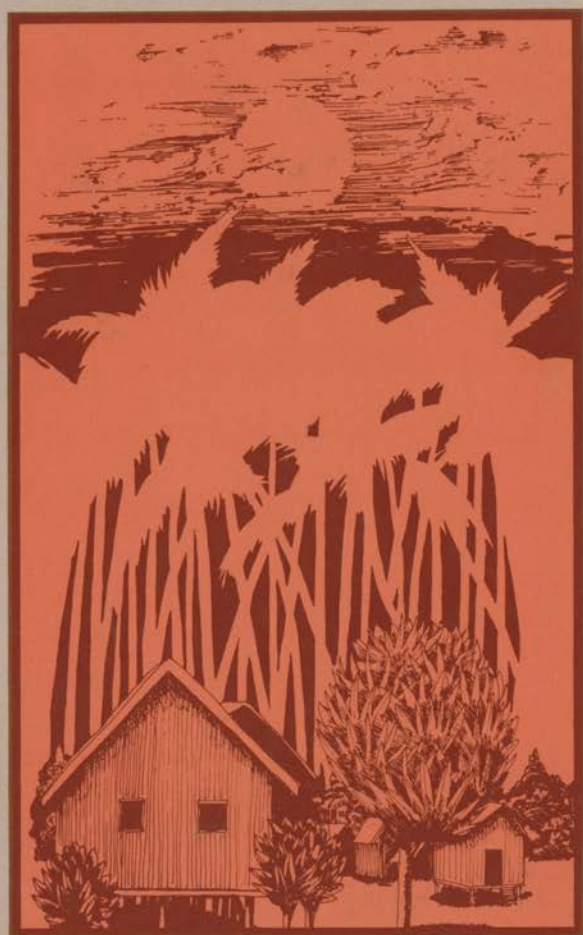


Albert Hahl

GOVERNOR IN
NEW GUINEA



Edited and translated by
Peter G. Sack and Dymphna Clark

Dr Albert Hahl first sailed to German New Guinea in 1896 and took up residence in Herbertshöhe, a primitive little settlement on Blanche Bay dominated by autocratic planters and merchants. Later he served as Governor in various posts in the Protectorate, including eighteen months as Vice-Governor on the turbulent island of Ponape. After eleven years as Governor of the whole Protectorate, he finally sailed from Rabaul for good in 1914, a few months before World War I ended German rule in the Western Pacific.

Hahl's career spanned almost the whole of the period of effective administration by the Reich of German New Guinea, and the 'system' undoubtedly bore his stamp. There was the organisation of the natives under *luluai* or official chiefs, each with a special cap and staff as insignia of Imperial office. There was too the quaint shipping service round the Gazelle Peninsula provided by the tugboat *Roland* and its attendant barges. Hahl claimed these and other institutions as his brain-children. He is still recalled as 'Dotal', a fatherly figure, by the old people of the Gazelle Peninsula, and like Sir Hubert Murray he has been seen as the personification of the colony over which he presided. New light is shed on his role by these mellow reminiscences, first published in Germany in 1937, but remarkably free of either bitterness or the ideological claptrap usual in works of that vintage.

The introduction by Peter Sack to this edition in English suggests a number of new points of approach to Hahl's career, and includes a biographical sketch. The translation by Dymphna Clark of the original text is supplemented by maps, contemporary photographs and a list of Hahl's publications.

Dr Peter Sack studied law at the Universities of Goettingen and Kiel and at The Australian National University. He is now a Fellow in the Department of Law, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University. He has written, edited and translated a number of books on land law and history in German New Guinea.

Dymphna Clark studied Germanic languages at the Universities of Melbourne and Bonn. She is an experienced translator and has taught German at The Australian National University. She is now in the Law Department of the Research School of Social Sciences at that university.

Also by Peter Sack

Land between Two Laws, 1973

Problem of Choice: Land in Papua New Guinea's Future (ed.), 1974

The Land Law of German New Guinea: A Collection of Documents (compiled Peter and Bridget Sack), 1975

The Bloodthirsty Laewomba? Myth and History in Papua New Guinea, 1976

German New Guinea: The Annual Reports (ed. and trans. by Peter Sack and Dymphna Clark), 1979

Jacket design by Kirsty Morrison
Printed in Australia

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.

This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.

GOVERNOR IN NEW GUINEA



Hahl before his first arrival in New Guinea (about 1896). Reproduced by courtesy of the Hahl family.

Albert Hahl

GOVERNOR IN
NEW GUINEA

Edited and translated by
Peter G. Sack and Dymphna Clark

Australian National University Press Canberra,
Australia, London, UK and Trumbull, Conn., USA
1980

First published in Australia 1980

Printed in Australia at Griffin Press Limited for the Australian National University Press, Canberra

© Introduction Peter G. Sack, translation Dymphna Clark 1979

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Hahl, Albert, 1868–1945.

[Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea. English]

Governor in New Guinea.

Index.

ISBN 0 7081 1820 8

1. Hahl, Albert. 1868–1945. 2. New Guinea,
German—Governors—Biography. I. Sack, Peter
G., ed. II. Clark, Dymphna, tr. III. Title.

325.3'43'09955

Library of Congress No. 79–51490

United Kingdom, Europe, Middle East, and Africa: Eurospan Ltd,
3 Henrietta St, London WC2E 8LU, England

North America: Books Australia, Trumbull, Conn., USA

Southeast Asia: Angus & Robertson (S.E. Asia) Pty Ltd, Singapore

Japan: United Publishers Services Ltd, Tokyo

Editor's Preface

The following translation of *Gouverneursjahre* follows the German original as closely as possible.

A few minor technical errors have been corrected. Hahl's use of geographical names has been maintained. No attempt has been made to translate the names of German firms and organisations or metropolitan civil service ranks. To assist the reader in these respects a Glossary has been prepared. A translation of the titles of German publications has been incorporated in the text and is indicated by square brackets, as are the handful of other editorial additions.

As Hahl himself provides an explanation of vernacular terms, they have not been included in the Glossary. On the other hand, the few (German) abbreviations used have been incorporated as they did not justify a separate list.

An index to the text of *Gouverneursjahre* has been provided and a list of Hahl's publications is appended.

The number and size of maps and illustrations had to be kept to a minimum.

The German weights and measures used do not require an explanation beyond indicating that 1 hectare equals roughly 2.5 acres and that 1 mark equalled—before 1914—1 shilling.

Editor's Acknowledgments

Albert Hahl's *Gouverneursjahre* was originally published by the Frundsberg Verlag in Berlin in 1937. This German edition is long out of print. I am grateful to Hahl's family for the permission to prepare a new English edition, primarily to make the book accessible to those for whom the events covered are not exotic episodes, but part of their country's history and whom Hahl himself would today have regarded very much as part of his natural audience.

Contents

	Page
Editor's Preface	v
Editor's Acknowledgments	vi
Editor's Introduction	ix
Glossary	xx
Hahl's Preface	xxii
The First Years	1
In the Island Territory and in New Guinea	55
My Years as Governor	97
List of Hahl's Publications	148
Index	151

Maps

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|----|
| 1 | German New Guinea | 2 |
| 2 | Astrolabe Bay | 4 |
| 3 | Ponape | 61 |
| 4 | New Britain | 99 |

Plates

- Frontispiece Hahl before his first arrival in New Guinea
- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| i | The survivors of the Ehlers expedition | 32 |
| ii | Adjusting to German rule | 37 |
| iii | Schnee with the police troop | 52 |
| iv | The 'Colony' on Ponape | 64 |
| v | Street in the 'Colony' on Ponape | 69 |
| vi | Colonial Baroque. Hotel Fürst Bismarck | 85 |
| vii | Hahl and his wife at Herbertshöhe | 104 |
| viii | The third generation. Senior Missionary Flierl,
grandchild and friend | 106 |
| ix | Government House in Namanula | 132 |
| x | Hahl towards the end of his time in New Guinea | 146 |

Editor's Introduction

Dr Albert Hahl, Imperial Judge, Vice-Governor and Governor between 1896 and 1914, is one of the key figures in the history of Papua New Guinea. It is tempting to see him as the German counterpart of Sir Hubert Murray in Papua (who, eight years Hahl's senior, out-served him by twenty-six years) and hence to introduce Hahl, the man as well as the administrator, by way of comparison with Murray.

Such a comparison, however, would at least be premature as the state of research into the history of German New Guinea would only allow a superficial, sketchy and highly speculative analysis. As far as Papua is concerned, the situation may not be so different. There is an understandable but dangerous tendency, in Papua New Guinea in particular, to treat research as a series of 'one book jobs'. But definitive books on any topic are rare, and in some fields, such as history, they are impossible. Francis West's account of Murray¹ may be a significant improvement on that of Lewis Lett,² but it is a far cry from being the final word. In fact it cries out for someone to demonstrate what a vastly different portrait of Murray can be based on the same facts—although it is doubtful that adding another mask of Murray—or, for that matter, one of Hahl—to the waxworks of Pacific History should be given priority.

Moreover, what we already do know about Hahl suggests that he may be anything but a challenging subject for a conventional biographer. In contrast to Murray with his undeniable aura of mystique, Hahl emerges from the sources as a straightforward, almost naive personality, which does not imply that he lacked intelligence, feeling, competence, or historical stature.

Yet, even if Hahl had been a second Hamlet, would it be worthwhile—as a historical rather than psychological exercise—to attempt to fathom him as an individual? There are those who assert that all that was rotten in German New Guinea (and wasn't that everything?) was not the result of Hahl's doings or failings, but the consequence of the bad system of German colonialism.³

This assertion, if it were seriously pursued, would lead into a labyrinth of fascinating though often futile questions. Is colonialism (or

1 Hubert Murray, *The Australian Pro-Consul*, Oxford University Press, 1968.

2 Sir Hubert Murray of Papua, Sydney, 1949.

3 See S. Firth, Albert Hahl, Governor of German New Guinea, in: J. Griffin (ed.) *Papua New Guinea Portraits: The Expatriate Experience*, Canberra, 1979.

imperialism, or whatever is hidden behind these labels) inherently bad? Was German colonialism different in kind from, say, British colonialism? Was it better or worse? Totally, on balance, or in certain respects? From whose point of view is this to be judged? From that of the contemporary colonial subjects, from that of their independent descendants? Is, for example, the comparative lack of economic development in Papua an indictment of Murray's(?) colonial policies? Or are the criteria for judging the demerits of colonialism objective, universal, timeless?

What is 'German' about German colonialism? Were there different, identifiable, uniform German and British colonial ideologies? How did they compare with reality in the various colonies of these metropolitan powers? Did they change or develop? Was the German colonial system in Southwest Africa the same as in New Guinea? Was the colonial ideology of the Neu Guinea Compagnie the same as that of the Imperial Government? Who was the Neu Guinea Compagnie?

What is the theoretical range of policy choices in a colonial situation? How many of them were practical at a given point in time and space, for instance in the case of German New Guinea? What is the comparative weight of circumstances, policy decisions, accidents and individual personalities in the shaping of history? Was Murray in the same way an instrument of the system of British (Australian?) colonialism as Hahl is claimed to have been an instrument of the system of German colonialism? To put it bluntly, what would Papua New Guinea look like today if Albert Hahl had never existed?

It is unlikely that the difference would be dramatic. But then would Papua New Guinea now look so different if part of it had never been a German colony or if Murray had never been in Papua?

Nevertheless, although Hahl certainly was not revolutionary but very much a child of his times, it would be equally wrong to see Hahl as a minor, normed and programmed cog-wheel in the gigantic and monolithic machine of German colonialism as to depict him as the independent architect of German New Guinea. Hahl did leave his personal mark, perhaps not so much by what he did, but by the way he did it, by his attitude to people in general, and, in particular, by his relations with individuals, black, white or yellow. History is made in small drops and the drop which makes the bucket run over is often uncommonly small, but all drops are made by men or women and not by ideologies or institutions.

Seen in this light the old people in the Gazelle Peninsula are perhaps not altogether mistaken in identifying German colonial rule with the person of 'Dotal', certainly less so than some of the young who use an

equally legendary but shapeless 'colonialism' as an excuse or justification for all manner of contradictory things.

I for one can get worked up neither about the glories nor the horrors of German colonialism in New Guinea. Its history just bears no resemblance to a Greek tragedy; it was neither a bloodbath nor an idyll. Fate was naturally present, but like everything else it did not loom large—making human sufferings and achievements not less real but more so.

German New Guinea is too small to be a suitable drillground for grand historical theories. They will not merely not work, but immediately be seen not to work. Instead it offers an intimate stage for observing history actually at work: people muddling along, moved by great ideas and small weaknesses, sometimes unbelievably stupid and sometimes full of unexpected insight, constantly shaping the circumstances shaping them, and gradually adjusting the future to the past and the past to the future.

Hahl's *Gouverneursjahre* hardly needs an introduction. His account is unpretentious, readable and self-explanatory. It certainly paints a rosy picture, but it would be to misunderstand Hahl's position to attribute this to propagandistic intentions. Hahl was not a guilt-ridden ex-governor with frustrated ambitions, nor did he attempt to defend himself against 'colonial guilt lies'. *Gouverneursjahre* is the book of an old man (Hahl was almost seventy when he wrote it) looking back at his life's work, quietly but firmly convinced that he did a good job. It is in this sense a righteous book, but not aggressively so. Hahl is not trying to convince anyone; in his view the results were there for everybody to see, speaking loudly and clearly for themselves.

Hahl neither questioned the justification of German colonial rule in New Guinea, nor did he act as protagonist of German might and culture. He had a job to do and measured, even in retrospect, what he did, not against any ideals but against what he regarded as practicable under the circumstances.

'Exploitation', for instance, including the exploitation of human resources, would in his book not have figured as a dirty word but as part of the definition of the tasks of a competent administrator. This implies a certain ruthlessness—which clearly was there—but tempered not only by a conviction that the aim of administration was the good of the country (and 'the country' was in his case German New Guinea and not Germany) but also by a genuine love for people, in particular subjects, irrespective of the colour of their skin.

There is no doubt that Hahl was a paternalist, but it was paternalism on a socio-economic (one is almost tempted to say feudal-agricultural) basis and not on a racial basis. This does not mean to say that Hahl did not

firmly believe in the superiority of the Caucasian race. On the other hand, such a belief is, and was in Hahl's case, easily compatible with a sincere respect for those blacks who opposed Westernisation instead of turning collaborators. As far as Hahl is concerned, this respect was probably more the result of a shared feeling of loyalty (no matter to whom or to what) than of an admiration of strength even (or perhaps even particularly) in one's opponents.

What is crucial, however, is the personalised way in which Hahl perceived loyalties as well as paternalism and the world in general: he was interested in individuals as individuals. This comes out most clearly in minor ways, for example in his habit of identifying the home towns of Europeans mentioned. It was important to Hahl that his clerk Steusloff came from Perleberg (*p.* 11) or Anna Waldow, the teacher employed by 'Queen Emma', from Zoppot (*p.* 48). He was interested in information of this kind and not merely in order to manipulate people.

His world, not only in New Guinea, was small-scale and personalised. He was not an urban technocrat, playing number-games, in his universe even cows and fields had names of their own. He was a romantic, but a prosaic one, no dreamer but a doer, and lived in a world in which things were very much what they appeared to be and where thus much could be taken for granted. There is a good deal of the peasant in Hahl, with all his contradictions: narrow-mindedness and wisdom, tenderness and crudeness. Hahl could be a tolerant stickler for etiquette, a generous pinch-penny, a rebellious fatalist and an optimistic prophet of doom.

What all this leads up to is this: Hahl was not the kind of man to set out to write an apologetic, eulogistic or even euphemistic account of his work in New Guinea. This applies in particular to the 'native question', which he regarded as crucial. Rightly or wrongly Hahl believed he could ask for nothing better than to be judged on his record on this score. He was not beating his breast in private, thinking about the horrible things he had done to his black brothers in the past, trying to fabricate an official cover-up. He was not ashamed; he was happy, in a manner of speaking, to stick to his guns. He still believed that it was unavoidable, though regrettable, that sometimes people (individuals, black or white) had to be shot for the good of the country, and he was not afraid to say so.

By the same token, Hahl was not beyond omitting unpleasant facts; he left many skeletons in their cupboards and plenty of dirty linen unwashed. However, he applied this plastic surgery primarily to intra-European affairs, and for a variety of overlapping, non-propagandistic reasons.

First of all there were a number of things, sex being but one of them, about which—in Hahl's view—one did not talk at all (or only in a certain,

for instance, generalised, humorous way), although every man of the world knew that they existed and had to be seriously reckoned with. Secondly, one had an obligation to protect one's fellow men, especially one's subordinates; hence one did not mention that A had embezzled funds, that B was a drunkard, that C was beating his wife, that D was a fool, that E had made a mess of things etc. Thirdly, the full inside story, positive or negative, formally confidential or not, really was not the business of the general public at all. In addition, were not results all that mattered, so that once they had been achieved (or had proved unachievable) all the obstacles on the way could and should be forgotten? Then there were the questions of relative importance, of balance, of limited space, of broad developments, and the fact that Hahl himself had enjoyed his years in New Guinea, despite blackwater fever, frustrations and disappointments, perhaps less so towards the end, when even in German New Guinea things were growing too big for his style of administration.

For these reasons those who expect illuminating gossip, a revelation of what Hahl really thought about certain individuals, a chart of the tides of underlying tensions (for instance between Hahl and the Colonial Office) will be disappointed. *Gouverneursjahre* is a personal but at the same time a public account. Like all historical writing it is subjective, selective and prejudiced, but it is, in particular for a book written by an interested party, almost surprisingly honest and, on the whole, reasonably realistic.

It is certainly not the full story, which will never be written and which, if it could be written, would be utterly undigestible. But it is a good and easy starting point for those who want to build their own subjective oversimplified version of the many-sided history of German New Guinea.

Gouverneursjahre contains few and only minor errors of fact (see, for instance, the details of the marginal Marquis de Rays venture, pp. 7-8). The factual information provided for almost any particular event is decidedly inadequate if it is to be considered by itself (for a glaring example see Hahl's account of the events surrounding the killing of Mrs Wolff, pp. 93-4). But the virtue of *Gouverneursjahre* does not lie in the description of details but in placing them into—a perhaps too coherent—context: it is the easily graspable overall picture, Hahl's view on what his work in German New Guinea was all about—stated not as an abstract political program but in its concrete manifestations—which counts.

Hahl wrote a book which fits him like a glove. The strengths and weaknesses of *Gouverneursjahre* are largely those of Hahl himself; strengths and weaknesses which do not make him a great historian or writer but which

made him an administrator with whom Papua New Guinea historians may one day agree that he did a good job under the circumstances.

As indicated earlier, little is known about Hahl's life apart from his work in German New Guinea.⁴ Although it appears that Hahl did not leave a significant body of private papers⁵ and that his personal civil service file also no longer exists,⁶ additional information could certainly be gathered.⁷ Yet it is likely that the point of diminishing returns will soon be reached, if it has not already been passed.

Moreover, it is doubtful, as intimated before, whether Hahl would be a rewarding subject for a full biographical, birth to death treatment. On the other hand it could be argued that a lifesize psychological portrait of a 'normal' person like Hahl would in fact be more relevant than that of another exotic borderline case.

It is clear that such a portrait, irrespective of the availability of information, would have to take a shape quite different from that of a conventional, individualistic biography, not so much by centring on Hahl's work or his professional motivation rather than on his private life and thoughts, but by approaching Hahl's life throughout in a distinctively comparative manner; that is to say by comparing Hahl in some detail with other German and non-German colonial governors (in particular with his successors and predecessors in New Guinea), with his brothers and sisters, with people from a similar social background who became lawyers or administrators (not only in the political but also in the industrial or agricultural sector) to find out how much he was formed by his family background, his class background, his professional background, his German background, the spirit of the times, the colonial situation in which he found himself, the peculiar conditions in New Guinea at the time—and how he himself responded to and modified these outside forces.

Be this as it may, here no such portrait is attempted. The aim is more modest: a rough biographical frame within which to see Hahl's own account of his years in New Guinea.

Albert Hahl was born in Gern, a village in a fertile but 'under-developed' part of Lower Bavaria. Eggenfelden, the local market town, had (around that time) a district office (the same term as that later

4 See P. Biskup, Hahl at Herbertshöhe 1896–1898, in: *The History of Melanesia*, Canberra, 1969, 77–99; Firth, Albert Hahl.

5 Correspondence with his family.

6 Letter of the Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Potsdam, of 19 May 1978 in response to an inquiry by me.

7 I am grateful to Hahl's eldest daughter, Berta Anspach-Hahl for her patient help on this score.

employed in German New Guinea), a local court, a hospital, a monastery and a railway station. The population was just over 2,000; there was no industry, nor was there a high school.

Hahl was born on 10 September 1868, two years after the war between Austria and Prussia, a war in which Bavaria began on the Austrian side and ended as a Prussian ally and which crystallised the foundations of the new (smaller) German Reich as it emerged after the Franco-Prussian war in 1871.

Hahl's father, Jakob Hahl, was a native of Swabia. He was of farming stock, became a master brewer and left his hometown, Münchingen, in search of greener pastures. He found them, years later, in Lower Bavaria, where he first leased and later bought a small brewery and also a farm. Jakob Hahl married Berta Hübschmann, a bookbinder's daughter. They had thirteen children, of whom Albert was the sixth. Only eight of them reached adulthood.⁸

The financial basis of Hahl's youth was modest but secure. Life was frugal, hard work was expected. It was orderly and peaceful. There do not appear to have been major tensions or traumatic experiences, neither within the family nor within the village, for instance on account of the Hahls living as Protestants in a Catholic environment. Albert was sent to high school in Freising, which he completed in 1887, to proceed to Würzburg, to study, as was his wish, law and economics, a fairly common combination at the time.

In 1893 he acquired a Doctorate in Law. This too was then standard practice for lawyers in Germany. However, the topic of his thesis, the usual slim opus of about 20,000 words, was not at all run-of-the-mill. Hahl not only settled for an economics rather than law subject, but for one in non-German economic history: he dealt with the history of economic ideas in late medieval England. His thesis reads very much like Hahl's later publications.⁹ It is neither very deep nor very original, but shows a good grasp of the central issues, the ability of placing them in a coherent, albeit somewhat over-simplified context, and a straightforward, readable style.¹⁰

8 Two of Hahl's brothers became farmers, a third studied chemistry. The fourth brother trained as a brewer and ran, together with the husband of one of the sisters, the family brewery after the father's death in 1898, until it was sold in 1906, subsequent to the mother's death in 1905.

9 For a list of his publications see below, *p.* 148.

10 It would be tempting to consider the influence of this intellectual exercise on Hahl's subsequent actions as an administrator (common good versus individual enterprise, agriculture versus trade, smallholdings versus large estates, traditional tenure versus Roman law ideas, Utopian communism versus technological progress), but there is just not enough evidence for more than fleeting speculations.

In 1894 Hahl passed his final legal state examination. He joined the Bavarian civil service rather than become a practising lawyer or entering the judicial career service. For a year he worked for the Department of the Interior before volunteering for the still very new and not at all prestigious colonial service of the Reich. Why he made this unusual decision is not known. He himself treated it as a natural choice which required no explanation. In any case, six months later, now 27, he was on his way to New Guinea.

The circumstances surrounding Hahl's final departure from New Guinea, in April 1914, are equally unclear, but here the uncertainty is perhaps of some importance. In *Gouverneursjahre* Hahl claims that he had intended 'to leave German New Guinea for good and to work for its future from Germany' (see p. 147). The most natural interpretation of this cryptic statement is that Hahl was hoping for a suitable position in the Colonial Office in Berlin and that only the outbreak of World War I, not long after his arrival in Germany, prevented him from obtaining it.¹¹ It has been implied, however, that this statement is one of Hahl's typical rosy fabrications, that he had in fact merely planned to go on leave, but that after his return to Germany, he was abruptly relieved of his post—basically because he was (for a German) too pro-native—and that only the outbreak of World War I had prevented the German colonial system from finally showing itself also in New Guinea in its full ugliness.¹²

There is indeed something fishy about Hahl's version, but only mildly so compared with the suggested alternative. It is odd that apparently no position in keeping with his experience and status—which, by the way, was not so high in civil service terms—was found for Hahl in the Colonial Office in Berlin in 1914, considering that Germany naturally expected to win the war and if anything to enlarge her colonial empire after her victory. It is, on the other hand, equally odd that Hahl, had he been dismissed, as suggested, as the result of pressures from hard-line plantation interests, should immediately after the war have joined the Neu Guinea Compagnie, their main representative (see below, p. xvii).

Hahl's personal civil service file, which would at least allow the official version to be established fairly quickly, is no longer available. The circumstantial evidence I have sighted so far is inconclusive (though it points to a truth closer to Hahl's rosy understatement than to the overdramatised, sinister alternative).¹³ As it would serve little purpose in this context to

11 It is also possible that Hahl had made up his mind to quit the civil service altogether without having made clear plans for the future.

12 See Firth, Albert Hahl.

13 There is little doubt that Hahl knew before he left New Guinea that he would not return

embark upon a time-consuming search for more fragments of evidence or to pursue speculations, we will return to the position in which Hahl found himself after the outbreak of World War I: a Governor, retired or not, without a colony.

