The History of the Twentieth Century Episode 113 "Simpson's Circus" Transcript

[music: Fanfare]

The British failure to capture German East Africa in 1914 left the British stuck with a significant strategic problem, in the form of German land and naval units operating out of East Africa.

The Germans were resourceful and inventive at making the most of their opportunities. In order to defeat them, the British would have to be equally inventive, and find a way to succeed without drawing away needed resources and hampering their military operations in other theaters.

Welcome to *The History of the Twentieth Century*.

[music: Opening Theme]

Episode 113. Simpson's Circus.

We return today to the war in East Africa. We last looked in on East Africa during episode 105, in which I told you about the fighting in East Africa through the end of 1914. There are three narrative threads to this story, so let's begin by reviewing where we stand with each one.

First, there is the naval war. This is principally the story of the German cruiser *Königsberg*, which had been based at Dar es Salaam, the capital of German East Africa, when the war began. *Königsberg* did some commerce raiding, which ultimately proved disappointing, but had also succeeded in raiding Zanzibar harbor and sinking the older British cruiser *Pegasus*. *Königsberg* has since retired to the Rufiji River delta, which has been surveyed in some detail by the Germans, well enough that *Königsberg* can navigate her way into the delta and hide out among the mangroves, where she's currently undergoing a refit, or as good a refit as you can do in the river delta. Porters carry engine parts to Dar es Salaam, where they are repaired or rebuilt and then ported back to the ship.

The British have several cruisers of their own blockading the river delta to make sure *Königsberg* can't leave. But she's too well hidden to attack, and the British lack the Germans' detailed knowledge of the delta. So the bottom line here is that one German naval vessel is tying down a squadron of four British cruisers, which you have to count as a win for the Germans. And that really is the story of the war in East Africa in miniature. The Germans have no hope of an

outright defeat of the British, but the conflict in East Africa is going to divert British soldiers, British ships, and British money away at a time when Britain and her entente partners need as many of those resources as possible in Europe, and thus the German goal is to force the British to divert as many of those resources to Africa as they can.

The second part of the story is the war on land. You'll recall that most of the white German settlers in German East Africa live in the region near the border with British East Africa, and through that region runs a rail line from Tanga, on the coast, to Moshi, near Kilimanjaro, a run of about 250 miles. Two Indian British forces attacked Moshi by land and Tanga by sea on the same day, in the hope of surprising the German-led forces and capturing this rail line. But both attacks failed, in spite of the British holding a significant numerical advantage of 12,000 soldiers against about 2,000.

So, again, in what is going to become a recurrent refrain of this campaign, substantial British land forces are being tied down by a much smaller German force.

We'll come back to both the land and sea conflicts, but I want to begin with a third aspect of this conflict, and one we haven't discussed yet. That's the fighting on the African Great Lakes. The African Great Lakes are a series of lakes in and around the East African Rift, caused by the fact that the East African Rift is a developing fracture in the African Plate. Not that anyone knew about this in 1915, but even in our time geologists aren't exactly sure why Africa is breaking apart, but it seems that a portion of East Africa from Mozambique to Somalia is in the process of splitting off from the rest of the continent, and it will be a separate tectonic plate in ten million years or so. One of the consequences of this rift that we can see today is a chain of long, narrow lakes that arcs across East Africa along a curved line oriented approximately north to south.

The largest of these lakes by volume is Lake Tanganyika, which is long and narrow. It is the second-largest freshwater lake in the world by volume, the first being Lake Baikal in Siberia, which we examined in episode 31. The largest in surface area is Lake Victoria, which is the second-largest freshwater lake in the world by surface area, the largest being Lake Superior in North America.

If you look at a map of German East Africa, you'll see that these two lakes and a third lake, Lake Nyasa, form parts of the western border of the German territory. In particular, Lake Tanganyika defines most of the border between German East Africa and the Belgian Congo. When the Great War began, control over these three large inland African lakes was suddenly very important. Control of these waterways allowed for easy communication and movement of soldiers in a region in which communication and movement of soldiers was otherwise very difficult.

