from its inhabitants and they shaped one another. Descriptions followed a typical pattern. Explorers began by describing a landscape, focusing on its physical features, before moving on to descriptions of the people who lived there, often described through the figure of a "typical" individual. Descriptions of people also focused on physical aspects: their build and their objects. Only then did explorers usually discuss culture or society, and then in limited ways. They also included descriptions of the

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customs and practices of locals, but more prominently their physical characteristics. *Land und Leute* shaped and constituted one another.  

Missionaries, as well as many other travelers, tended to express the idea that *Leute* shaped *Land* more than *Land* shaped *Leute*. The mission vision meant changing the people to change the land. Carl Gotthilf Büttner, writing in the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, described the first step of opening Africa as the sending of missionaries to spread the gospel. He compared it to Frederick the Great’s decision to send schoolmasters to Poland with his armies. Remaking the land would be useless without remaking the people who lived there into farmers with interest in European culture. Samuel Baker, the first European to see Lake Albert, thought the basic difference between Europe and Africa lay in the people, not the land. Africans were more suited to "savage conditions" than were Europeans. Treating them like Europeans would only cause them to learn vices. The *Kolonialzeitung* stressed the need to remake African societies. So long as slavery existed, Africans would produce slaves and not do real work. Europeans therefore had the duty to eliminate the slavery brought by Arabs and make productive labor out of Africans. The acquisition of land should only proceed once economic undertakings were ready. Georg Schweinfurth, the first European to see the Uele River in Central Africa,

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40 Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Descriptions of possible places to build German colonies almost always began with an analysis of *Land und Leute*. From the first issue of the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*: "Land und Leute in Argentinien," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, January 1, 1884, 9; for the "typical individual," see Thomson, 406-444; for an example of the relationship between *Land* and *Leute*, see New, 57-58; Pless, 235.
declared in October 1884 that the only solution for African development was the *Erziehung* of "Negroes" to work.\(^{41}\)

Supporters of the *Land over Leute* approach were part of what Sebastian Conrad has termed "an [sic] ubiquitous element of German colonial policies." Stereotypes of Africans as lazy and unwilling to work became a trope in German colonial discourses about Africa, and became the grounds for a variety of approaches to force Africans into working for Germans. German interest in forced African labor reflected a "link between work, the development of the subject, and modernization" in contemporary European understandings of modernity. Creating subjects out of Africans would require their participation in European labor markets. They would then, in turn, change the *Land* on which they lived.\(^{42}\)

Essential to the GfdK's imagined Africa was its understanding of the relationship between *Land und Leute*. In Peters’ and Pfeil’s descriptions of East African spaces and peoples, it is clear that they believed *Land* shaped *Leute* much more than vice versa. As Michael Pesek has argued, the Africans in his account appear only in the context of the expedition, not as members of complex societies. Peters told readers that the Swahili were "invariably unwarlike and cowardly," like "always loyal dogs" who would follow one anywhere once one had earned their trust. The Swahili were "to a high degree


\(^{42}\) Conrad, 92-95.
dependent, where they believe they see their natural rulers" and "even in the blacks rises the awareness that it would be better for them if whites lived among them as rulers of the land." If Germans could take control of East African space and make it more like Germany, the people of East Africa would necessarily change for the better as well. A New Germany would be made, not by moving Germans to other parts of the world, but by taking territorial control of overseas areas and remaking them. The GfdK thereby rejected the Kolonialverein's focus on settling Germans abroad in favor of conquest. German Kultur was powerful enough to drag East Africa out of the pre-modern era and into the new world system.43

Those conceptions of geography are clear from Peters' and Pfeil's descriptions of East African spaces. In their rendering, Arab slave raids had completely devastated the region's population. East Africa was now lying like the "fruit trees of Mother Hulda," a Grimm's fairy tale in which an old woman needs help with her abundant food. Peters made the outrageous claim that even Muinin Sagara, the "Sultan of Usagara," told him that the land would be better off ruled by Europeans. African spaces as they then existed were only a danger to European health, proven when the entire expedition fell ill. With the Mother Hulda comparison, Peters furthered claims that East African landscapes resembled fairy tales and also made it appear stuck in the past. He had acquired a space to compare with any colony in the world. Peters believed that what mattered for colonialism

was the control of land. If Germany had territory in Africa, it would eventually become valuable.44

Establishing German Sovereignty: The Treaties of the Usagara Expedition

The GfdK's choice of Zanzibar as the expedition's stepping-off point demonstrates a certain level of understanding of its role in East Africa among the expedition’s planners. Arab, Swahili, and Indian merchants based in Zanzibar controlled the trade in ivory and slaves along the caravan routes that ran from the Great Lakes in Central Africa to the Swahili coast. That trade was a target for imperial powers, and Britain and France had set their sights on capturing it decades prior. The two European powers signed a treaty in 1862 in which they guaranteed the independence of Zanzibar in order to maintain their own access to the trade. Most European interest in the sultanate to that point was in the realm of protecting trade with the interior, particularly for British Indian subjects. The European exploratory community, however, was integrated with local politics in East Africa. Most obviously, Joseph Thomson worked for the Sultan of Zanzibar to explore the Rovuma Basin for coal in the late 1870s.45

Europeans had been involved in diplomatic negotiations with Omani rulers in Zanzibar and on the East African mainland since the 1820s, when the British signed a treaty of protection with Said Msara of Mombasa. The British stepped up their presence in 1873, when the government sent Sir John Kirk as its General Consul. The powerful Hamburg trading houses Hansing & Co. and O'Swald took a leading role in the islands’


trade from the middle of the century, acquiring free trade rights from the sultanate between 1859 and 1861. Albrecht O'Swald in particular assisted German explorers with equipping their expeditions and hiring porters in Zanzibar. The trading houses served as informal consuls for the Foreign Office, which did not have a consulate or embassy in Zanzibar. They knew more of society on the coast than any other Germans. Many other Germans were also in Zanzibar. Pfeil's cousin served as first officer aboard a ship in the Zanzibari navy. Germans had been heavily involved in exploring the Great Lakes region.46

The GfdK members tried to escape the traditional moral and symbolic economies of exploration and do things their own way. Escape was not really possible, as travel in East Africa depended on many personal relationships built through ritual over time. Justus Strandes, official of the Hamburg trading house Hansa & Co., assisted the expedition with finding supplies and porters through local networks. But when Strandes told Peters and friends that it would take 3-4 months to prepare an expedition, Peters stormed ahead and left quickly with the porters he had managed to recruit; the expedition barely survived because of his rashness. He refused to believe rumors that the Maasai were attacking and would hinder his expedition.47

How exactly Europeans should understand Zanzibari rule on the mainland was not settled in 1884-85. Explorers were not agreed as to how far Zanzibari rule extended.

46 Bruno Kurtze, Die Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Schutzbriefgesellschaften und zur Geschichte Deutsch-Ostafrikas (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1913), 14-16; Helmuth Stoecker, ed., German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War (London: Hurst, 1986), 14; Pless, 140; Peters, "Die Usagara-Expedition," 315; Fabian, Roberts.

47 Peters, Die Gründung; Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft; Peters, "Die Usagara-Expedition," 290-291.
Decken wrote that Zanzibari authority stopped at a few fortifications and customs houses on the coast. Everything else was completely independent. No one had sovereignty, in the European sense of the term, over the areas canvassed by the trade caravans, and control over trade had been constantly contested. New political forces had emerged over the preceding few decades in order to gain control of and profit off of the ivory and slave trades. In reality, there was no Zanzibari state as such on the mainland. Local leaders traveled once a year to Zanzibar to renew personal relationships with the Sultan. Zanzibari rule was concerned primarily with controlling trade and bringing in customs revenue. Barghash’s authority was indirect and established through patronage, though the British General Consul John Kirk did push him to establish sovereignty more along European lines.48

The GfdK designed its treaties in Usagara to establish sovereignty in the area once and for all. The treaties granted sovereignty to Africans for an instant only to seize it and make it forever German. Between 23 November and 17 December 1884, the expedition signed ten treaties for East African lands. According to Peters, the treaty ceremonies, which he called "diplomatic negotiations," followed a consistent form. The Germans and whomever they were signing treaties with exchanged gifts and performed ceremonies. Michael Pesek has described Peters’ methods as "mimicry" of an imagined

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African potentate. Peters constituted a political reality that existed only in his mind. The expedition raised the German flag. Jühlke read the German text of the treaty aloud, Peters made a short speech, and the expedition's soldiers fired three salvos to demonstrate what would happen if the treaty was broken. As Peters described the demonstration, firing showed the "chaps [Kerlen]...that we were their lords forever." Pfeil thought little of Peters’ negotiating style. He was too inflexible to yield at the right moment. But little negotiation actually took place; most of the treaties’ African signers probably had little idea what they were signing, and many of them had no real authority, anyway.50

The style of the GfdK treaties of 1884 and the following years was not a German invention, and the treaties bore many similarities to treaties created by explorers working for other European powers to take control of African territory. Peters and Pfeil drew their inspiration from Stanley in dreaming up their method to take control of territory. Stanley had signed a treaty to acquire territory at the mouth of the Kwilu River for the International Africa Association earlier in 1884. It named the co-signer, Manipambo, as the sovereign of several regions, rights to sovereignty which he ceded to the IAA. The GfdK’s treaties were, in many places, almost identical to Stanley’s. Stanley’s treaties led to international recognition of IAA claims, and further claims to territory in the Congo. The IAA mobilized professors in Brussels to argue that the people with whom Stanley signed treaties were independent chiefs of savage tribes who held sovereign rights as


50 Peters, "Die Usagara-Expedition," 302, 304; Wagner, 43; Pfeil, 70-71.
private individuals. Other Belgian explorers had also signed treaties of a similar nature to take control of territory for the Congo Free State. Those treaties served a similar function in their construction of African principalities and forms of rule as available for European takeover. Their European drafters displayed the same lack of understanding of local political cultures and realities as did the GfdK's members.

The Bismarck government protested the treaties through its *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The paper's editor accused the IAA of hindering the chiefs from their prerogatives, and for acquiring land that it could not develop. He questioned the implications of taking land through treaties with African "chiefs." What would happen to the Africans in the state? Would they be equal citizens with Europeans? The *Kolonialzeitung* repeated those fears. Bismarck wrote the Frankfurt chamber of commerce that he opposed the treaty. Stanley defended the treaties with justifications similar to those later used by the GfdK. He argued that Portuguese rule in East Africa was even worse than Arab rule there in terms of development. Portugal therefore ceded its claims. The IAA had paid fairly for land that had been unproductive in native hands and offered protection.

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52 Roberts.

Beyond the fact that many of the people with whom Peters signed treaties held no real authority over the territory they ceded to him, which historians have made clear, contemporary critics claimed that Peters had deceived his co-signers with alcohol or tricks. But the basic form of the treaties was common to agreements in East Africa at the time. Before signing the treaty, the two sides shared food, coffee, and blood-brothership. The co-signers often offered Peters gifts of livestock or women as a demonstration of their own power over the territory in question. Peters promised to make a "yearly, orally agreed payment, in cattle and trade articles." To the African co-signers, the Germans appeared as just a new set of actors in an older diplomatic game, and may have perceived the GfdK as a possible check to Omani power. The treaties were full of contradictions, but European audiences had come to expect such contradictions in descriptions of African politics.

The treaties, Peters later admitted, also followed a standard form. They assigned particular rights, rights "acc̣ording to the terms of German law mean state suzerainty [\textit{Staatsoberhoheit}] as well as the occupation of land under private law." Furthermore, they recognized Peters as the "lone and exclusive suzerain" of the area. Defining the power of the "sultans" in such a manner had the dual effect of not only creating terms for a German takeover, but of establishing a certain kind of law (which did not exist in the areas concerned), the existence of which would call the GfdK’s entire claim to the


\footnotesize{55} Wagner, 39-40, 52; Glassman, \textit{Feasts and Riot}, 178-185; Fabian; Roberts.
territory into question. Peters' "friend and blood brother," Sultan Mafungu Binani of Nguru was "unquestioned as the exclusive sovereign" of Quaniani Quatunge with "unquestioned and uncontested rights for all eternity." "The treaties laid out the specific areas of state suzerainty that the GfdK members thought important. First was that to land [Grund und Boden], forests, and rivers. Then came the right to bring colonists, then to control justice and administration. In exchange, the GfdK promised to protect the "sultans" from any attacks, to "respect" their personal property, and to pay yearly presents. A "great number of witnesses" saw the treaties signed. The "entire populace" of Mkondogwa saw it ceded to the GfdK "for all time." Fungo granted "for eternity," as the "absolute lord and master" to cede "all rights that following European terms are included in the sovereign rights of a prince." They explicitly named rights of justice and administration, control over forests, rivers, and mountains, rights to build and farm, and to bring in colonists.56

The treaties construct East Africa as a place with no proper sovereign, territory over which no state had ever claimed authority. That construction mirrored conceptions of medieval feudalism. The "sultans" appear as sovereigns of small territories who are joining a larger political whole in exchange for promises of protection. The GfdK acquired economic privileges in exchange for promises of protection, with no promises of assistance in governance. This would be an easy, cheap form of colonization in which the GfdK would do little beyond collecting the fruits of East African labor and trade. Later

56 Wagner, 51-56; Peters, "Die Usagara-Expedition," 303.
German colonial theorists held onto the idea that Barghash’s rule in East Africa was much like medieval European rule.\textsuperscript{57}

The dubiousness of that construction was obvious even to the expedition’s members. Many treaties include a note that they were signed "according to the customary legal forms" in the region in which it was signed. Some treaties include statements that the "sultan" came of his/her own free will to ask for GfdK protection. Kamwende of Kimola and Mangubugubu, etc., in Northeast Usagara, asked for colonies of Germans and offered his land to Peters. Peters was gracious enough to agree, so long as he did not infringe on the rights of Muinin Sagara, the "suzerain of Usagara." He agreed to take private occupation of all the land and contracted Kamwende to provide labor to work it. Mangungo of Msovero "offers" his whole territory to "exclusive and general exploitation for German colonization."\textsuperscript{58}

The ersatz nature of the treaties and the fact that the GfdK was making things up as it went along are clear if we look at how the rights included evolved as the expedition proceeded. By early December, a treaty with Mbumi of Mkondogwa included a provision that the GfdK would have the right to examine the land titles of current foreign residents and settlers in the future.\textsuperscript{59} Jühlke decided to include the right to harvest salt in his treaty with Galassoni of Kahe. Later expeditions added the right to build canals and the right to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{57} Kurtze, 21.
  \item \textsuperscript{58} Wagner, 52-56.
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 56.
\end{itemize}
organize the state according to European style.\textsuperscript{60} The expedition's members had no clear conception of what they wanted to make of their new territory, and added elements as its members dreamed them up.\textsuperscript{61}

Like the filibusters, the GfdK imagined a situation where private actors could become the sovereign over territory. GfdK officials did not even have a charter from the German government; it would be the sovereign as a private organization with no state support. The GfdK treaties did not cede territory to Germany, but to "Dr. Peters as the representative of the Society for Colonization." They thereby rejected liberal ideas of the state in favor of one in which the people living in the state would be subjects, not citizens. The GfdK's leaders could act like little kings in East Africa. Matthew Fitzpatrick convincingly argues in \textit{Liberal Imperialism in Germany} that one can trace German imperialist movements back to mid-century liberalism. The \textit{Kolonialverein}'s membership drew largely from liberal circles in the \textit{Kaiserreich}. Peters and Pfeil rejected that tradition. The GfdK expedition thus marks a turning point from the often liberal backgrounds of earlier German imperialist movements to an aggressive nationalist mission.\textsuperscript{62}

Although Peters included in his treaties a statement that his co-signers’ decision to sign the treaties were "totally free," few were convinced. The German Foreign Office was itself dubious. Some Germans did raise protests against the GfdK treaties on the grounds that their African signers did not understand the terms. Many newspaper editors

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\textsuperscript{60} PA AA London 372/562.
\textsuperscript{61} PA AA London 372/551, 562.
\textsuperscript{62} Fitzpatrick.
\end{footnotesize}
expressed doubt that the "sultans" of the treaties understood their meaning or that they were not in a position to sign away the rights the treaties claimed. One newspaper called the GfdK expedition the "evil product of madness" [Ausgeburt des Wahnsinns]. East Africa was a place where bands of robbers and cannibals "galumphed out of the earth." It criticized Peters' use of Hussar jackets, which were little more than trifles, as a gift in negotiations for territory as the "intrinsic domain" of Semitic circles, playing on anti-Semitic stereotypes about Jewish bankers in the Kaiserreich. Another newspaper criticized the GfdK for undermining the work that German merchants had been doing in Zanzibar since the forties. In West Africa, German merchants had led the push to acquire land; in East Africa it was not in their interest. The GfdK knew of East Africa only through Stanley's writings, and it had no means to protect trade. Peters defended himself from those attacks by citing the colonial histories of Australia and the United States. There, representatives from Britain and the United States respectively, had signed treaties based on its own laws to acquire territory. The GfdK’s actions were more legal, as the people with whom it had signed treaties at least had sovereign powers [Hoheitsrechte].

The GfdK offered a rather weak defense of its treaties. They were valid on the basis that "state is power" [Staat ist Macht]. If the "sultans" agreed to cede their lands for such "petty" items, that was their affair. "We must consider" that they "assess the awarded presents not according to our measures, but according to those of a black. What is to us bric-a-brac can be so desirable to a Negro that he will cede his sovereignty. Since

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we cannot know the value of the land and presents to the Africans, we cannot criticize the acquisitions.”64 Peters defended his method, claiming both the British and Dutch had done the same thing, and that even Dido had done something similar to get land in North Africa millennia before. He wrote that his only mission had been to create the grounds for the German state to negotiate with other powers. For that, he needed only "treaties" [sic].65

Pfeil claimed that he expected a negative response from the Bismarck regime. The GfdK knew all along that it would have to turn to public opinion to sway the government. Peters would be in charge; he had an inborn talent for public agitation. He reacted angrily to his domestic critics. He complained that they attacked the GfdK's methods, the colony's climate and fertility, the GfdK's organization, its fundraising, and more. This was, he argued, a sign that Germany had yet to mature as a nation. If Germans understood what was at stake as a major power, they would support all colonial efforts. Germans needed more Erziehung to get to that point.66

There was some immediate enthusiasm in Germany, however. The Kolonialzeitung, the main organ of the colonialist movement, expressed excitement at the new acquisitions. It quoted Consul Roghé (who just so happened to be a GfdK member) that Ostafrika was "by far the most important of our acquisitions in Africa so far." Its editors decided what was important to note was that the GfdK had acquired all private

64 Wagner, 59.

65 Wagner, 59; Peters, Die Gründung, 76-77.

and sovereign rights for all time. It printed the treaty with Mafungu Binani and it placed the GfdK in a narrative of German exploration in Africa dating back to Albrecht Roscher in the 1850s. The free trade provisions of the Congo Act would ensure the new territory had access to the coast.  

Even its enthusiasm did not last long and public opinion was decidedly mixed. The Kolonialverein publicly questioned the GfdK’s methods. Gustav Fischer, who had traveled in East Africa in the 1870s and early 1880s (and written about his travels, giving him the authority to question the GfdK’s actions), wrote in a Kolonialzeitung article that the territory acquired was economically useless. Fischer believed the GfdK "dealt with fantasy pictures, not with reality." Fischer also believed the land "in actuality" belonged to Barghash. Zanzibar controlled the entire stretch from Bagamoyo to Tabora. Worst of all, any failure would doom future German ventures in East Africa. Another Kolonialzeitung article quoted a letter from a "German merchant" who had spent years on the East African coast. The merchant shared Fischer’s concerns that there were no products to export and that Barghash controlled the entire coast. He noted that only one of the witnesses to the expedition’s treaties signed his name; he knew from experience that every Arab or Comorian who was more than a menial worker could write some Arabic. The treaties would therefore be worthless in the eyes of "any Mohammedan." But

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67 "Das neue Schutzgebiet in Ostafrika," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, April 1, 1885, 213-215.
hurting the Sultan was the fact that none of his governors protested the borders proposed by the GfdK.\textsuperscript{68}

Fischer did not completely reject the GfdK but he did express a different vision of the relationship between \textit{Land} and \textit{Leute}. He thought Africa was the land of the future, as only it offered "unsovereign lands" [\textit{herrenlose Länder}]. But he proposed a different plan for colonization, one based not on land, but on people. The future was not in the exploitation of "vast" natural resources, but in the "methodical \textit{Erziehung} of the Negro to work - herein alone lies the solution to the African problem." The GfdK had shown exactly how not to create a colonial empire. It had chosen a place with "virgin land," but the climate was unhealthy for Europeans and the people there did not want European wares. The best resource Africa had to offer was labor, which required missionaries, officials, merchants, and plantation leaders to become useful, and then only when those people had learned local languages. It was questionable whether the \textit{Reich} could even offer protection to a land where people did not already follow international law. It had to be established before protection would work.\textsuperscript{69}

The \textit{Kolonialzeitung} also printed an anonymous article questioning the GfdK’s plans. There was no question that Barghash controlled the entire coast, but only

\textsuperscript{68} The \textit{Kolonialzeitung} allowed Peters a response to Fischer. He cited the Jesuits in East Africa (there were not actually any Jesuits there, presumably he meant other Catholic missionaries) to back up a claim that all plants could be cultivated in the area. GfdK colonization would begin with plantations worked by natives. German farmers would be invited only after securing a connection with the coast and gathering more experiences about \textit{Land und Leute}, "Das neue Schutzgebiet in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, April 1, 1885, 215-217; "Das deutsch-ostafrikanische Kolonie," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, April 15, 1885, 246-249.

according to the "right of the stronger." He had enough influence to protect Europeans in his territory. Germans knew little of Zanzibar because of the influence of Indian merchants. There was a large colony of Indians in Zanzibar, which one could "almost call its own state within a state." Because of those Indian merchants, British influence would remain strong in Zanzibar. Germany’s only hope was to convince Barghash that it was strong enough to protect his throne, and to take advantage of the fact that Arabs associated the British with abolition. Barghash must be made to see that Germans would not affect the religion and customs of his lands before he would open up his territory to German trade.  

In contrast to criticism from the government and much of the German press, Peters and the GfdK expedition were celebrated in some metropolitan circles. One author wrote that they were better than Cortes and Pizarro. Much of the praise centered on the economic promise the colony might someday hold for trade and agriculture. The *National Zeitung* declared the DOAG’s expedition a success. It had sent them out without much fanfare, and in just a few months made itself sovereign of the "entire middle-East African trade region" and is on the way to acquire the whole region to the Great Lakes. The next priority was to control the caravan routes and begin plantations.

Similarly, the famed explorer and botanist Georg Schweinfurth made a positive argument for the GfdK. He believed it would be helpful for humanity in Africa by working to end the Arab slave trade. Arab slave raiders had driven back the outposts of

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71 Falkenhorst, 11; BArch R 8023/265, pag. 41.
European civilization in Central Africa, Gordon and Emin Bey, and were threatening to again throw the region into barbarism. The first step for the GfdK was therefore the expulsion of all Arabs from its territory. It could then dominate the roads to Tabora, the "Khartoum of East Africa." Slavery would quickly disappear and the company could create new legal structures for Africans.\textsuperscript{72}

The primary organ of the Protestant missionary movement in Germany, the \textit{Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift}, also supported the new acquisitions. It cited precolonial travel literature to explain its support. Johannes Rebmann had written that a Christian power needed to take over East Africa before Christianity would truly spread. East Africa was better for mission work than anywhere else on the continent because so much work had already been done to learn local languages. Missions could move to the coast, where Krapf said it was safe, and from there strike out west. German control of territory that had theoretically belonged to a Muslim state (Zanzibar) could only be beneficial for the spread of Christianity.\textsuperscript{73}

To make use of its sovereign rights, the GfdK reorganized as the German East Africa Company [DOAG - \textit{Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft}] on 12 February 1885. The DOAG restructured just five weeks after its founding as a limited partnership [\textit{Kommanditgesellschaft}]. And it restructured again on 9 May. Friedrich Lange became the finance director, and Roghé the trade director, but neither had any real responsibility. Peters retained full control, and pursued what he called the "policy of rashness"

\textsuperscript{72} "Redaktionelle Korrespondenz," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, September 15, 1885, 593-594.

\textsuperscript{73} M. Ittameier, "Ostafrika als Missionsfeld," \textit{Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift} 12 (1885): 424-430.
[Überstürzung], taking action to accomplish its goals while everyone else was busy talking. The DOAG reserved "all sovereign rights" to the area in question, "in particular the right of coinage, the right to precious metals, and all the rights that would belong to the Prussian state, as if it were a property within the borders of the Prussian state."\(^74\)

Despite the questions, the Kaiser and Bismarck granted the DOAG territories protection with a *Schutzbrief* on 27 February 1885, the day after the Conference of Berlin ended. At the Conference, often described as the start of the Scramble for Africa, western powers divided Africa into spheres of influence in which each could pursue empire. The division of Africa into spheres of influence moved the colonization of Africa out of the realm of inter-state conflict and allowed European powers to pursue their imperial agendas without fear of war with their European rivals. Bismarck had negotiated for the inland areas of what was to become *Ostafrika* as a German sphere of influence. He thus had international approval to pursue a German colony in East Africa and ensured that international conflict would not arise from his accedence to colonialist demands. As mentioned earlier, historians have presented many theories as to why Bismarck abruptly changed his position with regards to colonialism. For our purposes, what is important is that the GfdK's treaties provided plausible backing for the government's new position. The *Schutzbrief* cited the treaties from the GfdK expedition as the basis for protection. Germany agreed to take suzerainty over the territories in which the GfdK had acquired the "rights of sovereignty" through treaty. It also agreed to give the same protection to any future territories the GfdK acquired. The regime did not promote the *Schutzbrief* in

\(^74\) Kurtze, 45-46; BArch R 8124/1, pag. 10.
the press. Its allied newspapers, the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and the Kreuzzeitung, focused on the Congo Conference instead until the Reichsanzeiger published the Schutzbrief on 3 March. The regime and the DOAG divided labor. The DOAG acquired more land, the regime dealt with other powers.⁷⁵

The Schutzbrief’s wording left much unresolved. Later German commentators noted that it was short and contained relatively little detail, in contrast to later colonial pronouncements. It allowed the DOAG sovereignty, but the regime agreed to protect the GfdK’s land under international law. It would use that power later. It also took constitutional control over the use of sovereignty. The Schutzbrief contained the condition that the DOAG could only claim protection so long as its directorate remained entirely German. That language was copied from the mercantilist charters of the 17th century, including that of the British East India Company. Where the DOAG differed from earlier chartered companies was that its charter said nothing about its private organization. The DOAG could have incorporated like the Southwest Africa Company but all power and rights were instead invested in its directory, meaning Peters, Behr-Bandelin, Lange, Jühlke, and Roghé. Investors had little or no say. There was some confusion over what exactly sovereignty meant in the Schutzbrief. Did it mean that Ostafrika was a German protectorate? A province of the Reich? Did it hold sovereignty

⁷⁵ Kurtze, 8, 52.
as its property, or merely the right to exercise it? Did the Reich grant sovereign rights, or did the chiefs who signed the treaties?  

The Period of Flag-Raising

Chancellor Bismarck moved quickly to settle disputes over the GfdK’s acquisitions and prevent war with the United Kingdom or Zanzibar. He appointed Gerhard Rohlfs as his General Consul in Zanzibar on 27 January 1885, an appointment that marked his decision to treat Zanzibar as an equal member in the international system. Herbert von Bismarck, then the undersecretary in the Foreign Office, wrote the Foreign Office’s charge d'affaires in London in late August that the DOAG had put forth a series of documents claiming territory in the Kilimanjaro region and that Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar had raised claims to the same area. Voices had been raised in Parliament questioning treaties, and the German Foreign Office had reason to believe that Zanzibar did control the areas in question and that the people there were loyal to him. But the GfdK/DOAG treaties said they were independent. So Bismarck wanted all documents relating to Barghash's rights and British territorial claims.

With the *Schutzbrief* in hand, the DOAG set out to take advantage of the provision that the regime would protect its future acquisitions. Chancellor Leo von Caprivi later called this period the "period of flag raising." The DOAG spent nearly all of its money and energy sending out further expeditions to acquire land through treaty. Facing criticism of his encroachment on Zanzibari territory, Peters’ second set of treaties

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77 Kutze, 50-51; PA AA London 372.530-535.
had as their primary purpose a denial of historical links between the Swahili coast and inland areas and, therefore, the Sultan of Zanzibar. The explorer Ernst Vohsen noted a changed when he returned from a short trip to the mainland; the island was full of Germans preparing for more expeditions to the interior. Karl von der Heydt, a young banker, joined the organization and invested 100,000 marks, but the company spent the money quickly. The most important of the expeditions sent Karl Jühlke to the Kilimanjaro region. Jühlke returned with ten new treaties. The company sent out a total of eighteen expeditions between 1884 and 1886, fourteen of those before political issues with Zanzibar were settled. All of them except one were designed to acquire territory.  

There did not appear to be a system to the acquisitions. The eighteen expeditions and their results were as follows:

1. 1\textsuperscript{st} Usagara expedition, 1 October 1884. Acquisition of Useguha, Nguru, Usagara, Ukami.
2. 2\textsuperscript{nd} Usagara expedition, 24 February 1885. Building of Sima Station.
3. Tana expedition, 24 March 1885. Shattered at Sultan’s resistance, remonstrating against Witu protectorate
5. 1\textsuperscript{st} Kilimanjaro expedition, May 1885. directed against Sultan’s expedition in same area. Acquisition of Usambara, Bondei, Pare, Arusha, Chagga, Kahe.
6. Kutu expedition from Sima station to the coast, led by Pfeil. Acquisition of Kutu on middle Rufiji.
7. Usaramo expedition, September 1885. Acquisition of Usaramo on north bank of lower Rufiji.
These first seven expeditions acquired the whole coast north of the Rufiji, except the 10-mile strip reserved to Zanzibar
9. 1\textsuperscript{st} Somali expedition. Left Lamu for Halule September 1885. Acquisition of Somali coast from Bender Gasen to Warsheikh. Later given up to Italy.

Kurtze, 52-54; BArch R 8023/265, pag. 104; BArch R 8124/1, pag. 35.
11. 2nd Kilimanjaro expedition. December 1885. creation of Korogwe station on lower Pangani
14. 2nd Somali expedition, January 1886. Founding of Halule station.
15. 2nd Comoros expedition, May 1886. Ratification of purchase of 1000 morgens of land as private property on Grande Comoro and acquisition of Grande Comoro’s east coast. Given up to France later
16. 3rd Somali expedition, August 1886. Acquisition of Wabushi river mouth on Benadir coast
17. geographical exploration, Fall 1886, Useguha, Ukami, Usagara
18. 4th Somali expedition, December of 1886.

The most important goal Peters set for his organization was to reach the Great Lakes and "help" Ostafrika to its "natural borders," another concept taken from Stanley in his defense of his acquisitions for the Congo Free State. Otto von Bismarck met with Peters and asked him what the long-term plan for Ostafrika was. Peters showed Bismarck a map on which he had marked the territories he had his eyes on. Bismarck laughed at him. The idea of "natural borders" reflected the DOAG’s belief that Land had a power all its own, and that it needed only to take control of land to make something of its new colony.

The DOAG drove on so frantically in its efforts in large part because Peters believed it was racing Barghash to acquire territory. Peters provided his own analysis of Zanzibari claims to the DOAG treaty territory. The Sultan was not the ruler of the territory, he argued; rather, he was also a colonial power attempting to spread his

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79 Kurtze, 54-56.
80 Wagner, 60; BArch R 8023/265, pag. 39; "Westafrikanische Konferenz zu Berlin," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 1, 1885, 3-4; Peters, Die Gründung, 122.
influence there. The GfdK expedition had beaten him to the spot, and now he was trying to use other means to get the territory Peters had acquired fair and square. He received a report that Barghash had sent troops west to sign his own set of treaties to acquire land. Peters described his expedition as a race with Zanzibar to gain control of the interior, placing Zanzibar firmly within the category of colonial rival, along with other European states. Peters' fears were grounded, he believed, when "Sultan" Semboja of Wasamba refused the Jühlke expedition's overtures. Semboja claimed that he was a subject of Barghash.  

Constructing Zanzibari rule in such a way was an attempt to recreate the history of the region for political ends. The history of the Swahili coast as part of the Indian Ocean was not unknown to 1880s Germans. Colonialist newspapers, as well as travelogues, included accounts of the history of the coast, almost inevitably of decline. The Portuguese failure to control the coast was a frequently cited justification for claims that Portugal was in decline, and the reason for German attempts to colonize the area in the first place were based on its trade in ivory and slaves, which traveled on the ocean. New European perspectives were opened on the Indian Ocean with the building of the Suez Canal, however, and it became a target for colonial competition. Zanzibar's commercial empire, as discussed in the previous chapter, was part of international trading networks and German firms had signed treaties with Barghash and his predecessors to trade. Peters' idea of a colonial race was not, then, entirely untrue. Barghash was competing for influence on the mainland, if not to control land in the same way the GfdK

imagined. Europeans knew less of the politics inland from the coast, but attested European political forms there, as well. Travel accounts provided mixed reports as to the extent of Zanzibar’s borders. Krapf had written that the Sultan of Oman claimed the entire coast and that Arabs and Africans in the area allowed his claims as long as he did not mess with local arrangements too much. They paid his tolls, but he had little hope of gaining any greater authority.

Semboja's case illustrates they ways in which East African politics changed through contact with Zanzibar. He was a son of the ruler of the Shambaa kingdom, Kimweri, but Semboja's violent temperament meant his father posted him in the remote southwestern region of his kingdom. There, Semboja built a trading center at Mazinde, and took advantage of demand for slaves in Zanzibar to build a powerful position through trade in Shambaa subjects. With his profits from the slave trade, Semboja pursued a war against Kimweri's successor, Shekulwavu, who also cultivated connections with coastal merchants to acquire firearms and powder. The two sides pursued a cycle of war to acquire captives, to sell in order to buy more weapons, to pursue war again. Subjects’ relationship to their rulers changed from providers of livestock capital to human capital as potential slaves. Violence increased to new levels, and weapons and cloth from the coast replaced livestock as the primary form of wealth. Shekulwavu pursued an alliance with one of Barghash's enemies, the former liwali of Mombasa and Semboja used that alliance as a pretense to ask for Barghash's support in the war. Barghash agreed, and his

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soldiers solidified Semboja's position as the most powerful figure in Shambaai. Shamba society, therefore, was undergoing rapid change. Semboja's alliance with Barghash was crucial to his ability to stay on top of the changes and control wealth. An alliance with the DOAG did not offer the same advantages.  

Barghash was unwilling to let the DOAG claims go easily. He filed a formal protest against the DOAG’s actions with the German government on 27 April 1885. He wrote to Bismarck on 21 May that his realm stretched in an unbroken line along the coast from Warsheikh in the north to the Tong Bay in the south. All ports, cities, coasts, and islands along that stretch belonged to him, proven by his correspondence with merchants from all nations. His jurisdiction stretched west to Kaffa-el-Ugigi, and from there to the Great Lakes along the caravan routes. His rights to Usagara, Ukama, Zoguwa, and Nguru were clear. He wrote another letter to the German government on 24 June 1885 in which he claimed that Chagga, Tafita, Tila, and Arosihan were all the property of Zanzibar.

Barghash also attempted to make the DOAG’s further progress impossible. He made it difficult for German expeditions to travel. Barghash’s "police chief," Kari Haji, paid off the porters hired by one DOAG expedition so that they would not proceed farther. Another expedition had to turn back because too many of its porters deserted for it to progress further. Kirk wrote letters to chiefs in the interior warning them not to let Germans through. Barghash sent a force under British general Stanley Mathews to protest the GdK’s claims and assert Barghash’s own. Mathews returned with a treaty signed by

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85 Wagner, 93; PA AA London 372/536.
twenty-five "sultans" in the Kilimanjaro and Dschagga regions saying they were subjects of Barghash. They marched to the station the DOAG had established near Muinin Sagara and raised the Zanzibari flag. Pfeil took it back down again. Efforts to impede the DOAG’s advance were clearly directed just at the company and not at Germans in general. At the height of the tension, in late June, Ernst Vohsen was still able to organize a caravan to Tabora for trade.  

In addition to Mathews, other Europeans raised protests. J.P. Farler, the archdeacon of the British mission at Magila, wrote the *Times* that the DOAG claims were untrue. He said that the Sultans of Zanzibar had held suzerainty in Usambara for as long as he had been there (since 1875) and that the chiefs who signed treaties had no rights to cede their territory. He was at that moment talking with the chief’s brother, who said he had no idea about a cession of territory. Mandara claimed that he would kill any Germans who tried to settle on his land. Mathews also cast doubt on the DOAG’s acquisition of Usambara, saying Mandara was just one of several chiefs, and citing Charles New’s description of his realm as smaller than the DOAG claimed. He wrote that he had placed the entire Kilimanjaro region under Barghash’s protection, and that the ideas that the DOAG attested to Mandara were too high flown for an African chief, anyway. The United Kingdom, France, and the United States lodged written protests against the *Schutzbrief* on 21 May.  

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86 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 103-107; Pfeil, 121-122.

87 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 55, 62.
Barghash's protests stoked support for the GfdK in Germany and thus served counter to his interests in pursuing them. Although they had been dubious about the DOAG’s claims about sovereignty in the territories concerned, much of the press rallied around the company when it came to the nationalist issue of preventing foreign incursion. Sections of the German press reacted vociferously to Barghash’s and Mathews’ actions. The *National Zeitung* called it a "violent attack on foreign rights." A. Altenberg defended the DOAG’s bordering in the *Kolonialzeitung*. If Barghash really controlled the areas he claimed, Altenberg would not have collected tolls on goods shipped through his ports. The *Deutsche Tageblatt* called Zanzibari actions an attack on Mandara’s sovereignty. His claims were stronger than Barghash’s.  

Vohsen described any attempts to stop the DOAG’s progress as part of an Arab conspiracy. King Isike of Unyanyembe was just a "straw puppet in the hands of the Arabs of Tabora," led by Seth bin Juma, unofficially Barghash’s governor. Arabs had put Isike on the throne; he owed them everything. Barghash was the sovereign in Tabora and everywhere on the caravan route there: Usagara, Ukami, Nguru, and Ukwere. Only the Wagogo were truly independent, as they were "wild." Ugogo was the region of the tolls because it was not under the Sultan’s control. But now the Wagogo, probably egged on by Barghash, were demanding outrageous prices from European caravans for provisions. He suggested building stations along the caravan routes to protect German caravans.

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Staying the current DOAG course would ruin trade. Vohsen thus tapped into a set of local grievances against Isike and his relationship with the Arabs of Tabora. Unyanyembe had been experiencing a civil war since the 1870s, on one side of which were aligned Isike and the Arab merchants of Tabora. Some Nyamwezi had instead aligned themselves with Mirambo or Nyungu, Isike's rivals, instead. Isike's goal was to control trade and ensure that Tabora was the entrepot for slaves and ivory shipped to the coast. Isike used his connections with Arab merchants to acquire firearms and build a standing army. Using his armies and his alliances, Isike built a powerful position in Unyanyembe by the middle of the 1880s.

By expressly excluding the Sultan from the territories they were trying to acquire, Peters and Pfeil set a western edge for the Indian Ocean world in the German colonial border imaginary. Marking the western border of Zanzibari territory declared the area west of that border as "African," land to be exploited by European capital. Marking the land as African marked the people who lived there as African, as well. As Africans they were available for labor on European terms. An article in the Kolonialzeitung by Friedrich Back made labor out to be "the biggest problem, which Africa poses the colonizing nations: the upbringing [Erziehung] of the natives to work." That attempted severance can be seen clearly in the second set of treaties Karl Jühlke signed with various

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89 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 107-12.
91 Iliffe, 62.
"sultans" in East Africa, in 1885. Jühlke included notes, supposedly written by his co-signers, with the new treaties to make the DOAG’s territorial claims clear. A treaty with Fungo, the "sultan of Quafungo," is illustrative. Fungo wrote that his territory stretched from "the last occupation of Sultan Sei Barghash, Tangwe" west to the next chief, Mruasi. Quafungo was part of Bondei, in which there was no paramount chief. He had come to Bondei from Useguha and taken control of land. Fungo was "neither subject of Sultan Seid Barghash nor anyone else." Barghash had no fortifications in Bondei. His power in the region came from the fact that people went to his governor in Pangani to settle local conflicts. Fungo declared "I and my tribe would be very happy if white people wanted to settle among us because we believe that they have the power to protect us…then all wars among the black people would cease and the Maasai would no longer come rapaciously into our lands." Fungo and his people would stop going to Pangani to have disputes settled. He would give the white people all the land they wanted and help them to build their houses, cultivate their land, and in whatever other work they needed. Sultan Hamolomo of southern Bondei declared that he was not a subject of Zanzibar, was in no way dependent on Barghash, and that Barghash had no rights to occupy any of his land on 3 July.93

Particularly telling for how the DOAG positioned itself was its treaty with Mandara, the "Sultan of Moshi." Mandara, according to Jühlke's transcription, claimed that he "loved the Germans more than other people, especially the English and Arabs, and to them alone will I cede my land." He would be happy if the Germans kicked the Arabs

out of the area. He himself was "a free independent prince, just like the Sultan of Zanzibar, and holds perhaps the same power as he." Mathews had shown up just ten to twelve days before, offering money to raise flags and saying not to let the Germans through. Mandara had refused, saying he was a fully independent sultan and had given a gift in return. He claimed "all rights" of "state sovereignty." Mandara agreed to "personal friendship," but asked Jühlke to protest the Sultan’s claims. The treaty included explicit language that Jühlke would raise such protests if necessary.94

Central to the treaties was the premise that Barghash had no claim to the territory in question. Mbumi of Mkondongwa, to "direct questioning" by Barghash's agents, declared that she was in no way dependent on the Sultan of Zanzibar. To support its claims that Barghash did not have control over the territory it claimed, the expedition sought out corroborators. Salim bin Hamid, whom it named Barghash’s "agent" in Nguru, declared that Barghash had claim to the East African mainland, especially in Nguru and Usagara, and did not have sovereignty or protective rights [Schutzrecht]. Mwango of Taveta provided a clear explanation of his relationship with Barghash. Mwango claimed that Mathews had come through a few days before with 180 soldiers and 100 porters and asked to fly the Zanzibari flag. Mwango agreed, following the model of Semboja in Usambara. He agreed only to raise flag, not to give up any sovereignty or land. He knew that most of what the Arabs brought to the area really came from white people, so it would be better to have white people there to protect his people. His treaty with Jühlke

94 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 29; PA AA London 372/537-577.
amended the right to build roads and canals and install officials to administer following European methods.  

Peters lobbied the Foreign Office for support in the border dispute. He claimed that he had had Barghash’s territorial claims in mind when signing the treaties, and so worked to get free of the "coastal belt" to where he determined Barghash’s power ended, two to three days’ march beyond Saadani. He asked Bismarck to determine the exact borders of the Zanzibari Sultanate. Peters argued that the treaties would serve the interests of German trade. Previously, everything had run through Indian or Arab merchants; now the Hamburg firms could take over. Bismarck and the Foreign Office worked off a map it had commissioned from the Fredrichsen map company in determining the borders of the Sultanate. The borders of Zanzibar on that map had been set by the aforementioned Gustav Fischer. Fischer drew relatively restricted borders for Barghash’s power, allotting to him only a strip of the coast and no control over territory farther inland. The decision to follow the Friedrichsen map determined that the German government would argue for restricted borders for Zanzibar and favor the DOAG’s claims that the territory it had acquired was independent of the Sultanate.  

The Foreign Office instructed Rohlfs to declare Barghash’s protest ungrounded and to raise a counter protest in the name of the Kaiser against Barghash’s after-the-fact occupation of territory in a German Schutzgebiet. His protest was an attack on the rights of German subjects. They had acquired those lands through treaties with independent

95 Wagner, 53, 56; PA AA London 372/537-577.  
princes. Barghash had recognized their independence when he told earlier travelers that his sovereignty did not extend beyond the coast. His stations were just trade stations, proved by the fact that native princes, such as Mbumi in Usagara, collected tolls from caravans. Rohlfs confronted Barghash with the free trade provisions in the Congo Act as support for the DOAG’s claims it had a right to recruit porters and travel. Bismarck dispatched the naval ships *Stoch*, *Gneisenau*, *Elisabeth*, and *Prinz Adalbert* to Zanzibar on 27 May, which forced Barghash to back down.97

Bismarck hoped to use an overseas empire as a bargaining chip to split Britain and France. The British government of Lord Salisbury agreed to not fight German claims because it did not want to upset the European balance of power and because it was already involved in disputes over Egypt with France and over Afghanistan with Russia. Salisbury agreed to draw a dividing line between British and German spheres of influence at Lake Victoria so that Egypt and the Nile would remain safe from other powers. By late May of 1885, Belgium had for the most part ceded what was to become *Ostafrika* to Germany.98

Barghash backed down. He began pulling his troops out by 24 June. The German ships arrived on 7 August and threatened to shell Zanzibar if he did not agree to recognize the DOAG’s treaties. Marines from the corvette *Gneisenau* landed on the

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97 Wagner, 92-95; "Kolonialpolitsche Vorgänge," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, September 1, 1885, 533; BArch R 8023/265, pag. 37.

98 Lahme, 117-121; BArch R 8203/265, pag. 14.
mainland and met with a "Wali." Barghash, under pressure from the British, recognized the DOAG’s claims. On 13 August, Barghash recognized GfdK claims to the territory in question, and agreed to let the society use Dar es Salaam’s harbor for its transportation needs. Negotiations between Rohlf’s and Barghash’ agents led to a 26 September agreement for the DOAG to use the port of Dar es Salaam. Barghash also agreed to an international commission to review his borders. One representative each from Germany, France, and the United Kingdom would decide where Zanzibar’s true borders lay.100

The calling of the delimitation commission marked the end of what can be seen as the first period of the German colonization of Ostafrika. The DOAG had established German sovereignty and control over thousands of square miles in East Africa through treaties and diplomatic negotiations between the German government and the Sultan of Zanzibar. It had established a basis for the colony in the control of territory. Making it German would make it productive. The DOAG’s attention thereafter shifted from borders to economics.101 The next chapter will examine the workings of the delimitation commission and the deployment of the concept of "hinterland" in East Africa as the DOAG tried to make economic value out of its colony.

99 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 11. The Sultans of Zanzibar appointed a liwali, an administrative official with responsibility for customs and civil affairs, in each coastal town. It is unclear whether the marines met with a real liwali or someone else they gave the title/gave the title to himself.


101 Kurtze, 61.
As the Zanzibar Delimitation Commission began its work, the existence of a German East Africa had already been decided. The government’s *Schutzbrief* had provided the DOAG with a legal claim to the territory included in its treaties of 1884 and 1885. What remained in question were the borders of that territory, ill-defined in the treaties themselves, and challenged by the Sultanate of Zanzibar. The Commission’s task was to determine where exactly the borders of the Zanzibari state ended, a difficult task given the fact that Zanzibari power did not operate within clear borders or according to European norms. It would therefore have to set a fixed boundary for Zanzibar where one had not existed before. The commissioners worked with an understanding that the DOAG would claim the hinterland of the Zanzibari coast, the territory to the west of the Zanzibari border they created.

The Zanzibar Delimitation Commission was just one of several European inter-state negotiations to set borders in Africa, the most prominent of which was the Congress of Berlin in 1884-1885. The Congress, contrary to popular memory, did not set final borders between European colonies. It merely set spheres of interest and means of resolving territorial disputes.¹ European diplomats thought

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it essential to set rules for border-making in order to prevent conflict among Europeans as they exploited Africa.\textsuperscript{2} They paid little attention to the realities of African politics or ethnicity in drawing borders, often choosing to follow physical geography or even lines of latitude or longitude where there were no clear physical markers. European statesmen divided Africa according to European diplomatic rules, not according to facts on the ground.\textsuperscript{3} Bordering protectorates in Africa allowed European statesmen to claim territory as their own without obligating a country to actually put in the money and effort necessary to administer it.\textsuperscript{4} Borders allowed European colonial administrations to draw lines of belonging, regulate commerce, cordon off pathogens, and channel labor.\textsuperscript{5} European conceptions of sovereignty depended on creating a clearly bordered space over which a state could claim authority. It left no room for gradations of sovereignty or control.\textsuperscript{6}


\textsuperscript{6} Imre Josef Demhardt, \textit{Deutsche Kolonialgrenzen in Afrika. Historisch-geographische Untersuchungen ausgewählter Grenzräume von Deutsch-Südwestafrika und Deutsch-Ostafrika} (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997), 29, 45. Scholars have devoted a good deal of attention to studying the reasons behind and effects of European colonial borders in Africa over recent decades. They have attributed a variety of problems to European borders in Africa, from the difficulties of postcolonial African states to ethnic conflict. Perhaps the most influential book in the development of the field is A.I. Asiwaju, ed., \textit{Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa’s International Boundaries 1884-1895} (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1985). Other important works in the early development of the field include J.R.V.
The basis for the Berlin Conference’s settlement was the so-called "Hinterland Theory," promoted by Germany. The "Hinterland Theory," as German diplomats argued it, was that a nation's colonial claims on a coast should extend into the interior along the same lines of latitude. Such a concept was not entirely new; it undergirded United States expansion west from the original thirteen colonies, for example. The word, "Hinterland," existed in German earlier, as a means of referring to the area around a city or town to which it was connected, but it became common only with the creation of an overseas empire.

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8 Uzoigwe, 194.
They were connected to it by trade and therefore dependent on the coast. Though such relationships did not exist everywhere in Africa, they were a central part of how Europeans imagined Africa. The powers agreed that control of areas inland from their coastal possessions would be necessary, but not on how to determine that control.  

Bismarck's invitation to other powers to attend the conference explicitly declared that it would deal with coastal possessions. Germany and France agreed at the conference that Europeans could not set borders farther inland until areas were better known.  