In September 1914 Hahl turned 46, his health was not the best and his official military training was limited,¹⁴ so that prospects for active service were poor. Hahl had the further handicap of having spent all his time in the 'field', without gaining experience in headquarters administration (and without the opportunity of building up contacts in Berlin). This was not usual¹⁵ (probably the result of Hahl's preference as much as of the fact that he was appointed Governor very early in his civil service career—which made a transfer back to headquarters, without loss in status, difficult).¹⁶ In other words, it was not easy to find a suitable position for Hahl in Berlin.

as Governor, and that he had no clear intentions of returning at all—for one thing the family departed with *all* personal belongings—unlikely had it been but a routine recreation leave—and he was certainly farewelled as someone leaving permanently (see *Amisblatt*, Vol. 6, No. 8, 120–3). Unfortunately the riddle can also not be solved by looking at the position of Hahl's 'successor' in New Guinea, *Geheimer Oberregierungsrat* Eduard Haber. Haber was a 'mining specialist' and it would make sense had he been sent out as a permanent replacement for Hahl, provided it is correct that a new emphasis was to be placed on developing the mining potential of German New Guinea (gold and oil). On the other hand, it is certain that Haber signed the capitulation of German New Guinea, in September 1914, not as 'Governor' but as the 'Representative of the Governor' (*Vertreter des Gouverneurs*). In order to narrow down the possibilities, it would, for example, be necessary to reconstruct the details of Hahl's legal position (in civil service terms): the situation in respect of resignation, dismissal, retirement, leave-entitlement, pension claims etc. This is likely to prove very complicated, involving among other factors, distinctions between Hahl the (colonial and/or Reich) civil servant (with a permanent personal rank) and Hahl the Governor (with a temporary official rank)—in short, a nettle of rules and regulations which Jake Wilton Spidle Jr, who devoted an entire Ph.D. thesis to the organisation of the German colonial service (Stanford University 1972), consistently refuses to grasp. Yet the simple fact that Hahl later carried the official label 'Governor retired' may, if interpreted properly, prove conclusively that he could have neither resigned nor have been relieved of his post as Governor in 1914.

14 Like many of his contemporaries he had served as a young man in the army and had reached the rank of Lieutenant of the Reserve (in Hahl's case of the 7th Royal Bavarian Infantry Regiment 'Prince Leopold').

15 Heinrich Schnee, Hahl's successor as Imperial Judge, for instance, returned to Berlin after about four years in the field and had a rapid career, reaching the personal civil service rank of *Wirklicher Geheimer Rat*, several grades above that of Hahl, before becoming Governor of German East Africa, with, in fact, a slightly lower official rank in 1912. It is curious to note that Hahl's 'successor' as Governor, Haber, had expected to get the governorship in East Africa instead of Schnee and threatened his resignation when he did not (*Berliner Tageblatt*, 23 May 1912).

16 The example of Wilhelm Solf who, from the basis of a governorship in Samoa, was appointed Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, shows that it was not impossible to overcome this handicap.

Hahl served in some capacity behind some desk in Berlin until 1916 when he was seconded as an adviser on agricultural matters to the allied Government of Turkey, a position in which he worked until the end of the war in 1918. Upon his return to Berlin, Hahl had to face the decision as to what to do with the rest of his working life.

It must be remembered that even at this stage it was not certain that Germany would lose her colonies and that an expropriation of German firms or individuals was, even in the event of a cession of the German colonies in a peace treaty, highly unlikely as it did not correspond with previous international practice and was indeed contrary to international law as it stood at the time. In short, from Hahl's point of view a continued, official or private, involvement in (German) New Guinea was by no means out of the question.

As it happened, Hahl had a chance meeting in the streets of Berlin with one of the Directors of the Neu Guinea Compagnie who, it turned out during their conversation, was looking for a successor. This was obviously an attractive position for Hahl, if he wanted to be reasonably sure of retaining his links with New Guinea,¹⁷ and his experience equally clearly recommended him for the position.

Again we do not know what went on in Hahl's mind or whether previous differences of opinion between Hahl and the Company required major compromises, concessions or changes of heart. It does not appear that Hahl ever felt that he was betraying what he had been working for in the past by joining the Neu Guinea Compagnie or that the Company felt the need to insist on Hahl mending his ways before accepting him. In any case, Hahl became Director of the Neu Guinea Compagnie on 1 October 1918, a position he held until his retirement in 1938, that is for twenty years, two years longer than he had been active in New Guinea.

During the first few years Hahl fought in vain against the expropriation of the Company's New Guinea properties and for his own right of entry to New Guinea. Subsequently he worked for a new start in South America and Africa, also without overwhelming success. Although his position was that of a full-time executive and not merely honorary and although he took his task seriously, Hahl must have found himself with more and more time and free energy on his hands.

He wrote about colonial affairs past and present (watching the Australian administration of former German New Guinea with particular

17 It should also be pointed out that the Neu Guinea Compagnie was in 1914 one of the leading plantation companies in the world, with a gross income of well over 3 million marks in 1913/14, (roughly the same as the total budget for German New Guinea, including the Island Territory, in that year).

interest) for the general public and honest, old-fashioned, romantic poetry for his own relaxation. He read, mostly about politics and history. He went for walks and hikes. And he continued to be active in the colonial movement in Germany. Yet, despite the fact that he was Vice-President of the German Colonial Society in 1930 and later became Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Native and Labour Problems of the new 'politically co-ordinated' Colonial Reich League, he was rather less active than during the first years after World War I, when he felt it his duty to work in the Reich Association of Colonial Germans on behalf of individual German settlers returning to Germany (not only from New Guinea), having lost their property, or remaining abroad under difficult circumstances.

Compared with some of his former colleagues, for instance Heinrich Schnee, who spent much of his time leading the campaign against the 'colonial guilt lie', who became a member of the German Parliament in 1924 and was sent on diplomatic missions abroad—not to mention his involvement in the German Colonial Society (whose President he became in 1931) and similar organisations—Hahl was distinctly reserved (one does not get the feeling of sour grapes!)—he was strictly an administrator and not a politician (and had, in a way, become too attached to New Guinea for the good of his own career in Germany).

On the whole he was probably looking forward to his retirement in his home village, Gern—especially after the death of his wife in 1935—which finally took place in 1938, when Hahl was seventy. He did not find much enjoyment. His health was deteriorating, his asthma became more troublesome and repeated painful inflammations of his legs forced him to abandon his walks (although he did not become bed-ridden). Most of all there was World War II, for most of the time, about whose outcome Hahl was not at all optimistic.

Hahl must have spent many hours during the war in Gern thinking about the past. But he was not the man to lead a retrospective life, to drown present miseries by bathing in past glories. To be sure, he hankered after the good old days, but the mainspring of his life in retirement was worry about the future; he worried about Germany (not the 'old' or the 'new', but simply 'Germany'), about mankind, and especially about his only son, who was a soldier and missing.

Hahl had just heard, seven months after the end of the war, that his son had survived and was in a French prisoner-of-war camp when he died, worn out but at peace, in his armchair on Christmas Day 1945, seventy-seven years of age—a kind man, who tried to do his best and whose work was perhaps greater than he himself (which is not a bad thing to have said about oneself).

Glossary

A. G.	<i>Aktiengesellschaft</i> , joint-stock company
Angriffsinsel	Attack Island
<i>Assessor</i>	Rank of a (Successful) Higher (Legal) Service Trainee (after 2 State Examinations), Eligible for Permanent Appointment
<i>Bergrat</i>	Base Rank in the (Permanent) Higher (Mining) Civil Service
Bremische Südsee Gesellschaft	South Sea Company of Bremen
Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südseeinseln	German Trading and Plantation Company of the South Sea Islands
Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft	German Colonial Society
Deutsche Südsee Phosphat A.G.	German South Sea Phosphate Company
Deutscher Hof	German Manor
Dorfinsel	Village Island
Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz	Women's Association of the Red Cross
Friedrich Wilhelmshafen	Madang
<i>Geheimrat</i>	Privy Councillor (Senior Civil Service Rank or Honorary Title)
<i>Geheimer Oberpostrat</i>	Senior (Postal) Civil Service Rank
<i>Geheimer Oberregierungsrat</i>	Senior (General) Civil Service Rank
Hamburger Kolonialinstitut	Colonial Institute of Hamburg
Hamburger Wissenschaftliche Südseeexpedition	Scientific South Sea Expedition of Hamburg
Hamburgische Südsee A.G.	South Sea Company of Hamburg
Herbertshöhe	Kokopo
Kaiser Wilhelmsland	The German part of the main island of New Guinea
Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee	Committee for Colonial Economy
<i>Ministerialdirektor</i>	Senior (General) Civil Service Rank
Neu Hannover	New Hanover

Neu Lauenburg	Duke of York Islands
Neu Mecklenburg	New Ireland
Neu Pommern	New Britain
<i>Referendar</i>	Rank of a Higher (Legal) Civil Service Trainee (after 1 State Examination)
<i>Regierungsrat</i>	Base Rank in the (Permanent) Higher Civil Service
S.M.	<i>Seine Majestät</i> , His Majesty
S.M.S.	<i>Seiner Majestät Schiff</i> , His Majesty's Ship
Schutztruppe	Name of the German Colonial Army in Africa
Völkermuseum	Ethnographic Museum
<i>Wirklicher Geheimer Rat</i>	Senior Civil Service Rank

Hahl's Preface

I have not written a history of German New Guinea in the period of German rule, nor have I reproduced the pages of a diary. I have endeavoured, by giving an account—though not exhaustive—of colourful experiences and events, to bring into sharper focus the tasks which absorbed all our energies during the thirty years of our rule. For the development of a virgin tropical land, climate, soil and people are the prime determining factors. In New Guinea, the native problem was and still is of first importance. The clash of two cultures, ours and that of stone-age man, inevitably led to dislocation and friction. It was imperative to avert these, and appropriate means had to be found, on the success of which hinged both the expansion of economic penetration and the cultural development of this island domain. In telling the story I have recalled the contribution of many brave and selfless helpers and colleagues but it has not been possible to name them all.

May this little book, short as it is, revive and deepen our remembrance of the German colonial era now past.

Dr Albert Hahl

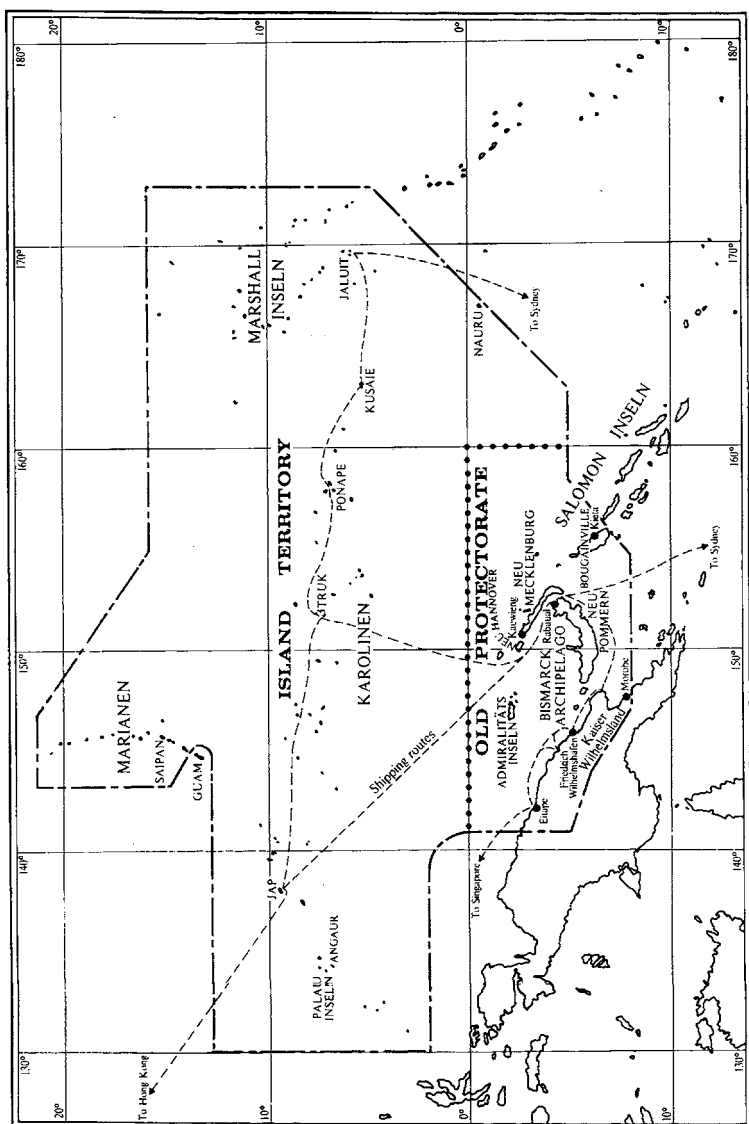
The First Years



The First Years

At first light on the morning of New Year's Day 1896 the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamer *Stettin* came into port at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and roused the inhabitants from their slumbers by a loud report from its cannon. Life began to stir on the waterfront and in the houses hidden under the palms. A boat pushed off, manned by one European and six coloured oarsmen. The harbour authorities, in the person of the police-sergeant, hailed the ship bringing long-awaited mail from home and belated Christmas presents. Customs and health formalities were soon despatched, and once the steamer had tied up at the wharf the passengers were free to step on to the soil of their future home. The steamship line ran from Singapore via Batavia and called at the main settlements of the Protectorate at eight-weekly intervals. It was their life-line to the outside world, carrying passengers and bringing supplies. There was no through traffic, as the steamer turned round in the Bismarck Archipelago, and the number of passengers was therefore limited.

Six months earlier I had resigned my post as *Assessor* in Bayreuth with the Department of the Interior of the Government of the Kingdom of Bavaria. I had applied and been appointed to the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office. My work in Berlin was intended as preparation for service in East Africa. However, it so happened that in Herbertshöhe my predecessor as Imperial Judge had proved unable to withstand the climate and had to return home. The German Chancellor appointed me to the vacant post. This meant that the normal period of training for colonial service was cut very short in my case and that instead of being posted to East Africa later on, I was now landing in New Guinea. The Imperial



MAP 1 German New Guinea

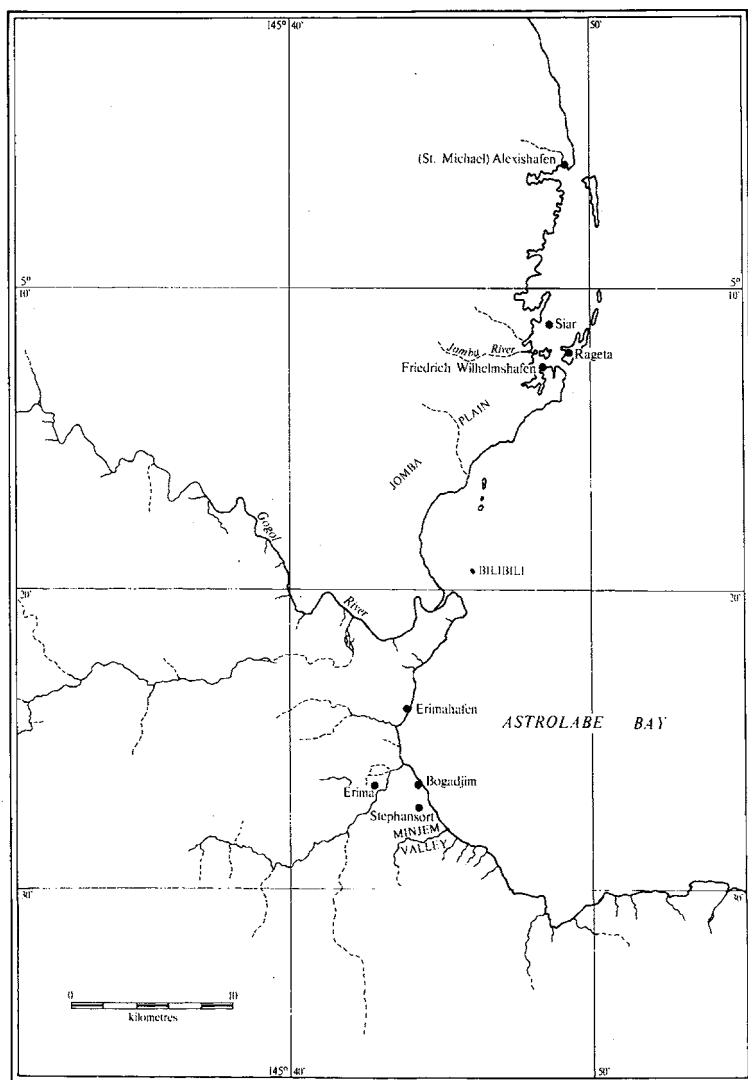
Judge in Herbertshöhe was the sole official of the Reich in the country. This post had been created as an outward manifestation of the fact that the administration of justice was independent of the influence of the sovereign power, the Neu Guinea Compagnie. With the approval of the German Chancellor, the Neu Guinea Compagnie had also placed me in charge of the administration of the area covered by my jurisdiction, the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands.

Apart from myself, other passengers on board were Dr Kurt Danneil, the new doctor entering the service of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, and Biro Lajos, an ethnologist sent out by the Academy in Budapest. At nine o'clock we reported to the Deputy Administrator of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, Corvette Captain (ret.) Rüdiger. I was given a cordial reception and a quick briefing on the current situation and my official duties. This was soon done, leaving time to pay calls and to have a look round the capital, called Madang by the natives. The area reclaimed from the primeval forest by clearing inland from the coast amounted to about fifty hectares in all. It was planted with coconut palms and intersected by well-kept paths. The houses of the Europeans and the business offices stood near the steep coral shore, while the labourers' and police quarters stretched along the edge of the forest. The whole township presented an attractive appearance. The area was so confined that it did not take long to see all that was to be seen. There were neither roads nor established tracks into the impenetrable forest, so we had to resort to the colony's main communications route—by water.

In the afternoon a police boat took my fellow passengers and myself to Siar, an island in the harbour, headquarters of the Rhenish Mission Society and the site of the hospital for Europeans. We were given a warm welcome by Senior Missionary Bergmann and in the hospital by Sister Auguste Hertzner and the physician Dr Otto Dempwolff. This visit was followed by a trip up the Jomba River with the intention, if possible, of reaching the site of the former tobacco plantation on the Jomba Plain, which had produced a very good cigar wrapper leaf. However, the plantations in the immediate hinterland of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen had been abandoned in favour of the Astrolabe Bay area, as the plains at Erima and Stephansort were considered more suitable for agriculture than the land inland from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, which was hemmed in by the nearby coastal range. The river trip came to an abrupt end as the channel was blocked by tree-trunks, and we could find no sign of a path which might have invited a further advance by land.

Next morning we continued with the steamer to the anchorage at Stephansort, the headquarters of the Astrolabe Compagnie, affiliated to

the Neu Guinea Compagnie. Here I was able, for the first time, to take a close look at a well-regulated large-scale plantation, employing about two thousand labourers, made up of Chinese, Malays and Melanesians in equal proportions. The management of the plantation was in experienced hands



MAP 2 *Astrolabe Bay*

and the installations and organisation of operations were exemplary. The difficulties which finally led to the re-organisation of this enterprise will be discussed later. In the coastal village of Bogadjim at the Stephansort anchorage the Rhenish Mission was at work, under the direction of Missionary Hoffmann. In his house we discussed the difficulties in the way of missionary and educational work, given the character of the natives and their linguistic fragmentation. After a stay of two days, the steamer left this hospitable spot, where Biro Lajos established his research headquarters.

The ship also made a call at Simbang near Finschhafen to drop mail for the Neuendettelsau Mission. Up on a high ridge, the buildings of the mission station at Sattelberg greeted us as friendly and tangible evidence of the Mission's courage and initiative. Finschhafen, named after the explorer Dr Finsch, was the first establishment founded in 1886 by the Neu Guinea Compagnie in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the German part of the great island of New Guinea. The Administrator was formerly stationed there. However, in the years 1889 and 1890 there was a heavy incidence of disease, claiming many victims, and the station was therefore given up and abandoned.

Our farewell to the missionaries in Simbang marked the end of our journey along the coast of New Guinea. The steamer turned north in the direction of the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, which was my particular domain. On 14 January we made the anchorage of Herbertshöhe on the outer shore of Blanche Bay on the Gazelle Peninsula, the headquarters of the Neu Guinea Compagnie in the Bismarck Archipelago. For me and Dr Danneil this was the final destination of the eight weeks' voyage which began when we stepped on board in Genoa. The Gazelle Peninsula is the northernmost section of the island of Neu Pommern, which is roughly equal to Baden and the Rhine Palatinate in area.

On the very day of our arrival I took over my official duties from the Company's station manager, Herr Mende. After unloading, the *Stettin* went on to the port of Matupi, headquarters of the firm of HERNSHEIM & Co. I followed next day in a rowing-boat manned by five Melanesians. My first long sea-trip by boat was very pleasant: the sea was smooth and a canvas awning afforded some shade. In Matupi I re-boarded the steamer and sailed with it to the port of Mioko in the Neu Lauenburg Group, off the northern shore of the Gazelle Peninsula. This was the site of a branch of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südseeinseln. From here the ship returned to Herbertshöhe to take on mail and then headed once again for Singapore. For the next eight weeks the islands were cut off from the outside world and left to themselves.

The visits to Matupi and Mioko meant that—apart from the small trading posts on Nusa Harbour in northern Neu Mecklenburg—I had on the voyage out to my appointed post touched at all the points where development had so far taken place. In outline, the story was as follows; Adolf von Hanseemann, the senior partner of the Disconto Gesellschaft, became acquainted with the islands of the Pacific Ocean in the course of his efforts to rehabilitate the Hamburg firm of Johann Cesar Godeffroy. Since the middle of the nineteenth century France and Britain had taken possession of the most valuable of these. The only ones still available were the island groups in the north-west, the Melanesian islands. The colonial movement had begun to gain ground in Germany. With the support of friends in Hamburg and Bremen, Herr von Hanseemann equipped a special expedition which travelled round the islands in the years 1884–5 under the leadership of Professor Dr Finsch and Captain Dallmann, and which, by entering into contracts for the acquisition of extensive areas of land, laid the foundations for the annexation of island groups recognised internationally as being ownerless. In his fine book *Samoa-Fahrten* [The Voyages of the *Samoa*] Dr Finsch has given a fascinating account of these journeys and their results. In the years 1884–6 the warships *Elisabeth* and *Hyäne* hoisted the flag on Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Caroline and Marshall Islands and the Solomon Islands. These annexations were recognised and defined by separate agreements with Great Britain, the Netherlands and France. The dispute with Spain about the ownership of the Carolines was decided by Pope Leo XIII who awarded them to Spain in the year 1887. By virtue of the Imperial Charters of 17 May 1885 and 13 December 1886 the Neu Guinea Compagnie was empowered to exercise local sovereignty under the supreme sovereignty of the Kaiser. The Marshall Islands were placed under a separate Imperial Administration.

The Neu Guinea Compagnie went about the fulfilment of its responsibilities as the sovereign power in the Protectorate with prudence and considerable financial expenditure. Any measures taken could be of benefit to the country only if they were based on sound knowledge of the area and its inhabitants. A program of exploration was therefore initiated, planned on a generous scale and carried out with zeal in three directions by the men selected for the task. The first Administrator, Admiral Baron von Schleinitz, who had already rendered valuable service to geographical science by his reconnaissance of the coasts in 1874 as commander of the cruiser *Gazelle*, took an active part in the charting of the coasts of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and Neu Pommern. The geographers and surveyors Schrader, Hollrung, Schneider and Hunstein concentrated on exploration by land.

In the hope of exerting an influence on the natives and utilising the country's resources economically, several stations were established: in addition to Finschhafen (the seat of the Administrator), Constantinhafen, Hatzfeldhafen and Kerawara in the Neu Lauenburg Group. The second Administrator, *Geheimer Oberpostrat*, later Secretary of State Krätke, carried on with this program until exploration came to a temporary close with the exploration of the Gogol River by Dr Karl Lauterbach in the year 1890. A wealth of scientific knowledge had been gained, particularly in the fields of geography and ethnography. No notable discoveries of economic significance had been made; it had been established that there were no mineral or vegetable treasures readily available for easy exploitation. The Neu Guinea Compagnie was therefore obliged to attempt the economic development of the country by means of trade with the natives and by regular plantation agriculture on its own account. The transition to this new phase of activity was directed by the Imperial Commissioner Fritz Rose, Administrator Schmiele and the Area Managers Kurt von Hagen and Hubert Geisler and scientific investigation of the country was suspended for the time being.

Up to the time of the annexation, Kaiser Wilhelmsland had remained untouched by European influences and therefore represented completely virgin territory for our operations. Some degree of development had already taken place in the Bismarck Archipelago. In the year 1875 the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Society had established itself for missionary purposes on Port Hunter in the Neu Lauenburg Group under George Brown. A short time later, in the year 1878, the Marquis de Rays, a Frenchman, surprised his contemporaries by the announcement that he had founded a colony in Melanesia. On paper he had assumed possession of those islands known to us later by the name of the Bismarck Archipelago as well as others. The seat of the Governor was located in Port Breton (Metelik) in southern Neu Mecklenburg. His publications invited subscriptions to shares in the ventures which were to be established. Payment entitled shareholders to claims on land which was to be distributed. Three ships landed a number of credulous colonists in the wilderness at Metelik. Apart from about sixty survivors, they quickly succumbed to hunger and disease there. The remnants escaped to Mioko and were taken from there to Australia. The last ship had also brought out two priests of the Order of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. They stayed behind and settled at Nondup on the Gazelle Peninsula. This act of courage was the first step in the work of the Missionary Society of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in Hilstrup. A Belgian named Mouton and his son Octave also declined to follow their fellow victims to Australia. They

settled in Kinigunan on Blanche Bay and engaged successfully in trade and plantation operations.

