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The long journey of the *Liemba*. The incredible story of a ship from Lake Tanganyika.

Preface.

The history of the *Liemba*, formerly *Goetzen*, a passenger and cargo vessel on East Africa's Lake Tanganyika, appears so interesting and exciting that one might think it was dreamed up in Hollywood. But in fact it is a true story.

This text is based on an account of the ship's history that I wrote back in 2009. In the course of producing this revised version, I have incorporated various discoveries made since writing the original. The sources used have also been listed accordingly. I am grateful for the support of Prof. Hans-Jürgen Ihnen from Hanover in researching the sources.

The years under German colonial rule.

The story of the steamship *Goetzen* begins in the final years of German colonial rule in German East Africa. This largest and most populous colony of the German Empire comprised the countries which are today Tanzania (without Zanzibar, which was exchanged in 1890 for Helgoland, which had been British up to that time), Rwanda, Burundi and part of Mozambique. One of the aims of the colonial administration was to secure political power in the colony. So it was important to have the ability to move troops quickly with an efficient transport infrastructure.

It is, however, equally clear that the plans for German passenger and cargo vessels on Lake Tanganyika must also be seen as a building block for establishing a modern civil transport infrastructure, as was the construction of the Mittellandbahn (Central Line railway). Both methods of transport were intended to serve as economic drivers both within the colony and beyond its borders. Their construction was also regarded as a prerequisite for the transport of raw materials from northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, since transport westwards via the Congo River would have proved very much more difficult.¹

The first step was the building of the rail connection from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma, on Lake Tanganyika. Preliminary work on construction of this section was started by the

¹ Unknown author: *The last of the Mohicans. Germany's one last unconquered colony*. In: *The Hawera And Normanby Star*, Volume LXXI, 22 February 1916, p. 3: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=HNS19160222.2.10> (accessed 16. 3. 2014); Willibald Sonntag: *Dampfer „Liemba“ ex „Götzen“ – Deutscher Schiffsveteran auf dem Tanganjikasee*. In: *Technikgeschichte*, Volume 40, 2/1973, p. 162, citing an article published by Schlüpmann in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* in 1913; Unknown author: *Tanganjika-Bahn*. In: *Hansa. Deutsche nautische Zeitschrift*, No. 6, 7. 2. 1914, p. 211; Unknown author: *Nachrichten von den Werften und aus der Industrie. Deutscher Schiffbau in Ostafrika*. In: *Schiffbau*, No. 18, 23. 6. 1915, p. 510, citing a report that appeared in „Vorwärts“.

Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG, German East Africa Company) in 1896. After the German parliament refused to grant a subsidy of 100,000 marks in 1900, it wasn't until 1904 that the finance for the project was secured via a bank consortium. Prince Adalbert of Prussia ceremoniously turned the first sod of earth in Dar es Salaam on 9 February 1905, and the first rail section to Morogoro was opened in December 1907, followed by the section to Tabora in June 1912. On 2 February the railhead reached the terminus in Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika.² The railway is still in operation today under the name Central Line.

It was during this period that the idea of building three large steamships to establish a regular transport service on Lake Tanganyika was first discussed. So in June 1910 the colonial administration made inquiries at the railway administration in Tabora about the dimensions of similar British steamers on Lake Victoria. Most had a displacement of between 600 and 1,200 tonnes. The first step was to establish the cost of building and provisionally assembling a ship in Germany, including its transport to Dar es Salaam. The ship was to have a displacement of 1,000 tonnes and a draught of around four metres. A vessel of these dimensions would be able to anchor at most places on the lake at a distance of between 400 and 500 metres from the shore. The cost was estimated at between 400,000 and 500,000 marks.³

In March 1911 the question of whether the ship should have diesel engines, or wood or coal-fired steam propulsion was examined in detail. At first diesel was favoured as the technology of the future, particularly in view of promising attempts to produce fuel from various plants or fruits abundantly available in the colony, such as the palm or the peanut plant.⁴ However, construction of the facilities needed for local oil production proved too costly.

In March 1914 consideration was given to fuelling the ships on Lake Tanganyika and the steam locomotives on the Central Line using coal from Lukuga, on the other side of the lake, in the Belgian Congo. The coal would be transported from Albertville (now Kalemie) straight across the lake to Kigoma. This required the acquisition of two 200-tonne barges, to be pulled by the steamer *Hedwig von Wissmann*.⁵ The payroll records of the Meyer Werft shipyard show that this company was engaged in building these barges from 6 June 1914 to the beginning of 1916. But war meant that delivery to German East Africa was no longer possible, so they were then dismantled again. Since this was the end of the idea of coal power for the S 300, the ship ended up with wood-burning steam engines.⁶

By 1912 completion of the Central Line was in sight. At the turn of 1912/13, the Ostafrikanische Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft (OAEG; East African Railway Company) commissioned the shipyard Joseph L. Meyer in Papenburg, on the River Ems, to build a

² Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*. Volume 6: *Die Kämpfe der Kaiserlichen Marine in den Deutschen Kolonien*. Part 2: *Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Publisher: Marine-Archiv. Berlin, 1935, footnote 1, p. 176.

³ Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*. In: *Werft, Reederei, Hafen*, 4/1922, p. 99; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liamba“*. In: *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 23/1947, p. 31.

⁴ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liamba“*, p. 32, citing a communication from the director of the OAEG on the question of the use of diesel or steam engines, and appending a summary of the essay by J. Kollmann: *Die technischen Fortschritte des Jahres 1911*. In: *Technische Monatshefte*, 2/1912, p. 33. Author's note: Drawings of oil tanks and diesel engines intended for installation in "S 300" can be seen in the Meyer Werft company archive under the index "GOETZEN S. 300".

⁵ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liamba“*, p. 35.

⁶ Information supplied by Waldemar von Gruchalla, head of the company archive at Meyer Werft GmbH, 28. 2. 2014, according to which, the stated weight of "200 tonnes" refers to the deadweight tonnage of the barges.

twin-screw passenger and cargo ship for service on Lake Tanganyika. It was scheduled for delivery by the end of 1913. The ship was to cost 406,000 German marks, to be paid in five instalments between ordering and its delivery in Hamburg.⁷ The name *Graf von Goetzen* was chosen to commemorate the former governor of the colony.⁸

According to a certificate from Germanischer Lloyd dated 14 April 1913, the commissioned ship had a length at the waterline of 67 metres, a breadth of 10 metres and a displacement of 1,150 tonnes. Its hull had a height of 3.4 metres above the waterline and a draught of 2.3 metres when loaded with 480 tonnes of cargo, 60 tonnes of fuel and 10 tonnes of water. It had two round "Scotch" marine boilers with a heating area of 79 m², designed for burning wood and coal, and which could be converted for oil firing. Its two triple expansion steam engines could deliver a combined power of 500 ihp, and the 2 metre diameter propellers were designed to give the ship a top speed of 9.5 knots at 155 rpm in calm waters.⁹ However, on test runs in June 1915, the top speed reached with wood-burning was only 8.25 knots.¹⁰

Originally the ship had seven single-berth cabins for first class passengers, five two-berth cabins for second class travellers and a dining room and smoking lounge each for first and second class.¹¹ The cabins were fitted out in teak and were comparable to other German steamers of the time. It was particularly emphasised that the ship boasted a carbonic ice-making and refrigeration system to cool a meat storage room, and with a capacity of three kilograms of ice per hour. It also had an electric lighting and ventilation system powered by two 110 V DC generators, each coupled directly with a single-cylinder steam engine.¹² The ship was designed to be operated by a crew of 64 (60 crew and four officers).¹³ In the ship's bows there was a room with "bunks for 54 blacks", which suggests that the ship was also designed for transporting Askari troops. The interior fittings also included various sanitary installations for the different classes.

On 20 September 1913, the Director of the O.A.E.G. urged the Imperial Colonial Office to order a second ship with the same dimensions from the same shipyard. Thanks to falling prices and the fact that plans were already available, the cost of this vessel was 16,560 marks less than its predecessor. Permission was granted on 20 October, and the ship, which was to be named *Freiherr von Rechenberg*, after the governor of German East Africa from 1906 to 1912, was commissioned.¹⁴

However, the outbreak of the First World War prevented delivery of the *Freiherr von Rechenberg*. Major work on this ship continued up to 1916. Between 1917 and 1919 there were plans to convert it to a purely cargo vessel and put it into service elsewhere. Work

⁷ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 32.

⁸ Details about Goetzen at: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustav_Adolf_von_Götzen (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

⁹ Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 100; Unknown author: *Götzen*. In: *Schiffbau*, No. 22, 25. 8. 1915, p. 645, citing information from the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*.

¹⁰ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35.

¹¹ Assessment of the general arrangement plan in the article by Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 99: This general arrangement plan shows seven first-class cabins. It conflicts with another general arrangement plan from April 1913, to be found in the Meyer Werft archive under the index "GOETZEN S. 300". In this plan, only six cabins are shown as first-class, while the seventh is for the mate.

¹² Unknown author: *Götzen*, p. 645; see also the images in Rolf Eilers/Klaus-Peter Kiedel: *Sechs Generationen Schiffbau in Papenburg*. Publisher: Meyer Werft. Bremerhaven, 1988, p. 81 f.

¹³ Assessment of the ship's plan in Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 99.

¹⁴ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 33.

continued up to July 1921 on a smaller scale, but thereafter the ship was broken up for the raw materials and spare parts.¹⁵

The order for a third ship of this class was never placed.¹⁶

On 7 November 1913, at the order of Wilhelm Heinrich Solf, State Secretary of the Imperial Colonial Office, the names of the two planned ships were changed from *Graf von Goetzen* and *Freiherr von Rechenberg* to *Goetzen* and *Rechenberg*.¹⁷

The components of the first two ships were manufactured at the Meyer Werft shipyard in Papenburg, under the direction and supervision of Germanischer Lloyd, for the class created specifically for these ships: "100 A 4 Lake Tanganyika". Since the *Goetzen* was intended to be dismantled for transport to Lake Tanganyika, its components were not riveted during preliminary assembly in Papenburg, but simply bolted together as a temporary measure. Between 15 and 22 November 1913, an inspection of the ship's construction was carried out on the launch slip. This even included firing up the steam boilers and testing the steam engines.¹⁸ Acceptance by the OAEG took place between 20 and 26 November 1913.¹⁹

The payroll records of Meyer Werft for 1913 and 1914 also offer interesting insights into the individual construction processes of "Ship No. 300, Passenger and Cargo Steamer for Lake Tanganyika", since on the double pages 65 to 74 and page 98 the various construction jobs are listed for each person working on the vessel.

Between 25 January 1913 and 4 April 1914 extensive unspecified work is listed, which presumably relates to building of the ship's hull and superstructure.

For the propulsion system, two steam engines listed as "2 engines No. 39" were built between 18 January 1913 and 7 February 1914; the two "boilers No. 215/16" between 1 March 1913 and 10 January 1914; the propeller shafts between 15 March and 29 November 1913; the steam boiler fittings between 7 July and 29 November 1913 and a "device for installation of engines and boilers" between 20 September and 18 October 1913.