Although the Germans were the power that promoted the Hinterland Theory, *Ostafrika* posed a clear contradiction. The DOAG had agreed that the Swahili coast was part of the Sultan of Zanzibar’s realm, which, according to the Hinterland Theory, would make the Sultan the rightful ruler of the territory west of the coast to which the DOAG had laid claim. German publications and letters contain frequent uses of the term. DOAG travelers wrote of their time in the hinterlands of the coastal towns; German missionaries wrote of their travels and mission work in the same hinterlands. What then justified the DOAG’s claims to areas west of the coast? The Hinterland Theory held that they should belong to the Sultanate. As Jan-Georg Deutsch has demonstrated, the commission to determine the Sultanate’s borders in 1886 took a minimalist view. Its French representative, at that moment more inclined toward Germany than toward the United Kingdom, sided with the German claims to more territory. The border of Zanzibar was

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9 Ibid., 195.

10 Wesseling, 118.
drawn ten miles west of the coast, allowing the Sultanate a narrow strip of land to which it could continue to lay claim. The DOAG was free to acquire all the land to the west.\textsuperscript{11}

The separation of the coast and its hinterland posed rhetorical difficulties to DOAG. Carl Peters had claimed the company sought to reach the "natural East Africa; his imagined natural borders certainly included the strip allotted to its model of colonialism also depended on the control of a port, the gate to the areas it controlled inland. European colonial powers constructed all of Africa as "gatekeeper states," to use Frederick Cooper's telling phrase. Port cities under European control were to serve as the gates connecting the interior to the world economy. The concept of hinterland fundamentally supported the construction of gatekeeper states, ones not necessarily bound by national borders, but by the amount of trade they could control from one port city.\textsuperscript{12} The financial justification for the DOAG's inroads to East Africa were based on hopes for control of the caravan trade in ivory running from the Great Lakes to the Indian Ocean. But a colony based on controlling trade in natural resources could not function if it did not fully control that trade. The DOAG had no intentions of serving as middlemen in trade on which the Sultan of Zanzibar continued to collect customs. Its attempts


\textsuperscript{12} Frederick Cooper, \textit{Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Jeffrey Herbst describes a similar outlook on the geography of the colonial state in \textit{States and Power in Africa}, 16.
to find another method of making the colony profitable were unsuccessful, and the company faced near bankruptcy not long after its grand fantasies seemed within reach.

The DOAG eventually asked the German state for assistance in 1888. It told the Foreign Office that making money without control of the coast was impossible. The company, with help from the Foreign Office, pressured the new Sultan, Said Khalifa, into leasing the coastal strip to the DOAG, to be administered in the Sultan’s name. The DOAG thereby became the ruler of the coast, as well as its hinterland, and believed that it could thereafter make the colony profitable through simple control of trade. Peters declared his work complete.

This is not to imply that the use of "Hinterland" in East Africa was the first use of the term in a colonial context. East Africa was the location, however, where the full implications of the concept played out and where it became an important interlingual concept for understanding maritime connections and empires. Scholars in recent decades have frequently deployed the concept of "hinterland" when writing about maritime cultures. Hinterland serves as shorthand to describe the broader geographical area connected to a particular port city through economic and cultural connections. It has been particularly important in framing the scholarship on the "Indian Ocean World," the set of precolonial connections around the Indian Ocean from East Africa to India. Drawing on Fernand Braudel’s work on the Mediterranean, scholars of the Indian Ocean have embraced the concept of hinterland as one with the power to undermine European geographical categories created through empire. The idea of an Indian Ocean World as an economic, political, and cultural space pre-dating European expansion, possibly back to
the last century before the birth of Christ, offers a possible antidote to the geographical projects of European imperialism. Hinterlands cross political boundaries to show the ways in which people, societies, and cultures interacted.

Hinterland as an idea thus holds promise, some scholars argue, as a means of decolonizing the histories of coastal areas around the Indian Ocean, as well as other large bodies of water with a high volume of trade. The concept, however, is not without its own imperial history. The word "Hinterland" is German; it entered both English and French (scholars in both languages use the term) around 1890 (Its first appearance in English was by George Chisholm in 1888). The reason for the concept’s migration into other languages was not an anti-imperial one, rather it served as a means by which German colonialists established and justified territorial claims. "Hinterland" became part of English and French because there were no equivalents in their languages, and both English and French newspapers needed to describe German geographies.

Though hinterland appears to offer an antidote to other European geographical categories and their problems from the colonial era, its history in German East Africa complicates that narrative. From 1886 to 1888, the East

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14 The editors of the French publication *Figaro* conducted a vigorous debate in 1895 over whether "hinterland" should be adopted into French. Those in favor won out, as French lacked an equivalent term for a concept of great importance. Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967)

Africa Company tried to come to terms with and rationalize the territory it was allotted by the delimitation commission. As traditional travel narratives proved inadequate to the task of making German rule appear natural and logical, German colonialists resorted to new rhetorical methods. Histories of colonization in East Africa and maps became increasingly important to the German project in East Africa. Those histories and maps served to make the gatekeeper state appear unavoidable and German control of the gatekeeper state a part of the natural process of East African history.

The Delimitation Commission and the Invention of Borders

What the delimitation commission fundamentally decided was borders for an Arab empire based in Zanzibar. As Jan-Georg Deutsch has argued, the delimitation commission invented "a particular concept of Zanzibari sovereignty…in order to afford the British and German occupation of the coastal areas of the East African mainland an appearance of legality and legitimacy."\footnote{Deutsch, "Inventing an East African Empire," 210-219.} Some Germans recognized benefits from Arab rule along the coast. An article in the \textit{Kolonialzeitung} noted that Germany had supported Zanzibari rule on the coast for trade purposes before the GfK tried to establish a German colony there. Additionally, Zanzibari rule could continue to benefit Germany if Barghash extended his rule inland. Arabs could more easily establish control over territory than could Germans, as they shared a religion with people along the coast.\footnote{X.Y.Z. (Georg Schweinfurth), "Die Benadirküste: Erinnerungen aus dem Somaliland," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} 3, no. 5 (1886): 135-144.} Arab rule would ensure that the ports of the coast would keep functioning for trade.
It was impossible to pinpoint exact borders for the Zanzibari state. The German commissioner, Otto Schmidt-Leda, promoted a limited vision of Zanzibari borders to allow more space for German expansion. Several German (and other European) voices supported his arguments. The commission received inconclusive answers from the "walis" and "akidas" it spoke to along the coast.

The British missionary Verney Lovett Cameron had described Usaramo, Useguha, and Ukami together as the "coastal region." Another British missionary had written that though Zanzibar held nominal sovereignty, in reality chiefs in Usagara, Useguha, and Nguru were completely independent and did not recognize Zanzibari claims. The Sultan of Zanzibar's primary role was to have his subjects fight on both sides in civil disputes. In exchange, they received captives as slaves. The British Royal Geographical Society declared that the "coastal region" was 80-130 kilometers wide.

Carl Grimm cited as proof of Zanzibari aggression and lack of rightful claim Henry Morton Stanley’s description of the people of Chutu as friendly, living in fear of constant attack from Arab caravans, and afraid to ask Zanzibar for help because a garrison would be just as bad as the raids. Stanley's description of Mamboia showed that Zanzibar had not had a


\[19\] “Walis” were likely the liwalis that Barghash and his predecessors stationed in the coastal towns, Zanzibari civil officials who served as the Sultanate's main power on the mainland. Akidas were civil officials subordinate to the liwalis.

\[20\] Carl Grimm, Der wirthschaftliche Werth von Deutsch-Ostafrika (Berlin: Walther & Apolant, 1886), 40.

\[21\] Ibid., 41,57, 159
military post there in 1874, despite Barghash's claims.\textsuperscript{22} Otto Ulrich, who had commanded a trading vessel along the East African coast, claimed that Zanzibari rule was limited to the cities of the coast and that Arabs oppressed the people who lived in those cities. Now, those same people wanted German rule in place of Arab rule.\textsuperscript{23} Paul Kayser, head of the colonial branch of the Foreign Office, described the connection between Zanzibar and the mainland as an "artificial causeway, a thin bridge."\textsuperscript{24}

As noted in the previous chapter, Zanzibari authority was indirect and operated through patronage and alliances with local political figures. Barghash, pushed by the British Consul John Kirk, attempted to establish a European-style political structure, yet political centralization eluded him. Most village leaders [\textit{majumbe}], however, remained peripheral to Zanzibari politics on the mainland.\textsuperscript{25} Many local rulers traveled once a year to Zanzibar but were in no way part of the Zanzibari state. Zanzibari rule was concerned primarily with policing trade routes and bringing in customs revenue. Relations between the Zanzibari state and the coast littoral deteriorated over the course of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 31, 38.


\textsuperscript{24} BArch N 2139/72, pag. 1.


\textsuperscript{26} John Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 43.
Otto von Bismarck’s regime, after its initial reticence, threw its weight fully behind the DOAG. East Africa had become an important chip in the Foreign Office’s negotiations with the United Kingdom. Herbert von Bismarck, the Foreign Secretary, wrote in favor of the DOAG’s claims in a letter to Paul von Hatzfeldt, the German ambassador to London, in March 1886. Bismarck cited the Hamburg trading houses' claims that the "fruitfulness and climatic virtues" as their primary justifications for the government to support the GfdK's claims.\(^{27}\) In addition to speaking in favor of the DOAG, the Foreign Office undertook more elaborate means of building Germany’s East African colony.

Kaiser Wilhelm I played his part in constructing Zanzibar as a sovereign along European lines, but a clearly inferior one. In December 1885, the Kaiser decided to send Barghash a battery of obsolete light field guns for ceremonial use.\(^{28}\) The discussion in the Foreign Office and between the Foreign Office and the Kaiser is indicative of the German government’s thoughts on Zanzibari rule. The Foreign Office directed the manufacturer to decorate the guns according to "Oriental taste," and adorned with what the Foreign Office decided would suffice as his coat of arms.\(^{29}\) A Dr. J. Gottfr. Witzstein of Berlin wrote the Foreign Office to report that Barghash was not just a temporal ruler, but also a\(^ {Sayyid},\) a

\(^{27}\) PA AA London 374.89-90.

\(^{28}\) BArch R 1001/821, pag. 20-22.

\(^{29}\) BArch R 1001/821, pag. 24, 33, 40, 63.
descendant from the prophet Mohamed. The gift, however, was not meant for Barghash as a spiritual leader. It placed him clearly within the temporal realm, as the Kaiser’s fellow monarch. Leo von Caprivi, Chief of the Navy, wrote that the battery was meant to secure friendly relations with Zanzibar. Barghash thanked Bismarck for the battery with a telegram. He thought the guns were a clear sign to the friendship and benevolence that the Kaiser held for the Sultan and Zanzibar. He hoped the gift would lead to future negotiations.

Otto von Bismarck tried to use Germany’s relationship with the Ottoman Empire to positively influence negotiations with the Sultan of Zanzibar. Bismarck wrote Joseph Maria von Radowitz, the German ambassador in Constantinople, that Islam "is a factor with which we will have to reckon in our local colonial undertakings." The DOAG’s treaties in East Africa, in the "hinterlands of the coastal strip" to which the Sultan of Zanzibar laid claim, "have brought us into immediate contact with the local Arab-Mohammedan element." He thought it therefore useful if the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, then Abdülhamid II, would use his "influence as Caliph" to encourage the Zanzibari Sultan to deal peacefully with German merchants and travelers. Radowitz spoke to Abdülhamid about the issue. In late August, Abdülhamid agreed to send a

30 BArch R 1001/821, pag. 69.
31 BArch R 1001/821, pag. 93.

32 BArch R 1001/821, pag. 129, 139-142. The Foreign Office's attempts to create proper ceremony for Barghash and Zanzibar bear resemblance to British management of ceremony in India in terms of European confusion over the purposes of extra-European ceremony and desire to both maintain some prerogatives of the foreign ruler while subsuming his power to colonial ambitions. See Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in The Invention of Tradition, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 165-209.

33 BArch R 1001/823, pag. 23-24.
message to Barghash to influence him to follow German wishes.34 The message called on Barghash to recognize the "community of our friendship rooted in the sublime religion of Islam…for the welfare of the civilized polity in general," to not oppose the Germans, who had only trade in mind.35

The DOAG embraced its role as the sovereign power in East Africa to own foreign policy independent of the Foreign Office. To wit, Peters went to January 1886 to negotiate a trade agreement with the British East Africa

Donald Currie, head of the Castle Shipping Line, declared he intended to create a direct steamship line to Dar es Salaam. Currie believed that Britain and Germany needed to work together in order to ensure that the British did not come away with nothing from the German "opening" of large parts of the African continent. He promised to support the DOAG in dealing with the Sultan of Zanzibar, whom he believed could be interested "financially and morally" in a joint British-German venture.36 Herbert von Bismarck was displeased. He wrote his father that the Foreign Office should arrange for a banker or businessman connected to the German embassy be appointed to advise Peters in his negotiations. The Foreign Office could certainly not allow Peters to sign away territory that the German government had promised to protect to a foreign company, which would presumably also acquire the DOAG's sovereignty rights.37

34 BArch R 1001/823, pag. 23-26.
35 BArch R 1001/823, pag. 33.
36 PA AA London 373.189-197.
37 PA AA London 373.139, 157.
The German Reich bullied Barghash into an agreement on relations between the two states in order to take control of the situation. The treaty, signed on 20 December 1885, treated Zanzibar as a less-sovereign nation. It promised free trade for both sides and obligated Barghash to prevent the monopolization of trade. Germans would be allowed to buy and sell property in Zanzibar, and the goods they imported (excepting spirits) would be subject to no more than a five percent duty. Barghash would not charge duties on naval goods, agricultural goods, or materials for building railroads. He would surrender his ivory and copal monopolies. Where the treaty was particularly onerous was on questions about the new DOAG acquisitions and the legal status of Germans. Goods from west of the Sultan’s dominions would be exempt from duties. The sultanate’s authorities could not intervene in disputes between Germans and "members of other christian [sic] nations." That protection extended to his subjects who were working for German companies or the German state. German bankruptcy and inheritance law would be in effect for German subjects.38 On one hand, the agreement treated Barghash's commercial empire as another player in the European Scramble for Africa by forcing him to agree to the free trade provisions that European powers had decided. On the other hand, it subsumed Zanzibari law to German by exempting German subjects from Barghash's authority. The agreement foreshadowed more onerous demands on Barghash to come.

As the DOAG and the German state were trying to sort out borders with Zanzibar, the DOAG faced continued challenges from the more genteel sections of the colonialist

movement. A rival German East African colonial effort emerged, operating on a
framework closer to Germany's colonies elsewhere and backed by the
The brothers Gustav and Clemens Denhardt traveled to a spot farther north along
Swahili coast, Lamu, where they signed a treaty with Ahmed ibn Fumo Bakari, a
local ruler. Ahmed sought the treaty as a means of ensuring his authority over
Lamu and the surrounding area against repeated Zanzibari attempts to place
officials there and make the town's trade subject to its customs. In the treaty,
Ahmed agreed to allow members of the Denhardts’ organization, the Witu
Company (Witu-Gesellschaft), exclusive trading rights along a 60 kilometer
stretch of coast. The Denhardt brothers were more closely aligned with the
Kolonialverein’s more conservative approach to colonization, and their colony fit
the model of a port city drawing on the surrounding area that Europeans
expected. Witu fit the hinterland colony model in a way the DOAG’s inland
territories could not. The brothers Denhardt and their supporters dubbed Bakari
the "Sultan of the Swahili," a status that staked the Witu-Gesellschaft’s claim to
far more territory. Ahmed also offered a more legitimate claim, at least in
European eyes, to independence than did Peters’ co-signers. The Denhardts
claimed that Bakari’s family had ruled the area for 700 years, and that Barghash

39 Jutta Bückendorf, "Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!" Deutsche Kolonialpläne und afrikanische
Realität (Münster: Lit, 1997), 244.

40 "Deutscher Kolonialverein," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 23 (1886): 778.

41 "Witu (Suaheli-Land)," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 1 (1886): 4-5; "Deutscher

42 "Witu (Suaheli-Land)," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 1 (1886): 4-5.
had no written claim to the land. The problem with Wituland, however, was that it lay within the area declared part of the British sphere of influence in East Africa at the Berlin Conference.

The founding of Wituland forced the DOAG’s leadership to resort to rhetorical gymnastics. At the same moment in which the company was claiming that Zanzibar should control no more than the coast, Peters argued for German expansion west from Lamu based solely on control of the coast. Peters used the Hinterland Theory to agitate for further German acquisitions west from Witu. He assured his fellow attendees at the DOAG’s 14 December 1885 meeting that Kenya could be "counted as secured for the company as the hinterland of Witu." It did not follow, however, that the DOAG’s territories should belong to Zanzibar for the same reason. Peters attempted to position to DOAG to gain control of Witu's hinterland, while also arguing that Zanzibar should not control the hinterland farther south.

In sorting through a political situation they did not understand, the European commissioners settled on the minimalist position with regards to Zanzibar's borders. The agreement set Ostafrika’s initial eastern border. Signed on 29 October/1 November, and published on 30 December, the agreement cast the Zanzibari empire as a nation state with set borders. The commission decided that the Sultan of Zanzibar’s "sovereign rights stop 10 English miles from the coast." The ten miles were determined as the line that high

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43 BArch R 8124/1, pag. 58.
water would reach during floods. Both sides agreed that the initial agreement was provisional and that they would work to create permanent borders. British officials agreed to support Germany in negotiations with Barghash over tolls. They would also help settle a dispute over Mount Kilimanjaro between the same two parties. Both German and UK officials would push Barghash to observe the Congo Act, in particular rights to free trade in order to ensure continued access to the ivory trade. Germany would add its signature to the 1862 Anglo-French treaty guaranteeing Zanzibari independence. Jan-Georg Deutsch has described the delimitation commission as just another of the DOAG’s treaties to invent and transfer sovereignty, a more complicated version because of Zanzibar’s status. For example, the delimitation commission fixed and mapped borders for the sultanate. The resulting map allowed for DOAG officials to place representatives in two ports, Dar es Salaam and Pangani. This followed the model that the Germans established in China. The United Kingdom also benefited from the agreement. It received the rights to trade at two ports, Mombasa and Tana, the eventual basis for its Kenyan colony. The Kolonialzeitung lamented the agreement as giving the "lion’s share" of the "virgin interior" to the British. Gerhard Rohlfs, who had negotiated the treaty with the United Kingdom and Zanzibar as consul in

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46 Ibid.
Zanzibar, described what was left to Zanzibar as a "small coast space, the Vorland of the German and English Hinterland."\(^{47}\)

The DOAG was less than pleased. Peters and Karl von der Heydt raised a formal protest against the agreement and held open meetings in Germany to prevent its ratification. They did not want to lose full control of Mount Kilimanjaro, the "pearl of the entire hinterland under discussion."\(^{48}\) Peters also complained that the regime did not pursue the DOAG’s claims to lands on the Somali coast, which were central to his great dreams of 1884.

The ports were the clear prize of East Africa to most German colonialists. As a clear indication of their importance, the *Kolonialzeitung* focused on the Indian Ocean ports before the DOAG had made any progress in gaining control of them. An article from the beginning of 1886 described Dar es Salaam and its trade (including a map of the depth of different parts of the harbor). The city was full of empty buildings, giving the "impression, as though an imposing residence was supposed to have been built overnight through the will of a despot, but this will was broken by an immediate veto from a more powerful side to reveal eternal perdition."\(^{49}\)

The DOAG, and much of the rest of the colonial movement, continued to base its arguments for its particular brand of colonialism on travel writing in the precolonial style. Carl Grimm could publish a book in 1886 that was entirely excerpts from travelers’

\[^{47}\text{BArch R 1001/688, pag. 64.}\]
\[^{48}\text{Carl Peters, \textit{Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika} (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1906), 132.}\]
\[^{49}\text{"Ein Ausflug nach Dar-es-Salaam," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 3, no. 1 (1886): 8-11.}\]
accounts to tout East Africa.\textsuperscript{50} The \textit{Kolonialzeitung}, the central publication of the colonial movement, relied on Paul Reichard. Reichard had paid his own way to join an expedition sent by the German branch of the International African Association to East Africa from 1880 to 1886. Reichard declared his own expertise through his lone survival through the "thousands of dangers and difficulties" East Africa offered the European traveler. He felt himself fit to ethnographically divide the peoples of East Africa in order to define their suitability for labor or other service to the German colony.\textsuperscript{51}

Unlike Peters, who published only to promote his colonial venture, Pfeil published other kinds of narratives of his travels. He published an account of his exploration of the Ulanga district in \textit{Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen} in 1886, an account that bore much similarity to the GfdK/DOAG’s earlier publications. Pfeil did, however, bring a degree of science back into his travel writing reminiscent of precolonial travelogues. He made geological observations of the Rubeho Mountains. He also recorded zoological observations.\textsuperscript{52} Pfeil’s scientific writings served a dual purpose. They legitimated him as a scientific observer within the community of Europeans interested in the scientific study of Africa, while also painting pictures of open, available spaces for German

\begin{footnotes}
\item[50] Grimm.
\item[51] Paul Reichard, "Land und Leute in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, vol. 3, no. 2 (1886): 57-64. This sentiment was shared by British missionaries, one of whom described the Wanyamwezi as the "great traders and carriers of Central Africa," S. Tristam Pruen, \textit{The Arab and the African: Experiences in Eastern Equatorial Africa during a Residence of Three Years} (London: Seeley and Co., 1891), 179.
\end{footnotes}
colonization. A German presence could turn the Ulanga into a major thoroughfare and create peace for the people suffering from the Wahehe. Hans Meyer’s account of his expedition to explore Mount Kilimanjaro, published in 1887, was similar.\(^{53}\) Pfeil and Meyer thus positioned themselves for other careers in the colonialist movement, or in the broader scientific community, should Ostafrika not work out.

But despite the continued importance of travel writing, maps largely replaced them in shaping German ideas about East Africa. The map in the government’s white book of the delimitation commission displayed what Foreign Office officials thought important at the moment and their aspirations for the future. The map devoted little effort to meeting the state of the art in European geographic knowledge about Africa, as it ignored recent geographic research by European explorers. The editors of *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen* called the map, "future music" and complained of its clear errors, including a non-existent island. The editors also worried about the borders on the map, as they could provide a tool for Arabs to raise native chiefs and princes against European travelers.\(^{54}\)

The map with which the *Koloniaлизeitung* illustrated its analysis of the agreement marked off the coastal strip, as well as the British and German spheres of interest. But the German sphere is included far more than the lands included in the *Schutzbrief* and of further DOAG claims. It extended far to the west, roughly to the colony's later borders.\(^{55}\)


\(^{55}\) "Die Abgrenzungen in Ostafrika," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 4, no. 2 (1887): 42-43.
The GfdK/DOAG’s periodical, *Kolonialpolitischen Korrespondenz*, described the borders of its imagined empire of "East Equatorial Africa" according to the following parameters: territory beginning on the Indian Ocean, stretching along the Pangani River, between the coast and Lake Victoria. It formed a "unified total...with regards to physical, economic-commercial, and ethnological" matters.\(^{56}\) Now "a vast land stands open to exploitation and cultivation."\(^{57}\) By the beginning of 1886, the DOAG declared its northern border to be Mount Kilimanjaro and its southern border the Rufiji River.\(^{58}\)

Friedrich Fabri, one of the leading figures in the German colonial movement, noted the importance of maps in his commentary on the DOAG in 1886. He published a book on the new German acquisitions in response to a map by Justus Perthes that showed "one of the more important facts of recent histories...recorded graphically." The German territory stretched across vast spaces beyond the "small coastal strip" of Zanzibar. It would be only a short time until Germans controlled all the way to the Great Lakes. The DOAG territory contained the best Africa had to offer; it had a superior climate, more fertile soil, and more people, than the Congo State. East Africa’s riches meant that it could

\(^{56}\) Grimm, 73.


\(^{58}\) "Geographischer Monatsbericht. Afrika. Äquatorialgebiete," *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ geographischer Anstalt* (1886): 29. The borders of the German sphere of interest were set with the later German-Portuguese agreement of 30 December 1886. The southern border was the Rovuma river.
not belong to Arabs or the Portuguese. It must rather be in the hands of a strong nation with "surplus strength." There was no western border to the German sphere of interest, as displayed in a map by Paul Engelhardt and I. von Wenzierski from 1886. The northern and southern borders stretch out seemingly forever to the west. The area controlled by the DOAG was outlined separately from the German claims as a whole. It had round borders, like no other map-created borders in the world. The inexactness of the DOAG's round borders contrasts sharply with the ten-mile strip of coast allotted to Zanzibar.

The well-known geographer Friedrich Ratzel fixed his attention on another map, produced by the Geographic Institute in its 100th year. The Institute’s previous map of Africa was 23 years old, and Ratzel argued, completely wrong. The new map had been produced through a critical examination of all existing cartographic material on Africa. Its scale was 1:4 million, which "for a still only half-known continent is the desired map scale." Ratzel noted that it was extremely difficult to map Africa’s ethnographic and political relations, so the map included supplementary pages to explain what could not be shown in map form.

Although the delimitation commission had successfully created political borders for the Zanzibari state on the mainland, Germans could not impose such order on the rest


of the DOAG’s sphere of interest. The area west of the coast existed outside of the historical narratives through which borders could be defined. The DOAG claimed enormous hinterland of which it had little knowledge, based almost entirely on the that Europeans could not draw political borders there. The task Peters and his co-conspirators had created for themselves through its land claims and delimitation immense: to create a profitable extractive economy out of a territory with little to and without control over the caravan trade that had attracted German merchants to East Africa in the first place. The DOAG's struggles to turn a profit without control of the coast were to solidify belief in the Hinterland Theory.

Rationalizing Colonial Rule

Much of the DOAG’s work of the next few years was taken up with making the geographic unity of its territory that it had claimed into a reality. Peters, von der Heydt, and Behr highlighted the importance of geography to the DOAG’s undertaking in a report from January 1887. As they described things, "the particular advantages our undertaking offers consist of the geographic location of the acquired territories, in the quality of their soil, and in the peculiar relations there." All the caravan routes from the interior of Africa led to the German territory. Additionally, the area’s rivers could be used to further trade. Together they formed one "trade region," centered at Zanzibar. The report cited unnamed "well-known travelers" and missionaries as its sources.62

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62 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 126-127.
The nationalism and the Social Darwinism of the DOAG’s rhetoric heightened through 1886. Peters wrote that the DOAG was advancing the goals of the entire German Volk through its "universal national affair in the truest sense of the word." The company had done better than the French had in Tonkin, or the Italians in Somalia, both of whom had brought force to bear to accomplish their goals. Nationalism meant power and victory for Germany. Peters stressed Ostafrika’s differences from the Congo State. King Leopold II of Belgium had created the Congo State as a civilizing undertaking, Peters wrote, sprung from Stanley’s bold idea. Western powers had agreed to the Free State through an international treaty, and the endeavor was paid for by a monarch drawn to the undertaking by its boldness and its glory. Ostafrika, in contrast, was driven by pure "national economic need," and supported by the spending of the patriotic circles of the German Volk. It was obvious to the reader, Peters thought, that the DOAG's nationalism was a better base for colonialism than the Congo State's cosmopolitan internationalism. Peters imagined himself and his fellow colonists as Spartans. They would succeed against

63 Competition with Britain was central to all German colonial discourse, as seen in Russell Berman, Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Such rhetoric was central to much colonial agitation across Europe, as seen in Winfried Baumgart, Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); the DOAG was just one of the leading practitioners.


the machinations of their domestic enemies and return from East Africa either “with or on their shields!”

The DOAG’s leaders claimed the company was fundamentally different from earlier private colonial companies, such as the British East India Company. Those companies’ founders designed them to make a profit for their shareholders, while DOAG aimed to benefit the entire German nation. The foreign trading company had also required great amounts of capital, which the DOAG did not have. The DOAG’s leadership imagined the company as fundamentally a state. Everything continued to bear more importance than Leute. It continued to stress its "practical" approach to colonialism, over the "theoretical" approaches of its critics.

The explorer and naturalist Georg Schweinfurth joined the DOAG in promoting Ostafrika and the company’s nationalist mission. Schweinfurth told the annual meeting of German naturalists and doctors in 1886 that Ostafrika and the Congo were the best hopes for European settlement in Africa. Europeans could adjust to African climates over time. Europeans had finally broken through the "coastal wall" that had blocked them from the vast inhabitable spaces of Africa. East Africa offered great opportunities for settlement because of its variety of

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68 BArch N 2139/53, pag. 6.

69 BArch R 8124/2. Pag. 41-42.
landscapes between the Indian Ocean and the Great Lakes. What was more, those "immeasurable territories" would offer nothing to any other Europeans so long as the German Reich claimed its place and made no more concessions to other powers. Ostafrika was different from Germany's other colonies in that its leadership made immediate plans for German settlement and ruthless economic extraction because it did not control the coast. Schweinfurth told the scientific audience that the "Arab settlements of the east coast lays only thin layers inland, though they had in recent times provided the not unimportant service of bringing rice cultivation to the interior."  

Just because the DOAG claimed its territory did not make its rule a reality. Pfeil wrote that it was still extremely difficult to travel between the coast and the company’s station at Sima because of porters fleeing and Arab perfidy. Pfeil attempted to force Arab caravans to pay for goods as they passed through with force. The company claimed that the rights it was granted in the Schutzbrief should extend to any further territories it acquired. Progress could be measured with simple numbers. Peters wrote that every morgen of land brought under cultivation made the whole territory more valuable. An alliance with Catholic missionaries could thus further change the land and create value.


71 Joachim Graf von Pfeil, "Wanderungen in Afrika," BArch N 2225/21, pag. 3

72 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 15.

73 A morgen was a unit of area equal to 2500 square meters.
for the DOAG. Peters returned to the GfdK’s original vision of empire based in land, changes in which would create changes in the people who lived there.⁷⁴

A Foreign Office memorandum from early 1887 laid out what its officials about the future of Ostafrika. The colony's value at that moment was in its control trade routes. The "great goal" on which the DOAG claimed it always kept an eye "the connection of the coast with the great lakes of the interior." Dar es Salaam linked to Tabora and Ujiji through Mpwapwa, Pangani to Lake Tanganyika Arusha. From Kingani the company would strike out to reach Lake Nyasa/Malawi "and therewith open for trade all of Southeast Central Africa."⁷⁵ What the DOAG controlled it defined as "Swahili lands": Ukami, Useguha, Unguru, and Usagara. Together, the areas formed a unified "trade region" with its center at Zanzibar, which had rapidly developed with a pace "reminiscent of America," the best evidence for the untapped latent economic strength of the continental hinterland.⁷⁶

DOAG officials laid out what they saw as the next steps to make colonialism work in East Africa in a "strictly confidential" memo to the Foreign Office. First, it needed to build state functions in order to exercise its rights as the sovereign power. Second, it would have to civilize the Schutzgebiet in the "German-national interest" through settlement, cultivation, trade, and industry. Third, it would acquire more land for farming. It already controlled the two main

⁷⁴ BArch R 8124/2, pag. 107.
⁷⁵ PA AA London 376.149.
⁷⁶ BArch R 8023/265, pag. 114.
trade routes from Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. Furthermore, the Pangani route laid entirely within the German sphere of interest, meaning the DOAG could control its entirety. Unfortunately, the routes from Lake Nyasa/Malawi, and the routes that ran to Pangani were too far from the center of the German "sphere of action" to be acted on without control of the coast. Control of the coast would mean control of those trade routes.\textsuperscript{77}

The DOAG planned a slow, methodical expansion of its administration. The company began its work by establishing thirteen stations in what it determined were the most important locations for the "establishment of a great trade undertaking." Stations would serve not just to support trade, but to create "real occupation" of territory. The station at Mafi was to serve as the "furthest border of African ground touched by civilization," as well as the junction of roads from Pangani to the Great Lakes.\textsuperscript{78} The second purpose of the station would be to trade and make attempts at planting the crops with the best chance of bringing the company a profit. Stations would serve to centralize the company's administration by creating direct links between its headquarters in Berlin and the East African interior. Each would serve as a scientific station for the company's efforts to develop plantation agriculture. The company believed that it needed a police force around the colony in order to protect life and property, at least to make sure things did not get worse than they already were under Arab rule. At each station would be posted German officers and a detachment of African troops, fifty at each inland station,

\textsuperscript{77} PA AA London 376.132-134, 141.

\textsuperscript{78} "Kolonialpolitische Vorgänge und geographische Erforschungen. Erweiterung des Stationennetzes der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} 4, no. 3 (1887): 71.
thirty at each coastal station. The whole system of stations was to be headed by a governor with full powers in either Pangani or Dar es Salaam. Officials posted at stations were more able to intervene locally than officials in Berlin or on the coast, but the stations bound them to local politics; local big men had their power strengthened in the short term by the German presence since German officials depended on them to supply labor and food.

Stations would serve as economic and political outposts for the DOAG to extend its power west. By the end of 1886, this included Unguja, and in Bagamoyo, Dunda, Madimola, Uusaungula, Sima, Kfura, Mbusini, Korogwe, and Kilefi. Peters took control of founding the stations in Dar es Salaam, Pangani, Mpwapwa, and Arusha. Each was to handle customs, trade, and plantation work. Dar es Salaam, Pangani, Mpwapwa, and Arusha would serve as the four "main stations" but the DOAG would also need "in-between stations" to fulfill the "jurisdictional duties" to which it was "legally obligated." Those stations had to be primarily military in nature. Police, military, and judicial power would be combined in the hand of one person at each station. The Mpwapwa and Arusha

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79 PA AA London 376.150-151.
80 PA AA London 376.152.
81 Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft, 147.
83 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 25.
stations were to fulfill "military and administrative tasks simultaneously." In a financial plan Peters sent to Paul Kayser in the Foreign Office, the company called for the addition of three stations each year. The stations were to serve as "crystallization points…from which the spread of Kultur and the expansion of the until-now only nominal sovereignty over the occupied lands." By the end of 1887, the company had a total of twenty stations.

It is striking how little account DOAG officials and the Foreign Office took of local opinions, participation, or resistance in its plans. Though station officials would depend on local authorities to a great extent, the choice of station locations seemed to take little account of any local authorities or their relationship to the German colonial presence. DOAG officials chose where to place their primary stations based on caravan routes what they believed were key points to control Ostafrika's spaces. Whom station leaders would deal with in local politics and where the company could find African allies were secondary concerns among the DOAG leadership. The company's officials put little thought into how station leaders would either create alliances with local leaders or stifle their dissent.

The company would make it a priority to improve transportation in East Africa. Profit on products from the interior would be impossible so long as porters were the means of transport. Whichever European power got to Central Africa first by rail would

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84 PA AA London 376.142.
85 BArch N 2139/53, pag. 5.
be the "victor." Peters saw the future of transportation in East Africa as following the model of the United States. The DOAG would follow Anglo-Saxon models, not French models, in its expansion. Each step and new station would further open the interior. The DOAG had the additional advantage that the most productive regions were near the coast, so it would not have as much work to do.87 The DOAG would build railroads to open new districts, farms would spring up along the railroads, and "where until then there was wilderness, the life of civilization would evolve."88 The plan would be to build a railroad from a point on the coast, such as Dar es Salaam, through Usagara, to the north shore of Lake Nyasa/Malawi, northwest to the southern shore of Lake Victoria, linking the "entire flow of commodities of Central East Africa in one bed." Railroads would "open the hinterland" for Germany. The company promised to then build connections between the towns of the coast and then to the Mwapwa and Arusha stations. It claimed "Only communications routes…allow one to hope that we can pull the trade from the interior to the places that belong to us, and only along such routes may we hope for the profitability of our own plantation undertakings."89

Not everyone was so hopeful about the railroad. Wilhelm von Hübbe-Schleiden, one of Germany’s leading commentators on colonial issues, wrote that


88 Peters, Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 179-180, 188. Peters lamented later that the plan had fallen apart because German capital had focused on Mexico and Brazil instead of East Africa.

railroads were unlikely to provide solutions in the "American-Anglo-Saxon manner." Even most American railroads had failed, and East Africa offered little for export. What was needed was a system for raising Africans to work. Plantations were preferable, as they were what the land was suited for. Hübbe-Schleiden also believed that a successful colony "must have more or less self-sufficient bases on the coast." From there, Germans could associate with local chiefs to build plantations. Those chiefs should be incorporated following the ancient Roman model of the *paterfamilias*, masters of houses, not lands. The most influential measure would be the creation of stations with model plantations.

The Foreign Office did not embrace the DOAG’s plan. Franz Johannes von Rottenburg of the Reich Chancellery wrote the chancellor that Ostafrika could not become the German India. India was a "rich land with an old civilization," while Africans lacked such civilization. Instead, Germans would have to create factories (in the colonial sense) in East Africa, turning Africans into capitalist consumers by making them desire German consumer goods. Peters wrote later that Ostafrika could have become the German India had the German government not hindered its development. He blamed in particular Friedrich Richard Krauel and Herbert Bismarck in the Foreign Office, who treated the DOAG like subjects. Germany should never have surrendered Mount Kilimanjaro or Lake Victoria. Peters thereby demonstrated his continued lack of

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91 BARch R 1001/733, pag. 3.

understanding of East African realities. Neither the mountain nor the lake held particular value outside of symbolism. Peters attached more importance to controlling the high mountain and enormous lake than to creating a secure economic footing for his venture.

The railroad plan also heightened the DOAG’s rivalry with the United The company's officials were concerned that the British might capture some of on which the German colony depended by building up the road between Mombasa and Arusha. That route was shorter than any of the routes through the German sphere, but was currently dangerous.93 The DOAG planned to attempt to concentrate trade in Dar es Salaam. To ensure trade remained on the routes through the German sphere, the company would have to build telegraph lines between Mpwapwa and Dar es Salaam and ensure protection for life and property along the routes.94 The DOAG, however, stirred up further concerns along the same lines. Its officials decided on 6 June 1887 to write Chancellor Bismarck in June 1887 that the Glasgow African Lakes Company was using missions and Henry Morton Stanley’s expedition to find Emin Pasha to connect territory south of Lake Tanganyika to the Indian Ocean through the British sphere of interest. Such a connection would block the Germans from the Great Lakes and prevent the development of the German Schutzgebiet. It told Bismarck that "for the German East Africa Company the keeping clear of the entire hinterland of its

93 PA AA London 376.139.

94 PA AA London 376.140-141.
present field of work is a question of life and death for its cultural, especially its
economic capacity.” It had a duty to its members "to hold free" the "entire Hinterland,
especially the areas around the Great Lakes." The DOAG was sending expeditions to
Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika to sign further treaties for territory at a cost of 300,000
marks. It asked the government for reassurances so it could save that money for
cultivation.

Stations were meant to create a more permanent presence for German travelers,
but they had the effect of binding their inhabitants to local political conditions because
they lacked the power to compel local leaders to do their bidding. Station officials had to
work with local leaders to get labor to build stations and agriculture. Different parts of
the colony responded differently to the German presence and the DOAG’s rivalry with
Barghash. Areas along the northern caravan routes tried to avoid alienating Barghash,
while areas along the central caravan routes tried to use the DOAG as a counterweight to
Barghash’s power. Though nominally under DOAG control, politics continued as usual
in the colony. A war near Lake Nyasa/Malawi happened between 1886 and 1888.

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95 PA AA London 376.249-252.
96 PA AA London 376.253-254; BArch R 8124/7, pag. 9-10.
DOAG did not even have a centralized bookkeeping system as late as March 1888, making coordinated administration of Ostafrika nearly impossible.\(^{100}\)

The DOAG’s control over sovereign rights remained an open question. Stengel, one of the Kaiserreich’s leading authors on juridical matters, wrote on beginning in early 1887. As Stengel saw matters, the first issue of debate was colony should be counted as a "real [eigentliche] colony" or as a protectorate. In former case, the European state would exercise sovereignty as it did over a province. A protectorate, on the other hand, could only exist "where the native possesses a state-like, legally-recognized organization." Where such a structure lacking, land would have to count as "unowned," and sovereignty could only be exercised through direct occupation.\(^{101}\) In any case, the DOAG’s rights in East Africa were limited to those enumerated in the treaties. The company could not run roughshod over native rights, including rights to personal property. Friedrich Fabri, on the other hand, argued that, according to African law, land belonged to the entire tribe, as personified in their ruler. Unused land was available for anyone’s use. There was nothing untoward in the GfdK/DOAG treaties, especially since the signers knew Germans would protect them from slave raiders.\(^{102}\)

Stengel clarified his thinking in an article published in July of the same year. The GfdK/DOAG treaties were not protectorate treaties, but simply sultans

\(^{100}\) BArch R 8124/2, pag. 116.


\(^{102}\) Friedrich Fabri, Deutsch-Ostafrika. Eine colonialpolitische Skizze (Cologne: DuMont-Schauberg, 1886), 30-31.
signing over all of their sovereign rights. They all contained language that territory was signed over for "complete and unrestricted private use." The DOAG had acquired not just state sovereignty, but also the right of disposal over all unowned land. According to international law, Stengel argued, private actors or companies could acquire sovereign rights from the rulers of uncivilized tribes. The areas the DOAG had acquired had been declared ownerless [herrenlos], and their inhabitants dealt directly with the German Reich, not through their own governments, so they were all subjects of the German Reich. They would only become citizens, however, if the Schutzgebiete became constituent parts of the Reich as laid out in the German constitution.\(^\text{103}\)

The Reichstag and the Foreign Office attempted to clarify the legal status of the DOAG’s holdings. The Reichstag took up a bill to give the Kaiser protective power in and apply consular law to the colonies in July 1887. The expansion of German legal territory would create a legal basis for colonial societies to sell land and deal with settlers.\(^\text{104}\) Paul Kayser attempted to clarify the DOAG’s legal position, as well as those of other German colonial societies, at a meeting of the Juridical Society of Berlin on 16 April 1887. Kayser contrasted what he described as Germanic private colonialism to the Romantic state-directed variety. Private colonial societies could fulfill three functions: economic undertaking, the acquisition of land, and the takeover of territorial administration for civilization. As a juridical person, the DOAG could acquire sovereign


\(^{104}\) "Ein halber Erfolg," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, July 1, 1887, 395-396.
rights over ownerless [Herrenlos] areas and from chiefs, and exercise those rights over both natives and Europeans.\textsuperscript{105}

Peters turned to local assistance in making use of the coastal stations. He built buildings in Dar es Salaam from the Indian merchant Sewa Haji Paroo, with also contracted for porters for expeditions to Arusha and Mpwapwa. Sewa leased buildings "with a wink to the Wali," to serve as the base of the company's operations on the mainland. When the liwali later tried to throw the Germans out, Sewa stood by the DOAG and ensured they would not become the "laughingstock" of the town.\textsuperscript{106} The liwali, suspected the Germans, had been instructed by Barghash to make life difficult for the company in the coastal town in which he still exercised some control and ability to prevent further German incursions. Sewa thus served as the provider of a safe urban space for the new German colonists, whose position with regards to Zanzibar, the United Kingdom, and the German state itself was tenuous. Sewa Haji was more expensive than other contractors, but he guaranteed that his porters would work and not desert. French missions had earlier contracted with him. Sewa was the main supplier of porters for both European and non-European expeditions, but was not unique in making deals with German colonists.\textsuperscript{107} Peters also made deals with the Indian firms of Taria Topan and Yuram Sewji in Zanzibar. Those agreements

\textsuperscript{105} "Über die Rechtsverhältnisse der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaften," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, May 1, 1887, 262-263.

\textsuperscript{106} Letter from Carl Peters to DOAG, 3 June 1887, printed in Peters, Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 202-203.

\textsuperscript{107} Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft, 66, 110.
demonstrate the extent to which the DOAG was just another player in the politics and economics of East Africa in the eyes of many people in the region. Like Mandara, who had welcomed the DOAG to Moshi as a counterweight to Zanzibar, the coastal trading firms sought the company's patronage in order to increase their access to resources valuable in precolonial politics and economics.

The DOAG hoped to harness missions to make sense out of the vast spaces they had acquired to the west. Mission work was also inextricable from the DOAG's project in *Ostafrika*. Missionaries were often the only European intermediaries with societies west of the coast, and missionaries served an invaluable role in constructing East African peoples as available for European exploitation. Missionary societies, as much as social scientists, were central to the creation of the colonial border imaginary by making the East African interior a space without any trace of civilization, in need of indirect colonization. The President of the Kolonialverein, Prince Hermann von Hohenlohe-Langenburg, promoted a missionary role in the colony. At the Kolonialverein’s annual directors’ meeting on 29 April 1886, Hohenlohe-Langenburg told assembled delegates that missionaries could not only carry culture to Africa, but could also scout for business opportunities. Hohenlohe-Langenburg imagined a role for missionaries as more than missionaries, as servants of the colonial state and the private enterprises that colonists in East Africa hoped to attract.\(^{108}\) Hohenlohe-Langenburg’s vision of missionaries as servants of the colonial state became the policy of the colonial lobby later that year, as a general conference of colonial groups passed a resolution calling for missions in the

colonies to further German goals and to train mission students as workers for
German companies or farmers. In the words of a conference attendee,
Ministerialdirektor Grimm of Cologne, there was "a close connection between
mission and civilization."\(^{109}\)

But much of the rest of the German evangelical mission movement
rejected the new society’s approach and its alliance with the DOAG.\(^{110}\) Its
primary publication, the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* criticized the geographic
division of Africa by comparing it to the Treaty of Tordesillas, which had divided
the New World between Spain and Portugal in the 16th century. Natives were
treated as objects, not subjects. Their land was taken away.\(^{111}\) The *Allgemeine
Missions-Zeitschrift*, claimed that Karl Jühlke, who had taken the lead in
promoting mission work among the DOAG’s leadership, knew nothing of mission
affairs. Jühlke did not even understand that missions needed to work in local
languages.\(^{112}\) As things stood, almost nothing was known of the borders of the
supposed "30,000 square German miles" of land the DOAG claimed. The Leipzig
Mission Society built missions near Kisulutini, in the British sphere of interest,
rather than in the German sphere. Though the society’s missionaries could share
"Christian community" with the Berlin missionaries, and with British

\(^{109}\) "Allgemeiner Deutscher Kongreß zur Förderung überseeischer Interessen zu Berlin, am 13.-16.

\(^{110}\) "Modernste Missionsgeschichtschreibung," *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (July 1886): 297-
311.


\(^{112}\) "Modernste Missionsgeschichtschreibung," *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (July 1886): 301.
missionaries, rather than national community with German colonialists.113 Other evangelical mission societies feared mission work could be compromised if missions built too close of relationships to the state and wanted to avoid becoming a purely national undertaking.114

Pfeil infuriated evangelical mission leaders with a speech at the General German Congress for the Progress of Overseas Interests in 1886. The area had already shown for a millennium that it could produce riches for a European power, as seen by Portuguese conquest. Its trade amounted to 40 million marks each year. Whereas the hinterlands of the other German colonies were unknown, Europeans had explored East Africa in depth. He cited Cameron, Burton, Speke, Krapf, Rebamnn, Livingstone, Stanley, Thomson, Johnston, Wissmann, Reichard, and Bauer as such explorers. East Africa’s "ancient caravan routes" had led to the "heart of the mysterious continent of Africa, perhaps since the days of Solomon and even before." On the Indian Ocean, Germany stood on the edge of an "ancient cultural basin." Furthermore, the company was in the position to create an "organic relationship" to native populations in order to get natives to work. People were settling near German stations because they trusted Germans and were willing to subject themselves to German control. The DOAG would follow the


rivers upstream to make transportation cheap. Evangelical mission leaders reacted angrily. Carl Gotthilf Büttner stood up in the meeting and announced the plan "made his blood run cold." Gustav Warnecek wrote that the issue of raising the Negro to work must be a joint project of the mission and colonial policy.

With no support from existing mission societies forthcoming, the DOAG bankrolled its own, the "East African Mission" or Berlin III. Jühlke published an article promoting the society’s work. No longer would German missionaries have to work in foreign territories, but could devote their work to the glory of their fatherland. A missionary’s work would "deepen," as he felt called to "build new bridges between the old Heimat and the newly acquired territories." British missionary societies had also been founded for political ends, to open the scientific exploration of Africa until the moment was ripe for annexation. They had accomplished almost nothing; the children from British missionary societies in East Africa were well-known as the worst material for labor. They were the "most terrible proletariat." Anyone who opposed such political-spiritual

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115 BArch N 2225/7, pag. 9-10.


117 "Welches Interesse und welchen Anteil hat die Mission an der Erziehung der Naturvölker zur Arbeit?," Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift, 1887.


connections was "a weakling." The mission declared its goal was to "spread the preaching of the gospel and to secure Christian ways in the German territory." This was important so that neither Islam nor Romish religion took over.\(^{120}\)

The new Berlin mission chose Dar es Salaam as its starting point. According to its periodical, *Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission*, the mission’s leadership chose Dar es Salaam because the former Sultan of Zanzibar Majid bin Said had wanted to build a residence there, demonstrating that it offered hope for building "lively" connections to the interior and a point of departure for exploration west. The society’s first missionary, Johann Jakob Greiner, negotiated with Barghash’s *liwali* in Dar es Salaam for space. The mission planned eventually to build a great hospital in the city, to outdo those of the British, French, Arabs, and Indians in Zanzibar. Although building a hospital in on Unguja would be simpler because ship traffic ran frequently between the coastal ports and the island, not between the different coastal ports, the island was ”not German, therefore we want no hospital there." The mission and the DOAG would have to reorient the coast towards itself and away from Zanzibar.\(^{121}\) Its next steps would be to build stations in the other coastal towns; it would only move west after further reconnaissance.\(^{122}\)

Catholic missions were less reticent to work in the DOAG’s territory than were evangelical missions. The primary publication of the Catholic mission movement in

\(^{120}\) "Aus unserer Gesellschaft," *Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission*, April 1888, 51-52.


Germany, *Die katholischen Missionen*, began carrying regular reports about the area. Missionaries on Lake Victoria hoped to survive the "storm" created in the area by German and British colonization on the Indian Ocean coast. The creation of the Congo State, wrote one Catholic missionary, had aggravated Arabs north and west of the lake to the point that two mission stations had to be abandoned.  