The first German merchant, Eduard HERNSHEIM, had established himself at the end of the seventies on the island of Makada in the Neu Lauenburg Group, but had soon moved from there to the small island of Matupi in Blanche Bay. From this venture grew the firm of Robertson & HERNSHEIM, later HERNSHEIM & Co. The branch of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft in Mioko engaged mainly in recruiting for the plantations in Samoa. The firm of E. E. Forsayth had established itself in Ralum on Blanche Bay, engaging in trade and establishing coconut plantations. These three firms maintained modest trading posts on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula and in northern Neu Mecklenburg, as well as on the small atolls off the Solomon Islands and Neu Mecklenburg. The station of the Neu Guinea Compagnie established in 1887 on the island of Kerawara was transferred to Herbertshöhe on Blanche Bay in 1891, in order to carry on trade and plantation operations there.

This short list covers the full range of the expansion of European influence and European economic penetration of the Bismarck Archipelago up to about 1896. The history of these—in some cases very modest—establishments was spattered with blood, for not one of them was spared attacks and destruction by the natives. The most recent major clashes had taken place on the Gazelle Peninsula. There had been an uprising by the natives in the hinterland of Herbertshöhe against the advance of the plantations, which was only put down when a warship intervened by landing and sending in its crew. In the autumn of 1895 old feuds among the natives on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula had broken out afresh. An unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the leader, Torondiat. The small police troop proved ineffective against the stronger tribes. In other words, the situation in which I found myself on taking over the responsibilities in Herbertshöhe was hardly reassuring.

My first step was to pay a series of calls. A well-kept shady track led through the plantation of the Neu Guinea Compagnie to Vunapope, the headquarters of the Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus and the seat of Bishop Louis Couppé, a Frenchman by birth. The chief glory of this station was the newly-built church with its twin towers. The Bishop also spoke English, but not German. With few exceptions the fathers, brothers and sisters of the Mission were German. The Bishop's right-hand man in all official matters, Father Johannes Dicks, therefore frequently had to serve as interpreter. The Australasian Methodist (Wesleyan) Mission was under the direction of Mr J. W. Chambers. He lived in Raluana, about eight kilometres from Herbertshöhe. As there was

as yet no track, I had to take to the rowing-boat again to visit him. The missionary was accommodated in a modest house, built of timber on foundation posts in the usual style. Services were held in a simple building consisting of a timber frame sheathed with mats and roofed with dried *alang* grass. But the chapel was spacious, cool and clean. The congregation sat on mats on the ground. I had already met Messrs Max Thiel and Adolf Schulze, managers of Hertsheim & Co. and the Mioko establishment, when I visited Mioko and Matupi. The firm of E. E. Forsayth belonged to Mrs Emma Eliza Kolbe and was managed by her. Her father was an American citizen and her mother a Samoan woman, who lived with her. Mrs Kolbe had experienced many adventures and vicissitudes. Her first marriage was to an Englishman named Forsayth; she then worked with Thomas Farrell, an American and the real founder of the business which she inherited from him. Her second marriage was to a German planter, Paul Kolbe, but she remained in charge and was the heart and soul of the business. She did not have a command of German. Mrs Kolbe was assisted by her sister Phoebe and her husband Richard Parkinson in business matters, particularly in the management of the coconut plantation which stretched along part of Blanche Bay at a distance of about five kilometres from her house Gunantambu. In the cheerful Parkinson home there was a troop of merry children, chattering in a mixture of three languages—German, English and Melanesian.

For my final visit I ascended the beautiful winding path to the heights of Vunatali and called on the Area Manager of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, Herr Hubert Geisler. From the verandah of his house there was a magnificent view over the wide expanse of sea sparkling in the sunlight, as far as the mountains of the volcanic peninsula at Matupi and past the islands of the Neu Lauenburg Group to the mountain ranges of Neu Mecklenburg which loomed dark on the horizon. I was given a very warm personal reception everywhere, and welcomed particularly cordially in Vunatali. I was also very glad to gather from all these discussions that there was no friction among the leading personalities, in spite of the competition between the various business firms.

The remoteness of the individual establishments had encouraged the managers of the largest firms to set themselves up and maintain themselves as little autocrats and this was probably essential if they were to deal with emergencies, given the lack of effective administrative institutions. In short, the further an individual was situated from the seat of Government, the more completely had the relations between black and white come to be ruled by club-law. Whenever the situation was discussed, the unanimous conclusion was that any economic progress

depended on inducing the natives to work for the Europeans and on increasing the demand for trade goods, that is increasing the purchasing power of the natives. However, one section of those Europeans with local experience ruled out all possibility of any influence over the natives. They maintained that the contrast between our way of life and their stone-age culture was so extreme that the weaker party must inevitably go under. In this the New Guinea natives would only be following in the footsteps of the Australian Aborigines and other extinct races. Others on the other hand maintained that it was in fact possible to exert an influence, but that this must be left entirely to the missions. Any attempt by the Government to influence them by training them in habits of peace, obedience and external order must fail. I was given the well-meant advice to invest in a good library of books, to use the three-year term which lay ahead of me to extend my knowledge and not to meddle with affairs.

I myself had soon discovered that the exercise of my jurisdiction, as it affected Europeans, did not place great demands on my energies. I therefore had time to devote myself to administration, and approached my duties from the standpoint that any real development of the country would appear to be possible only if, following the example of other colonies, German New Guinea succeeded in bringing the natives under a well-regulated system of administration and encouraging them to work for the good of the country and thereby for their own good. But it was one thing to come to this lofty conclusion and quite another to put it into practice.

First of all I had to hear the other side, and so I set myself to get to know the natives thoroughly. The first prerequisite was a knowledge of the language. The two missions used the Blanche Bay dialect for teaching. For other purposes the Europeans used pidgin English, which was easy enough to learn and use, but proved inadequate for any discussion with the natives on morality, law, customs and all vital matters. It lacked the necessary vocabulary. I therefore threw myself into the study of the language of the natives and amused myself by wandering along the natives' paths inland from Herbertshöhe, visiting their villages and getting to know them. These walks soon covered a wider area. In three months I was able to follow simple conversations and I had quite a useful knowledge of the location of the various native settlements, their main lines of communication and the relations between the various groups as far as Cape Livuan on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula.

It was of course not enough to equip myself personally for carrying out these tasks. The means available for taking action had to be overhauled and kept in readiness. These were found to be sadly inadequate. On landing on 14 January, I was taken by Herr Mende to a charming little cottage

by the shore, which was assigned to me as living quarters. It was built of wood, with a corrugated iron roof and rested on cement foundation posts. It was painted white with blue window-frames. There were neither furnishings nor floor-coverings, but I had brought everything with me. Dr Danneil, an old New Guinea hand, had advised me to make the necessary purchases in Singapore. But there was no house available for the eagerly-awaited physician himself. There was nothing for it but to invite Dr Danneil to share the two rooms with me, and this arrangement was to last for a whole year. The wonderful view across the open sea from the verandah compensated for the restrictions of space. But, alas, there was not even a dispensary for the medical service. And so the good doctor stacked the cases containing his medicines on the back verandah and set up innumerable bottles and jars along the walls of the sitting-room and the bedroom, as there were no cupboards or other storage space for them. When patients came to be examined, I first always had to vacate the premises and take refuge in the office opposite.

This also consisted of two rooms. In one the employees of the Neu Guinea Compagnie officiated—the room was set up with one table for the stores supervisor, one for the surveyor and another for the book-keeper. I myself shared a room with a clerk, Ferdinand Steusloff from Perleberg, an excellent fellow. Small as the room was, my work covered a very wide range, at least on paper. I was the Imperial Judge of the First Instance, I was in charge of public administration, was vested with consular powers to act for the Reich, was responsible for the business of the Seamen's Registration Office, Port and Customs Authorities, Quarantine Police and was also Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths. In actual fact, however, I was kept busy only on the days when the steamer was in port and maybe for the week before its arrival, when the Europeans came in for this event. The court clerk was the agent for the Imperial Post Office. My staff also included the police-sergeant Wilhelm Linberger. He had been taken over from the Imperial Navy and was my indispensable companion whenever I had to travel by sea. He transferred later to the plantation service, where he remained for the rest of his successful career. I had to wait a year before he could be replaced.

I had under my command a troop of twenty-four 'police boys', each equipped with a cap, a red lap-lap, a leather belt and cartridge case and a Mauser rifle, model 71. But my command was only on paper, for although the men could be given training from six to eight in the morning—either shooting practice or marching or rowing—from eight o'clock on without fail they had to work in the Neu Guinea Compagnie plantation; for at that time the utmost economy was the order of the day.

In an archipelago travel is all done by sea, but the shipping facilities

were modest in the extreme. The Neu Guinea Compagnie owned two rowing-boats, one of which was so heavy that it could not be used. The Area Manager also had at his disposal a small open sailing-boat, called *Kalabua* by the natives. This is the term for a short, thick cooking banana, and this word very fittingly described the outward appearance of this tub. The Neu Guinea Compagnie also owned a fine, well-run sailing vessel, the *Senta* of seventy tons. This ship was used exclusively for trade and recruiting and was only on rare occasions available for administration business. As a consequence of the events about to be related, the small police troop soon stopped working in the fields and was handed over entirely to me. But facilities for travel by sea remained poor, even after the administration was taken over by the Reich.

The plantations of the Neu Guinea Compagnie and the firm of E. E. Forsayth were expanding perceptibly and coming closer to the first native villages in the hinterland. As earlier in 1893, this aroused considerable unrest among the inhabitants, which I could not fail to observe when I came into contact with them. On my excursions on foot I always called together the heads of the clans and the people at large to meet at a particular spot, preferably in the shade of some tall tree with a special name, in order to explain to them that it was forbidden to engage in blood feuds or to take the law into their own hands, and that they must inform me of their disputes and requests. They soon availed themselves of this opportunity by urging on me their wish to have the advance of the plantations stopped. At the time of the original land purchases before the annexation, the natives, according to the wording of the deeds, had sold all their property including their villages in exchange for payment in trade goods. They subsequently maintained that they had not clearly understood the significance of these documents, nor had they believed that the Europeans would settle and take up the land for plantation purposes. Further inland there were in fact still wide tracts of unoccupied land, but to move the villages there would have been to deprive them of all their fruit trees, that is of one of their main sources of food. There was the additional danger that old blood feuds would be revived if they were crowded too close together. Frau Kolbe and Area Manager Geisler showed an appreciation of this situation in my negotiations with them. I simply had to measure out and mark with the natives the boundaries which they themselves considered desirable, then the area of land permanently reserved for the natives was established by solemn contract and by setting up boundary-stones. These measures were talked of round the country, and I could see from the warm reception given me from that time on that they were beginning to trust me.

In the autumn of 1895 the Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus had set up the station Takabur six kilometres inland in the Tigenawudu district, and staffed it with one father and one brother. The native track leading to it was difficult, and the Bishop was planning to construct a road at mission expense with paid labourers. I was more than anxious to assist by calling on those villages which now supported me. All I needed was the necessary tools and provisions, but my requests for funds were refused. But help came from another quarter.

On my long excursions on foot, particularly to the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula, I was obliged to accept hospitality either from natives or from Europeans. When travelling along back tracks on the island of Matupi, I always especially enjoyed my visits to Herr Max Thiel's beautiful home Raule, which offered not only refreshment to a body exhausted by the journey but also the opportunity for stimulating discussion of the problems of the time. Here it was that I poured out my troubles about the building of the road. In the rowing-boat which took me across next day from Matupi to Herbertshöhe, I found seventy-five beautiful spades, the required number of bush knives and axes and a supply of stick tobacco as road-building equipment. First of all I built a riding-track from Baravon Point to Ralum, so that it was possible to travel in comfort between Herbertshöhe and this central point. The road built by Bishop Couppé also left room for improvement and I undertook this as well. The natives co-operated willingly at all points, especially as their labour was not requisitioned for too long. But it was not enough to build the roads, they also had to be maintained and this aroused but little enthusiasm. The spades which had been donated passed from village to village and one day I came upon them all neatly ranged and stuck into the ground by the road, but no men to work with them. It was easy to see that a strike was brewing.

That evening as I was on the verandah of my house pondering how to avert this disaster, I was surprised by the arrival of allies—the womenfolk. I received a regular deputation which explained that the women were delighted by my efforts to establish public peace. They solemnly exhorted me not to relax my efforts on any account, and to take a stern line with those men who wanted to allow the roads to deteriorate. With support like this I could not fail! Next day when I came to the previously abandoned work-site, I saw the women standing by the side of the road ready to help and our combined efforts succeeded in persuading the men to start on the unpopular job of clearing the road. From that time on there were no serious difficulties in this respect.

In February reports had reached Herbertshöhe from Kaiser

Wilhelmsland to the effect that smallpox had broken out in some of the coastal areas. This meant that there was a risk that the infection might be brought across the sea to Neu Pommern by the natives' communication routes. There was no vaccine. The steamer due in March would not be able to bring any vaccine ordered from Batavia before May at the earliest. It seemed advisable to make a reconnaissance to establish if possible whether there was a danger and if so to what extent. Bishop Couppé had at his disposal a covered sailing cutter, the *Zerelde* of thirteen tons capacity. This ship was very well fitted-out for those days. I boarded the ship with Police-Sergeant Linberger, Herr Parkinson, Dr Danneil and Father Rascher. Twenty men from the police troop made up the crew. The voyage was not favoured by good weather, but we pushed on as far as Chard Peninsula near the Willaumez Peninsula, making contact everywhere with big native villages extending south along the coast from the foot of the great volcano Naulavun (Father). Our encounters with these natives, with whom there had been absolutely no previous contact, did not, however, always pass off smoothly. Frequently we had to beat a hasty retreat to avert bloodshed. But for the purposes of our expedition it was sufficient to determine the location of the native settlements and to establish that they had not been infected with smallpox. With the vaccine brought in in May some individuals who had been pronounced healthy after medical examination were vaccinated, and by transferring the vaccine from person to person, particularly through the good offices of the Wesleyan missionaries, thousands of natives were treated. I may add here that when this reconnaissance was repeated a year later we found certain proof of the sad fact that the disease had actually spread along the coast as far as Hickson Bay. The great villages, whose armed men had previously by a show of arms prevented us from entering, now contained only the wretched remnants of their former population. The survivors greeted us with lamentations and showed us the mass graves of those claimed by the epidemic. Thanks to the vaccination program which had been carried out, it did not spread any further northward along the coast. Nor did it advance to any extent inland, as the profound hostility between the coastal and mountain inhabitants cut both parties off from all contact. We set off for the interior and after a five-hours' march from Hickson Bay we arrived at a village of mountain people who called themselves 'Paleava'. After recovering from their initial fright, they allowed us to enter their village and we found that the interior had not been affected by the smallpox outbreak.

After my return from the first smallpox expedition, reports came in from northern Neu Mecklenburg to the effect that the traders there felt

that their safety was threatened. The station at Mankai on the east coast had been attacked and robbed. The mood of the few Europeans in that district was clearly revealed in a petition suggesting that the best course of action was to appear there with a troop of a hundred men, to shoot down thirty or forty natives without inquiring after the individual culprits and to destroy their gardens. Deterrent action of this kind could not fail to be effective and order would thus be restored. In the meantime the small cruiser *Bussard* under Corvette Captain Winkler had come into port and on 28 May I boarded the ship with my small troop, bound for Neu Mecklenburg. Although the Europeans painted an alarming picture of their situation, I found no occasion for intervention in Nusa Harbour and its immediate vicinity, as there had been no attacks in very recent times. In Mankai I went ashore under the protection of a landing-party from the warship. The coastal village was deserted. I marched into the interior, as previously gathered information indicated that the natives' main settlements were in the mountains. A well-worn path pointed in this direction. The inland villages were also completely deserted. Most of the stolen trade goods were found in the huts. We were unable to make any contact, either peaceful or hostile, with the natives. On the return journey I suffered a severe attack of malaria. This was my second attack, although I had been taking quinine regularly. On my return to Herbertshöhe, however, there was little time to recuperate, for I was greeted by the news that the native tribes round Varzin Mountain (Vunakokor) were once more on the warpath against each other and that there was some danger that the recently pacified areas inland from the plantation area might also be involved. I immediately set out for the area where the unrest had broken out, and the appearance of the troop sufficed to bring about a peaceful settlement without any armed intervention whatsoever.

At the same time, however, old tribal feuds had flared up again among the groups on the east coast of the Gazelle Peninsula, and the trading station at Kabanga belonging to the firm of E. E. Forsayth appealed for help. In those days there were no established tracks from Herbertshöhe to these parts. There was nothing for it but to make the journey by sea in rowing-boats. I travelled all night, as the sea was normally calm after the day breeze died down. I had ten men in the boat, who took turns at the oars during the twelve-hour journey, with myself at the helm. In Kabanga I was told that the two armed camps of natives were facing each other on the heights inland from the coast, and that a clash was expected. I set out immediately, and led by local guides I reached one of the armed groups, which received me in friendly fashion, assuming that I had come to their aid. First of all I had to listen to the long history of the feud, of all their

grievances and of all the thefts and bloodshed perpetrated by the other side. When, however, I made it absolutely plain that they could not count on my help—on the contrary I had the two ringleaders handcuffed and brought to the coast—they realised that the situation was serious and offered no resistance. News of this incident got through to the other side more quickly than my own messengers sent from Kabanga. I sent a message to the other side instructing their leaders to report to me without delay, or I would come and take them by force. They came of their own accord. To maintain proper equality in the treatment of both sides, they too were handcuffed. The bellicose heroes were seated opposite each other, and responded eagerly to my warm invitation to accuse each other in my presence of all their misdeeds. By degrees an audience gathered. I had to summon all the forces at my disposal to keep away men with weapons who might disturb the peaceful course of negotiations. In the upshot, in accordance with native custom, I imposed on both parties the requisite amount of compensation to be paid in shell money to the other party. There was no reckoning-up of the total amounts, which might have resulted in only the difference being actually paid. On the contrary, messengers had to be sent to the villages to fetch the required sums of money, and only when the strings of shell money had been piled up on both sides, duly measured and pronounced in order, could the exchange procedure take place. So the hatchet was buried and peace prevailed in that part of the Gazelle Peninsula until the year 1900.

This incident had once again shown clearly that my troop was too small, and that it was urgent to obtain reinforcements in order to be fore-armed in case a serious dispute eventuated. My attempts to raise the numbers of the troop by calling on the resources of the Neu Guinea Compagnie failed. I was thrown back on my own resources and therefore called for volunteers among the young men of the villages inland from Herbertshöhe and Ralum. To my joy seventy-five strong young men volunteered and declared their willingness to report to me daily, without pay, for training at six o'clock in the morning. I was never able to parade more than half of them under arms at one time, for I had at my disposal only thirty-six reserve rifles. From six to eight every day I drilled the men on the parade ground and also took them to the rifle range which had been set up in a gorge inland from Herbertshöhe. Not one of the young men ever failed to turn up, and in a short time I had a well-trained reserve in the hinterland to call on.

News of fresh disasters awaited me on my return from Kabanga. In the severe south-easterly gale which was raging at the time, a cutter and its crew of four men and two women, and its cargo of trade goods had been

driven ashore at Kuras on the coast of Neu Mecklenburg. The local natives attacked the vessel, killed the crew and devoured them. The trader who owned the cutter was bewailing the loss of his goods and his ship, and the relatives of the crew from the north coast were clamouring for vengeance for the crime. To the south of Kuras the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft maintained a trading post manned by a Chinese, and the Wesleyan Mission had also established itself firmly there. There was a risk that if no action were taken further violence might follow. The big question was: how were we to get to Kuras? The Catholic Mission's fine cutter *Zerelde* was away and not one of the local firms had a serviceable vessel at anchor. So I had to resort to *Kalabua* the sailing-boat. I packed eleven troopers and their equipment into it and was lucky enough to make the trading station south of Kuras safely with the help of a light south-east breeze.

I did not succeed in finding reliable guides there and I was obliged to find my own way. In the light of my experiences in Mankai I first went to the inland hamlets, on the assumption that rumours of my arrival would have driven the natives from the coast inland. When I arrived after eight hours' hard marching, I was received with a chorus of war-cries which proved that I had come to the right place. Every attempt to approach peacefully was rejected with contumely by the other side. It must be remembered that the two opposing forces, hidden behind the trees in the forest, were barely thirty metres apart. Any man who exposed himself was bound to be hit by a well-aimed spear or a sling-stone. Two of my soldiers had skilfully worked their way to the rear and were able to aim at the enemy from the flank. No sooner had two shots been fired and two men fallen than the whole lot took to flight with such a will that pursuit was pointless. When the huts were searched, the goods from the boat were found neatly stacked there. I set out very cautiously on the return march to Kuras, expecting to be followed, but such was not the case. Nor was I disturbed while in camp at Kuras. After a hard march back to the trading station I was able to put to sea again with my eleven men only to find that the cutter *Kalabua* was not capable of tacking about against the stiff south-easter. We were driven out on to the open sea by the wind and current and were soon out of sight of land. I had no compass, but the stars shining by night showed us the course we had to steer. The wind dropped and the crew took to the oars with a will. After rowing for twenty-four hours we were at last able to make a landing on the crater peninsula near Nondup. We stayed close in to the shore, and reached Herbertshöhe next morning with the help of the land breeze.

Later, about the end of August, I thought I could look forward to a

quiet period and decided to use this to organise a system of native administration. It was not difficult to persuade the inhabitants of the nearest villages to choose one of the clan elders of their district as their *luluai* or acknowledged chief, responsible to me. The natives were to submit their disputes to him and the *luluai* was to report important matters to me immediately, or at the major court sittings, which took place in public from time to time. This meant that the chief with the assistance of some respected clan elders could regulate all family affairs and minor disputes peacefully at his discretion, without troubling me in the matter.

In September I crossed over to the Neu Lauenburg Group, visited all the island districts and introduced the same system there. The Wesleyan Mission had done good preparatory work. There were difficulties in only two districts, which were inhabited by various groups which refused to unite under one chief. I allowed myself to be persuaded and these small communities were placed under a duumvirate.

After my return at the end of September I was aroused at dawn by the unwelcome news that the sentry posted outside the armoury, with some accomplices, had broken into the same and had made his escape on a sailing cutter belonging to the firm of E. E. Forsayth, taking with him five rifles and five hundred cartridges. It was soon established that a trooper named Gamelle together with fourteen of his fellow-tribesmen from the Madine district on the east coast of Neu Mecklenburg had absconded to help their home village which was reported to have engaged in a fight with a neighbouring district. A strong south-easter was blowing. Bishop Couppé put the *Zerelde* at our disposal for the chase. We failed to catch them because the landing-boat which we were towing capsized and this slowed down the voyage. The absconders had landed on the west coast north of Kuras, to make their way home over the mountains. The stolen cutter had been dragged high up on the beach and had to be left lying there for the time being till the weather improved.

In the middle of October the schooner *Senta* came back from a recruiting trip round Neu Mecklenburg and reported that with the help of the superiority conferred by the possession of the five rifles, the Madine men were carrying out extensive raids of pillage and vengeance, bringing recruitment, trade and communications to a complete standstill. The schooner was put at my disposal. I called up my reserves in the hinterland and was able to take the field with an impressive force of thirty-eight men. Half of the troop proper was left in Herbertshöhe. I was landed in Lamusmus, near Angriffsinsel, crossed the range and marched without a halt southwards along the shore and by such tracks as there were. I was given a rapturous welcome by the natives and a large band of warriors

armed with spears joined the column. In Leineru the canoes of the district were commandeered and an auxiliary force launched to block off Madine from the sea. I myself obtained reliable guides and marched throughout the night into the mountains at the rear of Madine with the object of attacking the village at dawn. The descent took longer than planned and it was seven o'clock in the morning when we reached the fields skirting the village. The women were already at work and their shrill screams gave warning to the other villagers. There was no time for deliberation, I rushed the village with my men. The inhabitants, taken by surprise, at first tried to resist. There was bitter fighting but after a few minutes the enemy fled and all was over. They were able to escape to the south, as this route had not been effectively blocked. When the houses were searched we found that by chance Gamelle and his men had been busy cleaning the guns at the time of the attack so that they had been unable to make use of the firearms. They had taken the guns with them as they fled but two hundred cartridges fell into my hands. In the meantime the allied force had also landed and dispersed throughout the village. I gathered my troops together to be ready for any return attack from the south. Suddenly there was a loud chorus of howls which I at first interpreted as the beginning of an attack. However, a strange spectacle soon proved that I was mistaken. The allied force had collected the bodies of all their fallen enemies and were bringing them to the sea, each one laid on a bamboo pole and carried by two men. When I asked the significance of this I was told that the bodies of their enemies were now to be brought home and consumed. I forbade this and ordered the warriors to board their boats and to return home immediately. My orders were not obeyed until I had my troop summoned and assured them that I would open fire. The crowd dispersed in silence. I myself started on the return journey and camped that evening after a hard day's march at the mouth of a river near Leineru. I had a disturbed night, being kept awake by continual beating of drums in the neighbourhood. Next morning I was told that my allies had returned in their canoes to make sure of their booty, and that the drumming was a signal to invite all their friends to partake of the feast.