Also recorded is the construction of

- the pipelines between 17 May 1913 and 7 February 1914;
- the "ventilation machine (incl. casing)" between 17 May 1913 and 7 February 1914;
- the rigging between 24 May and 29 November 1913;

¹⁵ Oral information from Waldemar von Gruchalla, head of the company archive at Meyer Werft GmbH, 16. 1. 2014.

¹⁶ Erich Gröner: *Die deutschen Kriegsschiffe 1815-1945*. Vol. 7, Munich, 1990, p. 221.

¹⁷ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Unknown author: *Götzen*, p. 645; Meyer Werft payroll records for 1913, p. 71. Shelf mark "K6/64", archive of Meyer Werft GmbH

¹⁹ It is not possible to establish an exact date. 20. 11. (Judith Fehrenbacher: *Jenseits von Papenburg – im Kielwasser deutscher Kolonialgeschichte*. SWR 2 radio report, 1. 1. 2012) and 22. 11. (Sarah Paulus: *Tansania (Teil 2): Daten zur MV Liemba, früher SMS Graf GOETZEN*; <http://sarahpaulus33.wordpress.com/2011/11/28/daten-und-informationen-zur-mv-liemba-fruher-sms-graf-goetzen>, accessed 16. 3. 2014) are both mentioned. L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 33, states that the director of the OAEG in Berlin reported completion of the acceptance test to Dar es Salaam on 26.11. See also: Unknown author: *Schiffahrt auf dem Tanganika- und Viktoria-See*. In: *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 8. 11. 1913, p. 2. This source, however, merely mentions that the *Goetzen* was the first of several new steamers to be built and would soon be launched.

- the steering gear from the helm on the bridge to the rudder for the mechanical power transmission, including steering rods, rollers, guides and protective plates over deck between 2 August and 29 November 1913;
- the windlass between 6 September and 29 November 1913;
- the reversing engine between 13 and 27 September 1913;
- two cargo winches between 13 September and 29 November 1913;
- the bilge and ballast line between 20 September and 29 November 1913;
- the electrical system between 20 September 1913 and 7 February 1914;
- the ice machine between 11 October and 29 November 1913.

Finally, between 8 November 1913 and 31 December 1914, “inventory and spare parts, tools and subsequently ordered spare parts” were manufactured.

For the period 15 to 22 November 1913 there is a record of “testing on the stocks, heating the boiler, testing engines, etc.”.

“Disassembly, packing and loading of the ship” took place between 31 October 1913 and 31 December 1914.

For 1914 there is a note that “tools for assembly [were] removed from the payroll, since these were taken out as ‘repairs’”.²⁰

The first thing that stands out when examining the figures from the payroll records is that various components were being constructed well into 1914. Up until 10 January 1914 this was the boilers, up to 7 February 1914 the steam engines, pipes, ventilation system and electrical system. Up to 4 April 1914 work was done on parts for the hull and superstructure, while inventory and spare parts, tools and subsequently ordered spare parts were even constructed up to the end of 1914. But these were mainly small items, presumably residual work, constructive alterations, subsequent orders or suchlike.

The head of company records at the Meyer Werft shipyard explains this as follows: *After 22.11.1913 a further 779.38 marks were invoiced under the heading “shipbuilding”, of which 100 marks was paid to the master shipbuilder (Rüter?) in April 1914, presumably as a bonus. Of the remaining 679.38 marks, 3 marks were for tools, 0.90 marks for the screw cutting machine, 90.60 marks for shipbuilding (painting, cleaning, cementing), 9.86 marks were received by the master, 3.41 marks by the forge, 3.93 marks by the forge workers, 163.93 marks went to the riveters and caulkers, 8.94 marks were received by the carpenters for the woodwork, 55.68 marks by the cabinet makers, 116.65 marks by the (shipbuilding) fitters and 222.48 marks by the shipbuilders and workers. I assume that this was all residual work, perhaps even “repairs” to the installations for acceptance of the vessel. For the engines, the “outstanding amount” is just 54.65 marks. Of which 39.48 marks falls to the engineering works fitters and 3.15 marks to the cabinet makers, who seem to have made a chest for the parts (?). For the boilers there is a sum of 0.50 marks booked to the master; then there was another 10.96 marks for the boiler shop. Certainly sums which could almost be disregarded. There is a similar scenario for the pipes.*²¹

²⁰ Meyer Werft payroll records for 1913 and 1914, pp. 65 to 74 and 98. Shelf mark “K6/64”, archive of Meyer Werft GmbH.

²¹ Information supplied by Waldemar von Gruchalla, head of the company archive at Meyer Werft GmbH, 28. 2. 2014.

Another surprising aspect is the data in connection with the “disassembly, packing and loading of the ship”. Evidently initial work on this started relatively early – on 31 October 1913 – and thus before the official acceptance, which took place between 20 and 26 November 1913. What the minor work carried out beforehand may have consisted of remains unclear. The bulk of the disassembly work was undoubtedly done in December 1913 and January 1914. Even though the amounts decreased significantly from February 1914, there are still records of work performed during the period from February to December 1914 in connection with the disassembly, packing and loading of the ship. Presumably, however, this consisted simply of residual work, subsequent orders or contractual changes. It is to be assumed that, from the beginning of July 1914, manufactured parts would no longer have been able to reach their destination due to the outbreak of war. This is true for instance of the slipway trolleys. The entries which continue up to the end of 1914 could be understood as an indication of a general hope for a rapid end to the war, i.e. an assumption that it would soon be possible to deliver to the colony again. But it is also possible that the words “packing and loading” are to be interpreted in the sense of “storing” in anticipation of better times.²²

Whatever the truth of it, after disassembly in Papenburg, the individual components of the ship were packed in 5,000 watertight crates (measuring 2 m x 2 m x 2 m) and then transported by rail to the port of Hamburg. There the freight was loaded onto the three ocean-going steamers *Admiral*, *Feldmarschall* and *Windhuk*. The ships sailed via the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal to East Africa. The cargo on the ships *Admiral* and *Feldmarschall* comprised the equipment for construction of a complete shipyard for final assembly at the destination, and also the entire components for the ship’s hull, whilst the *Windhuk* transported the masts, boilers, steam engine and other accessory parts. The *Admiral* reached Dar es Salaam on 17 January 1914, the *Feldmarschall* on 31 January 1914 and the *Windhuk* on 16 February 1914. On the *Windhuk*, Rüter, Tellmann and Wendt were accompanied by three employees of the Meyer Werft shipyard, to whom we shall return later. The report by Cane also mentions the *Adolf Woermann*, which is also supposed to have transported parts for the *Goetzen*. It is reported to have reached Dar es Salaam on 2 March 1914 and was loaded with deckhouses, equipment for the interior fittings, as well as installation parts and spare parts.²³

In a telegram to the Imperial Colonial Office in December 1913, the Governor of German East Africa, Heinrich Schnee, had already demanded: *delivery of the ship Goetzen and the shipyard must at all costs be accelerated. Request dispatch of 20 suitable shipbuilders, if possible employees of the railway company. Economic interests and prestige demand haste.*²⁴

In order to understand this, it is important to appreciate the situation at the time: the European colonial powers were in what was called the phase of high colonisation. Control of the transport routes was considered both a question of national prestige and economic necessity. In the case of Lake Tanganyika, its geographic position meant that it also acquired a particular strategic importance, since it represented a large section of the boundary between the colonies of German East Africa and the Belgian Congo. And then at the southern end of the lake there was the British colony of North Rhodesia, which at that time, however, still did not have a suitable harbour.

²² Author's note.

²³ Unknown author: *Passagierverkehr auf den Dampfern der Deutschen Ost-Afrika-Linie*. In: *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 21. 2. 1914, p. 3; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liamba“*, p. 33.

²⁴ Quote in L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liamba“*, p. 34, in English translation.

Insurance was taken out for transport of the ship overland in Africa and its reassembly. The insurance policy shows that the ship was insured for the period between 15 February 1914 and 14 February 1915, involving a total of twelve different British reinsurers for a total value of 25,000 British pounds. The insurance covered all risks, including that of fire during the stages of building, fitting and trials. On the other hand the policy did not cover the risk of possible claims, for instance due to third party liability issues of the employees or possible deliberate damage to the ship in the event of a worker revolt. The risk of a violent seizure of the ship (for instance by pirates) was also not covered, nor was damage in connection with the outbreak of military hostilities.²⁵ In short: the British companies covered the risk of damage or fire during the transport and building phase in time of peace.

The ship's components were sent to Lake Tanganyika together with three workers from the Meyer Werft shipyard, who had the difficult task of bringing the project to a successful conclusion. These were master shipbuilder Anton Rüter, riveter Rudolf Tellmann, and assistant Hermann Wendt. The three shipbuilders were granted leave from Meyer Werft and entered into the service of the O.A.E.G. The pay was generous; Anton Rüter received a monthly wage of 600 marks, and that was at a time when a skilled worker would have earned around 100 marks a month. In addition, a number of insurance policies (covering risks including death and invalidity) were concluded on their behalf.²⁶

The three shipbuilders from Papenburg reached Dar es Salaam on 16 February 1914, also on the steamer *Windhuk*.²⁷ At the same time, construction of the Central Line railway from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma was nearing completion. On the last section of the line, from Tabora to Kigoma, the railhead had already reached Kigoma on the evening of 1 February 1914.²⁸

The 5,000 crates were transported onwards by rail, with a special low loader wagon being brought in for transporting particularly heavy sections.²⁹ The rail journey was not without incident: a fire in one of the wagons bent one of the two propellers.³⁰

It has often been written that thousands of carriers were used over many months to transport the crates manually³¹, but this has not been confirmed by any sources up to now. German naval commander Gustav Zimmer instead mentions in his report that the ship's components *arrived at the lake before the outbreak of war, when the railway to Kigoma was finished*.³² This is mentioned by Baltzer in a similar way; the railway was opened to

²⁵ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 34 f. There, “Wm. Brandt, Söhne & Co” are named as the insurers, and “Schwartse, Petersen und Co.” as the brokers.

²⁶ Sarah Paulus/Rolf G. Wackenberg: *Von Goetzen bis Liemba - Auf Reisen mit einem Jahrhundertschiff*. Berlin, 2013, p. 133 f., who quote from Anton Rüter's contract of employment. This contract, dated 29. 11. 1913 is in the author's possession.

²⁷ Unknown author: *Passagierverkehr auf den Dampfern der Deutschen Ost-Afrika-Linie*. In: *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 21. 2. 1914, p. 3; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 33.

²⁸ Unknown author: *Kigoma von der Tanganikabahn erreicht*. In: *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 4. 2. 1914, p. 1.

²⁹ Unknown author: *Götzen*, p. 645.

³⁰ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 178.

³¹ Stephan Lamby: *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*. *Von Papenburg nach Afrika*. Documentary film, made by EcoMedia, NDR 2001; Gisela Graichen/Horst Gründer: *Deutsche Kolonien – Traum und Trauma*. 2nd edition, Berlin 2005, p. 326; Michael Stührenberg: *Die endlose Fahrt der Liemba*. In: *GEO*, 4/2007, p. 116.

³² Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*. Manuscript, Berlin, 1931; reprint, 1994, p. 9. Regarding Gustav Zimmer, see also: Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-*

limited public transport on 15 March 1914.³³ The official commissioning of the railway took place later.³⁴

Upon their arrival in Kigoma, the OAEG provided the three shipyard workers with 20 Indian employees from the Dar es Salaam railway assembly workshop and several hundred African workers to help in the final assembly of the vessel. They were later joined by additional helpers from the German navy.³⁵ The assembly, during which the devastating First World War broke out, was to take over a year.

