

The Case of the German Protectorate of Wituland: Reflections on Teaching the History of Empires in Conflict and Cooperation in East Africa

Witu is just a footnote in the history of the German Empire, lost from historical memory in Germany and not a focus of current research. Yet Witu offers central lessons to understand the history of the German Empire, imperial cooperation in world history, and, above all, aspects of empires that are common across time and region, including: exploration, exploitation, scientific missions, economic enterprises, resistance, missionary work, and world politics. The small area has usually been overlooked by comprehensive volumes on colonialism in Africa, but snippets of information can be found in newer works by German historians on colonialism and imperialism.¹

History as a school subject generally suffers from insufficient time slots, is sometimes subsumed with politics and geography classes (e.g. in some German school types), and is under pressure of didactical reduction. At the same time, History classes must convey, in a very short time frame, important and often complex subjects like the history of empires. The history of the German Protectorate of Wituland comes very close to an all-in-one case study to understand and teach valuable lessons about colonialism and imperialism.

Based on primary sources from 1880–1905 (e.g. *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Alfred Voeltzkow: *Reise in Ostafrika in den Jahren 1903–1905*), this article explores the various events and themes around the contested expansion of German imperial rule over Witu. The small Sultanate of Witu, located around the area of the Tanu River and the Lamu Archipelago in East Africa, was visited by German explorers for scientific reasons, as well as by merchants and adventurers who wanted to gain a fortune and who then became embroiled in the imperial rivalry and cooperation between Germany and Great Britain. At the time, Germans looked up to Great Britain as the role model of a colonial power which many Germans wanted to emulate.² In this historical context, Witu offers a case study of individuals during the age

of imperialism which highlight broader and deeper historical processes and developments as emphasized by recent research on imperial history: Cornelia Essner's study on German *Afrikareisende* (Africa traveler) engaged the subject of travel history with a social analysis of travelers and their motivations before it became a focus of more current research.³ Paul Smethurst examined the imperial travelling subject and their role in exploring and extending their empire. From the perspective of the global South, Pramod Nayar delivered an insightful study on the knowledge production of Indian travelers and how they defy the category of "imperial subject" and deal with colonial and imperial cultures.⁴ Nayar reflects on the awe and wonder which led to an "informed enchantment" of his research subjects. His observations of travelers, whether they were leaving their home country for scientific, economic, or personal motivation, offer a guiding framework for German involvement in East Africa. Even though the Indian traveler explores Europe and the German traveler Africa, both were crossing from one pole of the center-periphery to the other, regardless what region was imagined as the center for the subject or was the center of the empire. Travelers during the Age of Empires create "entangled histories, crossovers, and a dependency/connections with the rest of the world (. . .)"⁵, and Witu is an instructive case study of these colonial entanglements.

The events and forgotten history of Witu can teach imperial expansion by individuals without a government mandate, deliver insight into the seizure of land in cooperation with local rulers, as well as the dependence of Europeans on the people of Witu both for survival and the success of their endeavors. Even though sources from the "colonized" are missing, this study will discuss not only "German fantasies of domination," but also strives to integrate "the political activities and desires" of the local ruler and population, as Lenny Valerio has done with regard to German colonizing and civilizing missions in Eastern Europe.⁶ Susanne Zantop has explored the emergence of a "colonialist subjectivity" in Germany from the 1770s onward which evolved over time into a "distinct colonial cult," according to the scholar Mary Townsend. Both works underline the existence of a vivid colonialist imagination and mentality that searched for spaces around the globe in order to realize such ideas.⁷ The Denhardt brothers and other Germans in Witu are a prime example of individuals consuming and creating such colonial imaginations. Their attempt to found a new colony on their own also fits the research on the general cultural framework of pre-imperial and imperial Germany. Zantop argued that such colonial fantasies had been ignored by historians, but newer publications have addressed this research deficit: David Ciarlo has shown how German colonialism appeared first in the imaginative world of marketing⁸ and Jeff Bowersox analyzed the presence and meaning of colonial imaginations in school and the popular mass media of Germany.⁹

The study of colonialism and empire has seen a shift from an emphasis on high politics, diplomacy, and foreign rule toward one that looks at colonial encounters and the historical experiences of colonizers as the colonized. This shift has resulted in many insightful

studies that stress the cultural and social aspect of colonialism.¹⁰ In this case study, the Sultan of Witu himself expected to benefit from an alliance with a more powerful empire against his rival, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and therefore sought and extended local support to the Denhardt brothers and the German Witu Society. While the cultural and social spotlight has delivered plenty of new insights into the history of colonialism, the case of Witu supports Sebastian Conrad's advice to incorporate cultural factors into the larger structural forces at play, including the political and economic interests which underlay the Age of Imperialism.¹¹ Following the approach of these newer studies on colonialism, the example of Witu shows how these brothers and other individuals used their influence in Berlin to form colonial societies and demand "protection" by the German Imperial Navy, which in turn was tasked with signing a treaty of protection between the local ruler and the German Empire, marking the beginning of the official colony of German Wituland.

"Colonial Fever"

The Chancellor of the German Reich, Otto von Bismarck, played an ambiguous role in the establishment of the German colonies. Until the early summer of 1884, Bismarck was outspoken in his opposition against any colonial acquisitions. He declined the French offer of compensation of Cochinchina in exchange for letting Paris keep Alsace-Lorraine after the war of 1870/71. In 1881, he stated that Germany would not pursue a policy of colonial aggrandizement as long as he was chancellor and in a correspondence with Leo von Caprivi, then Chief of the Imperial Admiralty and Bismarck's successor, in 1883, both asserted their opposition to the acquisition of colonies. Bismarck knew colonies to be expensive and of no great economic advantage. A report on the economic prospects of the German South West Africa Protectorate was disillusioning and thus kept a secret, yet the possibilities of future markets and future trade were at least interesting to him. Hesitation guided his decisions in order not to antagonize the British through the establishment of new protectorates or colonies. Moreover, good relations with London were far more valuable to Bismarck than East Africa, according to a quote from 1885. Still, colonialism attracted more and more followers in Imperial Germany and a combination of a quiet phase in world politics between the imperial powers and domestic politics led to a shift in Bismarck's position. From 1884 on, he accepted that public opinion had become outspokenly pro-colonial and in a decree to Prince Georg Münster, German ambassador to the Court of St. James, he acknowledged that the colonial question had become vital for his government on account of domestic politics. To Bismarck, the colonial question was a hoax in order to win the elections in the fall of 1884, because a growing percentage of the electorate had gotten "colonial fever".¹²