And more was at stake than the movement of soldiers. As soon as the war began, German forces were raiding into not only British East Africa but the Belgian Congo, the Berlin Conference and the desire of the Belgian Commissioner to keep the Congo neutral notwithstanding. Germans even raided into Portuguese East Africa, despite Portuguese neutrality. These raids were a matter

of serious concern to the colonial administrators, who feared that shows of German strength in their territories might encourage the Africans to rise up in revolt and threaten their control. The colonial powers of this time also regarded the Great Lakes region as potentially very valuable for future European development, and it was believed that the nation or nations that controlled the lake region after the war was over would reap great benefits.

Because these lakes are isolated, getting even a small steam-powered boat onto one of them was a major undertaking. And the upshot of all of this is that control of these lakes, and the strategic benefits that would entail were dependent on a few small craft. Vessels that would have been regarded as minor commercial boats in Europe or North America could rule the lakes in Africa, a situation with comical overtones that call to mind Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Nonetheless, in East Africa in 1914, it was deadly serious business.

[music: Overture to *The Flying Dutchman*]

We'll take the story of each of these three lakes in turn, and begin with Lake Nyasa, because that's the easiest one. When the war began, there were four armed steamboats on the lake, three British and one German. The German steamer was named *Hermann von Wissman*, after a former Commissioner of German East Africa. The largest of the British steamers was named *Gwendolen*, after Lady Gwendolen Cecil, the second daughter of friend-of-the-podcast Lord Salisbury, who was Prime Minister in 1899, when she was launched. (The boat, not the daughter.) The captain of *Gwendolen* found out about the whole "war" thing before the captain of *Hermann von Wissman* did, and thus *Gwendolen* succeeded in tracking down the German boat while it was in a slipway and disabling it with a single gunshot on August 16, 1914. Which must have been a little awkward, as these two captains had until then been pretty good friends and had knocked down a few beers together on occasion before the war started. Some people call this the first British naval victory of the Great War, which...sure. Why not? If you want to. Go nuts with it. But I suspect the captain of *Gwendolen* is going to be drinking alone for a while.

The British established control of Lake Victoria almost as easily. The Germans had one armed steamboat on the lake, while the British had several much larger steamers. Arming them was a simple matter, as you'll recall I mentioned the British had already built a rail line from the port of Mombasa on the coast all the way to Lake Victoria, the so-called "Lunatic Line," which made it a relatively simple project to ship in some guns from Europe to Mombasa to the lake, and then mount the guns on the steamers. By early 1915, the British had a far superior force on Lake Victoria, and they sank the German boat in March.

That leaves Lake Tanganyika, the most isolated of the three. Lake Tanganyika is roughly 400 miles from north to south and thirty miles east to west. The west shore of the lake is mostly in the Belgian Congo, except at the southern end, where the lake reaches into British territory. The east shore is German-controlled.

The Germans had two steamboats on that lake, the 45-ton *Kingani* and the 100-ton *Hedwig von Wissman*, a boat named after the wife of Hermann von Wissman. These two ships were armed with small guns salvaged from German ships at Dar es Salaam. On the Belgian side of the lake was the 90-ton steamer *Alexandre Delcommune*. She was unarmed, but could potentially have guns mounted on her, so the German ships attacked her on August 22, forcing the ship to beach itself to avoid sinking.

There were also two small, unarmed British steamers on the lake, *Good News*, owned by the London Missionary Society, and *Cecil Rhodes*, owned by the British African Lakes Corporation. They were both sunk in November.

There was also a much larger German ship, the 1500-ton *Graf von Götzen*, which had been built in Germany in 1913, then disassembled and shipped to Dar es Salaam in 5,000 crates, which were then taken west by train as far as the rail line went, and then carried by porters overland to the town of Kigoma, on the shore of the lake, with the goal of assembling the ship there. This project wasn't yet complete when the Great War began, but by June 1915, *Graf von Götzen* was fully assembled, armed with guns taken from *Königsberg*—we'll get back to her later—and patrolling the lake.

This meant that the Germans were now masters of the lake, with three armed vessels, the largest of which was far bigger and far more heavily armed than anything ever before seen on an African lake. Now, I know what you're thinking. You're thinking, "So what? What does control of Lake Tanganyika get the Germans?"