During this time Master Rüter wrote letters to Franz Joseph Meyer which highlight the situation facing the three shipbuilders in Africa: *Apart from the missing cover plate for the foredeck, everything that was shipped is now in Kigoma, except for two crates with deck screws, which are apparently somewhere in Dar es Salaam ... The rigging was rendered totally unusable by a fire on the open wagon during the railway journey ... We have now been building for three weeks [...] we can hope to be ready to launch by August. The central electric unit, which I had to build myself, is now ready too; a crane has been in operation for a couple of days now ... With the exception of a completely useless carpenter and an electrician, I have had no European help; I employ on average 20 Indians and 150 blacks; when the riveting starts this will presumably increase by about 100 ... I had to make the main electrical unit on my own, and the crane has been working smoothly for a few days now. But the fire during the rail journey has bent one of the propeller shafts ... Whether we will be finished in August I cannot say at the moment because it depends on the riveting; we will manage the other things. [...] Mr Hillenkamp has already asked me whether I want to build a second (steamer). Do you think I should do it? I would like to. [...] We are all still well and have not had fever at all up to now. We don't have enough khaki uniforms and shoes. The work is progressing well; here's hoping the ship will be watertight ... We have been working on the ship for three weeks now and hope to be ready to launch in August...*³⁶

1918, p. 175 ff.: At the outbreak of war, Gustav Zimmer was commander of the survey ship SMS *Möwe*, belonging to the Imperial German Navy. The vessel was scuttled by its own crew in the port of Dar es Salaam on 8.8.1914 to prevent it falling into British hands. Zimmer then put his crew at the disposal of the Governor for the defence of the colony. He became leader of the "Marine-Expeditionskorps" (naval expeditionary corps), which later became known as "Abteilung Möwe" (Möwe Battalion), and assumed the position of military commander on Lakes Tanganyika and Kivu. The *Goetzen* was thus a unit under Zimmer's command. Zimmer's own direct superior was the commander of the "Schutztruppe" (colonial armed forces), Colonel (later Major General) Lettow-Vorbeck. In November 1917, he was injured and taken prisoner by the British. On his release in 1919, he was retired with the rank of "Kapitän zur See" (Captain). Up to 1931 he wrote the report mentioned above about the wartime events in German East Africa.

³³ Franz Baltzer: *Die Kolonialbahnen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas*. Berlin, Leipzig, 1916. Reprint, 2007, S. 52, 54.

³⁴ Marginal note *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 25. 4. 1914, p. 3.: Here we read that *as of now [...] all the waggon-loads [pass] through because transshipments no longer take place in Tabora*. See also: Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, footnote 1, p. 176: According to this source, the official opening of the completed railway line was to take place in August 1914, during the regional exhibition in Dar es Salaam.

³⁵ Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 100; Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 177 f.

³⁶ Rolf Eilers/Klaus-Peter Kiedel: *Sechs Generationen Schiffbau in Papenburg*, p. 80 f.; documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*. Author's note: The letters were the property of Franz Josef Meyer, Papenburg, but unfortunately none of them ended up in the Meyer Werft archive. For the purpose of his publication, Klaus-Peter Kiedel was able to examine the originals and thus quote from them in his book.

A copy of one of these letters exists, and is the property of Hermann Josef Averdung, Papenburg. This letter was numbered "11/4 1914" by Rüter. It is clear from the context that this number cannot be a date. In his reply, Rüter makes reference to, amongst other things, a letter received from Joseph Lambert Meyer, dated 9 May. But most importantly, he states that around eight weeks had elapsed since riveting of the hull began on 19

A telegram to the railway administration in Tabora dated January 1915 announces a planned launch date of 25 January. A letter to them dated 18 May mentions a date for the ship's maiden voyage and its handover to a navy detachment of the German colonial armed forces for the following week. Representatives of the railway administration were invited to both events. But the damage to the propeller shaft meant it was not possible to keep to these dates.³⁷

After the outbreak of war, some important components for the ship and its launch could no longer reach Kigoma, so the three Papenburg shipbuilders needed all their ingenuity. With the support of the director of operations at the OAEG, Karl Hillenkamp³⁸, and under the leadership of engineer Hübner from the firm Philipp Holzmann, solutions were found for most of these problems.³⁹ Meyer describes the improvised launch in his account as follows: *The firm Holzmann dug a dock in front of the construction site into which the ship was gradually lowered. Then the dam separating the dock basin from the lake was pierced and dredged away, and the ship floated up.*⁴⁰

On 5 February 1915 the ship floated on the water for the first time. Then her fitting continued in Kigoma using the land crane (lifting capacity: 25 t). At the end of May 1915 the work was finally completed.⁴¹ The cost of preliminary assembly, transport and final assembly amounted to around 750,000 German marks.⁴²

One morning in the first half of June 1915⁴³, the ship completed her first voyage with 700 members of the German colonial armed forces on board for a transfer of the 24th Field Company to Bismarckburg. The trip was not without its problems, as evidenced by a report dated 18 June 1915 from Lieutenant Batzner to Governor Schnee. According to this report, the ship was in the Kungwe Bay with a heavy swell and a strong south wind, and was at first not making any headway at all. Between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. it only managed to cover half a mile. The power of the combined 500 ihp steam engines proved totally inadequate and, on account of the vessel's insufficient trim, its propellers were constantly coming out of the water. Added to this, at around 8.30 a.m. the mechanical rudder system (a British product) gave up the ghost. The hand-operated steering system also failed, the hatches were not battened down, and the few bulkheads were not very thick, so the *Goetzen* found itself in serious difficulty. The proud ship was tossed about by the waves and began to roll heavily, whilst inside everything was thrown around. The rudder system was working again by about 9 a.m., but by 3 a.m. of the following day both the mechanical and the hand-operated rudder systems had failed again. At this point, when the ship was level with Utinta, it went off course and once again began to roll and list. The wind then drove it north towards Kigoma and, at a speed of about three to four knots, it drifted

April – a clear indication that the letter must originate from the second half of June 1914: E-mail from Waldemar von Gruchalla, head of the Meyer Werft company archive, 22. 3. 2013.

³⁷ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35.

³⁸ F. Baltzer: *Karl Hillenkamp †*. In: *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, No. 37, 4. 5. 1918, p. 184.

³⁹ Wilhelm Arning: *Vier Jahre Weltkrieg in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Hanover, 1919, reprint Wolfenbüttel, 2011, p. 232; Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 177 f.; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35; Unknown author: *Nachrichten von den Werften und aus der Industrie*, p. 510.

⁴⁰ Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 101.

⁴¹ Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 101; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35.

⁴² L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 36. Author's note: This amount corresponds to €3,652,500 today, using a conversion factor of 4.87 (Federal Statistical Office, consumer price index October 2011), but this is in fact a relatively low figure. It is therefore to be assumed that, for a realistic conversion, additional factors need to be considered, such as changed labour and material costs.

⁴³ The precise date of this voyage is unclear. L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, on p. 36, puts the date of departure before 1 June, whereas Assmann, on p. 189, gives a date after 10 June.

approximately two miles from the shore. Because of the absence of a double bottom and the few bulkheads, the crew again faced the risk of shipwreck. However, at around 4 a.m. they managed to repair the damage and, in quiet waters, the ship reached Bismarckburg at around 7 p.m. The journey from Kigoma had taken 50 hours.

The report did add, however, that the ship sailed perfectly smoothly in calm waters and that travel was then extremely pleasant.⁴⁴

Further trials or acceptance trips took place on 8 and 9 June 1915, travelling south from Kigoma. During the speed trials on the first day, an average speed of just 7 knots was reached with fresh, unstripped wood. When, on the second day, dry debarked wood, which had been loaded in Kalago, was used, the average speed was 8.25 knots. But according to the contract, the speed should have been 9.5 knots. The final report also mentioned that because of missing parts, the refrigeration and lighting systems and the other electrical systems were unable to be put into operation.⁴⁵ Additionally, the outbreak of war also meant that the compasses, an anchor and some chains and lamps had failed to reach their destination. Other shortcomings were rectified by the ingenuity of the railway company, who were able to provide four boats, a portable boiler and even an iron cooking stove. The report on the trial runs⁴⁶ was signed by the director of operations, Karl Hillenkamp on behalf of the O.A.E.G. and Commander Gustav Zimmer.

Lieutenant of the Naval Reserve, Theodor Siebel⁴⁷, became the ship's captain and his deputy was First Mate Edel, also of the Naval Reserve.⁴⁸

Unfortunately it transpired that the *Goetzen* had several construction defects, as Commander Zimmer wrote in a report to Governor Heinrich Schnee, dated 20 August 1915.⁴⁹ These consisted of:

- An insufficient draught.⁵⁰
- Lack of a double bottom. This meant there was a risk of sinking if the hull should start to leak – as the result of stranding, for example. The subsequent addition of a double bottom should also include trim tanks.
- Too few bulkheads, which were also too weak. Particularly the bulkheads in front of the boilers should be strengthened.

⁴⁴ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 36 f., who translated the report word for word into English.

⁴⁵ Ascan Roderich Lutteroth: *Tunakwenda. Auf Kriegssafari in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Hamburg, 1938, p. 120 f.: Lutteroth viewed the *Goetzen* on 18 February 1916 and mentions the ship's "gleaming electric lights". This indicates that, at some later stage, they succeeded in making the lighting system operational.

⁴⁶ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35; Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 178.

⁴⁷ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 188 and Appendix 1. See also: Carl Jungblut: *Vierzig Jahre Afrika 1900-1940*. Lippa, 1941, p. 87 and Ascan Roderich Lutteroth: *Tunakwenda*, p. 120: Siebel had sailed for the Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie shipping line before the First World War. At the start of the First World War, he was captain of the steamship *Mwanza*, stationed on Lake Victoria, and after the War he was again a ship's captain for the Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie, but also for the Woermann-Linie, where he commanded the *Watussi*.

⁴⁸ Edel: *Bei den Funkern in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. In: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, No. 3915, Kriegsnummer 206, 11. 7. 1918, p. 19.: Before the War, Edel was third officer on the Imperial mail steamer *König*, and in 1914 was involved in setting up the radio stations in Dar es Salaam and Tabora.

⁴⁹ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 37 f., who translated the report word for word into English. See also Alex Capus: *Eine Frage der Zeit*. 7th edition, Munich, 2007, p. 242 f.

⁵⁰ The draught of the *Rechenberg*, the second ship in the series, was enlarged by Meyer-Werft at the outset from 2.3 m to 3 m: Franz Joseph Meyer: *Passagierdampfer für den Tanganjika-See*, p. 101.

