

**CORRESPONDENCE**

RELATING TO

**THE WISHES OF THE NATIVES OF THE  
GERMAN COLONIES**

AS TO

**THEIR FUTURE GOVERNMENT.**

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**Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.**  
*November 1918.*

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**CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE WISHES OF THE NATIVES OF THE  
GERMAN COLONIES AS TO THEIR FUTURE GOVERNMENT.**

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No. 1.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 4.18 p.m. 10th January 1918.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 2.]

After carefully considering matter in Cabinet, my Ministers desire me to refer you to 11th paragraph of despatch of 23rd October 1916 from the Administrator of Samoa,\* and also to heading 7 of his despatch of 5th July last.†

My Government are convinced that it is essential to retain the German Colonies, and they are confident that passages above referred to correctly represent feelings of the Samoans. Moreover, they feel sure that they will be under British administration permanently. Should it be decided that the opinion of the native population should be ascertained further there can be no doubt that same verdict would be given. There appears only one way of doing so, however, viz., through the Faipules, or native chiefs. If a vote were taken it would be quite contrary to Samoan custom. Were it to be admitted now as a sound principle that a plebiscite should be taken it is easy to conceive that money and influence of Germans at present in Samoa would be used to the utmost to turn the Samoans from their trust in, and loyal attitude to, British justice, and were the British Occupation to cease this would be accentuated.—  
LIVERPOOL.

Annexure A to No. 1.

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF SAMOA TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND.

(Received in Colonial Office from the Governor-General of New Zealand,  
6th January 1917.)

British Military Occupation,  
Administrator's Office, Apia, Samoa,  
23rd October 1916. 1916.

*Extract.*

*Visit to Savaii.*—I returned on the 15th instant from my visit to the west of Savaii, completing my inspection of the Island. I found the Samoans openly expressing their pleasure that the British were in occupation. The inhabitants of Savaii are superior to those of Upolu, and the manner in which they have been induced by Mr. Williams to make roads, bathing pools, and drinking-places is marvellous.

They look upon Mr. Williams with the greatest affection, as a father, and his power over them is wonderful. I cannot speak too highly of the work he has done for the Occupation.

I am strongly of opinion that the Island of Savaii should be retained absolutely for the Samoans, and that no European occupation should be encouraged there.

\* Annexure A.

† Annexure B.

## Annexure B to No. 1.

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF SAMOA TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND.

(Received in Colonial Office from the Governor-General of New Zealand,  
6th September 1917.)British Military Occupation,  
Administrator's Office, Apia, Samoa,  
5th July 1917.*Extract.*

*Tour of Upolu.*—On 11th June I left Apia on a tour of the Island of Upolu, accompanied by Mrs. Logan and Lieutenant Westmacott, staying a night at each of the villages of Falelatai, Saanapu, Si'umu, Lotofega, Falealili, and Falefa.

Again, on the 26th June, I visited the Island of Manono, and the following night stayed at Leulumoega (Upolu), returning to Apia on 28th June.

I consider it advisable to visit the principal villages in both the large Islands at least once a year, and I intend to visit Savaii in September or October.

Everywhere I found the Samoans happy and healthy and pleased to see us, and expressing gratitude for being under British rule.

There is still further improvement in the coconut trees, and the rhinoceros (beetle?) is well in hand.

## No. 2.

## NEW ZEALAND.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(Sent 5.50 p.m. 14th January 1918.)

[Answered by No. 10.]

## TELEGRAM.

With reference to your telegram, 10th January,\* you should suggest to Ministers that Colonel Logan should be instructed to consider steps for consulting Samoans through their Faipules, in case this should prove to be desirable, and to furnish meanwhile more detailed report on their attitude.—LONG.

## No. 3.

## COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 8.45 p.m., 15th January 1918.)

*(Extract.)*

## TELEGRAM.

*German Colonies.*—Administrator, Rabaul, has made following statement in relation to a report (? published) in Australian press on December 24th of statement which Mr. Lloyd George made about that date:—

While such a policy would be applicable to Colonies settled by a civilised or white population, such conditions do not obtain in German New Guinea. In the first place German New Guinea south of equator consists of a portion of the mainland of New Guinea and a number of large and small islands at distances from each other varying from a few miles to 900 miles, extending at the extreme points over an area of land and sea 1,400 miles east and west and 500 miles north and south. The native inhabitants number from 500,000 to 800,000, consisting of different races, speaking different languages, with numerous tribes constantly at war with each other on the larger islands, so that it can readily be seen how little cohesion may be expected from them.

If, therefore, the word "inhabitants" in Mr. Lloyd George's published statement is to include the native population, anything like a reliable expression of their wishes as regards future government would be quite impossible.—MUNRO-FERGUSON.

\* No. 1.

No. 4.

## NEW ZEALAND.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 11.25 a.m., 11th February 1918.)

TELEGRAM:

British rule in Samoa. Your telegram 14th January.\*

Following is a summary of Administrator's despatch of which copy left by mail February 6th. *Begins:*

The High Chiefs and Chiefs are practically unanimous in wishing to remain under British rule.

Firstly: because an English Society first brought the Gospel to Samoa.

Secondly: because the Administration has placed the badge of Samoa on the Government ensign, thus showing recognition of individuality of Samoa, which the Germans did not do.

Thirdly: because the Faipules representing the Samoans are consulted by Administration before changes are made in the regulations and their wishes met where practicable.

Fourthly: because the British officials since the Occupation have treated them with love and they now win cases in the Courts, which was unknown formerly. *Ends.*—LIVERPOOL.

No. 5.

## NIGERIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 2.45 p.m., 12th February 1918.)

TELEGRAM.

11th February. Joy of people at substitution of British for German rule in Cameroons Province recorded unanimously in the District Officers' reports for 1916.

Constant fear of native rising is evidenced by the strongly stockaded Government stations, while the friendly attitude of the people towards British rule is shown by the fact that British officers travel practically without escort.

Germans reported migration to Nigeria in 1913 of 16 villages. Chief Bali sent present to His Majesty 1916 declaring that he welcomed British rule. King Bamun petitioned for British rule, Germans and all unclean things be driven out. Giles, West African Frontier Force, reported that villages cheered British troops 1915 and complained of murders by the Germans.—LUGARD.

No. 6.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 10.35 p.m., 15th February 1918.)

TELEGRAM.

For some time Administrator of South West Africa has been collecting evidence as to German treatment of the natives of that territory and the desires of the natives themselves in regard to their future government. He has now embodied the results of these inquiries in a report† of over 400 pages with illustrations, of which copies have

\* No. 2.

† See No. 7 and [Cd. 9146].

been sent to you by mail. Although written under great pressure, the report is an extremely illuminating and interesting document and contains conclusive evidence on two points of great importance :

(a) That the Germans in South West Africa have shown themselves to be totally unfitted for the responsibility of governing the native races of that territory.

(b) That the return of the country to the Germans would be regarded by every native tribe in South West Africa as the greatest disaster in their tribal history.

As regards (a), the evidence is drawn from an examination of German judicial and administrative practice from documents, official and otherwise, found in the Government records at Windhuk, from sworn statements made by Europeans familiar with the country, and by native chiefs, and from the writings of Von Leutwein (Governor 1894 to 1905), Rohrbach, Professor Dove, and other recognised German authorities. It can safely be said that there is no question of any importance of which the natives' own accounts cannot readily be confirmed from unimpeachable German sources.

The evidence as regards (b) consists mainly of statements made on oath to officers of the present Administration by chiefs and representative men from every native tribe in the territory. It is not possible to read these statements without forming the conviction that they are as sincere as they are emphatic.

The Administrator tells in the first part of the report the history of the principal native tribes during twenty-five years of German rule. It is an unbroken record of official bad faith and aggression and of private oppression and cruelty, culminating in the (? great) Herero and Hottentot rebellions of 1904 to 1907. In defiance of agreements, the Government deprived the natives of most of their best land. Traders and settlers robbed them of their cattle—their only wealth. They were reduced almost to a state of slavery, families even being separated to suit the convenience of employers. Their women were habitually maltreated by the Germans, who took them into forced concubinage. They were goaded into rebellions which were suppressed with deliberate and ruthless cruelty, which resulted in the practical extermination of the tribes involved. Before the rebellion the numbers of the three principal tribes in 1904 were, according to the lowest German estimates, Hereros 80,000, Hottentots 20,000, Berg Damaras 30,000. The official German census shows that they only numbered 15,100, 9,800 and 12,800 souls respectively in 1911.

The report deals at length with the position of natives before the law in theory and practice. It was not until 1903, after years of spoliation by private individuals, that any provision was made for the hearing of civil suits between natives and Germans. The ordinance governing criminal jurisdiction over natives contained provisions repugnant to any conception of justice. Natives were not tried by ordinary courts, but by officers who were charged also with police duties and who were authorised to delegate their judicial powers to subordinate officials. Punishments such as imprisonment in chains and flogging were allowed not only for serious crimes, but "as a disciplinary measure" on the application of an employer for offences against the Master and Servants Law, *e.g.*, for insubordination or for continued idleness and neglect of duty, terms of which were interpreted very elastically.

From the records of the German Courts, it is clear that the position of the natives in practice was far worse even than might have been expected from the theory of the criminal ordinance. Native evidence was habitually disregarded, and they were not allowed to give evidence on oath. While in punishing crimes by natives against Germans the utmost severity was shown, crimes by Germans against natives were either hushed up or treated by the Courts with amazing leniency. A German magistrate writing to the Governor in 1913 attributes the prevalence of crimes of violence by Germans against natives to the fact that in such cases "the Courts are absolutely useless." Executions were carried out in a manner which would have been considered brutal two hundred years ago. Three out of every four natives convicted by Courts in German South West Africa in 1913 suffered flogging, while only one native was whipped out of every 150 convicted in the Union. In South West Africa the total number of natives flogged exceeded the total number of natives whipped in the same year in the Union where the native population is twenty times as large. Moreover, while the rattan, which meets the requirements of justice at a minimum



cost to health, is prescribed in the Union, and punishment rarely exceeds twelve strokes, a long sjambok, which caused serious injury, was habitually used by the Germans and as many as fifty strokes could be given.

The evidence as to the wishes of the natives for their future is given separately for the different tribes, but the opinion is unanimous and bitterly opposed to retrocession. If the country is restored to the Germans the chiefs declare that the tribes must leave before the restoration and seek sanctuary in British territory.

*Hereros.*—One chief, supported by many others, said, "To give this country back to the Germans is like consigning us to the grave. We had no peace under the Germans, but we know now what peace is."

*Berg Damaras.*—These people are equally clear in their minds, "We beg and pray that the British will take over the whole land. The farmers no longer flog their servants, and the lash is not heard every day at the police station."

*The Bastards of Rehoboth.*—These people, who are coloured emigrants from Cape Colony, were treated with special favour by the Germans and enjoyed a great measure of independence. Their Volksraad of November 2nd last, however, passed a formal resolution, supported by eleven reasons, "that we as a nation and people respectfully but urgently request the Imperial British Government not to give South West Africa back to the Germans, but to retain the land under the protection of the British flag." They added, "if the land is given back to the Germans, we pray that His Majesty's Government may make provision for another portion of land for us."

*Hottentots.*—An acting chief says, "Many of our people have got messages from Germans that they will settle off with us when the war is over. We want them kept out of this country, and we wish to remain as to-day under the British flag." An hereditary chief adds, "We know the Germans too well to wish to see their flag again. They despise us as dogs and treat us like animals."

*The Ovambos.*—Ovamboland was never occupied effectively by the Germans, and contains in consequence a larger native population than all the rest of South West Africa. It was a closed area under German rule, and any German who entered it without the support of an armed force took his life in his hands. Major Pritchard went with a small mission to Ovamboland after the surrender of German troops in 1915, and was received cordially by the natives. Martin, the principal chief, sent the following message to His Majesty's Government through Major Pritchard, "I send my greetings to the great men who rule your country. I had always been afraid of the Germans, and have never had the opportunity, as I had wished, to invite the English to my country. I was pleased when I heard that the English were masters of the country; the words that have been spoken to me by you have given me such confidence that I feel as strong as a rock."

Ovamboland is now an entirely peaceful territory in which the Union administration is represented by a Resident Commissioner with a few police, and from which natives come freely to work in the Protectorate mines and on the farms.

*The Bushmen.*—The remnants of this race living in the north-eastern part of the Protectorate share the views of the other tribes. In their own words, "The Bushmen do not know anything about Government—they only know people. They all say that they hope all the Germans will leave this country, and the English will stay here."

"They say now they can drink water. That means that when they are thirsty they can come to the water-holes and drink without risk of being shot."—BUXTON.

No. 7.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 14th March 1918.)

Governor-General's Office, Cape Town,  
9th February 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you one copy of a report prepared by the Administrator of the South-West Africa Protectorate on the subject of the treatment of the natives of that territory by the Germans,\* and the desires of the natives as to their future government.

I hope to be able to send you a further copy of the report by a subsequent mail.

I have, &amp;c.,

BUXTON,  
Governor-General.

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Enclosure in No. 7.

STATEMENTS OF THE NATIVES OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AS TO  
THEIR FUTURE AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE COUNTRY.

The following statements made on oath by responsible and respected leaders of the various native races indicate the views not only of the declarants but also the unanimous feelings and wishes of their followers. The writer could not avoid being struck by the deep astonishment and amazement of the natives when asked questions on this point. In their simplicity they take it for granted that the British people know all about their tragic past, and equally do they take for granted that the conquerors of South-West Africa will never again surrender them to their former German masters. The Hereros particularly are shocked and horrified at the very idea of a return to German conditions. In typically frank and honest manner they have stated their views with that fervour and conviction which can come only from the bitter personal experiences, fresh in their memories.

One or two Hottentot leaders, fearful of reprisals and the vengeance of Germany, were somewhat reluctant to make definite declarations. The Chief Christian Goliath of Berseba, particularly, while privately indicating his views, remarked that he was, to tell the candid truth, terrified at the very thought of what might happen to him and his people if, after having asked that Germany be never permitted to regain the country again, the soldiers of the Emperor were once more allowed to return. "That," said the old Chief, with emphasis, "will without doubt mean death to all of us and confiscation of our possessions."

It is a strange and significant fact that despite their known love for, and attachment to, their country, the Hereros, Berg-Damaras, Hottentots and Bastards are practically unanimous in declaring that they cannot possibly remain in the Protectorate after a restoration of German rule. They are willing to go to any suitable place in British territory where they can be certain of British protection and a continuance of that just government which, for the first time in their history, they have experienced during the two and a half years since the British conquest.

The writer has not the slightest hesitation in asserting that, should there be any handing back of this Protectorate to Germany, the news thereof will instil wild astonishment and blank despair into the heart of every native in the Protectorate, and that, on the first indication of a British withdrawal becoming manifest, a mad and uncontrollable exodus over the eastern and southern borders will inevitably take place.

They will pour into British territory in their hundreds and thousands, and who will have the heart to turn them back, knowing what fate probably awaits them?

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\* This portion of the report has already been published as [Cd. 9146].

## STATEMENTS BY HEREROS.

*Jacob Katjakundo* (Herero, and son of a Councillor of the late Omaruru Chief) says:—

If this country is to be given back to the Germans I wish to leave for the Union, even if I have to walk the whole way. I want to leave in advance of the British troops, as I know what is in store for us if the German soldiers come back. That will be the end of the Hereros—our people won't survive long. We all beg and pray that the British people will stay here and govern us. Our fathers, many years ago, wanted the British Government to protect us, and we always distrusted the Germans. We can never hope to live in peace under Germans—we would rather all go away to some British territory. We pray to God that the British will not deliver us into the hands of the Germans again.

*Gerard Kamaheke* (Headman of the Windhuk Hereros, and nephew of the Chief Kamaherero) says:—

God has willed that we should now come under the British flag, and I pray that God will keep the British here. I shudder at the thought of this country ever being German again. We tremble for our lives at the very idea.

If this country is to become German again, I and my people ask to be allowed to leave and trek to another country where we may live in peace under the British flag. If the German soldiers come back a great revenge will be taken. The local Germans tell my people to wait until the war is over, and that when the German troops come back here they will deal with us. The British Courts give us justice—we have good treatment, and when the Germans ill-use us they are punished. They are forbidden to thrash us and ill-use us at pleasure as was their custom under German rule. The British have prohibited this, and the Germans are very angry.

All my people are unanimous in wishing for the British flag. Apart from the Hereros, I don't think there is a single other native in the whole Protectorate who does not wish for the British to remain. We all wish to Heaven that we may never see a German flag here again.

(1) *Hosea Mungunda*, assistant Herero Headman at Windhuk, and cousin of the late Chief Kamaherero,

(2) *Nikanor Kamungati*, nephew of the late Chief Kahimema,

(3) *Leonard Gauetha*, nephew of the late Chief Nikodemus,

(4) *Hugo Tjetjoo*, nephew of the late Chief Tjetjoo,

(5) *Elias Gorambuka*, nephew of the late Chief Kamaherero,

(6) *Bartholomeus Hatonda*, son of a chief councillor of Kamaherero,

(7) *Rudolf Kondio*, nephew of the late Chief Zacharias Zerua of Otjimbingwe,

(8) *Sylphanus Munguda*, nephew of the late Chief Kamaherero,

(all leading and influential representatives of the Windhuk, Okahandja, Otjimbingwe and Eastern Hereros) have jointly made the following statement:—

Since the British have taken the country we have had rest and happiness. We are allowed now to select our own masters; we are regularly paid, and our families are not separated. We don't feel the sjambok any more. We are allowed to acquire cattle with our savings, and our little children get milk. The British courts are just and impartial. They treat all without partiality, and the native is also allowed to speak.

We never want to see a German Government here again. In times past our constant prayer to the Almighty was that He would release us from the oppression and cruelty of the Germans and send a great Power like England to liberate us. Our prayer has been heard, and we now ask the great King of the British people to keep his soldiers and his Government here for ever.

If the British King takes his soldiers and Government away, we will leave this country with them. We wish to go away for ever from the Germans. We will go wherever the British send us to. It makes no difference where we are sent to as long as we can live under the British flag. We will go to the Union, or to England or anywhere else, but we cannot stay here. If the British refuse to take us we will run away by ourselves, and we will follow

the troops of the British into their own country. This is the unanimous feeling of all the Hereros. We are doomed to die if we are left with the Germans. Yes, we are still alive; but no one knows how many thousands of our people have already been killed. We have been nearly three years now under the English, and we feel we must go away with them if they leave. We had no peace under the Germans, but we know now what peace is, and we are constantly being threatened by the Germans that as soon as the British leave they will know what to do with us. They will take a revenge. We don't love the Germans; how can we love our enemies? It may be unchristian; but we know that the German missionaries don't love the English people, and they are also supposed to be Christians. We are Hereros, but although the German missionaries made Christians of us the German Government did not treat us according to the Bible. Therefore we hate the Germans.

