THE HEAD OF CHIEF Mkwawa AND THE
TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY OF COLONIAL
VIOLENCE, 1898-2019

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WOLFSON COLLEGE
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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY
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A version of Chapter IV appeared as the published article, Jeremiah Garsha, ‘Expanding Vergangenheitsbewältigung? German Repatriation of Colonial Artefacts and Human Remains’, in Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2019), DOI: 10.1080/14623528.2019.1633791. This article was the product of personal research carried out for the PhD.

A note for Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander people, and a trigger warning to readers: this dissertation contains images and names of deceased persons, a severed head, and human remains in photographs and printed text.

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THE HEAD OF CHIEF MKWAWA AND THE TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE, 1898-2019

JEREMIAH GARSHA

This dissertation is a history of Chief Mkwawa’s severed head. I explore the historical context by which his head was taken, the shifting terminology which categorised his remains, the international and internal movements of the skull, and the polymorphous quality imposed onto the head through a myriad of perspectives. In this dissertation, I argue that, as an artefact, Mkwawa’s skull shifted in meaning and significance as it transformed from a trophy of colonial conquest to a political tool of colonial governance to a relic and symbol of anticolonial resistance. I map these changes over the long twentieth century (1898 to 2019) in order to historically contextualise the head’s various meanings under divergent narratives. A microhistory of this single object centres this dissertation as I analyse global historical and historiographical debates concerning colonial violence, collection practices, the legacies of empire, and current debates on restitution and repatriation. Drawing upon archival research, oral histories, private diaries, photographs, and site visitations during fieldwork in Europe, the United States, and Tanzania, this dissertation brings a cultural history of materiality to studies of German and British colonialism, postcolonial legitimacy, and transnational repatriation movements. Mkwawa’s head was a symbolic object, severed under systems of violence implicit in empire making. The transition of human remains from a trophy head to a specimen skull documents the weaponisation of anthropology for imperial control. The inclusion of the head in the Treaty of Versailles provided a space to humiliate Germany and contrast its colonial project against British imperial rule’s paternal protection, whilst Britain also seized Germany’s East Africa colony. The eventual repatriation of a skull to Tanganyika in 1954 illuminates the tightening of colonial control under a Cold War context. The anonymous skull’s transformation into Mkwawa’s skull shows the provenance of the skull was less important than the fact
that it became recognised as Mkwawa’s. The abandoned intrinsic cultural qualities of the skull emphasised the centrality of colonial collecting as constitutive to the looting and exhibition of colonial artefacts. The continued display of a skull in Tanzania demonstrates the moral challenges colonial legacies pose for successor regimes. Focusing scholarly attention on Mkwawa’s head as a symbolic object, therefore, reveals how processes of meaning and myth-making anchor colonial and postcolonial power projections.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is framed by two figures no longer with us. The first is Mkwawa himself, who has ‘borne me on his back a thousand times’\textsuperscript{1} as I traversed through Western Europe, East Africa, and North America tracing the materiality of his post-mortem history. I dedicate this dissertation to Chief Mkwawa, to whose living legacy I hope I have done justice. The second is the late Jan-Georg Deutsch, a legendary scholar of African history who helped shape my early research on this topic. Georg was gracious and kind. After accepting my offer at Cambridge, Georg and I planned to collaborate under a postdoctoral appointment in the near future. The historical discipline is at a loss after his 2016 passing.

Along my journey I have been critically aided by too many people to list here. I was extraordinarily gifted to have two legendary supervisors. This project began under Alison Bashford, who encouraged me to follow the narrative thread of Mkwawa’s head into the various historical discourses discussed herein. She advised me through the critical formation of fleshing out this project and remained involved in its construction. Saul Dubow had the unenviable task of jumping in midstream at a time when I needed accountability and structure. He has been fundamental in instructing me to push this dissertation and myself to the farthest limits while providing a backbone to ensure the project remained grounded in its proper contexts. It was under his watch that this project matured. I am grateful for Saul’s


\textsuperscript{3} Treaty of Versailles, Article 245, 157-158.

\textsuperscript{4} Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158.

\textsuperscript{5} Treaty of Versailles, Article 246, 158.

\textsuperscript{6} The term ‘rebellion’ carries anti-colonial overtones, suggesting that it was an uprising occurring under colonial rule, in comparison to resistance movements that occurred before established colonial control. Long-lasting warfare, such as that led by Mkwawa, straddled both these divides as it began when German rule expanded into the southern highlands of German East Africa and continued as Germany secured more formal control. In this way, I use the term ‘rebellion’ to refer to the many forms of anti-colonial and anti-European resistance occurring in southern and eastern Africa at this time.

\textsuperscript{7} There are no accurate reports of the total loss of Wahehe soldiers during this battle. A German report
sage-like advice, patience, and the inspiration he has given me. Kim Wagner, a fellow headhunter, blazed the path this dissertation followed. He has been a guiding light in the darkness. James Poskett, another fellow headhunter, has been instrumental in helping me see the materiality body parts occupy and produce, as well as generous with his time and connections. It was through James that this project developed broader connections and created a public impact. BBC reporter Damian Zane published an article on my research coinciding with the Treaty of Versailles centennial. This greatly elevated the publicity of my research. Due to his article, the grandchildren of two of the central historical actors herein were able to contact me. I am grateful to both Massowia Haywood (née von Prince) and Lucinda Byatt for entrusting me to tell the history of their grandparents and for sharing with me the treasure trove of private letters, diaries, newspaper clippings, photos, and the personal libraries passed down from their grandfathers as family heirlooms. I am indebted to Antony Lentin for embodying what it is to be a ‘mentor’ while serving as one of my psychopompós through this project.

George Roberts freely and generously shared his expertise and connections in Tanzania and continues to be a friendly face at the Cambridge world history workshops and seminars. These workshops and seminars exposed me to the historical arguments and practices that underpin this dissertation. Poppy Cullen and Zoë Groves offered positive support and likewise cemented the Africanist connections this project and myself hold. I thank Ruth Watson for her tutelage and encouragement of my macabre interests, which grew into this project. John Iliffe has put his name, literally and figuratively, across Tanzanian history. I am grateful for his time, thoughts, and suggestions. I also thank him for not writing about Mkwawa’s skull himself. I thank David Anderson for watching over this project as it matured, as well as for setting the example of how historical scholarship bleeds into activism. I am thankful to A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone for providing exceptional feedback and edits on Chapter I. I am grateful to each of them for the publication opportunity and their promotion of my research. My friend Benjamin Madley
reminded me to make this a dissertation that spoke to reparation and has exemplified the ways academics can shape public policy. I am thankful that Yann Le Gall and Leonor Faber-Jonker displayed generosity and transparency toward their research on human remains, which allowed for collaborative, rather than competitive, opportunities.

Max Chuhila offered me a warm reception in Dar es Salaam and helped me access the UDSM archives. James Giblin provided a wealth of contact information and friendly hospitality. Salum Angelo Mdemu took me in during weeks of fieldwork in Iringa and became my travelling companion as we traversed the southern highlands in search of information on Mkwawa’s history and his mortal remains. I am thankful that Nicholaus Kulanga was willing to give me so much of his time and assistance, recounting the many hours of rich Wahehe oral history to which he is the keeper.

I am indebted to the assistance of the librarians and archivists at TNA, the BL, the Parliamentary Archives, the UL, Stanford’s Hoover Institute, UDSM, and particularly Abigail Altman at the American Library in Paris, Jacques Oberson at the United Nations Archive in Geneva, and Adam Ray at KCL’s Foyle Special Collections Library. I thank Martin Walsh for sharing with me the papers of Alison Redmayne as he catalogued them for deposit in Oxford’s Bodleian library. Lorne Larson shared numerous sources and offered discussion points based on his meticulous research in and of Tanzania. Jenni Skinner, Victoria Jones, and Adam Branch graciously continued my connection to CAS, where I first began my Cambridge experience. Thank you to my Faculty of History, CAS, and Wolfson College colleagues for their encouragement, and to the institutions themselves for funding to undertake this research.

Sir Christopher Clark read an early draft of what became this dissertation. It was his enthusiasm and good humour that helped me push through initial self-doubt. My Germanists: Anika Seemann, Marcus Colla, and Eirik Røsvik helped me straddle multiple academic identities in good company. *Merci* to my Canadian
comrades: Martin Crevier, Taushif Kara, Jean-Robert Lalancette, and especially Simone Hanebaum, who gave me a North American sense of connection here in the UK and each helped in their own ways to make me a better student and educator.

I thank all my colleagues who edited drafts of this dissertation. Joshua Pritchard is the younger version of an older brother to me. He guided me through the programme and the last five years with wit and unfailing good humour. I thank my ndugu, especially Sipke Shaughnessy, who reminded me that our day too would come as we undertook our MPhil and PhD studies together. Jono Jackson never ceased to amaze me in his devotion to my research, sharing everything from research materials to life advice, often dispatched as postcards in the field while he completes his dissertation. Jono is a continuing source of support and renewal and significantly elevated my research and outlook. My parents offered emotional and financial support beyond measure, reminding me how fortunate I am to have such a wonderful and caring family. They were a source of comfort, particularly during the solidary and frustration of fieldwork and writing up. My muse, Jamie Lynnae, thoughtlessly sacrificed everything so that I could pursue my degrees. She has read and edited all of my publications and is certainly the more talented, gifted, and intelligent J Garsha. To her I owe everything. Finally, this project is exactly as old as Imogen Marlowe Garsha, who came into being at the inception of my PhD. You are my greatest creation and will forever be my true inspiration.
Much has been made about the authenticity of Mkwawa’s head since 1898. This dissertation does not seek to provide evidentiary proof that the skull now displayed in the Kalenga Museum is that of Mkwawa. It does not claim that Governor Edward Twining identified the correct skull during his visit to the Museum für Völkerkunde in 1954, nor that the museum ever possessed Mkwawa’s skull. This dissertation offers photographic evidence of the head that was collected and brought to the Prince family as well as diary entries about it. But Mkwawa himself is as mysterious as his skull. No one knows what Mkwawa looked like. He avoided meeting with European colonial officials, missionaries, and explorers. No photographs were taken of him when he was alive; though an image hangs in the Iringa museum that claims to be of Mkwawa. In this dissertation, I present several different visual images of Mkwawa: the skull on display in Kalenga, accepted, but not universally, by the source community; a painted portrait of Mkwawa, done at least two decades after his death by a British colonist; a photo of a severed head alleged to be Mkwawa and kept in a family collection; a cartoon drawing from a comic book, based on nothing more than an exaggerated Arab stereotype. All versions of Mkwawa look different, and perhaps none are authentic.

Without DNA extraction and exhumation, neither of which I support, we may never know if Mkwawa’s head is currently on display in Kalenga, buried with his body; either at his official grave in Mlambalasi or elsewhere, if it ever returned from Europe, nor if Mkwawa’s skull even left East Africa. Rumours and speculation underpin each incarnation. The skull itself may be lost to time, may still be sitting in a box in a European collection waiting to be uncovered, or may have always been attached to Mkwawa’s body; perhaps buried unmarked somewhere in the southern highlands of Tanzania. As will be made clear in the pages below, it is precisely this lack of authenticity and the plasticity of the term ‘Mkwawa’s head’ that is so compelling. ‘Mkwawa’s skull’ comes into being when participants force it to materialise. This dissertation tracks these materialisations through their narrative
forms and myth-making qualities. I make an argument for their occurrence and how these narratives and various versions of Mkwawa impact established historiography.

It would be too distracting to place the term ‘Mkwawa’s head’ in inverted commas throughout this dissertation to signal a lack of certainty. Furthermore, I have eschewed doing so as often I am writing about a head that at that moment was considered to be Mkwawa’s, even if it may or may not have been his. It would be equally cumbersome to write ‘alleged’ or ‘supposed to be’ before any mention of Mkwawa’s head, so I have not done this except in instances where I am speaking directly to ideas of authenticity being questioned in the historiography or by participants. Rather, throughout this dissertation, I present the head as it was believed to be during the period or context under which I am discussing it. For this reason, I also use the terms ‘skull’ and ‘head’ seemingly interchangeably, but with an important distinction. ‘Skull’ is used when the head has been defleshed and stripped of intrinsic identification, becoming a specimen. Yet as a skull, it remains a head.

When I undertook fieldwork for this project, I first explored the paper trail produced by the search for and repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull in European archives. It became apparent that a project of this scope had never been undertaken. Though the historiography of the Wahehe remains underdeveloped, some scholars have written about Mkwawa’s head. Narratives of his head have received attention from politicians, the press, academics, and artists. These accounts, however, are anecdotal or intentionally trivial. My archival research showed that materials in the British National Archive alone would have been enough to write an entire dissertation of the afterlife of Mkwawa’s head. At issue was a lack of authenticity. This extends not only to Mkwawa’s remains, but of the challenge of not reproducing colonialised history. I seek to allow the agency of my actors to speak within my writing. But how does one find the voice of human remains? It is especially problematic with so many different narratives of Mkwawa’s head. Initially, I anticipated that my travels to Tanzania would finally solve the mystery of authenticity when I spoke with Tanzanian scholars and Wahehe community
members. I expected (erroneously and foolishly in hindsight) that a single authoritative narrative would exist within the source community that would help me understand the localised perspective on what happened to Mkwawa’s head to counter the continuing colonial archival narrative. I planned to use the ‘Wahehe’ perspective to rehumanise Mkwawa’s remains. Instead, I encountered a scattering of personal beliefs, ranging from legends that Mkwawa never committing suicide, to stories of his skull being switched and replaced with another, to a strong belief that the Germans simply would not make a mistake in collecting and returning the ‘wrong’ head. As such, I have tried to preserve these varying and overlapping narratives within this dissertation. More extensive quotes are given in sections where agency and subaltern perspectives come through within colonial-produced documents. Oral history has been employed to augment the existing historiography. In following Mkwawa’s head through its 121-year history, I have presented plurivocal accounts, stressing contradictory and tangentially aligned narratives, to create a history of Mkwawa’s head.

The appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of Mkwawa’s head presented in this dissertation should not be taken as a case that the particular skull at that moment belonged to Mkwawa. Instead, I seek to show the importance that in those moments, German, British, and Tanzanian actors chose to believe or tried to persuade others that they had located Mkwawa’s head. ‘Mkwawa’s head’ as I attempt to show, is a category, both real and imagined, often simultaneously.
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<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>BSAC</td>
<td>British South Africa Company</td>
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<td>CAS</td>
<td>Centre of African Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCMS</td>
<td>Department of Culture, Media and Sports</td>
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<td>KCL A</td>
<td>King’s College London Archive</td>
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<td>UDSM</td>
<td>University of Dar es Salaam</td>
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<td>UK</td>
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<td>UKPA</td>
<td>United Kingdom Parliament Archives</td>
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<td>UL</td>
<td>University of Cambridge Library</td>
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<td>United Nations</td>
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INTRODUCTION

POLITICAL MACHINATIONS

Article 246 in the 1919 Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany reads:

‘Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty...Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty’s Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany’.²

Chief Mkwawa’s journey after his death eclipsed the impact he had in life. Enshrined in international law, article 246 of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (hereafter Treaty of Versailles) listed Mkwawa as the only named individual whose human remains were specifically mentioned during the treaty negotiations of 1918-1919. How is it that a call for human remains came to occupy a clause in the Treaty of Versailles, the most famous international treaty of the twentieth century? As a treaty dictating the peace agreement following the First World War, the inclusion of colonial collected artefact seems out of place.

Tellingly, this clause is found in the treaty’s ‘special provisions’ section on reparations. Preceding article 246 was a call for the return of French ‘trophies...historical souvenirs [and] works of art’ taken by Germany during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 and during the First World War.³ Article 247 required the return of two specific Belgian paintings housed in the Berlin Museum, along with ‘incunabula...and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed’ by Germany during the war.⁴ In fact, the call for the return of Mkwawa’s head was the second clause in article 246, as it first demanded Germany to ‘restore to...the King of the Hedjaz (present-day Saudi Arabia) the

³ Treat of Versailles, Article 245, 157-158.
⁴ Treat of Versailles, Article 247, 158.
original Koran...removed...by Turkish authorities and...presented to the ex-Emperor William II. Thus Mkwawa’s head was framed in 1919 not as the remains of a person, but rather a relic, a war trophy, and a souvenir, caught up in a politically motivated negotiation of power within the same treaty that granted mandate control of the former German East African colony to the British Empire. While all other works of art listed were to be returned to their countries of origin under the treaty dictates, Mkwawa’s head would have been ‘hand[ed] over’ to the British government. Mkwawa’s head was to be exchanged between European powers, where it was presumed within the treaty to be a pillaged artefact.

Mkwawa’s legacy could be confined to his military prowess as a resistance fighter and leader in his own right. As shown in Chapter I, the Wahehe under Mkwawa decimated German forces upon their initial encounters in 1891 which set the stage, and echoed into, future rebellions. His war against German colonial forces should be remembered as the single most successful campaign against any European force in Eastern Africa. In their first encounter, the Wahehe killed the highest-ranking German military colonial official, Commander von Zelewski, nine other white colonial officers, and around 200 conscripted native soldiers in the first fifteen minutes of fighting. Mkwawa’s fame as a military leader, however, is arguably overshadowed by the unique status his head has achieved. This has ensnared the martial legacy of the Wahehe, as warriors and colonial resisters, transforming the

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5 Treat of Versailles, Article 246, 158.
6 The term ‘rebellion’ carries anti-colonial overtones, suggesting that it was an uprising occurring under colonial rule, in comparison to resistance movements that occurred before established colonial control. Long-lasting warfare, such as that led by Mkwawa, straddled both these divides as it began when German rule expanded into the southern highlands of German East Africa and continued as Germany secured more formal control. In this way, I use the term ‘rebellion’ to refer to the many forms of anti-colonial and anti-European resistance occurring in southern and eastern Africa at this time.
7 There are no accurate reports of the total loss of Wahehe soldiers during this battle. A German report issued at the time estimates 700 losses out of a contingent of 3000 Wahehe soldiers. Alison Redmayne, however, has pointed out various inconstancies in this report which make the official casualty numbers highly suspect. See Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 420; John Iliffe places the German military losses at 290 men. See John Iliffe, Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 17.
skull into a sought after palladium of power.

Mkwawa’s head is elevated due to its inclusion in the most infamous treaty of the modern era. In this way, Chief Mkwawa’s journey after his death eclipsed the impact he had in life. It is its codification in international law, but in an obscure sub-clause, that makes Mkwawa’s head the most famous, yet paradoxically widely unknown, publically displayed non-fossil human skull of the twentieth century. Article 246 compelled the British to continue seeking the skull throughout the first half of the twentieth century. It was used to rally anti-German sentiment during the lead up to the Second World War, and it became a stumbling stone during post-war negotiations between Britain and their West German cold war allies.\(^8\)

Tellingly, the clause for repatriation is found in the treaty’s ‘special provisions’ section on reparations. The political and diplomatic discourse created by Mkwawa’s inclusion into the treaty speaks to the changes over time to the history of repatriation. The calls to return Mkwawa’s skull in 1919, the return of the skull in 1954, and its continued display and state ownership in independent Tanzania, shows the evolution of repatriation in the interregnum, post-war, and postcolonial period.

While the placement of article 246 within the reparations section of the treaty elucidates early-twentieth-century notions of repatriation, the first section of the article demanded that Germany must ‘restore to…the King of the Hedjaz (present-day Saudi Arabia) the original Koran…removed…by Turkish authorities and…presented to the ex-Emperor William II’.\(^9\) When read as a single clause, article 246 thus elevates Mkwawa’s head to an international stage, while simultaneously Islamifying it within a Middle Eastern context. Mkwawa’s title became codified as ‘Sultan’ rather than ‘Chief’, entangling his skull as a material object of Islamic

\(^8\) I have intentionally employed the term ‘stumbling stone’ here in allusion to the Stolperstein Holocaust memorial project by artist Gunter Demnig, to invoke the postwar legacies of state violence. In the next chapter, I argue that the legacy of the Holocaust and the impressive way Germany has come to terms with it has become its own stumbling stone in allowing the colonial past to be similarly remembered. See Kirsten Harjes, ‘Stumbling Stones: Holocaust Memorials, National Identity, and Democratic Inclusion in Berlin’, German Politics & Society, Vol. 23, No. 1.74 (Spring, 2005), 138-151.

\(^9\) Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 246, 158.
sacredness similar to the Qur’an in the same treaty clause. The head was orientalised at the same time it was ornamentalised. The Treaty of Versailles framed his head not as the remains of a person, but as a material object interchangeable with pieces of art, war trophies, and souvenirs that were detailed in articles 245 and 247. Article 246 placed Mkwawa’s head within a politically motivated negotiation of power in the same treaty that granted mandate control of the former German East African colony to the British Empire.

I argue in this dissertation that British diplomats involved in the drafting of this treaty section believed German authorities had taken Mkwawa’s head to show domination and the successful suppression of an anticolonial rebellion. In this way, they had recast the head as a desired symbol of mastery, a tool Britain sought not to repatriate, but rather to keep in order to exert imperial control over the Tanganyika colony. Article 246 dictated that Mkwawa’s skull was to be turned over to Britain, a nation that had never possessed it.

**Mapping Changes over Time**

Mkwawa’s head travelled from colonial Africa to war-torn Europe, and then back to Africa during the decolonisation period. Throughout these journeys, the signifiers of the skull shifted. These changes elucidate critical viewpoints that reveal broader historical discourses, which this dissertation seeks to connect. As mentioned in the Author’s Note, the way the head was viewed overlaps simultaneously in a multitude of descriptors. Physically it was the body part of a great military tactician and ruling chief. It was used as evidence to claim a bounty for Mkwawa’s death. It became a war trophy and symbol of subjection. As a skull, Mkwawa’s head became an object of anthropological and racial science research. As an abstracted idea, Mkwawa’s head was a treaty obligation and given the same status as looted artefacts. It was a tool for control over the Wahehe but also an angle the British could use to further punish and humiliate Wilhelmine Germany. In the mid-twentieth century, the head stood in as an object for military recruitment and alliance formation during the
fading of British colonial control in East Africa. It has since become a postcolonial icon of anticolonial resistance, and a cranial curiosity for museum visitors. Yet it was also transplanted to Hollywood to serve as a script element for an action-adventure film, a leitmotif for a German anti-war novel banned under National Socialism, and a vessel to be emptied and filled with a combination of late-twentieth-century tropes of barbarity, particularly showcased in a Dutch comic book revival of *Tintin meets Indiana Jones*.

**Arguments of Colonial Violence and Repatriation**

This project aims to use a focused microhistory of one individual, and indeed, one individual body part of this individual, in order to connect the political, cultural, and social transnational histories of Germany, Britain, and Tanzania, and to situate a localised ‘object’ within the entangled histories of Western Europe and the postcolonial world.

In this dissertation, I argue that a study of this single body part connects to violent acts committed by European forces across Africa during the long twentieth century. A study of Mkwawa’s skull underscores the violence that underpinned the mandates of the ‘civilisation mission’ used to justify colonialism. The war of resistance Mkwawa waged, the brutal severing of his head, and the fact that a head continues to reside both on display and separated from Mkwawa’s body, are familiar narratives of violence occurring in all geographic areas of settler colonialism. Yet, the abnormality of Mkwawa’s head’s unique international and transnational positioning; its place as both a war trophy and its accidental engagements within nascent racial scientific collection, speak to historical trends more significant and more global than British, German, and Tanzanian history. Mkwawa’s head moved from German East Africa to Imperial Germany. There it remained fixed in a colonial context as Germany transformed through the Weimar Republic, National Socialism, and a divided East and West nation. The skull returned to British controlled Tanganyika as a colonial package used in a final attempt at control during the hyper-violent
suppression of decolonisation, specifically the Mau Mau rebellion (1952-1960) in neighbouring Kenya. Within the Tanzanian Mausoleum-Museum, Mkwawa’s head became a postcolonial example of ujamaa unity, a relic of colonial resistance and a reminder of colonial violence. The journey the skull has undergone, geographic and transformative, is also linked to the long history of reparation and repatriation.

In establishing a historical narrative of Mkwawa’s head, this dissertation seeks to inform current debates surrounding historical memory and repatriation of looted artefacts: human as well as material. I add a narrative of violence that underpins decolonising and postcolonial global movements. The history of repatriation outlined in this dissertation focuses on three moments: 1919, 1954, and 2019. These dates highlight key transformative moments to Mkwawa’s skull that align with the overall transformative nature of repatriation. I show Mkwawa’s head underwent significant changes imposed from the outside. This too is a form of cognitive violence inflicted against groups whose stolen objects have been placed on display in museums or hidden away in public and private collections. This transformation alters these artefacts. Chief Mkwawa’s head changed in status and recognition when it became, for example, ‘the Sultan’s skull’. The head that returned to Kalenga in 1954 was no longer the same as what was taken in 1898. It required a museum and display cases of historical narration to resituate it, a process still in the making. Fundamentally, therefore, this dissertation questions whether true repatriation is possible, or if it is, in fact, a (re)inserting of something new, carrying with it a history of colonial violence.

Structure
This dissertation is organised thematically under a chronological that progresses from 1898, when Mkwawa’s head was taken, to 2019, where this dissertation concludes with the centennial of the Treaty of Versailles. The themes discussed herein break down across four chapters, respectively encompassing discourses of the private, the political, the press, and the public. Chapter I documents the private
collection of trophy heads across colonial Africa and beyond. Chapter II assesses the political negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference. Chapter III analyses the narrative control of publicity. Chapter IV concludes with public engagements of repatriation policies.

In Chapter I, I address broader colonial violence by assessing the decapitation of African resistance leaders and civilians during the suppression of colonial rebellions. Collection is documented as growing out of hunting narratives and the way trophy heads became sanctified as scientific specimens. Binaries of civilisation and savagery are examined in relation to military practices. I explore the initial taking of Mkwawa’s head by Tom and Magdalene von Prince, set against a recent archaeological discovery of a rifle shell casing in the cave where Mkwawa killed himself, the plundering of the Wahehe royal graves, and the creation of a new historical narrative in the 1950s by the Tanganyika governor where he attempted to prove the skull he had located was Mkwawa’s.

In Chapter II, I focus on the Treaty of Versailles, and how Mkwawa’s head came to be listed in article 246. This chapter adds a political and diplomatic layering to this dissertation. As an article within the treaty, the inclusion of Mkwawa’s head sets aside Mkwawa from the more archetypal routes within nineteenth and twentieth-century ‘skull collection’. This chapter unpacks the chaotic drafting of article 246, and the ripples of its impact into the 1930s and from political perspectives. While the preceding chapter focused, primarily, on German colonial history, Chapter II looks at British global history. It was the acting British governor of occupied German East Africa who first noted that Mkwawa’s head could be recovered using the Paris Peace Conference, and it was British politicians and diplomats in Paris who used the treaty to grant Britain formal colonial control of Tanganyika while also humiliating Germany. Yet I also seek to show the actions of silenced actors under political manoeuvrings to secure advantages and air colonial grievances over their treatment under European rule. Mkwawa’s son was stripped of his chieftaincy in the 1940s. His defence is explored to reveal his agency set against
the historical context of the Second World War. Parliamentary hearings are examined to see the way Mkwawa’s skull continued to be utilised to stir up anti-German sentiment during the interwar period. This chapter shows nineteenth-century political thinking within twentieth century realpolitik. The Treaty of Versailles entrenched colonialism. Article 246 embodied the imperial purpose of the peace treaty. Historian H.L. Wesseling called the Treaty of Versailles ‘the crowning glory of European imperialism’, referencing Mkwawa in his statement: ‘To the victors [go] the skulls’.¹⁰

Chapter III returns to Mkwawa’s head as a skull resurfaces in a German museum in the 1950s. This chapter uses the lens of public opinion to examine attempts of control. The British government sought control over the public narrative as imperial colonial confronted decolonisation movements. In so doing the Tanganyika governor sought to recover Mkwawa’s skull at any cost, where he turned an anonymous skull into Mkwawa’s skull. In Chapter II, I cover the political and legal construction of article 246, whereas in this chapter, article 246 is addressed in the ways it was avoided and censored. I examine newspapers and magazine articles, along with reactions to them within government correspondences to unpack public perspectives over the repatriation of Mkwawa’s head. This chapter builds upon Chapter I when examining the pseudo-scientific framing and amateur forensic approach to justify the authenticity of a skull with questionable origins.

Chapter IV concludes this dissertation in the present day. It documents the current efforts in repatriating looted colonial objects and human remains, with an emphasis on Germany. I argue that the centennials of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which took place on 28 June 2019, and its coming into force which will take place on 20 January 2020, offer moments for a broader ‘coming to terms’ with colonial violence that was overshadowed by the centennial commemorative events of the First World War in 2018. Germany holds a unique position in public memory due

to the legacy of the Holocaust and an established Vergangenheitsbewältigung (coming to terms with the past) movement, which I argue could allow the country to lead the way in creating processes of repatriation that other former colonial powers will follow. A reading of article 246 and Mkwawa’s head is conducted using contemporary theories of cultural return, the legal implications of them, and the public ramifications they involve. German legal and non-binding repatriation policy guidelines are contrasted against current British museum policies to stress the complexity of returning colonial looted artefacts. The chapter also creates links between Germany’s historical violence in East Africa and Southwest Africa with British plundering campaigns shown through the punitive expeditions across their empire.

A head, accepted by the source community as Mkwawa’s, remains on display as Mkwawa’s mausoleum. This mausoleum transitioned into the Mkwawa Museum. The presentation of Mkwawa’s remains beyond the end of colonialism brings this dissertation into an analysis of display and memory. By way of conclusion, in the Afterword I explore the blank slate Mkwawa’s head continues to create in popular culture. It was a vessel once filled by callous intentions for various aims. In this final section I analyse a 1998 Dutch comic book, which uses the Mkwawa’s skull in order to create a fictional world where the protagonist battles Nazi agents in her search of King Solomon’s mine, the map of which is inside Mkwawa’s skull. The 1931 anti-war young adult novel Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua (The skull of the negro chief Mkwawa) and the 1940 Hollywood film Zanzibar, each used Mkwawa’s head as a literary storytelling device in the First and Second World War, respectively. These were narratives of adventure with differing motives and outcomes in Dutch, German, and American contexts. Within Tanzanian, documentary films and heritage sites connect Mkwawa to the nation’s decolonisation movement and postcolonial politics. Issues of commemoration and commerce are explored through the use of human remains on display to increase tourist revenue to the Tanzanian hinterlands. Within Mkwawa’s former Wahehe state, the inaugural annual Mkwawa marathon
trail run has runners retrace the paths the Wahehe used in their rebellion against German colonialism as well as the path the 1954 repatriation parade took when the skull was brought to Mkwawa’s mausoleum.

Throughout these chapters the post-mortem ‘life’ of Mkwawa’s head is traced as it continued to move, geographically, temporarily, and thematically through a long twentieth-century history (1898 to 2019). This dissertation seeks to use the narrative of a single head to show the complexity of colonial history and racialised violence that underpinned justifications for imperial expansion, international rivalry, and postcolonial cultural decolonisation movements. By incorporating contemporary history, this dissertation reflects upon issues of repatriation and museology that currently replicates colonial policy within public spaces.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The historiographical lacunae this dissertation addresses span several historical fields. German imperial agents first took Mkwawa’s head, and this dissertation expands the study of German colonialism through its exploration of the violence that underpinned colonial rule. More than a looted artefact, the taking of a head carries an implicate narrative of violence in its collection and display. As Britain subsequently took control of the colonial space as well as created international calls for the return of Mkwawa’s skull, this dissertation addresses British colonial policies. In turning Mkwawa’s head into a repatriation claim after the First World War and again in the 1950s, I explore the transnational practice of legal norms and customary law. Mkwawa’s head, both a human remain and a cultural artefact, bridge histories of repatriation. The postcolonial display and state ownership of the repatriated skull force this dissertation to address nationalism and narrative construction under museology. Guided by cultural history, overall this dissertation is an exercise of the cultural lives of ‘things’ under global British, German, and Tanzanian history. Specific historiography is addressed in each chapter. There, however, broader
discourses this dissertation speaks toward with its microhistorical focus on a single object through global history.

Sebastian Conrad’s *What is Global History?* stated that global history was created in ‘demand for a more inclusive, less narrowly national perspective on the past’. Conrad has made for a compelling guide as I attempt to do the same in this global history of Mkwawa’s head. In his book *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*, Conrad applied ‘the perspective of global history’ to German nationalism in order to enrich ‘the category of the nation’ within an ‘analysis of modern history’. Conrad did the same with his global history of German colonialism. In his explorations Conrad documented the ‘nationalising effects of global circulation’ and the globalising ‘territorial manifestations of the nation’, where Germany shaped and was shaped by the colonial world. Where Conrad stressed comparative connections, he did so through the transnational links that ‘reconfigur[ed] the global order’ seeing Imperial Germany’s internal changes mirroring the global colonial exchanges of ‘changing relationships between the nation and the state, between population and infrastructure, between territory and global order’. Conrad’s text underscores that colonial ambitions were formed under transnational systems, and thus transnational history is the best approach for an analysis of German colonial history.

Like the shift brought to the historical discipline by subaltern scholars, Conrad’s works called for historians to move beyond the more standard studies of entanglements and stressed connectedness explored from what Felipe Fernández-Armesto and Benjamin Sacks lauded as the ‘advantages of immense distance and

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Conrad’s text stressed global history’s importance in the perspective it brings to see ‘beyond the dichotomy of the internal and external’ moving from globally connected spaces to ‘alternative spatialities’. I have used Conrad’s approach to bring a global perspective to localised objects throughout this dissertation.

Conrad’s ‘alternative spatialities’ offers a solution to the boundaries of time periods and geographic space. I access global history through a local lens. Here R. Bin Wong’s work is particularly illuminating. Wong argued that localising a subject finds ‘space for local agency to react’ to global processes. A study of colonialism risks replicating the Eurocentric imperial metanarratives and by grounding my dissertation in transnational historiography I have attempted to prevent the erasure of Mkwawa and Wahehe agency in my narrativisation of events. Mkwawa’s head is much more than a piece of broader international rivalry between Germany and Britain. A study limited on the creation and fulfilment of article 246 collapses the complexity Mkwawa’s head brings to the historical discipline. Similarly, Mkwawa’s head is more than an object within the anthropological epistemologies of race. I have applied Wong’s argument that localisation within global history creates spaces for multiple, pluralistic, studies of connection and difference. Akira Iriye defined transnational history simply as ‘the study of movements and forces that cut across national boundaries’. In this way, my transnational approach to Mkwawa’s head is an attempt to unite the regional particularities of traditional historical approaches to connected themes in world history by analysing the ways Mkwawa’s head and the narratives created about it moved across geographical and temporal boundaries.

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18 Wong, ‘Regions and Global History’, 87.
Conrad and Wong are indicative of scholarship aimed at making world history into global history in an era of increased globalisation. In *Writing History in the Global Era*, Lynn Hunt asked whether ‘globalization [was] a new paradigm for historical explanation that replaces those criticized by cultural theories’ or if, instead, this shift in the discipline ‘threaten[ed] to bring back old paradigms’.\(^\text{20}\) Hunt saw the social and political implications that created certain forms of history, and argued that a global approach to history can be seen as a replication within the discipline to bring the same interconnectedness and interdependence that globalisation has brought to national economies. Thus Hunt encouraged historians to use postcolonial approaches and practices within the new global framework, but only with a self-critical reflection to the limitations of postcolonial ‘cultural theories’\(^\text{21}\). Christopher Bayly anticipated this practice in his 2004 seminal text *The Birth of the Modern World*, where he attempted the hybridised approach of ‘uncovering a variety of hidden meta-narratives…[while] chart[ing] the experience of people without history’ from below.\(^\text{22}\)

The ‘bottom-up perspective’ has long been the counter to imposed metanarrative history, notably articulated by E.P. Thompson’s 1963 *The Making of the English Working Class*. The globalisation of history writing risks, what Lynn Hunt called, becoming ‘another name for modernization, that is, for the homogenization of the world through the circulation, absorption, and imposition of Western values’.\(^\text{23}\) Rather than challenge the modernisation of history, Patrick Manning charged historians with purposefully excluding a European context in world history in order to avoid a continuation of established European hierarchy within the global setting.\(^\text{24}\) This dissertation instead attempts to offer a way to bring European history into a study of world history through its focus on Eastern Africa. In this way I follow

\(^{21}\)Hunt, *Writing History*, 43; 13-14.
Andrew Zimmerman, who would agree with Manning that a failure to break from the colonised approach was a continuation of ‘whiggish’ imperial history that created and upheld the binary distinctions between coloniser and colonised, privileging the agency of top-down European actors and creating Africa as a backdrop where European history played out. But Zimmerman offered an engagement with a specific, rather than generalised, global perspective as a prescriptive antidote that creates, through the critical and self-reflexive ‘multi-sited historiography’, a transnational move beyond world history.\(^{25}\) Dane Kennedy offered a counter to the colonisation of imperial history by deploying the postcolonial theories of postcolonial authors such as Said, Bhabha, and Spivak. Kennedy used Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s famous dictum of ‘decolonising the mind’ to show that even the language of Anglophone texts is itself a form of colonialism, replete with trappings within its rhetorical framings and analytical limitations.\(^{26}\) The use of oral history and Swahili sources in this dissertation is my attempt to write this history in a way that speaks with veracity to the people it studies.

Zimmerman saw African history as having a ‘privileged place in transnational history’ where this multi-sited historiography requires research in multiple languages and in multiple countries.\(^{27}\) That my dissertation involves readings in English, German, and Swahili, in archives in Britain, Germany, and Tanzania, underscores Zimmerman’s suggestion that ‘Africanists were…transnationalists for decades before other academic historians began describing themselves in such terms’.\(^{28}\) In this way Zimmerman echoed Bayly’s famous conclusion that ‘all historians are world historians now, though many have not yet realized it’.\(^{29}\) Frederick Cooper, however, cautioned against reading African history under a

\(^{27}\) Kennedy, ‘Imperial History’, 335-336.
\(^{28}\) Kennedy, ‘Imperial History’, 340.
globalised perspective. He argued that ‘to study Africa is to appreciate the long-term importance of the exercise of power across space, but also the limitations of such power’. 30 For Cooper, African historiography was not multi-sited interconnections but ‘varied combination of territorializing and deterritorializing tendencies’ with a deep past of cross-border networks in a more regionally limited scope, that took on international, but not global elements. 31 While Cooper was hung up on the undefined boundaries of the term ‘global’, his article demonstrates a need to define the terms historians use. To say that this dissertation uses a transnational approach to history is to say that I follow Mkwawa’s head through its exchanges with Germany and Britain in order to see the shared history these nations had with what became Tanzania. Mkwawa’s head is a tool of investigation due to its plasticity; an evolving object that shifted in meaning as it crossed through time and ‘spatialities’.

A true transnational history stresses the contrasted elements by detangling a comparativist approach. 32 Hunt, Conrad, and many others have skilfully argued that global approaches to history are merely a seeping in of comparative approaches that establish ‘Euronormative’ values. That is to say a continuation of the same binary discourses that marginalises even in its attempts at connectivity with multi-regional case-studies. 33 That my dissertation is titled as a ‘transnational’ history speaks to, in a way, my attempt to use comparative framing beyond a cross-cultural diaspora of case-studies. I am centred less within the entangled web of global, international, or world history than I am in augmenting the field by adding a localised context in order to create this transnational history. The presence of Mkwawa’s head, as both a

31 Cooper, ‘What is Globalization Good For?’, 191.
33 See, for example, Bruce Mazlish’s 1998 article which inadvertently used the very lens of binary comparison to refute the practice. ‘Comparing Global History to World History’, The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 28, no. 3 (Winter, 1998), 385-395.
physical anchoring and springboard into divergent trajectories provides local and international lenses. In many ways this dissertation attempts to be both territorial and spatially removed; occupying, if one could say, that open space between global and world history, as Britain, Germany, and Tanzania have negotiated dominance and ‘reterritorialisation…of new spatial patterns’ in colonial, post-war, Cold War, and finally postcolonial contexts.34

A study of Mkwawa’s many transformations after death equally imparts a powerful lesson on the discourse of memory and presentation. Narrative constructions surrounding objects create a reimagination of the past imparted through communicative materiality. The colonial past is reframed or reinvented in order to portray a specific account of history depending on what the object is meant to become. Benedict Anderson’s seminal work on ‘imagined communities’ argued that nationalism is fused around unifying cultural symbols and mythic origin narratives that create a shared notion of community.35 Anderson’s argument can be seen in the narrative of Mkwawa, specifically in Chapter II regarding his ruling status as an imagined sultan. The unifying nature around Mkwawa’s stolen skull is preserved in broader shifts of casting Wahehe soldiers as mythic warriors; a quality spearheaded by Britain during the post-war era as well as self-identification by the Wahehe and Tanzanians after independence. Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm held that social cohesion, of which nationalism is born, came from invented ‘references to the past’ codified in not only the narrative of Mkwawa as a fearless warrior and resistance leader, but also in the ‘othering’ of his head under notions of trophy collection and as a racial specimen.36 Terence Ranger drew attention to the contradiction of a European metropole ‘tradition’ as an imposed and inflexible

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custom, and the way this was bent by African actors in colonial contexts for their own ends, creating a reimagination of a false past for present purposes. The postcolonial display of Mkwawa’s skull can thus be unpacked as an example of this narrative manipulation. For Pierre Nora, the ‘inventions of tradition’ would be an elucidation of the ways ‘memory has become historically aware of itself’. Nowhere is this more evident than in the myriad of ways narratives of Mkwawa’s head were transformed by different actors for different audiences. For these authors, memory shapes the object into a type of narrative, united under Maurice Halbwachs’ foundational notion of ‘collective memory’. Nora sees history as incomplete on its own, requiring an infusion of memory at lieux de mémoire (literally ‘places of remembrance’). These spaces are Mkwawa’s burial site, the grounds of his war of resistance across the southern highland of Tanzania, and the Mkwawa Museum; places where Mkwawa is remembered not as a victim of German imperialism, but a transnational figure of colonial resistance.

The process of postcolonial decentring within former colonial settings is naturally unfinished, particularly in contexts where human and cultural remains were once displayed. Ciraj Rassool embodies the subaltern movement of exploring a global and local mix of political intersections in community remembrance sites, particularly museums. Rassool’s scholarship on repatriation extends focus onto the way colonial collected human remains continue to be stored and referenced under

40 Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, in Representations, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), 9.
objectification rather than personhood. I have attempted to rehumanise Mkwawa’s remains throughout every chapter of this dissertation following Rassool’s exemplary academic-activism.

The return of a skull, in a network of exchange, offers an exploration into the historiography of collection and display in twentieth-century anthropology. German anthropological traditions can be seen as developing together with British traditions in the early nineteenth century to create concepts of biological race. In this way, a global history approach can be underscored, as German traveller-naturalists linked with English-speaking colleagues, where they created a mutually constitutive metropolitan epistemology in the ‘science’ of skull measurements. The interpretation of anthropological data within different national cultures of scientific knowledge could be seen as having developed along separate trajectories, yet while also having been directly shaped along shared connections of scholarly exchange and collaboration.

Indeed, most German anthropological research was published first in English and then later into German as late as the 1870s. German anthropology, like the

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British tradition, were each rooted in the Darwinian theory of evolution by natural selection in the 1850s, a period Alfred C. Haddon called anthropology’s ‘constructive’ phase. With a connection to ‘race’ as defined in static hierarchical physical terms, anthropology sought to show its ‘political practicability and imperial value’, heralded by practitioners as a connection between metropole and colony. Indeed, anthropology, in its foundation, cannot be separated from the colonial context in which it was practised.

Yet this global history can be contrasted by the static racial categorisation between Britain and Germany. As was argued by Bunzl and Penny, German anthropology’s trajectory split from the ‘politically liberal, humanistic, cosmopolitan science’ focused on humankind in general and historically contextualised with German unification, to the late-nineteenth century scholarly interest in imperial, racial, and a more nationalistic focus that progressed into the twentieth century. For Penny, this change occurred, coincidently, the year before Mkwawa suffered his first major defeat in by German colonial forces. In 1895, shifts in the German ‘museum-based structure’ of German anthropology, which Penny linked to broader social changes in the public sphere, transitioned the discipline away from an ethnographic formulation around an abandonment of methodological groundings in order to ‘locate and compare distinct cultural groups and their respective histories’ in a politically aligned, rather than rigidly scientific empirical pursuit. Matti Bunzl showed that for German observers, colonial expansion threatening individual Volk within the larger framework of humanity, prompting some anthropologist turned

45 Some anthropologists tried to justify their colonial work by arguing ‘commercial relations…in Britain’s extensive colonial possessions’ maintained ‘the mutual advantages that might be obtained by preserving, instead of annihilating, the aboriginal population.’ See ‘Varieties of the Human Race: Queries Respecting the Human Race, To Be Addressed to Travellers and Others.’ British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the Eleventh Meeting, (1841), 332, quoted in Stocking, ‘Reading Palimpsest’, 171-172.
museum keepers to ‘collect as many ethnic products as possible, whether in the form of artifacts, myths, religious beliefs, grammars, or descriptions of political and economic systems’. An early museum curator wrote, ‘each year, each day, nay each hour things disappear from this earth...Our guiding principle, therefore, in anthropology, prehistory, or ethnology should be to collect everything’. While preserving the vestiges of non-European Volk, these colonial encounters, however, eroded the universalising tenets of humanism as German anthropology became a tool of empire. Institutions themselves were conscripted into the German colonial project, as illustrated by Jens Ruppenthal study on the origins of Hamburg University, where colonial officer training mixed with colonial science to create ‘institution[s] as prestige project[s] for both the Colonial Office and [academia]’.

The collection of Mkwawa’s head served as both a trophy and a specimen. As will be shown in Chapter III, the 1950s newspaper coverage of Mkwawa’s skull rehashed and misunderstood its cephalic measurements. Postwar coverage of cephalic classification brought nineteenth-century notions of race and nationalism beyond its exaggeration under then recently defeated Nazi Germany to recreate the very politically and imperial malleable academic constructions German anthropologists had attempted in the first years of the twentieth century. The British Tanganyika governor used the cephalic index to determine individual identity in the manner of an amateur forensic criminal investigator. He measured the heads of Mkwawa’s living decedents in order to claim he had found a corresponding skull in Germany and thus had so-called evidentiary proof of its provenance. In so doing, the governor upheld racial classifications. Andrew Evans explored the establishment and legitimisation of conceptions of biological race as it was used for nationalistic

50 Jens Ruppenthal, Kolonialismus als ‘Wissenschaft und Technik’: das Hamburgische Kolonialinstitut 1908 bis 1919 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 17.
purposes in Germany, which, he argued, conscripted the anthropological enterprise into state-sponsored racism.\textsuperscript{51} Evans pinpointed the racial break as being paradoxically grounded in the ‘liberal’ tradition of Rudolf Virchow, Johannes Ranke, and Julius Kollmann, who ‘opposed anti-Semitism, rejected Germanic racial theories, and forcefully argued for the unity of the human species’ yet created the bedrock for the later biological determinist and Völkisch racism of Eugen Fischer, replacing traditional physical anthropology with Rassenkunde, a strain of racial science linking ‘physical characteristics to mental and cultural faculty.’\textsuperscript{52} In this way Mkwawa’s head would have been a perfect object of inquiry.

Those specifically German racial categorisations of the twentieth century grew out of colonial practices not unique to Germany. Casting a world history net, Andrew Zimmerman’s many works on the collection of human remains followed what George Stocking had shown to be the mutually reinforcing links between ‘anthropology, scientific knowledge, imperial interests and “ethical” concerns’ originating in the British tradition.\textsuperscript{53} Zimmerman viewed the German anthropological discipline as arising out of competition within the Geisteswissenschaften (the established German academic humanities), specifically history, which used written documents to create narratives of the past. Like the narratives imposed onto Mkwawa’s skull, late-nineteenth-century anthropologists, according to Zimmerman, read skulls and artefacts as texts, ‘visual representation’, for popular audience consumption of ethnographic spectacles. German anthropologists, ‘sought to create…a vision that both differentiated them from humanists as ‘objective’ natural scientist but also distinguished them from the leering ‘Schaust’ (curiosity of the masses) that could be seen in the viewing of

\textsuperscript{51} Andrew Evans, \textit{Anthropology of War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I}, in \textit{Worldly Provincialism}, 200.
\textsuperscript{52} Evans, \textit{Anthropology of War}, 200.
\textsuperscript{53} George W. Stocking, Jr, ‘Reading the Palimpsest of Inquiry: \textit{Notes and Queries} and the History of British Social Anthropology’, in George Stocking, Jr., \textit{Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Essays and Reflections} (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 171.
human remains within museums.\textsuperscript{54} Zimmerman, like Evans, also explored the figure of Rudolf Virchow as the turning point in German anthropology. Virchow, as will be shown, played a paramount role in turning Mkwawa’s skull from a trophy head to a scientific specimen. Virchow used racial categories to justify colonised peoples’ exploitation.\textsuperscript{55} Zimmerman called this the ‘anti-humanism’ movement; a Germanic anthropological challenge to humanism and the humanities as part of a larger reorientation of German society marked by the growth of urban mass culture, ideologically driven natural sciences, and European imperialism.\textsuperscript{56} Much like George Mosse’s study on the nineteenth-century \textit{Völkisch} movement, Zimmerman saw racial nationalism as rising along alienating shifts of modernity, where the accelerated social, political, and economic forces that founded the German Empire in 1871 began to ‘undermine the humanist self-understanding on which German liberal nationalism rested’.\textsuperscript{57} While Zimmerman saw German imperialism as being anchored in the ‘traditional historicism of Hegel and Ranke’, he argued that ‘humanist notions of the self were both defined and profoundly threatened by the existence of humans whom Europeans regarded as inferior’. This created a crisis of humanism when Germany became a colonial empire and began collecting skulls within African colonies.\textsuperscript{58} Within the ‘place in the sun’ motif of German \textit{Weltpolitik}, came an opportunity for German anthropologists to shape and be shaped by colonial expansion. Imperialism itself, like the changes in nineteenth-century German anthropology, brought profound shifts in global politics, economies, and culture. Instead of studying German connections to its own history and civilisation through

\textsuperscript{55} Andrew Zimmerman, ‘Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality’ in \textit{Worldly Provincialism}, 159.
\textsuperscript{56} Andrew Zimmerman, \textit{Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 2.
\textsuperscript{58} Zimmerman, \textit{Anthropology and Antihumanism}, 3.
European *Kulturvölker*, German anthropologists conducted fieldwork of the colonised *Naturvölker*, societies supposedly lacking history and culture.\(^{59}\) African people within the German East African colony where ‘simultaneously recognized as human and denied full humanity’.\(^{60}\) Anthropologists viewed the colonised as objects of scholarly inquiry yet also as exhibitions in alterity. Anthropology emerged in Germany as a critique against the established scientific disciplines in an era of massive social transformation, co-opted into the imperial project and coloured by emerging nationalism. Mkwawa’s head, as measured and returned by British colonialism, represented a type of nostalgia for the nineteenth century, carried out at the beginning of the decolonisation era.

\(^{59}\) A shift that occurred across all European anthropological traditions.

\(^{60}\) Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 239.
CHAPTER I
DECAPITATING COLONIAL RESISTANCE

MUKADUMULE (‘REMOVE HIS HEAD’)
The Wahehe state was not much older than Mkwawa. As German colonial forces pushed into the interior from the East Africa coast, incorporating chieftaincies and land into ‘German East Africa’, the Wahehe were centralising power through a military conquest of the southern highlands. The Wahehe state consisted of at least fifteen amalgamated but independent groups, united under Chief Munyigumba, Mkwawa’s father.61 ‘Wahehe’ was a nineteenth-century creation of centralised state-making.62 David Pizzo called the Wahehe state a ‘created ethnicity’ likening it to the Zulu or Ngoni, where scattered peoples were incorporated into a state-imposed ‘official identity’. This also aligns with Benedict Anderson’s ‘imagined communities’ theory.63 The very term ‘Hehe’ came not from a pre-existing ethnic group, but rather from the Wahehe war cry, uniting groups under a culture of militarism.64

Munyigumba took command as paramount chief in 1855, the same year his son Mkwawa was born.65 As the Wahehe state expanded, the defeated or allied groups came under Munyigumba’s control, creating one of the largest and most

61 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 411. Anthropologist Gordon Brown conducted fieldwork in the Uhehe region in the 1930s. He concluded that the Wahehe state was made up of more than thirty independent chiefdoms that were united under the Muyinga dynasty. Brown’s fieldwork placed him into contact with elders who were alive under Mkwawa’s rule. Alison Redmayne found inconsistencies in Brown’s research and writing, such as six groups who lived in the Uhehe area but considered themselves Sagara, not Wahehe. Redmayne shortened Brown’s distinct groups down to fifteen. I use Redmayne’s figures here, which were upheld by John Iliffe. Redmayne, The Wahehe People of Tanganyika, 120-1; John Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 56.
62 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 80.
64 Redmayne and mwandaLute, ‘Riddles and Riddling Among the Hehe of Tanzania’, 795; Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Land of Mkwawa’, 62.
capable states in the southern interior of Eastern Africa. This also allowed Munyigumba to monopolise the collection of ivory in the area, enriching the Wahehe state through its ivory trade to the coast along these caravan routes.

Born in 1855 as Ndesalasi (‘troublemaker’), Mkwawa was the younger heir, though he would have inherited half of the Wahehe state. After Munyigumba’s death, however, Mwambambe, a sub ruler of the Nyamwezi who had married one of Mkwawa’s sisters, took control. He used Muhenga, Mkwawa’s older brother, as a puppet ruler, which caused the twenty-three-year-old Mkwawa to flee. Mkwawa took refuge in Kalenga, where he built his first stronghold and an alliance with groups opposed to Mwambambe. With Mkwawa in exile, Mwambambe attempted to expand the Wahehe state further while he consolidated his power, including arming the Wahehe with firearms. From his stronghold in Kalenga, Mkwawa’s forces attacked the soldiers loyal to Mwambambe. Mwamambe was killed after a series of violent confrontations. The battlefield where he died was ominously dubbed Ilundamatwe, ‘the place where many heads are piled up’.

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67 Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 49.
69 During her fieldwork in Uhehe, Redmayne encountered oral history around Mwambambe, which often referred to him as ‘Limwambambe’, the ‘li’ prefix used to stress his ‘size and evil’, as he is ‘generally acknowledged to be the villain of Hehe history’. Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 413. John Iliffe calls Mwambambe ‘a Nyamwezi slave’ a rather interesting turn of phrase that alludes to the darker history of the coastal use of slavery in East Africa. Iliffe then emphasised the martial attributes that allowed a slave to rise in status. Mwambambe’s ‘military prowess had made him Munyigumba’s son-in-law and the popular commander of the vital south-western frontier’. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 58.
70 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 413.
Mkwawa’s military exploits had earned him many names. The troublemaker Ndésalasi became the leader Mkwawa. ‘Mkwawa’ is a diminutive of his name Mukwavinyika, itself from the Kihehe term ‘kukwava inyika’, which carries conquest overtones in its meaning ‘to capture the plains’. A Kiswahili translation of ‘Mukwavinyika’ underscores this as it can be translated as ‘the conqueror of many lands’. Mkwawa’s military prowess is reflected in his many titles, particularly his longest: Mtwa Mkwava Mukwavinyika Mahinya Yilimwiganga Mkalı̊ Kuvago Kuvadala Tage Matenengo Manwiwage Seguniwagula Gumgana (‘A leader who takes control of the forests, who is aggressive to men and polite to women, who is unpredictable and unbeatable, and who has [such] power that only death can take him away’). Yet he also had other names that spoke against his civic leadership. A nickname for him among the Wahehe was Lukwale-lwa-mwaka (‘the madness of the year’), referring to his unstable and ruthless nature. Opposing groups referred to Mkwawa as Muhinja (‘the butcher’) or ‘Mahinya’ (‘the slaughterer’), titles well earned. Wahehe oral history preserved Mkwawa’s favourite commands through folk song, which includes the phrases ‘Mukasipele’ (‘give him to the vultures’), a command for what to do with captured rivals, as well as ‘Mukatite’ (‘suffocate him’). Ironically, one such chant was ‘Mukadumule’ (‘remove his head’).

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73 Redmayne, ‘The War Trumpets and Other Mistakes’, 103. Due to ‘Mkwawa’ being a shortening of his full title, its spelling has taken many forms in accounts and scholarly literature. Examples range from ‘Mukwaw Nyika’, ‘Mkuanika’, ‘Kwawanjiaka’, ‘Kwawanjika’, and the Swahili simplification of ‘Mkuu wa Nyika’. In German-language sources, his name is most often written as ‘Kuawa’ and ‘Quawa’. The common usage of ‘Mkawwa’ occurred in the 1920s when Mkwawa’s son returned from Germany and spelled his name ‘Mkwawa Sapi’. Today the family uses this standard spelling and pronunciation, which I have adopted throughout this dissertation. Alison Redmayne, ‘The War Trumpets and Other Mistakes in the History of the Hehe’, Anthropos, Vol. 65, No. 1,2 (1970), 103.

74 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 433.

75 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 434.

76 This phrase translates to ‘go and give him to them’, referring that the person is to be stabbed and his body thrown to scavengers, rather than properly buried. See Redmayne, The Wahehe People, 177.

77 Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Land of Mkwawa’, 69n143. It is outside of this dissertation’s scope to analyse this oral history to ascertain if these commands are preserved historical records or added later, particularly Mkwawa’s command to decapitate captives in light of Mkwawa’s head being taken. Yet the naming of the battlefield ‘Ilundamatwe’ (the place where many heads are piled up), as well as a history of decapitation, shows that ‘Mukadumule’ (remove his head) was not a rare command.
It has been argued that the Wahehe saw iron weapons as superior to firearms due to the long tradition of ironworking in Uhehe, adding a cultural as well as socio-economic value to locally produced spears and arrowheads compared to imported rifles.\textsuperscript{78} The Wahehe military techniques adopted through wars with neighbouring states allowed the Wahehe to successfully combat soldiers armed with rifles. Wahehe soldiers used a combination of ranged throwing spears, called \textit{migoha}, and then the short stabbing \textit{assegai}\textsuperscript{79} spear, which was called an \textit{issala} in Kihehe.\textsuperscript{80} Their military formations mirrored those used famously by King Shaka.\textsuperscript{81} The Wahehe utilised \textit{impondo zenkomo} (‘buffalo horns’ in isiZulu) pincer movement of flanking enemy positions to move in close for effective use of the \textit{issala} spear.\textsuperscript{82} Fighting the Ngoni and Songu had also prepared the Wahehe to wage war on two separate fronts. This created a battle-tested system of logistics, increasing that state’s battle readiness.\textsuperscript{83}

As the Wahehe state formed in the interior highlands, German colonial rule developed along the East African coast. The German colonial charter company


\textsuperscript{79} This is the term for the spear as it was used under the Zulu. The Wahehe adopted the Zulu fighting techniques from the Ngoni, a Zulu offshoot produced under the \textit{mfecane}. Mathieu Deflem, ‘Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879’, \textit{Ethnology}, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Autumn, 1999), 377. ‘Assegai’ is the term given to the spear in Anglophone literature. The isiZulu term is ‘iklwa’, drawn from the sound the weapon makes when being pulled out of flesh. See Pizzo, ‘To Devour The Land of Mkwawa’, 64. ‘Mfecane’ is caught up in scholarly debate, not least due to the Afrikaaner foundational myth of expanding into terra nullius due to this scattering. See Norman Etherington, \textit{The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815-1854} (New York: Longman, 2011), 338.

\textsuperscript{80} Pizzo, ‘To Devour The Land of Mkwawa’, 65.


Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (‘German East Africa Company’) was founded in 1887. Yet Germany had already expanded into East Africa since the 1840s via missionary societies and merchant trade ventures. Following the Berlin conference, German East Africa was to be the ‘modern’ imperial state using what Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank have argued to be the standard tactics of ‘thin administration’; using little state capital investment under a civilising mission banner to support conservative traditional rule without ‘worrying that too much social change would compromise order’.

Dr Carl Peters, a colonial man-on-the-spot, initially pushed German East African expansion. A historian turned explorer, Peters travelled along the eastern trade routes in East Africa as a private citizen on a quest to create a ‘German India in Africa’. He signed questionable treaties with local chiefs, giving him, not the German state, control over the land. The creation of German East Africa represented the processes of indirect rule employed across African colonies by other


European empires. Collaborative chiefs, often inventing their authority, maintained local order. They could impose the edicts of colonial rule through the collection of taxes and organise labour forces, thus maintaining the colonial system whilst gaining political authority. Justice was maintained though ‘customary’ law; a mixture of pre-colonial practices but shaped through certain European norms. This hybrid system kept financial costs and administrative involvement to a minimum, whilst maintaining the allegiances of ruling elites.89

German colonialism in East Africa began in the suppression of an uprising movement, which they viewed to be a single unified movement, called the ‘Arab revolt’.90 To suppress the rebellion, Bismarck annexed the coastal area as an official colonial territory and dispatched Herrmann Wissmann to pacify the region.91 His appointment of Wissmann foreshadowed the violent conflict between East African groups, sending a professional soldier who confessed that he ‘regarded the Arab as the enemy of the human race’.92 Wissmann’s presence threatened to upset the loose

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90 The term ‘Arab revolt’ was intentionally used to make it seem like a revolt of slave trading merchants and villages with the Germans then appearing as emancipating enlightened Europeans. A more accurate term for the ‘Arab revolt’ would be the ‘Abushiri rebellion’ (or Bushiri rebellion), as any centralisation of the resistance movements was done under Abushiri ibn Salim al-Harthi, an Omani Arab who owned plantations near Pangani and united local Arab traders with black African workers to fight German colonial encroachment and religious disrespect shown by von Zelewski. The more Germany attempted to crush the rebellion through military strength and gunboat diplomacy, the more it united these groups against Germany. Abushiri’s execution in 1889 ended the first stage of these coastal rebellions. For an analysis of the autonomy and interplay between these coastal townships, see Steven Fabian, ‘Curing the Cancer of the Colony: Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, and Socioeconomic Struggle in German East Africa’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2007), 441-469.


92 Quoted in Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 95. German author Julius Lohmeyer summarised the paradoxical mix of perceived divisions and hierarchy in early German East Africa in 1902. With
control Muslim community leaders and self-appointed sultans in Zanzibar held over the coastal inhabitants. Wissmann’s forces comprised a small number of European officers commanding significant numbers of African soldiers. The colonial army retained the perceived hierarchy imposed by European ideas of African martial prowess. ‘Sudanese’ conscripts made up the bulk of the main soldiers. These were soldiers originally from southern Sudan, but the initial recruits were hired from British Egypt, where they had fled after the fall of Khartoum (1884) to the self-proclaimed Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad bin Abd Allah and his so-called Dervish followers. Many had served formally in the British colonial forces. Their prior undertones of what marked a civilised society, Lohmeyer wrote, the inhabitants are a mix of ‘peoples of many kinds…from the marauding nomad to semi-civilised coastal dweller, who can read and write Arabic, clothes himself decently and would be most reluctant to do without foreign imported goods’. Quoted in Hilary Howes, “Far Better Than Their Reputation”: The Tolai of East New Britain in the Writings of Otto Finsch, Savage Worlds: German Encounters Abroad, 1798-1914, eds. Matthew P. Fitzpatrick and Peter Monteath (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 55.

93 In a testament to the chaos sown by a more formalised German presence, one need only look at the truncated reigns of the Sultans on Zanzibar. Before German interference, Majid bin Said reigned for fourteen years (1856-1870) and Barghash bin Said for eighteen years (1870 to 1888). As soon as Wissmann entered East Africa with his forces, the sultanate reigns shifted to Khalifa bin Said, who was sultan for less than one year (26 March 1888 to 13 February 1890). Ali bin Said, ruled for three years (1890 to 1893) after the British and German Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890 turned Zanzibar into a British protectorate. Hamid bin Thuwayni reigned from 1893 to 1896, and Khalid bin Barghash was sultan for just three days, having lost the Anglo-Zanzibar War that began at 9:02 am on 27 August 1896 and ended at 9:40 am on the same day, making it the shortest war in modern history. Ian Hernon, Britain’s Forgotten Wars: Colonial Campaigns of the 19th Century (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), 396-404.


95 The Mahdi’s followers swelled in rank as he marched them to Kurdufan, including Baqqara and Ta’aisha people. But it was the Haddendowa warriors from the Beja people that came to embody this force in the public consciousness after Rudyard Kipling’s famous poem ‘Fuzzy-Wuzzy’. The poem title referenced the common parlance used by British soldiers fighting Madhi forces and praised the martial prowess of these warriors who ‘broke the square’ against ‘all the odds’, calling the Fuzzy-Wuzzies ‘first-class fightin’ m[e]n’ and details all of the other African forces (‘Boers…Burman…Zulu’) who successfully challenged British colonial forces, before praising the Madhi soldiers as the strongest, though still ‘big black boundin’ beggar[s]’. Rudyard Kipling, ‘Fuzzy-Wuzzy’, Rudyard Kipling: War Stories and Poems, ed. Andrew Rutherford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 68-69. British Major-General Charles George Gordon was famously killed during the Fall of Khartoum, his death scene memorialised in George W. Joy’s 1893 painting ‘General Gordon’s Last Stand’. What Joy did not paint was the removal of Gordon’s head, its delivery to the Madhi, and it being hanged from a tree ‘where all who passed it could look in disdain, children could throw stones at it and the hawks of the desert could sweep and circle above’ it. Pakenham, Scramble for Africa, 272; For an eyewitness account, see Rudolf C. Saltin Pasha, Fire and Sword in the Sudan: A Personal Narrative of Fighting and Serving the Dervishes, 1879-1895, trans. Maj. F.R. Wingate (London: Edward Arnold, 1896), 340-341. For
combat experience helped elevate the Sudanese soldiers in the eyes of German command as being the best African conscripts. In the early years of the Wissmanntruppe, however, the term ‘Sudanese’ applied to any Northern African soldiers.\textsuperscript{97} Lowest in status were the ‘Zulu’ regiments, a misleading title as it consisted of Tsonga conscripts from Portuguese East Africa. They earned a poor reputation under the eyes of German leadership due to their combat inexperience, which was attributed to their racial character. In his history of the Schutztruppe, founding officer Ernst Nigmann claimed the Tsonga soldiers fought admirably in their first engagement ‘but after that they behaved as savages’.\textsuperscript{98} Once stationed on the Swahili coast, Wissmann began to recruit local black Africans into his army, which were called \textit{askari}, after the Arabic and Kiswahili term for ‘soldier’.\textsuperscript{99} Lowest in status were local porters, carrying equipment, and often the German officers themselves in hammocks during long marches.\textsuperscript{100}


\textsuperscript{97} Moyd, \textit{Violent Intermediaries}, 37.

\textsuperscript{98} Ernst Nigmann, \textit{Geschichte der kaiserlichen Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika} (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1911), 11.

\textsuperscript{99} ‘Askari’ can also mean ‘police’ or ‘guard’, but as this chapter focuses on military campaigns, the translation as ‘soldier’ is most apt. The term originated in this East African context but has since taken on several meanings, including a duality of ‘collaboration’ and ‘resistance’. See Jacob Dlamini, \textit{Askari: A Story of Collaboration and Betrayal in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle} (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), 1-2; Ch. 2. The term ‘askari’ came to denote any African soldiers within the Wissmanntruppe; itself later called the Schutztruppe.