Missionaries worked from an idea that the "African" space west of the coast was one of heathenism, and of an Arab-directed slave trade. This is perhaps clearest in missionary publications for children, which focused on big ideas and discussed ideas about East Africa writ large. The *Kleine Sammler*, published by the Berlin Mission Society, provides examples. East Africa was full of slaves, heathens, and elephants. Africans prayed to snakes in their ignorance. African rulers were fearsome and horrible to their people. The *Kleine Sammler* also carried aspects of the missionary approach to the relationship between *Land* and *Leute*. Alexander Merensky wrote of the "stony land" and "thorny wilderness," which African heathens had to be helped in remaking for agriculture.

The DOAG version of East African history required a vision of politics west of the coast as decentralized or even non-existent. The interior was empty.

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space, available for German exploitation. Constructing East African nature as all-powerful and as overwhelming local populations was a central aspect of German colonial rhetoric in East Africa. A narrative of a heroic white European domesticating powerful nature legitimated colonial power. This was despite the fact that political power in much of the region was based on man defeating nature: the ivory trade. Mobile, transregional hunting companies traveled across East Africa. Big Men built their political power through developing client and kinship networks through the trade. The power of German station chiefs mimicked that of the Big Men, reenacting the earlier conquest of nature. The caravan trade had created new forms of political power based on control of goods and patron-client relationships. Bands of armed men, known as ruga ruga, patrolled the western part of today’s Tanzania. They controlled the area between Tabora and Lake Tanganyika in the 1870s and early 1880s. The ivory frontier moved further and further west over the course of the 19th century, dislocating the entire trading system and the forms of rule built up around it. Hehe expansion in the southern part of mainland Tanzania made them the dominant power in that area.

125 This idea was common among German colonialists across Africa. Conrad, 142.


128 Gissibl; Glassman, Feasts and Riot, 56, 59, 76; Iliffe, 49.

129 Iliffe, 57.
With their lack of knowledge about the interior, DOAG officials focused more and more on the coast. Peters wrote in June 1887 that Dar es Salaam and Pangani were the "natural exit points on the coast, ‘air and light’ for the possessions in the interior."\(^{130}\) He remained convinced that it would be "child’s play" for Barghash not only to keep the DOAG’s occupation of the hinterland "in check," but to completely ruin the company by occupying the coast. The owner of the coast was "naturally sovereign of the entire hinterland in terms of trade,"\(^ {131}\) as it was much cheaper to get goods to world markets with control of the coast. The company argued that in "uncultivated areas the owner of the coast the natural master of the Hinterland as well."\(^ {132}\)

Privileging the coast in such a manner provided grounds for rethinking its history. The DOAG laid out its version of East Africa’s history in a confidential report in November 1886. According to the company, the "coast of East Africa had stood in contact with the old Kulturvölker of Asia and the Mediterranean." A relief in Thebes showed today’s Somalia. The Sasanian Empire had created the slave trade in East Africa. Little blooming sultanates along the coast developed a relatively high level of culture. Vasco da Gama was amazed by the high level of culture, matching that of Europe, he found where he had expected none.\(^ {133}\) Carl Grimm argued that da Gama’s descriptions showed the coast’s capacity for

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\(^{130}\) Peters, *Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 200.


\(^{132}\) BArch R 8124/2, pag. 106-107.

\(^{133}\) Grimm, 173.
development. The towns were walled and had garrisons of several thousand men, but when Mombasa fell in 1698, political unity had disappeared and with it that level of culture. Da Gama had conquered the coast for Portugal, creating a colonial empire valued higher than Mombay or Goa. The Portuguese had built a plantation economy, but were oriented primarily toward the "rash fleecing of the land," so they could not build lasting rule. Oman took over when Portugal became part of Spain. The sultans of the coast refused subjection to Zanzibar until the Omanis moved their throne to Zanzibar. The British became involved in Zanzibari politics in 1858, with the goal of taking control of the coast. The GfdK expedition had stopped them.

Social scientists supported the DOAG’s understandings of East African history. Renowned Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch spoke to members of the Berlin branch of the Kolonialgesellschaft on 8 February 1888. Brugsch told his audience that "Hamitic" peoples had traveled to East Africa centuries before. There, their superior knowledge of shipbuilding and construction allowed them to become "leaders and teachers of the negro races [Negerstämme] in the Hinterlands of the East African coast." Carl von Grimm wrote a history, Die Pharaonen in Ostafrika, connecting East Africa to the classical world and established it as eternally colonial space. The DOAG was thus not a destructive interloper, but promised rather to restore the glory of East Africa held in the

134 Grimm, 175-179.
135 BArch R 8023/265, pag. 114.
136 "Wandlungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, February 18, 1888, 49.
ancient world by eliminating the negative influences of Arab colonization.\textsuperscript{137}

Materials from German travelers to East Africa formed a central part of the collection at the opening of the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin at the beginning of 1887. The collections of Gerhard Rohlfs, Paul Reichard, Georg Schweinfurth, Wilhelm Junker, Emin Pasha, and Hermann Wissmann became the basis for German conceptions of East African societies.\textsuperscript{138}

The European commissioners found that task difficult in large part because Swahili society did not fit the picture of "Africa" they had in mind, with its neat divide between civilization and barbarism.\textsuperscript{139} Colonial rule required racial difference to make permanent the subject position of the colonized.\textsuperscript{140} The 1880s was a decade of growth for German social sciences. The creation of a German overseas empire provided anthropologists with material to challenge humanist control of intellectual life through the study of "natural peoples" [Naturvölker]. Like the GfdK aimed at disrupting German elite control of German politics and national goals, anthropologists aimed to upset elite control of the German academy and establish the dominance of their own disciplines. Studying the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[137] Carl von Grimm, \textit{Die Pharaonen in Ostafrika. Eine kolonialpolitische Studie} (Karlsruhe, Germany: Grimm, 1887).
\item[139] Michael Schubert, \textit{Der schwarze Fremde: Das Bild des Schwarzafrikaners in der parlamentarischen und publizistischen Kolonialdiskussion in Deutschland von der 1870er bis in die 1930er Jahre} (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003), 46.
\end{footnotes}
"natural" served to undermine humanists' totalizing claims to knowledge. "Natural peoples" existed totally outside history, thus outside humanism's scope. German linguists still tried to make sense of the languages of Central and Eastern Africa in the mid- to late-1880s. Their source material was limited, often one or two people who had come to the coast. Linguists worked to create systematic grammars of African languages.

In order to turn the people of East Africa into colonial subjects, Germans marked them as belonging to clearly-defined racial groups. Racial divisions, as German ethnographers and colonialists saw them, were unambiguous. Cultural peoples [Kulturvölker] could easily be distinguished from natural peoples [Naturvölker]. The divide between African and Arab populations should have been clear. Germans were not alone in not being sure what to make of Swahili society. Should the people of the Swahili Coast be understood as fully "African" or as some kind of mix of peoples that did not fit neatly into ethnographic categories?

The Swahili were not fully African. All of them

141 Andrew Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 4, 7, 10-11, 59-60.


were a "dark bronze color." A Baron Nagy Rákó speaking in the Austrian trade museum in October 1887 described the Swahili as unsuited for trade. They had centuries in contact with Kulturvölker, Arabs, without any culture of their own to for it. They still lacked intelligence and a capacity for work. The coast could be times as productive by a Volk with better capacity for labor. On the other hand the Denhardts and their allies in the Kolonialverein further promoted the Swahili as cultural intermediaries for Germans in East Africa.

It was not a novel intervention for German colonists to divide the East Africa by race. As Jonathon Glassman has demonstrated, precolonial Swahili societies exercised racial thinking. Omani Arabs had begun to build a in the 18th century, though they drew on an older culture of Arabocentrism. From at least the 13th century, Islamic identity had been an important aspect of building trade communities on the Indian Ocean. Along with Islam, Swahili privileged any cultural or social connections to the Islamic heartland, and began claiming descent from the Middle East. When Oman conquered Zanzibar in 1729, Shirazi rulers on the coast allied with the new conquerors and the Swahili language became more heavily marked with Arabic. Much of Zanzibari patronage along the coast was based on conceptions of shared Arabic connections and descent. Omani rule

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147 "Sansibar und die Somali-Küste in kommerzieller Beziehung," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, October 6, 1887, 624-626.

generated racial categories of Arabs, Indians, indigenous islanders, and slaves. Omani authority came from claims to be a superior foreign racial caste. Such divisions were based on a binary of civilization and barbarism, the coast marked by its civilization.¹⁴⁹ Wanyamwezi porters adopted elements of coastal culture to increase their status vis-a-vis the surrounding area. The culture of the caravan route mixed elements from Swahili, Zanzibari, Nyamwezi, Manyema, Zaramo, and Yao cultures.¹⁵⁰ The Germans encountered an administrative elite on the Swahili coast that had gone through an Islamic training system and valued education and training highly. Dar es Salaam was the site of a Sunni school of law.¹⁵¹

Friedrich Hammacher laid out a version of East Africa's history as part of an Indian Ocean World at the Kolonialverein's annual meeting in 1887, but also a vision connecting it to Europe in antiquity. East Africa had traded with Greece and Rome, but with the fall of the Roman Empire, it slipped out of the European geographical imaginary and became part of the Indian Ocean World through migration of Arabs to East Africa and East African troops to Baghdad.¹⁵² Kurt Toeppen wrote in September 1887 that Africans in East Africa only wanted to follow Arab models. Arabs had been the ruling


¹⁵⁰ Michael Pesek, Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Expeditionen, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005), 72, 326.


race in East Africa for centuries, and Africans respected them more than they did other foreigners. This was because Mohammedanism was easier to understand than Christianity because it was poetic and full of legends.  

The *Kolonialzeitung* also published an article focusing on the area’s more history. In terms of trade, "Zanzibar looks like an Indian colony," the article cyclone of 1872 had destroyed clove and coconut plantations, forcing their Arab completely into the hands of Indian financiers. Zanzibari plantations were now nominally Arab property, and Europeans bought cloves and copra through Indian merchants, not Arabs. With modern telegraph service, those merchants knew European markets as well as Europeans did. And they knew the "commercially tributary Hinterland" better than Europeans.  

The DOAG would thus have to understand and make use of the educated strata to make its colony profitable. It petitioned Bismarck to include Bantu languages in the new Oriental Seminar that the government was creating in early 1887. Swahili was one of the languages taught at the seminar, along with languages considered more "cultured" in the German metropole: Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Persian, and Turkish. Instructors taught not only the language, but also the mores and customs, geography, statistics, and recent history of the

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155 "Chronik," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, April 1, 1887, 223-224.
areas it was spoken over a two-semester course. Swahili was chosen because of its convenience as a lingua franca in the region and because it was relatively easy to learn. Kiswahili thus became the first official language instituted in sub-Saharan Africa. Kiswahili spread as the lingua franca of East Africa to where nearly every village had at least one person who spoke the language. Walter von St. Paul-Illaire began work for the DOAG on a Kiswahili handbook in early 1888. He planned to ask for government assistance in publishing the handbook.

Taking Over the Coast

Try as they might, DOAG officials were unable to figure out a way to make profitable the territory the company had successfully assumed control over in East Africa. The DOAG had never had the money it needed to operate. Its early employees were paid in land, not in currency. Barghash still collected tolls along the coast, and most of the rest of the profits from the trade accrued to the caravan organizers, Arabs, Swahili, and other Africans who knew the routes and the methods necessary. To remedy the situation,

156 "Koloniale Chronik," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, September 1, 1887, 537.


159 Iliffe, 79.

160 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 45.

Peters had created two main administrative offices, a commercial and a political-administrative. He had taken control of the latter office. There he began by the existing stations that offered promise for future economic growth or rational development. The company’s railroad plan had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. The leader of the expedition to explore the idea, Hake, was unable to conclude whether building a rail line from Dar es Salaam to the interior would work in January 1888.

Gustav Michaelles, a Foreign Office envoy to Zanzibar who would later the consul there, criticized the DOAG’s methods of dealing with local populations October 1887. He saw a "serious danger" for all future development. Michahelles that he DOAG solved issues with clubs when the peaceful character of the people meant negotiation was a better tactic. He cited a story that had been relayed to him by Hans Meyer, a well-known geographer. Meyer worked for the DOAG and the Plantation Company as a prospector. He stopped at a village behind Pangani where the chief had been treated badly by a German official. The station had now become so disreputable that no Africans would work there and Europeans had to perform their own menial tasks of fetching wood and water. Things had gotten so bad that armed forces had to be sent from Pangani to prevent an insurrection. There was plenty of available land for people to move if they wanted to avoid Germans. It needed to be a priority to keep them in their current

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162 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 105.

163 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 45.
locations. An Indian contractor, who Michahelles did not identify by name, had brought several porters he had leased to the DOAG to the German consulate in Zanzibar with broken arms and other severe injuries. Sir John Kirk, the British consul in Zanzibar, had received many reports of animosity against Germans. The Irish explorer Charles Stokes reported that recent violence especially had created a bad impression of Germans. The DOAG’s caravan leaders knew so little of *Land und Leute* that they viewed the lands they were to explore as "enemy territory."¹⁶⁴

Hermann von Schelling, the state secretary of the *Reichsjustizamt*, wrote Paul Kayser his concerns about the legal situation in *Ostafrika* in November 1887. The legal reforms of April 1886 still were not in force. Consular law only applied if the perpetrator of a crime lived in Zanzibar or committed the crime there. Even if the 1886 laws came into force, there was still a problem if German citizens committed crimes outside the borders of *Ostafrika* in "stateless or not civilized districts."¹⁶⁵ Michahelles suggested as the first step the building of a legal system that would hold Europeans responsible. Since Jühlke’s death, no DOAG official held such a position. It would be easy to find a young jurist to take charge with the limited opportunities available for legal careers in metropolitan Germany.¹⁶⁶ The exact nature of the DOAG’s authority was still unclear. In

¹⁶⁴ BArch N 2139/57, pag. 2-4.

¹⁶⁵ BArch N 2139/57, pag. 6-8.

¹⁶⁶ BArch N 2139/57, pag. 5.
a September 1887 meeting, Adelbert Delbrück, DOAG member and founder of Deutsche Bank, questioned whether sovereign rights could be transferred to private individuals.\textsuperscript{167}

Some members of the colonial lobby called out the DOAG for making claims about the riches of East Africa’s land. Bernhard Gronemann, who traveled region, wrote in the \textit{Koloniaлизeitung} that the DOAG’s territory "is altogether not fruitful, it is often interrupted by miles-wide swamps, covered with mazes of vines so thick that progress through this pathless wild means great difficulties and exertion." What was more, crops would not grow because East African soil was terrible. And the people of the area did not like to work.\textsuperscript{168} Kurt Toeppen, another member of the Kolonialverein who went to East Africa, told readers that the DOAG’s lands would never work for development because the transportation and climate were both horrible. The best hope for the colony would be to become a toll collection center; Wituland offered far better opportunities for development because it at least had a good port.\textsuperscript{169}

Around the same time, a British rival colony emerged as the British East India Company signed a treaty leasing a 350-mile long strip of coast from the

\textsuperscript{167} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 30.


Sultan of Zanzibar.\textsuperscript{170} For some members of the DOAG, the British advance in East Africa confirmed their fears about British goals in the region. Otto Arendt, a free conservative member of the Prussian \textit{Abgeordnetenhaus}, wrote in the \textit{Kolonialzeitung} that East African Empire was now a "competition with England to close off the interior of Africa."\textsuperscript{171} The \textit{Kolonialgesellschaft} greeted the possible progress of civilization the British company would bring, but worried about the construction of an Anglo-Portuguese belt around the German sphere of interest.\textsuperscript{172}

Faced with a failing company, Peters argued that the first priority would have to be an agreement with Barghash. Such an agreement could best be made, Peters argued, if the DOAG "threw its ownership of the hinterland into the balance against the ownership of the Sultan on the coast" and attempted to control the trade routes to the interior. The way to do so would be building trading factories on the border of the "ivory areas" to serve as strong points to take over the ivory trade. Mpwapwa and Arusha would get natives to bring ivory to the DOAG rather than to the coast by selling them the goods that they wanted.\textsuperscript{173} Peters wrote that the coast had to be the "material basis for our economic undertakings."\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{170} "Wochenchronik," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, January 7, 1888, 6.
\textsuperscript{171} The theme of competition with Britain was to remain a reference point through the entire German period in East Africa. See Ulrike Lindner, "German Colonialism and the British Neighbor in Africa before 1914: Self-Definitions, Lines of Demarcation, and Cooperation," in \textit{German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany}, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 254-272.

\textsuperscript{172} "Die Britisch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, June 2, 1888, 169.

\textsuperscript{173} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 106.

\textsuperscript{174} Peters, \textit{Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika}, 190-191.
As Peters later wrote, the more he learned of East African politics, the more certain he became that control of coastal ports was necessary for further development. He therefore used his connections with the O’Swald trading house to meet Mohamed bin Salim, one of Barghash’s officials. Peters warned bin Salim that the DOAG would take control of trade in the hinterland by building railroads from the two ports it did control, leaving Barghash with nothing. Zanzibar was better off with Germans ruling in his name. The company told its shareholders at the end of 1887 that Peters was negotiating for Dar es Salaam as "entrance and exit gates" for the coastal strip, perhaps the clearest statement of the role of ports in the formation of the gatekeeper colonial state. The DOAG had taken over the land in "police, judicial, and in every other respect" in the name of the Sultan, and the "entire unowned land."

Different segments of the German colonialist movement presented their own versions of East Africa’s precolonial history, discussed in Chapter Two, to the German public in order to argue for their own vision for Ostafrika’s future. The Kolonialzeitung published a series of articles on the history of the Indian Ocean Coast in the early modern period in early 1888 in order to argue that Arab colonization had caused its decline. The history of the town of Kilwa, one article claimed, demonstrated in the entire history of East Africa "in truth constitutes only a battle of two continents - Europe and Asia - over sovereign power in the

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175 Ibid., 161.
third continent - Africa.”\textsuperscript{176} Asia had won in Egypt, and had established itself on the East African coast, especially at Kilwa. Ships from Kilwa undertook trade with India and Arabia. Its rule there had spread riches and a "highly developed Asiatic culture" in those port cities. The chiefs of the towns all spoke Arabic when Bartolomeu Dias arrived. It noted that two Augsburg merchants, Balthasar Sprenger and Hans Mayr/Mayer, had been part of the first Portuguese expedition to Kilwa in 1505 and funded three of Francisco d'Almeida’s ships for the journey.\textsuperscript{177} Such a rich "Islamic-Arab trade colony" of course was not easily defeated by Portuguese Christianity or trade. Since the Portuguese fall, the formerly glorious Kilwa had been overgrown by forest. The now-unified Kolonialgesellschaft thought it important to understand East Africa’s history to control it, as well. Since those days of Asiatic murals and paneling, there had been only decline to late 19th-century bamboo and straw huts. East Africa had thus undergone a similar process of decline as Germany from its early modern heyday. It was now time for it to rise again, as Germany had. The "end goal" of the "Asiatic settlers" was always the products of the "East African and Central African hinterlands." So it must be for the Germans.\textsuperscript{178}

The East Africa Mission proposed its own version of that history. The Portuguese had never been real colonists; they only wanted to capture trade. Their presence was weak, and easily brushed aside once Portuguese priorities shifted with the Iberian Union.

\textsuperscript{176} “Kiloas Besitzergreifung durch die Portugiesen. (1500 bis 1502),” \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, January 28, 1888, 28.
\textsuperscript{177} "Der portugiesische Vizekönig Don Franzisko d’Almeida, sowie die Augsburger Kaufleute Balthasar Sprenger und Hans Mayer im Jahr 1505 in Kiloa," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, February 18, 1888, 52.
in 1580. Since then, more and more colonists had gone to the region. Although the most common were British Indian subjects, German merchants, ship captains, and engineers had settled in Zanzibar as well. All the colonists, however, had focused their efforts on Zanzibar itself, meaning the "coast remained as African as from time immemorial." The mission's history served to minimize Zanzibari influence and justify missionary work among the "heathens" of East Africa by claiming they existed in a state of nature untouched by the great monotheistic religions.

All of the different interpretations of East Africa’s history point to tensions Johannes Fabian has identified in explorers’ versions of East Africa. Explorers both envied the success of Arab and Swahili "colonists" and believed in their own European superiority. Their ideas of a clash between Occident and Orient, or between European civilization and African savagery, were complicated by the coexistence of Arab and African populations in the same East African spaces. The Kolonialzeitung’s editor commented on the amazing phenomenon of the spread of Arab influence across Africa through Islam. Islam was the only moral and spiritual force in most of Africa. The Hajj served as a yearly parliament of the world’s Muslims to discuss the issues of the day. It fanaticized the pilgrims, who returned home ready to spread Islam further. Such fanatics were moving

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from Zanzibar to the region of Lake Nyasa and intriguing against Europeans. In Africa, fetishism was Europeans’ natural ally against the influence of Islam.\textsuperscript{181}

With the new focus on the coast, traditional travel writing largely disappeared. Although many of the earlier tropes remained, travelers were no longer quite the lone heroes they had previously been. The editors of \textit{Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission} wrote that one would have to increasingly read reports of Africa travelers critically.\textsuperscript{182} By 1888, a writer from the Leipzig Mission Society could make light of the tropes of earlier travel writing. M. Ittameier, in his history of the first two years of the mission’s work in East Africa, limited his description of the areas in which the society worked to the "so-called wilderness."\textsuperscript{183} Rudolf Hellgrewe’s \textit{Aus Deutsch-Ost-Afrika}, published in 1888, is particularly illustrative of the changes. Hellgrewe was still able to include an introduction reminiscent of earlier writing about travel to East Africa - he wrote about the journey from Germany to the Orient and down to Zanzibar, then across to the mainland in a typical manner - but he was no longer entering the unknown. Hellgrewe rather traveled between outposts of civilization, the DOAG stations. He thought it unnecessary to include extensive written description, as the literature was already "quite well-known" by German readers.\textsuperscript{184} Missing was the fetishized African wilderness that motivated German travelers to Africa and provided the

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\textsuperscript{181} "Wandlungen," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, February 18, 1888, 49-50.
\textsuperscript{184} Rudolf Hellgrewe, "Bilder aus Sansibar," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, February 4, 1888, 36.
\end{flushright}
majority of the material. As he neared the station at Petershöhe, Hellgrewe grew excited, "Finally a piece of primal forest [Urwald]…It surprised me so much that I did not know in that moment where I should begin to paint." The whole day felt like a dream. Hellgrewe’s book was given over largely to his paintings of that forest and the nearby savanna, pictures of the empty landscapes he sought in East Africa.¹⁸⁵ Those landscapes were few and far between, at least on the main travel routes, as the DOAG and other colonial organizations expanded their presence.

By the middle of 1888, there was an extensive evangelical missionary presence in East Africa, totaling 44 mission stations. At the same time, Peters signed treaties with the Holy Ghost Fathers in Zanzibar. The leadership committee voted on 16 April to support missions only so long as they worked in the interests of the DOAG.¹⁸⁶ The thrust of the treaty was to draw Catholic mission work in East Africa into closer line with the nationalist goals the DOAG had laid out for itself. All the mission society’s stations would be regarded as "German Catholic." They would be staffed with German missionaries and teach the German language as soon as possible.¹⁸⁷ The mission agreed to recognize the sovereignty of the DOAG with a promise that the DOAG would not interfere in economic, religious, or school matters at the missions’ stations and that the officials it sent to the stations would be Catholic if possible. Missionaries would


¹⁸⁶ BArch R 8124/7, pag. 90-91.

¹⁸⁷ BArch R 8124/2, pag. 47.
retain all private rights. The DOAG’s leadership agreed to the treaty with the amendment that the mission would "recognize the German East Africa Company in the lawful exercise of sovereign rights over its entire territory," following the London treaty.\textsuperscript{188} The Protestant mission movement was unhappy. An article in the \textit{Reichsbote}, cited by other missionaries, lamented the sad state of affairs that Peters, the son of a Lutheran pastor, was negotiating with a Catholic mission that had raised hardly any money. The \textit{Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift} thought the difficulty was rather that evangelical missionaries were unwilling to sacrifice their beliefs for national goals.\textsuperscript{189}

The treaty with the Holy Ghost Fathers bordered a "German Catholic" space in \textit{Ostafrika}. The DOAG agreed not to interfere in the mission’s affairs, so long as it pursued the company’s national goals and did not interfere in its trade. The mission would serve as the intermediate authority in the areas in which it built missions. The DOAG believed it could further divide the African parts of the colony between Christian confessions. Each mission society could control its own section of \textit{Ostafrika}. But if the company was to turn parts of the colony over to Catholics, it wanted to be sure that those Catholics would not be under the control of a foreigner, like the Archbishop of Carthage and Primate of Africa, Charles Lavigerie.\textsuperscript{190} The Vatican agreed to split its diocese in Zanzibar, creating a South Zanzibar prefecture to placate German protests.\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{188} BArch R 8124/7, pag. 20.\textsuperscript{189} "Missionsrundschau. II. Afrika," \textit{Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift}, 1887, ff. 224-225.\textsuperscript{190} BArch R 8124/7, pag. 1.\textsuperscript{191} Perras, 85.
The East Africa Mission came around to the DOAG’s stance on the importance of the coast by the middle of 1888. An article in its newspaper claimed that the "experiences up to now have taught us that one can only prepare for true lasting success in the interior of East Africa if one has points on the coast at which the newly-sent missionaries from Europe can settle into the climate and all the novelty of Land und Leute." The coastal lease, once signed, would make each coastal port an "open door" for anyone who wanted to go into the African interior. Reinhold Grundemann, a leader of the evangelical mission movement, described Bagamoyo as the "most important entry gate" to the German territory because caravans from the interior used it as an exit point.

The DOAG decided that building a railroad would only make sense with control of the coastal tolls, without which the Sultan of Zanzibar could continue to draw off much of the DOAG’s hoped-for profits. The land ownership situation in the coastal cities posed a quandary for the DOAG. They understood that no such thing as private property, as it was understood by Germans, existed there. Instead, "according to Arab law" all land was held by the Sultan according to the


193 "Die Veränderung der politischen Lage in Ostafrika," Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission, August 1888, 118.


195 Such an approach to indigenous property rights continued to run through German rule in East Africa, see J.M. Lusugga Kironde, "Some Aspects of Land Acquisition for the Purpose of Planning the City of Dar es Salaam during the German Colonial Era (1884-1917)," in Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Afrika: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Peter Sebald, ed. Peter Heine and Ulrich van der Heyden (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995),331.
The concept of *circali*, which made him the "occupant of all land that he had not given away through special treaties." The Sultan's properties that the DOAG wanted to take over were therefore not really his, but rather state property. Negotiations with Zanzibar were essential for the company, its officials thought. "With one blow," the DOAG could "become the mistress of the entire" coastal strip that separated her territories from the sea.  

The DOAG appointed Peters to lead negotiations with Barghash over customs in Dar es Salaam and Pangani. As important as negotiations for customs, in the company’s leadership’s eyes, was Peters’ mission to build a friendly relationship with the Sultanate more generally. Barghash refused to meet with Peters on the grounds that he did not hold state power. He confined his negotiations with Germans to officials from the Foreign Office and representatives from the merchant houses active in Zanzibar before 1884. He tried to use the influence of the Foreign Office to moderate some of the DOAG officials' most egregious behavior. At least one of those merchant representatives, Justus Strandes of Hansing & Co., appeared to value his relationship with Barghash over helping the DOAG. Peters suggested that the drastic step of leaving the

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196 BArch N 2139/72, pag. 2.
197 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 27.
198 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 25; BArch R 8124/7, pag. 11.
London agreement with the United Kingdom might be necessary, as the agreement had guaranteed Barghash’s sovereignty on the coast. Barghash later became amenable to leasing the coast to the DOAG, possibly due to British pressure to lease the coast farther north. But he wanted the company to agree to the condition that it would exercise sovereignty in the name of his sovereign rights.  

The DOAG was handed a bit of good fortune when Said Barghash died in March 1888. It hoped that the negotiations over the coast would be able to reach a “favorable end.” Some members of the colonial lobby held out hope that the new sultan, Barghash’s brother Khalifa bin Said, would end Britain’s protectorate over his realm. One newspaper cited the 1862 treaty between France and Britain that guaranteed Zanzibari sovereignty as an opening for Germany, in which Germans could guarantee Zanzibari independence in exchange for full control of the coast. But not all Germans in East Africa greeted the news with joy. The East Africa Mission thought Barghash had been rather helpful in his dealings with Christians, for a Mohammedan. Nevertheless, negotiations proceeded much more quickly under Khalifa. Khalifa’s position on the mainland was not as strong as Barghash’s had been, and he was unable to continue his brother’s policy of ignoring the DOAG.

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202 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 35, 108.
203 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 79.
204 "Aus unserer Gesellschaft," Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission, April 1888, 50.
The DOAG approved a provisional treaty "as far as our effective rule under the sovereignty of the Sultan [a phrase inserted later] over the coastal strip in front of our territory will be made possible through it" in the middle of September. By the end of the month, however, it wanted to change the terms. The company’s directors were concerned about the sum set for the lease and wanted the sum to be determined by the revenues the company made during its first year running customs. Those concerns continued to cause reservations through December, though Paul Kayser claimed a rational European administration would increase the current customs by thirty percent. Some members, however, expressed concern that the preliminary treaty threatened the company’s very existence. The DOAG’s leadership grew frustrated with the slow pace of negotiations and the lack of progress in cultivation by early 1888. Peters pushed the directors to approve the treaty. There could be no set sum, as the Zanzibaris did not keep exact records. The treaty would meanwhile provide a legal basis for German work on the coast. Under present circumstances, the Sultan of Zanzibar was the internationally "recognized sovereign" of the coast and as such had a right to protest.

Peters wrote that he had designed the DOAG treaty after the British lease of the coast farther north. He had become convinced that the occupation of the entire coast

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205 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 14, 19.
206 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 39.
207 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 27.
208 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 63.
209 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 54.
210 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 1.
was a "conditio sine qua non" for the DOAG’s entire undertaking. Ceding control of the coast "would make us uncompetitive from our Hinterland." He therefore demanded the seven coastal ports for the "success of our company and our Volk." He assured the DOAG’s leadership that he had made the first administrative, economic, and political steps necessary to achieve the company’s great purpose. Finding labor and fertile land would be nothing in comparison.

But as Peters schemed away, the DOAG began making other plans. The no longer saw as its primary purpose the acquisition of territory, rather, it needed to figure out a way to make the territory it had acquired profitable. Peters had failed to attract significant investment in the company’s undertakings. Peters was not acceptable as the DOAG’s lead negotiator. His bombastic style worked fine when the company’s negotiations were with people it did not really consider sovereign, and when the primary purpose of his negotiations was to make metropolitan propaganda, but when the DOAG wanted to negotiate with someone it saw as a sovereign ruler over a sovereign state, it desired a proper diplomat. The DOAG hired Ernst Vohsen, who had served in Zanzibar as part of the chancellor’s diplomatic service, as its new representative. Peters claimed his

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211 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 107-108.

great genius had been blocked, which never would have happened in the British Empire. He wrote that Bismarck had asked him, through the Prussian envoy to the Vatican, Kurd von Schlözer, to ask the pope to limit Catholic missions to Ostafrika and to make sure they did not gain outsized influence over Protestant missions. He claimed that trip cost him his leadership to the DOAG, as the press wrote that he had committed treason by meeting with the head of a foreign state.

The DOAG’s contract with Vohsen described his primary responsibility as beginning trade to prepare for the transfer of the coast to DOAG control. The DOAG’s instructions for Vohsen marked a departure in how the company operated in East Africa. Vohsen was to give up the stations at Korogwe, Kiora, Mafi, and Tanganyika, and at least one Kingani station. No new stations were to be founded until the treaty with Zanzibar was ratified, but Vohsen was to continue testing plantation agriculture and build customs stations. He was also to study linking the coastal towns by steamer to sever their connections to Unguja. He was to leave negotiations with Zanzibar to the Foreign Office’s consul, cementing the status of negotiations as between two states, not private actors. Vohsen should instead concentrate on expanding German influence on the coast, first through treaties with coastal leaders, then move inland to sign further treaties. The

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213 The company also drove Pfeil out around the same time, no longer in need of his expertise in tricking people into signing away their land. Pfeil, Die Erwerbung von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 224.


216 BArch R 8124/2, pag. 78.
217 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 85-87.
treaties should provide for the cultivation of export products, the protection of caravans, support for settlers, and free trade. The Peters-led policies of constant expansion were to end completely, to be replaced by a new style of treaty.\textsuperscript{218} The DOAG’s directors decided to change the language in Vohsen’s instructions at the beginning of February. The "mainland lying across from the island of Zanzibar" was to be replaced by the "so-called coastal area" [\textit{genannten Küstengebieten}], demonstrating a desire to remove Zanzibar as the reference point for conceptualizing the geography of the German colony. The coast, formerly called the Zanzibari mainland, was now to be a floating area severed from its Indian Ocean connections.\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Ostafrika}, at least on the map, would exist as a space disconnected from the Indian Ocean and its history. The colony would be entirely undeveloped and without history in European terms, thus available for whatever forms of exploitation the DOAG wished.

The scientific elements of Vohsen's instructions demonstrate the value attached to science in the making of the German colonial empire. Clove plantations had provided Zanzibar with much of its wealth in the middle of the century and provided a model some members of the DOAG hoped to copy in making \textit{Ostafrika} profitable. Plantation agriculture had also emerged on the coast as a means of supplying demand for foodstuffs and other necessities in Zanzibar.

\textsuperscript{218} BArch R 8124/7, pag. 87-88.
\textsuperscript{219} BArch R 8124/7, pag. 48.
after most of the arable land on Unguja and Pemba were turned over to cloves.\footnote{Abdul Sheriff, \textit{Slaves, Spices, \& Ivory in Zanzibar} (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), 60; Iliffe, 72.} Clove prices, however, had collapsed, and another cash crop would be needed.\footnote{Sheriff, 65; Philippa Söldenwagner, \textit{Spaces of Negotiation: European Settlement and Settlers in German East Africa 1900-1914} (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006); Building colonial economies around plantation agriculture was a popular idea in colonialist circles in late-19th century Germany. See Conrad, 89.} Vohsen and his subordinates tested cotton, coffee, tobacco, tea, vanilla, and nuts on the new plantations.\footnote{Sippel, 471.} Scientific agriculture in \textit{Ostafrika} was an element of what Andrew Zimmerman has identified as an element of establishing German sovereignty in East Africa by constructing East African land as space to be rationalized and cultivated by German agriculture.\footnote{Andrew Zimmerman, "Ruling Africa: Science as Sovereignty in the German Colonial Empire and Its Aftermath," in \textit{German Colonialism in a Global Age}, ed. Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 97-98, 104-105.}

The final form of the lease reserved some power to the Sultan, but the DOAG took most for itself. Khalifa made over "all the power which he possesses on the Mainland" \textit{(mrima)} south of the Umba River to the company. The company was, however, only allotted that power "in His Highness [sic]…and subject to His Highness sovereign rights." Khalifa thus avoided the total cession of sovereignty that the DOAG had sought in its earlier treaties for land. The DOAG received the right to buy public land, raise taxes, appoint commissioners, pass laws and establish courts, make treaties with native chiefs, the right to acquire and regulate unoccupied land, and any other rights
Khalifa possessed, except over his private property.\textsuperscript{224} The company could regulate commerce and travel on the mainland, especially imports. To the Sultan was reserved the right to appoint \textit{qadis}, Islamic judges with jurisdiction over civil matters. The treaty had a term of fifty years. After fifty years all public buildings would revert to Zanzibari control.\textsuperscript{225} On two issues that would become central to Zanzibari-German relationship a few years later, the DOAG acquired the exclusive right to issue bank notes.\textsuperscript{226} The treaty left open the question of the southern border of the included territory. The Sultanate and Portugal had yet to agree on their border, so the DOAG and Khalifa could not decide their own border.\textsuperscript{227} The treaty did set a definition for the \textit{mrima}, however, as the entirety of the African mainland without a more specific meaning. The west was thus completely free for German expansion.\textsuperscript{228} Khalifa was thus forced into permanent direct dealings with DOAG, his lessee, a relationship his brother had tried to avoid in asserting his sovereignty and status as a ruler of equal status to the German Kaiser.

Peters declared the "founding of German East Africa complete. And I did it."\textsuperscript{229} He believed the DOAG had acquired greater concessions than any other

\textsuperscript{224} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 43-44.

\textsuperscript{225} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 44.

\textsuperscript{226} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 44.

\textsuperscript{227} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 45.

\textsuperscript{228} BArch R 8124/2, pag. 46.

\textsuperscript{229} Peters, \textit{Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika}, 163, 170.
European colonial company had acquired to that point. All the "platonic concession" had cost was some money. Otto Arendt, a leading figure in the colonial movement, declared that the German territory in East Africa had "reached its natural borders." Germany now had a "closed-off, important territory" on the Indian Ocean with the "most consequential precondition for its prospering, unhindered access to the coast," now available. Ostafrika was ready to become the German India.\footnote{230} With the treaty, Peters believed the DOAG’s undertaking could follow a more natural course. Pangani, Dar es Salaam, Mpwapwa, and Arusha would no longer be so important. Instead, a rail line from Lindi to Lake Nyasa/Malawi would more quickly become profitable. Inland stations would be less necessary to project strength with the DOAG’s new Arab allies.\footnote{231}

After taking control of the coast, the DOAG made plans for creating an administration there. It wrote the Foreign Office at the beginning of August that it planned to make Dar es Salaam the central point for its customs and other administrations. Its good harbor and good relations with the local population made it the "natural" center for DOAG work. The company planned to build a coaling station in Dar es Salaam, in order to "free the mainland from its dependence on Zanzibar" and the ships of all nations from stopping at Zanzibar for coal.\footnote{232} Vohsen suggested that the DOAG give its station at Korogwe to the plantation company and the stations at Usungula and


\footnote{231} Letter from Peters to DOAG, 31 July 1887, printed in Peters, Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 217-218.

\footnote{232} BArch R 1001/757, pag. 10-11.
Arusha to Catholic missions. The leadership committee agreed, abandoning one of the four main stations on which the DOAG had based its plan in preceding years, at Arusha.²³³

The lease created as many legal problems as it solved. The Foreign Office knew what to make of the newly-leased territory. The GfdK’s initial territory according to the company’s legal argument, to the GfdK as a fully sovereign. The German government could therefore grant protection to the GfdK with no possible impediments on its own sovereignty. The coastal strip was different. The DOAG had only leased the coast from the Sultan of Zanzibar, in whose name the company now administered the coast. If the German government granted protection to the DOAG along the coast, would it then place itself under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar, an obviously problematic relationship. It was unthinkable to late 19th-century Europeans that a European government could at any point be placed under the sovereignty of a non-European power.²³⁴

But then what relationship could the Reich government bear with the DOAG with regards to the coastal strip?

Indians and other British subjects in the coastal strip remained subject to British, not German, law. Jurisdiction over Germans on the coast belonged to the German consul in Zanzibar, not the DOAG. Vohsen saw a future of German courts in the coastal towns with total jurisdiction, with Christian judges applying

²³³ BArch R 8124/7, pag. 100.
²³⁴ BArch R 1001/757, pag. 14.
both European and Islamic law, depending on the case. The DOAG’s leadership committee became concerned about the possibility of conflicting legal regimes in its territory. At the committee’s 7 June meeting, Paul Kayser raised the point that the coast remained under the jurisdiction of consular courts in Zanzibar, while areas to the west were under DOAG jurisdiction. He suggested the company discuss the issue with the regime, as it was better avoid disputes between different legal regimes across the border. Perhaps the regime could take control of the jurisdiction of the entire Schutzgebiet.

Kayser further suggested two new laws, one to secure the DOAG’s rights to all public and unoccupied land in the coastal territory, and one to require DOAG approval for all land sales. The Foreign Office prepared laws for the jurisdiction of the coast in July 1888.

The lease agreement had given the DOAG nominal control over the coast, fulfilling the conditions it believed necessary for further development. But, as with the rest of the colony, political realities on the ground did not match the company’s expectations. The expected Swahili administrative elite did not immediately become part of the colonial project, and the DOAG’s actions in collecting tolls soon provoked an armed insurrection against its rule. That insurrection, and the German response to it, will be covered in chapter 5.

235 Sippel, 475-479.
236 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 96.
237 BArch R 8124/7, pag. 99.
CHAPTER 5 – THE BUSHIRI WAR AND EMIN PASHA EXPEDITIONS

Twin crises dominated German thinking about East Africa between 1888 and 1891. The more pressing crisis was the Bushiri War in the cities of the Swahili coast, started by local elites challenging the German East Africa Company’s (DOAG) overzealous attempts to collect the tolls it had licensed from the Sultan of Zanzibar. The second crisis was the deteriorating position of Emin Pasha, a German who had been serving in the British imperial service as governor of the province of Equatoria. For the first time in Germany’s colonial history, African actors directly challenged German fantasies of simple colonial rule on the African continent, forcing some German colonists to reconsider those fantasies. Bushiri’s forces and the invaders of Equatoria refused to respect the claims to sovereignty that the DOAG had made through its treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar or Emin Pasha’s claim to the authority of the prime minister of Egypt to rule Equatoria. Pleas for help from these German figures, produced an upsurge in metropolitan discussions of German involvement in East Africa, and in overseas empire more generally. The German colonial lobby mobilized around the two crises as it never had before.

The German responses to the crises created a new basis for German conceptions of the nation’s East African colony and its people. Media attention to the two crises mobilized a larger segment of the German public around colonial affairs than had ever before taken an interest in overseas empire. The German government, in the case of the Bushiri War, and private colonial enthusiasts, in the case of Emin Pasha, organized expeditions to meet the crises and resolve them to what they each saw as Germany’s
advantage. The government organized a military expedition against Bushiri, at the head of which it appointed Captain Hermann Wissmann. Wissmann's expedition quickly defeated Bushiri’s forces and Bushiri's allies and reinforced the DOAG's claims along the coast. To rescue Emin Pasha, a committee of eminent colonial enthusiasts dug Carl Peters out of mothballs to march at the head of an expedition to Equatoria. Peters did not find Emin (a rival expedition under Henry Morton Stanley beat him to Equatoria), so he changed his colonial method back to his approach in 1884. He created treaties to claim territory. Wissmann's conquest of the coast, and Peters' search for Emin, then treaties, in the interior solidified the distinction between Arab coast and African interior in the colonial border imaginary.

The Peters and Wissmann expeditions form the key moment in the development of the colonial border imaginary in East Africa. Not only was the government’s involvement with the Wissmann expedition its first direct colonial action, but it also became the basis for the government’s assumption of control of the colony from the DOAG and the ways in which it administered the colony. The Peters expedition similarly shaped German rule in the interior of the colony. The twin crises combined to create a crisis of sovereignty, a "state of exception," in which German colonists in East Africa were able to define sovereignty in the colony. Through the two expeditions, the basis of German claims to sovereignty in Ostafrika became the protection of African bodies from the Arab slave trade. The emergency measures invented to assert German sovereignty over East African race and space became quotidian elements of the administration of
German East Africa. Wissmann and Peters had the opportunity to create new ways of thinking about East Africa among metropolitan Germans. Each expedition, both its leaders and its backers, took a different approach to the ways in which it defined the spaces and races that it encountered. The German East African colony of 1891 looked significantly different from the one of 1888. When the dust settled after the chaos of the two expeditions, the form of German rule in East Africa had taken shape. By 1891, the German colonial apparatus in East Africa had developed in some detail its approaches to the Sultan of Zanzibar, the people living in the German territory, and to East African space that structured German rule thereafter.

I use Giorgio Agamben’s concept of the "state of exception" from contemporary sovereignty studies to explore ways in which German imperialists in East Africa were able to redefine the spaces and people over which they attempted to rule. Agamben develops the concept of the state of exception, a moment when the sovereign suspends the rule, to explore the slow, invisible transition from temporary to permanent emergency measures in the United States after the September 11th attacks. According to Agamben, the American state coerced its subjects into accepting new norms, in the process binding life within the legal order to make it possible to regulate life through it. The emergency measures instituted as part of the "War on Terror" gave the government new scope for controlling life within and without its borders, all through legal means. Emergency measures that the government claimed were to be temporary never went away and

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became the structure for the government's control over biological life. Through emergency measures, the American government was able to redefine what aspects of society could be subject to state regulation. The institution of the state of exception into German rule in East Africa is what set the new German colonialism apart from earlier thinking about the area.

Through their responses to the crises of 1888, members of the Emin Pasha Committee, the Foreign Office, and missionary organizations, as well as the members of the expeditions, created a new basis for German rule in East Africa. The organizers of both expeditions imagined them as measures to protect Africans from the ravages of the "Mohammedan" slave trade. The basis of German sovereignty in East Africa, then, became the control of the "bare life" of the colony's African subjects from a perceived external enemy. Though Peters attempted to regain the focus on Land, the two expeditions of the end of the 1880s were the triumph of the Foreign Office and missionary vision of the relationship between Land and Leute. The German administration in Ostafrika would focus on remaking the colony's people.

What unified the two strands of German East African Empire was a shared construction of Islam as the root cause of slavery in Africa and the problems that both expeditions faced. Both tapped into the surge of interest in ending the slave trade that swept across Europe in the late 1880s, particularly among Catholics. The Catholic Primate of Africa, Charles Lavigerie, had called for a crusade to completely eliminate the slave trade and organized a conference in Cologne in October 1888. Through the Wissmann and Peters expeditions, German colonists in East Africa constructed their
efforts in opposition to Islam and the "Arab" population of East Africa. The Wissmann expedition clearly defined the territory it entered as a former Arab colony, and the people he was fighting as an "Arab party," though they were a mix of people from the coast. Peters designed his expedition, particularly after Stanley beat him to Equatoria, as a way to stop the spread of Arab influence and slavery into Central Africa. The constellation of "Arabs" and "Africans" that came out of the two expeditions was one based on cultural ideas of race, rather than biological. Neither expedition directly fought people German anthropologists would have racially defined as Arabs, yet both were centrally concerned with fighting Arab culture.

That concern fundamentally defined the German empire in East Africa as opposition to an Arab empire. Earlier German efforts in East Africa had produced a careful bordering of the Sultan of Zanzibar's empire; the Peters and Wissmann expeditions brought the German empire in the area into direct conflict with the Sultan's. Both Peters and Wissmann imagined their tasks to be to reduce the influence of Arabs and Islam in East Africa. There is a striking difference between the ways in which Germans, both in East Africa and in the metropole, wrote about the Bushiri war and what happened on the ground. Jonathon Glassman has convincingly shown that the Bushiri war was the last major incident in a history of contesting foreign rule among the people of the Swahili coast.¹ Bushiri drew on long-standing resentments among the people of the coast to organize military forces to fight against what they perceived as overly aggressive actions by the DOAG to collect tolls. German observers, however, imagined the war as a

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rebellion of an "Arab party" set on protecting Arab interests in East Africa. Peters, having failed to find Emin Pasha before Henry Morton Stanley made it to Equatoria, redirected his expedition to staving off the power and influence of Arabs and Muslims in Buganda.

At the same time, the two expeditions presented drastically different visions of what Germany's relationship to that empire was. The Wissmann expedition claimed to be taking over territory that had belonged to the Sultan of Zanzibar, substituting German empire for Arab empire while leaving the basic structure intact. Wissmann struggled against where the government drew that border as he argued for an expansion of his operations to Tanga, hundreds of miles to the west, but his rhetoric in making that argument remained the replacement of an extant Arab empire with a German one. Peters claimed his expedition could stop the spread of Islam into the Great Lakes region. His vision of Arab empire had not yet reached that far into the interior; the German presence in the Great Lakes could prevent its spread and keep the area safe for the promulgation of Christianity. Peters thereby tapped into the same concerns among missionaries and their supporters as Bismarck had. The Emin Pasha Expedition promised to serve a similar purpose in the elimination of the Arab slave trade and the opening of East Africa for Christianity. The colonial border imaginary was not set in stone when the dust from the expeditions settled, but the expeditions narrowed the constraints of what was possible for German conceptualizations of East African spaces to the visions of their directors.

Peters' expedition exemplifies and was the last major action of a vision of German colonial conquest based on control over Land. "Saving" Emin Pasha became a cause célèbre in 1886, when letters that Emin sent to Zanzibar through his friend Wilhelm
Junker were published in Europe. Born Eduard Schnitzer, Emin had worked for the British in the Sudan, in whose service he was sent south to Buganda to negotiate with local leaders in 1876. He was cut off from a return north when Muhammad Ahmad, known in Europe as the "Mahdi," conquered parts of the southern Sudan in the early 1880s. Finding Emin and bringing him back to Europe served little immediate purpose for the German colonial movement; Peters' expedition was aimed at achieving fantastical long-term goals in the African interior. The Emin Pasha Committee, a branch of the German Colonial Society organized specifically for the purpose of dragging Emin out of Africa, argued that Emin had special knowledge of how to rule Africa. Bringing him into German service would therefore provide the German colonial movement with knowledge of Africa that no other European power possessed, giving Germany an advantage in the colonial race. The Emin Pasha Committee claimed that Emin could bring Central Africa along with him into the possession of whatever nation saved him from his plight. Thus saving Emin meant fulfilling the wildest German colonial fantasies about the African interior. Peters' and Joachim Pfeil's 1884-85 fantasies of themselves as the lonely European conquerors of vast, empty African spaces returned in the form of Emin. In the committee's public campaign, Emin had already singlehandedly taken control of Equatoria and begun the civilization of the Great Lakes.4

The Wissmann expedition was in some ways a more radical break with the past for the German colonial movement. The Bushiri War began when Abushiri ibn Salim al-

Harthi, a planter from Tanga, and his militia began their military campaign against the presence of the private German East Africa Company (DOAG), which was forced to ask the German state for assistance in defeating the rebels. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had avoided direct involvement in colonial ventures through the middle of the 1880s; the government’s previous involvement in East Africa had been to provide a letter of protection for the DOAG and to help it to negotiate a private treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar. Defeating Bushiri’s forces required an eventual government outlay of 4.5 million marks, money that Bismarck had to convince the Reichstag to provide.\(^5\) His first step was a blockade of the coast to prevent the importation of weapons. When that was unsuccessful, the Foreign Office organized Wissmann's military expedition. With the blockade and the Wissmann expedition, the government for the first time committed state resources to ensuring the survival of the German overseas empire. In its aftermath, the government made a formal commitment to the empire through the Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty with the United Kingdom. The financial outlay and Wissmann's position as a government official, rather than a private official of the DOAG, made the Wissmann expedition the first German state-directed colonial project. As such, it was a forerunner of the Kaisercsreich's later state-directed imperial military campaigns in Africa, China, and the South Pacific. State-directed initiatives became central to all German colonial projects subsequent to the Wissmann expedition.