*Barmenias Zerua* (eldest surviving son of the late Chief Zacharias Zerua of Otjimbingwe, and as such the heir to his late father) says:—

To give this country back to the Germans is like consigning us to the grave. I would prefer to be shot, as I have now seen what British rule is like, and would prefer to die rather than again be under German oppression and brutality. If the British leave, I would prefer to go away with them and live in their country. If they refuse to take me I will ask one of the British officers to shoot me rather than leave me. All the Hereros, even the women, feel like this. I can speak with authority. I am the hereditary Chief of the Otjimbingwe Hereros, and if our tribal system and nation had not been crushed by Germany I would to-day be the Chief at Otjimbingwe. My people still respect and honour me, and I speak for them.

I would rather be a private ordinary Herero under the British flag than a Chief of Hereros under the Germans.

*Moses M'Buanjo* (son of the Under-Chief M'Buanjo and Headman of the Hereros of Omaruru) says:—

I am Headman of the Hereros at Omaruru. I ask that we be allowed to remain under the British flag and British protection; to ask us to return to German rule is like asking us to go to our death. We would rather be advised in advance if the Germans are coming back, in order that we may arrange in good time to leave for another country where there is British control. We would rather go anywhere else in the world in preference to living here under German rule. We are perfectly satisfied to live under the Union Jack—that flag has brought us peace and happiness.

*Christof Katsimune* (Assistant Headman of the Hereros of Omaruru) says:—

To suggest to us that the Germans should come again to take over this country is like asking us to agree to our death. The Herero people were gradually dying out under German rule; but now that the British are here we find that life is worth living again, and we are contented and happy. We shall build up our people again and become a happy nation. The Germans don't know how to treat or to govern native races—they don't regard us as human beings. It is better to be a dog; they think more of a dog, and he is not kicked so often. We Hereros all ask to be allowed to remain under the British flag. Even our little children see the difference now that we are under a British Government. If this country is given back to the Germans we intend to leave it in a body. We will trek away to British territory—we cannot live here.

*Edward Okonona* (Headman of the Karibib Hereros, and a half-brother of the late Chief Nikodemus) says:—

The Germans say they will exterminate us after the war is over, and we look forward with dread to the return of a German Government here. We don't wish to see a German flag here again. The English flag means peace to us and justice, and we desire no other. We are no longer oppressed and treated like dogs. A master loves his dog. The Germans were kinder to their dogs than they were to us, and we are human beings.

*Zebedius Katchimbari* (a prominent Otjimbingwe Herero) says:—

The English people punish only guilty people; we see now that there is justice. Under the Germans we had no rights. We don't wish to be under German rule again. We trust in God to protect us from the Germans ever coming here again. We pray to God to keep the Germans out. We never wish to have their flag here again. The majority of our people will leave this country, if they can get away, rather than live under German rule. They would prefer to live here in their own country; but to escape death and more cruelty at the hands of the Germans they would rather flee.

*Daniel Kariko\** (Headman of the Hereros at Kalkfeld, and formerly an Under-Chief of Manasse, the late Omaruru Chief) says:—

I am an old man now and have very little longer to live, but the rest of my life I wish to pass under the flag which protected me at Walvis Bay many years ago. I always prayed for the day when that flag would come up from Walvis Bay and wave over Hereroland too. I knew that until that happened there would be no mercy or hope for us. The Germans we hate, and have no respect for. They broke their solemn agreements with us, they deceived our chiefs, and they trampled our laws and customs under foot. They respected no one and no one's property. How can we live under such people? No, I would rather die. I would rather commit suicide.

If the British don't keep this country it will mean the end of the Herero people. We won't stay here; we will run away to British territory; we will try and escape, and then the Germans will chain us up and shoot us. This is what is going to happen. I swear that my people all refuse to stay under Germany. I pray that we will be allowed to live as we are now, under British officers and Government. We are happy again for the first time since the Germans came here.

*Samuel Kutako* (who was educated by the missionary Carl Butlner, and has been the Herero schoolmaster at Tsumeb since 1906) says:—

If German missionaries had never come to this country I believe there would probably never have been any German troops here. I believe the missionaries were the cause of the German troops having been brought to this country. They knew our customs and habits, and they did not try to shield us or protect us from the Germans. After the Herero rebellion they acted as informers against prominent Hereros, and were the cause of their being hanged by the Germans.

Another objection I have to the Germans is their immorality with the Herero girls. This has been going on ever since the Germans came to this country. A Herero girl who goes to work for a German is, nearly in every case, compelled to submit to him and to gratify his passions. There are many bastards here in Tsumeb, more than the pure-blooded Herero children. The Herero men are robbed of their wives. It is regarded by the Hereros as a great disgrace when a Herero girl has a bastard child; but what can we do? The girls are interfered with by Germans when they are quite young. I have known of many cases where young girls of 14 to 15 years of age have had bastard children by Germans. The same applies to Bushwomen, Berg-Damaras, and Hottentots.

This is another reason why we wish to see the Germans out of this country. We have no peace; and no respect for the Germans. There is a great deal of sexual disease among the people, and it spreads as a result of this immorality.

If I had the privilege of expressing an opinion to the British Government I would ask that this land be kept under the British flag, under the same Government as we have here to-day, and that all the Germans should take ship and go back to Germany; the German missionaries should go as well.

We can do as well without them, if no British missionaries are available.

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\* Daniel spent several years in exile in Walvis Bay, and for ten years before the British conquest he lived in Ovamboland, under the protection of an Ovambo chief.

*Traugott Tjienda* (Headman of the Hereros of Tsumeb) says :—

As Headman of the Hereros here I am well acquainted with their feelings, and they are all unanimous in praying that the British should retain this land. They have peace now, and they feel that they will be happier. They see that the British system is just and fair. The Germans simply punished us on complaints by our masters without any trial or inquiry being held. 25 lashes was the average punishment for trivial little offences.

*Samuel Kariko* (Herero schoolmaster, and son of Under-Chief Daniel Kariko) says :—

No single person can relate all that has happened and what ill-treatment we have suffered. Floggings and thrashings were to us like our daily food. We do not wish to live here if the British hand the country back to the Germans. We never asked for German rule. We wished years ago to be under the British flag. Then the Germans came, and they have destroyed our people. If the Germans take this country back, we Hereros all wish to leave. We will trek away with the British troops, and are content to live in some other country under the British flag, where we know we will get fairness and justice. We all feel like this. We are happy now that the British are here; but when they leave we may expect more ill-treatment.

*Heinrich Tjaherani* (Herero, a younger son of the late Chief Tjaherani and a cousin of the late Omaruru Chief Manasse) says :—

We feel that God has helped us at last. That is what we feel. We often prayed and wished for the flag that was at Walvis Bay to come here and fly over us, as we knew the British officials and the British soldiers were humane and just. God has heard our prayers, and we are contented and happy. Before, the future was dark; but now our people have hope again.

The British people will not leave us again and hand us over to the Germans. We all wish them to stay. We want no other Government. If the British do go away we wish to accompany them. I am speaking now for my people. My father was a powerful Chief, as powerful as Maherero. My uncle Manasse and my cousin Michael were the chiefs after my father died. I know my people well, and I know they are happy now. We will leave our country though, and go away with the British. We will live wherever they place us; but never will we remain here under the Germans, so I ask that the British should take this country for ever and prevent the Germans from coming back. If, however, this can't be done, I ask that we all be collected and sent away to the Union or to some other British territory before a German soldier is allowed to come amongst us. Then the murders and floggings will start all over again, and our people will be as dogs and wild animals once more.

#### THE WISHES OF THE BERG-DAMARAS AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE PROTECTORATE.

*Judas Goreseb* (the hereditary Chief of the Berg-Damaras of South-West Africa) says :—

Since the British came we have no complaints. My people are prospering and are well treated. We send all our young men out to work, and all the conditions are improved. The farmers no longer flog their servants, and the lash is not heard every day at the police station as was the case under the Germans.

I want to let the British King and people know that ever since the Germans came here we have been unjustly treated and down-trodden. Our lives were never safe, and we had no rights. I wish to ask on behalf of my people that we be allowed to remain for ever under British rule. If, however, the country is to be given back to the Germans, I should like to be given notice beforehand, and we intend then to ask to be allowed to settle in some British territory. I will then collect my whole tribe and all our possessions, and we will travel out of this place to a spot where the British will allow us to live under their flag. I ask also that this will be done before the British troops go away, in order that they may protect us.

We only now see the courts of law where people get justice. In the German time we heard of courts, but never saw them. All we saw was the

sjambok and lash and the chains on our people. We never want to see these again.

*Gottlieb Goreseb* (Head Councillor to his nephew the Berg-Damara Chief, and a brother of the late Chief Cornelius) says:—

The Germans turned everything upside down. They made enmity between Herero and Berg-Damara, and even split the Berg-Damaras up into factions by refusing to allow the Chief to rule. We are all friends again now—Hereros and Damaras—and we wish to live in peace under the British flag. We are happy now. If the British give this land back, all the old troubles will arise again. We would all rather be packed in big ships, and sent away across the sea to a British country, sooner than remain here if the German Government comes back. No nation in this land ever loved or respected a German. We were willing to stand under Palgrave, whom I so well remember, and we know that the English King is just and good. The first Englishmen who came here—Galton, Green, Palgrave, Bobbie Lewis—they were all our friends; also Tatlow, Scotty Bowe, Creighton, Chapman, Ellis—such men we all loved and honoured for their fairness and honesty in dealing with us and our people. Some of them lived and died amongst us. They were our friends. We never met Germans like those Englishmen. They never took our goods and stole our cattle. The Germans went with our wives and daughters and did as they pleased. They had no respect. But the English were big men and behaved like men. They never ill-treated natives because of their wives and daughters.

We beg and pray that the British will take over the whole land. Our Chief has said so to-day, and he speaks for our whole tribe.

*Simon Tsobasib* (Councillor of the Berg-Damara Chief, and a nephew of the old Chief Abraham) says:—

We want the British Government to stay here now. I would rather go away from here with the British troops to their country. I would not stay here under German rule. One of my sons was so badly beaten by a German master that he ran away to Walvis Bay to the British. I afterwards heard he had gone to work at Cape Town, and have never seen him since. Many people of ours ran away like that and never returned.

I ask that the British will not leave us here. They must stay here. We are happy now and perfectly satisfied. We don't hear the sjambok any more, and we are living in peace.

*Jacob Dikasip* (a wild Berg-Damara, also known as a Chau-Damara, of the Grootfontein District) says:—

We want this country to remain under the British Government. If ever the Germans come back to rule us we will run away to the veld, as the Germans will take a great revenge on us. The British have forbidden them to beat and ill-treat us. If the British go away we can only look forward to more cruelty and injustice.

#### THE WISHES AND OPINIONS OF THE HOTTENTOTS AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE.

##### *The Bondelswartz.*

The present Acting-Chief of the Bondelswartz tribe of Warmbad, Willem Christian, son of the late Chief Johannes Christian and grandson of the famous Willem Christian, says:—

Many of our people have got messages from Germans that they will settle off with us when the war is over. They will kill us all. We feel sure of that. We have no prospect of living under the German flag. It means death for us. We want them kept out of this country, and we wish to remain as to-day under the British flag. Our one wish all along, even when the Germans were here, was that the British flag would come here and drive the German flag away. Our older men lived under British rule in the Cape Colony, and we know the difference. Our bitter experiences of German rule have shown us the difference. The British Government allows our Chiefs to have authority and respects our laws and customs; but this the

Germans never did. This is our native country, and we would never like to abandon it. We are attached to it and love it, but if a German flag comes here again we must flee away to some other country and look for a new land to live in where we can have peace.

- WILLEM CHRISTIAN.

And we the senior Hottentots of the Bondelswartz tribe at Warmbad affirm and declare that the above statement made and read in our presence is true and represents our unanimous views.

EDWARD SNEEUWE.  
JANTJE IZAAK.  
HANS CHRISTIAN.  
ADAM KAFFER.  
DAVID BOOISE.  
JOSEPH SCHEYER.

*Abraham Kaffer* of Kalkfontein South (the ex-Magistrate of the Bondelswartz tribe under the Chiefs Jan Abraham and Willem Christian) says :—

We don't want to see this country handed back to the Germans. The German farmers will be allright if they are put under a British Government which will protect us from them, but rather than remain here under a German rule again we would prefer to trek away to the east and look for a new land, and if we can't do that we ask the British Government to give us some place where we can go and live in peace.

The declaration of Abraham Kaffer is also signed by the headmen, Timotheus Beukes, Hendrik Sneeuwe, David Goliath, Petrus Willem, Gert Swartbooi and others.

*Adam Pienaar* (Bondelswartz Headman, and a nephew of the Chief Willem Christian) says :—

We all hate the Germans; how can we love such people? As soon as the British troops came here, I went to help them and acted as a guide. The Germans have let me know that they will settle with me for this when the war is over. So I don't intend to remain here if the British leave this country, and many of my people will accompany me. The majority of the Bondelswartz Hottentots will trek over the Orange River into the Cape Province.

#### *Opinions of the Swartbooi Hottentots.*

*David Swartbooi* (the Hereditary Chief of the Swartbooi Hottentots) says :—

We wish to remain under the British flag now. We know the Germans too well to wish to see their flag again. They despise us as dogs and treat us like animals. From the day the British came here the flogging ceased. If this country is returned to the Germans we would prefer to go away to British territory. We can never live with the Germans again. We are now quite happy.

This statement by the Chief is also endorsed by the two senior Councillors Petrus Booy and Josephat Petersen.

*Andreas Swartbooi*, of Grootfontein, says :—

We Hottentots hate the Germans and cannot love such people. The Englishmen who have come now are fairer and just. The Germans are too hard on us and too cruel, and we never wish to see their Government here again. If the Germans come here I will run away. I will rather go into Portuguese territory and live, if the British leave. That I must do at night. In the daytime the Germans will shoot me.

#### *Statements of the Witbooi or Kowese Hottentots.*

*Mattheus Links* (Elder of the Witbooi Hottentots at Windhuk), says :

It is our wish that the British should retain this land. From the very beginning we knew the English. The Germans came here as strangers, and that is why Hendrik Witbooi at first refused to agree to the Germans ruling this land and only signed after he had been crushed in battle. If the British



return this country to Germany we ask to be allowed to leave for another place. We would prefer to go and live in the Union under the British flag. Before he died, Hendrik Witbooi said it is better for our people to go to the Cape and live under the English flag. The English flag means to us that no man is punished unless he is proved guilty; unless his case is first inquired into. The Germans punished the innocent with the guilty without trial or inquiry. Their courts gave us no protection and never believed our evidence as against the white man.

I am the oldest surviving man of the Witbooi tribe at Windhuk. I speak on behalf of my people. We are all Christians.

The statement of Mattheus Links is also signed by Izaak Jantze, the Headman of the Witbooi Hottentots at Windhuk, and by the senior men, Elias and Adam Bikuur.

*Izaak Witbooi* (eldest son of the late Chief Hendrik Witbooi, and as such Hereditary Chief to the Witbooi tribe), makes the following statement :

It is not even necessary for us now to make any choice as to which Government we wish to stand under, because from the days of our great-grandfather to those of my own father, the request and desire was clearly expressed, namely, that we wished to be taken under the protecting flag of England and to have an English Government.

The other surviving sons of the old Chief Hendrik Witbooi, namely, Hendrik Witbooi, jun., and Josias Witbooi, as also their cousin David Witbooi, have signed the above statement as well.

*Jeremias Tenchap* (a Red-Hottentot, formerly chief Field Cornet and an Elder under the Red Chief Manasse Noreseb of Hoachanas), says :

This country must not be given back to the Germans. If it is, the same things will happen which happened before. If the land is given back and the English leave we wish to go away with them. That is the desire and wish of all the Red People. I know what they say and think.

*Jonathan Booise* (a Veldschoendrager Hottentot), says :

I never again wish to be under a German Government. They don't treat us like human beings; we were treated like wild animals and even worse. We are happy now and hope the British people won't leave us.

*Jacobus Ghoudab* (an Elder of the Khauas Hottentots and a nephew of the late Andreas Lambert), *David Beukes*, and *Cornelius Reiter*, the only three elderly survivors of the tribe at Windhuk, say :

We lived in a state of captivity until the British came and took this country from the Germans. Our elders always spoke to us of the English. We can't stay here if the Germans return. We wish to go away with the British troops. We know the Germans too well. They flog and murder, and violate our women and they are not punished. This sort of thing has stopped now that the English are ruling the land. They have prohibited this and now we have peace.

*Josephat Jager* (one of the few surviving Afrikaner Hottentots, now living at Grootfontein), says :

If this country goes back to Germany, what will be the end of us all? The Germans will exterminate us. We all feel that. We all intend to run away to British and Portuguese territory. We have made up our minds to do that and nothing but death will stop us. My tribe was once big and powerful, but nearly all are dead now. There are only a few Afrikaner Hottentots left. Some are living at Walvis Bay. They are happy there under British protection.

In concluding the list of opinions expressed by the Hottentots, the declaration of the Hottentots of Berseba, under their wise old Chief, Johannes Christian Goliath, will be of interest. The declaration was written by the Chief personally and is signed by him and by his chief Councillors, Traugott Izaak, David Goliath, Willem Georg Vries, and Jacobus Izaak.

The Berseba people have had the singular good fortune to retain their Chief and their tribal lands intact under German rule. This happy result was due to

the cautious and wise policy of the sagacious old Chief in avoiding at all costs any collision or hostilities with the Germans. When the general rising took place in 1904, Goliath, who was never on good terms with Hendrik Witbooi, whom he feared and distrusted owing to the latter's pretensions to paramountcy, decided to remain neutral. By doing this he saved his people from the general ruin which overcame the others. He is the only native Chief who did not rise against the Germans. During the last campaign, however, some of his followers secretly, and probably without the old Chief's consent, went through the German lines and offered their services to the British troops as guides. This came to the knowledge of the Germans, and all arrangements had been made for a general massacre of the Berseba Hottentots when the rapid move of General Mackenzie from Aus to Gibeon, April-May 1915, diverted the Germans' attention and frustrated their sinister designs.