As a colony, German East Africa was defined through its lack of clear direction.\(^{101}\) Existing outside of the metropolitan gaze, Wissmann employed brutal tactics of violence during his first deployment of what would become the Schutztruppe to suppress rebellion.\(^{102}\) At Bagamoyo, the tree from which Wissmann hanged captured rebels was known as the chinja chinja tree (‘slaughtering tree’), and nearly a century later the tree and the memory of violence inflicted by German command lingered in the town.\(^{103}\) These campaigns of violence were the first colonial

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\(^{101}\) John Iliffe wrote: ‘Germany’s African empire did not last long enough for an administrative theory to gain acceptance. Indeed, it was only shortly before 1914 that the German rulers of East Africa formulated a coherent policy to guide their actions’. John Iliffe, ‘The Effects of the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905-1906 on German Occupation Policy in East Africa’, *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*, eds. Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 557. Alison Redmayne wrote ‘it is remarkable that they managed to do as much as they did: they made roads, built the central railway, laid telegraph lines, introduced sisal (a fibrous plant used for textiles) and exported a considerable amount of produce, built a number of towns and settlements…conducted an impressive amount of scientific research and the government started schools in sufficient number to impress the British administrators when they took over’ in 1919. Redmayne, *The Wahehe People*, 205.

\(^{102}\) For an account of Wissmann’s career as an explorer and colonial agent before the founding of his Wissmanntruppe, see his memoir, published the same year as his suppression of the ‘Arab Revolt’. Wissmann’s first colonial service was in the Belgian Congo under campaigns of violence. Hermann von Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost, von 1880 bis 1883 ausgeführt von Paul Pogge and Hermann Wissmann* (Berlin: Walther & Apolant, 1889). On Congo violence, see, for example, a 1903 account of Belgian colonial rule, where the flogging and torturing of young children by Belgian officers are described in explicit detail (xxii; 244), as is the castration of a native worker (76), and the cutting off of indigenous children’s hands by the Force Publique (112; 219). Guy Burrows, *The Course of Central Africa* (Strand, R.A. Everett, 1903); Vincent Viaene, ‘King Leopold’s Imperialism and the Origins of the Belgian Colonial Party, 1860-1905’, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 80, No. 4. Special Issue on Metropole and Colony (December 2008), 787.

\(^{103}\) Pizzo, *To Devour the Land of Mkwawa*, 49-50. Pizzo visited Bagamoyo in 2005 where he was shown a tree alleged to be the chinja chinja tree. Sometime after his visit, the tree was burned down and a memorial obelisk was placed in its spot. The plaque conflated the violence against ‘Arabs’ as violence against ‘Africans’ and the German East Africa Company became ‘German colonists’. The rebellion of plantation owning elites became framed as an anti-colonial rebellion. The current plaque is in English and the memorial is now a tourist site. The plaque reads: ‘Here is the place where the German colonists used to hang to death revolutionary Africans who were opposing their oppressive rule’. Jan Lindström, *Muted Memories: Heritage-Making, Bagamoyo, and the East African Caravan Trade* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), 19-20. In the 1920s A. Werner recorded a local Swahili song: ‘What man is the German? Praised and renowned not for wealth, not for anything except valour. Cut! Strike! Slay! Bring fire, burn! Take the sword, go forward, slay! These are the praises which the people of the world praise [them]…with…valour’. A. Werner, ‘The Voice of Africa’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1928), 249. Original Swahili version reads: ‘Wani mtu Jajamani. Mwenye sifa mashuuri. Si kwa mali, si kwa neno. Illa ushujaa. Kata, piga, chinja! Lete moto, choma! Twaa upanga, nenda mbele, chinja! Hizo ndizo sifa zao. Wasifizo walimwengu…Illa ushujaa!’
experiences for the two main German officers directly involved in the later war with
the Wahehe. Emil von Zelewski earned the Swahili nickname ‘Nyundo’ (‘the
hammer’) for his tactics on the East African coast. At the same time, Tom Prince
saw an opportunity to make a name for himself as a colonial military leader, and
started recording his diary entries of combat and leadership with an eye toward
publication and promotion.104 As the Wahehe raided caravans in the southern
highlands, German colonial officials in both the colony and Berlin began to fear that
the Wahehe state was poised to move along the trade route and attack the nascent
coastal colony directly.105 A rumour spread among German command was that the
Wahehe state had logistically aided the Arab revolt to weaken German rule.106

Divide and rule practices represented an opportunity for weakened East
African states to advance through an alliance with the comparatively well-armed
German colony, which the colonial administration sought to solidify through
diplomacy rather than armed pacification.107 Anticipating conflict, Mkwawa

Translation in original. Note the use of the term ‘chinja’, echoing back to the chinja chinja hanging tree
in Bagamoyo.

104 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 418. These diary entries cover 1890 to 1895, stopping
before the taking of Mkwawa’s head. Tom Prince’s wife, Magdalene von Prince, maintained a diary from
1896 to 1908.

105 Nigmann, Die Wahehe, 15; Tom von Prince, Gegen Araber und Wahehe: Erinnerungen aus meiner
ostafrikanischen Leutnantszeit 1890-1895 (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1914), 79; Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the
Hehe Wars’, 417.

106 Nigmann, Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe, 81; Tom von Prince, Gegen Araber und Wahehe:
Erinnerungen aus meiner ostafrikanischen Leutnantszeit 1890-1895 (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1914), 107; G.A.
No. 4 (June 1975), 627. German missionary and explorer August Schynse even claimed that when
Abushiri first fled the coast upon Wissmann’s attack at Bagamoyo, he went to Mkwawa in search of
On using rumour as a historical source, see Luise White, Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History
See also Kim A. Wagner, The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian
Uprising (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010); Ann Laura Stoler, “In Cold Blood”: Hierarchies of Credibility
and the Politics of Colonial Narratives’, Representations, No. 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and

107 Empires have complicated and differing trajectories honed by responses to localised and regional
contexts. Yet policy overlaps exist and the ‘divide and rule’ tactic is implicit within colonial rule. See
Burbank and Cooper, Empires in World History, 1-23; Crawford Young, The African Colonial State in
Comparative Perspective (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 225; Richard Morrock, ‘Heritage of
meanwhile sought alliances with Wahehe rivals and ordered the construction of a fortification made of heavy stone and based on the design of German fortresses along the coast. Ngoni raids in Kilwa prompted the German colony to send an expedition into the southern highlands on 22 June 1891. Led by Emil ‘the hammer’ von Zelewski, a force of Schutztruppe pushed into the southern highlands of Uhehe.

Before marching into Uhehe, von Zelewski ordered his fellow colonial officer Tom Prince to return to the coast with Prince’s ‘Zulu’ Schutztruppe regiment, thereby sending away any chance of reinforcements. Their conversation, recorded in Prince’s diary, revealed the prevailing attitude of colonial arrogance. Prince objected to his dismissal, revealing his affinity for the ‘Zulu’ soldiers under his command by saying that ‘the 3rd company [Prince’s regiment] is the strongest, you may need them Herr Commander!’ Von Zelewski told Prince the Wahehe ‘do not even have guns, just shields and spears’. Before departing he wrote to German Chancellor von Caprivi stating that his mission was to ‘undertake a campaign in order to throw back [those] that have broken into the hinterland…and to chastise the marauding and uncompromising Wahehe’, adding a punitive element to the campaign that aligned with von Zelewski’s previous tactics during his suppression of the Abushiri rebellion. As a civilian, Governor von Soden had less in control over the

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108 Nigmann, *Die Wahehe*, 15; Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 429. At the beginning of 1891, the Wahehe attempted to create a non-aggression pact with German East Africa. Some Tanzanian scholarship interprets German intentions as always in conflict with the Wahehe due to the threatening size of Mkwawa’s empire and used the raids against the caravan route as a justification to attack the Wahehe irrespective of which groups raided the trade routes. See Michael Musso, *Mkwawa na kabila lake* (Arusha: East African Publications Limited, 1996), 54-55. It should be noted that Mkwawa himself would have not attended any negotiations with von Soden, as he avoided contact with Europeans. This secrecy in his nature may be imposed upon Mkwawa as an anachronism after his death and around the speculation that the head and later skull was never his.


111 Prince, *Gegen Araber und Wahehe*, 88. Von Zelewski’s order likely saved Prince’s life, as Prince’s regiment would have also been caught in the Wahehe ambush.

112 Quoted in Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Lands of Mkwawa’, 78.
Schutztruppe than von Zelewski, his military counterpart.\textsuperscript{113} This made von Zelewski the highest-ranking German in East Africa.

Von Soden held veto power over campaign but chose not to use it against von Zelewski. Von Soden feared that the idleness of peacetime at the colonial coast could lead to a rebellion of soldiers. The threat of a large, European trained and German equipped force of African conscripts motivated von Soden to send out the Schutztruppe on an ‘admittedly superfluous expedition’ where it was ‘more practical to at least deploy the soldiers where their appearance is not necessarily needed but is at least of some use’.\textsuperscript{114} It is likely von Soden saw the Indian mutiny of 1857 as a historical antecedent of the capabilities of a colonial army turned against the colonial administration. While the Indian uprising occurred thirty years earlier, Kim Wagner has shown that in the British public consciousness fears of another internal rebellion within their colonial armies always lingered.\textsuperscript{115} For a newly founded colony like German East Africa, the internal threats of revolt within the Schutztruppe, were, to von Soden, more considerable than the external threats the Schutztruppe would face on a military campaign. Further evidence for this fear can be seen in the standard German marching order, where the askari were not permitted to carry loaded weapons.\textsuperscript{116}

Riding at the head of his column of Schutztruppe seated on a donkey, von Zelewski moved into Uhehe. The image of Nyundo (‘The Hammer’) riding a donkey into a failed expedition paints a vivid picture. Just three years before, during his suppression of the Abushiri rebellion, von Zelewski had been forcefully locked in a


\textsuperscript{114} Quoted in Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Lands of Mkwawa’, 81. Pizzo also notes that ‘the German public and officer corps were furious when this letter became public in the wake of the destruction of the Zelewski expedition.’ Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Lands of Mkwawa’, 81n173.

\textsuperscript{115} Wagner has written a great deal on this subject. See, for example, Kim A. Wagner, ‘“Treading Upon Fires”: The “Mutiny”-Motif and Colonial Anxieties in British India’, Past & Present, No. 218 (February 2013), 159-197.

\textsuperscript{116} Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Lands of Mkwawa’, 89.
German station house for his protection. He now commanded the entire
_Schutztruppe_, controlled the German East Africa colony, and had the most extensive
German colonial army hitherto assembled behind him. Mkwawa had advanced
warning of the _Schutztruppe_ movement by way of Wahehe scouts and sent his
brother Mpangile and three thousand Wahehe soldiers to stop the German
advance.\(^{117}\) Missionary reports in the area tell of von Zelewski raiding Wahehe small
villages, smashing their food stores, and burning homes.\(^{118}\)

On the morning of 17 August 1891 von Zelewski, his twelve German officers
and their column of three hundred and twenty _askari_, armed with machine guns and
field artillery, halted at the side of a hill scattered with boulders and tall grass in
Lula-Rugaro (today Lugalo). Hidden thirty paces away were the Wahehe military,
who ambused von Zelewski and his _Schutztruppe_. In the words of John Iliffe,
Mkwawa’s forces ‘killed 290 of its members in fifteen minutes’.\(^ {119}\) The casualties are
debatable. The official reported German losses were ten Europeans; three officers, six
non-commissioned officers, and Commander Zelewski, 200 hundred _askari_, 96
porters, and all the supplies carried by column.\(^ {120}\) Only four Germans, fifty _askari_,
and thirty porters returned to the German station on the coast.\(^ {121}\)

The Wahehe were estimated to have lost seven hundred of the three thousand
soldiers during this first battle against German East Africa.\(^ {122}\) While marking a
victory for the Wahehe state, the heavy losses can be seen affecting Mkwawa and
testing his leadership.\(^ {123}\) As von Zelewski had predicted, the Wahehe were indeed

\(^{117}\) Moyd, _Violent Intermediaries_, 136.
\(^{118}\) Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 419.
\(^{119}\) John Iliffe, _Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912_ (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969),
17.
\(^{120}\) Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 429.
\(^{121}\) Prince, _Gegen Araber und Wahehe_, 307; Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Lands of Mkwawa’, 94.
\(^{122}\) The death toll on the Wahehe is unreliable, as it was calculated by Tettenborn, one of the surviving
German officers. In his report, Tettenborn incorrectly wrote that ‘chief Kuawa and the Hehe leader
Marawatu’ were among the Wahehe killed during this skirmish. See Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the
Hehe Wars’, 429; 429n38.
\(^{123}\) Nigmann, _Die Wahehe_, 17.
fighting mostly with spears and shields, and a sixteen-year-old Wahehe armed with a spear killed von Zelewski two minutes into fighting.\textsuperscript{124}

In 1898, with Mkawawa’s suicide signalling the final subjection of the Wahehe state, the German colony built a large stone obelisk on the site where von Zelewski was killed (\textbf{Figure 1}). In Sir Donald Cameron’s memoirs, the former British Tanganyika Governor (1925-1931) reflected upon this memorial: ‘It seems to us a strange course...to commemorate in the midst of purely native country such a serious blow to German prestige’.\textsuperscript{125} Erecting the monument in 1898, eight years after the failed von Zelewski raid, underscores the threat the Wahehe posed to German East Africa. This also elucidate why Tom Prince chose to turn Mkawawa’s head into a war trophy. The defeat of the von Zelewski expedition lingered in German East Africa and affected Prince’s leadership. The plaque lists the names of the German officers and European non-commissioned officers that were killed by the Wahehe (\textbf{Figure 2}). It ‘commemorates the honour’ of the ‘members of the Imperial \textit{Schutztruppe}’ who ‘died a hero’s death on 17 August 1891 during the raid of the Wahehe’, in a memorialisation commemorated by the 1898 \textit{Schutztruppe} ‘comrades’.\textsuperscript{126}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{124} Prince, \textit{Gegen Araber und Wahehe}, 306; Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika}, 108.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Donald Cameron, \textit{My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria} (London: Allen and Unwin, 1939), 49.
\item \textsuperscript{126} The inscription reads: ‘Es starben den Heldentod am 17. VIII. 91 beim Wahehe überfall die Angehörigen der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe’, lists the names of the ten fallen Europeans, and then reads ‘Zu Ehrendem gedenken gewidmet von den Kameraden 1898’. Translation mine. An obituary to the fallen officers also appeared in Germany. See David F. Clyde, \textit{History of the Medical Services of Tanganyika} (Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1962).
\end{itemize}
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Figure 1: von Zelewski memorial in Lugalo. Photo by Author.
The 1891 Wahehe attack destroyed a fifth of ‘the most powerful European military unit in East Africa’ in just one morning, and critically killed the commander
of Schutztruppe.\textsuperscript{127} The loss of von Zelewski, the highest-ranking military officer in East Africa, falling to what was seen as an uncivilised group armed with primitive weaponry, echoed the loss of Crown Prince Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, who died similarly in a British skirmish with the Zulu just twelve years prior and would have shattered any German feelings of military superiority. The Wahehe victory, as historian Michelle Moyd wrote, ‘emboldened [other] Tanzanian leaders to consider military confrontation instead of political negotiation or accommodation as a viable option against the encroaching Germans’ in both the immediate shockwave of von Zelewski’s defeat and also decades later.\textsuperscript{128}

Tom Prince, now commander of the Schutztruppe, sought to avenge von Zelewski’s death by waging a personal war against Mkwawa.\textsuperscript{129} Even after Mkwawa’s death eight years later, Prince’s desire to avenge von Zelewski contributed to his taking of Mkwawa’s head as a trophy and him making a talisman out of Mkwawa’s tooth.\textsuperscript{130} Tom Prince’s life neatly collapses colonial worlds. His father was Scottish and his mother was German. He was born in 1866 in the British colony of Mauritius, where he lived until his father, the British police governor, died when Tom was three years old.\textsuperscript{131} He then moved to England with his mother and sister. Tom then moved to Germany in 1880 after his mother’s death and enrolled in the Prussian Military Academy. Prince served in the Imperial German Army as a lieutenant before joining the Wissmanntruppe and leading askari during Abushiri rebellion. Prince bridges both British and German colonial divides. He was born in a British colony, educated and trained in both England and Germany, became an


\textsuperscript{128} Moyd, \textit{Violent Intermediaries}, 136.

\textsuperscript{129} Prince, \textit{Gegen Araber und Wahehe}, 97.

\textsuperscript{130} Mkwawa’s head was lost at somepoint in Prince’s lifetime, but the tooth was passed down to his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren until it was repatriated to Mkwawa’s descendents in 2014. See Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{131} Herbert Viktor Patera, \textit{Bwana Sakkarani, Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1881-1914: Leben und Taten des Schutztruppenhauptmannes Tom von Prince} (Vienna: Krystall-Verlag, 1933), 9. A monument to Tom’s father was later erected in Mauritius.

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orphan, then a soldier, entered Africa to suppress a costal rebellion using extreme violence, pursued a personal vendetta against Mkwawa, and would later die fighting against the British Empire under which he had been born.

News of the Schutztruppe defeat under von Zelewski had weakened the enthusiasm of the askari under his command, and Prince noticed desertions as well as a hesitation among many of the remaining ‘Sudanese’ and locally recruited soldiers to wage a war against the Wahehe, particularly when their military contracts were due to expire in mid-1892. Michelle Moyd recounted an illustration of the fragility of German command of the Schutztruppe in the wake of von Zelewski’s defeat that reinforces the notion a feared rebellion from within the ranks of the conscripted colonial army. A detachment of ‘Zulu’ soldiers refused to follow the command of their German officer, shouting ‘We want to go home’ in loud and ‘worrisome tones’. Prince was forced to step in and take command. In his diary, Prince attributed his ability to lead the regiment to ‘small but meaningful gestures’, such as commenting on their musical skills or ‘assisting them in sorting out administrative and financial issues’. Attempting to reassert authority over his soldiers as well as over the colony more generally, Prince raided the Nyamwezi homeland in 1892. Prince charged into the fortifications at Quikuru-kwa-Siki ahead of his forces and led a victorious campaign against Siki, the chief of the Nyamwezi. Similar to Mkwawa’s nickname Lukwale-lwa-mwaka (‘the madness of the year’), Prince was given the nickname

133 Moyd, Violent Intermediaries, 137; Prince, Gegen Araber und Wahehe, 159.
134 Prince, Gegen Araber und Wahehe, 75-77. Moyd argued that this moment of obedience to Prince might also suggest a fear of punishment among the rank and file under strict his authoritative Prussian command. Moyd, Violent Intermediaries, 137. Moyd gives another illustrative example occurring in 1895 when a group of Sudanese soldiers went on strike against what they deemed to be ‘cruel treatment’ and ‘threatened to shoot their commanders’ unless they were allowed to present their complaints directly to Governor Freidrich Freiherr von Schele (the militarised replacement of von Soden). Their commander agreed and ordered them to the colonial headquarters. Further underscoring loyalty to individuals rather than military command structures, the soldiers also refused to follow this leader to the headquarters and declared their obedience to a non-commissioned German officer instead, saying ‘We will only go with you, or if you do not want us, then we will leave’. Moyd, Violent Intermediaries, 139.
Bwana Sakkarani (‘the crazy one’)\textsuperscript{136}. Prince embraced this nickname and used it for the rest of his life, including naming his plantation in Usambara ‘Sakkarani’.

**The Fall of Mkwawa**

After von Zelewski’s death and the substantial loss of *Schutztruppe*, Governor von Soden attempted to negotiate with the Wahehe state, using missionaries as intermediaries.\textsuperscript{137} Mkwawa sent a message to von Soden through the French Holy Ghost mission stating that ‘The Great Chief’s desire has always been to live at peace with the Germans…With regard to Zelewski’s expedition in particular, he was bound to defend himself (not wishing to die like a woman) when, at two separate attempts, his delegates were fired on, and when several tombs were…desecrated’.\textsuperscript{138}

The gendered overtones of masculine militarism, where Mkwawa did not ‘wish to die like a woman’, fit with the Wahehe concept of bravery. Cowardice shown by males in Wahehe society was socially punished. These men were forced to perform the same domestic tasks as women as a form of public shaming.\textsuperscript{139} Warlike speeches made to ready the Wahehe for battle also used masculine phrases and the othering of femininity. Chants such as ‘war is a man’s affair’, ‘girls make sleeping mats but men make shields’, ‘the pounding today is not the pounding of millet [but] the pounding is war’, ‘these are the men who scoop up and devour from their hands the blood of enemies’, all speak to masculinity on display.\textsuperscript{140} These common war phrases were spoken in a hybrid pidgin of Kihehe and Kisangu, which shows a deeper history of these chants than the Wahehe state’s founding, as well as the polyglottal makeup of

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\textsuperscript{136} In 1959 this nickname underwent British historical revision. The editors of the *Tanganyika Notes and Records* added a new translation in a footnote to Dr Hans Schmiedel’s biography of Prince. Instead of being ‘the crazy one’, it was explained that Sakkarani was a Sudanese word meaning ‘warrior in a state of reckless exaltation’, a much more poetic reinterpretation. In making the nickname Sudanese rather than Swahili, this translation reinforced Prince as the respected leader of his ‘Sudanese’ *Schutztruppe*.

\textsuperscript{137} Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 420.

\textsuperscript{138} Quoted in Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 110.

\textsuperscript{139} Nigmann, *Die Wahehe*, 103.

\textsuperscript{140} These phrases were recorded by Mkwawa’s son Pancras in 1966 and translated by Alison Redmayne. Redmayne, Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 428-9.
Wahehe society. The message to von Soden also speaks to a clash of cultures, particularly concerning the desecration of Wahehe graves, which will be discussed below.

In 1893 Colonel Freiherr von Schele took command of German East Africa. Von Schele was both the colonial governor and the main commander of the *Schutztruppe*, making Prince second in command. ‘Success’ von Schele told Prince, ‘is everything’.  

Von Schele’s and Prince’s desire to avenge the von Zelewski expedition is shown by their immediate use of the *Schutztruppe* to attack Mkwawa. Prince razed a Wahehe settlement and built a German outpost in Uhehe, then destroyed settlements of groups allied with the Wahehe, seeing it as practice for his campaign against the Wahehe. Prince and Schele forged alliances with groups traditionally hostile to the Wahehe state, such as the Bena and Sangu, who saw German support as a means to destroy Wahehe rule.

Tom Prince and von Schele led an expedition into Uhehe in 1894 to attack Mkwawa directly. Kalenga was Mkwawa’s main headquarters and stronghold. It was deemed to be impenetrable, having been constructed with heavy stone over many years. When it was built, the women sang ‘there is nothing which can come in here, unless perhaps there is something which drops from the heavens’.  

This chant, passed down through oral history, may also include the history of the 1894 German attack. Field artillery ‘dropped [rounds] from the heavens’, using the same tactics German colonial forces employed against coastal fortresses.

The Kalenga fortress was not a military outpost. Within its walls were women, children, and elderly Wahehe. It was a town with thousands of inhabitants. Prince’s diary entry describing the siege on the Kalenga fort explored the tactical mistakes Mkwawa made. This section is titled ‘*Quem deus perdere vult, prius dementat*’

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144 Redmayne, *The Wahehe People*, 175.
(‘whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad’) a quote from Sophocles’ classical Greek play _Antigone_. Prince’s use of this phrase is heavily loaded. It speaks to Mkwawa’s defeat as a military leader, while also referencing Mkwawa and Prince’s nicknames as ‘men made mad’. Yet Prince may have been reflecting on this battle from a different perspective. His diary entries were aimed at publication, and the surviving record of these entries comes from after their 1914 publication. It is clear; therefore, that Prince would have edited his accounts, adding in a learned perspective more than a decade after the events he depicts.

_ANTIGONE_ is a play about a dead body and the denial of burial rites. King Kreon’s refusal to allow his nephew Polynices to be given the same proper burial that Polynices’ brother was given as each led opposite sides of a civil war. Kreon’s opening speech reads:

Eteokles, who died fighting for this city, who bested everyone with his spear, we buried and performed all holy rites offered to the noble dead below. But Polynices, his own brother, who returned from exile seeking to incinerate his fatherland and the gods of his family, who wished to consume kindred blood, to lead Thebans into slavery- it has been proclaimed throughout the city that no one honor him with burial or mourning, but leave him unburied, a corpse devoured by birds and dogs, foul to see.

Prince would have been thinking about Mkwawa’s corporeal desecration and Prince’s possession of Mkwawa’s head as a trophy when he titled this diary section. While Tom Prince’s diary only covered events from 1890 to 1895, it was nonetheless not published until 1914, shortly after Tom’s death. Depending on when he edited this diary entry, Prince may have even done so in the presence of the skull and certainly with his tooth medallion. Mkwawa was, to Prince, King Kreon, who,

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146 Sophocles, _Antigone_, trans. Rayor, Scene 2, Lines 194-206, 11.

147 Herbert von Patera wrote a book about Tom Prince in 1939, based on two short essays he wrote in 1932 and 1936. In them, he states that Tom’s diary was first published in 1898. This is incorrect. The first edition of Prince’s _Gegen Araber und Wahehe_ was published posthumously in 1914. See Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 51.
through his actions brought ruin to his city and the death to his family. The heading *Quem deus perdere vult, prius dementat* casts Prince’s raid on the fortress as an act of divine retribution. As discussed above, classical Greek and Roman characteristics were imprinted upon the Wahehe by European observers, such as their style of dress mimicking togas and the warlike society being a Sparta in Africa. It is fitting, therefore, that Prince alluded to Sophocles’ *Antigone* in reference to the fall of Mkwawa, as the major theme of the play is the Greek belief that a person’s soul would not be released from its body until burial and funeral rites had been given to it—something denied by both Prince and King Kreon.

The madness of Mkwawa was also on display during the Kalenga siege. While Mkwawa had seized 300 rifles and two machineguns, only 100 of the rifles had been handed out and the Wahehe were unable to operate their machine guns. Later Wahehe oral history claimed Mkwawa had gone mad during the siege and ordered guns to be loaded only with gunpowder but not bullets. As the *Schutztruppe* broke into the outer walled defences, von Schele ordered machine guns to be placed high on the walls so that fire could be concentrated on the houses where women and children had taken refuge. As Kalenga was falling, Mkwawa went into the gunpowder store and tried to commit suicide by exploding himself. In a 1907 account of the siege by Wahehe soldiers, Mkwawa was stopped from killing himself when ‘warriors came and took hold of him saying, “Do you want to die in the house as if you were a woman?” They took hold of him and escorted him outside and they ran away into the bush’.

Mkwawa was not admonished because he tried to kill himself. His attempt to do so in the midst of battle, however, was seen as an affront to masculinity and nobility. As Kihehe war speeches shown above elucidated, Mkwawa’s attempted

149 Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 430. Redmayne notes that ‘this might be dismissed as an attempt by the Hehe to excuse their defeat’ (430). But the Germans did report that only 100 of the 300 recaptured rifles had been handed out to the soldiers, underscoring that Mkwawa’s leadership during the siege made tactical errors.
150 Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 112-113; Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 422
151 Quoted in Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 431.
suicide was framed under the notion that he was trying to ‘die like a woman’. It is this action which speaks to the idea that Mkwawa was driven mad during the siege, seen in Prince’s recount and also preserved in Wahehe oral history. Mkwawa’s attempt to explode himself was not a planned heroic self-sacrifice that would also kill Schutztruppe, as evident by the fact that Wahehe soldiers were able to quickly drag him away before the German forces had stormed the inner walls of the fortress. Mkwawa may have been trying to mimic his father-in-law, Chief Isike, who had tried to blow himself up just a few years prior when Prince similarly attacked his stronghold and was also unsuccessful.\footnote{Prince, Gegen Araber und Wahehe, 194-213.} Megan Vaughan has written at length about suicide in both contemporary and colonial African societies.\footnote{See Megan Vaughn, ‘The Discovery of Suicide in Eastern and Southern Africa’, African Studies, Vol. 71, No. 2 (2012), 234-250; Julie Parle, ‘Death in Black and White: Suicide, Statistics, and Race in Natal, 1880-1916’, \url{http://senc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/Crime/Person/Parle_J_Death_in_Black_and_White_suicide_statistics_Natal_1880-1916.pdf} (accessed 15 August 2019); Fatima Meer, Race and Suicide in South Africa (London: Routledge, 1976); African Homicide and Suicide, ed. Paul Bohannan (New York: Atheneum, 1967). See also Leslie Swartz, Culture and Mental Health: A Southern African View (Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa, 1998); Jock McCulloch, Colonial Psychiatry and ‘the African Mind’ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Marzio Barbagli, Farewell to the World: A History of Suicide, trans. Lucinda Byatt (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2015).} Suicide cases are highly individualised, rooted in the individuals’ minds and their specific context. Equally, cultural connections and the specific ‘social, political, and economic’ backdrop of the case inform suicide attempts.\footnote{Megan Vaughan, ‘Suicide in Late Colonial Africa: The Evidence of Inquests from Nyasaland’, The American Historical Review, Vol. 115, No. 2 (April 2010), 391. Vaughan noted that ‘the history of suicide is in part a history of subjectivity’ and that an intellectual history of suicide in Africa is ‘inevitably constrained by the nature of [colonial collected] evidence’ and divided by a binary of ‘sociological or intellectual’ discourses that may also have to engage in or be blocked by ‘anachronistic form(s) of psychological speculation’ (390). Vaughan’s use of individual case studies from Malawi archives to tell a history of suicide is one that can only speak to the history of these specific cases. Kieran Dodds created a cultural history of suicide in Africa by looking at the literary trope of self-sacrifice found in African fiction. See Kieran Dodds, ‘Suffering and “Sacrificiality” in Postcolonial African Literature’, Critical Insights: Postcolonial Literature, ed. Jeremiah Garsha (Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2017), 56-74.} Mkwawa’s suicide attempt in Kalenga and successful suicide in Mlambalasi can be seen as both ‘a supreme act of will and defiance’ and ‘a fatal gesture of despair’. In trying to take his own life during the attack, the act would have been ‘evidence of the subjection of’ Mkwawa
'to forces beyond his control', such as the German attack. The situation was different when Mkawawa killed himself in 1898. There his suicide showed ‘a mark of the autonomy of the self’, choosing to die in isolation rather than submit to capture.\textsuperscript{155} Culturally, suicide has a well-established history in Wahehe society.\textsuperscript{156} Mkawawa’s mother committed suicide by throwing herself into a river, which is seen in oral history as a victory and virtuous act. Mkawawa’s brother also committed heroic suicide.\textsuperscript{157} Today Mkawawa is remembered for a suicide that was a final act of anti-colonial defiance and is seen as a Wahehe victory over the Germans.\textsuperscript{158} Suicide among the Wahehe is still seen as a heroic way to avoid defeat, with a regal and historical tradition.\textsuperscript{159} Mkawawa was able to escape Kalenga unharmed because Europeans did not know what he looked like.\textsuperscript{160} He reportedly threw away ‘his fly switch’, possibly indicating that Mkawawa stripped himself of his royal regalia in an act of stepping down as the Wahehe leader. The area where he threw off his regalia is known as Itagautwa (‘where he throws away the chiefship’).\textsuperscript{161} As a signal that Mkawawa’s war-

\textsuperscript{155} Vaughan, ‘Suicide in Late Colonial Africa’, 387.
\textsuperscript{156} The punishment for homicide in pre-colonised Wahehe society and as recent as the 1960s, was a societal expectation that the murderer would commit suicide. Redmayne, \textit{The Wahehe People}, 130. Redmayne also documents the idea that Wahehe would commit suicide ‘if they saw royal blood be spilt’ (155).
\textsuperscript{157} Nigmann, \textit{Die Wahehe}, 20.
\textsuperscript{159} Ocheck Msuva, interview, 26 May 2017; Nicholas Kulanga, interview, 6 June 2017. While there are no figures on suicide rates among the Wahehe, Murray Coombs noted that when working for companies operating in the southern highlands in 2015, worker deaths seemed to be related to suicide. Murray Coombs, personal communication, 25 July 2017. Redmayne’s fieldwork in the 1960s also established support for suicide rates being high among the Wahehe. Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 431n85.
\textsuperscript{160} Redmayne argued that Mkawawa was superstitious, believing that he would lose his martial prowess if he ever saw a European. Redmayne, \textit{The Wahehe People}, 213n2.
\textsuperscript{161} Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 431. On fly switches acting as sceptres of regal authority, see Darrell Bates, \textit{A Fly-Switch from the Sultan} (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961), 52-54. Bates wrote Governor Edward Twining’s biography and was familiar with Mkawawa. Thus, there is a
making capabilities had been broken, German forces burned Mkwawa’s war drum, estimated to be two metres high.\textsuperscript{162} Yet Mkwawa still retained a loyal following, which impeded German colonial encroachment across all of Uhehe.\textsuperscript{163}

Mkwawa’s brother Mpangile allied with the Germans and Mkwawa fled from settlement to settlement across Uhehe. Redmayne has suggested that Mkwawa ordered Mpangile to ally with the German colonial state.\textsuperscript{164} Mkwawa may have been attempting to save the Wahehe state by joining it under German colonial rule. It was suggested that Mkwawa felt he should have given himself before the attack on Kalenga had he known the German intentions of staying in the highlands, rather than suppressing the revolt and returning back to the coast as had happened in the early stages of the German-Wahehe war.\textsuperscript{165} A German offer to Mkwawa had once been extended that if he surrendered, he would be exiled rather than executed, though it is impossible to know if the offer reached Mkwawa, if he believed it, or if it was ever genuine to begin with.\textsuperscript{166} Mpangile and Mkwawa were also well known to have engaged in internecine rivalry. When they were younger, Mkwawa, upset that Mpangile had slaughtered some of Mkwawa’s cattle, ordered the skin to be scraped

\textsuperscript{162} Nigmann, \textit{Die Wahehe}, 77.
\textsuperscript{163} In part, Mkwawa’s recovery had to do with internal debates regarding colonial policy within Berlin. Here John Iliffe’s use of colonial dispatches proves an excellent resource. Reichstag pressure caused the German colonial commander to resign in 1894, and ‘the government subordinated the military to the civilian colonial authorities’ until 1896. ‘In the intern’, Iliffe wrote, ‘the Germans...sought terms with Mkwawa’, thus illustrating how Mkwawa would have been able to regroup after his defeat in Iringa. See Iliffe, \textit{Modern History}, 113.
\textsuperscript{164} Redmayne ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 422.
\textsuperscript{165} Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau im Innern Deutsch-Ostafrikas: elf Jahre nach Tagebuchblättern erzählt} (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1908), 163-164.
\textsuperscript{166} Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau} (1908), 163. This offer was alleged to have been brokered through Mkwawa’s sister, who refused to give the message to Mkwawa out of fear of his, as well as her, safety. It also does not fit with the fact that Mkwawa waged a guerrilla war until 1898 and committed suicide. See Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau} (1908), 163; Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 432.
off of Mpangile’s ‘most beautiful wife’s’ face. Mkwawa could have sent Mpangile into German command in the hope that Mpangile would be killed.

Meanwhile, Tom Prince left for Germany after his victory and married Magdalene von Massow, a Prussian aristocrat whom he had met while in military college. They married on 4 January 1896 and Magdalene moved with Tom to Iringa. She too recorded her experiences and diary. Like her husband’s, the surviving diary was written and edited for publication, first in 1903, then 1905, and finally a third edition in 1908 where she expanded the scope to include further life events. That her diary, in its earliest published form, appeared years after the events it described raises questions of historical and personal revision.

The raid on Kalenga was punitive. While the raid’s purpose was to destroy the Wahehe capacity to resist colonial rule, the financial costs of the raid on the German colony were recovered tenfold. German sources documented the vast riches plundered from Kalenga. They took 2,000 heads of cattle, 5,000 sheep and goats, and reams of clothes only worth, in German estimates, 10,000 marks. Most importantly, and underscoring the raid’s punitive nature, were the vast stores of ivory held in Kalenga. This ivory was estimated to be worth 100,000 marks (approximately $1.3 million USD in 2019 value). The amount of ivory wealth stolen from Kalenga was high enough that German East Africa ‘as a whole reported a marked upswing in export revenues from the sale of ivory abroad’.

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168 This is how Wahehe oral history explains Mkwawa’s motivation, though it may be an attempt to reconcile treasonous behaviour on the part of the Mkwawa family. See Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 423n50.
169 Magdalene’s diary is one of the only female colonial accounts of life in German East Africa.
170 The 1908 edition is the most available of the three printings. It was also reissued in 2012. I have been unable to locate the 1903 and 1905 editions to conduct a textual analysis to see if Magdalene edited any of her previous accounts in the other editions.
and children were also captured in Kalenga and forced to become German domestic servants and labourers.¹⁷⁴

After taking the ivory and captives to the coast, Prince returned to Uhehe and built an administrative headquarters in Iringa in May 1896, bringing his wife with him and establishing the militarised outpost Neu-Iringa, from which Prince ruled Uhehe as a colony and from where could hunt down Mkwawa.¹⁷⁵ Rather than abolish the chieftaincy, Prince installed a new Wahehe ‘sultan’ he felt would be loyal to the German colonial government establishing indirect German rule over Uhehe. It was a policy that the British inherited and used until Tanzania gained independence in 1961. Mkwawa’s brother, Mpangile, was given a lavish coronation ceremony on Christmas Eve, 1896. Prince handed him a German flag and created a Christmas festival in Iringa. German customs were on display in Neu-Iringa, where a game hunt and donkey parade were organised, a Christmas tree was lighted, and the station sang Christmas carols in the 20-degree heat. Five oxen were roasted for a feast in what Magdalene deemed to be reminiscent of the Holy Roman Emperor’s crowning.¹⁷⁶ To show his loyalty to the German state, Mpangile gave Magdalene a present of a young Wahehe servant girl (Figure 3).¹⁷⁷

Tom Prince strengthened German control through Ngoni and Sangu chiefs, who ruled over conquered sections of Uhehe as German rule carved up the Wahehe state. Wahehe loyal to Mkwawa continued to harass German and allied states through small skirmishes using guerrilla warfare. Prince wrote to the colonial administration frustrated that the Wahehe still ‘threw themselves on the advancing

¹⁷⁴ Wahehe oral history preserves this tactic as a time when people were kidnapped and forced to convert to Christianity: ‘The German spread religion while they spread war’. Nicholaus Kulanga, ‘Vita Ya Pili Kati Ya Wahehe Na Wajerumani Mwaka [1894-98] Kalenga’, (in possession of author), 2017.
¹⁷⁵ Redmayne, The Wahehe People, 208.
¹⁷⁶ See Redmayne, The Wahehe People, 209.
¹⁷⁷ Magdalene von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 57. The girl was called Paligungire. Two other chiefs would give Magdalene girls as gifts as well. See Diana Miryong Natermann, Pursuing Whiteness in the Colonies: Private Memories from the Congo Free State and German East Africa (Münster: Waxman, 2018), 164.
soldiers, literally sacrificing themselves to give Mkwawa time to escape’. In 1897 the newly appointed Governor Liebert ordered that all Wahehe captured in battle were not to be taken as prisoners but were to be shot or hanged. Any Wahehe seen carrying a weapon would be executed. Tom Prince became suspicious of Mkwawa’s brother Mpangile, and only two months into his reign as Wahehe ‘sultan’ had him hanged, much to the dismay of Magdalene who had mentioned Mpangile almost daily in her diaries since she met him.

In fact, Magdalene devoted an entire chapter of her published diary entries to Mpangile. She was a great admirer, describing him as curious and intelligent, tall

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178 Quoted in Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 114.
179 Pizzo, ‘To Devour the Land of Mkwawa’, 258n603.
180 Magdalene von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 63-77. A German catholic missionary also devoted a chapter of his book to Mpangile. See Alfons M. Adams, Im Dienste des Kreuzes oder Erinnerungen aus
and handsome. She fawned over the way he had adopted European gentlemanly habits such as kissing her hand when they spoke. Bettina Brockmeyer has analysed Magdalene’s diary entries on Mpangile to theorise that he and Magdalene may have been having an affair.\textsuperscript{181} Brockmeyer uses Magdalene’s diary to read it as a subaltern text from Mpangile’s perspective, challenging the colour-line discourse and fixation on miscegenation present in the historiography that replicated colonial knowledge. Magdalene praised notions of Mpangile ‘seek[ing] to adopt European habits as far as possible’, eschewing what she called German ‘theories of dissimulation’.\textsuperscript{182} This can also be reflected in the European style of dress Magdalene had Paligungire and her two other adopted African daughters wear.\textsuperscript{183} During the Christmas celebration of Mpangile’s coronation, Magdalene described Mpangile as an equal, his brave stature standing ‘on Tom’s right-hand side’ showcasing ‘the proud, stately appearance of Mpangile who carries himself in full consciousness of his dignity—every inch a king, a true representative of the Mkwawa lineage’.\textsuperscript{184} When Mpangile was sent to the gallows, saying he was the victim of the German enemies and that Tom Prince was being tricked, Magdalene mourned for the loss.\textsuperscript{185} But upon reflection in her diary, Magdalene confessed that Mpangile had ‘Mkwawa’s blood’ and could therefore never be trusted.\textsuperscript{186}


\textsuperscript{181} See Bettina Brockmeyer, ‘Interpreting an Execution in German East Africa: Race, Gender, and Memory’, \textit{New Perspectives on the History of Gender and Empire: Comparative and Global Approaches}, eds. Ulrike Lindner and Dörte Lerp (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 87-113. It is important to note that Brockmeyer says it does not matter whether it is true that an affair occurred, but rather than engaging in the speculation of it opens up historical sources, narratives, and imperial thought to pluralistic possibilities and unexplored analysis under mental decolonisation.

\textsuperscript{182} Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau im Innern Deutsch-Ostafrikas} (Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag, 2012), 60; quoted in Brockmeyer, ‘Interpreting an Execution’. Mpangile’s name is often recorded in German sources as ‘Mpangire’. I use ‘Mpangile’ for consistency.

\textsuperscript{183} Natermann, \textit{Pursuing Whiteness}, 164.

\textsuperscript{184} Quoted in Brockmeyer, ‘Interpreting an Execution’.

\textsuperscript{185} Adams, \textit{Im Dienste des Kreuzes}, 59.

\textsuperscript{186} Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau} (1908), 75. Wahehe oral history tells of Mkwawa tricking the Princes into thinking that Mpangile was disloyal. These retellings show an attempt to explain Wahehe subjugation under German rule as one of continued anti-colonial resistance. See Redmayne, ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, 423n50.
After hanging Mpangile, Prince did not appoint a successor. Rather than a new sultan, the Wahehe were to be managed under divide and rule colonial politics. Mkwawa continued to wage war in his reduced capacity. By 1898, due to a lack of food and supplies, his followers had largely abandoned the rebellion. Mkwawa moved among small settlements, receiving food and supplies for his dwindling group of warriors. Tom Prince, now largely caught up in administering the Iringa colony, sent out small Schutztruppe expeditions in search of Mkwawa, but without success. Mkwawa vowed that he would never surrender to the Germans and ‘told his loyal friends that...he would kill himself with his last bullet’.

The German government, still seeking vengeance for the von Zelewski expedition and the fact that conquering the Wahehe state had been their most costly and bloody colonial campaign to date, placed a bounty of 5000 rupees in ivory (around £10,000 GBP in 2019) on Mkwawa for any information leading to his capture or death.

It is a testament of Wahehe loyalty to Mkwawa that no one ever attempted to claim this bounty.

By July 1898 Mkwawa had been living in the cave of Mlambalasi for months, hunting for food and commanding an army of just ‘two young boys, Musigombo and Lifumika Mwamsombwa’. On 18 July 1898, Mkwawa shot himself. The shot was heard by a German patrol, which found his body hours later. They cut off his head and brought it to Tom and Magdalene Prince, who kept it as a family trophy.

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187 On the coastal and ‘Africanized’ local roots of these policies developing from the 1880s onward in German East Africa, see Marcia Wright, ‘Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa’, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1968), 623.
188 German forces, conversely, were also exhausted from the war. Magdalene von Prince recorded officers reportedly being plagued by nightmares from their campaign. Magdalene von Prince, *Eine deutsche Frau* (1908), 93. She wrote that Mkwawa’s hand was felt in everything, even when he was no longer conducting raids against German colonialism and that ‘their thoughts and cares, like those of a bride who has only her love on her mind, were occupied by “him”’. Redmayne, *The Wahehe People*, 214; Magdalene von Prince, *Eine deutsche Frau* (1908), 83.
'DEAD BY HIS OWN HAND'
On 18 July 1898 Chief Mkwawa shot himself outside of the Mlambalasi cave where he had been hiding with two young Wahehe boys, the final remains of his fighting force that had once numbered in the thousands.\textsuperscript{192} His head was cut off and brought to the home of German colonial officer Tom von Prince and his wife Magdalene. For Tom, this moment was a culmination of his service as a military leader since he entered East Africa in 1888: ‘I have reached my goal which I struck as a young lieutenant: Quawa’s [Mkwawa] head’.\textsuperscript{193} For Tom’s wife Magdalene, the day she saw the head filled her with ‘a full, grateful heart’ and she ‘would like to cheer around the world…Mkwawa is dead’.\textsuperscript{194} For German command in East Africa, the taking of Mkwawa’s head represented the end to a bloody and protracted war with the Wahehe state.\textsuperscript{195} It signalled a moment of revenge for the death of German military commanders, conscripted African soldiers, and ultimate control, momentarily at least, of the East African interior. For the Wahehe state, Mkwawa’s suicide and the taking of his head was the final act of subjection. They never again formally\textsuperscript{196} rebelled against colonial rule.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{192} There is some debate, as will be discussed in Chapter IV, if Mkwawa committed suicide by shooting himself in the head or the stomach, or indeed if he committed suicide by shooting himself. The importance of this has to do with the damage found on the skull in 1954 and the British seeking to prove it belonged to Mkwawa. The established narrative became that either Mkwawa shot himself in the head with a captured German rifle and bullet, or if the German force encountering his body shot it in the head to be certain he was dead.

\textsuperscript{193} Quoted in Patera, \textit{Bwana Sakkarani}, 176.

\textsuperscript{194} Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau} (1908), 179. She also stated that all the Wahehe would know instantly know of his death (182).

\textsuperscript{195} I use the term ‘Wahehe state’ over the traditional ‘Uhehe’ in order to emphasis a difference between state and society and traditional homeland. Uhehe is commonly used to describe the land where the Wahehe reside. As this chapter argues that the Wahehe are expansive group creating a state through conquest, I have chosen to not link this with a fixed geographical centreing which ‘Uhehe’ would suggest. When I am referring to the fixed location of territory, the term ‘Uhehe’ is used.

\textsuperscript{196} I use the term ‘formally’ here to acknowledge that there are many ways to resist colonial rule. James Scott called for scholars to look for the ‘hidden transcript’ of subaltern acts of resistance to challenge dominant narratives. James Scott, \textit{Domination and the Arts of Resistance} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), xii. Scott famously outlined a spectrum of small acts of noncompliance, many of which the Wahehe could have actively engaged in under both German and British rule. Scott’s list of indirect resistance included ‘foot-dragging, evasion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, pilfering, feigned ignorance,
In an 1899 article, written one year after Mkwawa’s death, German naturalist and collector Dr Stierling mused about the future of the Wahehe state. His account is quoting here at length, as it captures not only the way the Germans viewed the Wahehe at the end of the nineteenth century, but also the way the British continued to think of the Wahehe in the mid-twentieth century, evident in the fact that his account was translated and reprinted in 1957, three years after Twining returned a skull to the Wahehe.198

With the death of Mkwawa, the last chief of the Hehe, the seven-year long resistance of this intrepid and stubborn mountain people against German rule has come to an end, it is to be hoped for ever. This, unfortunately, at the same time dooms them as an independent tribe. The small remnant of men of pure Hehe blood who still survive will not be able to retain their individuality. They will become intermingled with other tribes, and, instead of remaining fearless warriors and hunters, will degenerate into mere porters like most of the other natives of our Colony. Their political organizations, in particular the chieftainship, is, by and large, impossible under German rule, and even if the chieftainship were maintained, as was originally intended, it would be merely a pitiful simulacrum of its former power and glory. The old ancestral homes of Mkwawa and his great Wasagira199 lie almost without exception in ruins. The stores of ivory and herds of cattle which constituted the riches and pride of the Hehe are destroyed. Most important of all, war, for which every Hehe

slander and sabotage’. By no means an exhaustive list, this underscores that are many ways to rebel against colonialism. See Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 29.

197 Former Schutztruppe officer and Wahehe historian Ernst Nigmann wrote: ‘With the death of Mkwawa the struggles in Uhehe came to an end; since that time the Wahehe have never risen against the government again, even during 1905 when they managed to stay out of the [Maji Maji] Uprising’. Nigmann, Die Wahehe, 58. While Nigmann’s book was published in 1908, his prediction remains true through Tanzanian independence.

198 The reprinting reveals what ‘repatriation’ meant in the 1950s and the way Mkwawa’s history was used to cast German colonialism as barbaric compared to the civilising mission of British rule, as well as raise the Wahehe state to a more Europeanised framing. The translated text begins with the note: ‘In view of the recent return to the Territory, through the exertions of His Excellency the Governor, of Mkwawa’s skull from Germany, and the consequent righting of an ancient wrong, it is felt that this account of the family graves of the dynasty deserve resuscitating, both for its intrinsic interest and for the light which it unwittingly casts on German-Hehe relations at the end of the last century’. Editor Note, ‘The Hehe Royal Graves’, trans. W.J. Carnell, Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 46 (January 1957), 25.

was trained and for which he lived, is now a thing of the past...This success in war, which so often blooded (sic) the bright spears of the Hehe, has departed for ever. Mkwawa is dead by his own hand, after wandering around like a hunted beast in his own country for two whole years. His brother Mpangil and four of his half-brothers have died on the gallows. His sons have been sent to the coast, where home-sickness and the hot, unhealthy climate will soon carry off these children to the high mountains. The death of Zelewski and his comrades has been terribly avenged, and bloodily has Mkwawa’s repeated treachery been punished. The Hehe kingdom, with its barbaric splendour, is no more. But Uhehe will, under German leadership, take on new lustre when German settlers begin to bring forth the hitherto unsuspected treasures which those glorious highlands at present conceal.

As an officer in the German colonial forces, Dr Stierling had taken part in the suppression of the Wahehe and hunt for Mkwawa. He mourned the destruction of the Wahehe using language that suggested they would die off through blood mixture. Here he evokes the romanticised anthropological theories Stierling and his colleagues honed into German racial science. Having defeated the Wahehe, Stierling wrote of a headless state without military purpose. He wrote of a military hierarchy, where the Wahehe warriors would become lowly porters. This alluded to the Wahehe state being deprived of its wealth, particularly its ivory, which was now under German control. Stierling prophesised that Mkwawa’s children, having been exiled to the coast, would be driven away by the hot climate and seek refuge far removed from the southern highland. Stierling revealed that the attacks against Mkwawa were punative raids. He concluded that with the Wahehe now destroyed, the southern highlands could be colonised. The land could be monetised, using settlers to extract the hidden wealth while the native inhabitants utilised and controlled under German rule.


201 Stierling may have already known that Mkwawa’s son, Sapi Mkwawa, was to be sent to ‘the high mountains’ of Germany.

202 Stierling is most likely referring to ivory wealth in this quote. But the Germans had detailed plans for the development of East Africa. See Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial*
as an ideal site for settlement even before the war with the Wahehe.\textsuperscript{203} Stierling’s contrast with the climate of the coast spoke as much to his fondness of his posting in the cooler mountainous area as it did to European dislike of the hotter, ‘Arab’, coast.

While stationed near Rungemba in November 1896, Stierling looted the ancestral graves of the Wahehe.\textsuperscript{204} Stierling stole the elephant ivory serving as headstones, though the only account of his visit to the gravesites comes from his publication, which he narrates under the gaze of an amateur archaeologist and with romanticised language of remorse. He wrote: ‘For a considerable time, we German conquerors of the land cared reverently for this impressive burial-ground, fitting resting-place of monarchs, but at a later period, unfortunately, the tusks were hauled away, and finally the order was given to raze the whole enclosure’. The ‘considerable time’ was less than five years in total, and the ‘later period’, while written in dynastic prose, refers to a German military policy shift between 1893 and 1894. Stierling justified the policy change when he noted that it was needed to ‘deal a blow to [Mkwawa’s] prestige’ yet he also elucidated the change in warfare tactics to scorched earth punitive raids against all Wahehe, irrespective of age and gender. For German colonial officers like Stierling, destroying the graves was ‘even more [important] to shatter the illusion that we were afraid to lay hands on his family sanctuary’. Stierling felt that ‘however regrettable the destruction of this unique place may have been in other ways, it at least afforded me an opportunity for a closer examination of

\textit{Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914} (Helsinki: Tiedekirja, 1995). The southern highlands were particularly noted for having fertile soil and in later years were central for the failed groundnut schemes by the British from 1946-1951. Today the highlands feature vast plantations, cultivating produce; and tea and coffee in particular.

\textsuperscript{203} The first land grants were given out in 1897, a year before total German control. Magdalene von Prince wanted Iringa to be dotted with European farming plantations from the moment she moved there in 1896. Redmayne, \textit{The Wahehe People}, 220, Magdalene von Prince, \textit{Eine deutsche Frau} (1908), 92.

\textsuperscript{204} In a framing of the way colonial artefacts were freely looted from Africa, the reprinting of Stierling’s account in \textit{Tanganyika Notes and Records} fittingly featured this account as a prelude to J.E. Hill’s ‘Record Ivory in the Collection of the British Museum (Natural History)’ article in the same volume.
the graves’. Stierling used this to exhume the body of Mkwawa’s father, Munyigumba. As Stierling unearthed Munyigumba’s skeleton, he revealed his complicity in the global trade of skulls.

Looting Mkwawa’s head was part of an extensive and equally recent tradition of stealing the Wahehe ruling family’s heads in 1896-1898. Stierling’s account was the transcription of his 1899 talk at the Berlin University. He had returned to Germany by this point so it is unclear if he was present in Iringa when Mkwawa’s head was brought to the Princes. It is also unclear if he knew Mkwawa’s head had become a trophy in the Prince family home. The line ‘bloodily has Mkwawa’s repeated treachery been punished’ had little to do with the decapitation of Mkwawa and instead referred to the destruction of the Wahehe state and its capitulation to Germany after the death of thousands of Wahehe and a little more than a dozen Germans. Stierling, an academic, was more concerned with his exhumation of Munyigumba’s body, seeing it as a way to preserve biological information about the Wahehe; a group he viewed as doomed to a slow extinction.

In Stierling’s speech, it became clear that he stole Munyigumba’s head from Rungemba. He noted: ‘with regard to the skull, Professor von Luschan was good enough to inform me that it had belonged to a man of about forty years of age’. Felix von Luschan amassed skulls from around the world as assistant director and then director of the Africa and Oceania Department in Berlin’s Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde. He and some of his skull collection relocated when he became a professor at the Berlin Charité medical university. Stierling either shipped or brought Munyigumba skull directly to von Luschan. Stierling showed that von Luschan had provided measurements of Munyigumba’s skull and described characteristics which ‘corresponded fairly well with those of a skull which I had submitted at the same time, belonging to a half-brother of’ Mkwawa, and therefore

205 Stierling, ‘Hehe Royal Graves’, 27.
206 The Charité collections have slowly been repatriating Namibian skulls, beginning in 2011. The skulls von Luschan gifted to American museums have become entangled in a Namibian German lawsuit currently playing out in American courts. See Chapter IV.
'it can be taken as highly probable that the skull in question is really that of the old Munyigumba'.

Skull exchanges and Stierling’s investigation of Munyigumba’s burial site centre this chapter on the taking of heads as trophies with academic afterlives. Stierling found the unearthing of Munyigumba difficult, but only because ‘the grave had been packed down extraordinarily hard with clay and stone’. Once he had uncovered Munyigumba’s body and taken the head, he noted the ‘Arab influence’ on the Wahehe burial practice, as the skeleton was placed in ground ‘in the same fashion in which our Sudanese askaris bury their dead’. A grave robber, Stierling found himself becoming an ethnographer whose trophy skulls now had scientific value.

Mkwawa’s Head
On 18 July 1898, one of the young boys encamped with Mkwawa, called Lifumika, fled. Sergeant-Major Merkl, leading a patrol of Schutztruppe, was returning to Iringa to report back to Prince of another failed attempt in the hunt for Mkwawa. Capturing Lifumika, Merkl forced the child to lead the patrol to Mkwawa. The final moments of Mkwawa were recorded in a letter Merkl sent to the German station in Iringa: ‘After half an hour we heard a shot in a south-westerly direction. The boy suggested Mkwawa was shooting game’. The gunshots they heard may have been Mkwawa killing the boy, Musigombo, and then himself. In a testament to the dense terrain Mkwawa had advantageously used in his war of resistance, it took Merkl over one and half hours to reach Mkwawa’s encampment at Mlambalasi. Merkl wrote:

207 Stierling, ‘Hehe Royal Graves’, 27-28. I have kept a standard spelling of Munyigumba’s name in this account. German sources often used Mjugumba
208 Stierling, ‘Hehe Royal Graves’, 27.
210 Quoted in Iliffe, Modern History, 115.
211 It is also possible that Musigombo killed himself. The belief that Mkwawa killed him has to do with the testimony of Lifumika, who claims to have fled Mkwawa’s camp as he was worried Mkwawa was going to kill him. As Lifumika’s account is only recorded by Merkl after capturing him, the narrative remains suspect.
At 2.30 the boy said we were near the camp. We took off our boots and packs and crawled forward on our stomachs to a baobab tree. I climbed this in order to observe, but could see nothing. We crawled further over very stony ground as far as a dry watercourse, in which we saw the camp a hundred metres away. We crawled within thirty metres of it. We now saw two figures lying before it, apparently asleep. The boy [Lifumika] pointed out one of them as Mkwawa. Since the stones prevented us getting closer unnoticed, we took aim, fired, and ran forward. Both figures were dead- the one identified by the boy as Mkwawa, for about one-and-a-half hours: cold but not stiff. *Mzagila*[^212] Mnia Urambo identified this body immediately as Mkwawa’s. Apparently he had shot himself when we heard the shot previously mentioned. Around his body he wore, besides various medicines, a half-filled cartridge belt. His carbine was considerably cracked at the muzzle and in places much charred in the fire beside him. Musigombo’s body was already completely stiff. Beside him lay a sporting rifle. Between them the two bodies carried 117 cartridges. My caravan soon arrived. The Hehe recognised Mkwawa immediately and remained for a long time in dejected silence.[^213]

On 21 July 1898 Magdalene von Prince recorded ‘The triumphant news Sergeant Major Merkl delivered to Tom today is truly a shock...the death of our resourceful enemy in the mountains was demonstrated before our eyes. Merkl brought the head of the shot Sultan Mkwawa with him to the station [so] that no doubts of the truthfulness of his report could linger.[^214] It seems as though the news of Mkwawa’s death came as a shock, but perhaps even more, the shock came from the unexpected delivery of Mkwawa’s head into their Iringa home. Writing to German audiences in the early 1930s, Herbert Patera saw the presentation of the head as ‘a victory sign’ of German control. He wrote ‘Tom should fully enjoy the hard-won victory. For the victory sign placed at the foot of Bibi Sakkarani precluded any doubt: it was Mkwawa’s head!’[^215]

[^212]: ‘Mzagila’ translated as ‘agent’ and was a term used to describe a ‘head of a village holding delegated authority’. W. Bryant Mumford, ‘The Hehe-Bena-Sangu Peoples of East Africa’, *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (April-June, 1934), 211. In the longue durée, a mzagila usually remained in power even after a chief was replaced, a practice continued under German and then British colonialism in the southern highlands.
For the Princes, the head was the paramount symbol of Wahehe defeat. Magdalene had recorded earlier that Tom would never find as worthy and equal an opponent as Mkwawa in all of German East Africa. Magdalene, an aspiring photographer, used her Kodak camera to take a photo of the freshly severed head (Figure 4). She recorded in her diary ‘Tom took a photograph of Mkwawa’s head’ though it is likely this was done using Magdalene’s camera, and Magdalene was the more experienced photographer. The photo has remained in the Prince family collection long after Mkwawa’s head left their home.

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216 Magdalene von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 80.

217 The family history surrounding this photograph is that Magdalene took the picture. Her granddaughter Massowia believes that Tom was not at home at the time the photo was taken and that Magdalene captured the image. Magdalene was known for taking naturalist photos while on safari and around Iringa. Massowia Haywood, personal communication, 22 July 2019. On Magdalene being an aspiring photographer and naturalist, see Natermann, Pursuing Whiteness, 163. On portable cameras used by colonists and explorers in Africa during this period, see Sharon Sliwinski, ‘The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo’, Journal of Visual Culture, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2006), 333-363. For a satirical perspective on the ‘colonial camera’, see Mark Twain, King Leopold’s Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907): ‘Every Yankee missionary and every interrupted trader sent home and got…the incorruptible Kodak…and now…the pictures get sneaked around everywhere, in spite of all we can do to ferret them out and suppress them’ (68).
Magdalene approached the sight of Mkwawa’s head as both a trophy and an ethnographic specimen needing to be documented. Her diary is the only source of detail describing the head. After her entry, Mkwawa’s head disappears from the records. Magdalene’s entry, therefore, became the foundation on which Twining’s later account of Mkwawa was built. The details of precisely how Mkwawa died and the condition and state of his head were fundamental to Twining in order to prove the head he found was Mkwawa’s.

Magdalene’s diary entry regarding the head is just a few sentences. Most of the entry on 21 July 1898 is a transcription of Merkl’s report. She began documenting her exuberance regarding Mkwawa’s death and the surprise of his head being delivery to Tom and her in Iringa. In a diary entry four days later, Magdalene’s tone of excitement was replaced with a reflection of fear. She recorded that whilst out on safari she and Tom had been close enough to Mlambalasi that the campfire smoke they saw must have been from Mkwawa’s final encampment, not from a group of Schultztruppe as she and Tom had believed. Her anxiety was that the German appointed ‘Waheheführer’ was loyal to Mkwawa. ‘Two days before he took up his leadership position with us’, she wrote, this chief ‘brought food to the refugee’. She wrote about how ‘Tom was often alone for hours with [him], how easily he could have stabbed [Tom] while Tom was busy’.

‘Settler anxiety’ was universal in colonial settings. As Harald Fisher-Tiné argued: ‘the history of colonial empires has been shaped…by negative emotions such as anxiety, fear and embarrassment, as well as by regular occurrences of panics’. Imperial history is undergoing an affect turn, where the history of emotions has been

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aligned with colonial history to see the ways affect theory shaped accounts, actions, and policies.\textsuperscript{221} Kim Wagner argued the entire British Raj was an ‘empire of fear’.\textsuperscript{222} Negative emotions of vulnerability in colonies have been well documented.\textsuperscript{223} Scholarship has also explored the construction of positive emotions around imperial projects, such as Joanna Lewis, who looked at the way feelings of sentiment-framed narratives of imperialism.\textsuperscript{224} Magdalene’s diary entries around Mkwawa’s death embodied both positive affect and negative feelings. Magdalene’s


\textsuperscript{222} Kim Wagner, \textit{Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019). Wagner’s book centres on the Amritsar massacre, but to show that is was not an exceptional or excessive incident but rather typified the smaller scale acts of violence before and after 1919. See also Kim Wagner, ‘Fear and Loathing In Amritsar: An Intimate Account of Colonial Crisis’, \textit{Itinerario}, Special Issue, The Private Lives of Empire: Emotion, Intimacy, and Colonial Rule, Vol. 1, Special Issue 1 (April 2018), 67-84.


writings allow for an exploration of anxiety in a more intimate and domestic setting, from the perspective of a female settler.

As one of the few white colonists in Iringa, and one of the even fewer white women, Magdalene occupied an unusual position. Her husband was the district commissioner of Iringa who directly led military campaigns as a colonial officer. She was intimately involved in colonial administration and sat in on colonial briefings, such as was evident with her interactions with Wahehe Sultan Mpangile or when she transcribed Merkl’s report on finding Mkwawa’s body. Her diary entry the day she sees Mkwawa’s head is one filled with expressions of relief, the release of anxiety and stress built over the years of living in Iringa station. Yet as her subsequent entry show, the joy Mkwawa’s death produced gave way to anxiety over their safety within the colony.225

Magdalene imagined Tom not only being killed but specifically being stabbed by the Waheheführer, whom she feared was aiding Mkwawa. It was a manifestation of primitivism and tropes of underhanded treachery with similar colonial anxieties faced by the British in India. The small groups of Europeans within a colony relied on a vast network of local intermediaries from administrative and domestic realms. Her anxiety that Tom might have been stabbed is reminiscent of poisoning panics in British India where mythicised narratives of violence culminated in protracted panics where nowhere felt safe.226

Magdalene’s anxiety that Tom would be killed while creating and managing a colony fit with the gendered notion of paternalism that guided European colonialism. The colonised were children. The colonists were to be good parents in

225 Magdalene never recorded her anxieties about sexual violence. This can be explained in part due to her diary existing as entries edited for publication. As colonisation in German East Africa increased, and with her and Tom’s move to a remote plantation in Usambara in 1900, these fears would have been present along with anxiety crossing borders, such as the moral panics sweeping Southern Rhodesia at this time. See Jock McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000).

charge of bringing them up to the standards of European ‘civilisation’. Magdalene saw herself in the role of being a good mother; not only in creating a family of their own, but also in the way she viewed the Africans in their employ. ‘The African’, she wrote in 1906, ‘who is and remains like a child, is in need of strictness, he has little understanding of mild and indulgent goodness and always interprets it as a sign of weakness’. Magdalene stated that when beatings were needed, it should only be ‘a swift blow’, which in her view was ‘essential and of the highest effect’. Labourer shortages and the German need to create a profitable colony was reflected in Magdalene’s opinion that settlers were ‘too dependent on the workers to provoke them with beatings, and in the long run the cooperation is much better without the tiresome spanking’. Magdalene’s parental discourse was displayed when she referred to beatings with the motherly discipline of ‘spankings’ echoing back to her stated view that the African is a child.

The display of vulnerability in Magdalene’s later diary entry mixed with the tone of jubilation she felt when Mkwawa’s head was brought to Iringa, proof that Mkwawa was dead. Yet the Germans never knew what Mkwawa looked like. The head brought to the Princes was their first encounter with Mkwawa. As such, Magdalene describes its physical appearance in her diary. ‘Even in death’ she wrote, ‘this most active of all Negro lords, whose countenance has’ never been seen by any


229 There is no way to prove the head brought to the Princes was Mkwawa. See Author’s note.
European, robbed ‘his mortal enemies a look at his true face’.

Magdalene was referring to the large bullet wound on the head that obliterated the upper half of Mkwawa’s face. Her prose also spoke to his act of suicide as a final triumph against German colonialism, robbing them of the ability to fully look upon the mysterious ‘outlaw’. This passage contrasts directly with Magdalene’s descriptions of Mpangile, whom she described as handsome and attractive. Thoughts of Mpangile must have been on Magdalene’s mind when she finally saw Mkwawa. When Mpangile died, Magdalene ‘wept bitterly, and even now I am mourning for the black gentleman, though my reason struggles against it’. Seeing Mkwawa’s head, conversely, filled her with ‘a full, grateful heart’ and she ‘would like to cheer around the world [that] Mkwawa is dead’.

In her depiction of Mkwawa, there is a mix of nineteenth-century notions of ethnographic interest as if she is unpacking a cabinet of curiosity. Magdalene asked Merkl about Mkwawa’s height, recording that Merkl estimated Mkwawa stood at 1.8 metres. Like her depictions of Mkwawa’s brother Mpangile, Magdalene focuses on height as a way to stress authority. Mpangile stood tall and with great stature, and similarly stating that Mkwawa was 1.8 metres would have made him above average for Wahehe males, despite oral testimony by Wahehe who knew Mkwawa and stated that ‘he was not particularly tall’. Magdalene ascribed height as characteristic of rule. When meeting with African men, Magdalene would seat herself in a chair higher than them to showcase her elevated position as a European and wife to the

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231 Quoted in Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 46.