The coexistence of two such disparate visions of what empire could and should be highlights the lack of uniformity and the centrality of the Land/Leute debate in the

German colonization of Africa. The government and the Emin Pasha committee presented alternative visions of the future of German East Africa, both to colonists there and to the metropolitan public through the colonial press. The 1889 crises around Bushiri and Emin Pasha brought those two strands of German colonialism, the state-centered, *Leute*-focused variety of Wissmann, and the private, *Land*-focused fantasies of the Peters, together into one colonial project in East Africa. Both expeditions claimed as one of their primary goals the elimination of the "Arab slave trade" in Central and East Africa. They did both take significant steps toward fulfilling that goal, but became embroiled in a series of other political issues that bore little or no relation to the slave trade. Wissmann and the other leaders of his operation soon focused their attention on reopening the caravan routes between the coast and the Great Lakes, only without the slaves that had been one of the primary wares traded. The immediate need for the expedition to pay for itself, especially as its expenses ran way over budget, necessitated a recovery of the DOAG's economic position in the coastal trading cities. Peters' expedition was never expected to pay immediate dividends. Rather, Emin's experience in Central Africa would deliver a huge swath of territory to the German Empire, ensuring the long-term financial success of the German East African venture.

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6 Divisions within the German colonial movement were certainly not new, as was apparent in the rivalry between Peters' GfdK and the larger Deutsche Kolonialverein (DKV) through 1884 and 1885. The DKG-GfdK rivalry, which also played out in the press, was in some ways served as forerunner for Peters' rivalries with government-directed empire. The Kolonialgesellschaft noted used Bismarck's approval as a measuring stick for what was "most German," demonstrating the same chauvinistic tendencies of the GfdK and DOAG. "Praktische Kolonialpolitik," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 11 (1886): 358; "In eigener Sache," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 12 (1886): 390. The GfdK merged with the DKG to form the Deutscher Kolonialgesellschaft (DKG) in 1887. "Deutscher Kolonialverein," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 3, no. 7 (1886): 193-194; "Bericht über die Vertreter-Sitzung vom 20. Dezember 1887," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 7, 1888, 2.
The two expeditions also established Germany's diplomatic relationships in East Africa and the international bordering of East African space through the colonial period. Supporters of the Emin Pasha expedition designed it for direct competition with a British expedition to find Emin, led by Henry Morton Stanley. The Stanley expedition, after a series of disasters and almost total collapse, succeeded in finding Emin and bringing him to the Indian Ocean coast. That success, and later controversy surrounding Stanley’s actions, meant that the Stanley expedition has been subjected to more historical scholarship than has the Peters expedition. Daniel Liebowitz and Charles Pearson argue that the Stanley expedition was the last of the great European journeys of exploration on the African continent. In its aftermath, the fact that there were no more large swaths of territory to be explored and Stanley's scandalous handling of his second column combined to end an era of the colonization of Africa. Earlier historians share the consensus that the British Emin Pasha expedition marked the end of the Scramble for Africa. There has been relatively little scholarship on the Peters expedition.7

The Peters expedition became a rallying point for German nationalism and colonial rivalries. Arne Perras, in his biography of Peters, argues that the expedition "marked the first significant incident in which the government was confronted with a nationalist opposition."8 The expedition certainly was the first time a German colonial

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effort directly challenged the state. It did not, however, mark a new era in the German colonization of Africa. The Peters expedition and the general German obsession over Emin Pasha in the late 1880s demonstrate continuities between earlier German "colonial fantasies" and the "New Imperialism" that followed it. The expedition returned earlier tropes of empire to prominence and ensured a place for those older imperial ideas in the future of the German African Empire. Peters had disappeared from the colonial scene in the previous few years, as the DOAG had little use for him as a propagandist and rabble rouser, but the Emin Pasha expedition called for a resuscitation of the filibuster model of empire.

Emin Pasha

The figure at the center of the crisis in Equatoria, Emin Pasha, was born as Eduard Schnitzer in Oppeln, Silesia in 1845. Oppeln was at that point a part of the Prussian territories acquired in the partition of Poland, making Schnitzer a Prussian by birth. After studies at three Prussian universities and passing qualifying exams to become a physician in 1864, Schnitzer moved south to the Mediterranean, where he hoped to enter the service of the Ottoman Empire. His interest in the Ottoman Empire and service in the Orient was part of a relatively common pre-colonial German obsession

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10 Peters' first downfall was driven in part by the Sultan of Zanzibar's refusal to negotiate with him, prompting the DOAG to send a new official with some idea of diplomacy in Peters' place.


12 Schweitzer, 33.
with the Orient in the nineteenth century. Ismaïl Hakki Pasha, governor of northern Albania, brought Schnitzer into his staff on 1870 after the young doctor had formed extensive connections and a reputation for good work in the province. His position required him to travel to different parts of the Ottoman Empire, and Schnitzer became something of a linguist in his travels around the Mediterranean. After a short return to Silesia following Ismaïl Hakki Pasha’s death, Schnitzer moved to Cairo. He eventually wound his way down to Khartoum in 1875. There he began building a reputation for himself in Europe as a naturalist. He collected plants and animals, especially birds, including specimens of animals that had never before been seen in Europe, and sent them to European museums. It was in Khartoum that Schnitzer took on the name Mehemet Emin, though it is not entirely clear why. Emin's renaming, and his work in both the Ottoman and the British imperial service, demonstrate the fluidity of imperialism in the era before and during the Scramble for Africa. Emin could take on a new identity and was not tied down by his nationality, which would not be the case for imperialists of the next generation.

In the mid-1870s, Emin appeared to be a leading light in a growing field of German Orientalism. He exemplifies German orientalists' willingness to work alongside

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13 Schnitzer was just one of many Germans, both academic and practical, who devoted themselves to Orientalist study. See, for example, Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2004); Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London: Routledge, 2009); Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Washington: German Historical Institute, 2009).

14 Schweitzer, 73.

15 Schweitzer, 99-100.

16 Schweitzer, 110.
"Oriental" people as kin, in contrast to British and French Orientalists' tendency to always treat them as Other.\textsuperscript{17} He had moved to the Mediterranean and become involved in colonial affairs, not as the vanguard of a western European empire, but as an official of the Ottoman Empire with no German title. He had advanced in Ottoman service because of his skills at his position, particularly his language skills. Emin took on an identity as a Turk who had been educated in Germany (presumably to excuse his German accent), not exactly the stuff of a good German national legend.\textsuperscript{18} As he moved into Africa, however, that aspect of Emin's position changed.

Emin’s reputation as a naturalist and a linguist came to the attention of Charles Gordon, then governor of the province of Equatoria.\textsuperscript{19} Established in 1870, Equatoria contained the southern part of what is today South Sudan and the northern part of today’s Uganda. Equatoria was technically a province of Egypt, in whose name the British ruled, and its officials held posts under the nominal authority of the Egyptian government. The khedive of Egypt hoped the province would expand his influence up the Nile and bring ivory, gold, and slaves down it. He claimed that the Egyptian presence in the south would eliminate the slave trade in the region, and chose British officers for his expeditions to Equatoria to establish his bona fides among European colonial powers as a true warrior.

\textsuperscript{17} Suzanne Marchand, \textit{German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship} (Washington: German Historical Institute, 2009); Nicholas Germana, \textit{The Orient of Europe: The Mythical Image of India and Competing Images of German National Identity} (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).


\textsuperscript{19} Schweitzer, 110.
Expeditions under Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon successfully established an African empire for Egypt. From Equatoria, the Khedive hoped to redirect Uganda's trade north along the Nile from its previous route to the Indian Ocean. The British administration of Equatoria became entangled in local politics and was unable to assert much control over the area.

Gordon hired Emin onto his staff as chief medical officer in 1876. Other Germans had served in Equatoria before, among them Friedrich Bohndorff and Josef Menges. Emin’s first task in that position was to lead a diplomatic delegation to Mtesa, the king of Uganda. Emin became Gordon’s chief lieutenant in the south of Equatoria thereafter. He was the first European to reach both Lake Victoria and Lake Albert, and Gordon thought him more competent than his other officers. Emin was the primary figure in negotiations with the Kingdom of Buganda that laid the groundwork for the later British protectorate over the kingdom. When Gordon was promoted to governor of the Sudan in 1878, the Khedive of Egypt appointed Emin to succeed him as governor of

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20 Moore-Harrell, 12.
21 Ibid, 17.
22 Ibid, 76, 133-134.
23 Ibid, 181-182.
24 Ibid, 96.
25 Schweitzer, 110.
26 Moore-Harrell, 175.
27 Moore-Harrell, 182.
Equatoria. 28 This promotion included the bestowal of the title, "Bey" to Emin, who thenceforth went by "Emin Bey." 29 Emin, though he was an Egyptian official, became a part of the European conquest of Central Africa in the late nineteenth century.

Emin could well have disappeared from the narrative of the European colonization of Africa in 1885 with little notice. When Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi, attacked the Sudan, took Khartoum and killed Gordon in 1884, he cut Emin off from contact with Europe. 30 Emin was a relatively minor figure in the European colonization of Africa to that point. He was the governor of a province, but that province was not especially important to the British Empire and he was clearly subordinate to Gordon, the star of that empire in Africa. 31 Most European concern about Muhammad Ahmad’s conquests in 1885 focused on the fall of the Sudan and Gordon’s death, not on the governor of Equatoria. Emin's plight was certainly not a topic of much discussion in Germany, as Emin had been working for the British Empire and had not built much of a reputation outside of the community of naturalists to whom he had been sending samples of Equatorian fauna. The director of the ethnographic branch of the royal museum in

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28 Schweitzer, 145.

29 Schweitzer, 146.

30 Schweitzer, 235.

31 Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon* (London: Continuum, 2002). Evidence of Emin's lack of renown can be found in the German colonial lobby's first notes of his plight. His name is frequently misspelled as "Schnitzler," and little or no notice is made of his position as governor. "Die Aufsuchung der Reisenden Junker, Schnitzler und Casati," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 3, no. 14 (1886): 427.
Berlin wrote to the Foreign Office of the need to save Emin in 1885, but otherwise no one made much fuss.\footnote{BArch R 1001/268, pag. 1-4. The director told the Foreign Office that saving Emin was a "humanitarian" cause and that it could also have commercial and scientific value through the exploration of the "East African Lakes Region."}

Emin’s case came to light in Western Europe the next year through letters carried out of Equatoria by the German explorer Wilhelm Junker.\footnote{Schweitzer, 387-388.} Junker passed Emin's letters on to Georg Schweinfurth, a German botanist living in Cairo who had become famous in Europe for his travels in Central Africa years earlier. Schweinfurth wrote to German and other Western European newspapers about the letters and some of the newspapers published excerpts therefrom.\footnote{Schweitzer, 388-389.} In the letters, Emin pleaded for assistance from Europe in fighting off forces from the north, which he claimed were part of the Mahdi's attempt to drive Europeans out of Africa. He was low on ammunition and gunpowder, and in need of some larger artillery pieces. The Khedive of Egypt gave Emin the title of "Pasha" in December 1886, and dismissed him from his post, leaving him free to abandon the province.\footnote{PA AA London 375.439.} His letters make clear, however, that Emin intended to remain in Equatoria. He wanted help fighting off the invaders, not to be "rescued." The European public was still stirred up from Gordon’s death; the news that one of his lieutenants was still alive, and asking for help, captured imaginations across the continent.\footnote{Liebowitz and Pearson, 16-17.} British and German voices were raised as to the importance of saving Emin to keep European civilization
alive in Africa. Emin's cousin Georg Schweitzer described the popular mood as "a storm of outcry through the entire German and through the foreign press." An old friend of Emin's, Ernst Schulze, now a school inspector in Pomerania, described him colorfully, as "desert king, lord over dark Moors, who was lost from the light of Europe into the night of the Sudan." Children spoke on the streets of Germany about Emin as he became a figure of popular legend. The geographical society of Madrid made Emin an honorary member.

Henry Morton Stanley was the first to organize a way to help Emin. Stanley, renowned as the greatest explorer of Africa of the day after his successful search for David Livingstone and travels up the Congo in the service of the King of Belgium, put together a massive expedition to bring Emin out of Equatoria and to Britain. Stanley’s plan involved secret agreements with British organizations, the King of Belgium, and important local figures to take a ship up the Congo, find Emin in Equatoria, and bring him to the Swahili coast through the German sphere of influence in East Africa. Failing that, he hoped to resupply Emin so that Emin could rule Equatoria for either the King of Belgium or the British East Africa Company. Stanley, always a great publicist for himself, constructed a grand public narrative for his expedition. Although Stanley

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37 BArch N 2063/6, pag. 2.
38 BArch N 2063/8, pag. 2.
39 BArch N 2063/8, pag. 4.
40 BArch N 2063/8, pag. 5.
41 Liebowitz and Pearson.
42 Ibid., 19.
claimed the expedition would cost only 20,000 pounds, it included over 700 men, all with the equipment and provisions they would need for several months, plus extra munitions for the relief of Emin.\textsuperscript{43} He planned for the trip to take less than a year, from his departure in January 1887, to his arrival on the Indian Ocean in December of the same year.\textsuperscript{44}

Stanley’s expedition ran into problems almost immediately and nearly collapsed several times. Stanley did not plan for the difficulties of traveling on the Upper Congo, did not bring sufficient transportation or supplies for his entire expedition, and instigated attacks from many of the people he encountered along the way. He tended to shed members of the expedition whenever they or their loads began to slow it down, so he was left with a skeleton crew when he did finally found Emin in April 1888, over a year after he had landed on the west coast. His "rescue force" was so small by the point, however, that Stanley decided to turn back and try to bring more men and supplies forward so as not to embarrass himself when he met Emin. When the two did finally meet, on 29 April 1888, Stanley’s forces were too weak to bring Emin out to Indian Ocean coast. At that point, Stanley had been gone for almost a year and a half, no one in Europe knew where he was, and many people feared he, and the other British members of the expedition, had died along the way.\textsuperscript{45}

With no news from Stanley, and the possibility (hope) he had failed in mind, the German colonial lobby began agitating for a German expedition to save Emin Pasha. Carl von der Heydt, a member of the DOAG's board of directors, organized a committee to

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 57-58.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 58.

\textsuperscript{45} Liebowitz and Pearson.
begin planning for such an expedition. Von der Heydt approached Carl Peters about leading the expedition, and a plan to raise a subscription of 300,000 marks to finance it, in February of 1888. Peters, eager for the opportunity to return to the forefront of the German colonial movement, accepted at once. His brother led the campaign through the Nuremberg branch of the German Colonial Society (DKG) to get the support of the colonial movement as a whole. Von der Heydt and his committee believed that, if they could quickly organize an expedition and bring Emin out of Equatoria, they could possibly get not only the glory of saving Emin, but also that of saving Stanley as well. On 18 July, 1888 the German Emin Pasha Committee, as Heydt and his associates named their new organization, appointed Hermann Wissmann as joint leader of the expedition, alongside Peters. The committee officially announced its formation and its subscription plan at a meeting on 17 September 1888, now calling for 400,000 marks rather than 300,000. Soon thereafter, the committee began advertising itself and asking for money in the German colonial press.

Hermann Wissmann, Peters’ co-leader of the expedition in the planning stages, though less prominent a figure than Peters, was still well-known in colonial circles. He had been a Prussian army lieutenant in the 1870s, then took a leave of absence from the army to try his hand at the exploration of Africa. He had marched across the continent from Angola to the Indian Ocean between 1880 and 1883, and across the continent again in 1886 and 1887, but he had not reached the same levels of self-promotion as had Peters:

\[46\] Peters, NLDA, 3.  
\[47\] Peters, NLDA, 4-5.
he did not publish a book-length account of his exploits until 1888. What Wissmann had to offer that none of the other prominent German explorers of Africa had was his military background, which might prove useful for helping Emin fight off the invaders of Equatoria. The German expedition to Equatoria was set to take a quicker route than Stanley’s so as to beat him to Emin, if he was still alive. That route ran west from the DOAG territory on the Swahili coast through Maasai territory, and through areas no European had ever been. Africa experts believed the Maasai to be particularly warlike and a possible threat to any expedition through their territory. Wissmann offered the best chance of fighting back.

Wissmann was one of the leading anti-slavery campaigners of the day. He had published two books about his expeditions across Africa in 1888, in which he described for readers the horrors of the slave trade. His account of his 1886/7 expedition from the mouth of the Congo east to Quelimane on the Indian Ocean, although not published until 1890, makes Wissmann's conception of slavery abundantly clear. The book's frontispiece is an inset portrait of Wissmann over a drawing of a man in Arab costume holding a chain. Before the chain holder, at the bottom of the frame, is cowering a black African

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49 Although Wissmann had only been a lieutenant, none of the alternatives had any sort of official military training.

50 Jutta Bückendorf, "Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!" *Deutsche Kolonialpläne und afrikanische Realität* (Münster: Lit, 1997), 86.

man with the chain wound around his neck. A picture later in the book depicts a slave raid in progress. While their soldiers shoot African villagers armed only with shield and spear in the background, men in Arab dress attach chains to the necks of the village's women, wearing nothing but skirts. One woman flees toward the viewer in terror.

Another picture shows Said, the leader of a party of slave raiders, using slaves chained together for pistol practice. The book also includes a picture of a slave caravan. Men in Arab dress drive on slaves lashed together by the neck. The two most prominent slaves are a woman carrying an infant and walking a toddler, and a man who has fallen by the wayside, apparently dead. The reader is confronted with a clear message that the story of travel in Africa is one of slavery above all else. Arab slavery appears particularly cruel and brutal, particularly to the most vulnerable people in Africa.

The ways in which the German Emin Pasha committee made its case for rescuing Emin is telling for understanding German colonial enthusiasm in the 1880s. The committee not only had to make the case that Emin was worth the effort to rescue, but also that there should be an expensive German expedition even though there was already a British expedition with a two-year head start and far greater resources. The committee argued that saving Emin was a national duty because of Emin’s German background. In newspaper articles and speeches, committee members repeatedly stressed Emin’s

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upbringing in Silesia and his membership in the Lutheran church (though some opponents of the expedition claimed he had converted to Islam while in Ottoman service). Schultze reminisced to Emin about their days together at the Stammtisch and waving the liberal black, red, and gold flag.\textsuperscript{56} Georg Schweinfurth, the botanist in Cairo who had provided the impetus to "rescue" Emin in the first place, led the propaganda campaign. He described the need to save Emin as a national duty to a fellow German. As Schweinfurth put it, Emin "is truly one of us, a German, a Prussian." An expedition to save Emin could have long lasting consequences for Germany in Africa, as "Germany is honored through Emin. His work is our pride and, if it goes on, an undying glory. Every German heart must beat higher with the thought: he alone, he, the German, was able to hold onto his position in Africa."\textsuperscript{57} Schweinfurth described Emin as a lone German holding together all civilization in Central Africa through individual talent and initiative, a veritable one-man empire. By himself, he was holding off the incursions of the Muslim troops of the Mahdi, preventing the growth of Islam in Central Africa.

The Emin Pasha Committee relied heavily on the Catholic Primate of Africa and Cardinal of Algiers, Charles Lavigerie's, campaign to eliminate the slave trade. Lavigerie spoke in St. Sulpice in Paris in July 1888 on the slave trade. The cardinal described the horrors of slave raids and the trade for his audience. "Mohammedan" slave raiders were dragging almost 400,000 people out of Central Africa each year, leaving a trail of

\textsuperscript{56} BArch N 2063/8, pag. 2-3.

\textsuperscript{57} BArch R 1001/250, pag. 116.
destruction in their wake.\footnote{\(\text{"Das Auftreten des Kardinal Lavigerie und die Araberfrage,\" Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, August 25, 1888, 266-268.}\)} Lavigerie called together a conference in Cologne on 27 October 1888 to discuss the movement, which had captured the imaginations of Catholics and other concerned parties in Germany. The leading propagandist of the early German colonialist movement, Friedrich Fabri, spoke. He declared that efforts to that point had accomplished "almost nothing." He lamented Stanley's presumed death, praised the German Emin Pasha Expedition, and called for a Belgian expedition to fight slavery.\footnote{BArch R 1001/708, pag. 67.}

The \textit{National Zeitung} explicitly connected the expedition with Lavigerie's campaign. Saving Emin offered the chance to "hinder slave raids in the interior and thereby grab the evil by the roots."\footnote{BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 83.}

Though it would serve the international community, saving Emin from his perilous situation in Equatoria promised the prize of that empire to the successful power. As the Emin Pasha committee described the situation, whoever rescued Emin would receive Equatoria in return. A successful German expedition "would close off a larger Hinterland of trade for German East Africa and certainly also serve as a rich field for scientific research on the Dark Continent," thereby expanding the colony's reach far into the west.\footnote{BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 9.} Emin was therefore a key piece in Germany’s imperial rivalry with the United Kingdom, as his rescuer "would receive all the trade of Central Africa."\footnote{BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 21.} The committee
tried to stir up the rhetoric and the emotions of the Scramble for Africa, emphasizing the fact that Equatoria was one of the few places left on the continent to which Germany could make a plausible claim. It is clear from the pro-expedition press that the committee and much of the German colonial lobby saw imperialism in Africa as a zero-sum game in which what mattered was control of Land. The only thing that mattered for deciding that game was control of territory. At the same time, there was a certain cognizance of the United Kingdom as the pre-eminent European power in Africa. The committee cited fact that the British had already put together an expedition to support the idea that rescuing Emin would be valuable for German colonial interests. 63

The German state, however, wanted nothing to do with the expedition and rejected the idea that Emin could deliver Equatoria to his rescuer. Although the Kaiser sent his "sympathy," the government repeatedly refused the committee’s request for assistance outright, saying it did not have the resources to support an expedition with no clear benefits. 64 Additionally, some advocates of the expedition attempted to lobby the government directly. Count Arco, the Foreign Office consul in Cairo, had met with Junker in 1887 and told his superiors that Emin's situation was "critical." 65 He received no response. Otto Schmidt-Leda, a Foreign Office diplomat, wrote from Cairo that a successful expedition "would no doubt raise the prestige of whoever undertook it in the eyes of the native races and perhaps open wide perspectives for relations with Central

63 BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 81.
64 BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 31.
65 PA AA London 375.483.
Africa." He tied the success of an expedition to the success of the entire German venture in East Africa, as well as the entire "progress of civilization." Not helping Emin would only mean "the strengthening of the Mohammedan elements." Emin's ivory would also help East Africa economically. The government claimed that any request for funds had no chance of making it through opponents in the Reichstag, so it was not even worth asking. A budget that the committee sent to the government that estimated the total costs of the expedition at 600,000 marks did not make its case any easier. The two sides argued back and forth in a series of newspaper articles over the course of 1888 in which each side made its case for or against the expedition. As the government saw things, the expedition was not worth the investment for a many reasons. The reasons ranged from the practical, such as the fact that the expedition promised no clear long-term benefits to Germany, Stanley had along long head start in looking for Emin, that it would antagonize the British government for no real reason, and that no one knew what Emin would do once relief arrived, to the fantastical, like a claim that Emin had converted to Islam and was therefore not useful for preventing the spread of Islam in the region. Though at least one member of the Foreign Office thought that Tippu Tip's participation in the Stanley expedition might increase the power of Zanzibar in the African interior, it decided that was not enough reason to attempt an intervention. Kuno zu Rantzau, a long-time foreign ministry official and Bismarck’s son-in-law, recommended to

66 PA AA London 375.422.
67 BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 31.
68 BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 38.
69 PA AA R London 376.114.
Bismarck that such a "private" matter was not the concern of the government, advice Bismarck cited in refusing the committee request.\textsuperscript{70}

The committee had been raising money from the private sources since its initial subscription asking for 300,000 marks, but it explicitly turned to private funders after the government refused to support the expedition. It made certain not to reference rejection as the reason for doing so.\textsuperscript{71} Although the committee’s budget asking for governmental support had estimated the expedition’s costs at 600,000 marks, it asked for only 400,000 from the public.\textsuperscript{72} Thus, from an early stage, the German Emin Pasha expedition was scheduled to operate on a shoestring budget that would not cover everything the expedition should have had, by its own leaders’ estimation. The committee did succeed in raising the money, drawing on the large colonial lobby in Germany involved in interest group politics. Branches of the DKG and individual members from around Germany (and from Germans in Russia and the United Kingdom) sent in money, from 4 marks to 25,000.\textsuperscript{73} Other members volunteered for military service in the expedition, only to be rebuked by the DKG, which did not want an army of Germans.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{70} BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 60.

\textsuperscript{71} None of the speeches or articles asking for financial assistance reference the rejection. Peters ignores the period between his appointment and the push for private funding almost entirely in his account of the preparations for the expedition.

\textsuperscript{72} Peters, \textit{NLDA}, 8.


\textsuperscript{74} BArch R 8023/853, pag. 106-123.
funding made the Emin Pasha expedition a solidly private venture, an initiative to build a private empire in Central Africa. Previously, colonial subscriptions had aimed at raising money to form organizations or for broad goals. This subscription marked an important milestone in German colonial history as the first time that a private organization raised a significant amount of money for a specific mission or expedition.⁷⁵

Though they were making an argument for private imperialism, Schweinfurth and his fellow committee members emphasized national competition in their public arguments for the expedition. Prior to 1888, German overseas imperialism had been relatively laissez-faire. Private organizations had taken the lead in colonizing not only East Africa, but Southwest Africa, Togo, and Cameroon, as well. State protection of those private colonies had come only after they were established. The Emin Pasha committee attempted to change the course of German overseas imperialism to a more confrontational stance vis-a-vis other powers. Schweinfuth depicted the rescue of Emin as a race between European powers, and Emin as an extension of Germanness into Africa. Peters is a key figure in leading this push toward nationalism in the pursuit of empire, for which his later leadership in the formation of the ultra-nationalist Pan-German League serves as some evidence. In addition to being the first major private organization for explicit colonial purposes, the Emin Pasha committee acted as a forerunner and organizational basis for the Pan-German League and other hyper-

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⁷⁵ The committee made certain to disavow personal motives in the rescue, however. It told the *National Zeitung* that Peters was not conducting the expedition for personal gain, as he was receiving the same salary as Wissmann was to fight Bushiri. BArch R 1001/251, pag. 53.
nationalist interest groups that were central players in German politics from the 1890s through the First World War.

Schweinfurth’s methods in arguing for Emin as a key figure are essential for understanding how the committee and like-minded German colonial enthusiasts imagined colonial rule in Africa. With Gordon dead, Emin was the only European alive who had governed a province in the African interior. Emin’s value to whichever country he worked for was his knowledge of Africa and Africans. Schweinfurth told his audience that Emin was "the true bearer of Gordon’s legacy, the heir of his unrealized goals." It was necessary to rescue Emin in order not to lose the "a century of cultural labors" in Central Africa. According to Schweinfurth, Emin therefore possessed knowledge that no other European did about how to rule over African peoples. Schweinfurth claimed Emin’s "success in Central Africa was based on his deep understanding of the African world and its cultural customs." Rule over Africa, in this constellation of the world, was based off of knowledge as much as, or even more than, military power. Emin had run short on munitions long ago, yet he had held onto Equatoria by knowing how to keep his soldiers in line and the land productive. The importance assigned to knowledge in the Emin Pasha expedition and the soon-to-be-discussed Bushiri Aufstand expedition is the subject of chapter four.

Emin’s valuable knowledge promised to save Germany money in the colonization of Africa, as the nation could acquire a large territory in Central Africa without the

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76 BArch R 1001/249.3, pag. 116.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
expensive use of military force or administration. The Emin Pasha committee appealed to the government and the colonial lobby on the grounds of the financial benefits its expedition would bring. It was well known that Bismarck had opposed imperial expansion at all just a few years before because he feared the massive costs it would carry for his government, and the committee hoped to get around those concerns by demonstrating the lack of necessity of an expensive military operation for taking control of territory. The committee tried to play on the government's and the colonial lobby's hopes for an empire on the cheap. Emin had held onto Equatoria thus far with relatively little military strength, and the committee implied that German rule in the province could be carried out with similar levels of force and expenditure. 79

While the Emin Pasha committee described empire as a national competition, it also resuscitated the Society for German Colonization's (GfdK) original vision of empire as an individual enterprise. This placed the Emin Pasha expedition clearly in the imperial tradition of the filibusterer stretching back to the middle of the 19th century that Peters had drawn on in formulating his initial plans to found a German colony in East Africa. The expedition was the last gasp of that style of empire, in which an (inevitably white, male) individual colonist could go to another part of the world and, through legal means, take control of territory or a struggling state. The connections between Peters and the American filibusterers were obvious to German observers; opponents of the expedition explicitly labeled Peters a "filibusterer" as a means of denigrating Peters and the committee's plan. Those opponents viewed the expedition as an inappropriate method of

forging empire, out of the normal confines of the new imperialism. Central Africa was the last place on earth where no independent state, in the European sense of the term, had staked a claim. Peters had tried to build his own empire in 1884, but the DOAG quickly pushed him aside once it had the government’s support. Rescuing Emin Pasha would give him the second such opportunity, and a better one, as it was already the private, individual empire of Emin Pasha.

The committee claimed that a primary benefit of Emin’s private empire was that it could provide Germany with untold riches. Emin supposedly held vast supplies of ivory, as much as seventy-five tons, harvested from Equatorian elephants over the previous five years. The committee assumed Emin would deliver that ivory to his saviors as a gesture of thanks. Both the British and German expeditions cited the fact that Emin had ivory as a primary reason for the expedition. Equatoria promised even greater riches in ivory in the coming decades; its economic value to Europe consisted almost entirely of its wealth in ivory. The committee did not see long-term development along the lines of the plantation agriculture that the DOAG was developing along the coast in Central Africa’s future. Its economic model for the area was almost entirely extractive. Even though much of the trade that Equatoria had conducted with the coast in the preceding decades was in slaves, the committee still believed that its resources in ivory would be enough to cover the expedition and much more. The focus on ivory displays German thinking about Central Africa in the 1880s. The committee, and the colonial lobby at large, saw the area

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80 BArch R 1001/250, pag. 27.
81 Liebowitz and Pearson, 43.
82 Liebowitz and Pearson, 43; BArch R 1001/249.3.
as a land of natural resources to be acquired through trade, distinct even from the areas in East Africa where economic and cultural development were possible.

That thinking speaks to deeper ideas about Central Africa and its economies. The committee and like-minded German colonial enthusiasts foresaw riches in the colonization of Central Africa, but did not see the region as a place where development and civilization could take place. The Emin Pasha committee was clearly not driven by the interests of big capital. Many historians have argued that a primary driver of the so-called "New Imperialism" of the late nineteenth century was capitalistic, led by large trading firms looking to expand the scope of European commerce. Although the committee told audiences that control of Equatoria meant control of the ivory trade, taking control of the province did not serve long-term financial interests. First of all, the ivory trade from the region was already going to the Indian Ocean coast, where the DOAG was established. Second, ivory was clearly not a limitless commodity and would run out relatively quickly.

Before planning for the expedition’s specifics could get underway, however, the government called Hermann Wissmann back into its service for another assignment. Fighting had broken out in the territory along the coast that the DOAG had leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar. News of that fighting reached Berlin the same day that the committee decided to increase its subscription to 400,000 marks. In January 1889, Abushiri ibn Salim al-Harthi, called Bushiri, a plantation owner near Pangani, in the northern part of the coastal strip, raised forces from Pangani and the surrounding area to

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fight against the DOAG’s overly harsh methods of collecting tolls, which it raised to five percent on all goods.84 Other local elites from cities up and down the coast raised their own forces to resist the DOAG’s new toll regime. Bushiri’s forces, and the troops built up in the other coastal cities, quickly defeated the DOAG’s small detachments of Askaris, though the DOAG did its best to resist.85 The fighting soon spread to the entire coast as Bushiri and his forces took control of the DOAG’s stations and cities. The DOAG did not have enough forces of its own to control the situation so, after appealing to Barghash to use his Askaris to fight the rebels through the British, it asked to the government for help.86

The Bushiri War

The government’s response to the Bushiri rebellion was based on a different vision of German rule in Africa. The Wissmann expedition promised to replace Arab rule along the coast, which Germany had recognized in the 1886 delimitation commission, with a more enlightened German version through military force and occupation. In that vision of empire, the German administration of East Africa would not require entirely remaking coastal society and rule. Rather, German rule could be built on a substructure of the Arab administration of the coast. The state’s vision of what the colony could be was

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84 BArch R 8124/8, pag. 88. Even a toll collector working for the DOAG, Baniame Jiram Sewjee, expressed grievances with the DOAG’s administration, as it meant they could no longer collect customary tips or side payments. BArch R 8124/8, pag. 97.

85 BArch R 8124/8, pag. 17. "Askari" was the name given to non-European troops serving in Germany’s African colonies.

86 The DOAG somehow hoped that the Sultan’s forces, of which he still had many in the coastal cities, would assist in their operations to undermine his economic power. Barghash of course refused, claiming that the Askaris would not listen to him because they had not been paid, at the DOAG’s request. BArch R 8124/8, pag. 84-85.
more limited than the DOAG's grand dreams and focused on specific goals. It was designed to make the DOAG's holdings along the coast profitable through control of trade along the caravan routes into the interior. It specifically ruled out expansion of the colony into Central Africa, including Equatoria. From the beginning of the Bushiri war in 1888 to the signing of the Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty in 1890, the government's policies in East Africa displayed clear frustration with the actions and policies of the DOAG and a different idea of what the colony, and Germany's position vis-à-vis its Muslim population, should be.

The government chose Wissmann to lead its response to Bushiri's actions for the same reasons that the Emin Pasha Committee had wanted him. Wissmann was the only renowned German explorer of Africa with real experience as an army officer. The government believed he would be able to lead troops and figure out how to deal with the communities in which the rebellion had broken out better than any of the alternatives, either army officers with no background in African affairs or African explorers with no idea of how to lead military operations. Bismarck clearly laid out step-by-step instructions for Wissmann. He was first to go to Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam and fortify them. He was only then to take Pangani and Tanga. Once the north was secure, Wissmann was to fortify the coast and prevent the import of weapons and munitions. He was to build up a small force for minor operations against smugglers and rebels in the countryside, then go take control of the southern ports. Bismarck issued no instructions
for after Wissmann took back the coast, and did not mention operations inland, demonstrating his hesitance to expand the government's role in Ostafrika\textsuperscript{87}

The DOAG had assumed control of tolls along the coast through a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar just a few months earlier, and needing to make good on the investment it had made in leasing the coast from the Sultan of Zanzibar, raised tolls and took strong measures to enforce them. Its aggressive collection actions naturally aggravated the people forced to pay the tolls, Bushiri most prominently. Each coastal city reacted differently, depending on how it saw its relationship with the Sultan and the importance it attached to maintaining relations with him. Bushiri’s armed uprising took the same form as many earlier actions against the Sultan of Zanzibar’s overreaches on the coast. They saw their uprising as part of a tradition of protest against attempts to control the coast by outside authorities, and hoped to push the Germans to less constrictive measures. Bushiri presented himself as the heir of Arab conquest of the Swahili coast, claiming for himself the authority to lead the coastal forces against the Germans\textsuperscript{88}.

Although the German response to the Bushiri war was to claim that it was a rebellion of Arabs along the coast, the reality was not so simple. Bushiri and his followers fought for their economic interests. They did not fight to protect particular ethnic or tribal interests.\textsuperscript{89} German reports, however, latched on to the fact that Bushiri

\textsuperscript{87} BArch R 1001/735, pag. 42-43.

\textsuperscript{88} Glassman.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
claimed for himself the mantle of an Arab conqueror.\textsuperscript{90} The DOAG imagined the war as one against an "Arab party" in part because of its leaders’ ignorance, but to a significant extent because that constellation of parties involved in the war fit with the narratives it had constructed about the coast and its history. DOAG officials and German consular officials in Zanzibar wanted to believe that their attempted usurpation of Arab colonial power along the coast was facing resistance. What was more, that resistance was based on its attempts to stop the slave trade through the coastal ports.\textsuperscript{91} That narrative excused the DOAG’s failure to make money with its venture, and it supplied grounds for the German state to become directly involved in the German colonization of East Africa. The colony was no longer a small enterprise set up for trade, but the site of imperial conflict.

Bismarck’s initial response to the fighting was to create a blockade along the leased coast to prevent the importation of munitions. The negotiations for and creation of the blockade was a key moment in the creation of a State of Exception in \textit{Ostafrika}. The agreement between Germany and the United Kingdom, issued on 8 October 1888, declared a blockade against the "fanatical and xenophobic [\textit{fremdenfeindlich}] Arab elements" on the coast in the name of the Sultan of Zanzibar. According to the agreement, the fighting was led by "Arabs involved in the slave trade."\textsuperscript{92} The European ships would weaken the Arab slave traders and establish German sovereignty on the

\textsuperscript{90} "Das Weißbuch über Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, January 19, 1889, 20-22.

\textsuperscript{91} The DOAG directors wrote Bismarck on 16 September 1889 blaming Khalifa and Arab slave traders for the fighting. BArch R 8124/9, pag. 28-30.

\textsuperscript{92} BArch R 1001/710, pag. 24.
grounds of protection of the African bodies they enslaved. German sovereignty would be based on protection and control of *Leute*, not on control of *Land*.

Wissmann’s letter of appointment, co-signed by the Kaiser and Chancellor Bismarck, defined the reasons for his appointment. The government told Wissmann his purpose on the coast was “to institute measures for fighting the slave trade and for the protection of German interests, to maintain peace and order in the designated areas through all designated means.” The centrality of the slave trade to Wissmann’s directive indicates the continued construction of the Arab presence in East Africa as an empire of slavery. Imperial concerns were secondary to stopping the slave trade that threatened to destroy African societies. That concern became more strident in 1888, as members of the International Anti-Slavery Committee began plans for a conference in Brussels that was to determine Europe-wide means of combatting the slave trade. Members of the German colonial lobby were heavily involved with the international effort. Constructing the rebellion as about protecting the institution of slavery made German martial colonialism appear benign and protective in nature, not an invasion force taking land thousands of miles away.

The DOAG agreed to suspend its authority on the coast in favor of Wissmann, who assumed control not only of military operations but also the company's stations, shipping, employees, and the civil administration. Wissmann's assumption of the DOAG's authority along the coast turned a formerly civilian administration into a

93 BArch R 1001/735, pag. 81.
95 BArch R 1001/737, pag. 77.
military one overnight. The DOAG's administration of the coast, based as it was on the work of civilians, primarily locals, disappeared.

It also painted the Wissmann operation as a shared European enterprise to stop the slave trade and assist Africa with a human rights issue. Herbert Bismarck wrote his father on 5 November 1888 that the expedition could provide the grounds for rapprochement with the Catholic Center Party. Charles Lavigerie had declared Zanzibar a "stalking horse" [Vorwand] for the slave trade in 1886. 96 The pope had given Lavigerie 300,000 francs; Germany could get Catholic support to fight the "Arab element participating in the slave trade." 97 Otto von Bismarck wrote his ambassador in London, Paul von Hatzfeldt, that he was going to the Reichstag "in the sense of the anti-slavery societies and the analogous efforts of Cardinal Lavigerie," aiming to win British support for operations. 98 The British Standard declared Bismarck and Prime Minister Salisbury were "joint instruments for the purposes of Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade." 99

Bismarck's move to intervene in Ostafrika marked a turning point in the Kulturkampf, his "cultural struggle" against Catholics in Germany. It provided the grounds for a new alliance with the Catholic Center Party, which had opposed Bismarck through the entire decade. Ludwig Windthorst, leader of the Center Party, introduced the funding bill, for "the fight against the Negro trade and slave raids in Africa," in the Reichstag. He noted the "great movement" across and outside of Europe to end the slave

96 BArch R 1001/823, pag. 24.
97 BArch R 1001/730, pag. 11.
98 BArch R 1001/707, pag. 27.
99 BArch R 1001/713, pag. 23.
trade, which he claimed killed at least two million people each year and prevented the Christianization of Africa. The conservative Otto von Heldorff denied Lavigerie leadership of the anti-slavery movement in favor of William Wilberforce, but announced that fighting the slave trade was now a "joint mission of the Christian confessions" for civilization. He dated the problem to the arrival of Omani rulers in Zanzibar.  

In sharp contrast to the Emin Pasha expedition, which was designed specifically to get the better of Britain and feed an imperial rivalry between Germany and the United Kingdom, the German government conducted its initial operations against Bushiri in cooperation with the British government, as well as the minor colonial powers of Portugal and Italy. Those operations began with a blockade of the coastal ports to prevent Bushiri and his allies from importing munitions from Zanzibar or places farther afield. Ships from the German and British navy set up along the coast to block Bushiri from increasing the material strength of his forces. The German government conducted negotiations in capitals around Europe to build general support for its operations and to make its case that its goal was to prevent the resurgence of the slave trade that all the powers had done so much to stop, and which had become an issue of popular concern around Europe.  

It claimed that Bushiri’s attacks on the DOAG were an attack on all of Europe’s efforts to end the Arab slave trade in East Africa.

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100 BArch R 1001/730, pag. 100-107.

101 The anti-slavery argument was powerful rhetorically given the Berlin Conference’s focus on slavery as a justification for the colonization of Africa and that an anti-slavery conference in Brussels, held in November 1889, was then in the planning stages and therefore frequently in the press. Negotiations on the blockade with the different powers are throughout BArch R 1001/735. On the press for the Brussels conference see issues of the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung for most of 1889.
The most important element in the government’s international campaign for support was in the realm of troop recruitment. The government did not want to use its own troops to fight a colonial war, largely because of the costs, so it decided to recruit troops from elsewhere. It made an agreement with the British government to recruit troops in Cairo and Aden. The reason for willing British assistance may have been that the administrations in Cairo and Aden did not want hundreds of trained soldiers hanging around their cities with nothing to do, but the assistance nevertheless signals a different kind of thinking about empire from the aggressive nationalist motivations behind the Emin Pasha expedition and many of the explanations historians have given for the Scramble. While nationalism certainly played a role in the formation of European states’ African empires, the shared concern of the British and German empires over Bushiri show that there was an historical moment in the 1880s in which cooperation among empires was possible and in which (at least the governments of various European states) saw common cause in colonization. That cooperation makes clear that the frequent colonial rhetoric about European civilization and Christianity as a central element of empire was not just talk.

At the same time, the Wissmann expedition was a more martial vision of empire than was the Emin expedition, or any previous German colonial venture. While working in harmony with other European powers, the German government planned an aggressive

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102 BArch R 1001/735, pag. 16.

action against the African actors that had challenged German actions in East Africa. Wissmann’s orders were clear, to take and fortify the cities along the coast, and to destroy whatever forces tried to stop him. That plan required almost by default a permanent German military presence in East Africa to man the fortifications that Wissmann built. This meant a long-term commitment to direct state involvement in empire, involvement that Bismarck had tried his hardest to avoid up to that point. The Wissmann expedition thus marks a new era in German overseas imperialism. The state was thereafter to play the leading role in shaping the empire and governing the heretofore private colonies. That involvement was to be largely military in nature and involve the use of metropolitan resources and force to maintain imperial control. There is an apparent contradiction between the militarization of the German African Empire and the international cooperation involved. That tension may have turned out to be irresolvable in the long run, and the militarization of the empire (and other empires) may have contributed to the triumph of the idea of competition in empire.

The Wissmann expedition and the government’s direct role therein also marks another shift in the workings of German overseas empire. Earlier German colonial ventures, as well as the Emin Pasha expedition, promised long-term glory and wealth with no concrete plan for achieving either. The Emin Pasha expedition was supposed to get hold of Emin’s cache of ivory, but otherwise it was unclear how the expedition would serve German financial or political interests. The expedition had an immediate goal: to restore the DOAG’s power to collect tolls along the coast. The idea behind the expedition was that Wissmann would go to East Africa, fight a few skirmishes, build a few forts, and
that the situation would settle down. The expedition was to be immediately profitable for the DOAG. State-controlled imperialism was clearly designed to get things done and produce immediate results, not create a dreamed of future in which Germany would somehow rule the entire world.

The Expeditions

The Kaiser personally saw Wissmann off on his expedition on 5 March 1889. Before going to the Swahili coast, Wissmann had to stop in Cairo to gather the forces that had been recruited there. Wissmann left Cairo for the East African coast on 17 May 1889 to begin operations against Bushiri and his followers. It took him just three weeks to recruit the desired troops in Cairo. The German colonial press followed his progress eagerly as he made his way down the coast to carry out his orders. He arrived in Zanzibar on 31 March, then went to Bagamoyo in early April to begin operations.

Wissmann and his men made relatively quick work of Bushiri’s forces. Wissmann’s troops were better organized and better armed. Hiram Maxim had given Wissmann’s troops a Maxim gun, and their use of it was the first by any military campaign. Wissmann could also count on the support of the German navy ships conducting the blockade of the coast. Their guns could fire into the cities where Bushiri’s troops had positions, and German marines supported most of Wissmann’s operations. Wissmann fortified Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam upon landing on the coast at the beginning of April 1889. He captured Saadani by mid-May and Tanga by early July. He

105 BArch R 1001/736, pag. 105.
106 "Kleine Mitteilungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, April 6, 1889: 111.
carried out Bismarck's orders on the northern part of the coast with relatively little
difficulty.\textsuperscript{107} His forces suffered relatively few losses, and almost no losses among his
German officers. As he conquered the cities of the coast, Wissmann began to fortify them
to ensure that they could not be taken back away from German control, as he had been
ordered to do.

Once he had stabilized the northern part of the coast, Wissmann went off his
operational script. Bismarck’s directive for the conquest of the coast had instructed
Wissmann to restrict his operations to the taking and holding of the coast, with only a
small force to travel into the countryside as necessary to ensure the security of the coastal
cities. Wissmann did not want to remain on the coast, however, and started making forays
westward. As he saw it, his job was to eliminate the threat to the German presence in East
Africa posed by opposing forces, the imagined Arab empire that Bushiri represented in
his campaign against the DOAG, Wissmann believed that that task was not best
conducted by remaining on the coast.

Wissmann tried to expand his operations inland from the coast by arguing that the
enemy he was sent to fight was situated in the interior. Wissmann believed his expedition
was better served by going after Bwana Heri and Simbodja, two local leaders whom he
claimed had aided Bushiri (they had both conducted military operations against the
Germans).\textsuperscript{108} Operations against the two of them followed easily from Wissmann’s
original purpose along the coast, as their bases of power were nearby. At the same time,

\textsuperscript{107} Bismarck did express concerns with how Wissmann reported on his progress, but that will be
discussed in Chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{108} BArch R 1001/740, pag. 19; BArch R 1001/739, pag. 52-54; BArch R 1001/743, 12-13.
Wissmann also tried to expand the scope of his operations farther inland, to the region of Kilimanjaro, and to Tabora, a city several hundred miles inland from the coast.\textsuperscript{109}

Expanding operations inland meant expanding what areas counted as part of the "Arab" empire of slavery that he had been sent to defeat. Maximilian Sigismund Rudolf Graf von Berchem, the under state secretary in the Foreign Office, a man through whom all of Wissmann’s correspondence with the government was funneled, argued on Wissmann’s behalf. Berchem noted the need to establish borders of the "Mohammedan establishment, whether from Muscat or Zanzibar." Although the coast could serve as a key point in that campaign, the "main Arab base [in East Africa] is Tabora." German interests could better be served, Berchem told his superiors, by the taking and fortification of Tabora than Wissmann’s small operations along the coast. Berchem argued that "Tabora could take the roll of Paris for our Schutzgebiet," and "that we will reach our goals more quickly if we attack the center rather than the periphery."\textsuperscript{110} Berchem told the government that it would be cheaper for Germany to build a few major stations at the key points of the Arab slave trading empire than to establish a network of stations through the entire Schutzgebiet.

Wissmann and Berchem’s expansionary aims quickly met rejection from their superiors. The Kaiser refused to go along with the idea that Tabora should be the first priority. In the margins of Berchem’s letter, Wilhelm noted that "Kilwa is more important

\begin{footnotes}
\item[109] BArch R 1001/742, pag. 94.
\item[110] BArch R 1001/743, pag. 82.
\end{footnotes}
than Tabora. We will figure out the interior when we rule the coast."111 The Kaiser held onto the Hinterland theory as the solution to possible threats to German rule in the interior, determined that Germany could easily control the trade that had attracted the DOAG to the region in the first place through the control of the Swahili coast. If Wissmann could just control the entire coast of the German Schutzgebiet, there would be no problems in the interior. That rejection also meant a rejection of the idea that the Arab empire had moved farther into the interior than the original ten-mile strip had allotted it. The state’s obligations could be limited to the coast and not require the same military force to rule the entire colony. Direct administration of the interior would also be unnecessary, whereas the Berchem plan meant establishing an administrative infrastructure for the interior as well as the coast. That difference was key: Berchem’s plan could have saved money and work had the government imagined the entire of DOAG territory as part of the same Arab empire, and therefore in need of the same administration. If the entirety of German East Africa was not part of that empire, however, and some of it was territory that could be administered more cheaply, or not at all, it made no sense to rule the entire colony in the same way.

Spatial Conceptions

The government did not want Wissmann to leave the territory that German colonists had defined as "Arab" along the coast and enter the territory they had defined as "African" farther inland. He was to limit his operations to the ten-mile wide strip of territory along the coast that the German, French, and British government had declared

111 BArch R 1001/743, pag. 82.
was Zanzibari territory in 1886. That same border was to remain the basis for government intervention, despite the fact that Wissmann was reporting that events on the ground did not fit the neat bordering of territory that had been decided four years earlier. The government stuck to its border imaginary of a limited Arab presence in East Africa, one that justified the aggressive conquest of the coast and a laissez-faire approach to areas farther west.