In the Age of Colonialism and Imperialism this "colonial fever" was increasingly nourished by the stories sent home by mail or telegraph or through the various accounts of colonial pioneers, travelers, and seekers of fortune themselves. In the 1870s, the German

exploration of the world (*Welterkundung*) intensified: the archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann excavated the ancient Greek city of Troy; the geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen traveled as one of the first Europeans through China from 1868 to 1872; the physician Gustav Nachtigal explored North Africa on a five-year journey; and Eduard Schnitzer, also called Emin Pascha, served as governor of southern Sudan for the British and Egyptians.¹³ Richard Brenner, who traveled through extensively Somalia and East Africa, was one of the first travelers to bring Witu and German expansion in Africa to the attention of the German Reichstag. Just south of German East Africa between Mombasa and the mouth of the river Juba, Brenner came into contact with the Sultan of Witu, who asked for a Prussian protectorate of his realm in 1867. In Berlin, this request was completely ignored.¹⁴

Travelers, researchers, and adventurers during the colonial era in Germany could develop an understanding of the outside world from the newsletters published by the numerous colonial societies and from novels, which generally depicted Africa and Asia as wild but exotic, dangerous, and paradisiacal, and as places full of adventures and dangers to overcome. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a rise in adventure stories. These became very popular with the reading audiences throughout Europe and especially in Germany, where by 1784 German readers had become the most avid readers of travelogues on the continent.¹⁵ Novels by Robert Micheal Ballantyne, Joseph Conrad, and Captain Marryat offered Robinsonades (a term originating from German and referring to a genre of adventure travel writing in the vein of *Robinson Crusoe* that was very popular in Germany). Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is one such an example. It is written from the perspective of Captain Charles Marlow, a white man growing up in the Age of Empires. Conrad's narrative, based on his own experiences working as a boat captain for a Belgian firm in Congo, influenced popular perceptions of adventure and imperial masculinity. These adventure stories, written and sold by European novelists and magazine editors, offered to their readers imagined places for male heroism and the chance for untold riches in unknown regions and allegedly blank spaces on maps.¹⁶

One of the leading periodicals in Germany that published stories and reports about travelers, scientists, and seekers of fortune was the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*. Founded on 1 July 1843 by Johann Jakob Weber, the magazine started in an atmosphere of revolution and democratic and enlightened ideals, but it also aimed to entertain: events, personalities, trade and commerce as well as science, art, music, theater, and fashion were the stated focus of the magazine. In its own words, it wanted to be most informative for men, delightfully entertaining to women, and firmly inspiring to the young to lead a rich and active life.¹⁷ These ideals shifted over the decades, and it covered the wars of 1849, 1864, 1866 and 1870/71 with a patriotic and heroic tone. Illustrating and reporting on the German Wars of Unification, which fell to August Beck, a friend of Weber's, was one of the main driving forces for the magazine's success. Weber's magazine was in tune with German society when enlightened idealism gave way to elation for the newly formed Imperial State of

Germany. From the 1870s, the magazine propagated patriotism, loyalty to the Kaiser, and feistiness. Stories about war, struggles, adventures, and foreign countries secured a stable readership for the magazine and, with Germans becoming ever more assertive and present in the world, stories from Africa and Asia about and from agents of empire always had a place in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*. With articles and drawings, magazines like the *Illustrierte* played an important role in the imagination of foreign places and the promotion of a positive and benevolent portrayal of colonialism.¹⁸

Travelers like Brenner and later generations, including the Denhardt brothers, were responsible for initially creating colonies on paper only. From 1884, Bismarck hosted the Congo Conference in Berlin to divide Africa between the Great Powers. The chancellor then followed the British and Dutch example of tasking large private companies with the organization and administration of colonies, thereby freeing the government from the financial burden and risk of colonial management. As a result, these individuals and companies sought “charters of protection” by the Kaiser to safeguard their own enterprises. As a result, German colonies were often named protectorates at first. Companies and the individuals who demanded “protection” from the German Empire usually were in a weak position locally and their requests transformed these spaces into colonies regardless of their designation as “protectorates.” In the end, the German government through its administrators, and the German navy and army, took over the management of these colonial spaces.¹⁹

The Denhardt Brothers: Establishment of a Protectorate

Witu is a prime example of such a development. After Richard Brenner brought the little strip of land to the attention of the Prussian government in 1867,²⁰ the brothers Clemens and Gustav Denhardt²¹ returned from a scientific expedition along the Tana River in 1879 and founded the “Tana Society” in order to establish trade and pursue commercial development in the so-called Suaheli Sultanat. They had met the same Sultan Achmed Simba, who in the past had asked Brenner to forward his desire for protection from the German Kaiser, and who renewed his wish to be associated with the German Empire. Here, the Sultan of Witu showed a skill many African rulers displayed towards “the need, weakness and ignorance of the colonialists” to enhance his own position.²² In this instance, these German travelers were used as emissaries to further the interests of the local ruler in a regional struggle: Sultan Achmed Simba and the Sultan of Zanzibar, Said Barghahs, were locked in a territorial struggle territory and the refusal of the Sultan of Witu to accept Zanzibar as his ruler. In addition, slaves from Zanzibar fled from time to time across the ocean to Witu, where slavery had been abolished, resulting in punitive expeditions by the Sultan of Zanzibar, who had made a fortune by trading slaves and ivory from the African continent. Yet, Witu should not be seen as a safe haven for former slaves. Some fugitive slaves from Zanzibar could indeed find land and freedom in Witu, but some were also put to work for new masters or even resold back to Zanzibar.²³

In 1882, Clemens Denhardt found and encouraged a small group of men to erect a tiny trading post at the Tana River. The brothers themselves had to overcome difficulties to reach their outpost when they left for Witu in 1883. The Sultan of Zanzibar ordered his subjects on the island and African continent to deny both brothers any support and even to use force to stop them. When the Denhardts reached their destination in March 1885, the Sultan of Witu welcomed them cordially and swiftly pursued his aim to conclude an official treaty with the brothers with the intention of initiating an alliance with the German Empire. Under the auspices of the German consul general Gerhard Rohlf, who usually resided in Zanzibar, a treaty of protection was signed on 27 May 1885. This event caused serious repercussions and resulted in the beginning of a semblance of official colonial rule. In Zanzibar, the Sultan sent troops against Witu in fear of the growing power and influence of his local enemy. Hitherto, the German colonialists in Witu were mere onlookers, but now their self-interest and the interests of the Sultan of Witu overlapped: The German Empire officially protested and forced the Sultan of Zanzibar to withdraw his troops. Furthermore, Berlin sent an expedition of the German navy to Witu in August of 1885, which led to the end of hostilities between Witu and Said Barghahs.²⁴