232 Magdalene von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 179.

Iringa commander. Mkwawa, in her recording, thus became tall to fit with her view of authority being linked to physical characteristics.

She wrote that Mkwawa had ‘a small face with peculiar broken and yet relatively large eyes’. ‘Broken’ in this instance would have referred to one eye being missing from the damage to the head. Yet it also referenced the finality of Mkwawa’s rule being finally broken. She recorded that Mkwawa had a ‘strong nose, bulging lips, especially the lower lip, which was strikingly drooping, right up to the strongly protruding energetic chin’. Magdalene had little to base her depiction of Mkwawa on and made much of the shape of his face. ‘[T]his chin, the bulging lips, and the forward pushing jaw give the head a commanding look of barbarism and force of will’. The term Magdalene uses is ‘Grausamkeit’ which has a number of different meanings in German. It can mean ‘ghastliness’, which may have reflected upon the horrific nature of the head itself, roughly cut off the body and with a gaping wound. Grausamkeit can also mean ‘cruelty’, which fit with Magdalene’s intention of depicting Mkwawa as a despot, ruling with ‘fiendishness’, yet another way to translate Grausamkeit. But most telling, Grausamkeit translates as ‘brutality, savagery, barbarism’, all words that equally apply to colonial rule, the view of colonial administrators and metropole public of the colonised, and encompass nouns describing the act of collecting a head.

Magdalene’s notion that Mkwawa’s prominent chin gave him a ‘strong and energetic appearance’ has a double layering when applied to a severed head with a large exit wound. But Mkwawa was a man to be feared who had plagued the German command with nightmares. He had survived many attacks, both during his colonial and his pre-colonial wars. She recorded a large lump on his forehead, which she claimed was the result of a spear wound during one of his military campaigns. Here she addressed an apparent rumour about Mkwawa that he embodied animalistic qualities, staying that the ‘strong swollen bump on the forehead…has

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236 Magdalene von Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 183.
probably given rise to the widespread opinion that Mkwawa wore a horn on his forehead’. His height, energetic appearance, and ‘physique was in keeping with this mighty ruler’s spirit and the iron will of this last sultan of Uhehe’. Once again, the mention of Mkwawa being the last sultan of the Wahehe contrasts with her feeling toward Mpangile, who was officially the final sultan to rule Uhehe. Commenting on Mkwawa’s leadership, Magdalene spoke of the context of Mkwawa’s suicide. It was ‘his bloody’ suicide where he ‘gave up his kingdom and himself’ which Magdalene felt a fitting end for ‘this sympathetic despot’s desperate struggle’. The use of ‘sympathetic’ reveals Magdalene’s ambivalence over Mkwawa. He took on a trope of ‘noble savage’ in her account, elevating the threat he presented to Germany, even in 1898 when he was isolated and in hiding with just two young companions. This allowed his death to be notable. It showed the importance of the struggle Tom and the German colonial state had engaged in since the foundation of the East African colony. Stripping away notions of a heroic final stand, Magdalene wrote that ‘in his suicide he shot his last loyal companion’ a commentary on his reign. For Magdalene, Mkwawa did not die ‘like a brave chief and warrior’ but ‘like an ordinary person’ who cowardly took his companions with him when he killed himself.238

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237 For a popular history reimagination of Mkwawa and the narrative of his suicide, see Robert Gaudi, *African Kaiser: General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck and the Great War in Africa* (London: Hurst and Company, 2017). Gaudi seemed to base his entire narrative on this one page of Magdalene’s diary and makes much of the horn while blurring and inventing many other details. It is worth reprinting here. ‘Rather than submit to capture, Sultan Mkwawa murdered all his wives and was about to commit suicide when the opportunity for escape presented itself. But von Prince, hell-bent on destroying the destroyer of Zelewski once and for all, tracked Mkwawa relentlessly through the bush for more than a year and in 1898 finally had him cornered. This time, the “Magnificent Sultan”, realizing he could not escape, put a pistol to his head, and blew out his brains. The Wahehe had thought Mkwawa immortal, a supernatural being protected from bullets by an alliance of evil spirits and a magic horn that grew out of the centre of his forehead. His death ended this supposition, but the mythical horn actually existed: When von Prince cut off Mkwawa’s head, the horn was found to be a poorly healed bullet wound, oddly mounded with scar tissue. Eventually, his much-shot-up-skull, defleshed and bleached and complete with gaping hole and cartilage horn, was put on display in an anthropological museum in Germany. After the war the skull was to be repatriated by special stipulation of the Versailles treaty, but could not be found: the magical skull of Mkwawa had vanished mysteriously, perhaps fallen into the chasm between one historical epoch and the next’ (147).

The photograph the Princes took showed the entire front right corner presumably missing due to the exit wound. The wound is either poorly documented or intentionally obscured. Magdalene noted the bump on the head and attributed it to a scar from a spear wound, showing that she had carefully examined the head. Calling the bump a spear injury reflected a distancing technique Magdalene employed. The act of cutting off a head reflects ‘brutal’ or ‘barbaric’ behaviour. To speak of spear wounds was to speak of tribalised violence that was already occurring before German colonial rule and justified the need for German colonialism in her mind. It allowed Magdalene to create a hierarchy of behaviour and custom. She could see the Wahehe as primitive and savage, reiterating von Zelewski’s failed belief of European superiority over ‘spears and shields’. Mkwawa’s head had both spear and bullet damage inflicted upon it.

Magdalene supported the collection and keeping of Mkwawa’s head because she was able to place herself into the role of an ethnographer conducting a study. Magdalene documented the arrival of Merkl under a discourse of head collection as proof of death. Her diary recorded ‘that no doubts about the validity of the report could linger, Merkl brought the head of the shot Sultan Mkwawa with him to the station’. Implicit in this entry is the justification for removing Mkwawa’s head. She claimed that it was done so that the report of Mkwawa’s death would be verified. Magdalene speculated that Merkl would be paid the 5,000 rupee bounty, and converted that sum to 8,000 German marks (in 1903 value). For Magdalene Mkwawa’s head was evidence brought by Merkl to claim the reward. Magdalene was a Prussian aristocrat married to Tom, an orphaned soldier of lower social standing. Mkwawa’s head was an opportunity to emphasise her and her husband’s frontier rule and heroism. Magdalene’s report of Mkwawa’s final defeat served as

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239 Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 179.
240 Prince, Eine deutsche Frau (1908), 181-182.
241 Magdalene and Tom’s frontier role was reimagined in Herbert Kranz’s 1937 novel Abenteuer in Uhehe, where ‘Maleen’ fell in love with a Prussian soldier called ‘Lutz’. The two travel to East Africa where Lutz commands forces against Quawa. Lutz’s role brings masculine adventure to the narrative, while Maleen embodies German-style Kultur to enlighten Africans. She impresses Quawa with the
recruitment for metropole adventurers to become colonial soldiers. Magdalene was a self-confessed ‘true nationalist, loyal to the Kaiser, and believed in the cultural superiority of the white Christian European’ race.\textsuperscript{242} She dedicated her published diary to Kaiser Wilhelm’s wife.\textsuperscript{243}

Reviewing the decapitation of Mkwawa in the 1990s, the American anthropologist Edgar Winans was unable to comprehend Merkl’s motivation. This speaks to the inability of some academics to place ideas of head-hunting and trophy collection within a modern context. Winans’ noted that Merkl’s account, the only written source of that day, ‘does not say that Prince had ordered it. Indeed, beyond reporting his order, Merkl offers no comment’ as to why Mkwawa’s head was removed.\textsuperscript{244} In trying to understand the act, Winans could only offer a pragmatic justification for Mkwawa’s decapitation, that ‘Mkwawa’s body was found at a camp in Pawaga (sic)...a steep climb up the escarpment and a long trek upland to Neu-Iringa’.\textsuperscript{245} Winans viewed Merkl’s decision as a way to ‘avoid carry[ing] the body’ while still ‘bring[ing] proof of Mkwawa’s death’ in order to claim the reward. In trying to explain the decapitation, Winans’ attempted to explain it away. It is true that Merkl’s account of the three-hour trek to get to Mkwawa’s body after hearing the fatal gunshot attested to the rough terrain of the colony’s southern highlands.\textsuperscript{246} Cutting off Mkwawa’s head did serve a practical, transportation-related benefit. Yet, the decapitation had a more symbolic meaning.


\textsuperscript{242} Natermann, \textit{Pursuing Whiteness}, 163.
\textsuperscript{244} Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 229.
\textsuperscript{245} Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 229.
\textsuperscript{246} Here Winans makes a mistake in the time, as Merkl reported it took 90 minutes to reach Mkwawa’s body, not three hours. This could be read as an intentional exaggeration by Winans to underscore the practicality aspect of Merkl needing to remove the head.
In removing Mkwawa’s head, German command may have metaphorically assumed the mantle as the Wahehe ‘head’ of state. Winans explained Prince’s colonial experience as a process that allowed him to have ‘spent some years learning all he could about the Southern Highlands and its contending rulers. He had been in close contact with many Hehe chiefs and had sought to rule through other members of Mkwawa’s own family. He may be presumed to have known a good deal about their views and beliefs by the time [the decapitation] was perpetrated’. Winans argued that ‘the beheading represented…knowledge’ of Wahehe customary practices and rites of succession. Even if Winans’ is correct that the head was removed to prevent worship around Mkwawa, based on an understanding of Wahehe cultural practice, it was Governor von Liebert, largely unaccustomed to Wahehe ethnography, who ordered the reward placed on Mkwawa’s head. Notably, Mkwawa’s body is buried in Mlambalasi, some distance removed from Kalenga and Rungemba.

Prince understood the power memorialisation creates around the bodies of fallen martyrs. It is no coincidence that it was not until just after Mkwawa’s death that Prince erected the memorial to von Zelewski and the German officers who died in the first battle with the Wahehe state. Prince, embodying Hamlet, is said to have visited the battle site and held von Zelewski’s skull in his hands, swearing revenge.

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247 Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 225.
248 Liebert did travel to the Wahehe region of the colony the year after Mkwawa’s death, and allegedly remarked in his diary that Prince was viewed as a successor to the Wahehe. See Eduard von Liebert, Neunzig Tage im Zelt: meine Reise, nach Uhehe, Juni-September, 1897 (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1898). There is also a possibility that it was Prince who suggested placing a bounty on Mkwawa. Acting as a colonial ‘man-on-the-spot’ it was Prince who carried out the indirect rule of the German East African interior during Mkwawa’s war of resistance. Prince ‘installed or recognized local chiefs, paid them regular salaries…promoted trade, attempted to interest German companies and farmers…built a strongly fortified town…without consulting the German central administration’. See Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 227-228. In Prince’s memoirs and Magdalene’s diary, the Princes expressed that the only way peace would be obtained with the Wahehe would be to kill Mkwawa. Tom Prince’s reports to von Liebert led to the enacting of ‘a reward for information leading to the capture of Mkwawa’. Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 228.
249 Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 233. Winans stated: ‘it is difficult to imagine how Prince would have recognized Zelewski’s skull from the many left by that bloody battle. The point would seem to be that it does not matter whether it was really Zelewski’s skull or that of some other casualty’ (233). Hans Schmiedel stated that Tom did hold Zelewski’s skull, but he did so in 1914 as he prepared to go
Germany had colonial control over Lugalo and had already used the destruction of von Zelewski’s expedition to justify the punitive war against the Wahehe. Yet the commemorative marker was not erected until 1898, centring German rule and creating a memorialisation to subjugation. Prince also built a marker in Kalenga to commemorate the only German soldier killed during the attack, Erich Maass. This further reinforced German control in the area through the use of a physical narrative structure (Figure 5).

Schmiedel claims part of this memorial included a description written in Kihehe that read: ‘If you pass here, think of the brave soldiers who fell fighting with their commander in the war’. He reports this from an official in the Town Council of Iringa who sent Schmiedel the inscription in 1953. Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 50. The inscription was removed by the time of my site visit in 2017. It may have been removed under Tanzanian nationalistic motivations or for the practical purpose of savaging the metal. Memorial signs have been removed in Iringa for both purposes. Alex Fox, personal communication, 2 June 2017.
Figure 5: Memorial to Erich Maass in Kalenga. Today this marker continues to disrupt, as it sits in the middle of a local resident’s garden. Photo by Author.

Winans cannot comprehend the German colonial commander’s acceptance of Mkwawa’s head as a trophy. ‘This act,’ he wrote, ‘certainly strikes one as atypical of the behaviour of German officers in the field during the final years of the nineteenth century’.251 Yet the act of cutting off Mkwawa’s head exemplified typical colonial behaviour.

Based on the report about the Wahehe royal graves given by Stierling, it is clear that either Prince or von Schele ordered the destruction of the graves to cripple Mkwawa’s resistance. Stierling plundered these graves, sending Mkwawa’s father’s skull off to Professor von Luschan in Berlin. Yet Stierling does not reveal how he came across the skull of Mkwawa’s brother. He only stated that the skull characteristic and measurements given to him by von Luschan ‘corresponded fairly well with those of a skull which I had submitted at the same time.’ Any Mkwawa relative who died during the latter part of the German Wahehe war would not have been buried in Rungemba, particularly after the German military destroyed the gravesite. Stierling likely attended the hangings in Iringa ordered by Prince, and it was here that he collected this head.252

Stierling noted that 1898 represented an ideal time for German anthropologists to conduct fieldwork in Uhehe. After Mkwawa’s death, ‘it would appear to be the duty of all who have had the good fortune to amass experiences both of this notable struggle and of the numerous peculiarities and customs of the Hehe to record them for posterity’, referencing his theory that the Wahehe were naturally becoming extinct.253 Noting the graves in Rungemba, Stierling thought ‘now is the time to [excavate the graves], after the death of the redoubtable

251 Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 225.
252 He may have even ordered it cut from Mpangile’s corpse, though the means of collection are not recorded in his writings or in Wahehe oral history.
[Mkwawa], as the inhabitants of Rungemba may be ready to explain things which, through superstitious awe, they refused to disclose during his lifetime'. The graves of Wahehe ancestors were places for renewal, and the elephant ivory placed on them an offering. Evidence suggests that Mkwawa did visit his father’s grave to gain medicines for his rebellion against German rule. Even today Wahehe will go to the cave at Mlambalasi to meditate and give offerings to Mkwawa (Figure 6). Prince would have avoided creating a shrine of anti-colonial pursuits, thus, in part, explaining a desire to keep Mkwawa’s head. He sought to prevent the head from becoming a unifying palladium.

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255 Nicholaus Kulanga, interview, 6 June 2017.
256 Twining uses the term ‘palladium’ during the repatriation ceremony to reflect unification, not of the Wahehe but of allegiance to the British Empire. For Jesse Bucher, the term ‘is the most striking aspect of [Twining’s] speech. As a palladium for the Hehe, the skull of Mkwawa could have the power to protect the people as a whole’ but it was a power imposed upon from the outside, where ‘Twining and a cohort of scholars had tried to affirm, many Hehe believed that the skull had extensive powers’. Jesse Bucher, ‘The Skull of Mkwawa and the Politics of Indirect Rule in Tanganyika’, Journal of Eastern African Studies, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2016), 295.
Figure 6: Nicholaus Kulanga demonstrating an offering at Mlambalasi cave. Photo by Author. Image of Nicholaus Kulanga used with permission.
WAR OF THE HEADS
The last German colonial governor of German East Africa, Heinrich Schnee, spent his final two years as governor on the move and involved in guerrilla campaigns against the invasion of former Boer commando Jan Smuts and his British and South African forces during the First World War. From this experience, in 1920 he published a colonial guidebook that included a section on ‘colonial warfare’. Schnee’s book acknowledged that colonial societies lacked resources and established modern infrastructure from which to wage traditional warfare. His book recommended that the most ‘practical’ way to subjugate native populations was through swift, violent, and total pacification of Indigenous peoples by removing the constraints of European warfare. These doctrines were learned suppressing the Wahehe. German East African governor and Schutztruppe commander Eduard von Liebert reflected on the changing nature of warfare within the colonial setting. Shortly after the taking of Mkwawa’s head, he stated:

In Bohemia and France I learnt about war in practice. For thirty years I have been continually engaged in the study of war and in the history of war in particular. But what I experienced in Uhehe existed beyond the parameters of all that had existed previously. It was truly African.

Liebert’s statement reveals the mindset of a veteran from European wars and a scholar of military tactics, attempting to rationalise his own departure from civilising norms. During the final year of Mkwawa’s life, it was Liebert who ordered the shooting of any Wahehe seen carrying weapons during the German occupation. He stated that he appreciated Tom Prince’s course of action against rebelling groups and ‘urged him to proceed’ in the ‘hanging to death [of] all Wasagira’ rebels and the

257 On Smuts’ role as a former anti-British commando leader turned East African commander see J.H.V. Crowe, General Smuts’ Campaign in East Africa (London: J. Murray, 1918). Smuts’ command in East Africa was criticised by Col. Meinertzhagen, his intelligence officer, who wrote in his diary: ‘Smuts has cost Britain many hundreds of lives...by his caution...Smuts was not an astute soldier; a brilliant statesman and politician but no soldier’. Richard Meinertzhagen, Army Diary, 1899-1926 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960), 205.
‘shooting to death the Wahehe’. Liebert felt that those who do not ‘submit [were to be] eradicated’.\footnote{Quoted in Gewald, ‘Colonial Warfare’, 10. The term Liebert used was ‘Raubgesindel’, literally ‘a pack of robbers’, and is in reference to both Mkwawa and the rebelling Wahehe. The term for ‘eradicated’ used by Liebert was ‘ausgerottet’. Literally meaning ‘to clear out woods’ this was an organic metaphor often used during wars of extermination. See Zygmunt Bauman, Modernity and the Holocaust (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005), 91-92.} The military tactic developed in German East Africa and lauded as a model of colonial warfare by Schnee and Liebert developed into what Kim Wagner called ‘savage warfare’, more traditionally known as ‘counterinsurgency’.\footnote{Gewald, ‘Colonial Warfare’, 11-12; Kim Wagner, ‘Savage Warfare: Violence and the Rule of Colonial Difference in Early British Counterinsurgency’, History Workshop Journal, Vol. 85 (Spring 2018), 218-220. Wagner uses the term from a pair of 1873 lectures from a British colonial officer and British explorer based on their experiences in Africa (220).} In order to suppress ‘savage’ rebellions, ‘civilised’ colonial soldiers would raid villages, seize or destroy all food and water resources, kill all the men, capture or kill the women and children, and then force the captives into domestic service or as colonial labourers.

By believing in or attempting to justify actions of ‘civilised’ behaviour, European forces engaged in brutal campaigns of violence while othering their victims as ‘savages’ under a civilising mission edict. The historiography on colonialism is founded on assessing the ideological dichotomy between civilised and savage. Frederick Cooper reminded historians that in engaging with colonial ideologies, scholars become trapped; replicating ‘the colonial binarism’ in either their rejection or inversion of the civilised versus savage trope or in the creation of a new dichotomy variation, such as ‘modern versus traditional’\footnote{Frederick Cooper, ‘Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History’, The American Historical Review, Vol. 99, No. 5 (December 1994), 1517.}. These signifiers show that colonial experiences framed under binaries complicate colonial historiography, where the dichotomies can ‘pry apart…the ways in which power was constituted and contested’\footnote{Cooper, ‘Conflict and Connection’, 1545.}.

The Wahehe war against German East Africa (1891-1898) overlapped with several regional colonial rebellions in what Terence Ranger and others have called...
‘primary resistance’. The British and German colonial empires each faced significant rebellions, uprisings, and wars as the colonies formalised imperial control. Examples range from the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War and the First Chimurenga (1896-1897) between Britain and the Ndebele and Shona in Matabeleland, and rebellions such as the Ovaherero and Nama uprising in German Southwest Africa (1904-1908) and Maji Maji in German East Africa (1905-1907). These rebellions elucidate resistance against what Shula Marks called, the ‘imperial governments [attempt] to impose their authority on colonial territories in a real sense for the first time’. John Iliffe noted that nascent colonial governments attempted to ‘maintain a precarious order’ through the ‘swift use of violence’ but with the priority of doing so cheaply. Iliffe quoted a Southern Rhodesian native commissioner’s mantra for colonial rule: ‘Get to know your district, and your people. Keep an eye on them, collect tax if possible, but for God’s sake don’t worry headquarters’.

Taxation and violence converged in colonial settings. The Zulu rebellion, for example, was ominously known as the ‘War of the Heads’. ‘Heads’ in this context referred to the shift of a new colonial tax policy in 1906. Instead of paying a tax ‘per hut’, black Africans would have to pay a £1 on all native men eighteen years or older. While a system of ‘headcounting’, these new policy was also an attempt by the


267 Quoted in Iliffe, *Africans*, 211.
colonial administration to pacify the territory by limiting black African access to firearms.\textsuperscript{268} In response, Chief Bambatha led a primary resistance movement. Gathering forces from both Natal and Zululand from the mountainous forest region, Bambatha successfully spread mass panic and brought an overhanded colonial response of savage warfare. Villages wererazed, and thousands of black Africans were killed over the course of the rebellion. Bambatha used guerrilla combat and alliances with previously antagonistic chiefdoms to create broader support, but his skirmishes were limited. ‘In spite of the very great hostility against white rule shown...in rumours’, Marks remarked, ‘it is significant that only about half a dozen white civilians were killed during the disturbances’. Marks’ analysis of these rumours led her to conclude that ‘had there been any real intention of “driving the white man into the sea”, as the colonists alleged, one would have expected a far higher incidence of acts of violence against white men and their property’.\textsuperscript{269} Colonial anxiety led to savage warfare based on rumours. In the aftermath of the rebellion ‘rumour played an important part in exaggerating the atrocities...Whites, with their stereotypes of uncontrolled African savagery, talked in almost hysterical terms about the danger to their women and children’ yet ‘not a single white woman or child was touched during the disturbances’ of 1906-1908.\textsuperscript{270}

Investigating the death of Bambatha, however, elucidates a new meaning to the phrase ‘war of the heads’. South African authorities feared the spread of the Zulu rebellion and operated under tactics that did not ‘distinguish between black friend and black foe, even had they been willing to make the effort’.\textsuperscript{271} Counter-insurgency tactics evolved to ‘surround the rebels and hunt them out’. Shula Marks wrote of ‘More-or-less innocent chiefs and tribes [being] dragged into the hostilities’ but dismissed as collateral damage. Reacting to these tactics, Sir Charles Saunders, the South African Commissioner for Native Affairs, felt that ‘we are far more in danger

\textsuperscript{268} Storey, \textit{Guns, Race, Power}, 52-53.  
\textsuperscript{269} Marks, \textit{Reluctant Rebellion}, 244.  
\textsuperscript{270} Marks, \textit{Reluctant Rebellion}, 245.  
\textsuperscript{271} Marks, \textit{Reluctant Rebellion}, 242-243.
of such a rising being initiated by ourselves than (by) our supposed enemies’. Expending the uprising may have been the colonial authorities’ intention. Speculation during the final stages of the rebellion in 1906 suggested the Natal authorities had hoped to ‘goad the whole population into rebellion’ to offer a final solution to the native question. The colonial campaigns of Matabeleland created public reactions within the metropole. A London Anglican minister surmised that the response to “what are we going to do with this teeming native population?” was to suppress the limited rebellion so violently that it ‘might spread throughout the land and engender a war of practical extermination.’ He wrote ‘I fully believe that they were imbued with the conviction that this was the only safe way of dealing with the native question, and they are greatly disappointed that the spirit of rebelling was not strong enough to bring...the natives people under the influence of the rifle’.

The rebellion had not spread as widely as South African whites paradoxically feared and desired. On 10 June 1906 Bambatha was killed after a series of defeats and tactical errors that eroded his support. Bambatha’s head was cut off, reportedly for ‘identification purposes’. Like Mkwawa’s decapitation, the act itself was justified under the practical reasoning of being needed to prove identity and verify his death. It was deemed too difficult to carry Bambatha’s body through the dense terrain. Instead only his head was taken. Bambatha had distinguishing facial characteristics.

272 Quoted in Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 241.
273 Quoted in Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 242.
274 Quoted in Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 242. This quote is illustrative of the mindset guiding many Southern African colonial pursuits through savage warfare. Reflecting on the colonial violence in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, Dane Kennedy wrote: ‘Taken to the logical extreme, relief from such terror terminated in either the complete segregation of the complete extermination of the indigenous inhabitants. Each scenario represented a pure expression of racial fear’. Ironically, ‘each posed a catastrophe for settlers by eliminating the cheap black labor upon which they depended. Thus, a continual tension existed between the extreme demands raised by racial fears and the practical needs felt by economic function’. Dane Keith Kennedy, Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 147.
275 Quoted in Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 242.
276 Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 224-225.
such as a gap in his teeth and scars near his eye and on his cheek. Taking his head was a practical solution to prove Bambatha had been killed.

**Trophy Heads in Colonial Warfare**

Bambatha’s head was taken as evidence. Yet it was also a trophy and as a symbol of proving total subjugation. In this way, it mirrors the taking of Mkwawa’s head. According to one of the colonial officers involved in the decapitation of Bambatha, ‘the head was severed from the trunk and conveyed to the camp, where it was recognised as Bambata’s by all those who had been acquainted with him…The exhibition of the head…undoubtedly had the effect of dispelling the superstition, deep rooted in the mind of natives, that Bambata was invulnerable. So long as the belief was held that Bambata was alive, waverers would have thrown their lot in with the rebels and…continued the struggle’. As shown above, however, some colonial soldiers hoped for a continuation of the rebellion and exaggerated the perceived belief that rebellion would spread. This account, given one year later, documented this belief under the guise that displaying Bambatha’s head was a tactical necessity.

Bambatha’s head underwent a symbolic transformation with dual layering. South Africa requested that the British colonial office produce Imperial war medals for the white soldiers ‘who distinguished themselves in the recent battle’. The request went to the Colonial Office Under-Secretary Winston Churchill, who challenged the South African reports of casualties and bravery as greatly exaggerated. Churchill retorted ‘There were, I think, nearly a dozen casualties among these devoted men in the course of their prolonged operations and [of those] four or even five are dead on the field of honour…but I should hesitate to press upon them an Imperial medal in view of the distastes which this colony has so strongly evinced’. Churchill instead proposed that ‘a copper medal bearing Bambatha’s head’ be ‘struck

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279 Quoted in Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, 244.
at the expense of the colony’. Churchill felt an image of Bambatha’s head, paid for by the colony, would be ‘the most appropriate memento of...sacrifices and...triumphs’. Churchill’s tone suggests he questioned the extent of ‘sacrifices’ and ‘triumphs’. Using the image of Bambatha’s head on this medal in order to mark bravery thus undercuts valour. Forcing the colony to pay for the pressing of these trophies further served as a subtle form of chastisement. Yet it inadvertently commemorated the decapitation of Bambatha. This latter use was not Churchill’s intention, but it served as a reminder of savage warfare carried out to its fullest extent.

Heads were taken in the colonial context as trophies. The medal, in using an isolated image of Bambatha’s head, is a reference to the mutilation of his body. These medals were not the only trophies made using Bambatha’s head. In 1925 a photograph was printed in the South African Armed Forces periodical *The Nongqai*. It depicted a human skull placed on a polished shield, displayed in the same fashion as a hunting trophy. The caption for the photo read: ‘...the actual skull of the rebel leader, Chief Bambata (sic), who was slain...and decapitated for identification purposes’. The justification for why Bambatha’s head was taken two decades after the fact reinforces a subtle notion that armed forces could distance their policies, for example not condoning trophy collecting, while at the same time display an image of head staged as a trophy. Churchill’s suggestion in the early 1900s that the South African government should pay for the printing of their medals was an apt reprimand. In framing the Zulu rebellion in 1925, when the lopsided casualties were well known, *The Nongqai* instead justified savage warfare with financial underpinnings. The photo caption stated that Bambatha’s ‘skull is the only relic of a Rebellion which cost the Government 740 000 pounds to suppress’.282

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280 Quoted in Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 244.
281 Harrison, Dark Trophies, 71.
282 Quoted in Harrison, Dark Trophies, 71.
There are many parallels between the taking of Bambatha’s and Mkwawa’s heads. Both led anti-colonial rebellions that ended with them isolated in hinterlands with lost support, though Bambatha was killed commanding a far greater force. Each had their heads cut off under alleged pragmatic considerations of evidentiary proof of their deaths. And both heads became displayed trophies by colonial forces. In post-apartheid South Africa, Bambatha gained national prominence. Mkwawa too became a key figure in Tanzanian national history as the founder of anti-colonial struggles inherited by Julius Nyerere. Similar to threads of oral history regarding Mkwawa’s head, some Zulu legends claim Bambatha was never killed and escaped to Portuguese Mozambique. And each head has undergone an additional repatriation. In the case of Mkwawa, his tooth brought back in 2015 by Tom von Prince’s descendants. For Bambatha, a lock of his hair was discovered at Leamington Spa, in Warwickshire’s Ashorne Hill Management College. A trunk from a royal engineer was found stored in the attic. Inside was an envelope with hair and a note saying ‘lock of Bambata’s hair and description of his wounds etc.’. The description of the wounds to Bambatha, for instance, showed Bambatha had been killed ‘from an expanding bullet, which entering at the base of the back of the skull, and passing out in the vicinity of the left eye, removed the eye,

283 Shula Marks took issue with national hero mythos even during the apartheid-era under which she wrote his history. She conceded that Bambatha should be ‘rightly so regarded’ as ‘he resisted oppressive European rule and attempted to unite behind him the chiefs and people of many tribes’ even if ‘Bambatha himself left no record of what he was trying to do and we are dependent therefore on the very imperfect assessments of administrative officials and the less imperfect but still inadequate views of his induna [advisor/headman] and followers as to what prompted him to take the fateful decision’ of resistance. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, 208.
284 Evidence for this can be seen at Mkwawa’s grave in Mlambalasi, which is adorned with a large column topped with a carving of a shield and spears and was dedicated by Nyerere on the centennial of Mkwawa’s death.
285 Others use his decapitation as an example of colonial savagery. See, for example, the 2002 Zulu opera Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu, which used the Zulu rebellion as link to anti-apartheid movements and included the song ‘Ikhanda LikaBhambatha’ (the head of Bhambatha). Innocentia J. Mhlambi, ‘The Question of Nationalism in Mzilikazi Khumalo’s “Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu” (2002)’, Journal of African Cultural Studies, Special Issue: Performance and Social Meaning, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 2015), 300.
286 This is discussed in Chapter IV.
and a portion of the frontal bone and cheek’. The use of ‘dum dum bullets’ were considered inhuman in civilised European warfare, but deemed necessary in colonial contexts. Importantly, this newly found account of Bambatha’s wounds collaborates the damage to the skull presented in the photography printed in The Nongqai, proving that a head similar to Bambatha’s was indeed skeletonised and displayed as a trophy. Narratives created around body parts serve various aims. They create provenance research into the ways in which human remains have been collected, as well as the aims of their display. The photograph in The Nongqai commemorated, for instance, not only the death of Bambatha but also served to illustrate, in a military publication, the effectiveness of expanding bullets in colonial contexts in a period just two decades after calls to outlaw these bullets as ‘uncivilised’.

Warfare against native populations, particularly those seen in a state of rebellion, was likened to, as Robert Baden-Powell called it, going on a ‘partridge hunt’. Baden-Powell’s use of hunting phrases served to distance campaigns of violence as adventure masked as a gentlemanly pursuit. The sporting lens used by

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287 Note transcribed by Ken Gillings, who is currently in possession of the items found in the trunk. Reprinted in Ken Gillings, ‘The “Death” of Bhambatha Zondi, A Recent Discovery’, Military History Journal, Vol. 12, No. 4, (December 2002), 137. Mkwawa’s head, though not struck by a dum dum bullet, had a similar bullet wound to the right eye.


289 Bambatha was killed seven years after the 1899 Hague Conference, which prohibited expanding bullets. Britain did not sign the agreement until 1907, the year after Bambatha’s death, on the grounds that, as the British delegate at the 1899 Conference stated, the British Empire needed ‘the liberty of employing projectiles of sufficient efficacy against savage races’. Quoted in Malvern Lumsden, ‘New Military Technology and the Erosion of International Law: The Case of the Dum-Dum Bullets Today’, Instant Research on Peace and Violence, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1974), 17.

290 Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell, The Matabele Campaign 1896, 2nd Edition (London: Methuen & Co., 1897), 63-64. E.A.H Alderson similarly blurred the lines of savage warfare and recreational hunting. E.A.H Alderson, Pink and Scarlet: Or, Hunting as a School for Soldiering (London: W. Heinemann, 1900). The white-on-white violence during the South African War, however, was dismissed under a hunting lens, with a pun on the term ‘Boer’: ‘the men of the two peoples went out to shoot one another with about as little esteem for each other’s humanity as those have whose hunt is for tigers or wild boars’. ‘Lessons of the South African War’, The Advocate of Peace, Vol. 64, No. 7 (July 1902), 129.
Baden-Powell reinforced the trophy-collecting element of savage warfare. British officers used hunting terminology when fighting against black Africans. Hunting terms all found their way into colonial lexicons. Authors liken attacking and killing black Africans using terms such as ‘beating the bush’, or the foxhunting technique of ‘yocking’, going after ‘black game’, organising ‘drives’ and embarking on ‘rat hunts’. Simon Harrison argued that the trope of hunting helped to explain head collecting, akin, in Harrison’s view, to taking the antlers of an elk. When Bambatha’s head was displayed in the South African army magazine, it was placed on a shield. But there was also a plaque placed next to the skull with a small metal nameplate. The nameplate is illegible in the photograph but evoked the same trophy configuration associated with hunted non-human animals. The details of the hunt would be engraved in some way to the trophy, narrativising the hunt and kill to elevate the trophy’s intrinsic value. And as in hunting, there was a hierarchy of trophies made from body parts. Colonial officers took the heads of chiefs and important rulers, a practice evoking ‘the aristocratic hunting traditions of medieval Europe’. There ‘hunters and their quarry alike [were] ranked by degrees of inherent quality or nobility, with the noblest game reserved for a hunting elite’. Hunting discourses were prevalent in battlefield parlance, and on their own did not lead to trophy head collecting. In his memoirs, the ‘Red Baron’ Manfred von Richthofen, devoted near equal space to hunting as was given to aerial combat. He explained early dogfighting in aeroplanes in terms of hunting, contrasting the art form of ‘hunting’ with the pedestrian sport of ‘shooting’. For von Richthofen the thrill of the hunt was satiated when bringing down an enemy aircraft. While he did not collect trophies from corpses, von Richthofen had a jeweller create a silver

292 Harrison, Dark Trophies, 71.
293 Harrison, Dark Trophies, 75; see also 21-29.
295 These blurred lines with class distinctions had a deeper and colonial rooted history. See, for example, Sir John Jarvis Bisset, Sport and War, or, Recollections of Fighting and Hunting in South Africa from the Years 1834 to 1867 (London: J. Murray, 1875).
victory cup for each of the aeroplanes he shot down.²⁹⁶ He would also land and collect scraps from downed aircraft. Alongside his collection of animal heads, von Richthofen made a chandelier out of the engine of a French aeroplane, and adorned his walls with the serial numbers taken from British aircraft (Figure 7).²⁹⁷

![Figure 7: Trophy Room at Manfred von Richthofen’s family home in Schweidnitz, Lower Silesia. Out of frame are animal heads from his hunts, and the 60 silver victory cups. Note the similarity of this image with Figure 27. Image from Imperial War Museum, Q23917.](image)

²⁹⁶ Wartime scarcity of silver ended this practice after 60 cups.
European colonial officers across empires came from similar class strata with upbringings deeply rooted in sport hunting ethos. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck was Tom Prince’s classmate in the Prussian academy and a colonial officer involved in Maji Maji, the Ovaherero and Nama genocide, and with leading German colonial forces in East Africa during the First World War. Like the Red Baron, Lettow-Vorbeck was an avid hunter, and, similarly, his memoir was filled with poetic expressions about hunting.²⁹⁸ British hunter Frederick Selous began his African career as a big game hunter and explorer in South Africa, shooting animals for museum and private collections.²⁹⁹ While mapping the Matabeleland in 1888, Selous claimed to have been attacked by rebels, who ‘fired a volley through us first...immediately followed by a shower of barbed assegais...who then rushed in amongst us in swarms’.³⁰⁰ Nonetheless, Selous felt ‘on the whole...the natives of the interior of Africa with whom I have come in contact have treated me well; and, on the other hand, I can proudly affirm that in my person the name of Englishman has suffered no harm in native estimation’.³⁰¹ Selous was hired by Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company and engaged in the suppression of the Matabele during the First Chimurenga (1896-1897). During this campaign Selous used his celebrity status to push the British and South African public to see ‘Matabeleland and Mashunaland [as] white men’s countries, where Europeans can live and thrive and rear strong

healthy children’. Combat during the suppression of this rebellion was described using hunting imagery, where ‘the natives are being shot down like game at a battue, with apparently as little danger to the shooters as to those killing hares and rabbits’.

Hunting was an expression of masculinity, as was warfare. While the taking of trophies bridged both practices, avid hunters such as the Red Baron, Lettow-Vorbeck and Selous never took human remains as trophies. Men like Tom Prince, however, did. Historical records favour accounts by higher-ranking soldiers, though the practice of trophy collecting extended through the ranks. Furthermore, colonial records are limited in their focus on the more prolific African leaders whose body parts were plundered. For the mass majority of heads and human remains taken from colonies, picked up as souvenirs, the records are as scattered as the remains.

The plundering of corpses had an established military tradition. When Baden-Powell fought in the Zulu rebellion, he looted a string of beads and claimed they were captured from Chief Dinizulu. According to Baden-Powell’s diary, however, he took these beads off of the corpse of a murdered Zulu woman. Using the beads as a trophy, Baden-Powell later turned them into the first Wood Badge when he founded the Boy Scouts Movement at the turn of the century. During the Sixth Frontier War

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302 Quoted in Millais, The Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous, 218. The eugenics overtones of Selous’ statement along with his affinity for what became Rhodesia were revisited during the Second Chimurenga, when the infamous Rhodesian special forces took the name ‘Selous Scouts’, using the invented history of Selous and colonial past to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity.

303 Quoted in Millais, The Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous, 218. Selous was killed in 1917, fighting in German East Africa against Lettow-Vorbeck’s army. At 65 years old he joined the 25th Royal Fusiliers. On 4 January 1917 Selous used his binoculars to survey the bush, as he did when hunting. The lens flash led to him being shot in the head by a German sniper. Selous was buried in Beho-Beho in what has become the Tanzanian’s Selous Game Reserve. Millais, The Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous, 345; E. Mandiringana and T.J. Stapleton, ‘The Literary Legacy of Frederick Courteney Selous’, 217.

304 Tom von Prince’s family crest, however, featured imagery of severed bear heads in a hunting style. See Figure 10 and Figure 11.


306 Tammy M. Proctor, ‘“A Separate Path”: Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa’, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 43, No. 3 (July 2000), 611-612. Much of the scouting
(1834-1836), the British captured Xhosa King Hintsa ka Khawuta when Hintsa met with the Cape Colony governor for peace arrangements. During his alleged escape attempt, a group of British soldiers pursued and killed Hintsa. The officer that shot him first took the brass ornaments off of Hintsa’s body, as valuable loot. Other soldiers stole his beads and bracelets. The artefacts worn by Hintsa were the trophies, being both loot of monetary value, as well as souvenirs to mark colonial service or the hunt. This practice featured strongly during the Frontier Wars to the point that during the Eighth Frontier War (1851-1853), Xhosa soldiers would break their ivory amulets to deny would-be trophy hunters the opportunity to loot their corpses. With Hintsa’s jewellery taken, however, the soldiers then began to plunder his body. One cut off Hintsa’s ear. This act emboldened the rest of the group to ransack his body. One took his other ear. Someone cut off the skin from around his chin that held his beard. The assistant surgeon of the regiment extracted teeth, and the testicles, ‘emblems of his manhood’, were taken in a perverse display of masculine appropriation and denial. The taking of Hintsa’s ears set a precedent of commoditising bodies during in the war against the Xhosa. Denver Webb called this a ‘military culture of rewarding atrocities’. One ration of grog would be given for

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[307] It is likely Hintsa was murdered, with the notion of an escape attempt being created to cover up the murder. An 1836 account argued that the soldier who shot Hintsa had threatened publically to have Hintsa hanged from ‘the tree under which they were sitting’. See Webb, ‘War, Racism, and the Taking of Heads’, 45; Robert Godlonton, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35: Compiled from Official Documents and Other Authentic Sources (Graham’s Town: Meurant and Godlonton, 1836), 156.


every Xhosa a soldier killed, the proof being presenting an ear, thus monetising, condoning, and justifying the practice.311

The collecting of body parts extended out of a combination of hunting traditions and pre-established dehumanisation. Webb and Harrison both argued that mutilating corpses can be seen as a form of “field-stripping”—the looting of personal effects of the enemy, both for economic reasons and as a ritual to degrade the enemy.312 Collecting trophies was an extension of violence now normalised in the colonial setting. To an officer in the Eighth Frontier War, the collecting of heads had become so commonplace that his diary entries recorded matter-of-factly: ‘one morning [the soldiers] brought back to camp about two dozen heads of various ages’. The severed heads were placed ‘into a cauldron for the removal of superfluous flesh. And there these men sat, gravely smoking their pipes during the live-long night, and stirring round and round the heads in that seething boiler, as though they were cooking black-apple dumplings’.313

After the flesh on Hintsa’s head was carved away, his skull was taken. Unlike Mkwawa’s head, where a clear narrative existed of his death, in fact one that empowered the Wahehe to see his final act of suicide as an ultimate form of resistance, the unknown circumstances around Hintsa’s death prevented truth and reconciliation of colonial history in post-Apartheid South Africa. In 1996 the self-appointed Chief Nicholas Gcaleka embarked a quest to repatriate Hintsa’s head from

311 Webb, ‘War, Racism, and the Taking of Heads’, 45. Webb uses the term ‘grog’ without citation. It is unclear if this is the appropriate term for an alcohol ration or if Webb is alluding to piratical practices by evoking a maritime tradition. The handing out of alcohol may have also been a coping strategy by officers to ease the soldiers into killing and committing atrocities. In Christopher Browning’s Ordinary Men, he showed that alcohol was given out to the police officers conscripted into the Nazi military members tasked with murdering civilians, in order to lessen the trauma. Looting the corpses of the murdered Jews was likewise a common practice, but only for jewellery and valuables, not body parts. Christopher R. Browning, Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland (New York: HarperPerennial, 1998), 69.


313 Quoted in Webb, ‘War, Racism, and the Taking of Heads’, 47. The term ‘live-long night’ takes on a loaded meaning with the men defleshing heads through the night.
Scotland. The Xhosa Royal House later denounced Gcaleka as ‘an opportunist’ and ‘a true con artist’. Nevertheless, he brought publicity to, what Shula Marks called, ‘the symbolic importance’ of repatriation, as ‘peace and reconciliation cannot happen until bodies are properly buried and the ancestors’ spirits are laid to rest’.

South Africa offers a multitude of parallel case studies with Mkwawa’s head. Hintsa’s head is one of the more prolific, due to the repatriation request and publicity around it occurring the same year as the start of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s formal hearings and the introduction of South Africa’s new constitution. Mkwawa’s repatriation claim existed in the Treaty of Versailles, and as such was subjected to the nineteenth-century notion of repatriation as reparation and compensation. The repatriation claim for Hintsa’s head, conversely, occurred under the postcolonial turn at the end of the twentieth century. The claim for his head represented a ‘re-entry of African religious symbolism into the political realm’ on an international scale and in the midst of decolonisation following the end of Apartheid. Repatriation of Hintsa’s head aligned with South Africans belief that they had been left out of ‘reconciliatory political processes’ of postcolonialism. Repatriating Hintsa’s head was part of a wider effort using ‘[r]eligious and cultural idioms’ that stood in for ‘alternative discourses’ to ‘express disaffection with mainstream politics’ and disappointing economics’ in the new South Africa.

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314 Mkhize, ‘Nicholas Gcaleka and the Search for Hintsa’s Skull’, 211.
315 Quoted in Mkhize, ‘Nicholas Gcaleka and the Search for Hintsa’s Skull’, 212.
317 This is covered in greater detail in Chapter III.
318 This is exemplified by the publication of Premesh Lalu, The Deaths of Hintsa: Postaparthied South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009). Note the plural ‘deaths’ and ‘pasts’.
319 Mkhize, ‘Nicholas Gcaleka and the Search for Hintsa’s Skull’, 212.
320 Mkhize, ‘Nicholas Gcaleka and the Search for Hintsa’s Skull’, 212-213.
Gcaleka was successful in returning a skull, but the descendant community rejected its authenticity.321

**Colonial Soldiers as Scientific Specimen Collectors**
The taking of Mkwawa’s head after his suicide had a well-established tradition. Amateur researchers within the colonial forces would raid gravesites to collect skulls and share them with researchers back in the metropole.322 Yet, taking heads from defeated bodies aligns with an entirely different, though transposed practice. Mkwawa’s head fits under both of these traditions. Trophy heads often became research specimens. The two acts of collection blurred together. As Simon Harrison argued, ‘practices of military trophy-taking…arose in connection with the growth in authority and prestige of scientific naturalism and rationality’.323 Soldiers and colonists who may not have had any scientific predilections could engage in the taking of human remains under a form of distancing, justifying the act as being done from a perspective of a naturalist collector. This allowed Europeans to engage in the savage acts of civilised norm transgressions while still creating a distinction of them acting civilised. Under this belief, they engaged in the act of cutting off and keeping the heads of ‘savages’.324

In describing head collecting in colonial settings, Kim Wagner highlighted the issue of reading scientific rationales onto the nineteenth-century practice of trophy hunting. He wrote: ‘[a]ny distinction between notions of loot, souvenirs, morbid mementos and ethnographic artefacts simply did not exist’.325 Colonial collected heads and skulls travelled through multiple owners before arriving in Western

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321 In Chapter IV a questionable skull is returned to Tanganyika and accepted as Mkwawa’s, creating a further parallel case-study with differing conclusions.
322 For a full account of this from American colonial contexts, see Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America’s Unburied Dead* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).
323 Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 74.
324 Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 75.
research collections. Ricardo Roque’s research on head collection and colonial anthropology used the notion of a circulatory system, where skulls were procured in colonies, either through settlers and soldiers in the cases of British and German African colonies, or through established headhunting traditions from Indigenous groups as was the case in the Portuguese Empire, Pacific, and South American holdings. These entangled trajectories connected European scientific intuitions within, according to Roque, vascularisations of science and exchange. James Poskett argued phrenological understandings of race were gathered through varying environments, imperial contexts, and waves of colonial violence.

Colonial service was the fieldwork training for many officers to transition into academia. Robert Knox’s 1850 book *The Races of Men*, was derived from his service in the Cape Colony in 1817. He served as an army surgeon before attending medical school in Paris, and then became a professor in Edinburgh. In his appointment, he brought his personal collection of skulls. These materials were amassed while Knox served in the Cape Colony. Unabashed, he freely admitted his collection was obtained with ‘no difficulty…I had but to walk out of my tent and shoot as many [Xhosa] as I wanted for scientific and ethnological purposes’. As a race scientist, Knox used these collections to shape colonial policies influence the racial attitudes toward black Africans across southern Africa. Knox used his position as a former colonial agent engaged in campaigns of violence against the Xhosa to formulate theories of race conflict. Similarly, the Xhosa heads bobbing in the caldron like

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327 Roque, *Headhunting and Colonialism*, Ch. 3. It should be noted that Roque is borrowing from Bruno Latour’s metaphor on circulation and vascularisation.
'black-apple dumplings’ were collected because the military surgeon Thomas Alexander requested the officer’s men ‘to procure [for] him a few native skulls of both sexes’. The murder of black Africans was recorded as a ‘task easily accomplished’.³³² The cauldron the men sat around was used to remove the flesh through boiling. In this way trophy heads were processed into specimen skulls.

Senior medical officer Henry Marshall served in the Cape Colony and Ceylon. He maintained his connections to the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, acting as both a colonial officer and academic. In 1818 he witnessed the execution of Kandyan chief Keppetipola. In tracing the history of Keppetipola’s skull, James Poskett argued the skull was taken as a war trophy. Keppetipola’s ‘savage’ conduct during the Uva-Wellassa rebellion (1817-1818) demonstrated criminal and violent behaviour of the ‘Ceylonese’. As a specimen, Keppetipola’s skull would later be interpreted under a phrenological lens as exhibiting ‘secretiveness’ and ‘combativeness’ characteristics.³³³ To become a specimen, however, the trophy head needed to be transformed. Poskett noted that prior to 1832 Anatomy Act, which liberated academics and medical practitioners in their collections human remains, taking body parts connected to the criminally ‘unsavoury practice of “body snatching”’.³³⁴ Marshall collected Keppetipola’s head in secret, using his surgical skills to remove the hair, skin, and flesh himself, and burning away the remnants with a corrosive agent. For Poskett, the cleaning of the head blurred the British-imposed contrasts between ‘civilised Christian…[and] barbaric “Malabar”’ as ‘burning the flesh from the head of a decapitated Kandyan chief’ was a savage act.³³⁵ Cleaned, ‘Keppetipola’s skull’ became ‘Ceylon specimen number 19’ in the Edinburgh phrenology collection. Like Hintsa and Mkwawa, Keppetipola’s head was repatriated during the decolonisation

³³³ Poskett, Materials of the Mind, 27.
³³⁴ Poskett, Materials of the Mind, 32. Knox had less moral fibre, not only in his collection of Xhosa skulls but also in his famous connection to Burke and Hare, the infamous murders who supplied the bodies for Knox’s anatomy lectures.
³³⁵ Poskett, Materials of the Mind, 32.

The desire for cleaned skulls over severed heads signalled a shift in scientific inquiry. Skulls collected for science were at first rooted in phrenology. Cerebral determination added a scientific veneer to the binary of civilised and savage. Phrenology, as a science, was short lived. Its popularity, however, added yet another justification for the collection of body parts, as seen with Marshall.\footnote{337 Kim Wagner has shown the transformation collected skulls underwent when phrenology fell out of fashion and was replaced with race science. See Kim A. Wagner, ‘Confessions of a Skull: Phrenology and Colonial Knowledge in Early Nineteenth-Century India’, \textit{History Workshop Journal}, Issue 69 (Spring 2010), 27-51.} It was also the critical step in the development of scientific racism, as demonstrated in the case of Knox above. Prominent racial thinkers such as Eugen Fischer, who became the leading race scientist under the Nazis, used German colonies for fieldwork. Fischer, for example, spent a year in Southwest Africa in 1908. He was there for the final year of the genocide against the Ovaherero and Nama whilst studying the Rehoboth Basters.\footnote{338 Early anthropology German anthropological traditions developed together with British traditions in the nineteenth century under a transnational exchange. German traveller-naturalists linked with their English-speaking colleagues. They created a mutually constitutive metropolitan epistemology in the ‘science’ of skull measurements. The interpretations of anthropological data within different national cultures of scientific knowledge were shaped along shared connections of scholarly exchange and collaboration. Hilary Howes, ‘Anglo-German Anthropology in the Malay Archipelago, 1869-1910: Adolf Bernhard Meyer, Alfred Russel Wallace and A.C. Haddon’, \textit{Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century}, eds. Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 126.} Viewing this group of mixed Afrikaner and Khoisan people as a symbol of the dangers miscegenation posed to the colour-line, it was Fischer who popularised the theory of a moral, cultural and physical hierarchy of races.\footnote{339 Faber-Jonker, \textit{More Than Just An Object}, 88. Andrew Evans pinpointed the racial break in German anthropology as being paradoxically grounded in the ‘liberal’ tradition of Rudolf Virchow, Johannes Ranke, and Julius Kollmann, who ‘opposed anti-Semitism, rejected Germanic racial theories, and forcefully argued for the unity of the human species’. Evans documents the shift of ‘liberal’ ideologies creating the conservative bedrock for the later biological determinist and völkisch racism of Eugen Fischer. Under Fischer, traditional physical anthropology became \textit{Rassenkunde}, a strain of racial science linking to the formally phrenologist realm of ‘physical characteristics as mental and cultural faculty.’ Andrew Evans, ‘Anthropology of War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I’, \textit{Worldly Provincialism}, 200. Andrew Zimmerman, however, uncovered Virchow’s own use of racial categories as evidence of a foundation in colonised people’s exploitation in the pursuit of physical evidence in...}
hierarchy of races developed under the belief that the ‘weaker’ races would die out through colonial contact, prompting some anthropologists turned museum keepers to ‘collect as many ethnic artefacts as possible’.\(^{340}\) An early museum curator wrote, ‘each year, each day, nay each hour things disappear from this earth...Our guiding principle, therefore, in anthropology, prehistory, or ethnology should be to collect everything’, including human remains.\(^{341}\) Anthropology became a tool of empire. Institutions themselves were conscripted into the German colonial project, as illustrated by Jens Ruppenthal study on the origins of Hamburg University, where colonial officer training mixed with colonial science to create ‘institution[s] as prestige project[s] for both the Colonial Office and academia’\(^{342}\)

This was done through a mix of phrenology measurements and the study of collected skulls. As racial science replaced phrenology practices, collected skulls transformed from objects of measurement to objects of racial difference. Anthropological theories cannot be separated from their colonial praxis.\(^{343}\) German anthropologists, for example, attempted to make measurements of many skulls deemed to belong to one race in order to calculate the measurements of a typical skull for that race with mathematical precision. Called the cephalic index, this allowed for the varying differences within a group to be standardized.

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\(^{342}\) Jens Ruppenthal, Kolonialismus als ‘Wissenschaft und Technik’: das Hamburgische Kolonialinstitut 1908 bis 1919 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 17.

\(^{343}\) Some anthropologists tried to justify their colonial work by arguing ‘commercial relations...in Britain’s extensive colonial possessions’ maintained ‘the mutual advantages that might be obtained by preserving, instead of annihilating, the aboriginal population.’ See ‘Varieties of the Human Race: Queries Respecting the Human Race, To Be Addressed to Travellers and Others.’ British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the Eleventh Meeting, (1841), 332.
Sanctified in science, colonial soldiers could donate their collected trophies to metropole research institutes, perhaps, as Faber-Jonker suggested, to ease their conscience. More likely, however, collections were given to famous intellectuals due to race scientists eagerly requesting specimens. Felix von Luschan was the most famous German anthropologist and a prolific collector of skulls. Between Rudolf Virchow, the head of the German and Berlin Anthropological Societies, and von Luschan, the two men amassed a collection of more than 6000 skulls. In his capacity as the director of the Museum für Völkerkunde, von Luschan requested skulls from German colonists and soldiers across the empire.

‘You can hardly have enough ethnographic collections’ he wrote in 1907. Virchow asked for severed heads to be posted to him in Berlin. Instructing that they could be shipped to him if placed ‘in zinc containers filled with alcohol’. Decomposing human remains caught the attention of postal workers, who would note the strong olfactory offenses, indicating that the sender neglected to pack the body parts in alcohol. Virchow gave further packing instructions in his requests for ‘skin, hands, and feet’. These could be collected ‘at executions, hospitals, and battlefields’, and then ‘dried, salted, or preserved in spirits’ and shipped to Berlin.

Von Luschan had been monitoring the colonial rebellions, such as Maji Maji, seeking to acquire specimens. He believed grave robbing to be unethical, but found no issue with heads collected from the dead on battlefields. When a colonial officer called Zürn returned to Germany after

344 Faber-Jonker, More Than Just An Object, 74.
346 Quoted in Faber-Jonker, More Than Just An Object, 60.
350 Von Luschan came to view grave robbing as problematic due to it often requiring Indigenous cooperation. In 1907 he complained that skeletons in German East Africa could be exhumed for ‘a bright cloth or a piece of soap’, but that in other German colonies the expense was ‘quite considerable sums of cash to appease any scruples’. Quoted in Zimmerman, ‘Adventures in the Skin Trade’, 168. Von Luschan also turned away from grave collection after the Samoa German administrator
suppressing the Ovaherero revolt in 1904, he brought a trophy skull back. Felix von Luschan wrote to Zürn the following year, asking him to donate the trophy head to his museum. Zürn was persuaded to hand over his Ovaherero trophy. Von Luschan, however, felt that ‘the skull you gave us corresponds so little to the picture of the Herero skull type that we have thus far been able to make from our insufficient and inferior material, that it would be desirable to secure as soon as possible a larger collection of Herero skulls for scientific investigation’. He asked Zürn if he knew ‘of any possible way’ to acquire a large amount of Ovaherero skulls.351 Zürn obliged. He had witnessed that during the genocide of the Ovaherero and Nama, concentration camps could be used to harvest skulls for von Luschan without ‘danger of offending the ritual feelings of the natives’.352 Crates of skulls were supplied to von Luschan from the death camp at Shark Island in Southwest Africa. To transform the heads into specimens, the shipment of skulls came with a note of narration: ‘Herero women have removed the flesh with the aid of glass shards’.353

This colonial-anthropological system of collection existed in Uhehe. In 1896 the Wahehe royal graves were destroyed in order to deny Mkwawa refuge and a space to connect to his father and family while he was fleeing German pursuit. The German district officer, Stierling, used the opportunity to investigate and loot the graves, done with the justification of ethnographic and scientific enrichment. Stierling exhumed Mkwawa’s father’s grave and sent the skull to von Luschan, keeping Mkwawa’s brother’s skull for himself. Felix von Luschan later made enquires to add Mkwawa’s head to his collection. Mkwawa’s head, however, was lost.

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351 Faber-Jonker, More Than Just An Object, 60.
352 Quoted in Zimmerman, ‘Adventures in the Skin Trade’, 175.
**Mkwawa Trophies**

German authorities believed Tom and Magdalene’s control of Mkwawa’s head had made Tom Prince Mkwawa’s successor in the eyes of the Wahehe.\(^{354}\) Allegedly the Wahehe gave ‘the sultan’s greeting’ when they encountered Tom von Prince, but denied it to the German East African governor.\(^{355}\) After a brief return to Germany Tom and Magdalene were barred from resettling in Iringa. Prince was awarded the title of ‘von’, in compensation for his campaign against the Wahehe, retiring from the military in 1900.\(^{356}\) The Princes were given a large farm in Usambara, far from Uhehe due to colonial government fear that Wahehe allegiance was only for Prince, not the state itself.

In Usambara Tom and Magdalene constructed a plantation called Sakkarani, named after Tom’s Swahili nickname earned through his campaigns of colonial violence. The house was filled with mementoes to violence, strikingly set against the domestic tranquillity Magdalene famously cultivated (Figure 8). Animal horns and lion skins adorned the wall, with cheetah skinned backed benches and shelves filled with collected colonial objects. The home reflected the post-military turn Tom and Magdalene pursued as ethnographers, mixing trophies with specimens. According to Tom’s biographer, in Usambara the Princes ‘read books, collected plants, animal and human skulls for German museums, and took pleasure in the company of their

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\(^{354}\) Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 48; Winans, ‘The Head of the King’, 232. Indeed Simon Harrison, suggests that ‘it is possible that some among the Wahehe understood that by having Mkwawa killed and taking his skull, von Prince had also acquired something of Mkwawa’s identity and become a new incarnation of the dead chief.’ See Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 77.

\(^{355}\) Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 46. While this claim is sourced in Schmiedel’s article as coming from ‘a private letter’ written in 1955, it nevertheless illuminates the rumours and anxiety that the German colonial government may have been reacting to when reposting Tom and Magdalene away from the southern highlands.

\(^{356}\) Fourteen years after relocating to Usambara, Tom re-joined the military to serve in East Africa during the invasion by British and South African forces seeking to topple the German colony under von Lettow-Vorbeck. During the 4 November 1914 British attack on Tanga, Tom was shot in the head. Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 50. See also Francis Brett Young, *Marching on Tanga: With General Smuts in East Africa* (London: W. Collins, 1917).
officers and N.C.O.s while eagerly studying native customs’. Absent from their
displayed collections was Mkwawa’s skull.

Figure 8: Magdalene von Prince inside Sakkarani, Usambara. In a home filled
with collected materials, note the absence of Mkwawa’s skull. Photo from
Massowia Haywood. Used with permission.

In its place, Tom von Prince had Mkwawa’s tooth. Shortly after he came into
possession with Mkwawa’s severed head in 1898, Tom Prince removed Mkwawa’s
tooth. The tooth was placed in golden cage (Figure 9), the bottom of which was
imprinted with the heraldry of the Prince family crest (Figure 10 and Figure 11).
The construction of this tooth trophy created a piece of jewellery that also could be

357 Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkarani’, 47.
358 There is no record of when the tooth was removed, nor of precisely how long von Prince kept
Mkwawa’s head, as when the skull reemerged in the records there was no definitive evidence that it
was indeed Mkwawa’s head. See my Author’s Note and Chapter IV.
359 The housing of the tooth may be stylised as a Prussian Pickelhaube; the military spiked helmet
Prince wore in ceremonial dress. It made for a fitting encasement of a war trophy, with Prussian
militarism surrounding the nucleus of Mkwawa’s martial prowess.
read as a talisman. As will be shown in Chapter IV, this tooth was passed down as a family heirloom until 2014, when it was privately repatriated to Mkwawa’s descendants.

Figure 9: Trophy Tooth of Mkwawa. Photo from Massowia Haywood, used with permission.
Figure 10: Original von Prince Family Crest. Note the use of English in the motto, as Tom von Prince’s father was Scottish and his mother German. Photo from Massowia Haywood, used with permission.
In spite of Magdalene viewing it as a ‘family trophy’, after the Princes relocated to Usambara, Mkawa’s skull disappeared. Magdalene never wrote about it again in her diary, and it cannot be seen in any of the photos of their home. Tom kept Mkawa’s tooth and the photo of his head, handing both down over generations. It was speculated by the British that the skull was sent to German academic collections, though no records of it being sent to Germany have been located. Rumours also spread that the Wahehe stole Mkawa’s head when it was in the Princes’ Iringa home.\textsuperscript{360} Felix von Luschan was in possession of Mkawa’s father’s and brother’s skulls, but never Mkawa’s.\textsuperscript{361} While the physical skull had

\textsuperscript{360} See Chapter II for the official report coverage of these rumours.
\textsuperscript{361} As will be shown in Chapter IV, Luschan attempted to locate Mkawa’s skull after Tom’s death, but was unable to find it.
disappeared, the desire to claim ownership of it dramatically increased as German East Africa became British Tanganyika.
CHAPTER II
POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF MKWAWA’S SKULL

Just three days after the signing of the armistice that ended the First World War, on 14 November 1918, a letter was sent to the London office of the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Authored by Horace Archer Byatt, acting British colonial administrator in occupied German East Africa, it suggested that ‘if conditions on the conclusion of peace render it practicable to do so’, an article should be added to the Treaty of Versailles demanding the ‘recover[y of] the head of Mkwawa’ taken ‘as a trophy to Berlin’.

This letter elucidates the political framework surrounding British claims to take control of Mkwawa’s head. Assessing the British government memos, letters, and the marginalia within the dispatches elucidates the subtle external pressures from the colonial periphery during the 1918-1919 treaty negotiations in Versailles. This influence ranged from individuals in Africa seeking compensation for the injustices colonialism had wrought, to the wholesale transference of colonial

363 This letter from Byatt has intermittently lost and found within the official record. On 14 April 1939, the United Kingdom’s Foreign Office sent a communication to the American Library in Paris to ascertain how Article 246 came to be inserted into the peace treaty. It is possible that the American Library records were lost during Nazi occupation. The American Library continued operating in secret in Vichy France. But a letter from the library association read ‘Since Hitler moved in…all things American are anathema to German leaders’. ‘Letter from Milton J. Ferguson to Carl H. Milam’, 27 June 1940, ALPA. Correspondences between the American Library and the US also show that ‘diplomatic mail pouches are not getting through to Paris’ losing ‘the only safe method of communication’. ‘Letter from E.A. Simmons to Carl H. Milam’, 7 November 1940, ALPA. My fieldwork to the American Library proved, however, that their archival holdings would have never included materials sufficient to answer this question. Instead, the Parisian archivist returned the communication to the London Foreign Office. One month later, the Foreign Office then decided that ‘the question of the restoration of the skull to the Wahehe tribe was not raised until November, 1918, when the matter was brought to the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Administrator of the former German Colony’. This indicates the rediscovery of Byatt’s 14 November letter. The matter was concluded when the British government answered their own inquiry. On 17 May 1939, over a month later, Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax concluded that there was ‘no suggestion that the question of the restoration of the skull had been raised before the end of the war’. Indeed, it was unlikely the metropole British government had any idea who Mkwawa was or of the anticolonial efforts he led. See ‘Foreign Office to The Reference Librarian’, The American Library in Paris’, 6 June 1939, CO 691/174/9, TNA.
territorial control to established empires. The claim for Mkwawa’s head is a claim of restitution and a call for repatriation, complexified by the drafting of the twentieth century’s most infamous treaty.\textsuperscript{364} The historical context of article 246’s insertion into the peace treaty reveals a myriad of actors and their motivations. Colonial and international legal systems offered an opportunity for manipulation. As such, deftly crafted narratives that adopted co-opted legal frameworks for individual compensation were tacked on to the Treaty of Versailles. Furthermore, the very language used to describe Mkwawa’s remains in the seven months between November 1918 and the signing of the treaty in June 1919 reveals shifting signifiers. Mkwawa’s head transitioned from a ‘war trophy’ to a profane yet sacred object, reframing the skull from an African’s body part to an Islamic relic.

International peace treaties are labyrinthine affairs, particularly prior to the creation of centralised international organisations such as the United Nations and its predecessor, the League of Nations. Adding to the complexity, the Treaty of Versailles was more than just the standard formal cessation of hostilities. The treaty existed as a combination of peace settlements and an attempted blueprint for new world order. Meetings in Paris were often formal, with the customary taking of minutes and generation of documentation. Yet negotiations also took place informally, using back-channel communications and causal conversations, where notation was eschewed completely or confined to recollections in individual diary

entries hours or days after these conversations occurred. Moreover, the
documentation produced during the months in Paris returned, along with its
authors, back to their respective countries of origin. Accounts spread across
Europe and the Pacific and documents were tucked away into the collections of
private papers for each plenipotentiary. Uncovering these papers is an investigation
into skeletons that have been secreted away, only to surface again.