- Non-partitioned cargo holds: the cargo holds should be compartmentalised to prevent the load from slipping.⁵¹
- Vibration during operation: the ship's construction should be strengthened in order to prevent the severe vibration at higher speeds.
- Insufficient power from the steam engines to enable the ship to make headway against the wind in the storms which occur on Lake Tanganyika.
- The rudder system was extremely susceptible to faults.
- Berths were too short and too narrow, so passengers' arms and feet came into contact with the mosquito nets. Instead of wooden berths, iron berths should be fitted which were easier to remove and keep clean. The dark wood of the cabins should be painted white.
- Cargo derricks on the two loading hatches were too short: each derrick should be sufficiently lengthened.
- Unfortunate positioning of the davits and inadequate fastening to the deck: the davits should be moved to the upper deck and be made of tubular steel.
- Inadequate boiler draught: since the boilers were designed primarily for coal firing, the funnel should be extended by 2 metres to improve the draught with wood burning.⁵²

As the first battles started on Lake Tanganyika in May 1915, the ship was converted to an auxiliary ship on 9 June and put into service for the German colonial armed forces to protect or defend the long western border of German East Africa against the neighbouring Belgians and British. For these reasons she was appropriately armed. First she was fitted with an 88 mm rapid-loading bow gun, which had previously been given to SMS *Möwe*⁵³ by the light cruiser SMS *Königsberg* – which had since been scuttled by its crew at the mouth of the Rufiji – in Dar es Salaam. Then there were the two 37 mm revolver cannons on the middle and after deck, which also came from SMS *Möwe*. In August 1915 a 105 mm rapid-loading gun from SMS *Königsberg* became available. The gun was mounted on the *Goetzen* as a bow gun. The 88 mm weapon which had been mounted on the bows up to then was moved to the stern and the 37 mm revolver cannon previously mounted on the stern was added to the one already mounted on the mid deck. In addition, armour plating was fitted for the weapons and the skylights. The navy was obliged to remove this equipment before returning the ship to the O.A.G.⁵⁴

The ship was also used for supply trips between Kigoma and Marienheim at the northern end of the lake (later Usambura; today Bujumbura) and Bismarckburg (now Kasanga) situated at the southern end of the lake. In addition, she could transport up to 900 persons, which was equivalent to the combined capacity of the *Hedwig von Wissmann*, the *Kingani* and three to four towed dhows. Compared to a steam-supported

⁵¹ Author's note: The same wish was expressed to me by Mr. Titus-Benjamin Mnyanyi, the captain of the vessel, during a conversation in January 2011.

⁵² At the same time as the 10.5 cm gun was installed, the funnel was extended, as can be seen on various contemporary photographs. Also: Royaume de Belgique: Ministère de la Défense Nationale – Etat-Major Général de l'Armée Section de l'Historique: *Les campagnes coloniales belges 1914-1918*. Vol. II, Brussels, 1929, p. 346; Erich Gröner: *Die deutschen Kriegsschiffe 1815-1945*, p. 221.

⁵³ SMS *Möwe* was a survey ship in the Imperial Navy, and mainly saw service in the colonies and in foreign waters. The vessel was scuttled by its own crew in the port of Dar es Salaam on 8.8.1914 to prevent it falling into British hands.

⁵⁴ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 188; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 35.

barge train, the *Goetzen* was also more than twice as fast, and four times faster than with dhows.⁵⁵

The fortress Bismarckburg of the German colonial armed forces, whose ruins can still be seen today, was situated on a peninsula stretching out into the lake on the southern border between German East Africa and British Rhodesia. The fortress was thus of particular strategic significance and it played a key role in the successful operations of [the commander of the German colonial armed forces, Colonel von] Lettow-Vorbeck, who had ordered that the German colony be defended against its opponents, who had considerably superior numbers. General Wahle was stationed in Bismarckburg with the 29th Field Company under his command, who were supplied by the *Goetzen* with all the goods they needed from Kigoma. Since in this area bitter fighting raged between the Germans on the one hand and the Belgians and British on the other hand, the ship also supported the fortress with its onboard weaponry from positions on the lake. On 28 June 1915, General Wahle, with the support of the 24th Field Company from Dar es Salaam, succeeded in driving the British far back into their own territory and maintained the front for a whole year.

Besides such supply trips, the *Goetzen* also continually undertook reconnaissance trips on the west bank of the Belgian Congo.

The *Goetzen*'s only "act of aggression" took place shortly after it was taken into service at the beginning of July 1915, when it towed the British steamer *Cecil Rhodes* from its position in Kassakalawe at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika and sunk it in deep water.⁵⁶

The twin-propeller steamer, which had been driven ashore by a storm, had a similar displacement to the *Hedwig von Wissmann* and had already been the target of an expedition under the leadership of Lieutenant Commander Kendrick on 19/20 November 1914. Whilst on that occasion a steamer, no longer serviceable and laid up nearby, and two steel boats were destroyed, consideration was being given to the idea of provisionally restoring the well-preserved *Cecil Rhodes* and towing it away after building a launchway. However, a surprise attack by the enemy on 20 November forced the expedition to blow up the steamer and retreat.⁵⁷

The *Goetzen* dominated the lake, and in this situation the Royal Navy, under Commander Geoffrey Spicer-Simson, formed the ambitious plan to get the two armed motor boats *Mimi* and *Toutou* from England to Albertville (today: Kalemie) on the western bank of Lake Tanganyika by ship, rail, river and road. These boats had a length of just 12 metres and a displacement of 4.5 tonnes and were each equipped with one fairly small (12

⁵⁵ Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, pp. 14, 19 f.; Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ost-Afrika*. Hamburg, 1951, p. 115 and p. 117.

⁵⁶ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 189 and Sarah Paulus e-mail dated 30. 8. 2013 after appropriate evaluation of the inventory number RM/8, archive number 368 and inventory number N 103, archive number 84 in the Bundesmilitärarchiv (Federal Military Archive), Freiburg: The sinking of the British wreck by the *Goetzen* is apparently confirmed by document copies from the Bundesmilitärarchiv Freiburg. At the beginning of July 1915, Zimmer sailed to Bismarckburg on account of a discussion with Wahle. On 4 July he anchored with the *Goetzen* off Kasakalawe. On the same day, or shortly thereafter, the wreck of the *Cecil Rhodes* was pulled off the beach and towed into deep water, where it sank a short time later.

⁵⁷ Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ost-Afrika*, p. 100 f. and Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, p. 9 f.

pounder) gun.⁵⁸ On 26 December 1915 they forced the German steamer *Kingani* (17.75 metres long, displacement of 45 tonnes) to surrender and towed it to Albertville, where it was put back into service as HMS *Fifi* after repair. On 9 February 1916, *Mimi* and *Fifi* attacked the *Hedwig von Wissmann* (20 metres long, 60 tonnes displacement) and sank her.⁵⁹ On this day the *Goetzen* was supposed to be serving as a screen ship, but was unable to intervene since she was too far away.⁶⁰ Because of these losses, the *Wami*, a sister ship of the *Kingani*, was brought to Kigoma in February 1916⁶¹, together with the steamer *Mwanza*, which was disassembled on Lake Victoria, brought to Kigoma and reassembled there.⁶² The tug boat *Adjutant* (35.4 metres long, 231 tonnes displacement) also made it to Lake Tanganyika after it was disassembled in Dar es Salaam. However, it could no longer be taken into service.⁶³

The Belgians too, in the course of the war, brought several boats and ships to Lake Tanganyika, including the gun boat *Netta* (18 metres long with a displacement of 16 tonnes).

The *Goetzen* continued to be used for supply trips, and there is a detailed description of one of these trips:

On 18 February 1916 the steamship "Götzen", built in Kigoma during the war, and our auxiliary cruiser on the Tanganyika, equipped with 105 and 88 millimetre weapons from the cruiser "Königsberg", itself destroyed by gunfire, sailed into Usumbura. [...]

Full of pride, he [editor's note: commanding officer Siebel] showed me his lovely new ship, whose modern fittings, roomy cabins, pristine white beds and bright electric lighting was in sharp contrast to my primitive domesticity in Mutschija.

The trip started in the afternoon. Siebel, First Mate Edel and I enjoyed an evening meal together, then stretched out on our loungers on deck. The moon rose behind the high border hills as a large yellow disk and bathed Lake Tanganyika in glittering silver, with the stark silhouette of the mountains on the horizon.

*An unusually beautiful tropical night. We sat on the bulwark and enjoyed the splendid view. The steamer was travelling close to the shore, past countless villages and settlements of the Warundi, whose lights winked at us from the banks of the lake and the mountains. At five o'clock in the morning we reached Niansa.*⁶⁴

The last documented supply trip by the *Goetzen* was to Marienheim on 18 April 1916.⁶⁵ When, in spring 1916, the German colonial armed forces came under more and more military pressure, from 18 May the two larger guns were removed for use on the land front.⁶⁶ The artillery guns on the ship were replaced by dummies to fool enemy spies.⁶⁷ Since the *Goetzen* could now no longer protect itself sufficiently from attacks by enemy ships, it stayed moored in the harbour of Kigoma.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ Frank J. Magee: *Transporting a navy through the jungles of Africa in war time*. In: *The National Geographic Magazine*, No. 4/October 1922, p. 331.

⁵⁹ Frank J. Magee: *Transporting a navy through the jungles of Africa in war time*, p. 331; Buxton: *The Tanganyika Naval Expedition*. In: *The London Gazette*, 13. 7. 1917, pp. 7067 to 7072.

⁶⁰ Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, p. 28.

⁶¹ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 177 f.

⁶² Carl Jungblut: *Vierzig Jahre Afrika 1900-1940*, p. 118: According to this source, the British kept the *Mwanza* in service there at least until before World War II.

⁶³ Arnold Kludas: *Die Schiffe der deutschen Afrika-Linien 1880-1945*. Hamburg, Oldenburg, 1975, p. 142 f.

⁶⁴ Ascan Roderich Lutteroth: *Tunakwenda*, p. 120 f.

⁶⁵ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 258.

⁶⁶ Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ost-Afrika*, p. 273 f.

⁶⁷ Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, p. 31.

⁶⁸ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 260.

Since the British and Belgian ships were not a match for the *Goetzen*, the Belgian government had decided in summer 1915 to transfer aircraft to Lake Tanganyika to attack the *Goetzen* from the air. For this purpose, four “Short Admiralty 827” seaplanes were brought to Albertville (now Kalemi) via the Congo River. Thirty-two kilometres north of there, on the small lake Tongwe, near the town of M’Toa (also written as Toa), a base was set up.⁶⁹

The first enemy plane appeared over Kigoma on 6 June 1916; its target was obviously the *Goetzen*. The attack is described by Assmann as follows: *During the first attack on Kigoma, the Belgian plane only dropped one bomb on the “Götzen” from a low altitude, and then flew back to Lukuga. The bomb hit the water right next to the stern of the “Götzen” and some debris pierced her side above the water, slightly wounding one European and one Black crew member. The damage to the “Götzen” was slight and was repaired in the next few days.*

*From 10 July 1916 enemy seaplanes appeared over Kigoma almost daily. The target of their bombs was probably only the steamer “Götzen”, which was at anchor in deep water in the middle of the harbour. Despite 16 consecutive air attacks, the “Götzen” was not hit.*⁷⁰

On 10 June pilot Aimé Behaeghe and his observer/bomber Leon Collignon attacked the *Goetzen* in Kigoma harbour with two bombs each weighing about 31 kg. Directly after the attack there was talk of two direct hits, which had caused severe damage to the ship.⁷¹ On another occasion the Belgians claimed one direct hit and one near miss to the stern.⁷² The direct hit was disputed by the Germans.⁷³ When British salvage workers raised the ship in 1924, they found only indications of splinter damage to the stern on the starboard side.⁷⁴ In the following weeks until Kigoma was abandoned, the Belgian aircraft bombarded Kigoma – as mentioned above by Assmann – and the surrounding area over and over again. And the *Goetzen* was also sighted⁷⁵ and attacked, but she did not suffer any further damage.⁷⁶

When, in spring 1916, the Belgians advanced to the Central Line railway, the commander of the western troops, General Wahle, first decided to defend Kigoma against the Belgians. For this reason a fortress (redoubt) was established on Karamtwaye Hill (German name: Kigomaberg; Belgian name: Kabondo) between Kigoma and Bangwe

⁶⁹ Tillo Behaeghe: *Aimé Behaeghe. First pilot in Central Africa*. In: *Cross & Cockade International*, 39, 1/2008, p. 7 f. Cf.: George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika (1916-1917)*. Brussels, 1934, p. 93 f.