The arrival of a squadron of German cruisers led by the SMS Gneisenau under Commodore Paschen constituted an important event in the colonial history of Witu. Paschen, Captain Valois, and his naval officers represented an official show of force in the eyes of the German colonialists, the Sultan of Witu, the British Empire, and the Sultan of Zanzibar, and thus the long sought after recognition and protection by the German Empire of this strip of land in East Africa. In his notes of the meeting with Sultan Achmed of Witu, Valois wrote that aside from his sixty years of age and affliction with elephantiasis, the Sultan made a healthy and intelligent impression. Legally speaking, the Denhardts initiated a negotiation process over the question of German protection, and the testimony of the general consul in May proved an essential step forward, yet the Sultan of Zanzibar only accepted the new reality after the arrival of the German cruisers on 7 August. The estimation of Valois about the state of Witu's sovereignty affords valuable insight into the perception of the German Empire towards the local rulers. According to Valois, Sultan Achmed had acted as a sovereign when he engaged in negotiations with the Denhardts and that, moreover, the Sultan of Zanzibar was unable to defeat and conquer the Sultan of Witu in order to put a stop to his treaty negotiations. Valois also argued that the British envoys in the area had informed the Sultan of Zanzibar of the growing military power of Witu and that Sir John Kirk, the British administrator in Zanzibar, had advised the Sultan of Witu to accept the suzerainty of Zanzibar. Both arguments underline the powerful position of Sultan Achmed and were used by the Germans to negotiate with the ruler of Witu as a sovereign over the territory and ignore the British-backed ruler of Zanzibar.²⁵ Official imperial protection was formally extended in January 1887, again in the presence of three cruisers of the German navy which

raised the German flag in Kipini, Mkonumbe, Mokowow, and the Bay of Manda. Still, German sources acknowledged that even after 1887, Witu was partially governed and owned by the Sultan of Witu and partially by the Witu Society and both had come under German protection in 1887.²⁶

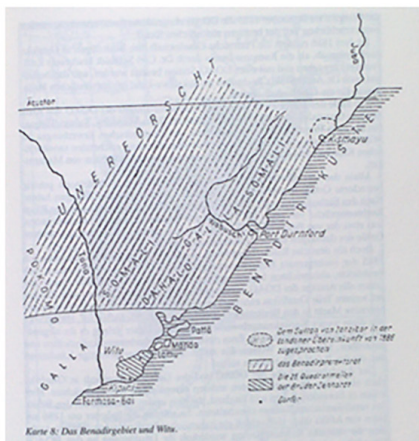
Parallel to the process of formal recognition, the Denhardts needed financial support for their fledging colony and used the pre-existing platform of the German Colonial Society (*Deutscher Kolonialverein*) to form a committee which prepared the foundation of a Witu Society, which would legally administer and be in possession of the territory. This was an important step in the colonization of Wituland, because the *Kolonialverein*—from 1887 merged with the German Society for Colonization—constituted an influential network of middle-class citizens and public officials which acted as a lobby organization to pursue colonial ambitions worldwide. In 1884, the society had around 9,000 members and forty-three subsidiary societies, and grew to 42 000 until World War I. The German Colonial Society thus was present all over the country and represented the overseas interests of professionals as well as the upper middle class. The Denhardts managed to establish their Witu Society in 1887 under the umbrella of the Colonial Society and its chair, Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. Captain Valois' report on the meeting with the Sultan was used as an argument in the society's newsletter as one of the major reasons to go forward with the creation of a future Witu Society, as well as colonial dreams of acquiring an entry port towards the east and the interior of Africa.²⁷ At this time, though, the initial "colonial fever" in Germany had given way to disillusionment with colonialism and the Witu Society remained unsuccessful in its short existence: it collected a mere 4,120 German marks in one and a half years and with the end of the Witu Protectorate in 1890, the society's founding reason ceased to exist.²⁸ As so often, surveyors, travelers, and adventurers called for the money and power of a European capital, but the capital hardly responded; even the British Imperial East Africa Company and the German East Africa Company were "grossly underfinanced."²⁹

Regardless of the short existence as a colony or the poor success of the Witu Society or the Denhardts' economic ambitions, the history of the establishment of the protectorate shows the importance and influence of a handful of committed individuals. Following in the footsteps of researchers and scientists, the Denhardts managed to promote interest in a piece of land far away from Germany and Europe and from the daily routine of their countrymen. Their presence locally made them intermediaries between the Sultan of Witu, their own self-interest in their colonization project and later for the German navy representing the interest of the German Empire and the advocates for colonization of Witu at home. As founders and administrators of the colony and active agents of colonization who generated financial support back home, the Denhardts played multiple key roles in the establishment of the protectorate.

Local Cooperation and Imperial Competition

Reality differed from colonial maps, which imagined German rule over vast stretches of land in Africa and Asia. Actual colonial rule extended only over small “islands” of territory in a vast sea of indigenous sovereignties due to the lack of resources of the Germans in East Africa:³⁰ In the case of Witu, Clemens and Gustav Denhardt only ruled over twenty-five square miles, and even in this area they had to negotiate with local customs and authorities. The expansion and implementation of colonial rule constituted a long process which was contested and could easily break down due to a lack of resources from the imperial center or strong opposing forces. In this instance, Witu was even smaller and less permeated by German rule than the German Togoland Protectorate, which was a trading colony where German traders and merchants lived on a thin coastal strip and only “ruled” along the streets and two railroad lines towards the middle of Togo. Northern Togo remained inaccessible for Germans even after a punitive action against the local population.³¹

In their local “islands” of German rule, the colonialists were heavily dependent upon the goodwill of the Sultan of Witu and pawns in the imperial competition between Germany and Great Britain. As “neighbors” in Africa, the British-German relationship changed from British toleration of German colonialism in South West and East Africa towards cordial diplomatic compromises in 1886 and 1890, which led Paul Kennedy to coin the term “colonial marriage” for both empires at that time period.³² Though the Denhardts and later the German colonial agents of the Witu Society and the protectorate were able to provoke the attention of the German Reichstag and navy, they played no role in the negotiations between the empires. Regardless of local geography, a British-German treaty of 29 October 1886 acceded certain parts of Witu to the British and their local ally the Sultan of Zanzibar, including the island of Lamu, which the Germans saw as the local seat of government. But when the British invoked their claim on the territory, a court of arbitration ruled in favor of London.³³



Map: The Benadir Area and Witu

unerforscht = unexplored

Benadir-Küste = Benadir coast

Kismayu = belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar by the London Treaty of 1886

Benadir protectorate = contested between Germany and Great Britain

Witu = 25 square miles in possession of the Denhardt brothers

Image 1: Map, The Benadir Area and Witu. Source: Walter Nuhn, *Kolonialpolitik und Marine. Die Rolle der Kaiserlichen Marine bei der Gründung und Sicherung des deutschen Kolonialreichs 1884–1914* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 2002), 123.