With over a thousand diplomats originating from thirty-five countries, the
British delegation alone consisted of two hundred members, with an equally large
support staff. The British delegation alone occupied five Paris hotels. The result
was a mixture of private, unrecorded deliberations buried within, what David
Hunter Miller, the most fastidious of the delegate diarist, called a ‘mass of materials
[which] would fill a five-foot shelf library’. A centralised reproduction of these
materials ‘would be as useless as it would be impossible’. Writing nearly a century
later, historian Margaret MacMillan made a claim for a centralised collection’s
usefulness. She wrote, ‘there is an extraordinarily complete picture of four of the
world’s leading statesmen talking to each other day in and day out for three months
in over 200 meetings’, yet smaller treaty provisions were the result of ad hoc, private
and casual insertions. Examining microhistorical narratives preserved within

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365 In March 1919 Georges Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, and Vittorio Orlando
transformed the former Council of Ten meetings into twice daily, seven days a week Council of Four
informal sessions hosted in Wilson’s study. These talks took place without secretaries and note-takers.
It was an effort to streamline the negotiations without cumbersome paper trails and additional staff.
Yet after a few weeks, the meetings returned to the usual forum of including British secretary Maurice
Hankey, as well as transcriptions taken by the French and Italian interpreters, Paul Mantoux and
Luigi Aldrovandi Marescotti, respectively. See Margaret MacMillan, Peacemakers: The Paris Conference
of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War (London: John Murray, 2001), 281-283.
Stoughton, 1920), 243. Temperley notes the conference also attracted a mass number of amateur
‘experts’ who ‘had made themselves familiar during the War’. Their knowledge on ‘territorial and
economic questions’, however, were ‘somewhat superficial’. Temperley gives the example that ‘at
the opening of the Conference, none of the British experts on one country had ever been in that
country’, while the ‘“experts” of the smaller nations were simply advocates of national claims’ (244-5).
367 David Hunter Miller, ‘My Diaries at the Conference of Paris’, Vol. 7 (New York: Printed for the
Author, 1924), 163.
368 Macmillan, Peacemakers, 282-283. Evidence to this claim can be found in Viscount Milner’s diaries
while in Paris. He records ‘I got back to Versailles at 9, where to my great delight I found Wilson [US
President Woodrow Wilson]…after dinner I had a long talk with him and Rawlinson, also with
diplomatic cables alongside the more significant negotiations taking place within Paris reveals lacunae. Within these gaps localised and disenfranchised claimants were able to raise their voices. The recovery of Mkwawa’s head looms large in this chapter, but I have also included testimonies from a conscripted African who used the conference to document the colonial abuses he and his fellow soldiers suffered. European settlers are also found within these documents, who likewise stressed the shifting colonial order as a form of abuse.

The intensity of the peace conference, where changes and additions beset the drafting commission ‘until the moment the whole document was sent off to the printers’ opened opportunities for individualised claims to be slipped in.369 The assistant to the United States Secretary of War remarked that the lack of cohesion in spite or because of bureaucratic overlap created a treaty which ‘was very badly drafted, and much of it…conflicting’.370 British advisor Sir James Headlam-Morley noted that the treaty was ‘done at the end in extraordinary time’, where weeks of work had ‘to be compressed into a few days’. The final result was, according to Headlam-Morley, excluding ‘the Drafting Committee people, I do not think that anyone read through the whole of the treaty’.371 Horace Byatt’s suggestion that a provision could be made for the return of Mkwawa’s head succeeded because of the fractured meeting spaces spread among heterogeneous committees. In so doing, the British successfully codified in international law not a repatriation of Mkwawa’s

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369 Macmillan, Peacemakers, 284.
head, but rather a transfer of ownership. Along with the entirety of Germany’s overseas territory, individual items and now body parts would be redistributed to the victors. Mkwawa’s head was to be ‘returned’ to an empire that had never possessed it.

Horace Byatt and Colonial Control
As the colonial administrator during the transition from German East Africa to British Tanganyika, Horace Byatt would have been familiar with Wahehe history prior to his posting. British officials encouraged colonial officers to collect ethnographic information in Tanganyika in order to create Anglophone scholarship, as most of the source material was in German.\(^{372}\) The work of German colonial officers turned ethnographers was also translated into English after Britain began their occupation of German East Africa in 1914. Byatt read these translated materials. The ‘Hehe-German War’ was documented in *A Handbook of German East Africa*, a training manual used by the British colonial administration.\(^{373}\) We know Byatt read this text, as a copy of it, with his signature on the cover page, is still with his family (Figure 12).\(^{374}\) The Iringa District Book used translated versions of the first two chapters of *Die Wahehe*, a history of Wahehe ‘culture, society, wars, and hunting customs’. This was the definitive source on the Wahehe at the time and written by Ernst Nigmann, a former Schutztruppe commander and aspiring ethnographer and historian.\(^{375}\) As the first British governor, Byatt approved which chiefs would remain in power during the transition from German to British rule. After the total defeat of the Wahehe state when Mkwawa’s head was taken, German command sent the Mkwawa family to the coast. This is preserved in the writings of Dr Stierling, who raided the royal graves in 1896. He stated that the ruling family that had not ‘died on the gallows’ were to be exiled from Uhehe, where Mkwawa’s children would be


\(^{373}\) *A Handbook of German East Africa, Prepared On Behalf of the Admiralty and the War Office* (Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division, 1916), 72-5; 98-101; 201-2.

\(^{374}\) I am grateful to Byatt’s granddaughter Lucy for showing me this book.

carried off by ‘homesickness’ and possibly actual sickness from ‘hot, unhealthy climate’.³⁷⁶ Mkwawa’s son, Sapi Mkawawa, had been sent to Germany. There he was educated in a monastery and learned German. He was returned in 1912 to act as the paramount chief in Iringa under German rule. British colonial policy in what would become Tanganyika was to continue indirect rule.

Figure 12: Horace Byatt’s Personal Copy of A Handbook of German East Africa with Signature Inside. Photo from Lucy Byatt.

The British colonial administration saw Sapi Mkwawa as an ideal candidate to run Uhehe under the newly installed Native Administration system. Byatt met Sapi Mkwawa sometime prior to 1918. The Wahehe, living in the remote southern highlands, were an ideal group to be governed under British indirect rule. The Iringa District Book, stated: ‘the government policy being what it is, we have in the Wahehe a magnificent opportunity for guiding a tribe in modelling its institutions and for building up an ideal chiefship by tact and sympathy, since we have no antiquated or objectionable features to eliminate’. The fact that Byatt’s letter used the name ‘Mkwawa’ instead of ‘Quawa’ further underscored that he had been in contact with Sapi Mkwawa or was exposed to officials who had met with him. German sources traditionally spelt Mkwawa as ‘Quawa’. Even the English translation of Mkwawa’s only written source, discussed below, adopted the spelling as ‘Quawa’. When Sapi Mkwawa returned to East Africa from Germany, he wrote his name as ‘Mkwawa’, the same spelling that appears in Byatt’s letter and the first British source to do so.

In Byatt’s 14 November 1918 letter, a shift took place in the official British colonial reimagining of Mkwawa. German writings about Wahehe leadership use the term ‘sultan’ for ‘chief’. This can be seen as an importation from the coast as German East Africa slowly spread into the interior. Both Tom and Magdalene von Prince use the term ‘sultan’ often when writing about Mkwawa, even during the height of the

377 Byatt did not record a meeting with the Wahehe in any of his personal diaries that remain. He did, however, record meetings with Indigenous groups during his travels around East Africa. It is clear that he travelled from the coast and met with different groups and would have encountered the Wahehe at some point during these trips. In his diary entry on 1 September 1918 he discusses meeting with ‘Trive, chiefly Wanyiramba, Wakuibu, Wanisausu, and others.’ He calls them a ‘good looking lot but shy’. From this passage, it is clear that Byatt is spending some time with different groups, as he describes being shown ‘a native dance…Which included a snake dance with two pythons over 11 ft long…very savage’. Horace Archer Byatt, personal diary (1918), diary in possession of family.


379 As shown in the introduction, there were many spelling of ‘Mkwawa’ across German source materials. Magdalene von Prince occasionally wrote ‘Mukwawi’, Governor von Schele wrote ‘Mkwaba’, Schutztruppe scholar and ethnographer Ernst Nigmann standardised the practice of saying ‘Quawa’. Alison Redmayne argued that it was Sapi Mkwawa who standardised the spelling as ‘Mkwawa’ based on his signature in the Kalenga Appeal Court Records, but these records are from the 1930s and 1940s. See Redmayne, ‘War Trumpets and Other Mistakes’, 103.
German Wahehe war and when there was a possibility that Germany would be unable to conquer the southern highlands. Magdalene von Prince used it respectfully as a title of monarchy when referencing to Mpangile, but equally referenced Mkawawa as ‘sultan’. Calling Mkawawa ‘sultan’ merely signified his rank as a ruler of the Wahehe. German coastal colonial rule was established through negotiation and gunboat diplomacy with the Zanzibar sultans, and thus these oriental threads were imposed upon Mkawawa.

Mkwawa communicated once with the German colonial administration. He did so in Arabic. In the only surviving written communication, Mkwawa complained to German forces about a rival chief he was also at war with, just prior to the attack on Kalenga. Byatt could have read this letter, as it was translated from Arabic to English during Byatt’s command. This letter shows that there was an opportunity for peace agreement between German East Africa and the Wahehe state in 1896. It stated two rival chiefs have attacked him, underscoring the divide and rule policy Prince used to weaken the Wahehe. Mkawawa ‘ask[ed] for permission to wage war’ against Merere and Begera, who abducted 40 and 100 Wahehe, respectively.\(^{380}\) The letter also revealed that Germany refused any capitulation on Mkawawa’s part. When the message was sent, Prince had returned to Germany to marry to Magdalene, while Governor Schele was conscripting an army of askari on the coast to destroy Mkawawa.\(^{381}\) In the letter, Mkwawa also stated that he attempted to give ‘my head man Lupemba the German flag, but he refused to accept it and drove my people away’, so Mkwawa also requests permission to attack Lupemba.\(^{382}\) From this, it can be seen that Mkwawa attempted to administer German rule, or at least feigned so to stall Germany’s campaign against him. This letter reinforced the belief stated in the Iringa District Book, that the Wahehe were a group that could be useful in

\(^{380}\) ‘Translation of Sultan Quawa’s Letter to Station of Kilossa (Lt. Engelhardt): Resident, 8 January 1896’. Housed in Mkwawa Museum, Kalenga, Tanzania.

\(^{381}\) Schmiedel, ‘Bwana Sakkariani’, 42.

\(^{382}\) ‘Translation of Sultan Quawa’s Letter’.
maintaining new colonial rule. Byatt’s letter to London relied on stressing these points. It is possible that Mkwawa’s letter influenced Byatt in adopting this position.

When the translation of the Mkwawa letter first mentions Merere, it states ‘(Sultan)’. Coupled with the Arabic script, this imposed the coastal Islamification on Mkwawa and the Wahehe. It helped Byatt used the term ‘sultan’ in his own letter, which significantly elevated Mkwawa’s post-mortem position. Britain’s longer and broader history colonising Africa meant that the title ‘chief’ was much more common. Byatt could have used the term ‘chief’ in his letter, yet he instead chose to either replicate the German practice or purposely to elevate Mkwawa’s status by using the title ‘sultan’. It is likely that had Byatt used the term ‘chief’, his letter would have been ignored. The term ‘sultan’, combined with the oddness of requesting a skull, caught the attention of the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies who then passed it forward the British government. Unaware of its localised context, readers outside of East Africa read Mkwawa’s rule as being much greater than the southern highlands. He was seen as a caliph.

The Islamisation of East African rulers continued when the British assumed control of the colony during their wartime occupation. It is likely Byatt, stationed in the former German colonial centre of Wilhelmstal, a northeast coastal border district, would have been primarily in contact with Islamic Swahili leaders. Colonial records trace a broader British reframing of Swahili chieftaincy in this area during the transition of German to British control, where western understandings of ‘rule’ were imposed over localised governance.

384 Sarah Longair has shown these shifts through the conceptualisation of inherited architecture and colonial fabrications, while Prita Meier looked at the physical placement of material artefacts. Taken together, one can see the incorporation of monarchy transforming across an Islamified context. In colonial writings and presentation, a ‘hut’ can become a ‘palace’, a ‘chair’ a ‘throne’, and a ‘kingdom’ a ‘caliphate’. David Cannadine has written about the process of ‘ornamentalism’ under the colonial gaze. Also at play was the British inheritance of German perspectives, which itself adopted Islamic terms and cultural practices in their administration of the coastal region, creating a simulacrum from a simulacrum. See Sarah Longair, ‘Visions of the Global: The Classical and the Eclectic in Colonial East African Architecture’, Les Cahiers D’Afrique de L’Est, Vol. 51 (2017), 161-178; Prita Meier, ‘Objects on the
Exploring the orientalism of Kenya, historian James R. Brennan unpacked the ideas of ‘Islamic sovereignty’ in Eastern Africa. He pointed out the plasticity of the terms in this context due to it having no true modern European analogue. Viewing Mkwawa as sultan moved his head from its African context to a near eastern connection while also distancing it to a more ancient past, adding an oriental nobility. It has been argued that ‘neither kingship nor popular sovereignty has any proper Islamic basis; people retain only the right of subordinate legislation to laws of the Qur’an and Sunnah’. Bernard Lewis stated that ‘sultan’ as a marker of leadership, had become ‘the usual Islamic title of sovereignty’ by the eleventh century and was the ‘standard title used by a monarch claiming to be the head of a state’. For British colonial officials like Byatt in 1918, ‘sultan’ would have aligned with the coastal indirect rule Britain was already establishing in occupied German East Africa. This was enshrined in the traditional rule of the Swahili coast which was already overlaid with ‘Islamic elements of sovereignty through a political panoply of kadhi courts officially endorsing Islamic family law, state-endorsed and unitary maulid and idd festivals timed by a singular authority, and a cadre of administrators theoretically accountable to the Sultan’. As Brennan stated “Sultan” lent a symbolically important and regionally unique religious continuity to the coast’s colonial history’ upon which colonial officials mimicked.

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Byatt’s letter should be assessed under the way he positioned the term ‘sultan’ for a non-East African versed audience. In the same sentence Byatt first called Mkwawa a ‘sultan’, he defined the term as meaning ‘paramount chief’, elucidating its need for an internal definition to the Parisian readership. When Byatt met Wahehe leaders, including Sapi Mkwawa, the Wahehe would have used the term ‘sultan’ as it was the standard title to refer to pre-colonial Wahehe rule under Mkwawa and Mpangile. Sapi Mkwawa, however, was rarely referred to as ‘sultan’. Byatt’s employment of this term and its continuation into the Paris Peace Conference transformed Mkwawa’s status. By using a form of near-eastern orientalism in order to play up the power Mkwawa wielded, as well as increase the expanse of his kingdom by connecting it to the near east, British diplomats used a term loaded with a deeper meaning to their French, American, and European audiences.

Byatt’s letter stressed that the Wahehe were ‘an important and warlike tribe’. The militarisation of the Wahehe was both a self-defined characteristic, yet also one the British keenly adopted. Byatt noted that after the defeat of Mkwawa, Wahehe warriors were conscripted into German military roles as porters, serving as ‘askari’ yet ‘always regarded with some distrust’ by German forces. In this statement, Byatt is creating a space where the Wahehe confirmed their loyalty to British colonialism, while also preserving their role as resistance fighters under the

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390 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
391 I have found one example occurring in 1932 where the Tanganyika Governor’s deputy used the term ‘Sultan Sapi’, but this was in reference to ‘the late Sultan Mkwawa’. See ‘Letter from Government House, Dar es Salaam to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Secretary of State for the Colonies’, 23 February 1932, CO 691/124/2/10, TNA.
392 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
393 See, for example, the speech given in 1954 by the Tanganyika governor Edward Twining, where he echoed Byatt’s words, stating it would ‘be a great pity if the Hehe became soft and lost their martial qualities’ stressing that nearly fifty years later the Wahehe were ‘maintaining those fine traditions of which they are so rightly proud.’ ‘Speech By His Excellency The Governor At The Ceremony Of The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe to Chief Adam Sapi and the People of Uhehe on Saturday, 19th June, 1954’, CO 822/770, TNA. This is similar to the way the Zulu and Masai were seen and presented themselves.
394 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
trope of ‘noble savages’. Byatt was so successful on this front that by 1953, when Governor Twining wrote to his mother from Germany, the narrative of the Wahehe was transformed from askari in the Schultztruppe to a group that ‘in the 1914-18 war…were very helpful to us as a result specific provision was made in…the Treaty of Versailles for the return of the skull’.

Byatt’s narrative of Wahehe history as anti-German but potential loyal British subjects was on full display when he relayed the importance of the Wahehe to his audience. Just three days after the conclusion of hostilities in the First World War, Byatt wrote: ‘On the 18th July, 1898, Sultan Mkwawa, having fought the Germans for seven years, during which he inflicted several reverses upon them, committed suicide rather than surrender, whereupon the Germans considered it a proper act to decapitate his body and send the head as a trophy to Berlin, where it is said to be still exhibited in the Museum’. Byatt mixed notions of British respectability and dignified colonial behaviour into this narration. He challenged the fledging debate over the benevolence of British civilisation missions in contrast to German brutality, where decapitation was ‘considered a proper act’. In framing his letter this way, Byatt reached treaty drafters while they were similarly attempting to expand the British Empire; using seized German colonies as mandate statuses in need paternalistic protection, yet contradictorily aligned with Wilsonian notions of self-determination.

Byatt’s letter connected the broader anti-German discourse of colonial savagery with promtion of the British civilising mission. Just two months after Byatt wrote his November 1918 letter, the Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and Their Treatment by Germany was published. Better known as the Blue Book, this text documented the brutal treatment of colonised subjects in German Southwest

395 Quoted in Bates, A Gust of Plumes, 246.
396 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
397 The tongue in cheek tone of saying that the Germans’ severing the head off of Mkwawa’s corpse was something ‘the Germans considered…a proper act’, is set within a binary trope of civilisation and savagery.
Africa, using oral testimony, affidavits, photographs, and written statements from indigenous groups. It focused primarily on the genocide in 1904-1908, but also revealing everyday violence in the settler colony. The Blue Book, like the Treaty of Versailles, was victor’s justice, where German violence in Africa supported British claims for mandate control of the former colonies.\textsuperscript{398} Complied in four months by South African occupying forces, the Blue Book authors, Major T. L. O’Reilly and E. H. L. Gorges utilised ‘conveniently available material’, creating an emphasis on criminal court hearings due to the accessible records.\textsuperscript{399} The report focused on the lenient sentences given to German settlers adjudicated for violence against black Africans, as well as the system of corporal and capital punishment.\textsuperscript{400} Accounts of routine beatings with a hippopotamus or rhinoceros hide whip in German Southwest Africa were juxtaposed against the measured South African corporal punishment. In South Africa, beatings were supposedly carried out using limited strikes of a thin cane, and administered under medical supervision. In this way, wrote Reinhart Kössler, ‘what is castigated as inhuman is not the corporal punishment meted out by the state as such, but rather a certain form of corporal punishment, deemed as inhumane and barbaric’.\textsuperscript{401} The Blue Book attempted to balance portraying German rule as savage but not challenging colonialism, as the intention was to ‘motivate a change of colonial rulers [not] critique colonialism’.\textsuperscript{402} Mads Bomholt Nielsen contended that British efforts centred on maintaining stability and a smooth

\textsuperscript{398} To this point, the second section of the Blue Book contrasted the benevolence of South African legal systems compared to German colonial policies.

\textsuperscript{399} Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and Their Treatment by Germany (South-West Africa: Administrator’s Office, 1918), xviii; Reinhart Kössler, ‘Sjambok or Cane? Reading the Blue Book’, \textit{Journal of Southern African Studies}, Vol. 30, No. 3 (September 2004), 704.

\textsuperscript{400} For example, in one testimony a Herero chief’s daughter was shot by a German settler ‘14 days after her baby was born’. The Ovaherero were ‘more than astonished too when the German murderer was declared not guilty and liberated…Later on we heard that the murderer had been re-arrested and on a new trial given three years [sentence]…He was released from gaol after a short time and made an Under-Officer of the German troops who shot down our men, women, and children…We could see then that there was no justice for us and no protection.’ Jeremy Silvester and Jan-Bart Gewald, \textit{Words Cannot Be Found: German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book} (Leiden: Brill, 2003),95.

\textsuperscript{401} Kössler, ‘Sjambok or Cane?’, 705.

\textsuperscript{402} Kössler, ‘Sjambok or Cane?’, 705.
transition of administrative oversight, rather than recording the suffering of colonial subjects under German rule.\textsuperscript{403} Thus the Blue Book was intended to show how the Germans had violated European treaties in their ‘code of conduct’ in contrast to British colonial investment and the trope of ‘civilisation’.

Byatt’s argument that Mkwawa’s skull should be in the Treaty of Versailles was an attempt to add German East Africa into the Blue Book’s public narrative. Had Mkwawa’s decapitation been wider known outside of German East Africa, and had the Blue Book been given a broader remit, it would have been heavily featured. As a narrative of brutal German rule, where violence was normalised and the decapitations of corpses were ‘considered a proper act’, the taking of Mkwawa’s head as a trophy presented the perfect illustration of German brutality. A call to return the skull was an opportunity for Britain to cast themselves as guardians protecting the former German colonies.

Byatt stated that Mkwawa ‘committed suicide rather than surrender’, furthering a narrative of his death which preserved notions of Wahehe military prowess.\textsuperscript{404} Even in defeat Mkwawa could be cast as victorious. Showing the mutilation of his body, where ‘the head’ was ‘a trophy’ to be sent to the German metropole, showcased the savage nature of German colonialism. It was a claim Germany did not deny.

Germany responded to the British Blue Book with the so-called White Book. Published in 1919 as The Treatment of Native and Other Populations in the Colonial

\textsuperscript{403} As Nielsen has documented, the British administration needed to balance a tone of outrage over German colonial practices, while also showing they were unaware of the crimes when they were committed and thus could not have acted at the time. Mads Bomholt Nielsen, ‘Delegitimating Empire: German and British Representations of Colonial Violence, 1918-19’, The International History Review, 6 August 2019, 2, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/07075332.2019.1647868?scroll=top&needAccess=true (accessed 26 September 2019). For Nielsen, the investigation of German colonial crimes was carried out in order to show the violation of ‘Article 6 of the Berlin Treaty, which stated that it was the “sacred duty of colonial powers to preserve the aboriginal races of Africa, watching over their interest and cultivating their moral and material advancement”’. Mads Bomholt Nielsen, ‘Selective Memory: British Perceptions of the Herero-Nama Genocide, 1904-1908 and 1918’, Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2017), 320.

\textsuperscript{404} ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
Possessions of Germany and England: An Answer to the English Blue Book of August 1918, the text did not refute Blue Book assertions but rather documented case-studies where the British Empire had similarly engaged in countless acts of savage colonial violence. The White Book stated ‘whatever may have been the faults of the first German attempt at colonization, these faults [were]...aggravated and multiplied in all English colonial history’. Extending outside of Africa, the White Book argued British colonialism in India and Australia were cases similarly engaged in acts of violence no different than German colonial policies. In fact it argued British colonial violence was even more pronounced due to Britain’s longer colonial history and far greater geographic expanse. The White Book attempted, Nielsen argued, ‘to normalise colonial violence as part of the natural progression of colonial subjugation’ where colonial violence was inherent to the colonial project, a commonplace ‘bi-product of colonialism by its very nature’. According to the White Book, since Britain used concentration camps during the South African War (1899-1902), it could not criticise Germany for using them in Southwest Africa. The contrast between beatings in Southwest Africa and South Africa were refuted with, as the White Book authors saw it, the more apt comparison with beatings in Western Australia. Genocide against the Ovaherero and Nama was defended in the White Book chapter ‘The Extermination of the Tasmanians’. Both the Blue and the White books attempted to attack German and British colonial operations, respectively, while defending colonialism as a system. Neither book, however, had much effect on the Paris Peace Conference. Byatt’s letter, conversely, created a treaty article on Mkwawa’s skull.

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405 The Treatment of Native and Other Populations in the Colonial Possessions of Germany and England: An Answer to the English Blue Book of August 1918 (Berlin: Reichskolonialamt, 1919), 89. Emphasis in original.
407 Had the White Book been published a few months later than it was, it would have included the Amritsar Massacre in April 1919. Had it been published a few months sooner, perhaps it would have had a bigger impact in the Paris Peace Conference negotiations.
408 The British Colonial Office, perhaps relieved the White Book failed to gain large readership, believed ‘this book would undoubtedly carry great weight owing to the clever way in which British sources of information...show that the British themselves were horrified at the abuses which had
Byatt’s letter proposed that Mkwawa’s head should be recovered under a belief of repatriation. He wrote that the British should seek the head ‘with the object of returning it to this country’.

Byatt was clear in his intention. The recovery of Mkwawa’s head, or even the act of seeking it, would shame Germany for taking it while also casting German colonialism as savage uncivilised behaviour. Byatt saw the Treaty of Versailles as an international stage to retrieve Mkwawa’s head. He convinced his superiors to include it in the treaty, but not to have it returned to the Wahehe. Article 246 failed to call for full repatriation. It is unclear what Britain may have done with Mkwawa’s head had it given to them in 1919. The treaty text only calls for the head to be given to Britain, not to the Wahehe.

Byatt’s intention was that Mkwawa’s head would be given to the Wahehe so that it could be buried with Mkwawa’s body. He wrote that the ‘subsequent ceremonial internment [of the head] in Mkwawa’s grave would undoubtedly give the widest satisfaction among the Wahehe’. Using notions of compensation, Byatt stressed the alliance forged by the British and the Wahehe ‘who [were] consistently helpful to us during the war’. For Byatt, offering the return of the skull was a form of restitution. This aligned directly with Burnett’s understanding of the return of works of art within the treaty’s ‘special provisions’. As a colonial administrator, Byatt’s felt the return of Mkwawa’s head to the Wahehe, while limited to the southern highlands, would then reverberate out to an ‘appreciation in the country generally.’

He concluded with an assertion of the important symbolism the head held. Its repatriation would be a representation of British control over the colony and its mastery over Germany during the First World War. Returning Mkwawa’s head,

409 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.  
410 For Byatt this meant that the Wahehe remained neutral when the British and South African forces invaded the German colony.  
411 ‘Byatt to Principal Secretary of State’, 14 November 1918, FO 608/215/383, TNA.
Byatt argued, ‘afford[ed] tangible proof in the eyes of the natives that German power has been completely broken’.

‘Craniological Curiosity’

Through Byatt and his reframing of the importance of Mkwawa’s head from a colonial perspective, he was successful in catching the attention of the Paris delegation. On 25 January 1919, Viscount Alfred Milner, the Colonial Secretary stationed at the Paris peace conference was persuaded by Byatt’s account. Milner’s biography parallels Tom von Prince. His father was born in Germany to British and German parents, and his mother was a German national from a military family. Milner was born in Germany but moved to Britain when he was six years old, then back to Germany as a teenager, later returning to Britain as a young adult after the death of his mother. Whereas Tom attended the prestigious Kassel Prussian military academy and became a colonial officer, Milner went to Oxford and became a civil servant. Whilst Tom retired from the military in 1900, Milner became a key figure in the South African war and managed its aftermath. Just a month after Byatt sent his 14 November 1918 letter, Milner became the head of the British Colonial Office. Milner brought some of his cadre of South African war produced pro-British imperialists with him to the Paris Peace Conference. Historian Saul Dubow described Milner as a man who ‘worked to secure British supremacy’ through


413 Of note were Robert H. Brand, who served as the financial adviser to Lord Robert Cecil on the Supreme Economic Council at Paris, and Philip Kerr, the mastermind in creating a British ‘commonwealth’ to counter the Germanic concept of ‘empire’ during the First World War. In Paris, Jan Smuts was a close ally to the Milnerites. The Milner Kindergarten evolved into the Round Table Movement and in Paris has become the Milner group. See Andrea Bosco, The Round Table Movement and the Fall of the ‘Second’ British Empire (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017). See also Dubow, ‘Colonial Nationalism, the Milner Kindergarten’, 58-59; 56n11.
notions of ‘social imperialism and the conviction that the British were a superior race whose manifest destiny it was to lead the world’. According to Eric Stokes, ‘the Empire stood first in [Milner’s] thoughts’ but he ‘was no rabid expansionist. He limited his views to the due safeguarding and efficient organization of the existing sphere of British interests’.

In the introduction to a published collection of his speeches, Milner stated his core beliefs. ‘Imperialism as a political doctrine...has all the depth and comprehensiveness of a religious faith’, he wrote. ‘Its significance is moral even more than material’. Milner alluded to Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, stripped of Conrad’s message on the corrupting influence of colonialism. When Conrad’s protagonist Marlow entered the Colonial Office, he looked at a large map of Africa on the wall, colour-coded to show the different imperial spheres. Conrad wrote it was ‘marked with all the colours of the rainbow...A deuce of a lot of blue, a little green, smears of orange’. This likely references the African colonies of France, Portugal, and Italy, respectively. German East Africa is ‘a purple patch’, illustrating where ‘the jolly pioneers of progress drink the jolly lager-beer’. When Conrad’s character saw British possessions on the map, he noted ‘there was a vast amount of red—good to see at any time, because one knows that some real work is done in there’. By 1918 one of Milner’s primary aims at the Paris Peace Conference was to ensure that purple German territories were painted red, becoming British run mandates.

For Milner, the purpose of imperialism was ‘a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it, by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfil its distinctive mission in the world’. Milner justified empire as bringing the British race under a united single global territory: ‘as it

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414 Dubow, ‘Colonial Nationalism, the Milner Kindergarten’, 56.
happens’, he wrote, ‘that race—owing to causes which are plain on the face of history and which need not be recited here—is scattered over a large extent of the earth’s surface’. It was the scattering of the British race that paradoxically ‘has certain great advantages—it has given us a unique range of experience, and the control of an unrivalled wealth and variety of material resources’ but was also ‘a source of weakness, and a source of danger’ due to issues of ‘maintaining political unity’.418 It was a lesson Milner had learned first-hand in South Africa, having left in disgrace. The Paris Peace Conference offered Milner a chance for redemption.

Imperialism, in Milner’s mind, shrank the world, using the very same ‘triumphs of mechanical science’ that allowed the conquering of territorial expansion. Pax Britannica was, as Milner saw it, the extension of the ‘“the white man’s burden”’, and the British race ‘had the exceptional share’ of this burden, but was strong enough to bear it.419 ‘For the British race has become responsible for the peace and order and the just and humane government of three or four hundred millions of people’, and a strong British Empire was ‘essential to the maintenance of civilised conditions…among one-fifth of the human race’.

Milner remained a self-professed ‘race patriot’ until his death. When sorting his personal papers, his wife found a small note titled ‘Key to my Position’, which she published in The Times as his ‘Credo’. Milner wrote: ‘I am a British (indeed primarily an English) Nationalist…I am an Imperialist and not a Little Englisher because I am a British Race Patriot…The British State must follow the race…If the swarms constantly being thrown off by the parent hive are lost to the State, the State is irreparably weakened. We cannot afford to part with so much of our best blood. We have already parted with much of it, to form the millions of another separate but fortunately friendly State. We cannot suffer a repetition of the process’.420 Milner brought a robust imperial presence to the Paris Peace Conference. As the chair of the

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418 Milner, The Nation and the Empire, xxxii.
419 Milner, The Nation and the Empire, xxxiii.
mandate commission, Milner sought to expand and improve the British Empire during the treaty negotiations. When Byatt’s letter reached Milner, it created an opportunity for British advancement as well as a chance to humiliate Germany, framed under an object that had reportedly been used to create racial hierarchies.

When the issue of Mkwawa’s skull was directed to the Under Secretary of State for the Foreign Office, it was recorded that ‘Lord Milner agrees with Sir H. Byatt’s views as to the good effects which are likely to result from the action proposed in his despatch, and [Milner] desires to recommend the suggestion for favourable consideration and for such action as may be possible’. Lloyd George, like Milner, had already adopted the position of advancing British rule in occupied East Africa as an expression of the civilising mission over the savagery of German colonial rule. In a speech given in Glasgow on 27 June 1917, George stated that the Africans would choose to reject Germany’s rule as they would ‘rather trust their destiny to others and juster (sic)—may I confidently say—gentler hands’.  

Two months after he sent his letter about Mkwawa’s head, Byatt requested travel to London for a ‘full and direct discussion’. Byatt, an Oxford graduate like many of Milner’s ‘kindergarten’ and an experienced colonial administrator in British African colonies, had grown frustrated while administering East Africa during the end of the First World War. As a civilian administrator, he conflicted with Jan Smuts’ successor, General Louis Jacob Van Deventer, commander of the joint British and South African military fighting in German East Africa. At one point Van Deventer attempted to have Byatt replaced with a military appointment, and Byatt’s

423 ‘Letter from Byatt to Colonial Office, 3 January 1919’, CO 691/21, TNA. Byatt does not make any mention of Mkwawa’s head in this or any future letters.
complaints to the Colonial Office went unanswered for months due to the more pressing matters of the war.424

While colonial life was punctuated by feelings of fear and anxiety, when Byatt returned to England, his diary noted boredom and frustration.425 Entire months are left blank. He records on Friday 28 February 1919 ‘left Dar for home’. The next entry is not until his ship docks in England on 9 April, where he simply stated ‘Landed Plymouth – London where Nona met me’.426 The next entry is 21 May, where he recorded that ‘all ready for holiday...rooms engaged, baggage packed, tickets taken, when last evening on returning at 6.30 found note from C.O. [Colonial Office] saying Mellis had telephoned from Paris for me to go over at once. Most annoying but of course must go and spent day getting papers at C.O. and arranging my passport and tickets, etc.’.427 In the time between Byatt informing the Colonial Office that a provision could be made in the Treaty of Versailles and his arrival in Paris, the issue had been passed between various British departments and delegates.

MAKING GERMANY PAY
The layout of the reparations committee provides an illustrative example of the complexity in which negotiations for restitution took place. The primary purpose of the reparations commission was to reclaim war debts. As British Prime Minister David Lloyd George pithily stated, ‘Somebody had to pay. If Germany could not pay, it meant the British taxpayer had to pay. Those who ought to pay were those who caused the loss’.428 With the main task being an assessment of financial considerations, this commission was subdivided into three smaller commissions. The

426 ‘9 April 1919’, Byatt, personal diary. Nona was Byatt’s sister.
first subcommission was tasked with defining the purpose and scope of the reparations, determining which nations had a valid claim for compensation. Exact monetary figures were consciously avoided. The second subcommission determined Germany’s capacity to pay and the way in which payments might be arranged. Finally, the third subcommission was in charge of creating sanctions and looked for guarantees on how to enforce Germany to make such payments. According to United States delegate and plenary member Thomas William Lamont, the third subcommission ‘became less important as time went on’. It dwindled in importance to the point that Lamont was ‘not aware that [the third] subcommission ever made any final report’ to the peace conference.429 Meanwhile, the first two subcommissions were deadlocked over the specific amounts of restitution; with the American delegates committed to a low total figure of £7.2 billion, whilst the British sought £40 billion and the French £72 billion.430 These disparate numbers reveal the punitive mindsets during the meetings in a way that correlates to the perceived damages of the former belligerent nations. The United States entered the war in 1917, suffering 116,708 military deaths, 757 civilians, with another 205,690 wounded soldiers during their one-year of fighting. Relative to the US population at the time, 0.13 per cent of all Americans died fighting. Crucially, the battles all took place outside of American territory. American infrastructure thus emerged from the war completely untouched.431 Conversely, the United Kingdom lost 885,138 soldiers, 109,000

430 Macmillan, Peacemakers, 195. Figures adjusted to 2019 value. In this way the American delegation, while doubling the figure, kept the low estimate held by the economist John Maynard Keynes, acting as chief Treasury advisor to Lloyd George. Keynes’ independent calculations during the conference estimated Germany’s capacity to pay no more than £2 billion. Keynes referred to the reparation meetings as a space where victorious powers ‘fulfilled their destinies in empty and arid intrigue’ while ignoring the ‘almost hourly reports of the misery, disorder, and decaying organisations [across] Central and Eastern Europe.’ John Maynard Keynes, The Economic Consequences of the Peace (London: MacMillan, 1920), 7; A History of the Peace Conference of Paris, Vol. II: The Settlement with Germany, ed. H.W.V. Temperley (London: Henry Frowde, 1920), 49.
431 Isolated low-level attacks did occur on US soil, such as the bombardment by a surfaced German submarine on Orleans, Massachusetts (zero casualties), the sabotage of a US munitions store in the
civilians, with a further 1.6 million soldiers wounded.\textsuperscript{432} The United Kingdom lost 2.19 per cent of its total population during the four years it fought against the central powers. While the United Kingdom was bombarded by airships and coastal naval attacks, adding to terror and civilian death, the nation’s infrastructure stayed relatively unscathed. France, meanwhile, was the site of numerous military battles, decimating much of the countryside and entire cities along its north-eastern borders. Nearly 1.4 million French soldiers and 300,000 civilians were killed during the war, with another 4.2 million soldiers wounded. France lost 4.29 per cent of its population fighting in the First World War, twice as high as the United Kingdom and four times as high as the United States. The monetary amount of restitution correlated roughly with the percentage of total wartime casualties. These numbers help illuminate the American, French, and British perspectives during the Paris Peace Conference negotiations.\textsuperscript{433}

Both France and Britain sought to avoid listing an actual figure in the first place. The British-India Secretary of State concluded, ‘if too low a figure were given

\textsuperscript{432} As Britain mobilised its empire, it should be noted that the total casualties suffered across Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the British Raj (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), and South Africa, add another 229,776 soldiers killed, 2000 Canadian civilians during the 1917 Halifax explosion, and a further 426,777 wounded. Statistics on African soldiers killed fighting for France and Britain remain underdeveloped. It is estimated that 135,000 British, Belgian, and Portuguese colonial soldiers were killed directly in the campaigns of East Africa. That figure, however, includes European soldiers as well as conscripted Africans. It may also omit the total deaths of African porters, by far the highest casualties of combat but often not recorded. Of the 135,000 dead, 110,650 of them were classified as ‘African porters’, though the figure may be inaccurate. War-related famines killed an estimated 365,000 African civilians during and after hostilities. See, Micheal Clodfelter, \textit{Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1494-2007, 3rd Edition} (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).

Germany would pay out cheerfully and the Allies would get too little, while, on the other hand, if too high a figure were given, she would throw up the sponge and the Allies would get nothing’. 434 It was the second subcommission which first proposed reparation payments to be in works of art. The clause for the return of Mkawawa’s head, therefore, was directed into these meetings.

**The Second Subcommission**

A second subcommission was tasked with drafting what became articles 245-247. The character of this subcommission reflected the antagonism between the British, French, Italian, Japanese, and American delegates as well as individual pre-war occupational backgrounds. From the United Kingdom sat Viscount John Andrew Sumner, a Privy Council judge, along with former Bank of England Governor Lord Walter Cunliffe. Sumner and Cunliffe, the so-called ‘Heavenly Twins’ were ‘the two bad men of the Conference’ who were always ‘together and [were] always summoned when some particularly nefarious act [was] to be committed’. 435 The nefarious acts in question were opportunities to punish Germany further, while enriching the British Empire. Balanced by Keynes and Montagu, American delegate Charles Seymour claimed that Lloyd George played the two pairings to resolve impasses within the reparation commission. ‘When he meant to do business’, wrote Seymour, Lloyd George ‘brought along Montagu and Keynes; when he was going to hedge he brought in Sumner and Cunliffe’. 436 France’s representatives were Louis Klotz and Louis Loucheur, the former working as a minister of finance while the latter was a wealthy industrialist turned ‘Minister of Industrial Reconstruction’.

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Similarly, the Italian diplomat Silvio Crespi hailed from an industrialist family background, working alongside M.E. Chiesa and Foberti. Japan’s Tatsumi and Mori, the Japanese Government Financial Commissioners and the growingly exasperated American delegation, which consisted of Norman Davis, B.M. Brauch, Vance McCormik and T.W. Leamont completed the committee delegates. In his seven-volume history on the Paris Peace Conference, H.W.V Temperley noted ‘[t]he Conference was dominated by personalities whom the events of the War had made the directing minds...[who] used and “scrapped” their materials ruthlessly, and thus continually changed the Conference machine to suit the needs of the moment and of the situation’. Indeed diary entries by various delegates record their stated, and hint at their unstated, motivations. These entries also showed frustrations and cultural clashes. For example, exasperated Americans lamented that chairman Cunliffe stalled negotiations with his ‘overestimates’ of Germany’s capacity to pay reparations. At the same time, the French obsession with punitive measures against Germany continuously deadlocked the committee.

This subcommittee met thirty-two times over three months, from 15 February to 18 April 1919. At the first meeting, British Cunliffe was elected chairman, and French Loucheur vice-chairman. Italian Foberti was appointed secretary. Drawing from the ‘Supplementary Report of the Second Subcommittee, 18 April 1919’, P.M Burnett claimed the second ‘Subcommittee, having vainly sought from the Plenary Commission a decision, had accepted the principle in its report but had drafted no

specific demands. On the one hand this illuminates the lack of conviction and importance the committee gave to the return of or compensation for looted artefacts. On the other hand, this also shows the blank space that opened up and helps explain the final desultory list of material objects included in the special provisions of the treaty.

On 7 April 1919, Loucheur drafted the ‘Proposal for Reparations in Kind and for Reparations by Means of German Labour’, which first stated claims for the reacquisition of ‘works of art’, without mentioning any of the specifics that would later appear in Articles 245-247. In the English translated carbon copy, American legal councillor John Foster Dulles handwrote an expansion to Loucheur’s text. He outlined Article 1, Section D, which stated that ‘objects of art and antiquity, of a character not capable of replacement’, but artefacts that ‘said Governments may desire’ could be substituted by plundering ‘similar objects which may be found in Germany’. Dulles’ additions were incorporated into the text presented to the Council of Four’s informal meetings. Occasional minutes were taken during those meetings, ‘though their circulation was severely limited’. Nonetheless, it was claimed that ‘the decisions arrived at were drafted with sufficient care, and on them the text of the Treaty [was] founded’.

On 23 April 1919, at 4pm, the Council of Four convened. The notes of the meeting record that this council took place at President Wilson’s House in the Place des États-Unis. The minutes showed Wilson, Norman Davis, Baruch, Lamont, McCormick, Dulles, and Whitney in attendance as representatives of the United States; Lloyd George, Sumner, Cunliffe, Keynes, and Dudley Ward to represented the British Empire; and Clemenceau, Klotz, Loucheur, Jousset, Cheysson, and Lyon standing in for France. Hankey, the British delegate who normally assumed a

440 Burnett, Reparation at Paris, 122.
secretarial role during Council of Four meetings, recorded the minutes and was employed as the French/English interpreter. Their rationale and debates are not recorded, but the record showed ‘After some discussion, it was agreed to omit para. 2 (c) and (d), and the last para. of 6’, removing Loucheur and Dulles references to art as a means of reparations.\footnote{Document 286, ‘Minutes of the Council of Four (I.C. 176 A) April 23, 1919, 4 P.M.’ Burnett, Reparations at Paris, 1009.} In his documentation of the reparations deliberations, Burnett recorded that:

just before the Treaty was handed to the Germans, a section of special provisions was added to the reparations articles, under which Germany was required to restore certain treasures to the French Government, to the King of the Hejaz, and to the British Government. A last article demanded the restoration of works of art to Belgium...These special provisions on art objects, seemingly contradictory to the decision of the Council of Four, perhaps fell actually under the principle of restitution rather than under that of reparation. For there was no mention of credit to Germany on the reparations account.\footnote{Burnett, Reparations at Paris, 122.}

Burnett’s confusion over the inclusion of Mkwawa’s skull was evident from his failure to mention it in the above quotation specifically. He combines the skull in with the phrase, ‘certain treasures’, viewing it as a relic in the same clauses of flags and works of art. Burnett’s statement also underscored the disjointed format in which treaty articles were added, with special provisions being tacked on ‘just before the Treaty was handed to the Germans’. Moreover, his legal understanding framed his attempt to see the ‘special provisions on art objects’ as contrary to the legal principals of ‘restitution’.

\textbf{Broken Power}

In minutes taken by Maurice Hankey, secretary of the War Cabinet, during a 5 February 1919 meeting, Byatt’s letter had been summarised as a ‘history of removal of the skull’ (sic) and Byatt’s recommendation further paraphrased as giving ‘widest satisfaction to the Wahehe tribe and afford tangible proof in eyes of natives that
German power has been completely broken’. It would also serve as one more reminder to Germany of their broken power. The Council of Four saw a claim for the return of Mkwawa’s head, while ‘no doubt…having a good local effect’, it seemed ‘hardly sufficient for inclusion in the venerable Peace Treaty’. Instead, the Council of Four suggested the matter ‘might be taken up separately when German Colonial experts’ arrived in Paris after the treaty was drafted.

Article 246 came into being through a transition of Mkwawa’s head moving from a ‘trophy’ as described in Byatt’s letter, to ‘venerable object’. The elevation of Mkwawa’s head, shown by Byatt using the term ‘sultan’, added enough prestige to make the head a sacred relic. Milner’s support of this cause further assisted in pushing it through bureaucratic obfuscation. On the top of the docket paper it was printed ‘Lord Milner agrees as to good effects likely to result from the proposed action’.

By April, reports from the second subcommittee regarding the outline of extending reparations to collecting German material objects had reached the Council of Four. A new note was handwritten on the ‘Recovery from Germany of the Skull of the late Sultan Mkwawa’ docket. Written by Hankey, it stated that:

I understand that the Treaty will include a schedule of various objects, mainly of artistic and archaeological interest, which have been seized by the Germans and which are to be restored. If this is so, I think that the skull of Sultan MKWAWA might quite well be added to the list.

Handwritten on a piece of paper that appears to have been ripped out of bound notebook with haste, a reply was sent to Hankey. The materiality of this note is

446 Minutes on ‘Recovery from Germany of the Skull of the late Sultan Mkwawa’, Foreign Office, 5 February 1919, FO 608/215/379, TNA. While a trivial twist in wording, this is nonetheless a quite important rephrasing to note, as the terms ‘widest satisfaction to the Wahehe tribe’ is the exact same sentence used by Governor Twining in the early 1950s, showing it was this memo that Twining encountered and not Byatt’s original, which as mentioned above has been often overlooked and forgotten during the long quest to fulfil the treaty obligation of Article 246.


448 Minutes, ‘Recovery from Germany’, FO 608/215/379, TNA.

449 Docket text on ‘Recovery from Germany’, FO 608/215/379, TNA.

450 Minutes, ‘Recovery from Germany’, FO 608/215/379, TNA. Capitalisation in original.
revealing. The lack of care or attention paid to the note shows the way plenipotentiaries and lower secretaries viewed Mkwawa’s skull. The note that confirmed Mkwawa’s head would become a treaty article was written in pencil and scribbled on a scrap of paper, overlaid with other notes in various handwriting. The lack of meticulous record taking for this conversation illuminates the insincerity given to Mkwawa’s skull at the Paris Peace Conference. To Milner and Lloyd George, Mkwawa’s skull was a useful prop in the theatrical performance of humiliating Germany. Already a chaotic mixture of overlapping committees and subcommittees and conducted in English and French, it is evident that for the plenipotentiaries the issue of Mkwawa’s skull was trivial.

To Milner, however, Mkwawa’s skull was a useful tool to control East Germany while simultaneously dispossessing Germany:

I support this. Mention it to the F.O. (Foreign Office) [who] should be informed accordingly. But- I’ve no idea whether the F.O. or somebody here [in Paris] will have the duty of including the craniological curiosity in the list. If it is to be done here, the plenipotentiaries should be notified to be brought up at the time when such matters are under consideration. 451

Calling it a ‘craniological curiosity’ used a mixture of haughty dismissiveness and a confirmation of the racial hierarchy interests Milner boasted of above. Notions of scientific racism and social Darwinism, brought to the Paris Peace Conference by Milner and his Kindergarten, altered the discourse under which Mkwawa’s head had resided during the treaty negotiations. Yet being unable, or perhaps unwilling, to find a suitable place for the skull’s inclusion moved it away from human remains and, with an added layer of objectification, closer to an artefact.

An addendum, written on 21 April 1919, as an unsigned sentence, stated: ‘The Skull and the Koran of Caliph Othman now have an article in the Treaty all to themselves’. 452 Article 246 was created outside of surviving written records. What remains are these marginalia on memos and docket minutes produced by the

451 Note 1 on paper scrap, FO 608/215/380, TNA. Emphasis mine. Sir Charles Strachey, Milner’s advisor during the Paris Peace Conference, wrote the reply on Milner’s authority.

452 Note 2 on paper scrap, FO 608/215/380, TNA.
Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the various plenipotentiaries. Byatt’s suggestion and Milner’s support succeeded in having a call for repatriation of Mkwawa’s head inserted into the Treaty of Versailles. At some point in April, mention of Mkwawa’s head was brought to the second subcommittee. It is likely the only historical details they would have seen was docket text which read: ‘Administrator of German East Africa, giving history of removal of the skull, recommending its recovery from the Berlin Museum, since this action would give widest satisfaction to the Wahehe tribe and afford tangible proof in eyes of natives that German power has been completely broken’. The British delegation seized the opportunity to add a clause for themselves to two other clauses that were repatriating artefacts to France and Belgium. In so doing, the intentions Byatt had of having the skull returned to Mkwawa’s body were transformed into an obligation for Germany to ‘hand over’ Mkwawa’s skull ‘to his Britannic Majesty’s Government’. It is likely the second subcommittee saw Mkwawa’s title as ‘sultan’ and thus placed the item within the clause already drafted for the Qur’an to be returned to the King of the Hedjaz. This orientalised the skull. The attitude that Mkwawa’s head was a craniological curiosity ornamentised the skull as an empty vessel, stripped of its historical origin and humanity, to be used to humiliate Germany. Taken together the skull could be framed as an artistic object, no dissimilar from the other undefined ‘trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art…carried away by the German authorities’.

**Articles 245, 246, and 247**

Just a single page of the treaty was enough space for France, Britain, and Belgium, respectively, to make specific claims of reclamation against Germany using Articles 245, 246, and 247. Article 245 extended the period of time for historical redress by laying out claims for artefacts taken by Germany not only during the First World

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453 Docket text on ‘Recovery from Germany of the Skull’, FO 608/215/379, TNA.
War, but also from the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. The latter of which solidified Germany’s place as an imperial power. Interestingly, specific artefacts were intentionally not listed and instead the clause read: ‘the German Government must restore to the French Government the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away from France…in accordance with a list which will be communicated to it by the French Government’ at a later date. Of note, article 245 sought to reclaim ‘particularly the French flags taken in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and all the political papers…belonging at the time to Mr. Rouher, formerly Minister of State’. In this way article 245 made a legal claim for the repatriation of flags, state papers, and to be determined trophies, works of art, and the rather vague ‘historical souvenirs’, providing a blank space for further materials to be added long after the signing of the treaty.

Article 247 followed on with claims for documents and carte blanche acquisition. The clause stipulated that Germany must ‘furnish to the University of Louvain…manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, [and] maps’. These claims for categorised objects, once again the specifics of which are left blank, were supplemented with a call for the restitution of artefacts no longer in existence. Article 247 stated that Germany would also provide Belgium with ‘objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the Library of Louvain’, which occurred on 25 August 1914. It is easy to read

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455 John Lowe, *The Great Powers, Imperialism and the German Problem, 1865-1925* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 39-40. Clauses forcing German reparation payments are scattered throughout the treaty, such as article 124 which required Germany to pay for damages suffered to French nationals in the Cameroons ‘by the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from January 1, 1900 to August 1, 1914’, a time period that predates the war and ends neatly with the capture of the colony. Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 124, 108.


457 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 245, 157-158.

458 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158.

459 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158. While seemingly obscure in this section of the treaty, article 247 references one of the first, and most well known, attacks on culture during the war. The burning of the Leuven library was part of larger campaign, which destroyed 2000 houses and killed nearly 250 civilians in fires that lasted for three days. The burning of the library inspired Rudyard Kipling’s poem ‘For all we have and are’ and is credited with solidifying the moniker ‘hun’ to refer to Germans. Kipling’s prose and artistic inspirations he has provided is picked up again in the
these articles as being added to the treaty in the final hours of negotiation and acting more as space holders for more extensive lists of artefacts that would be ‘transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission’ at a later date.\footnote{Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158.} This is especially present in a claim for materials, rather than money, to be handed over to Belgium to replace the destroyed holdings of the Library of Louvain, now Leuven. Yet it is also clear that the drafting of these clauses also offered an opportunity for hyper-specific redress in the form of repatriation. Similar to article 245’s call for the papers of Mr Rouher, article 247 also listed specific artefacts, in full detail, to be repatriated. ‘The leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb’, which the treaty identified as ‘painted by the Van Eyck brothers’ was to be returned from ‘the Berlin Museum’ back to ‘the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent’. ‘The leaves of the triptych of the Last Supper’, painted by Dierick Bouts, had also similarly been located in Germany, with ‘two housed currently in the Berlin Museum and two in the Old Pinakothek at Munich’.\footnote{Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158.} The Mystic Lamb was painted in the fifteenth century, more than two hundred years before the state of Belgium came into existence. It and the other works of art listed in article 247 had been legally displayed in Germany long before the end conclusion to this dissertation. During the centennial event at Leuven in 2014, a projector illuminated the rebuilt university library with an overlay of digital flames, while a classical concert created a ‘message of peace and reconciliation’ with the use of German and Flemish compositions that symbolised ‘Europe’s shared cultural heritage’. In Bruno Waterfield, ‘The City That Turned Germans into “Huns” Marks 100 Years Since It Was Set Ablaze’, \textit{The Telegraph}, 25 August 2014, \url{https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/11053962/The-city-that-turned-Germans-into-Hunsemarks-100-years-since-it-was-set-ablaze.html} (accessed 1 June 2019). In 1921-1922 Germany delivered 10,000 books per month, and global donations of books and library materials were gifted in large quantities. The United States rebuilt the library over years of intermittent construction, opening in 1928. On 17 May 1940, the library, ‘restored by US generosity and filled with German reparations, burned’, most likely due to German bombing. Tammy M. Proctor, ‘The Louvain Library and US Ambition in Interwar Belgium’, \textit{Journal of Contemporary History}, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2015), 166.\footnote{ Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 247, 158. The subcommittee responsible for drafting this treaty section met thirty-two times over three months, from 15 February to 18 April 1919. It was not until 7 April when specific artefacts were discussed, and only on 23 April 1919 when articles 245-247 were formally drafted. See Document 265, ‘American Suggestions for Reparation in Kind and for Reparation by Means of German Labor, April 11, 1919’, Philip Mason Burnett, \textit{Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference: From the Standpoint of the American Delegation}, Volume I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 908; Burnett, \textit{Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference}, 122. This is discussed further in Chapter III.}
of the First World War, thus showing the depth of claims for repatriation crafted under the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, an English private collector had sold the panels of the Mystic Lamb painting to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1821. As a looted artefact, the leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb revealed the transnational complexity involved in repatriation. The painting was ‘hidden during the Reformation, brought to Paris among spoils of war during the Napoleonic regime, sold to the Prussian king, [then] given to Belgium as a consequence of the Versailles treaty’. Later the painting was stolen by the French Vichy government during the Second World War, given to Hitler in 1942, stored in Austrian salt mines, and ‘ultimately returned to Ghent’ by American authorities in 1945.

The specifically identified looted artefacts become all the more telling when examining article 246, which detailed artefacts taken under German colonial expansion. This clause opens with a claim that Germany must repatriate ‘the original Koran of the Caliph Othman’. The Qur’an is implicated in being brokered between Ottoman and German forces, as article 246 claimed that it was ‘removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II’. This artefact was to be restored to ‘His Majesty the King of Hedjaz’, now modern-day Saudi Arabia, as a form of restitution and recognition for

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462 Andrea Gattini, ‘Restitution by Russia of Works of Art Removed from German Territory at the End of the Second World War’, European Journal of International Law, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1996), 70-71. Of note, here Gattini argued that only article 247 was connected with ‘issues of reparations’ (70). For her, article 246 was a case of restitution of ‘two objects, whose value was primarily of religious-historical nature’ (70n14).

463 Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, and Christiane Sibille, Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources (Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2012), 9n26. In 1940 the painting was to be moved to the Vatican for safety during the German invasion of France. En route from Belgium through France, Italy declared war on the Allied Powers, forcing the painting into storage in the Pyrenees along the Spanish-French border. When France fell, the Vichy government gave the painting to Hitler in 1942, where he displayed it in the famed Schloss Neuschwanstein, Bavaria. As bombing campaigns increased during the war, the painting was moved to the Austrian Altsaussel salt mines. It was recovered by the ‘monuments men’, a task force from the ‘Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program’ and then given to Belgium. When it was unveiled in Ghent, France was forbidden from attending the ceremony, due to Vichy collaboration. Michael Kurtz, America and the Return of Nazi Contraband (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24-25; 132.

464 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 246, 158. Note that Kaiser Wilhelm’s name has been Anglicised and his royal status revoked in this sentence, while the Ottoman empire has given way to being referred to as ‘Turkish’.
the alliance of the Hedjaz during the war. It also served to further humiliation to Kaiser Wilhelm, whose own personal acquisitions were now targeted in the treaty text.465

Beyond the special status it gave to Mkwawa’s head, the sub-clause of article 246 is one of the most fascinating aspects of the entire treaty. Article 246 lists human remains as cultural artefacts, and the signing of the treaty codifies this into international law. In fact, Mkwawa is the only named individual whose human remains are listed in the treaty.466 Human remains are nominally addressed in articles 225 and 226, where it was stated that all treaty parties would ‘respect and maintain the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories’ as well as recognising any future commissions that would engage in ‘identifying, registering, caring for or erecting suitable memorials over said graves’.467 This led to the establishment of the Imperial War Graves Commission, later called the ‘Commonwealth War Graves Commission’.468 In 1924, article 225 and 226 and the

465 The use of the status ‘His majesty’ rather than ‘Sultan’ connects to the resistance movement of Sharif of Mecca Hussein bin Ali, who joined with British forces in 1916 to expel Turkish occupation. Declaring himself ‘King of Hejaz’, this title was upheld when allied forces officially recognised him as the ruler of the breakaway Hejaz kingdom. This can be seen in a 24 October 1917 memo from the American Diplomatic Agency in Cairo, where it is stated that ‘Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia agreed to recognize’ Hussein bin Ali as ‘lawful independent ruler of the Hedjaz and to use the title of “King of the Hedjaz” when addressing him’. See, United States Department of State, The Mandate for Palestine, (Washington D.C: Division of Near Eastern Affairs, 1931), 7. ‘King Hussein bin Ali’ in the first clause of article 246 makes for an interesting comparison to ‘Sultan Mkwawa’ in the second clause.

466 The repatriation of the remains of former European combatants were detailed in a separate treaty. The Hague Convention of 1907 protected the ‘personal property, artwork, and cultural items’ from being classified as ‘spoils of war’, to which the belligerent nations were signatories. Furthermore, the Treaty of Versailles established the legal precedent of reparations and restitution for destroyed cultural items. See Sherry Hunt and Jennifer Riddle, ‘The Law of Human Remains and Burials’, Human Remains: Guide for Museums and Academic Institutions, eds. Vicki Cassman, Nancy Odegaard, and Joseph Powell (Lanham, MD: AltaMira, 2007), 225.

467 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 225, 136.

phrase ‘Respect and Maintain’ were further interpreted by French Authorities to involve the erection of ‘some form of permanent memorial’ on ‘all individual enemy graves’ and, fittingly, this process began in Tanganyika, where Mkwawa’s head was taken. These treaty articles also make a case for the repatriation of human remains, with special notice for the domestic laws of nations. Article 225 states that if ‘provisions of [national] laws and the requirements of public health allow’ then the bodies of soldiers and sailors may ‘be transferred to their own country’. Article 226 extended these same rights to the human remains of prisoners of war and interned civilians, and requires all treaty signatory nations to provide each other ‘a complete list of those who have died’ as well as the number and location of all graves, for the purpose of identification.

It is puzzling, therefore, that after the call for the return of the Qur’an, article 246 abruptly stated that ‘Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty’s Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany’. Mkwawa’s head would seemingly fall under the protections of articles 225 and 226. His skull, however, was taken in 1898. It is thus temporally outside of the time period articles 225 and 226 impose. Yet, as was evident under article 245’s claims for artefacts taken during the 1870-1871 war, the special provisions section went further into the past.

Legal scholars have since picked up the case of the treaty’s binding and non-binding norms in international law relating to the restitution and reparation of


469 ‘Letter from Imperial War Graves Commission Secretary to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonial Office’, 25 November 1924, CO 323/931, TNA.

470 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 225, 136.

471 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 226, 136. While it is not stated that this pertains to the bodies of those killed only during 1914-1918, it can be assumed these articles only cover the years of formally declared war, as it is not otherwise stated.

472 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 246, 158.
cultural artefacts.\textsuperscript{473} Ana Filipa Vrdoljak, a contemporary legal scholar, is one of very few academics to address Mkwawa’s head from a legal perspective. Moreover, she has done so in two separate works, her monograph International Law, Museums, and the Return of Cultural Objects, and a chapter in an edited legal text, ‘Enforcement of Restitution of Cultural Heritage through Peace Agreements’.\textsuperscript{474} Similarly, Erik Goldstein wrote specifically about Mkwawa’s head and article 246 being seen as an expression of cultural restitution based on shifting international legal customs and British diplomacy.

Vrdoljak assessed the legality of Britain’s claim on the skull as existing in legal notions of territoriality. She saw the ‘increasing universal reach of international law’ found in the Treaty of Versailles as a reworking of space, which ‘redrew territorial boundaries, relocated populations and reallocated cultural objects’.\textsuperscript{475} Her reflection on the mandate status of the treaty was thus concerned with the way the new territoriality placed ‘cultural objects and sites…under the “trust” of the relevant mandating power’. This was not to protect the objects but rather to ‘protect the interests of the mandating power and the international community.’ Vrdoljak found that in creating mandates out of former German colonies, the treaty triggered trust obligations owed to the territories’ inhabitants under national and transnational sovereignty. By casting the skull as a ‘cultural property’ and not as human remains, ‘the principle of territoriality was applied…for the purpose of indenturing the place of origins of the remains’. Thus Mkwawa’s skull was ‘transferred to the territory’s colonial successor Britain rather than to the ‘place of origin’.\textsuperscript{476} Vrdoljak provides a rereading of the Treaty of Versailles from a contemporary legal perspective. The committee members, however, were not legal scholars but rather business and

\textsuperscript{475} Vrdoljak, Return of Cultural Objects, 84.
\textsuperscript{476} Vrdoljak, Return of Cultural Objects, 85.
political leaders. As such, it is unlikely the second subcommittee was concerned with issues of territoriality. Instead, they saw articles 245-247 as a space for carte blanche acquisition of cultural property. It was a way of plundering Germany of its looted artefacts.477

Goldstein set the historical context for the formation of article 246 within the 1814-1815 Congress of Vienna. Britain similarly worked as a broker there in order to create legal restitution of artefacts deemed cultural heritage.478 During the Congress of Vienna, British negotiators sought to maintain the status quo of a balance of power through stable centralised European states. Claims for the repatriation of cultural objects threatened Britain’s security, and through the Congress of Vienna Britain created processes for settlement.479 As Vrdoljak described, this was framed under the territorial origin of each artefact. The second subcommittee, if they looked to any historical precedent, would have looked to the Congress of Vienna to guide repatriation processes. For example, the text of article 245 in the Treaty of Versailles read ‘trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away from France’ must be restored.480 This can be seen as near verbatim codification of article

477 A contrasting example to Mkwawa’s skull can be seen in the repatriation of items deemed insignificant to Britain. Article 245 contained a call for the papers of a French politician to be returned from Germany. In 1921, the German Embassy in London set up the Office for German Property, Rights and Interests in England. It was tasked with repatriating the property of German nationals now under control of the British Empire. In one example they requested the property of a German Telegraph service operator from South-West Germany, who was taken prisoner in 1915 and then sent to Verdun, where he was killed. The German Embassy requested a return of his personal property as well as the ceased property of a German couple living in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) similarly interned during the war. As low status actors and nationals from a defeated county, both repatriation claims were ignored and their property claimed by the British Empire. ‘Letter from Office For German Property, Rights and Interests in England’, 17 August 1921, CO 323/881/54, TNA. British nationals of the same status, however, were initially allowed to make claims for repatriation of their property in Germany under article 297. See ‘Letter to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office’, 28 February 1921, BT 13/103, TNA; ‘Opinion of the Law Officers and Mr. Branson, Treaty of Peace, Article 297, Restitution in Specie’, undated, BT 13/103, TNA.


31 in the Treaty of Paris, which read ‘all archives, maps, plans, and documents whatever...shall be faithfully given up...This stipulation applies to ‘material artefacts which may have been carried away from the countries during their temporary occupation’.\footnote{Article XXXI, Definitive Treaty of Peace, 30 May 1814, reproduced in Edward Baines, History of the Wars of the French Revolution: From the Breaking out of the War in 1792, to the Restoration of a General Peace, Comprehending the Civil History of Great Britain and France During that Period, Volume II, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 346.} Ironically, article 31 was to restore the artefact to German states from a defeated France, while article 245 was the opposite. It is insufficient, however, to frame the quest for Mkwawa’s skull in article 246 under the legitimation of territoriality as established at the Congress of Vienna. Mkwawa’s skull was not to be repatriated to the territory of its origin, as article 31 in the Treaty of Paris outlined. Rather it was to be handed over to Britain.\footnote{Article 119 of the Versailles treaty gave Britain ‘legitimate’ control of Tanganyika, yet it would take two years for this to occur and would have had to apply to article 246 as ex post facto. George Louis Beer, African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference: With Paper on Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Colonial Settlement (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968), 64. Subsequent claims for Mkwawa’s head could have also been made under Article 257 of the Treaty of Versailles based under the law of state succession. Goldstein, ‘Cultural Heritage, British Diplomacy, and the German Peace Settlement of 1919’, 350.} The legal principle of territoriality founded in the 1814-1815 Treaty of Paris was rewritten at the Paris Peace Conference to allow Britain, under article 246, to make claims for cultural artefacts in territories it did not yet legally possess. Yet the legality of these matters, as Goldstein concluded, was an afterthought.\footnote{Goldstein, ‘Cultural Heritage, British Diplomacy, and the German Peace Settlement of 1919’, 352.} Nor did the second subcommittee concern themselves with the legal ramifications.