Like the Rehoboth Bastards, however, the Berseba Hottentots are now on the German black list, and the writer has not the slightest hesitation in asserting that, should this country ever be handed back to Germany, within twelve months thereafter punitive expeditions will have wreaked vengeance on both tribes, and their land and possessions will have been confiscated. Local Germans make no secret of these intentions. No one appreciates this fact better than Chief Goliath, and ever since the British occupation he had endeavoured, by adopting an attitude of cautious neutrality, to mollify German resentment and thereby, if possible, to avoid the threatening danger. That he is deeply apprehensive and nervous there can be no doubt; but he does not care to commit himself either way. It is worthy of record that about six or eight months ago the Chief said to a well-known British farmer in the south:—

Why don't you English people prepare an historical statement showing what our people have suffered here under German rule? Why don't you write all about the injustices, the floggings and murders? You should send those papers to England so that the big people there may see how unjust the Germans are. If they only knew the truth I am certain they would protect us and never return the land to Germany.

To this the writer's informant replied:—

You are a well-educated man, Goliath; you write very well, and you know far more about these things than I do, why don't you write all this yourself?

I would like to (said the old Chief), but you see once before when our people wanted British protection it was refused, and they let the Germans come instead. Now if I write such things to England the Germans may get to know of it. The English may take no notice of me and may again, as they did once before, let the Germans have the land. In such event what do you think would happen to me and to my tribe? No, my responsibility to my people is too great, I cannot take any risks.

In a subsequent long conversation with the Chief, the writer obtained confirmation of those views, and the old leader added:—

Much as I would like to speak my mind I am, I can assure you, terrified when I think what the result will be if your agreement allows the Germans to return here. So I would rather not say what I think.

The writer eventually succeeded in persuading the Chief and his Council to give some expression of opinion, and this they did. The following is a translation of the document written by the Chief personally, and signed by him and his Councillors:—

In regard to the opinion regarding our Government as is set forth herein, we wish in the first place to remark that we received the word of God from the German missionaries, and that thereby many were brought to wisdom and to the living of better lives.

Furthermore, that when our compatriots were destroyed by the rising and lost their land and possessions, we have to this day remained owners of our land because so far we have not participated in a rising.

We do not wish, however, to be silent in regard to the reasons which brought about the unhappiness and downfall of the exterminated tribes, and it is our heartfelt desire and prayer that, in regard to living and intercourse, changes may be brought about in the future.

We had hoped, as German subjects under the German flag, for just decisions in regard to the differences between white and coloured people. Alas! in cases where murders were adjudicated upon, we have never yet seen that a white man was punished for taking the life of a coloured person; a coloured person, on the contrary, who took the life of a white man always received the death penalty.

This is one of the chief reasons why many good acts of the Germans are overlooked, and a feeling of bitterness against them gets the upper hand in those who became rebellious.

The wish and prayer of the coloured person is to be treated impartially according to right and justice and as a human being, and not in such a way as to make the aborigine say: "I would rather be a German dog than a German servant."

If a person gets the impression that an animal is thought more of than he is, and is treated better, spared more and protected, then there comes disappointment and depression, and the thought arises: "It is better to die than to be regarded as lower than an animal."

As we have remained neutral in this great war of the white people, we also desire to remain neutral in regard to our choice, because it is not our business to decide what the future Government of South-West Africa should be; it is only our business to be subject to any such Government, be it English, Union or German, which may in the future take over the South-West, and that will be the request and prayer—to be treated as human beings in accordance with right and justice.

#### THE WISHES OF THE BASTARD REPUBLIC OF REHOBOTH.

On 1st November 1917 the writer met the Bastard Chief and the full Council of the tribe at Rehoboth, and asked them for an expression of opinion as to their future government and a statement as to whether or not they were desirous of returning under the control of Germany. After discussion, the Chief and Council retired to deliberate, and on the following day they reassembled and handed in a copy of the minutes of the special Council meeting. This was then signed by the Chief and all Councillors, under oath, and the following translation represents the deliberate and unanimous opinion of these people:—

Minutes of a special meeting of the Council and Leaders of the Bastard Tribe, held at Rehoboth on this the 2nd day of November 1917. Present were:—

Cornelius van Wijk, Chief.  
 Albert Mouton, Under-Chief.  
 Nicolaas Olivier, Chief's Councillor.  
 Samuel Beukes, Magistrate.  
 Dirk van Wijk, ex-Magistrate.  
 Wilhelm Koopman, ex-Under-Chief.  
 Piet Beukes, Councillor.  
 Pieter Mouton, Councillor.  
 Malcolm McNab, Councillor.  
 Gert Cloete, Councillor.  
 Jan Witbooi, Councillor.  
 Gert de Klerk, Councillor.

and Franz Wilhelm Maasdorp, Secretary of the Council.

The Chairman explains the objects of the meeting.

Proposed by Councillor Nicolaas Olivier, and seconded by Councillor Pieter Mouton,

That we as a nation and people respectfully but urgently request the Imperial British Government not to give South-West Africa back to the Germans, but to retain the land under the protection of the British flag; further, that we, the Bastards of Rehoboth, through this our Council, respectfully ask that His Majesty the King of Great Britain will be pleased to take the territory of Rehoboth under his flag and protection on the same basis as is to be found in Basutoland.

Carried unanimously.

The Councillors place on record the following as reasons why they do not wish to be under the German flag :—

1. Our forefathers were British subjects originally from the Cape Colony. Therefore we desire to be protected by the British Government.
2. The German Government continually broke the agreement of amity and friendship made between us, although we had with them suppressed the risings in the country.
3. After the Chiefs of the land had been exterminated by German power, the Germans, notwithstanding our agreement, threatened that they would not recognise our ruler as Chief.
4. The German Government, with its great power, constantly irritated us in order to be able to discover any false reason to justify the taking away of our land by force.
5. The never-ending hangings and shootings by the German Government, and the ceaseless beating to death with sjamboks, and especially the beating of women and children and the atrocious ill-treatment of innocent persons.
6. "One for all and all for one" was the principle whereby the German Government ruled and exterminated the inhabitants of the land.
7. The abuses of their police, who not only beat with the sjambok, but who also, even though they beat to death or shot dead, were held as right and were approved of by the Government.
8. In legal cases between Germans and Bastards no sworn statement was accepted from a coloured person.
9. The keeping from us of God's word, and of education and advancement.
10. Even now the Germans say: "Just wait a bit, when we get the land back we will hang you all up."
11. Our experiences in the past have taught us that the German Government is an unjust one. The German dictum is "Might is Right"; under the conditions we had to co-operate with the Germans and to submit against our wishes.

After due discussion these above-mentioned points were unanimously agreed to.

Further, it was proposed by Chief Cornelius van Wijk and seconded by Councillor A. Mouton that should this land be given back to the German Government we pray that His Majesty's Government may make provision for another portion of land for us situate not here in the vicinity of the land where the Germans are.

The above-voiced expressions of opinion are shared by all other coloured persons in the Protectorate, but it does not appear necessary to add any further statements.

#### OPINIONS OF THE BUSHMEN.

There are people who will probably smile disapprovingly when they observe that an endeavour has been made to obtain the opinions even of the wild Bushmen who, under the German *régime*, were regarded and treated more as wild animals than as human beings. Nevertheless, as there are thousands of these primitive creatures in South-West Africa, and, moreover, as there is every hope, as has already been indicated in the chapter on the Bushmen, under a just and humane system of Government, of reclaiming these wild people from the pre-historic mode of life they now follow, and of making them happy and honest and useful subjects, their views, bald and simple as they may be, are not without interest.

The time at the writer's disposal did not permit, as he would have wished, a personal visit to the Bushmen in their native wilds. Fortunately, however, very intelligent members of the race were discovered at Grootfontein. These men have ever since the British conquest rendered most excellent work, and their services as guides and messengers are constantly being requisitioned.

Their statements are as follows:—

*Jacob Haibib* (a Kalihari or Kung Bushman), says :—

The Bushmen don't know anything about government, but they only know people. They all say that they wish all the Germans will leave this country, and the English must stay here and take over all the farms. That

is what they say to me. They say now they can drink water. That means when they are thirsty they can come to the water-holes and drink without risk of being shot. They are afraid of the Germans and don't trust them; but they like the British troops and people. They remember old English hunters who treated them well, and they say life will be easier if the British stay here. Personally I will go away with the English if they leave this country. I won't stay here. I live happily now, and am well treated by the British. I think that if the British stay here the Bushmen will, when they know of it, get much less wild, and many will come in and work for the farmers, especially British farmers. Now no Bushman will work for a German farmer if he can avoid it. He only does so when compelled to by hunger, and when he is fat again he runs away back to the Bush. He hates the Germans because they always took the Bushwomen as wives. I was educated for five years by the German missionaries, and can read Herero and Hottentot. I am a pure-bred Bushman.

*Hendrik Kasubie* (a Heikom Bushman of the Grootfontein District), says:—

If a German patrol saw Bushmen they had to be shot or captured, for no reason at all. This often happened miles and miles away in the desert where there were no farms. I was with the German troops as a guide for four years, and I know their methods.

Now since the British are here things have changed. The Bushmen see the difference and say they hope the Germans will never come back. Now they drink water freely, and come down to the holes in the daytime. When they see a British patrol they come to meet them and point out where the water-holes are, and get wood and field roots and wild roots and fruits for the troops if they are asked to do so. In the German time they would never come near a German patrol—they would hide and run for their lives. I want to go with the British troops; I won't stay with the Germans any more. I want the English to stay here. I have a wife and children who need protection.

No. 8.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 1st April 1918.)

Government House, Wellington,  
30th January 1918.

SIR,

WITH reference to my telegram of the 10th of January,\* I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch which has been addressed to me by the Administrator of Samoa, giving his impressions of the attitude of the natives of Samoa towards British rule in the Occupied Territory.

2. I may add that at the request of my Prime Minister, and in conformity with the suggestion made in your telegram of the 14th of January,† I have instructed Colonel Logan to take steps to consult the Samoans privately, through their Faipules, in order to ascertain definitely their views on this question. As soon as I am in possession of Colonel Logan's report in this connection, I will communicate the substance of it to you.

I have, &c.,  
LIVERPOOL,  
Governor-General.

Enclosure in No. 8.

British Military Occupation of Samoa,  
Administrator's Office, Apia, Samoa,  
11th January 1918.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of 10th January.

The Samoan race, by their representatives the Faipules, have at their meetings held each half year during the last two years referred to their joy at being under

\* No. 1.

† No. 2.

British rule, because it was the London Mission Society, a British Society, which first introduced Christianity to Samoa, and the Samoans have constantly regretted that Britain did not take over the Government of Samoa when it became impossible that they could longer exist except under the control of a European Power.

They are delighted with the amount of self-government they are allowed under British rule, and appreciate the justice with which their grievances are settled. Under German rule they were driven from pillar to post, their grievances were set aside for months, without reason, and their cases against each other were adjourned for months at a time, and finally settled by whichever party privately obtained the Governor's favour.

For a year or longer after the Occupation the Samoans were non-committal, but for some time past they have openly expressed the hope that Britain would retain control of Samoa.

Several of the half-caste storekeepers have expressed to me their appreciation of the way in which the business of the Administration is conducted. When formerly they had to wait for hours after the time fixed for an appointment, and then treated with discourtesy, they now feel that they can depend on having their business attended to at the time appointed.

I have, &c.,

ROBERT LOGAN, Colonel,  
Administrator of Samoa.

His Excellency,

The Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,  
Governor-General of New Zealand.

No. 9.

NIGERIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 16th April 1918.)

Government House, Nigeria,  
15th March 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Palmer, Resident, Bornu, by the Shehu Sanda of Dikoa, lately part of the German Cameroons, from which you will observe that the Shehu is most anxious that the territory of which he is Chief should remain under British administration.

I have, &c.,

F. D. LUGARD,  
Governor-General.

Enclosure in No. 9.

COPY OF LETTER FROM SHEHU SANDA OF DIKOA ADDRESSED TO  
MR. PALMER, RESIDENT, BORNU.

Greetings— This is to let you know we are pleased at your coming and wish to tell you that we have suffered much from the deceitfulness of the Germans, they drove away my uncle—he left his town without sandals—they killed one of our big men, Tejani—they killed him without trial by deceit—they seized our people—those long in authority men like Halifa Jagga, Sarikin Mufti, the Chiefs of Logone, Kusseri and Mandara—they left nothing—now we want to be under you—God has divided the country between you and your friends—May God give us over to you—that is to the English—we will thank God for that—we want you to appoint our Chiefs and helpers—you alone do what justice dictates.

No. 10.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 23rd April 1918.)

SIR,

Wellington,  
28th February 1918.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a further despatch which I have received from the Administrator of Samoa on the subject of the attitude of the natives of that Occupied Territory towards British rule.

I have, &c.,  
LIVERPOOL,  
Governor-General.

Enclosure in No. 10.

BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION OF SAMOA.

Administrator's Office,  
Apia, Samoa,

31st January 1918.

YOUR EXCELLENCY.

WITH reference to Your Excellency's telegram dated 20th January and to my reply of the 29th idem, I have the honour to state that I consulted the High Chief Tuimalcaliifano and the Chiefs of Aana District, and met in my Office the High Chiefs Malietoa and Tuimalcaliifano. At the latter meeting, after I had laid the matter before them, the subject was fully discussed, and they informed me that fortunately a meeting of the "Samoa Toiena Club" (a native commercial and political club composed of the leading Chiefs from every District in Samoa) was being held on the following day, and the matter would then be discussed.

Since the meeting I have received a letter from the High Chiefs stating that the meeting was unanimous in wishing that Samoa should remain under British rule. They also told me that the Samoans had for many years wished to be under British rule, that it was a great disappointment to them when they were handed over to Germany under the Berlin Treaty and that they rejoiced to be now under the British flag.

The reasons given by the Samoans for their wish to come under the British flag, in the order in which they were given to me, are:—

*Firstly.* Because a British Society, the London Mission Society, first brought the Gospel to Samoa and showed the Samoans the benefits of living under the teachings of the Gospel.

*Secondly.* Because, shortly after the British Military Occupation, the Administration placed the Badge of Samoa on the fly of the Blue Ensign, the Government flag, thus showing that the Samoans as a people were recognised, a thing which the Germans never did.

*Thirdly.* Because the Faipules, the representatives of the Samoan people, are consulted twice yearly in their Assembly before any changes are made in the Regulations which affect them, and their wishes are either given effect to by the Administration, if practicable, or the Faipules are informed that their request cannot be complied with, and matters are not allowed to drag on without any decision as was formerly the case.

*Fourthly.* They have been treated by the British officials since the Occupation with love (justice), and can now win cases in the Courts which formerly they could not win.

I must confess to Your Excellency that the definiteness of the reply of the Samoans was a great surprise to me, as I anticipated that, as they are, as a rule, non-committal, the Chiefs would talk much in an indefinite way and say as little as possible; but they are now perfectly definite in their views, and I can with safety state that they are in earnest, and that, unless something of an unprecedented nature happened just before the matter was put to them, there would be no question as to how the Samoans would vote.

B 4

I have already pointed out to Your Excellency that the Samoans act on the impulse of the moment; but on the question of British rule they have steadily, since the conclusion of the first year of the Occupation, become more and more outspoken in their leanings, until they have now practically thrown away all reserve.

I have, &c.,

ROBERT LOGAN, Colonel,  
Administrator of Samoa.

His Excellency

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,  
Governor-General of New Zealand.

No. 11.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

THE ADMINISTRATOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 16th May 1918.)

Administrator's Office, Wilhelmstal,  
22nd March 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have obtained reports from all districts of the Northern area of German East Africa on the attitude of the natives, so far as it can be ascertained, towards the former German and the present British system of administration.

2. In the first place, I think it was an error to assume that from the outbreak of war the natives of this country as a whole eagerly looked forward to the possibility of their deliverance by us from the tyrannical rule of the Germans. For some thirty years they had lived under no other form of government and, vaguely realising that European control, which ensured the safety of life and property, was preferable to the state of anarchy which must otherwise prevail, they accepted the existing *régime* as an established fact. A fair number of coastal natives and the tribes of the Northern frontier no doubt had more or less acquaintance with British methods, which they contrasted with German ideas to the disadvantage of the latter; but the mass of the inland population, generally of a lower order of intelligence, knew nothing of these things, and in fact little of anything outside the affairs of the particular village or community. The assumption that our arrival was anxiously awaited implied the risk of a later assumption that little effort would be needed to win the respect and affection of the people.

3. It would, no doubt, have been a matter of little difficulty to establish the popularity of British rule at the outset had the exigencies of war permitted, but unfortunately this was not the case. The conditions of the campaign required that heavy and constantly growing demands should be made on the natives for assistance both in personnel and in material. They had already suffered from German exactions of this nature, but further requisitions were at once made upon them by us. Forced sale of foodstuffs and livestock at fixed prices have been continuous in the occupied territory, so that stocks have now become seriously depleted, while many thousands of men have been compelled to accompany the advance as porters for the period of hostilities, and of these very large numbers have not yet returned. Repeated calls for further drafts to make good wastage have in one or two localities brought the remaining native population to the verge of open resistance, and the situation has at times contained an element of anxiety, but recruiting in the Northern area has now been discontinued, and during recent months the natives have shown signs of marked relief.

4. Yet on the whole the tribes have borne the strain surprisingly well, and although the regrettably high death-rate among porters has produced a bad impression, no trouble has occurred beyond a very natural disposition to evade conscription by flight. I think the native differentiates as a rule between the conditions resulting from war, and the normal circumstances of civil control in peace, though it is not easy for him to understand why he should still suffer hardship when the tide of war has receded several hundreds of miles from his own immediate



vicinity. He has suffered from the heavy exactions first of the Germans and then of ourselves, but as a rule is inclined to comfort himself with the philosophic reflection of the native proverb: "When elephants fight it is the grass that suffers."

5. I have thought it necessary to give this preliminary description of existing conditions because I wish to emphasise that the moment when his hardships are fresh in the mind of the native is the most inopportune that could be chosen to ask him whether he prefers British to German methods of administration. It is inconceivable that he should not resent the loss of relatives and the loss of stock which military exigencies have imposed upon him since our arrival for reasons which he cannot, and perhaps does not desire, to understand. Such evidence as I have goes to show that the natives of the country were well-disposed towards us at the outset, and a good impression was produced by the fact that payment was always made for supplies, which the Germans had taken without recompense; but their subsequent experiences of the effects of our presence cannot but have caused some modification of their feelings. Yet in the Northern area, where civil dealings with the population have gradually excluded military relations with them until the latter have almost disappeared, the attitude of the people as a whole is remarkably satisfactory, and they are rapidly settling down into contentment.