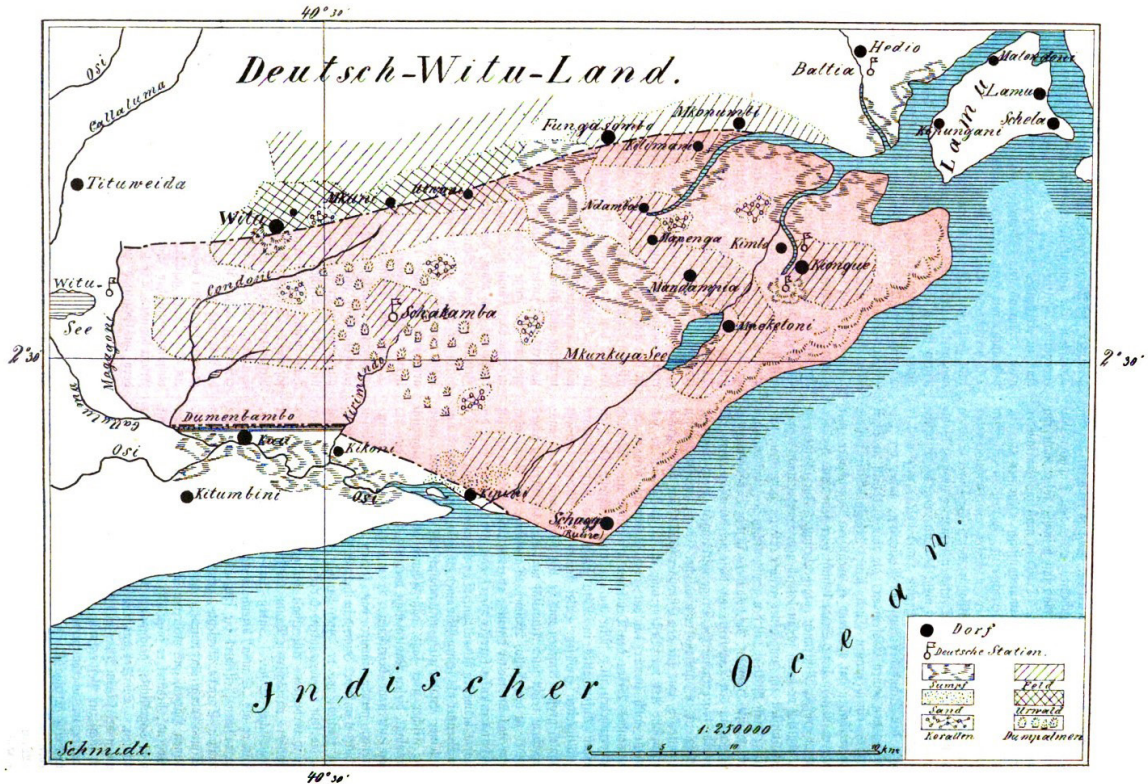


Image 2: Map, German Witu Land, 1888. Source: R. Schmidt, *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ethnologie, der Kulturverhältnisse und des Welthandels*. Band 55, Nr. 9 (Braunschweig, F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1888), 132.

Between 1885/87 and 1890, Witu was for a very short time under regular German colonial rule. With the appointment of Kurt Toeppen, an experienced administrator from German East Africa, at the end of 1887, in addition to the Denhardt's few plantations, the tiny colony became connected to the German Empire through a branch of the Imperial Mail (*Reichspost*). The British presence in the area had sometimes openly and sometimes subtly contested the German presence in East Africa. When in 1889 Carl Peters, the founder of German East Africa, set out on his so-called Emin Pasha Expedition to support Emin Pasha against the forces of the Mahdi Rebellion, he was left on his own: Bismarck and Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary, had agreed on a blockade of the East African coastline to prevent arms reaching the mainland, and Bismarck let it be known to Salisbury that Peters was there on private business. The British confiscated his arms and, after a forced intermezzo on Zanzibar, Peters informed the British that he wanted to go to Mozambique. Instead, he managed to land in secret at Kwaihu Island close to Lamu. There, with the support of local Germans in Witu, he journeyed onwards to Kenya and Uganda.³⁴ But the German colonial presence, long wooed by the old Sultan of Witu, came to a rash end with

the Heligoland–Zanzibar Treaty between the German Empire and the United Kingdom on 1 July 1890. Again, the German colonialists and the local ruler had no say in the high politics between the two colonial powers, which led to serious consequences for the residents and the indigenous population.

When in 1890 Witu was transferred from German to British rule by the accords of the Heligoland–Zanzibar Treaty without any consultation with the local ruler, Sultan Fumobakari, the successor to Ahmad Simba, was so aggravated that he took up arms against Germans in the area. The Europeans in Witu experienced what other German and British endeavors had in the course of their colonial presence before and afterwards: African-European alliances could not be taken for granted and African loyalty had its limits. In the case of Witu, the limits were reached when the sultan had been ignored and insulted.³⁵

Sultan Fumobakari felt insulted by the unexpected exchange of Witu for Heligoland because, like his predecessor, he saw the benefits of an alliance with the Germans against the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar. But then insult was added to injury with not only the unexpected treaty between the colonial powers, but also when the new ruler was informed only coincidentally by the German general consul on 12 August 1890 of the change of hegemony.³⁶ Apparently, Berlin, caught up in its own sense of superiority, failed to consult with Fumobakari. This was not an unusual practice during the Age of Empires: Alessio has elaborated how empires purchased and leased land from indigenous populations and each other. This century old imperial activity, what Alessio calls “monopoly imperialism,” was “just like the board game” in imperial capitals, but with “dangerous repercussions for those who reside on land that is not under their control.”³⁷ The Sultan of Witu only realized in 1890 that his alliance with Germany was not one of equals, but that he and Witu were just a commodity that could be acquired, sold, or transferred. In this instance, for the exchange of Heligoland in the North Sea close to the German coast.

The local ruler’s ire fell most harshly on Andreas Küntzel, a Bavarian who had led a colorful life. Born and raised in the northern Bavarian town of Kulmbach, he was said to have sailed around the world, seen North America, the Pacific, sailed through the Torres Strait, and been to Japan, China, and East India. Afterwards, he joined the French Foreign Legion and fought in the French colonies and lastly found his destiny in Africa. Here his exploits become even more like an adventure novel. Supposedly, he jumped ship in front of the island Perim, British Aden Protectorate, swam ashore, and met Carl Peters, whom he joined in his secret mission towards East Africa in 1884. At that time the competition over influence in East Africa between the German and British Empires was gaining momentum. The Sultan of Zanzibar’s cooperation was secured by giving him the income from the customs revenue and the increased trade with the empire made the loss of political independence acceptable. The Germans around Peters were met with suspicion by the British consul Kirk, who reported home that “there are mysterious Germans travelling inland.”³⁸ Altogether, these Germans were considered more a group of ragtag adventurers than a

serious colonial enterprise and Kurt Toeppen, a fellow German and the later administrator of Wituland, remarked that these four young men tried to disguise themselves unsuccessfully as hunters, scientists, or travelers. He noted that, “after a few days it was an open secret that these gentlemen wanted to annex territory”³⁹ If Pitroffs article can be seen as reliable in the narration of events, supposedly Küntzel was on a mission of his own initiative to recruit more local rulers for the German Empire when Peters’ expedition moved farther inland. The Bavarian then lost contact with the expedition and wound up half-starved at the Denhardts’ colony.⁴⁰ While Pitroff constitutes a somewhat unreliable and uncritical source, it is important to note that Küntzel might have been regarded by Peters or himself as working hand in hand for the German East African Company to pursue dreams of colonial acquisition in East Africa, which was the aim of Peters’ Society of German Colonization (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*), later renamed the German East African Company.⁴¹