Treaty delegates such as Burnett were unlikely to have concerned themselves with the delicate issues surrounding repatriation of African ancestral remains.\footnote{Wojciech W. Kowalski, Art Treasures and War: A Study on the Restitution of Looted Cultural Property, Pursuant to Public International Law (London: Institute of Art and Law, 1998), 31.} The Commission on Reparation and Damage had already dismissed claims for cultural heritage restitution from several states, such as Serbian claims for ‘libraries, museums, theatres, and collections’, Italy’s vague claim of ‘artistic patrimony’, and
neutral Denmark’s claim for artefacts taken by Prussia during the 1848 revolutions.\footnote{Goldstein, ‘Cultural Heritage, British Diplomacy, and the German Peace Settlement of 1919’, 343.} When the Treaty of Versailles text became public, \textit{The Times} newspaper commented on articles 245, 246, and 247 and the wide temporal reach therein. ‘[T]he most interesting…[and] most picturesque clauses…deal with the restoration for acts of theft and dynastic peculation not only during the war, but also in the spacious days of the Hapsburg domination of Europe’.\footnote{‘Art Reparation of the Peace Treaty’, \textit{The Times}, 30 May 1919, 14; Goldstein, ‘Cultural Heritage, British Diplomacy, and the German Peace Settlement of 1919’, 351.} The inexplicability of Mkwawa’s head suddenly occurring in the treaty’s section on the reparation of cultural artefacts piqued the curiosity of the public, as will be shown in the next chapter. Yet Mkwawa’s head came to occupy space in these articles because it was an opportunity to humiliate Germany. Having a call for Mkwawa’s head in the treaty added an element of shame within an international document. It reinforced a narrative of German brutality in light of the more recent ‘rape of Belgium’ under German occupation. In this way German colonial practices were aligned with German First World War warfare.\footnote{German aggression could be punished but through an article that left the victims out of the narrative. See J.B. Bryce, \textit{Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages Appointed by His Britannic Majesty’s Government and Presided Over by the Right Honourable Viscount Bryce} (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1915); Arnold Toynbee, \textit{The German Terror in Belgium} (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917); Isabel V. Hull, \textit{A Scrap of Paper: Breaking and Making International Law During the Great War} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), Ch. 3 and 4. See also War Office, ‘The Flemish Movement in Belgium, With Special Reference to Events During the German Occupation’, 26 July 1918, PRO 30/30/7, UKPA.}

Repatriation in the post-First World War context retained the eighteenth and nineteenth-century ideas of compensation. Compensation between Great Powers attempted to maintain the balance of power. Colonial territories were given imperial powers in order to maintain stability in the lead up to the First World War.\footnote{Clark, \textit{Sleepwalkers}, Ch. 3; Richard J. Evans, \textit{The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914} (St Ives: Penguin, 2016), 634-669; Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann ‘The Purpose of German Colonialism, or the Long Shadow of Bismarck’s Colonial Policy’, \textit{German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany}, eds. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 193-214; Ulrike Lindner, ‘Germany Colonialism and the British Neighbor in Africa Before 1914: Self-Definitions, Lines of Demarcation, and Cooperation’, \textit{German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany}, 254-272.} The preceding centuries’ principles of looting guided the inclusion of articles 245, 246,
and 247. Yet it was looting two ways. France, Belgium, and Britain were seeking a return of stolen artefacts and compensation under an idea of repatriation. But they were also themselves looting Germany for spoils of war. For the men of the second subcommittee in 1919, a call for Mkwawa’s skull was an opportunity to appropriate an artefact from Germany, not repatriate the artefact back to its point of origin. This viewpoint did not shift greatly as the century progressed. In his 1939 article, legal historian George Grafton Wilson used the codification of Mkwawa’s skull in the treaty in an attempted argument that the ‘Treaty of Versailles...embodie[d] characteristics of nineteenth and twentieth century agreements’. Yet the way Wilson placed his discussion of Mkwawa’s skull showed that in 1939, article 246 fit into nineteenth, not twentieth-century agreements. For Wilson, the new changes to international law founded at the Paris Peace Conference were the ‘establishment of new states and changing boundaries of old’. A call for the return of a skull was an anachronistic piece of trivia, right down to the fact that Wilson mistakes the treaty article, saying it was ‘in Article 231’. It is an odd mistake for an American legal scholar to make, particularly one writing only twenty years after the treaty was signed and in the lead up to a second war with Germany. Article 231 is one of the most famous and quoted treaty articles, where Germany was forced to ‘accept the responsibly...for causing all the loss and damage...[due to] the aggression of Germany and her allies’. Governor Twining would make a similar error in 1953 when writing to his mother. There he stated that Mkwawa’s skull had been placed in a ‘special provision...in clause 236’. Twining can be forgiven for thinking that the

489 The introduction of the dissertation detailed the specific items within articles 245-247.
491 Wilson mistakes the article number, but quotes from article 246 correctly when he notes that it ‘provides for the return by Germany to His Britannic Majesty’s Government’ an artefact ‘removed from East Africa’. Wilson, ‘Change Field of International Law’, 338.
492 Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 231, 137-138.
493 Quoted in Bates, A Gust of Plumes, 246. It is fitting that Twining’s mistake about article 246 has been transcribed on page 246 of his biography. Twining’s error influenced historiography. See, for instance, the same mistake being repeated in Stephen Neal, A Colonial Dilemma: British Policy and the Colonial
section carved out for Mkwawa’s skull fell into the scope of an article that detailed the Germany liquidating coal, dyestuffs, and chemical products to finance reparations.494 Writing from Germany and forbidden to allow any mention of the treaty lest he antagonise West German cooperation, Twining would not have had access of the Treaty to reference. By 1940 Hitler had destroyed the Treaty of Versailles, first by violating its principles, and then, during the occupation of France when he had the actual signed document destroyed.495 It is an enduring reminder of the symbolic power materiality holds.

When Vrdoljak revisited the case of Mkwawa’s skull in her later work, she delved deeper into an attempt to explain the framing article 246. Drawing on the diaries of American plenipotentiary David Hunter Miller, Vrdoljak argued that the American delegation saw ‘entitlements to damage for violations of international law, which included obligations arising in respect of cultural property protected by the 1899 and 1907 Hague Regulations’.496 Guided by President Wilson’s speech restoring liberated territories, Vrdoljak connected Miller’s diary entry to underscore ‘that restoration was not limited to physical reconstruction but would extend to psychological restoration, including the reconstitution of national cultural patrimonies’. Vrdoljak noted, without citation, that ‘there was great resistance

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494 Article 236 reads in full: ‘Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes, III, IV, V, and VI, relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any series rendered by her under these Annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed shall be credited to her towards liquidation of her obligations under the above Articles’. Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 236, 139.

495 What remained are the certified copies of the treaty. Even in these, Mkwawa’s head is always listed in article 246. See ‘Section II. Special Provisions’, 243, The Treaty of Peace Between The Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, The Protocol Annexed Thereto, The Agreement Respecting The Military Occupation Of The Territories Of The Rhine, And The Treaty Between France And Great Britain Respecting Assistance To France In The Event Of Unprovoked Aggression By Germany. Signed At Versailles, June 28th, 1919, (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1919), FCO2 FOL.KZ186.2 A12, KCLA.

among the Allied peace negotiators to the broadening of the ‘reparations’ element of
the peace agreements to include cultural heritage’.497

Vrdoljak, however, erroneously credited the peace negotiators with an
attempt to broaden the legal definitions of ‘reparations’. Legal experts involved in
the reparation commission felt the inclusion of works of art, including here
Mkwawa’s head, belonged to notions of restitution. The inclusion of Mkwawa’s head
in this section of the treaty speaks more to the subtle pushing by the British
government and Byatt. As the ‘man-on-the-spot’ British administrator, Byatt used
existing colonial networks in order to claim the skull to gain colonial control over the
Wahehe, if not over all of East Africa.

**Byatt in Paris**

Byatt did not arrive in Paris until 22 May 1919, after the second subcommittee had
already taken on the task of adding Mkwawa’s skull to the list of artefacts for
repatriation as a form of restitution. With his holiday cancelled due to his summons
to Paris, Byatt’s diary shows the way he tried to make his time at the peace
conference into a holiday.498 Byatt was brought to the Paris Peace Conference to
discuss ‘Belgium claims to Ruanda and Burundi’, staying in the Majestic, the British
delegate headquarters and hotel where Byatt was ‘given most comfortable suite of
rooms’.499 Byatt records that he met with Milner on 23 May 1919 at 11 am for an hour
and a half. It seems likely that at some point during his time with Milner, Byatt
would have asked about Mkwawa’s skull and the progress of including it in the
treaty. He may have had access to the scribbled memos and known discussion of it
had entered the second subcommittee and that it now had become article 245. A

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498 Byatt was not the only one to do this. By September tourism to the Paris Peace Conference grounds
was en vogue. A *New York Herald* article encouraged Americans to visit the American Room at
Versailles, where tourists could see the famous hall of mirrors where the treaty was signed and then
see an exhibition of artefacts and displays that ‘commemorate the bonds of mutual affection and
understanding that unite France and the United States of America’. ‘What to See Near Paris; American
499 ‘22 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary.
letter was never sent to Byatt informing him of the successful outcome his efforts created. Byatt never records it in his diary, but he does mention that he is in communication with the Paris delegation through phone calls, so presumably he was told about the creation of article 245 in verbal communication.

His diary entry for the day he met with Milner reflects frustration while providing insight into the day-to-day peace conference deliberations. He wrote ‘it bristles with difficulties. Belgium’s claims are preposterous but Belgium may procure American and Italian support at the Council, it being felt that Britain has already inherited much territory and the attitude of M. [Milner] is to settle out of court by concession’. While not about the drafting of the special provision section of the treaty, this reveals a great deal about the making of articles 245, 246, and 247. As seen through the circulated memos, the second subcommittee was a space for larger powers to broker exchanges in compensation. Belgium’s territorial claims may have been balanced with concessions from France and Britain. Ample space is provided within article 247 to give Belgium not financial compensation, but physical material objects ‘corresponding in number and value to those destroyed’ when the Belgian town of Louvain was sacked. Britain’s claim in this treaty section could be restricted to a single skull because it was felt Britain was already ‘inheriting [so] much territory’ over France and Belgium.

500 ‘23 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary.
501 Article 247, Treaty of Versailles, 158.
502 For example, note the following exchange: ‘M. Clemenceau asked how much of German East Africa would thus pass under Belgian mandate. Mr. Strachey replied that it would be about one-twentieth of the Colony and the most thickly populated part of it, containing about 2,500,000 people. Mr. Balfour said that he supported the views of Lord Milner. He understood that there were some objections as Belgian administration, owing to its past achievements, did not inspire universal conviction…M. Tittoni said that, in consideration of the great sacrifices made by Belgium during the war, this satisfaction could not be denied her. He was in favour of ratifying the agreements made between the British and Belgian Delegates. M. Clemenceau agreed. Mr Polk asked if he might for the time being reserve his vote, as he wished to consult an American Expert who was not present’. ‘The Council of Heads of Delegations: Minutes of Meeting 7 August 1919, 3:30 p.m., (HD-26), Document 31. US Department of State, Office of the Historian
The objections noted by Balfour were most likely crimes and atrocities committed in the Belgian Congo under Leopold II’s colonial administration. Nonetheless, Tittoni’s view that territory should be given to Belgium as compensation for the atrocities committed by Germans revealed the mental
Byatt’s diaries reflect much about the nature of the Paris Peace Conference. He vented frustration about how there was ‘nothing to do’ and foresaw boredom and a lack of purpose to be ‘the trouble of this visit’.\textsuperscript{503} Due to the compartmentalised nature of negotiations, Byatt wrote that at the conference ‘delays [were] terrible’, where ‘a matter may be discussed one day for an hour and then completely shelved while other things are dealt with’.\textsuperscript{504} This explains why the deliberations regarding Mkwawa’s skull were hastily written with memos on scraps of paper. Cults of personality roamed large in the Paris Peace Conference. Milner’s opinions carried weight, and matters that had met with his approval, such as Byatt’s request regarding a claim for Mkwawa’s skull, received attention. Confidential reports between British negotiators reveal the personalised way agreements were struck. A colonial border dispute, for example, was resolved as followed: ‘I think I may say that we shall get the Mungo River frontier as to which M. Merlin was more accommodating than M. Duchène. M. Merlin practically agreed to it, but proposed a modification in the line through the creeks which I believe would suit us, - I did not accept it, but said I would refer to Captain Fuller and if necessary to Lord Milner. I hope that after my departure M. Duchène did not succeed in converting M. Merlin. They are now going to consult M. Simon’.\textsuperscript{505}

Byatt found himself lacking purpose, being in Paris for ‘only one subject and it may take days or weeks. Lord Milner hinted that I may have to stay a bit but I am fed up and want to get away from this illusion’.\textsuperscript{506} Yet in Paris Byatt sat at the Milner Kindergarten roundtable. In the evenings he would dine with ‘Lord G [Lloyd George], M. [Milner], Smuts and [Louis] Botha’, the South African Prime Minister and close friend to Byatt’s Afrikaner rival in German East Africa, General van

\textsuperscript{503} ‘24 May 1919’, Byatt, \textit{personal diary.}
\textsuperscript{504} ‘24 May 1919’, Byatt, \textit{personal diary.}
\textsuperscript{505} C. Strachey ‘Meeting of June 13\textsuperscript{th}, 1919. At Ministry of the Colonies’, FO 608/215/335, TNA.
\textsuperscript{506} ‘24 May 1919’, Byatt, \textit{personal diary.}
Deventer. He dined alone with Botha and Smuts another evening and found Smuts to be ‘very interesting on European politics and world future’. Yet Byatt often ‘sulked alone at dinner’. He found little to do at the conference, instead sightseeing in Paris between brief meetings with Milner to discuss ‘GEA [German East Africa] and Ruanda’, where Byatt was able to put in claims for ‘better pay for my officials’ but found the ‘attitude over Ruanda not very promising’. Personal matters also occupied Byatt. While his colonial administrators may have gotten a promise of a pay raise, Byatt himself had anxiety over his own pension. The unclear status of what would become of German East Africa, made Byatt worry that his appointment to ‘neither a colony nor a protectorate’ meant that he ‘not entitled to any benefits for his service in Germany East Africa’, a fact confirmed by the General Department of the Treasury.

Frustrated and filled with ennui, Byatt took a solo day trip to the city of Rheims in France’s Champagne region. The city was the site of German shelling and Byatt’s diary entries took him through ‘much war damage’ as he took the train from Paris to Rheims, touring the ‘shapeless heap of ruins’ at the bombed-out Fort de la Pompelle. While article 245 was being drafted, forcing Germany to repatriate French artefacts taken during the war, Byatt saw first-hand the ‘destruction in Rheims…once a town of 200,000 inhabitants…now but 2000’ while in the ‘later stages of the war there were not more than a few dozen’ living in Rheims. Byatt would have aligned this destruction to what he had witnessed ruling German East Africa and witnessing the heavy guerrilla fighting between German-askari forces and British imperial soldiers during this same period of the war.

507 ‘24 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary. In Paris Botha argued against imposing too harsh of terms against Germany. This was the last time Byatt saw Botha, as Botha was in ill health during the peace conference and died three months later.
508 ‘25 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary.
509 ‘26 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary.
511 ‘27 May 1919’, Byatt, personal diary.
Byatt returned to Paris the same evening as his tour in Rheims where he dined with Smuts. The two exchanged stories of seeing France’s destruction, as Smuts told Byatt he ‘should not miss seeing the Somme area’. Byatt took a car to the Somme by way of Amiens and within this ‘250-mile run’ witnessed ‘the inordinate destruction of modern war and the utter annihilation of a fair countryside. The whole area is a huge and desolate cemetery, soaked with blood. It seems impossible that it can ever be restored as the whole tilth is blown away and the chalk exposed, and many villages wiped entirely off the map’. On 29 May 1919 Byatt left the Paris Peace Conference and returned to London. He spent the rest of the summer working in London and taking fishing holidays in Wales.

STAKING CLAIMS OF RESTITUTION

A claim for Mkwawa’s head was not the only attempt to use German colonialism in East Africa as a chance to humiliate Germany and justify imperial control of its overseas colonies. On 8 March 1919, the High Commissioner’s Office in Cape Town received a copy of ‘alleged ill-treatment of certain native soldiers of the Rhodesia Native Regiment by a European member of Von Lettow’s force in German East Africa’. General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck used conscripted Africans as soldiers and forced labour to wage four years of guerrilla campaigns during the First World War. The Paris Peace Conference, therefore, offered a chance for former askari to make formal grievance complaints against Germany. The success of Lettow-Vorbeck, who surrendered to British and South African forces two weeks after the armistice ended the war, allowed him to return to Germany as a war hero. The British, through the South African government, sought evidence to diminish Lettow-Vorbeck’s colonial reputation. Documented abuses in German East Africa represented a further opportunity, like Mkwawa’s head, to humiliate Germany by exposing the savage

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512 ‘Letter from Buxton, High Commissioner to Viscount Milner and Colonial Office’, 8 March 1919, FO 608/215, TNA.
nature of their colonial rule. Yet the claims from *askari* soldiers that reached Milner were not from native troops fighting under Lettow-Vorbeck.

From the 26 June 1919 agenda, the Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers met to create a ‘special Commission’ to review: ‘the drafting model of mandates, to hear statements of the Belgian and Portuguese claims in regard to German East Africa, to hear statements by the Aborigines Society in regard to German East Africa, to make a report on the Belgian and Portuguese claims in German East Africa’.  

The commission comprised ‘Lord Milner for the British Empire, M. Simon for France, M. Crespi for Italy, Viscount Chinda for Japan’ and the ‘Colonel House for the United States of America’. For the purpose of this dissertation, it is the statement by the Aborigines Societies that is most telling.

While presented in a grand and fully encompassing phrasing, the Aborigines Society statements consisted of a single testimony from one soldier. Corporal Nzololo, of Regiment Number 574 in the Rhodesian Native Regiment was interviewed by the Department of Defence in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on 11 February 1919, more than a year after the end of the war. A Matabele, Nzololo may have been old enough to have fought against the British South Africa Company in 1896. He stated that he joined the Rhodesian Native forces in February 1917. He said he ‘was sent out in charge of a patrol consisting of Privates Mkwamha, Ndugu and another Askari whose name I forget for he did not belong to my platoon’.  

The four soldiers were ordered to on a reconnaissance mission to find the German forces in Portuguese East Africa. Nzololo stated that ‘at about 10 a.m. as we approached the Boma [fortified building] Private Mkwamha was shot dead through the chest, Private Ndugu and myself were captured and the other Askari managed to escape’. Nzololo refers to himself with the term ‘askari’, suggestive of his loyalty to the British Empire. When Nzololo said that after being questioned by the ‘German Europeans…regarding the whereabouts of the English’, they were literally stripped

514 ‘Nzololo, Copy of Statement, Witnessed by E.W. Stephens, Lt.’, Undated, FO 608/215/388, TNA.
of their soldier status. First, he lost his uniform, as ‘all of our clothing was [taken] from us’. Then Nzololo lost his rank as a fighting soldier, forced to become a porter. Nzololo reported that he and Ndugu were forced to carry loads for the German Schutztruppe. ‘My load consisted of two boxes of rifle ammunition whilst private Ndugu had to carry twelve rifles tied in a bundle’. Later in his narrative, Nzololo mentioned they ‘were given white limbo in place of our uniform’, again reinforcing the loss of status, particularly grievous for Nzololo who commanded the reconnaissance mission and held the rank of corporal. He stated that they ‘carried the loads for some time, and Ndugu’s load was so heavy that when nearing Songea he sat down and could carry his load no further’. While no times or distances are given in this testimony, Nzololo stated they were captured near ‘Ille’ (Ille) and that it was in Songea when Ndugu could no longer walk. Marching on foot with a heavy load, this is a distance of over 1400 kilometres, going from what is today Mozambique to the southern highlands of Tanzania. The weight of their loads are detailed as torturous. Nzololo stressed that the otherwise healthy Ndugu could no longer carry his load due to ‘his shoulders [being] raw and bleeding like meat’. A German officer then approached Ndugu and ‘told him to get on. Ndugu replied “he could not carry the load any longer and it were better to die there.” Ndugu was sitting on the ground. The German thereupon took his rifle and beat Ndugu about the chest and head until he lay quivering on the ground with the blood pouring out of his ears. Ndugu was dying’. The German officer asked Nzololo why he was standing there and Nzololo said ‘“I want to stay with my brother”’ but was commanded to continue marching and left. His testimony ends saying that the German officer ‘did not follow he remained by Ndugu. I did not see what happened after this but Ndugu never rejoined us’.

This account told the wartime experience of four African forced labourers. The unnamed askari disappears immediately from the narrative but presumably lived through the first fight and escaped capture. The only other named soldier in this narrative was shot and killed instantly. Nzololo’s name in the header of the
testimony is spelled ‘Mzololo’, while his signature is stated as ‘Nzololo left X mark’. ‘Mzololo’ is likely a typo, as his name may reference the Nzololo River.\textsuperscript{515} This shows that Nzololo may have been a pseudonym like ‘Ndugu’. It also reveals poor record keeping and attention to his account, aligning with Southern Rhodesia foundation on racial segregation. While Nzololo suffered as a forced labourer made to carry the very ammunition that would be used against his fellow soldiers, the reason this account reached Paris was due to the mistreatment of Ndugu, who seems to have been beaten to death at the hands of a German officer. Nzololo account personalised the violence experienced by Indigenous peoples posed between colonial powers. Yet, to be the only report of ill-treatment given to the special commission in Versailles, it is lacking in the same gory details that a narrative of Mkwawa’s head being cut off provided for anti-German sentiment and to cast British civilisation against German colonial savagery. It is clear the narrative of Nzololo and Ndugu’s mistreatment failed to evoke an emotional and politically useful response during these meetings. The special commission chose to do little with this report. While not used at the Paris Peace Conference, these accounts may have been gathered as evidence to refute the German White Book. The collected statements were intended as an indictment of German colonial cruelty. Not utilising Nzololo’s account underscores that the call for Mkwawa’s head was enough to publicise Germany’s colonial barbarity in East Africa, when read alongside the narratives presented in the Blue Book.

There is also a sense that the committee did not believe Nzololo’s account. In the docket minutes for this meeting, a note refutes some of his testimony. It stated ‘the fact that Ndugu died from influenza, not of ill treatment, was communicated to the Committee in London as the previous information had been forwarded to it’.\textsuperscript{516} A note on earlier docket’s minutes reveals, once again, the improvised tapestry of responsibilities present in overlapping and overworked committees and between

\textsuperscript{515} The Nzololo, however, is located in the Zulu kingdom, not in Matabeleland.

\textsuperscript{516} Minutes, ‘Illtreatment (sic) of Native Soldiers by Member of Gen. von Lettow’s Force in German East Africa’, 9 June 1919. FO 608/215/390, TNA.
delegates. This note read: ‘I am not British Secretary of the Commission here and have nothing to do with it. I think the paper had better be passed to Sir Edward Pollock if he is still here’.\(^5^{17}\) Pollock is, in fact, the one who added the note about Ndugu dying of influenza. In actuality, the soldier who died of influenza was ‘Private Nougu’ who died ‘at a later date in Limbe, Nyasaland, as a result of Spanish Influenza’.\(^5^{18}\) Ndugu is a Swahili word meaning ‘comrade’ and could have been applied to a great many soldiers.\(^5^{19}\) That the title of Nzololo’s testimony misspelt his name as ‘Mzololo’, off by one letter calls into question the misspelling of Nougu, also off by one letter.\(^5^{20}\) The special committee did not act on this testimony. The questioned narrative of the soldier being killed by a German officer caused the commission to doubt its veracity. It was instead forwarded to the British War Office’s committee on the breaches of law and customs of war.

Nzololo’s detailed narrative failed to generate interest yet Mkwawa’s head acquired its own treaty clause. Unlike Nzololo, Mkwawa could not give an account of his colonial experience. His head, therefore, became a symbolic repository of meaning, free to be shaped into the seemingly out of place article 246. This underscores that it was a narrative of gory violence against what was seen as a high-ranking individual, which allowed Mkwawa’s skull to gain interest and import. As the head of a sultan, taken from East Africa and given high enough status to be displayed in the Berlin Museum, Mkwawa’s head had many entry points into the Treaty of Versailles. The historical facts gave way to a new narrative. A near eastern

\(^{5^{17}}\) J. H. Morgan, Minutes, ‘Ill-treatment of Native Rhodesian Troops in German East Africa’, 29 April 1919, FO 608/215/384, TNA.

\(^{5^{18}}\) Note from G. Parson, Department of Defence, Salisbury to Department of Administrator, Salisbury’, 20 March 1919, FO 608/215/394, TNA.

\(^{5^{19}}\) It is an all-encompassing Kiswahili term meaning ‘brother, comrade, kinsman, and relative’. It is unlikely this was the soldier’s actual name. Nzololo calls him ‘my brother’ in the narrative, supporting that this soldier was given anonymity in this narrative.

\(^{5^{20}}\) It is even possible that the reason this account reached the Paris Peace Conference had to do with the first soldier killed in the narrative, Private Mkwamha, whose name so closely resembles ‘Mkwawa’ that it could have confused the secretaries into thinking this was related to Byatt’s letter and the formation of article 246.
relic was stolen by Germany and displayed in Berlin. The museum angle allowed the skull to be included in lists of artefacts also being considered from German museums, shown in articles 245 and 247. The exalted status of Mkwawa, now fully orientalised as Sultan, aligned him with the Qur’an, an Islamic artefact to be repatriated to a middle-eastern ally who rebelled against Ottoman rule and declared himself a monarch. Byatt and Milner supporting the inclusion of Mkwawa’s head, providing institutional support. A call for the skull allowed Britain to reinforce their claims for German East Africa, balancing Belgian and French demands over new African territory. It also allowed Britain legitimise their control to the East African inhabitants.

It was rather anti-climatic, therefore, when Germany was shown the completed treaty and addressed article 246 by stating that they had never been in possession of Mkwawa’s head. ‘There are no indications whatever of the head having been brought to Germany’ wrote the German Foreign Minister. ‘Paragraph 2 of Article 246…has thus no longer any object’.

The German reaction to finding they would lose their overseas colonial holdings under article 119 was much less measured. German delegates argued that the colonies were acquired legally, stating: ‘Germany’s claim on her colonies is based primarily on the fact that she acquired them by legitimate means and developed them by hard, successful toil at the price of many sacrifices. Her ownership has been

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521 The non-British negotiators in Versailles were not given historical accounts of Mkwawa’s head. They did not know Mkwawa had died only two decades ago and would have assumed the skull to be a centuries-old relic. The public understanding of article 246 mirrors this when the treaty text was published. See also the Afterword in this dissertation.

522 See the introduction, where I discussed the history of Sharif of Mecca Hussein bin Ali. In brief he allied with British forces in 1916 to expel Ottoman occupation in what is now Saudi Arabia. Declaring himself ‘King of Hejaz’, he was later confirmed to be the ruler of the breakaway Hejaz kingdom. The return of the Qur’an can be seen as repatriation as compensation. United States Department of State, The Mandate for Palestine, (Washington D.C: Division of Near Eastern Affairs, 1931), 7.

523 Copy of ‘Letter from Köster, German Foreign Ministry to Foreign Office’, 6 May 1920, FO 371/3795, TNA.
recognised by all Powers’. They argued the colonies would be necessary to pay off war debts, claiming Germany ‘looks to this source for aid to meet the obligations imposed by the Peace Treaty…The possession of the colonies is for Germany more necessary in the future than in the past, as, in view of the unfavourable rate of exchange, Germany must be in a position to obtain the raw materials necessary for economic life…Germany needs her colonies as markets…Germany needs her colonies as settlements for at least part of her surplus population’. Most tellingly, Germany argued under a civilising lens, where ‘as one of the great civilised races the German people have the right and duty to co-operate in the scientific exploration of the world and in the education of underdeveloped races, the common task of civilised humanity’. In a page out of the White Book, the German delegation explained colonial rule necessitated violence, where ‘mistakes and blunders have been made, such as are to be found in the colonial history of all peoples’. The civilisation discourse, they argued, would be carried out by German colonial administration: ‘the retention by Germany of her colonies is, however, equally based on the interests of the coloured populations of these territories. The German administration has put an end to the devastation occasioned by the incessant wars of pillage conducted by the tribes, the tyranny of chieftains and medicine men, the seizure of slaves and the slave trade…German administration has brought peace and order into the land and created conditions making for secure intercourse and trade. Justice was meted out impartially, account being taken of the outlook and customs of the natives’. The German delegation specifically cited German East Africa and the askari to argue ‘numerous testimonials by influential foreign writers on colonial subjects prior to the war, as well as the loyalty during the war of the natives within the German spheres of control, especially in East Africa, bear witness to the justice

524 Enclosure 1 in No. 31: Observations of the German Delegation on the Conditions of Peace’, Inter-Allied Commission: Correspondence with the German Peace Delegation Respecting The Treaty of Peace, November 1918 to July 1919 (1920?), 126, FC02.D642, INT, KCLA.
and to the great success of German colonial work’. Article 246 pre-emptively countered these claims, just as the Blue Book refuted the German colonial project from a Southwest African perspective.

**Heads Lost and Found**

In a 1947 multi-volume set, the United States Department of State printed *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*. In Volume XIII, the American authors alleged that on 21 January 1921, the German peace delegation supposedly wrote the Paris Peace Conference regarding article 246. ‘The supposition that this Koran was presented to the ex-Emperor of Germany is erroneous. It was, moreover, never transferred to Germany nor into German hands’. The American text went on to state that:

Sultan Okwawa, or M’Kwawa, was chief of the Wahibis, German East Africa. This tribe under several sultans from 1870 to 1898 gathered to itself much native support and was continuously hostile to the Germans. M’Kwawa, the last of the warrior line, added a religious superstition to his prestige by preaching that he could not be captured and committed suicide when capture was inevitable. The British demand for the return of his skull could not be granted, according to the German report sent to the British Government for verification. One sergeant Merkl cut off M’Kwawa’s head when he killed himself to escape capture by Captain von Prinz. Merkl preserved the skull in alcohol at the nearest German fort against the time when he could claim the reward of 6,000 rupees. The affidavits of Merkl, the widow of Captain von Prinz, and other witnesses stated that negro warriors broke into the fort and stole the alcohol and the sultan’s head, leaving in place of the latter the freshly severed head of some other negro. The theft became known when the substitute head, without the alcohol, came to the olfactory attention of the German garrison. The Germans found that the theft had been committed by

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526 ‘Observations of the German Delegation’, 127.
retainers of M’kwawa, who had buried the head in his family vault, and
decided not to prosecute the case further.528

In addressing article 245, regarding the flags from France that were to be returned
from Germany, rumours spread that ‘In Berlin a party of German soldiers had seized
flags from the Franco-Prussian War due to be returned to France and burnt them in
front of the monument to Frederick the Great while a crowd sang patriotic
anthems’.

Had Mkwawa’s skull been located in Germany, similar perhaps similar
fears that it would be destroyed or hidden would have manifested. Mkwawa’s head
may have been unintentionally lost in Germany amongst the thousands of other
skulls.

The US State Department produced an account riddled with mistakes, but one
that preserved various rumours in government-produced documents. It shows how
Mkwawa’s head was understood in the post-war period. To begin with, the
comment that Mkwawa comes from a long line of sultans revealed a sense of deeper
historical prestige. Diplomats and government agents could only understand that
Mkwawa’s head had become part of article 246 if his leadership connected to pre-
colonial history. Whilst the time period of 1870 to 1890s aligned with the actual
ruling of Munyigumba, Mkwawa, and Mpangile, this would be only three, not
several sultans, and Mpangile reigned for only a few months. The mention that the
Wahehe state was ‘Wahibis’, however, attempted to show it as an African offshoot of
the eighteenth century Middle Easter Islamic movement Wahhabism. This can be
explained due to the layout of article 246. It begins with the call for the Qur’an to be
returned to the King of Hedjaz, with Mkwawa’s skull as a subclause. The State
Department read the second clause as being linked to the first. Mkwawa, it followed,

528 Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 523-524. A nearly identical statement is
also provided in ‘Germans Can’t Return Sultan Makaua’s Head; Say African Trophy Was Retaken
Years Ago’, The New York Times, 11 September 1920, 15. The subtle difference is the conclusion where
the New York Times reported ‘The theft might have passed unnoticed for a long time but for the fact
that the presence of the substituted head became painfully obvious on account of the abstraction of
the alcohol’, playing up notions of either drunkenness or incompetence.

529 Macmillan, Peacemakers, 485.
was a Near Eastern sultan ruling German East Africa. This further connected with the Kingdom of Hedjaz, where historical narratives expanded to cast near eastern support against both the Ottomans and now the Germans during the First World War. The religious superstition surrounding Mkwawa fit with Mkwawa’s own narrative, and the belief of him having or wearing a horn has been exorcised from this account. It is clear many details have come from Magdalene’s diary. She wrote the reward for Mkwawa’s capture or death was ‘5000 rupees...or 8000 marks’, and the report seems to have split the difference and called the reward ‘6000 rupees’. By not translating the figure into marks, as Magdalene had done, this report played up the foreignness of Mkwawa and East Africa. Tom Prince foreignness was Germanised, with his English surname becoming ‘Prinz’ and the ‘von’ anachronistically added to it while he was pursuing Mkwawa.

The most revealing detail of the US State Department’s reimagining of Mkwawa’s head being cut off is the added detail that Merkl placed it in alcohol. An invented idea, it serves two purposes in this new account. Firstly, it shows the way the authors tried to make practical sense of Merkl’s act. Calling Mkwawa’s freshly severed head ‘a skull’ both distanced the writer from creating visual images of the head, whilst also referencing the treaty article itself, where ‘skull’ is used. This ‘skull’ was to be ‘preserved in alcohol...against the time when [Merkl] could claim the reward’. It was thus a logical choice by Merkl to ward off decay and proved that Merkl’s motivation for removing Mkwawa’s head was to be paid the bounty. Secondly, and more revealing, is the fact that the alcohol is invented for the story to show that when ‘negro warriors broke into the fort’, they took not only the head but also the alcohol, leaving behind another head but one that rotted and thus revealed the attempted switch. The subtext being that the African natives valued the alcohol as much as getting back Mkwawa’s head. Issues of African locals and alcoholism underpinned colonialism. Alcohol was a commodity, imported as a finished good under metropole commerce seeking new markets. As an intoxicant it served to pacify

530 Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 523.
populations. The trope of Wahehe drunkenness will be explored again in the section below detailing Sapi Mkwawa, Mkwawa’s son.

The report ends stating that after Germany realised the head had been switched, with Mkwawa’s head reburied in ‘the family vault’, the matter was dropped. Nothing is said of what became of the head of ‘some other negro’, nor is attention given to the fact that the grave of Mkwawa’s family had been destroyed in 1896. Nonetheless, if Mkwawa’s head had never been sent to Germany, then ‘the British demand for the return of his skull could not be granted’. Here the US State Department is accurately reporting the German response while showing how German authorities dealt with post-1919 reparation demands. When the British pressed Germany on their obligation under article 246, the response was always a dismissal due to the claim that Mkwawa’s skull had never been brought to Germany and must therefore still reside in the territory now under British control.

Tanganyika governor Donald Cameron, Byatt’s successor, was similarly dismissive of the Mkwawa’s skull and article 246. In 1925 he trivialised Byatt’s efforts as ‘some strange manner’ where ‘a clause crept into the Treaty of Versailles’, saying that he had ‘met no native in Tanganyika, not even Mkwawa’s son, who was much interested in the subject’. Cameron also felt that authenticity could never be proven and had ‘the German Government…cared to produce an African skull’, any skull would suffice. The call to push Germany to give Mkwawa’s head to Britain fell to

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532 *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 523.

533 Cameron, *My Tanganyika Service*, 50. I have standardised the spelling of ‘Mkwawa’ from Cameron’s ‘Makwaia’.

534 Cameron, *My Tanganyika Service*, 50. These issues of authenticity allowed Governor Twining to claim he had returned Mkwawa’s skull in 1954. See Chapter IV. Jesse Bucher argued Cameron’s
Three enquiries were launched against Germany. Brief exchanges, the reports to the House of Commons reveal the shifting attitudes toward the treaty and Germany as the immediate aftermath of war moved into the interregnum period of peace. Statements given in 1921, 1930, 1933 and 1936 reveal the encounters ministers of parliament had when confronted with the seemingly out of place request for a skull to be brought to Britain and how they viewed Anglo-German relations and ‘heads out of place’.

On 17 February 1921, MP Horatio Bottomley addressed the House of Commons. Bottomley had been the publisher of *John Bull* magazine throughout the First World War where he spearheaded the pro-British and anti-German propaganda features that dominated the magazine during the war. Serving at first in the liberal party as part of Lloyd George’s conservative coalition, by 1921 he was an independent and just six months after this address Bottomley founded the Independent Parliamentary Group. This group pushed for a hardline enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles reparations clauses. Logically, article 246 combined anti-German sentiment with a means for collecting reparations payments, all while shaming Germany. Yet, Bottomley expressed a mocking disdain toward article 246 in his typically humorous parliamentary outbursts. Bottomley quoted the text of the second clause of article 246 and asked Prime Minster Lloyd George if ‘Germany has

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535 Parliament hearings are used in this section as they pertain directly to article 246. Many British government agencies were investigating Germany in the 1920s in order to determine if the dictates of the Treaty of Versailles had or were in the process of being fulfilled. This was a requirement in order for Germany to enter the League of Nations. In 1920 the conclusion was that the ‘German Government have not, except in one or two isolated matters, shown any disposition to endeavour to evade the obligations toward this Country imposed upon them by the Treaty’. Presumably, article 246 fell under those exceptions. ‘Letter from R.S. Horne to H.A.L. Fisher, MP’, 9 November 1920, BT 13/103, TNA.

yet handed over to His Britannic Majesty’s Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa?” 537 Cecil Harmsworth, Lloyd George’s secretariat replied ‘[t]he answer is in the negative. The Governor of the Tanganyika Territory is endeavouring to obtain confirmation of a statement, which has been made by the German Government, that this skull was not taken to Germany, but buried locally’.538 Horace Byatt, still serving as governor in 1921, attempted to verify if Mkwawa’s head had been buried in consolation with Sapi Mkwawa. The fact that Byatt wrote his 1918 letter asking for the skull, however, shows that the British government’s position refuted that Mkwawa’s skull had been buried in Tanganyika. Bottomley’s point of inquiry, however, was done merely to set up the punchline for his jest, using a mixture of levity and seriousness regarding article 246 that revealed ruling class arrogance and hauteur. ‘If the skull does arrive in this country’, Bottomley asked Harmsworth, ‘can it be exhibited in the Tea Room, so that Honourable Members may compare it with the skulls of some of His Majesty’s Ministers?’ 539 The triviality Mkwawa’s head was given in the 1920s is underscored by Bottomley’s joke. Harmsworth made the point to admonish Bottomley. ‘I hope the Honourable Member will not jest about this matter, because it is regarded with much sentiment by some of the tribes in East Africa’.540 The issue of article 246 was then dropped from parliamentary debates for nine years. Bottomley, meanwhile, was convicted of fraud in 1922, expelled from parliament and sentenced to seven years of manual labour.541

539 HC Deb, 17 Feb 1921, Vol. 138, cc268. Bottomley was well known for his jokes. This was also not the only time he mocked the Treaty of Versailles on colonial matters. During the early years of the Irish rebellion, Bottomley stated ‘in view of the breakdown of British rule…the government will approach America with a view to her accepting the mandate for the government of [Ireland]’. House of Commons Debate, 3 May 1920, Vol. 128, c1701 [https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1920/may/03/government-policy#S5CV0128P0_19200503_HOC_213](https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1920/may/03/government-policy#S5CV0128P0_19200503_HOC_213) (accessed 4 September 2019).
541 In a characteristic display of Bottomley’s behaviour, during his trial, where he represented himself, Bottomley arranged for a daily 15-minute adjournment so that he could consume a pint of champagne.
On 3 December 1930, MP Charles Williams asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ‘if he will state whether Article 246 of the Treaty of Versailles, in so far as it affects the British Government, has been fully carried out; and when this was done?’ It is interesting that Williams was enquiring about both Mkwawa’s skull, which was Britain’s only stake in article 246, and also about the Qur’an, showing a desire that the whole article should fall under British supervision. He is told that ‘His Majesty’s Government made representations to the German Government on this subject in 1920 and again in 1921. The German view was that the skull was not taken to Germany but buried locally’. The Foreign Affairs secretary then repeated the same answer Bottomley was given in 1921, that efforts were made within Tanganyika to ascertain if Mkwawa’s skull had been buried but that ‘these efforts proved inconclusive and the whereabouts of the skull have never been established’. Williams asked directly about the Qur’an to see if the Foreign Affairs office has made any inquiries regarding the return of it to the King of Hedjaz. It seems, however, he has no real interest in the first clause, as he does not answer the response of ‘I do not know what the Honourable Member wants me to do. If he will let me know I will see what can be done’. Williams instead reveals his reason for inquiring about the skull: ‘Has the right honourable Gentleman received any evidence of discontent in Tanganyika territory in the area of the tribe concerned regarding the non-return of the skull?’ When told there has been no rebellion among the Wahehe due to skull not returning, the inquiry into Mkwawa’s skull was


543 This is in reference to a dispatch sent to the Tanganyika territory where Winston Churchill stated ‘…in the circumstances I do not propose to take further action in the matter’. See ‘Confidential Dispatch from Winston Churchill to Horace Byatt’, 22 August 1921’, FO 371/6042, TNA.

544 HC Deb 3 Dec 1930, Vol. 245, cc2196. Williams questioning of the received a small write up in the press the next day, under the inventive heading ‘“Magic” Skull of Sultan Mkwawa Not Found’ and stating that Williams’ questions ‘mystified the House of Commons’. *The Western Daily Press*, 4 December 1930, 1.

545 HC Deb 3 Dec 1930, Vol. 245, cc2196.

546 HC Deb 3 Dec 1930, Vol. 245, cc2196-2197
dropped again for another three years. Williams’ mode of questioning illuminated parliamentary concerns regarding Mkwawa’s head and repatriation in the 1930s. The head was sought to maintain colonial order. It is unclear whether Williams hoped the skull would remain in British possession upon its return or if it would have been repatriated to Uhehe. His use of the term ‘non-return’ could be read as a belief that the skull would be given back to the Wahehe, but it could also be interpreted that the ‘return’ refers to Germany giving the skull to Britain. Even if, in 1930, it was believed the skull would go directly to the Wahehe, it is clear that the British government seeks to broker the return, which is why Williams also asked about the Qur’ān.

Satisfied that civil unrest had not resulted from Germany’s failure to act on article 246, Mkwawa’s skull was taken off the docket until 1933, when one final repatriation attempt was made. On 24 May 1933, MP Major James Milner, no relation to Viscount Alfred Milner, asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about article 246. Milner, a veteran from the First World War and a Labour MP, used a mix of signifiers to refer to Mkwawa’s skull. He asked: ‘whether Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty, providing for the handing over by Germany to this country of the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, has been complied with; and whether he can inform the House of the present whereabouts of the relic and intentions of the Government as to its ultimate resting place?’

MP Williams did not refer to Mkwawa or the object of a skull. Instead, he distanced himself from the details of Mkwawa’s skull by using terms to refer to the text of the treaty such as ‘the first part of the article’ and the part of the article ‘in so far as it affects the British Government’. Major Milner, conversely, blurred the distinctions between the skull being a human remain and a looted artefact. This can be seen in his use of the term ‘relic’, a term invested with archaeological meaning that simultaneously carried legal weight in a preservationist discourse. But Milner balanced this with the more poetic ‘ultimate resting place’. Moreover, his use of

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Mkwawa’s ‘sultan’ title brought back the same prestige given to Mkwawa’s head during the Paris Peace Conference. Milner was told by Stanley Baldwin, the Lord President of the Council that ‘in spite of repeated investigations on the part of the German Government, the present whereabouts of this relic’, here repeating Milner’s use of the term, ‘has not been traced’. In addressing where Mkwawa’s head’s final resting place may be, Milner was simply told ‘the last part of the question, therefore, does not arise.’ Milner wondered what the next step should be to resolve article 246 and was told that ‘I do not think any further steps would be likely to be any more successful’. It is clear a tone of frustration regarding Mkwawa’s skull has been produced by the repeated answer from Germany that the skull was never brought to Germany, and by the insistence from Tanganyika that Mkwawa’s skull was never buried. Caught in the middle, MP Charles Williams, who led the 1930 inquiry, spoke up during this 1933 debate. He suggested that the Foreign Affairs ministry could ‘set up a Royal Commission to deal with this question, composed of the right honourable Member for Epping (Winston Churchill) and the right honourable Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Former PM Lloyd George).’

The Royal Commission was never set up. One final parliamentary inquiry was made on 17 March 1936. Naval Lieutenant Commander Reginald Fletcher ‘asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that 30 years ago certain German officers cut off the head of an African chief named Mkwawa and sent the skull to Europe, and that the Treaty of Versailles provided for the handing over of the skull to His Majesty’s Government, within six months, for restoration to Tanganyika’. Fletcher’s more graphic language revealed a deeper emotional connection to the topic, particularly compared to Williams’ questioning in 1930 when he would not even mention Mkwawa nor the topic of decapitation. Perhaps as a veteran during the First World War, Fletcher held stronger anti-German views and invested himself in the repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull. This can be seen in his use of

the phrase ‘German officers cut off the head’, which echoed Byatt’s letter that ‘the Germans considered it a proper act to decapitate his body and send the head as a trophy to Berlin’. That Fletcher viewed repatriation as the end result of article 246 sets him apart from many of the other parliamentarians and indeed the plenipotentiaries in Paris. Article 246 was created for colonial control. The skull was intended to be to ‘handed over to Britain’, where it most likely would have remained. Fletcher, however, added a subsequent line to the treaty text, where he stated the skull was to be handed over to Britain within six months ‘for restoration to Tanganyika’. By reciting the treaty text verbatim but then adding in that the intention was to repatriate, Fletcher illustrated the mid-1930s reinterpretation of article 246 to be a claim of repatriation. This was shown again when he asked whether the obligations under article 246 had been undertaken, and if not, what course of action the Secretary of State for the Colonies would take ‘to secure the restoration of the skull to Tanganyika’. Unfortunately, the response was the same as in 1933: ‘In spite of repeated investigations on the part of the German Government, the present whereabouts of this relic has not been traced’. The British Government ‘do not propose to pursue the matter further’.

Reflecting on these 1920s through 1930s debates in 1953, Governor Twining, in a letter to his mother, wrote ‘The London authorities...were not very interested and the Tanganyika ones did not persist’. The 1921, 1930, 1933, and 1936 debates, however, do show a considerable push by MPs to force Germany to return Mkwawa’s skull. Byatt can be credited with inserting a call for repatriation into the Treaty of Versailles. Furthermore, he stressed that the purpose of claiming Mkwawa’s head was to give it to the Wahehe for burial in Uhehe. Subsequent Tanganyika governors did not ask the Foreign Office to pursue Mkwawa’s skull. From his standpoint, Twining sought to give himself full credit for fulfilling the obligation of article 246. By the time Twining was writing, Churchill had become one

550 HC Deb, 17 March 1936, Vol. 310, c236.
551 Quoted in Bates, Gust of Plumes, 246.
of the most famous PMs in British history. Twining, therefore, directed the blame toward Churchill in 1933, telling his mother that ‘Finally, a man named Winston Churchill who was Secretary of State wrote and said the matter had been dropped’.  

Further attempts to contact Germany conveniently ended in 1930. The debate in 1933 showed a refusal by the Foreign Affairs secretary to make further inquiries. Shrewdly perhaps, as by 1933 the Nazi Party had taken control of the German government on a platform to overturn all edicts of the Treaty of Versailles. The British government, however, may have also felt enough time had passed to allow the issue of Mkwawa’s skull to be shelved. Williams’ questioning that the Wahehe have stayed cooperative with the British colonial administration revealed colonial anxiety over control and the tenuous grasp British MPs felt they had over the administration in East Africa. This can also be seen within the Colonial Office at the same time.

In 1932 the Colonial Office received a letter from a German citizen. He had recently come into possession of a skull from East Africa and was interested in assisting the British complete their claim in article 246. The above Parliamentary debates showed that the British had made three attempts to push Germany to find Mkwawa’s head. The reason MP Williams specifically mentioned that Churchill should be part of a royal commission was due to Churchill being in charge of these investigations. On 22 August 1921 he contacted the German government over article 246. Thirteen years later, on 25 January 1932, Mr. W. Henschel of Flensburg, Germany made contact with the British colonial administration in Dar es Salaam. His letter straddled a tone of a threat masked as good intentions. He claimed that along with a person called Simonsen, the two of them had found a family ‘in possession…of an embalmed head of a Negro, which was brought from German East

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553 ‘Letter from Government House, Dar es Salaam to Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Secretary of State for the Colonies’, 23 February 1932, CO 691/124/2/10, TNA.
Africa by a German Naval Officer during the World War’. There was no shortage of heads collected in Africa. Henschel’s letter does not state when this head would have been collected. That the head was embalmed suggested it was taken prior to the First World War for Vichow’s anthropological collections. Still, it could have been a souvenir taken by a German soldier at any point prior to 1918. Henschel, however, insists that ‘there is substantial certainty that this is the head of Sultan Mkwawa referred to in Article 246, Part 7, Section II, Special Provisions of the Treaty of Peace’. Henschel’s letter does not list what led him to believe this head is Mkwawa’s. He intended only to pique interest and curiosity to turn a profit. His motivation is revealed in the final paragraph, where he asks if ‘the British Government have any interest in acquiring, that is to say, purchasing, the skull’. It appears that either Henschel heard of British inquiries to find Mkwawa’s skull and spent some years finding one, or recently came across a trophy head in a family collection and sought to profit by selling it to the British. If the latter, it would seem that the article 246 was well known in Germany in the post-war period. If the former, the British government’s inquiries may have seeped out to the German public and would explain the Foreign Affairs secretary’s hesitation in continuing investigations into Mkwawa’s skull, as shown in the Parliamentary debate of 1933. Henschel’s motivation for profiting from the head trade is further revealed through what comes across as a threat to use the head to create colonial animosity among the Wahehe. In concluding his letter, Henschel states that if the British government will not purchase this head from him, he would ‘negotiate directly with the tribe concerned’ and asks if

555 ‘Henschel to British Government, Dar es Salaam’, 25 Jan 1932, CO 691/124/2/13, TNA. Henschel uses the term ‘Sultans Makaua’, showing that he may not have consulted Magdalene’s diary for details about Mkwawa’s head, as she consistently used ‘Qwawa’. He may, however, have adopted the spelling he thought would best resonate with a British reader. In the original German letter, Henschel mistakes the section where article 246 appeared in the treaty, and the British translator corrects it with ‘Part 7 (VII?)’.

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the British government would tell him ‘the exact address and…a description of the head’.

Henschel’s use of the term ‘head’ at the end of his letter rather than ‘skull’ was evidence that the trophy head he possessed had not been defleshed and still had facial features. This is underscored by his request for a description of Mkwawa, an odd request to make considering he opened his letter stating he had ‘substantial certainty’ that this was Mkwawa. Instead, Henschel’s letter suggested that should the British not purchase this head, he would write to the Wahehe directly, threatening to stir up past colonial injustices. He revealed, however, that he knew little of Mkwawa aside from the treaty text. Had he read Magdalene’s published diary, he would have had the further details of Mkwawa being chief of the Wahehe and would have also known of the bullet wound. It is thus likely that the information of Mkwawa’s head came to Henschel strictly through British enquiries, with the Princes removed from the narrative and the skull transformed into a historical ‘relic’.

**Colonial Pro-German Anxiety**

It is unknown what reply, if any, Henschel received from Britain. His revelation that he did not know who to contact in Tanganyika perhaps made his letter less threatening. Further, the colonial government in Tanganyika stated that ‘this government does not now attach much importance to the question of Mkwawa’s skull’, showing that in the 1930s, after Byatt’s departure as governor, claims of repatriation and fostering relations between the Wahehe and the British administration were given low priority. This would further explain why the parliamentary debates above failed to gather traction within Tanganyika. Henschel’s threat, however, revealed British anxieties over total control within the colony. Writing to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Tanganyika government stated ‘it would be unfortunate if Herr Henschel and his friends were to open direct

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558 ‘Government House to Secretary of State for the Colonies’, 23 Feb 1932, CO 691/124/2/10, TNA.
negotiations with Sultan Sapi, the Head Chief of the Wahehe, which they are likely to do sooner or later through some German settler’. The Tanganyika authorities were confident that Henschel had not found Mkwawa’s head, stating that ‘it seems probable that the skull mentioned in Herr Henschel’s letter is not that of the late Sultan Mkwawa’. Yet the British colonial government worried of ‘the possibility of direct communications with the Wahehe’. They recommended that Henschel’s letter be given ‘to the German Government for verification’, but not to fulfil the repatriation request. The colonial administration only wanted to be ‘in possession of authoritative information in the event of the question being raised by the tribe’. This underscored that Mkwawa’s head remained entrenched in the 1930s within the same 1919 formation of article 246; it was a tool for colonial control. Even in the absence of the actual head, the British wanted to be able to control the flow of information regarding it. It also showed that the colonial government had no intention of contacting the Wahehe and only wanted to be equipped should the Wahehe once more push for a return of Mkwawa’s head.

The British Embassy in Berlin contacted the German government, where Henschel’s claim seemed to have collapsed. According to German authorities, they had ‘entirely failed to establish where the skull referred to by Herr Henschel actually [was] and whether it is in Germany at all’.559 Germany investigated Henschel’s claim and contacted the British to state that Henschel ‘would not name the owner of the embalmed negro head which he alleged that he had seen’.560 German investigators doubted Henschel’s statement that he had any skulls in his possession and concluded that even if he was in contact with a family that brought a trophy head from East Africa, ‘the skull in question is without doubt...not that of Mkwawa, which is supposed to have been skeletonised, but not embalmed’. It was concluded that ‘Herr Henschel has invented his story for the purpose of self-advertisement

559 ‘Letter from British Embassy, Berlin, to Central Department, Foreign Office’, 16 November 1932, CO 691/124/2, TNA.
560 ‘Letter from Ministry for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty’s Embassy, Berlin’, 26 November 1932, CO 691/124/2, TNA.
with, possibly, the idea of making some money out of it’. Postwar anti-German sentiment still lingered within British communications. The British Embassy suggested that ‘it is of course possible that the German Government have made no very serious effort either to find out what truth there is in the story or to trace the skull’. The final line of this sentence could reflect on both perceived attempts from Britain’s perspective that Germany had not investigated this particular head mentioned by Henschel as well as the overall lack of German efforts to locate Mkwawa’s head under article 246.

One of the more striking elements exhibited in government correspondences over article 246 and Mkwawa’s head during the 1930s is the Tanganyika colonial government’s refusal to fully participate. The MPs levelled questions regarding Germany’s inactions as obligated under article 246, and were met with repeated answers that the skull had been buried in East Africa. Byatt left East Africa in 1922, becoming governor of Trinidad in 1924 and dying in 1933. Other Tanganyika governors did not rule with the same sympathy toward article 246. This was seen when Henschel attempted to sell them a head The colonial government’s response was that it ‘does not now attach much importance to...Mkwawa’s skull’. They only wished to have enough information to defend themselves should the Germans manage to contact Mkwawa’s son and the Wahehe. The records of the House of Common’s discussions also show little enthusiasm by Tanganyika authorities to prove if Mkwawa’s skull had ever been taken. The Germans were poised to become allies with the Wahehe vis-à-vis returning Mkwawa’s skull themselves. The Wahehe had always claimed the head was missing and may have pushed Byatt to write to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918. They would have continued to seek the return of Mkwawa’s head. The lack of any correspondences regarding Mkwawa or article 246 coming from Tanganyika suggested a lack of sympathy and interest by the colonial administration.

561 ‘British Embassy Berlin, to Foreign Office’, 16 Nov 1932, CO 691/124/2, TNA.
While Byatt championed the repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull, he was also staunchly anti-German. This underwrote his desire to force Germany to return Mkwawa’s head. In the early 1920s, Byatt refused entry to Swiss missionaries into East Africa, claiming they were a ‘Bavarian Society’ with ties to Germany. As the colonial administrator of an occupied territory, Britain sought to create a straightforward transition from a First World War battleground to peacetime civilian administered colony, while also using policies ‘to strengthen British rule over the territory by eliminating German influences’. A British cotton plantation owner from Uganda met with Byatt in the summer of 1920, urging him to ‘not rush matters of unrestricted European immigration. This is a native country and if run on Uganda lines will be on its legs in a very short time’. Byatt shared these sentiments and allegedly said he was basing his administration policies on ‘what one may call the “native industry” foundation’. In a countering letter, British settler Henry Turnbull used his political connections to influence government policy. Turnbull sought to end the repatriation of German settlers out of East Africa, as it eroded white authority. ‘We have driven the Germans out of this country and all their plantations are going to ruin’, he wrote. ‘The natives are losing all respect for the white man, do what they wish, work or don’t work as it pleases them and to cap it all they are becoming insolent’. In a prophetic assessment, Turnbull felt that the British colonial ‘policy in this country has been wrong from the beginning and [one] day will have to admit it…Poor old England, some how she blundered through the war.

562 ‘Letter from Byatt to Colonial Office’, 8 January 1919, CO 691/21, TNA.
564 Letter from Humphrey Leggett to Lieut. Colonel L.C. Amery, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies’, 10 July 1920, PRO 30/30/17, UKPA.
565 Leggett later defined this policy as ‘the cultivation of the crop by the natives on their own land, entirely as free agents, except so far as technical regulations may be necessary to protect the growers themselves…the right of the native grower to sell his product for his own account in a free and open market, so that he should secure the fullest economic price’. His colonial leanings, however, are revealed in his statement that growing cotton in Tanganyika will increase the ‘prosperity of this country, its considerable native population, and its potentiality to supply quantities of an article essential to the white races that are charged with the trust of administering tropical Africa’. ‘Letter from Humphrey Leggett to Horace Byatt’, 10 July 1920, PRO 30/30/17, UKPA.
and won it, but she does not seem to have learned any lesson; in that respect the war seems to have been fought and won in vain’. Turnbull offered an alternative to Byatt’s colonial policy. ‘We should have mustered all the land-owners and farmers’ he wrote, ‘explained to them that the country was lost...[and] would never be given back to Germany, therefore those [Germans] who wished to become Africanders and would swear allegiance to whatever Government...took charge of the administration...go back to their farms and plantations and get on with their work’. While Turnbull viewed the policy under the lens of financial loss and lack of development, his German sympathies showed an emotional investment, all the more remarkable just two years after the end of the war. Seeing the deportation of German settlers from East Africa, Turnbull wrote ‘we have turned all these people...out of the Country...many of whom have been here for a quarter of a century and have families born and grown up in the country, youths who have never seen Germany’. Turnbull defended his statement saying that it might sound as if he is ‘being pro-German, but that is not the case, if anything I am ultra pro-English’. Like Milner, Turnbull’s race patriotism was his desire ‘to see this Country justify its having been placed under British rule. I feel that England’s honour is my honour and I think we are honour bound to justify our presence here’. Chastising Byatt’s policies, Turnbull felt the current administration policy was one ‘governed by an uncontrollable hate’, an ironic statement when contrasted with his views on the ‘insolent natives’. Byatt’s foundation of Tanganyika’s colonial policies shifted as time distanced the First World War, and by the 1930s a large number of German settlers had returned to East Africa. By early 1939, however, Anglo-German antagonism within the colonial setting corresponded with the hostility between Britain and Nazi Germany in Europe.

In August 1939 riots broke out in the Tanganyika. In the Tanga province, a dock strike turned into a general strike. When police and colonial soldiers moved on

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566 ‘Letter from Henry Turnbull to Lord de Ramsey’, 5 July 1920, PRO 30/30/17, UKPA.
567 ‘Turnbull to Ramsey’, 5 July 1920, PRO 30/30/17, UKPA.
the workers, a riot broke out. Colonial police and *askari* beat the strikers with batons and rifle butts and arrested workers. The rioters, arming themselves with clubs, stormed the prison and freed the detained workers. Remembered as *Vita ya Mironge* (‘war of clubs’) in Tanzanian oral history, the strike in Tanga was connected to worker strikes in Dar es Salaam and across the border in Mombasa, organising workers across the same networks that maintained the flow of colonial commerce. Colonial anxiety was further exasperated when rumours broke out that the rioters had declared their sympathy for Germans in Tanganyika and for Adolf Hitler.

Under increased German and British animosity in Tanganyika, a letter was sent to Tanga Provincial Commissioner from the German Consul attempting to address the rumours. The letter stated ‘we Germans most emphatically refuse to have anything to do with the natives concerned and have no friendly feelings or sympathy with any native who may have…expressed their sympathy with Germans and even for the German leader’. The German Consul distanced itself, stating ‘we do not want to have anything in common with natives, especially with the ring-leaders of the rioters’. This was an attempt placate British fears that Germany was supporting native revolts. The German Consul expressed racial solidarity with the British, claiming ‘never would we, as white men living in East Africa, act together with natives against Englishmen or any other European race. We protest that the opinion we could do so is spread about in the country either by Englishmen, other Europeans or natives’. Representing the German community, the Counsel sought to offer an alliance with Britain while the nations moved toward war, based on uniting white races. Attempting to cast the riot as an attack not only against the British colonial state, but ‘against all Europeans’, the German Counsel said ‘it is our

569 Frederick Cooper, ‘Dockworkers and Labour History’, *Dock Workers*, 530.
570 ‘Letter from E. von Brandis to Provincial Commissioner, Tanga’, 11 August 1939, CO 691/174/54, TNA.
571 Brandis to Provincial Commissioner’, 11 Aug 1939, CO 691/174/54, TNA.
opinion that in cases like this Europeans should stand together’. It was a colonial discourse akin to one of Milner’s 1913 speeches of race patriotism.

The 1939 Tanga riot offered a critical glimpse of the fragility of British colonial rule. The spread of rumours and the sense of a divide and rule tactic being driven between German and English settlers in East Africa added localised tension to the outset of the Second World War. Rumours that the riots were organised by union workers in Mombasa compounded with rumours that they supported German rule over British colonialism. These anxieties underscore the lack of interest Tanganyika administrators gave to Mkwawa’s head in the years shortly after the creation of article 246, when contrasted against the considerable efforts Governor Twining invested in finding Mkwawa’s head in the 1950s. The anxiety over Indigenous support of Germany is exemplified in the stripping of Mkwawa’s son of his chieftaincy and the installation of Mkwawa’s grandson as the new chief of the Wahehe.

**Deposing the Chief**

In June 1940 an enquiry was held against Sapi Mkwawa for treasonous remarks he made against the British Empire. His trial revealed the perceived fragility of British control. The colonial administrators felt the southern highland and the Tanganyika colony in general were at risk of falling back into German control during the Second World War. The enquiry against Sapi Mkwawa was set against a historical narrative of Mkwawa’s leadership. This narrative cast Britain into Germany’s role and panic over the potential rebellion of the Wahehe underpinned a desire to remove Sapi Mkwawa from power.

Sapi is the son of the famous Chief Mkwawa, who caused so much trouble to the Germans in the 1890’s. For years the Wahehe had been the terror of the country, and after the defeat of von Zelewski in 1891 they came to be regarded as almost invincible, and Mkwawa, their principal Chief, enjoyed a reputation which ascribed to him powers supernatural. For the sake of their prestige the Germans took punitive action against the tribe in 1894, and eventually

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572 Brandis to Provincial Commissioner’, 11 Aug 1939, CO 691/174/54, TNA.
succeeded in effecting their subjugation. Mkwawa, however, escaped and maintained a constant guerrilla war against the Germans, and was not taken until 1898. He was not, however, captured alive, but was discovered by a German N.C.O, who had been guided to the spot by Mkwawa’s boy (servant, I assume, not son). It is said that he was decapitated by the Germans and his skull sent to Germany. Provision was inserted in the terms of the Treaty of Versailles for the return of the skull to the Wahehe, but although it was alleged to have been placed in a German museum, the skull has not in fact been traced. The tribe were regarded by the Germans as brave and chivalrous men.573

The summary is further proof the British admired the martial characteristics and noble savagery of the Wahehe. A downgrading of status has also been put onto Mkwawa in this report. He is no longer referred to as ‘sultan’. Interestingly, the date of Mkwawa’s death has been correctly stated as 1898. It is unlikely this report used the Iringa District Book or Nigmann’s translated text, both of which stated Mkwawa killed himself in 1899. This history was instead based on a combination of Magdalene’s diary and Merkl’s report. The parenthetical questioning of ‘Mkwawa’s boy’ not meaning his son, the reputation of supernatural powers given to Mkwawa, and the acknowledgement of the failed von Zelewski expedition all suggest a reading of Magdalene’s diary, which also featured a transcription of Merkl’s report. The author of this text adheres to Byatt’s original intention of the skull being repatriated, not the actual wording of article 246 in the Treaty text. The narrative underscored the anticolonial danger the Wahehe presented through their protracted guerrilla war. Mkwawa’s suicide is oddly obscured in this telling, amending it to the passive ‘he was not, however captured alive’, which reads more like Mkwawa was executed by Merkl through decapitation.

‘It is with considerable regret’, the report continued, ‘that one learns that the son of such a distinguished Chief is nothing but a drunken sot, and had brought disgrace on the name of his father’. The case against Sapi Mkwawa demonstrated the ways Britain enacted indirect rule over the southern highlands while revealing

573 Insert to file ‘Sapi Mkwawa: Chief of the Hehe’, CO 691/180, TNA. Parenthetical in original.
colonial anxiety and the compounding nature of wartime conditions which reignited fears of a Wahehe rebellion allied now allied with Nazi Germany. Mkwawa’s historical legacy informed British perspectives on Sapi Mkwawa and the Wahehe. By 1940, it is unlikely colonial administrators would have held Mkwawa in such reverence had Mkwawa’s head not been taken, had Byatt and Milner not helped create article 246, and had there not been a need to recreate the narrative of Mkwawa’s history in order contrast his leadership to his son’s. Sapi Mkwawa was deposed and deported as a reminder to the Wahehe of what Germany had done to his father. It was a colonial attempt to fracture any Wahehe-German alliance.

As shown above, the Tanganyika authorities feared German connections still upheld in the colony. When Henschel contacted the British government to sell a head he alleged to be Mkwawa’s, the Tanganyika governor worried Henschel may contact the Wahehe through German settlers intermediaries. During the 1939 Tanga strikes, tensions increased between Britain and Germany based on rumours that the natives of East Africa preferred German rule, with German settlers perhaps acting as provocateurs. This historical context frames the reason why Sapi Mkwawa was quickly and publicly punished. There is a sense from the official documents that locally the colonial administration felt Sapi Mkwawa could remain chief of the Wahehe, and that the decision to strip him of status was imposed by officials higher up in British command. For example, dispatches mentioned taking Sapi Mkwawa’s King’s Medal for Native Chiefs, award to Sapi Mkwawa in 1936. These were awards given to chiefs ‘in recognition of exceptional zeal and loyalty’ to the crown. From the perspective of the Tanganyika governor, that medal was to remain in Dar es Salaam ‘for so long as there remains a possibility of its restoration to the former holder’. This shows Governor Young believed Sapi Mkwawa could be redeemed. Though he may have lost his position as chief, he could still be rewarded for loyalty.

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575 ‘Letter from Mark Aitchinson Young, Governor, to Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, Secretary of State for the Colonies’, 13 August 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
It may have been Young’s intention to keep the medal as a token of control over Sapi Mkwawa, a microexpression of what bringing Mkwawa’s head back to the colony may have accomplished in the British 1920s and 1930s viewpoint. The Secretary of the Colonies, however, insisted the medal should ‘be returned to me for reconditioning and re-issue’, potentially to other chiefs across the British Empire.\footnote{‘Letter from Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Young’, 10 July 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.}

Fear of the Wahehe rebelling without firm and loyal leadership can also be seen in the colonial administration’s decision to immediately replace Sapi Mkwawa with his son, Adam Sapi. The colonial administration contrasted Sapi Mkwawa’s behaviour with a motif of shame. The Secretary of State wrote of Mkwawa being ‘a distinguished Chief’ and viewed, with ‘considerable regret’, ‘the degeneration of the son of so distinguished a chief of Mkwawa’. The eugenics terminology of degeneration combined with the dropping the term ‘sultan’ for the Mkwawa lineage. The British government stripped away Sapi Mkwawa’s status markers in light of his misbehaviour. The British needed to maintain the Mkwawa linage but remove Sapi Mkwawa, whom they viewed as corrupted by Germany and degenerate due to his being ‘sent to Germany by the German administration’ and having ‘spent many of his most impressionable years in that country’.\footnote{‘Young to Lloyd of Dolobran’, 20 May 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.} Mkwawa’s grandson could thus continue the Mkwawa legacy while being young enough to be shaped under British guidance.

Adam Sapi was attending university in Makerere, Uganda, when his father was stripped of his chieftaincy. The colonial governor wanted the Wahehe to rule using sub-chiefs until Adam Sapi finished schooling, as he deemed British education a critical component for indirect rule. He wrote, ‘I had hoped that the new chief Adam…would be able to go back to Makerere to continue his studies this month’. He noted that he attempted to show the Wahehe the advantages of Adam Sapi’s education and that ‘Chief Adam himself was anxious to continue his studies…it may
still be possible to arrange for him to resume them after the lapse of a few months’.