Wissmann’s attempted entry into "Africa" was blocked by the German government; the British government blocked Peters’ landing on the African continent altogether. Claiming that Peters was violating the blockade of the coast by bringing munitions in the ship he had chartered to carry his men and supplies, the Neera, British Rear Admiral Edmund Fremantle captured the ship and refused to release it. The Emin Pasha committee had decided to take an alternative route to Equatoria because of the Bushiri war, so Peters planned to land on the coast at Lamu, at that point part of the short-lived, always disputed German holding of Wituland. The British would still not let Peters's ship, the Neera, land, and also would not let him recruit porters in Zanzibar. Peters managed to slip his way through, however, with "[a] little cool calculation and, above all, complete discretion," and get to Lamu. There he began preparations to march west toward Equatoria.

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112 The Neera became subject to extensive legal wrangling between the British navy and the German Emin Pasha committee. The British held the ship long enough so that it would be of no use to Peters.

113 Never one of Peters' strong points.

114 Peters, NLDA, 46.
Peters also marked a clear boundary between Arab and African space, in his terms a boundary between "civilization" and "wilderness." At the outset of the overland leg of his expedition, leaving from Wituland and entering the British sphere of influence in today’s Kenya, Peters rode up to the front of his expedition. There, he told readers in his account of the expedition, he "was alone in the wilderness. Recollections and pictures of my childhood's days arose before me involuntarily in this charming, blooming landscape…Not a sound breaks the solemn silence. Above me the blue vault of heaven is spread out, under which an eagle soars at intervals in sweeping circles. My dogs soon get tired of hunting through the open field and searching for game in vain, so they trot along behind my horse, and give the soul leisure for quiet contemplation." The wilderness of Africa, away from the Arab presence on the coast, was a place where a man could be alone, where there were no people. Peters defined "African" space by its emptiness, by the fact that it was malleable to German colonial aims.

The area he was entering, according to Peters, was characterized by its "primeval" landscapes, with few people and entirely devoid of civilization. Peters’ descriptions of his journey after leaving Wituland show a marked contrast from his descriptions of the earlier part of the expedition. His post-expedition recounting, New Light in Dark Africa, begins with bureaucratic discussions of the preparations for the expeditions, then of Peters’ descriptions of his own brilliance in outwitting the British and the dire circumstances he faced. In those parts of the book, there are other named actors that

115 Ibid., 64.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid., 191, 217.
Peters has to either convince of his righteousness or outwit. When Peters enters the African wilderness, however, the tone of *New Light in Dark Africa* becomes much like the genre of travel literature common in Germany long before Peters’ emergence as a public figure.¹¹⁸ Peters’ second-in-command, Adolf von Tiedemann, expressed similar sentiments. He wrote of the "primeval forest" and the "deep silence" one could find in the African wilderness.¹¹⁹ Tiedemann described the excitement he felt in great detail.

Peters imagined the "wilderness" of Africa as a place where one could acquire rights to territory through vague treaties of protection. Peters, always hungry for a chance to improve his status as a colonial maestro, intimidated many of the people he encountered along his route into signing treaties in which they signed over all of their territorial rights, not to the German government, but to Peters himself. The treaties follow a form similar to those Peters signed in 1885, only Peters no longer felt the need to include a rejection of Zanzibari rule.¹²⁰ The delimitation commission of 1886 had successfully established in the European colonial border imaginary that Zanzibari rule did not extend that far into the interior. Peters' treaties of the Emin Pasha expedition reinforce the idea that he and the committee believed in a personal vision of empire. Peters' treaties did not entail recognition of German imperial rule over the territories involved, rather they recognized Peters himself as sovereign.

Though he no longer believed it necessary to disavow Zanzibari claims to the territories he was acquiring, Peters did frequently remark on the lack of knowledge of

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¹¹⁸ Zantop.

¹¹⁹ Adolf von Tiedemann, *Tana-Baringo-Nil* (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke, 1907), 36.

Arab culture or Islam among the peoples he encountered in Central Africa. The lack of contact with Arab culture became a distinguishing characteristic in his descriptions of the people he encountered. In place of the threat from the Arab slave trade, the people of Central Africa faced a constant danger from Maasai raids. Peters imagined the Maasai as the regional power that German rule would have to overcome in territory bordered as "Africa." He compared their reign over East Africa to those of Attila the Hun and Genghis Khan over Europe with the claim that nomadic people were by their nature cruel and a threat to civilization. They did not understand the importance of private property and the settling influence it had. Unlike agricultural societies, which were "obliged to remain on his soil, to which his heart becomes attached, the nomad is indifferent to the charms of owning a home…Thus the Massai has become the terror of the whole of East Africa."\(^{121}\) Though they did not understand private property, Peters believed that "among the Massais there may be recognized the ennobling influence which is produced in every people by the inherited consciousness of rule…the warriors of the race have acquired a natural pride, which cannot be designated otherwise than as aristocratic."\(^{122}\)

That everyone Peters encountered feared Maasai rule by its nature meant that they had no knowledge of Arab rule. There was so little Arab presence, in fact, that Arabs and Europeans "have all a common interest, namely, to assert ourselves against the wild natives, who, on their part, make hardly any difference between Europeans and Arabs."\(^{123}\) German colonialism in the areas west of the Indian Ocean coast therefore faced an

\(^{121}\) Ibid., 225.

\(^{122}\) Ibid.

\(^{123}\) Ibid., 242.
"African" enemy, not the "Arab" enemy that threatened the DOAG's position. The Emin Pasha expedition thus became even less useful for the new basis of German sovereignty in East Africa. He was not fighting slavery any longer, but the Maasai. Tiedemann shared Peters' sentiments. He wrote in his diary that slaves lived better on the "civilized coast" than they did in their "native wilderness." Though slave raids were "barbaric," they led to an easier life afterwards, as Arab slave owners bore a protective, patriarchal relationship to their slaves. The slavery of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or the West Indies was one thing, but slavery in East Africa was much different. The two men shared a great laugh when Husseïn, their chief porter, suggested they sell the weakest porters as slaves.

As he approached Equatoria, Peters discovered that Emin was no longer in the province. Stanley had beaten Peters to the spot and taken Emin with him back to the coast. In fact, he had already made contact with Emin on 29 April 1888, months before Peters had even begun his expedition. After a few weeks of negotiations, Stanley convinced Emin to leave Equatoria (a task made easier by the attrition of Stanley’s expedition to the point where it could provide little military support on its own). Stanley and Emin arrived in Mpwapwa, on the route to the German part of the Indian Ocean coast, on 11 October 1889. Wissmann, rather than Peters, was the German expeditionary leader who brought Emin to the coast. Peters was still along the Tana River,

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124 Tiedemann, 48-49.

125 Ibid., 76.

126 Liebowitz and Pearson, 177-178.

127 BArch R 1001/742, pag. 53.
unknowingly marching farther west.\textsuperscript{128} He did not find out until he had made his way hundreds of miles west, in February 1890.\textsuperscript{129} It seemed that Peters, and Germany, had failed in the quest for Central Africa, and that the United Kingdom would be able to bring the region into its sphere of influence.

Peters, always the opportunist, changed the method of his expedition. If Emin was no longer in Equatoria and no British governor had taken his place, it would be unclear in Europe who controlled the province. Peters saw the opportunity to make it and more of Central Africa German. He fell back on his tried and true method of signing treaties with local rulers. He saw an opportunity to become involved with a civil war in Uganda, a civil war that Peters claimed was really an Arab invasion from the north. Peters decided to make Uganda "a rampart, to keep back the deluge of Mohammedanism from invading the north, and perhaps a starting-point for winning back all that had been lost there."\textsuperscript{130} Peters could still be fighting the Arab enemy of German sovereignty by taking control of \textit{Land} on the Great Lakes. Tiedemann supported the decision, believing it would prevent the British East Africa Company from taking control of Uganda.\textsuperscript{131} It was just a small side benefit that "the special national interests of Germany" would be furthered as well; "the prize of the contest was still there, and would fall to the lot of the boldest…it pointed us clearly and unmistakably to the south-west, where the vast interests of civilization

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\small\textsuperscript{128} Peters, NLDA, 142-145.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 343-344.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 361-362.
\textsuperscript{131} Tiedemann, 180.
\end{flushright}
were at stake.”

Peters repurposed his expedition to preventing the spread of Islam and the "Arab Empire" into Central Africa, placing it more in line with Wissmann's campaign against the "Arab Empire" of the coast.

Peters signed a treaty with Mwanga II, king of Buganda, on 28 February 1890 in which Mwanga agreed to abide by the Congo Act and declare his territory a zone of free trade and passage. Although he initially distrusted Peters and Tiedemann, noting their lack of uniforms, Mwanga clearly made the decision to sign the treaty based on Peters’ promises of assistance in fighting the "Arab party" in his realm. Mwanga had already been deposed once with British assistance and had just again secured his position by making concessions to the British East Africa Company. Peters and Germany offered a counterbalance to a possible move by the British government to depose him again.

Mwanga understood the stakes in signing the treaty with Peters, which was written in Kaganda, Kiswahili, and French, unlike some of Peters’ previous co-signers. The treaty did not sign over sovereign rights to Peters; it merely established Buganda as a free trade zone and thoroughfare for Europeans, which they were trying to use it as, anyway. Peters had been forced to abandon his dreams of personal empire in Central Africa and turn to a greater purpose of Germany's economic advantage.

Peters' shift to national, rather than personal, empire shaped his later career. After signing his treaty with Mwanga, Peters made his way back to the Indian Ocean coast, claiming success in the capture of Central Africa for German interests. He encountered

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133 Ibid., 389.
134 Tiedemann, 179.
Emin Pasha to the west of Mpwapwa. Emin was heading back to the Great Lakes region to carry out Wissmann's orders in the area. There the two men discussed their mutual dislike of and rivalry with Stanley, and shared plans for the future of Central Africa. From Mpwapwa, Peters made his way to Bagamoyo and from there back to Germany. His expedition's success restored his status as a respectable member of the German colonial lobby and made his opinions and presence a sought after commodity among the German right. Emin's new mission in Central Africa will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

State of Exception

Both expeditions were markedly reactionary in nature. The German empire did not drive the crises in question, but reacted to African challenges to rule by Germans in both Equatoria and along the Swahili coast; Peters reacted to unrest in Buganda in pursuing a treaty with Mwanga. That reactionary nature demonstrates that there was no one, long-term vision of the German overseas empire, or even one vision of German East Africa, that would shape German rule in the colony. Rather, German colonialism in the 1880s took the form of responding to changing local circumstances. The model of colonialism and African responses to it has largely disappeared from the recent historiography; the German experience through the Wissmann and Peters expeditions demonstrates that at least sometimes the process of colonization was built through European responses to African political circumstances. The German colonization of

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136 Emin's return to the Great Lakes will be discussed in chapter 7.
1888-1891 appears as a German response to African societies rather than the other way around. The lack of a long-term plan for East Africa meant that there was no prepared response to emergencies.

The confluence of the two crises in East Africa produced a State of Exception, a crisis of sovereignty for the German colonial apparatus, in which German plans for the future of the colony could have taken at least two different paths. Bushiri’s attacks on German positions along the coast and Emin’s eroding position in Equatoria called German assumptions about the Land-Leute relationship into question. The expeditions, in their quest to establish German sovereignty, in the coast and in the interior, constructed new ways of thinking about African spaces and peoples. Both the Wissmann and Peters expeditions instituted emergency measures to protect African bodies from the Arab slave trade. By defining the crises of the DOAG regime along the coast and Emin's regime in the interior in that way, the expeditions established a new basis for German sovereignty in Ostafrika.

Both the Peters and Wissmann expeditions exploited situations that German observers imagined as crises of sovereignty to further their imperial aims. The Peters expedition was designed to pull Equatoria into the German sphere of influence, treating Emin Pasha as a free agent who could attach the province to whichever empire rescued him. The Emin Pasha committee constructed Emin as an undisputed sovereign in Equatoria who could do with the province as he pleased. When the rescue plan failed, Peters exploited the unrest in Buganda to increase German power there. As with Emin, Peters constructed Mwanga II as undisputed sovereign, able to do with Buganda
whatever he wished. The Wissmann expedition aimed to quell the fighting along the Indian Ocean coast. Bushiri's actions, in the German imagination, demonstrated that Zanzibari power there, as the delimitation commission of 1886 had defined it, was fleeting. Wissmann believed he could establish German rule as the only authority in the area and make Germany sovereign. The two crises came together to create a "state of exception" in which German colonists were able to redefine the basic categories of rule and sovereignty in East and Central Africa, up to and including basic geography.

Bushiri’s attacks on the DOAG stations along the coast called into question the basis of DOAG rule in East Africa, and with it, the basis of the Sultan of Zanzibar's regime in whose name the DOAG administered the coast. The DOAG clearly lacked the power to rule territory that was in dispute on its own. It was set up as a trading company, not a government, only established infrastructure for the collection of taxes, and lacked military forces large enough to even protect its own employees when fighting broke out. The more difficult question for the German government to settle was how to handle the nature of Zanzibari rule on the coast. The DOAG and German government had already agreed to an international treaty stating that the Sultan of Zanzibar was sovereign in the area. They therefore constructed Bushiri’s war against the DOAG as a desperate ploy to save the slave trade along the Swahili coast, a trade that they argued the Sultan had never done enough to stop. The delimitation commission had declared that the Sultan was the sovereign along the coast, but his rule was creating more problems for Africa than it was solving. German colonialism could step in for Arab colonialism and put an end to the slave trade that was tearing apart African societies. Chancellor Leo von Caprivi, who
replaced Bismarck in March 1890, told the Reichstag on 8 February 1891 that Germany’s "main purpose" in East Africa was the elimination of the slave trade, enshrining German East Africa as a colony defined by its opposition to Arab slavery.\textsuperscript{137}

Similarly, the collapse of Emin’s position and his abandonment of the provincial capital of Wadelai made it unclear to European observers who was ruling Equatoria. Equatoria and Uganda were the only areas in Africa that no European power had successfully claimed as its own in the Congo Act of 1885. The Prime Minister of Egypt, Nubar Pasha, declared that his government would send no aid to the province, thereby renouncing Egyptian rule.\textsuperscript{138} With no sovereign government to which he owed allegiance, Emin was something of an individual ruler over Equatoria. Given his pleas for help, it was clear to observers in both Britain and Germany that Emin’s personal rule was not a success and that he was in need of state support. The propaganda in favor of the expedition and to raise money for it was centrally concerned with the argument that Equatoria was \textit{Herrenlos} territory in which there was no true sovereign power. The Emin Pasha committee believed that the mere control of \textit{Land} in Equatoria would mean German sovereignty.

There were clear differences in how the Peters and Wissmann expeditions imagined the histories of the regions they entered. Peters’ emphasis on the "primeval" wilderness in the territories he passed through displays a conception of African spaces and peoples as ahistorical. In that conception, Germans came to Central Africa, not as a

\textsuperscript{137} As printed in "Unsere Politik in Deutsch-Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, December 12, 1891: 179.

\textsuperscript{138} Liebowitz and Pearson, 15.
part of the same community, but as historical actors on spaces that had never seen history and existed in a state of nature. Peters’ dealings and treaties with the people he encountered along his route demonstrate that thinking. He almost inevitably resorted to force to get what he wanted, either passage or provisions, because he believed that was all the people he encountered understood.139 The Wissmann expedition, in contrast, consciously dealt with the history and politics of the Swahili coast. The colonial press noted the area’s history as a Portuguese colony in the 17th century and the later Omani conquest.140 Those histories emphasized that the Omani empire in East Africa was itself a conquest of a collapsing European empire. East Africa had been colonized space and connected to European history since the 17th century. Since the people who lived there had become accustomed to colonization, it followed they could be ruled through rational, German colonial administration.

Being accustomed to colonization meant being accustomed to law. Wissmann and the coastal administration believed that the coast had been ruled through what they thought of as Arab, or Muslim law from before German arrival on the coast. That law could serve as the basis for German legal structures. Legal theorists of Africa, meaning the areas west of what Germans had defined as the Zanzibari Empire, believed that the region was subject to what they called "native law," not worthy of respect as its own legal form. Karl Stengel, one of Germany’s leading experts on colonial law, described the difference between the coastal "imported, strongly interwoven, and also relatively more

139 Peters, NLDA, 140.

140 “Der Sturz der Portugiesenherrschaft im Sansibargebiete (1698),” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, December 21, 1889, 367-368.
advanced law of Islam…while the tribes of the hinterland have only been lightly touched by these laws and demonstrate highly undeveloped and raw legal conditions.\textsuperscript{141} Stengel told readers that Germany could not transplant its laws and legal system to East Africa wholesale, "among followers of Islam, law is indivisibly tied to religion."\textsuperscript{142} Law along the coast, in the areas defined by Islam, would therefore have to be compatible with Islamic law. No such considerations would have to be made inland, however, and German law could be applied to "natives."

Differences perceived in legal structures carried through to whom the German colonists in East Africa saw as appropriate intermediaries for the colonial state. Along the coast, the administration believed it could create an intermediate class of Swahili bureaucrats, while in the interior the government tried to rule through the governments of royalty. The Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages had already established Kiswahili as a language of instruction in 1887, where it was taught alongside with Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Hindi, Japanese, and Turkish. Those languages were all believed to be more "civilized" than African languages, so Swahili’s inclusion among them marked it as different from other African languages.\textsuperscript{143} The seminar’s inclusion of Kiswahili meant that its instructors (some of whom were from the coast) taught Germans the language, and that administrators in East Africa had the opportunity to learn it before they left for the colony. Kiswahili speakers could become bureaucrats and intermediaries for the

\textsuperscript{141} Carl von Stengel, "Rechtszustände in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, November 29, 1890: 293.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 294.

colonial state, an opportunity not open to people who did not speak the language. In the western parts of the colony, the administration attempted to rule through what it imagined as existing forms of governance without upsetting them too much. The intermediaries between the colonial state and the bulk of the population in East Africa’s interior were largely traditional elites.

Differences in legal regimes and intermediaries affected German thinking about religion in the colony. Wissmann’s expedition imagined coastal Islam as part of the natural interaction of cultures along the Indian Ocean. His expedition treated Swahili Islam as part of the area’s culture, something that the German administration would have to include in its calculations about how best to rule the colony. The Peters expedition constructed Islam in the interior as more of a colonial imposition. Peters’ construction of his assistance for Mwanga as an effort to stop the spread of Islam in Central Africa from an Arab invasion shaped German thinking about Islam in Central Africa. He believed missions were important for the colonization of Central Africa, as they would play a role in educating the people who lived there to work for self-improvement. He did believe that Islam was a religion practiced by the people of Central Africa of their own accord, and argued for a Christian campaign to stop the spread of Islam any farther in Africa. There was no such hope on the coast, where the German administration imagined Islam as part of the area’s history.

Religious and cultural differences became racial differences in the German colonial imaginary. The DOAG and the German government referred to Bushiri’s war as

\[144\] Peters, NLDA, 386.
a rebellion of an "Arab party" in the coastal cities. The difficulties Wissmann faced in
defeating Bushiri’s forces and holding the cities he attributed to the Arab presence in
those cities and the actions of the Arab party to make his task more difficult. As he
looked to expand the borders of his operations, he did so in racial terms, claiming that the
Arab influence in East Africa had spread beyond the coast to Tabora. The characteristics
that Wissmann attributed to the Arabs of the coast he attributed to the people where he
saw Arab influence. The expedition defined the coast as "Arab" space and the challenge
to German rule as coming from "Arab" sources, thereby explicitly marking a line
between Arab colony and natural Africa that had before only been implied.

The authorities in both expeditions produced emergency measures that shaped
German long-term approaches to East Africa. The historical narratives that Wissmann,
Peters, and their fellow travelers constructed for the areas that they passed through
shaped long-term administrative approaches to those territories. Neither expedition
planned for the long term, however. Both expeditions aimed to accomplish the goal of
ending a crisis of sovereignty as quickly and cheaply as possible without concern for
what that would mean for the future of East Africa. Peters clearly improvised as he went
along, changing his methods from a search for Emin Pasha to treaty signing in Buganda
in one day only when he found out that Emin had already left Equatoria. The Wissmann
expedition aimed at propping up the DOAG’s rule along the coast, but once the German
presence in the area had shifted to direct, martial colonialism, there was no way back to
the private, hands-off approach that predated it.
In the wake of his expedition along the coast, Wissmann produced the infrastructure for military rule there. His first action after conquering cities from local control was always to fortify the city so that it could be held by a small German garrison. German rule on the Swahili coast became militarized and dependent on a constant military presence. The basic structure of the new German administration in East Africa was centered on those fortified coast cities, with a smaller presence inland. Additionally, the governments' construction of the German colony of Ostafrika as a successor to an Arab Empire opened the possibility that German law and administration could be laid atop a base set up by its predecessor empire, which understood how to rule the territory in question. The basis of German sovereignty would be the control of East African Leute, who would in turn remake East African Land. That possibility entailed a German administration with a local bureaucracy employed by the German regime, rather than through a local ruler with German protection. The administration of the coast in that system could be conducted in Kiswahili, not in German, and Swahili status became more important under German rule than it had been before the Germans went to East Africa.

We will see in the next two chapters how the states of exception created through the expeditions of 1889-1891 shaped the German administration of East Africa over the long term in Chapter 7. Prior to that, however, we will first explore the ways in which the colonial border imaginary of pre-crisis East Africa affected the ways in which Germans

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145 Michael Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Expedition, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005).
conceived what it meant to "know" about the area and its peoples, and how the expeditions changed those ideas.
CHAPTER 6 – RUMOR IN THE GERMAN BUSHIRI WAR AND EMIN PASHA EXPEDITIONS

My records are without exception the children of the moment. They do not aim to achieve an exhaustive representation of the course and the experiences of that expedition, they do not aim to be anything other than the modest, immediate impression of the writer's pen strokes. – Adolf von Tiedemann

The narrative, written down immediately after the conclusion of the expedition, is based upon our memoranda and upon reports received on the spot, and may accordingly also in its subjective sense claim to possess the value of truthful instantaneous photographic representations… I shall consider my task in the following book as fulfilled if, allowing for this diversity of opinion, I have succeeded in enabling the reader to form an accurate and clear conception of the external and the inward course of the German Emin Pasha Expedition. – Carl Peters

The two leaders of the German Emin Pasha Expedition, Carl Peters and Adolf von Tiedemann, began their published accounts of the expedition quite similarly. The books, written for publication almost immediately upon Tiedemann's and Peters' return to Germany, noted the importance of immediate perceptions for understanding the course of the expedition "ethnographically." Tiedemann and Peters wanted their readers to experience the thrills and dangers of the expedition as they themselves had. There was no better way to understand what had happened than with the immediate reports, written without time for reflection. Readers could feel the excitement of African travel second-hand as if they were there themselves. What is more striking than the excitement of the

1 Adolf von Tiedemann, Tana-Baringo-Nil (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke, 1907).


3 Tiedemann, Tana-Baringo-Nil, no page.
expedition, however, is the at times total confusion of its leaders about what was happening. On-the-spot reporting was inherently unstable. Peters' and Tiedemann's immediate reports, as well as those of Hermann Wissmann, reveal a reliance on sources of information even they would have classified as unreliable. Rumors served as the basis for the two expeditions' operations, and filtered up from their leaders to the highest levels of government and public debate in metropolitan Germany.

This chapter focuses on the "immediate pen strokes" of the two expeditions covered in the previous chapter. Many scholars have assigned primary importance in colonization to the collection of knowledge about colonial spaces or peoples, especially through the tools of social science or technology. Control over information meant that a nation controlled a territory it claimed on a map completely, that it could determine the very facts that people "knew" about a place. But what people knew did not have to be factual. Both the Peters and Wissmann expeditions depended on sources of information that did not fit scientific criteria. By paying attention to the ontologies of rumors, I argue, we can get a better picture of the hopes and anxieties that motivated the German colonial project in East Africa beyond the local officials in the colony. In the case of the German Emin Pasha and Bushiri War expeditions, the working of rumor reveal the hopes and fears Germans held about empire all the way to the top, to Chancellor Otto von Bismarck himself. A shared discourse of rumors about the Arab slave trade was the central element

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in the creation of a State of Exception in Ostafrika. The splintering of that discourse around Peters’ death became a key moment in the debate between the two camps in the Land/Leute debate and the victory of those who believed Leute shaped Land more than vice versa.

Germans were forced to rely on rumors as sources of information about the two expeditions in East Africa. The bases for both expeditions were rumors, of the situation of Emin Pasha in Equatoria and the fighting on the Swahili Coast. The German public believed Carl Peters was dead through much of 1890. Rumors traveled from East Africa to metropolitan Germany that Peters had fallen into a Maasai ambush and been killed. There were no countervailing reports from Peters to disprove the rumors and demonstrate that he still lived. The importance of rumor to the other side of the Bushiri War, the one against which Germans fought, has been established. Rumor, especially one rumor about Lieutenant Emil Zelewski marching dogs into a mosque, was an important means of conveying information about the fighting and for organizing forces against the German East Africa Company (DOAG). Daniel Bernardi, et al. argue that modern journalism has increased the prevalence of rumor as new technologies, business practices, and ethics value speed over accuracy and verification in reporting. I see a similar process with the new technologies of the 19th century. This chapter focuses on rumors on the other side of

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the war as an important organizing force for German aggression. Despite European claims to superior knowledge and understanding of the colonial situation, Germans became caught up and dependent on the same discourses of rumor as East Africans.

Germans took enough stock of the rumors that many papers, including the ones most closely connected to Peters, published obituaries about the man and accounts of the rumored Maasai ambush. The credulity of the German public when it came to rumors about Emin, Bushiri, and Peters raises questions about how Germans understood knowledge and information in the colonial context. Some of the ways in which Germans read the rumors appear bizarre at first glance. A reconnaissance of the town of Dunda, near Bagamoyo, by one of Wissmann's lieutenants revealed that only a few people had remained in town while most had fled. Wissmann took evidence to mean not that everyone was afraid of the Germans, but that he was fighting "only against the Arabs and their dependents, not against the peaceful natives." The expedition worked from a framework that Arabs were to blame for everything that was wrong and that Arabs were a threat to German rule. Without certain facts, supporters could pick the rumors to fit the narrative they wanted to justify their expedition.

Rumors could serve as well as facts if rumors fit what Germans already "knew" about Africa. Rumors of Arab cruelty fit the tropes that had been established by pre-colonial explorers and justified the continued imposition of European empire in Africa. The anti-Arab campaign discussed in Chapter Three was built on such a foundation by

7 BArch R 1001/739, pag. 45.
resorting to the tropes about East Africa established through earlier journeys of exploration (as discussed in Chapter Three) to explain what was happening between 1888 and 1890.\(^8\)

Beginning with Robert Knapp's work during the Second World War, psychologists and other scholars have analyzed rumor and its meaning in great detail. Knapp argued that "[r]umors develop out of attempts to introduce meaning into a confused or ill-defined situation" such as one could find in wartime. Such periods fostered rumor, as rumors filled gaps left by censorship and lack of information, and because crises intensified the "emotional life" of the public." Rumors arose to express the wishes and fears of the public at times when people were dissatisfied with publicly-available information. Knapp, who worked for the US government's efforts to control rumors about the war, defined "rumor" as "a proposition for belief of topical reference without official verification." Three characteristics defined a rumor. Rumors were transmitted by word of mouth; they provided information about particular people, happenings, or conditions; and they satisfied emotional needs. They could therefore be true, as well as false, and their originator could be anyone. Rumors bore a unique power to both reflect and shape popular opinion, and "express the underlying hopes, fears, and hostilities of the group" in which they circulated.\(^9\) Tamotsu Shibutani, writing in 1966,

defined rumor as "news that does not develop in institutional channels." Rumors may be true, but they always involve some degree of speculation. Cass Sunstein, relying on recent social science research, has argued that rumors have power to shape opinion based on the hearer's private beliefs and trust in the speaker of the rumor. Belief in rumor is based largely on what the hearer thought on the subject before he heard it. Daniel Bernardi, et al., have argued that "truth' becomes less about facts and evidence and more about coherence with pre-existing and prevailing understandings."12

Historians have relied on rumor theory to explore histories where the normal written sources on which to base truth claims are lacking. Scholars of early modern Europe have used rumors to explore social concerns at the time. Ann Stoler has examined rumor in the Dutch East Indies as a "key form of cultural knowledge" that blurred the boundaries between

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12 Bernardi, et al., 3. Bernardi and his fellow authors explore the ways in which rumors become part of a narrative landscape through interaction with other stories, histories, archetypal characters, and mythological heroes.

witnessing and envisioning. Rumors in the Dutch East Indies were necessary to reinforce ideas of how empire worked; only rumors that fit particular forms were allowed.\(^\text{14}\) Luise White's work on rumors in colonial East Africa provides guidance for the case of *Ostafrika*. White reads rumors as expressions of anxieties about changes in society, not as statements of fact.\(^\text{15}\) Rumors "allow historians a vision of colonial worlds replete with all the messy categories and meandering epistemologies many Africans used to describe the extractions and invasions with which they lived."\(^\text{16}\) Jonathon Glassman's study of racial discourse in post-independence Zanzibar depicts rumors as especially powerful among people who feel cut off from authoritative discourses. Rumors of violence against one's community turn everyone into witnesses and victims, providing the rationale for participation in violent vengeance.\(^\text{17}\)

This chapter takes rumors as a source for European imperial history as well as African. The facts of each expedition are relatively straightforward - Wissmann went to the Swahili Coast and achieved a quick victory, Peters did not find Emin Pasha - but there was far more at stake in the German imperial imaginary. Ann Stoler's analysis of the administration of the Dutch East Indies has demonstrated that the colonial archive reveals the dreams and apprehensions of colonial officials there. The rumors surrounding


\(^{16}\) Ibid., 5.

both expeditions reveal the hopes and anxieties of the German colonial movement and its opponents at a key moment in the development of the German overseas empire. Both expeditions’ leaders attempted to establish systems to produce definitive information about Ostafrika under their control as a means of establishing permanent power to shape ideas about the colony.

In the preparations for both the Emin Pasha and the Bushiri War expeditions, we can observe that "rumors" served to create particular narratives about the German colonization of Africa. Metropolitan Germans knew little about Emin and the fighting on the coast when agitation for responses first began. More information arrived over time, but it was always incomplete and unverified. There was value in the incompleteness of information, however, as it allowed Germans to determine their own meanings of what was happening in East Africa. Proponents of each expedition used rumors about the Arab slave trade and Arab cruelty to claim German colonialism was a benevolent force in East Africa. Bernardi, et al. tell us that rumors can become particularly powerful when they evoke master narratives, as well as when they are advanced by "authorities," a situation at work in German responses to the Bushiri War.  

Both the Emin Pasha Committee and the Foreign Office produced and repeated rumors about an Arab threat to the European civilizing mission, tapping into Europe-wide fears in the wake of the Mahdi's conquest of Khartoum and murder of Charles Gordon. Those rumors were essential for the mobilization of the German public and the creation of a State of Exception in East Africa.

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18 Bernardi, et al., 41. The authors draw the reader's attention to the Bush administration's use of rumors in creating popular support for the 2003 Iraq War to seize on American fears of a Middle Eastern terrorist threat and worries about nuclear proliferation in the wake of the Cold War, 80-81, 87.
With Wissmann's victory on the coast, the Foreign Office attempted to assert control over rumors and information about Ostafrika. It attempted to closely control Wissmann's operations while fighting was ongoing. Further, Foreign Office officials tried to eliminate the possibility of future rumors as damaging to its colonialism as those of 1888 had been to the DOAG through the creation of a tighter network of information, based around modern communications technology, the telegraph. Foreign Office officials hoped a telegraph connection to the East African mainland would ensure metropolitan control of the narrative of events in the colony. As the Peters expedition collapsed, rumors about Peters' deeds became a point of conflict between both sides in the Land/Leute debate. Proponents of the Leute over Land side in the debate used Peters' presumed death to take control of the narrative of Ostafrika's development.

Making Tropes into Reality

The initial impetus for the German Emin Pasha Expedition came from the same direction as previous German expeditions in East Africa. The first news of Emin's difficulties had reached Europe through the explorer and naturalist Wilhelm Junker. Junker traveled to Equatoria in 1886 on his way across Africa. He met Emin in Wadelai and spent some time holed up there waiting for a steamer from the north that never arrived because of the Mahdi rebellion. When Junker finally did leave the area, he carried letters from from Emin in Equatoria to the Swahili coast on foot.\textsuperscript{19} The Emin Pasha Committee cited knowledge derived by explorers in arguing for the feasibility of its plan.

\textsuperscript{19} Wilhelm Junker, \textit{Dr. Wilh. Junkers Reisen in Afrika, 1875-1886} (Vienna: Hölzel, 1889-91).
It said that Junker, Georg Schweinfurth, Gerhard Rohls, Wissmann, and Paul Reichard, all of whom had most thoroughly gotten to know the relationships of Central Africa...believed in the possibility of success." Information about both crises was conveyed to metropolitan audiences in many well-attended lectures and presentations by "experts" on East Africa. Georg Schweinfurth had become the European with the most knowledge about the African interior. Before his part in the Emin Pasha expedition, Schweinfurth was the source of information for German newspapers about Catholic missionaries that had been captured in the Sudan. Schweinfurth asserted his authority in a public meeting on 17 August 1889. He told his audience that, no matter what anyone said about Emin, that person's opinion was based on letters that he, Schweinfurth, had published. Therefore Schweinfurth knew best what to make of Emin. Schweinfurth told metropolitan audiences that "Emin means for the future of Africa a world of hopes." Emin's success came from "his deep understanding of the African world and its cultural needs."

The relative lack of information about Emin was part of his appeal to metropolitan Germans. Newspapers read different meanings into the scant evidence they

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20 BArch R 8023/852, pag. 24-25.

21 Perhaps the most ridiculous of these was held at the Dortmund branch of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft - pictures of slavery were presented with musical accompaniment. "Mitteilungen aus der Gesellschaft," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, February 23, 1889. "Mitteilungen aus der Gesellschaft," every issue of Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 1888-1890.

22 BArch R 1001/250, pag. 47.

23 BArch R 1001/250, pag. 116.
found in his letters. Some saw in Emin the hoped-for Christian presence in Central Africa. Others claimed he had converted to Islam and would therefore not be of use. Yet others wrote that he had converted, but only out of necessity, and that his letters showed that he remained a true Christian. \(^{24}\) A large part of Emin's appeal was that so little was known about him. He was a blank canvas onto whom colonial enthusiasts could project their own visions of the future of East and Central Africa. He was German, but had left Germany almost immediately upon completing his medical studies and, save for a brief stop to rid himself of the family he had acquired in Ottoman service, had not returned. The only Germans who had had contact with Emin were naturalists to whom he had sent plant and animal samples. Almost no one in Europe knew much about Emin. Newspapers quoted travelers who had encountered Emin as sources of great truths about the man's greatness. \(^{25}\) As the British *Standard* put it, "So much mystery, or, if the word be preferred, so much romance surrounds the sturdy Teuton…that the thought of succouring him may well appeal to the imaginative side of the German temperament."\(^{26}\) An expedition to Emin could secure the trade of the Sudan and the source of the Nile, and allow Germany to control world trade in ivory, rubber, and other goods. \(^{27}\) Hartlaub took the fact that Emin did not want to leave as a further sign of his greatness. It showed he

\(^{24}\) BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 38. BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 15.

\(^{25}\) In reality, Emin was extremely gifted with languages, but was otherwise not particularly skilled at governance and bumbling when it came to managing crises.

\(^{26}\) BArch R 1001/713, pag. 23.

\(^{27}\) BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 85.
had loyalty. What a man, who had "officiated the Office of judge, signed treaties, organized work, received chiefs, and resolved disputes." Emin himself delighted in his ability to change his identity to fit the circumstances in which he found himself. He expressed his joy at being mistaken for an Arab in letters back to his family in Germany.

European readers of Emin's letters had no way of checking the veracity of his reports, but many readers did believe them. Several geographical societies petitioned the German government to help Emin and Junker out of Equatoria as early as 1886. The foreign Office noted that "more exact information about the present whereabouts of the two is unknown…it is assumed that they are in the vicinity of Lado." But those who held out hope for a German expedition claimed more knowledge, that Emin could still be found at Wadelai, whence he had sent his last letters. Supporters of an expedition to Equatoria took the reports they wanted to hear at face value, and rejected those they did not as "not yet authenticated."

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28 BArch R 8023/852, pag. 10.

29 Georg Schweitzer, Emin Pascha (Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1898), 118. In the committee’s writings, and later Carl Peters’ descriptions of his expedition, Emin appears rather similar to the character of Kurtz in Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness. Conrad wrote Heart of Darkness only a few years after, so Emin may or may not have been a model for the character, but the imagined Emin of metropolitan Germany exhibited the same characteristics colonial officials valued and worried about in Kurtz and his African experience.

30 BArch R 1001/245, pag. 18.

31 BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 85.

32 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 103.
The Foreign Office, like the Emin Pasha Committee, was determined to make the facts of Emin's situation fit the narrative it had established, as discussed in the previous chapter. Facts that did not fit were thrown out. The Bismarck regime also reached out to Junker for information about Emin and Equatoria. Friedrich Krauel, head of colonial affairs in the Foreign Office, forwarded Junker's letter with a note that it was "for practical purposes not very usable."\(^{33}\) The "practical purposes" Krauel had in mind deserve some interrogation. In his response to the regime's enquiry, Junker declared his "authority" over knowledge of the area as "the last traveler in that land."\(^{34}\) He refused, however, to pass judgment on the "Arab question," to which he said he only knew the area east Equatoria in significant detail. Of Equatoria he had "without a doubt an incomplete picture" and "would therefore not overestimate his opinion on this question."\(^{35}\) He instead sent two articles by Oskar Lenz, an Austrian explorer who had spent more time in the region.

While Germans were still bickering about whether or not to believe rumors about Emin, Henry Morton Stanley's expedition got underway. The Stanley expedition turned uncertainty about the position of one man in Equatoria into confusion about colonial rivalries and the long-term future of Central Africa. Rumors about Stanley's expedition abounded in Europe from its outset. Some newspapers claimed that Stanley's goal was to claim the province of Equatoria, though there was dispute about whether he would claim

\(^{33}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 35.  
\(^{34}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 31.  
\(^{35}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 31.
it for the British East Africa Company or the Congo Free State.\textsuperscript{36} There is not space here to get into the details of the Stanley expedition, but by September of 1888, nothing had been heard from Stanley for 14 months.\textsuperscript{37} Stanley was unable to get reports to the coast, so Europe was in the dark about his whereabouts. In the meantime, Giacamo Casati, Emin's right hand man in Equatoria, wrote the Society of Commercial Exploration in Milan in December 1887 that he and Emin and still heard nothing from Stanley, and that their position was perilous.\textsuperscript{38} There were no reports of Stanley's death, but there were no reports that he was alive, either. It had been assumed that Stanley's expedition would be successful given Stanley's history of travel in Africa and the vast sums spent on the expedition. But many gave up hope for his return; one newspaper told readers that Stanley's "attempts to reach Emin from the Congo are shattered."\textsuperscript{39}

Stanley's absence provided a justification for a German Emin Pasha expedition. Wild rumors, most of them bad, spread of what might have happened to Stanley.\textsuperscript{40} Wissmann claimed that Stanley was trying to combine Emin's realm with the lands Junker and Georg Schweinfurth had traveled through into a massive Central African

\textsuperscript{36} BArch R 1001/249b, pag. 7; BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 7.

\textsuperscript{37} BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 81. For information on the course of the Stanley expedition, see Liebowitz and Pearson; Tony Gould, \textit{In Limbo: The Story of Stanley's Rear Column} (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979); Iain R. Smith, \textit{The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1886-1890} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

\textsuperscript{38} "Kleine Mitteilungen," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, August 11, 1888.

\textsuperscript{39} BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 84.

\textsuperscript{40} For example, one newspaper reported that Stanley had probably been killed by his former ally Tippo Tipp. BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 81. Gerhard Rohlfs claimed Stanley had founded his own empire in the Bahr-el-Ghasal. BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 85. BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 15.
state.\textsuperscript{41} One supporter of a German expedition said that, "in any case" it must be assumed "that Stanley had not reached Emin, and if he did succeed in reaching Wadelai, could not bring Emin the things he most direly needed, namely munitions, weapons, and clothing…the English expedition is therefore to be regarded as shattered."\textsuperscript{42} Peters cited those rumors in explaining the German expedition after the fact: that Emin and Stanley had been killed by the Mahdi, that Emin was in captivity in Khartoum, and that the two of them were together, but being forced to retreat farther from the coast.\textsuperscript{43} The contradictions between the rumors led Peters to believe that the British colonial lobby had planted them in order to discourage a German expedition.\textsuperscript{44}

New rumors that Peters had managed to find Emin appeared in April of 1889. The Hamburgischer Korrespondent declared the Peters expedition "purposeless," as Stanley had made it to Wadelai and met Emin.\textsuperscript{45} The National-Zeitung, in contrast, declared the expedition still useful, as did the Kolonialzeitung. Stanley had not yet made a connection between Wadelai and the coast; without one his and Emin's position remained dangerous. The news about Stanley and Emin was instead favorable, as it meant Emin was still alive and that he needed German help.\textsuperscript{46} The Kolonialzeitung held out hope that Germany

\textsuperscript{41} BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 85.  
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{43} Peters, NLDA, 14.  
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{45} BArch R 1001/249e, pag. 46.  
\textsuperscript{46} BArch R 1001/249e, pag. 47.
could still pull Emin into German service. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which was opposed to the expedition, instead took its decision to go ahead as a sign that it "followed less philanthropic than political goals." The Emin Pasha Committee stated that "neither the news of Emin capture through the Mahdi's troops, nor the news of relief through Stanley were vouched enough" to give up the expedition. Tiedemann agreed that the rumors of Stanley's arrival in Wadelai only increased the need for the German expedition.

The *Kolonialzeitung's* parsing of the rumors that Emin and Stanley had been captured by the Mahdi shows us the ways metropolitan Germans read rumors from Africa. Its editors cited the fact that they "knew" the Mahdi was advancing and that Emin's position was difficult as reasons to believe the rumor. But there were reasons to disbelieve it of "a more indirect nature." It might just be a war claim of Osman Digma, the source of the rumor. The best evidence that it was false was that it had arrived in Zanzibar before it had arrived in Suakim, which was hundreds of miles closer to Wadelai. Sure enough, another rumor a week later claimed that Stanley and Emin had met in Wadelai on 20 January.

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47 "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, May 11, 1889, 149.

48 BArch R 1001/250, pag. 30.

49 BArch R 8023/3, pag. 130.


Stanley's fate was made to conform to tropes present in the European imaginary about Africa. The primary causes of Stanley's delay in reality, his incompetent leadership and poor planning for the expedition, were excluded as possibilities. Instead, Europeans imagined an attack from forces, inspired by Islam, that wanted to drive European Christianity and culture out of Africa.\textsuperscript{53} It was unthinkable that a European expedition could fail to best African environments or peoples. Colonial fantasies about Africa became "reality" among the European public of the 1880s. If Stanley and Emin had not made their way out of Equatoria, they must still be under siege there. Supporters of a German expedition contorted every rumor to fit its aims. If Stanley was dead, Emin still needed help. If Stanley had met Emin, both of them needed help, if Emin had been captured, then he really needed help, and on and on it went.

Bismarck and the Foreign Office, however, refused to believe the rumors and tried to make the Emin issue disappear. In his attempts to woo Wissmann away from the Emin expedition, the chancellor told Wissmann that "Emin does not exist for him."\textsuperscript{54} The chancellor wrote in a memorandum on 14 September 1888 that "every clear report failed" to demonstrate whether Emin could be reached from the German interest sphere, or how far his rule stretched.\textsuperscript{55} "We know even less about the passability of the routes that lead there, and about the temper and fighting capacity of the tribes that live in the lands

\textsuperscript{53} There was also a rumor that Emin's troops had rebelled because they feared Stanley would sell them into slavery. BArch N 2063/12, pag. 5.

\textsuperscript{54} BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 98.

\textsuperscript{55} BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 74.
between the coast and Emin. The difficulties that an expedition there would have to overcome are completely unknown." Sending officials there would therefore be unthinkable. The Foreign Office, in a memorandum to the Emin Pasha Committee, cited a report by Wilhelm Junker that an expedition would be infeasible. Junker told the foreign Office that the rebellion on the coast meant "an immediate dispatch of the planned expedition from the east coast is impossible." Stanley had chosen the Congo route primarily out of fear that Mwanga II would kill British and French missionaries in Uganda. The "childish mistrust of the Central African power holders has been nourished by the influx of Arabs," meaning that Mwanga II exercised "unlimited brutal despotism" and had murdered Giacomo Casati and the Arab trader Muhammed Biri, according to newspaper reports. Mwanga had turned into a despot through the influence of Arab traders who had worked themselves into his confidence; similar situations could be found through the entire stretch between Tabora and the south end of Lake Victoria. Junker described possible routes that an expedition could take, made more difficult by the fact that Uganda's borders were "unclear." Junker declared that any expedition would have to fight with Waganda troops, of which he estimated Mwanga could gather 5000. War was "an absolute necessity" if the expedition hoped for the "attainment of a lasting

56 BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 74.
57 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 34-35.
58 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 36-37.
59 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 37-38.
60 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 39-40.
success."\(^{61}\) This would further necessitate the construction of lasting connections between the coast and Equatoria. Junker rejected the rumors of Stanley's death. He believed Stanley was with Emin, unable to get through Uganda to the coast.\(^{62}\) He saw the goal of the expedition as the "creation of order in the Hinterlands" and a lasting connection between Equatoria and the coast. He recommended for the purpose four expeditions, two British and two German.\(^{63}\) They could then turn Equatoria, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, "the nearby Hinterlands" into a "neutral free state."\(^{64}\)

Reports of the outbreak of the Bushiri war were similarly confusing for German observers when they began arriving in September 1888.\(^{65}\) At the beginning of September, the *Kolonialzeitung* was still running news about the frivolities of previous years - Gravenreuth had acclimatized a horse to the mainland when Stanley had thought it impossible.\(^{66}\) Accounts were in newspapers before the government had a chance to respond - Berchem's note to the chancellor notifying him of the fighting included the disclaimer that Bismarck "would already have attained knowledge of" the events in question through newspapers.\(^{67}\) They alternated between total despair and claims that

\(^{61}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 42.

\(^{62}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 43.

\(^{63}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 45. That idea was quickly rejected by Bismarck.

\(^{64}\) BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 45. The regime then rejected that plan as too expensive.

\(^{65}\) BArch R 1001/687, pag. 1-20.

\(^{66}\) "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, September 1, 1888, 281.

\(^{67}\) BArch R 1001/687, pag. 28.
order had been restored without fighting. Some observers refused to believe aspects of
the rumors - for instance that the raising of the company flag had been important because
it happened in Bagamoyo, not Pangani.68 One foreign Office memo explicitly compared
the contradictions in reports from the admiralty and from the consulate in Zanzibar.69
Reports swung wildly as to what areas were in danger, who was responsible for the
fighting, and whether there was any hope of stopping it.70 Early reports frequently
downplayed the importance of the fighting, but by 25 September, telegrams were
arriving, from Michahelles and from the Reuters news agency, with warnings that the
rebellion was "reaching greater dimensions" and that "the worst is to be feared."71 The
problem was that telegraphic reports "contain still no certain information about the
instigator and the tendency of the rebellion." Despite that fact, "they were accept as
doubtless in well-informed local circles."72 Sultan Khalifa told Albrecht O'Swald of the
Hamburg trading house O'Swald that officials of the DOAG, particularly Emil Zelewski,
were to blame, for taking dogs into a mosque, insulting women, charging money for
digging a grave, seizing lands, and spitting on the Sultan's flag.73

68 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 15.
69 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 53-54.
70 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 32, 51.
71 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 77.
72 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 50.
73 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 5-6.
O'Swald and the other Hamburg trading houses occupied a central role in communications from Zanzibar. Most of the Sultan's messages to the German regime were sent through O'Swald, rather than the German consulate. The regime consulted with the leaders of four trading houses in mid-October, leaders who were in Hamburg, not East Africa, about what should be done. Albrecht O'Swald suggested giving up the DOAG treaty with Khalifa and restoring his sovereignty on the coast, if the government could not take complete control of the coast and Zanzibar. Hansing blamed the Arabs for starting the fighting. He suggested creating a relationship with the Khalifa similar to the relationship between the Dutch colonial regime and sultans in the East Indies. Ottens recommended installing a German military regime on the coast and removing the Sultan from the equation completely. Herr Westendarp of the firm Heinrich Adolph Meyer described Khalifa as "Germany's enemy," responsible for the problems. Breaking the rebellion required breaking the power of Arabs on Zanzibar itself. All four recommended the government throw its weight into the situation and take military measures against Arabs on the Swahili coast.  

The DOAG called Khalifa's believability into question. Some newspapers took those claims at face value, claiming an Arab party had risen up against the DOAG over the company's attempts to end the slave trade. Zelewski denied the rumors that he had disgraced the mosque. He wrote the foreign Office that he and his men were looking for

74 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 85-96.
75 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 60.
the Liwali Abd el Gawy and were told he was on the roof of the mosque. He asked permission before going in, and brought no dogs with him.\textsuperscript{76} The Company claimed that Khalifa himself only knew what was happening through the reports of "Arabs, Hindus, or Blacks," implying that DOAG reports were in their very nature more believable than the Sultan's.\textsuperscript{77} It counted on an idea that Europeans were in their nature more trustworthy than Arabs and hoped that the regime would go along.

But Foreign Office officials and others almost immediately turned to blaming the DOAG.\textsuperscript{78} Foreign Office Under State Secretary Maximilian Sigismund Rudolf Graf von Berchem noted in mid-September 1888 that the DOAG's reports were not the most up to date.\textsuperscript{79} Office Berchem later wrote to his superiors that "the rebellion in Pangani…traces back to the officials of the East African Company, which in their actions on the mainland did not always observe the necessary regard for the Sultan."