⁷⁰ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 260.

⁷¹ Tillo Behaeghe: *Aimé Behaeghe*, p. 12; Unknown author: *The Belgian Advance*. In: *The Times*, 16. 6. 1916, p. 8; George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, pp. 101 f. and 103.

⁷² Louis Leconte: *Les ancêtres de notre Force Navale*. Brussels, 1952, p. 329; Charles Stiénon: *La campagne anglo-belge de l’Afrique Orientale Allemande*. Paris, 1917, p. 178; Jean-Pierre Sonck: *Les hydravions belges du Tanganyika*: <http://www.congo-1960.be/LesHydravationAuCongoBelge.html> (accessed 17. 3. 2014); George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, p. 101; Tillo Behaeghe: *Aimé Behaeghe*, p. 12.

⁷³ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 260; Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, p. 31; Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ost-Afrika*, p. 274.

⁷⁴ C. F. Laver: *Lake Salvage*. In: *East African Railways and Harbours Magazine*, 4/1956, Vol. 2-8, p. 257.

⁷⁵ Louis Leconte: *Les ancêtres de notre Force Navale*, p. 329; Jean-Pierre Sonck: *Les hydravions belges du Tanganyika*.

⁷⁶ See also: Gustav Zimmer: *Die „Möwe-Abteilung“ auf dem Tanganjikasee in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1914-1916*, p. 22.

Point.⁷⁷ Its troops were detailed to hold up the Belgians for as long as possible. The *Goetzen* was also anchored in the bay under the hill.

But a few days before the Belgians reached Kigoma, Commander Zimmer decided, with the agreement of General Wahle and Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck, to abandon Kigoma and pull the troops back to Gottorp (today: Uvinza).⁷⁸ On 21 July most of the troops therefore left Kigoma by train, led by Commander Zimmer. Before this, the harbour and railway facilities were blown up. There remained just a small unit (around 40 men) under the command of Lieutenant Commander Forstmann of the Naval Reserve, who were to stay until the Belgians arrived in Kigoma before destroying the remaining facilities and setting off towards the Malagarasi River on the *Wami*. The *Goetzen* too was to be blown up.⁷⁹

But those involved decided otherwise. All the ship's important mechanical parts were greased thoroughly to protect them from corrosion; important parts may also have been removed and hidden on land.⁸⁰ Then the cargo holds were loaded with pieces of iron and stone. On 26 July 1916 the bottom valves were opened with the ship on the water and the ship was sunk in Katabe Bay (Belgian name: Baie de l'elephant; British name: Bangwe Bay) in a water depth of about 20 metres, at coordinates 04° 54' 05" S; 029° 36' 12" E.⁸¹ The grounds for this action were presumably the intention to raise the ship again after the anticipated positive outcome of the war. That would have been very difficult if explosives had been used. Presumably everyone was involved in this action – the three Papenburger representatives, Commander Zimmer, Lieutenant Siebel and Lieutenant Commander Forstmann.⁸²

It is repeatedly claimed that the *Goetzen* was sunk in the mouth of the Malagarasi River.⁸³ This claim can be traced back to an incorrect account of a battle dated 28 July 1916 by the commander of the Belgian gunboat *Netta*, Lt. Wauthier, who was firing on the

⁷⁷ Kurt Assmann: *Der Krieg zur See 1914-1918*, p. 261 f.; Wilhelm Arning: *Vier Jahre Weltkrieg in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, p. 233 f. Author's note: Traces of the communication trenches and gun emplacements are still visible from the air to this day via Google Earth (04° 53' 58" S, 029° 36' 52" E).

⁷⁸ Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ostafrika*, p. 274.

⁷⁹ Sarah Paulus/Rolf G. Wackenbergh: *Von Goetzen bis Liemba*, p. 157. Correspondence between Zimmer and Wahle is cited there.

⁸⁰ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 41, citing a memorandum from the general manager of the Tanganyika Railways & Ports Services, dated 29. 3. 1924; documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*.

⁸¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_for_Lake_Tanganyika (accessed 16. 3. 2014); George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, p. 119; Louis Leconte: *Les ancêtres de notre Force Navale*, p. 331; Royaume de Belgique: *Les campagnes coloniales belges 1914-1918*, p. 373; Chalux (Marquis Roger von Chateaux): *Un an au congo belge*. Brussels, 1925, p. 545; Thomas Alexander Barns *The wonderland of the Eastern Congo*. London, 1922, p. 14; photographs from the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren/Belgium with No. *HP.1966.1.119* and *HP.1966.1.128*, with the aid of which the location where the ship was scuttled can be identified. See also the interview with Mohammed Hassan in the documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*.

⁸² This assumption is based on the interviews in the documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“* and the fact that Siebel only took up his post as head of the "Hering" battalion on 25 July, although he had already been appointed on 19 July; see Ludwig Boell: *Die Operationen in Ostafrika*, p. 274, footnote 5. Zimmer must have given his consent, as otherwise such a failure to obey orders could not have been tolerated.

⁸³ Amongst other sources: Unknown author: *Belgians bombarding Ujiji*. Citing a dispatch from the Belgian General Charles Tombeur. In: *The Times*, 2. 8. 1916, p. 7; Unknown author: *End of the German lakefleet*. In: *The Times*, 3. 8. 1916, p. 5; Unknown author: *Nearing the end in East Africa*. In: *The Times*, 15. 8. 1916, p. 9; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 39 f.

*Wami*⁸⁴ just in front of the mouth of the Malagarasi River and thought it was the *Goetzen*.⁸⁵ This led to a press release by the Dutch government, which was then distributed. It was not until after the war that the Dutch admitted their error.⁸⁶

Once the *Goetzen* was at the bottom of the lake, Rüter, Tellmann and Wendt faced their next adventure: the getaway. Since they had heard rumours of cannibalism among the black auxiliary troops in the Congo, they decided to surrender to the English rather than the Belgians. Together with 100 Askaris, who loyally accompanied them, they thus became prisoners of war – firstly in the British colony of Nyasaland in South-East Africa⁸⁷, later in Egypt. After they had spent several months there, they and the other prisoners dug a tunnel out of the camp and tried to escape by swimming through the Nile. This attempt was not successful. Rüter, Tellmann and Wendt did not get back to Papenburg until 1919 – finding a country changed dramatically by poverty and political instability. The wages for which they had worked so hard were worth almost nothing due to inflation. Even worse was the fact that the health of the men had suffered due to malaria. It is known that Anton Rüter died on 20 July 1955 at the age of 78.

The years under Belgian and British Mandate.

After the end of the First World War, the former German territory on the eastern bank of Lake Tanganyika was for some years almost entirely in Belgian hands. Since the two masts of the sunken *Goetzen* still protruded some one and a half metres out of the water, the Belgians soon managed to find the ship. It was salvaged and towed back to Kigoma, where it remained moored in the harbour area. There, at the beginning of 1920, it broke loose from its moorings during a storm and sank again.⁸⁸

In 1921 the former colony of German East Africa came under British rule in the form of a mandated territory. The future of the *Goetzen* was also under discussion, and on 5 May 1921 the British Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Horace Archer Byatt, wrote to the Foreign Ministry in London proposing that the ship should be raised and taken over by the

⁸⁴ The ship was scuttled by its own crew, and raised by the Belgians in 1918. They renamed it *Wapi* and put it back into service: George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, p. 117, footnote 1; Kevin Patience: *Shipwrecks and Salvage on the East African Coast*. Self-published, Poole, Dorset, 2006, p. 244.

⁸⁵ *Missions le 28 juillet 1916*: <http://www.marinebelge.be/netta.html> (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

⁸⁶ Charles Stiénon: *La campagne anglo-belge de l'Afrique Orientale Allemande*, p. 69; Louis Leconte: *Les ancêtres de notre Force Navale*, p. 331.

⁸⁷ Unknown author: *Verlustlisten der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppen und Internierte. In Deutsch-Ostafrika in Gefangenschaft geraten und jetzt interniert. g) in Blantyre.. In: Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 15.9.1917, p. 230: Among the prisoners of war mentioned in these lists are “Gefreiter der Landwehr” Anton Rüter, from Papenburg, “Landsturmmann” Rudolf Tellmann, from Aschendorf, and “Landsturmmann” Hermann Wendt, from Papenburg. See also: documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*.

⁸⁸ Thomas Alexander Barns: *The wonderland of the Eastern Congo*. London, 1922, p. 14; George Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, p. 119 footnotes 1 and 121; Institut Royal Colonial Belge: *Biographie Coloniale Belge*. Part II, Brussels, 1951, chapter *John-Ludwig Wall*, columns 966 to 969 http://www.kaowarsom.be/en/notices_wall_john_ludwig (accessed 17. 3. 2014); Chalux: *Un an au congo belge*, p. 545 f.; Moulaert: *La campagne du Tanganika*, p. 119, footnote 1; *Bataille du lac de Tanganyika (début le 26 décembre 1915)*: <http://www.unesco.org/new/fr/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/world-war-i/underwater-cultural-heritage-from-wwi/#topPage> (accessed 17. 3. 2014); Hans Jürgen Withhöft *Legenden leben lange – eine GRAF GOETZEN gab es gar nicht*. In: *Köhlers Flottenkalender*. Hamburg, 2011, p. 263; L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 39: Cane does not specify the cause of the second sinking; Mervyn F. Hill: *Permanent Way*, Vol. II: *The Story of the Tanganyika Railway*. Nairobi, 1957, p. 95: Hill merely states that the *Goetzen* sank at its mooring buoy.