Marching north for two days I reached Kapsu, a trading post belonging to the firm of Hershheim & Co., where I rested after the exertions of the past four days, after sending instructions to the schooner waiting in Nusa Harbour to sail round the north of Neu Mecklenburg and pick me up in Kapsu. I was able to use the two days I spent there to find out something about the communities north and south of Kapsu and in the interior. When I reached Nusa Harbour I heard that the natives of Selapiu (Mausoleum Island) were feared as pirates and had, by their raids on the

south coast of Neu Hannover and the islands in between, completely disrupted trade and recruiting. They had recently even tried to take a cutter belonging to the firm of E. E. Forsayth, which had, however, got away thanks to its superior speed. There had been previous attempts, with the help of a warship, to pacify the inhabitants of this island. The village of Selapiu was protected by offshore reefs from a landing by sea, and was almost impregnable from the inland, being shielded by extensive belts of mangrove.

I decided at least to attempt contact with these people, or to find out whether contact could be made, and if so how. I manned four rowing-boats with my thirty-eight men and sailed by night from Kaboteron where the schooner had called, to Selapiu. Towards morning we were overtaken by squalls and heavy rains. This favoured our plans, for I was able to land unobserved on the north side, made my way through the difficult mangrove swamp and reached the northern tip of the village by half past six in the morning. There were no sentries posted, the inhabitants were still in their huts. The first big house where I ordered the matting door to be opened wide was the women's quarters. Our business was not there, but the screams of the women brought the men running. All attempts to approach them quietly were in vain. The men rushed out of the huts armed and attacked our troop to a man. We were forced to fight back in order to avoid losses on our side. And so ten men fell on the other side before they realised further resistance was useless. I made a halt in the middle of the village to allow the women and children to withdraw unmolested and observed that the men had escaped into the mangrove belt.

When all was quiet, the houses were searched. They were found to be filled with hundreds of cases of trade goods. On the beach there was a great fleet of sailing canoes, carefully ranged and protected. I ordered these to be completely destroyed. The trade goods were for the most part ruined; there was no point in taking them back and they were therefore destroyed by fire. On our return journey we were greeted by rifle shots from the mangrove swamp where the natives were sheltering, indicating that the firearms taken in an earlier attack on the Kaboteron station were still in the hands of the natives.

On the return voyage to Herbertshöhe on board the schooner *Senta* we also visited the island of Djaul, the home of some of my soldiers. Here I was most cordially received but also inundated with complaints against the inhabitants of the village of Kabien, who appeared in their canoes from time to time to fetch their quota of human flesh. The Kabien people already had a long record of misdeeds from former times, but I had to

postpone action against them till a later visit. The crossing to Herbertshöhe against the south-east trade took a few days but held no further surprises. The next recruiting ship reported from northern Neu Mecklenburg that the action taken against Madine and Selapiu had had a salutary effect, the Neu Hannover people who had fled into the interior had settled on the coast again and trade and recruiting had started up again.

The E. E. Forsayth schooner *Three Cheers* had brought news from the Solomon Islands that four labourers from Neu Mecklenburg were being kept prisoner by the natives on Buka Strait. It had previously been believed that they had lost their lives together with the murdered Chinese trader when the Forsayth station was raided two years before. Then there were complaints that due to fresh feuds between the inhabitants of the interior (Zolos) and those of the coastal districts of the island of Buka the supply of labour had been cut off. The trader stationed on Nissan Atoll had also reported to the firm that he felt he was in great danger as the natives were engaged in open fighting among themselves. It was obviously most desirable for me to gain some knowledge of the Solomon Islands. The firm of E. E. Forsayth placed at my disposal its schooner *Three Cheers* which I boarded with Herr Parkinson and my reserve troops, now seasoned in battle.

We stayed five days at Nissan. At first the natives avoided all contact, but as the area was so limited and I kept close on their heels they could not avoid an encounter indefinitely. This group of islands had been settled from Buka and in the good season canoes sailed to and fro constantly. There was no need for any special action. I endeavoured to make these good folk understand that attacks on the trading station would be punished.

In Buka I landed at Karola Harbour with my troops, which also included six men from Hanahan on the east coast and one man from Jultupan on the northern tip. I marched right across the island to Hanahan and was hospitably received there. But towards evening my Hanahan troopers came to me and advised me to keep the troops armed and to withdraw at dawn for they had heard that the surrounding villages were instigating their fellow-villagers to attack us and take our coveted firearms. The six men stayed with me. It transpired later that the rumour was well-founded.

As I was anxious to avoid all fighting in this important recruiting area, I marched north next morning in the hope of sighting and intercepting the schooner, which I had originally arranged to wait for in Hanahan. I got as far as the centre of the village of Jultupan. The soldier who was

with me called out to his fellow-villagers to remain quiet, and there was no sign of danger. Suddenly, however, there were war-cries from the edge of the forest and one salvo of arrows after another was fired from that direction without hitting us. My troops immediately opened fire. I ordered them to stop firing, as I was convinced that there was a misunderstanding. And this was in fact the case: it appeared that the villagers, on seeing my soldiers from Hanahan, the village of their sworn enemies, believed that the latter were attacking them under police cover. After a series of assertions and counter-assertions, the natives stayed at the edge of the forest while I passed through the village and marched down to the sea, as the schooner had in the meantime come into sight. It was lying far out to sea and a salvo of fire did not reach it. One brave soldier from Neu Mecklenburg seated himself on a small bamboo raft found on the beach and paddled out towards the ship. He was seen and picked up, and the vessel then made quickly for the shore. Two boats were launched to pick us up. In the meantime a high sea and heavy surf had got up. There was nothing for it but to swim out through the surf to the boats, carrying all our gear. Next morning the ship called at Hanahan where the recruiting proceeded to Herr Parkinson's full satisfaction.

The following day the schooner anchored in the bay between Buka and Bougainville. I gave orders to land me and my thirty-eight men and marched on the village in which the four men were said to be held captive. The fighting men there had ranged themselves very cleverly in formation. My order to yield up the four men was loudly proclaimed; to which they replied that I could come and fetch them. Without ado I advanced, with the result that the other side scattered with blood-curdling yells. I halted as I reached the first houses, for I was afraid that our small force might be in difficulties if surrounded and shot at by arrows. However, nothing of the sort happened and the four men we were after were hastily brought before me. On hearing that they were now free and would be taken back to their homes they broke into howls of joy. I returned on board, the natives followed in canoes and received presents from Herr Parkinson. Dating from this incident, we enjoyed lasting good relations with the natives round Buka Strait and these districts later became the best recruiting area for soldiers.

The *Three Cheers* had taken on eighty-five strong labourers in all and turned about. The latter stages of the return journey were considerably slowed down by a strong current from the north in St George's Channel, so that we took five days to cover the forty nautical miles from Cape St George till we at last reached Herbertshöhe again. The mail steamer *Stettin* had come in at the same time bringing eagerly-awaited news from

home. By now it was the end of November and a strong nor'wester was blowing, making it impossible to cross to Neu Lauenburg or the Neu Mecklenburg west coast with light sailing craft or rowing-boats. I was restricted to travelling to the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula and was quite content to do so.

I had made many contacts with the natives in the course of the previous ten months. My contact with the Paleava was my first introduction to people who still had no iron tools or implements of any kind. When offered knives and axes these were carefully tested for hardness and cutting edge and then tried out, whereupon the natives immediately dragged up great quantities of garden produce as presents in exchange. Once they saw where their advantage lay, they acted accordingly. Their social organisation was based on kinship. What I saw of their social life and their relations with the outside world showed that their actions were motivated by the same instincts as ours. There were honest people and cheats, sincere men and flatterers, brave men and cowards, industrious and lazy people; there were friendship and hostility as clear expressions of love and hate.

The cultural differences between black and white were very striking. The commercial section of the European population made no attempt to force their way of life on the natives. The missions did their best to preserve traditional native customs provided they were adapted to the teachings of Christian morality. These requirements often coincided with the orders issued by the Administration, such as the abolition of blood feuds and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. These influences inevitably brought about changes in traditional ideas of social life in the clan and in attitudes to all those outside the clan. The influence of the clan elders was shaken and the power of the soothsayers and sorcerers diminished; a new concept of morality began to gain ground. This contest produced tension and led to a period of inner ferment. The conflict was accentuated by the introduction of European goods. The techniques and organisation of labour, as laid down by the clan, were undermined and destroyed. The old people disapproved of the 'New Age' and the young people often became undisciplined and unstable, uncertain whether they should follow ancient custom or modern ways. This represented a threat to peaceful conditions, there was a possibility of violent disturbances. One tribal chief whom I met once said to me: 'Your words may suit the white man, that's all right with me. But we want to kill our enemy and then eat him. That is our way and I intend to stick to it.' I have always kept these words in mind as a warning to caution.

One conspicuous characteristic of the natives was their unconquerable

distrust, if not hate of Europeans. These feelings were based on old tales and on experiences associated with the visits by whalers in the period roughly between 1830 and 1860 and with recruitment, first of all for the saltpetre mines of South America and later for the plantations in the Pacific and in Queensland. These episodes are a very dark chapter in the history of contact between Europeans and the Melanesian tribes. It appears probable that some of the prevalent diseases, particularly in northern Neu Mecklenburg and on the atolls of the Bismarck Archipelago, are to be attributed to these early contacts. These experiences had recently been reinforced by anxieties concerning the ownership of land and the disintegration of traditional customs and morality. These tribes lived in complete isolation and were linguistically very fragmented; this led to an aversion to all contacts with the outside world which found its strongest expression in their readiness to fight outsiders at all times. Whenever a male child is born, he is first bathed and then swung over the household hearth while the women chant: 'Show the stranger your scorn, pull your beard and grind your teeth (a mark of contempt); put on your neckband and carry your battle club; be a warrior as you stride through the forest.' The shores of these islands were not hospitable. The law of the blood feud was binding on the clan, and in the absence of any organised state authority, this inevitably led to unparalleled harshness in their relations with outsiders. The local champion spear-thrower lorded it over the countryside and proceeded to enrich himself. To rob the possessions of another conferred honour on the robber. This largely explained the repeated attacks and attempted attacks on isolated trading posts, small boats and ships.

I was not concerned to apportion blame; I wanted to find out the motivating causes and to use this knowledge in order to check or eliminate these deplorable incidents. My final conclusion was that this goal could in fact be ultimately reached by exerting psychological influence on the natives, but that this patient educative process did not correspond to the day-to-day demands of the situation. Although it appeared imperative to investigate any acts of violence that might occur and to bring the culprits to account, no improvement could be achieved by a purely deterrent policy. The only recourse was to extend the power of the Administration geographically as far as possible by means of permanent stations, which would constitute visible sources of protection for both sides. Hand in hand with this, the natives must be carefully organised into an administrative system based on their own participation.

The European population had watched my activities over recent months with close attention. They fully approved each individual

initiative, but they did not believe in the possibility of organising the natives under an orderly administrative system. They began to criticise me openly and severely, maintaining in particular that any compulsion imposed on the natives to settle their internal disputes by systematic legal procedures and to requisition them for labour on the construction of roads must lead to a general uprising. On the basis of my early experiences, I was convinced of the necessity to limit the application of all measures to a restricted area. I could extend the administrative organisation only over the area over which I had control. This automatically suggested the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula and the Neu Lauenburg Group as the first field of activity. All that was called for initially was an attempt to create a native administration in a strictly limited but linguistically homogeneous area.

The inhabitants of the northern periphery of the Gazelle Peninsula, called the 'Livuan' or 'Gunantuna' in the relevant literature, had without a doubt migrated from central Neu Mecklenburg via the Neu Lauenburg Group and had killed off the original native occupants or driven them southwards. At all events, the languages are closely related, they still maintain trade and intercourse and common customs and traditions, and all this points to a migration of this kind. If the Livuan had been the original inhabitants they would certainly have spread further south. Their southern boundary extends approximately from the mouth of the Warangoi in St George's Channel to the mouth of the Kerawat in Weber Harbour, with three exceptions, viz. the communities in Ramandu at the southernmost point of Weber Harbour and on the islets of Massawa and Massikonapuka in Massawa Bay.

The Kerawat and Warangoi Rivers flow through a deep depression about twenty kilometres wide as the crow flies between the southern periphery of the volcanic formation in the north of the Gazelle Peninsula and the northern periphery of the Baining Mountains opposite. The northern section is probably geologically of very recent origin and consists of massive strata of pumice. The Baining Mountains contain tertiary formations, predominantly andesite and basalt. The main peaks, Mt Sinewit on the Baining side (about 1,200 metres high) and Vunakokor (Mt Varzin, about 600 metres high) are immediately opposite each other at the centre of the lines of descent to the depression. The Taulil settled in the area of the watershed between the Kerawat and Warangoi Rivers; they were probably the surviving remnants of the original population of the northern rim of the Gazelle Peninsula. About two hundred people of this tribe were still living at this time. Their survival was not guaranteed until the tribes round Vunakokor had also been included in the administrative organisation.

The Baining Mountains which constitute the core of the Gazelle Peninsula are inhabited by people who differ fundamentally from the coastal inhabitants in language and culture. They lived in a state of constant, bitter feuding with the coastal people, but had latterly been forced to retreat further into the mountains of the interior. The three communities south of the boundary line referred to above were strongholds from which attacks were launched against the Baining, after whom we named the mountains.

I first heard about this internal fighting among the native population during my journey south, already referred to, on board the cutter *Zerelde*. In October 1896 Bishop Couppé opened a station in Vunamarita opposite the island of Massawa to which he appointed Father Mathäus Rascher. Not long previously I had been notified by Missionary Crump from Kabakada that the inhabitants of the Baining district of Gavit had been enticed to the coast by an invitation to enter into peaceful trade relations, and had been treacherously attacked there. About thirty of those killed had been devoured, and at least the same number of the survivors had been sold as slave labour to the villages on Weber Harbour and on the north coast, and to the island of Watom. Quite apart from their wish to take up missionary work in the extensive and promising Baining Mountains area, the Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus were compelled by the state of affairs on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula to expand in the direction of Massawa Bay.

By an Order issued by the Foreign Office in the year 1890, the tribal area of the Livuan had been divided into two by a line drawn from Vunakokor to Baravon Point. The eastern section was allotted to the Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus and the western section to the Wesleyan Mission. The eastern section was the more sparsely populated half, and for this reason alone the Mission had to seek to extend its field of activity. This resulted automatically in an extension to Massawa Bay of the area open to my immediate intervention where necessary and also of my sphere of influence over the natives.

There was a personal bond between me and Father Rascher, who came from the same part of Germany as myself. With the help of the knowledge he had acquired, I was soon familiar with the distribution of the individual communities or tribes in the nearer mountain chains, and also with the outrages committed by the Livuan people. The journeys which I made on foot with Father Rascher into the completely trackless mountains are some of my fondest memories dating back to the early years of my work in the colony. I discovered that the Livuan frequently abducted people from the Baining Mountains and that the sale of prisoners as slaves was a

profitable business. I also succeeded in finding out where some of these people had been taken to.

And so I began to perform yet another function: on every court sitting day I announced that trade in human beings was prohibited and that any Baining people in the area were to be handed over to me for repatriation. But no-one ever delivered up slaves of his own free will. I therefore had to go and collect them myself, and I began with the island of Watom. To be brief, I took six young men from a chief in the interior of this mountainous island, one of whom had already learnt the Livuan language. He told me that the slaves had to live out on the fields in huts, had to work hard all the time and that in order to forestall their escape, their captors broke the shin-bones of the strongest men. When there was a big feast, the plumpest slaves were selected, killed and devoured. The accuracy of these details was later confirmed by other liberated slaves. I gathered these people together and handed them over to the Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, which was also endeavouring to buy back the slaves' freedom. Bishop Couppé was making plans to establish as soon as possible a community in the mountains to settle those liberated slaves who had been stolen as children and no longer remembered their own homes.

However, before these plans could be realised, I had to intervene energetically on two further occasions in Massawa Harbour area. Sea pirates had committed a number of attacks against coastal trade. In particular they tried to prevent the European trading concerns from sending their cutters to the Baining coast for the purpose of making use of the recent contacts with the mountain people to engage in barter trade with them. There had also recently been fresh attacks and raids, so that it was imperative to intervene.

At the beginning of March 1897 I had an opportunity to go to Massawa on the schooner *Senta*. The men from Massikonapuka had escaped to the main island, hidden all their canoes in the mangrove swamps and thought they were safe. However, I succeeded in tracking down their hiding-place. I contented myself with destroying their canoes, which put an end to the disruption of the coastal trade. They immediately paid the fine imposed on them and also handed over all the slaves. Very soon after my return Father Rascher wrote me saying that he now felt quite safe and that he was also convinced that the old pirates would not dare to carry out any more raids in the mountains or attacks on sailing-boats.

The last remaining stronghold of these evildoers was Ramandu, mentioned above. I was mistaken in believing that, as a result of my intervention in other places, Ramandu would of its own accord adapt to the

new ways. In July 1897 I had to take action against Ramandu because this large community had carried out fresh raids into the interior. I first attempted a peaceful approach: leaving Father Rascher and my soldiers behind, I approached the first houses of the village alone. While I was talking to some of the men, demanding that the chiefs be summoned, a man suddenly rushed out from behind the nearest hut, aimed his old Snider rifle at my chest and pulled the trigger. But the gun did not go off, the cartridge must have been damaged. I held the handful of men at bay with my revolver and in a few moments my troops were on the spot. I did not allow a fight to develop but ordered the people to leave the village. I gave them time to take their goods and women and children to safety. Then the whole fleet of forty-seven fine sailing-canoes was destroyed and the village reduced to ashes. Some big explosions proved that there were stocks of powder, cartridges and dynamite. By destroying these we deprived the rebellious inhabitants of one of their principal munitions. The very next day the chiefs reported to me and I gave them my instructions regarding the rebuilding of the village on a cleared headland near the old site. These instructions were carried out and the savage pirates were transformed into peaceable fishermen and tillers of the soil, ministered to by Father van der Aa of the Catholic Mission. It was about this time that Bishop Couppé established the St Paul mission station inland from Massawa and directed by Father Rascher. On a number of occasions he and I together brought liberated slaves to the Baining Mountains, strengthening the friendly relations with these mountain tribes, which had until recently been completely unknown. But let us return from this excursion into the Baining Mountains to the main sequence of events.

Towards the end of 1896 I felt I was in control of the situation on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula, but had not been able to establish any influence south of the line of the slope down to the great depression from Vunakokor to Weber Harbour, that is over the tribes from Tamanairiki to Napapar. I had travelled on foot together with Messrs Chambers and Crump of the Wesleyan Mission as far as Vuneram, a village in the depression west of Vunakokor. Although we were given a friendly reception and shelter for the night, it was made quite plain to us that it would be better if we turned back, otherwise we might strike trouble with Towakira. This old chief was a white-hater to his marrow-bones. In his own territory of Tamanairiki his spear was aimed at any man who even dared to buy or wear European goods such as lap-laps or ornaments. He remained true to this attitude right up to his violent end.

Round about Christmas 1896 the cruiser *Falke* under Corvette Captain

Krieg came into port at Matupi. From 2 to 7 January I went on a cruise of the Solomon Islands which took me as far as Faisi in the Shortland Group, because the traders stationed there, who were associated with Hershheim & Co., felt threatened by the natives. However, there was no occasion for intervention. We called at the east coast of Buka and found that the friendly relations established with the natives had been maintained.

On 12 January I sailed to Kaiser Wilhelmsland on board the same cruiser. At the time the first reports of gold finds in the Waria River region were coming in. Roughly on the border between German New Guinea and British New Guinea, at Mitre Rock, we found three gold-miners camped with twelve native labourers. They told us that they had in fact found alluvial gold upstream, but had been attacked by natives so that they had to beat a retreat. They believed that a schooner would soon arrive to bring them back to Port Moresby. On 17 January I arrived at Stephansort on board the cruiser and spent some time there dealing with judicial business. I returned to Herbertshöhe with the mail steamer and on the way I found the three gold-miners and two of their men in Simbang, where they had been driven ashore on their raft and taken in by the missionaries. Not long after the warship left them they had again been attacked by the natives and ten of their native men were killed. They escaped by swimming out to sea, then came ashore again and built a primitive raft on which they braved the rest of the journey. Completely exhausted, these men were taken to Sydney on board the cruiser *Falke*.

By the end of the year 1896 the new residence for the doctor was completed and also a fine, spacious hospital for the natives. My fellow-lodger, Dr Danneil, moved house, and I now commanded both rooms of the little cottage which we had previously occupied together. In December, the station manager Mende left the service of the Neu Guinea Compagnie and returned home. His lofty abode was situated on the heights of Vunatali, near the residence of the Area Manager, Hubert Geisler. Attracted by its beautiful situation, I moved into the little house on the heights. Being such close neighbours, Herr Geisler and I came to have very close and friendly relations. I particularly valued the opportunity to accompany him as often as possible on foot and on horseback on his tours of the expanding plantations, and learnt a great deal from him and from his experience in the construction of houses, roads and bridges, in plantation management and the preparation of commercial products.

On my return from the New Guinea mainland, I found on my desk reports containing bad news which were followed by many more in quick succession. In Neu Mecklenburg and the Solomon Islands the commercial firms, obviously relying on the fact that the attacks by the natives had sub-

sided, had expanded their activities and also re-occupied trading posts which had previously been abandoned.

The firm of Hensheim & Co. had established a station in Leineru. At the beginning of 1897 this station was robbed and destroyed by natives from the village of Madine when they avenged themselves on the natives of Leineru, their hereditary enemies, for the assistance they had rendered to me. The two Europeans at the trading post escaped.

The firm of E. E. Forsayth had re-opened its old stations on the Gardener and Vischer Islands to the east of Neu Mecklenburg. These were destroyed in quick succession and the traders murdered. While the schooner *Three Cheers* was lying at anchor in Tinputz in Bougainville for recruiting purposes, it was attacked, robbed and the crew struck down. The schooner *Senta* had landed seven labourers on Kung, a small island off northern Neu Hannover, so that they could be taken from there in the trader's boat to their home nearby. The inhabitants of this island robbed them of their possessions, killed and devoured them. At the end of January the trading posts on Nissan and a station belonging to the firm of E. E. Forsayth on a small island in Hanam Harbour west of Buka were destroyed and the traders were murdered. In March 1897 the survey team of S.M.S. *Möwe* were attacked on the island of Aly off Kaiser Wilhelmsland and four of their number were wounded by the natives, with whom the men had been engaged in friendly barter trade only a short time before. The reasons for this attack have never been established. The warship took punitive action and then reported to me.

These events—only some of which are listed here—strengthened my firm conviction that no lasting impression could be made on the natives by temporary punitive measures but only by constant contact repeated at regular intervals. Before I could establish in detail the reasons for these disturbing reverses or attempt any punitive action, I had to wait for a passage by ship. However, as no shipping facilities presented themselves I remained tied to the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula.

The natives on the north coast near Cape Livuan, who were mostly adherents of the Wesleyan Mission, felt threatened by their savage fellow-tribesmen in the Rembar mountains (*a embar*=the enemy, *rembar*=in enemy territory). I felt little inclination to become involved in these disputes, but was nevertheless forced in the end to go into this trackless mountain country because the outbreak of open hostilities appeared imminent. The rough terrain made travel on foot there extremely difficult. I never succeeded in catching up with the natives, although in the course of a week I repeatedly visited or surprised all their hamlets and gardens. I finally had to withdraw, having, as I thought, failed in my mission.

However, public peace was never again disturbed in those parts and the Rembar people allowed their tracks to be used by the public. While I was on a peaceful walking tour along the north coast in the autumn of 1897, accompanied by Mrs Parkinson and Herr Thiel, news of my presence reached the Rembar mountains. The mountain people came down to the coast and invited me and my companions to pay a visit. We set out with them immediately. In the end our relations were so good that they even showed us the hide-out where the natives had hidden from my patrol. This consisted of two great connected rock caves in a precipitous rock face. They could be reached only by climbing a huge tree growing in front, and stepping on to a platform in front of the first cave. The natives called these caves '*matana marau*' (Crocodile Cave). They had obviously been formed originally by the scouring action of sea surf.

My program of road construction into the interior had progressed only a few kilometres beyond the Bishop's road to Takabur. I now began to push ahead with the road to Vunakokor. In the summer of 1897 it was completed over the foothills of Paparatava as far as the foot of the steep mountain-peak itself. This brought me to the borders of Tamanairiki. But here the spades stuck firmly in the ground. Through chief Tokitang of Paparatava I sent a message to Towakira urging him and his men to work on the road, to bury the old grudge and to join the new peaceful organisation which had been set up everywhere. A few days later a woman brought me a finely braided cord with nine knots. She explained that the cord was from Towakira and signified that he intended to eat me in nine days' time. I let him know that I would be on the spot punctually. I mobilised my forces that evening, marched through the night and took up position in his hamlet at dawn. But the old fox had got wind of my plans and had decamped in good time.

When the road to the foot of Vunakokor was completed, the Catholic Mission extended its activities further into the mountain region and established the St Joseph station on a steep cone-shaped hill between the districts of Paparatava and Wairiki. Like the Mission, I anticipated that the still unruly tribes south of the line of the depression would gradually become peaceful and thought it unwise to attempt to subdue them by force. Nor was I in a position to extend my fighting range except in an emergency for although my limited forces might have succeeded in subduing the individual districts quickly, they were not adequate for their permanent supervision. In point of fact subsequent events showed that it would have been wiser to have dealt firmly at least with Towakira and his followers, even at the risk of losing our freedom of movement by sea for a considerable period.