Otto von Bismarck believed that account was more accurate, writing that he "regret[ted], that my recommendations to strive for understanding with the Sultan and with the Arabs" was not followed by the DOAG. DOAG actions were "not in tune!" with his wishes, placing the blame squarely on the Company. The regime was not alone in blaming the DOAG; many

\textsuperscript{76} BArch R 1001/691, pag. 45-47.

\textsuperscript{77} BArch R 1001/689, pag. 30-31.

\textsuperscript{78} By 12 September, reports were arriving placing the blame of the DOAG. BArch R 1001/687, pag. 30.

\textsuperscript{79} BArch R 1001/687, pag. 22.

\textsuperscript{80} BArch R 1001/249c, pag. 52-53.
newspapers also followed that line of argument.\textsuperscript{81} Khalifa himself tried to settle the issue on 20 September. He telegraphed O'Swald, to be forwarded on to the Kaiser, that the DOAG had stirred up rebellion since it "insulted our people, entered the mosque at Pangani."\textsuperscript{82} The regime negotiated with the British with an understanding that the DOAG had made "certain blunders" in its dealings. With that in mind, the problems could not simply be blamed on the DOAG's actions toward the Sultan's officials. British missionaries claimed that the DOAG had acted even worse toward the "native population," and that people had started calling them "the enemies of God." This, however, could be excused, as it was attributable to the "religious fanaticism" of the "Mohammedan part" of the population. The DOAG had been too rational in its approach.\textsuperscript{83} Otto von Bismarck asked the British regime whether the DOAG really had attacked mosques.\textsuperscript{84}

The situation was made more complicated by the fact that the regime still did not really know what to make of Zanzibari power on the mainland. The regime judged the Sultan's claims as "hardly probable," as they lacked information about places and dates at which the incidents took place, but it did not fully trust the DOAG's accounts of events. It should not be assumed that the Sultan was a "lover of truth like Orientals in general," and

\textsuperscript{81} BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 15.

\textsuperscript{82} BArch R 1001/687, pag. 68. Khalifa stuck with that story through 1889, BArch R 8124/9, pag. 18-19, 28-30.

\textsuperscript{83} BArch R 1001/706, pag. 53-56.

\textsuperscript{84} BArch R 1001/707, pag. 23.
might be protecting his co-religionists and fellow slave traders. The DOAG claimed that Sultan Khalifa was "powerless." Khalifa himself pressed that narrative, telling the regime that he was "weak and...always threatened with the anger of his majesty the emperor." The regime held out hope that Khalifa could restore his imagined power through peaceful means, but questions about that scenario soon crept in. Some reports blamed Khalifa's governors for the fighting, saying that they were refusing to allow any Christians in their cities. The DOAG claimed that the Sultan could easily stop the fighting in the cities if he wanted to and that he only needed to be threatened with the bombardment of Pangani to act, a position contradicted by most other sources. But not by Wissmann, whom Berchem consulted, and who agreed with the DOAG. The DOAG blamed the Wali on Pangani for refusing to follow the treaty, then convincing the other walis to join him in fighting the DOAG. Michahelles wrote Berlin that the Sultan's authority could not be restored without the help of the German navy. Rantzau stressed

85 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 11-13.
86 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 41.
87 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 6.
88 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 10, 52.
89 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 75.
90 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 42.
91 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 43.
92 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 97.
93 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 39-40.
the need to keep Khalifa as an "ally" and to strengthen him in that role. The German consulate in Zanzibar reported that the Sultan had asked the Arabs on the mainland to protect foreigners; he too feared "Arab-Mohammedan influences." Whatever the case, reports that the Sultan's power on the mainland had been "completely broken" were arriving by early October. The German naval Officers on the coast suspected that the fighting was really a plot by the Sultan, that he had provided a "secret instruction" to the Wali of Pangani to fight against the DOAG.

It was unclear to both Europeans and Zanzibaris who the source of the rebellion was. Early reports blamed the "chiefs in the Hinterland." The only way to defeat those chiefs would be military expeditions "far into the interior." Attacking the coast would only show the "resistant tribes" that the Sultan was "powerless." He needed to be supported in his continued role as the "titular sovereign" over the Swahili coast, as provided for in the DOAG-Zanzibar treaty. Michahelles' report of 3 October placed the start of the "disturbances" in the Portuguese region, near Lake Nyasa. The "Arab element" there, "inspired by Zanzibar," was trying to control the slave trade. It was no use

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94 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 61.
95 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 63.
96 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 79, BArch R 1001/689, pag. 27, BArch R 1001/706, pag. 21-24; BArch R 1001/692, pag. 69.
97 BArch R 1001/689, pag. 44, 49.
98 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 54.
99 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 61.
100 BArch R 1001/687, pag. 61-62.
trying to find more evidence for the theory, as "the Oriental is much too distrustful and careful to compromise himself through writing." \(^{101}\) Leue wrote to the DOAG in mid-October that "it gets clearer everyday that the whole affair is instigated by the Arabs and Indians." \(^{102}\) By early October, new reports were arriving that the fighting had started in the Great Lakes Region and spread to the coast through Arab slave traders. It was no longer just a "disturbance;" someone crossed out the word "disturbance" [Unruhen] and replaced it with "rebellion" [Aufstand] on the notice of the news. \(^{103}\) The idea that the fighting had started hundreds of miles to the west continued into November. \(^{104}\)

The confusion was increased by the cacophony of voices claiming knowledge of the fighting. German newspapers were at first almost entirely dependent on British newspapers and Reuters for news, as both were more established in East Africa. Germany did not even have its own mail connection to the colony. Pro-colonial newspapers criticized British reporting for its "secret Schadenfreude" at the German plight. \(^{105}\) Those newspapers explicitly and implicitly called into question all reports on the fighting. Many ran stories from German sources, even if those stories were inane and provided no new information. The Evangelical Mission Society for German East Africa (Berlin III), the most established German institution in the colony outside of the DOAG, rejected the

\(^{101}\) BArch R 1001/692, pag. 18-19.

\(^{102}\) "Die Vorgänge in Ostafrika," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, December 8, 1888, 409-410.

\(^{103}\) BArch R 1001/706, pag. 44.

\(^{104}\) BArch R 1001/709, pag. 115.

DOAG's narrative. It claimed that anyone who really knew African affairs knew that if the Arabs had really wanted to kill all Germans, they would have killed a lot more of them. Rather, the DOAG had "revived pictures from the Thirty Years' War in our colonies."  

So the regime fell back on what it did "know" about Arabs in East Africa. They were there to trade slaves. The regime chose the facts that fit its narrative of Arab intrigues. One frequently finds documents in the colonial Office files about the war and the blockade in which someone in Berlin (often Otto von Bismarck himself) has crossed out words or sections of reports from East Africa that blame other actors for the war and in their place inserted language about Arabs and/or the slave trade. Although there were at least a few voices in Germany calling for a better understanding of slavery as it existed in East Africa before acting, the regime went ahead. Despite his "cruelty," Deinhard was able to sign a truce with Bushiri, in which Bushiri laid out his terms for a lasting peace, until Wissmann's arrival. As discussed in chapter three, the government's efforts were directed at the slave trade writ large rather than at local circumstances. By the end of September, before Bushiri had been identified/declared the leader of the


107 These canceled out various reports. Khalifa conspired with "Arabs," not "Africans" on the coast, BArch R 1001/711, pag. 35.


109 BArch R 1001/737, pag. 57.
rebellion, newspapers were blaming Arab "tricks and cruelty."\footnote{110 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 64.} Attacks in other cities on the coast were anticipated based on the mere presence of a large population of "Arab slave traders."\footnote{111 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 10.} The chancellor wrote a directive on 26 February in which he tied the fighting on the coast to an old prejudice, the "thousand year-old tradition of the Orient." Germans need to learn from the "practical teachings of world history"\footnote{112 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 29.} if they hoped to end the fighting. Those ideas persisted despite British reports that the fighting had been started by "tribes from the interior not subjugated to the Sultan."\footnote{113 BArch R 1001/688, pag. 66.} The regime built its public campaign, as discussed in chapter three, around fighting the "more than 1000-year custom of the African slave trade" carried out by "Muslim fanaticism."\footnote{114 BArch R 1001/707, pag. 5-6.} The \textit{Kolonialzeitung} carried stories of cruelty - Bushiri cutting off hands for minor offenses.\footnote{115 "Kleine Mitteilungen," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, May 25, 1889, 168.} Bismarck and the Foreign Office chose the rumors that fit the narrative of Christian civilization under threat from the Arab slave trade.

The government tried to seize control over information about the fighting to stop the spread of rumors and establish its narrative as the only narrative. Otto von Bismarck ordered telegraphs to Khalifa to be written in German, rather than the English that had theretofore been used. German-language telegrams would require the employment of a
German translator, either Michahelles or O'Swald, whereas English-language telegrams would be translated by the British consul. He would provide a "translation not controlled by us."\textsuperscript{116} It asked the consulate in Zanzibar to gather information on the nationality and citizenship of the people of the coast, especially how many "national Arabs of influence, power, and connections live in the interior. Try to make the acquaintance of influential Indians and build understanding between them and our citizens."\textsuperscript{117} The regime realized in this situation that its power in East Africa was almost entirely dependent on its control of knowledge and information about events there. If it could make its narrative the reality, it was free to solve the situation as it saw fit.

The DOAG and the regime built up Bushiri into an enemy worthy of a European great power like Germany. Bushiri first appears in the reports of the foreign Office on 24 September, as nothing more than the leader of the rebels in Pangani.\textsuperscript{118} Defeating Bushiri would require more than simply cutting off his supplies; it would require a "larger expedition into the land, the success of which is not at all to be expected."\textsuperscript{119} British reports remained less focused on Bushiri. British Under Secretary of State James Fergusson's report to the House of Commons on Bushiri's attack on Bagamoyo did not mention Bushiri by name, only as "a chief from the interior."\textsuperscript{120} The \textit{Kolonialzeitung}

\textsuperscript{116} BArch R 1001/688, pag. 41.
\textsuperscript{117} BArch R 1001/707, pag. 111.
\textsuperscript{118} BArch R 1001/691, pag. 16-18.
\textsuperscript{119} BArch R 1001/711, pag. 39.
\textsuperscript{120} BArch R 1001/713, pag. 15.
described Bushiri as nothing more than a "professional adventurer and instigator of disturbances." The rebels were not even really Arabs; Bushiri was a "Swahili nigger" and his forces were carrying half-white, half-red flags rather than white Arab flags.\footnote{121} Another article in the newspaper called Bushiri "the soul of the rebellion."\footnote{122} Bushiri became the enemy Germany needed to blockade, then invade, the Swahili Coast.

Establishing Control over Rumor in the Bushiri War Expedition

A closer analysis of the Bushiri War expedition reveals how limited metropolitan knowledge of East Africa really was. Once Wissmann landed on the East African mainland, he was for the most part outside of the control of metropolitan officials. The regime could not even control the information that metropolitan Germans consumed about the expedition. Various other parties with interests on the coast continued to produce their own versions of events. One of the main factors that shaped the government's program in fighting the Bushiri War was an attempt to assert its control of knowledge of and on the coast over rival narratives.

The Wissmann operation did not find the expected Islamic fanaticism it was sent to fight. It was not until January of the following year that Wissmann wrote of the first "sign of religious fanaticism among our opponents," and not among Bushiri's troops but among Bwana Heri's.\footnote{123} Rather, it found a still confused situation of which Wissmann struggled to make sense and over which he struggled to assert his control. His first

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\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{121}{"Kleine Mitteilungen," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, May 2, 5 1889, 168.}
\item \footnote{122}{"Der Sieg in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, May 18, 1889, 153-154.}
\item \footnote{123}{BArch R 1001/744, pag. 96.}
\end{itemize}
priority, of course, was to pursue the war, but of nearly as much importance for the regime's long-term goals in East Africa were his (and other German actors in the area's) attempts to gain control over information about the region. The Wissmann expedition can be seen as an attempt to create, then destroy, the imagined enemy that it was designed to face.

Wissmann began his work with a "reconnaissance trip" along the coast. He declared Bushiri's conditions for peace "laughable," as he would only "deal with him as a rebel." Wissmann did not have a developed reconnaissance system in place in East Africa, so his information about his enemies' movements had to come from local people. He told his superiors that he always sent the Askaris who knew the "Land und Leute" the best forward as an avant garde force.\textsuperscript{124} Wissmann could not control the rumors that spread from his expedition, however. After a battle with Bushiri's forces on 8 May, a rumor spread in Bagamoyo that Bushiri had been severely wounded. Wissmann believed the rumor, but only after it was corroborated by a woman who had fled from Bushiri's encampment. She claimed Bushiri had been shot in the left shoulder.\textsuperscript{125}

Sending Wissmann to Ostafrika did not suddenly fix the government's information difficulties. Wissmann, upon landing on the coast in April 1889, was cut off from easy communication with the metropole. He entered a different zone of information, one into which telegraph technology did not reach. Landing on the African mainland took Wissmann out of range of direct metropolitan observation and control. First of all, it

\textsuperscript{124} BArch R 1001/743, pag. 56.

\textsuperscript{125} BArch R 1001/738, pag. 88.
usually took written reports about a month to reach Berlin, sometimes as much as a month and a half.\footnote{BArch R 1001/743, pag. 11.} The regime still could not control how information traveled. Wisssmann complained that rebels from the mainland traveled to Zanzibar and spread false rumors about Germans there.\footnote{BArch R 1001/739. pag. 54.} His campaign took place on the mainland, largely in areas not connected to international communications, so Wisssmann's communications to Berlin were intermittent and often short. They frequently contained nothing more than the site of a battle and the casualties for each side (sometimes only the white casualties). Wisssmann was winning battles, but it was unclear whether he was making long-term progress against Bushiri or whether he was getting along with local populations he was supposedly protecting. The regime at times grew exasperated with the lack of information forthcoming from Wisssmann. When Wisssmann left the coast for the west, he could not be reached at all. He undertook an expedition against Mpwapwa, 20 days away, in mid-September. There was still no news, only speculation, from the expedition in late October.\footnote{BArch R 1001/741, pag. 43.}

The problems raise questions about how Bismarck expected to control an operation thousands of miles from Berlin that would only sometimes be reachable through modern telegraphy. Even a state-directed colonial project such as Wisssmann's was out of the grasp of the traditional methods of control exercised by the late nineteenth-century state. Bismarck could write Wisssmann telegrams reminding him of the

\footnotetext{126}{BArch R 1001/743, pag. 11.} \footnotetext{127}{BArch R 1001/739. pag. 54.} \footnotetext{128}{BArch R 1001/741, pag. 43.}
limitations established in his appointment letter, but had little further power to directly affect his actions in East Africa. The chancellor told Wissmann that telegraphic reports did not provide enough information, that he needed to write letters in addition to his telegraphic reports to more fully sketch out what was happening on the coast.129 Bismarck sent Wissmann a reminder that he was required to answer the chancellor's marginal comments.130 Until then, Berchem recommended the regime place more value on Deinhard's reports than on Wissmann's telegrams.131 The ultimate step of replacing Wissmann would be difficult, given his distance from Germany and the lack of suitable substitutes.

Wissmann's inability and/or unwillingness to communicate the full extent of his actions and desires to Berlin made the commanding admiral in the region, Gustav Deinhard, the government's primary source of information. In a confidential report, Deinhard complained that Wissmann was unreliable, that he would take one position on one day, then the exact opposite on the next. Deinhard wrote that he had taken to getting Wissmann's requests in writing to prevent confusion.132 Before Wissmann's arrival, Deinhard had expected "a highly-educated man of superb ability, and found instead a quite moderately talented person, who distinguished himself neither as Officer, nor as organizer, nor administratively, who only respects himself...and sees everyone else as a

129 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 46.
130 BArch R 1001/740, pag. 114.
131 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 18.
132 BArch R 1001/749, pag. 6-7.
nerveless ignoramus." Deinhard also took it upon himself to watch over Peters once he arrived in East Africa. He complained to the admiralty that Peters and Wissmann were too chummy, and broke the news that Peters had chartered a ship to go to Lamu. Deinhard promised to keep at eye out to make sure Peters did nothing "wrong" in the German interest sphere. In July, Deinhard complained to the admiralty that rumors were spreading of Wissmann's success, though he said the rebels still held the upper hand in Pangani. Wissmann was moving too slowly in his operations. Deinhard complained the following month that Wissmann's troops plundered Pangani and that the captain did nothing to stop them. Wissmann responded that his troops had done nothing of the sort and that Deinhard was taking too much of the credit for operational successes. The chancellor told Wissmann that his narrative of events was being overwhelmed by Deinhard's as Deinhard sent full reports and Wissmann only telegrams. Deinhard made it appear Wissmann was not following his directions. Wissmann claimed that Deinhard was not telling the whole story. The rivalry between Wissmann and Deinhard, and disputes both had with Michahelles and DOAG officials, was not a secret to the

133 BArch R 1001/749, pag. 7. Deinhard had a series of other complaints, including that Wissmann was friendly to Peters.

134 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 112, 38.

135 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 86-87.

136 BArch R 1001/740, pag. 46.

137 BArch R 1001/740, pag. 26.

138 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 63.

139 BArch R 1001/738, pag. 99.
metropolitan public. The *Kolonialzeitung* hoped that they could work out their differences and work towards the same goals. 140

The way in which news from and about the expeditions was conveyed to the metropole raises important questions about the ways that information traveled in colonial contexts. Captain Wissmann reported on his progress both to Bismarck and to the government's consul general in Zanzibar, Gustav Michahelles, who then relayed what he had been told to the foreign Office. Wissmann's reports tended to be short and to the point; they rarely included more than basic information about locations of attacks and casualty numbers. 141 The German public did not receive those reports, however, and sought news of the expedition on its own terms. It is not clear whom their sources were, but some German newspapers, notably the *Hamburgischer Korrespondenz*, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* reported on events in Ostafrika as quickly as the government could gather its own information. Those newspapers, in turn, often depended on Reuters, British newspapers, or even Indian newspapers for information. 142 The situation created a jumble of information where it was unclear who the original source was and what could really be believed. The government was unable to control information as it wanted, and news leaked out. The regime still did not entirely trust British control of information. Officials in East Africa

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141 BArch R 1001/737, pag. 45.

142 BArch R 1001/741, pag. 26; "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, February 2, 1889, 40.
sent most of their letters via the French mail service, rather than the British (the Germans still had not established their own).  

The regime tried to maintain control of information by publishing periodic "white books" of dispatches from the expedition. The white books were designed to produce a particular narrative, including only "favorable and harmless" reports. Wissmann's intentions and plans had to be kept "secret" [geheim] lest public discussion of them in the Reichstag came to the knowledge of "our enemies in East Africa." Foreign Office reports contained little more than casualty numbers, except when it came to describing Bushiri's "Arab cruelty." In those cases, Michahelles detailed the selling of East African employees of the DOAG into slavery, or the chopping off of arms. Wissmann's reports on Bushiri's doings contained reference to him killing DOAG officials with his own hands. Bismarck was furious when the Kölnische Volks Zeitung ran numbers of troop movements in March 1890. Most news from the expeditions that the metropolitan public consumed came from periodic reports that the government released containing excerpts from Consul Gustav Michahelles' and the DOAG's chief official in Zanzibar, Ernst Vohsen's, reports. Michahelles, though empowered by the Foreign Office to conduct operations as he saw fit, had a muddled view of events. He wrote to Berlin on 19

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143 BArch R 1001/741, pag. 36.
144 BArch R 1001/742, pag. 15.
145 BArch R 1001/737, pag. 50-51.
146 BArch R 1001/740, pag. 7-9.
147 BArch R 1001/745, pag. 44-48.
November that the blockade had scared people in Bagamoyo into giving up the war because they were terrified of the Germans, but also that reports from the interior had arrived saying that the rebellion had shrunk to just the Bagamoyo area, and reports from Pangani that people were giving up fighting because they wanted trade to resume, not out of fear. Meanwhile, coastal Arabs who had fled to Zanzibar had stated that the DOAG could take over tolls again if it appointed non-European toll collectors, but the DOAG refused.\textsuperscript{148} Two weeks later, Michahelles cited Wali Soliman ben Nasr to claim that the people of Pangani were growing tired of war and were ready to negotiate; Michahelles sent him to negotiate with the stipulation that the DOAG’s treaty with the Sultan would be the basis of any agreement.\textsuperscript{149}

But official reports about the situation in East Africa were not always believed, if someone with "knowledge" of the area disputed them. Paul Reichard, who had traveled in East Africa at the beginning of the 1880s, wrote that government reports of Arab, Swahili, and "heathen" involvement in the rebellion should not be believed; it was only the Arabs and the Swahili that were rebelling.\textsuperscript{150} He was able to determine that the Sultan supported the rebels by the presence of good bronze cannons on dhows that Wissmann’s troops had captured. Although Reichard himself depended on the government reports for all of his information about what was happening, he was able to extrapolate from the reports to make claims that were definitely untrue as long as he followed the expected


\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 21.

\textsuperscript{150} Paul Reichard, "Koloniale Rundschau," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, April 27, 1889, 133.
guidelines for what Germans "knew" about East African societies. Peters also claimed special knowledge of Bushiri and his forces. He wrote to the Emin Pasha Committee that an English missionary named Taylor had communicated Bushiri's peace demands to him [Peters]. According to Peters, what Bushiri wanted was to be the governor of Bagamoyo, with full police powers, to install an Arab judge, fly the Arab flag at the government house, to return full rights to the majumbe, receive 10% of caravan trade, have full control of his own subjects, and to continue slavery.

The DOAG also attempted to maintain control of information about East Africa. When the Company got its hands on a letter written by Bushiri, they expressed excitement. Now they could truly know what the purpose of the fighting was. The DOAG did not forward the letter to the government or newspapers in its original form. Rather, it sent a German-language translation, establishing its control over the meaning of Bushiri's words. The letter of course included what was expected - Bushiri asked Salem bin Ali bin Salmen to send cannons and soldiers from Zanzibar, and offered to sell slaves. It is unclear whether that was the real content of the letter, but it was reported as fact in metropolitan Germany.

151 "Nachrichten über die Deutsche Emin Pascha-Expedition," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, June 8, 1889, 178.

152 The majumbe were the powerful members of coastal society who controlled trade and political power through patronage. See Glassman, 60, 74; and Walter Thaddeus Brown, A Pre-colonial History of Bagamoyo: Aspects of the Growth of an East African Coastal Town, (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1971), 137-138.


154 BArch R 1001/740, pag. 116.
Missionaries also tried to keep control over the flow of information from East Africa and were dependent on new sources to do so. Missionary periodicals were normally dependent on male missionaries for reports about events in East Africa. After the war broke out, most missionaries either fled to the safety of Zanzibar or their missionary societies lost contact with them. Into their place stepped female nurses, always a part of the missionary societies, who were needed by Wissmann's soldiers. Female nurses provided most of the information that readers of missionary publications in Germany received about events in East Africa, turning the normally male-dominated reports of war on their head. So the East African Mission Society turned to its nurses, who were needed on the coast, for news. We see women trusted as the best sources of information, a situation that ended with the end of the fighting.\footnote{First seen in "Aus dem Tagebuch der Schwester Henriette Sachse," Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission, May 1889, 73-77.}

On the mainland, Wissmann and his subordinates could not establish the full control over information he wanted to. They grew frustrated by the continued spreading of rumors that threatened their progress. Wissmann reported to the Foreign Office that rumors, including rumors of massacres of missionaries, continued to spread.\footnote{BArch R 1001/740, pag. 95.} Unexpected reports about Bushiri had the power to completely undo the work that the expedition was doing. Rumors would arrive of an impending attack, and people would panic, disrupting trade again and sending people into flight either to Zanzibar or into the
Karl Freiherr von Gravenreuth reported a new rumor that Bushiri had sneaked past Wissmann's expedition west and was on his way to attack Bagamoyo. Despite Gravenreuth's efforts and the expedition's success, panic broke out among the Indians in the city. Bushiri threatened to undo "many months worth of work." Just a few days later, however, "certain news" arrived that Bushiri was six days southwest of Bagamoyo looking for supporters among the Mafiti. He also complained that the DOAG and its local representative, Herr von St. Paul, were not getting along and the company was threatening to replace St. Paul. This was a problem, as no one else was available with his knowledge of "language, land, and people."\textsuperscript{158}

News of Bushiri's death arrived unexpectedly and without explanation. Wissmann telegraphed on 16 December to report that Bushiri had been "sentenced to death by court martial. Sentence straightaway fulfilled."\textsuperscript{159} A Russian newspaper carried the charges, cutting off the hands of blacks who had held them with the Germans and killing a British missionary in Mpwapwa.\textsuperscript{160} Wissmann's longer report told a slightly different story. Bushiri had surrendered himself willingly "as a military leader. He did not think he would suffer a death sentence, rather he hoped I would send him to Berlin." Bushiri told Wissmann that Khalifa had promised to make him Vizier of the whole coast if he would

\textsuperscript{157}BArch R 1001/742, pag. 8.
\textsuperscript{158}BArch R 1001/741, pag. 85-89.
\textsuperscript{159}BArch R 1001/743, pag. 5.
\textsuperscript{160}BArch R 1001/743, pag. 86.
stop the fighting. Wissmann forwarded two photographs of Bushiri with his report.\footnote{BArch R 1001/744, pag. 6-8.} The goals of his expedition were now seemingly at an end.

The regime and members of the Wissmann expedition kept the narrative of a "Bushiri rebellion" alive after Bushiri's death. Though Oskar Baumann, who had been captured by Bushiri, wrote a book about his experiences in which he wrote of mercy shown by Bushiri, Major Eduard Liebert (who had served under Wissmann) rejected Baumann's claims. Liebert wrote that Bushiri had changed and had "earned his death a hundred times over." Wissmann's forces had found hacked-off hands and feet and "slowly-killed children over a smoldering fire."\footnote{"Mitteilungen aus der Gesellschaft," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 4, 1890, 14.} Those were just the final cruelties in a long list that Bushiri had forced on the natives of East Africa in his war to protect the slave trade. Liebert marked a change in the expedition after Bushiri's capture. Mobs and robberies "died out," and only local disturbances remained to be "struck down,"\footnote{BArch R 1001/746, pag. 16.} though the fighting had already died down before Bushiri's death.

Rumors of Disaster in the West

The Peters expedition had an even harder time controlling the narrative about its progress. Peters had difficulty communicating with the coast, much less Europe. His letters did not always make it to their destinations, particularly when he was marching through areas believed to be dangerous. After some months with no reports, Peters was believed dead for a few weeks. Metropolitan observers ran wild with stories of what had
gone wrong. While the rumors of Emin Pasha's glory demonstrated the hopes Germans held for African empire, the rumors of Peters' death allow us to see the fears that Germans held about such an empire. Dreams of rescuing Emin had provided an opportunity for supporters of the *Land* side in the *Land/Leute* debate to make their case; their opponents seized on Peters' presumed death to point out its problems.

The Peters expedition from its outset was based on dissimulation and an understanding that he would not be able to convey information to the metropole. Peters took a leave of absence from his position as Director of the DOAG "for whatever period during which the telegraphic and written exchange between them would not be possible to secure." The British would not allow Peters to bring arms across the blockade, so in what seems like the start of a bad action movie, he asked Wissmann to claim the arms shipments were his. Wissmann agreed to the plan and claimed the weapons were his, but the British admiral was immediately suspicious because the weapons were not packed like weapons, but like normal trade goods. The arms dispute was only the start of what became a long-running effort by the British to keep the Peters expedition from happening, an effort he eventually defeated through further dissimulation. Deinhard wrote of Peters that "no one trusts him, and everyone fears they will become embroiled in complications through him."

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164 BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 112.
165 BArch R 1001/249e, pag. 81.
166 BArch R 1001/249e, pag. 75.
German control of information from the Wissmann expedition was excellent when compared to the Emin Pasha expedition. Wissmann did at least sometimes have access to telegraphs and a short connection to Zanzibar and naval ships that could report news without his direct participation. Peters, on the other hand, journeyed into the interior, far from any European presence and, therefore, out of contact with metropolitan society, save for occasional letters sent through missions or the return of members of his expedition. The Emin Pasha Committee lacked the resources to establish even basic reliable communications with East Africa; when it asked the regime for help, Bismarck declared sending the committee consular reports was "not doable!"\textsuperscript{167} The regime, however, was unable to gather the information it wanted, either. Deinhard sent reports on what Peters was doing to organize the expedition, but thereafter the government only received news from the Peters expedition through the \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, which published Peters' letters as he moved west.\textsuperscript{168} Peters acquired a ship through charter to take his expedition to Lamu despite both British and German attempts to prevent him doing so. How he got the ship was a mystery.\textsuperscript{169} It turned out he had contracted one of the leading Indian merchants on the coast, Sewa Hadji, to charter it for him. That story only came to light during the British court case against Peters for breaking the blockade.

\textsuperscript{167} BArch R 1001/249d, pag. 102.

\textsuperscript{168} BArch R 1001/740, pag. 49. Deinhard reported on Peters' doings as much as a means to discredit Wissmann because of his friendship with and assistance to Peters as for any real informational reason, BArch R 1001/251, pag. 70. The regime's correspondence often cites Peters' letters in the \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} when discussing his expedition.

\textsuperscript{169} BArch R 1001/249e, pag. 115.
Peters understood the importance of African actors for the conveyance of information from his expedition. After signing a treaty with a Galla village, he pondered, "How could I hope to regain communication with my second column if I lived in enmity with this race, who could always interrupt the communications between Massai and Oda-Boru-Ruva?" Communications difficulties had become particularly acute because Somalis had already cut Peters's messengers off from a direct route to the coast. Peters understood better than most Germans the variations in imperial sovereignty. Maps of East Africa might show Germany in complete control of a piece of territory, but degrees of imperial power varied over space. That Peters could not be sure his message would travel to the coast without Galla cooperation shows that Gallas still held power in the region and that the German presence depended on negotiation with Gallas.

The area he was entering, according to Peters, was characterized by its "primeval" landscapes, with few people and entirely devoid of civilization. Tiedemann described the same landscape as impenetrable. He wrote that "no man, no animal can penetrate the brush of the primeval forest [Urwald] without violence or destruction." At other times in was "virgin hunting field" full of thousands of animals. Tiedemann compared himself and Peters to sailors, who developed a "special and genial interest in the fairer

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170 Peters, NLDA. 142.
171 Ibid., 143.
172 Ibid., 191, 217.
173 Tiedemann, Aus Busch und Steppe, 38.
174 Ibid., 129.
sex." Or it was a "fairy-tale world" in which one could get lost in the "wonder of nature."
The "loneliness of undisturbed nature" was "magic that almost irresistibly fascinates all
Europeans." One could get a taste of that feeling in a thick forest or on coastal dunes, a
moment "in which you can dream that you are all alone in undisturbed nature…an
inexact feeling of desire for something faraway, better." But in Europe, one would see a
path, or the corner of a house, and the magic would be gone.\textsuperscript{175} When Peters enters
territory he considered "African," his descriptions shift from the categories of "\textit{Land und
Leute}," in English 'lands and peoples,' discrete units of territory and ethnicity with
characteristics all their own," to "\textit{Räume und Völker}," spaces and races that could be
reshaped through German empire.\textsuperscript{176} Peters was more comfortable traveling through
regions he had read about. The tone of his text changes when he enters "into regions
where a white man had been before us, if only for a short time."\textsuperscript{177} He then had
expectations for what he would find, a particular river or mountain he had read about
before that would remove the element of danger and introduce something familiar to
Peters' African adventure. Everything thereafter improved. Peters imagined the land as

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., 147-148.

\textsuperscript{176} Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, \textit{War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and
German Occupation in World War I} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

\textsuperscript{177} Peters, \textit{NLDA}, 203.
more fruitful, "literally flowing with milk and honey," and the vegetation "fresher and more attractive."  

The ways in which the Peters expedition was able to gather information in a particular place became a key feature in how Peters and Tiedemann defined that place. Peters noted a difference when he left the lands of the Galla for areas farther west, where he encountered Wandarobbo peoples. Whereas "among the Gallas there had always been a certain maintaining of relations with the coast such relations were here entirely absent, and there was not the slightest sign that these people had even seen Suaheli or Arabs, much less white men." The areas where white men had not been, which seemed in Peters description to universally be either desert wastelands or primeval forests, produced in Peters a particular form of interaction. He believed that there he needed to take on a teaching role, to help people "clearly to understand that lying, thieving, and cheating are not exactly the things that ought to be in this world, but that human society rests upon a certain reciprocity of responsibility and service." After making his way farther west, Peters found Kikuyu peoples, who "knew the white race," members of which "had taught the people of Kikuyu a certain amount of good manners…the natural insolence of these natives was continually mingled with outbreaks of fear." And again, Peters was in a

\[\text{Ibid., 213.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 203.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 168.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 192-193.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 211.}\]
familiar landscape. The flora "exhibits the forms of the temperate zone…a kind of tree that reminded us vividly of our European oaks…the fresh green clover of the North German borders." The temperature dropped to the freezing point, which Peters took as a good sign for future German settlement, if only Kikuyu were not so far from the coast.

Peters did frequently remark on the lack of knowledge of Arab culture or Islam among the peoples he encountered in Central Africa. The lack of contact with Arab culture became a distinguishing characteristic in his descriptions of the people he encountered. Tiedemann also described a process of leaving the constraints of the coast behind. The chiefs of the Hinterland were not tied to Zanzibar, but were their own "little sovereigns." In place of the threat from the Arab slave trade, the people of Central Africa faced a constant danger from Maasai raids. Peters imagined the Maasai as the regional power that German rule would have to overcome in territory bordered as "Africa." He compared their reign over East Africa to those of Attila the Hun and Genghis Khan over Europe with the claim that nomadic people were by their nature cruel and a threat to civilization. They did not understand the importance of private property and the settling influence it had. Unlike agricultural societies, which were "obliged to remain on his soil, to which his heart becomes attached, the nomad is indifferent to the charms of owning a home…Thus the Masai has become the terror of the whole of East

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183 Ibid., 214.
Though they did not understand private property, Peters believed that "among the Masais there may be recognized the ennobling influence which is produced in every people by the inherited consciousness of rule…the warriors of the race have acquired a natural pride, which cannot be designated otherwise than as aristocratic." That everyone Peters encountered feared Maasai rule by its nature meant that they had no knowledge of Arab rule. There was so little Arab presence, in fact, that Arabs and Europeans "have all a common interest, namely, to assert ourselves against the wild natives, who, on their part, make hardly any difference between Europeans and Arabs." German colonialism in the areas west of the Indian Ocean coast therefore faced an "African" enemy, not the "Arab" enemy that threatened the DOAG's position. They could still, therefore, be subject to a Land-based approach to development.

On 16 June, the expedition met an Arab caravan in Musanga marching west under the German flag with "unbelievable news." Emin Pasha was marching west with an expedition of his own. The Arab "truly appeared not to be lying." We would get the truth in three days when we reached Mpwapwa. The Arabs told of a white man in Kavirondo with 1000 soldiers, more slaves, and great herds. He had burned the city of Karabas and occupied the surrounding area. Tiedemann decided "it can hardly be anyone else but Emin Pasha," but that before he got too hopeful, he thought about the "value of

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185 Peters, NLDA, 225.
186 Ibid., 225.
187 Ibid., 242.
188 Tiedemann, Tana-Baringo-Nil, 225.
such African news." Further reports said that the white man had come from the south. So was it Stanley? And then, that he was living in peace near Kabaras. Only "the devil knows, whether anything in the entire affair is true. It cannot be good for Emin Pasha."

Wandarobbo reports on the 24th told of a white man living in peace in Kabaras, but which direction he had come from they did not know. Tiedemann speculated it could be Mr. Martin of the British East Africa Company. When the expedition arrived in Kabaras on 26 January, there were no white men at all. There were four in Kwa-Sundu, a few days away. Two had come from the north, two from the south. Maybe it was Emin, Casati, and Stanley. "God, that would be beautiful." More reports on the 28th either denied the presence of any white men at all or told of two white men in Kwa-Sakwa, named Martin and Jackson. Tiedemann summed up his thoughts on all the "different rumors" as showing "that one may trust news in Africa as little as one in Europe can those of Reuters."¹⁸⁹ He wondered, "When will we receive light in this desert of confused and contradictory news?"¹⁹⁰ That even a close Peters ally could express such frustration with the DOAG's failure to control East Africa demonstrates how little progress the company had made in creating knowledge and control over its colony.

Peters had to rely on sources of information outside of the European norm. At one point, Tiedemann trusted his ability to read tracks. From footprints he determined that a

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¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 151-156.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 157.
British expedition had come after them, but then had to flee a Somali force.\textsuperscript{191} Missionaries provided important information. Missionary Heddenström told the Peters and Tiedemann that 300 men were lying in wait to ambush them.\textsuperscript{192} Three French missionaries on Lake Victoria had heard the news that Peters was dead.\textsuperscript{193} There Tiedemann and Peters received news from Mpwapwa that Bushiri had been hanged.\textsuperscript{194} Catholic officials in East Africa occupied an interesting position as intermediaries between not only local populations and the German colonial state, but also between German and British colonists. They could serve as neutral sources of information not involved in geopolitical concerns.

The German government found out about Emin's and Stanley's arrival from Hermann Wissmann, in what must have been a cruel twist of fate for Peters. Wissmann had originally been booked to help lead the expedition to find Emin, but succeeded instead through working for the government along the coast. He learned of Emin's march west from a detachment of Emin's soldiers sent ahead of the expedition.\textsuperscript{195} Wissmann claimed that Emin and Stanley had fought the Mahdi's troops and taken their great standard. The news of the expedition's arrival was updated through the traditional channel of information from Lake Victoria, the caravan traders moving East toward the ocean.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., 193.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid., 201.
\textsuperscript{195} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 53.
Wissmann's report also included news of Peters' treaty with Mwanga II. Wissmann left a small detachment of troops in Mpwapwa to meet Stanley and Emin and lead them to Bagamoyo, a German detachment to lead the final leg of the journey. The news first reached Germany by telegram and was quickly reported by newspapers around the country.

The difficulty of getting accurate news about Peters became clear in early November 1889 when "rumors" (Gerüchte) started that Peters and his troops had been ambushed by Maasai and killed. Hansing & Co. produced a different rumor a few days later, that Peters' expeditions had been killed by Somalis. The rumor "could be true, but is not believed by the Germans in Lamu." Letters from Peters had not arrived on a regular basis since he had started to get deep into the interior, so there was no especial reason to believe that Peters was dead, but Reuters reported that a messenger had told them of his death. The German colonial press was at first incredulous, refusing to believe that a hero of the German empire had met such an undignified end. Ehlers, a German official in Lamu, wrote the Foreign Office that the British had accepted the news

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196 BArch R 1001/745, pag. 127.
197 BArch R 1001/742, pag. 64.
198 BArch R 1001/741, pag. 61.
199 The rumors began with few details; BArch R 1001/252, pag. 5. Different organizations filled in the details later.
200 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 17.
201 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 12.
202 For the most part. At least one newspaper celebrated Peters' death as hope for future accommodation between the United Kingdom and Germany; BArch R 1001/252, pag. 12, 15.
as a "fait accompli," but that Germans declared it a "fabrication." But when no news followed from Peters himself, and Reuters continued to report "rumors" of his demise, worries mounted. His last report to the committee was dated 8 September. The Committee claimed on 23 November that Peters was still alive near Mount Kenya, but just a week later more rumors of Peters' death emerged, this time from a German source. Lieutenant Captain Rust, who had commanded Peters' rear column, claimed that Peters and Tiedemann were dead. The Deutsche Kolonialzeitung published a retrospective on Peters, including his letters from the expedition. The Berliner Tageblatt referred to the "martyr's death" suffered by Peters to argue for further government investment in East Africa. One pro-Peters newspaper wrote that "much doubt" remained about the report as it "was supported only by rumor." Michahelles noted on 19 November that the news still had not been verified. Just four days later, a telegram arrived from Zanzibar that "a certain source" reported that Peters was alive near Mount Kenya.

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203 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 60.
204 BArch R 1001/251, pag. 117.
205 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 34-36.
206 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 61-63.
207 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 13.
208 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 12.
209 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 27-28.
210 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 31-33.
But that certain source was not believed. The *Kolonialzeitung* claimed the rumors might be false, as news that spread with "great rapidity" in Africa were often "untrustworthy," and even in Zanzibar many people did not believe the rumor. Nevertheless, many well-equipped expeditions had been annihilated in the past, so it was certainly plausible.\(^{211}\) The Committee claimed on 23 November that Hansing & Co. had determined that Somalis had attacked a British expedition, not Peters', and that Peters was fine and on his way.\(^ {212}\) Newspapers believed the rumor once the Emin Pasha Committee, the DOAG, and the German consulate in Zanzibar verified it.\(^ {213}\) Clemens Denhardt reported that he had received two letters that stated that the expedition had been annihilated by Maasai soldiers near Korkorro. Peters had been killed by two spear thrusts in the breast; Tiedemann survived two spear wounds on his arm. He and one Somali porter were the only survivors.\(^ {214}\) That rumor was supported by the British vice consul in Lamu, who said that the attack near Korkoro, caused by a dispute over the granting of gifts, had killed Tiedemann, but that five porters had survived.\(^ {215}\) A foreign Office note from Zanzibar told the government to take the rumors with a grain of salt, for they "stemmed merely from natives."\(^ {216}\) German officials frequently noted the lack of

\(^{211}\) "Die deutsche Emin Pascha-Expedition," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, November 23, 1889, 335.

\(^ {212}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 34.

\(^ {213}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 12.

\(^ {214}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 39.

\(^ {215}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 45.

\(^ {216}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 39.
reliability of news coming from "native" sources. Each side in the debate over the future of Ostafrika hyped the rumors about Peters that fit its narrative about his abilities as a colonizer.

The Committee sent an expedition under the command of Oskar Borchert "to attain certain news about the fate of Dr. Peters." Borchert ascertained that "the rumors of the slaughter" of the Peters expedition were false. He was certain of the news because the people he talked to described camels, which they had never seen before, and only Peters had brought camels through the area. Borchert was "convinced" that Peters and Tiedemann were "safe and sound in the interior." His reports were confirmed by the Catholic missionary bishop Monseigneur de Courmont a few days later.

Peters claimed after the fact that his own gallantry had cause the rumors to spread. He blamed Gallas, against whom he "adopted the tactics of being the attacking party, so as to secure to myself the advantages of the initiative." Those tactics scattered the Gallas he ran into all the way to the coast, where they spread the rumors of his death. He blamed the same Gallas for keeping news of his treaty with them from reaching the coast. Peters claimed the Gallas were afraid news of his fight against them would travel with

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217 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 45.
218 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 76.
219 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 76-77.
220 BArch R 1001/252, pag. 79.
221 Peters, NLDA 140-141.
news of the treaty and cause problems so they did not carry his message to the coast.²²² Had he just tried to make friends, people in Germany would have been informed about the expedition, but he would really have been dead.

The rumors played on traditional tropes about East Africa and the assumed knowledge of their metropolitan audience. German readers were assumed to know that the Maasai were dangerous and a possible threat, the most likely possible cause of the expedition's failure. British reports of the incident speculated that it might have been committed by "marauding Masai or Somali raiders" when Germans were already making that assumption.²²³ There was no real reason to believe that Peters had been killed by the Maasai other than an idea that such an event might happen. That was in spite of the fact that other factors were clearly at work. The Stanley expedition, for example, nearly failed due to its leader's overconfidence, not outside threats. One newspaper wrote that the news met exactly the "prophecies" of Germany's "colonial nemeses."²²⁴ What had been expected to be a "comedy" had instead turned into a "drama of such staggering drama, that all mockery, all enmity must silence before it."²²⁵

Wissmann telegraphed on 25 January 1890 that Peters lived and was awaiting supplies. One of Wissmann's subordinates traveling near Mount Kilimanjaro met Mse

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²²² Ibid., 146.

²²³ BArch R 1001/252, pag. 25.

²²⁴ BArch R 1001/252, pag. 11.

²²⁵ BArch R 1001/252, pag. 11.
Akida Stambul, a porter from the Peters expedition sent to the coast with letters from Peters and Tiedemann. The letters stated that they were camped out in Kapte, planning to continue their advance toward Uganda.\textsuperscript{226} A British report from Zanzibar corroborated that information the same day.\textsuperscript{227} Two French missionaries arrived in Mombasa who had seen Peters in Subaki.\textsuperscript{228} Those reports, however, turned out to be false. The French missionaries had confused Borchert and Peters. It was Borchert who had stopped in Subaki.\textsuperscript{229} Reports in April from a man named Ehlers placed Peters and Tiedemann in Kavirondo.\textsuperscript{230} Hansing & Co. acquired a letter from Peters dated 16 January in early April. The letter stated he was in Kapte, where the Foreign Office assumed he had received news of Emin's departure from Equatoria.\textsuperscript{231} News of Peters' survival was followed in May 1890 by reports of his treaty with Mwanga II and quickly thereafter by news from Hansing & Co. that they would be back on the coast by the end of June.\textsuperscript{232} Reports from Peters himself arrived in July. He wrote of his treaty with Mwanga and his plan to break Arab influence in the west of Lake Victoria.\textsuperscript{233} Media attention had moved

\textsuperscript{226} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 92-93.
\textsuperscript{227} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 69-70.
\textsuperscript{228} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 71.
\textsuperscript{229} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 77.
\textsuperscript{230} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 83-84.
\textsuperscript{231} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 90.
\textsuperscript{232} BArch R 1001/252, pag. 102, 104-105.
\textsuperscript{233} "Die neuesten Berichte des Herrn Dr. Peters," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, June 28, 1890, np.
on from Peters to Emin and the possibility he might work for the German colonial service.

Peters was unable to communicate with the metropole after Stanley had returned to the coast with Emin and kept on searching for the Pasha to the west. News of Emin's arrival first arrived in Germany via the Emin Pasha Committee, which wrote to the chancellor on 3 October that Emin and Stanley would arrive in Mpwapwa forty days later. It felt the need to add that the news was "not a mere rumor, but rather sound news." And an apology of sorts: the Committee had been so ready to doubt earlier reports of Emin's fate, but it now "had to deal with the fact" that Emin had left Equatoria. Those "conditions" meant that the Peters expedition had been "thwarted" in its attempts to reach Emin. The committee declared it would send Peters the news "as quickly as possible." It did so through Hansing & Co. a month later, with instructions to wait where he was for further news, though it told the regime that it had decided to recall the Peters expedition. The problem was, the Committee decided, that the route Peters had taken going west was unsuitable for a return east, due to the "warlike" ways of the people of the Somali coast. The Committee was at a loss for what to do after its best-laid plans went awry. Peters' reports thereafter turned the expedition into a tragicomedy. His

234 BArch R 1001/251, pag. 116.
235 Ibid.
236 BArch R 1001/251, pag. 117.
237 BArch R 1001/251, pag. 121.
238 BArch R 1001/251, pag. 121-122.
expedition had failed, yet he continued to search for Emin. He wrote in September 1889 that he had found the place where he was sure the Stanley expedition had "been shattered." In late January, Peters still thought Emin was in Equatoria. News from Ali Somal, who had been scouting for Stanley, was that Emin was in danger because the Waganda had killed all white men. Emin's position had collapsed; Equatoria had lost its value. But he now needed Peters' help more than ever.239

Peters refused to believe that Emin was gone until a European told him so. He was shocked when he finally learned that Stanley had arrived in Equatoria before him, though the news he received muddled events. The first report he received came from Waganda messengers, Marco and Talabanga. Peters refused to believed their account and demanded they tell him how they knew.240 On 8 February, the expedition met a boy from the Uganda mission waiting for the British missionary to return and take him to Uganda. He had never heard of Emin, but Stanley had come many months ago and attacked Kabarega. He had then marched to the coast with a "bana mkubwa" [great lord] of the Turks. They asked the boy about this Turkish lord. He was small and wore glasses. Now in Tiedemann's opinion it "can only be Emin, but the doctor [Peters] did not believe it."241 Peters only believed that Emin had left when he had the news in writing from Stanley. Tiedemann thought the situation "laughable." Emin was gone and he and Peters were

239 Peters, NLDA, 305.

240 Ibid., 343-344.

241 Tiedemann, Tana-Baringo-Nil, 163.
stuck in Central Africa in need of help themselves.\textsuperscript{242} The news Peters finally did believe came from British missionaries, so Peters said "its authenticity we had no reason to doubt."\textsuperscript{243} Supposedly, Emin remained in Equatoria because Stanley refused to remain with him to defend the province, leaving Emin "amid a world of hostile powers, forsaken by all, assailed by the Mahdi in the north and the Wangoro in the south, with nothing left before his eyes but ruin, and, as it appeared to us, resolved to encounter it."\textsuperscript{244}

Plans to Control Information

One might think that the problems caused for both expeditions by the lack of information would lead to a reconsideration of the ways in which Germans rationalized and collected information about East Africa. That would be partly correct. The two expeditionary leaders proposed different plans for controlling the interior based on establishing better control over information through stations with a permanent German presence. The new regime of Chancellor Leo von Caprivi rejected both plans. It was satisfied with establishing control over the coast and leaving areas farther west as realms in which rumor could still carry weight. Instead, it decided on establishing definite borders for Ostafrika as the best means of maintaining German control.

A retrospective on the Emin Pasha expeditions in the Kolonialzeitung called them perhaps "the last real journeys of exploration" because it was becoming too dangerous to travel to Central Africa. But they were the last journeys of exploration for another reason,

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., 169.
\textsuperscript{243} Peters, NLDA, 306.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
changes in the ways Europeans acquired and controlled knowledge about Africa.\(^{245}\) The director of the North German Mission Society, Franz Michael Zahn, thought journeys of exploration were a problem. Explorers brought violence, which made civilizing work more difficult. One had to recognize the rights of the natives if one wanted to "plant Christian culture" in Africa.\(^{246}\)

News emerged after the expedition that the government had done its best to hinder Peters' progress. A captain in the British army named Bateman told Otto Arendt that he had been sent with a force of 1100 men, including several pieces of light artillery, to find and arrest Peters in Ukamba. Bateman came close to catching Peters; he believed he was only two days behind him in Dzagga territory. Herbert von Bismarck was implicated as the source of the order.\(^{247}\) Tiedemann confirmed the rumor, and one newspaper found a note from Herbert von Bismarck to Hatzfeldt from March 1889 with a vague order to get the British to do something to stop Peters before he created an international conflict.\(^{248}\) First lieutenant Freiherr von Pechmann told the *Vossische Zeitung* in March 1892 that the story was true. He had written it down in his journal.