The British desire for Adam Sapi to continue his education was overridden, they claimed, by the Wahehe demand that Adam Sapi stay in the southern highlands and assume the role of paramount chief immediately. This also aligned with the opinion of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. Perhaps Governor Young reported that ‘popular opinion [was] very strongly in favour of [Adam Sapi] remaining at Iringa’, to appease London, particularly in light of their paranoia of insurrection and pro-German sentiment in Tanganyika.

Sapi Mkwawa was deposed due to drunkenness. Using this charge of drunken behaviour was an attempt to lessen the impact and publicity of the statements Sapi Mkwawa had made. It avoided the publicity and colonial embarrassment a charge of treason would have created at a time of war with Germany. The governor reported that on 17 April 1940 Sapi Mkwawa was observed ‘in a drunken condition in the neighbourhood of the Administrative Offices in Iringa’. Issues of control are at the core of the case of Sapi Mkwawa. The issue of him being drunk was that it occurred in public and within the vicinity of the colonial office of the southern highlands. The district officer worried that ‘there were numerous natives present’ and ordered Sapi Mkwawa to return home. This was a performance of authority. Sapi Mkwawa became enraged and made ‘several highly treasonable statements’ which ‘took place in public’.

The issue was that this ‘incident had received wide local publicity’, forcing the British administration to react to show it still retained control.

In the report by the district officer who first confronted Sapi Mkwawa, he told Sapi Mkwawa that he was ‘behaving disgustingly’. He challenged Sapi Mkwawa for violating British sensibilities of gentlemanly behaviour. To this Sapi Mkwawa

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578 ‘Governor to Sec of State’, 13 Aug 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
579 The trope of sons of noble chiefs being seen as drunkards in British colonial settings has a well-established historiography. See, for example, Shula Marks, ‘The Drunken King and the Nature of the State’, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal*, ed. Shula Marks (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986), 15-41.
580 ‘Young to Lloyd of Dolobran’, 20 May 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
581 ‘Governor to Sec of State’, 20 May 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
‘became extremely abusive and said that he was not drunk and that if I wanted to quarrel with him he was ready to quarrel with me’. Sapi Mkwawa used the legacy of Mkwawa and his connection to his father in order to threaten the British administration. The district officer was told that Sapi Mkwawa ‘was a Hehe and his father was Mkwawa, and that I knew what that meant’. Forty-two years after his death, the narrative of Mkwawa as a fighter allowed Sapi Mkwawa to connect himself to a martial legacy of anticolonial resistance. Posted in Iringa, this colonial administrator would have been familiar with the exploits of Mkwawa and his war against Germany. He would have also known about Mkwawa’s missing head and the failed quest to have it repatriated. During his argument with the district officer, Sapi Mkwawa used his father’s narrative to show that he ‘was not afraid of any European as the Hehe could fight’. When ordered to leave the office, Sapi Mkwawa refused, stating ‘no one could give him orders’. The history of Mkwawa and Britain’s inability to force Germany to return the head threatened their control over the Wahehe. Colonial anxiety centred on fears of widespread insurrection movements and the rebellious nature of the Wahehe. Indeed, Byatt’s letter in 1918 supported this, seeking Mkwawa’s skull not just to placate any potential hostilities between the British state and the Wahehe, but that it would be ‘appreciated throughout the country more generally’. The return of Mkwawa’s head was seen as a chance to show, as Byatt expressed, that German influence and control over the colony had been truly defeated. The failure to locate Mkwawa’s head allowed Mkwawa’s legacy became a source of anticolonial renewal. As Byatt had predicted, the British were ruling East Africa but unable to fully impose the notion that Germany had been truly defeated.

Sapi Mkwawa’s drunken statements show the way he bridged German and British rule, both in his life history and in the way he challenged authority. He used the authority of being Mkwawa’s son to show his martial prowess as a Wahehe.

582 ‘Written Report by Mr. I.L. Robinson, District Officer, Iringa’, undated, CO 691/180, TNA. 180
leader and heir to Mkwawa’s resistance movements. Sapi Mkwawa, however, also tapped into his upbringing in Germany. During his outburst in front of the Iringa Administration Office, Sapi Mkwawa used insults in both German and Kiswahili. Sapi Mkwawa called the colonial officer a ‘Verfluchthund’ (filthy dog) and shouted ‘Hawa ni washenzi tu’ (They [the British] are nothing but savages). 583 Another observer quoted Sapi Mkwawa saying ‘these officers are shenzis (barbarians)’. 584 Sapi Mkwawa weaponised phrases of colonial humiliation to other British rule.

While insulting the colonial state and its agents caused the district administrator to ‘find it extremely difficult to keep [his] temper’, it was not the drunken outbursts that outraged the Colonial Office. Instead, grounds to depose Sapi Mkwawa were based upon treasonous statements he made prior to this drunken outburst. One witness characterised as being ‘very frightened and asked that his name should not be disclosed’ was reported to ‘undoubtedly know a great deal more than he has stated’. It was believed that ‘it should be possible to get more information from him at a later date…possibly when Chief Sapi is absent from the District’. 585 The transcription of these interviews showed an intention to build a case of treason around Sapi Mkwawa. A witness was pressed to reveal ‘I have heard many times Chief Sapi say in the Court House at Kalenga that the British would soon leave and the Germans would return to rule in this country’. Another witness claimed on the day of Sapi Mkwawa’s confrontation with the district officer, he yelled ‘if it should happen that the Germans should capture Dar es Salaam, I also would try (to do) what I could against the English, I would try to kill the English who are here’. 586 In the doorway of the district office, Sapi Mkwawa was claimed to

583 ‘Statement Taken On Oath by the Assistant District Officer, Iringa, From Abdulrasul Patehani (Baluchi), Islam, Duly Affirmed’, undated, CO 691/180, TNA. Translations given in parentheses are the original translations transcribed in the documents.

584 ‘Statement Taken on Oath by the Assistant District Officer, Iringa, From Nayela s/o Ngasesea, Native Treasury Messenger’, undated, CO 691/180, TNA. Translation mine.

585 ‘Note by Assistant District Officer’, Nayela s/o Ngasesea, CO 691/180, TNA.

586 ‘Statement Taken on Oath by the Assistant District Officer, Iringa, From Henry Paul, Public Works Department Clerk, Christian’, undated, CO 691/180, TNA. Sapi Mkwawa’s quote was recorded in Kiswahili: ‘Ingekuwa kama Wadachi wamekamata Dar es Salaam name ningejaribu kadiri niwezavyo kwa Waingereza, ningejaribu kuwaua Waingereza waliwa hap’. Translated in original.
have said ‘this is my country. I recognise no European whoever he may be’ and in response to his claim ‘if the Germans take Dar es Salaam I will take Iringa’, the witness clarified ‘I understood this to mean that he would act as an ally of the Germans’. These accounts show increased animosity between Sapi Mkwawa and the British administrators coming to a head in 1940 during his most public outburst. The historical context of Germany’s invasion of Western Europe and the Dunkirk evacuation occurring at the same time underscore increased tensions.

Sapi Mkwawa was awarded the King’s Medal in 1936. Changes in administrative policy during the 1930s may have caused Sapi Mkwawa to resent British rule. The Second World War equally presented an opportunity for the British to cast Sapi Mkwawa as a potential threat by playing upon anti-German sentiment. When Sapi Mkwawa was appointed chief under Byatt, he was presented as an ideal ‘native administrator’ during the transition from German to British control. Sapi Mkwawa, however, had been brought back from Germany on the eve of the First World War to act as the paramount chief of Uhehe under German command. Sapi Mkwawa had always played both sides. He may have slowly become disillusioned with the British, he may have maintained an affinity for Germany during his upbringing, or he may have felt that by 1940 it seemed clear Germany would defeat Britain. Oral history accounts of the Wahehe tell of Sapi Mkwawa wearing his old German colonial uniform when he would come to the British district office to collect payments during this time.  

Sapi Mkwawa’s treasonous behaviour was framed under the notion that Sapi Mkwawa was drunk. It is recorded in every witness statement, mentioned by the district officer, the Tanganyika governor, the first reaction from the Secretary of State for the Colonies upon hearing of the disturbance was to mourn that the legendary

587 ‘Statement Taken on Oath by the Assistant District Officer, Iringa, From Tambatamba s/o Mubanga, Christian, Head Messenger’, undated, CO 691/180, TNA.
Mkwawa had produced ‘a drunken sot’ for a son.\textsuperscript{589} Sapi Mkwawa himself also confirmed that he made these statements whilst drunk. When he entered the district offices a fortnight later to be deposed, a very subdued Sapi Mkwawa stated ‘my Provincial Commissioner, I agree to everything that has been said. That I have done wrong and have spoilt myself I cannot deny. I only ask you to judge my case, as a drunken man cannot remember what he has said’.\textsuperscript{590} When confronted with witnesses, Sapi Mkwawa repeated the line ‘I do not remember because I was drunk’. As Allison Shutt noted, excusing insolent behaviour with claims of drunkenness was a common defence in colonial eastern and southern Africa. ‘Though this never exonerated a defendant’, she wrote, it could ‘result in a reduced sentence on appeal’.\textsuperscript{591} The transcription of Sapi Mkwawa two weeks after his public remarks against Britain elucidated Sapi Mkwawa’s attempt to maintain a livelihood after losing his chiefly status. He had been informed that the Governor ‘intended to make a Deportation Order against him’ and would be exiled from the southern highlands. He was sent to the northern border of the colony to Mwanza, at the shore of Lake Victoria. This was ‘in accordance with his own request that he should not be required to live on the coast’.\textsuperscript{592} In 1899 Dr Stierling predicted Sapi Mkwawa would be sent to the coast ‘where the hot, unhealthy climate [would] carry him off’.\textsuperscript{593} Instead, a repented Sapi Mkwawa was given ‘a monthly allowance of 120’ East African shillings (£320 GBP in 2019 value), ‘subject to good behaviour’. His changed behaviour can be seen reflected in subsequent meetings with the district commissioner. When confronted over his pro-German statements, Sapi Mkwawa remarked that ‘the British had put him into power how could he make such a statement?’\textsuperscript{594}

\textsuperscript{589} Insert to file ‘Sapi Mkwawa: Chief of the Hehe’, CO 691/180, TNA.
\textsuperscript{590} ‘Memorandum Dealing with the Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 29 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
\textsuperscript{591} Shutt, "The Natives are Getting Out of Hand", 665n89.
\textsuperscript{592} ‘Governor to Sec of State’, 20 May 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
\textsuperscript{594} ‘Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 29 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
Yet there were moments in the reports that signalled the colonial administration questioned the extent to which drunkenness explained Sapi Mkwawa’s behaviour. When confronted by one witness, in an interview conducted in Swahili, ‘the Chief denied the statement, saying it was all lies...From his attitude and the questions he put to the messenger, it was obvious that he had not altogether forgotten some of the things he had said and done on the 17th April’. Later in the interview, Sapi Mkwawa defended his reign as chief, arguing that he ‘is a good Chief and that [the Wahehe] would never find a better chief’. He said that ‘even white men often got drunk and that they also had enemies’. He told the British provincial commissioner that even the British colonial administration ‘has many enemies who want to “hunt”’ them. Sapi Mkwawa’s use of the term ‘hunt’, carried significance. It is reminiscent of the German punitive expedition that hunted Mkwawa from 1896 until his suicide in 1898. It also aligns with the collection of heads as trophies under discourses of hunting. Both interpretations bring the spectre of Mkwawa into this conversation between his son and the colonial administration. Finally, Sapi Mkwawa’s mention of the British having enemies referenced the war with the Axis Powers and suggested the need for Britain to have allies within Tanganyika, particularly within the southern highlands and the area around Iringa station where a large population of German settlers resided. Sapi Mkwawa’s comment was reprimanded. The provincial commissioner stated ‘his attitude was somewhat arrogant at this stage and I told him to confine his remarks to answering the statements made on oath’. Nonetheless, it showed an apprehension among British colonial agents regarding their position of power in the Iringa area. That Sapi Mkwawa was able to openly criticise British rule also illuminates the limited grasp the British felt they held over the Wahehe. Governor Young wrote that ‘for some time past Sapi’s administration of the Hehe has been open to grave criticism,

595 ‘Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 29 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
596 Quoted in ‘Memorandum Dealing with the Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 29 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
primarily on account of his excessive drunkenness’. Yet this is the only official punishment given to Sapi Mkwa wa. Furthermore, as Shutt noted, Sapi Mkwa wa’s plea of drunkenness did lessen his punishment. He is removed from the area, similar to the Tom and Magdalene von Prince, invoking a tradition of exiling those who were believed to hold more power over the Wahehe than the colonial administration. An air of colonial paternalism also pervaded the punishment of Sapi Mkwa wa. He was given an ‘allowance’ based on his cooperation and his punishment included stripping away his chiefly title and his silver medal award. He was exiled but Sapi Mkwa wa’s preferences were considered in where to place him. In making his apology, Sapi Mkwa wa played up the role the British colonial system parented in his rule. ‘My Provincial Commissioners and District Officers’, he said during the hearing, ‘have always tried to keep me in a good way and to show me how to rule my people...They have always tried to teach me my work’. It was a calculated and deft from a chief who held power under German and then British colonial rule for more than fifty years. Most shrewdly of all, Sapi Mkwa wa successfully invented or used alcoholism to avoid charges of treason. At the end of his hearing, the district official noted that Sapi Mkwa wa ‘continued to make rambling statements to the effect that even before coming before me...he had had several drinks’ but claimed ‘he was not drunk’.

Adam Sapi became head chief with unanimous approval among the Wahehe sub-chiefs. Documents show that the southern highlands provincial commissioner gathered the sub-chiefs on 30 April 1940 in his office and informed them ‘that His Excellency the Governor had decided to depose Sapi in view of his conduct and disloyalty to the Government’. A performance of power was at play. As historian Jan-Georg Deutsch described it, the ‘indispensable aspect of the making of consent was that the colonial authorities deliberately’ created ‘performances’, filled with

597 ‘Governor to Sec of State’, 20 May 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
598 ‘Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 29 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
599 ‘Memorandum Dealing with the Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 30 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
'cultural ideas and symbols they believed were “African” and which they thought would strongly appeal to the audience’, using local elites to ‘participate in these “performances”, though strictly only as subaltern figures’. Hearing like Sapi Mkwawa’ were established to provide the perception of traditional authority. Hence the inclusion of sub-chiefs at the hearing, but with the colonial office having total control. It is clear that Adam Sapi was already the British government’s choice for a new chief. As a formality, however, they allowed the sub-chiefs to vote on Sapi Mkwawa’s successor. Unsurprisingly, the ‘Sub-Chiefs unanimously chose Adam, Sapi’s son, subject to approval by the Elders’. Adam Sapi was the oldest son of Sapi Mkwawa, but he was a son from Sapi Mkwawa’s third wife. Anticipating further issues of rule in Iringa, the district officer exerted colonial authority. The district officer recorded that he took Musa, Sapi Mkwawa’s other son, aside and ‘warned [him] in the presence of the Sub-Chiefs that he had no claim to the Chiefship and that he must be loyal to Adam’. It was a performative display of authority, blending traditional power with colonial hegemony. Sapi Mkwawa was similarly warned in front of the presence of the sub-chiefs that ‘he must no longer interfere with the Administration of the Hehe in the interests of his own son’. Sapi Mkwawa responded ‘I have nothing to say as I am an old man. I am glad that my son, Adam, is taking my place. It is the same as if I were the Chief’. In a scene reminiscent of Mpangile’s confirmation as sultan by Tom Prince fifty years earlier in Iringa, and also of Mpangile’s hanging, Sapi Mkwawa was stripped of his chieftaincy in a public
ceremony upon a public square and Adam Sapi, in absentia, was appointed the new Wahehe chief. The Provincial Commissioner ‘asked the people whether they had anything to say and one elder stated that the people accepted the decision of the Government and so long as a Mkwawa was made Chief of the Hehe....no signs of dissatisfaction whatsoever were shown’. The commissioner went on to add speculation in the final line of his report. He concluded that ‘the impression I gathered was that all those present were pleased that [Sapi Mkwawa] had been removed from office’.606 It was a statement meant to reassure himself and the British Colonial Office of their decision to depose the chief of the Wahehe and take young Adam Sapi out of university to rule in his place.

In assessing why Sapi Mkwawa’s treasonous behaviour was dealt with in a comparatively lenient sentence, the figure of Mkwawa cast a presence. While not preserved in the colonial records, there is a sense that to have arrested or executed a Mkwawa, particularly at a time of global crisis and wartime contentions, would have risked total rebellion. The British documents show great respect for the legend of Mkwawa and their attempt to explain away Sapi Mkwawa’s behaviour as being influenced by his upbringing in Germany. Adam Sapi, educated under British rule at a British university, provided a way to continue the Mkwawa ruling line under total colonial control. It is a critical appointment in the history of Mkwawa’s head. Adam Sapi was instrumental to the British administration in the decades to follow, and critically, in facilitating the repatriation of a skull back to the southern highlands.

606 ‘Deposing of Chief Sapi of the Hehe’, 30 April 1940, CO 691/180, TNA.
CHAPTER III
CONTROLLING ‘THE SKULL’ IN PUBLIC OPINION

GOVERNOR TWINING’S QUEST
On New Year’s Eve, 1951, the British Foreign Office was sent a letter that opened with the line ‘I am not sure whether you are the most appropriate person in the Foreign Office to deal with the very odd subject of this letter’.607 The dispatch went on to explain that the Colonial Office had received a message from the Governor in Tanganyika that began with a précis of article 246 of the Treaty of Versailles, then stated: ‘It has recently been rumoured that a skull purporting to be Mkwawa’s has come to light in Germany’.608 After giving a one-sentence history about Mkwawa being the ‘grandfather of the present Chief Adam of the Uhehe tribe’ who ‘shot himself in July 1899 rather than surrender to the German forces’, the letter stated that the repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull would not only ‘cause great rejoicing’ but that it ‘would be of considerable political importance’.609 Thus began Governor Edward Twining’s three-year quest to conclude the 1919 repatriation claim for Mkwawa’s skull. In so doing he turned a collected skull into the skull of Mkwawa. It was an exercise in exerting authority. It also began with unintended added importance. In the first draft of this letter, the word ‘local’ was meant to temper the ‘considerable political importance’, qualifying it as pertaining either just to the southern highlands or perhaps the colony.610 It instead came across with urgency, seeing political ramifications that concerned Anglo-German relations and explained the broader impact renewed by the forgotten story of Mkwawa’s head.

Edward Francis Twining, known as Peter, was born the same year he mistakenly believed Mkwawa to have died, 1899. His family are the same Twinings as the tea company, which still operates today. When article 246 was drafted in the

607 ‘Letter from E.L Scott to McC Andrew’, 31 December 1951, CO 822/566/2, TNA.
608 ‘Letter from Bruce Hutt to P. Rogers’, 23 December 1951, CO 822/566/1, TNA.
609 ‘Hutt to P. Rogers’, 23 Dec 1951, CO 822/566/1, TNA.
Paris Peace Conference’s second subcommittee, Twining was serving in Ireland. When MP Bottomley made jokes about comparing Mkwawa’s skull to the heads of the Lloyd George’s coalition, Twining was awarded the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. He served in the King’s African Rifles in Uganda and then stayed on as the assistant district commissioner. When the last attempt at locating Mkwawa’s skull was made in 1939, Edward Twining had just become the director of labour in British Mauritius, the same island where Tom von Prince was born. During his appointment in Mauritius, Twining encountered the British monument to Tom’s father, Thomas Henry Prince. In 1949 Twining became governor of Tanganyika and met Adam Sapi in 1950, whom he later described as ‘a fine, polished specimen of modern Africa’ and ‘a friend of mine’.611

It is unclear how Twining, based in Tanganyika, heard the rumour that a skull that could be Mkwawa’s had been found in 1951 in Germany. The British government had all but forgotten about Mkwawa’s skull and had to ask Twining if he ‘could tell us the source of the rumour and anything else which might give the Control Authorities some clue where to start looking’.612 Twining likely started the rumour himself. It was stated that the Tanganyika government ‘have not been able to trace the source of the rumour...but the Governor thinks that [it] may be...the result of the return to the various museums...all the artifacts which were hidden in the salt mines etc. during the war’.613 Twining also expressed that ‘when next he is in the U.K he would be quite prepared to go to Germany himself to help try and trace it’. In an internal memo, the Foreign Office felt that the replies from Tanganyika ‘doesn’t take us any further’ but hoped that they might find information regarding Mkwawa’s skull by reaching out to ‘museums or well known anthropologists’.614

By July 1952 no new information had been located and the Foreign Office contacted the Office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner in West Germany,

611 Quoted in Bates, A Gust of Plumes, 246.
612 ‘Letter from P. Rogers to B. Hutt’, 1 January 1952, CO 822/566/2, TNA.
613 ‘Letter from B. Hutt to Rogers’, 12 March 1952, CO 822/566/4, TNA.
614 ‘Letter from E.L. Scott to McAndrew’, 26 March 1952, CO 822/566/5, TNA.
saying that the Colonial Officers ‘are anxious to make a reply to the authorities in Tanganyika’. Nearly a year after Twining reported rumours of Mkwawa’s skull being located, the Chancery in West Germany wrote to say there has been no trace of Mkwawa’s skull. The British government’s stance was that ‘we must now abandon hope of recovering the skull from Germany’. It is reminiscent of the same discussions played out in Parliament in the 1920s and 1930s. Once again, the skull could not be located.

There was no indication of how much effort was put into finding Mkwawa’s skull or tracing rumours about it in the 1950s. The German Foreign Officer indicated their belief that Mkwawa’s skull may have been in the collection of ‘Professor Luschen (sic)’ but that it had been ‘sent to the United States about 20 or 30 years ago’. Further research by the German Foreign Office however, later revealed that Felix von Luschan ‘himself tried without success to trace the missing skull’. It is curious that Felix von Luschan looked for Mkwawa’s skull during the war, but was unable to locate it. Von Luschan had Mkwawa’s father’s skull in his collection, as well as, for a time, Mkwawa’s brother’s skull. Wartime conditions limited his ability to contact many research holdings. In 1914 von Luschan and his wife were in Australia and, unable to return to Germany due to the war, immigrated to the neutral United States. The added prestige of article 246 would have made Mkwawa’s skull irresistible to von Luschan in 1919. That he never located it, or never shared that he had found it, is telling. Almost as a consolation, the German government stated that the Museum für Völkerkunde in Bremen has ‘informed the Trustees that there are several skulls there which might fit the description. The Museum authorities have therefore asked whether the skull bears any markings which would serve to identify it. The trustees

615 ‘Letter from S.H. Gellatly to Chancery’, 7 July 1952, CO 822/566, TNA.
616 ‘Letter from Chancery to Gellatly’, 3 December 1952, CO 822/566, TNA.
617 ‘Letter from German Foreign Office to Cultural Relations Division, Wahnerheide’, 7 January 1953, CO 822/566/E13, TNA. Luschan sought out Mkwawa’s skull prior to the drafting of article 246.
would therefore be grateful if you would inform them of any special markings which
would help identify the skull of Chief Mkawawa’.

The developments in the hunt for Mkawawa’s skull reached Twining in
May 1953, when he was already prepared to return to England for a three-month
leave to attend the Queen’s Coronation. In May 1953 Twining was still waiting ‘to
receive information which may assist materially in the identification of Chief
Mkawawa’s skull’. It is clear that at this point in time that Twining had not read
Magdalene’s diary. Adam Sapi may have been Twining’s contact point for all
information regarding Mkawawa’s skull. It appears, however, that Twining was also
attempting to stall for time. He stated that he intended to visit Germany ‘for purely
personal reasons’ at the end of June or early in July ‘and would like, while he is
there, if neither the Foreign Office nor the British authorities in Germany…object, to
help in the search for and identification of the skull’. Twining’s cover story was
that he was researching crown jewels and regalia. It was a plausible story as
Twining had a deep interest in material cultures and royal artefacts of power.

Searches within German holdings, which took over a year, had failed to locate
Mkawawa’s skull. Twining was thus keen to make any skull into Mkawawa’s skull.
His interest in personally intervening and travelling to Germany himself can be set
against micro and macro desires for control. At a personal level, Twining wanted to
be the one who fulfilled a Treaty of Versailles clause. His relationship with Adam
Sapi and his presence of control over the southern highlands would be strengthened
if he could be the one to return Mkawawa to Uhehe. At this point a scheme to grow
peanuts in the southern highland had completely failed. When Twining heard or
created the supposed rumour of the skull being found in Germany, it conveniently

618 Knowing that the skull brought back by Twining had significant damage to the upper right half,
and having the request for special markings repeated twice in as many sentences within this letter
indicates, perhaps, a leading question.
619 ‘Letter from E.L. Scott to Gellatly’, 16 May 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
620 ‘E.L. Scott to Gellatly’, 16 May 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
621 Bates, A Gust of Plumes, 245.
622 Twining authored two books on this subject. See Edward Francis Twining, A History of the Crown
Jewels of Europe (London: B.T. Batsford, 1960), a voluminous tome over 700 pages long, and Edward
overlapped with the formal abandonment of the groundnut project after considerable investment in labour and capital.\textsuperscript{623} Moreover, postwar decolonisation movements were sweeping across colonial Africa.\textsuperscript{624} By the time Twining heard that there were skulls housed in the Bremen museum, the Mau Mau uprising (1952-1960) turned the colony directly north of Twining’s Tanganyika into a full police state.\textsuperscript{625} For Twining in 1953, repatriating Mkawawa’s skull had the potential to quell rebellions, end nationalist movements, and enlist the Wahehe as colonial allies.

By June 1953 arrangements had been made, with no objections, for Twining to visit Bremen ‘for one day’, in the capacity of a private citizen and not a state actor. Furthermore, the UK High Commissioner’s Officer in Germany cautioned that Twining’s visit must be made ‘with the minimum of publicity...as the German press is quite capable of making malicious fun at our expense out of the story’\textsuperscript{626} In the 1920s and early 1930s, Britain pushed the Weimar Republic to return Mkawawa’s head under the dictates of the Treaty of Versailles. While the idea of making further inquiries with the Nazi government and then the Second World War had caused a


\textsuperscript{626} ‘Letter from Gellatly to Scott’, 19 June 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
cessation of searching for Mkwawa’s head, the new post-war context shifted the British government’s position. Anxious not to upset their new Cold War ally, the British Officer in West Germany saw the infamous Treaty of Versailles as a stumbling stone in the relations between the two states. While it supported Twining’s desire to have Mkwawa’s head repatriated, the risk of public media attention had altered Twining’s visit to be a clandestine operation carried out by a British citizen on holiday.

Worried that he would be confronted by a thousand skulls on display, Twining contacted the Bremen museum prior to his visit to ‘arrange that cephalic indexes of the skulls...should be available’. Unfortunately for Twining, several skulls ‘correspond approximately to the cephalic indices of Chief Mkwawa’s skull as shown in German records’. Twining thus had the skulls photographed and the pictures sent to Dar-es-Salaam where Adam Sapi could investigate and make a selection based on one of the heads Twining documented. Once again, Twining working in consultation with Adam Sapi showed a supposed collaboration but one fully in Twining’s control. Twining selected skulls and then sent the limited information back to Adam Sapi. It is preposterous that Adam Sapi would have been able to identify his Grandfather’s skull. Twining’s attempt to control the repatriation process aligned with his desire to bring Adam Sapi and the Wahehe under further British colonial control. Adam Sapi became a collaborator, perhaps unintentionally, in turning this skull into Mkwawa’s skull. British government’s attempt to keep Twining’s stopover in Germany unnoticed, however, was less successful. An association of Hamburg merchants trading in Africa, called the Afrika-Verein read a press report that Sir Edward Twining was in Germany ‘for the purpose of locating a missing piece of property formerly belonging to a paramount chief in Africa’. It is curious phrasing, either echoing Twining’s cover story that he was there to

627 ‘Restricted Memo Addressed to Bremen telegram No. 7 of June 18’, 18 June 1953, 2.00pm, CO 822/566, TNA.
629 ‘Letter to Chancery’, 14 September 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
investigate royal artefacts, or constructed to hint at but avoid direct mention of the Treaty of Versailles. Anxious over publicity, the Foreign Office secretary did not inquire as to how the Afrika-Verein found out about Twining’s visit, and instead commented ‘I presume…that the Afrika Verein is a reputable organisation and would not use the story of the skull to stir up any ancient Anglo-German feuds either here on in East Africa’. Fear of negative publicity continued to underpin the entire repatriation process over the next year.

**Creating Authenticity**

Upon returning to Tanganyika, Twining wrote up a report of Mkwawa’s head. It would serve as the rough draft to the pamphlet he produced in the immediate aftermath of returning a skull to the Wahehe. Of note in this narration are the new details Twining adds to the history of Mkwawa, with crucial phrases parroted by colonial administers. Twining also amended previous errors, such as correcting the date when Mkwawa died, as well as the exact amount of the bounty set on Mkwawa’s head. At the point of his writing this account, Twining had already seen the skulls in Bremen and is writing to provide evidence that he has found the correct skull.

In the report, Twining gave an overview of the Wahehe state formation, with racialised details such ‘the Hehe have Zulu blood in them but it is doubtful whether Sultan Mkwawa came from the same stock’. When he narrated Mkwawa’s suicide, he added the key detail that Mkwawa ‘shot himself in the stomach’. Twining had measured a bullet wound in the skull he selected and wanted to confirm that it was from a German rifle, not Mkwawa’s gun. Mkwawa’s rifle fired German ammunition. Twining was not aware of this and thus needed to have the skull shot by a German rifle, even if it involved creating the odd notion that Mkwawa shot himself in the

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630 ‘Letter from C.F. Hope to The Chancery’, 17 September 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.

631 ‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA.
stomach with a rifle. Thus in this narrative, ‘Sergeant-Major feared a ruse and fired a shot into the Sultan’s head from about 30 yards range’. Twining had gleaned this from either Magdalene’s diary or Merkl’s report, which gave the estimated distance from where Merkl shot at Mkwawa, but Twining added in the detail that Merkl’s shot hit Mkwawa in the head. The head was severed along the same familiar narrative of being cut off to receive the bounty, only in this version, Twining wrote Merkl received ‘his share of the prize money the sum of Rs. 3400’, a number seemingly invented by Twining.

The newer details emerge further in Twining’s revised history of Mkwawa’s head. In this new account, the head was passed from Tom von Prince to the Iringa hospital, ‘where the doctor in charge had it “dried”’, not placed in alcohol as previous accounts suggested. Twining found a skull rather than a preserved severed head and was unable to imagine it being defleshed in an era more recent than the turn of the twentieth century. This point also reinforced previous claims of the head being skeletonised when Henschel attempted to sell a preserved severed head to the British. In a letter to the Colonial Office, Twining recapped some key, and to the reader of the letter, unneeded details. He wrote that ‘the head had been severed by a sharp sabre or sword’, which is a fact he will later alter in the 1954 pamphlet to state the skull has ‘one injury which appears to be the result of a blow probably inflicted with a heavy sabre or similar weapon. This is quite likely to have been caused by the process of cutting off the head, which was done under rough conditions’. In writing about the process of skeletonisation, he told the Colonial Office ‘the skull was bleached which probably happened when they boiled the meat off it’. For Twining, this ‘suggested that it was indeed the skull we were looking for’. The reader of this statement wrote ‘ugh!’ in the margin. Twining’s narrative left a gap of two months, where the head presumably became the Princes’ trophy, stating that

632 This is illustrated in Figure 13.
633 ‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA.
634 The Skull of Chief Mkwawa, 5.
635 ‘Letter from Twining to E.B. David’, 25 November 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
after this time elapsed ‘the head was packed in a small box and sent to Dar es Salaam’. In the 1954 pamphlet, Twining used an account of alleged testimony that the head immediately went to the coast with the same askari who cut it off. In this version, ‘Captain von Prince told the Hehe elders that the head would be sent from Dar es Salaam to Germany’. It is evident that since Twining had read the recent German and British messages about how the skull could no longer have gone to von Luschan in Berlin. The skull instead travelled somewhere vaguely in Germany, instead of specifically Berlin, as previously stated. This layed the grounds for Twining to then prove that the skull had gone to Bremen.

In the 1954 pamphlet, Twining stated his interpretation for the reason why skull must have gone to Germany. ‘Mrs. von Prince’s book [mentioned] that the skull was useless for scientific investigation suggest[ing] that the skull was carefully examined by an expert, and this must have been in Europe, as a scientific investigation could hardly have been undertaken in Deutsch Ost Afrika of 1898’. It was a baseless and nonsensical claim on Twining’s part. Firstly, Magdalene never wrote that the skull was useless for scientific investigation. She would not have thought in those terms. Secondly, as shown, head collection was a common colonial practice. Trophy heads became scientific specimens long after their collection or immediately in the field by early medical practitioners serving in imperial militaries. Thirdly, Twining created a paradox. If the skull were sent to Europe so that Magdalene von Prince could then conclude from the examination given to it that it had no scientific value, the skull would have needed to return back to her to then become the Prince’s family trophy.

Twining recorded some factual history from Ernst Nigmann, in citation. He wrote how in 1904, during the anniversary of Mkwawa’s death, Wahehe songs eulogised Mkwawa, and a fearful colonial government sent Sapi Mkwawa to Germany. Twining had seen Byatt’s letter at this point and was able to show how

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637 ‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA.
638 The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe, 5.

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and why article 246 came into being, using the correct treaty clause which he mistakenly called article 236 when he wrote his mother a letter while in Germany for the day. Twining refuted the story of a false head being substituted by the Wahehe, quoted above from the US State Department, saying that ‘Colonel Nigmann has therefore been discounted’ for making a false claim. Twining grounded his claim that the skull was still missing by stating the source community were still seeking Mkwawa’s head. He promoted this fact by speaking of ‘the improbability’ that Mkwawa’s head had been switched out for another in 1898. ‘Obviously’, Twining wrote, ‘if the Hehe had got the skull back, they would not have been yearning all these years for its return…at the very least [it] would have been known to Mkwawa’s own family’.

Twining’s 1953 note on the skull also showed he knew of Henschel’s attempt to sell a head, showing that at this point Twining read all past correspondences in the government files while back in London for the Coordination.

Interestingly, Twining debunked a report that the skull possessed magical powers. He reversed this when he came in contact with the skull again and invested a great deal of superstition into it, seemingly for the benefit of the Foreign Office and to the UK Chancery in Germany in order to show the poltergeistic power of the skull in gratitude for their assistance. The source of the potential rumour that the skull had been found in Germany made by Twining in 1951 was hinted at when Twining wrote that in September of that year he had a conversation with Adam Sapi who raised the question ‘and the fact that it had not been found was noted’. While Twining never stated that rumours indicated Mkwawa’s skull had been found, he alluded to the ‘unpromising’ communications prior to February 1953 when the Museum in Bremen offered to have him examine the African skulls in their collections. It can be deduced that the rumour was isolated to Twining’s inner circle in Tanganyika and if not of Twining’s own making than certainly propagated by

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639 *The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe*, 5.
640 ‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA.
him. Twining noted that several skulls that could have belonged to Mkwawa and stated that ‘since Sultan Mkwawa had died nearly sixty years ago it was rather difficult to obtain any accurate information which might help to identify the skull’. Conveniently Twining was told that Mkwawa’s head was similar in size and shape to the grandson Mkwawa never met. In the 1954 version of this account, this came from ‘the remembered statements of old men’ who stated ‘that the shape of heads of Chief Adam Sapi and his sister, which was an unusual one, was the same as that of their grandfather’s’.\footnote{The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe, 5.} Twining recorded that he measured Adam Sapi’s head and took a cephalic index reading of 71. Twining noted that the Wahehe believed Mkwawa had a full set of teeth at the time of his death. It is understandable that few may have known about Tom taking a trophy tooth from the skull. Yet the claim that Mkwawa had all of his teeth challenges the skull he ended up selecting, as it was missing nearly all of its teeth.\footnote{This could have occurred with rough handling in the many years and transits the skull underwent since Mkwawa died.} Twining repeated his line from the letter to his mother that legendary status had been brought to the skull by ‘the modern Hehe Homers…round the fires of Uhehe’.\footnote{‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA.} Using his predetermined cephalic index of 71, Twining narrowed down ‘a storeroom cabinet filled with skulls’ to two, and selected the one with a hole where a bullet had entered from the back of the head and exited out the front. Twining claimed a professor at the Institute of Pathology in Bremen examined the skull and found, quoting his report, ‘a fracture approximately 86m’ which ‘appears to be the result of a blow with a sharp instrument’. Another hole was found with a diameter of 21.5mm and the Professor Dr. Giese concluded ‘it appears to be a bullet hole’. In the 1954 pamphlet, Twining would clarify this measurement matched that of the calibre of the German Mauser rifle used in East Africa in 1898, though there is no indication that Dr Giese confirmed this.

Twining then displayed all of his evidence for why he believed this was the correct skull. ‘The fact that the skull was bleached fits in with the knowledge that it
has been dried’. Accounting for the missing teeth, Twining wrote ‘as with the other skulls, the teeth were loose and missing’, though ‘four molars were intact’, he wrote that it was ‘not possible to find the lower jaw of the skull’, which is at odds with the skull on display in Kalenga and in the 1954 repatriation photos, where a lower jaw was also presented with the skull.\textsuperscript{644} Twining told how Adam Sapi accepted the skull based on the evidence given to him by Twining as ‘the information was sufficiently convincing to make it more than probable that it was the genuine skull of his grandfather’.

Repatriation of Mkwawa’s human remains in 1954 operated informally. The Bremen museum offered to ‘willingly return the skull…and therefore it will not be necessary to invoke diplomatic aid’. This was a necessary step should the British avoid any publicity that may strain German relations as well as remind the German public of the Treaty of Versailles. As a freely given item, Twining arranged for the Wahehe to provide ‘ethnographic items to the Museum, including a Mgołole (robe) ‘and/or a portrait of [Adam Sapi] wearing a Mgołole, and/or one or two Finyankonye (drinking mugs)’.\textsuperscript{645} Thus Mkwawa’s head was to be repatriated to Iringa, not under the obligation of article 246 but freely given.\textsuperscript{646} The cultural exchange of Wahehe artefact for the skull aligned article 246 closer to article 247, where objects were given to Belgium in corresponding number and value to what was lost during the war. It is likely the Wahehe artefacts were sent in exchange for the skull to create a plausible distancing from article 246 for the museum trustees as well as the general public should the exchange come to light.

The Bremen museum handed over the skull on 16 January 1954, where it was then given to the UK Chancery in Bonn. There is a sense that the British administrators in Bonn wished to smuggle the skull out of the country to avoid higher German authorities hearing of the repatriation. They wrote ‘Despite the reference…to the exclusion of “diplomatic aid”, I assume that now that it is in our

\textsuperscript{644} It is possible the jaw was located after Twining wrote this account but before repatriating the skull.

\textsuperscript{645} ‘A Note on Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull’, CO 822/566, TNA. Parentheses in original.

\textsuperscript{646} ‘Letter from J.M. Kisch to Gellatly’, 19 December 1953, CO 822/566, TNA.
hands you will wish us to send it home by [diplomatic] bag. If you agree, I suggest that we...address the parcel [to] the Colonial Office and to write the reference number...clearly on the parcel so that the Bag Room and Customs in London will not query its contents...we obviously do not want the skull opened and examined on the way’.647 Diplomatic bags cannot be searched under international law.648 By sending the skull through one, it ensured that Germany would not know the skull had been removed until after it had left the country. The Chancery was warned that ‘Foreign Office bags occasionally receive rough handling’ and advised of a need ‘for very careful packing’.649

Article 246 of the Treaty of Versailles was fulfilled clandestinely. On 8 February 1954, the skull deemed to be Sultan Mkwawa’s arrived in London from Germany. In this way, the German authorities, represented at this moment by the Bremen Museum Director Dr Wagner, handed over to his Britannic Majesty’s government, E.B David in the London Colonial Office, ‘the skull in question’.650 In an example of both the good faith placed in brokering this exchange, as well as the lack of full interest by the participants, the box was never opened and remained in the UK for just one day. When the Colonial Office received the skull, they felt it was so ‘carefully packed in a wooden box in Bremen [that] we have not felt it necessary to open or repack it’. Instead, the skull was put in the Colonial Office’s ‘official bag’ and left London through air-mail on 9 February in ‘a parcel addressed to’ Governor

647 ‘Letter from The Chancery to Gellatly’, 16 January 1954, CO 822/566, TNA.
649 ‘Chancery to Gellatly’, 16 January 1954, CO 822/566, TNA.
650 ‘Letter from E.B. David to Twining’, 8 February 1954, CO 822/566, TNA.
Twining ‘personally’ along with the same letter that informed Twining that the skull had arrived in the UK without incident.

**Misbehaving Head**

Mkwawa’s skull reached Governor Twining six days later while he was on a safari holiday. He too, felt it unnecessary to open the box up and see if a skull was inside. He replied to the Colonial Office that ‘it seems very securely packed and as I am on safari I do not propose to disturb it for the moment’. Yet Twining shifted his stance surrounding the skull to create the same sort of Homeric exaggerations he often accused the Wahehe of inventing. He claimed he did not want to disturb the skull as ‘it seems to have poltergeistic qualities. It came here by air and on the first leg of the journey the emergency exit was blown off to the terror of the passengers who started to be sucked out, and the plane had to return to Dar-es-Salaam for repairs’. It was an odd turn for Twining to make. As the British government had censored media publicity of the repatriation, Twining’s attempt to play up the supernatural power of the skull was for a limited audience of E.B. David in the Colonial Office. It may have been a display of ruling class humour similar to Bottomley during the 1921 parliamentary debate. Or perhaps Twining was attempting to create another rumour about the skull, responding to local legends. More likely, however, these new attributes were given to the skull by Twining to show authenticity. To Twining, only the skull of the legendary Mkwawa could have such power. In elevating the supernatural element to the repatriation of the skull, Twining hoped to add a ‘peculiar quality [this skull] possesses [that] will certainly add to its prestige’. Blocked from creating publicity, Twining hoped to create rumours and amplify the effect of repatriating a skull to a colonial system in crisis. Reading Twining’s letter, he seemed to expect that the Colonial Office would ‘inform the Consulate’ of these supernatural elements that he hoped would underscore his ‘gratitude for the trouble

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652 Twining’s ability to invent and celebrate tradition is documented in Terence Ranger’s ‘The Invention of Tradition’. See also, Bucher, ‘The Skull of Mkwawa and the Politics of Indirect Rule’, 293.
which has been taken’ to bring this skull to Tanganyika. Twining hoped ‘nobody has had any ill-effects yet’, a winking nod to the power Twining decided the skull possessed. It was made all the more out of place when Twining concluded in his letter that he would have to let the Colonial Office know when he ‘opened the box…whether the skull is in fact in it’.654 The Colonial Office’s official reply to Twining is that they ‘cannot contribute any supernatural phenomena from [London] to add to its prestige’ and that they only ‘hope there will be no untoward incident when you come to open the parcel’.655

Twining continued to attribute supernatural powers to the skull. In early March, while still on safari, Twining claimed the skull ‘continued to behave very badly’ as ‘we had a series of mishaps which cannot be otherwise accounted for. Our poor old Bandmaster, Gulab Singh, died on the train’, presumably due to the presence of the skull, though Twining did not give any further details.656 The skull was also responsible, according to Twining for sending his aide-de-camp to hospital for a sinus issue, causing all on board the train to come down with hay fever, and produce a general feeling of irritability. In mimicking the more powerful poltergeist qualities the skull was deemed to possess, such as when it opened an aeroplane door while in transit, Twining drew upon more mundane occurrences. Aboard Twining’s train ‘the head boy had a soda water bottle burst in his face and the cook was struck in the face by a flying saucer’.657 Once again, Twining desired to confirm to himself and others that this was indeed Mkwawa’s skull. He wrote that the paranormal activity was enough that he’d had the skull off-loaded and sent separately to Iringa, but not before he ‘had the box opened to make sure that it was the skull, which I now

654 ‘Letter from Twining to E.B. David’, 15 February 1954, CO 822/770, TNA.
655 ‘Letter from E.B. David to Twining’, 27 February 1954, CO 822/770/212 TNA. In the original draft of the letter, David wrote ‘I am afraid we have no effects of supernatural happenings here which would add to the prestige of the skull’.
657 ‘Letter from Twining to David, Colonial Office’, 8 March 1954, CO 822/770/206, TNA.
confirm’ that it was. Twining’s emphasis on this being ‘the skull’ signalled that he can confirm it was the same skull he identified in Bremen, as no one had checked the box since it was packed up by the Bremen museum. Twining’s emphasis intended to show that this was the skull of Mkwawa, ‘which I now confirm’, as authentic, hence the supernatural events that ‘cannot be otherwise accounted for’. The Colonial Office response to these new spectral machinations played slightly more into Twining’s account, showing either Twining’s success in convincing his superiors that the skull was a powerful relic, or that Colonial Office was humouring Twining. ‘Obviously the skull objects to being carted about like so much old bones’, came the reply. ‘[N]o doubt once it returns to the Hehe it will become a power for good’. The unsent first draft of this letter, however, revealed a slight annoyance the Colonial Office had with Twining. The letter initially concluded with ‘you will no doubt be glad to get the skull off your hands after all the trouble it seems to have caused’, perhaps more in reference to Twining’s frustration over censorship than over the supposed powers of the skull.

Twining attempted to balance a sense of control over the skull. With the skull now removed from Germany and in Twining’s hands, Twining was freed to publicise its existence. Whilst in Germany in 1953, Twining wrote a letter to his mother. In it he described his quest to locate Mkwawa’s head, stating that ‘the whole affair has become something of a legend and the modern Hehe Homers invented, spun and embroidered the old story of Sultan Mkwawa until truth and fiction are inextricably mixed and intertwined to the glorification of his memory and the vast entertainment of those who like to hear the twilight stories round the fires of

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659 ‘Confidential memo, J.M. Kisch to Twining’, 23 March 1954, CO 822/770/202, TNA.

660 ‘Draft From Field and Kisch to Twining, Government House’, 23 March 1954, CO 822/770/203, TNA.
Uhehe’. It is a poetic charge Twining himself perpetuated in his attempt to sell a new narrative.

Twining prepared an official publication about the skull. Printed as a pamphlet from Dar es Salaam, this was Twining’s attempt to turn the return of Mkawawa’s skull from a localised moment of repatriation in the remote southern highlands, to national news with international aims. The publication of the 1954 pamphlet *The Skull of Chief Mkawawa of Uhehe*, reasonably priced at 50 cents (£2.60 in 2019 value), was to be printed and disseminated across Tanganyika prior to but as a way to create broad attention for the repatriation of the skull with the Wahehe.

Selecting only facts that would account for the forensic details he attached to this new skull, Twining blended Magdalene von Prince’s diary entries with invented testimonies in order to create a new account of Mkawawa’s suicide, the first removal of his head, and provenance of its relocation. He ignored or dismissed any facts that would challenge this skull’s authenticity.

According to Twining, Merkl found Mkawawa’s body on 19 July 1898. It took him until 20 July 1898 to reach the Iringa station, where he filed his report on 21 July to the German colonial government. It concluded:

> We found the two bodies near the lesser Ruaha river and Humbwe village in Kisongonso country. I ordered my askari to cut off Mkawawa’s head to take along to camp. The body was handed over for burial to Mkawawa’s people. Next day we arrived in camp at Iringa, where Captain von Prince took charge of the trophy of Mkawawa’s head.

Merkl’s report was translated from the perspective of Twining having already found a skull. The inaccuracies are as telling as the newly invented facts. With his contemporary lens, Twining addressed Tom Prince as ‘Captain’ instead of his rank as ‘Lieutenant’ and gave him the honorific ‘von’, which he would not earn until after

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662 This askari was most likely Saidi Ali, based on the beginning of Merkl’s report and on a statement given by another Schutztruppe member in 1920, as will be discussed below.
the Maji Maji rebellion. None of these errors are in Merkl’s original report. Most revealing is the use of a second source presented immediately after Merkl’s report. Claiming that ‘there is also recorded a statement made in 1920 by Mohamadi bin Saidi, of Kisitu, one of Sergeant-Major Merkl’s party’, Twining gave the following account from Mohamadi:

I accompanied Merkl in search of Mkwawa on the day he was found dead. We discovered his last hiding place in the bush and saw him and another man lying in front of a camp fire. Sergeant Merkl did not go up at once, fearing some trap, but fired at a very short distance...On rushing forward we found both Mkwawa and his follower Mweniowala had been dead for some time. Mkwawa had evidently shot the latter first as his body was stiff, and then himself through the stomach...A fresh wound caused by Merkl was found in the head. The bullet had entered the back and caused a large wound in the front of his head. Then Merkl ordered his askari to cut off Mkwawa’s head and it was brought into Iringa to Bwana Sakarani (von Prince). The head was sent to our hospital close by, where the German doctor had it dried. About two months later I saw Mkwawa’s head packed into a small box and it was sent to Dar es Salaam under escort of Sergeant Merkl and a Sudanese askari, Saidi Ali, now dead. Sakarani then told all the Hehe jumbes (chiefs) Mkwawa’s head would be sent from Dar es Salaam to Germany.664

Twining added that ‘on being asked, Mohamadi said that he actually saw the safari start off (to Dar es Salaam)’.665 There is a great deal to question with this statement from Mohamadi bin Saidi. There is no official record of it outside of Twining’s writing.666 It is doubtful that Mkwawa shot himself through the stomach and not in the head. Mohamadi’s statement conveniently detailed the flesh wound to Mkwawa’s head as being caused by Merkl’s shot entering through the rear of the skull and creating a large exit wound to the front of the head. This damage neatly aligns with the damage to the skull Twining had just identified as being Mkwawa’s head. Merkl’s report only states that when they saw Mkwawa, they fired on him to prevent his escape. It does not specify where or even if the shots hit Mkwawa.

664 The Skull of Chief Mkwawa, 3-4.
665 The Skull of Chief Mkwawa, 4.
666 As of the time of this writing, all mentions of this testimony I have found all come back to the writings of Twining. See Edward Twining, ‘A Chief’s Skull Returned to His People’, Times British Colonial Review, Vol. 15 (1954), 11-12.
Moreover, Mohamadi allegedly recalled this account twenty-one years after he witnessed the events. Yet necessary details needed in 1954 to prove that the skull being repatriated was Mkwawa’s are fully articulated. Twining’s pamphlet also included text that was taken directly from Twining’s letter to his mother. ‘…the legends of Mkwawa’s exploits have grown among the tribe, and have expanded into a saga in which truth and fiction have become inextricably mixed and intertwined to the glorification of his memory and to the vast entertainment of those who love to hear twilight stories round the fires of Uhehe’. 667

When Magdalene mentioned the rifle wound to the skull, she stated it was self-inflicted. Mkwawa shot himself in the head to deny ‘his mortal enemies a look at his true face’. As Twining had located an East African skull with significant damage, he measured the hole and determined it was caused by German calibre bullet. For Twining, this required him to invent the notion that Mkwawa shot himself in the stomach and that Merkl shot his corpse in the head. Twining even persuaded news coverage to illustrate this, as seen in the 1954 article by Life magazine publicity during the ceremonial return (Figure 13)668.

![MKWAWA'S SUICIDE](image)

667 *The Skull of Chief Mkwawa*, 4.
668 The repatriation of the skull in the 1950s is covered in Chapter IV.
Magdalene made no note of the jaw being damaged when she described Mkwawa’s chin. Yet the skull Twining located had a damaged jaw. With the exit wound being on the skull’s forehead, Twining needed to show the bullet entered through the back of the head. These forensic details, only briefly mentioned by Magdalene and in Merkl’s report, are the bedrock from which Twining built his case that he returned the correct skull to the Wahehe in 1954.\footnote{Twining claimed a forensic examination was given to the skull during his single day in Germany, which allegedly determined the hole was made by a 21.5mm calibre rifle round. \textit{The Skull of Chief Mkwawa}, 5. With the skull’s damage now repaired, forensic examination today would be much more intrusive.}

Twining revisited Magdalene’s perspective on the head, pretending to quote from it directly. He stated that she ‘expressed her regret that the face of Mkwawa’s head had been so disfigured by a bullet wound as to depreciate the value of the skull for scientific investigation’.\footnote{\textit{The Skull of Chief Mkwawa}, 4.} Magdalene does not mention science. She only wrote that ‘he has shot himself into his head, so that his features are disfigured’. This was her way of saying that her descriptions were reconstructed based on an exploration of the head beyond the damage. She also noted that the wound was a final act of defiance, meant to obscure the sight of his face to Europeans. This suggests that Magdalene felt Mkwawa shot himself in the head. Not that Merkl caused the wound as Twining’s revisionist account claims.

Twining revised Magdalene’s narrative to prove the skull he collected was indeed Mkwawa’s. Twining invented the notion that Magdalene was upset the skull’s damage ruined its ‘value for science’. Twining measured the bullet hole to claim it was from a German rifle. Mkwawa’s rifle used the same calibre, but the damage to the skull Twining found required a narrative that Mkwawa was shot in the back of the head. Therefore, to Twining in 1953, the shot had to come from...
German forces after Mkwawa had shot himself in the stomach. As will be shown, Twining is also under orders at this time not to antagonise Germany, as West Germany was Britain’s cold war ally. Twining may, at the same time, be trying to justify why the Princes took and kept the head. When Merkl presented the head to Tom Prince, it was Magdalene who turned it into a display piece, becoming, what one visitor allegedly remarked to her, the von Prince’s ‘family trophy’.

In Twining’s mind, and with credit to his actions, he fulfilled article 246 of the Treaty of Versailles. He succeeded where even Winston Churchill had failed, a fact Twining he mentioned to his mother. Yet, celebration of this fact was denied to Twining. While Twining had been on safari with the skull still sealed in a box, the British Consulate in Bremen wired the Bonn Chancery. The consulate had reviewed Twining’s note with its ‘frequent references to our rights under the Treaty of Versailles’ and decided that Twining had to omit or ‘suitably tone down’ any mention of the treaty ‘in view of the attitude of the average German towards this “Diktat”’. Twining’s towering personality and caustic wit were on full display within official correspondent prose. His reply was: ‘The facts are that the Germans should not have cut his head off; they should not have sent it to Germany when they had cut it off and if they did not want to return it they should not have lost the war’.

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672 Bates, A Gust of Plumes, 246.
673 Unable to credit himself as the one who fulfilled a clause in the Treaty of Versailles, Twining did add his efforts to the 1954 pamphlet. ‘In 1949 the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, G.C.M.G., M.B.E, interested himself in the matter, and after long correspondence information came to hand through the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Germany that the skill might possibly be in the “Museum fuer Voelkerkunde” in Bremen’ (5). Other references Twining wrote of himself in this pamphlet included ‘In the summer of 1953 Sir Edward Twining was in England for the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. He decided to travel to Germany and visit the Bremen Museum’. (5). ‘When the Governor returned to Tanganyika he arranged for Chief Adam Sapi to be shown photographs of the skull…’ (5). ‘It is now therefore possible for the Governor to return Mkwawa’s skull to the Hehe and they are expected to greet its restoration with rejoicings’ (6). The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe, 5-6.
Twining conceded that ‘…since the Foreign Office are rather touchy about it, I will do my best to see that publicity is not given, but I cannot guarantee this.’

Twining’s use of ‘touchy’ was an echoing to a letter he received the month prior. On 27 February 1954, the Colonial Office wrote to Twining to inform him of the ‘touchiness about the Treaty of Versailles’, stating that ‘The Foreign Office endorses…the view of the Chancery at Bonn [where] any publicity about the return of the skull should avoid references to the Treaty if possible’ and Twining is asked to ‘bear it in mind.’676 Twining’s more droll response that Germany should not have cut off Mkwawa’s head nor lost the war were directed back to the Colonial Office. When responding to the Foreign Office, however, Twining took the more neutral tone. He suggested that references to the Treaty of Versailles might be avoided, thought cautioned that ‘there is a good deal of interest being taken about [the return of Mkwawa’s head] by the world Press’.677

This interest was something Twining had cultivated himself. Not wanting to lessen the impact of his efforts, Twining suggested that ‘perhaps we could get round [the Treaty mention] by saying that after 1918 efforts were made to obtain the skull from the German Authorities, but it could not be traced’. The use of the term it provided an intentionally vague pronoun, making it seem that either Mkwawa’s head or the documentation of it could not be located prior to 1953. This aligned with Twining’s new historical narration of the events and his obsession with adding authenticity of the questionable skull he returned. Twining’s suggestion is also odd, as in order to downplay the obligations of the Treaty, article 246, an obscure article, would be highlighted.

The British Chancery agent who assisted Twining while he was in the Bremen museum noted that while the average German viewed the Treaty of Versailles as a ‘Diktat’, the obscurity of article 246 meant that few the 1950s would have remembered it unless specifically reminded. He wrote:

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677 ‘Letter from David to Twining’, 27 Feb 1954, CO 822/770/212, TNA.
I was careful never to mention [article 246] in my discussions with the local authorities, and it is not unlikely that they were unaware of it. If they had been I cannot help feeling they would not have handed the skull over to me without first clearing the matter with the Federal Government, which might have involved us in delay and possibly in the sort of publicity we were anxious to avoid. I would not want them to get the impression here that I had in some way stolen a march on them.678

While it may have been a blow to Twining’s ego to be unable to take public credit for facilitating the edict of article 246 nearly single-handedly, the purpose of repatriating Mkwawa’s skull had always been about creating a spectacle. In 1951, when Twining flamed rumours that Mkwawa’s head had be located, it was to distract from growing nationalist movements calling for decolonisation. The failed groundnut scheme had weakened colonial authority in the southern highlands, and returning a skull would provide a distraction as well as reconfirm British dominion under paternalism. Twining could cast himself as a good fatherly figure under colonialism. Due to the protracted arrangements needed to bring a skull from Germany to Tanganyika, however, by the time Twining was able to repatriate the skull, the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya threatened, in the mind of colonial administrators, like so many rebellions before, to spread across Eastern Africa. Twining, therefore, arranged a repatriation ceremony to address all of these concerns.

**The Repatriation of Mkwawa’s Head**

On 19 June 1954, Twining returned the skull to Adam Sapi. Dressed in his military uniform, Twining’s speech was a calculated propaganda oration that sought to re-exert control in the southern highlands, Tanganyika, and East Africa (Figure 14).679 He began with a history of ‘Sultan Mkwawa, whose name has been handed down

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679 Twining was well known for his obsession with pageantry, hence the title of his biography, *A Gust of Plumes*. See Bates, *A Gust of Plumes*, 216; Bucher, ‘The Skull of Mkwawa and the Politics of Indirect Rule’, 293. During this ceremony, he wore both his full military regalia and medals but also changed into a dress suit for the parade to Kalenga.
today venerated as a great Chief and great warrior’.\textsuperscript{680} This referenced Adam Sapi as a descendent of a warrior tradition and great Chief, thus reinforcing the alliance between Twining and Adam Sapi. Twining then gave a history of Mkwawa’s exploits prior to German rule, a narration intended for the press in attendance, as the 30,000 who had gathered in Iringa for the repatriation would hardly have needed Twining to tell them this history. Throughout his speech in regards to German colonialism, Mkwawa was shown as a peaceful Chief who attempted to ‘come to terms’ before being forced to ‘sound his war trumpets’\textsuperscript{681}. The failed von Zelewski expedition is detailed, without name, with a statement that while the German column was annihilated ‘the Hehe also suffered serious casualties’, alluding to the destructive power of waging an anticolonial war. Twining specifically noted that ‘the site of this battle is today marked by a monument’, one placed by Germany after the total defeat of the Wahehe. Once more, this was a subtle warning against rebelling in the context of Mau Mau.

When Twining told of Mkwawa’s suicide, it was a subdued account. Mkwawa ‘declared that he would not submit to the Germans but would rather shoot himself’.\textsuperscript{682} In revering Mkwawa while explaining the taking of his head, Twining said ‘such importance did the Germans attach to his capture, either alive or dead, that they offered 5,000 rupees, about 8,000 shillings, for Mkwawa’s head’. It is clear from this passage that Twining has taken statements directly from Magdalene’s diary. Here, however, he made a mistake that undercut the power of Mkwawa he was attempting to showcase. Magdalene converted the rupee figure to German marks in 1904, not East African Shillings in 1954. His maths made the bounty considerably less during this speech. In the 1954 pamphlet, Twining had stated the amount at £400 GBP (£9,550 in 2019 value). He also played with phrasing to show

\textsuperscript{680} ‘Speech By His Excellency The Governor at the Ceremony of the Return of the Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe to Chief Adam Sapi and the People of Uhehe, on Saturday 19\textsuperscript{th} June, 1954’, CO 822/770/75, TNA.

\textsuperscript{681} ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA. The war trumpets is an allusion to the belief that the Wahehe under Mkwawa used war trumpets to go into battle. See Redmayne, ‘War Trumpets and Other Mistakes’, 101-102.

\textsuperscript{682} ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA.
that the bounty ‘for his head’ was in this instance a literal, rather than figurative statement.

Careful attention was given in Twining’s speech to remind the audience that the head brought before them was Mkwawa’s. He specifically mentioned that ‘the German party came up and suspecting a trap fired at the body’, and Twining stated for no other reason than to sell the forensic details, ‘a bullet pass[ed] through Mkwawa’s head which was then cut off and taken to Iringa’. The crowd had been confronted with a damaged skull. Twining needed to account for it and thus included graphic details. It was an anchoring narrative point Twining revisited later in his speech when he documented his visit to the Bremen museum. ‘After careful investigation and with the assistance of the forensic surgeon of the German Police, we found one skull which fitted in exactly to the evidence and which enabled us to identify it as being indubitably the skull of Sultan Mkwawa’.683

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In presenting the skull as genuine, Twining’s speech left out his heavy-handed approach in having Adam Sapi confirm that it belonged to his grandfather. Absent from his address was the fact that Twining made Adam Sapi sign an oath, in the
presence of the four sub-chiefs, the morning of the repatriation ceremony. Written in legalese, Adam Sapi had confirmed that ‘whereas: the Director of the Bremen Museum has voluntarily handed the skull of the said Sultan Mkwawa to the Government of Tanganyika in order that the Government may return it to the Hehe tribe, now I: Adam Sapi, M.B.E.- Chief of the Hehe tribe and grandson of the said Sultan Mkwawa – do hereby accept on behalf of the said Hehe tribe the skull now presented to me and do affirm it to be the true skull of my grandfather the said Sultan Mkwawa’. With this, the skull from Bremen became the head of Chief Mkwawa.

Twining’s speech alluded to the signing of this document by stating that ‘the Director of the Museum agreed that the skull should be returned and it has been accepted by you, Chief Adam Sapi, and by representatives of the Hehe people as the skull of your grandfather. I hope you and your people will feel that the honour of the tribe has been satisfied and that the memory of the great Chief will be for long preserved’. It is at this point in the speech where it seemed Twining would have handed over the skull to Adam Sapi. Yet Twining then revealed his primary intention of repatriation. It was a acquire loyalty oaths from the Wahehe and the colony.

‘I hope, too, that you and your people will continue to give your unstinted loyalty to Queen Elizabeth II and her heirs and successors’, Twining stated. In a speech that began detailing the successor lineage of Mkwawa’s prestige passing down to his heirs, Twining mirrored this with the monarchy of the British Empire. The good relations between kingdoms are at play with an instilment of hierarchy. ‘We on our part’, said Twining speaking as the colonial government, ‘will do all we can to build up your country so that it may enjoy all the benefits of modern civilization and science’. The use of the term ‘civilisation’, always paired its other, ‘savage’ or ‘barbarous’ has been referred to throughout this dissertation. It is a term

685 ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA.
that would not have been lost on the colonised audience, even if Twining attempted to disguise its usage in this context with the qualifier ‘and science’. He used it again in the next sentence, where Twining said that the Wahehe ‘have a very good reputation, not only as warriors, but as making good citizens and good farmers’.

Twining was referencing the failed groundnut scheme, calling on the Wahehe to be good farmers while still highlighting their martial qualities, an attribute to which he referenced again later in the speech. First, however, Twining sought to remind the Wahehe of their martial reputation. He needed to balance a narrative of Wahehe rebelling against the Germans, but one where they were unquestioned allies to the British. Twining used the First World War to circumvent ideas of anticolonial rebellion. This also subtly linked the repatriation ceremony to the taboo mention of article 246. ‘During the 1914-1918 War’, Twining said, the Wahehe ‘gave the advancing British great assistance’. Maintaining the hierarchy, Twining noted that it was through the help of the British that the Wahehe ‘made their contribution to the final defeat of the Germans’. The speech served to remind the Wahehe that they fought the Germans, not the practice of colonialism. It reinforced the notion that British colonialism liberated the Wahehe to become prosperous under British benevolence.

Twining sought to dispel rumours in his speech, using the opportunity of addressing a crowd of 30,000 to assure while ‘some of your people have a fear that their land will be taken from them and are suspicious about Government intentions. I should like to dispel these fears and suspicions and to assure you that there is no intention on the part of the Government to take any land away from you’. Repeating the notion that land will be seized twice in as many sentences revealed that Twining feared an outbreak of rebellion and sought to assure the Wahehe that indirect rule would allow them to progress under Adam Sapi. He did, however, leave open the idea of land seizure by stating that the British government will not take away the land ‘without you being consulted’ as it was the ‘Government’s intention that
adequate good land be retained for your tribe’ while still developing the region under the British crown. ‘There is a lot to be done for your country before we can be satisfied that we are making the best use of it’. Here Twining was referencing that land would, in fact, be seized. He justified the practice as bringing civilisation, using an example that building ‘the new great road from Iringa to Morogoro and on to Dar-es-Salaam’ would connect the ‘remotely situated’ southern highlands and bring the Wahehe ‘nearer to the rest of the territory’.

Twining aimed to develop the southern highlands over the next five years. The rest of his speech promised to create ‘water resources’ across all of Tanganyika, showing his perceived audience was not just the Wahehe but the colony as a whole. His praise can be read as an encouragement for other groups to follow the Wahehe example. He spoke of how the Wahehe ‘set a notable example in the manner in which you have taken to dipping your cattle’, alluding to prosperity, as ‘this measure will greatly increase your cattle wealth’. He promised increased education, but put the onus on the Wahehe. The British were to be paternal caretakers, but the Wahehe must ‘not merely subscribe to good wishes and even money toward our educational programme.’ Instead, indirect rule would continue, where the Wahehe ‘must see that the parents make the best use of the facilities provided’.

Reinforcing colonial collaboration was Twining’s broader aim with the repatriation of Mkwawa’s head. Adam Sapi was one of Twining’s archetypal examples of establishing British rule through Indigenous authorities. Jesse Bucher argued Adam Sapi ‘bridged the gaps between tradition and modernity’. Twining was following Byatt’s example, using the Legislative Council Byatt had founded to rule the remote hinterlands. Twining used the conclusion of his speech to praise Adam Sapi. He called him ‘one of my valuable advisers as a member of the Legislative Council’ and reminded Adam Sapi and the crowd that Twining had ‘recently appointed you to be a member of the Executive Council’. This was designed

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to highlight the favouritism Twining gave to the Wahehe. He stated that Adam Sapi was only the second black African to ever be appointed to the Executive Council.687

Twining’s second purpose in repatriating Mkwawa’s skull was to create a recruitment drive for loyal soldiers of a martial race, who would suppress the Mau Mau rebellion. He ended his speech with another echo of British colonialism creating the ‘spread of civilisation’ so that the Wahehe ‘may...have a more peaceful and settled life than that to which they were accustomed in the last century and the first forty years of this one’.688 Here Twining was reminding the Wahehe of the constant wars their state fought from its inception in the mid-nineteenth century until its total defeat by the Germans with the death of Mkwawa. Evoking Mkwawa’s legacy as a fierce warrior who destroyed Germany in his first engagement and denied them victory in his last, Twining told the mass audience that ‘it would be a great pity if the Hehe became soft and lost their martial qualities’. Before handing over Mkwawa’s skull, Twining used the repatriation celebration to first give a Wahehe warrior a medal for gallantry. It was a medal given for fighting against decolonisation movements. Here Twining awarded a Wahehe Sergeant-Major in the Sixth King’s African Rifles ‘an immediate award made by Her Majesty the Queen’ for service in Kenya against the Mau Mau. The British gave this soldier a medal within the same parade ground where they had stripped Sapi Mkwawa of his thirteen years prior. Returning Chief Mkwawa’s remains to his grandson, in the same square where Sapi Mkwawa had been deposed and exiled from, was an attempt to bring Mkwawa’s lineage in line with British colonial aims.