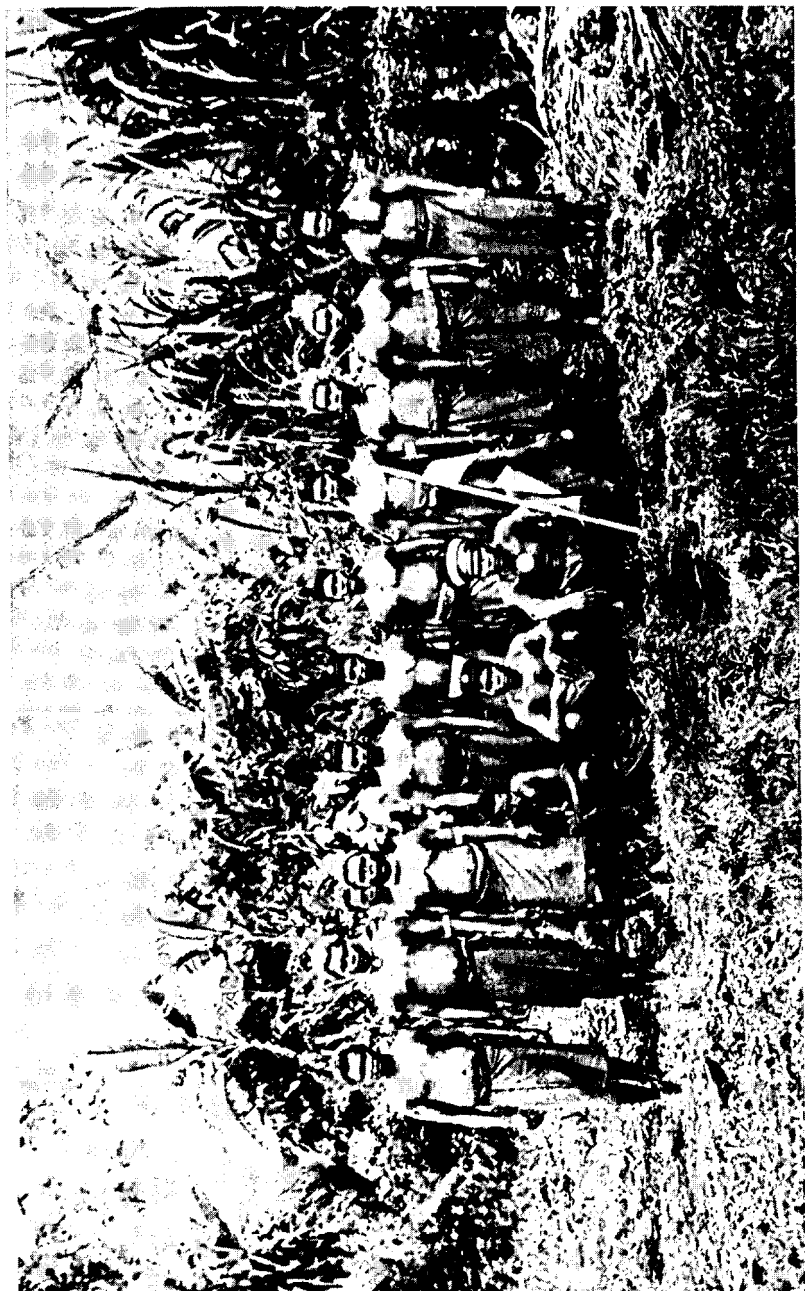


Plate i The survivors of the Ehlers Expedition (1896). Kneeling, with caps, Upia (left) and Ranga who later shot Administrator von Hagen. Reproduced from W. Wendland, *Im W'underland der Papuas*, Berlin, 1939.

The survey cruiser *Möwe* had commenced its program of work by erecting cairns at various points whose exact position in longitude and latitude had been determined. One of these cairns had been built on the island of Wuwulu (Matty). This island had not so far been touched by the regular coastal shipping. The *Möwe* reported that the island was inhabited by a fine-looking people with marked Malay features. The island also had rich coconut groves. Examples of local wares brought back from there gave evidence of a high standard of craftsmanship. As the natives appeared to be entirely peaceful, the firm of Hensheim & Co. set up a small station there staffed by one trader and four natives from the Solomon Islands. In April the *Möwe* revisited the island and found that the station had been completely destroyed. One night one of the four labourers swam out to the ship and reported that the natives had suddenly attacked the trading post and killed the trader and the three other labourers. He could not tell them what had provoked the natives, who had been in regular contact with the station right up to the day of the attack.

In the summer of 1895 the explorer Ehlers together with Police-Sergeant Piering and a party of forty coloured men placed at his disposal by the Administrator set out from the Franziska River to cross New Guinea. In November twenty-three survivors reached the south coast of New Guinea and were brought to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen by the Governor of British Papua. These men reported that the Europeans and some of the soldiers and carriers had succumbed to the hardships of the march over the mountain range and especially to the food shortage which developed.

One of the survivors was Tom, a member of my troop from Djaul. In May he told me that the stories previously accepted about Herr Ehlers' end were untrue. He said that the expedition, its members in a state of complete exhaustion, had reached a river flowing south. The men suggested to Ehlers that they should build rafts and travel downstream on them. Ehlers absolutely rejected this and indicated that according to his compass they should take a direction different from that indicated by the course of the river. In desperation Ranga and Upia, two soldiers from the Solomon Islands, then killed Ehlers and Piering. Thereupon the Solomon Islanders in the party attacked the men from Neu Mecklenburg, killing and devouring some of them. He himself together with his fellow tribesmen had first run away, but then followed the tracks of the others and was rescued with them. It had finally been agreed to give out the previously accepted version of the fate of the expedition. He claimed that he was now reporting the facts because he wished to avenge those of his comrades who had been killed.

I passed these reports on to the Administrator, who received confirmation of their accuracy from members of the expedition who were still in Stephansort. The steamer which returned in May brought me instructions to proceed to Stephansort in order to carry out urgent judicial business, as the post of Judge there had been vacant for some considerable time. I took with me Tom and four troopers and left a message for Corvette Captain Wallmann, commander of the cruiser *Falke* which was expected at the beginning of August, with a request to pick me up in Stephansort if at all possible, for a cruise. This cruise was proposed for the purpose of investigating the reported events and restoring order in the outlying regions and particularly in northern Neu Mecklenburg.

In Stephansort I was greeted with the news that Ranga and Upia had broken out of gaol and were staying with the natives in the mountains opposite the island of Bilibili. There were absolutely no trained troops available. The prospects for pursuing the miscreants successfully were therefore very poor, should these two men, familiar with local conditions, decide to incite the natives to advance against the European settlements. News was very soon received that Ranga had killed a Chinese fisherman and taken the gun and cartridges which had been entrusted to him.

We now organised an expedition for the purpose of capturing these two men. Those taking part were the Administrator, Herr von Hagen, Messrs Boluminski and Blum and myself. My five Melanesian soldiers and four Malays armed with rifles constituted the main fighting force. We also took with us eighteen Melanesians armed with axes and spears. This venture ended tragically. Herr von Hagen was killed by a shot in the heart fired by Ranga from behind a tree. The marksman himself got away. There was nothing for it but to take the body of the victim to the coast and to return that same night by rowing-boat to Stephansort. The sea was unusually rough and the men were so exhausted that we made hardly any progress. Suddenly we saw a light, and soon afterwards a pinnacle drew near and took us in tow. S.M.S. *Falke* had arrived on 14 August, at about the same time as Herr von Hagen was killed, and had my troopers on board.

After the funeral of the murdered Administrator I resumed the pursuit of the two escapees with better forces at my disposal. In the course of this action there were clashes with the mountain natives fleeing before us. However, as the country was completely impassable, we were unable to bring the fugitives to a halt or to capture the wanted men. At a very late hour of the night and after a very strenuous march, I arrived in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, where the cruiser had anchored. Next day the chase continued but was called off when the natives reported that they had killed

the culprits themselves so as to be left in peace by us. Appearances confirmed this report. As we had no quarrel with the natives themselves, the inhabitants on Astrolabe Bay quickly settled down.

The cruise with Captain Wallmann and his brave crew which followed has always remained vividly in my memory, for they gave me whole-hearted support along my whole route and in my personal relations with the commander I also met with full understanding and support in the tasks I had undertaken. We first sailed to the island of Aly. The natives had not yet resettled this island. In the meantime the Mission of the Holy Spirit had established itself on the nearby island of Tumleo. It would in fact have been possible to make contact with the natives of the island of Aly through the Mission, but it seemed to me that it would be wiser to avoid any intervention at this remote point in the Protectorate, if only to avoid provoking a threat to the safety of the newly-founded Mission.

We continued our journey to Wuwulu, which was sighted at dawn. This island was encircled by a coral reef and offered no safe anchorage whatever. As the cruiser approached the site of the trading post which had been destroyed, large numbers of natives sailed out to meet it in their outrigger canoes. I quickly counted more than eighty of these vessels. With binoculars I could also make out another crowd of people on the beach, hiding behind bushes. The ship was completely surrounded by canoes. However, it turned out that none of the natives were armed: they simply wanted to offer us the finest examples of their native craftsmanship. A lively barter trade developed, the most coveted articles being knives and axes. We launched the boats and I approached the reef with my men. The sea was dead calm; I was able to jump into the water and reach the shore by wading. I ordered my men to fan out as I observed a large crowd moving on the shore, which was still two hundred metres away. And lo, a swarm of several hundred women and children spread out over the reef and ran towards us calling out and making signs. I had no choice but to proceed with caution, and finally reached the heavily wooded shore, surrounded by the women and children and ready to fight at a moment's notice.

There was not a man to be seen. The people lying in the canoes round the cruiser showed no interest whatever in me or my soldiers. I marched up to the nearest village, and here again there was not a man to be seen. I realised that I would not be able to reach any understanding with these people and that on the other hand they had no idea that I might have come to punish the guilty parties. I myself was not able to do any barter trade with the women because I had not brought any trade goods with me. They fingered our rifles, but had no idea what they were for. They

would dearly have loved to get hold of the soldiers' bayonets. When we had made our way back to the beach, the women dragged along abundant supplies of fish and coconuts and offered them to us as refreshments. As there was no point in my staying there any longer, I returned on board, made my report to the commander and we continued on our voyage.

We next dropped anchor off the island of Kung. The men who had murdered the seven labourers had fled and we were unable to capture them. Accompanied by the trader stationed on the westernmost point, I crossed the island of Neu Hannover on foot and also visited those villages in the south which were important for the recruitment of labour. I was given a friendly reception everywhere, no complaints were laid before me and I was assured that all had been quiet since an end had been put to the raids by the pirates of Selapiu.

The cruiser picked me up again and sailed to Nusa Harbour. Here the traders' main complaint was against the inhabitants of Kabien. Of the long catalogue of crimes committed by these recalcitrant people, I shall mention only a few. In March 1894 they had killed a trader stationed there, together with his companions. The following year they took away a cutter belonging to the firm of Hernsheim & Co. and killed the crew. In April 1895 they attacked the schooner *Sunga* but were driven off in the fighting. And now they were raiding the villages to the south as far as Angriffsinsel and the island of Djaul. The traders' cutters no longer dared to make their normal trading trips and business was at a standstill.

Captain Wallmann and I, together with my men and a landing party from the cruiser, sailed along Albatross Channel in several boats towed by the pinnace as far as Kabien and landed there. The day before I had sent a message through the people of Bagail Village in Nusa Harbour to tell them to wait for us, for I was coming not to fight them but to hear the complaints and grievances which they must surely have to lay before me. The natives received us peacefully and there followed a discussion in the course of which I had to listen to an account of all the wrongs done them by their neighbours and also by individual Europeans. They maintained that the men responsible for the crimes which had been committed were not living with them but in Kableman on the east coast of Neu Mecklenburg, where, in April 1895, a Japanese trader stationed there had been murdered and his property stolen. It was of course not possible to decide how much of their story was to be believed. But here too I attempted to gain some influence over the natives by a peaceful approach. The Captain was also in complete agreement with this policy. The ship's supply of coal was now running low and it was not possible to extend the voyage so as to visit the east coast of Neu Mecklenburg and its off-shore



Plate ii Adjusting to German rule. Pero To Kinkin (standing) and Abraham To Bobo (about 1900). Photograph H. Fellmann, reproduced by courtesy of the Fellmann family.

islands. At the end of August the cruiser made port at Herbertshöhe and set me ashore.

The pacification of the northern section of the Gazelle Peninsula could now be regarded as successfully completed. The first effect of this development, appreciated alike by natives and Europeans, was that it was now generally safe to travel. But freedom of movement both on the coast and along the tracks in the interior was still blocked by two social institutions of importance to the natives: the *dukduk* in the coastal districts and the *iniet* in the interior. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the origin and significance of these secret societies, which have already been adequately studied by scholars. I came up against them because whenever they held their festivities, by special order of their leaders or chiefs the roads were blocked or opened to travellers only on payment of special dues in shell-money. I did not interfere in any way with their customs or organisation but prohibited all attempts to block free movement round the country.

After returning from the cruise, my first errand took me back to the north coast to conduct court sittings. I had spent the night, as so often before, under the hospitable roof of Father Bernhard Bley of the Catholic Mission. Early in the morning I saw the *dukduk* dancers in masks and costumes once again setting up their *tabu* signs on the beach. These signs meant that free movement by the public was barred—*tabu* means sacred, forbidden. I took advantage of this opportunity to make the dancers take off their masks and costumes which I ordered to be burnt. These measures had far-reaching effects. The secret societies never gave serious trouble, even after I had restricted their ceremonies to particular times of the year. It soon transpired that these regulations were also welcomed by the natives themselves.

The task of maintaining public order was not as difficult as obtaining the co-operation of the natives, particularly of the appointed chiefs, in the regular administration of justice. There was certainly no lack of disputes. But some of the chiefs failed in their task, either because they were not capable of giving just verdicts, or worse still, because they used their office to feather their own nests. This led to endless trouble and it required great patience to work slowly towards our objective with these people, culturally so different from ourselves.

The members of the clans were accustomed to holding meetings for consultation and decision-making. But to be summoned to such meetings by a stranger was quite new to them. And so my summons to attend the court sittings was at first not obeyed, so that I first had laboriously to gather together both the chiefs and the people. However, as word quickly spread that justice was in fact to be had at these court sittings, it soon

became common for those seeking help to come along. Admittedly, the defendants summoned to appear never turned up of their own accord but had to be fetched one by one. In this mountainous, rugged country, this necessitated long marches into the interior. But the imposition, on those who failed to attend, of fines for disobedience to be paid in shell-money, was even more effective than fetching those summoned to court. I soon succeeded in ensuring that the parties appeared punctually. Eventually the chiefs of the various districts also condescended to attend as they observed that their own standing rose as a result of their participation in the legal process.

The social organisation of the Melanesians is matrilineal. Sexual relations between members of the same totem is forbidden. Offences against this rule were without exception punished by the death of the guilty parties at the hands of the head of the family or relatives. In this way the definition of incest is extended to include relationships between men and women who, according to our ideas, bear no relationship to each other whatsoever. Wives are purchased from their clan against payment of a bride-price in shell-money. A poor man could therefore only marry if someone gave him the bride-price as a loan. In general this was regarded as the duty of the head of the family on the mother's side, as the children were entrusted to the maternal line and placed under the authority of the *matuana* or maternal uncle. Betrothal, with a promise to marry on reaching puberty, was often arranged between parents or heads of families while the parties were still children. It was therefore not unusual for individuals who reached puberty to be dissatisfied with the choice made for them. Disputes about the termination of these betrothals, which the parties sometimes evaded by flight, were the order of the day.

Native shell-money fulfils all the functions of money in our sense, as legal tender and criterion of value. The basic material of which it is made is hard to obtain and relatively scarce. The processes involved in the manufacture of this 'coinage' are complicated and time-consuming. The individual small shells or shell platelets are durable, can be divided up after they have been threaded, do not weigh very much and are therefore easy to transport. There were numerous 'currencies', each with its well-defined area. Neighbouring peoples might possibly be anxious to acquire outside currency by barter for ornamental purposes, but they would never accept it as payment. One example will serve to illustrate this. In central Neu Mecklenburg the local currency was called *pele* and consisted of thin round grey disks pierced with holes and threaded on fine fibre cords up to a span in length. These disks were fashioned from shell fragments by polishing them into shape on stones.

In the Neu Lauenburg Group and the northern section of the Gazelle

Peninsula *diwara*, also known as *tambu*, was in circulation. The backs were knocked off individual small shells, they were pierced and the finished article was threaded on to a 'fathom' made of dried rattan cane. These 'fathoms' were measured across the chest of a man with outstretched arms, and the measure was called a *pokono*, roughly equivalent to our fathom measure. The small *diwara* shells had to be obtained from Nakanai or off southern Neu Pommern, either by collecting them on the reefs or by acquiring them by barter from the local natives. *Pele*, the currency of central Neu Mecklenburg, was a highly desirable commodity for exchange purposes. Threaded on cords it was worn wound round the neck or the forehead as an ornament. The people from Neu Lauenburg went away to fetch it and traded it for *diwara* on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula, whose inhabitants sailed to Nakanai every year during the south-east trade winds. These voyages were dangerous and often took months in their outrigger canoes, propelled by paddles. Very often the shell-gatherers came home not with treasure but with wounds and bruises sustained in the course of clashes with rivals or with the inhabitants of strange shores.

Shell-money was proof against imitation. All attempts to circulate artificial shell-money failed—the natives always recognised the 'counterfeit coin' and rejected the imported product.

Dogs' teeth were used as money on the Admiralty Islands and also on the coast of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, where curved boars' tusks were also very highly prized. These last two forms of currency did not require any particular finishing processes and could therefore be introduced by means of trade, which led to real inflation in later years, particularly on the Admiralty Islands.

Shell-money was not used purely as legal tender. Barter was the predominant form of everyday trade. Shell-money was used principally for ceremonial purposes, for the purchase of brides and more particularly for distribution after death. It was the duty of the relatives, after the death of a member of the family, to 'break' or to distribute (*biu* or *timbe*) shell-money to those who attended the funeral rites. Anyone who was buried without a distribution of shell-money would find no rest—his poor soul (*tamberan*) continued to wander about.

The most desirable possessions were wives and shell-money. Disputes about boundaries and land were rare. From a great variety of situations I will give a few examples, to illustrate the legal system of the natives and the way in which disputes were settled.

One enterprising man had built a *pal na bobo*, that is a showroom or exhibition gallery on a spur of Mount Vunakokor. He invited natives

from far and wide to deposit shell-money in this house. He claimed that by virtue of his association with a powerful spirit he was able to multiply the amount of this shell-money overnight, so that the depositor, after payment of a fee, could be paid the amount of this increase. Business flourished, the number of believers grew, as the early customers had in fact taken home very impressive profits. The amounts deposited grew to very substantial sums, until one fine night the magician disappeared in the wilds together with the money. After a great deal of trouble he was taken, and in the end, when he realised that his claims about his relationship with an invisible helper carried no weight with me, the money was successfully restored to the injured parties.

The missions trained natives in special schools as assistant teachers. One of these young men who belonged to the Wesleyan Mission entered into marriage, with the blessing of the church, with a young girl who had also been educated in the Mission school—but no bride-price was paid to the girl's relatives. The Mission was anxious to undermine the custom of purchasing brides and to destroy its foundations by degrees. However, popular tradition was too powerful. The young married couple came to me; the bride wept as she told me that when she was with other women they refused to recognise her as a legally married woman and called her bad names. The only solution was to pay the bride-price for the girl retrospectively and thus to mend matters.

One morning a large number of natives, men and women, turned up in front of the courthouse in Herbertshöhe. They had obviously come from a long way off, for a large number of canoes had been pulled up on the beach. They explained to me that two highly respected families in the Nondup district of the crater peninsula could not agree on the purchase price for a bride. As the young couple refused to be separated, this dispute had caused so much dissension and strife that they had come to ask me to decide what the girl was worth, since they were no longer permitted to decide the issue by means of the spear. This was a very delicate assignment. I sent all the by-standers out of the courthouse and then questioned the bride and groom to make sure that they really wanted to marry each other and would not in fact prefer to be released from an unwelcome obligation. The bride's longing looks convinced me of her feelings for the man, who pleaded anxiously with me to help him to marry the girl. I therefore had no hesitation in setting a very high price for the young girl, but spoilt her relatives' pleasure in this gratifying decision by fixing a correspondingly high sum for the *lukara* or bridal feast which had to be provided by the bride's family. I was doubtful whether my 'prices' would meet with approval, except by the bridal pair. But three days later I was

presented with a pig and an enormous quantity of garden produce, brought in several canoes from the abundant *lukara*, enough for my soldiers to stage a post-wedding feast.

During a court sitting in the district of Keravia on the inner section of Blanche Bay, the chiefs brought in a man and a woman, in fetters and bearing obvious marks of physical violence. According to the information given, this couple had committed incest. I was assured that only fear of the white administration had prevented their relatives from punishing them with death, as required by their law. They demanded that I should have them both hanged or at least ensure that they would never see their homes again. On inquiry, I found that the two culprits were not related according to our ideas, but that as they were members of the same totem group they were not permitted to have close relations with each other. I endeavoured to explain to the chiefs the difference between the ways in which the two cultures viewed their offence. Their only response was vehement reproaches and complaints culminating in the accusation that the intrusion of European influences was destroying the good old ways. I took the man and the woman with me and without pronouncing a verdict, I arranged for them to be placed on a plantation on the mainland of New Guinea.

One of my men had returned to his home south of Herbertshöhe and had married. He came to see me and told me that he had selected a particular piece of land in order to grow garden produce for his own requirements and for sale. But his clan objected and insisted that the garden produce grown on his land should also be shared in common. The natives practised communism within the clan. Land was held in common and the fields were cultivated in common and later individual beds or plots were laid out to be cultivated and harvested by certain groups. The soldier insisted that he had always fulfilled his obligations to the clan by sharing in the communal tasks. A discussion on the spot with the members of his tribe confirmed that he had not been guilty of a dereliction of duty on this score. I therefore ordered the people to allow the young man and his wife to enjoy the full fruits of the additional labour performed by them on the land they had selected. This incident was widely talked of and many followed this example. Private agriculture spread from district to district, the area under cultivation grew, the market expanded and in the course of time communal gardening by the clan as a whole fell into disuse on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula.

I also sought to encourage habits of industry in another way. The plantation enterprises complained that when the reservations were surveyed, the natives had been allotted too much land which they did not

make any use of. I advised the chiefs to show by their industry that they were capable of cultivating and needed to cultivate the reservations which had been assigned to them. Here too flourishing gardens soon spread out over what had formerly been waste land or primeval forest.

The Europeans were inclined to call the natives lazy. The latter regulated their day's work not by the clock but by the seasons which governed their fishing and gardening activities. Judged by the number of hours worked, their performance was therefore irregular. Due to the scarcity of game, hunting was not very profitable. I can still remember watching natives working in common without iron tools to cultivate a field in the Kalili district at the foot of the Paparatawa mountains. One section of the men, heavily armed, stood guard to protect the workers against possible attack. The others were turning over the soil with long pointed wooden poles; the women sat in rows and broke the clods into small fragments with wooden sticks. The forest had been previously cleared. The people were therefore accustomed to hard work. The gradual introduction of spades, field-knives and axes made the work easier and quicker, but could not change their agricultural methods, with concentrated bursts of work at particular seasons.

I made it my special business to utilise this capacity for work but to distribute the labour more evenly over the year. This became necessary because as the need for them to be in a constant state of readiness for war disappeared, the men had to be kept occupied in some other way. In any event they were now available to make an additional contribution to the economy. I started with chief Tokinkin in Raluana, who had at his disposal a large number of people and good land, and persuaded him to establish a coconut plantation in the European style. There were no technical difficulties because the young men had the necessary experience, gained in the course of their employment on the plantations. But it was difficult to persuade these good folk of the advantages of a large-scale plantation which could not be expected to yield a harvest for years. But this venture too succeeded and was copied by others. A certain degree of pressure was always essential, but in the Gazelle Peninsula no actual compulsion or threat of punishment was ever used. All these efforts were assisted by the favourable market for the sale of garden produce and copra.

The growth of trade also changed the European business methods. Up to this time it had been customary for the trading stations to obtain coconuts from the natives in exchange for tobacco or other trade goods. The traders themselves had to see to the production of the market commodity, copra, with the help of a permanent staff of employees. It

appeared to be much simpler and more profitable to shift this labour on to the natives. The traders and merchants therefore formed an association whose members were bound in future not to buy nuts but only copra from the natives. I was approached with a request to make it obligatory for the natives to introduce this desirable and necessary change. I gladly assumed responsibility for this and the natives everywhere changed over to the production of copra. In the beginning the copra was inferior in quality, as the requirements for the manufacture of a good marketable product were frequently not met. But these shortcomings were corrected. At first everyone was very pleased with this step forward, but they did not remain united for long. The traders themselves did not adhere to the agreement they had come to and once more began to buy nuts, so that this admirable association collapsed again within a year. However, the natives in many cases continued to follow the practice of preparing their nuts themselves for the market, because they received payment for the labour expended.

As already described, the road to Vunakokor had been completed. Although very rough, bullock-carts and light horse-carts could be driven along it as far as Toma Hill in the Paparatawa district. From there travel to the spur named Bitakaur, that is 'Bamboo Patch', and up to Vunakokor and down to Tamainariki was possible only on foot or on horseback. The successes I have described, which were still in the process of realisation, had brought about a change in the attitude of the European population. They were beginning to have confidence in me and gave expression to this change in their opinion: the opening of the new road was celebrated by special festivities at Bitakaur. All available bullock-carts, horses and carriages were commandeered and together with the crew of the cruiser *Falke* the crowd set off inland. The distance of sixteen kilometres was covered without incident or mishap. For most of those taking part the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula was still completely unknown territory. As they climbed up the foothills of Vunakokor they were able to enjoy the view over the surrounding country. The various groups made a halt to admire the landscape.