6. It would be injudicious to make open and general inquiry of the natives as to whether they prefer British or German rule, since this procedure at the present juncture would arouse suspicion and would exercise an unsettling effect. Natives could never understand that we should contemplate the voluntary surrender of a country which we have conquered at such cost. Inquiries have, therefore, been made in a discreet and unostentatious manner as opportunity occurred, and I am now in possession of reports from the officers in charge of all the districts of the northern area. I find that most officers share my own views as to the unwisdom of anything in the nature of a plébiscite at the present time, when natives as a whole have not yet had an experience of peaceful British rule long enough to enable them to form a just estimate of its qualities, appreciation of which can only be looked for after normal conditions have been generally re-established for a considerable period.

7. Although the Germans are to be credited with one or two salutary instances of legislation in the interest of the native population, their ruling principle was evidently the exploitation of the black in the interest of the white, and this in actual practice, and in the details of native administration, frequently resulted in oppression and injustice. There is no doubt that from the native point of view the curse of the country was the subordinate official and the native policeman, who, probably with the idea of detribalisation and the creation of an intermediate caste attached by interest to the Government which supported them, were allowed a licence that degenerated into extortion and brutality, which there was little real effort to check. The natives recruited as police by this administration in the early stages were raw and uninstructed villagers of the porter class, and a certain number of ex-German policemen, trained in police duties, were enlisted with them, partly for their local knowledge, which was useful to the new officers, and partly for instructional purposes. But it was soon found that old police were not very amenable to a new discipline, and that the new men permitted themselves to adopt the oppressive attitude which they regarded as the traditional prerogative of a policeman, and from which they themselves had probably suffered in the past. The ex-German police have, therefore, been weeded out to the point of disappearance, and during the past year exemplary punishments have been awarded in all cases of misbehaviour.

8. The immediate effect of this has been most satisfactory. In every district the first reason given by natives for their preference for British rule is that they are no longer at the mercy of the police, whereas formerly they suffered from extortion and from maltreatment, and had no redress. Statements in my possession show that witnesses were frequently tortured, and prisoners so brutally ill-used that death resulted, but even in the latter event no inquiry was held into the incident by German officers, and the natives from experience feared to make complaint. A case of the torture of witnesses has come to light during the past year, but the exemplary punishment inflicted on the culprits, and made generally known, is likely to prevent any recurrence of the evil. There is no doubt that the people are heartily appreciative of this change in the methods of administration,

and it is remarkable with what frequency their comments on it have been made in the reports furnished to me.

9. Another change which has earned the gratitude of the natives is the manner in which their complaints are now dealt with. It seems that in German times the district officer rarely left his headquarters. Many small cases were tried by native officials, who had power to flog and imprison, and occasionally a subordinate European, often of non-commissioned rank, would be sent out to exercise limited judicial powers temporarily conferred for the occasion. Powers of punishment exercised by these officials often took the form of a short term of imprisonment with 25 lashes on conviction and a further 25 after an interval of 14 days. It is complained also that scant judicial inquiry was held as a rule; subordinates exacted bribes; and cases were rapidly disposed of with little evidence, so that it sometimes happened that a man with a genuine case received a flogging for wasting an officer's time. It is now a matter of very general remark among the natives that the lash is less freely used, and that even trivial cases are made the subject of careful personal investigation by a responsible officer, who devotes much time to cross-examination and the sifting of evidence, so that, whether the principal is a man of influence or a nonentity, miscarriage of justice can rarely occur. They appreciate very fully the ease with which British officers may be approached, and the personal interest in their affairs which is evidenced by the fact that officers make a point of travelling freely and becoming closely acquainted with their districts—a policy which I have always encouraged.

10. A third point which is quoted as a cause for satisfaction with British rule is the method of tax collection, especially in the lake districts. Formerly it seems that when the annual demand was made payment without delay was insisted on, so that a native without the requisite Rs. 3 was often under the necessity of parting with a cow for that price in order to meet his obligation. Notice is now given when taxes become due, and the taxpayer is given reasonable time in which to find the necessary money. This is much appreciated, and I think the best proof of appreciation is the remarkable readiness with which natives generally have paid their taxes to us. In spite of absences and other difficulties, when, in the first year of administration, the tax was called for in the Wilhelmstal district, the whole collection was completed in five weeks without the exercise of pressure, and it amounted to 105 per cent. of the previous German total. In other districts also the German maxima have been passed, although for political reasons collection has not been pressed.

11. In those parts of the country which have been less affected by the passage of troops and by the maintenance of posts on lines of communication, and where civil organisation has proceeded with less disturbance, the native attitude towards the new *régime* is undoubtedly one of satisfaction, and there is no regret at the disappearance of German rule. At Mkalama, for instance, where in accordance with the old German custom the representative natives of the sub-district assembled at the Boma on Christmas Day, they made a spontaneous request that an expression of their loyalty might be conveyed to the British Government, and, as I have already informed you, natives of Ufiome on their own initiative attacked and cut up a small German food convoy during Naumann's irruption into the civil area some months ago.

12. A certain number of natives who have expressed a preference for British rule have been unable to give any reason for this preference, except that they are satisfied with their experience of it. Some are indifferent, and one small chief in the Bukoba District openly preferred the Germans, "because you could rule your people as you wished. You could beat your wife or child as you wished. If they went to complain to the Germans they were turned away and perhaps beaten. I had twenty wives and five slaves, whom I looked after well; now I have only three women and no slaves."

13. There are, of course, more serious malcontents who will remain dissatisfied with the change of Government, and these are to be looked for among the former police, akidas, and minor officials who have been displaced by us and are no longer able to enrich themselves at the expense of the villagers. These, I think, will for long be a possible element of unrest, though since they were regarded with fear rather than respect in the past and did little to win the confidence of the people, their influence may not extend far beyond their own families. But there is another

element which may prove to be a distinct danger. I refer to the German native soldier, whose unflinching loyalty to the German cause has been one of the most surprising features of this campaign. For two years he has been constantly defeated and driven further from his own country and has endured prolonged hardships, yet he has always been ready to fight stoutly either in attack or defence when fighting was necessary. The remnants of the force still remain with their masters, to whom their devotion is beyond question. These men, and the thousands taken and still detained as prisoners of war, during their many years of service have to a great extent become detribalised, and were developed by the Germans into a distinct military caste and taught to regard themselves as a race superior to and apart from the ordinary native of the country. It is not to be expected that they will ever accept with equanimity the position in which they will hereafter be placed, and the problem of dealing with them is one which will require very careful consideration when hostilities cease. In my view there would be distinct danger in permitting them to disperse all over the country to foster, in all probability, a spirit which would be antagonistic to the peaceful establishment of British rule.

14. As you are aware, certain parts of the country were designated "Residencies" by the Germans, and in these the system of Government differed from that of the ordinary administrative district in that the native social system had not been completely broken up, and wide powers of direct control were still enjoyed by the Sultans, with little immediate interference by European officials. The only such Residency to come under my control is that of Bukoba, and there was at first much misgiving on the part of both Sultans and people as to the attitude we might adopt towards them. Sultans, courtiers, Katikiros, and witch-doctors - the latter a power in the land - were, on account of the licence allowed them, pro-German. Two of the most prominent Sultans, who strongly supported the former *régime*, died shortly after our occupation, and their successors, appointed and supported by us in the face of intrigue, have abandoned their attitude of doubt and warmly accepted British rule. One of them by arrangement, recently paid a state visit to the King of Uganda. Three others, who are minors, are now at school in Uganda, where they will rapidly become anglicised. It has been necessary in Bukoba to institute certain social changes, to curtail in some directions the prerogatives of the Sultans, to discourage witchcraft, and to reform the methods of tax collection and the working of the native courts in the Sultanates. Judging from my visit there last year and from a detailed report which I now have, the results appear to be most satisfactory. The peasants appreciate that many changes introduced have been made in their own interest, and the ruling classes, being of an intelligent type, admit that they are being taught better methods of administration which do not destroy the reality of their powers of control. As a whole, the district readily accepts British rule. The witch-doctors, of course, do not welcome it; and there are complaints by the populace of the fall in the price of coffee, their chief product, and the rise in the price of cloth, which they are ready to attribute directly to us, and which it is not easy to explain to their limited understanding as the natural secondary result of a world-war.

15. I have in this despatch confined my observations to the civil area North of the Central Railway. Of the Central and Southern areas I have not yet had experience, but I assume that as they have been for a longer period the scene of active operations the consequent disorganisation will take longer to adjust and that the natives will settle down more slowly. I noted, however, with interest, in a recent report by Mr. Duff, the spontaneous request by the natives of a certain locality that a civil officer should be stationed among them as early as possible, and I have every reason to hope that in the course of time the Central area will accept the new administration as equably as has the Northern.

16. I am opposed in any case to the application of European theories of self-determination to the uncivilised natives of Africa, and think that such application could be seriously suggested only by those whose acquaintance with the native and the native mind is of the slightest. The negro in his present stage of development is intellectually incapacitated by his general ignorance from deciding what in this matter is in his own real interests, and I feel confident that this view will be shared by any official, be he British, French, Italian, Belgian, Portuguese, or German, who has had any considerable experience of African administration. It is for the European ruler to decide these questions for him, and then to assume the responsibility of giving him an enlightened and progressive system of government

designed directly for his improvement. It is my belief that even now the natives of this country as a whole, were it possible to ascertain their real sentiments, would not desire the return of their former harsh rulers, partly no doubt from fear of the reprisals which they know would certainly be taken against all who have assisted or supported us, or entered our service; and I am convinced that, with the end of the campaign and the experience of a year or so of peaceful administration, they would not desire to exchange British rule for any other.

I have, &c.,  
H. A. BYATT,  
Administrator.

No. 12.

GOLD COAST.

THE GOVERNOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 29th May 1918.)

Government House, Accra.

29th April 1918.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward herewith, for your information :—

- \*i. A copy of a letter of instructions which I caused the Colonial Secretary to address to Mr. J. T. Furley, O.B.E., the Secretary for Native Affairs, to whom I entrusted the task of enquiring concerning the wishes of the people of the British sphere of occupation in Togoland with regard to the future administration of their country.
- \*ii. A copy of a letter which I caused to be addressed by the Colonial Secretary to the Officer Commanding the British Forces, Togoland, on the same subject.
- \*iii. A copy of a Report by Mr. Furley, dated 17th April 1918.
- \*iv. And a copy of Notes of Statements taken before the Secretary for Native Affairs on his tour through Togoland.

2. Mr. Furley left Accra on 14th January 1918, and his *interim* telegraphic report was despatched from Lome at the conclusion of his tour through the British sphere of occupation on 19th March. I attach a copy of a map\* upon which are marked the places at which meetings were held, and which also shows the localities whence came the chiefs and people who attended those meetings; all of which, of course, in accordance with native custom, were held in public.

3. I selected Mr. Furley for the task assigned to him because, though he is well acquainted with the British sphere of occupation in Togoland, he has not been directly connected with its administration for a period of more than three years, and would not, therefore, be regarded by the natives as exercising any immediate jurisdiction over them. My choice also fell upon him because he has a considerable knowledge of the natives of this part of West Africa, and enjoys their trust and confidence in a peculiar degree; and because he possesses those qualities of impartiality and patience which are essential if a genuine expression of public opinion on any important subject is to be elicited from a native population by a European. I think you will agree with me that the Report which Mr. Furley has furnished shows that his enquiry was carried out in an admirably judicial spirit, and that the views which the natives have expressed with such general unanimity may confidently be taken as representing their collective wishes with regard to the administrative future of their country.

4. In this connection it should be borne in mind that ever since British authority was established in the western portion of Togoland in August 1914, by the provisional agreement entered into by M. Noufflard, the Lieutenant-Governor of Dahomey, and myself, and subsequently approved by our respective Governments, the natives of our sphere of occupation have consistently had it impressed upon them that no annexation of territory has taken place, and that the destiny of their country will not be finally determined until the conclusion of hostilities. This being so, the people in the British sphere of occupation have always had before

\* Not printed.

their eyes the *possibility* of His Majesty's Government eventually restoring Togoland to Germany; and the chiefs on our side of the border, who have sought territorial re-union with portions of their divisions from which the decisions of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission of the 14th and 28th July 1886 caused them to be severed, have been throughout informed that such matters cannot be considered or decided until the war has been fought to a finish.

5. In these circumstances, it will be realised the people of Togoland, who have now been invited to express their personal wishes on the subject of the future administration of their country, are inevitably placed in a position of some embarrassment: They realise their own impotence; and they realise, too, that a desire to maintain the *status quo* will be, in the eyes of their former German masters, a dire offence. They know, also, from direct personal experience, how heavy the hands of the Germans can be and have been upon them, and how little they have to fear from British officers so long as they commit no crime which is punishable in a court of law. When these facts are taken into consideration, the frankness with which they have expressed their opinions, and the practical unanimity of their decision, tend to demonstrate the genuine character of their feelings in this matter.

6. Their consciousness of the fact that final decision lies with the European Powers and not with themselves is well illustrated by the following extracts from the Notes which form Enclosure 4\* to this despatch:—

“As you have taken the country,” says Chief Abobo of Abram, “you must hold us till our death, because if the Germans come again we are only black men and have no power to say: ‘Go! Go away!’ What they are doing at home” (viz., in Europe) “is white man’s palaver. If any white man, even Portuguese, come here to take us we can’t do anything. We don’t want the Germans again, so you must hold us fast.” (Page 14.†)

“In ancient times,” says the Chief of Amutive, “the Portuguese were here. After they left the Danes came. Not very long after the Germans came. The Germans have gone, and now the English are here and say we are under the English. We are black men and have no power, we cannot say more than this.” (Page 17.)

“We all say we want to serve the English,” says the Head Chief of Ho, “If the English do not decide to give the country back to the Germans we will serve the English. We natives have no power to say . . . .”

“I like English Government better than the German. I was told by the old men that this country was under the English and they gave it to the Germans. We could not resist this and could not defend ourselves, but we did not like taking the German flag. We took it because we were powerless. I and my people prefer the English, and one thing I should like to say is that when the decision is given if the English give us back to the Germans again it will be a great shame to the people.” (Pages 34 and 35.)

Says the Head Chief of Agotime: “In the olden times we were under the English and now we want to serve them again. We were forced to be under the Germans in former times and now we will serve the English. In the old times we didn’t like the Germans, we were forced to serve them. Our forefathers served the English and now we will again. We didn’t like the Germans, their treatment was bad. They cannot hear our voice because we like the English better. For that they hate us.” (Page 41.)

The linguist to the Head Chief of Kratche says: “We should like to be under the English. In ancient times we were under the English, then we were handed over to the Germans. We don’t know if we shall be handed over to the Germans again, so we are afraid to speak. We don’t want to be under the Germans again.” (Pages 63 and 64.)

“At the outbreak of war,” says the Chief of Dutukpene, “I sent a messenger to Kratche to the English to come and take our country at once. That shows what I want. When the Germans were here many people ran away. We want to remain under English Government. We black men have no power, so we say that what the English decide we agree to, but we don’t want the Germans back.” (Page 74.)

\* Not printed.

† NOTE.—These references throughout this despatch are to the pages of the original document.

7. In spite of the appreciation of their own impotence, which is shown in the foregoing quotations from statements made by the chiefs on behalf of and in the presence of their assembled people, very little hesitation is evinced, as a study of Enclosure 4 will show, in expressing a strong aversion from German methods, and an equally strong preference for British rule.

8. The former sentiment is not the result of prejudice, but of experience; and the grounds upon which it is based are clearly and forcibly set forth in statements which come from all parts of the occupied territory visited by Mr. Furley.

9. The grievances of the bulk of the population are—

- i. The imposition of a head-tax of 6 marks per adult male *per annum*.
- ii. Forced labour, and the restrictions which were thereby placed upon the ability of the people to earn their livelihood, and which caused their young men to emigrate to the Gold Coast in quest of money and freedom.
- iii. Expropriation of land.
- iv. The constant use of the whip.
- v. The meting out of punishment without investigation.
- vi. The ignorance in which the people were kept of the criminal code under which they were liable to floggings, imprisonment, &c.

To these grievances must be added the system designed to make trade as far as possible a European monopoly, and the impossibility of securing justice for a native *vis-à-vis* a white man, both of which are special complaints of the educated classes among the natives of Togoland.

10. To take each of the first six items enumerated above *seriatim* :—

(i) *Poll Tax*.—Natives in the Gold Coast are not subject to this tax and when I negotiated the Provisional Agreement with M. Noufflard in August 1914, I was careful to insert a provision exempting the natives of the British sphere of occupation from payment of this due. I knew how much this tax is detested by the native population, who regard it not only as a hardship but as an indignity. The very general poverty of the people in Togoland rendered this tax more than ordinarily oppressive in their case.

(ii) *Forced Labour*.—The people in this part of West Africa have very strong tribal feeling and associations, and the country is divided up into areas, each of which is, in native estimation, the exclusive property of the tribe which inhabits it. The trade routes through each such area have been upkept from time immemorial by the people of the tribe through whose country they run; and gratuitous labour upon such work is regarded by the natives as a duty which each man owes to the community. The Germans, however, not content with requiring this customary labour to be furnished, were in the habit of transporting large gangs of men from one part of the country to another to work on roads and other public works; and this, in the eyes of the natives concerned, was not only mischievous because it seriously interfered with their own agricultural operations, &c., but was also regarded as indistinguishable from slavery, since the work they were called upon to do was not for the benefit of the community to which they belonged, but, instead, was for that of a district with which they had no sort of connection. The economic distress caused by this system, quite apart from its injustice, is strongly emphasised in many of the statements contained in Enclosure 4, some of which I shall presently have occasion to quote. It also had the effect of driving the young and able-bodied members of the community over the border into the Gold Coast to seek freedom and a better opportunity of earning a livelihood, thus increasing the burden of those who remained behind.

(iii) *Expropriation of Land*.—Land is the most prized possession of the tribes in this part of West Africa. It is primarily vested in the *community*, and any act of spoliation involving its expropriation is felt by each individual to be a wrong done to himself as well as to every other member of his tribe. I believe the Germans paid compensation for land which they appropriated for the use of European planters; but the compensation was, of course, assessed by them, not fixed by a bargain arrived at with the consent of the tribal owners, who not unnaturally regarded this one-sided arrangement as a lawless and oppressive act. When a large area was in question, it might

quite easily befall that the tribe from which it was taken might find the residue left at its disposal inadequate for its needs, for native custom prevented such a tribe from recouping itself at the expense of its native neighbours, encroachments upon tribal territory being keenly resented, and certain to meet with forcible resistance. Being compelled to work upon land which had thus been expropriated was also peculiarly hateful to the natives, even though a fair wage was offered; and very little, if any, voluntary labour was forthcoming for the cultivation of the plantations thus formed.