British. A response to this suggestion from the British Minister for the Colonies at the time, Winston S. Churchill, was received on 13 October with enclosed copies of *correspondence with the Treasury Department on the matter of the proposed salvage and acquisition of the steamship Goetzen by the government of the colony of Tanganyika*. One of the enclosed copies dated from 27 September 1921. This stated that Churchill *agreed wholeheartedly with the opinion of the Governor* and therefore was trying to issue authorisation for the planned action, whose cost at this time was estimated at £7,500. A further copy from 5 October 1921 states that the British Treasury Department would issue an authorisation for the estimated cost of £7,500 under various conditions. For instance, it had to be ensured that the sum would cover the total cost of the project and that, as regards the ownership of the salvaged ship, there should be no disagreements with the neighbouring Belgians.⁸⁹

In fact the salvage proved a much more protracted and complicated undertaking than was foreseen and the total cost in the end - including the Belgians' failed salvage attempt - was £20,400, almost three times the originally budgeted £7,500.⁹⁰ Work on the planned salvage using pressurised air began in December 1922 under the command of Lieutenant-Commander T. Kerr of the Royal Navy with one diver and five shipbuilders. But it soon transpired that two more divers and three more men would be needed. A diver earned £75 per month, a shipbuilder £40, each with free travel costs, free accommodation in Kigoma and the necessary equipment.⁹¹ After Tanganyika Railways & Ports Services (TR&P) also become responsible for the shipping traffic on Lake Tanganyika on 1 June 1923, they took over the salvage work.⁹²

After almost eight years under water, the *Goetzen* was raised on 16 March 1924 and, to the surprise of all concerned, upon initial inspection proved to be in an unexpectedly good condition. On 29 March 1924, the General Manager of the TR&P, Colonel G. A. P. Maxwell, wrote: *The ship's engines are obviously in excellent condition. [...] Commander Kerr tells me that there is absolutely no reason why the Goetzen should not sail with complete safety and fully loaded.*⁹³

After the salvage of the *Goetzen*, however, discussion began about possible further action. Would developments on Lake Tanganyika justify the vast cost of completely overhauling the steamer and establishing regular shipping operations - which Churchill was in favour of - or would it not be better to try to sell the ship as it was to the Belgians at a profit if possible? Confidently, G. A. P. Maxwell wrote on 17 July 1924 on this matter: *Of course we should not become dependent on the Belgians as regards the shipping transport in our southern ports and those in North East Rhodesia, but rather we should compete with them.*⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Pierre Daye: *L'Empire Colonial Belge*. Brussels, 1923: On p. 424 there is a picture of the flag parade; C. F. Laver: *Lake Salvage*. In: *East African Railways and Harbours Magazine*, Vol. 2-8, April 1956, p. 257: Laver gives a very clear description of the salvage process, in which he was involved as a diver.

⁹⁰ L. B. Cane: S.S. „Liemba“, p. 40 ff.

⁹¹ L. B. Cane: S.S. „Liemba“, pp. 40 & 42; C. F. Laver: *Lake Salvage*, p. 257.

⁹² Mervyn F. Hill: *Permanent Way*, p. 199 f.

⁹³ L. B. Cane: S.S. „Liemba“, p. 41, citing a memorandum from G. A. P. Maxwell (general manager of TR&P), dated 29. 3. 1924. See also the report by Chalux (Marquis Roger de Chateleux): *Un an au congo belge*, pp. 525 and 545, who visited Kigoma shortly before and after the salvage.

⁹⁴ L. B. Cane: S.S. „Liemba“, p. 41. See also: Unknown author: *Tanganyika Trade*. In: *The Times*, 2. 1. 1925, p. 9; *Report of the East Africa Commission. Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April, 1925*. London, 1925, pp. 95 and 100 f., which also deals with the geographical and infrastructure problems experienced by North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia

On 17 September 1924 the British Foreign Ministry declared in a letter to the Governor that it was fundamentally in favour of overhauling the ship for service on Lake Tanganyika, and requested a complete list of the estimated costs.⁹⁵

A detailed estimate of the costs was thus prepared in May by chief mechanic K. C. Strahan. In order to render the ship seaworthy, Strahan estimated a sum of £12,422 for the hull, fittings, decks, etc.; for technical components such as the steam engines, boiler and other systems, on the other hand, £7,481. Overall, then, a total cost of £19,903 was to be expected. But it was not possible to keep to this estimate either, since in the course of the subsequent three-year refitting phase, various other work proved necessary. In the end the costs amounted to a total of £29,296. If this is added to the cost of salvage carried out by the Belgians and British, amounting to £20,400, the total cost comes to £49,696. According to a letter by the General Manager dated 6 August 1926, there were additional amounts for restoration of the shipyard (£15,000), the slipway (£10,000) and construction of a crane (£3,000). Moreover, marine signage and beacons had to be installed on the eastern and southern banks of the lake.⁹⁶

In order to appreciate the scale of these costs, it is important to bear in mind that previously the German costs of preliminary assembly of the ship in Papenburg, transport to Lake Tanganyika and final assembly there had been 750,000 marks, which is equivalent to £36,765.⁹⁷

In the course of the repair work, the original ship superstructure was largely retained. Only a new funnel top and fixed sunshade roofs were added, and one of the two water tanks on the first class lounge was removed. The cabins now offered accommodation for 10 first class, 12 second class and 150 third class passengers.⁹⁸ At the stern, a small extension was added with a surround gallery.

Despite the years underwater, the propulsion system was in a remarkably good condition, so it was put back into service after a thorough overhaul.⁹⁹

Towards the end of the restoration work, the persons responsible started to think about renaming the *Goetzen*. Because of the ship's connections to the region, one of the names under discussion was that of the famous British explorer of Africa "Livingstone"; also the name "Kangaroo", which in the language of the natives of what was then Rhodesia and Nyasaland meant "man with a little dog" and also referred to Livingstone. A third suggestion was "Mnyaka". This name incorporated the Swahili word "Nyaka", which means "catch", "pick up" or "steal". Or, in seaman's terms, "commandeer" or "capture".

in getting its export goods to the coast:

http://www.waado.org/colonial_rule/east_africa/east_africa_commission_1925.pdf (accessed 17. 3. 2014).

⁹⁵ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 41; *Report of the East Africa Commission*, p. 100 f.

⁹⁶ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, pp. 36 and 41, citing the original documents. On the subject of the restoration costs, see also Mervyn F. Hill: *Permanent Way*, p. 95.

⁹⁷ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 36.

⁹⁸ Mervyn F. Hill: *Permanent Way*, p. 204. Cf. L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 45, Appendix I: According to Cane, there were twelve double cabins (presumably first-class) and eight four-bunk cabins (presumably second-class). Cane does not mention the third-class passenger capacity, but does mention a transport capacity of 252 soldiers.

⁹⁹ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 41, citing a communication from G. A. P. Maxwell, general manager of TR&P, dated 29. 3. 1924.

But in the end, all these names were rejected and on 8 January 1926, Governor Sir Donald Cameron wrote to the Foreign Ministry: *With regard to your letter No. 331 dated 18 June concerning the renaming of DS Goetzen, I request that the necessary measures be taken to register the ship under the name Liemba, the name the natives used for Lake Tanganyika when Dr. Livingstone first reached its shores.*¹⁰⁰

On 9 and 10 May 1927 the test runs were undertaken. This was done under the supervision of chief mechanic C. F. Strahan, who later noted in his report that the results were satisfactory and that the average speed achieved was 8.5 knots.

Finally cards were printed for the ceremonial event of the recommissioning, to which the railway administration invited guests *on the occasion of the official maiden voyage of the T.R.S.¹⁰¹ Liemba and the naming of the ship by Mrs. John Scott¹⁰² in Kigoma on Monday, 16 May 1927.* The naming ceremony was followed by a short speech of thanks to the Governor. In addition Mrs. Scott, as the sponsor, received a gift by which to remember this special day. On behalf of all others involved in the project team, special thanks were offered to Mr. Shepherd for the salvage and Mr. Halliday and Mr. Strahan for the restoration, then generous toasts were drunk to all these persons and the future success of the *Liemba*. The musical accompaniment was provided by forty men commandeered from the Sixth Battalion of the King's African Rifles of Dar es Salaam. During the subsequent maiden voyage, the celebratory feast was held. The last speakers were the incumbent General Manager of the railway administration and the Governor of Tanganyika, as well as the ship's captain, G. A. C. Sharpe.¹⁰³

For the following years the usual annual maintenance work is recorded. In 1938 the TR&P finally recommended contacting the Meyer Werft shipyard in Germany. The reason was simple: since there was no reliable technical information on the ship, an attempt should be made to obtain technical descriptions, plans and other details from the manufacturer. A particular priority here – due to the ongoing problem of the lack of a double bottom – was the hull and its stability, also the permissible power of the steam engines and boilers, and better measurements and plans of the propellers. This action was probably also prompted at this time by the fact that the engine power had deteriorated and it was only possible to achieve an average speed of around 6 knots. The suggestion was, however, rejected by the responsible government offices, since they did not wish to have any contact with the German manufacturer.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War the British travel company Thomas Cook and Son planned to offer a Cairo-to-Cape cruise and booked accommodation for 12 passengers on the *Liemba*. Unfortunately the Second World War put paid to this hopeful development.

During the war, the *Liemba* continued its scheduled service, but also transported thousands of refugees, prisoners of war and soldiers on countless special sailings. In this period, together with the smaller *Mwanza*, it mainly offered trips along the east bank of the lake, and even reached Mpulungu.

¹⁰⁰ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 42 f. See also: Unknown author: *The Liemba returns to service*. In: *Staff Magazine*, 3/1953, Vol. 1-4, p. 6: According to this source, the word “Liemba” means “lake” in the dialect of the Kirungu, who live in the Kasanga area.

¹⁰¹ Tanganjika Railway Ship.

¹⁰² Mary Katherine Scott was the wife of the Chief Secretary and Acting Governor, John Scott.

¹⁰³ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, pp. 43 f. and 46 Appendix 2.

The significance of Mpulungu appears to have increased after the end of the Second World War. Cane mentions that a new pier and a customs point had been established in Mpulungu in 1947, and that in July of that year a regular transport route was established serving the ports on the south of the lake. This statement suggests that the ship had only served this area sporadically up to then. According to Cane, at that time Albertville and Usumbura were only visited occasionally by the *Liemba*; the ship served mainly the stops of the British-administered territory by the lake. For Mpulungu in those years, there was also a planned railway link to Abercorn (now Mbala), which would have made it possible to travel south without the detour through the Belgian Congo.¹⁰⁴ This railway line was never built, but as Mbala is relatively easily accessed from Mpulungu via a tarmac road, the town developed into a significant goods transfer location and has for many years been established as the southern destination port for the *Liemba*.¹⁰⁵

The fusion of “Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbour” and the “Tanganyika Railways & Port Services” in 1948 led to the formation of the “East African Railways & Harbour Administration” (EAR&H), which also took over the *Liemba*. As the *Liemba* had not had a general overhaul since the work carried out between 1925 and 1927, it was decided that this was the right time. After detailed examination, it was decided to replace the two original boilers with two modern oil-fired boilers from J. G. Kincaid. Once the order was placed in 1949 and the manufacturer agreed to deliver the boilers within a year, the EAR&H hoped to be able to keep the ship in service until then. But this was not possible because, following serious deterioration in the state of the boilers, the *Liemba* had to be decommissioned at the end of 1950. Despite the agreement, the new boilers were only delivered after a lengthy delay, in February 1952. This set back the other work, and the ship only returned to service at the end of 1952. After the new boilers were fitted, there were initially considerable problems.¹⁰⁶

A major part of the restoration work also consisted in extending the superstructure with an additional deck. This also increased the passenger capacity, enabling the vessel to transport 20 first class passengers, eight second class and 200 third class passengers plus 550 tonnes of freight.¹⁰⁷

Other work included rebuilding the bridge, replacing the aft mast with two lateral loading cranes with modern cargo-handling gear, which also enabled the loading of cars. New propellers, a new rudder with an electric motor controlled from the bridge and a new anchor winch were also fitted. Another important measure was the installation of bilge keels on both sides of the hull, which meant that the ship rolled considerably less in rough conditions.¹⁰⁸ The new boilers increased the maximum speed to 11 knots. On 18 December 1952 the ship started her first voyage from northern Rhodesia and was

¹⁰⁴ L. B. Cane: *S.S. „Liemba“*, p. 44 f.; Mervyn F. Hill: *Permanent Way*, p. 261.