Well, I'll tell you. First of all, the Germans used their little fleet to patrol Belgian and British towns on the lake, ready to bombard boats or guns or anything else that looked like a threat to German dominance. They also staged raids on these towns, supported by their gunboats, to seize whatever supplies and materiel they deemed useful. Control of the lake gave the Germans the ability to land ground troops anywhere they wanted on the shores of the lake. Belgian or British ground forces could not cross the lake into German territory, and any force attempting to circumvent the lake ran the risk of German forces landing in its rear and disrupting its communication and supply lines.

And there was also that concern that British weakness in the face of German raids might inspire Africans in the region. Some of them had already revolted against British rule before; they might rise up again, perhaps successfully this time. Loss of British prestige could lead to loss of British control.

These worries were explained forcefully by John R. Lee, a British big game hunter and rather shady character, who had seen the situation on the lake firsthand, and traveled all the way to London in the spring of 1915 to lobby the Admiralty to do something about it. The British Admiralty took Lee's warnings more or less seriously and, in the person of Admiral Sir Henry

Jackson, responded by saying, "It is both the duty and the tradition of the Royal Navy to engage the enemy wherever there is water to float a ship."

The problem was, the Navy was gearing up for the Gallipoli campaign at this time, and Royal Navy resources were few. No problem, Lee told the admiral, I have a cunning plan. His plan was to ship two small, fast boats to Africa, boats faster than *Hedwig von Wissman* and armed with guns capable of sinking her. As for how to get them to the lake, well, he had a plan for that, too.

Lee was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Royal Navy Reserve and was sent ahead to Africa to prepare the way. Obviously, the RN would need someone to command this operation, and since all the competent commanders are assigned to Gallipoli, so they turned to the eccentric 39-year old Lieutenant Commander Geoffrey Basil Spicer-Simpson, a man whose naval career until now was best known for having lost command of a destroyer after it collided with a smaller boat. When the war began, the Navy had tried giving him a small gunboat and sent him off to patrol the British coast, but two weeks later his gunboat was sunk by a U-boat in broad daylight which got him assigned to another desk job.

But he had had experience surveying the Gambia River in West Africa and he spoke fluent French and German, and what the heck, if we send him to Africa at least he'll be out of our hair for a while. So he got the job. The Navy assigned him two boats and 27 sailors who, like Spicer-Simpson himself, were regarded as too crazy to send to Gallipoli. But they tested out the boats on the Thames, and they seemed more than capable. They could do 19 knots and each one had a three-pound gun mounted to the bow. The guns were fixed so they could only fire forward, because the boats were so small and the guns so big that to fire one off to the side would capsize the boat. But they were also very maneuverable, so that would have to do.

Spicer-Simpson named the two boats HMS *Mimi* and HMS *Toutou*, which are French colloquial terms that mean approximately "meow" and "woof-woof." There's a story that is widely told that claims Spicer-Simpson's first choice was to name the two craft HMS *Cat* and HMS *Dog*, but that the Admiralty wouldn't go for it, so he substituted *Mimi* and *Toutou*, to have his way despite Royal Navy stuffiness, but I have to say that I question the truth of this story. I'll tell it to you anyway because it's widely told, and you'll find it in most of the sources, but just so you know, I'm putting an asterisk next to it. But the fact that he named the boats *Mimi* and *Toutou* is indisputable, and really, quite eccentric enough as it is, whatever you think of that other story.

It took the Navy six weeks to put this team together, acquire the boats and the equipment to move them, and send them on their way. Three weeks and 6,000 miles later, on July 2, they arrived at Cape Town, where *Mimi* and *Toutou* were transferred onto rail cars for a three-week ride north into Katanga Province in the southeastern Belgian Congo.

By the way, I suppose I should mention that the Congo had previously made King Leopold filthy rich, first with ivory and then with rubber, as we saw back in episode 20, but by 1914, with the

rubber boom over, the Congo's most valuable export now is copper, mined principally in Katanga Province and sold principally to the British these days for the war effort.

The next leg of the journey was the most difficult: overland and over a mountain range. Lee had been sent ahead to prepare a way for them. He'd hired a large number of Africans and their livestock to clear a trail, build bridges, and finally drag the two boats overland on trailers. It took two months to cover 150 miles, and then it was a train again, then a 400-mile journey down the Lualaba River, then another train until at last they reached Lake Tanganyika. All in all, it had taken six months to cover 2,000 miles across Africa. The crew had taken to calling the project "Simpson's Circus." But at last, on December 23, seven months after leaving England, the boats were on the lake and ready for action.