In the presence of Mkwawa’s head, on a dais shared with a newly decorated colonial soldier, Twining stood dressed in his King’s African Rifles uniform. He told

687 Twining overemphasised this point, going on to say that ‘while I shall be very glad to have you as one of my wise counsellors, we must make sure that your duties toward the Central Government do not interfere unduly toward the your people, and should you ever find that the two conflict and that you consider that the good of your people must come first, I hope you will not hesitate to tell me so we can make suitable arrangements accordingly’. ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA.
688 ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA.
the crowd that this medal ‘shows that so far the Hehe are maintaining those fine traditions of which they are so rightly proud’. Many Wahehe in attendance wore their former military uniforms. Twining address the continued display of martial prowess when he said that the Wahehe warrior traditions were ‘evidenced by the splendid body of ex-soldiers who are on parade here today’. Mkwawa’s skull had yet to be handed to Adam Sapi. For Twining, he first needed to mention that ‘the Officer Commanding the 6th K.A.R…told me particularly [that he] wanted to recruit about seventy Hehe for the K.A.R and I suggested that this might be a suitable occasion for him to do so. I hope very much that the cream of your youth will come forward and join the K.A.R which is our Tanganyika Regiment and which has a splendid record’.

For a repatriation ceremony about Mkwawa’s head, more time was given to placating fears over land seizure, promoting development, reinforcing indirect rule, and recruiting colonial soldiers. Twining ended his speech anti-climatically and without direct reference to Mkwawa, making it once more about himself and a connection of loyalty he hoped the Wahehe would give to the British Empire, who brought back the head of Mkwawa. ‘Let me end by saying that I am proud to have been able to have rendered this service to your people whom I hold in great respect and affection’. He then handed over Mkwawa’s head to Adam Sapi (Figure 15).

689 ‘Speech’, 19 June 1954, CO 822/770/75, TNA. Twining had organised a parade of soldiers to march the skull from Iringa to Kalenga after giving it to Adam Sapi.
A master politician, Adam Sapi would later move from being the archetype of a native authority under indirect rule to a staunch nationalist under Julius Nyerere. At the repatriation ceremony, Adam Sapi shrewdly followed Twining’s lead. He gave a short speech that aligned with Twining’s aims. Yet he also returned the narrative to Mkwawa and one that marked a ceremonial repatriation. He stressed that he hoped the moment of repatriation would be celebrated each year. Equal space

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Adam Sapi became the chairman of the Tanzanian National Assembly. In the 1982 Adam Sapi visited Germany. Unlike Twining’s trip to West Germany to find Mkwawa’s skull, Adam Sapi went to East Germany, giving a speech in praise of the German Democratic Republic’s anti-imperialism support in Southern Africa. ‘Late Report: Delegation Visiting Tanzania’, East Berlin Neues Deutschland, 17 August 1982.
was given, however, to flattering Twining’s ego. Speaking in English, Adam Sapi told Twining and the crowd:

On behalf of the Hehe tribe and my family, I am most grateful to the British Government, and to you personally, Sir, for the restoration of Mtwa Mkwawa’s skull to the tribe. You realize, Sir, the tremendous importance which has been added to the history of the tribe by today’s event…In our homes your name will always be remembered and associated with the unremitting effort Your Excellency has made in the return of the skull form Germany to the Hehe tribe. By your act, Sir, the honour and prestige of my people and of my family has been fully restored.691

Adam Sapi was similarly constrained to not mention the Treaty of Versailles. His speech, therefore, sought to allude to it. The reference that Twining brought the skull from Germany, and the use of the term ‘restored’ both served to highlight Twining’s personal efforts in fulfilling article 246. He praised Twining for bringing Mkwawa’s skull back to Kalenga, even if it was something Twining manufactured based on the skulls he was able to find. Adam Sapi also extended the notion of restitution into an exchange of loyalty. Adam Sapi confirmed to Twining that the return of Mkwawa’s head would create loyalty across the colony. He concluded by speaking on behalf of all Tanganyika. ‘We, Tanganyikans, are all aware, Sir, of the distinguished services you have rendered to this territory’, Adam Sapi told Twining. ‘[I]n return for which we have nothing to offer…but our deep rooted loyalty to Her Majesty’s Government and to Your Excellency, our simple thanks’.

Adam Sapi and Mkwawa’s skull were escorted to Kalenga in a Land Rover. The procession invoking a symbol of modern British civilisation and progress to which Twining had boasted of in his speech. Flanked by soldiers from the 6th K.A.R and with a Wahehe cavalcade walking behind, the parade under Adam Sapi’s control transitioned from the military spectacle Twining had created into a more sombre funeral procession. Twining took off his military uniform and put on a business suit. They drove two and a half kilometres to Kalenga. Fifty-six years after

691 ‘Speech by Chief Adam Sapi, M.B.E., M.L.C., at the Ceremony of the Return of the Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe on Saturday, 19th June, 1954’, 822/770, TNA.
Mkwawa’s suicide and thirty-five years after the drafting of article 246, on 16 June 1954 Mkwawa’s head was solemnly repatriated. There, in the mausoleum that would become the Mkwawa Museum, Chief Mkwawa’s skull, still in the same glass box the Bremen Museum had packed it in, was placed on a pillar. Governor Twining was the first to sign the logbook.

‘Skullduggery’
Twining successfully controlled the narrative of reparation. Twining created rumours Mkwawa’s skull had been found, travelled to Germany and brought a skull he turned into Mkwawa’s back to the colony. In 1988, a letter to the editor was published in *The Times*. Guy Yeoman wrote in to say that he had ‘the good fortune to be present’ the day Mkwawa’s head was repatriated to Kalenga.692 Yeoman quoted in his letter from the 1954 pamphlet, something he boasted as still being in his possession. He wrote of the way Twining had placed great emphasis on the ‘unusual familial cephalic index, of 71 per cent, of the Mkwawa family; the calibre of the bullet; the position of the wounds and the sworn statements of those responsible for the decapitation’.693 Yeoman added that several elderly Wahehe had told him that the skull returned that day had ‘a bony protuberance...which they claimed was a characteristic of the royal line’.694 Yeoman then publically questioned the authenticity of the skull. According to him, Twining confessed to him later that ‘at the Bremen museum he had been faced with a large number of unlabelled skulls and a short time

692 Guy Henry Yeoman, a self-described ‘veterinary surgeon and explorer’, worked in Tanzania researching cattle diseases and wrote two books on his explorations and zoogeography. He worked with the colonial office during the Second World War, recruiting askari in Tanganyika to fight in Burma. All of the soldiers he enlisted were killed when their troopship was sunk on 12 February 1944, killing 1511. Yeoman’s service in the colony and with the war efforts explains why he was in Twining’s confidence during the 1950s. ‘Obituaries’, Tanzanian Affairs, No. 62 (1 January 1999), https://www.tzaffairs.org/1999/01/obituaries-28/ (accessed 21 September 2019). See also G.H. Yeoman, *Africa’s Mountains of the Moon: Journeys to the Snowy Sources of the Nile* (London: Elm Tree, 1989); G.H. Yeoman, *The Ixodid Ticks of Tanzania: A Study of the Zoogeography of the Ixodidae of an East African Country* (London: Commonwealth Institute of Entomology, 1967).


694 This is in reference to the ‘horn’ of Mkwawa caused by the scarring of a wound. Yeoman’s recollection may be off, as he is reporting this 30 years later and is unable to quote this fact from the pamphlet.
at his disposal’. So Twining ‘simply had to select the most likely candidate’. Unable to draw publicity due to his visit, Twining had spent one day in Germany. He selected a skull quickly and then later added in evidence for it, along with spiritual powers. For Yeoman, Twining had picked the wrong skull. Yeoman wrote that ‘some time later, I was shown an old photograph belonging to von Prince’s son, of a freshly prepared skull’. Here Yeoman is referring to the same photograph in this dissertation (Figure 4). The photograph ‘showed gunshot damage which was incompatible, in my opinion, with that of the official specimen’. Yeoman speculated that the damage to the skull returned by Twining did not align with the damage in the photo. Much like Adam Sapi, Yeoman concluded ‘Skullduggery? – perhaps, but Wahehe pride was satisfied, and honour at last done to one of the most notable of early African nationalists’.

Yeoman’s letter to the editor was written thirty-four years after the repatriation ceremony and twenty-one years after Twining’s death. Nonetheless, it replicated Twining’s main evidentiary points. Yeoman did not understand the cephalic index, calling the measurement a percentage, yet he still repeated the statement with the number ‘71’ in 1988. He also referenced forensic details of the bullet hole’s angle and size, as Twining attempted to show in 1954. For Yeoman, the importance was that the Wahehe, irrespective of the skull’s true identity, had accepted it as authentic. In the publicity around the skull in the 1950s, the damage to the skull was largely ignored and media coverage instead fixated on the cephalic index. In the Life coverage of the repatriation ceremony, the writeup was less than 100 words, with four large photos. Its limited text nevertheless stated ‘To identify Mkwawa’s head, Twining measured chief Adam’s, found both had cephalic index of

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695 Yeoman saw the exact same print of the same photo that I was shown. I met daughter of von Prince’s son, who met Yeoman.
696 The wound in the photo is heavily obscured.
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71’, leaving it to their general readers to interpret the meaning of the cephalic index.698

The Tanganyika Standard used the repatriation event to cement Twining’s propagandist overtones of unity and control. Three different articles were produced regarding the repartition ceremony, flanked by columns such as ‘Mau Mau fled “with tails between their legs”’, as part of an extensive media campaign to maintain colonial control.699 One article portrayed the return of the skull as an example of the ‘human approach to the administration of the territory’ and its ‘deep understanding of the legitimate desires of the indigenous peoples of this country’. Twining’s paternal care in creating repatriation showed, according to the Standard his ‘peaceful and progressive outlook’ invested with the ‘personal interest taken by [Twining] and all who have the welfare of the country at heart’. The newspaper assured Tanganyika readers that ‘every man and woman in the country’ irrespective ‘of tribe or community’ will ‘enjoy the blessings of lasting prosperity’ so long as they continue to live in ‘the spirit of cooperation’.700 Coverage of the ceremonial return was given in Kiswahili, which included reprinting, in English, of Adam Sapi’s signed statement of authenticity.701

The Treaty of Versailles was never mentioned in Anglophone or Kiswahili press coverage. The Times reported ‘Chief Mkwawa shot himself in 1898... and Sir Edward Twining had traced the skull in (sic) Bremen museum last year’, omitting fifty-five years of the skull’s history.702 The Daily Telegraph wrote that Mkwawa’s

700 ‘History is Made’, The Tanganyika Standard, 26 June 1954.
701 ‘Mkwawa’s Skull: Wehehe Wamerudishiwa Fuu La Kichwa Cha Chifu Mkwawa’, The Tanganyika Standard, 26 June 1954. The reprinting of Adam Sapi’s sworn statement served to prove authenticity and acceptance of the skull. This was foreshadowed in an article nine days previously reporting on the return of Joseph Haydn’s skull in Austria, which stated starkly ‘this skull was accepted without question and with proper dignity’ after being ‘placed in a glass case’. The text of this article could have been replicated verbatim in the Standard’s coverage of Mkwawa’s head. ‘Haydn Gets His Head Back After 145 Years’, The Tanganyika Standard, 19 June 1954.

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‘head was removed by the triumphant Germans. After that it disappeared’. Twining’s jests of its spectral qualities were attributed to the Wahehe, who ‘attach supernatural powers to the skull and have long been pressing for its return’.703 The Manchester Guardian hinted at article 246, stating ‘in 1918, when Tanganyika became a British mandate, Mkwawa’s grave had become a centre of patriotic sentiment and the tribesmen asked the British Administration if they could arrange for the skull’s return’. The text, however, then moved to ‘the Germans denied that it had ever gone to Germany’ and instead focused on the ‘longheadedness’ of Mkwawa with his ‘uncommon cephalic index of 71’.704 In a bolster to indirect rule, the article concluded with the fact that ‘it is a striking thought that the grandson of the old warrior now sits as a member of the country’s Executive Council’.705

Readers had to add back in the prominence of the skull due to its connection to the Treaty of Versailles.706 In the next issue of Life, after first reporting the return of Mkwawa’s skull, publisher Heinz Norden wrote to the editor to say the article failed to mention article 246.707 Norden quoted the treaty text in full, and then added ‘the identity of the skull now buried as Mkwawa’s cannot be accepted beyond question, there was a story among the Wahehe that Mkwawa’s head had been surreptitiously exchanged and ceremoniously buried in the grave of his father, deep in the night’.708 Norden, fluent in German, based his claims on a recent Der Spiegel article.

703 ‘Governor’s Search—For A Skull’, Daily Telegraph, 21 June 1954.
705 ‘Journey of a Skull’, Manchester Guardian, 21 June 1954. The Manchester Guardian erroneously assumed ‘no doubt [the skull] will be duly buried in the dead chief’s grave’.
706 By 1958, media coverage of Mkwawa was freed to mention his skull’s connection to the Treaty of Versailles. See for example William Davis, ‘The Lost Skull of Mkwawa’, The Tanganyika Standard, 31 January 1958.
Just two months after the return of the skull, *Der Spiegel* ran a story that produced a series of internal memos between Twining and the Colonial Office. The 25 August 1954 article ‘Schädel zur Auswahl’ (‘Skulls for Selection’) began directly with a connection to the Treaty of Versailles, the part of the history that Twining was forbidden to tell. The opening line of the text calls article 246 ‘the oddest of all the articles of the Versailles Treaty of 1919’. Written shortly after the ceremonial return of Mkwawa’s head to the Wahehe, the *Der Spiegel* article questioned the authenticity of this skull. The article can be seen as a 1954 version of the German White Book. Pointing to a gap in media reporting, *Der Spiegel* stated that ‘reports on the solemn return of the skull…failed to realise that this is the second alleged Mkwawa skull to be restored to the Wahehe and that—to complete the measure of ridiculousness—the corpus delicti of Article 246…had never really arrived in Germany’. The authors alleged that in the 1920s, Germany’s Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann responded to the demands for Mkwawa’s skull by stating, “Simply send three skulls for selection” (‘Schicken Sie einfach drei Schädel zur Auswahl’, thus the article’s title)... The files of the German Foreign Office did not contain the slightest indication of the presence of that skull in Germany’. The implication being that Germany had never collected Mkwawa’s skull. As the treaty failed to give any identifying classifications, Mkwawa’s head was indistinguishable from any of the skulls held in German universities, laboratories, museums, or private collections.

The *Der Spiegel* article was brought to the attention of the British Foreign Office via the UK High Commission in Bonn, who dismissed it as being ‘a scurrilous article in which it was asserted that the whole affair was an elaborate hoax.’ The article lost journalistic credibility when it claimed that the ‘legend around Makaua’s

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710 ‘Schädel zur Auswahl’ 25 Aug. 1954. 21. I have standardised the spelling of ‘Mkwawa’ in my translation.

skull had been spun in 1916 by a Whisky-drinking British Resident Officer in East Africa'. Importantly, this article alluded to the division between German and British colonial undertakings, where it mocks the British justification of their colonial empire under the aegis of spreading civilisation. The article stated that it was that Whisky-drinking colonial agent’s ‘function…to persuade the Wahehe to leave their huts and to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British for the salvation of European culture and civilisation’. This could also be read as a criticism of Twining directly, who returned Mkwawa’s head by first attempting to recruit Wahehe warriors into the King’s African Rifles and awarding one Wahehe a medal of gallantry in the fight against Mau Mau colonial resisters in Kenya. Indeed, the depictions of the Whisky-drinking Officer and Twining align within Der Spiegel when ‘he called the Wahehe warriors to a great palaver and roared at them that in the war against Germany the happiness and the future of their tribe was at stake, because the Germans had stolen the skull of the great Mkwawa and with it the happiness of the Wahehe. Together with the British, the gallant could now reconquer what they had lost’. The tone of sarcasm within the article, highlighted particularly with the remark on reconquering what has been lost, can also be read as a veiled commentary on the British Empire as decolonisation movements intensified across the globe.

The article then claimed, erroneously, that Wahehe warriors were recruited to fight ‘the fierce battles of the first World War’ not in Africa but in Europe, where the few who survived, ‘before they returned to Africa at the end of the war…were given a paper in Paris, which they willingly signed, though they did not understand its contents…thereby they created…Article 246’. The historical accuracy of the article is incorrect. After Mkwawa’s death, black Africans had been conscripted under German forces and fought against the British during the First World War and never left East Africa. The article, however, sought to create a narrative that article 246 was crafted by the British and French agenda to humiliate a defeated Germany. It is a

712 ‘Schädel zur Auswahl’, 21.
correct assertion. According to the text the Wahehe signed bureaucratic papers without being able to understand or read them, pushing a clause onto Germany under the colonial trope of children being led by paternalistic forces. The reference to Wahehe warriors fighting and dying in European battlefields perhaps also alludes to the 1931 anti-war novel by Rudolf Frank *Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua* (*The Skull of the Negro-Chief Mkwawa*), which had been banned under national socialism in 1933. In that novel a group of German soldiers encounter Muslim fighters from British colonies who have joined the war in order to have Mkwawa’s head returned to them. While historically inaccurate, the novel attempted to contrast the motivations for fighting, with Muslim colonial soldiers’ tribalised zealotry running counter to that of the conscripted protagonists. The *Der Spiegel* article stated that the Wahehe, content with the ‘provisional happy end…to this old story…did not know what to do with the alleged skull of Makaua’, and thus ended up losing it. Once again, it is suggested that in the childish nature of the colonised, the Wahehe were unable to deal with the returned head in a proper European way and thus it was ‘lost’ through them. It is no coincidence that this text appeared directly above an image of Adam Sapi uncovering Mkwawa’s head during the ceremonial return. The caption below the photo of Sapi was titled, ‘A Whisky Idea- the solemn delivery of the alleged skull of the Sultan’, calling into question the authenticity of the skull and of Mkwawa’s status as a sultan, while also suggesting that the British trope of drunkenness expanded to their Wahehe subjects.

The anti-British stance of the article became much more pronounced in the way it used Adam Sapi, inventing him as a foil to which *Der Spiegel* could attack British conduct in the years since the drafting of the treaty. The article states that the British Empire’s press propagated a rumour in 1937 that Adolf Hitler had recovered ‘the genuine skull of Makaua’ and would use this ‘“sacred relic”…to entice the Wahehe to rebel against the British’. Claiming that Adam Sapi was ‘annoyed by

713 This novel is discussed in the Afterword of this dissertation.
these English lies’, the article then invented a letter from Sapi, supposedly written to his German friends in which he said:

Dear German Friends, my grandfather was a robber and committed suicide when your soldiers came to avenge the murder of a whole expedition. According to our custom suicide is cowardice and brings shame upon the family. For that reason my relatives buried him in secret and we kept silent. I myself travelled to Germany and learnt your language and writing. I was in Munich where they have such good beer. During the war I was already back in Africa, when the British District Officer told me his lies. My relatives and I wanted to reveal the truth about the skull, but we had to remain silent. Because the British are now bringing this matter up again in their newspapers, I opened the secret grave together with my relatives—we alone know where it is—and we found that the bones and the skull are still perfectly preserved. I am writing this because the truth must be said.714

The ‘whisky-idea’ used a British type of alcohol to mock British colonial rule. Alcohol and alcoholism play into the portrayal of the Wahehe as well, with Adam Sapi inheriting his father’s suggested alcoholism or being mistaken for Sapi Mkwawa. The authors meant to have the printed statement come from Sapi Mkwawa. Adam Sapi’s father was stripped of his chieftaincy for drunkenness and had previously lived in Germany for his formative years. The trope of a fondness for alcohol appeared with Sapi pausing his confession to praise the Munich beer. Suicide was not a customary taboo in Wahehe society. Mkwawa’s suicide was hailed as a victory, robbing Germany of the opportunity to execute him. The implication of Adam Sapi’s relatives were involved in a conspiracy around Mkwawa’s non-decapitation and hiding his burial brought back the notion that Mkwawa’s head had never left East Africa. It is telling that in the fake Sapi letter written for Der Spiegel, he states that the British government brought up the Treaty of Versailles’ obligation to return Mkwawa’s head in ‘newspapers’, showcasing that it was within public media, rather than the diplomatic or political sphere where colonial history would be replayed.

Der Spiegel, however, concluded its muckraking article with a more accurate narrative when it discussed the contemporary colonial endeavours of the British
Empire, mirroring the White Book but with an extra three decades of British colonial violence. The article stated that ‘Britain has again need [of] Wahehe soldiers—this time to fight Mau-Mau. The Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, paid a personal visit to Western Germany, where he looked for, and found, the guaranteed genuine skull of the Sultan in a museum in Bremen’. Once again, this short article brings back into question Twining’s accuracy in selecting the correct skull, with a satirical play on the term ‘guaranteed genuine’ (garantiert echten) to lampoon Twining’s efforts in Bremen and the certificate of authenticity he made Adam Sapi sign. It is also alluding back to the title of this article and the three skulls Gustav Stresemann said should be sent to Britain in 1920. Twining indeed used the retrieval of Mkwawa’s skull as a recruitment drive for enlistment. His entire efforts to find Mkwawa’s head were motivated to contain decolonisation movements and suppress the Mau Mau rebellion.\footnote{As well as gain Twining prestige as the only person to fulfill article 246.} The article’s final paragraph mocks Twining for ‘hand[ing] over to the Wahehe the “precious” skull, exhibited in a glass case’ while having the ‘Guard of Honour of the Tanganyika Battalion on parade’. Der Spiegel noted that it was this battalion that needed reinforcement to hold the line against the Kenyan crisis spilling into Tanganyika and correctly insisted that Twining pushed for ‘young Wahehe…[to] show their gratitude for the British solicitude…by volunteering to fight against Mau-Mau.’\footnote{Schädel zur Auswahl’, 22.}

Colonial archival records show that the Der Spiegel article was read by many actors involved in the 1953-1954 recovery of Mkwawa’s head. In the Colonial Office, E.B. David called it ‘a disgraceful piece of journalism’ and lamented how ‘regrettable [it is] that this jarring note should have been introduced into a transaction which has been characterised by such friendly co-operation between the authorities [in Germany and the British Empire].’\footnote{‘Letter from E.B. David to S.H. Gellatly’, 1 October 1954, CO 822/770/58, TNA.} In the unsent first draft of his letter, however, E.B. David suggested that it should be left to the Foreign Office and to ‘the High Commissioner in Bonn to decide what if anything can be done about’ the Der Spiegel
article, noting that ‘as we understand, Germany is anxious to cultivate good relations with the African peoples, if only in connection with trade relations’, and thus this article, or perhaps drawing further public and government attention to this article was ‘obviously the wrong way to go about it.’

Edward Twining, having been directly named in the article, wrote that ‘it is quite obvious that the article is a fabrication and it is based on a fanciful story which the Germans tried to draw across the true path in the inter-war years as a red herring to put us off.’ For Twining, the question of the skull’s authenticity most upset him. Der Spiegel undercut his efforts in brokering the return of Mkwawa and his role in it. But critically it also called into question if the skull he returned was Mkwawa’s. Twining recounted the rumour that ‘the story ran that the true skull had been stolen from the [German] District Commissioner’s house at Iringa and another one substituted and that the real one had been buried at the dead of night by the Sultan’s family’. For Twining, ‘there is no truth whatsoever in this or in any of the assertions in the letter’. It is the closest Twining comes to mentioning, and thus dismissing, the way he had used the skull’s return to control Tanganyika. Instead, Twining saw the article as a personal attack. He used the foil of Adam Sapi to vent his own frustrations. Twining claimed to have advised Adam Sapi that ‘he could possibly claim substantial damages for libel’ but that Sapi, as well as the British government, ‘should do nothing about it except to leave it to its own obscurity’. E.B. David concurred, telling Twining that he ‘understands what distress this must have occasioned to Chief Adam Sapi and I only wish there was some satisfactory way in which we could bring the author to book without giving further publicity to the article’.

British colonial policies, colonial conduct, and colonial violence have a complicated relationship in media representations outside of the scope of this

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718 ‘Draft Letter from E.B. David to S.H. Gellatly’, 1 October 1954, CO 822/770, TNA.
720 ‘Letter from Twining to David’, 21 September 1954, CO 822/770/60, TNA.
chapter and, indeed, this dissertation as a whole. Rather, this chapter has focused on the *Der Spiegel* article as it is one of a very few newspaper features to critically cover the repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull. It was also the only publication to mention article 246, as it existed outside of British censorship. And while it challenges British entanglements with Mau Mau and the use of Mkwawa’s skull as a form of soft anti-German hostility, the article downplayed the actual violence of colonial encounters, similar to the White Book’s response to the Blue Book. It casually mentioned that there were enough skulls existing within 1920s Germany that three could simply be laid out to satisfy the requirements of article 246. This fit with the supposed confession by Twining to Yeoman that he encountered numerous skulls in Bremen and hastily chose one he could pass off as Mkwawa’s. Little is said, however, of German colonial history or the actual practices of collecting skulls.
2019 is poised to mark the start of a more globalised shift in institutional decolonisation. Nowhere is this more active than in the quest to have artefacts, human or material, repatriated. As German forces first took Mkwawa’s head, this chapter explores present-day Germany’s relationship in the making of their colonial history and the return of colonial objects alongside other European reparation movements.

When Germany pursued its ‘place in the sun’ in 1884, the compressed German overseas empire began its thirty-five year reign. Universal among colonial enterprises were the implicit episodes of violence that facilitated imperial expansion, either in the form of military campaigns against colonised people or in the very nature of subjugation and control that denied self-determination. German colonialism stands out as ‘the first genocide of the twentieth century’ in Southwest Africa, what is today Namibia. Since 1885, Germany has slowly been coming to

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722 This phrase goes back to the 6 December 1897 Reichstag deliberation when Bernhard von Bülow, the Foreign Secretary, declared: ‘wir wollen niemand in den Schatten stellen, aber wir verlangen auch unseren Platz an der Sonne’ (We do not want to put anyone in the shadow, but we also demand our place in the sun). See Fürst Bülows Reden nebst urkundlichen Beiträgen zu seiner Politik: I Band, 1897-1903, ed. Johannes Penzler (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1907), 8.


terms with its colonial past.\footnote{225} Public debates over colonial legacies have, however, accelerated quickly in recent years.\footnote{226} Indeed, it is arguably 2019, one hundred years since the official end of the German empire, which may become the watershed year for widespread engagement with Germany’s colonial past. The movement stems from a combination of three critical public debates. The first is the process of recognising and acknowledging the genocide of 1904-1908, which has spread into diplomatic, legal, and social spheres, coming to a head during the one hundredth anniversary in 2004. The second debate centres on the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, in which colonialism and colonial legacies play a major, though not fully acknowledged, role. Finally, the third is the creation of the Humboldt Forum, a new museum in Berlin set to open, to controversy, at the end of 2019.\footnote{227}

**COMING TO TERMS WITH THE COLONIAL PAST**

Germany’s colonial legacies intersect with processes of restitution and repatriation to reveal the ways the nation has attempted to come to terms with its past.\footnote{228} German museums, research institutes, and government agencies have engaged in repatriation as a form of restitution disconnected from the more politically and legally

\footnote{225} By at least 1904, we see the German press attempting to address colonial crimes in the making. For one example on satirical tropes of this backlash in the German publication *Simplicissimus* see Jeremiah Garsha, ‘Picturing German Colonialism: “Simplicissimus” 1904 Special Issue’, *Przegląd Zachodni*, Vol. 1, No. 350 (2014), 189-207.

\footnote{226} In this way, public recognition of the past matches the rapid plunge Germany took into modernity. From industrial revolution, unification, and colonialism, Germany moved comparatively late into what Christopher Bayly called ‘a process of emulation and borrowing’ as well as a period which ‘encompassed the rise of the nation-state, demanding centralization of power or loyalty to an ethnic solidarity, alongside a massive expansion of global commercial and intellectual links’. C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 10; 11.

\footnote{227} The opening of the museum will likely be delayed until 2020, as the project is behind schedule.

complicated issues of reparation. Returning artefacts and human remains have currently placed Germany in a position to act as a harbinger that other former colonial powers can follow.

In postcolonial historical narratives, collective and personal memory often intertwines. This chapter centres on the return of objects. Looted artefacts stress the material collection and plundering still on display in European museums. Human remains, often hidden within collections, are body parts turned into specimens. The process of grappling with the colonial past, due to its intersection with museums and universities, takes place in public. Museum display pieces and the politics of museums themselves intersect with academics becoming activists. Historical debates about colonialism unfold in opinion pieces and on social media.

The keeping of human remains, particularly the body parts of victims of genocide, is a continuation of colonial practices. It could arguably be seen as a violation of article 2(b) of the 1948 Genocide Convention, ‘causing serious...mental harm to members’ of a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group’.729 Further, it aligns with denial, Gregory Stanton’s tenth stage of genocide.730 These scattered remains stand in as mass graves hidden in plain sight for body parts on display, and the denial aspect becomes all the more apparent for human remains locked up in research institutions. Additional stages from Stanton’s list, specifically classification (stage 1), symbolisation (stage 2), discrimination (stage 3), and dehumanisation


(stage 4), are also revealed where body parts, particularly skulls, have been collected. Human remains became specimens for the purposes of classification, and in storage or on display they are still linked to invented ethnic and racial groups created as colonial justification. Body parts collected as trophies and souvenirs facilitate symbolisation, as do skulls where supposed features elucidated, for example, outward behaviours such as ‘martial qualities’. The process for repatriation continues to replicate discrimination, as it is the descendants of victims who must initiate claims for return, prove a connected genealogy, and often have to broker repatriation as third parties since repatriation negotiations can only take place between recognised states. Human remains, classified and stored as objects, continue to resonate as props of dehumanisation, separated from the cultural and religious burial and funerary practices of their people. Repatriating human remains, therefore, offers a clear and seemingly uncomplicated method of restitution.

Looted colonial artefacts add a layer of complexity. Ownership and the means by which artefacts were collected have murky historical records. While the withholding of human remains, once located and identified, becomes more difficult to justify on a global stage, colonial artefacts took many forms. Some were freely given or collected under reciprocal exchanges. Other objects may have been crafted with the specific intent for them to be sold to explorers, colonists, and collectors. Many, of course, are looted objects, taken under force. The paths these artefacts took to reach the metropole and become displayed materials are numerous and interwoven. It can be argued that even the most overt examples of materials legitimately collected are still stolen items. Under colonial systems, there was no fair exchange and any transaction between colonisers and the colonised is an example of an acquisition taken under duress.

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731 Physical characteristics were one of many observations made by colonial administrations to deem a race or group ‘martial’. See Rand and Wagner, ‘Recruiting the “martial races”’, 232-254.
A History of Genocide

2019 is not the first centennial in German colonialism to create social, cultural, legal, and political movements with rippling changes. In 2004, the German minister of economic cooperation and development, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul issued an apology for genocide under German colonialism from 1904 to 1908.732 Her speech acknowledged the violence inflicted by German colonial powers. Yet she signalled that resistance took many forms. Wieczorek-Zeul cited the armed struggle by Ovaherero, Nama, and Damara people while adding the self-congratulatory fact that German politician August Bebel condemned the genocide in a 1904 parliament debate. Bebel was the social democrat chairman in 1904, the same political party as Wieczorek-Zeul.733 In her speech, Wieczorek-Zeul indicated that commemorative events are engagements with reconciliation, while famously admitting that ‘the atrocities committed at that time would today be termed genocide—and nowadays a [sic] General von Trotha (the military leader who issued the extermination order) would be prosecuted and convicted’ under international law.734

734 Quoted in Romanowsky, ‘Analysis of an Apology’. On 1 September 2019 the German Development Minister Gerd Mueller repeated Wieczorek-Zeul’s statement during his visit to Namibia. He stated: ‘It is our job not to forget but to work through the German colonial history and strengthen the reconciliation process. It is in the meantime clear that the crimes and abominations from 1904 to 1908 were what we today describe as genocide’. Mueller also reported that other senior politicians such as the premier of Schleswig Holstein use the term ‘genocide’ when discussing Germany’s historical violence in South-West Africa. Madeline Chambers, ‘German Minister Calls Colonial-Era Killings in Namibia “Genocide”, Reuters, 2 September 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-namibia/german-minister-calls-colonial-era-killings-in-namibia-genocide-idUSKCN1VN1DM (accessed 2 September 2019).
Wieczorek-Zeul’s concession has since been argued to be more an emotional outburst, rather than official recognition that would come with obligatory restitution payments. The German government has argued that development aid given to Namibia rights the historical wrongs. Nonetheless, the speech was an important foundational moment that led to subsequent talks between the German and Namibian governments. Critically absent from discussions has been the survivor groups of Ovaherero, Nama, and Damara people, whom do not see the Namibian government and its single political party with an Ovambo majority as their representatives. Statements posted last year on the website for the German Embassy in Namibia further entrench the position that negotiations are not about restitution. It is a calculated move by the German government to avoid paying reparations to victims of colonialism, including the Wahehe in Tanzania; similar to the $80 billion USD it has paid since 1952 to victims of the Holocaust. In an article on 9 April 2018, the German foreign office remarked that ‘there is no legal basis for material claims against Germany’ due to the historical distance ‘of events from the colonial past’ and that talks between German and Namibian governments ‘therefore cannot address compensation payments or reparations’. This publication showed the intention to

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come to terms with ‘this terrible chapter in history politically’ by ‘overcoming the effects of the colonial period in Namibia that can still be felt to this day’.738

When Wieczorek-Zeul addressed the crowd on the centennial of the genocide, she said ‘We Germans accept our historical and moral responsibility and the guilt incurred by Germans at that time’.739 The German Embassy, with an essential legal clarification, echoed this admission. According to the German government:

the atrocities committed in Germany’s name at the time constituted what would now be called genocide, although it only proved possible to define and legally codify the crime of ‘genocide’ after the Holocaust. For this reason, the talks are also looking at putting the term ‘genocide’ in the historical and political context.740

For this chapter, it is Wieczorek-Zeul’s emphasis on coming to terms with the past that is most revealing and best displayed with her quote ‘without a conscious process of remembering, without sorrow, there can be no reconciliation’.741 Or, as the German Embassy clarified in 2018, ‘the German Government aims to ask for forgiveness for the events on the basis of an agreed text’ based on ‘Germany’s special responsibility on account of this past’. This statement seems to imply that Germany has a special responsibility to engage in coming to terms with colonial legacies.742

Press coverage leading up to Wieczorek-Zeul’s visit centred on a lawsuit filed in the United States using the Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789, a piece of legislation that has been interpreted to allow foreign nationals to use American courts to file civil claims for violations of international law. Ovaherero and Nama groups have sued the German government over German companies deemed to have profit from colonisation in Namibia. Just a month before Wieczorek-Zeul’s centennial visit,

739 Quoted in Romanowsky, ‘Analysis of an Apology’.
740 ‘Addressing Germany and Namibia’s past’, German Embassy Windhoek. Emphasis mine.
741 Quoted in Romanowsky, ‘Analysis of an Apology’.
742 ‘Addressing Germany and Namibia’s past’, German Embassy Windhoek. The mention of the term ‘special’ within this context seems also to create an allusion to the Sonderweg thesis, an out-dated theory that German historiography has developed along a ‘special path’ unique from other European nations.
Wolfgang Massing, the German ambassador to Namibia dismissed the lawsuit as doomed to fail. He interestingly redefined reconciliation aims with his statement: ‘While it is necessary to remember the past, we should move forward together and find projects that will heal the wounds of the past’.743 As of the submission of this dissertation, the lawsuit is still ongoing in American courts. On 7 March 2019, the Namibian delegation faced a legal defeat when the US District judge rejected the grounds under which the suit is based. In her decision, judge Laura Taylor Swain opined that the United States, and thus Swain’s courtroom, did not have jurisdiction over Germany, as Germany is protected under the federal Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976. Germany’s legal representative, Ruprecht Polenz, alluded to the Ambassador Massing’s quoted above, by saying that the ruling was predictable and Polenz cited German negotiation with the Namibian government as being ‘not a legal but [rather] a political-moral issue’.744 As the court case has shown; however, the political and moral dimensions of colonial issues cross into legal ones, all the while playing out as social engagements on the politics of memory.

The process through which the Ovaherero and Nama plaintiffs have set up their appeal is particularly striking. Their attorney, Kenneth McCallion, has stated that an appeal against the sovereignty immunity will be based on the fact that material culture, stolen by German colonists, came to be housed in the United States. Legally, this triggers exceptions for commercial activity under improper ‘takings’. Property has been taken from Namibia in violation of international law and has entered into US commerce, thus establishing legal jurisdiction in the United States for this case. This property is colonial looted artefacts. According to the Namibian plaintiffs, the property includes the human remains of genocide victims that were

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sold by the wife of German anthropologist Felix von Luschan to the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH).\textsuperscript{745} The German legal counsel has countered that the skulls found in the AMHN collections were from a private donation and thus could not be considered a commercial exchange between Germany and the United States.\textsuperscript{746} Irrespective of the eventual legal outcome of this court case, its existence and the media attention it has garnered open ‘a new and multifaceted debate on history and the past…contributing to a debate that is driven neither by nationalistic rhetoric nor ethnic exclusiveness’.\textsuperscript{747}

The 2004 genocide apology, US court case, and the recent clarifications of what reconciliation means from the perspective of the current German government, all focus on the notion that repatriation of human remains and colonial artefacts as restitution. Following Wieczorek-Zeul’s 2004 speech, it was assumed that this would mark the start of a series public of negotiations, bring about a semblance of reconciliation, and create restitution, not only between Germany and Namibia but also across Germany’s former empire. 2019 marks the fourteenth year since Wieczorek-Zeul’s apology, and while little progress has been made since 2004 regarding reconciliation and reparations, repatriation has proven to be an invaluable, and universal, form of coming to terms with the colonial past.

A ‘Forum’ for Returning Human Remains and Looted Artefacts

Germany has excelled in returning human remains in recent years. In an article published by the German Embassy in 2018, the concluding paragraph is devoted to the repatriation of human remains. It states that the German government sees

\textsuperscript{745} ‘US judge dismisses genocide claims’. Von Luschan’s collections were believed to contain Mkwawa’s skull, however this has never been proven. Von Luschan did, however, come into possession of Mkwawa’s father’s skull between 1896 and 1899.

\textsuperscript{746} Kenneth McCallion has also argued that German properties in New York were purchased using funds earned under slave labour and through the stealing of property during the 1904-1908 genocide. See Howard Rechavia Taylor, ‘US Court Hears Case Against Germany Over Namibia Genocide’, \textit{Al Jazeera News}, 31 July 2018, \url{https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/court-hears-case-germany-namibia-genocide-180731201918543.html} (accessed 1 June 2019).

\textsuperscript{747} Gesine Krüger, ‘Coming to Terms With the Past’, \textit{German Historical Institute Bulletin}, No. 37 (Fall 2005), 49.
repatriation of human remains ‘as an important part of addressing the past’. The article notes: ‘a number of human remains from Namibia are stored in German museums and research institutes’ bones that were ‘stolen during the colonial period, brought to Germany without respect for human dignity and cultural and religious practices, and used for supposed scientific purposes’.748 Beginning in 2011, Germany repatriated twenty skulls to Namibia that were collected during the 1904-1908 genocide.749 Another twenty-five skulls were repatriated in August 2018.750 In April 2019 Germany repatriated fifty-three Australian aboriginal skulls, in the largest repatriation of remains by Germany to date.751 Tanzanian activists are also pushing Germany for claims of repatriation, inspired in part by the Ovaherero and Nama court case.752 The growing movement to return human remains has caused a re-evaluation of museum and research holdings. Germany’s repatriation of skulls recently inspired the Swedish government to return twenty-five collected skulls to the indigenous Sami people in August 2019, with the Swedish culture minister citing ‘international criticism of how Sweden has worked with the repatriation question’ promising to ‘now…make good on our responsibility.753 The Swedish government will issue a 2020 report on new guidelines for human remains in museum collections, and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in 2019 to address historical and ongoing abuse against the Sami.754

748 ‘Addressing Germany and Namibia’s past’, German Embassy Windhoek.
749 For coverage of this entire process, see Leonor Faber-Jonker, More Than Just An Object. A Material Analysis of the Return and Retention of Namibian Skulls from Germany (Leiden: Africa Studies Centre Leiden, 2018).
754 In this way, Sweden’s approach to repatriation aligned with Canada and its TRC, itself informed by South Africa’s example. Australia and Canada, in many ways, lead the way for how settler societies should come to terms with the colonial past through repatriation. Settler societies are absent from this chapter as it instead focuses on the ways nations geographically removed from their former colonies
There is currently no universal policy guiding repatriation. Countries and even individual holding facilities set their own guidelines. The German Association of Museums published ‘Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts’ in both German and English in July 2018. A code of conduct was published as well. It shows, however, that repatriation is considered a last resort. First, it states, museums should seek long-term loans and joint custody agreements. Yet repatriation claims are moving forward in recent years at an

have encountered repatriation efforts, using Germany, the United Kingdom, and France as the primary case studies. On Australia as a case study, see Paul Turnbull, Science Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 329-356; James L. Cox, Restoring the Chain of Memory: T.G.H Strehlow and the Repatriation of Australian Indigenous Knowledge (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2018); for Canadian case-studies see Catherine E. Bell and Robert K. Paterson, Protection of First Nations Cultural Heritage: Laws, Policy, and Reform (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009); and for an interesting intersection of Canadian policies occurring with UK museum holdings, see, Cara Ann Krmpotich and Laura L. Peers, This is Our Life: Haida Material Heritage and Changing Museum Practice (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).


In an interesting comparative case study, Spain is currently undergoing its own form of a coming to terms with the past regarding the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). In 2007 a law was passed requiring the Spanish government exhume mass and unmarked graves and repatriate the remains to descendent families. In 2018 this law was amended to form a truth commission investigating crimes against humanity. On 24 September 2019 Spain’s Supreme Court ordered the body of Francisco Franco exhumed from ‘the Valley of the Fallen’ monument glorifying Franco and the Nationalists, and reburied in a family crypt. This may set a repatriation legal precedent that could extend the African remains held in Spanish institutions. James Badcock, ‘General Franco’s Body Will Be Exhumed Says Spanish Supreme Court’, The Telegraph, 24 September 2019, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/09/24/general-francos-body-will-exhumed-says-spanish-supreme-court/ (accessed 26 September 2019).


increasing pace. In May 2018, repatriation efforts allowed nine artefacts to return to Alaskan Inuit communities after it was determined that the objects had been looted from a burial site in 1880, as burial items would have never been traded.\footnote{Christopher F. Schuetze, ‘Berlin Museum Returns Artifacts to Indigenous People of Alaska’, The New York Times, 16 May 2018, \url{https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/16/arts/design/berlin-museum-artifacts-chugach-alaska.html?module=inline} (accessed 10 June 2019).} In March 2019 Germany set new guidelines for repatriation of human remains, and, critically, for colonial artefacts.

In an agreement between the sixteen state cultural ministers, the German foreign office, and representatives from city and municipal levels, Germany will now produce inventories of all objects taken from former colonies and make these records public.\footnote{International lawyer and assistant director of the Institute of Art and Law Alexander Herman remarked that this is the first instance of universal agreement across so many government and municipal agencies. Alex Herman ‘Museums, Restitution and Colonial-Era Artefacts: Law, Ethics and France’s Sarr Savoy Report’, \textit{public lecture}, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 3 July 2019.} The goal is to provide transparency and make it easier for non-state actors to enact repatriation claims. The British Museum made their human remains collections a public record. A 120-page document listing nearly 1200 items, the online database provides a space of Indigenous groups to begin searching for their ancestors’ remains. Unfortunately, due to the vague date of collection, the absence of any information on the means of acquisition, and location of origin missing for many items, identification by non-experts and ancestral group remains out of reach.\footnote{See ‘List of Human Remains in the Collection of the British Museum’, Version 3.0, \textit{The British Museum}, August 2010, \url{https://www.britishmuseum.org/sites/default/files/2019-10/British-Museum-Human-Remains_August-2010.pdf} (accessed 1 September 2020).} Holding institutions are furthermore often unwilling to return most items found in their collections. Germany’s current repatriation efforts make for an interesting comparison with Britain.

In 2000, the Australian government requested the repatriation of Aboriginal human remains and cultural artefacts identified as being housed in the British Museum and the Natural History Museum. Their written request included a statement on then-current repatriation policies, with an implication that UK and European policies lag behind the movements in certain settler societies like Australia:
In the past, museums in Australia, as in Britain and Europe, have based their acquisitions, collections management and research policies on scientific values with little acknowledgement of the social and cultural implications for indigenous peoples. Over the past 20 years, due in large part to the efforts of indigenous communities, many museums in Australia have changed their attitude to how they deal with indigenous human remains. Indeed, *many have become partners with the indigenous people in dealing with remains in collections...Australian museums recognise their responsibility in this area*.762

The contacted British museums swiftly refused the request for repatriation cooperation with Australia and Aboriginal communities. The museums claimed that repatriation was prevented by current legislation. The British Museum Trustees further argued that repatriation would be in violation of the trust that dictated the terms of their collection.763

British law has since changed following the 2004 Human Tissue Act, which states in section 47 that museums ‘may transfer from their collection any human remains...who died less than one thousand years [ago]...if it appears to them to be appropriate’.764

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764 *Human Tissue Act 2004*, Chapter 20, section 47, part 2, 30, [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/30/pdfs/ukpga_20040030_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/30/pdfs/ukpga_20040030_en.pdf) (accessed 11 August 2019). Emphasis mine. It should be noted that section 47, part 1 notes that the Human Tissue Act of 2004 only applies to ‘The Board of Trustees of the Armouries, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, the Board of Governors of the Museum of London, the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, the Board of Trustees of the National Museums and
(DCMS) issued guidelines in 2005 on human remains in museum holdings.\textsuperscript{765} Under these guidelines British museums were urged, but not required, to adopt policy changes. The guidelines explicitly state that ‘ultimate responsibility for the decision [of repatriation] lie with the appropriate authorities within each museum or institution’.\textsuperscript{766}

The Trustees of the British Museum amended their policy to be further restrictive. It asserts that repatriation will only be considered for human remains ‘less than 100 years old and [when] a claim for their return is being made by a genealogical descendant’, or when the human remains are ‘less than 300 years old’ and the claim is made by both ‘a source community which displays a cultural continuity with the remains’.\textsuperscript{767} These time restrictions directly apply to human remains taken under colonialism.\textsuperscript{768} And yet colonial policy caused the fracturing of Indigenous groups from their source communities, further exasperating repatriation movements. The colonial policies seem to be continued when examining the next policy point in British Museum guidelines. For repatriation claims to be considered ‘the claim [must be] made through a national government or national agency’ and only if an independent agency has confirmed that ‘the cultural and religious importance of the human remains to the community making the claim outweighs

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{The government guidelines even note that ‘the remains of overseas people who died within the last 100-300 years...corresponds most closely to the period when expansion took place by European powers with its subsequent effect on Indigenous peoples’. ‘Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums’, 27.}
\end{footnotes}
any other public benefit’. The British Museum seems to also have specific policies in place to prevent any repatriation of the mummified human remains from their ancient Egyptian collection. ‘The Trustees of the British Museum consider that claims are unlikely to be successful for any remains over 300 years old’, the policy states, ‘and are highly unlikely to be considered for remains over 500 years old’. These policies spearheaded by the British Museum trustees have been adopted into the operational policies across England and Wales, and also in Scotland.

Trophy human remains objects carry an additional burden for return due to their desecration. Body parts collected for trophies were often mixed with additional materials to create new artefacts for exhibition. The database on human remains in the British Museum collections lists these items together with the unaltered human remains it holds. Yet the British Museum Trustee policy refers to these as ‘human remains…modified for a secondary purpose’, stating that these mixed objects fall ‘into a different category from human remains that were intended for burial, and so [the museum trustees] are unlikely to agree to any claim for their repatriation.

England’s and Wales’ legal precedent extend ownership of human remains as rights

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770 The British Museum Policy on Human Remains’, 5. The government guidelines lay out a model the British Museum is following. In the government version ‘unlikely’ is used. The British Museum, however, inserted the more unyielding term ‘highly unlikely’ to the collections dating more than 500 years back. See ‘Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums’, 27.
of property for artefacts that have been ‘treated or altered through the application of skill’, under which some trophy human remains fall.\textsuperscript{773} Therefore, while listed in the ‘human remains database’, the British Museum considers items such as As1949,04.1 a ‘trophy skull made of skull (human), horn, rattan, leaf, fibre’, to be an artefact outside of repatriation claims, in spite of it being collected in 1926, and thus less than 100 years ago and its provenance identified as being collected from the people from Yangam village in India.\textsuperscript{774} Similar repatriation restrictions apply to the American west human scalps, which have been painted and decorated, or the shrunken heads taken from South America, all of which are considered modified and commodified into material artefacts.

While human remains offer a slightly more straightforward path for repatriation claims, viewing them as colonial artefacts further complicate repatriation issues. British institutions remain opposed to the repatriation of any artefacts from their collections. In a recent article published in The Guardian, Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) director Tristram Hunt argued that decolonising the museum should not be done through repatriation. Rather, he argued, display cases should be altered to be more ‘open and transparent about how items entered the collection’, or, potentially, through long-term loans.\textsuperscript{775} Hunt acknowledges that the loaning of artefacts back to their countries of origin has been viewed as a policy dead end.

\textsuperscript{773} ‘Guidance for Care of Human Remains in Museums’, 12.
\textsuperscript{774} List of Human Remains in the Collection of the British Museum’. This trophy skull also has its own entry in the British Museum’s online collection, which reveals further information such as the means of its collection, the collector, and the exact location from where it was collected. Yet in spite of this information repatriation requests would be denied as skull has been transformed fully into an artefact, deemed to be lawfully taken under colonial rule. See ‘As1949,04.1 Online Collection: Religious/Ritual Equipment’, The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_As1949-04-1 (accessed 1 September 2020).
\textsuperscript{775} Tristram Hunt, ‘Should Museums Return Their Colonial Artefacts?’, The Guardian, 29 June 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2019/jun/29/should-museums-return-their-colonial-artefacts (accessed 11 August 2019). Hunt’s statements are reminiscent of a two hundred-year-old argument. In 1801 and 1802, William Hamilton secured the Rosetta Stone and Parthenon frieze, respectively, for the British Museum. As a diplomat at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, where repatriation of plundered artefacts became enshrined in international law, Hamilton objected, stating: ‘It would throw an odium upon our exertions to restore stolen goods…It will be very difficult and problematical to effect the restitution at all’. Quoted in Dorothy Mackay Quynn, ‘The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars’, The American Historical Review, Vol. 50, No. 3 (April 1945), 448.
Former colonial countries dismiss long-term loans, as Hunt acknowledges, because it would signal a legal acceptance of UK ownership'. Nevertheless, Hunt has aligned himself publicly with the internal museum policies of keeping looted artefacts on display and human remains in collections as a ‘public good’. In this way, Hunt personifies the hesitation to repatriate any items by trustees across UK museums. On 15 July 2019 British Museum trustee Ahdaf Soueif resigned her position in protest over what she called a culmination of ‘the museum’s immovability on issues of critical concern to the people who should be its core constituency: the young and the less privileged’. Press coverage of Soueif’s resignation has been caught up around the concerns she had raised concern in 2016 about the museum’s partnership with British Petroleum (BP). Her resignation letter, however, extends beyond issues of climate change to highlight ‘the residual heritage of colonialism’. Soueif cited the way the repatriation debate is playing out in the public sphere as part of her decision to resign from the British Museum. 2019 is a time of ‘open debate over the repatriation of cultural artefacts...Museums, state officials, journalists and public intellectuals in various countries have stepped up to the discussion’. Soueif notes that the British Museum, ‘born and bred in empire and colonial practice’ has rightly so come to represent continued colonial policies. The museum, she argues, ‘is in a unique position to lead a conversation about the relationship of South to North, about common ground and human legacies and the bonds of history’. But instead, in a twist on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, the European Museums ‘hardly speak’ and consequently fail to

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776 Hunt, ‘Should Museums Return Their Colonial Artefacts’.
779 Soueif, ‘On Resigning’.
‘demonstrate the usefulness of museums’ in the 2019 era and thus do not ‘make a case for keeping its collections’ intact and within the metropoles.\textsuperscript{780}

Engaging with repatriation offers cultural relevance for museums in decolonising dialogue. Even Hunt acknowledges the importance of returning human remains, himself lauding the example of the Ethiopian culture minister’s successful efforts in having two locks of hair taken from Emperor Tewodros II reinterred with his body.\textsuperscript{781} Hunt’s use of hair being returned to Ethiopia is a shrewd example, as moves discussion away from plundered artefacts toward human remains, using remains not housed at the V&A.

The V&A houses Tewodros’ crown other artefacts looted from his palace. These are the very items Hunt states could be loaned back to Ethiopia, a move publicly rejected by the Ethiopian government. The locks of hair, therefore, provide the perception that repatriation efforts are moving forward while distracting from the stalled negotiations over the V&A’s collection of looted artefacts. It was not, however, the V&A that repatriated the hair, but rather the National Army Museum. Furthermore, hair is not legally considered human remains. The 2004 Human Tissue Act, the only legislative act that supersedes museum policies, defines bodies and body parts as ‘all material that consists of or includes human cells with the exception of gametes’.\textsuperscript{782} It states explicitly that ‘hair and nail from the body’ do not classify as human remains.\textsuperscript{783} The government guidelines given to museums cite this definition but concede that ‘it is acknowledged that some cultural communities do give [hair and nails] a sacred importance’.\textsuperscript{784}

\textsuperscript{780} Soueif, ‘On Resigning’.


\textsuperscript{784} ‘Guidance for Care of Human Remains in Museums’, 9.
Tewodros II committed suicide in 1868, during the British ‘Expedition to Abyssinia’. This places his remains outside of the Human Tissue Act which only applies to ‘to the body of a person who died [less than] one hundred years’ before the Human Tissues Act came into force in 2006. The National Army Museum acquired Tewodros’ hair in 1959, yet the legislation on human remains refers to time of death, not time of collection. The National Army Museum policies state that regarding human remains, the museum follows the procedures of the ‘guidance for the care of human remains in museums’ report issued by the DCMS. The National Army Museum also makes note that it ‘does not intend actively (sic) to collect human remains in the future’.

The return of Tewodros’ hair, therefore, was the repatriation of a colonial artefact, but one that the museum argued had not been looted. It claimed ‘the family of an artist who had painted the Emperor on his deathbed’ donated the two locks of hair to the National Army Museum. The museum even refers to the locks of hair as ‘objects’, explicitly noting that hair is not a human remain under existing UK policy guidelines. That one of the locks of hair is bound up together with a letter from Tewodros, using his Emperor seal, may also place this hair as a new artefact, similar the trophy heads mentioned above. It therefore can never be truly repatriated, just reinserted back as something new. The process of collection and display has transformed the remains into a new artefact.

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785 Tewodros’ suicide was during the Battle of Magdala, when British forces sieged his mountaintop fortification of the same name. Tewodros committed suicide on Easter Monday, 13 April 1868 using a duelling pistol Queen Victoria gifted him. He body was buried while British soldiers looted his palace. Frederick Myatt, The March to Magdala: The Abyssinian War of 1868 (London: Leo Cooper, 1970), 164; see also Volker Matthies, The Siege of Magdala: The British Empire Against the Emperor of Ethiopia, trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2012), 126-127; 141.


The DCMS guidelines underscore the purpose of museums in the UK as housing materials of ‘scientific, educational and historical value’ for the public. It states that:

Many human remains have undoubted potential to further the knowledge and understanding of humanity through research, study and display. In considering a request for return of human remains, a museum should carefully assess their value and reasonably foreseeable potential for research, teaching and display and should ensure that specialists with appropriate knowledge and experience have assessed this.789

This phrasing creates a loophole for museums to refuse repatriation requests on the grounds that European resources allow for greater accesses to scientific and educational research, either currently or in the future. As the Human Tissue Act only covers the repatriation of human remains held by museums that died after 1906, the majority of colonial collected human body parts exist in a grey area where the British museums have far greater control in continuing to hold on to their colonial collections. The DCMS guidelines entrench this position. It states that ‘if the remains do have value for research, teaching and display’ then the museum ‘should decide whether this can override other factors, particularly such as the wishes and feelings of genealogical descendants or cultural communities’.790

While UK museums continue to argue that the British public benefit takes primacy over claims of Indigenous restitution, Germany has taken a markedly different approach. The 2019 German agreement between local, state, and federal agencies simply proclaimed that ‘all people should have the opportunity to meet their rich material cultural heritage in their countries and communities of origins, to interact with it and pass it on to future generations’.791 This places the source communities in a much stronger, and the museums in a much weaker, position.

There is debate as to whether these new German museum policies are legally binding. Still, these discussions are playing out in public dialogue and being followed through with examples of repatriation. Germany can to come to terms with their colonial past in a way that has stalled in Britain and become entangled in broader decolonising debates. The legacy of the Holocaust, however, threatens to continue dominating the political management of public memory. In this way, publicity surrounding colonial historical remembrance is critical.

The 2019 German repatriation guidelines have historical antecedents, specifically the Holocaust. These new guidelines align with the 1998 Washington Principals, a set of non-binding policy guidelines to assist in the return of Nazi-confiscated artworks, of which forty-four countries are signatories.\(^\text{792}\) Like the new repatriation agreement mentioned above, the Washington Principals, also non-binding, called for vast inventories, records, and a central registry to be opened to the public.\(^\text{793}\) Consideration was given to the ‘unavoidable gaps or ambiguities…in light of the passage of time and the circumstances of the Holocaust’ and one might add, colonial eras.\(^\text{794}\) Whereas colonial looted items, human or material, can only currently be repatriated when direct genealogy or ownership can be established, the Washington Principals provided a call to seek ‘just and fair solution(s)’. They pushed to enshrine ‘national processes’ and ‘alternative dispute resolution mechanisms’ of which the new museum guidelines develope under.\(^\text{795}\) While much more needs to be done, it is quite possible that in the near future the same agencies and legal expertise that have contributed to the return of stolen artwork under National Socialism will


\(^{795}\) Principals 8, 9, and 11, ‘Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art’.

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be applied to colonial artefacts. The German Lost Art Foundation’s mandate has already been expanded from researching Nazi seized art, to investigating artworks looted by Stasi agents in East Germany. Government grant money has now been allocated to allow the foundation to explore the colonial era. In this way, Germany’s previous engagement with the materiality of historical crimes, such under confiscated artworks, stands to lead a more continental-wide effort to return looted colonial artefacts.

France, too, has produced calls for a reassessment of colonial looted artefacts, publicly led by President Emmanuel Macron. On a trip to Burkina Faso in 2017, Macron tweeted ‘African heritage cannot be a prisoner of European museums’. In the run-up to his election, Macron had declared that French colonial policies in Algeria were ‘crimes and acts of barbarism’ that today would be called ‘crimes against humanity’. Like Wieczorek-Zeul’s 2004 genocide apology, this statement has been seen as a political move and has not carried state recognition that would trigger legal restitution claims. Nonetheless, Macron commissioned a report that documented the history of stolen African artefacts currently housed in French museums. The nearly 250-page report, made public and translated into English, cited Alain Godonou’s findings that over 90 per cent of sub-Saharan Africa’s ‘material

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796 The United States should equally expand its agencies to cover colonial-era repatriation. It has done this for Holocaust claims, such as in the creation of the Holocaust Claims Processing Office of the New York State Department of Financial Services, which was established in 1997 to assist Holocaust victims irrespective of national origin or citizenship. See ‘Holocaust Claims Processing Office’, New York State Department of Financial Services, https://www.dfs.ny.gov/consumers/holocaust_claims (accessed 5 June 2019). See also Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, ‘Key Topics – Office of the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues’, United States Department of State, 15 April 2019, https://www.state.gov/key-topics-office-of-the-special-envoy-for-holocaust-issues/ (accessed 5 June 2019).


798 ‘…le patrimonie africain ne peut pas être prisonnier de musées européens’. Translation mine.


cultural legacy...remains preserved and housed outside of the African continent’. The Musée du Quai Branly-Jacque Chirac alone holds 70,000 African objects. The report called for creating mass inventories, ‘the sharing of digital files, and an intensive transcontinental dialogue’ through joint commissions and workshops while moving toward changing the French cultural heritage code CG3P, which currently protects museum collections from repatriation claims. These same findings parallel the new German museum guidelines and the 1998 Washington Principals, where publicly available inventories can augment increased protections for plaintiffs to initiate repatriation processes.

The new German museum guidelines also draw upon the 1981 UNESCO ‘standard form concerning requests for return or restitution’ document. This form was created after the 1970 UNESCO ‘Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property’, a measure aimed, arguably, at protecting ‘private collectors and...official institutions’ in the global north from collecting stolen artefacts. The convention only covered items received after 1970, and once more agreements could only be made between UNESCO member states, not individuals. The document has been


updated as of 1986, but may only be used to bring cases before the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee after bilateral negotiations have been initiated by requesting States and ‘negotiations have made unsatisfactory progress’. New guidelines governing all German museums and research holding faculties, therefore, close the problematic issue of international legal institutions in that it creates a place, theoretically, for individuals and Indigenous groups to initiate repatriation claims without relying on state-to-state negotiations.

Repatriation to individuals is needed, as repatriation to states comes with further debates and complications. On 28 February 2019, the Linden Museum in Stuttgart returned the bible and whip of Chief Hendrik Witbooi, the Nama Kaptein and key resistance leader killed during the 1904-1908 genocide. His belongings, however, were given to the Namibian government, not to Witbooi’s community. While Witbooi was killed in 1905, his bible and whip were looted earlier, in 1893 during a German attack on his home. In 1902, three years prior to his death, a former colonial official donated these artefacts to the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart. The Baden-Württemberg’s science minister Theresia Bauer said that the repatriation of the bible and whip, the first time Baden-Württemberg has repatriated any colonial objects, were an example of ‘the state facing up to its colonial past’ and ‘an important step in the process of reconciliation’. In following with the French report as well as the British Human Tissues Act legislative change, the Baden-Württemberg parliament had to pass a new law in January 2019 to allow the legal return of these colonial artefacts. The Namibian government received these artefacts, where they

will be put on display in the Namibian National Archives.\textsuperscript{806} The Nama Traditional Leaders Association (NTLA) argued that Witbooi’s bible and whip belong to his descendants and should have been returned to his family and not the Namibian government, with some members boycotting the repatriation ceremony. In a problematic display elucidating the slow process of coming to terms with colonial legacies, two skulls returned from Germany in 2011 were brought out from storage in Namibia and placed on display during the repatriation of Witbooi’s bible and whip.\textsuperscript{807}

As the section above notes, British repatriation policies, both the non-obligatory government recommendations and the museum board of trustees’ current policies, requires the involvement of states to negotiate claims of repatriation. Yet, as Chapter IV shows, when Mkwawa’s head was repatriated in 1954, the process was carried out through informal channels. Governor Twining travelled to Germany on holiday as a private citizen, located a skull, and had it shipped to the UK in an unsearchable diplomatic bag. He repatriated Mkwawa’s head in a capacity of exchanging through individuals, in spite of his status as the colonial governor of Tanganyika. Twining’s motivation was to avoid formal repatriation processes that would have revealed Germany’s obligations under the Treaty of Versailles and thus antagonise Britain’s newly formed alliance with West Germany. His non-state repatriation agreement was mirrored in 2015 with a piece of Mkwawa’s head, highlighting alternative avenues for repatriation from private collections.

In 2014 the descendants of Tom von Prince contacted Berlin Postkolonial. The family was in possession of Mkwawa’s tooth and sought to repatriate it back to Kalenga. Berlin Postkolonial is organisation founded by Tanzanian-born activist Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and German-born historian Christian Kopp. This campaign

\textsuperscript{806} The Namibian government claims the artefacts will be in the National Archives only until a museum can be built in Gibeon, the home of Witbooi. Currently, however, plans to construct such a museum have not yet materialised.

group pushes for greater recognition of German colonial history in public discourses, with the aim to create the repatriation of African human remains still in German museums. As a contact point, the private, non-governmental organisation was able to assist in the repatriation of Mkwawa’s tooth outside of the bureaucratic trappings that ensnare more public reparation efforts from holding institutes.

Critically, the trophy tooth exists outside of any official source materials. While Mkwawa’s skull created files, letters, memos, treaty documents, and official collections on an international scale, the tooth existed privately within the von Prince home. The tooth was a family heirloom passed down after von Prince’s death to his children. By 2014 the tooth was in possession of von Prince’s great-granddaughter Anuschka Haak, who along with her cousin Harry Schwahn, brought the tooth to Berlin Postkolonial for advice on how to return it. As shown above, this tooth, being bound with non-human remain materials, is an item further complicated under

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808 See, for instance, one of the organisation’s mission statements: ‘The association Berlin Postkolonial e.V. endeavours to deal critically with the regional colonial history in its global dimension as well as the disclosure of postcolonial and racist thinking and social structures of the present’. (Original German: Der Verein Berlin Postkolonial e.V. bemüht sich um die kritische Aufarbeitung der regionalen Kolonialgeschichte in ihrer globalen Dimension sowie die Offenlegung postkolonialer und rassistischer Denk- und Gesellschaftsstrukturen der Gegenwart.). Translation mine. ‘Berlin Postkolonial’, Facebook Page, https://www.facebook.com/events/kunsthalle-am-hamburger-platz/berlin-postkolonial-mnyaka-sururu-mboromnyaka/1736368279731089/ and https://www.facebook.com/pg/berlinpostkolonial/about/?ref=page_internal (accessed 12 August 2019).


810 Current legislation in Germany does not prohibit the ownership of human remains in private collections. The United States has enacted one of the most robust legal protections for indigenous human remains and cultural artefacts, the ‘Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act’ (NAGPRA) of 1990. Yet even this does not extend fully to private individuals, as it is restricted to federal agencies and intuitions that receive federal funding, and specifically excludes the Smithsonian Institute. ‘Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act’, Public Law 101-601 25 U.S.C. §§ 3001-3013 (16 November 1990), Sec 2(4). https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-104/pdf/STATUTE-104-Pg3048.pdf (accessed 1 September 2020). The sale of remains and artefacts, however, will trigger NAGPRA violations against private individuals. ‘NAGPRA’, Sec. 4, 1170, (a); Fine-Dare, Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA, 135.
museum policies where mixed material human remains are viewed as objects and do not fall under the self-imposed repatriation guidelines for human remains.

Through Berlin Postkolonial and the television production company WDR, Haak and her son Robinson made contact with Mkwawa’s descendants. The Haaks travelled to Iringa in 2015 and returned the tooth to Mkwawa’s great-great-grandson Chief Abdul Adam Sapi Mkwawa (Figure 16). The repatriation process between private individuals allowed for the tooth to be returned along more intimate lines. This private restitution occurred only because von Prince’s descendants revealed they had Mkwawa’s human remains and because they initiating its return.