¹⁰⁵ Author's note.

¹⁰⁶ Unknown author: *The Liemba returns to service*. In: *Staff Magazine*, 3/1953, Vol. 1-4, p. 5 f.; Arthur Kirby: *An Account of Stewardship* (section entitled *The Lake Service*). In: *East African Railways & Harbour Magazine*, 6/1957, Vol. 3-3, p. 87.

¹⁰⁷ Unknown author: *Severe storm over Lake Tanganyika – Steamer in trouble*. In: *The Times*, 6. 1.1954, p. 5: This source states a capacity of 20 first-class passengers, eight second-class, 200 third-class and 550 tonnes of cargo. Cf. Willibald Sonntag: *Dampfer „Liemba“ ex „Götzen“*, p. 165, which talks about 18 first-class passengers, 16 second-class and 350 third-class.

¹⁰⁸ Willibald Sonntag: *Dampfer „Liemba“ ex „Götzen“*, p. 165: The addition of bilge keels rectified one of the shortcomings which Commander Zimmer had addressed in his report of 20. 8. 1915, which is mentioned above.

given an enthusiastic reception in Mpulungu when it came into the harbour dressed overall.¹⁰⁹

At the beginning of January 1954 the *Liemba* was caught in a severe storm. The crew had no choice but to cut the connection to the two towed barges (50 and 70 tonnes), during which operation the ship's chief engineer, J. Lloyd, was injured. One crew member who was on one of the barges was still missing the next day and presumably drowned. The *Liemba* had to put into harbour at Albertville for safety.¹¹⁰

After the Independence of Tanganyika.

After Tanganyika gained independence in 1961, Zanzibar combined with the new state, leading to formation of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964. The EAR&H remained responsible for the railway network and ships in Tanzania even after independence. Since the EAR&H was securely in British hands, the management positions also remained occupied by whites. Strikes by the unions were undermined by white replacement workers.¹¹¹ In 1969 the EAR&H was renamed "East African Railways" (EAR).

In the early 70s it was obvious that the ship had seen better days. Since not much money had been invested in her maintenance in the preceding years, breakdowns became more and more common despite the best efforts of the vessel's crew. As the owners were also considering modernising their fleet, the *Liemba* was decommissioned at the beginning of the 70s. For unknown reasons the ship was repainted an orange-red colour and then tied up in the shipyard in Kigoma, where it seemed only a matter of time before it was broken up. This fear almost became a reality when workers began to remove the steam engines, boilers, furnace and rudder.¹¹²

Around 1975 Patrick Dougherty became interested in the *Liemba* and wanted to save the ship and help give it a new lease of life. Dougherty was born on 18 March 1918 in Downpatrick (Northern Ireland) and trained at the Harland & Wolff shipyard in Belfast. During the Second World War he served in the Royal Navy as a ship's engineer.¹¹³

On 5 November 1940 the convoy HX 84 on its way from Canada to Great Britain was attacked east of Newfoundland by the German battleship *Admiral Scheer* under the command of Captain Theodor Krancke. Dougherty was on a frigate escorting the convoy. The former liner *Jervis Bay*, which had been refitted at the beginning of the war as an armed merchant cruiser, was the only larger armed ship accompanying the convoy. Patrick Dougherty heard the shells from the *Admiral Scheer* hitting the *Jervis Bay*. Edward Fegen, the Irish captain of the *Jervis Bay*, had decided to take on the far more heavily armed vessel and thus enabled the convoy to split up and some ships to escape. Fegen went down with his ship in the end and was posthumously decorated with the Victoria

¹⁰⁹ Unknown author: *The Liemba returns to service*, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ Unknown author: *Severe storm over Lake Tanganyika*, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Reader's letter from Peter Russell, Buckingham. In: *Old Africa*, No. 29, June/July 2010, p. 3: http://issuu.com/oldafrica/docs/old_africa1-29june2010-pdf1 (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

¹¹² Unknown author: *M.V. Liemba, the oldest operating ship in the world*. In: *Daily News* (Tanzania), 12. 6. 2011; documentary film *Die lange Fahrt der „Graf Götzen“*.

¹¹³ [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_\(Schiff\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_(Schiff)) (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

Cross for his bravery. Dougherty too, whose ship was not sunk, was grateful for Fegen's courageous protection.¹¹⁴

In the 50s he first went to Nigeria for about ten years. Then, after returning for a short time to Great Britain in the sixties and seventies, he worked as first engineer for the EAR in Kisumu (Kenya) and later as chief engineer on the Lake Victoria ferries. Dougherty increasingly concentrated on activities in Tanzania, where he became interested in the *Liemba* around 1975.

The issue of the ship's future developed into his greatest worry.¹¹⁵ With the support of the Tanzanian president and vice-president, Dougherty managed to raise the necessary funding (from the World Bank among others) to restore the ship.¹¹⁶

Since the steam engines had disappeared by now, he converted the *Liemba* to a motor ship by fitting two Caterpillar diesel engines with a combined power of 800 ihp.¹¹⁷ The old funnel had also been removed. Since there was no suitable crane on shore, Dougherty had a ramp erected which connected to the height of the boat deck. Then he looked for volunteers. Hundreds of strong Africans finally rolled the new funnel up the ramp and set it up on the deck of the ship while Dougherty and other helpers secured it and established connections to the engines. The funnel and all the other parts needed for the refit came from Germany.¹¹⁸

All the restoration work - in the course of which passenger capacity was increased to 480 people - took from 1976 until at least 1978. It was not until the end of 1979 that the ship went back into service.¹¹⁹

Dougherty was married with a son and daughter. His family visited him occasionally in Kigoma during the restoration work on the *Liemba*. His wife knew what the work meant to him, and even so far from home he was a devoted husband and father. His daughter Barbara joined him on the ship's "second" maiden voyage after its restoration and described the huge excitement in every port the ship put into.

After restoring the *Liemba*, Dougherty left Tanzania and worked for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Bangladesh and Mozambique, but right up to the last days of his life he remembered "his" ship with great pleasure and pride. He died on 12 January 2010 in Belfast and was buried in Downpatrick.¹²⁰

A very authentic account of the situation at the time in Kigoma, and about Patrick Dougherty and the *Liemba* is given by Hans Dieter Nattmann, who was in Kigoma as a

¹¹⁴ E-mails from Paul McElean, dated 7. and 9. 4. 2014: McElean was a friend of Dougherty in the latter's retirement, and learned much from him about his time in the Royal Navy and Merchant Navy, and also about the restoration of the "Liemba". The author established contact with McElean through Dougherty's daughter Barbara.

¹¹⁵ E-mail from Barbara Dougherty, dated 24. 11. 2013; [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_\(Schiff\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_(Schiff)) (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

¹¹⁶ Unknown author: *M.V. Liemba, the oldest operating ship in the world*, 12. 6. 2011.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Patience: *Shipwrecks and Salvage on the East African Coast*, p. 242.

¹¹⁸ E-mail from Paul McElean, dated 11. 4. 2014.

¹¹⁹ [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_\(Schiff\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_(Schiff)) (accessed 16. 3. 2014); see also the description by former development aid worker Hans Dieter Nattmann, quoted below.

¹²⁰ E-mail from Barbara Dougherty, dated 24. 11. 2013; [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_\(Schiff\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liemba_(Schiff)) (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

young development aid worker from 1975 to 1977: *[I came] to Tanzania as a young architect in mid-1975. [...] As a student during the protests of 1968, I wanted to help establish the idea of Ujamaa and the African socialism of Julius Nyerere. I was not alone in this. Tanzania and Nicaragua were the focus of the Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED; German Development Service), to which I had applied years before. At that time the DED generally had around 70 development workers in the country at any one time. After my architecture finals, I embarked on a course in Ethnology and African Studies (though without completing a degree) and wanted to use my time under contract to gather experience in Africa. Unlike today, at that time the DED was staffed mainly by idealists and the classic development aid worker was a craftsman, engineer, doctor or nursing professional. In Tanzania there were a lot of established posts which were unfilled and which we as development aid workers had to cover. I had to fill the post of Town Engineer of Kigoma and so I was head of the town's building authority and fire service. [...]*

Apart from me, there were also a number of other development aid workers and experts in Kigoma, and also a German doctor from the DED who was working at Kigoma hospital. In addition there were Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Dutch and Japanese aid workers there. They were involved in hydraulic engineering, road construction and lots more. The FAO had a fishing project in which international experts were involved. British, Americans, Italians and Swiss were working as marine biologists and fishing experts in the largely unresearched and wonderful Lake Tanganyika. There was one Italian who was responsible for freight logistics in the port, a Greek captain working the Kigoma-Bujumbura route and an Israeli diver who was diving for the lake's very sought-after ornamental fish with a local team and then sending them to Germany. The fish were caught and put into plastic bags filled with oxygen and flown once a week from Kigoma on the commercial flight to Dar es Salam. From there they travelled on to Frankfurt. Today the still very popular ornamental fish (cichlids) are only bred. To the north was Gombe Stream National Park with Jane Goodall, and in the south the Mahale Mountains Research Camp, which was staffed with Japanese primate researchers from Kyoto. My direct neighbours were Chinese doctors, who also worked in the hospital in Kigoma. They always worked as a team and had no contact with us Wazungu. There was only one among them who even spoke English and they were strictly forbidden to have contact with Westerners. They had a senior supervisor who was responsible just for that.

Yes, and then of course there was Paddy Dougherty, who was already there in mid-1975 when I got to Kigoma. The fact that he was responsible for refitting the Liemba was not really anything special at first. Everybody had their own project, and the Liemba project was just one of many others. In addition, for me Tanzania was full of old German colonial history. On the train journey from Dar es Salam to Kigoma with the old German railway, there were lots of old German stations. The old German station was impossible to miss when I first arrived. I lived underneath the former imperial residence, in an old colonial house, and not far from me was the old Liemba in dry dock. Plus the Liemba had not yet celebrated its 100th birthday; it was just a little over 60. [...]

Back to Paddy. Paddy lived two houses down from me and was an unconventional chap. It wasn't easy to befriend him; either he liked you or he didn't. I was lucky that after a while as a minor development worker I was accepted into the circle of so-called experts and was then also invited to the social events. The main difference between experts and development workers was that one earned lots of money while the other was paid only a subsistence wage. I didn't know at the time how Paddy came to the Liemba. Everyone had their own story of how they came to Africa, but it wasn't really talked about. Over the two years, we visited Paddy several times at the dry dock. It was obvious that he was very proud of his work. He often wore his navy uniform, and not just at work. To visit the Liemba you always needed an invitation because you couldn't just enter the port site. It is probably

still the same today. At the end of 1976 there was a launch to test the whether the body of the ship was watertight. This was not a spectacular event but rather just a normal test run. Unfortunately it seemed that the drainage pipes of the toilet facilities weren't watertight and the ship took on water, so it was brought back into dock as quickly as possible. Up until my contract finished at the end of 1977, the Liemba stayed in dock. When my parents-in-law came to visit in 1977 we were invited to inspect the Liemba again. The photos date from this time. Since film material was hard to find and expensive, there are not really very many pictures. The digital camera had not yet been invented. Paddy was alone in Kigoma, but he had a family in Ireland. His wife and two children, daughter and son, visited him in Kigoma. His daughter was perhaps 14-16 years old then and his son Peter was probably in his mid to late 20s. It was not unusual that families came to visit. Many of the experts had left their families at home, Paddy was no exception. [...]