(iv) *Flogging*.—Flogging, it should be noted, stands *first* in the official list of “permissible punishments” contained in the German Chancellor’s Decree for the guidance of colonial officials. The *maximum* number of lashes is 25, and the instrument to be used is carefully defined. In practice it was a stout whip made of three interwoven strands of hempen rope, and almost all German officials had the power to order a flogging with this formidable implement.

(v) *The meting out of punishment without investigation*; and

(vi) *The ignorance in which the people were kept of the criminal code under which they were liable to floggings, imprisonment, &c.*

These two matters may conveniently be taken together. The public was excluded from all German courts, every case being practically tried *in camera*. This is repugnant to the instincts of the people of this part of West Africa, all of whose tribal affairs have, by native custom, to be debated and decided in the presence of any members of the tribe who desire to be present.

German magistrates were bound by no criminal code, far less by any code of criminal procedure, in cases where natives were concerned. The only criminal code in force in Togoland was expressly applicable to Europeans exclusively. In practice this meant that any native, no matter how innocent of an intention to give offence or how unconscious he might be of having done so, was liable to be flogged or otherwise punished by almost any German official whom he had had the misfortune to displease.

11. The following quotations from the statements made to Mr. Furley should be read in the light of the foregoing explanations. I submit that, judged from the point of view of the natives, they constitute a series of very substantial reasons accounting for the dislike of German colonial methods which is so widely expressed throughout the British sphere of occupation in Togoland.

“The Germans taxed us, but under the English we are free,” says the Chief of Towe. (Page 2.)

“They charged us 6s. each and we had to pawn our children,” says the Chief of Gbome. (Page 2.)

“The Germans never gave us a chance to do anything for ourselves,” says the Chief of Gblavie, “we became poor because of the tax we had to pay, and the young men even had to pawn themselves. We have now got chance to look after our farms well. The Germans any time they liked called us up to work.” (Page 3.)

“For myself and my people,” says the Chief of Amutive, “there is no one who will raise objection to what I am saying. When the Germans came here, after some time they said we must pay head tax. That was our trouble with the Germans. That was the main trouble in Togoland.” (Page 17.)

“The German treatment of us,” says the Head Chief of Kpele, “was very unbearable, therefore we like the English the best. We had to work for the Germans without pay. We paid them 6s. a head as tax.” (Page 23.)

“In German time,” says the Head Chief of Ho, “people worked for them without pay, and every year the Germans collected 6s. a head. They scattered the villages so that they should get rid of the natives. What I mean is that they scattered the people and broke up the country into small divisions. It was not so before. The chiefs received one copper in a shilling for the labour tax. I used to get 1l. to 1l. 10s. a year only. Where we found the labour bad was that the people had to work hard and without any pay. We didn’t have to work in another part of the country, only once, when they made the Lome Palime road. All the people complained of having to work for nothing and to pay a tax as well.” (Page 34.)

"We got much trouble from the Germans," says the Chief of Siafi, "and when we were working they flogged us a good deal and we had to work in the rain. When building houses they forced people to carry heavy loads and didn't care if it killed anyone or not. We are tired of the trouble. We worked for them without pay. If the Germans came here again we should only be under them by force." (Page 37.)

"We paid tax 6s. a head," says the Head Chief of Adaklu Abuadie, "besides which we had to work very hard for them. These are the principal troubles. We are ready to make roads without pay. This resthouse we made without pay. We only hate the tax-paying. The Germans made us make roads and then imposed a tax upon us. They ordered us to work for two weeks if you don't pay the tax. It was difficult to get money to pay tax because we have no money except from farming. The Germans stopped us from farming. We farm twice a year, once for yams and the other for corn. The Germans called on us for other work before we had completed our farms. We had no time to prepare our farms, and they spoiled. This was in addition to the two weeks' work. We had to carry loads, and whenever they liked they called us. The labour was too much and too hard. We never minded the roadmaking. What we wanted was a little free time to work on our farms, cotton and yams, to sell them and get money. . . ."

"We grow cotton. When the cotton was grown up one German officer will inspect the farm and give the farmers whatever price they like—1s. to 2s.—anything they like. We now sell the cotton to the firms, but on account of the war we get no better price. We made more farms this year, but there was so much rain that much was spoilt. We made more farms because we have more time." (Pages 44 and 45.)

This chief, it should be noted, bears testimony to one good deed done by the Germans:—

"One thing the Germans did. If a child was lost, the Government always got to find it out and had the village searched. This was good. I have not heard of any such case since they left."

This is probably a reference to the suppression by the German Government of the mal-practices of fetish priests.

"We hate the 6s. tax," says the linguist of this head chief, "because in this country here we get no earnings. We are poor and have no money. The Germans take our money and send it away, and this we do not like. As the head chief says, we all want to be under the English rule. Even if the tax was taken off we would not be under the Germans." (Page 46.)

"We do not want to be given back to the Germans," says the Chief of Vhane. "We have been a long time under the Germans and we do not like them at all, and we don't want to be given back to them. We natives are poor, and we have no earnings. We had to pay 6s. a head out of our money. The Germans called the people to work for them without pay." (Page 48.)

"We farm corn, yams, cocoa. The Germans did not give us time to farm," says Chief Akoto of Vhane. (Page 49.)

"The Germans left no good hair on our heads," is the picturesque statement of Sub-Chief Hongbeto of Agweve. "To take another man's goods which don't belong to you—we don't like that." (Page 14.)

"The second trouble" (the first was the poll-tax) "was our land trouble," says the Chief of Amutive. "If the land was of much value, and they say they will give you so much, we have no power to say no. This is the matter between myself and them. There are a lot of land matters pending. They owe me some money which they haven't paid. At the time of the Germans they made laws which were too hard for us, so after the war when you are making laws we ask you to consult us." (Page 17.)

"We have no land to grow cotton. The Germans took it all," says the Head Chief of Gadja. (Page 27.)

"We got much trouble during German time, and we don't want such trouble again," says the Chief of Akebu. (Page 28.)

"This station and the land was taken by force," says the Chief of Siafi. "Not a penny was given for it. I have nothing to say except that I will be under the English." (Pages 37 and 38.)



"The Germans flog you, put you in chains, drive you along, and you die-finish," says the Chief of Aflao succinctly. (Page 12.)

"We don't want the Germans to come again and flog us," says Agozo, an elder of Amutive. (Page 13.)

"The Germans caught you, tied you, and flogged you for nothing," says Asafoheve of Agbeve. (Page 14.)

"The Germans used to flog us so foolishly"—viz., aimlessly—says the Chief of Abobo. "When the English came we did not see this again, and that is what we like." (Page 14.)

"The Germans disturbed us a good deal," says the Chief of Akovieve, mildly. "They flogged my father to death," he adds in illustration of this statement. "Akroto was his name." . . . "The Germans destroyed us and killed my father." (Page 40.)

"Their treatment of us was not good," says the Head Chief of Agotime. "They flogged the people and taxed them. We worked for them for nothing. The Agotimes are traders, and the Germans didn't allow us to travel to the Gold Coast. We were taxed, and if a man didn't pay we were imprisoned. The Germans didn't allow any of us to go to the Gold Coast. We weave cloths and trade mostly in cloths." (Page 41.)

"My own son was caught by the Germans to work on the plantation at Kratche," says the Chief of Pusupa. They flogged him to death. Under German Government the people had to work without getting any money for their food. If a man works for the English he gets pay for his work, therefore we like the English. We don't want the Germans back at all. We only want the English. Under German Government we paid a 6s. tax. Young men and old men had to pay it. Many people had no money to pay the tax, they were put in prison and had to work, and were much flogged." (Pages 77 and 78.)

"We worked for the German Government without pay," says the Chief of Santrokofi. "We got much flogging from the Germans when working for them. This is why we don't want them back." (Page 83.)

"The Germans did not like us travelling to English country," says the Head Chief of Sokode. "When they came to know you had gone to the Gold Coast without pass you were arrested. We had to pay duty on goods brought from the Gold Coast. In addition to that we had to pay a fine for going to the Gold Coast and sometimes after paying a fine you had to work for three weeks as well. The people were not at liberty at all, they were all choked up, and some were obliged to escape." (Pages 35 and 36.)

"When the Germans were here," says the Head Chief of Nanjuro, "we worked for them. We had no pay and could not buy cloths, so we had to go to English country to get money to buy things. We want someone who will look after our people." (Page 66.)

"Owing to the German treatment," says the representative of the Chief of Banda, "our sons all went to English side and they haven't come back. Now we want them to return. We like them to go and get money, but they stayed there too long. After telling their fathers they would go to English country, they went at night without telling the German Government. The Germans did not like them going and said the chiefs would get punishment if they went. As soon as a boy knew how to work he ran away after his elders and stayed there." (Page 67.)

"They made it hard for us," says the Head Chief of Boem, "sometimes they asked me for about 1,000 men, another time 2,000 men, to come and work for them, and they didn't give them any good pay. They worked without subsistence and, if they asked for permission to go and 'chop,' before they returned they were whipped, and forfeited their month's pay. The whole time the Germans were here this is the sort of thing they used to do to us. Besides which my people had to pay tax 6s. each man. It was very bad that we had to work without pay and then have to pay tax. This is the trouble we received from the Germans, and this is why we don't want to serve them again. The Germans prevented people from going to the Gold Coast. Anybody smuggling himself to go to the Gold Coast, when he returned he had to pay a fine of 1l. 6s. and work at hard labour for one month. The people used to go and get work and good pay on the Gold Coast, and bring good things and come back, and the German Government

hated it. The boys who went there, some were carriers for surveyors, some worked in the Government gardens, and some on cocoa farms. The German Government prevented it because they got money there. These are the important things that the Germans used to do to us, and that is why we don't like to serve them." (Pages 80 and 81.)

"We don't want you to leave us again," says the Chief of Akepe. "We want to be under you. We were under the English before the Germans came, and after the boundary was made we had plenty of trouble. In my father's time there was a row. A German soldier was killed and *they started shooting us without investigating the matter*. The Germans went to bush and plundered my father's goods. He said they must give them back. For that they sent him to Anecho, and turned back and fired my town, killing one woman. This was in my father's time, before the railway was made." (Page 10.)

\* The whole of the statement of the Head Chief of Kpandu, on pages 53 to 55, should be read, as in it he tells how he was arrested and transported to the Kameruns without trial. Among other charges made against him was one to the effect that he had written a letter to me after my visit to Kpandu with the German Governor in September 1913, complaining of the treatment which his people were receiving. The chief assures me that he never wrote any letter of the kind; and I can testify that no such communication ever reached me.

"The Germans never brought me to any judgment," he says in his present statement, "whether my case was right or not, but they sent me to the Kameruns, where I was released by the English." (Page 54.)

"They didn't tell the chiefs what the laws were, but once broken there was heavy punishment."

I should add in this connection that the question whether the punishment of natives should, or should not, be regulated by law, defining offences and prescribing punishments for them, was a matter which was hotly debated among German colonial officials. Up to the outbreak of war, this question, in Togoland at any rate, and I believe in all German African Colonies, had consistently been decided in the negative. The institution of a reign of law, in substitution of arbitrary methods of indiscriminate punishment, is usually regarded as the first duty of a European Government in a land occupied by a primitive population, and is certainly one of the gifts of civilisation which is most gratefully recognised and most highly appreciated by the people concerned. That it formed no part of the German colonial system in Africa goes far, I submit, to condemn the principles upon which that system is based.

12. The allegations made in the following passages quoted from the statement of the Head Chief of Boem requires some explanation. He says :—

"Some time ago the Germans ordered me to call in all my people round, that they had a doctor to test people in their neck and see if they are sick people. If you bring them a sick man they don't want him, but those who were not sick when they came if they test them he took a lot of them to Misahöhe as if they were sick. When the people were under the doctor, in about a fortnight you will hear that your brother has died, and they buried him there. The doctor didn't tell you if people died, and I was sorry that people who were not sick were taken away and they died. This is another thing the German Government did which I didn't like, and I don't want to be under them again." (Page 81.)

This refers to a campaign which the German Government in Togoland inaugurated to combat sleeping-sickness. To this end they established an isolation camp, on a hill at a place called Klutu near Misahöhe, to which any person found to be suffering from the disease was compulsorily conveyed for confinement. The disease, as you are aware, occurs in an endemic form in this part of West Africa, but investigations prosecuted by the Government of the Gold Coast in Ashanti indicated that the isolation of the sporadic cases of men suffering from sleeping-sickness, discovered in a country where the vast majority of the people are apparently immune, did not necessitate measures being taken for their compulsory isolation. Such action is, of course, always difficult to explain to a native population who have little faith in European theories anent the causation of diseases, and who are apt to regard the subsequent development of sickness in a man who has

undergone a medical examination which has resulted in the discovery of its incipient symptoms as an effect following promptly upon its cause. The motives of the Germans, in this instance, were purely philanthropical and scientific, and the grievance of the natives is not one to which Europeans would be inclined to attach much importance. It may be questioned, however, whether any very great trouble was taken to explain their action to the native population, or to pay much attention to their prejudices, as this was not the attitude which the Germans usually assumed when dealing with the people of Togoland.

13. The natives of Togoland are no less explicit in the explanations they give to account for their preference for British rule. The people of this part of West Africa being eminently practical folk, most of these reasons are based upon practical considerations, but a strong sentimental feeling is also manifested. In this connection I should remind you that when the Ashantis launched their great attack upon the coast country in 1873, their invading armies advanced in the form of an immense crescent, the western horn of which penetrated to Elmina on the sea-shore to the west of Cape Coast, and the eastern extremity to the Peki country beyond the Volta River. A large portion of what is to-day western Togoland was at that time part of the Peki Division, whose Paramount Chief, Kojo Dey, is frequently referred to in the statements contained in Enclosure 4. The Ashantis penetrated as far as Ho, which they sacked and burned; but the British expeditionary force, under Sir Garnett (afterwards Viscount) Wolseley, delivered the natives, who had made a gallant stand, from further danger. This fact is remembered with gratitude and appreciation, as is shown by the frequent mention of their deliverance which occur in the statements annexed to this despatch.

14. It is also borne in mind by the people throughout this part of Togoland that friendly relations had been entered into with the British Government long before the arrival of any Germans on the scene. As Professor Ramsay Muir has said: "The German colonial empire was the result of force and of design, not of gradual evolution . . . It fell almost wholly within regions where, until its acquisition, Germany had been practically without any material interests." (*The Expansion of Europe*, by Professor Ramsay Muir, London, 1917. (Pages 140 and 149.) This was the case in Togoland, which to-day includes within its boundaries large areas whose people had voluntarily placed themselves under British rule, and who protested vehemently against their transfer by Great Britain to Germany. Strong representations upon their behalf were made at the time by the Government of the Gold Coast; but the then Prime Minister had publicly declared that if Germany wished to acquire colonies "her co-operation in the work of civilisation would be welcomed." The Colonial Government was accordingly instructed to make things as easy for the German empire-builders as possible, and to refuse to entertain the protests of the natives who raised strenuous objections to the friendly international arrangement of which they were at that time the victims.

15. The people, however, have not forgotten their earlier association with the English, for the memory of it has been kept alive by their experience of Germany's peculiar fashion of "co-operating in the work of civilisation." Many of them, as the statements made to Mr. Furley show, have cherished the Union Jacks which were given to them half a century ago as a sign that they were in future to enjoy the protection of the British Government, and have resisted or evaded all German attempts to take them from them.

"I speak for my chiefs and people," says the Head Chief of Kpele. "First we got a flag from the English. Then the Germans came and they were driven away. We would like to stay under the English always." (Page 23.)

"In the old times," says the Head Chief of Nyangbo, "we heard the English people were the first who came and gave us a flag and to-day we will not be under any other nation than the English. The English gave me a flag and a gun before. The flag is worn out, but the gun is still with me. I got the flag from Ho. My grandfather got it. I want peace because my fathers first took the flag. I haven't had peace before this. The Germans have taken away my land by force. I have nothing more to say. My forefathers took the English flag. We took the German flag, but not freely. It was given by force and not of our free will. At first we took the English flag and then the Germans came. We all like to serve the English flag. We

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would not like our country to go to the French. *You want the truth; for a very long time we have been crying for the English to come.*" (Page 26.)

"At first our forefathers got a flag from the English," says the Head Chief of Akplolo. "Then the Germans came. We black people cannot stand against the Germans. We were obliged to take their flag; and now, when the question is asked under which Government we will stand, we all say we want to be under the English Government. The Germans have troubled us too much. We don't want to be under the Germans. The English are our fathers now. I speak for Akplolo men. I am not under any other chief. We farm foodstuffs; now we farm more than we used to. Formerly the Germans troubled us too much. I will be under the English."

"The English are our fathers," says the Head Chief of Sokode. "I have heard from the old men that the English are the best, and now I myself have seen the same. Our fathers told us that the English were the first here; and when the Germans came we refused their flag, but we were powerless. My grandfather Kweku refused the German flag. I don't like the Germans to take back my country because they did trouble us too much. Many times they sent to the chiefs to get their people to work; then they had to work for two weeks without getting any pay. . . . And so we prefer the English as our forefathers told us before. Therefore I prefer the English. Under the English we are at liberty. This flag (points to Union Jack) my father got at Peki. It is the same one my father refused to give up. He told the Germans it was worn out, but he kept it, and now I serve it. The Tsawe River is the boundary. It didn't cut any of my land. I have no land on the other side of the river. Formerly I served the left wing of Peki through Wudome. If the boundary is taken away I would join with Peki again. I would like to do so."

"My father had an English flag, but I have been told he gave it up when the English and Germans told him to," says the Chief of Taviepe. (Page 36.)

"We must follow the example of our fathers," says the Chief of Tsehome. "They served the English; so will I. We were only under the Germans by force. A man cannot forsake his fathers, and the English are our fathers." (Page 38.)

"We served Peki at first," says the Chief of Matse. "The English came to Taviepe and gave us this flag (Union Jack), which we have kept ever since. The Germans troubled my father to give up the flag, but he refused, and we have kept it till now. The English are my good fathers, and I will be under them. I have nothing more to say than I will serve the English. The Germans troubled us too much; and what we don't like to do the Germans will force you to do it. They were always telling us to build roads and making us work without pay. We are glad the English have come. We have cocoa farms, and we are now free to look after them." (Pages 38 and 39.)