REDACTION: Image removed for confidentiality reasons

Figure 16: Return of tooth. Anuschaka Haak and Robinson with Chief Abdul Adam Sapi Mkwawa and future chief Adam Abdul in 2015, upon repatriating Mkwawa’s tooth. Photo from Massowia Haywood, used with permission.

This repatriation process was agreed to between individuals, allowing the human remains of Mkwawa to sidestep the inevitable entanglement of ownership that would have been triggered should the German and Tanzanian governments brokered the exchange. This is particularly poignant as the Tanzanian government owns and displays the rest of Mkwawa’s head. Had the von Prince family not returned the tooth personally and directly to Mkwawa’s living descendants, but rather to the Tanzanian government, the tooth would have been put on display in the Kalenga Museum, in much the same way the Tanzanian government is seeking Chief Songea’s skull in order to put it on display to boost tourism in Ruvuma. The repatriation of Mkwawa’s tooth complicates the decolonisation processes, adding in the dimension of private collections that exist outside of government and museum oversight. Yann Le Gall, a former intern at Berlin Kolonial when von Prince’s family sought advice in 2014 and now a PhD student writing about Mkwawa’s human remains and repatriation, documents the return of the tooth in his forthcoming dissertation. Le Gall argues that the repatriation of the tooth should serve as a model to encourage ‘private custodians of colonial human remains to have a look at their inherited patrimony’. Le Gall similarly sees the tooth as a reminder of the vast stolen artefacts that exist in private collections outside of oversight, legislation, databases, and the remit of repatriation requests. The tooth, for instance, was not known to exist until the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Tom von Prince decided to repatriate it.

The von Prince family had come to believe that the tooth was responsible for several medical conditions plaguing the family. Repatriating the tooth was viewed as a way atoning for the past and assuaging lingering feelings of inherited guilt. The

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812 Le Gall, Remembering the Dismembered, 30.
813 When Massowia Haywood, Anuschka Haak’s aunt and the granddaughter of Tom von Prince, spoke with me she too felt the tooth had cursed the family, particularly the German-based family who possessed it. Massowia Haywood, personal communication, 22 July 2019; On the television documentary Robinson spoke of the family meeting a shaman who believed the family had been cursed. ‘Der Zahn des Häuptlings- Versöhnungsreise nach Tansania’; Le Gall, Remembering the Dismembered, 30.
spectral qualities of a curse surrounding Mkwawa’s body parts echo the 1954 repatriation of the skull, where Governor Twining stressed spirits being at work that hindered his journey to bring the skull back to Kalenga.\textsuperscript{814} Yet Anuschka Haak and her son Robinson were equally motivated to repatriate due to the public debates of repatriation gaining prominence in Germany after the 2011 and 2014 return of skulls to Namibia.\textsuperscript{815} It is no coincidence that Mkwawa’s tooth reemerged the same year that Germany repatriated a second collection of skulls to Namibia. This underscores the importance of expanding the continuing legacies of empire through public media.\textsuperscript{816} Museums hold a critical role in shaping these perceptions. The \textit{Deutsches Historisches Museum} ran a special colonial history exhibition in 2016-2017 that used over 500 objects to show the everyday life of German colonial rule and the way colonialism was incorporated into German society.\textsuperscript{817} Many of these materials were German-produced objects that

\textsuperscript{814} This is covered in Chapter IV. In short, Twining wrote confidential dispatches to his London counterparts claiming the skull was responsible for causing the aeroplane transport door to open during flight, a seltzer bottle exploding, and everyone in his safari to catch hay fever.


\textsuperscript{816} Publicity around the return of the tooth could have facilitated this process further. Yet, paradoxically it also risks bringing unwanted attention to both the von Prince and Mkwawa families and the highlighting the loophole through which the tooth was repatriated. The documentary film ‘Der Zahn des Häuptlings- Versöhnungsreise nach Tansania’ could have brought significant publicity. Issues over royalties, however, make the film difficult for anyone to watch after its initial airing on 6 October 2015. Moreover, the fact that the film aired at 22:00 shows how its impact was mitigated even at its release. ‘Der Zahn des Häuptlings- Versöhnungsreise nach Tansania’, \textit{Programm.ARD.de}, https://programm.ard.de/?sendung=2811115670241268 (accessed 15 August 2019); Massowia Haywood, personal communication, 22 July 2019.

existed within the metropole, not looted artefacts put on display. The museum consulted with German historians to showcase the way empire had ‘come home’. It also sought to highlight ‘the degree to which the perspectives of the colonialized peoples were taken into account in the historical tradition.’ In so doing the museum created an exhibition space that spoke both to colonial heritage but also continues to speak to the way postcolonial museums can address colonial history while repatriating its controversial holdings.

**Localised Heritage Projects**

In 2010, a team of Canadian and Tanzanian archaeologists excavated the cave in Mlambalasi where Mkwawa encamped during his final months. The team recovered a single bullet casing. The rifles discovered with Mkwawa’s body in the above report from Merkl are currently housed in the Mkwawa museum. One is a coastally produced rifle alleged to have come from trade. Older and well used, this is most likely the gun Merkl described as being ‘cracked at the muzzle’, though no signs of charring on the wood can be seen on the rifle displayed in the Kalenga museum. The second rifle on display may be the ‘sporting rifle’ found next to Musigombo.

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German Colonialism- Fragments Past and Present’, Contemporary And (C&), https://www.contemporaryand.com/exhibition/german-colonialism-fragments-past-and-present/ (accessed 14 August 2019). Yann Le Gall has also viewed this exhibition as showing a critical German engagement with the colonial past. See Le Gall, Remembering the Dismembered, 30.

818 In this way, the Deutsches Historisches Museum subverted the traditional fetishised displays of ‘exotic’ looted colonial objects. See David Ciarlo, Advertising Empire: Race and Culture in Imperial Germany (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 43-49.


821 It could have also been taken during one of the many Wahehe raids on the coastal caravans.

822 This could suggest a number of possibilities. The gun may have been restored prior to it being displayed. Merkl’s report could be inconsistent. The museum may be displaying the incorrect item, among other possibilities.
body. The Kalenga museum also houses rifle casings from the 1894 assault on Kalenga. The archaeologists compared the shell casings at the museum with the one recovered in Mlambalasi. It can never be proven that they have found a shell casing for the bullet that Mkwawa used to kill himself. It is unlikely it was a bullet fired by Merkl’s squad when they first encountered Mkwawa’s body, as that shot was fired from behind the boulders some distance away from the cave, as reported by Merkl. A study of the shell using forensic archaeology only reveals that it was manufactured in Danzig at a German government arsenal, it is made of brass, and it was produced in 1877 (Figure 17).

The casing most likely held a 11.15mm bullet and it was a 60 mm rimmed case. This casing might have been used in a Mauser 71 rifle. The Mauser 71 rifle,

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produced in 1871, was the standard issue weapon of the Schutztruppe.\textsuperscript{824} It used black powder, which correlated with the fact that Kalenga fortress had thirteen tonnes of gunpowder stored inside of it during the 1894 German attack.\textsuperscript{825} The Wahehe used captured German weapons, taken primarily during the attack on von Zelewski. In 2018 Tanzanian archaeologists uncovered a dozen shell casings from around the Lugalo site where von Zelewski forces were killed.\textsuperscript{826} The four casings taken from Kalenga were produced later, in 1876, 1878, 1884, and 1886. These casings may be a mix of shots fired by Wahehe defenders using the earlier produced bullets taken from von Zelewski’s raid, and the newer shells fired by the Schutztruppe.\textsuperscript{827} That German forces were using bullets at the Kalenga attack made nearly a decade before may be evidence toward the fact that this 1877 shell in Mlambalasi belonged to Mkwawa or the two boys. As the archaeology team who excavated Mlambalasi discovered, this shell casing had two markings around the pin, showing the casing had been reloaded and used more than once.\textsuperscript{828} Bullet cases would have been collected during the Wahehe German war and fired again, with an unknown amount of time passing between the first and subsequent shots. The Mlambalasi archaeological dig found that deposits from 40 cm below the ground surface related to the Iron Age. The bullet case was found between 20 and 40 cm, but unfortunately ‘it has uncertain provenience as it fell from the unexcavated wall profile during cleaning prior to photography and stratigraphic mapping’.\textsuperscript{829} Materials of violence, such as these bullet casings, add a tactile anchor point to historical narratives on colonial experiences.

\textsuperscript{826} Frank Mwandu Masele, \textit{personal communication}, 28 June 2019.
\textsuperscript{827} The shots could have all been fired by German soldiers, as German accounts suggested that only 100 rifles were given to Wahehe defenders, so the overwhelming shots fired would have come from the Schutztruppe.
\textsuperscript{828} Willoughby et al, ‘A German Rifle Casing’, 29.
In 2014 historian Kim Wagner came into the possession of a skull. He was able to identify it as belonging to Alum Bheg, a soldier during the Indian Uprising (1857-1858) who was executed by cannon. Wagner recovered the skull’s identity, exonerated Bheg from the crime he was killed for, identified the actual perpetrator, and mapped the transnational journey the skull took from Pakistan to Scotland, to a pub in Kent, and then to Wagner in London. He was able to do this, in part, because the skull contained a note that sketched a historical narrative. The historiography of Mkwawa’s head is filled with inconsistencies and sparse records. Many of the accounts regarding the severing of Mkwawa’s head were written some time after its occurrence and are often biased toward proving a connection back toward authenticity.

When recounting the history of Mkwawa’s defeat, Ernst Nigmann recorded Mkwawa’s death occurring in 1899, instead of 1898. This incorrect date was then translated into the Iringa District Book, and repeated in a 1965 academic article by anthropologist Edgar Winans. It is also the date used in the British produced 1916 A Handbook of German East Africa, where ‘Capt. Prince…overthr[e]w the Wahehe in 1899’. This same book advised new British administrators that the Wahehe are ‘warlike…very mistrustful of Europeans [requiring] a just but firm hand. Energy, force, and caution are necessary when dealing with them’ and that while ‘influence of the government is growing’ the British should continue the ‘German policy of playing jealous chiefs against each other’. In front of the Mkwawa Museum in Kalenga is a cenotaph, which also lists Mkwawa dying in 1899, and which Redmayne

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831 Nigmann, Die Wahehe, 16; 20.
833 A Handbook of German East Africa (London: Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division, January 1916), 101.
834 A Handbook of German East Africa, 44; 99.
attributes to being taken directly from Nigmann’s mistake reprinted in Iringa District Book during the construction of the mausoleum in 1954. These inaccuracies continue inside the museum walls. The rifles on display, as noted above, are presented with text alleging that it is the gun Mkawawa used to commit suicide. The lengthy text underscores that Mkawawa acquired it through ‘barter trade’ with ‘an Arab merchant called Abushir (sic) bin Salim Suriama’, noting that Mkawawa used elephant ivory to get the gun, in a narrative that distances the Wahehe from slavery and slave trade. This text also links the Wahehe to the Abushiri rebellion; enshrining the German narrative that Mkawawa had supported the coastal rebellions of 1888-1889. The text then wrongly states that Mkawawa killed himself to escape from ‘Commander von Zelewsky’, who was killed by the Wahehe in 1891. This narrative appears to address only Anglophone visitors to the museum. In Swahili, the text is much shorter. It repeats that Mkawawa traded ivory for the rifle, but von Zelewski is not mentioned, only that in Mlambalasi, Mkawawa ‘commit[ted] suicide to avoid getting caught by the Germans’.

The English narration within the museum was likely taken from the 1930 The Handbook of Tanganyika, issued by the British Empire. In this book, the 1891 attack on von Zelewski (whose name is similarly misspelled) occurred when ‘Lieutenant von Zelewsky…decided to inflict a lesson on these truculent people’. His force of 320 Schutztruppe is embellished as ‘a force of a thousand men’, who were ‘surprised by the Wahehe in dense bush’ but von Zelewski was ‘fortunate in being able to make his way to the coast without being annihilated’. The English text serves to highlight

836 The Swahili version of the text reads in whole: ‘Bunduki aliypopewa chifu Mkawawa na Abushiri bin Salim Suriamba baada ya kufanya biashara ya kubadilishana pembe za ndovu magamba ya kobe. Ndyio ambayo alitumia kujulita kukwepa asikamatwena wajarumani katika msitu wa mlambalasi’.
837 The Handbook of Tanganyika: Issued by the Chief Secretary’s Office, ed. Gerald F. Sayers (London: Macmillian and Co, 1930), 64.
838 Handbook of Tanganyika (1930), 64. In the copy of this text housed in the University of Dar es Salaam library, a handwritten note in the margin reads ‘he was killed in this battle at Lugalo his grave is still there to date’.

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the disconnect between this government-run museum and the heritage site of Mlambalasi managed by a local non-governmental organisation.\textsuperscript{839}

**New Museums for the Twenty-first Century**

The Humboldt Forum has been billed as ‘the largest and most ambitious cultural project in Germany’ and the German equivalent of the British Museum. Former British Museum director Neil MacGregor was brought in as a founding director and currently sits on the Humboldt Forum’s advisory board.\textsuperscript{840} Germany has spent at least €595 million on this museum project. The Humboldt Forum will exist inside of the rebuilt Berlin City Palace. This site has housed the Prussian monarchy, German imperial emperors, the Communist East German Palast der Republik of the GDR parliament, and will open as a ‘600 million euro disaster’.\textsuperscript{841} At the centre of the debate is the museum’s inclusion of colonial artefacts, the origins of which have not been properly accessed. Forum founding co-director Horst Bredekamp has called the controversy of the museum a ‘psychogram of Germany’ with attempts at expanding heritage institutions to cover colonial history distracting from the museum’s original purpose of bringing global attention to Germany’s scientific and exploration achievements.\textsuperscript{842} Michael Eissenhauer, the director-general of the Berlin


State Museums, reinterpreted a nineteenth-century mode of collecting with twenty-first presentism by hailing the Humboldt Forum’s name as representing ‘the tradition of the Humboldt brothers [to create] an enlightenment machine in which the cultures of the world can meet in the middle of Europe’. MacGregor highlighted specific Germanic processes of coming to terms with the past after his appointment to the Berlin Forum. He contrasted German and British approaches to the past, noting ‘Germans use their history to think about the future’, MacGregor remarked, ‘where[as] the British tend to use their history to comfort themselves…the Germans use it as a challenge to behave better in the future’. The reassessment of Germany’s history, however, has centred the Forum in controversy while elevating issues of repatriation.

Bénédicte Savoy, co-author of the French repatriation report detailed above, publicly resigned as Humboldt Forum advisory board member in July 2017, stating that the museum ‘is dead on arrival’, wondering ‘how much blood is dripping’ from the museum’s collections? The Humboldt Forum has thus moved to the centre of expanding memory politics before it has even opened its doors. The Forum reflects on Germany’s loss of colonies under the Treaty of Versailles and thus a lack of postcolonial intellectual processing that existed for other European empires, which crumbled under postwar waves of decolonisation.

Protest movements around the Humboldt Forum show a public engagement with and awaking to German colonial history. As hundreds of thousands of colonial-era artefacts are brought to the Berlin museum’s holdings, protest signs displayed near the Forum construction site were unveiled that read ‘tell the truth about Germany’s colonial history’, ‘clear out the colonial treasury’, and ‘it’s your duty to

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844 Quoted in ‘Appointment of MacGregor’.
remember’. The twitter hashtag #HumboldtForum reveals further global intellectual debates, with the majority of postings centring on discussions of colonial holdings in Germany and across the world. Each move of the Forum is now under public scrutiny. A press release by the Humboldt Forum in June 2019, for example, claimed that the Ethnologisches Museum, which will be one wing of the Forum, ‘intends to scrutinize and critically assess the legacy and consequences of colonial rule and the role played by Europe’. How this will be carried out remains unclear. Activists on twitter see this as an opportunity to make the planned temporary exhibit spaces a place to set up permanent displays on colonial injustices. The German Ministry of State for Culture and the Media has tried to portray the Humboldt Forum as a ‘new type of museum’, but so far the only example of this is that they will offer a trial period of free admission for the first three years. Intellectuals and scholars have pushed the ministry, with historian Jürgen Zimmerer declaring that a new type of museum is not one with free entry, but rather ‘free, open debate [about] what people actually want’ the Humboldt Forum to be and contain. The Forum debate has created calls for all German museums, particularly the Forum, to revaluate the ways collection materials were gathered. The debate has spread to the streets. The Forum debate has created calls for all German museums, notably the Humboldt Forum, to

849 BKM Kultur & Medien, Twitter Post, 11 June 2019, 3:04am, https://twitter.com/BundesKultur/status/1138386516407934976 (accessed 13 June 2019). British museums offer free entry, so this move only further serves to showcase a replication of older museum models.

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reevaluate the ways materials came into these collections and to return stolen artefacts.

As debates around the Humboldt Forum continue, activists and the public have come to question the names of streets. In Berlin, the street Petersallee engages in the interconnected history of German colonialism and National Socialism. In 1939, the Nazi government dedicated Petersallee after Dr Carl Peters, a vocal proponent of racial science and an explorer and imperial high commissioner. It was Peters who acted as a man-on-the-spot and pushed the boundaries of German East Africa. The naming of the street shows a layering of both colonial and Nazi history and the futher need to come to terms with displays of history in public spaces.\(^{851}\) 

*Mohrenstraße*, for instance, serves as a transit hub for hundreds of passengers and a banal reminder of a more racialised history, as the term ‘*Mohren*’ (‘moor’) is a racial insult from an archaic German word refereeing to people of darker skin complexion.\(^{852}\)

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851 In 1986 Petersallee was rededicated to Hans Peters, a founding member of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) and resistance fighter during the Nazi period. It was a pragmatic choice, as the Carl and Hans share the same surname, and thus the street signs never had to be changed. See Daniel Pelz, ‘Berlin’s African Quarter to Change Colonial-Era Street Names’, *Deutsche Welle*, 20 April 2018, [https://www.dw.com/en/berlins-african-quarter-to-change-colonial-era-street-names/a-43474130](https://www.dw.com/en/berlins-african-quarter-to-change-colonial-era-street-names/a-43474130) (accessed 12 August 2019).

Many activists pushing these reevaluations of German colonial history are themselves of African descent. For instance, Joshua Kwesi Aikins is a German social scientist with Ghanaian ancestry who leads walking tours through Berlin’s African quarter to raise awareness of streets named after colonial figures. Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, the co-founder of Berlin Postkolonial and one of the people whom assisted in returning Mkwawa’s tooth, is a Tanzanian. He came to Germany as a student in 1977. Throught that time he has been working to have the skull of Mangi Meli, a chief from the same village as Mboro, repatriated. Mboro continues to call upon the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation to repatriate their inherited holdings of Felix von Luschan’s human remains collections.853 Tanzanian historian Reginald Kirey is a lecturer at the University of Dar Es Salaam, studying for a doctorate at the University of Hamburg. Kirey has urged German museums to involve African communities in the process of identifying and returning human remains so that the process ‘will adhere to their customs’ and not be yet another example of former colonial institutions speaking on behalf of the colonised.854 Mboro and Kirey’s efforts bring a localised perspective to the global history of German colonialism, reminding museums that, as Mboro stated, ‘there are plenty of people in Tanzania who know where a person was beheaded and his skull was taken to Germany’.855 Kirey noted that the design of the grave of Maji Maji leader, Chief Songea Mbano Lwafu, shows that his decedents are still waiting for the return of Songea’s head. The elevated grave is divided into two sections. Songea’s body is covered but a large empty hole has been dug where the head should be. Oral history tells that Songea went on a hunger strike while imprisoned, ‘forcing the Germans to choose between executing

853 Zane, ‘The Search in Germany’.
855 Quoted in Pelz, ‘Skull and Bones’.
him or letting him die of starvation’ and risk martyrdom. He was executed by beheading. Songea’s grandson believes Songea’s head was taken as a trophy and eventually went to Felix von Luschan’s collections in the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, the same collections holding Mkwawa’s father and his brother’s skulls. Nancy Rushohora suggested ‘an archaeological project designed to excavate [Songea’s] grave and investigate these claims’. A project such as this, initiated by Tanzanians, would ‘benefit the community, provide evidence (if any) for restitution and repatriation demands, and help answer other long-standing questions about colonial government killings and treatment of human remains in Tanzania’. Rushohora’s proposal serves as a reminder of the complicated stakes in returning skulls taken as trophies and symbols and then lost within colonial metropoles. The politics of repatriation continue to create interference, as the Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the same body who owns Mkwawa’s head, has pressed Germany to return Chief Songea’s skull. Yet, the ministry wants Songea’s head repatriated so that it can be displayed in the Maji Maji Memorial Museum to promote Tanzania’s Ruvuma region to tourists. This reveals private and public competition over ownership of human remains and the complications regarding restitution. It can only be speculated what would have happened to Mkwawa’s remains and Tom von Prince’s descendants had Tanzanian airport authorities discovered the tooth during the non-state repatriation.

Decolonising movements align with repatriation efforts. These movements take place in public. The construction of a new museum in Berlin has rippled out into the creation of new street names, or at least drawing public attention to the names of

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857 The history of this is discussed in Chapter II. For the purpose of this chapter, it is of note that three Wahehe chiefs’ skulls may have found there way into this collection. Yet only Mkwawa was inserted into the treaty and thus remains in societal dialogue as an icon for reconciliation and of cultural fortitude.

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dozens of streets and markers that still carry colonial overtones, as visitors are guided toward the Humboldt Forum. To address the Humboldt Forum debates, the German government recently allocated €1.9 million for German museums to create inventories of the colonial artefacts within their collections, the origins of these objects, and to share these findings in a centralised database that can be accessed by individuals abroad. Importantly, these databases will create a critically needed inventory, as it is unknown how many human remains and looted artefacts actually reside inside of German holding facilities and public institutions. The nearly €2 million is available as grant money, not directly given to the museums, and thus allows for independent professional agencies to watch over the museums. It can be seen as a move toward making repatriation claims more accessible.

The Humboldt Forum, the Treaty of Versailles, and the lack of official recognition of genocide in Namibia are public debates proceeding at different levels. Yet they are rooted in coming to terms with colonial history. These commemorative moments, and the public debates that surround these forums, create a space to challenge colonial amnesia. Repatriation of human remains will continue to force a re-examination of colonial justifications and the lingering continuations of colonial history in the present day. The repatriation of looted artefacts, the purpose and structure of museums, and calls to create inventories that document the methods and national origins of collections are important steps that lay the foundation of dealing with institutionalised and public colonial legacies. Germany and its creation of a highly problematic new museum offer essential tools and examples for all former colonised nations.

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861 Former colonised nations are similarly creating their own databases of artefacts deemed to be missing. See, for example, Kylie Kiunguyu, ‘Kenya is Creating A Database of Plundered Cultural Artefacts and Their Current Locations’, This is Africa, 24 June 2019, https://thisisafrica.me/arts-and-culture/kenya-create-database-of-plundered-cultural-artefacts/ (accessed 12 August 2019).

imperial nations to reassess their colonial legacies, their collection policies, and their present-day practices.
CONCLUSION

MKWAWA’S MEMORIAL, MAUSOLEUM, AND MUSEUM

Mkwawa’s head sits on a pedestal. Set on a woven cushion, housed in a small glass box, itself contained within a larger wood-panelled glass case, this skull is displayed on a single column, staring at the doorway of the Chief Mkwawa Memorial Museum (Figure 18). The damage to the skull’s right side has been plastered over to keep it intact as well as refigure it ‘back’ into a recognisable, and less distracting, skull (Figure 19). His gaze places all who enter the museum under a feeling of surveillance, mirrored by the framed photo of John Magufuli, Tanzania’s current president, mounted on high to the wall behind the skull. The image of the president will change in future elections while Mkwawa’s position will remain fixed.

A painting of what Chief Mkwawa may have looked like when he was alive hangs above the window to the right of the skull (Figure 20). But no one has any idea what Mkwawa looked like (Figure 21).<sup>863</sup> It was this mythical and empty image of Mkwawa, when alive, that created so many divergent narratives regarding his remains. Mrs B. Kingdon, the wife of a British district commissioner, painted this portrait years after Mkwawa’s death and after German East Africa had become British Tanganyika.<sup>864</sup> The image is romanticised and painted with exceptional skill. Kingdon presented Mkwawa as a man of vision and refinement. This single image is replicated in the National Museum in Dar es Salaam and across literature on Mkwawa to embody the elusive leader. The Kalenga Museum was built in 1953-1954 to house Mkwawa’s skull when it was returned on 19 June 1954. Photos from the day Twining repatriated the skull show the museum as a mausoleum. It is relatively

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<sup>863</sup> Much of the oral history around Mkwawa states he never had his photo taken. Nevertheless the Iringa museum presents a photo stated to be Mkwawa. It is highly unlikely, however, that this was a photo of Mkwawa.

<sup>864</sup> The Public Relations Department of Tanganyika had previously identified this painting as being done by Mrs O’Callaghan, also a wife of a district commissioner. At some point this was amended, as her printed name is scratched out ‘Mrs B. Kingdon’ has been written by hand. The accompanying literature confirms that this painting ‘hangs in the mausoleum’, where it still sits today. ‘T.P. 4071/201-Portrait of Mkwawa’, CO 822/770, TNA.
unchanged today. Mkawwa’s grandson, Chief Adam Sapi, brought the skull from Iringga to Kalenga and placed it on the same pedestal it resides on today (Figure 22). The damage to the skull had yet to be covered up (Figure 23), and perhaps as late as 1984 Mkawwa’s skull was still on display missing much of its right side (Figure 24).

A facsimile of Mkawwa’s kigoda, a simple three-legged stool, acts as his throne, and a Wahehe broad shield and spear sit behind, signalling the continuing martial prowess of the Wahehe people. Tourists are encouraged to sit on the kigoda and hold the spear and shield (Figure 25). The shield and spear motif is replicated in miniature on top of the ceremonial glass case housing Mkawwa’s skull. These weapons, used to great effect in the resistance movement to German colonialism have been tethered to Mkawwa’s military leadership. Yet it is the two heads of state, both watching over the visitors of this small museum and mausoleum, that best contrast the political, economic, and social history at play in a narrative of colonial and postcolonial framing (Figure 26).

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865 Earlier source material refers to the Wahehe people as the ‘Hehe’. Occasionally, ‘Uhehe’ is used. Throughout my dissertation, I used the term ‘Wahehe’ to denote the linguistic connection of the Wahehe, that is, speakers of the Kihehe language. This was an effort to avoid the semantic snare of race and ethnic ‘tribal’ classifications. While she often used ‘Hehe’ and ‘Wahehe’ interchangeably herself, as was the fashion at the time of her writing, I grounded the single use of the term ‘Wahehe’ in Alison Redmayne’s ground-breaking PhD dissertation The Wahehe People of Tanganyika, University of Oxford, Oxford, 1964. Available at [https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:c2573c36-4548-4226-b6d6-5ce308566320/download_file?file_format=pdf&safe_filename=A.%2BH.%2BRedmayne%2B-%2B1964.pdf&type_of_work=Thesis](https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:c2573c36-4548-4226-b6d6-5ce308566320/download_file?file_format=pdf&safe_filename=A.%2BH.%2BRedmayne%2B-%2B1964.pdf&type_of_work=Thesis) (accessed 11 August 2019). Redmayne subsequently argued that the term ‘Hehe’ comes from the battle cry of Mkawwa’s soldiers, who would shout ‘Hee, twahumite, Hee twahumite, Hee, Hee, Hee’ (Hey, we have come out…), which created a nickname imposed upon the Wahehe by their enemies and then adopted by the Wahehe themselves. See Alison Redmayne and Clement mwaNdulute, ‘Riddles and Riddling Among the Hehe of Tanzania’, *Anthropos*, Vol. 65, No. 5/6 (1970), 795.
Figure 18: Mkwawa’s skull, Kalenga Museum. Note the reconstruction done to the front teeth. Photo by Author.
Figure 19: Mkwawa’s skull, side view. Kalenga Museum. Photo by Author.
Figure 20: Portrait of Chief Mkwawa. Kalenga Museum. Photo by Author.
Figure 21: Alleged Photo of Mkwawa on display in Iringa Boma Museum. Note- It remains uncertain if this is Mkwawa. Photo taken in Museum by Author.
Figure 22: Chief Adam Sapi having placed his grandfather’s skull inside of the Kalenga Mausoleum, 1954. Photo from ‘T.P. 4069/201 Public Relations Department, Tanganyika’, CO 822/770, TNA.
Figure 23: Display of side damage to skull. Kalenga Mausoleum, 1954. Photo from ‘T.P. 4070/201 Public Relations Department, Tanganyika’ CO 822/770, TNA.
Figure 24: Skull prior to plastering, with side damage displayed. Date and location unknown. Note the jaw being held in place for this photo and the front teeth are absent. Photo from Mohamed Amin, Duncan Willetts, and Peter Marshall, Journey Through Tanzania (Nairobi: Camerapix Publishers International, 1984).
Figure 25: Salum Mdemu holding a spear and shield. Kalenga Museum, 2017. Note that the spear is a short stabbing spear and the large cowhide shield. Photo by Author, image of Salum Mdemu used with permission.
Figure 26: Mkwa’s skull in double boxes and the portrait of President John Magufuli. Kalenga Museum, 2017. Photo by Author.
Overlooked by most visitors to the museum is a square hole fitted with a lid next to Mkwawa’s display. Coloured the same reddened hue as the rest of the floor; a small metal looped handle has been crafted onto the heavy lid to allow it to be opened and closed. Inside is a carved out space (Figure 27). This resting place was where Mkwawa’s skull was placed during the first decade after repatriation. When John Iliffe visited the museum along with a Tanzanian colleague in the early 1960s, the skull was hidden away in this hole. Iliffe remembers that the museum curator opened the lid to show his Tanzanian associate the skull, ‘but they would not let me see it’. A few years later the museum put the skull on display but would return it to the safety of the ground when the museum closed in the evening. Within the museum’s walls, a nightly ritual was performed that honoured Mkwawa with, albeit a temporary, burial and daily resurrection within the grounds of his Kalenga fortress and near the graves of his children and wives. This also provided a sense of protection over Mkwawa, the museum, and the Wahehe residents ‘should the Germans come back for the skull’.

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866 John Iliffe, personal communication, 19 August 2019.
867 Nicholaus Kulanga, interview, 6 June 2017.
868 ‘Kalenga’ is both the name of the village that was once a fortress as well as the Kihehe word for ‘fortress’.
869 Nicholaus Kulanga, interview, 6 June 2017. It remains unclear when the head stopped being stored in this manner. From the size of the hole, only the skull in its original box could have fit inside. This practice predated any of the former museum curators I spoke with during fieldwork in 2017.
Mkwawa’s skull is owned by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism Antiquities Department, a branch of the Tanzanian government. His head generates tourist revenue in the form of steep admission fees to Mkwawa’s museum, situated at the nexus between Iringa town and Ruaha National Park, the largest nature park in East Africa.\(^{870}\) Tourist companies offer cultural tours of Iringa to go along with

\(^{870}\) Lonely Planet travel guide stated, for example, ‘unless you are very interested in Chief Mkwawa or Tanzanian history, it’s difficult to justify this dusty museum’s price’. ‘Kalenga Historical Museum’, Lonely Planet, 2017, https://www.lonelyplanet.com/tanzania/iringa/attractions/kalenga-historical-museum/a/poi-sig/1439890/1001344 (accessed 11 August 2019). When I visited the museum in June 2017, I paid 20,000 Tanzanian shillings (TZS), which was then around £8 GBP. While expensive considering the size of the museum, this entrance fee is prohibitively high for many Tanzanians, where the median monthly income is 50,000 TZS, and income disparity is particularly high in rural areas surrounding Iringa where the majority of the Wahehe people live. See FinScope Tanzania, 2017 Iringa Regional Report, 20, http://www.fsd.tz/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Finscope_Iringa.pdf (accessed 11 August 2019).
wildlife tours in the game park. No cultural tour of Iringa would be complete without a visit to the Mkwawa museum, though admittedly it is a quick visit, as the museum is just this single small room. The graves of Mkwawa’s grandson, Adam Sapi Mkwawa, and his great-grandson, Adam [Adam] Sapi Mkwawa are housed within the museum’s walled-in garden. His dethroned son, Sapi Mkwawa, is buried elsewhere. The gravesite of Chief Mkwawa’s body lies at Mlambilasi, a two-hour off-road journey from Iringa (Figure 28). His body was buried by the Wahehe community at the site of his suicide and decapitation, near the cave of his final encampment (Figure 29). Formally inaugurated by then-President Julius Nyerere to mark the centennial of Mkwawa’s death, the gravesite is a monument to Mkwawa, financed by his ancestors through the Mkwawa foundation. A non-governmental organisation, Fahari Yetu (‘our pride’), funded by the European Union, oversees the gravesite as well as many other cultural heritage sites around the southern highlands, but not the Mkwawa Museum, which is operated by the Tanzanian government.

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871 I have presented this distance in time rather than kilometres to underscore the remoteness of this spatial remove. Mlambilasi is an approximate 38 km drive northwest from Kalenga and approximately a 52 km drive from Iringa.
Figure 28: Grave of Chief Mkwawa in Mlambalasi, with Maasai guardians. 2017. Photo by Author. Image of Maasai used with permission.
Figure 29: Cave where Mkwawa took his final refuge. Mlambilasi, 2017. Photo by Author.

The separation of Mkwawa’s head and his body, continued in the display of his skull at the Mkwawa Museum, framed this dissertation. I have shown that Mkwawa led what was at the time the most successful campaign against European forces in East Africa, fighting against German colonial troops and local groups from 1891 to 1898 in what became known as the Wahehe wars.\textsuperscript{872} Outnumbered and

\textsuperscript{872} I have updated the term ‘Hehe wars’ from Alison Redmayne’s ‘Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars’, The Journal of African History, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1968), 409-436.
trapped, Mkwawa found victory when he committed suicide in 1898. He denied Germany the opportunity to capture him, and by shooting himself in the head denied Germany the ability to identify him. Chapter I documented the hunting discourses of trophy seeking adventurers to explain, in part, why Mkwawa’s head was sawed off and taken back to the German outpost in Iringa. It showed that the English-born German officer Tom Prince, who bridged both German and British colonial practices, had engaged in a punitive war following the death of his superior, Commander Zelewski, on 17 August 1891. Prince took possession of the head and tooth and kept them as personal trophies. I showed the banality of Mkwawa’s head being defleshed, which inadvertently specimenised it along the same lines of collected skulls across empires. I then showed that upon von Prince’s relocation to Usambara, the skull disappeared. It was argued, by the British, that Prince sent it to Berlin as a specimen for German anthropologist Felix von Luschan’s collections in the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde. I proved this to be incorrect, or at least undocumented. Yet I have also shown that the Princes did not keep the skull as a family heirloom in the same way they kept Mkwawa’s tooth and a photography of the severed head. I attempted to show that on the international stage, it did not matter what actually happened to the skull.

The taking of Mkwawa’s skull came to represent German styled colonialism, where brutal violence could be contrasted, under propagandist motivations, against the British spread of civilisation and paternal protection. The Paris Peace Conference showed the many different ways the allies attempted to humiliate Germany, where Mkwawa’s skull and the narratives around were weaponised. Article 246 provided compensation and, for Milner and Byatt, a palladium of control over East Africa. The media attention around such an out of place clause in the Treaty of Versailles provided a welcomed distraction from the violence of British colonial rule, continuing the narrative of the Blue Book and further refuted German claims detailed in their White Book rejoinder. As the British assumed control of Tanganyika, I documented the shift of repatriation claims occupying parliamentary debates in the
interwar period as anti-German sentiment grew through the late 1930s and into the origins of the Second World War. Chapter II used the case study of Mkwawa’s son, Sapi Mkwawa, to show the fragility of colonial control and fears of German collaboration amongst Indigenous peoples in East Africa and the German settler presence. In stripping Sapi Mkwawa of his chieftaincy, the episode revealed the ways in which Mkwawa had to be recast as a strong leader and British ally, providing a space for indirect rule that could be occupied Mkwawa’s grandson, Adam Sapi.

Tom von Prince’s relocation away from the Wahehe revealed a European superstition around Mkwawa’s head that continued into the mid-twentieth century. Prince was sent away from the southern highlands under the belief that the Wahehe had become loyal to him rather than the colonial state, owing to von Prince’s possession of Mkwawa’s head. This helped explain the obsession, started under Horace Byatt, of the British possessing the skull for themselves. Sir Edward Twining’s personal quest to fulfil article 246 elucidated his doomed attempt to maintain colonial control in an era of decolonisation. Mkwawa’s skull existed only in the abstract from 1900 until 1954. It was Twining who brought it back into being. His clandestine journey to Bremen, the clumsiness in which he selected the closest approximation to Mkwawa from the vast inventory of skulls he encountered, and the way he forced the source community to accept it as authentic showed a British drive to force Mkwawa’s skull into being. Just as Prince was believed to have harnessed the invented power of Mkwawa’s martial prowess through his tooth talisman and brief possession of the skull, Twining too sought to fill the skull once again with poltergeist quality. In part, this showed his fixation on and his attempt to create a narrative of the skull possessing spiritual powers in order to align it with notions of a relic. He believed it might also prove its authenticity. More than anything, however, Twining rewrote the narrative of Mkwawa and Mkwawa’s skull in order to create a legacy for himself. Denied the ability to show that he alone had reclaimed a sacred artefact so elusive to his predecessors, especially Winston Churchill, and challenged
by *Der Spiegel* redux of the Blue and White book debates, Twining instead used the return of Mkwawa in order to defend and extend British control in East Africa against Mau Mau style rebellions. A skull was returned to the Wahehe under a spectacle of a recruitment drive for the King’s African Rifles and allegiances of loyalty to the British Empire. During this 1954 ceremony the skull was placed in the same glass case it still sits in today. It has not moved for sixty-five years. The first entry in the visitor logbook at the Mkwawa Museum is from, naturally, Sir Edward Twining himself (Figure 30). And yet the narratives of Mkwawa’s skull continue to be revisited and reinvented. While it may be stationary within the museum walls, the plasticity of Mkwawa’s skull shows that it will never be confined to a final resting place.

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*Figure 30: Guest logbook of Mkwawa Museum, Kalenga. 2017. Twining’s signature and entry in top left. Photo by Author.*
In the interwar years, Anglophone newspapers latched on to the sensational aspects of article 246. More than any other treaty clause, it encapsulated an opportunity to add levity, alterity, and mythic exaggeration for layman audiences. One account that invoked all three of these characteristics appeared in the New Zealand Wanganui Chronicle. Published in 1919, the author wrote ‘Sultan Okwawa is as important to the natives of East Africa as Mohammed is to the Arabs. He was one of the great leaders whose memory and remains are worshipped by thoustands (sic) of the natives of our new colony’. The article cast Mkwawa as an ancient figure whose skull was a relic on display long before German colonialism. The skull was plundered as an artefact ‘by the Duke of Mecklenburg in 1908, when he went on what was ostensibly a scientific expedition for the German Government. But the latter knew the value of the skull, and hoped by taking it to subdue the natives whom they had failed to conquer by the most cruel and drastic measures’. In what must have seemed an exaggeration at the time, was, in fact, be an understatement. The Wanganui Chronicle wrote ‘over a thousand skulls valued by the natives were taken away by the German Government, who paid no attention whatever to the religion or customs of the native over whom they were ruling. They are now paying the penalty of their cruel rule’.

For the author of this newspaper article, head collecting under German colonialism in Africa aligned with the collection of skulls as it had occurred in New Zealand. The ‘cruel rule’ was the stealing of sacred artefacts, which included skulls. The author and audiences saw collecting as a form of grave robbing, not the trophy collection of murdered Indigenous peoples. Mkwawa’s head had become an ancient relic, on display in a temple where a German Duke was an intrepid explorer and adventurer directly out of an H. Rider Haggard novel or embodied by the great white hunter Selous, plundering skulls under the enabling faux-banner of science.

The writer was unable to think of Europeans murdering to take trophy heads. Germany was paying for their cruel rule, according to the 1919 audience in a literal sense, as this treaty forced Germany to pay for the First World War.

Mkwawa’s head was made famous through the Treaty of Versailles. But like the Wanganui Chronicle’s account, few understood the head in its proper context. The lack of being rooted in East African contexts allowed for a treaty article to make a claim on Mkwawa’s skull. Delegates at the Paris Peace Conference, including Viscount Milner, saw Mkwawa’s skull as a sacred artefact and relic. Placed within article 246 and thus linked together with a Qur’an, readers of the finished treaty saw the term ‘Sultan’ mixed with a call for a Qur’an, and placed the skull in a Middle Eastern context. It has remained so linked in artistic expressions since 1919.

In a poem published in Life magazine in July 1919, American humorist Arthur Guiterman included the line: ‘Vain is the sacred chrism that anoints/ Those Fourteen Points/ And Covenants Most Openly Arrived At/ If cranial Abduction be connived at!’. Mkwawa’s skull was an Islamic sacred crown to be put upon Wilson’s Fourteen Point plan, and the Treaty of Versailles a rechristening of the holy ark of the covenant. The ancient skull had been abducted by German forces but was also filled with the power of a sultan abdicated by German colonialism.

Audiences were unsure what to make of Mkwawa’s head. Due to the vagueness of article 246, but also the perceived importance of Mkwawa to have been included in the treaty, his head created a blank space and an empty repository for myth-making, where fictional accounts could be tethered to the invented history of Mkwawa and his skull. In the 1930s and 1940s, this created a way to enshrine fictional narratives with a misunderstood historical significance. Three different incarnations are addressed below to span three genres across three mediums. First, Mkwawa’s skull became a leitmotif in a German First World War I anti-war novel. A few years later it was the central feature in Hollywood film used to promote a second

war against Germany in 1940. Finally, it was a reboot of the colonial adventure genre through a misguided comic book interpretation in 1998. Taken together, these case studies reveal the afterlife of Mkwawa’s head and its plasticity that has allowed it to become a relic with narrative power.

Written in 1931, Rudolf Frank’s anti-war novel *Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Mkwawa* (The Skull of the Negro-Chief Mkwawa), told the story of a child soldier who stumbled into the First World War. Frank had served in the First World War in a German artillery unit. Twenty-eight years old when the war began, Frank’s narration in his novel was through the eyes of a fourteen-year-old Polish boy called Jan Kubitzky. The small village Kopchovka became a battleground between German and Russian forces, killing Jan’s family. As a German advance overran Russian soldiers, Jan was conscripted into the German army.

Jan fell in with a troop of soldiers and accompanied them for two years in a novel intended to expose young readers to the brutality of war. References to colonialism are therefore scattered through the text, such as Jan’s nation being fought over in a scramble between two great European powers while simultaneously destroying his village and killing all but him. One German soldier is called Hottenrot, a name one letter removed term Hottentot. It invokes an allusion to Sara Baartman, the ‘Hottentot Venus’. Baartman, a Khoekhoe from South Africa, was displayed as a living specimen and curiosity in UK exhibitions in the first decade of the nineteenth century. She was sold to France in 1814 and died in 1815 at 26 years old. Her body parts were preserved and along with her skeleton and a body cast, were displayed in the *Muséum des sciences naturelles d’Angers* until 1974.\(^7\) It is a reminder that colonialism’s long centuries in Africa opened with the objectification of a ‘venus’ and concluded with the commodification of a ‘sultan’.

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\(^7\) Baartman’s human remains were repatriated in 2002, at the bequest of Nelson Mandala. From at least 1940 noted academics and activists championed repatriation calls. Only in 2002 did France grant the repatriation of her remains back to South Africa, where she was buried after being on display for nearly 200 years. See Sadiah Qureshi, ‘Displaying Sara Baartman, the “Hottentot Venus”’, *History of Science; An Annual Review of Literature, Research and Teaching*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2004), 233-257.
To German audiences, Hottentot referenced the derogatory term for Nama, used during their genocide in Southwest Africa. At one point in Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua, the soldiers gathered around a fire in the wastelands of a battle. One character remarked that the only difference between no man’s land and ‘darkest Africa’ was the lack of lions roaring in the distance.876 They imagined they were the Schutztruppe, stationed in Europe. The German soldiers encountered Muslim Russian conscripts in the novel. ‘When the doctor came to examine [the fallen soldier], the Russian turned, flung himself on the ground, touching it with his forehead, and murmured prayers. “Seems to be a Mohammedan”’ said one of the German soldiers. While fighting for the Russians in the novel, these Muslim soldiers stood in for the conscripted colonial soldiers drafted by European empires during the First World War. The group of protagonists attempted to make sense of Muslims in the same way Frank tried to make sense of Mkwawa’s skull. ‘Their god’s called Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet…they’re wretched dogs…who have the hide taken off them, for the green banner of the Prophet if it’s not for the sultan, for Mohammed if it’s not for Allah, or little Father Tsar…all for the skull of Sultan Mkwawa’.877

While the novel used Mkwawa’s skull in the title, mention of Mkwawa only appeared in this singular scene. The German soldiers and the child Jan contrasted the Muslims with themselves. The German characters were unable to justify why they were fighting in the war, having been conscripted and sent to the frontline against ethnically diverse Russians. Mkwawa’s skull was seen by the soldiers as giving the Muslim soldiers a purpose to fight in a senseless war. One soldier in Jan’s group, called Cordes, was a veteran of the German Schutztruppe. Cordes’ surname alluded to Joseph Conrad, and his backstory aligned with Conrad’s own history as a colonial agent sailing up the Congo River to trading posts and witnessing the colonial

877 Frank, No Hero for the Kaiser, 69.
periphery turn ‘civilisation’ into ‘savagery’. Cordes’ extended Conrad’s narrative in *Heart of Darkness* into the First World War. He likened trench warfare to his experience suppressing rebellions in Africa. He told Jan ‘when the rebellion broke out down there…I was sitting at the trading post with four white men; all the rest were blacks and very uncertain’. The feeling of anxiety at being outnumbered was a colonial trope now connected to the setting of this scene. Cordes tells the legend of Mkwawa while the soldiers themselves are hiding and outnumbered by the Russia military. ‘The medicine men and witch doctors’, Cordes told the group, ‘had stirred up the whole country against the whites in the jungles that lay before us’. In the novel, Mkwawa was not the East African leader but rather a legendary ancient warrior, whose historical exploits inspired rebellion. For Cordes ‘Mkwawa was their talisman, their war cry’. As the term ‘Wahehe’ was based on the war cry ‘Hee Hee’, Frank accurately, if accidentally, connected Cordes’ colonial service to German East Africa in 1891, just as the von Zelewski expedition was destroyed.

Mkwawa provided a reason for fighting against the Germans. The protagonists in this anti-war novel lacked a purpose. ‘Mkwawa’, Cordes told the audience, ‘gave them courage and such fanaticism that they just ran into our bullets. Naked, with no weapons except bows and arrows, they threw themselves at our machine guns until the corpses in front of the trading post were piled high as the hillocks’.\(^7\) The notion of the Africans charging the Europeans naked references Maji Maji, where it was rumoured the East African insurgents believed their medicine would turn bullets into water. The notion that they were armed with only primitive weapons spoke to both the weapons gap between machine guns and pre-colonial combat, as well as echoed von Zelewski’s statement to Tom Prince that the Wahehe did not even have guns, only spears and shields. The image of the Africans running into the machine guns until their corpses piled up referenced the accounts of Europeans slaughtering waves of attackers in colonial Africa, with the added significance of this being mirrored by Europeans fighting in the First World War and

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\(^7\) Frank, *No Hero for the Kaiser*, 70.
the ‘over the top’ infantry charges against fixed machine gun nests with a similar outcome of whites ‘piled high as the hillocks’.\textsuperscript{879}

Cordes explained that ‘Mkwawa, for whose sake whole nations were letting themselves be shot to bits, this Mkwawa doesn’t exist. He may have been a living person once, many, many years ago, when the first white men reached the black continent. In those days...there was supposed to have been just one gigantic kingdom, and its last ruler was Mkwawa’.\textsuperscript{880} Mkwawa’s status was thus elevated to a pre-colonial ruler of the entire continent. His skull was an explanation for why all Muslims the soldiers encountered were loyal to Mkwawa and united against Western Europe. Cordes believed that ‘The great chief is supposed to have been killed in the first battles with the whites. His tribe found his mutilated body — without the head’. It is of note that Frank’s novel uses the term ‘chief’ to refer to Mkwawa in both its title and in most of Cordes’ account. Chief Mkwawa then transformed into ‘Sultan Mkwawa’ after his death and decapitation, paralleling the actual history of his head. The scramble for Africa was due to Mkwawa’s death collapsing his empire, which was carved up by ‘the French, English, Belgians, Germans, and so on, and that was when the legend of the skull of Sultan Mkwawa arose among the blacks’. For Cordes, the repatriation of Mkwawa’s head would re-establish ‘the great ancient kingdom...Africa will chase out all the white people, and the glorious days of Sultan Mkwawa will return’.\textsuperscript{881} In this version, the skull had the power to unite colonised people under a talisman of African unity. This ran contrary to Twining’s belief that returning Mkwawa’s skull would stop the spread of nationalism within East Africa. But the skull had not been taken by Germany. It was simply lost ‘and no one knows where it is’. The missing skull and the quest to find it emboldened Africans to ‘commit any act of folly for his sake’, a statement that contrasted with the many acts of folly the protagonists had taken without any


\textsuperscript{880} Frank, \textit{No Hero for the Kaiser}, 71. Emphasis in original.

\textsuperscript{881} Frank, \textit{No Hero for the Kaiser}, 71.
justification other than the orders of their commanding officer. Earlier in Cordes’ account of Mkwawa, he was Europeanised as ‘a great ruler, like Charlemagne, or Napoleon, or Barbarossa’, during which Cordes is interrupted by Hottenrot who adds the name of their commander as a joke meant to contrast once again with the meaningless war.882

The narrative of Mkwawa ended with Cordes telling of an assault on the plantation he was stationed in during his colonial service. He described it in a similar illustration to the battleground Frank had just described Jan and the German soldiers in, blending the two contexts. ‘Every minute’, Cordes continued, ‘there was a new assault. The most sleep we ever got was two hours at a time. The rest of the time we sat by the fire on the edge of the plantation, keeping watch’. Cordes was telling the story while the men were gathered around a fire at the edge of the battlefield, having not slept and while fighting at night. ‘One evening — I was just going to lie down for a bit when an infernal racket broke out. They blew on their buffalo horns, the war drums rattled, they beat their gongs like men possessed and suddenly a horrible yell issued from many thousands throats, and from the blackness of the forest.’ Cordes story was interrupted as ‘fire broke out ahead of them, more violently than before, a surprise attack’.883 The colonial plantation had become the eastern battlefield. German ‘officers came out of their huts’ and the war drums was the ‘tactactactac tactactactac rattle of machine guns’. Mkwawa and colonial Africa blended with the First World War to show colonialism had come home as European metropoles attempted to destroy themselves.

Rudolf Frank used the skull of Mkwawa to mark an anti-war agenda under an obscure historical title: Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua. The German text of article 246 read ‘…der Schädel des Sultans Makaua…’.884 To German readers in the waning years of the Weimar Republic, the book’s title would not have conjured an

882 Frank, No Hero for the Kaiser, 70.
883 Frank, No Hero for the Kaiser, 73.
image of the treaty, which became a document of shame and hatred. It is of note that Frank understood Mkwawa’s history enough to locate the skull as African, removing the Sultan title from the story and from Mkwawa before adding it back on. History and the narrative of his head, however, could be reinvented under a skull that was momentarily famous but then largely forgotten by the 1930s, in spite of limited hearings in the UK parliament to push for German repatriation.

As an anti-war novel, Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua was one of the first books banned under National Socialism and publicly burned during Nazi rallies. It was posthumously reissued in 1979 as Der Junge, der seinen Geburtstag vergaß (The Child Who Forgot his Birthday), taken from the first chapter’s title, as Jan’s village is destroyed on his birthday. The novel was translated into English in 1987 under yet another title, No Hero for the Kaiser. In this way, the book returned to the theme of the original German title. Unlike decolonising movements to ‘push the whites out of Africa’, Germans did not need to become heroes for the empire.

The multiple valences Mkwawa’s skull embodied served as an anti-war metaphor in 1931 whilst preparing American audiences in 1940 for another world war. The film Zanzibar opened with the text of article 246.\(^{885}\) It was also released the same year Sapi Mkwawa was stripped of his chieftaincy and replaced by Adam Sapi. The film centres on a group of shipwrecked big game hunters along the Swahili coast who are forced to trek into the interior. The protagonists are a female ‘great white hunter’ Jan Browning, dressed in a pith helmet and all white safari outfit and with a surname invoking the American arms manufacturer. A young American called Steve Marland, who came to Africa looking for adventure, joins Browning on her quest. Just as in Frank’s novel, in Zanzibar Mkwawa’s skull was an ancient relic that ‘while in Africa kept all east African tribes at peace’. Having been removed, the natives ‘have been restless ever since’. In the film, a British colonial agent tasks Jan with retrieving Mkwawa’s skull to aid in the war effort. He tells her the only reason the

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\(^{885}\) Zanzibar, DVD, directed by Harold Schuster, (Los Angeles: Universal Studios, 1940).

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colony feels peaceful is that it has ‘one million men patrolling the district’, and those men are needed in Europe during ‘troublesome times like these’. The skull has been repatriated to Africa by Germany in 1940, but given to a ‘rival tribe to create an uprising’. Reversing article 246, Jan was to take Mkwawa’s skull from Africa and giving it to the British in order to weaken the Axis powers and bring peace to East Africa. Within Jan’s group is an Axis spy, an Italian actor playing a German pretending to be a Norwegian with the Polish surname, Koski, sent to stop the British from recovering Mkwawa.886

The group reach the village of Whete country, a reference to the Wahehe. Friends with Jan, the former chief tells her he has been deposed as ruler, with Ali Mohammad Ibram installed by the British to rule Whete as an Arabian sultan. The sultan is portrayed heavily Islamified, who is the great ancestor of Mkwawa, an ancient Muslim ruler whose head resides in a village shrine hidden in the jungle. The sultan informs Jan that the presence of whites has made his villagers restless, and they are preparing to use her as a human sacrifice for Mkwawa. Mkwawa’s spirit controls the volcano Ringdoom. In this narration, Mkwawa’s body was cremated in the volcano and his head enshrined in the temple. Both Jan and Steve as well as Koski sneak away to steal Mkwawa’s skull.

For a film riddled with historical inaccuracies, Zanzibar inadvertently displayed Mkwawa’s skull as it looks in the Kalenga temple today. Koski finds Mkwawa’s skull set in a glass case of a small room surrounded by tribalised artefacts. He takes it and muses ‘with this skull, my country will rule a continent’, implying Nazi mastery over Europe as well as Africa. After a protracted struggle,

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886 Conrad wrote: ‘All of Europe contributed to the making of Kurtz’ Conrad, Heart of Darkness, 135. So too did all of Europe seem to be embodied by the character Koski. Played by a famed Italian opera star Eduardo Ciannelli, who immigrated to the United States in 1919, he would have been recognisable to audiences for having starred in Gunga Din the year before Zanzibar, as Gunga Din was the second highest-grossing film of 1939 behind only Gone With the Wind. In Gunga Din Ciannelli wore brown face to play the Thuggee cult leader Guru in a film adapted from Kipling’s poem of the same name. Zanzibar borrowed plot elements from the far more successful Gunga Din, such as having temples made of gold and heroic suicides to aid or hinder the protagonists. Gunga Din influenced the plot of the 1984 film Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, which influenced the Dutch comic book January Jones discussed below.
Koski is killed. Jan and Steve take the skull and escape on the sultan’s pleasure boat. As the heroes sail down the river and the Whete are destroyed by lava from the erupted volcano, the two protagonists embrace. A comic relief character holds Mkwawa’s skull in a Hamlet pose and ends the film with the line ‘Mac, when them two kids get married, you and I are going on a bender’.

*Zanzibar* was pulp fiction put to film. It was a generic adventure film where Mkwawa’s skull could have been any artefact that was religiously significant and historically linked. In fact, in 1942 the same screenplay writer released *Drums of the Congo*. That film followed *Zanzibar*’s plot wholesale, substituting Mkwawa’s skull for a meteorite. The wartime context of *Zanzibar*’s release, however, contrasts with Frank’s anti-war novel. Mkwawa’s skull had the power to aid the United Kingdom in the same way America had the power to lead the war efforts. The Lend-Lease programme of neutral America sending weapons to the United Kingdom began the following year. *Zanzibar*’s director Harold Schuster put out another film in 1940 that promoted the lend-lease act. In *South to Karanga* an American arms and ammunition train was to be sent to Bombay to aid the British Empire in their military efforts. The location of the plot was changed to *African Copper Mines* after the British Ministry of Economic Warfare pressured Universal to not release a film that ‘too closely paralleled recent unpleasantness’ with a film about ‘a Moslem-Hindu fight in Bombay’. That a finalised film could switch out backdrops proved ‘that emotions are not geographical…where all the murders of the Indian story were retained [but now] committed by dastardly native agitators’ as a film gossip columnist wrote. What the geographic switch showed was that 1940s low budget wartime films, and American audiences, saw colonial settings as substitutable backdrops. Mkwawa’s skull was a film prop in *Zanzibar* to portray a colonial adventure story with a modernised twist. Repatriation of Mkwawa’s skull was performed in reverse, with

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Nazi Germany using the ancient and powerful skull to sow rebellion within British colonies, yet paradoxically sought to retrieve the skull to unite East Africa under National Socialism and conquer Europe. American audiences were to view Mkwawa’s skull, reminiscent of Twining’s later repatriation ceremony, as a recruitment tool to support war against Germany.

Nostalgia for colonial adventure can be seen in the comic book January Jones. This was a short five-book run of adventure stories written by Martin Lodewijk and illustrated by Eric Heuvel. In the second issue, January Jones: De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa (The Skull of Sultan Mkawawa), January spotted a plot by East African and European agents attempting to recover Mkwawa’s skull to access the treasure map to King Solomon’s mines hidden inside Mkwawa’s empty skull. The mines of H. Rider Haggard and the skull of Mkwawa evoke British and German intertextuality. Like Jan Browning in Zanzibar, January embodied a colonialist adventurer in the lead up to the Second World War. Unlike Zanzibar, however, more recent source materials informed the 1998 comic book. January Jones was female Indiana Jones, in dress and surname. The comic capitalised on the financial success and iconic status of Indiana Jones trilogy of the 1980s, television series of early 1990s, and comic book run that had concluded just two years before January Jones’ debut. She was a swashbuckling mix of an aeroplane pilot, adventurer-explorer, and Tintin-styled action hero (Figure 31).

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889 January Jones was intentionally drawn to allude to Hergé’s character Tintin. Not only has the comic book been placed in the same time period Tintin debuted, but January is dressed in the same blue shirt and brown trousers traditionally worn by Tintin. She adds a leather jacket to bridge the gap between Tintin and the character Indiana Jones, created by George Lucas and Steven Spielberg in 1981 but set in the 1930s. January Jones’s blond hair, always worn up, has the same characteristic quiff as Tintin and the comic book is drawn in a ligne claire style pioneered by Herge. Lodewijk and Heuvel even created a link between the Tintin comic book universe and their own when January Jones met a sea captain smuggler Henry de Monfried, a real-life adventurer who inspired Hergé’s Oliveira da Figueria. See Martin Lodewijk and Eric Heuvel, January Jones: Deel 3, De Shatten Van Koning Salomo (Oosterhout, Netherlands: Don Lawrence, 2014) and Hergé, The Adventures of Tintin: Cigar of the Pharaoh (London: Egmont, 2012).
Similar to Frank’s *Der Schädel des Negerhäuptlings Makaua*, while Mkwawa’s skull underpinned the books’ titles, it was an empty framing device to set a wider story. In *January Jones*, Mkwawa’s skull is once more a background prop, as it was in all three stories. A major plot point involved January and the always-nude Josephine Baker entering the Parisian catacombs where Mkwawa’s skull threatened to become lost among the hundreds of thousands of identical skulls. This story element mirrored
Twining’s visit to Bremen when he was confronted with an array of skulls and threatened to become lost in too many choices.

The January Jones comic book’s first few pages are surprisingly historically accurate but with intentional exaggerations and reimaginings. The comic opened with the Schutztruppe raid on Kalenga, set in 1898 instead of 1894. The askari are using mounted machine guns to destroy a village, and Tom Prince is leading the attack, here Germanised as ‘Kapitein Prinz’. In this retelling, Prinz finds the skeletonised body of von Zeluvski (Zelewski), who was ‘clobbered…some weeks ago’, tied to pole inside one of Mkwawa’s huts. Enraged, Prinz storms Mkwawa’s Boma to kill Mkwawa. As in Zanzibar, Mkwawa is depicted as an orientalised Arab, carrying a sword and ornamental daggers while his soldiers are armed with modern rifles. In his suicide, Mkwawa shouts ‘Allahou Akbar and stabs himself in the stomach, perhaps based on Twining’s account of the history, but more likely in reference to his primitive grounding (Figure 32).

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Prinz mourns that Mkwawa’s suicide ‘has taken away German justice’, wishing he could have beheaded Mkwawa in public in Dar es Salaam. Prinz is the one who removes Mkwawa’s head, using his sabre and has an askari porter carry the head as the column marches to Dar es Salaam (Figure 33). At the coast, Prinz’s superior officers puzzle over what should be done with the head. Even for Lodwijk and Heuvel in 1998 and well versed in the actual history of Mkwawa’s head, the idea that it would be a trophy head was inconceivable.

891 Lodewijk and Heuvel, January Jones: De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa, 3.
In *January Jones*, like the other fictional depictions above, Mkwawa’s head never became a trophy head. The German officers looked at the head and said ‘Eh...good work, Prinz...eh...but what do we do with it now? Perhaps a gift to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin?’. Much like the American anthropologist Winans, who was unable to make sense of why Prince took Mkwawa’s head, Lodewijk and Heuvel either failed to understand a history of trophy collecting in colonial warfare or chose to ridicule it. Despite research that accurately, with artistic exaggeration, portrays the initial history of Mkwawa’s head, trophy collecting is explained away by a drive to collect specimens. The head in the comic is shipped to Berlin where museum curators take it to phrenologists as they transition into race scientists. Felix von Luschan, called Mr Professor Stenniz takes possession of the head and the
character quotes von Luschan by stating ‘we cannot have enough skulls to get truly correct calculation curves’.  

The comic moves to the Paris Peace Conference, where the creation of article 246 is documented with the narration ‘stolen treasures must be returned’. As in the opening shot of Zanzibar, the actual text of the treaty is overlaid with the scene. The head cannot be found by Germany. In this incarnation of Mkwawa’s narrative, his head was stolen just after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Von Luschan goes missing in action while serving in France, taking his skull collection with him. The German scientists mourn the loss of von Luschan’s collection; ‘an anthropological monument’. Yet here, Mkwawa’s skull is repatriated when, perhaps in jest to Twining, the German scientists send ‘some other African figure type’ as ‘no one would notice the difference’. French farmers ploughing the Verdun battleground later dig up Mkwawa’s skull and January Jones’ adventure begins while Mkwawa’s head fades away to an object valued only for the map to African riches.

Mkwawa’s head created an anchor point for adventure genre and war stories. It added a touch of real history to then create fantasy accounts. As a narrative device, Mkwawa’s head allowed stories to connect to an African history that predated colonial interruption. This was due to the wording of article 246. Mixing ‘sultan’ and ‘Koran’ with ‘German East Africa’, authors had just enough real history to invent imaginary worlds based in a loose grasp of twentieth-century history. For Rudolf Frank’s Der Schädel des Negerhauptlings Makaua and the film Zanzibar, that was a more recent and connected history. In the twenty-first century, storytellers like Lodewijk and Heuvel had better access to source materials but were freed by the temporal distance to tell a narrative further disconnected from Mkwawa’s skull.

In recent years, there has been a return to more accurate historical accounts. In 2011 Tanzanian filmmaker Seko Tingitana-Shamte created Mkwawa: Shujaa wa

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892 Lodewijk and Heuvel, January Jones: De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa, 4.
893 Lodewijk and Heuvel, January Jones: De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa, 5.
894 Lodewijk and Heuvel, January Jones: De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa, 6.
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*Mashujj* (Mkwawa: Warrior among Warriors). The film is a dramatised version of Mkwawa family’s rule over the Wahehe, spanning from the foundation of the Wahehe state to the ceremonial return of the skull in 1954. The fictional parts of the film are grounded using interviews with Tanzanian historians to present a historically accurate yet entertaining story connected to Tanzanian ownership of the narrative. *Mkwawa: Shujaa wa Mashujj* added a more localised grounding to the history of Mkwawa’s head by focusing on Mkwawa as a living figure. The saga of his head does not overshadow his life. In 2001 Martin Baer released *Eine Kopfjagd- Auf der Suche nach dem Schädel des Sultans Mkwawa* (A headhunt: In Search of the Skull of Sultan Mkwawa). This documentary film, which was also published as a book of the same name, followed Is-Haka Mkwawa, Mkwawa’s great-grandson as he travelled to Europe to search archives and museums to reconstruct the history of Mkwawa’s head. The film features Tanzania and Germany within the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* movement, as Tanzania pushed Germany to come to terms with its colonial history and urged Tanzania, where Mkwawa’s head is owned and displayed by the state, to create new memorial practices.

The memorialisation around Mkwawa has stagnated in Tanzania. Narratives around his skull continue to exhibit plasticity. Mkwawa’s resistance movement has been co-opted under the nationalist narratives of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the second-largest ruling party in Africa and an inheritor of Nyerere’s Tanganyika African National Union. Had Mkwawa’s body been buried in a less remote location than Mlambalasi, it would have become a nationalist shrine, as, Nyerere attempted to create on the centennial of Mkwawa’s suicide.

Within Iringa, Mkwawa is remembered as a warrior. The ‘Mkwawa Safari’ is a company that specialises in game hunts, capitalising on the masculine martial prowess of Mkwawa. With his skull on display in a museum aimed at foreign tourists, his repatriation has been monetised. Yet within this enterprise spaces open for a blend of commemoration and commercialisation. An annual trail run, called ‘Kamwene’, after the praise name used in traditional Kihehe greetings (*Figure 34*),
allows tourists and Tanzanian nationals to retrace the same journey Adam Sapi undertook when Twining handed over ‘Mkwawa’s skull’. The trail run, initiated in 2019, is to occur annually on the anniversary of the repatriation ceremony. The event is billed as ‘an Ecotourism Sport Event’ taking runners to the ‘off beaten paths, hills, [and] valleys’ where they instead ‘follow the trails that were used by Chief Mkwawa’. Like the display of a skull in the nearby museum, this run uses Mkwawa’s legacy to, according to organiser and Mkwawa descendent Amani Sapi, ‘open Iringa and surrounding areas to tourists…and promote economic activities of people (sic) in this region’. Runners embark from the same spot in Iringa where Twining organised his recruitment drive and pro-imperial speech. This is the same square where Mkwawa’s son was publically stripped of his chieftaincy and forced to return his chiefly medal. Finishers of this run are given medallions emprinted with Mkwawa’s head on them. As participants finish in Kalenga sports field, near the Kalenga Mkwawa Museum, they drink Mkwawa branded water (Figure 35). The legacy of Mkwawa, through the repatriation of a skull, continues to be reinvented on local, national, and international levels to a range of stakeholders. Mkwawa’s head will continue to be reframed with new narratives. As it always has.

Figure 34: Mkwawa Trail Run Advertisement. Photo from Gerry Auel. Used with Permission.
Figure 35: Mkwawa Brand Water, Mufindi. Photo by Author.
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