To the north lay the vast and shining sea from which the small islands of the Neu Lauenburg Group fringed by their silver band of surf stood out clearly and the mighty mountain chains of the island of Neu Mecklenburg towered skywards behind them. To the north-west the eye came to rest on the wide bay of Rabaul, surrounded by the cone-shaped mountains of the crater peninsula. To the east lay St George's Channel, a pale ribbon of sea between the Gazelle Peninsula and Neu Mecklenburg. The country at our feet wore a park-like appearance; stretches of *alang-*

alang dotted with groups of trees alternated with native fields and stands of mighty primeval forest, still untouched. But the view became even more enchanting at the end of the road, at Bitakaur. To the south-west gleamed the wide curve of Weber Harbour and beyond it the vast ocean stretched to infinity. The deep depression stretching eastward from Weber Harbour was filled with dense virgin forest, interrupted only by the deep-cut beds of the rivers. The columns of smoke rising everywhere gave evidence of human habitation. The Baining Mountains, rising steeply from the depression, provided a backdrop to the whole picture.

At the halting-place preparations were quickly made for our overnight camp. The weather was favourable and we dispensed with tents. A wooden tablet with an inscription was affixed to a tall bamboo and the rest of the evening was devoted to festivities and relaxation. The night was somewhat cool, as this spot lies four hundred metres above sea-level, so the return journey was completed quite early next morning. Precious little work was done in either office or plantation on the day of our return. This celebration also marked the end of our contact with the crew and officers of the cruiser *Falke*, which put to sea bound for Sydney and Samoa, while we resumed our daily round of tasks.

I was then summoned to Neu Mecklenburg. A deputation from the district of Bom came to me and reported that not only they but also their neighbours felt menaced by the inhabitants of the east coast, particularly of the Sohun district. There had been fighting before between themselves and these people with whom they had a long-standing blood feud. But since they themselves had joined the Wesleyan Mission and therefore now refrained from all hostilities, peace had reigned in recent times. But now some of their members who had been working in the mountains had been killed, their bodies taken off as booty and devoured. They appealed to me for help to prevent further bloodshed.

As the weather was favourable I took the risk of sailing in the *Kalabua* (described above) there being no other means of transport available. We made a good journey. After resting overnight in Bom I climbed up into the mountains with the troops and the natives assisting us, who immediately made haste to join us from all sides. I now for the first time acquired some idea of the graduated structure of the Rossel Range, that is of the mountainous region of central Neu Mecklenburg. As far as the eye could see there was nothing but pure coralline rock. In places the coral formations were so well-preserved that they might well have just recently emerged from the sea. I counted six tiers corresponding to the various stages in which the mountain range had been raised from the floor of the ocean until it had reached its present resting-place. The eastern slopes do

not present this simple pattern. The descent is not so steep and is in many places broken by folds. After a six hours' march we had crossed the range and reached the coastal plain. With my soldiers I formed the spearhead, marching in single file along the narrow path and followed closely by natives armed with spears.

Wheeling around, we came suddenly on a clearing on which were camped a host of well-armed warriors, perhaps two hundred. They sprang up shouting their war-cries and brandishing their weapons. I did not need to give any orders to my men. They saw before them an open field of fire and formed up to right and left of me with lightning speed. Some of our allies also rushed forward inciting the men to shoot and fight. With difficulty, I restrained my troops and called on the enemy to quit the field. It was a tense moment. But the other side realised that their only hope was to flee, which they then did with astonishing speed in the direction of the sea. Now there was no holding the warriors, who rushed screaming and shouting after the escaping enemy. I kept back my troops except for five men who had been caught up in the maelstrom of the forward rush. I followed close on the heels of the mob, for I was anxious to take the village belonging to the other side, in order to try to mediate peacefully between the warring factions.

But my plans were frustrated—from the forward line I heard shots and the savage war-cries of hand-to-hand fighting. By the time I had covered the short distance to the scene of the skirmish, the fighting had subsided again. The fugitives had taken up position at a creek-mouth with steep sides in order to make a stand but took to flight immediately some of their number were felled by the bullets of the soldiers. The corpses of these unfortunates were most terribly mutilated by their hereditary enemies, every one of whom had to plunge his spear once into the blood of the enemy.

By this time I had gathered my forces together again and marched to the village, followed by the natives with spears. The village itself was well-tended and clean and made a good impression. But all attempts to make contact with the fugitives failed. Blood had been spilt and this had destroyed the possibility of negotiation. In the end I had no alternative but to march north along the coast and pitch camp near a small stream at the foot of the hill at Namatanai. The night passed without incident. Next day we marched back over the mountains, with a long halt on the ridge of the range. As seven of the enemy had fallen, in the eyes of the natives we had won a great victory. The result of the battle was announced as we approached the village on the ridge by wild chanting, punctuated at intervals by seven long-drawn-out shrill shouts. At the

entrance to the village the women and girls were standing, armed with green branches, with which they belaboured the returning warriors, howling and shouting. I never discovered the exact significance of this custom, but was told that it was a form of punishment inflicted by the women because not more enemy warriors had been killed. While well-earned refreshments were being served to my soldiers, I examined the site and noted that the mountain crest terminated in two steeply descending ridges, between which lay a deep basin. Evidently in earliest times the two mountain ridges were an atoll representing the first beginnings of the emergence of the land above the level of the sea.

I put to sea that same evening, leaving instructions with the chiefs of the various districts to refrain from all hostilities on their side, and to inform me immediately of any recurrence of hostilities from the west.

I had intervened in this case principally because any increase in blood feud activity would not only destroy the modest coastal trade and recruitment but also, more importantly, cripple the work of the Mission for a long period. About this time an important change had occurred in the management of the Wesleyan Mission. Missionary John Crump returned home to New Zealand, the previous head of the Mission, William Chambers, took over Kabakada, the station on the north coast, and Herr Heinrich Fellmann and his wife moved into Raluana, the headquarters of the Mission. The Mission authorities in Sydney had at last decided to appoint a German missionary to the top position in keeping with current developments. For many years Herr Fellmann carried on the mission work entrusted to him with indefatigable energy, remaining on the best possible terms with both natives and Europeans. Personally, both he and his wife were great acquisitions to local society. The harmonious, friendly spirit which characterised relations among the settlers on Blanche Bay may be largely attributed to their influence.

In those days social life revolved round two main centres, the home of Frau Kolbe in Gunantambu and 'Raule', the home of Consul Max Thiel in Matupi. I have already mentioned that eight weeks passed between the calls of the mail steamer. At least once during this interval, usually not long before the arrival of the steamer, the settlers gathered at one or other of these places. On special occasions Bishop Couppé invited everybody to his hospitable Mission, but otherwise social life was conducted in small groups, if only because the long distances and the heavy daily workload made it impossible for people to foregather.

Frau Kolbe, our 'Queen', and Herr Thiel, whom we called our 'Sultan of Matupi', dominated the social scene. The Parkinson home at Ralum was also a special magnet for social gatherings. This was the centre for all

the young people in the country—the Parkinsons' own children as well as the numerous nephews and nieces of the 'Queen'. These light-hearted young folk insisted on their right to have fun, which they certainly did.

Frau Kolbe also made provision for schooling: under the watchful eye of Fräulein Anna Waldow from Zoppot the children practised the three R's and studied the German language. One morning I received a slip of paper bearing the message: 'Dear Dr Hahl: It is dreadfully boring at school. Please come and visit us soon, then Fräulein Waldow will give us a holiday.' I could not accede to this kind invitation immediately but one morning a day or so later I rode out to the school, invited myself to breakfast and sat down with the young people at table in great spirits. The children's note achieved its purpose: they got the afternoon off.

When the rainy season set in, in the absence of means of transport I was once again pinned down on the Gazelle Peninsula. I endeavoured to establish riding tracks round Blanche Bay, as far across as the north coast and along this coast as far as Cape Livuan. For this purpose it was usually sufficient to improve the existing native paths. The only difficult spot was the inner section of Blanche Bay, near Barawon, where deep water reached right up to the steep mountain-face. And finally, I had a riding-track built, branching off from Ralum, up to the plateau of Rakunai, an ancient battle-field (*kamara*) extending at an altitude of 400 metres between the precipice which drops down to Blanche Bay and the depression leading to Weber Harbour.

The construction of this riding track through broken and sparsely populated mountain country was greatly assisted thanks to an unusual incident. The son of the chief of the Kunai district, inland from Ralum, had killed a man whom he suspected of having committed an offence with his wife. I was not able to establish whether the murdered man was in fact an adulterer or whether the natives simply believed that the woman had been bewitched. The tribe of the killer remained loyal to him and the relatives of the murdered man demanded that the murderer be punished. According to ancient custom, a serious blood feud must have resulted. I arrested the son of the chief and sent him to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen to do penance there for three years. Then his aged father came to me and offered the labour of the whole tribe, to work on the track which was to be built up to the plateau in order to win freedom for his son. 'We will dig him free' as he said (*ave na kal vne*). This offer illustrated the natives' conception of the law, according to which the whole clan can be held responsible and also counted on for support. I accepted the offer, subject to an injunction to pay an indemnity to the relatives of the murdered man. In four weeks the simple track was completed according

to my specifications and I had no alternative but to give permission for the return of the banished man, who had been redeemed by their labour. To this day father and son are faithful supporters of the Administration in their own district.

Up on the plateau lived old Tobirau, the most important leader of the local natives. He was also known as To Kalangar. He was the head of a large *iniet* society and had previously fought against us. I particularly wanted to make sure of this man in case he might possibly endanger public peace by an alliance with the groups living in the depression. Up to this time he had evaded all contact. However, I eventually succeeded in getting hold of him in connection with these primitive roadworks. He did not venture forth from his hiding-place till after dark, and then we had a long discussion by the light of the full moon about the old times and the new, and what ought to be done. His great fear was that the plantations might advance into his territory bringing with them new ways which would destroy the old customs and traditions, particularly the *iniet* organisation. We reached an understanding. Tobirau was the last of the chiefs of the surrounding districts to accept from me cap and staff, the insignia of a chief holding office in association with the Government. This old man never broke his solemn promise of willing co-operation.

My cottage on the heights of Vunatali consisted of two modest rooms and a verandah running round three sides. It stood on high wooden foundation-posts and overhung the steep mountainside. The foundation-posts had rotted and I was afraid that one of the frequent severe earth tremors would send the cottage toppling down into the depths below. Herr Geisler came to my rescue: while I was away he had a fine roomy house built for me out of *atap*, or dried nipa palm leaves. The natives at least thought that my compound looked much more inviting once a palm-leaf house had been built there. But the women who supplied fresh market produce to my kitchen one day declared that although I now had a proper house it still lacked a fence to make it a *gunan* or homestead. Without a proper fence (*liplip*) a house and garden could never be impressive. I thought no more about this conversation, but a few days later large numbers of men, women and children arrived bringing slender red and green stems of dracaena and other ornamental plants, set them in the ground and surrounded my home with an extensive, well-finished fence, interweaving and fastening the individual stems with split bamboo canes in true native style. This event had of course to be marked by a celebration, and a dance and feast were held at my expense as a house-warming for the *gunan*.

With two houses, I was now well set-up for receiving visitors, of whom

there was no dearth. Senior Missionary Johann Flierl and his family arrived from Finschhafen to wait for the connecting steamer to Sydney. I handed my old house over to the family while I myself retired to the *atap* house. My guests and I enjoyed each other's company on the roomy verandah of the old house. The verandah has always been the playground and livingroom of houses in the tropics. While the children played merry games on the grass under the palms, I took the opportunity during the leisure hours in the evening to discuss past progress and future plans for our work with this mission leader, a man of great experience. In those days we never dreamt that the Neuendettelsau Mission would expand so enormously in the course of three decades, as described by Johann Flierl himself in his fine book *Wunder der göttlichen Gnade* [Miracles of Divine Grace], written after his retirement in South Australia when he was more than seventy years old.

Soon after the departure of the Flierl family, Sister Auguste Hertzner arrived. She had nursed me once before in Stephansort, when I was suffering from dysentery and malaria. She began her career as a sister with the Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz in East Africa during the Arab Revolt, and had looked after Emin Pasha. In New Guinea she had been working for the Red Cross since 1891. She was hoping to stay in the country after her retirement and to make a new home for herself under the waving palms. I succeeded in buying from the natives a block of land which appealed to her, on the heights of Barawon at the point which marks the end of the inner curve of Blanche Bay. Sister Hertzner built a modest, attractive cottage for herself on the mountain and lived there, honoured by both natives and settlers, until her death in May 1934.

At the beginning of December a schooner which had called at the Admiralty Islands brought a Solomon Islander who reported that he and three companions had been held prisoner by the natives of the Fedarb Group and that his companions were still there. These four men had been among the labourers working at the trading station on the island of Pak which was destroyed in the year 1894. At the beginning of January the cruiser *Bussard* under Corvette Captain Mand arrived. The commander gladly acceded to my request to be taken for a cruise, and we put to sea on 14 January 1898 bound for the Admiralty Islands. An attempt to land on Pak itself failed because the boats could not make headway against the strong current at the entrance.

We found a convenient anchorage off the Fedarb Group. A few natives came alongside in a canoe. We were able to communicate with them through the Solomon Islander we had brought with us. I sent orders to the island that the three men who were still being held were to be delivered

up immediately and I followed with my men hard behind the canoe. There was a great deal of shouting and a violent commotion on land, armed men gathered together to one side of their picturesque village built on stilts, while the women and children fled carrying their household goods.

I landed, and with my thirty soldiers I advanced between the village and the armed men. We were separated by a shallow little bay about forty metres wide. The natives took up position beside the forest, obviously with the intention of covering their retreat. This did not impress me with their courage. Through the interpreter we had brought I once again conveyed to them across the shallow inlet my demand for the release of the prisoners. In reply, the men raised their spears, ready to throw. I gave the order and thirty guns took aim. My men did not move and a second later the spears clattered to the ground. Signals and shouts were sent across to us and to the rear. The crowd of natives parted and two of the prisoners appeared in the gap and dashed through the inlet over to us. And what about the third? A young man detached himself from the throng of natives, came over to us and explained that he was working in the fields on another island. His companions confirmed this. I took this spokesman with me as hostage, promising to exchange him for the third man. As night fell the latter was brought out to the ship in a canoe, and so the whole business was finally settled and by peaceful means.

We continued our voyage to the north-western islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. Our visit to the Anachoretetes (Kaniet) and the Hermit Islands (Luf) revealed that while these atolls contained an abundance of coconut palms and large areas suitable for the cultivation of additional palms, the natives there were in a pitiable state. These islands must at one time have been densely populated. The inhabitants have light skins and straight or only slightly wavy hair. They were therefore not of Melanesian descent or only partly of Melanesian blood. I counted only sixty-eight persons on Luf and seventy-one on Kaniet. There were no children. The surviving examples of the artefacts of their forefathers bore witness to a high cultural level. A well-preserved ocean-going outrigger canoe was still lying beached on Luf and is now one of the finest exhibits in the Völkermuseum in Berlin. In their great days these islanders must have been a race of bold navigators and pirates. They explained that they were no longer capable of making sea voyages. The pilots who knew the sea routes had passed away. It was distressing to see the apathetic submissiveness of these people. To my numerous questions one man finally replied that he preferred not to give answers; they knew that they were doomed to extinction. Probably the whalers who visited these islands round the middle of the nineteenth century, by introducing infectious diseases

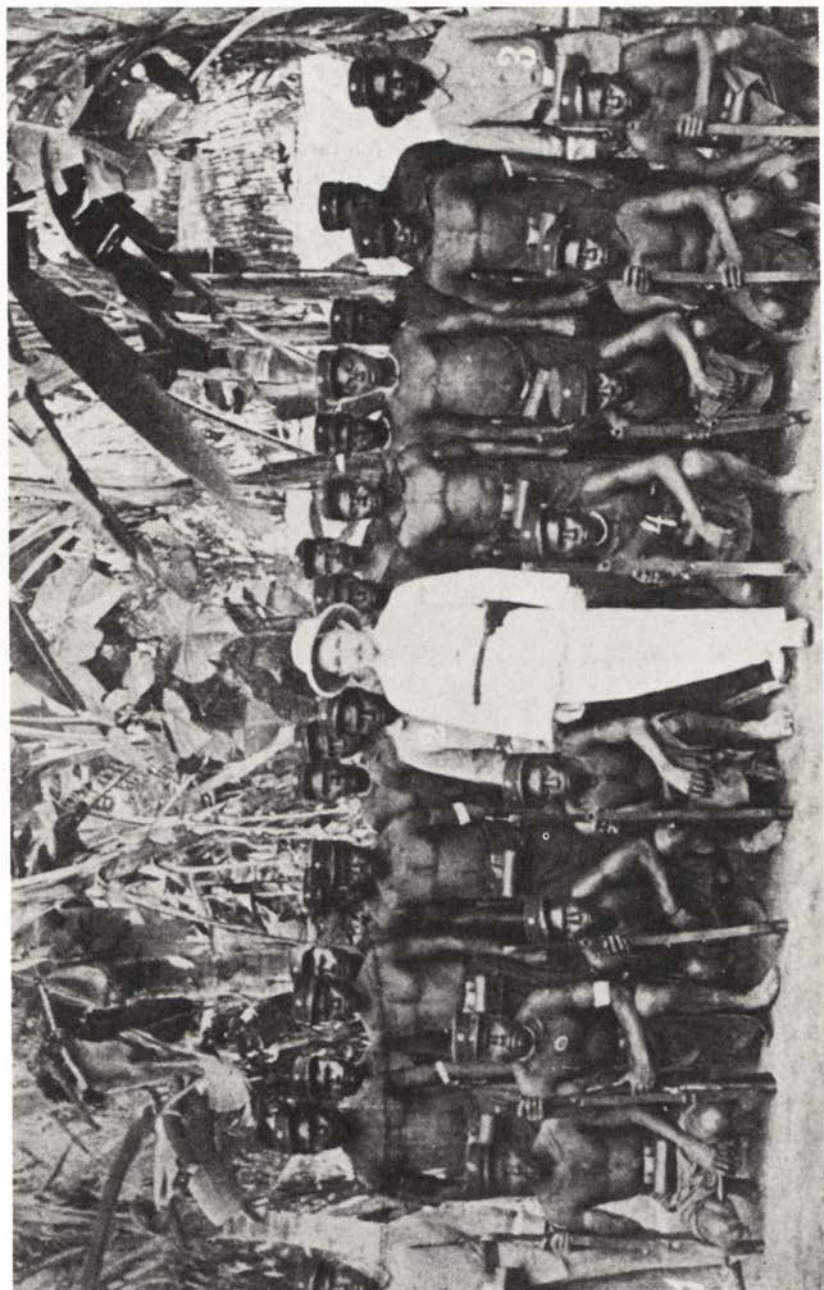


Plate iii Schneee (Hahl's successor as Imperial Judge) with the police troop (about 1900). Reproduced from H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, Berlin, 1904.

(syphilis) were the original cause of the decline of these fine-looking people.

After the death of the Acting Administrator Kurt von Hagen I had also taken over the duties of the Administrator, by virtue of a warrant issued to me by the Neu Guinea Compagnie and approved by the German Chancellor, which I kept by me. Thus all power and authority in the land were united in my person, a state of affairs which could not be prolonged indefinitely. In the spring of 1898 Herr Skopnik, a lawyer, arrived in the capacity of Acting Administrator, and installed himself in Stephansort. Before taking up office he paid me a visit; we took this opportunity for a full discussion of the situation in general and of the recently instituted native administration, the intention being to proceed along similar lines in Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

During this period, when all authority was vested in me, I had occasion to make a detailed study of land policy in the Protectorate. The Neu Guinea Compagnie had issued general conditions governing the transfer of land to settlers, dated 15 February 1888. At that time, when Finschhafen was at the height of its prosperity, it was believed that there would be a flow of migrants from Australia. These expectations were not fulfilled. The demand for land remained low because those enterprises which were already established had acquired sufficient land for their purposes in the earlier period before the Neu Guinea Compagnie exercised sovereignty under the German flag, and also because the attitude of the natives and the difficulties of communication stood in the way of commercial expansion. Now, however, there was a demand for land in the pacified areas, for trading establishments and for agriculture. In March 1898 I therefore put forward proposals in Berlin for a revision of the principles on which land transfers were made. My suggestions met with complete agreement on the part of the Neu Guinea Compagnie. The recent resumption of negotiations with the Reich Government with a view to its assumption of sovereignty was the only consideration preventing a revision of land policy. My principal suggestions were that the transfer of land for speculative purposes should be prohibited and that certain conditions should be imposed on individual land grants to ensure that the land was cultivated. Acquisition of any areas inhabited and used by natives was to remain prohibited.

No warships called in 1898. The sailing-ships belonging to the local firms were so fully taken up with maintaining communications with their trading stations overseas, that I was not able to make use of them for my purposes. My activities were therefore once again confined to the Gazelle Peninsula and the Neu Lauenburg Group. One valuable result of this was

that I was able to improve and extend the riding and other tracks already under construction, and to consolidate and extend the organisation of the natives over the eastern part of the northern Gazelle Peninsula as far as the Warangoi. In December my successor, Dr Heinrich Schnee, arrived and at the same time I received the sad news of the death of my father. I felt a powerful urge to go home after three years of work, strenuous but highly valued by me personally. And so the same ship, calling at Macassar and Batavia, took me to Singapore where I boarded the flagship of the Norddeutscher Lloyd. In Colombo I made the acquaintance of Herr Eduard Hensheim and his wife, who were on the voyage out to Matupi. On 5 February I arrived safe and sound in my quiet little native village and rejoined my family.

In the course of the three years just past we had succeeded in laying firm foundations for orderly relations among the natives in a strictly limited section of the vast Protectorate, thanks to favourable circumstances. Our task was obvious: European influences, emanating from trade and commerce but even more strongly from missionary activity, had for a long time had a disintegrating but also stimulating effect on the natives of the coastal periphery. The native people were deeply divided: a new morality and new work methods were engaged in a struggle with traditional ways. There was a need to establish a plainly visible authority in order to allow the forces at play to undergo a process of mutual adaptation, so as to give rise neither to destructive fighting among the natives themselves nor to serious resistance to the Government's administration. The old and the new could be blended in such a way that these people just emerging from a stone age culture could fit into a new environment.

In the Island Territory
and in New Guinea



In the Island Territory and in New Guinea

I had only a few days' rest in the home of my parents. I was summoned to Berlin and there entered the home service of the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office. With the transfer of *Ministerialdirektor* Dr Kayser to the Supreme Court of the Reich in Leipzig, Herr von Buchka became the new head of the Section. My duties arose principally out of the purchase of the Caroline, Palau and Mariana Islands from Spain and the Agreement between the German Reich and the Neu Guinea Compagnie relating to the transfer of sovereignty to the Reich.

Spain had lost all its colonial possessions in the Pacific after its defeat in the war with the United States of America. It had retained only its islands in Micronesia, and even here the important island of Guam had been taken by America. The administration of this chain of islands had been dependent on Manila. With the loss of this base, the retention of these far-flung ocean possessions held little attraction for Spain, particularly as the trade with the natives was almost exclusively controlled by the Jaluit Gesellschaft, i.e. was in German hands. From our point of view these islands were a continuation of the Marshall Group and New Guinea. Economically these archipelagos with perhaps 50,000 inhabitants were of no particular value, their importance was chiefly political. Their purchase extended the limits of German colonial territory from the equator to 20° N lat. German territory touched American possessions and bordered on the Japanese Empire in the north. I was in fact not at all concerned with the political aspect which was in the hands of *Geheimrat* Dr

Irmer and Secretary of State von Bülow, but worked on the organisation of the administration and the allocation of expenditure, preparing a submission for consideration by the German Parliament.

The German people had greeted the purchase of the islands with approval. The resumption of sovereignty from the Neu Guinea Compagnie met with a less favourable reception. The unfortunate tendency of our public to judge colonial problems and colonial expansion from a party-political point of view asserted itself. The agreement which was to be concluded with the Company transferred both sovereignty and administrative authority to the Reich. The Neu Guinea Compagnie renounced all privileges granted to it under the Imperial Charters and was to receive, in return for functions performed by it as sovereign power, the sum of four million marks in ten annual instalments, as compensation for expenditure proved to have been incurred from its own resources and to be given permission to claim possession of up to fifty thousand hectares of ownerless land within a certain time-limit.

There was strong opposition during the debate in the budget committee of the German Parliament. In particular doubts were expressed whether such a large area could be made available to a private company without interfering with the rights of the natives and the future development of the country. The main spokesmen for this point of view were two Members named Richter and Bebel. I sat opposite these two gentlemen at the committee table and tried to give them a description based on my personal knowledge of the areas of land available for occupation. I received a resounding reply to the effect that any number of Imperial Commissioners could address them without carrying any conviction. The draft proposal was accepted. At the time I keenly regretted that there was no opportunity to define clearly the tasks which awaited us in that far-distant land.

The Governor appointed to German New Guinea was Rudolf von Bennigsen, who had already had experience in colonial administration in East Africa. The Island Territory was placed in his charge, but in view of its great distance from Herbertshöhe and the inadequate communications by sea, an administrative centre was also set up in the islands themselves. A Vice-Governorship was established in Ponape and a District Office in Jap for the West Carolines and the Palau Islands and another in Saipan for the Marianas. I was selected as Vice-Governor and Herr Arno Senfft and Herr Georg Fritz for the two District Offices. The former could draw on extensive previous experience in the Pacific and had already held positions in Herbertshöhe and Jaluit, and Fritz had become acquainted with overseas administration and colonial life in Argentina. His know-

ledge of the Spanish language was useful for the Marianas. The three of us had ample time to select our modest staff of officials.