"In the olden times," says the Chief of Abutia, "we always served Kojo Dey. We liked the English, but when the Germans came we were divided. The boundary cut my land, and I want it joined again. I want to serve the English because my forefathers did. I got this flag (Union Jack) from Peki, and I have kept it. My grandfather kept it. I want to be under it again. The Germans asked for it, but I told them it was worn out." (Page 39.)

"I got this flag from an Englishman named Glover," says the Chief of Apegame, producing a tattered Union Jack. "We got this flag (Union Jack) from an English at Taviepe. This was before the Germans came. The Germans asked for this flag, and we said it was worn out. When the Germans came we showed the Glover flag. The Germans were vexed and fought our country, killing many people. They wanted to take the flag from them, and the people refused. We went to Quittah to see the Commissioner, and he said he would come himself. From that day we have been looking for the English. We sent messengers to Accra and asked the English to take us, but we were told the Germans had already taken us. We want to serve the English." (Page 42.)

Captain (afterwards Sir John) Glover, I should remind you, was employed in 1873-4 in raising native levies in the western part of the Gold Coast for co-operation with the force under Sir Garnett Wolseley, which was advancing upon Kumasi from Cape Coast. Quittah, of course, is the headquarters of the Awuna district in the Gold Coast Colony. The officer to whom the complaint was made was British.

"We want the English," says the Head Chief of Siare. "We were with the Coomassies together, and we knew the English before. We cannot serve anyone else. This was before the Germans came. Then the Germans came, first to Adele; they gave the flag to the Adele people, and they sent for us to get the same flag. We refused the flag. For refusing it the Germans took our chief to Kratche and killed him. The German's name was 'Dogo'; we called him so. Kwabini was the chief's name. Therefore we hate the Germans. We are safe now the English have come. We will only serve the English day and night. That is all we say. We don't want anybody else except the English. We also got much trouble from the Germans. Their soldiers flogged our people, and we are tired of them. Since we were created by God (Mawu) we only know the English. The Germans came and troubled us too much, and we don't want them again. After Kwabini was killed, Kweku, Chief of Paua, was made Head Chief of Ajuti by the Germans. The Germans said we must serve Adele because of the trouble we gave over the German flag. The Ashantis used to consult the Ajuti fetish 'Buruku,' which was their big fetish, bigger than Kratchi Dente. We heard of the English a very long time ago; our old men told us of them. We and the Ashantis are one. There were some Kwahu people living in this country. They have gone now. At the time the Germans killed our chief they returned to their country. We paid labour tax in German time. Whoever didn't pay was arrested. We didn't like this." (Pages 72 and 73.)

"Old friends are best," says the Chief of Kpedse. "We are old friends of the English. We shall serve the English Government. We were under the English before the Germans came. I am under the Chief of *Avatime*. He got a flag from the English before. I would not change my mind. I like the English better. I speak for my people. They want the same as myself." (Page 30.)

"You may tell the people who sent you," says the Head Chief of Ho, winding up the proceedings of the meeting held at that place, "that we hope you will win the war, and what we all say is we want to be under you." (Page 40.)

"I know from my grandfather, Ajatepo, that we only know the English," says Chief Tse, speaking on behalf of the Head Chief Ajatepo III. "Afterwards the Germans came from Lome to take the country, and we natives had no power to resist them. *We know the English from olden times; and now they have come it is just as if they had risen from the dead.* My father, Ajatepo, instructs me to tell you that we will serve the English. My father knows the English from olden times. The reason is we used to serve the English before. The chiefs will not agree to the country being given back to the Germans. My father knows the English are our fathers, that is why." (Page 47.)

"I must ask a question," says the Chief of Vakpoe. "Do you know what you call a dream? The English drove the Germans, and *it is like a dream coming true to see the English coming back again.* If a man dreams that he shot an animal and the next day he takes a gun and shoots an animal, the dream comes true. It is good, and he likes it. So it was when the English came back. I don't want to be given to anyone else; I like freedom to sleep well in my house." (Pages 57 and 58.)

"If your house is burning someone quenches the fire," says the Chief of Tafi, "you respect that man as your friend. We got much trouble from the Germans, and the English redeemed us. I will be under the English; I will serve them as my father. I went to Kpeve when the war came with my English flag, and it was taken from me by the English officer. My father got that flag from Peki. It was the same one. If the English decide to give the country back to the Germans we will go to English country. I have nothing more to say. I agree with what Chief Dagadu said." (Page 59.)

“ In the olden times,” says the Chief of Wuropong, “ we got a flag from the English. Afterwards came the Germans and we were forced to take the German flag, because if we didn’t serve them we should be punished. I thank God that the English came and drove the Germans away. Our forefathers served the English and now we shall all serve them from now. The Germans troubled us, they flogged the people and forced them to carry loads, that is why we don’t want them again. We like the English. They took us away from the German trouble. We farm cocoa. We have more farms now because we have more time.” (Pages 61 and 62.)

“ If a man is a slave and his master treats him badly,” says Head Chief of Nanumba, “ and then he has a master who treats him well, he prefers that master.” (Page 71.)

“ Since I was born,” says the Head Chief of Boem, “ I heard that in ancient times this land belonged to the English Government. It happened that some time the country belonged to the Germans and they ruled the land till the War. The only thing I know is that the land belonged to the English Government and they are my Government and I will serve them. In old times my fathers served the English Government, so I will serve them again. We want to remain under the English Government. We don’t want to be given back to the German Government. In ancient times my fathers told me this land belonged to the English, then the Ashantis came and warred with my fathers here, and took many captives, took them away, and it was the English Government who fought the Ashantis so my people would come back. It was through the English that my people got the chance to come back to their country. The Ashantis drove them from their country. Through the kind deed that the English did to my fathers, they sent twelve men with six prisoners to Accra to thank the Governor, and through that I know the English are my Government and I serve them. We would have served them the whole time if the German Government had not prevented us and said the land belonged to them. This is the reason I say that I will serve the English Government because they rescued us from all these troubles. First of all, but for the English, the Ashantis might have destroyed all the Boem people, and through the English we got a lot of our people who returned from the Ashantis and the land was at peace till the German Government arrived.” (Pages 79 and 80.)

“ We prefer to be under the English,” says the Head Chief of Liati, “ they redeemed us from the Ashantis and they took us from our German troubles.” (Page 87.)

16. Turning to more immediately material considerations the following expressions of opinion may, among others, be noted :—

“ You English are our fathers,” says the Head Chief of Aguibo, “ we will stay with you. You English are getting trouble for us. You are fighting to get liberty for us. We don’t like the French. We get trouble from the Germans. We worked for the Germans for nothing without any pay. We have more time for our farms now.” (Page 27.)

“ When the English took the country,” says the Head Chief of Adaklu Abuadie, “ I found I was quite free. My heart was at rest. I can walk now at liberty for myself, and as the English were the first people who took the country, my father told me then the English were the best and I find it is so, and we all like to be under the English. I am now free to work for myself. I speak for my people. If a German was here with you I would say the same thing in the presence of the German. I have been on the stool thirteen years. My other name (surname) is Kodjo. Abuadi was cut in two by the boundary. Ahunda was one of my villages, and my father (Bogbie) the chief of this place made the village of Ahunda. I should like the boundary taken away and my land connected again. My land goes to the Volta as far as Adidome. Part of Mlefi country was under me. The Ashantis, Anglos, and Adaklus were all one and fought together. If the boundary was taken away I should remain independent and not be under Anglo. The Ashantis and Anglos are now with the English and we want to be too. My father, Bogbie, got an English flag at Taviepe. The Germans took it away.”

"We like liberty," says the Head Chief of Kpandu, "and we are not going back to the Germans. Under the English there is liberty to farm. The English open the laws to the people. Every person is free to trade. The English do not press the people to carry loads. They pay for every labour. This is the opinion of the Kpandu people. We had to pay tax of 6s. on each head. If anybody hadn't any money he had to borrow and there are still debts owing for this."

"We don't want the German Government again," says the Chief of Mawu, "we all want to be under the English Government as we have had peace since they came. We all say we want the English Government. It was not only the tax but the Germans used to arrest people and flog them. The chief got no share of the tax, but he didn't have to pay it." (Pages 75 and 76.)

"I have got the English flag," says the Chief of Berowniase. "I only want to serve the English. The Commissioner at Kratche gave us this flag during the War. We are under the Chief of Kratche and we are under the English Government. Under the English we are paid for our work. Under the German Government we worked for no pay. We only want to be under the English. We don't want to go back to the Germans. The only thing we want now is powder. Our farms are all spoiling because we have none." (Page 77.)

"We like only the English," says the Chief of Pusupa, "because we don't have to work without pay, and we don't have to pay the tax. Besides the tax the Germans flogged us and we don't want them back at all. We had to go to Kratche and work. We ourselves make farms and make rubber. We worked rubber in German times. Those who got chance to work rubber made money, but we hadn't time to do much rubber work, and what we earned we had to pay a tax and feed ourselves when working for the Germans. They sent for us to work and we had our own farms to see to. We worked on the plantations and roads at Kratche. The people had to stay away a long time doing work for the German—four or five weeks—and they used to send us to Nuatja to carry cotton seeds. For all this we got no pay. Those who were sick and could not work for themselves had to pay the tax or go to prison. For small mistakes we had much punishment under the Germans."

"I want to serve the English Government," says the Chief of Anyinase, "because I shall then be free. I mean I have got time to work for myself. The Germans were always sending to me to work and we had to pay tax as well. By that all my people had to go away to work and get money to pay tax. We don't want to be given back the German Government. We used to serve Owusu Ansah through Kwahu. In the Ashanti War the Ashantis drove us from this country and then the English came and drove the Ashantis away. After the war we served Akpanja (Boem). The German Commissioner (Dr. Gruner) made boundary between us. We don't want to serve Boem again because they don't like us, and in judging cases they would decide against us. The German Commissioner stopped my people going to the Gold Coast. They went there to earn money because they wouldn't get it here. We always had to work for the Government." (Pages 82 and 83.)

"The English are strong, but know how to treat people," says the Chief of Agblatove, "that give us a soft heart for them. We wish to be under the English." (Page 2.)

"We want to remain English because we have been able to save our coppers," says the Chief of Bolu. (Page 2.)

"My people, and I want to remain English," says the Chief of Towe. "They always look into our troubles. The Germans taxed us, but under the English we are free." (Page 2.)

"We want to remain English," says the Chief of Akovieve, "because they led us quietly and do not trouble us. We have more chance to farm than in German time." (Page 2.)

"We wish to be English," says the Chief of Gbome. "For four years every man has been able to do his work when he wants to. Even if you are a man collecting firewood you get chance to do it. We now have the chance to do our own work. In German time we were told to work even in

the farming season, and so we had no chance to look after our own farms. They charged us 6s. each, and we had to pawn our children." (Pages 2 and 3.)

"Since your arrival we are free," says the Chief of Dawie. "In German days we had a message bring our children and pay tax, but since your arrival we have been free from all this. We farm foodstuffs for sale more now than we used to." (Page 3.)

"We want to be English," says the Chief of Vhli. "Since your arrival we have got rest in our division. Formerly a chief never had rest. The chief and his people used to be taken to other places to work. Also the tax was a big trouble. Our children had to pay and if they didn't pay we had to go to Lome to work." (Pages 3 and 4.)

"Since your arrival," says the Chief of Asome, "we have got peace. Our children were pawned to pay the tax, but now we are free from these troubles. We used to farm in German time. We farm more now, but the animals are spoiling our farms. We used to get powder, and I only want to let you know that we want powder. We want to be English." (Page 4.)

"First the English came here," says Chief Djadu of Lebe, "before the Germans. We are under the English. The Germans were here and you drove them away, so we are under you. The Germans gave us trouble. As soon as we had money we had to go and buy tickets" (interpreter explains that tickets for the work tax is meant), "now it is not so. We are free. We remain English." (Page 15.)

"When we went to council it was decided to go and consult our people. Now the secret is revealed. I say we remain English. The English were here first and you are now here, and *as you are the house-master and have come back to your house you must hold us fast that you don't go away again.* I agree to what has been said." (Page 15.)

"Our forefathers formerly served the English," says the Chief of Siasi, "and we should all like to serve them again. The English have done us much good. They have made peace for us when we had quarrels." (Page 37.)

"The English understand how to treat people," says the Head Chief of Manjuro. "Our sons know the English" (viz., from seeking their livelihood in the Gold Coast). "They go to English country and can get money and buy cloths and come and give their fathers some, so we want to be under the English. Under the English we have had no trouble. When the English came, we were glad to be under them because of the treatment our sons got. We were glad to hear that the English had come. If we liked Germans, when the war came we should have followed them, but we did not do so because we liked the English. The Germans troubled our people, and when our sons told us of the English Government we were glad that they came because they don't trouble people. *It was like the dead leaves falling off the trees and then the rain coming.* The trouble the Germans made was the work without pay, so our young men couldn't get money to buy cloths, and they went away. It is our own wish to be under the English, and we cannot turn back. Our sons used to go to Coomassie to work as labourers. We here only have farms to get our food." (Pages 66 and 67.)

With reference to the frequent allegation made by the natives of Togoland that under the German system of administration the exactions of the Government left them little time for their own work, I was able to report to your predecessor in my Despatch of 5th September 1916,\* that it was estimated then, after barely two years of British occupation, that there was already 33 per cent. more land under cultivation by the natives in the British sphere than there had been at any time under German rule. It was also noticeable that whereas the natives formerly cultivated land at as great a distance as possible from Europeans they are now tilling land in close proximity to the railway and high roads, thus saving much labour formerly wanted in head-carriage of their produce. This is due to the fact that they no longer fear molestation by white officials.

17. With regard to the special grievances of the educated classes among the natives of Togoland, to which I have referred in the concluding sentences of paragraph 9 of this Despatch, a full account of them is to be found in the statements by Mr. Augustine De Souza and Mr. Octavianus Olympio, which form Enclosures 7 and 8 to Mr. Furley's Report. (Enclosure 3 to this Despatch.)

\* Not printed.



18. The restrictions placed upon the liberty of the natives to trade upon their own account were designed to establish a trade monopoly for the exclusive enjoyment of European merchants. Apart from the injustice which this system inflicted upon the indigenous population of Togoland, it proved to be economically unsound. All such restrictions were removed as soon as the British occupation had been established; and, in spite of the War, trade in Togoland has been distinctly prosperous during the past four years, and the natives are taking an active and increasingly large part in it.

19. With regard to the alleged inequitable treatment of natives in the German courts of law, if they chanced to have any difference of opinion with a European, I have every reason to believe that the charge is true. In this connection I may recount the following occurrence, which took place in 1913-14, and concerning which all the details can, if necessary, be supplied by Major-General Grey, R.E., C.B., who at that time was Chief Agent for Messrs. F. & A. Swanzy on the Gold Coast. A native of this Colony, who was agent for the above-mentioned firm at Palame in Togoland, found one day, on arrival at the railway station at that place, that a tarpaulin which had been placed over some perishable produce belonging to his firm, which was awaiting despatch, had been removed by a German trader, and had been placed over the latter's produce which would otherwise have been exposed to the rain which was then falling. The native agent attempted to repossess himself of the tarpaulin which had been filched from him, and was at once violently assaulted by the German who had misappropriated it. The native offered resistance, and was thereupon arrested. He was allowed out on bail; but rather than stand his chance before a German magistrate he absconded without loss of time, and reported himself to Mr. (now Major-General) Grey, at Accra. He thus suffered at once the escheatment of his bail bond, and the loss of a well-paid billet; but though the German merchant had been the aggressor both in the matter of the misappropriation of his property and in the subsequent assault, the native agent's local experience taught him to believe that the financial losses entailed by his flight were less to be feared than German "justice." It is not easy to believe that convictions of this description are widely entertained by an intelligent class of men unless they have been fortified by the repeated confirmation of experience.

I have, &c.,  
**HUGH CLIFFORD,**  
 Governor.

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No. 13.

**NIGERIA.**

**THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.**

(Received 20th August 1918.)

Government House, Nigeria.

3rd July 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a letter dated the 17th of May addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Provinces by Mr. G. W. Webster, Resident of the Yola Province, forwarding a report dated the 18th April, received by him from Mr. W. D. K. Mair, 2nd Class District Officer.

I have, &c.,  
**F. D. LUGARD,**  
 Governor-General.

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Enclosure in No. 13.

YOUR HONOUR,

Song, 17th May 1918.

I BEG to submit a letter from Mr. W. D. K. Mair, enclosing evidence of the desire of the peoples of the Occupied Territories for permanent inclusion in the British Empire.

The evidence is in the form of minutes of an interview with all the District Chiefs who had assembled at Kwancha for Christmas. They voluntarily opened the subject, and making all allowance for oriental flattery, it may be taken, I think, as a genuine representation of the real feelings of the enlightened classes. The masses are inarticulate except through their chiefs, but there is no doubt that could they make themselves heard they would emphatically support these views.

I am, &c.,

G. W. WEBSTER,  
Resident, Yola Province.

His Honour  
The Lieutenant-Governor,  
Northern Provinces.

THE DISTRICT OFFICER II., KWANCHA, CAMEROONS N., TO THE RESIDENT,  
YOLA PROVINCE.

SIR,

All the more highly-placed people are unanimous and emphatic in their wish to be for all time under the British flag.

2. Evidence to the same effect from the *hoi polloi* is, as you and I know well enough, impossible to obtain. The populace in these parts consists of the Fulani ruling class, their very numerous slaves, and the raw Pagans who are mostly unexploited for slaves by the Fulani and unadministered by the Germans and, consequently, by ourselves. There are, in addition, quite large numbers of Hausa and Beri-beri traders, intelligent enough and travelled, but peripatetic, and so of no importance as evidence.

I have, &c.,

W. D. K. MAIR,  
D.O. II.

Kwancha, 18th April 1918.