Küntzel is another enigmatic case of an individual adventurer who sought meaning, fulfillment, and personal as well as economic success in colonial surroundings he hardly understood. In Witu, Küntzel began to call himself, “Commander of the Bodyguard of the Sultan” and wore a white fantasy uniform with red lapels. He was present when the SMS Gneisenau anchored and Witu gained the full status of a German protectorate. Like the Denhardts, he returned to Germany to promote the colonization of Witu by giving lectures for the Colonial Society in Southern Germany. In the colony, though, the administrator Kurt Toeppen seems to have become critical of the self-proclaimed “Commander of the bodyguard of the Sultan of Witu” and severed the ties between the Colonial Society and Küntzel. Instead of putting a stop to Küntzel’s ambitions, the Bavarian joined with a railroad entrepreneur to launch his own expedition. Küntzel promised “hills full of gold” to a group consisting of carpenters, a surgeon, a baker, an engineer, and a mechanic and they left Germany on 20 July 1890, only to be informed by the Denhardts upon their arrival a month later that Witu had been transferred to British rule in exchange of Heligoland.⁴²

Küntzel’s fate and that of his small group was featured in a long story in the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* by August Menschel, the only surviving member of the encounter with the sultan, and gives insight into the narrative style of the magazine. Menschel tells a story of daring men who built a sawmill near the city of Witu and put a locomotive into operation. Their colonizing effort was interrupted when soldiers of the sultan appeared, encircled the Germans, and escorted them under arms into captivity at Witu, where they were ordered to await their audience with the sultan and their arms taken away. According to Menschel’s report, communications were difficult because Küntzel and his men needed a local interpreter. Feeling uneasy and menaced by the soldiers of Witu, Küntzel and his men attempted to break out, take their weapons, and escape through the high grass and bushes. Menschel’s report extensively covers the escape, describing it as taking place under a hail of shots and arrows, causing the death of the Germans, and how Menschel got shot in the leg and had to crawl through the burning grass that the local soldiers set on fire just

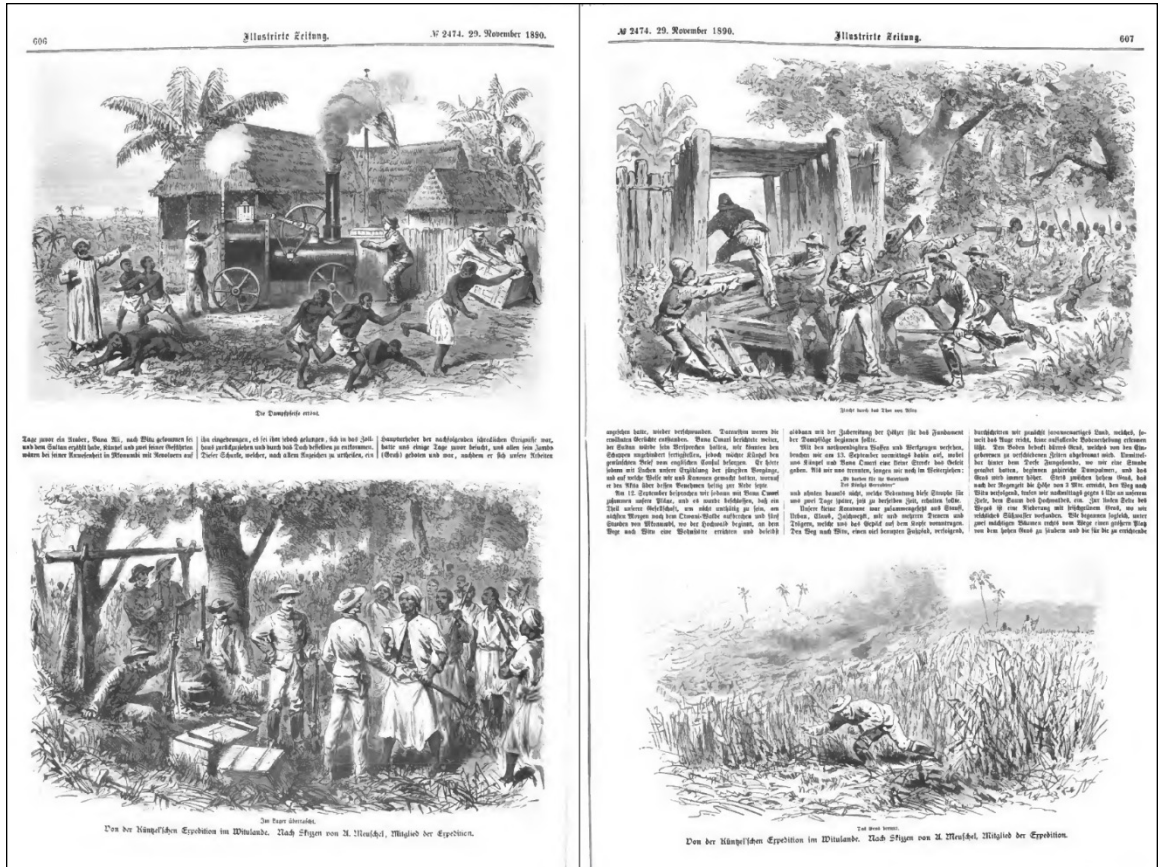


Image 3: Recent developments in Witu (East Africa), 1890. Magazine pictures from top left: (1) ‘Civilizing’ and developing the county among native inhabitants; (2) White men from the expedition are surprised by the visit of a group African soldiers from Witu; (3) Escape from Witu against a superiority of African fighters; (4) Death and August Menschel’s escape in the high grass. Source: Menschel, August, „Die jüngsten Vorgänge in Witulande (Ostafrika),“ *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* No. 2474 (25. November 1890), 606–607.

to find him. Menschel survived and after two days reached the village of Kipini, where locals helped him and he met Toeppen. There, the former German administrator of Witu took Menschel to Lamu and to safety.⁴³

The *Illustrierte* followed the events in Witu for its readers and when Küntzel’s expedition ended in failure and gunshots, the editors made room for August Menzel’s report. Menzel and the *Illustrierte* narrated Witu as a geography of adventure, where Küntzel and his men’s masculinity was tested: they had to negotiate with the sultan and the British, who were absent, assert their claims on the land without real German or British protection and then, facing an overwhelming force of the local population, allegedly fought the soldiers of Witu heroically and died fighting almost to the last man. In a newspaper from the Prussian city Namslau (today Namysłów in Poland), the editor suggested that the possible reason

for their murder was “fanaticism” on the side of the local inhabitants.⁴⁴ This constituted a common European narrative of adventure with the non-European world. These unknown and distant spaces of adventures, as Phillips elaborates, opened up room for reflection on defining domestic and “civilized” places. Witu and the reports fit the “zone unknown” of adventure according to Joseph Campbell, as its inhabitants were narrated as cruel and insidious:⁴⁵ “This fateful region of both treasure and danger may be variously represented: as a distant land, a forest, a kingdom underground, beneath the waves, or above the sky, a secret island, lofty mountaintop, or profound dream state; but it is always a place of strangely fluid and polymorphous beings, unimaginable torments, superhuman deeds, and impossible delight.”⁴⁶