By June all preparations were complete and we sailed with the whole staff from Genoa to Singapore. There the Blue Funnel Line steamer *Kudat*, which had just been purchased by the Norddeutscher Lloyd, was chartered for the long voyage. Provisions and household goods were bought to supplement the modest stores brought from Germany and the little ship put to sea, fully laden, at the beginning of August.

Our first port of call was Macassar on the island of Celebes. Here, through the agency of Consul Becker (the manager of the firm of Mohrmann & Co.), a former noncommissioned officer of the Dutch colonial army named Braun, a native of Wunsiedel, was engaged for the service. Having obtained the approval of the Governor he in turn recruited men. It happened to be Queen Wilhelmina's birthday the day we made port. The port lay idle and the houses were decked with flags. I therefore had to wait till the next day to call on the very amiable Governor and to thank him for the kind manner in which he had assisted us. In addition to our purely personal exchanges, the Governor mentioned the allegiance of the Mapia Islands and laid claim to them on behalf of Holland. This group of islands had been the subject of a dispute between Spain and Holland. It was situated at a very great distance from the main West Caroline Islands and belonged geographically and ethnically to the Dutch colonial region. In fact an agreement was later reached with Holland awarding these small islands to that country in return for recognition of German ownership of the Sonserol Islands situated further north and certain concessions in relation to the recruitment of Malays.

We continued our voyage to Herbertshöhe which we reached at the beginning of September. I took up quarters with Dr Schnee while the shortage of accommodation obliged the other gentlemen to remain on board. The forty-six Macassarese were accommodated on land in a warehouse belonging to the Neu Guinea Compagnie.

Dr Schnee quickly acquainted me with the events which had taken place during the nine months of my absence. It had not been an easy time for him. He had had to deal with heavy fighting in the Weber Harbour area and the Admiralty Islands and also on Neu Mecklenburg. He had learned the Blanche Bay language very quickly and had worked indefatigably to consolidate and extend the organisation of the native administration. The budget for the Protectorate based on my suggestions also provided funds for the establishment of a Station in northern Neu Mecklenburg. The District Officer selected was Franz Boluminski, who

had formerly been a manager for the Astrolabe Compagnie in Stephansort. It was not possible to implement the plans for installing the new District Officer in northern Neu Mecklenburg immediately because communications by sea to those parts were still inadequate. So Boluminski and his wife remained in Herbertshöhe and he was able to apply his practical knowledge in the construction of the houses required for the Government.

In the meantime, the small steamer *Stephan*, which had formerly carried mails between Kiel and Korsör, had been purchased in Berlin for the Government service. This ship had a speed of twelve knots and was of sturdy construction. However, its bunkers held only 24 hours' supply of coal. The fact that that brave man, Captain Knoth, ever managed to sail the little ship as far as Herbertshöhe must be regarded as a real feat of navigation. Nevertheless, once stocks of coal had been deposited at the outposts and when the saloon and the deck had been loaded to their utmost capacity with full sacks of coal, this ship was capable of performing useful service within the administrative area of Herbertshöhe. It was only after the arrival of this vessel at the beginning of 1900 that Boluminski was able to establish himself in Kaewieng on Nusa Harbour.

I recruited an additional twenty good men from my old reserve troop in the neighbourhood of Herbertshöhe who signed on for one year's service in Ponape. The steamer *Kudat* had replenished its supplies of water and provisions, the coal supplies had been moved out of the ship's holds into the now empty bunkers and the ship lay ready to continue the voyage. The Governor came on board and we set course for Jaluit in the Marshall Islands. Apart from the cruisers of the Imperial Navy, it was a long time since there had been direct communication between New Guinea and the Marshall Islands. We were accorded a joyous reception there both by the Administrator Eugen Brandeis and his charming wife Antonie and also by Herr Wolfhagen and Herr Grösser, the managers of the Jaluit Gesellschaft. It emerged from a discussion of the general situation and the problems of administration that apart from the trade conducted by the Jaluit Gesellschaft there were no relations between the Marshall Islands and the East Carolines, so that there was no occasion to take any special measures with regard to the natives.

Two days after leaving Jaluit we reached Kusaie, the most easterly of the Caroline Islands. The natives were all settled round the bay at Lele and numbered about two hundred in all. The only European there was Victor Melander, an American subject of Swedish descent, who worked the East Carolines with a sailing schooner and had established a small coconut plantation in a valley near Lele. This old sailor was in a state of

some anxiety because he had been ordered to pay a considerable sum as a fine for an unauthorised call at an island in the Marshall Group. I cordially invited him to call on me in Ponape, where I would try to assist him in the matter.

Together with District Commissioner Senfft I made an excursion to the headquarters of the Boston Mission situated on the south side of the island, opposite Lele. This very neat mission station and its occupants and the assistants' school, in which staff for the missionary service in the Micronesian Islands were trained, both made a good impression.

In Jaluit we had met up with the cruiser *Jaguar*, commander Corvette Captain Kinderling, which escorted the steamer *Kudat* on the cruise of the islands. On 11 October the two ships ran into the harbour of Ponape and anchored opposite the island of Langar, the headquarters of the Jaluit Gesellschaft. The Spaniards had been anxiously awaiting our arrival for a long time. This emerged from the first exchange on land with the Deputy Governor. The Governor himself had already left for Manila with part of the garrison and the two gunboats which had been permanently stationed in the harbour. This step had been made necessary by the shortage of provisions. The Spanish Government station on the main island, called 'Mejenienng'* by the natives, was surrounded by a massive wall set with three specially fortified gates. On the battlements were three strong watch-towers and cannons were mounted on two protruding bastions. The gates were locked. Inside the walls there were also two strong block-houses as a last line of defence against an invader, as well as the small number of buildings for the occupants, the Capuchin Mission compound, the church and some nice gardens. The outside appearance of the place was hardly inviting. I called on the head of the Mission, Padre José de Tirapu, and on a Spanish firm of merchants. The natives kept their distance. It was agreed that the transfer of sovereignty and the flag-hoisting ceremony would take place on 12 October. On the evening of 11 October I took up quarters, together with the whole coloured detachment, in the now vacant building formerly occupied by the marines. The state of health of the men, who were accommodated on the deck and were exposed to the effects of the rain, made it imperative to land them.

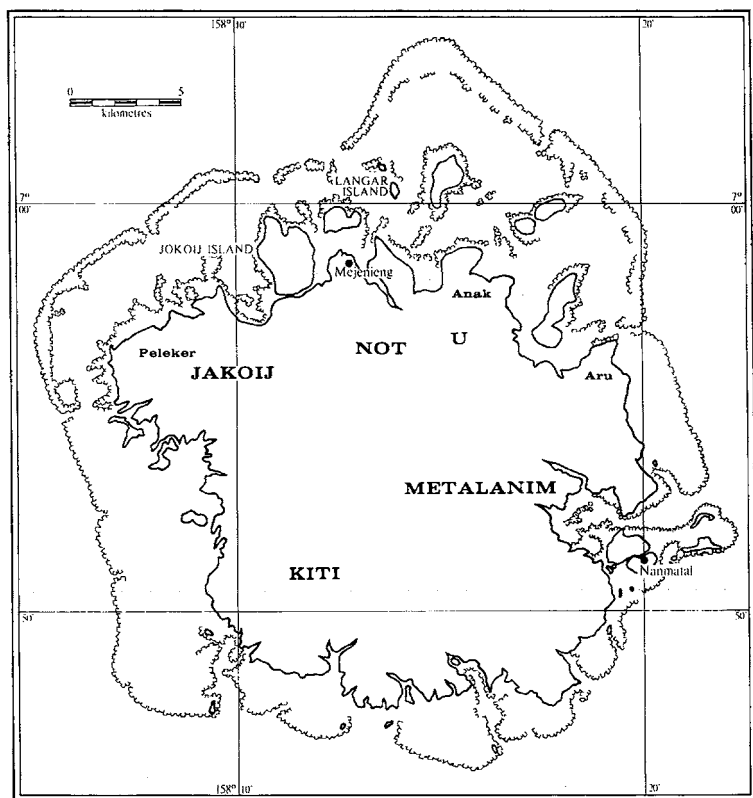
The ceremony of the hoisting of the flag was attended by all. The Spanish Governor made a speech to which Governor von Bennigsen replied. The Spanish flag was hauled down and our flag run up the mast. The Spanish company of troops and a detachment landed from the *Jaguar*

* *ɰdsch* [pronounced as in English *Jenny*].

saluted and concluded the ceremony with a march-past. This was followed by an appropriately simple repast in the Governor's residence, at which we were the guests of our generous Spanish comrades.

Next day there was a conference between the Spanish Governor and myself concerning the handing-over of Government business. It transpired that there was nothing to hand over except two bundles of legal documents and an empty cash-box. All the furniture and effects had been auctioned. It was therefore just as well that we had bought and brought with us from Singapore a stock of household necessities, however simple—especially beds. When I told the Governor that I would take over and conduct the administration with twenty-six Malays, twenty Melanesians, one doctor, one police-sergeant and a harbourmaster, he asked me anxiously for the date of the arrival of the absolutely indispensable cruiser and at least one company of German soldiers. When I replied that this list comprised my complete establishment and staff, with the exception of one covered sailing cutter and one rowing boat, he clapped his hands together and exclaimed that I would be dead within a week. He offered to stay with his company, if I could guarantee their provisions, until the arrival of a German garrison, which he considered indispensable. I politely refused his offer and informed him that I would leave the three gates open as soon as he had departed.

The transport vessel lying in the harbour for the Spanish garrison and the two German ships left the harbour together on the morning of 17 October. The few remaining Spaniards had bidden their compatriots an emotional farewell on the quay. That afternoon I once again visited the prior of the Mission. I informed him that I would open the fortress gates and keep them open so that the natives should have free access. I also advised him that I had issued invitations through the agent for the Jaluit Gesellschaft to the chiefs of the individual districts on the island to a meeting and discussion on 20 October and requested him to attend this discussion. I had announced all this to the good padre in German and English. He merely shook his head and addressed me in the most elegant Spanish. We faced each other completely at a loss, for the adjutant who had conducted our exchange in French on the occasion of our first meeting, was no longer available. Then I had an inspiration: I asked the padre whether he spoke Latin. '*Loquor*', he replied, and was so moved by this solution to our embarrassing communication problem that he fell on my neck. From now on we conversed fluently in the finest dog-Latin, and the father made no secret of his anxiety on account of the opening of the gates and the invitation issued to the natives for a mutual conference. And in the immediate context he was in fact proved right by events.



MAP 3 *Ponape*

It was five o'clock in the afternoon. The gates were opened and I stepped out into the open, to take a walk along a good road to a magnificent clear stream about one kilometre away. I dived into its cooling waters but my bathe was soon interrupted by a Melanesian who arrived shouting and called out to me that the natives had broken in through the newly opened gates. Half-dressed I rushed to the settlement, where, however, I found that the attack was already over. A mob of natives armed with knives had rushed in through the 'Manila Gate' and had attempted to take the bastion, in the basement of which had been left two Spanish cannons, some cases of shells and rifles and cartridges. But my brave Melanesians, howling savagely and armed only with spears and clubs because our own rifles were locked up in a strongroom, had rushed at the intruders who thereupon beat a hasty retreat. Understandably the

Europeans were in a state of agitation. I nevertheless decided to keep the gates open but to post a double guard at each and to organise a night watch among the staff of officials. In Spanish times there had been eleven guards posted on the walls who proclaimed their vigilance by calling loudly to each other every quarter of an hour. I also took another step: I had the covered cutter with a capacity of five tonnes brought to the quay, loaded the shells, rifles and cartridges on to it and sank these coveted goods deep in the sea that same night.

Next morning I received polite letters from the great chiefs of the island in reply to my invitation, some written in the Ponape language and some in good English, advising me that in the prevailing state of war it was impossible for them to meet together. I was requested to proceed to call together in the first instance those tribes on the north side living close to me to secure from them a guarantee of safe passage for the people of the south at a date to be agreed later.

This was not very gratifying news but I followed the suggestion of the natives and proceeded to call together the chiefs of the districts of Jakoi, Peleker, Not and Auak.

A brief account of the social organisation of the natives in Ponape, their system of government and some of the events occurring during the period of Spanish rule may prove helpful.

According to local legend, the country was at one time inhabited by a dark-skinned people, and there were still memories of battles fought against them. It was not possible to establish which migration had driven out or destroyed these black people. But there was also another tradition according to which the present population of Ponape was not descended solely from the original tribe: in ancient times a mighty fleet appeared from the south, led by a powerful conqueror named Ijokalakal. These seamen had settled in Kiti and Metalanim and conquered the land from there, but then joined the survivors and intermarried with them. From that time the island had been divided into the present five territories, namely Kiti, Metalanim, U, Not and Jakoi. The districts of Auak in U and Peleker in Jakoi had, however, been able to maintain a certain degree of independence.

The internal organisation of these individual districts was in the main identical. They distinguished between the common people (*aramaj mal*), the nobility and the royal family, (insofar as these Western terms are applicable to their institutions). The common people were bondsmen and had no rights whatever to land. Land ownership in the individual districts was shared between the two ruling classes. Every hide of land was distinguished by a particular name and its boundaries were known exactly.

Ownership of each hide of land was not determined simply by inheritance but was in every case granted by the ruler in agreement with the dignitaries. In social relations a person must not be addressed by his name but only by the title of his rank and of his hide of land, so that there were a great number of sonorous titles of nobility. The term for the head of the royal family was *nanmarki* and the heir apparent bore the title of *uajai*. The highest-ranking member of the nobility had the name of *nanekin* and was also addressed as *raja*. Subordinate to him was a long series of titularies in strict order of rank.

In addition to the two ruling classes there was also a priestly caste, of equal rank. The forces of nature were worshipped as deities. The name of the highest god is Tokota, also pronounced Taukatau. Other gods, subordinate to him, are the forces causing the great natural phenomena such as wind, rain, thunder and lightning. Alongside the major gods there are also spirits and hobgoblins: the *ani* and *jokola* who animate nature and can assist or harm human beings. In brief, the people's system of religious ideas was influenced by Asiatic traditions of celestial deities and animistic notions. The decay of their old religion due to the introduction of Christianity had, however, led to a decline in the standing of the priests. Although the priestly caste of titularies still in fact existed, they no longer played any part in public life, although native tradition suggests that the priests at one time were political leaders. In Kiti there was still a clear recollection of a violent struggle in the not-too-distant past between the high priest and the *nanmarki*. This struggle ended with the victory of the high priest and the destruction of the ancient royal dynasty. This social system, briefly outlined here, bears some resemblance to the ancient Japanese feudal system. The large proportion of Japanese words in the language also suggests influences from the north.

About the middle of the last century the Boston Mission began its activities. At that time the island was densely populated. The mission reports relate that measles were brought in in the year 1856, probably by a whaler. There was very heavy mortality. The population has not recovered in numbers since these losses. The census carried out by us in 1901 gave the number of natives on the island as approximately 3,500.

The Capuchin Mission came in with the Spaniards, and succeeded in winning over the districts in the northern part of the island. This revived the old hostility between the north and the south which now took the form of allegiance to either the Spanish Mission or to the Boston Mission. From this an American party and a Spanish party evolved in the country. The Spaniards themselves were involved in bitter fighting with the natives on a number of occasions. In the year 1887 the natives stormed

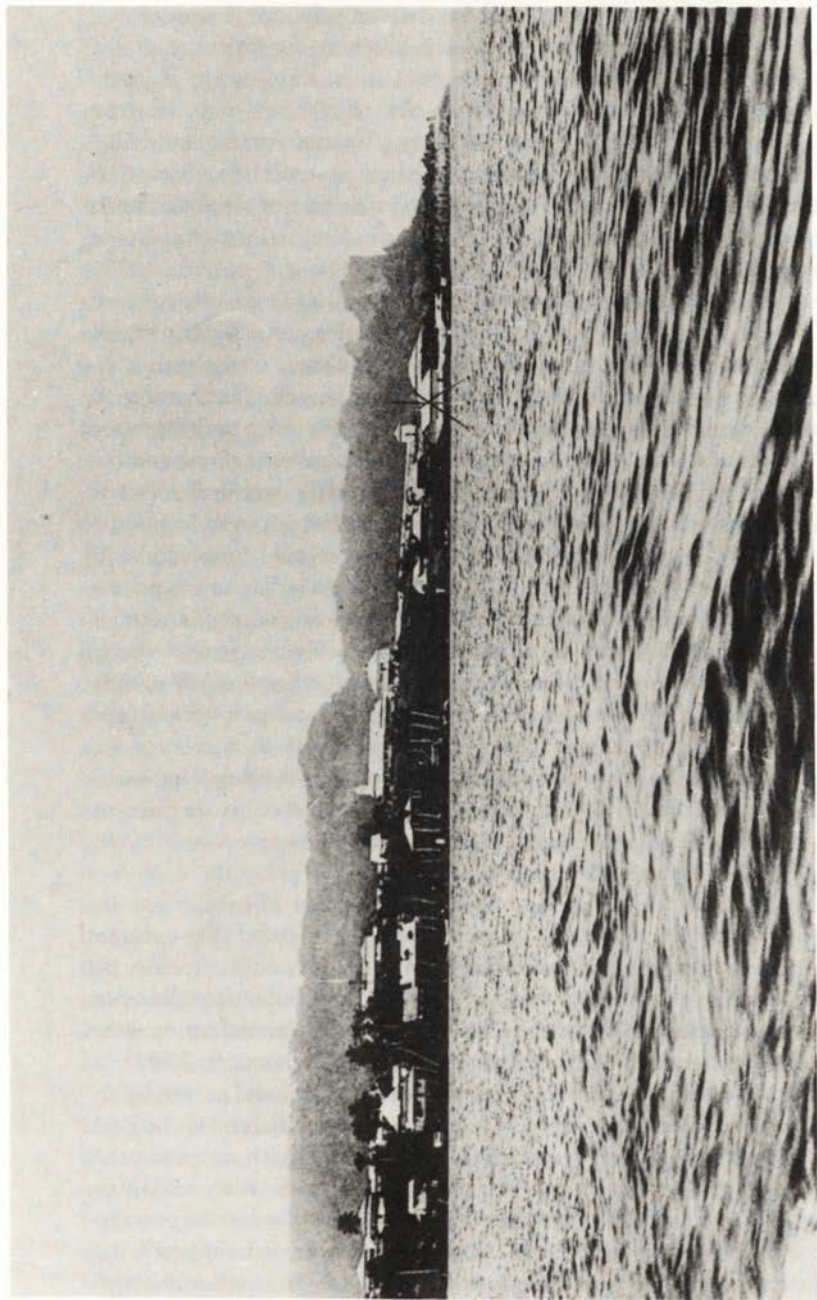


Plate iv The 'Colony' on Ponape (1900). Photograph Dr Hansen, reproduced from P. Hambruch, *Ponape*, Hamburg, 1932.

the fort and massacred the whole garrison including the Governor. Resistance to the Spanish Government was centred on the south in the district of Kiti, the former headquarters of the Boston Mission. The local *nanmarki* was weak and most of the power was in the hands of Henry Nanpei, a native who had been educated in California. In 1890 the Spaniards had established a mission on the point at Roy, on the border between Metalanim and Kiti, and in Kiti itself they had posted a garrison in a small fort. The natives took this fort and killed the men and the mission had to be abandoned.

The situation was particularly unfortunate in the district of U, the larger part of which, led by the *nanmarki*, supported the Protestant or American party, while the district of Auak under its chief Jaulik supported the Spaniards and therefore also the Catholic party, if only out of opposition to the main tribe's lust for domination. Two months before our arrival, open fighting had broken out between the parties in the Bay of Auak and on the border rampart between Auak and U. The Spaniards intervened with their two gunboats and their troops, and the forces of the south were forced to retreat with some losses. The old hatred between these two opponents could therefore flare up again any day.

The state of affairs just described was also reflected in the discussions which I had in the next few days with the chiefs of the northern tribes, who hastened to attend, and with the chiefs of the southern tribes who followed later. The people from the south had not placed too much reliance on my assurances of safe conduct, based on the promises given by the northern tribes. The men from the south, heavily armed and all equipped with good American Winchester repeating rifles, arrived in great canoes. However, as the other party kept its distance, this day also passed off without untoward incident. Henry Nanpei personally conveyed all their requests and complaints to me in excellent English. I explained to both parties that the gates of the fort would be kept open and that no German troops or warships would be brought in, apart from occasional visits by the latter, as long as they remained at peace with each other. It therefore lay within their own power to decide whether they would usher in a new age of prosperity for themselves or bring about their own destruction by continuing to fight among themselves.

Peace took up its abode on the island and continued unbroken.

The total number of inhabitants within the defensive wall was about 200. In the course of the next few weeks this number increased with the admission of about 30 Tagals who had been brought to Ponape as convicts by the Spaniards and had escaped into the wooded mountains of the interior. First one man was brought in sick by the natives. He was

admitted to the hospital and received medical attention, and after he recovered I made use of him to advise his companions that I would take them in and employ them and then later, at the earliest opportunity, arrange for them to be sent home to the Philippines. In reply, they asked whether I would hand them over to the Spaniards. I denied this and then they arrived in quick succession one after another. Some of them settled down as gardeners outside the wall and some entered the service of the Government as carpenters and smiths. They performed useful service until they were repatriated.

The roughly 200 inhabitants of the main settlement spoke seventeen different languages. This gave rise to a great deal of confusion until the Ponape language was learnt and communication became possible. I myself set an example, for until the language was mastered it was impossible to acquire any greater influence among the natives.

One week after the visit from the southern tribes I announced to the tribal chiefs that I would return the visit. I began in Jakoi, which could be easily reached by rowing-boat, and in Not, which lay within the same large harbour. It was obvious that that excellent man, Padre José, had prepared the way for me here. I was received with great ceremony. I then boarded the cutter in order to go to visit the southern tribes. I was particularly well received in Kiti. The people and their chiefs in festive array were waiting for me on a small island at the entrance to the harbour. The whole catch of a large fishing expedition lay heaped up before a hall into which I was led. The women wreathed me with garlands and I also had to submit to being anointed with oil. Then the *nanekin*, on behalf of the *nanmarki* who was resting on a litter, presented me with all the fish and bade me dispose of it. Henry Nanpei explained that this reception ritual signified that the people of Kiti were placing themselves under my rule. I handed over to the *nanekin* the delicate task of the distribution of the fish. We then continued on our voyage, escorted by a fleet of canoes.

Henry Nanpei's estate was situated on a ridge running inland from the furthest tip of the deep inlet of Kiti. There I was accommodated in a cottage built in the European style and was a guest at the table of Nanpei. His wife's standard of education and knowledge of the English language were unusual for a native. She conducted a girls' school, while a native assistant was in charge of a boys' school. Nanpei himself played the role of a pastor and kept his people together by powerful Sunday sermons. The *nanmarki* himself was an unfortunate cripple suffering from bad wounds. His recovery as the result of treatment by the Government doctor, Dr Girschner, clearly made a very favourable impression.

In Metalanim a feast was held in my honour in the meeting house at the

royal seat (Pankatara). The *nanmarki*, who was also addressed ceremonially as *ijo* (the first) made it clear that the Metalanim district laid claim to primacy on the island.

Things appeared to be in better shape in the U district. The old *nanmarki* had recently died. According to native law or custom the titularly next in rank, the *uajai*, should have become the ruler. He, however, was a Catholic and supported the Spaniards because he belonged to the clan of the *jaulik* in Auak. The Protestant party therefore refused to acknowledge him, and had proclaimed another titularly, likewise of royal blood, as *uajai* and therefore successor to the ruler. They now desired me to confirm the new overlord as *nanmarki* and therefore as ruler over the whole district. I could only reply that I first intended to make the acquaintance of the other man, the real *nanmarki*. I made contact with him in the course of the same journey, in Auak, where the *jaulik*, a venerable old man, met me with an identical request, namely, to appoint his relative as ruler. I told both parties to keep the peace until I came to give my decision in the presence of all the dignitaries.

I arrived back in Mejenienig after eight days' absence and was told that, as was customary in Ponape, the wildest rumours had circulated while I was away, and that they had in fact not expected to see me again alive.

This round of visits had left me with the impression that apart from the disputed succession in U, there were no real grounds for the resumption of fighting between the various districts. By now, these folk had themselves probably got tired of the eternal squabbling and longed for peace and quiet. To achieve this, in consultation with the tribal chiefs, I looked on as my chief task for the next few months.

However, I found another source of anxiety within the walls themselves. Since the departure of the ships Ponape had been cut off from the outside world. When I set out from Berlin a connecting steamship service had not yet been organised. Some considerable time might be expected to elapse before a reliable communication service was introduced and supplies brought in. There was no extensive native agriculture. The individual houses were surrounded by groves of coconut palms and bread-fruit trees, in the shade of which, wherever the soil was rich in humus, yams were grown over smaller or larger areas. There were small banana groves along the creeks and rivers. This random style of gardening might well suffice for the needs of the individual families, including the required tribute to the feudal landlords, but the prospects for supplying the market and thereby provisioning the settlement at Mejenienig were poor.

The field of about one hundred and fifty hectares outside the walls which had been cleared by the Spaniards was now covered with young

regrowth right up to the gates. In order to remove all danger of a food shortage, I decided to remove all these saplings and to replant the area. The time between six and eight o'clock in the morning was taken up with military drill, boat and shooting practice, but then came work in the fields.