We, the undersigned, being the five Chiefs whose spheres of influence form that part of Occupied Territory of the Cameroons administered from Kwancha by the British, and being named Mohamadu, Chief of Nassarao; Mansuru, Chief of Laro; Usumanu, Chief of Kwancha; Umoru, Chief of Dodeo; and Halilu, Chief of Gashaka, wish to speak to the British Political Officer. We have been assembled here in Kwancha for the last ten days; we are shortly about to separate and return to our various districts; but, before we go, we wish to make certain statements and to ask certain questions. And we have appointed Mohamadu, Chief of Nassarao, to be our spokesman. In former days, before the War, the Germans were in occupation of our country. Fortunately, they did not come among us much until just before the War, when they established a station at Maio Kalei, close to the Yola border. For, whenever they did come, their harsh ways made us envious of our Yola neighbours, safely at peace and enjoying their liberty under British administration. During the last ten days we five chiefs have compared notes, we have contrasted what we have known and heard of German occupation with what we have experienced for over two years now under British administration. We wish, here and now, to state that we five chiefs, with our Councils, and our leading citizens and village heads, have discussed the matter fully, and wish to remain for ever under the British Flag. We beg that the Germans be never allowed to return to our country again. And we request the Political Officer to so inform the great King-Emperor by letter. As to our question: Can we be assured, while we are all assembled together, that there is no cause for our present fears that possibly after the great European War is finished the Germans may return and carry into execution some of their horrible threats of vengeance, threats uttered as they fled south before the British forces. We feel ill at ease on this point, as we have been consistently told that delimitations of boundaries and firm statements as to the European nationality of our ultimate Protectors cannot be made until after this great war. We are most anxious to remain for ever under British administration, and we wish this known in England.

The above has been read through to us twice by the Political Officer. It is a true translation of what we have heard the Chief of Nassarao say on our behalf, as witness our signatures made in our presence by our respective Scribes.

Mohamadu of NASSARAO.  
Mansuru of LARO.  
Usumanu of KWANCHA.  
Umoru of DODEO,  
Halilu of GASHAKA.

I certify that the above is an idiomatic but exact translation of the statement made in my presence by Mohamadu, Chief of Nassarao, on behalf of the five chiefs above-mentioned, all being present, and that I do witness their respective scribes' signatures.

Kwancha, 27th December, 1917.

W. D. K. MAIR,  
D. O. II.

We, members of the five Councils of the five Chiefs of Nassarao, Laro, Kwancha, Dodeo and Gashaka, who were all present yesterday and heard the statement that the Chief of Nassarao made as spokesman for the said five Chiefs, wish our names to be associated with that statement. And in token thereof we hereto affix our names, District by District, either by our own hand or by the hand of our District Scribe, here in our presence and in the presence of the British Political Officer whom we ask to witness our signatures.

NASSARAO.

Amadu, the Waziri.	Haman Joda, Ardo Balgare.
Bakari, the Lamido Bornu.	Usumanu, the Jauro Jadda.
Umoru, Ardo Gumbi.	Umoru, the Alkali.
Haman Gapbo, Ardo Sabongari.	

LARO.

Hassana, the Waziri.	Ayuba, the Yerima.
Iderisa, the Samaki.	Bakari of Laro.
Suli, the Lamido Bauchi.	

KWANCHA.

Suyudi, the Yerima.	Hamajam, the Galadima Deje.
Ma'azu, the Waziri.	Hadisuna, the Bunu.
Bello, the Galadima.	Suli, the Lawan.
Mala, the Lamido Bornu.	Jelani Abare.
Faruku, the Kaigamma.	Usumanu, the Alkali.

DODEO.

Aliu, the Kaigamma.	Hanfei, the Yerima.
Mansuru, the Waziri.	

GASHAKA.

Mansuru, the Yerima.	Adamu, the Jauro Barua.
Audu, the Kaigamma.	Mansuru, the Jauro Karamti.
Alaro, the Kachella.	Mahomadu, the Jauro Adda Goro.
Iderisa, the Liman.	Isa, the Jauro Yakuba.
Jijiwa Tukura.	Nuhu, the Alkali.

I certify that these are the signatures of the above-named made by themselves or their chosen scribes in my presence and that of the signatory as each name was read out by me.

Kwancha, 28th December 1917.

W. D. K. MAIR,  
D. O. II.

No. 14.

## NIGERIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 12th September 1918.)

Government House, Nigeria,  
28th July 1918.

IN continuation of my despatch of 3rd July last,\* I have the honour to transmit copy of a letter dated 17th June from Mr. P. V. Young, the Resident of the Cameroons Province, forwarding the statements of Chiefs of the Ossidinge Division, relative to their ardent desire to remain under the ægis of British rule.

I have, &c.  
F. D. LUGARD,  
Governor-General.

Enclosure in No. 14.

Resident's Office, Buea,  
Cameroons Province, 17th June 1918.

SIR,

IN forwarding these statements of Chiefs from the Ossidinge Division, I feel I cannot do better than forward a copy of the Divisional Officer's letter covering the statements; from these statements it will very plainly be seen the awe in which the native held the German; and also the universal dread of the German's return to this country. It would be needless for me to comment further as you have had already my previous telegram and letters on the subject.

I have, &c.,  
P. V. YOUNG,  
Resident, Cameroons Province.

The Secretary,  
Southern Province,  
Lagos.

Divisional Office, Ossidinge,  
7th May 1918.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward herewith copies of statements of Chiefs representing all the tribes in this Division, which show their sentiments on the subject of German rule.

2. The statements number 34 and are all that I have taken. That is to say, they are not a selection out of a large number, nor have I rejected any that have been made to me. They all exhibit the same general trend, and I know that if I were to ask the 220 heads of villages in this Division their replies would be simply a repetition in varying diction of the feeling already unanimously expressed in the accompanying statements. The note most frequently struck is that of loathing of the forced-labour system of the Germans, which was not the comparatively mild corvée, but a far more drastic type, since the labourer was taken out of his own district and sent to work in a distant and, to him, foreign country. The last German Commissioner of this Division has graphically described the measures taken to obtain the men. The other point on which the Chiefs particularly dwell is the unbridled licence of the German soldier or policemen. There seem to have been no civil policemen as we understand them. The soldier was ubiquitous, and appears to have enjoyed the privileges usually accorded by Germans to the military caste.

\* No. 13.

3. I attach an analysis, showing the population of the Division, the number of tribal areas, and the estimated number of people in the villages of these 34 chiefs. Their statements represent the views of about a third of the total population.

4. Some of the Chiefs spoke with great feeling, and I have occasionally indicated this by a note. One or two spoke cautiously, being in my opinion somewhat suspicious of having their sentiments put on record, and probably being apprehensive of a return of the Germans and consequent reprisals. One or two of them, indeed, stated that the report is current that the German will return at the end of the War, but this fear I have done my best to allay. It is known that German missionaries and German soldiers at Fernando Po have sent letters to their acquaintances all over the Cameroons, assuring them of their return at the end of the War, and uncertainty on this point is bound to prevail among the natives here until peace has been declared.

5. It is more than probable that many people will be sceptical of the value of these statements taken *ex parte* by a man patriotically, if not personally, concerned in the purport conveyed by them, but I am convinced that if they read my reports throughout, they would no longer doubt that they contain a sincere expression of the opinion of the people of this Division on the subject of German rule. In some quarters doubts have been expressed about the practical possibility of consulting the wishes of African natives, on the ground that there is no public opinion, or, rather, no means of getting it adequately expressed, and that, therefore, the right of "self-determination" is not applicable in such cases. But this is not so, and I maintain that these statements of Chiefs, who are in this Division members of a far more socialistic community than any in Europe, are in a like degree more representative of the voice of the people than are the newspapers or parliaments of any other country. Here society is little advanced beyond the patriarchal stage. The Chiefs are of the people. There is very little difference between the mode of life of the chief of a village and its humblest member. The Chief is the mouthpiece of the elders, who are the fathers of the people, and what he says must accurately reflect popular feeling. Now, the Chiefs unanimously assert that they and their people detest German domination, and would regard the return of the Germans as a calamity. They fully believe, and have very good grounds for believing, that the Germans would resort to a series of reprisals, even to the extermination of their principal men; and they look to the British, who have freed them from a hated tyranny, and who have repeatedly declared that the Germans will never return, not to be false to their word by delivering them over again to their former oppressors.

6. But no words of mine are really needed to champion their cause. Their own statements are a sufficient advocacy. They form a remarkable consensus of opinion, and completely refute the theory that the "child-races" of the world are not advanced enough to give expression to their wish on a question of such vital importance to them as that of choosing the European Power which shall act as their guardians. The people of the Ossidinge Division are not equivocal on the point. They sincerely and earnestly desire the British to remain as their protectors, and view with the gravest apprehension the suggestion that the German may return and once more be in a position to oppress them.

I have, &c.

W. E. HUNT,  
Divisional Officer.

The Resident,  
Buea.

ANALYSIS OF STATEMENTS MADE BY CHIEFS OF THE OSSIDINGE DIVISION  
ON THE SUBJECT OF BRITISH AND GERMAN RULE.

(a) Estimated Population of Tribes.	(b) Number of Statements of Chiefs.	(c) Estimated Number of People in Villages of Chiefs making Statements.
Assumbo - 3,000	2	550
Anyang - 5,800	8	1,400
Banyang - 12,000	6	5,000
Balundu - 600	1	350
Boki - 1,300	2	450
Ekwe - 1,600	4	510
Keara - 8,800	3	4,600
Manta - 1,200	4	420
Obang - 2,500	2	550
Wetshu - 6,000	2	450
42,800	34	14,280

W. E. HUNT,  
Divisional Officer,  
Ossidinge,  
Cameroons Province.

STATEMENT BY CHIEFS OF VILLAGES IN THE OSSIDINGE DIVISION, BRITISH  
CAMEROONS, ON THE SUBJECT OF GERMAN RULE.

21.4.18. *At Aiyewawba.*

*Egbe, Chief of Aiyewawba* (a village of about 150), speaking for the Biteku sub-tribe of the Anyang tribe, and representing about 15 000 people :

“ We no like the Germans. They trouble us too much. My father was the big chief for all this part. He was hung by the Germans during the war for nothing. They said he did not provide food for the soldiers. The Germans cared nothing for a chief who was the same as another man. They would give a chief 25 lashes for nothing at all or send him to prison. They seized men for the plantations on the coast, and some never returned. If the Germans come back, they will kill us plenty. We shall all run away. We shall follow you. The German police used to seize any man's goat or fowl, and rape his wife. We were frightened to complain to the German whiteman.”

EGBE, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

21.4.18. *At Manta.*

*Taku, Chief of Manta* (a village of about 100), speaking for the Manta tribe, in the North-East, and representing about 1,200 people :

“ We no like German at all, because if the soldiers come they seize anything and take people for down below (*i.e.*, to the plantations on the coast). We lost five men out of this quarter in this way. They did not come back. Since the English come there is no trouble. The English ask us to supply carriers, but all is done quiet.”

TAKU, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

22.4.18. *At Menda.*

*Takaiya, Chief of Menda*, representing the Ambele sub-tribe of about 2,000 people (actual number in village about 250). These people live in the hills of the North-West, and are less civilised than the centre and southern districts. They had not been very long under German rule when the war broke out. (Wetshu Tribe):

"I don't want the Germans to come back. All the same thing for which you arrest me, the Germans would hang me for up. (N.B.—This is in reference to his being sent for by me to come to the station at Ossidinge owing to an affray between his people and those of the next village. The affair arose over a market dispute, and both sides suffered broken heads. The chief returned with me to his village where the trouble was settled.) I no want them again. The Germans troubled us plenty and caught many people here and sent them down below (*i.e.*, to the plantations on the coast). There use to be many more of us, but many have died down on the plantations. Only small number came back. When any police or messenger came to the town, they seized any pig or goat and raped our women." (N.B.—This chief was very emphatic in his expressions of dislike for the Germans.)

TAKAIYA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

24.4.18. *At Olong.*

*Abia, Chief of Kanuku*, representing Otutu, sub-tribe of about 500 people (actual village about 200) (Wetshu Tribe):

"I do not want the Germans back. I want you. The Germans will only seize us as before and take us to the plantations, where too many die. Five out of nine from my quarter died on the plantations the last time they took us. Men were flogged there plenty, almost every day."

ABIA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

26.4.18. *At Kunsu.*

*Tikuchi, Chief of Kunsu*, a village of about 100 people, who is representative of the Manta tribe of about 1,200 people, states:

"We no like Germans. Look! you have come to our town and you go away and nothing is lost. If the Germans come, something go loss (be seized). The Germans take us to go down below (to the cocoa plantations). Two years I sent seven men each time—four died the first year and five the second year." (This can be believed, as these mountaineers are quite unaccustomed to the low-lying coast climate. This dread of forced labour on the plantations is the burden of the complaint of all the hill people against the Germans.)

TIKUCHI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to his mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

26.4.18. *At Mbaiya.*

*Tiku Maiya, Chief of Mbaiya*, who represents the Manta tribe of about 1,200 people (number in village about 120), and is a member of a Native Court just established:

"I do not want the Germans again, because they force us to go to the coast to work. Two of my people died down there. The German soldiers also seize

our things. Three years I sent men down of my own accord to save their being seized; I sent 4, 3, and 10."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

TIKU MAIYA, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
26.4.18.

27.4.18. *At Kunku.*

*Tacha Ebanya, Chief of Kunku*, who represents the Manta tribe of about 1,200 people, speaking for his own village of about 100:

"I do not want the Germans to come back, because they force us to go to the plantations, where men die. Since you have been here no police or messenger has seized or flogged us. The Germans used to seize our pigs. You never saw plenty of pigs that time. It is no good to catch by force. Now when a police comes to our village he is treated as a friend. Nine of us died at the plantations out of 13 sent in two years. There was plenty of flogging there. That is why so many died."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

TACHA EBANYA, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

28.4.18. *At Taba.*

*Tabi, Chief of Taba*, representing about 100 people in his village, and speaking for the Ajuo sub-tribe (about 1,000) of the Anyang tribe:

Asked what he thought of the Germans, and if he could wish their return: "Ah! No! (wiping his hands as if he wishes to wash away the memory of the Germans). I no like them, because they sent me down to the plantations, where we died. They took some of us for three years. The first year they took 10 by force, and three died. The next year 10 again, and two died; the next year 10 again, and two died. They died from flogging and other things. When German police came to our town they would seize anything by force. You are here now and all people live for town. Suppose it be German, all people would *run to bush*."\*

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

TABI, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

30.4.18. *At Basha.*

*Besong, Chief of Assam*, of Anyang tribe of about 6,000, speaking for his village of about 150 (he is a President of the Basha Native Court):

"The thing we do not like the Germans is because they force us to go down below to work on the plantations, and we no like it. We are used to taxation, and if the Germans come back it will be all right if they do not force us to do work on the plantations. The English don't trouble us, and we *like their fashion best*."†

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

BESONG, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

(N.B.—This man is cautious in his attitude. He considers the taking down of evidence in this matter to be a possible indication of a German return, and he does not wish to commit himself.)

W. Coast English for:—\* Run away and hide.

† Like their methods best.



30.4.18. *At Basho.*

*Ako, Chief of Basho*, representing the Basho sub-tribe of the Anyang main tribe; he has about 150 people in his village and is President of the Native Court at Basho, and was chosen by the other village chiefs as one of their more influential men:

"I know these two people, English and German. *I look the English fashion\** now for three years, and I like it too much. I no like the German fashion at all. The German force man to do any thing he no like. They no care what he say. The Germans force us to go down to the plantations on the coast to work. The Germans seize anything by force, and I no like them. I no want the Germans to come back at all. Too many of our people died on the plantations. The Germans would come at night and seize our men and send them off. I no want to see the Germans again."

This man's expressions of dislike were very emphatic.

AKO, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

30.4.18. *At Basho.*

*Abangma, Chief of Baje*, a village of about 200, representing the Anyang tribe. He is a President of the Basho Native Court:

"If the Germans come back they will *trouble†* us plenty. I like the English fashion. The thing which we no like is when the Germans catch us and send us to the plantations to work. Also any German soldier will catch our women by force and have connection with them. Many people will fear to tell the German Officer. I no want the Germans to come back. If a man had anything and a German came to our town his messenger or carrier would steal anything."

ABANGMA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

30.4.18. *At Basho.*

*Enaw Aiyamba, Chief of Obonye*, a village of about 200, part of Anyang tribe of about 6,000:

"I no like to see the Germans at all with my eye. They seized our goats, our women, and sent our people down to the plantations. They did not care whether a man was a chief or not. If he did anything, he was flogged. About 60 of my people ran away over the boundary before the war into Nigeria to get away from the Germans, who *troubled them too much,‡* seizing everything. Twice I sent people to the plantations, eight men one time and six men another time. Only three returned. There was too much flogging. I ran away myself over the border but returned when the English drove away the Germans. If the Germans came back I shall run away again with my people."

ENAW AIYAMBA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
30.4.18.

30.4.18. *At Basho.*

*Ndipeba, Chief of Akwa*, a village of about 200 people and part of the Anyang tribe of about 6,000. He is one of the more influential Chiefs or Headmen among

W. Coast English for:—\* I have seen English methods.

† Trouble = oppress.

‡ Too much = very much.

the northern villages. To the question: "Do you prefer the Germans to the English?" he answered:

"Ah! no! (emphatic). Since you come we do rest. When the Germans are here they trouble us all the time and seize many to go and work on the plantations and we no like it. Many men died down there. I do not want so see the Germans again with my eye at all (holding up his hands in front of his face). If the Germans come back we should *get plenty damage. It would pass the damage they did us before.*"\*

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

NDIPEBA, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

30.4.18. *At Basho.*

*Ekume of Tinta*, a village of about 300 of Assumbo tribe. (N.B.—This tribe had only been administered a few months by the Germans, and was not properly under control.)

"I no like Germans again. They catch our things by force. I like the English people to stop here."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

EKUME, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

(N.B.—This Chief, when I first visited his district, early in 1917, welcomed me with enthusiasm, and said then that if the Germans come back he would follow me over the boundary with his people to Nigeria. He appears now to be a little suspicious of my taking down his statement (he represents a tribe in a very early stage of development), and as he does not again spontaneously repeat that statement, I do not prompt him.)

W. E. HUNT, D.O.  
30.4.18.

2.5.18. *At Mokonyong.*

*Tabenya, Chief of Mokonyong*, representing about 250 people of the Anyang tribe:

"I don't like the Germans, I prefer the English. The Germans trouble us too much. If the Germans stay for this country for one night, they go scatter all things. They seize any goat and any woman. I ran away to the English with my people when the war started and stopped with the English for 12 months. I left a few men to report anything. The night after the English reached Ossidinge I ran to them. I don't want to see the Germans again. They would kill me if they came back. If I heard they were coming back I should run away."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

TABENYA, his × mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
2.5.18.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Bawak, Chief of Igbekaw*, a village of about 300 people of Banyang tribe. He is a President of the Ossidinge Native Court and representative of all Banyang feeling.