This story of manliness and life and death situations is expanded upon with the description of the allegedly sinister local ruler of Witu and his soldiers, and Menschel speaks of an intrigue that caused the death of his companions and other Europeans in the area.⁴⁷ This simplification of the narrative of the heroic Germans with the intention of civilizing the area and insidious and scheming locals who take the colonialists captive and then murder them is a common trope in colonial literature, especially in magazine reports that fused entertainment with historical events at the expense of accuracy. This narrative of racial stereotypes, heroism, and “civilized” men against “barbaric” locals was picked up and passed on by a small article on Küntzel as late as 1974, where the author describes him as a heroic combatant who fought to his last bullet, only to be subdued when encircled in the high grass. The author even tries to exonerate Küntzel by adding that the Bavarian allegedly took British citizenship “with a heavy heart” in order to legally further his colonial project in Witu, at the time under British jurisdiction.⁴⁸

It is in Voeltzikow’s report where the perspective of the Sultan of Witu and the local population is somewhat revealed and from which a fuller picture of the events in Witu can be drawn. In the first meeting between Küntzel and the sultan, shortly after the German’s arrival, Küntzel was met cordially, but advised that he would need a letter from the British representative in Lamu for his plans. The sultan had been briefed about the British-German Treaty by the British consular agent Simons, but no one from the German Empire had been in touch with him prior to that point. This dismissive treatment of the local ruler by the German Imperial government, in combination with the sultan’s resentment at being handed over to the British, whom he considered his enemies as allies of the Sultan of Zanzibar, did not bode well for Küntzel and his men, who displayed a low regard for the sultan and failed to accept his authority over the land. Küntzel could not get a letter from the British consular agent in Lamu, who was at that time in Zanzibar, and, ignoring the demand of the sultan, started his colonizing project anyway. Here lies the reason why soldiers from Witu showed up at his sawmill and took Küntzel’s men to the sultan. The Germans could not provide a legal document from the British and, in addition, rumors had spread among the local population that Küntzel had brought weapons to his settlement.⁴⁹

As far as the Sultan of Witu was concerned, he had foreign men in his territory who were subjects of the German Empire, not the British. Those German subjects could not provide a letter of confirmation from the British. Regardless of the fact that the old and new Sultan of Witu would have preferred the alliance with Berlin to continue, the sultan understood that the German presence in Witu was fading and the British had established their position both in Zanzibar and in continental Africa proper. In this situation, Küntzel and his men became a liability in possible further dealings with Great Britain, the new imperial power. To this point, the sultan treated the Germans cordially, only to be ignored in return. At this moment, the former-ranger-turned-foreign-legionnaire-turned-bodyguard-turned-head-of-a-tiny-colonial-enterprise in Witu stormed into Witu city, where the sultan held Küntzel's men captive. And, having been denied an audience by the ruler, insulted, in Swahili and in the presence of some Askari fighters as well as the general population, the sultan and his subordinates on the town square. Küntzel supposedly directed insults like "son of a bitch" towards the locals and the Sultan and then went to his men, returned some weapons to them, and led them on the dangerous escape which resulted in the death of all the Germans, save August Menschel.⁵⁰

Küntzel's short-lived attempt at colonization and his aggressive disregard for local rules and the transfer of Witu from German to British rule not only led to his own death and that of most of his men, but prompted the Sultan of Witu to target all Europeans in the area. German planters were attacked and killed, the plantations and buildings of the Denhardts and others were burned to the ground, and British and German missionaries fled from the country. French missionaries managed to reach Lamu for protection, while a Finnish missionary named Hedenstrom barely escaped with his life.⁵¹

Empire Solidarity

The Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty meant the end of the German colonial project in Witu and German territorial demands against Zanzibar. Colonial circles in Germany were aggravated over the great concessions made by their government to Britain. Overall, Britain was seen as having gained far more than Germany from the treaty.⁵² Regardless of their imperial rivalry over territorial claims and possessions, the case of Witu is an interesting and revealing example of imperial solidarity against the local population of Witu. Even though the German presence was receding, Kurt Toeppen still resided in Witu during this transition period. The day after the incidents in Witu (16–17 September 1890), Toeppen went to the Sultan of Witu and asked to see the dead Germans and then informed the German government. Berlin reacted swiftly and demanded retribution for the murder of Küntzel and the German adventurers by the British, who had become responsible for the territory through the treaty of 1 July 1890. Following these demands from a fellow colonial power, the British asked the Sultan of Witu to deliver the culprits to Lamu. Fumobakari declined the request, arguing that the responsibility for the incidents lay with the Germans.⁵³

Küntzel's short-lived British citizenship did not aid him at all, because the local British forces in Zanzibar and at Lamu did not come to his aid when he tried to establish his saw-mill. The death of Küntzel and other Europeans provided a pretext for the British to send a punitive expedition against Witu, a state which had long resisted the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British attacked the villages considered responsible for the demise of Küntzel's expedition and landed at Kipini to march against the capital city. After several counterattacks, the British took the city, while the sultan and his followers fled.

Imperial solidarity could even be seen beyond the level of official correspondence between the capitals: August Menschel and one other German, whose friend had been killed during the attacks, fought alongside the British. Ironically for the Germans at least, when the Europeans took Witu, they found a picture of the Kaiser still hanging in the halls of the sultan's residence. This marked the end of independent rule in Witu. The sultan died soon afterwards and his brother, Fumo Omari, was forced to sign a treaty accepting British rule. In 1891, Witu was transferred to the Imperial British East Africa Company. Although Fumo Omari revolted several times against the British and managed to temporarily drive off the British company, further punitive actions managed to subdue the Sultanate of Witu, who became subject to the Sultanate of Zanzibar in 1893. As a result, the people of Witu lost their self-rule.⁵⁴

Conclusion: Teaching the History of Empires

The events in Witu show how colonial powers were not invariably enemies and that they often forged short-lived alliances of convenience in the face of local resistance against Europeans. This incident also depicts how a local ruler resented being used, passed over or transferred from one European empire to another. The rulers of Witu expected to be treated as equals and reacted with force when ignored by imperial decisions in European capitals, killing and expelling Germans and other Europeans in the area. Witu also complicates the narrative of helpless Africans who were subjugated by foreign powers. On the other hand, European rule was not possible without local cooperation, and although Africans "could not avoid the imposition of colonial rule, . . . they were not simple objects or victims of processes set in motion outside Africa and sustained only by white initiative." In the phase of expansive imperialism (1880–1914) and in Witu until 1890, the desire to maintain a "balance of power" was favorable to local rulers and they were able to influence their own history.⁵⁵

At the same time, the case study also provides a lesson in "empire solidarity" because the German Reichstag sent a note of protest to the British Crown demanding retribution, which in turn sent a punitive expedition against the Witu Sultanate and subjugated it by force. Witu demonstrates that local rulers actively sought alliances with larger, foreign empires, but when they entered such an alliance, they became pawns in the "Great Game" and often lost their sovereignty in the competition between European powers. The role of

inhabitants, explorers, and seekers of fortune can provide insight into the changing power dynamic locally and explains the later involvement of imperial navies. Altogether, the active engagement of the Denhardts or Andreas Küntzel through the Colonial Society in Germany entangled Witu's history in the competition between the British and German Empires.