\(^{245}\) "Im dunkelsten Afrika," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, July 12, 1890, 182.

\(^{246}\) "Eine Kritik aus Missionskreisen über die Thätigkeit von Paul Reichard," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, March 15, 1890, 73-75.

\(^{247}\) BArch R 1001/253, pag. 36, 38-43.

\(^{248}\) BArch R 1001/253, pag. 44.
Bateman told a British newspaper that Herbert Bismarck had told Salisbury he would "be pleased" if the British stopped Peters; Salisbury passed the order on to Bateman.  

Mwanga II became Peters' proxy for Emin as the potential ruler of a German Central African province. Relatively little was known in metropolitan Germany about the situation in Uganda. Newspapers reported a "war of annihilation" in the area, perhaps under the influence of Catholic missionaries. But a peaceful Uganda offered a similar prospect as Equatoria had, a "bar against the advance of the Mahdi's forces to the south." Peters' initial plans had been to establish a chain of stations north of Mount Kenya to the "heart of Africa, which would have its support in the navigableness [sic] of the Tana, and might become exceedingly important, alike as regards commerce and civilisation, for Eastern and Central Africa." His first step in that direction was a treaty with the Wakuafi to protect them against the Maasai, signed in January 1890. His treaty with Mwanga II constructed Uganda as the key to unlocking the caravan trade. He was not alone in that vision. According to Naval Captain Fohs, Stanley had promised to help Mwanga fight the "Arabs" that threatened his northern border. Now that Stanley had failed to help Mwanga, French missionaries told Fohs that control "would fall to whichever nation went to Uganda." 

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249 BArch R 1001/253, pag. 49, 50.
250 BArch R 1001/249b, pag. 7.
252 BArch R 1001/744, pag. 49.
253 BArch R 1001/744, pag. 50.
Uganda, as Stanley had been unable to provide Mwanga with the assistance he needed to fight his rivals. Fohs claimed that "if Wissmann takes up the estate from Stanley, it would make value of the interior of the German coastal strip, whose immediate hinterland is without any importance, through German influence for the first time." He told Wissmann that an expedition to Uganda would "close off very valuable lands for German interests." Additionally, it would serve the interest of the Catholic mission in the area, which would only be weakened by the British possession of Uganda. Fohs held onto the vision of empire as a unifying enterprise for Germany, one that would bring Catholics and Protestants together. Peters connected Uganda to the Swahili coast. Ivory traffic from Uganda went through Tabora, and there to the coast. The advocates for a Land-based approach to development, Peters most importantly, hung their hopes on the agreement with Mwanga.

Once Peters learned that the British had already claimed Uganda, he attempted to use his experience to advance a German claim. He wrote two letters to Hansing & Co. in which he claimed that Stanley and Emin had left Uganda in a tight spot and that Mwanga had needed his help due to British failures. Peters claimed that Mwanga had told a gathering that included two British officials and the head of the Catholic mission in Uganda, Lourdel, that he had never taken a British protectorate and was pledging for

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254 BArch R 1001/744, pag. 49.
255 BArch R 1001/744, pag. 50.
256 Ibid.
257 Peters, NLDA, 391.
Germany. Peters blamed missionaries for the problems in Uganda and claimed the kingdom, if Germans did not help, would fall next to the Mahdi, completing the circle of his expedition.\(^{258}\) He hoped to capitalize on the same knowledge regimes that had made his expedition possible, that his word would carry the weight of truth no matter what else happened.

Wissmann, on the other hand, proposed the extension of rational colonial rule to Tabora, hundreds of miles west. He cited his inability to communicate with the coast during his expedition to Mpwapwa as a problem. Mpwapwa was "the most important point for caravans and missionaries" but was out of contact.\(^{259}\) Beyond its role in trade, Mpwapwa served as an information hub. Wissmann claimed that "all news from the interior must pass through here. It is so to say the backdoor to there."\(^{260}\) Wissmann managed to convince the Kaiser of the necessity of an occupation of Mpwpwa by mid-November.\(^{261}\) Wissmann wanted more troops there, however, and suggested using Emin's Sudanese soldiers to bolster his garrison.\(^{262}\) He argued for connections farther west, however, citing a need to build a lasting "connection" to the Great Lakes.\(^{263}\) Paul Reichard also emphasized Tabora's importance as an entrepot for ivory. Zanzibar's

\(^{258}\) BArch R 1001/252, pag. 112-113; 117.

\(^{259}\) BArch R 1001/741, pag. 53.

\(^{260}\) BArch R 1001/742. pag. 54.

\(^{261}\) BArch R 1001/742, pag. 60.

\(^{262}\) BArch R 1001/742, pag. 63-72.

\(^{263}\) BArch R 8023/3, pag. 157-159.
influence in Central Africa depended on Tabora, which was "the East African Khartoum…whomever it belongs to, belongs all of Central Africa." It could be the Hinterland necessary to make the coast valuable.\textsuperscript{264}

Under State Secretary Berchem wrote in favor of Wissmann's plan. Ostafrika was much larger than Germany; it could not be controlled from the coast. Tabora formed "main base of Arabertum," as well as the "most important junction" for the caravan routes. A "party of slave raiders" had been destroyed on the coast, but now worked neared Tabora. It would be more useful to go after the base than achieve small tactical victories on the coast. Tabora could play "the role of Paris" for Ostafrika, the "center" to dominate the "periphery."\textsuperscript{265} A successful colonial administration would require a better system for getting information to and from the western reaches of the colony. The Kolonialzeitung also supported the plan, for the interior was more important than the southern part of the coast, and the slave trade could not be stopped by the occupation of the coast alone.\textsuperscript{266}

Karl von Gravenreuth believed that the mission stations could provide enough of an information network for the colony's needs.\textsuperscript{267} Gravenreuth, meanwhile, was spending his days trying to convince "the influential Arabs and Indians" of the coast to return from

\textsuperscript{264} Paul Reichard, "Die Bedeutung von Tabora für Deutsch-Ostafrika," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, March 15, 1890, 67-68.

\textsuperscript{265} BArch R 1001/743, pag. 81-83; BArch R 1001/745, pag. 54.

\textsuperscript{266} "Kleine Mitteilungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, December 7, 1889, 358; "Die Lage am Nyassa-See," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, March 16, 1889, 81-83; "Die Lage in Ostafrika," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, October 12, 1889, 293.

\textsuperscript{267} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 90.
their exile in Zanzibar. He also refused to let the Indians of Bagamoyo who wanted to flee to Zanzibar to leave.\textsuperscript{268} He gave land in Bagamoyo to the Hamburg trading houses under the condition that they developed it within a year.\textsuperscript{269} The admiralty spoke up in support of Gravenreuth's plan; the priority needed to be ensuring the coast was secure before moving inland. Bushiri had attacked Bagamoyo in Wissmann's absence and plundered "in the most brutal manner." The attack had "done us more harm than anything than all successes in the interior can achieve." Admiral Fohs feared that Wissmann's turn to the south would endanger the gains already made. Since "such news spreads extremely quickly in Africa" and would lead to attacks on the northern section of the coast while Wissmann and his troops were gone.\textsuperscript{270}

Bismarck, however, rejected Wissmann's plan out of hand, unwilling to devote the resources necessary to extend military rule so far west. The admiralty protested Wissmann's plans to focus on moving west. It wrote the foreign Office that moving west was "inexpedient" until the "security" of the coast was restored.\textsuperscript{271} The chancellor agreed with that sentiment, saying Wissmann should "limit himself to the pacification of the coast."\textsuperscript{272} He wrote that "the interior could be found" after the coast was conquered.\textsuperscript{273}

\textsuperscript{268} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 24-29.
\textsuperscript{269} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 90.
\textsuperscript{270} BArch R 1001/743, pag. 110.
\textsuperscript{271} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 101-107.
\textsuperscript{272} BArch R 1001/742, pag. 109.
\textsuperscript{273} BArch R 1001/743, pag. 83. The DOAG thought it could ensure that there was no further
Bismarck wrote in the margins of the admiralty's note his assent, "first the coast, then more, and how far into the interior is to be considered later." The foreign Office agreed that it was more important to secure the coast than to move west. Kilimanjaro and other western regions "laid outside the program, the south coast within." The coast could provide enough of a basis for building an administration. Bismarck thus threw his weight behind a Leute-based approach to Ostafrika's development, working with people of the coast to eventually extend power west.

Important to that plan was greater control over information. The Foreign Office wanted to move its main administration to the coast from Zanzibar, and to lay telegraph cables between the coast and the island to ensure constant connection. The regime also wanted to reduce costs. That entailed reducing the number of troops to a number similar to that which "served to guarantee in the same measure calm and order in these vast territories as happened in civilized European lands." To accomplish that goal, the regime would have to "count on the willing participation of friendly chiefs." Germany needed to "shake off the Sultan's sovereignty" and "acquire sovereignty as soon as possible, the current condition is unhealthy and untenable." Wissmann's "military dictatorship" would fighting in the interior by confiscating all breech-loading firearms on the coast. BArch R 1001/744, pag. 104.

274 BArch R 1001/742, pag. 101-106.
275 BArch R 1001/742, pag. 94.
276 BArch R 8124/9, pag. 13, BArch R 1001/744, pag. 60-61. Work on the cables began in July 1890, "Kleine Mitteilungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, July 26, 1890, 196.
277 BArch R 1001/744, pag. 62-64.
not last; organization would have to begin as soon as his operations were over.

Michahelles argued for Zanzibar as the site of administration. From there German administrators could "watch over" the coast and follow the politics of the British.\textsuperscript{278} It was clear to Wissmann and the regime, however, that the administration would have to move to the mainland. That would change Wismmann's relationship with Michahelles. Wissmann bristled at the "tone appropriate to correspondence with Oriental rulers" that Michahelles took with him.\textsuperscript{279} The consular officials "although they often pass for experts, have no idea about relations on the coast," which they cannot figure out through short "excursions."\textsuperscript{280} Wissmann wanted all correspondence to be sent to him instead of Zanzibar, and listed a set of issues that he had had to report to Michahelles in order to communicate them back to Berlin, slowing down the flow of information.\textsuperscript{281}

All the fuss over Emin Pasha seemed ridiculous when Emin did not meet German expectations. Though he had earlier called himself "half-blind,"\textsuperscript{282} it seems colonial authorities did not really believe it until he fell out a second-story window in Bagamoyo on 4 December, having mistaken it for a door.\textsuperscript{283} He was laid up in the hospital for several months thereafter. Further news from the Stanley expedition made it appear a

\textsuperscript{278} BArch R 1001/745, pag. 96.
\textsuperscript{279} BArch R 1001/745, pag. 145.
\textsuperscript{280} BArch R 1001/745, pag. 132-133.
\textsuperscript{281} BArch R 1001/745, pag. 19.
\textsuperscript{282} BArch N 2063/12, pag. 5.
\textsuperscript{283} BArch N 2063/12, pag. 13.
dismal failure on the level of the Peters expedition, as well. The Emin Pasha craze became an episode to forget for Europeans. Emin was not going to provide everything hoped for before the expedition. The regime closed off Peters' claims to Uganda in the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty with the United Kingdom, which went into effect on 1 July 1890. The treaty settled the border between German and British East Africa once and for all. There could be no more plausible hope that Germany could expand further into the Great Lakes region. Ostafrika was internationally bordered.

Rumors had served their purpose. Both Bismarck and Peters had used rumors to publicly agitate for their expeditions and convince the German public of the threat posed by the Arab slave trade. Those rumors had provided a new grounds for German sovereignty in Ostafrika, the fight against the Arab slave trade and Muslim threats to the European civilizing mission in Africa. Rumors had also provided the grounds for supporters of a Leute-based approach to Ostafrika to discredit their opponents. Rumors of Peters' presumed death became the basis to discredit his entire approach to colonial development. After 1891, his opponents were ascendant.

But rumors were an unstable basis for the German colonial apparatus. First, they depended on East African sources of information rather than European ones. East Africans generated the rumors that led to the two expeditions, though Germans took the rumors that fit their understandings of the situation on the ground and used them for political purposes. The instability posed by rumors, it was thought, had even created the crisis in the first place. Emin had not lived up to the rumors about his prowess, and
Bushiri had built popular support through rumor. The Foreign Office of the new chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, took steps to eliminate the reliance on rumor and rationalize control of information about Ostafrika. The debate over how to do so, and over the future development of the colony, are the subject of Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 7 – COMPLETING THE BORDERING OF EAST AFRICA: THE SODEN ADMINISTRATION, 1891-1894

After the relative success of the Bushiri War and Emin Pasha Expeditions (or at least Emin's safe return and entry into German service in January 1890), the German colonial project in East Africa reached what Paul Kayser, head of the colonial division of the foreign office, called "an important turning point in the development of the colony." The German state took formal control of the colony from the DOAG after the Bushiri War. Following long negotiations, Germany agreed to a treaty with the United Kingdom, the Heligoland-Zanzibar treaty of 1 July 1890, through which the two countries agreed on borders between their territories in East Africa. Germany agreed to give up claims to Zanzibar and to Wituland in exchange for the island of Heligoland in the North Sea. Although the acquisition of Heligoland did serve German naval interests and served as the primary purpose for the treaty, the treaty also promised to limit the aggression of private German colonists, such as the Carl Peters, whose Emin Pasha expedition encroached on the British sphere of influence in East Africa. Germany’s focus could return to continental affairs and purely "economic development" could begin in East Africa.

As the government assumed formal control over Ostafrika, it established an administration following rationalized models similar to other European colonial states.

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1 BArch N 2139/69, pag. 1.
2 BArch N 2139/69, pag. 1; Rainer Lahme, Deutsche Aussenpolitik 1890-1894: Von der Gleichgewichtspolitik Bismarcks zur Allianzstrategie Caprivis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 149.
The basis of its claims to sovereignty, however, remained the fight against the "Arab slave trade." That fight did not end with formal control, but became an internal conflict rather than an international one. As Michael Shapiro has noted in the case of the European conquest of North America, violence against indigenous people turns from war into "police action" after territory is bound within the international state system.\(^3\) The international recognition of a unified Ostafrika, freed from any confusion over Zanzibari sovereignty, thus allowed the German colonial administration to reorient its efforts to fighting internal "African" enemies rather than the international Arab enemy of 1888-91.

Initially, Chancellor Leo von Caprivi and the Foreign Office divided the colony's administration between proponents of a Land-based approach and a Leute-based approach to rationalizing Ostafrika, though they delegated the Leute-focused elements greater power. They appointed Julius von Soden to head the administration, which took responsibility for the management of the coast and the economic development of East Africa. Soden concentrated his efforts on the Indian Ocean Coast, establishing administrative centers in its major towns. Each center was to oversee the town’s hinterland, which in Soden’s system mirrored the Zanzibari borders determined in the Zanzibar Delimitation Commission of 1886. West of the coastal strip, the Foreign Office authority to three heroes of the preceding years, Emin Pasha, Carl Peters, and Hermann Wissmann. Emin, Peters, and Wissmann created more indirect models of colonization, leaving local rulers in place and attempting to subordinate them to German rule. The

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\(^3\) Michael J. Shapiro, *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 30.
coast and its hinterland were thus marked off, bordered within Ostafrika from the African "wilderness," and subjected to direct empire that Soden and his allies imagined as a replacement for Zanzibari rule. By 1894, the combination of Emin's death, Wissmann's illness, and Peters' cruelty had discredited the Land-focused segment of the colonialist movement. The combination of the expenses of development, the victory of the Leute faction of the colonialist movement, and a sovereignty based on the violent protection of black African bodies against a perceived enemy to German civilization created a German administration that was notoriously punitive, determined to remake East African societies by force.

Economic development of the interior remained the primary goal. German colonialists turned their attention to the Kilimanjaro region as the best site for economic development. The DOAG made grand plans for plantation agriculture and a railroad linking Kilimanjaro to the coast. Those plans lasted only a few years before attention shifted elsewhere, but the decisions of 1891-2 made official practice out of the border between coast and interior and civilization and wilderness that early European explorers had adopted from precolonial Swahili geographies. Development in Ostafrika, then, was not divided so much along the "emigrationist" versus "economic" lines identified by Juhani Koponen, but according to that spatial division between the Land and Leute camps. The division in space marked a division in the basic conception of the

4 Koponen divides German colonists involved in the development of Ostafrika into two camps. One, the "emigrationist," promoted settler colonialism and the creation of new economic structures in Ostafrika; the other, the "economic" camp, promoted development primarily through trade with existing economic structures. Juhani Koponen, Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in
relationship between race and space. It gradually eroded over the following years as the heroes of the *Land*-focused approach failed. What was left in 1894 was an *Ostafrika* severed from the Indian Ocean World and a punitive administration increasingly focused on remaking its people rather than its space.

**Administrering the Coast**

The new chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, and his Foreign Office continued the Bismarck regime's favor for the *Leute*-focused segment of the German colonialist movement. They turned over the administration of *Ostafrika* to a member of that camp, Julius von Soden. Soden assumed direct control of the coast, which remained the primary focus of the development of *Ostafrika* as a gatekeeper state. His administration worked with local elites, particularly the merchants of the coastal towns, to develop trade and plantation agriculture. It reached a rapprochement with the "Arabs" of coastal society, who Soden believed could act as intermediaries.

To resolve political control of the Swahili coast, the British and German governments began negotiations for Germany to buy the coast from Zanzibar while the Bushiri War was still being fought. The negotiations resulted in the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, signed on 1 July 1890. In exchange for four million marks, Germany acquired full sovereignty over the coastal strip bordered by the 1886 delimitation commission. The

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5 The treaty also covered the two territories in its name. Germany received the island of Heligoland in the Baltic Sea and agreed to renounce any claims to Zanzibar.
Hinterland Theory only held that a nation should have rights to land directly west of the coast that it controlled, undermining Peters’ claims to Uganda, which the treaty placed in the British sphere of interest. Germany took formal control of the coast on 1 January 1891.

Proponents of the Land-based approach to Ostafrika's development took news of the Heligoland-Zanzibar treaty hard. As observers saw the treaty, it meant a decision by the German government to follow a path toward continental, rather than world, power, as well as a possibility of rapprochement with the United Kingdom in place of imperial rivalry. It placed clear limits on the German empire in East Africa. Karl Freiherr von Gravenreuth, who had served as one of Wissmann's lieutenants in 1889-90, wrote to Emin that news of the treaty "had almost broken my neck." He had done everything possible to support the colonial movement, he wrote, but had now been betrayed by the government. But Gravenreuth still saw promise for the colony. He told Emin that he could come to the coast and take control of a plantation. Emin could "work in the peace of the experiences of your richly varied life" to "make it useful." To further reduce the

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7 Lahme, 24.

8 BArch N 2063/9, pag. 2.

9 Ibid.
influence of filibuster empire, Caprivi made Gustav Michahelles’ post in Zanzibar permanent, news that did not please advocates of private empire.  

Finalizing the arrangements on the coast settled issues of German East Africa’s borders for the most part. East Africa was now almost entirely mapped. As the British missionary S. Tristam Pruen put it, "The tropical Africa of our childhood, with its unknown interior and imaginary sandy wastes stretching from sea to sea, is a thing of the past, and in its place we have a country containing great lakes and magnificent rivers; whilst the maps which depict it are traversed by scores of lines, the routes of the soldier, the missionary and the explorer." Ralph Austen described the setting of international borders as a turning point for German colonialism in East Africa. German attention turned away from acquiring land to other means of ensuring obedience. Nevertheless, I argue that German colonialists were still centrally concerned with establishing borders, only ones internal to Ostafrika, between "Arab" and "African" populations, between "civilization" and "wilderness," rather than international borders.

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10 BArch N 2139/53, pag. 1.

11 The DOAG did still occasionally agitate for the German government to purchase Mozambique from Portugal, which it claimed would save the struggling Portuguese treasury. It cited fears that the United Kingdom would come to control all of Portugal’s colony. British control of Mozambique would mean "eminent danger for the German colony" as Mozambique’s economic power expanded. It hoped the Foreign Office would help it acquire Portuguese territory. BArch R 8023/273, pag. 22.


Paul Kayser, the head of the colonial section of the Foreign Office, met with the DOAG's leadership in early October 1890 to discuss what would change with the new state of affairs. He told the company that they could expect the German position to be stronger following Wissmann's conquest and recommended creating a commission to discuss the purchase of the coast, for a suggested sum of four million marks.\textsuperscript{14} The DOAG and the regime signed the treaty transferring sovereignty over the coast on 20 November 1890. The company transferred sovereign rights over "the coastal region in front of the German interest sphere with all of their associated rights [Zubehörungen]," along with the island of Mafia, to the Kaiser. The regime would loan the DOAG ten and a half million marks, of which it would pay 4 million back immediately to cover the cost of paying Zanzibar for the coast. The regime promised to take over the administration of the coast, Mafia, and the rest of the \textit{Schutzgebiet}.\textsuperscript{15}

The treaty further complicated the differences among claims to sovereignty and resulting legal regimes in different parts of \textit{Ostafrika}. The government's takeover of the DOAG's territorial rights signaled an interpretation of the \textit{Schutzbrief} of 1885 that posited that territorial rights came not from the GfdK's treaties with local rulers, but from the Reich itself.\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{Reich} was fully sovereign and the DOAG had no special rights on the coast, which it had acquired from the Sultan of Zanzibar. In Usagara, Nguru, Useguha, and Ukami, the four regions named in the \textit{Schutzbrief} of 1885, the DOAG technically

\textsuperscript{14} BArch R 8124/4, pag. 25-26.

\textsuperscript{15} BArch R 8124/4, pag. 37.

\textsuperscript{16} Kurtze, 10.
practiced sovereignty with Reich protection. Ernst Vohsen divided land into three
categories: land leased from the Sultan, land in the Schutzgebiet, and land in the German
sphere of interest. Since the start of the war, martial law had meant that one system had
applied to all three, but a system needed to be worked out to deal with differences. Conrad Bornhak compared the company's position to that of princes and counts in
Germany who stood directly under the Reich. It was still unclear who held sovereignty
outside of the four original regions and the coast, whether the DOAG's land tenure was
general or just individual, private cases, as the agreement with the United Kingdom
stipulated only that the UK would not challenge the border, not that the Reich took over
sovereignty in the German sphere of interest. Bornhak also questioned the relationship
between the Reich and the DOAG, which was treated as a state actor in the agreement.

Deciding on what property would belong to whom was no easy task. Then Chancellor
Bismarck had written the DOAG in 1889 that it would be difficult to decide what
property belonged to Zanzibar because no one had bothered to fix exact borders for plots
of land on the coast. The government and the DOAG still could not agree on how to
regulate "unowned" land on the coast in May 1891.

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17 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 111.
18 Conrad Bornhak, "Die Stellung der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft nach dem Vertrage
vom 20. November 1890," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 10, 1891, 4-5.
19 BArch R 8124/9, pag. 15.
20 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 57.
In April 1890, Major Eduard Liebert declared that Wissmann's fortified stations had "secured German sovereignty on the East African coast," a great change from the days of the DOAG.\textsuperscript{21} Trade began again in Kilwa by September 1890.\textsuperscript{22} By the end of December 1890, Wissmann reported that Bagamoyo was growing every day.\textsuperscript{23} The main priority was now the clearing of the caravan routes west of the town of Mpwapwa. While he was busy on the coast, the British had built seven stations on a caravan route along the northern border of the German interest sphere, a lively smuggling trade had sprung up along the southern border, and Zulu raiders had ravaged and depopulated a large part of the Hinterland in the south.\textsuperscript{24}

Although the German government had declared the war over, fighting had not completely ceased. Wissmann called for a "speedy cleanup of the big caravan routes."\textsuperscript{25} Wissmann decided to undertake the most difficult march he could in order to demonstrate German power in early 1891. He set out to demonstrate to the Wapare, a "completely wild mountain people," that Germany meant business.\textsuperscript{26} He marched to Kilimanjaro to

\textsuperscript{21} BArch R 1001/745, pag. 136-137.
\textsuperscript{22} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 21.
\textsuperscript{23} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 145.
\textsuperscript{24} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 152-153.
\textsuperscript{25} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 145.
\textsuperscript{26} "Von der Wissmann-Expedition nach dem Kilima-Ndscharo," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, April 2, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 20.
fight against Machemba and secure the caravan route there.\textsuperscript{27} His army attacked Mpwapwa in early March 1891.\textsuperscript{28} At the same time, Wissmann set to organizing the administration of the coast to replace the DOAG administration. Following the model set up through his war against Bushiri, rule along the coast was to be based on military installations. Wissmann declared in a report to the Foreign Office on 20 April 1891 that he had completed most of the work he had been assigned to do over his two-year term. His mission had been military, and he had reconquered the coast and secured German occupation there through building fortifications and communications. The German name had been brought to and won respect at the farthest borders of the German territory. The Hinterland of Tanga and Pangani and the route from Bagamoyo and Saadani to Mpwapwa was secure. Fairness and goodwill by Wissmann's officers had begun to build trust among non-Europeans in the colony. They were returning to the coastal towns from the places they had fled during the war, slaves no longer fearing their former Arab and Indian masters.\textsuperscript{29}

People who had fled the coastal towns either during the war, fearing the fighting, or after it, fearing German reprisal, slowly started filtering back in. Wissmann reported on New Year's Eve 1890 that Bagamoyo was growing constantly, returning it to its

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 207.
\item \textsuperscript{28} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 197.
\item \textsuperscript{29} BArch R 1001/748, pag. 83-91.
\end{itemize}
former glory as the only point on the coast that could "with right be called a city."\textsuperscript{30} A German naval officer in Kilwa reported in January 1891 that the rebel leaders Makarani and Abdalla ben Omari had returned to Kilwa and "reconciled themselves to the current relations."\textsuperscript{31} The elites of Bagamoyo greeted Wissmann's return to the coast grandly, perhaps hoping he would ensure the continued importance of their town. The \textit{liwali} Amir bin Soliman, together with Sewa Haji and Said Magram, built a stage outside Sewa's house with a seat of honor for Wissmann. Sewa spoke to the crowd, saying Wissmann had quickly restored order after war and brought hope for the future through peace, railroads, steamers, and telegraphs. Sewa Haji continued to exercise power to extract concessions from the administration. It rented its facilities in Bagamoyo from him in March 1891.\textsuperscript{32} Sewa promised links between the coast and the interior through his control of porterage labor in Bagamoyo. Wissmann, seeking porters for his steamer, had gone to Sewa with an ambiguously worded agreement from a German official, demanding Sewa supply porters with a guarantee of service for twenty dollars. Sewa said he could not meet the price, so Wissmann told him that the price included a guarantee of government support and exemption from the ban on porter recruitment for Sewa.\textsuperscript{33} Sewa positioned himself as an intermediary between the colonial state and local populations. He promised

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\item \textsuperscript{30} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 145.
\item \textsuperscript{31} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 133.
\item \textsuperscript{32} "Wissmanns Expedition nach dem Kilimandjaro. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter). XI. Die Rückkehr nach der Küste," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, April 21, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{33} BArch R 8124/13, pag. 21-22.
\end{itemize}
to build a German school and hospital, largely at his own cost, in the near future. Wissmann held a *shauri* with Arab and Indian leaders of the town. Sewa there promised 1000 rupees to build a mosque and to provide for the lighting of the city and the provision of water.\(^\text{34}\) *Nachrichten aus der ostafrikanischen Mission* compared Sewa's donation to the actions of heathens in Ancient Rome, who had first tried to imitate Christ's life before later converting.\(^\text{35}\)

Caprivi declared Wissmann's expedition a success and named Julius von Soden the governor of *Ostafrika* on 21 February 1891. After studying law in Göttingen, Soden had served the foreign office as consul in various extra-European cities through the 1870s and early 1880s. With the creation of a German colonial empire, Soden served in the colonial service in both Togo and Cameroon, both colonies in which German merchant interests played a greater role than in *Ostafrika*.\(^\text{36}\) The first priority of the new colonial administration was to establish a firm basis for German rule on the coast. A British newspaper declared Soden's appointment "a new period in the development of East Africa." Fighting was over, to be replaced by commerce between the Great Lakes and the coast.\(^\text{37}\)

\(^{34}\) "*Unsere Kulturerfolge in Deutschostafrika. Bagamoyo, Saadani und Mkioajda. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter),*" *Berliner Tageblatt*, January 27, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 5.


\(^{36}\) BArch R 1001/747, pag. 187.

\(^{37}\) BArch R 1001/748, pag. 79
From there, the administration needed to make good on East Africa's economic promise. Supporters of the empire described Germany's overseas colonies as "the most difficult of all colonial areas," but stressed that some value for metropolitan Germany could come from them. As described by Major Eduard von Liebert of the Schutztruppe for Ostafrika, "[t]he precondition for the productivity of the tolls and taxes to be paid here is the final establishment of the sovereignty of the German empire on the mainland coast," as "[o]therwise the present border, drawn only on the map, between the Sultans territory (coastal strip) and the German protectorate, is completely unknown to the people, so a financial division of the two territories is not feasible."  

Colonial leaders realized the need to learn from other colonial powers as to how best rule Africa. The Bushiri War taught colonial enthusiasts that colonialism would not be cheap. Following the example of other powers would save Germany money. Alexander Merensky, a leading evangelical missionary, believed that the Bushiri War, combined with resistance to Dutch rule in the East Indies, to French rule in Tonkin and Madagascar, and to British rule in New Zealand and among the Zulu, demonstrated that "the time in which European could break the resistance of native societies with so little effort was past." Merensky's analysis is particularly valuable for seeing the options that laid before German administrators, missionaries, and other interest parties as they began

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39 BArch R 1001/762, pag. 1e.

40 Merensky, *Was lehren uns die Erfahrungen*, 34.
to build an administration in the early 1890s. Learning from other nations' experiences would at least spare Germans bitter experiences and inevitable disappointments.41

Merensky suggested learning from other Germanic colonizers, the Boers and the British. Although they had only ever tried to enslave South Africa's indigenous population, the Boers had shown how to make African land valuable for European agriculture. They had demonstrated that Germanic people could thrive in Africa and adopt elements of the continent into their culture, while still maintaining their Christian faith and morality. The lesson of the Boers was that they had become "African" and built the basis of a "culture irresistibly advancing into the interior."42 The Boer example showed that labor was the way forward in Africa, making usable European goods out of primitive ones. Boer success had not come, however, until the British had "defeated South African nature and opened the resources of the land."

The British, Merensky believed, had once been just a cruel as other colonists, and had been the leading slave traders of the 17th and 18th centuries.43 But now, they were the model colonists. The Zulu lived happily under British rule because they were left under the "patriarchal social order of the African" rather than Roman or British law. British sovereignty had slowly reduced the cruelty and magic of chiefs through codified law.44 Now, the British offered the best model for the future of German colonization. The

41 Ibid., 37.

42 Ibid., 20-25.

43 Ibid., 25.
two Germanic powers should go forward together in the administration and conversion of Africa.45

Kayser provided suggestions for the future of Ostafrika. What was needed most of all was to create rational agriculture. The model to be followed was that of India, where, according to Kayser, state administrators watched over natives and made sure they planted according to the state's wishes. That system was "much more necessary in uncultivated Africa." German overseers needed to watch Africans closely. If they were just given seeds, they would eat all of them and leave none for planting. Cotton and palm oil could become the main crops in the colony.46 Kayser thought it most important to "win" Arabs and Indians to the German side as the "most intelligent and propertied" part of the population. Europeans would have to act as "teachers" for the colony's black population so they could understand production above subsistence level.47

Kayser was concerned with how to make the administration pay for itself without provoking a new war. He suggested taxing Indian trade.48 The Colonial Office thought taxing Africans was largely impossible, and that taxes would have to be instituted on people of means, Arabs and Indians. Land and head taxes had only ever been met with

44 Ibid., 27.
46 BArch N 2139/69, pag. 1-3.
47 BArch N 2139/69, pag. 4.
48 TNA G 1/1, 1.
rebellion when instituted by either Zanzibar or the DOAG. Michahelles wrote Caprivi that direct taxation would not work. The population of Ostafrika was so poor and without means that it would wander away from the taxman.

The DOAG was also especially concerned with defining space within the colony. It asked for clarification of its right to occupy land in January 1891. Earlier expeditions had acquired "sovereign rights," especially the right to occupy "unowned land." It expected to keep that right. Paul Kayser wrote that the Foreign Office would have to review the treaties individually, but that the Reich had yet to offer protection to areas beyond the original Schutzbrief of 1885. With that in mind, it could not restrict the DOAG's rights there. Fixing exact borders for that territory, however, was not yet possible. Cases would have to be reviewed as they arose.

The Colonial Office did speak up later in January with respect to a land transfer in the coastal strip. The DOAG protested the acquisition of 1000 morgens of land it claimed was public by Carl Perrot and Co. Perrot and Co. purchased the rights to harvest guano from caves near Tanga from Mwenyi Hatibu bin Mwana Simba, a representative of the town. The agreement stated specifically that the town owned the caves, presumably to get around any possible DOAG claims. The DOAG protested the sale, claiming it should

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49 TNA G 1/1, 3-4.
50 TNA G 1/1, 18.
51 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 35-37.
52 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 45-46.
own the caves; they were not Tanga's communal property. Its treaty with Zanzibar had allowed for the exclusive right to buy and sell public land, but the Colonial Office argued that this could not apply to all "unowned" land. It had the right to occupy any unowned land, but not the exclusive right to it. Third parties could take control of unowned land. It could not stop Perrot and Co.

The coastal strip, and the DOAG's rights on either side of it, became a point of contention in late 1891. The DOAG opposed the East Africa Plantation Company's attempts to acquire "unowned" land among the Bondei. It claimed it had exclusive rights to "unowned" land in Ostafrika, but the Foreign Office rejected that claim. It declared that the regime had the exclusive right to take control of unowned land outside of Usagara, Nguru, Usegua, and Ukami, the territories included in the original Schutzbrief, plus the coastal strip and Mafia. The governor of the colony controlled land claims elsewhere.

The DOAG continued to think of German East Africa as two separate spaces, one the coast and its littoral, in which large-scale development could take place; the other, the area to the west, from which Germans could only extract resources. The ten-mile coastal strip that the Delimitation Commission of 1886 had created to border Zanzibar

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53 BArch R 8124/15, pag. 15.

54 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 47-51.

55 BArch R 8124/13, pag. 144.

56 Though they still were not sure what form that development would take. The DOAG could not decide on a cash crop for East Africa through 1892; suggestions included tobacco, BArch R 8124/14, pag. 19.
remained a border as the Reich assumed control. Soden divided the coast into five districts in April 1891. He signaled his faith in the Hinterland Theory. Soden thought the question of where exactly the Hinterland ended, meaning where the coastal administration ended, and where the Schutzgebiet began would develop naturally over time.

Securing the coast from attacks from the interior was one of the administration's first priorities. The Colonial Office's representative Franz Leopold Sonnenschein suggested increasing the German military presence along the coast. He wrote to Kayser after an attack by Wahehe raiders. It took effort "to assure the Indians and Arabs that…it was only the annual raid of a swarm of Wahehe, which finally shattered on the station belt." He thought "a scandal, that we do not have the power, meaning the money, to go to Meli [the chief of the Wahehe] and to the Wahehe with 6-800 men and conduct a sure and energetic punishment and a lasting prevention of such incidents." Sonnenschein believed that such security would be impossible "without greater military power and without the best officer material now and never possible in the long run." An increase in military power would be necessary to protect Wissmann's gains. But there was now a clear difference in the threat to German rule. Wissmann's operations had been designed to

57 TNA G 1/1, 108.
58 TNA G 1/1, 114.
59 BArch N 2139/68, pag. 1.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
fight an "Arab" enemy. Now Sonnenschein was suggesting a military presence to protect Arabs (and Indians) from "African" attacks. Germany's role in East Africa was to protect the established colony it had conquered from Bushiri.

Rochus Schmidt, Bagamoyo station chief and a Prussian army officer, believed the coast could be the basis for the entire administration. Everyone in the colony, argued Schmidt, depended on the coast to some extent. Many traded directly with the coast; they would be easy to control. More difficult would be those who traded only through third parties. All wanted to maintain links with the coast, so the administration could work from that basis. Schmidt suggested working with Indian merchants, who already had connections in the interior. Ujiji should become the next focus as the meeting point of all caravan routes. He suggested using the authority of "native chiefs and Arabs" to rule. Military occupation was not the answer.

Ernst Vohsen described the coast as the "natural exit point for the production of the German East African mainland." A steamer would make it completely independent of Zanzibar. But the colonial administration needed a clear plan for development. Plans for settler colonization had failed, and plantations still were not productive. He split the colony in two regions. One, the "profit borders," stretched from the coast to the central steppe. There cultivation was possible. Elsewhere, only trade in ivory, rubber, and skins, goods with enough value to overcome the high transport costs, were of only value. The

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first priority was establishing authority on the coast for a distance of 10-20 miles from the ocean, with the far interior a secondary concern, and even then only as far as the security of the caravan routes was concerned. The coast could become a crown colony. The interior could become a protectorate through treaties with chiefs recognizing German sovereignty and law. Oskar Baumann described a new character in *Ostafrika*, the "Kilimanjaro-cobbler." He had been around the world, had his "ups and downs" in North America, and had now come to Tanga to try his hand at planting on Kilimanjaro but had never made it beyond Tanga.

That plan for the coast was based on a conception of a historical Arab/Swahili empire along the coast, as discussed in a previous chapter. German colonists argued that Arabs had already built the administrative structure necessary for keeping the coast under control, structures that Germans could assume the head of and let do their work undisturbed. The coast could function as already-colonized space, available for immediate exploitation and rational governance following European models. Implicit in the continuance of Swahili governance of the coast was the use of Kiswahili as the language of administration. In Germany's other colonies, the administrations used German to conduct day-to-day business. Paul Kayser noted as early as 1889 that Kiswahili would be important for governance of the coast, if for the reason that a non-

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64 BArch R 1001/764, pag. 10-18.

Swahili speaker would fall in with the "foul elements" of the population out of ignorance.66

Constructing Arabs in East Africa as a colonial class meant constructing Arab culture as more advanced and civilized than that of the Africans around it. German administrators, with relatively little force, and no German soldiers, could merely step in for "Arab" rulers. But if Arabs were a stage higher on the civilizational ladder than were Africans, and they were in Africa for the slave trade, it followed that owning slaves was a step to civilization. Slavery remained central to German conceptions of the Arab presence in Africa; after all, it provided justification for both Wissmann's and Peters' interventions and the government's assumption of direct control of the colony and the basis of German claims to sovereignty in Ostafrika.

Constructing the coast as colonized space included making it safe for German women. In mid-1891, Eugen Wolf described the arrival of any German woman on the coast as a "joyful experience."67 The administration drew a division between the dangerous African interior and the safer coast. Central to that project was the building of a hospital, to be staffed by German women nurses. The hospital would serve as a symbol of European civilization, safe for the women who worked there. The interested parties determined Dar es Salaam would be the best location for the hospital. The Kaiser wanted it somewhere on the coast. The East African Mission wanted Dar es Salaam to be the site,

66 BArch N 2139/60, pag. 7-8.

67 "Neues aus Deutschostafrika. (Von unserem Spezial-Berichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, June 26, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 53.
rejecting Bagamoyo out of fears that the creation of an evangelical hospital there would give the impression that the evangelical mission was trying to drive the Catholic mission out of the city. Wissmann also supported Dar es Salaam, as the navy was building facilities to repair ships in the town and it would soon be connected to Bagamoyo by rail. The DOAG also supported Dar es Salaam.⁶⁸

The Foreign Office finally acted to clarify the meaning of "unowned land" in March 1892. Paul Kayser wrote that Soden had assumed that East African land tenure followed similar rules to land tenure in West Africa, where he had spent his earlier service. There, unowned land was only land that was "completely worthless," such as swamps, and existed more in theory and practice. Private property did not exist, but land was held in common by a village. East Africa, however, was more complicated. On the coast, Arab and Indian elements had developed private property and the Sultan of Zanzibar the concept of state-owned land. German colonial law had not allowed for these developments. Soden warned that land without the markings of ownership could not be assumed to be unowned. Prussian law was clear, that the DOAG had the right to occupy unowned land. But the regime had acquired that right through the treaty of 20 November 1890 in which it took control of the coast from the DOAG. Kayser accused the DOAG of "creatively" reading the English of its treaty with Zanzibar from 1888 to conflate the occupation of unowned land with the right to purchase land.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ BArch R 8124/11, pag. 116-125.
⁶⁹ BArch R 8023/273, pag. 100-104.
Accompanying the belief in a historic Arab/Swahili empire were fears that Zanzibar could still control that empire. The DOAG was concerned with making the German colony completely independent of Zanzibar in economic matters. By the middle of 1891, the DOAG considered state actions to cut Zanzibar out of trade necessary for economic development on the coast. The Colonial Office also thought the issue was of some concern. But it wrote the DOAG in October 1891 that it would not sanction a ban on dhow traffic between Zanzibar and the coast because it did not want to endanger German cabotage rights in foreign colonies. The DOAG blamed Zanzibar alone for the collapse of the situation on the coast, but asked the regime to do something to help it recover some basis for success. To reduce the Sultan's influence on the mainland, the DOAG centered its rule in Dar es Salaam, as it thought Bagamoyo was too tied to Zanzibar. There, it planned to start building factories with the help of Indian capital. At its March 1892 meeting, the company decided that trade relations with Zanzibar would have to be destroyed in order to restore normal "economic conditions" on the coast and alleviate the "adverse results" of its trade offices on the mainland.

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70 BArch R 8124/6, pag. 92-93.
71 BArch R 8124/5, pag. 9.
72 TNA G 1/1, 12.
73 BArch R 8124/13, pag. 101.
74 BArch R 8124/9, pag. 45.
75 "Koloniale Rundschau," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 10, 1891, 9.
76 BArch R 8124/5, pag. 9.
annual report for 1891 called for breaking links with Zanzibar in order to end smuggling between the two. But it was impossible to really break Zanzibar's power on the mainland without the assistance of the Hamburg trading houses.

Much of the concern centered on control of currency and labor. On 11 September 1891, Sultan Ali of Zanzibar forbade the recruitment of soldiers, laborers, or porters in his dominions for service elsewhere. He claimed it was to prevent the further depopulation of Zanzibar, but Gustav Michahelles thought the measure was directed against Germans. It would favor Britain, whose control of the coast north of the German sphere was still in the Sultan's name. Sultan Ali fired the first shot in the currency dispute between Germany and Zanzibar when he banned German rupees in his domains in April 1891. By attempting to control the money supply in German East Africa, Britain and Zanzibar presented an alternative geography to the one that organized the German administration. The usage of Indian coins in German East Africa would mean the creation of a unified economic zone across the Indian Ocean, one dominated by British India. That economic policy was an attempt to revive the Indian Ocean world that existed before the Scramble for Africa.

77 BArch R 8124/5, pag. 19.
78 BArch R 8124/13, pag. 154-159.
79 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 205.
Discussions of coinage dominated the correspondence between the DOAG and foreign office through 1892 and 1893.\textsuperscript{80} In February 1892, the DOAG wrote a letter to the Foreign Office that a French steamer had imported pesas into the German colony in early January.\textsuperscript{81} According to the company, the French firm H. Greffulhe regularly brought Zanzibari pesas to the Indian trader Carjee Hansraj in Bagamoyo. The Sultan and his Indian friends were thereby manipulating the value of the company's currency, devaluing its exclusive right to mint currency. It was a necessity for the future of the colony to forbid the importation of foreign currency.\textsuperscript{82} The DOAG accused Sultan Ali of flooding the German sphere of interest with his coins to cause inflation.\textsuperscript{83} Worries increased as the Germans on the coast anticipated the arrival of that year's caravans.

Trade in East Africa took place primarily with the use of Indian rupees, money controlled by the colony's great rival, the British government.

How exactly to understand and work with the coast's Indian population was a major question. Paul Kayser saw a "certain danger" in the Indian presence on the coast.\textsuperscript{84} but he also noted that Indians were "the most important element" of the population, as they "can be called the actual owners of the land," as they had acquired it as collateral for

\textsuperscript{80} BArch R 8023/273; BArch R 8023/274, pag. 11, 19, 72, 97; BArch R 8023/275, pag. 11, 31,35, 161.

\textsuperscript{81} Pesas were worth 1/64th of a DOA rupee, which was pegged to the Indian rupee.

\textsuperscript{82} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 23-24.

\textsuperscript{83} BArch R 8124/13, pag. 171.

\textsuperscript{84} BArch N 2139/72, pag. 2.
the loans they had issued the Sultan. Kayser realized that the Indian population of the coast was connected more to the Indian Ocean than to the other parts of German East Africa; their "sphere of activity is on the coast; they sell the products that are brought to the coast and only on the coast." Eugen Wolf wrote of tensions between the coast's Indian population and others. He described Hindus in the vicinity of Dar es Salaam as living in fear of Africans and Banyan merchants, to the point that they had asked for a police post for protection. The Africans in the hinterland were capricious.

Administering the Interior

The interior of the colony was subject to a different kind of administration. The Foreign Office turned over control of the interior to three heroes in the creation of Ostafrika, Carl Peters, Emin Pasha, and Hermann Wissmann. Wissmann fell ill, and was unable to take his post, but Emin and Peters pursued a Land-based approach to the development of the interior, Emin attempting to acquire Equatoria for Germany and Peters to remake the Land of the Kilimanjaro region. Their allies continued to hope that the heroes of the 1880s could overturn the new basis for German sovereignty in Ostafrika and restore the GfdK vision. Neither commissar was successful, and their failures combined to create the death knell for the Land-based approach in Ostafrika.

85 BArch N 2139/70, pag. 1.
86 BArch N 2139/61, pag. 27.
The organization of labor was clearly divided between coast and interior in German eyes. The issue of labor marks a clear difference in how the administration of Ostafrika imagined spaces and people as compared to Germany's other African colonies. As noted in chapter two, German "experts" on East Africa believed that the people who lived there were lazy and not suited for the hard work necessary to make the colony profitable. Evangelical missions focused on teaching Africans to work. The first step in remaking East Africa to be more like Germany was to teach Africans to be good working Christians. Mission work was to be organized around the question of "how do we rear the negroes to work?" Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, leader of the Berlin III Mission, thought the way forward was clear. The mission had two secure points in Tanga and Dar es Salaam from which it would order missionaries beyond the coast to the interior.

Before Wissmann had even completed his operations, DOAG officials looked to other imperial contexts for possible models of labor organization as early as 1890, focusing on the Dutch East Indies. The Foreign Office sent the company a report from the German consul in Batavia with a translated article from the Java Courant with a suggestion that the company copy Dutch methods of plantation agriculture by importing Chinese labor. Several officials raised suggestions of importing workers from other parts

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88 "Das evangelische Mission in Ostafrika," Der kleine Missions-Bote, 1st quarter, 1891, 8-14.


90 BArch R 8124/10, pag. 31, 154-159.
of the world, primarily the Indian subcontinent or Southeast Asia, in 1892. “Coolies,” it was hoped, would solve the immediate question of labor until the plantation company and plantation owners could "educate" local Africans to work. The evangelical mission leader Alexander Merensky expressed concerns about East African labor. Slavery "had reduced the value and respect of work in the eyes of the natives." The Kolonialzeitung argued that if plantations did not work, other European powers would not have invested so much in them. Ceylon could be a model for Ostafrika. The British Foreign Office initially rejected the DOAG's overtures to recruit laborers in Singapore, though it later relented, so the company's initial labor recruitment took place in Sumatra, in the Dutch East Indies and in the British Strait Settlements. The DOAG argued that without coolies, the "economic uplift of the colony" would be "impossible, however with coolies' help more or less secured." The idea that East African labor could suffice should be "completely ruled out." DOAG officials claimed that imported workers could do more than just provide labor, they could teach East Africans to labor themselves.

91 BArch R 8124/14, pag. 10, 22, 37, 194; BArch R 8023/277, pag. 202; BArch R 8023/273, pag. 57; BArch R 8023/274, pag. 154. Chancellor von Caprivi himself had raised the suggestion of importing labor, from China, in 1891. BArch R 8124/12, pag. 182,185.

92 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 53.

93 Merensky, Was lehren uns die Erfahrungen, 13.

94 "Die erste Kulturzone Ostafrikas. (Mit Karte)," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, July 23, 1892, 110-111.

95 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 90, 93, 140.

96 BArch N 2139/65, pag. 4.

97 BArch N 2139/68, pag. 2.
The rhetoric of the anti-slavery campaign remained central to German discussions of Ostafrika. It remained a threat to the work of German civilization. The frontier of the slave trade, however, moved west from the Indian Ocean coast to the Great Lakes as the scope of the colonial state expanded. An article in the *Kolonialzeitung* claimed that the Arabs on the east side of Lake Tanganyika had grown greatly embittered against missionary efforts to free slaves. Arabs wanted to control East Africa only for ivory and slaves, not to develop the land. Arab influence on Africans was entirely negative and as Islam spread to Central Africa, it posed a danger for all European colonial states. It included a map of Arab movement west, marking progress on territory.⁹⁸ Slavery was still destroying the landscape.⁹⁹

The question of labor in the interior was tightly bound to questions about property there. Alexander Lucas, head of the DOAG, reported on private property in the interior. He told the rest of the DOAG leadership that there was "absolutely no" right to private property in the colony, but that land was in general the reserve of the state, its special property. Outside of the coastal towns, village communities or their leaders saw all unbuilt land as communal property. Thus, some pitiful *Jumbe* then claimed to be sovereign of all of Africa. Zanzibar had never recognized those claims, so neither should

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Germany. The administration declared the usurpation of "all ownerless wilderness forest, cultivated land, and steppe." It portrayed African land management as destructive and irrational.