On Boxing Day, three days later, Simpson was conducting a Sunday prayer service when his crew spotted *Kingani* patrolling nearby. They hastily concluded their service, and sent the British boats off in pursuit. The German boat had only a forward gun, so *Mimi* and *Toutou* attacked her from behind. *Kingani* could only bring her gun to bear by slow turns, and the faster British ships had little trouble evading her. After just eleven minutes of combat, a lucky British shot killed *Kingani*'s gun crew and her captain. A few more shots, and *Kingani* was sinking. Her crew surrendered. *Kingani* was repaired and refitted with a new 12-pound gun and rechristened HMS *Fifi*, which you can think of as "tweet-tweet," in keeping with the theme of Spicer-Simpson's bathtub flotilla.

The Germans didn't know what had happened to *Kingani*. They figured she was probably sunk by a lucky shot from a shore gun. On February 8, it was *Hedwig von Wissman's* turn. Now she was ambushed by *Mimi*, *Toutou*, and *Fifi*. She could outrun the heavily-armed *Fifi*, but constant harassing fire from the two smaller, faster boats kept forcing her to change course, which gave *Fifi* opportunity to draw closer. At last, when defeat was certain, the captain of *Hedwig von Wissman* ordered the crew to scuttle her and abandon ship. They were picked up by the British.

That left *Götzen*, which was by now fully operational. She was too big for the British flotilla to take on, but they were too fast for the larger German ship to take on, and so the result was a stalemate. That worked for the British, who did not need to control the lake. All they needed was to keep the Germans from controlling it. In the end, it was the land war that did *Götzen* in. Once Allied troops were threatening the rail line to the lake, so Lettow-Vorbeck ordered that *Königsberg's* guns be returned, and *Götzen* was scuttled on July 26, 1916.

By the way, the British recovered *Götzen* after the war and restored her to the service she was originally meant for, that is, a passenger and cargo ferry operating between ports on the lake. She was renamed *Liemba*, which is a local name for the lake, and still operates to this day, as I record this podcast, more than a century after her hull first touched the waters of the lake. For the record, this makes her the only vessel of the Imperial German Navy still in service.

[music: Overture to *The Flying Dutchman*]

I mentioned a gun that had been taken from SMS *Königsberg*, so I suppose now is a good time to talk about the rest of the ship. When we last heard from *Königsberg*, she was hiding out in the Rufiji River delta, where no British warship dare follow. She was camouflaged, and her crew had taken up defensive positions around the delta. Several British cruisers were blockading the delta, but the British Admiralty increasingly found this situation intolerable. The British were able to hire a few airplanes to do reconnaissance over the delta, and they eventually found the German ship. It was a tricky business. The Germans would fire on the British planes, and although they scored no kills, there were enough close calls to keep the pilots nervous. Worse still were the tropical conditions. The glue that held the wooden parts of the planes together had an unfortunate tendency to come apart in the high heat and humidity, and at this time, all airplanes have some wooden parts, notably the propellers, so, yeah, that's a problem.

But it wasn't exactly peaches and cream for the German sailors, either. In fact, they'd run through their supplies of peaches and cream long ago, and food was hard to come by, and they were suffering from malaria and other diseases, and from the heat, and from the isolation.

The British Admiralty were pondering what do to about *Königsberg* into the spring of 1915, at the same time that John R. Lee was lobbying them to do something about German control of Lake Tanganyika. In contrast to that operation, which the Admiralty did not regard entirely seriously, they did take the *Königsberg* situation very seriously indeed. Those blockading cruisers were badly needed on other fronts, and the sooner they could be freed up, the better. *Königsberg* has to go.

As it happened, at the time the war had broken out, there were three river monitors under construction in British shipyards that had been ordered by the government of Brazil, but had been requisitioned by the British government after the fighting started. Right now, in spring of 1915, these three river monitors are in Malta, preparing for the Gallipoli campaign.

They were designed to operate on rivers. The Brazilians had wanted them for use on the Amazon. The Royal Navy had them in mind for the aftermath of a successful Gallipoli campaign, when they could be brought into the Black Sea and then advance up the River Danube to relieve the Serbians.