The story of Witu was picked up by a work of historical fiction by Hermann Schreiber. *Denhardts Griff nach Afrika* [*The Denhardts' Grab for Africa*] is a combination of first person narrative of the Denhardts' experience in Witu and historical-political commentary on the German presence in East Africa. Written from the ideological perspective of the late 1930s, the author writes of the "game over Zanzibar" and describes the locals as either "well-behaved" when they act according to the Denhardts' interest or "menacingly" when not. The British are "cunning" adversaries in a new "sphere of activity" for the German Empire and the British Empire imagined as a "spider" weaving its web over the world. The author uses the Nazi ideology of "*Lebensraum*" and Darwinism when he states that Germany allegedly lacked sufficient territory to feed its inhabitants and "naturally" needed more space as a great power. In retrospect, Schreiber insists the Denhardts attempted to create a "pure German Witu" and laments that the brothers will be forgotten until a "new scion of a better Germany" will have learned to honor and respect their efforts in Witu. *The Denhardts' Grab for Africa* constitutes an example of how historical events of German colonialism were retrospectively used by writers sympathetic to the Nazi-regime to give an ideological twist to such "heroes" and "adventures" for readers growing up in Nazi Germany.⁵⁶

The political context influenced the narration of the German colonial experience in East Africa. Alfred Voeltzikow wrote and published about his scientific journeys from 1903 onwards, when he had traveled the area of Witu. Overall, his work is set in a scientific and distanced tone and he seems not to buy into the atmosphere of colonial revisionism which prevailed in Germany at the publication of his book in 1923, a time when political demands for the restitution of the colonies lost during World War I were a mainstream position in German society.⁵⁷ Schreiber's narration during the Nazi era and some works after 1945 portray the changing narration of the events in Witu and of colonialism in general. Some writers like Pitroff in 1974 have focused on merely retelling the alleged bravado of daring individuals handed down from August Mentschel's eyewitness account. The historical picture, though, was far more complex than white men arriving in an "unknown land" and "civilizing," as Voeltzikow's account of the local perspective suggests. Even though there are few original sources, and at that none from the African perspective, some European observers gave balanced and self-critical accounts of these events.

Appendix

The case study of Witu and history of the short-lived German Protectorate Wituland can be used directly for the classroom or indirectly to offer insights into important larger topics

that should be explored when teaching the history of colonialism and imperialism. The experience of Germans in East Africa and the people of Witu can counter provincial and insular perspectives on German history and identity and lead to a more nuanced and global understanding of German colonialism, which has been on the margins of German historiography until the turn of the twenty-first century.⁵⁸

(1) Colonial and Imperial rule

Maps depicting the colonial presence in Africa often suggest a nation-state permeation of control in African and Asian countries. This perspective can be misleading. The reality on the ground differed greatly in the colonies and between the various colonizers. A comparison of the extension of German rule in Witu with a political map of colonial Africa can lead to the understanding that quite often European rule only covered major cities, coastal strips, railroads and trade routes. Plantations and other commercial endeavors aside from major colonial centers mostly were on their own and dependent on the cooperation tolerance by local forces. Such a comparison can also support the understanding and differentiation in a phase of colonialism and imperialism.



Image 4: Colonial Africa 1913, pre WWI. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colonial_Africa_1913_pre_WWI.svg

(2) Travelers, researchers and adventures in the Age of Empires

Individuals in the Age of Empires have left travelogues behind, wrote embellished books about their exploits or their journeys were covered by magazines. The Denhardt brothers and Andreas Küntzel are just two examples of many more Germans who journeyed through Africa. While German teachers can easily use the primary sources from this article or other sources from the *Illustrierte* or the German Colonial Society (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*), teachers around the globe are advised to look for British primary sources; a starting point would be the members of the Royal Geographic Society or for French teachers the Société de Géographie. Overall, teachers can find sources from imperial travelers from each colonial power (Portuguese, Dutch, Belgian, British, French, Spanish and more) and use their narrations in the classroom. These long texts need to be reduced to small passages which illustrate colonial ambitions, possible comments on manliness and heroism and the perspective of the writer on the local inhabitants - which often were paternalistic or even racist. Küntzel offers an example that in general students should do a text analysis in order to work out these themes.

(3) Great Power rivalry

The case of Witu shows that even marginal colonial spaces at the periphery could become a reason for major colonial crisis. The British and Germans fought diplomatically and more subtly on the ground over the control of East Africa. Starting from a small colonial place like Witu, a web of interest can be spun out: In Witu and Zanzibar two local rulers in alliance with two major colonial powers were engaged in an imperial rivalry over seemingly a few square kilometers of land. In the classroom teachers could plan a lesson which leads the pupils step by step from the establishment of the German colonial presence, to contestation by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar and the German reaction through a show of force in 1885 and finally towards the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890; thereby teaching how a small colonial enterprise developed into a larger crisis and was resolved by an exchange of claims and territory. Valuable lessons can be gained by analyzing the intentions of the Sultan of Witu and his loss of independent rule as a pawn in that great power rivalry. With the exception of Ethiopia, which was never under colonial rule, most African rulers came under the direct or indirect control of a European power during this era.

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NOTES

¹ Bückendorf offers a very a good overview of the history of Germany in East Africa and devotes one chapter towards to the events in Witu. See Jutta Bückendorf, “Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!”: *deutsche Kolonialpläne und afrikanische Realität* (Münster: Lit, 1997), 238–251; L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Horst Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018); and Horst Gründer and Hermann Hiery, eds., *Die Deutschen und ihre Kolonien* (Berlin-Brandenburg: Verlag, 2017). Another accessible and newer textbook with a discussion of relevant primary sources on the German presence in East Africa is offered by Martin Baer and Olaf Schröter, *Eine Kopffjagd: Deutsche in Ostafrika* (Berlin: Links, 2001).

² Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika, 1880–1914* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2011), 32–42.

³ See Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1985).