"I have had experience of English now for three years and like their fashion. I don't want the Germans back again. The English don't trouble us. They don't force us to go and work on the plantations at the coast. The Germans used to seize our men to go there. They would order the Chief to supply, and he would

\* N.B.—W. Coast English for:—Get plenty, &c, &c. = be the victims of extortion exceeding that which they inflicted on us before.

tell his people who refused. Then the Germans would send and arrest them, tie them up and send them down. The English treat the Chiefs better; they give us power to try our cases in court. The Germans never let us try our cases. They made us come to court but gave us nothing for our trouble, and we did not judge cases. The Germans are no use for us at all. They do all things by force. If a man did not pay a debt he was tied up and beaten. I and my people were glad too much to see the English drive the Germans out of Ossidinge."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

BAWAK, his  $\times$  mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Egbemba, Chief of Tali*, a village of about 2,000 of Banyang tribe. He is a President of the Native Court.

"I like only English people. I don't like Germans. None of us like being forced to go and work on the plantations at the coast where many men die. Any year we had to send about 40 men. They hung my father because he gave chop (food) to the English in the war, and they hung his three sons. If they come back they would hang me. They must kill me. They would say why hadn't I followed them away. If I heard they were coming back I should run away at once for Nigeria part. I no go stop here at all. They would hang all the big people in our town if they came back. All our people were glad to see the English drive out the Germans. Many of them ran away to the English before they reached Tali, and took refuge among the Heara people. The English treat the Chiefs better than the Germans. The Germans would not allow our Native Courts, which we like. The Germans did not try cases properly. Chiefs were put in prison without a hearing. If the English left us now after teaching us all this and gave us back to the Germans we would say the English are rascal people."

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

EGBEMBA, his  $\times$  mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Tafang, Chief of Defang*, a village of about 500 people of the Banyang tribe. He is a President of the Tali Native Court.

"I don't like the Germans at all. I no like to see them. They hung my father because they said the English were coming and it was unsafe to leave him behind. They would have hung me but I ran away. My father Defang was the big Chief for all that part. If the Germans came back, they would hang me at one time. People would tell them that I no care for German, I care only for English. During the war before the English drove away the Germans many of my people ran to them. If the Germans heard that I was President of the Native Court they would hang me *one time*.\*"

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

TAFANG, his  $\times$  mark.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Fawbia, Chief of Nguti*, a village of about 800 of the Banyang tribe. He is one of the two Presidents of the Bakuku Native Court.

"I like the English fashion. Look now, you tell me you are sorry the clerk has made a mistake in calling me because my place is too far (45 miles). That shows you have consideration for me. If it was a German, he wouldn't care. All

\* W. Coast English for:—One time = at once.

my people now sleep quiet for night—no trouble. If I hear the Germans are coming back, no place is too far for me to run, if I die by the way. The damage the Germans did me was plenty. They put nail for my head and knocked me on the chest with stone. I ran away to the English during the war. The German soldiers before the war would seize any man's things. If the news comes that the Germans are coming back, all over the District you will see people run to bush, and many will hang themselves rather than fall into German hands, especially those who are too far and have no chance to run to Nigeria. The Germans gave you no chance; they put you in prison for nothing."

F'AWBIA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *Enawbawa, Chief of Mbinjong*, a town of 1,000 people of the Banyang tribe :

"All my people ran away to the English during the war before the English reached Mbinjong. We took refuge with them at Ossidinge. If the Germans came back, you would find none of my people. They would hang me as I ran away from them. They would give us plenty of trouble. I don't want to see the Germans again. The English don't seize things for nothing, and they don't force us to go to the plantations. I should be at Calabar before you if I heard the Germans were coming back.

ENAWBAWE, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *Aiyuk Oni, Chief of Eyang*, a village of about 400 of Banyang tribe, states :

"The Germans hung my father because the people were glad when they heard the English were coming. If they come back they will hang us all, because we have joined with the English people. We don't want to see them again. I know I should die if they came back.

AIYUK\_ONI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge*.

*Enafaw, Chief of Mfuni*, a village of about 1,000 people of the Keara tribe. He is representative of the feeling of the Kearas, and is their most influential Chief. He is one of the two Presidents of the Ossidinge Native Court :

"We like the English. They and the Germans are both whiteman, but they have different fashions. The English leave us free for ourselves; they don't seize us and send us to the plantations, nor damage us. A number of my people ran to the English before they drove the Germans from our part during the war. If the Germans come back I shall run away. They will trouble me too much for what I have done with the English. If I hear the Germans are coming back I shall go. The Germans had no respect for us Chiefs. They gave us no court for ourselves. If the English leave us now we shall think them lie, lie (false) people. I don't want to see the Germans again, and I don't think in all this district you are *fit to\** find one man who wants to see the Germans again.

ENAWFAW, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

N.B.—W. Coast English for :—\* Fit to = able to

6.5.18. *Tabi, Chief of Kembong*, a village of about 1,600 people of the Keara tribe :

“ I like the English to stop in this country. I don't want to see the Germans. All the whole town say they sleep now and say they don't want to see the Germans again—the whole lot. If the Germans come back and you pack up your things, you will find us have all packed up before you. I no fit to see German with my eye. We shall all run to Nigeria part. The Germans force us to go to the plantations. That is no use.

TABI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Enobi, Chief of Ossing*, a village of about 2,000 of the Keara tribe :

“ I like the English because they don't force us to go to the plantations. In the German time a man must look careful to his things and hide any fowl or goat for farm. If he have a fine woman, the German soldier will rape her before he leave her. I don't want to see the Germans again, and my people all say the same. I ran away to the English with my people in the war time. Sometime if the Germans come back, perhaps they will hang me.

ENOBI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.  
6.5.18.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Aiyuk Akum, Chief of Akak*, a village of about 400 people of the Obang tribe :

“ This time the man which I like his fashion—be only English. There is no trouble now. Before the war it was all the same as if the Germans were at war with us, they damaged us, seized our things and raped our women. Now we are fat. Then our skins were dry from too much trouble. I don't want to see them again. I had many cows and things, but as soon as I heard the English had reached Nkpot, I cared nothing—I left all my things and ran away to them. If the Germans came back they would hang me at one time, as they know I ran away from them. I should run away if I heard they were coming back. No one person, no women, no child in my town would say they want the German back. Now if a woman go to farm, she leaves her children in the house. In German time she must take them all to farm as you don't know what thing go happen *for back*.\* All the Obang people will say the same—they all ran to the English to meet them before they came to our country—no one of us like the Germans.

AIYUK AKUM, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.  
6.5.18.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Oban Ofundi, Chief of Baje*, a village of about 150 of Obang tribe :

“ The English and Germans are both white, but their fashions are different. We like the English. Since you come there has been no trouble. We do not want them to come back.

OBAN OFUNDI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
6.5.18.

N B.—W. Coast English for :—\* For back = during absence.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Eta, Chief of Mbabon, a village of about 60 of Ekwe tribe :*

"I don't want German at all. Since the English come, we all stop quiet—no trouble. A number of my people ran away to Nigeria because the Germans troubled them too much. About 50 men and women and children ran away because the Germans seized their goods and sent them to work on the plantations. The German soldier spoiled all the country by seizing our things and beating us if we complained."

ETA, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
6.5.18.

6.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Aiyokojong, Chief of Ekonem-Ojongari, a village of about 100 of Ekwe tribe :*

"I don't want to hear about the Germans again. Any police or messenger would seize a woman and have connection with her, or they would seize goats or anything which caught their eye. We were afraid to complain. We were forced to send men to the plantations, which we don't like.

AIYOKOJONG, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

6.5.18. *Ntui, Chief of Ajaman, a village of about 50 of Ekwe tribe :—*

"Some of my people ran to Nigeria and are there now, because they did not like German rule. I was of those Chiefs who petitioned to be included in the Calabar Division of Nigeria when the English drove the Germans away. The Germans used to force some of us to go to the plantations to work, which we do not like. We don't want the Germans again. This year we have no trouble—we can work farms. If the Germans were here—it would be all time trouble—supply men to work this place and that place for one year.

NTUI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

7.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Mpang, Chief of Bera, a village of about 350 of the Balundu tribe, numbering about 700 :*

"I don't want to see the Germans back again. They flogged too much. The German police will come to your town and seize your women and tie you up while they rape them before your eyes. We were ordered to supply labour for the plantations and out of seven men three died. We were all glad to see the English drive out the Germans, and we want to see them beat them hard. We all sleep quiet now.

MPANG, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.,  
7.5.18.

11.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Ntumban, Chief of Nsanakang, a village of about 300 of the Ekwe tribe. He is a President of the Nsanakang Native Court lately established.*

"When the war started, all my people ran away to Nigeria, and I hid in the bush near Mbenyan. My people ran to the English because they no like the

German fashion. The German trouble man too much, and seize us to go the plantations on the coast. We don't want to see the Germans again—all the people round us ran to Nigeria as soon as war broke out, because they did not like the German rule. I have nothing more to say—I don't want to see the Germans again at all. I want the English to stay here—all the people say the same."

NTUMBAN, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

17.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Nyame, Chief of Matan*, a village of about 250 of the Assumbo tribes, states :

"I don't like the Germans. They trouble us. Many of my people ran away to Nigeria part for sake of the Germans. They flog us too much and take our things by force. Some of my people are still living over the boundary in Nigeria. I don't want to see the Germans back again."

NYAME, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

20.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Obi, Chief of Bodam*, a village of about 300 of the Boki tribe :

"The Germans troubled us too much before the war, seizing us to go and work on the cocoa plantations at the coast. We ran away over the boundary to Nigeria. We have since returned and are living in our old places. We don't like the Germans at all. We know if they came back we should die—they would kill us. If we heard news that they were coming we should run away again. We like to make the English they stay here, and all the people say the same. Since the English come there has been no trouble—we sleep well."

OBI, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

(N.B.—This village is one of those mentioned by the late German Commissioner as having migrated owing to demands for forced labour.)

20.5.18. *At Ossidinge.*

*Osang, Chief of Boka*, a village of about 150 people of the Boki tribe. He is a President of the Nsanakang Native Court.

"I don't want to hear the thing they call German again. They are no use. They trouble us. When the war started we all ran to Nigeria. All the Boki people ran away from the Germans to Nigeria part. We want the English to stop. The Germans take our things by force and send us to work on the cocoa plantations.

OSANG, his × mark.

Interpreter and witness to mark,  
ECHU.

Before me,  
W. E. HUNT, D.O.

I certify that the above are true copies of the original statements taken down by me.

W. E. HUNT,  
Divisional Officer.

20th May 1918.

No. 15.

## WESTERN PACIFIC.

THE ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 7th October 1918.)

Office of the High Commissioner for  
the Western Pacific, Suva, Fiji,  
2nd August 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a letter from the Acting Administrator, Nauru, conveying a message from the Nauruan Chiefs expressing their wish to remain under the protection of His Majesty King George the Fifth.

I have, &c.,  
EYRE HUTSON,  
Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 15.

Office of the Administrator,  
Pleasant Island (Nauru),  
14th June 1918.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on Empire Day I met all the Nauruan Chiefs, who, referring to the late Queen Victoria and His Majesty King George V., asked me if I would forward their wishes to Your Excellency for transmission to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

2. The message they wish to convey is as follows :—

“ We Nauruans have a request to make on this Queen Victoria’s Day.

“ We ask that we may remain under the protection of Queen Victoria’s grandson, His Majesty King George V., and that he will keep us as his children, who are newly born in the year 1914.”

I have, &c.,  
G. B. SMITH-REWSE,  
Acting Administrator.

His Excellency,  
The High Commissioner for the Western Pacific,  
Suva, Fiji.

No. 16.

## WESTERN PACIFIC.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 9.20 p.m. 1st November 1918.)

TELEGRAM.

1st November. -- Administrator of Nauru reports that petition in favour of remaining under British Government has been signed unanimously. Petition will be sent home from Nauru direct.



No. 17.

NIGERIA.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 6th November 1918.)

Government House, Nigeria,  
10th October 1918.

SIR,

IN continuation of my Despatch of 28th July,\* I have the honour to forward a further report on the attitude of the Cameroons native chiefs towards the British Administration. The report is prepared by Mr. E. St. C. Stobart, now in charge of Chang Division.

I have, &c.,  
F. D. LUGARD,  
Governor-General.

Enclosure in No. 17.

Chang, June 16th, 1918.

I understand that information is required as regards the attitude of the chiefs and people of this Division to British and German rule respectively.

2. I will endeavour as succinctly as possible to give a clear idea of the situation, supported by concrete statements of the leading chiefs and people.

3. Chang Division contains a population of, roughly, 150,000. After the arrival of the British in November 1915, during the first few days, 40 of the principal chiefs representing approximately 100,000 people came in, formally expressed their desire for British rule, and offered their help in food and labour, notwithstanding the fact that the Germans were still at Bana, and that on the previous occasion when we had occupied Chang we had retired again, and the Germans on their return had taken a bloody revenge on all whom they suspected of British proclivities. The remainder of the chiefs came in shortly afterwards by twos and threes, made the same protestations, and gave all the assistance that was asked for.

4. In no case subsequently was any assistance of any sort rendered to the Germans, nor did any breach take place of the declarations originally made.

5. Since April 1st 1916, when Cameroons came under the Nigerian Administration, at numerous unrecorded meetings with the chiefs and people similar loyal expressions have been made. Mr. Chamley mentions in his report the meeting held in September 1917 of all the chiefs in the Division, and records the statements made thereat. Similar statements were made when the Resident visited Chang in 1918. I have no reason whatever to doubt that they represented the genuine feeling of the population of the Division.

6. Before I submit certain formally recorded statements by some of the leading chiefs, I should like to make one comment. The strictest orders have been given by H.E. the Governor-General that no assurances are to be given regarding the permanency of British rule. The inevitable conclusion drawn by a native who asks for and fails to obtain such assurance is that the Germans will probably return, for it is impossible to explain satisfactorily the various factors which will eventually decide the question. He therefore very naturally hesitates to make a formal and attested statement, knowing full well that if the Germans did return, there would be plenty of people to give evidence of his having done so (it is obviously impossible to keep such a matter secret in a district, however secret and confidential the correspondence may be kept at Headquarters). The actual fact, therefore, is that those chiefs who have made the annexed statements have definitely committed themselves, and, though their declarations are the more valuable on that account, yet the British Government, who has allowed them to make the statements—voluntary and unsolicited though they be—cannot be absolved from the responsibility of protecting them, whatever may be the future of the territories and people on whose behalf they speak.

\* No. 14.

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7. In each of the following declarations I have given the name of the chief and the number of the people whom he represents. In no case have I suggested the form of the statement.

(Signed) E. ST. C. STOBART,  
District Officer, Chang.

The Resident,  
Cameroons Province, Buea.

*Chief Mellay of Sanchu* (population approximately 4,000, with four subsidiary villages) states as follows :

"I like the English and I want them to remain in my country. The Germans troubled us too much. It would be a bad day for us all if they came back. There would be war again all through the country. They would take away our Mbo Court and beat us as they used to do. I have always before the big war heard of the English that they are better than the Germans, and that all black men agree for them. This true in Cameroons. All the Mbo people say the same thing."

MELLAY OF SANCHU, his × mark.

Witness,  
ALU, his × mark.

(N.B.—Chief Mellay is the leading and most representative Chief of the Mbo tribe, whose population is approximately 10,000).

The following chiefs were present at the meeting when the above statement was made and expressed themselves as being in agreement :—

Chief Mankwa.  
Chief Kamalumpa.  
Chief Hunyapa.  
Chief Elumba.  
Chief Fonjungu.  
Chief Fonwen.

The above men represent practically all the Mbo tribe.

(Signed) E. ST. C. STOBART,  
District Officer.

*Chief Kana of Bafufondong* (population approximately 10,000, with seven subsidiary villages) states :

"If the Germans come back it be bad for my people and for me. They will hang me as they hanged the other chiefs. I told the Governor (*i.e.*, the Resident) when he came to Chang that I did not belong to the Germans and I do not want ever to see them again. The people of Bamileke hate the Germans even more than do the chiefs. When the District Officer first came to Chang I told him I agree for the English, and I say the same again. I have nothing more to say."

*Note.*—I certify that the above statement was made voluntarily by the Chief of Bafufondong. He was afraid to put his mark to any statement, and was therefore not pressed to do so.

Witness,  
AYOK, his × mark.

*Statement of Chief Tenku of Foto* (population approximately 7,000, with nine subsidiary villages) :

"I wish to say that I do not want the Germans back in my country. I am content with present things. Give me the English flag to fly in my town and let the matter be ended. Why should the Germans come back? Bamileke people do not want them, nor do any of the people of the Grasslands. I agree for the British. I no agree for the Germans. The English are better than the Germans because they give

fair trial to any man even if he is a chief. Also they have given us a Native Court where we can try our own cases. But the Germans always beat the people and troubled them very much. There is one thing which troubles us now. In German time there were factories, and cloth and salt was cheap. Now there are none of these things, and it is hard to buy at Nkongsamba which is far away. That is all I want to say."

TENKU OF FOTO, his × mark.

Witness,

JOHNNY, his × mark.

*Statement made by Chief Shunganyi of Fontem at a meeting of Bangwa chiefs at which the following were present :—*

- |                              |   |   |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| (1) Shunganyi of Fontem      | - | Population 6,000, with six subsidiary villages. |
| (2) Gendia of Fotabong       | - | " 2,000 " six " "                               |
| (3) Ngosong of Foto Dungchet | " | " 1,800 " four " "                              |
| (4) Kongfak of Fosimongdi    | - | " 600 " four " "                                |

" White men are different from black men and German custom is different from English custom. The present time is better than the former time, firstly because the people get fair trial, secondly because they are not always troubled. But there is one bad thing about the English. The people cannot buy salt as much as in German time. I have been told that this is because of the War, but the War is over and the Germans have gone. I hope they will not come back. They troubled me much and hunted me for years. I wish to belong to the English. I agree for them. But I ask the District Officer to give order that factories be sent here as in German time, that my people may sell palm nuts and buy salt and other things."

Fontem, his × mark

Witness,

Arok, his × mark.

*Chief Kengfak* at the above meeting states : " Fontem says true words. We all want to remain in the hand of the British. I ask the District Officer to give us a promise and let the matter be ended."

*Chiefs Gendia and Ngosong* state : " We agree with what has been said. Our people do not want the Germans to come back to this country."

Gendia, his × mark.

Ngosong, his × mark.

Witness,

Arok, his × mark.