After we met Paddy in 1975 and became friends, he promised to take me on the Liemba's maiden voyage. He seemed completely convinced that this would be before our contract finished at the end of 1977. Unfortunately this was not the case. Also throughout the whole period my project successor was there, who came to Kigoma in autumn of 1979, the Liemba never left the dock. I believe the Liemba did not go back into service until the end of 1979. [...]

*Jane Goodall was very rarely in Kigoma during this time. In May 1975 rebels from the Congo had kidnapped some of Jane's assistants from Gombe Stream. After that she didn't come back again for a while. I don't know whether she and Paddy knew each other very well. During this period there had been several incidents with rebels from the Congo. They had even visited my house before I came. [...]*¹²¹

During the restoration of the ship, the EAR broke up as the railway collaboration between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in 1977. For the Tanzanian territory the "Tanzania Railways Corporation" (TRC) was formed, which also took over the ship and founded TRC Marine as the shipping company.¹²²

Just a few months after its overhaul, the *Liemba* ran aground just outside Katumbi on 15 September 1979. The accident report by the captain read as follows: *I was woken at 02.47 by the officer on duty and immediately switched on the radar, although the moon was shining and the shore was therefore clearly visible. But even before the radar was working I heard that the bank must be very close. I gave the quartermaster the order to put the helm hard to port and switched the echo sounder on to find out the depth of water. But in fact it was already too late and the ship had run aground, even though it didn't feel like it, but speed was zero and the echo sounder was also at zero, which is how we could be sure that we really had run aground. We started manoeuvring astern and ahead, but to no avail. We put down two anchors at places where the water was deeper and pulled on the anchors at full speed with two engines, the two motor boats pushed at the same time but without success. Finally we planned to unload the cargo but due to the difficulties we were unsuccessful. On land there were no lights visible from the residents of Katumbi because there are many lions there. The crew was very tired the whole day. The officers and crew of MS Liemba did everything possible to keep the vessel off the sand even though this was not successful. The ship finally got free and evidently suffered no major damage.*¹²³

¹²¹ E-mail from Hans Dieter Nattmann, dated 3. 9. 2013.

¹²² http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_African_Railways (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

¹²³ Kevin Patience: *Shipwrecks and Salvage on the East African Coast*, p. 242.

In 1993/94 the ship was given a general overhaul on site by the Danish Ole Steen Knudsen (OSK) ShipTech A/S. Since the caterpillar diesel engines installed in 1979 had proved less than entirely reliable, two new MAN B & W Alpha Diesel 5L23/30 engines with an original power of 650 kW at 825 rpm each were installed. To avoid having to replace the shaft/propeller system, and on account of the conditions on Lake Tanganyika, the engines were reduced to a power of 460 kW (625 HP) each.¹²⁴ With the installed engine power, the ship achieved a service speed of 11 kn.¹²⁵ In structural terms, numerous interior supports were installed in the third class passenger area which, together with reinforcement of the surrounding gallery, were intended to “stabilise” the hull and the superstructure and reduce vibrations. In order to improve the safety of the vessel, a double bottom was also added in the front cargo hold. The aft cargo hold was converted into a third class passenger area with seating, which increased the ship’s capacity from 480 to 600 passengers. The wheelhouse was also modified, the electrical system and pipes were replaced, the passenger cabins and crew accommodation refurbished, and a hydraulic crane installed on the bow section.¹²⁶ The refitting was financially supported by “Danida” (Danish International Development Agency), an organisation which provides humanitarian aid and technical support in various countries in conjunction with the Danish Foreign Ministry.

Today the *Liemba* has ten two-berth first class cabins and two VIP cabins. For the first class passengers there is a restaurant. There are also 18 second class cabins (six two-berth and twelve four-berth cabins). For these passengers there is a small bistro serving food. The third class accommodation has seats with tables, some of which are deep in the hull of the ship. Food here is either brought aboard by the passengers themselves or by travelling traders. The toilet facilities are also separate for each class.¹²⁷

The *Liemba* is currently the only large passenger ship operating a regular service on the lake.¹²⁸ The ship travels on a two-weekly basis. The route goes from Kigoma to Mpulungu via Tongwe, Sigunga, Rukoma, Lagosa, Kibwesa, Kalya, Ikola, Karema, Kabwe, Kolongwe, Kirando, Kipili, Ninde, Wampembe, Kala and Kasanga. These are mostly small villages without harbours, so loading and unloading here are done exclusively using launches and small boats. The only harbours are in Kigoma and Mpulungu; Kasanga has a pier. Departures according to the timetable are every other week, on the Wednesday of even-numbered weeks, at 16.00 from Kigoma, arriving in Mpulungu 08:00 on Friday. The return journey from Mpulungu begins on the same day at 20:00 hours, arriving in Kigoma at 16:00 on Sunday. However, the timetable is seldom adhered to and delays must therefore be expected. The fares for foreigners range between 70 and 100 US dollars for the whole distance.¹²⁹ Up until the end of the 1990s, the *Liemba* also sailed to several other destinations on Lake Tanganyika (Bujumbura in Burundi, and Uvira, Kalemie and Moba in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire). But when civil war broke out in Burundi in 1994, and some years later in Zaire, it became too dangerous there.

¹²⁴ E-mail from Peder Nors, Senior Mechanical Engineer, OSK-ShipTech, 22. 8. 2013, who supervised the conversion as Project Manager.

¹²⁵ Sarah Paulus/Rolf G. Wackenberg: *Von Goetzen bis Liemba*, p. 84.

¹²⁶ E-mail from Peder Nors, Senior Mechanical Engineer, OSK-ShipTech, 4. 1. 2014; <http://www.osk-shiptech.com/images/Projects/Development%20Projects/K324F-LIEMBA-2013.pdf> (accessed 17. 3. 2014).

¹²⁷ Author's note and based on examination of the current general arrangement plan of the *Liemba*.

¹²⁸ The *Mwongozo* was chartered by the Australian firm “Beach Energy”, a subsidiary of “Beach Petroleum” (BPT) Ltd. to search for oil on Lake Tanganyika.

¹²⁹ <http://liemba.wordpress.com/2013/02/28/m-v-liemba-fahrplan-und-ticketpreise> (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

Because conflicts have been constantly breaking out in the area around Lake Tanganyika since the 1960s, leading to large flows of refugees, the *Liemba* is also occasionally chartered to transport refugees over the lake to their homelands. In 1997, for example, the *Liemba* and the considerably newer *Mwongozo* made 22 trips to Uvira on behalf of the UNHCR and returned 75,000 refugees who had fled to Tanzania during the Congolese civil war.¹³⁰

Since 2010 various German political and economic delegations have visited the *Liemba* to gather information locally on the possibility of a general overhaul of the ship. Members of the Meyer Werft shipyard were also present. German Federal President Horst Köhler inspired these trips with his “Partnership with Africa” initiative started in 2005. His successor Christian Wulff was also interested in the fate of the *Liemba*. It was established that a general overhaul of the *Liemba* would be technically feasible, and the estimated cost of around eight million euros was judged to make economic sense. But unfortunately the matter has so far come to nothing, mainly due to the negative attitude of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.¹³¹

Side note: The *African Queen*.

The often cited claim that the *Liemba* is also a film star and had a role in the film “African Queen”¹³² is not correct. The German gunboat in the film, *Königin Luise*, was the British steam tug *Buganda*, which operates on Lake Victoria. Today the ship is at anchor in the port of Mwanza. But how did this misconception come about, and what exactly is the story behind it?

The original version of the *African Queen* – written by C. S. Forester and first published in 1934 in the British newspaper *News Chronicle*, then later as a book – differs considerably from the story of the film. Thus the German gunboat in the newspaper version was called *Dortmund* and the story ended with the two protagonists Charlie and Rose ramming the *Dortmund* at full speed in the *African Queen* and blowing themselves up.¹³³

In the subsequently published book, however, the gunboat was called *Königin Luise*.¹³⁴ The *African Queen* is sunk in a storm. The two protagonists are separated and captured by the Germans the following day. The captain of the *Königin Luise* does not have them executed but instead hands them over to the British troops, who later sink the

¹³⁰ *Refugees Magazine Issue 111*, 1. 3. 1998 and other reports of the ship's voyages carrying refugees: <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3b80fefc4&query=liemba> (accessed 16. 3. 2014).

¹³¹ Sarah Paulus/Rolf G. Wackenberg: *Von Goetzen bis Liemba*, p. 228 ff.; Hans Jürgen Witthöft *Legenden leben lange*, p. 263; Clemens Höges: *Das Schiff Afrika*. In: *Der Spiegel*, 16/2010, p. 126. Karin Prummer: *Out of Office: Wer rettet Deutschlands „African Queen“?* In: *Financial Times Deutschland*, 8.11.2011; Carsten Luther *Ein Relikt deutscher Kolonialzeit mit ungewisser Zukunft*. In: *Zeit Online*, 12. 4. 2012.

¹³² As an example: Witthöft, Hans Jürgen: *Meyer Werft. Innovativer Schiffbau aus Papenburg*. Hamburg, 2005, p. 58.

¹³³ Various authors: *In the wake of The African Queen*. In: *Reflections. A literary supplement to the “C. S. Forester Society” Newsletter*. No. 1, July 2002: <http://csforester.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/reflections-1.pdf> (accessed 17. 3. 2014).

¹³⁴ The *Königin Luise* was a German ship used as a ferry service between coastal resorts, which was sunk by British destroyers during mine laying in the Thames Estuary on 5 August 1914.

Königin Luise. Charlie and Rose are sent to the coast where they are married by the British Consul.

The film classic “The African Queen” was made in 1951, directed by John Houston, and starred Humphrey Bogart (as Charlie Allnut) and Katherine Hepburn (as Rose Sayer). In the film, the two plan a daring journey down the river in their little steamboat *African Queen* with home-made torpedoes to attack the considerably larger German gunboat *Queen Louisa*. At the end of the film the *Louisa* sinks to the bottom of the lake, but only after colliding with the “victorious” British *African Queen*.

The plot shows clear parallels with the German cruiser SMS *Königsberg*, which was sunk in the mouth of the River Rufiji, and also with the battle action on Lake Tanganyika. The Royal Navy’s efforts to get ships to Lake Tanganyika through the jungle are also incorporated into the action.¹³⁵ But in fact the events related in the book are entirely fictitious.

¹³⁵ Frank J. Magee: *Transporting a navy through the jungles of Africa in war time*, p. 331; Buxton: *The Tanganyika Naval Expedition*. In: *The London Gazette*, 13. 7. 1917, pp. 7067 to 7072.

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