But these ships appeared ideal for taking on *Königsberg*. As river monitors, they had shallow drafts, and they were each armed with a single six-inch gun, more powerful than any of the 105mm guns aboard *Königsberg*. And so, two of these ships, *Mersey* and *Severn*—named after English rivers, you see—were brought to the Rufiji delta. Bigger guns have longer ranges, so it should be possible to station these ships someplace in the delta where they can fire on *Königsberg*, but *Königsberg* can't fire back.

The first attempt to attack *Königsberg* was on July 6, 1915, and it didn't go so well for the British. The two monitors were able to ease their way through the river delta in spite of small arms fire from German sailors guarding the approaches. But alas, due to the inadequate maps

available to the British, *Mersey* had ended up in a position *Königsberg*'s gun crews were indeed able to find and they pounded the smaller ship savagely until the British withdrew. *Mersey* lost three crew members and required repairs. The Germans lost one crew member, who had killed himself when shells began raining down on his ship, which gives you some idea of the strain the German crew were under.

It was an embarrassing setback for the British, though mitigated somewhat by the news three days later, on July 9, that German Southwest Africa had surrendered, the second German colony in Africa to fall, after tiny Togoland. But it also underscored the lack of progress in German East Africa, which was still standing tall almost a year into the war.

On July 11, the British tried again, and this time it worked the way it was supposed to. *Königsberg* was pounded thoroughly, and the twenty or so blockading British ships also bombarded the delta to prevent the Germans on the ground from firing back or from acting as spotters for *Königsberg*'s guns. By 1:00 that afternoon, *Königsberg*'s captain had to admit that his ship was a lost cause. He ordered a torpedo detonated to put a hole in the ship and scuttled her.

That was the end of *Königsberg*, the ship, but certainly not of her crew, nor her guns. The Germans buried their dead and the survivors made their way to Dar es Salaam overland, bringing with them their ship's guns, converted into artillery pieces to aid the German effort on the ground.

And that brings us at last to the ground war. You might think, given that German East Africa has been cut off from the rest of the world for almost a year now, that her defenders would be on the ropes. In fact, quite the opposite.

With neutral Portuguese territory to the south, and with the western approaches guarded by the German gunboats on Lake Tanganyika, and with amphibious invasion having already failed spectacularly back in November 1914, the only approach remaining is overland from the north, that is, from British East Africa.

You'll recall that the British shipped in about 12,000 soldiers from India, mostly native Indians, who were stationed in British East Africa following the failure of the amphibious assault on Tanga. You'll recall too that at the beginning of the war, the Germans and the British each had armed forces of about 2,000 native Africans and 500 European officers in their respective territories. The addition of over 12,000 soldiers from India brings the British total up to something like 15,000 by early 1915, so again, you might be thinking, hey, that sounds like a force that could easily brush aside the Germans and take control of their territory.

Maybe. But in fact, the British troops in East Africa had languished during the first half of 1915, a result of the commanders back in London being preoccupied with what they regarded as higher priority projects like the Gallipoli campaign, and partly because of a lack of bright ideas on how

to crack this particular nut. But as the commanders dithered, the soldiers got sick. Malaria and dysentery spread through the British Indian forces. By July, the month that *Könisgsberg* was finally sunk and German Southwest Africa vanquished, it was estimated that only about a third of the force were healthy enough for combat.

There were the African soldiers, of course. In British East Africa, the colonial soldiers were organized into a regiment called the King's African Rifles back in 1902. Remember though, that the British were reluctant to use these soldiers for anything other than internal security, because if you give African soldiers modern weapons and send them off to fight Europeans, well...that might give them ideas.

Meanwhile, in German East Africa, the military commander there, Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, well, he had no similar qualms about arming Africans, or at least, maybe I should say that under the circumstances, with German East Africa cut off from the rest of the German Empire and threatened with British invasion, he was willing to set aside whatever qualms he may have had. By July 1915, the *Schutztruppe*, the German colonial force, numbered about 9,000 *askaris* and 2,000 Europeans, giving the Germans the numerical advantage.

This mostly African force was better suited to fighting in what was, after all, their home country. Lettow-Vorbeck himself spoke Swahili and he treated his African soldiers with respect. When German officers were killed in combat, Lettow-Vorbeck had no problem with promoting *askaris* to replace them. "We are all Africans now," he told his troops, and they believed he meant it.