⁴ See Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768–1840* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012) and Pramod K. Nayar, *Indian Travel Writing in the Age of Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), 1–6 and 215.

⁵ Nayar, *Indian Travel Writing in the Age of Empire*, 215.

⁶ Lenny Valerio, *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities. Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019), 2.

⁷ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 2–3. Zantop’s research follows in the footsteps of Mary Evelyn Townsend, *The Origins of Modern German Colonialism, 1871–1885* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), 22.

⁸ David Ciarlo, “Mass-Marketing the Empire. Colonial Fantasies and Advertising Visions,” in *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, ed. Andrew Zimmerman, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 187–209.

⁹ See Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁰ See Birthe Kundrus, ed., *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2003); Birthe Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten: Das Kaiserreich im Spiegel seiner Kolonien* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003); Nina Berman, ed., *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2018); Michelle R. Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014); and Jeremy Best, *Heavenly Fatherland: German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021).

- [11](#) Sebastian Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (München: C. H. Beck, 2012), 13.
- [12](#) Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, 55–61.
- [13](#) Beate Althammer, *Das Bismarckreich, 1871–1890* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), 236.
- [14](#) Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, 97.
- [15](#) Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870*, 32.
- [16](#) Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire. A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 1–5.
- [17](#) Original quote in German: “den Männern die gründliche Belehrung, den Frauen die angenehmste Unterhaltung und der Jugend die kräftigste Anregung zu einem reichen und tathkräftigen Leben bieten,” *Illustrierte Zeitung* 1/I (1843), 2. As quoted from Mohammad Reza Bonakdarpor, *Ärzte, medizinische Institutionen und der Fortschritt der Heilkunde in der Sicht der Leipziger Illustrierten Zeitung von 1843 bis 1870* (Frankfurt am Main: Dissertation University Frankfurt am Main, 1970), 3.
- [18](#) Wolfgang Weber, *Johann Jakob Weber: Der Begründer der illustrierten Presse in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Lehmann Verlag, 2003), 23 and 73–81 and Joachim Wachtel, ed., *Facsimile Querschnitt durch die Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* (München: Scherz Verlag, 1969), 15.
- [19](#) Gründer and Hiery, *Die Deutschen und ihre Kolonien*, 16.
- [20](#) Reichstag, Aktenstück Nr. 44. (Denkschrift über die deutschen Schutzgebiete): *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, Vol. 89, 1885/86 (Berlin: 1886), 137.
- [21](#) Voeltzikow writes the surname of Clemens and Gustav Denhard, but the majority of sources confirm the name Denhardt, which is even found on the memorial stone of Clemens Denhardt in Bad Sulza.
- [22](#) T. O. Ranger, “African Reactions in East and Central Africa,” in *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960*, Vol. 1, ed. P. Duignan and L. Gann (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 301.
- [23](#) Arne Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856–1918: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 55; Walter Nuhn, *Kolonialpolitik und Marine: Die Rolle der Kaiserlichen Marine bei der Gründung und Sicherung des deutschen Kolonialreichs, 1884–1914* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 2002), 120–121; and Bückendorf, “Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!”, 241.
- [24](#) Alfred Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika 1903–1905* (Stuttgart: Schwerizerbart’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923), Vol. 1, 80–81 and Reichstag, Aktenstück Nr. 44, 137.
- [25](#) “Bericht über den Verkehr mit Sultan Achmed über seine Stellung und einige Verhältnisse von Wito,” RKA Nr. 423, Bl. 120–125. As quoted in Nuhn, *Kolonialpolitik und Marine*, 270–273.
- [26](#) Nuhn, *Kolonialpolitik und Marine*, 120–122 and Arndt von Holtzendorff, *Die koloniale Frage und ihre Lösung durch das Reich* (Berlin: Gaertner’s Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1889), 31, 43.
- [27](#) “Deutscher Kolonialverein,” in *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, Vol. 14, 1886: 425.
- [28](#) Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, 40–47 and 97.
- [29](#) With exception to the British South Africa Company, which could draw from Cecil Rhodes’ private fortune and enterprise, but was, despite its resources, still unable to build a strong administration in Northern Rhodesia. See Ranger, “African Reactions in East and Central Africa,” 294.
- [30](#) Michael Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Expeditionen, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005), 191.
- [31](#) Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*, 30–31.
- [32](#) Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, 13–14 and Paul Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), 205.
- [33](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika 1903–1905*, Vol. 1., 81.

- [34](#) Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism*, 144–147 and Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 84–85.
- [35](#) Ranger, “African Reactions in East and Central Africa,” 300–309.
- [36](#) August Menschel, “Die jüngsten Vorgänge in Witulande (Ostafrika),” *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* no. 2474 (25 November 1890), 605–609 and Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 83.
- [37](#) Dominic Alessio, “. . . territorial acquisitions are among the landmarks of our history’: The Buying and Leasing of Imperial Territory,” *Global Discourse* 3, no. 1 (2013): 84.
- [38](#) Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism*, 56.
- [39](#) Kurt Toeppen [to Consul General?], 1885, FP 24, BAK in: Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856–1918*, 55.
- [40](#) Max Pitroff, “Im Punschessel des Teufels,” *Frankenland* 1 (1974): 36.
- [41](#) Perras, *Carl Peters and German Imperialism*, 55–56.
- [42](#) Pitroff, “Im Punschessel des Teufels,” 36–37.
- [43](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 83–84.
- [44](#) Namslauer Stadtblatt, Vol. 19, September 27, 1890.
- [45](#) Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, 12–13.
- [46](#) Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Bollingen/Pantheon, 1949), 58. As quoted from, Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, 1–5.
- [47](#) Menschel, “Die jüngsten Vorgänge in Witulande (Ostafrika),” 609.
- [48](#) Pitroff, “Im Punschessel des Teufels,” 38.
- [49](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 83–84.
- [50](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 84.
- [51](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 84–85.
- [52](#) Erik Grimmer-Solem, *Learning Empire: Globalization and the German Quest for World Status, 1875–1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 171.
- [53](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 85.
- [54](#) Voeltzikow, *Reise in Ostafrika*, 85–87.
- [55](#) Ranger, “African Reactions in East and Central Africa,” 293.
- [56](#) Hermann Schreiber, *Denhardts Griff nach Afrika: Die Geschichte einer deutschen Kolonialerwerbung* (Berlin: Scherl, 1938), S. 1–15, 18, 227–228.
- [57](#) Christian Rogowski, “‘Heraus mit unseren Kolonien!’ Der Kolonialrevisionismus der Weimarer Republik und die ‘Hamburger Kolonialwoche’ von 1926,” in Birthe Kundrus, ed., *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2003), 244–245.
- [58](#) Lora Wildenthal, “The Places of Colonialism in the Writing and Teaching of Modern German History,” *The European Studies Journal* 16, no. 2 (1999): 9 and Russell Berman, “German Colonialism: Another Sonderweg?,” *The European Studies Journal* 16, no. 2 (1999): 25–36.