The Kolonialzeitung turned to the precolonial explorer Paul Reichard as its expert on East African affairs. The biggest difficulty in governing Africans, in Paul Reichard's estimation, was teaching them the value and meaning of property. They did not have a word for "Land," meaning in German both a state and an area of ground. They treated the earth like the air, belonging to no one, "there is in Africa no landholding." Reichard provided a historical explanation for the lack of property. Africa's population was thinly distributed, its landscapes were uniform, its people were eternal migrants, and Africans were frugal and undeveloped emotionally. Reichard suggested building stations with 100-120 askaris stationed at each in order to enforce the "right of the strongest," the only law in Africa. Chiefs needed to be brought into dependency through either force or trickery, and German law needed to be established. That law, however, had to maintain racial hierarchy. Europeans had earned superior rights to Africans through their history. Africans needed to earn those same rights. Governance was best accomplished through

100 BArch R 8124/5, pag. 49.
102 Sunseri, 36.
tribute and chiefs. Any indulgence would only be seen as a weakness.104 This idea was not limited to the Germans in East Africa. S. Tristam Pruen argued that Africans were untrustworthy, like people of "Eastern" nations.105

Ideas about what to do in the interior varied. The colonial lobby resisted giving up Uganda to British control. Karl von der Heydt recommended "drastic steps" be taken to prevent British control of the area.106 First Lieutenant Langheld suggested that the administration build a trading station in Bukoba, on the western shore of Lake Victoria, to capture the trade in the region.107 Its "available spaces" [vorhandenen Räume] would make for "comfortable" housing for officials and their staffs.108 He stressed that something had to be done "very soon" lest the British "divert" the trade from the "ivory lands Mpororo, Ruhanda, Karagwe, Usongora, Nkali, Unyoro" into Uganda.109 Paul Kayser supported Langheld's suggestion and forwarded it to the DOAG.110

Wissmann had attempted to wipe out all resistance to German rule on the coast and kill the war leaders there, but his approach to the west was different. Rather than kill Semboja of Masinde, discussed in Chapter 1, or force him from power, Wissmann


106 BArch R 8023/278, pag. 49.

107 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 17.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 16.
suggested that he be left in place. Besides the cost in gold and time, there was no one to replace his ability to secure the roads and land necessary to rule Ostafrika. There was more to fear from warlike tribes nearby, like the Masai. Semboja could be made an ally.  

Wissmann declared Mandara of Moshi one of "few who really understand their subject relationship to Germany" in East Africa and unreservedly supported the German goal of ending slavery. The Kaiser thought this news "very gratifying." Mandara had told Wissmann that he would convince the Germans that his people were the most powerful under German rule in East Africa. Peters described Semboja as a "half Arab" in terms of his beliefs. He gave the impression of an unnamed "very famous Berlin University professor" with his "modest bourgeois" ways. Both promoted an indirect approach in the interior, in contrast to the direct approach of the administration on the coast.

Soden delineated the interior from his five coastal districts in his plans for administration. He, together with Kayser, created a system of commissariats to project German force west. He appointed Emin, Wissmann, and Peters as commissars. Emin was to travel to the west of Lake Victoria, Peters to Kilimanjaro, and Wissmann to Lake Tanganyika. According to one newspaper report, the Foreign Office specifically warned

\[111\] BArch R 1001/747, pag. 192-194.

\[112\] BArch R 1001/748, pag. 13.

\[113\] "Wissmanns Expedition nach dem Kilimandjaro. VI. Sultan Mandara von Moshi. – Kriegsvorbereitungen. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, April 2, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 18.

\[114\] "Der Häuptling Simbodja in Masinde," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, October 17, 1891, 147.
both Peters and Emin not to mess with the borders set in the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty.\textsuperscript{115} The choice of Emin, Wissmann, and Peters allowed a role for the three key figures in the "exploration and development of the interior,"\textsuperscript{116} but it ensured they would not be able to control the administration of the coast. The state directive was meant to keep the commissars from disturbing the international recognition of German rule in East Africa. Their work would be among people the German state had yet to violently subdue, who might still require the aggressive approach of the preceding years.

Following Emin's return to the coast in 1890, the German colonial lobby pushed for the German government to bring the Pasha into its service. Emin agreed. The new Secretary of State of the Foreign Office, Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein, told the Reichstag in March 1890 that Emin would secure good relations with the natives, protect missionaries, and help eliminate the slave trade.\textsuperscript{117} The Kolonialzeitung gloated over Emin's joining, declaring it a great victory for the German colonial movement and a demonstration of its progress vis-a-vis its older British rival.\textsuperscript{118} Wissmann, hoping to make some use of Emin, sent him to the Great Lakes, hoping he would help establish German control there. Without the power to take Tabora by force, he hoped Emin would

\textsuperscript{115} BArch R 1001/253, pag. 38.

\textsuperscript{116} TNA G 1/1, 23.

\textsuperscript{117} "Die kolonialpolitischen Reichstagsverhandlungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, March 24, 1890, 130.

\textsuperscript{118} "Kleine Mitteilungen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, April 12, 1890, 99.
establish friendly relations. Wissmann directed Emin to build a station on Lake Victoria to serve as a port for the steamer, meet with Charles Stokes, tell chiefs they were now under German rule, and secure the caravan route. Wissmann immediately grew frustrated with Emin. Wissmann wanted to fight Makenge of Ugogo for raiding caravans, but Emin and Stokes lacked the strength to both fight Makenge and occupy Tabora. Emin soon began following his own methods, using violence to achieve his ends, to Wissmann's great frustration. He lacked the force to occupy any points, and turned Wanyamwezi populations against the German presence.

Emin's supporters continued to see him as the hope for undoing the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty and restoring German glory in Africa. The Kolonialgesellschaft sent Emin an assistant to write letters and make maps of the territories he passed through. Karl von Gravenreuth suggested Emin could personally undermine the whole treaty. With a Maxim Gun and fifty soldiers, he could retake Equatoria and occupy Uganda for Germany. This would be a much better Emin Pasha Expedition than the one undertaken by that "characterless lad" Peters, who had so often misused Emin's name.

119 BArch R 1001/747, pag. 1.
120 "Emin Pascha und Wissmann," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 10, 1891, 5.
121 BArch R 1001/748, pag. 33.
123 "Neues aus Deutschostafrika. (Von unserem Spezial-Berichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, June 17, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 48.
124 BArch N 2063/9, pag. 2-3.
Ralph Austen described Emin's expedition as the hiatus between "grand visions" and the "mundane realities" of everyday colonialism\textsuperscript{125} but it provides a window into the German spatial imaginary, as well. Emin's position as an envoy to the western reaches of the colony show the continued provenance of the idea of a one-man African empire beyond the coastal strip. German ideas of rational governance were insufficient to manage the wilds of Africa. Land had to be remade before German governance could function. Emin certainly saw himself as a visionary. He sent a letter back to the coast with Peters from Mpwapwa claiming that he, Emin, was still the "legal occupant" of Equatoria. He hoped that the German government would work to amend the Congo Act to make Equatoria a permanently neutral province in order to protect it from annexation (although he harbored ambitions of expanding Equatoria northward).\textsuperscript{126} He continued the "scientific" work that had earned his reputation in the previous decade and which characterized the European precolonial exploration of East Africa, sending a "dwarf" to Europe.\textsuperscript{127} Emin wrote Wissmann in February 1891 that he was not going to "secure German sovereignty through treaties with native power holders," but rather going west to the Hinterland of Cameroon, to the Uele River.\textsuperscript{128} He was unable to build a strong German position in the Great Lakes. His whereabouts were unclear to German officials on the coast, and international attention shifted from Emin as a hero of empire to Emin as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Austen, 31.
\item \textsuperscript{126} BArch R 1001/253, pag. 16.
\item \textsuperscript{127} "Letzte Nachrichten," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, June 29, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 54.
\item \textsuperscript{128} BArch N 2063/12, pag. 37.
\end{itemize}
Wissmann blamed Emin for making Charles Stokes' work impossible, having turned a peaceful expedition into a violent one focused on punishing Africans he encountered. The people who he had left behind in Equatoria did not trust him, and he had made many enemies during his time as governor. Among those enemies was a group of Arab traders, who captured Emin, tried him for crimes, and executed him on 23 October 1892.

Emin remained a major celebrity among German colonial enthusiasts after his death. His cousin, Georg Schweitzer, was able to sell the publication rights to Emin's diary for 6000 marks. And the DKG thought the publication of Franz Stuhlmann's account of Emin's last journey, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*. Long after Emin's death, the Hamburg Colonial Institute was willing to pay 10,000 marks for his journals. And colonial enthusiasts suggested building a memorial to Emin in his birthplace, Oppeln, in the middle of the First World War.

When Emin disappeared, the same divisions of the preceding years reemerged over the future of Ostafrika. The *Deutsches Wochenblatt* supported Emin's decision, and criticized Wissmann for not pushing harder to expand the German presence on the Great

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129 *Le Mouvement Géographique*, a Belgian journal, called Emin "enigmatic" and "bizarre," others lost interest. BArch R 8124/13, pag. 135.

130 BArch R 1001/747, pag. 146.

131 BArch R 8023/853, pag. 13.

132 BArch R 8023/227, pag. 22.

133 BArch N 2063/12, pag. 25.

134 Barch N 2063/12, pag. 26.
Lakes. Germany had to show that it was not the United Kingdom's vassal and break free from the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty. It was clear that "borders' in the interior of Africa" meant little "with the uncertainty of cartography." Furthermore, Equatoria remained "in point of fact unowned." If Emin wanted to return, then the British would have to remove him with force.\textsuperscript{135} Karl von den Steinen, a German explorer of Brazil, studied Emin's letters and determined, as he wrote in the \textit{National-Zeitung}, that Emin had decided to march from Rwanda west to Cameroon in order to link the German colonies in East and West Africa.\textsuperscript{136} His downfall signalled the end of German exploration in East Africa.

Carl Peters, after his unsuccessful expedition to find Emin, took a brief break and helped found the Pan-German League to give voice to opposition to the moderation of German colonial policy.\textsuperscript{137} He then became a commissioner for the Kilimanjaro region, despite warnings from his friends that the position was designed to marginalize him as a political figure.\textsuperscript{138} He resumed his role as hero of the era of exploration, outfitting himself in what Eugen Wolf described as "a very fanciful costume that clashes harshly with the modest uniform of the Belgians and our own officers," a tropical \textit{Pickelhaube}, knee-high boots, and a sash.\textsuperscript{139} The ivory trader Charles Stokes declared that Peters' actions on the

\textsuperscript{135} BArch R 1001/253, pag. 38.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{139} "Neues aus Deutschostafrika. (Von unserem Spezial-Berichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, June 26, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 53.
Emin Pasha Expedition would have the effect of embittering everyone against Europeans and caravans, creating more problems.\textsuperscript{140}

Peters still believed in expeditionary colonialism as central to the German project in East Africa. He recommended building a station among the Chaga, near Kilimanjaro. It could capture trade along the border of the British sphere of interest, and acquire new kinds of knowledge not available on the coast or in Zanzibar. Local chiefs Mandara, Fumba, and Mareale were adopting European ways, at least in terms of building, and would surely accept a conversion to a cash economy.\textsuperscript{141} Peters suggested recruiting soldiers from "warlike tribes" in northeastern and southern Africa, who could be compensated for service with land in the German colony. Following Buffalo Bill's principles, Peters claimed, Germans could use African soldiers in places where the terrain was no good for European tactics. Troops from elsewhere were necessary because the people of the interior of Ostafrika were flighty. He drew a clear dividing line between the people of the interior and the people of the coast, who were a "common bastard" and "morally indifferent."\textsuperscript{142} Peters looked to draw a similar divide on Kilimanjaro, looking to completely separate African from European agriculture spatially.\textsuperscript{143} Peters' actions as commissar, however, soon demonstrated how harmful his approach to colonialism could

\textsuperscript{140} BArch R 1001/747, pag. 135.

\textsuperscript{141} BArch R 8124/13, pag. 148-151.


\textsuperscript{143} Perras, 191.
be. He refused to work with missionaries and became increasingly brutal.\footnote{Perras, 193-196.} Charles Stokes reported that Peters had so embittered the Wagogo that travel was extremely difficult.\footnote{BArch R 1001/747, pag. 135.} He had also sullied Germany's reputation by building a gallows directly under the German flag at his station.\footnote{No title, \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, June 23, 1892, BArch R 1001/751, pag. 20.}

Peters caused particular consternation among German colonialists with his treatment of German missionaries. Eugen Wolf wrote that Peters had acted so inhumanely that missionaries were refusing to deal with him.\footnote{Ibid.} Those actions upset the role Soden had laid out for missionaries in the interior of the colony, bringing Christianity to the "heathen Africans" who lived there. For that purpose, several German missionary societies became established in the colony.\footnote{The Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionswerk Leipzig established stations in the Kilimanjaro district at Machame in 1893, and at Mamba and Marangu in 1894. Adam Jones, Petra Albert, and Anja Schröder, eds., \textit{Afrikabestände im Archiv des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Missionswerkes Leipzig e.V.}, I. Personalakten, Nachlässe (Leipzig: University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, 1998), IX.} Wilhelm von Hoensbroech called missions the "pioneers of \textit{Kultur}" in the Reichstag debates about \textit{Ostafrika}. They had advanced beyond the coast before anyone else and established themselves on the Great Lakes, the place of greatest danger for civilization. Wissmann's steamer promised to support them in their important work.\footnote{BArch R 8023/273, pag. 72.}
Tied up with the importance the Foreign Office assigned to missionary work was a conception that Islam was just a facade over indigenous religions, one common to European "experts" on the region. German attention thus largely ignored the coast and instead focused on places where it could not pretend that Islam was just a facade. Tabora held a special place in the German imaginary of East Africa. Emin called it an "Arab nest." In the wake of the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, Paul Reichard wrote that Germany needed a military and trading station in Tabora in order to form a counterweight to British influence in Zanzibar. Eugen Wolf described it as an "Arab emporium" that occupied the center of trade in East Africa through its location between Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. He suggested building a station in Tabora to influence Arabs and stop the slave trade.

The third commissar, Wissmann, constructed a plan for taking control of Tabora and areas farther west by treating them as a space similar to the Indian Ocean Coast. He planned to build a steamship on Lake Victoria to try to stop the slave trade there by capturing the boats of slave traders. He claimed that the Great Lakes were East Africa's

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150 The British missionary S. Tristam Pruen wrote that "there is partially no Mohammedanism in East Equatorial Africa," but that Arabs had forced the African population to fight on their behalf. Islam in East Africa was limited almost entirely to the coast. Not even the Swahili were really Muslims; they were merely heathens with a few trappings of Islam. S. Tristam Pruen, The Arab and the African: Experiences in Eastern Equatorial Africa during a Residence of Three Years (London: Seeley and Co., 1891), 76, 95, 264-265.

151 "Briefe von Dr. Emin Pascha," Berliner Tageblatt, April 20, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 27.

152 BArch R 1001/762, pag. 42.

153 "Wie sind Handel und Verkehr im nördlichen Deutschostafrika zu heben? (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, May 31, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 43-44.
other coast, ruled by Arabs in need of a similar form of conquest. In his public campaign to raise money for the steamer, Wissmann created an interesting argument. He told the public that the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika was East Africa's "other coast," the first coast of course being the Swahili coast where he had gained his fame. Eugen Wolf also supported the expansion to the Great Lakes, second only in importance to the Indian Ocean coast. There Germans could use the "natural advantages of the lakes" to stop the slave trade and expand German influence. This was especially important because the ivory frontier was moving farther and farther west.  

154 The construction of the Great Lakes as "coast" demonstrates the importance the German colonial lobby attached to the concept of coast and Hinterland. Defining the lake shore as a coast entailed a particular conception of space in the Great Lakes. As the organizers of the Wissmann expedition against Bushiri had imagined their mission as the defeat of an uprising by Arab colonists to win the hinterland for Germany, so did Wissmann now imagine the anti-slavery campaign on the Great Lakes as a battle against Arab slave traders for the hinterland of the Lakes. The coast was a place where Arabs had been for a long time, and where they had colonized. Wissmann's call for donations
demonstrates his continued allegiance to the idea of a threat from the Arab slave trade that had motivated the expeditions of the previous years.

The amount of money Wissmann's steamer campaign raised attests to the continued valence of that idea.¹⁵⁵ By the middle of August 1891, the subscription had already raised 66,500 marks.¹⁵⁶ The money did not come just from Germany; donations arrived from around Western Europe, and from places farther away: Argentina, Japan, and Baku. Most donations were only a few marks at a time.¹⁵⁷ The Anti-Slavery Lottery raised two million marks just in the second half of 1891.¹⁵⁸ Although the steamer plan was half-baked, it inspired people around the world, mostly Germans but also others, to donate money to fight an imagined threat to civilization.

The *Times* carried a story in early February 1892 that a group of Germans were planning to create a model state in the vicinity of Mount Kenya according to socialist principles. The Foreign Office thought the report serious enough to notify the DOAG. The plan demonstrates the continued power of rumor to convey the hopes that Germans projected on to East African spaces that they believed were empty and available, even as

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¹⁵⁵ BArch R 8023/855.

¹⁵⁶ BArch R 8023/856, pag. 10.

¹⁵⁷ BArch R 8023/856, pag. 29-47, 55-64.

the German state began to regulate and restrict activity in the territory it controlled and took control of information coming from the coast.\footnote{BArch R 8023/273, pag. 43.}

Besides the steamer, a railroad held great promise as a modern European solution to the difficulties of making the caravan trade profitable for Germany through technology. A railroad would signal German victory on the coast and progress west. It would project German power beyond the coast.\footnote{Kurt Weiß, Hauptmann à la suite der II. Ingenieur-Inspektion, "Die Eisenbahnfrage in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, January 10, 1891, 20.} An article in the \textit{Koloniaalzeitung} declared that a railroad would solve all problems in \textit{Ostafrika}. It would "open" the land and make many products transportable that had theretofore never been sent to the coast. It would solve the labor question by forcing porters to become farmers.\footnote{Weiß, Pr. Lt. à la suite der II. Ingenieur-Inspektion, "Über Verkehrswege in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, May 10, 1890, 117.} Ernst Vohsen wrote in favor of the railroad. He believed that a railroad from Tanga to Lake Victoria would be the "cheapest way to the opening of Central Africa," as the trade of the region stretched beyond German territory, "deep in the heart of Africa lay the economic borders of trade." The railroad would control that whole area for Germany and make Zanzibar irrelevant.\footnote{"Ein Kolonialprogramm für Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, May 30, 1891, 77-78.} Vohsen thought a rail link to Lake Victoria would bring the trade of Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika to the German coast. Further interior stations were a waste of time until the rail could be completed. Once the "civilization ring" was completed through the railroad and steamers on the lakes, the further development of the interior
would follow as a matter of course. The interior should otherwise be left to missions and political agents.\textsuperscript{163}

Soden reported to the Foreign Office in February 1892 that the "caravan and expedition system very popular here has become a plague" and would only accelerate the ruin of the land created through war, famine, illness, and mismanagement. One might think the caravan trade served to bring goods to the lands through which it traveled, but it was more like a "swarm of locusts" leaving horror and destruction in its wake no matter whether Arabs, European travelers, or missionaries were at its head.\textsuperscript{164} To operate a caravan, one had to contract with a "native," most likely "the Indian Sewa Hadji," for porters. The porters raised in prestige through their positions under the protection of a European and their possession of a firearm, which increased their effrontery. Such porters created disturbances with the societies encountered along the route.\textsuperscript{165} Europeans were only too inclined to identify with their dependents, so the evil deeds would go unpunished, and the societies disturbed would not trust the European presence.\textsuperscript{166}

In its report for 1890, the DOAG appeared optimistic that it could cut Zanzibar out of the caravan trade with modern European technology, railroads and steamships.\textsuperscript{167} It sent Oskar Baumann to lead an expedition to explore from Usambara to Lake Victoria

\textsuperscript{163} BArch R 1001/764, pag. 21-23.
\textsuperscript{164} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 62.
\textsuperscript{165} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 63.
\textsuperscript{166} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 64.
\textsuperscript{167} BArch R 8124/4, pag. 76-77.
in order to find a route for a railroad and the "economic character" of the area in late 1891. He would trace the route from Tabora to Korogwe for an extension of the Tanga-Korogwe line. It decided at its 5 May 1891 meeting to create a new company to build a railroad from Tanga to Korogwe based on Baumann's report. The company believed the railroad would open *erschließen* Usambara for German trade. The railroad was supposed to completely change the ways Germans and goods traveled in East Africa, marking the end of the era of expeditionary travel on foot. The DOAG's 1891 annual report claimed the Usambara Railroad would create a new phase of development "for the entire Hinterland landscapes of Tanga." Connection to the port would bring natives into the world market economy. It would make possible the settlement of Europeans and the creation of plantations in the "healthy" region of Usambara, in which "traffic routes and cultivation were as good as non-existent" to that point. The DOAG deemed the railroad a "development path" for opening trade to the west.

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168 BArch R 8124/13, pag. 97.
169 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 52-57.
170 Adolf von Tiedemann remarked on how much times had changed early in the 20th century. He had received a postcard from the then governor, Gustav Adolf von Götzen, in which Götzen declared he had reached Lake Victoria from the coast in just 24 hours, a journey that had taken Tiedemann and Peters months during the Emin Pasha expedition. Adolf von Tiedemann, *Aus Busch und Steppe* (Berlin: Winckelmann & Söhne, 1905), 200.
171 BArch R 8124/5, pag. 18.
172 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 67.
173 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 77.
claimed the railroad to Usambara would pull Usagara and Nguru into the "cultivation ring" of the coast.  

The DOAG's plan for the railroad came into conflict with the government's. The company planned to give away five kilometers of land on either side of the track laid and to exempt the railroad company from tolls for longer than ten years. The government wanted to limit the land given away to 500 meters on either side and the customs exemption to ten years. The company and the government reached an agreement in June. In exchange for building the railroad, the DOAG would get three kilometers on either side of the line tax-free for five years, plus 40,000 hectares of its choosing for every kilometer built. The agreement created official borders for Usambara - the Pangani River, to 4 degrees south latitude, to the coastal region, to the British sphere of interest.

It also established an obligation for the government to give the DOAG the right of first refusal on any land sales or transfers to third parties. On the other hand, it established an obligation for the DOAG to get government approval for any occupation of unowned land or acquisition of "native" property. The agreement's terms thereby established the government and the East Africa Company as joint owners of all land within the borders of Usambara by requiring approval from both parties for any land transfer.

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175 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 57.

176 BArch R 8124/4, pag. 63.
The railroad promised to heighten the DOAG's rivalry with British companies. It was designed to prevent other powers from taking Ostafrika's wealth.\textsuperscript{177} Much of the DOAG's actions through 1890 came out of fear that the United Kingdom would capture the Hinterland of the German coast for its own trade. Central to those worries was the Imperial British East Africa Company, about whom it wrote the Foreign Office while the Bushiri War was still happening.\textsuperscript{178} It claimed that British land purchases violated its agreement with Zanzibar, and threatened to change all property relations before Germans could even get a clear picture of them.\textsuperscript{179} The Foreign Office rejected those complaints, citing a British-Zanzibari treaty of April 1886 that guaranteed British subjects the right to buy land within the Sultan's territory. Since the coast still technically belonged to Zanzibar, the German government could do nothing.\textsuperscript{180} British subjects had for all intents and purposes acquired the same rights to property as the Sultan's subjects themselves possessed. German rights to control land transfers belonged only to "non-European" subjects. The German government therefore stood in exactly the same relation to the British as to "the native population."\textsuperscript{181} It wrote the Foreign Office in February that the British were attempting to control the Hinterland from Usagara to Lake Tanganyika.

\textsuperscript{177} Similar fears motivated British railroad building north of the border. The Marquess of Salisbury, then the Prime Minister in the UK, argued for a British railroad to Uganda in Parliament by claiming that other powers would seize the Upper Nile if Britain did not act.\textsuperscript{BArch R 8124/15, pag. 26.}

\textsuperscript{178} \textsuperscript{BArch R 8124/9, pag. 9-10.}

\textsuperscript{179} \textsuperscript{BArch R 8124/9, pag. 47.}

\textsuperscript{180} \textsuperscript{BArch R 8124/9, pag. 54-55.}

\textsuperscript{181} \textsuperscript{BArch R 8124/9, pag. 58-59.}
through Stanley's Emin Pasha expedition, the Africa Lakes Company, and its actions on Lake Nyasa/Malawi. Together, these actions created a "lively movement for the Anglicization of Central Africa." Stanley's public speeches had made clear that he saw Mpwapwa as the proper western border not only of the German "protected land" [Schutzlandes], but of the entire German district in East Africa. It was to be expected that in the near future the British would make moves to establish greater control over German territory.  

The DOAG complained to the Foreign Office in December of 1890 that the Imperial British East Africa Company was creating trouble at Taveta. It was making promises to caravans (what exactly it was promising the DOAG did not say) in order to get them to go to Mombasa rather than Tanga. These promises posed a "pressing danger for the German Kilimanjaro Region," both Usambara and its Hinterland. The company recommended a series of steps to solve the issue. A railroad from Tanga through the Mpwapwa and the Nguru Mountains to Lake Victoria and Tabora would pull more trade to Tanga. There needed to be a regular steamer line to Tanga to diminish the town's reliance on Zanzibar. And most important, customs needed to be established between German and British spheres of interest.  

The company claimed that the Taveta station existed almost entirely as a "propaganda station. Customs, it argued, were allowed in the interest of trade. The situation was comparable to that of Hamburg. The Rhineland cities traded through Hamburg because it was German and offered customs protection instead of Zanzibar. The situation was comparable to that of Hamburg. The Rhineland cities traded through Hamburg because it was German and offered customs protection instead of Zanzibar.

182 BArch R 1001/10, pag. 22-23.
183 BArch R 8124/11, pag. 216-218.
of through the Netherlands or Belgium. The borders of Ostafrika had to be maintained like the borders of the Reich proper. Ernst Vohsen supported customs along the border where it was crossed by "official caravan routes." German colonialists believed much of the trade that had gone to Tanga before European colonization had switched to Mombasa during the Bushiri War, fearing conditions on the German section of the coast. The German consulate in Zanzibar further escalated those concerns, writing the Foreign Office that several Digo villages had moved from the German sphere of interest to the British, following Jumbe Scheifa bin Achmed, formerly of Wanga. The administration's official in Tanga, Krenzler, wrote the Colonial Office in May 1891 that caravans were choosing Mombasa over Tanga. Almost eighty percent of the ivory that had gone to Tanga originated in the British sphere of interest. Something had to be done to ensure it kept going south. It was the "ancient precept" of the caravan trade was that a caravan would return to its town of origin, so the caravans were not being drawn away by the British station at Taveta. Only one caravan had actually gone from the German sphere of interest to Mombasa. The Foreign Office was also hopeful for the future, as the people of Pangani and Tanga were more inclined to trade than were the people of Mombasa. Eugen Wolf reported that the British were holding shauris in Wanga to convince people to transport goods to Mombasa rather than

184 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 17-19.
185 BArch R 1001/764, pag. 19.
186 BArch R 8124/13, pag. 17-18.
Tanga. He accused British missionaries of serving as political spies, and wrote that the raising of the Union Jack on British mission stations would only cause confusion about political control among local populations. After Bismarck's cooperation with Salisbury in the campaign for the Bushiri War, tensions were again on the rise with the United Kingdom.

Kayser responded that customs were not possible according to the agreement between the two governments. The two governments began on good terms. Charles Euan-Smith, the British Consul-General in Zanzibar, toasted Wissmann and the Kaiser at a dinner to mark the end of the Bushiri War in January 1891. Kayser told the DOAG to focus on building the railroad and stations to win trade without government interference. He tried to play off the rivalry as an advantage. He wrote the DOAG that the quarrel with Britain would create speculation over concessions in Mozambique, to the

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188 "Unsere Kulturerfolge in Deutschostafrika. Pangani und Tanga. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, January 29, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 7.

189 "Von der Wissmann-Expedition nach dem Kilima-Ndscharo," Berliner Tageblatt, April 2, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 20.

190 The period 1890-4 marks a transition in German-British relations from the willingness of Bismarck and Salisbury to work together internationally to the rising tensions of the following decades. The relationship between Germans and Brits in Ostafrika mirrors the metropolitan mix of tension and friendship of this period. See Lahme and Paul M. Kennedy, Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980).

191 "Die Flaggenhissung an der deutsch-ostafrikanischen Küste," Berliner Tageblatt, January 24, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 2.

192 BArch R 8124/11, pag. 227.
The DOAG also believed that the accession of Said Ali to the Zanzibari throne would serve British interests to an even greater extent. British influence there was directed solely at weakening the German colony on the mainland, in the DOAG's eyes. The company suggested to the Foreign Office that the German government take full control of Zanzibar and Pemba in order to increase German prestige in the eyes of local communities and prevent further British successes at the company's expense. The Foreign Office refused to consider the suggestion. It also worried about British actions in the south. Verney Lovett Cameron had approached the DOAG with a plan to conduct trade from Lake Nyasa/Malawi south along the Shire and Zambezi rivers. The DOAG warned the Foreign Office of the offer and its threat to German trade on the coast.

The Soden System Breaks Down

Soden ordered Emil Zelewski to lead an expedition to fight the Wahehe in the Hinterland of Bagamoyo, who Soden believed were creating new resistance. Zelewski burned down all the Wahehe villages he came across and was ambushed and killed between Bagamoyo and Saadani on 13 September 1891. Eugen Wolf described a feeling of schadenfreude among Arab and Swahili residents of the coast. 424 of the 620 porters

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193 BArch R 8124/11, pag. 221.

194 BArch R 1001/10, pag. 24-25.

195 BArch R 8124/12, pag. 34-35.

196 "Neues aus Deutschostafrika. (Von unserem Spezial-Berichterstatter)," Berliner Tageblatt, June 26, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 53.
for Wissmann's expedition to the Lakes deserted.\textsuperscript{197} He thought the work of the Bushiri War had been completely undone and that a strong response was necessary.\textsuperscript{198} The \textit{Koloniazeitung} called the ambush the worst day in Germany's colonial history.\textsuperscript{199} It marked a turning point for German colonialism in East Africa, the moment at which the administration of Ostafrika began to eliminate the influence of the Land-based approach to the interior completely in favor of an administration based on punitive violence.

The Zelewski disaster created questions about the future of the administration. The "Soden System" faced new opposition from Germans in both East Africa and the metropole. The journalist Eugen Wolf doubted the plan to move the center of German influence to Dar es Salaam, as Bagamoyo's trade superiority could not be overcome.\textsuperscript{200} Wolf reported on problems with the Soden System through 1891. Monamata plundered around Masinde and the administration needed ten times the soldiers it had at the station in order to stop him;\textsuperscript{201} the system needed a railroad to function.\textsuperscript{202} He criticized the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{197} "Neues aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, October 26, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 75.
\item \textsuperscript{198} "Der Untergang der Expedition Zelewski," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, October 8, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 65.
\item \textsuperscript{199} "Ein Unglückstag für die deutsch-ostafrikanische Schutztruppe," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, September 19, 1891, 127.
\item \textsuperscript{200} "Unsere Kulturerfolge in Deutschostafrika. Dar-es-Salam und Bueni (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, January 26, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{201} "Wissmanns Expedition nach dem Kilimandjaro. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, February 28, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{202} "Wissmanns Kilimandjaro-Expedition. II. Masinde bis Gondja. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, March 8, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 11.
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placement of a station at Moshi, as it did nothing to help trade, which he thought should be the primary goal.\footnote{Wissmanns Expedition nach dem Kilimandjaro. VIII (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter). Friedensschlüsse. - Handel und Wandel am Kilimandjaro," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, April 5, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 24.}

The \textit{Kolonialzeitung} noted that the consequences of Wissmann's victory on the coast were almost invisible in the interior in March 1892.\footnote{"Koloniale Rundschau. Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, March 5, 1892, 41.} Wolf wrote in the \textit{Berliner Tageblatt} that the Foreign Office had instituted civil administration one or two years too early. The situation was dangerous everywhere for Germans. An "absolute military dictatorship" was still necessary to control East Africa. British East Africa showed why. It was safe because there were 500 troops in Uganda and more in dangerous spots. Soden was a great administrator, but had no experience as a military officer and no knowledge of relations in the interior because he had never traveled west of the coast. Wolf critcized Soden's choice of officials for the interior, namely Oskar Borchert. He wrote that Borchert was a fraud, having only been to the coast a couple of times and never west of it.\footnote{"Die Borchertsche Seenexpedition und die Schiffsbauanstalt in Bukoba am Viktoria-Nyanza," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, December 25, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 100.} One was sticking one's head in the sand like an ostrich if one thought the administration could be limited to the coast.\footnote{"Herr v. Soden und die Folgen der Vernichtung der Expedition Zelewski. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, October 29, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 79-80.} Germany might as well "shut up shop and sell East Africa to the highest bidder." Rule on the coast could be accomplished with "the
feather" and a few police, but the interior needed military power, with fortifications in the major towns of the caravan routes.\(^{207}\)

Wolf began to question all of Soden's actions. Wolf cast doubts on the possibility of ever bringing Africans to civilization. He wrote in the *Berliner Tageblatt* that the Chaga people who had traveled to Berlin with Mandara had sunk back to the "primordial low cultural condition of negroes." They were carrying shields and spears instead of guns, and had sold the watches and rings they had received in Germany. Only Mandara still had his ring, a gift from the Kaiser.\(^{208}\) Wolf refuted Soden's telegram to his superiors that all was quiet in the colony, claiming the telegram should have read "situation critical."\(^{209}\) Wolf claimed that the slave trade was blooming again under Soden's watch.\(^{210}\) He wrote that *Ostafrika*'s African population called Soden "Bwana Cartassi," meaning "paper man" because of his bureaucratic approach. The bureaucracy was worse than anyone at home could imagine. *Ostafrika* was full of what the British call "red tape" and

\(^{207}\) "Das Programm des Gouverneurs v. Soden. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, November 1, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 81.


\(^{209}\) "Alles ruhig!" (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, November 18, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 89.

\(^{210}\) Eugen Wolf, "Von Zanzibar und der Küste. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, June 18, 1892, BArch R 1001/751, pag. 19; no title, *Berliner Tageblatt*, June 26, 1892, BArch R 1001/751, apg. 23.
caravans were going around it through Portuguese and British colonies. Wissmann was a better choice. He understood how to work with Africans.

While Wolf was on Unguja, Soden banned him from the German coast. Wolf continued his criticism, claiming that even the Sultan of Zanzibar had been noble enough to exempt from taxes missions that Soden was now taxing. Soden did not know how to get along with German officers, Arabs, Indians, or Africans. None of his underlings knew the first thing about *Land und Leute* in East Africa before their arrival.

Soden was not completely without support. Theodor Barth, of the Freeminded Party, accused Wolf of distorting facts in order to argue for the Wissmann system. Soden had continued the peaceful development of *Ostafrika*. Wilhelm von Kardorff, of the Free Conservative Party, spoke in favor of Soden's work on a limited budget. Mission Inspector Franz Michael Zahn wrote in favor of Soden's plan in the *Weser-Zeitung*.

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211 Eugen Wolf, "Büreaukratie und Prügelstrafe in Deutschostafrika. (Von unserem Spezialberichterstatter)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, June 3, 1892, BArch R 1001/751, pag. 17.

212 Eugen Wolf, "Das System Soden in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *Berliner Tageblatt*, February 17, 1892, BArch R 1001/751, pag. 2-3.


214 "Die Besteuerung der Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika. (Von unserem Spezialkorrespondenten)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, December 17, 1891, BArch R 1001/750, pag. 97.


217 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 74.

218 BArch R 8023/273, pag. 76.
Germans had to be strong on the coast before striking west. The *Kolonialzeitung* called Zahn naive. He ignored the importance of ending the slave trade and placed too much emphasis on African rights, with the inevitable consequence of leaving "Africa to the Africans," an outcome neither colonialists nor missionaries wanted.\(^{219}\)

Not everyone in Germany accepted those arguments wholeheartedly. The Foreign Office needed money from the Reichstag to pay for its plans for the colonial administration. It told delegates that it had to rebuild the administration of the colony "from the ground up," for which it was necessary to avoid any unnecessary armed conflict and to deal with natives diplomatically whenever possible. The Zelewski disaster had happened because Zelewski had acted on his own accord and ignored the colonial branch's intentions. Emin would sign treaties with native tribes, and had "disappeared into darkest Africa."\(^{220}\) Ludwig Bamberger, one of the leaders of the Free-Minded Party, described the course of German colonialism as one from disappointment to disappointment. He called Wissmann's steamer plan "child's play," saying the ship might not even work when it got to the lake. It had been a poor decision to appoint Emin, the "idol" of colonial dreams. Emin had no idea about German politics and had disappeared covered with the "cloak of his Mohammedan love." If Emin really had German goals in mind, he would have announced where he was going.\(^{221}\) Bamberger supported the

\(^{219}\) "Unsere Politik in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, December 12, 1891, 179-180.

\(^{220}\) BArch R 8023/273, pag. 66.

\(^{221}\) BArch R 8023/273, pag. 67.
decision to replace Wissmann with Soden "in the sense of a wise, limited colonial policy." He declared the era of the "African explorers" over. The explorers saw their "sport, this hobby," a career. They thought only of their "fantasies, their taste for adventure, their triumphs in overcoming difficulties" and completely ignored "that people remained behind in the land who had to contest and pay their expenses."  

Caprivi responded to Eugen Wolf's attacks on Soden in the Reichstag debate after reading excerpts from his article aloud to the delegates. Wolf had claimed he was speaking for the "vox populi," in East Africa, but Caprivi questioned his definition of that group. Was the "vox populi" in Ostafrika "the blacks, the browns, or the whites?" Soden had written that there was no threat of a renewed rebellion or attempt to end German rule. The fighting in Ostafrika was not over sovereignty, but small "punitive expeditions" against "raiding tribes" in the interior. Difficulties were arising primarily out of German ignorance of Land and Leute in the interior. Soden stated that he hoped to have enclosed at least the northern and central parts of the German coastal religion with a "military belt" in the next year. In Soden's opinion, the coastal strip, as the "real seat of our administration," held the key to the "security of our sovereignty over the entire rest of the Schutzgebiet, as long as it is not yet occupied by us." It would be arrogance to assume

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 68.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{224} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 70.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{226} BArch R 8023/273, pag. 71.
\end{itemize}
German sovereignty held power in areas that were still terra incognita. Caprivi defended Wissmann from attacks, but threw others under the bus. Emin had "turned his back" on Ostafrika, and one could see that something "not entirely healthy" was at work in the colony, or in Emin.

Caprivi announced his plan for the future of Ostafrika. It should begin with setting the coast on secure footing and then occupying the Hinterland with military stations for 100 to 150 kilometers west. Once they were secure and had brought the surrounding people to peace, the administration could move farther into the interior and replace the coastal military administration with a civil one. Expeditions under individual African explorers could strike west to the Lakes, slowly moving German military power west and establishing civil power in its stead once fighting had ceased.

Enthusiasm about Ostafrika decreased significantly after the Zelewski incident. Karl Kaerger wrote, "colonization is not office work, but rather the work of Kultur." Paul Reichard doubted the ability of Germans, or Europeans more generally, to ever change Land in East Africa. The climate would never be healthy, and German children there would die if they did not return to Europe. Ernst Hasse, later the founder of the Pan-German League, wrote in mid-1892 that Germany should limit its actions in East

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227 Ibid.
228 Ibid.
229 Karl Kaerger, Review of Irrigated India, by Alfred Deakin, Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, April 29, 1893, 66.
230 Paul Reichard, Deutsch-Ostafrika. Das Land und seine Bewohner, seine politische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung (Leipzig: Spamer, 1892), 57.
Africa to controlling trade routes. Although Germany now had marked territory on a map with a colored line, it remained to be tilled and administered. It made no sense to break native resistance, as Germany was in no position to create lasting sovereignty.²³¹

The *Kolonialzeitung* lamented the lack of progress at the beginning of 1892. The United Kingdom and Belgium were improving their trade, but Germans were claiming they lacked the means for "extensive" colonization to the Great Lakes. A simple "glance at the map" showed Germany's rivals were established deeper in the interior and had better access through river routes. It was "unavoidably necessary" for German sovereignty to develop the coast and nearest Hinterland. The interior was another matter. It would require a long struggle, perhaps lasting generations, to overcome Arab power. It recommended copying the evangelical mission at Botshabelo, in South Africa. There missionaries had turned unfruitful land into a blooming oasis in a matter of years.²³² Although the coast was the most important part of *Ostafrika*, progress on the coast had to go hand in hand with advances into the interior and the creation of stations on Lake Tanganyika.²³³ In the newspaper's estimation, colonial policy always meant the "conquista," referencing Spain's history. Germany's efforts in East Africa were much like the Spanish empire in their mix of religious, political, and mercantile questions. The Hinterland Theory resembled the Treaty of Tordesillas, in which the pope divided the

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²³² "Nach dem Tanganyika!," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, January 9, 1892, 1-3.

non-European world between Spain and Portugal. And humanity "in its finer sense" played the role Christianity had played for Columbus.\textsuperscript{234}

The DOAG's board disagreed over whether the most important issue for economic success was planting or trade through early 1892.\textsuperscript{235} Alexander Lucas, the DOAG's director, traveled to East Africa in June and July 1892 to judge progress in the colony. He wrote that it had developed much in the previous six years.\textsuperscript{236} The DOAG continued to maintain enthusiasm publicly. Its end-of-year report for 1892 described the year as one of "smooth development." This was a good thing, as the nature of the company's undertaking necessitated gradual development. There was hope for the future in coffee plantations and Javanese and Chinese coolies, who were having the "desired effect" on the African population.\textsuperscript{237}

Meanwhile, the Soden administration took a more aggressive approach toward the interior following the Zelewski incident. In total, the German administration of Ostafrika carried out sixty-one major punitive expeditions between 1891 and 1897.\textsuperscript{238} Its approach toward Isike of Unyanyembe is illustrative. As discussed in Chapter Three, Isike had built power in Unyanyembe through the late 1870s and 1880s. Emin, on his march west as commissar, had signed an agreement with Isike to prevent hostilities. After Emin's

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\textsuperscript{234} "Schwebende Fragen," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, June 25, 1892, 89-90.

\textsuperscript{235} BArch R 8124/5, pag. 12.

\textsuperscript{236} BArch R 8124/5, pag. 41.

\textsuperscript{237} BArch R 8124/5, pag. 55-56.

\end{flushleft}
death, Isike remained at arm's length from the administration, refusing to surrender his power over local affairs. In January 1893, a detachment of troops under Tom von Prince attacked Isike's in a punitive raid, though Prince's advisors recommended leniency. The German troops killed Isike and strung him up on a tree.²³⁹

Killing Isike ensured German control over the people of Unyanyembe, or so Prince thought. The punitive expeditions of the Soden regime thus transitioned German claims to sovereignty away from the anti-slavery campaign of the late 1880s with its focus on fighting against Arab slave traders to the other aspect of those claims, the protection of, and control over, black Africans. The Anti-Slavery Lottery was defunct by 1894.²⁴⁰ Paul Kayser claimed that slavery was benign and even beneficial. He warned the Reichstag in 1894 that abolition would create an African proletariat and increase the difficulties of administering East Africa.²⁴¹ Soden's plans for the administration of the coast remained in place, but to the west, Soden and subsequent governors replaced his initial plans with a new administration based on the bodily discipline and control for which Ostafrika became notorious.²⁴² The colonial border imaginary became an ideology


²⁴⁰ Deutsch, 106.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 109-112.

of remaking East African *Leute*, by force if necessary, and violence was to be the mode of German colonialism.
CHAPTER 8 – CONCLUSION: THE LEGACIES OF THE COLONIAL BORDER
IMAGINARY

By 1895, the DOAG began to question the gatekeeping model that had organized its work since the mid-1880s. In March of 1895, the company announced that the policy limiting its activity to the coast could only work so long as "the entire trading traffic from and to the interior, in particular to the lakes region, had to pass through the coast and had Zanzibar as an exit or goal point." But now British and Belgian actions were moving trade in different directions. Tabora, the German goal in the west for so long, the junction of routes from all the great lakes and depot of Central African trade, had already been hamstrung by linking trade from Lake Nyasa/Malawi to the Zambezi. The entire trade of the interior of Ostafrika and the Great Lakes was in "imminent danger" of following routes to the south and west and becoming "lost for the German coast."

Railroad costs had exploded as builders tried to move through the mountains in the north of the colony. Bringing workers from Southeast Asia also did not work out. The "coolies" that the DOAG had hired from Singapore complained to the British government there that the Germans had provided "ill treatment" in East Africa. Many people worried that Germany would lose out on all of the ivory trade in East Africa. One official claimed that the British were taking all of the ivory from Ujiji along the Shire-

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1 BArch R 8124/6, pag. 17-19.
2 BArch R 8124/6, pag. 39.
Zambezi route in 1895. Traders who once went to Bagamoyo now went to British towns.\textsuperscript{4} Schutztruppe commander Lothar von Trotha wrote in 1895 that a lack of means had made progress difficult in the preceding years. Surpassing the neighboring British colonies or the Congo State in terms of trade simply was not realistic, and the ivory trade was in decline, anyway. The administration was forced to look over a vast territory with just a few small stations, each of which could only control a small area. "Insubordinate sultans" continued to exercise power and limit every development in the immediate Hinterland while Germans were off trying to control faraway places. He recommended the administration limit itself to intensive colonization in a few small centers or a strip of the coast.\textsuperscript{5} There were still thousands of hectares of unused land near the coast. It was still too early, in Trotha's opinion, to build a railroad to Tabora; he suggested a smaller line from Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam to the Nguru Mountains.\textsuperscript{6}

Trotha is much better known for his work in another German colony, Southwest Africa. There, he devised a strategy of "absolute destruction" that resulted in the genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples in 1904-5. One can find other personal connections between \textit{Ostafrika} and the violent elements of German imperialism, both in Africa and in Europe during the First World War. For example, Rochus Schmidt, the commander of the

\textsuperscript{4} BArch R 8124/15, pag. 148.

\textsuperscript{5} "Die Lage in Ostafrika," \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}, October 17, 1891, 141-142. The terms are slightly different, but the German debate of the 1890s greatly resembles the historiographical debate over French "direct" colonization and British "indirect" colonization that dominated the historiography of European colonialism in Africa through the middle of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Lugard made the distinction initially in F.D. Lugard, \textit{The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa} (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1922).

\textsuperscript{6} BArch R 8124/15, pag. 157-160.
Schutztruppe after Emil Zelewski's death, commanded German troops on the Eastern Front during the First World War. Those men certainly drew on their experiences of punitive violence and aggressive "protection" of local communities from their service in Ostafrika during the incredible violence of Germany's later history.

The argument of this dissertation, however, points us in another direction in tracing the origins and the legacies of German rule in East Africa for understanding the awful history of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. Ostafrika's administrations attempts to organize the colony's space through racial categories was Germany's first experience of racially mapping space for administrative purposes. That experience provided a forerunner for thinking about conquered spaces in the twentieth century. As described by historian Vejas Liulevicius, German soldiers and administrators who invaded Eastern Europe worked within the same paradigm of Land und Leute to conceptualize Eastern Europe.⁷ The administration of Poland, Ober Ost, built a monolithic military state to try to make German possession permanent through the imposition of German culture on Polish space The administration of Ober Ost attempted to change both Land and Leute through twin policies to remake Eastern Europe, one to rationally organize spaces through modern surveillance, the other a cultural program meant to remake primitive populations through German organizational genius.⁸

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⁸ Ibid., 7-8.
The violence pioneered in Ostafrika from the late 1880s on was to serve as a model for German occupation elsewhere. Both in the colonial wars in the early twentieth century and in Europe in the following decades, German occupying forces took aggressive action against internal or civilian enemies while still largely respecting the norms of international warfare in dealing with enemy combatants. As with the Bushiri War, the German state followed international norms while inventing new, emergency domestic measures to deal with an imagined outside threat. The idea of the state of exception derives from the work of German jurist Carl Schmitt, who defined sovereignty as the ability to decide on the exception in 1922. Schmitt's legal theories undergirded the political theorizing of Nazism and the Enabling Act of 1933. The identification of a racialized enemy as an existential threat to Germanness, as seen in the Arab enemy of both the Bushiri War and the Emin Pasha Expedition, was an essential element in both the Nazi State of Exception and the post-9/11 State of Exception studied by Agamben.

The justification for those expeditions, and the new basis for German sovereignty in Ostafrika they created, the protection of black Africans from Arabs, had a powerful influence on the later history of East Africa, as well. Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika (and the unified Tanzania, as well) placed the history of Arab slave raiding in the same genealogy as European imperialism in his timeline of foreign domination of

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East Africa. The independent Tanganyika inherited its claims to sovereignty from the United Kingdom, who had assumed them from Germany after the First World War. Tanzania's sovereignty, therefore, rests on the same basis of the protection of black Africans against Arab slavery. While Jonathon Glassman has demonstrated that racial politics predated European colonialism in Zanzibar, the rhetoric of the pro-union party in the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 bears marked resemblance to that of the anti-Arab intervention of the 1880s. Its members made their claims based on a language of human rights, protecting the islands' African population from Arab colonists and the legacies of slavery in order to claim a union with the postcolonial state of Tanganyika.

The creation of the colonial border imaginary and German rule in Ostafrika did not by itself create any of those legacies. By itself, it may appear a relatively insignificant element in both German and Tanzanian history. Its significance, however, is clear in the importance it bore in two realms. First, it was the unified Germany's first contested attempt to establish sovereignty over an area outside of the core Reich. It therefore became a model for later such attempts. Second, it was the first attempt to create sovereignty along European legalistic lines in mainland Tanzania. Its forms remained in

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place long after the Germans were gone. In both Europe and East Africa, then, the
colonial border imaginary of Ostafrika bore an important legacy in the twentieth century.
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