In the past twenty years of German colonialism, the Germans had sent scientists and medical researchers to East Africa, and this investment in know-how was now paying off for them. The German soldiers, Africans and Europeans both, got better medical care and were generally healthier than their British counterparts. And when East Africa was under blockade, the Germans, being Germans, proved ingenious at using local materials to manufacture replacements for goods no longer available, such as soap, cooking oil, and quinine, which is a medication used to treat malaria. The locally produced quinine tasted terrible. The soldiers took to calling it *Lettow-schnapps*, after their commander, but it did the trick. Even the brewery in Dar es Salaam had enough hops on hand to continue production through the end of 1915. A defiant Heinrich Schnee, the governor of the territory, boldly proclaimed that German East Africa would fight to the last man.

But despite the bold proclamations, the German leadership had to know the odds were against them. The fall of German Southwest Africa and the sinking of *Königsberg* are omens for what is to come. Surely, the Germans are bound to be defeated, someday. And someday, they will be. But it will take three and a half more years to defeat a masterfully executed guerilla war and cost the British, well, far more than they would have been willing to pay. First the South Africans, then the Belgians, then the Portuguese would be enlisted into the campaign to subdue German

East Africa, and then at last, the British will be forced to employ even the King's African Rifles, with all the risks that entails to the colonial power structure in Africa.

But that is a story for another episode. We'll have to stop here for today. Thanks for listening. I would also like to thank Bernard for making a donation and thank you to Tony for becoming a patron of the podcast. If you're interested in becoming a donor or a patron, head on over to the website, historyofthetwentiethcentury.com and click on the PayPal or Patreon buttons. And while you're there, let me remind you again that I post a playlist of the music I use in each episode of the podcast on the website, so if you hear anything that sounds interesting to you, that's how to learn more. Most of the music I use in the podcast is free and downloadable and the website will tell you where to find it.

This episode is the last in the current three-week block, so I'm going to take next week off, which I will spend researching and writing as usual, but I hope you'll join me in two weeks' time on *The History of the Twentieth Century*, as we check in again with Albert Einstein. We saw him last ten years ago, in episode 37; since then he has been hard at work fleshing out his special theory of relativity into something a little more, you know, general. We'll learn what he came up with in two weeks' time, on *The History of the Twentieth Century*.

Oh, and one more thing. The campaign in East Africa was an important part of the Great War, and I hope I'm convincing you of that as we examine it together, but in the histories of the war, at least for the next fifty years or so, East Africa will be dismissed as a "sideshow" to the main war in Europe, memorable mostly for the absurdity of fighting out European disputes in a distant and exotic land.

In the popular culture, the war in East Africa would also be dismissed. The books and films about the campaign would not be straightforward historical depictions, but rather romantic fictions, tales of high drama. With European protagonists, of course. The South African novelist Wilbur Smith published a novel in 1968 titled *Shout at the Devil*, very loosely based on the *Königsberg* affair. It was made into a film in 1976, starring Lee Marvin and Roger Moore. In 1982, the British writer William Boyd published the satirical novel *An Ice-Cream War*, and Edgar Rice Burroughs published not one but two Tarzan novels, *Tarzan the Untamed* and *Tarzan the Terrible*, in 1920 and 1921, respectively, which recount Tarzan's adventures in the war. Indiana Jones also made an appearance in German East Africa in an episode of *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*, originally broadcast in 1992.

But the most famous depiction in popular culture comes from the 1935 novel, written by C.S. Forester, the English writer best known for his Horatio Hornblower series of novels, entitled *The African Queen*. But of course it's not the novel that people remember, it's the 1951 British-American film version, directed by John Huston and starring Humphrey Bogart and Katharine Hepburn. Huston, Hepburn, and Bogart were all nominated for Academy Awards for their work on this film, and Bogart won the award for Best Actor.

The African Queen is very loosely based on the fighting for control of Lake Tanganyika. It's a beloved film—it was one of my mother's favorites—and was unusual for the time in that it was filmed on location in East Africa, but I can't help but criticize it for reducing the very real struggle over the lake into a romantic lark. The real story of Simpson's Circus is, in my opinion, far more exciting than *The African Queen*, and yet for some reason no one's ever seen fit to make a movie about it.

[music: Closing Theme]

© 2018 by Mark Painter. All rights reserved.