When I commenced cultivation of this field I found that there was little prospect of good returns. The island, with an area of somewhat more than four hundred square kilometres, consists entirely of basalt. The decomposition of this rock on the slopes from the mountains down to the sea and on the narrow coastal plain had not yet reached any depth. On top of the rocky base lay a shallow layer of reddish soil mixed with gravel, with many protruding rocks. The heavy rains caused serious erosion of the soil where it was exposed, leaving the hard red gravel visible to the eye everywhere. This meant that planting could not be done at ground level after clearing, but that the soil had to be heaped up at regular intervals to ensure growth. This involved a great deal of labour. The crops we selected were sweet potatoes, bananas, some yams, and we also raised some coconuts in plantations. I also saw to it that as far as the seeds we had brought with us would allow fruit trees were planted inside the walls and along the two existing short roads to the nearest stream.

However, these measures alone were not sufficient, for the stocks of rice and meat would inevitably run out long before the first harvest. It also transpired that the shops had no stocks—on the contrary, the commercial firms as well as the Mission applied to me to provision them from the Government stores. I was forced to broach our reserves. The only game in the forest consisted of pigeons and the very heavily eroded heathlands were populated by fowls run wild, but the sea was full of fish. Pigs and goats were kept as domestic animals on the island and Henry Nanpei also ran an impressive herd of cattle which came originally from the Boston Mission. I established a pig and goat farm and had fishing-nets made by the skilled Melanesians. These ventures were all successful and we were also able to secure certain supplies from the natives. I was also particularly concerned to provide something for Padre José's table. But the Father also came to my assistance in the battle for survival. He had a poultry run and a small vegetable garden. I still remember with pleasure one occasion when I had sent him over a fine big fish and he replied with a little note in which he announced sadly: '*Hodie pulluli mei non habent ova.*'

Just as urgent as the maintenance of food supplies was the task of cleaning up the settlement and its immediate surroundings, in particular the moat round the fortress, which had filled up with all sorts of rubbish. It was crawling with scorpions and centipedes. Apart from Government

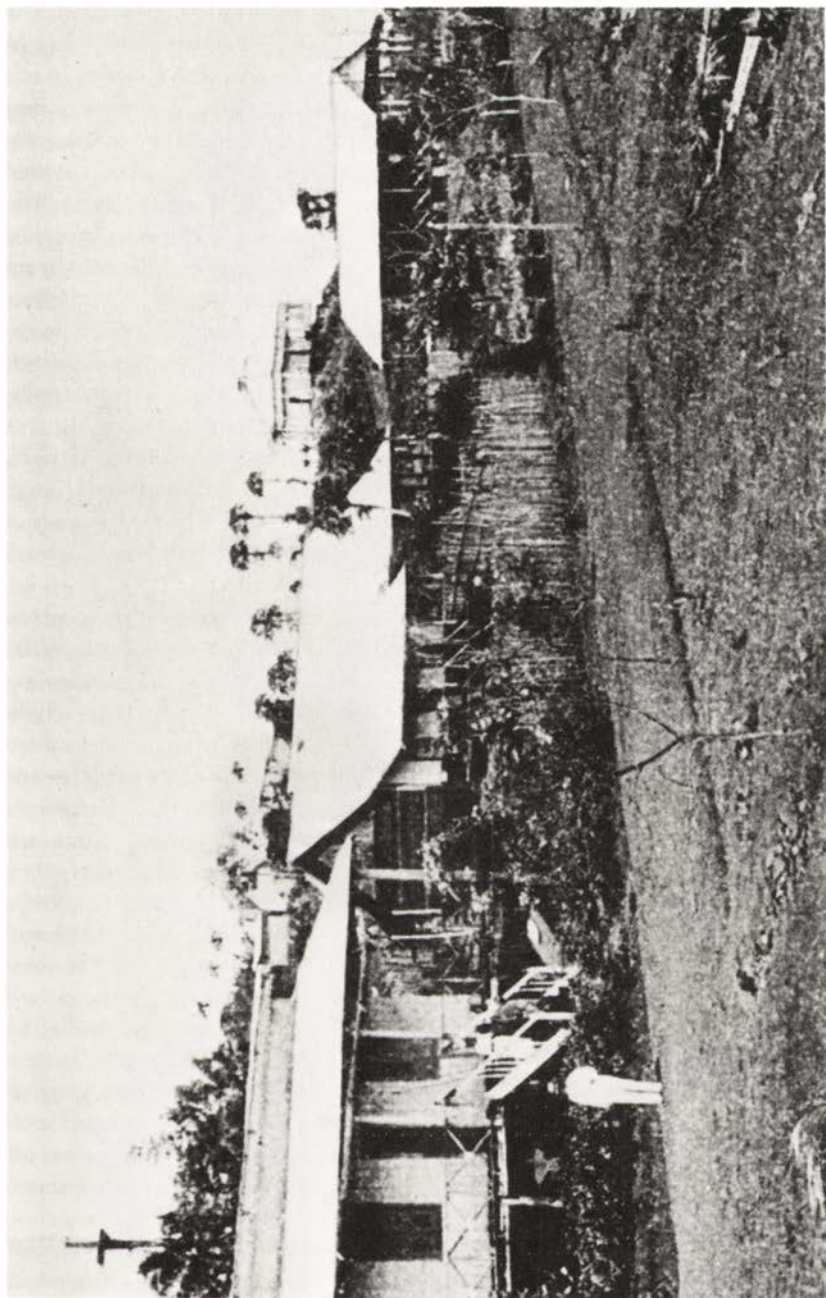


Plate v Street in the 'Colony' on Ponape. Photograph Dr Hansen, reproduced from G. Wegener, *Deutschland im Stillen Ozean*, Bielefeld, 1903.

House and the hospital all the residential buildings were dilapidated. The Tagals whom I had engaged proved of great assistance here. There was an abundance of building timber to be had in the mangrove forests in the vicinity. For good ready cash the natives could be persuaded to cut timber and to float it to the site in rafts. Serviceable beams could be cut from this heavy hardwood. The carpentry tools we had brought with us proved invaluable. Two of the Tagals were good smiths and metalworkers. The tradesmen were all accommodated in the quarters of the detachment of marines. The ground floor was used for workshops and the men were quartered in the rooms on the upper floor. I had the two blockhouses inside the walls demolished. The corrugated iron, beams and planks were most welcome as building material. On a reef in the harbour lay the wreck of a Spanish sailing ship, the *Maria Molina*, from which we took nails, bolts, planks and anything else that could still be used. In this way it was possible to repair the houses of the officials and erect serviceable barracks for the soldiers and labourers. A ten ton lighter was also built to facilitate the transportation of timber and other goods. The area inside the walls of Mejeniang therefore presented a scene of cheerful activity from early till late.

My tour of the island had also shown that the natives were in many cases in need of medical attention. There was in fact no malaria on the island, but I frequently observed festering sores on their bodies and to my horror also leprosy. The natives also suffered greatly from chills. *Regierungsrat* Dr Girschner was ready at all times to assist and advise them. He soon mastered their language and the patients came to the hospital in such numbers that the wards were soon all full. The natives acquired the habit of seeking out Dr Girschner and finding in him not only a skilled physician but also a great and humane friend in need.

While I had been taken up with these practical tasks, I had received a number of visits from individual chiefs of high standing, so that I had acquired real insight into the mood and the wishes of the people. I realised that lasting peace could be achieved among these volatile people only if the accumulation of ancient disputes of all kinds could be settled by arbitration or by agreement among the parties. There were endless squabbles about boundaries and land ownership, about the ownership of fruit trees and fishing grounds, about money and goods connected with trade and last but not least bitter family disputes. I could intervene only if I could be confident that my decision would be enforced and for that I needed the support of the tribal chiefs.

Although European influences had largely eroded and destroyed traditional ways, the external framework of the original system of rule had

been preserved. All that was needed therefore was to keep this system intact in the eyes of the people and to endow it with new authority. This I was resolved to do and, to ensure that I could work effectively everywhere within this system, I therefore also had to settle the wretched dispute about the royal succession in the district of U. I announced my intention to pay a visit there and found the dignitaries and the people assembled on the royal square when I landed. I was received with ceremony and conducted into a meeting-house. I informed them that I was taking the decision into my own hands only because they themselves wished it, but that they must accept the fact that when I had once pronounced my verdict, it would be backed by forces on which I could call if required. They must all therefore clearly understand that the losing side would have to submit to the decision.

This speech was received quietly enough. I instructed the two candidates for the throne to seat themselves in front of me and invited the dignitaries to form groups around them. By far the greater number supported the new *uajai*, while the lineal claimant had but few friends. I therefore told them that they themselves had decided the issue by grouping themselves in this manner, and that I and the Government regarded the new *uajai* as the legitimate *nanmarki*. A loud proclamation to this effect was then also made to the people standing outside. The crowd pressed close and cleared a path for me as I returned to my rowing-boat. I was barely a hundred metres from the shore when a terrible shouting and commotion was heard. I turned round immediately and went ashore and walked towards the meeting-house. I found that although the bondsmen were shouting and gesticulating wildly, the commotion was caused by the dignitaries and their immediate supporters who had fallen on each other with knives. My appearance put an end to the fighting. I then ordered the minority party to board their canoes immediately, in my presence, and to depart. This instruction was carried out, and I could see that these folk were themselves quite pleased to get home across the sea under my protection.

This ticklish business was thus disposed of. The minority party migrated from U to Auak, and there were no further disturbances. In order to make quite certain, I visited the old *jaulik* in Auak a short time later, and received assurances from him and his followers, and also from the unsuccessful pretender himself, that they were glad the dispute was over and done with and that they would henceforth keep the peace. And peace reigned thereafter.

There was also a minor sequel involving U: The new ruler required medical help for a leg wound which he had neglected. His followers

brought him to us and the doctor quickly diagnosed that gangrene had already set in. There was no choice but to remove the left leg below the knee, to which the unfortunate man agreed. The amputation was successful and contributed greatly not only to the reputation of the doctor but to the growth of mutual trust between U and Mejenieng.

The inhabitants of the district of Peleker had made the most enthusiastic response of all to my appeals for provisions for the little colony. The Peleker people were called *tip en uai* (tribe from a strange land) by the natives, and also gave themselves this name. Their tribal chief bore the title of *lap* (seigneur). I had not yet paid a visit to these folk as they lived in the foothills east of Jakoi. I now proceeded thither and found that this little ethnic remnant seemed to have retained its old customs more faithfully than any of the other inhabitants of Ponape. I soon set out on long journeys on foot with the *lap* and his entourage, into the hinterland and right up into the mountains. These expeditions were called pigeon and partridge hunts, but were valuable to me because they afforded a clear picture of the structure of the island. I was confirmed in my impression, as stated above, that neither the coastal plains nor the mountains themselves were suitable for cultivation. Above an altitude of 200 metres there was very little soil. Bare and rugged, the basalt formations towered overhead. I later completed my knowledge of the island by crossing it from south to north and by climbing the highest mountain from Kiti, but found no grounds for modifying this conclusion.

In the course of these journeys I also came to the *tol en peiej* on the eastern side of the island, where I found the ancient site where the enormous basalt pillars were cut and then brought along the coast on rafts to Metalanim to be used in building the enormous structures which are now known by the name of Nanmatal. I also found an earthen wall running from Kiti to Peleker across the foothills and heathlands, about whose origin and significance nothing was now known. I was told by Henry Nanpei there was a legend current in Kiti that this wall had been built as a defence against attacks by the original dark-skinned inhabitants. Nor was there any reliable account of the history or significance of the stone edifices in Metalanim. It seems probable that they were built by the conquerors under Ijokalakal as a fortress during the wars of conquest, and later used as tombs for deceased kings, hence the word Nanmatal.

On these expeditions with the *lap* of Peleker I had noticed that as we approached the mountains we always skirted the areas directly behind Peleker. At my request I was then taken by the direct route to the mountain range in the interior. When we had climbed about two hundred metres, a very weathered and half-ruined wall appeared. When I wanted

to approach it, the *lap* took me by the arm and told me not to—this was the home of the spirits of their great ancestors. If their rest were ever disturbed a great misfortune must strike his people. And so I had to content myself with viewing the wall from a distance, for I naturally could not offend the local people.

I made use of the friendship which had grown up between myself and the Peleker people and my increasing knowledge of the language to gain an insight into their family structure and legal system. In the end they trusted me so completely that, when we were discussing their ancient religion, they confessed openly that although they had a great respect for the padre and even went to his church on Sundays, in their innermost hearts and among themselves they held to the beliefs of their fathers. One night when the moon was full they actually allowed me to attend a secret religious ceremony held at the edge of the great heath between the foothills and the main mountain range. After a number of solemn prayers to the great gods, recited by the *jaumaro* or chief priest, the attention of the assemblage was focused on an old woman who was seated at a higher level and chewing assiduously at some raw *kava* roots (*Piper methysticum*). I was unable to decide whether this induced in her a genuine state of trance or whether the trance was simulated. Be this as it may, she began to mumble disconnected words, and then to answer specific questions put to her by the *jaumaro* and the *lap*, who listened eagerly to all she had to say. I understood nothing of what passed between them—I was told that they were using the special language of the priests. Finally the old woman told my own fortune: it may now be revealed that not one of her predictions came true.

The discussions I had with Nanpei, who had built a small house in Mejenieng to stay in when on visits there, also helped to deepen my knowledge of the country. With great kindness, Padre José too was always ready to share with me his great fund of experience. Eventually I began to settle all the internal strife within the Peleker tribe by peaceful agreement, which was not difficult to achieve. On the other hand difficulties quickly arose when the *lap* attempted, with my help, to make himself independent of Jakoi. For this purpose he cleverly made use of a border dispute, which, after lengthy investigation, I was able to settle only by partitioning the sought-after estates in question. Although this was probably the correct decision, it was neither possible nor right to release the old *lap* from his status as subject to Jakoi on these grounds.

As a consequence of my stand in support of the ancient tribal organisation and system of rule, the tribal chiefs were now quite prepared to settle all quarrels within their own borders and with neighbouring tribes.

And I was now besieged by requests from all quarters. At first I tried to record a summarised account of each dispute and of the verdicts passed. But when I had reached dispute number six hundred I gave up this massive paper-work and made do with a small notebook, which proved adequate to ensure that the decisions reached were in fact carried out. Only decisions concerning boundaries required to be recorded in exact detail.

After some experience, I changed the procedure: in order to lighten my own workload, I involved the tribal chiefs in the legal proceedings. In time a kind of division of labour evolved, whereby the jurisdiction of the first instance, apart from disputes involving large amounts, and land boundaries, and decisions on serious and moral offences was left to the tribal chiefs. I had to move about continually in the little cutter and soon got to know the island and local conditions better than the natives themselves, whose knowledge was in general confined to their own tribal territory.

In the middle of November Captain Melander came into port from Kusaie with his little schooner. He called on me and paid out a thousand Manila pesos (two thousand marks) on to my desk to discharge his fine. I took the money into safe-keeping and assured him that I would submit a request to have the fine remitted and refunded if he would undertake to sail to Hong Kong with his schooner to fetch rice and other goods for Ponape. Supplies had dwindled alarmingly and there were no prospects of a harvest for a long time. Fish, yams and breadfruit were now therefore the staple articles of diet. The captain agreed and put to sea. This also provided an opportunity of sending mail to Germany.

The Jaluit Gesellschaft had not been able to replenish its stocks in Langar either, because the schooner commissioned for this had run aground. As time passed a watchful lookout was kept for Melander. Just as that excellent official, police-sergeant Braun, was reporting to me that the last bag of rice had been opened, and that he was very concerned for the health of the Malays should they be deprived of their traditional diet, a mighty shout of jubilation arose: the sharp eyes of the Melanesians had caught sight of the little ship on the horizon. It was already April. Melander had had a hard crossing both ways, but he had brought us everything that had been ordered.

There was also a German family from Nürnberg on board—a mother, two daughters and a son-in-law, who wanted to settle on Ponape as planters. When I asked them why they had selected this particular island as their destination, they replied that they had read that the people here lived under breadfruit trees and had only to stretch out their hands to

obtain the necessities of life. However, the mother had taken the precaution of securing substantial credit with the Jaluit Gesellschaft, so that they were relieved of financial anxiety at least for the immediate future. I found accommodation for this immigrant family.

They soon realised that the island was not suitable for establishing a plantation. The young man turned out to be a mechanic and conceived plans for constructing a sawmill. I did not doubt his capacity to do this, but advised him that although he could undoubtedly cut large quantities of timber he would not be able to market them on the island. And unfortunately this in fact turned out to be the case. As ill-luck would have it, the sawmill, which was working very well, was destroyed one day by a terrible flood and washed out to sea. Later, when the shipping line was established, the family migrated to the United States and did well there, according to letters I received. Berlin granted old Captain Melander *ex gratia* remission of the fine and I handed him back his pesos.

But I have anticipated events with this digression and must return to my narrative.

I have already mentioned that the natives were well equipped with Winchester repeating rifles and cartridges, supplied annually by whaling ships from San Francisco, sailing ships with two hundred and fifty to three hundred tons capacity. In November one of these ships came into port at Ponape and anchored. Captain Montgomery came ashore and said that he wanted to see whether we were actually all still alive. He had read newspaper reports that we had established ourselves in Ponape without any military troops. When I replied that, as he could see, we were all very well, and that I must request him to show his ship's papers and had also found it necessary to impose certain customs restrictions in order to stop the illicit trade in arms, the captain only laughed and said: 'With my crew I could easily overthrow your Government but I prefer to clear out and will drop anchor at Kiti. I need fresh water and provisions, which I will get from my old friends there.'

We parted company and the Captain put to sea. I followed hard on his heels in the cutter. However, this time the voyage to Kiti was not as smooth as former crossings. The cutter capsized in a heavy squall which descended on us suddenly from the mountains. The whole of the crew was thrown into the water. Two of the Melanesians were swimming near me and I pointed to the cutter, which was beginning to sink. As the huge seas prevented me from getting close to them, I made signs for them to dive into the open hatch from below and to rip out the ballast. Without hesitation, these two splendid fellows carried out my instructions. The cutter rose to the surface again and drifted on. I had brought along my

Chinese cook; he was floating near me and I could see that his strength was beginning to fail. I wrapped his long pigtail round my left arm and continued to drift with the waves.

At a distance of about two kilometres there rose before us a luminous sandbank, part of the outer reef and pounded on all sides by heavy surf. Fortunately the wind and the current carried us in that direction. My only anxiety was the thought that sharks might take a fancy to us.

However, luck favoured us and we reached the sandbank, although the heavy surf prevented us from landing. The Melanesians, who could swim like fishes, dived under and through the surf and got a firm foothold on the reef. They signalled to me to let the Chinaman sink and to take the same route to safety. Things looked extremely bad when suddenly a canoe with natives shot up to us. They had been fishing beyond the reef when they saw us. The Chinaman and myself as well as Captain Martens and the other members of the party were then brought ashore. Finally the cutter also drifted along. We all waded out to sea again to bring it to safety, pulling and tugging it round the sandbank and its extensive reef into the lee, where we succeeded in righting it again and setting it on its keel. At the next ebb-tide the water was pumped out of the boat and next day we reached the harbour at Kiti. All our provisions and luggage had gone to the bottom of the sea.

To continue with the story about my cook: for some time after he was brought ashore he lay unconscious. When the attempts made to resuscitate him were at last successful and he opened his eyes, his first words were: 'Master, I have lost fifty dollars.' The poor Chinaman had sewn his savings into the waistband of his trousers and the weight of his hoard of coins had sucked the garment down into the depths. Not until we reached Kiti was I able to cover his nakedness by replacing his trousers and to restore his *joie de vivre* by promising to make good his loss.

There were three whaling-ships lying in the harbour of Kiti. I paid a visit to Captain Montgomery and was shown how the ship was fitted out for whaling. But I was even more fascinated by the comings and goings on board. The deck was swarming with natives, especially women. The ship's hatches were open and from them highly-prized wares were making their appearance: rifles, ammunition, dress materials, alcoholic drinks. Payment was in cash, or failing cash, the women made themselves available. I told Captain Montgomery quite frankly that this would probably be his last visit to the island, for by the following year I would have organised the forces necessary to put down this disgraceful trade.

In connection with the commerce in women, it should perhaps be mentioned that in Ponape as in fact all over Micronesia, unmarried

women were free agents. They could act exactly as they pleased in their relations with men. In the course of a discussion with Padre José on these matters, he described them in these words: *sunt quasi caprae in silva*.

On 28 December a three-master chartered by the Jaluit Gesellschaft came into port, bringing coal, trade goods and provisions for the Europeans, so that there were no further grounds for anxiety on their account. There was also mail from Germany dated up to 8 October on board. A very welcome new member of my staff also arrived by this sailing-ship: Secretary Albert Vahlkampf, who had gained experience in colonial affairs during his service in the Netherlands Indies.

In February S.M. cruiser *Seeadler* arrived, commanded by Corvette Captain Schack. He had plans for an extended stay in these waters, which proved very pleasant for all parties. The officers and crew enjoyed the rest. Every day several detachments came ashore and hunted for pigeon or partridge under the guidance of the Peleker tribesmen, or bathed and washed in the cool waters of the stream. They developed a positive passion for doing their personal laundry, for the small girls of Ponape turned up in large numbers to help the sailors.

After the rest period, the cruiser filled its bunkers and set out with me on a short cruise to Kusaie and Ngatik atoll. There was nothing of particular note in Kusaie. I visited the stone edifices at Lele, which are identical in material and layout with those at Nanmatal, although they cover a smaller area and are less impressive in dimensions. I was able to inform Melander's family that they would probably have to wait a long time for his return.

I called at Ngatik because the natives had reported that it was suffering from a famine. This atoll had been visited by typhoons twice within a short space of time. The inhabitants told me that the islands had been completely submerged by water, leading to the complete destruction of all plant life with the exception of the coconut palms. In some cases they had to climb up the coconut palms to save their lives, but the worst was now over. I was struck by the impressive build and European appearance of these people. One old man and several women were brought up to me and told me in the Ponape language that they were the only survivors of the earlier inhabitants. When they were children, they said, the island was overrun by pirates who had shot down all the men in order to take all the women and settle on the island. This explained the strong European cast of their features.

The *Seeadler* sailed from Ponape bound for Herbertshöhe and I was able to take this opportunity to send mail to the Governor and to Berlin. After the departure of the cruiser we returned with greater energy to our

normal occupations. Although he had received my reassuring reports forwarded by the *Seeadler*, the Governor was nevertheless anxious about the state of affairs in Ponape. He therefore arrived on board his small steamer *Stephan* soon after Melander had returned to port with his schooner. This voyage by the *Stephan* was an extremely bold venture, made possible by stacking coal beforehand at Nusa (Neu Mecklenburg) so that the ship could take on more coal there. I was able to report good progress to the Governor, particularly as I now felt equal to the demands of the situation. Herr von Bennigsen had to abandon his plans to pay a visit to the Truk atoll as well, as there were no stocks of coal there. He set out on the return voyage to Nusa. It may well be regarded as a miracle that the small ship made the return journey safely, being favoured by good weather.

On 10 August I happened to be in the Aru district, in the territory of Metalanim, the seat of the *uajai*, who was urging me to settle a large number of disputes about land. While I was conducting negotiations with the interested parties in the meeting-house, suddenly there was loud shouting. A native came running up and announced that a large steamer had been sighted heading for Langar. Could it possibly be the anxiously awaited German mail steamer? I boarded my boat and as I drew closer I could see the German flag waving. There were some good friends of mine on board, particularly Captain Krebs, the commander of the steamer *München*, and Max Thiel, the head of the firm of HERNSHEIM & CO., who was setting out on leave. The fiancée of the Government doctor, Dr GIRSCHNER, was also on board, as well as *Geheimrat* Dr Robert Koch and his staff. The latter had completed his investigations into the incidence and treatment of malaria in New Guinea and now wished to study conditions in the islands on his way through. I first had to deal with cargo and mail matters, but later in the evening there was a jolly party on board, attended by all without exception. Long after the last guest had departed I sat with Dr Koch till the early hours of the morning, supplying him with information and listening to his words of wisdom about his colonial experiences.

I had invited the passengers and the Captain to be my guests on the following morning, on the occasion of the marriage of the Government doctor and his bride. The newly-weds then boarded the ship, for the Governor had sent instructions for the Government doctor to be sent at the earliest opportunity to Saipan, where the health of the natives was not good. This meant that I was now responsible for the administration of the hospital and the care of the surgical patients.

However, the wonderful steamship service established by the Norddeutscher Lloyd from Sydney via Herbertshöhe and the Island

Territory to Hong Kong was disrupted soon afterwards because the fine steamer *München* ran aground on the reef at Jap and was finally salvaged only at very great cost. The mail service was interrupted and delayed yet again, until the Jaluit Gesellschaft finally established a regular line, running from Sydney via Jaluit to Hong Kong with the small steamer *Oceana*. This meant that we were again left without a direct service to New Guinea.

On its last voyage the *München* had brought a fine roomy launch and a ship's engineer named Scharlauck, an old Navy man, who performed sterling service for us. This made travel round the island a great deal easier, and the little ship served both Europeans and natives well on innumerable occasions, until a typhoon in the year 1904 sent it to the bottom of the sea.

In November 1900 the cruiser *Cormoran*, commander Corvette Captain, later Vice-Admiral Grapow, came into port. My representations regarding the whaling ships had borne fruit. The cruiser came prepared for an extended stay. A defence post was established in the port of Lot and another in the port of Kiti, both equipped with a light cannon. These measures were greatly facilitated by the new launch which made it possible to maintain regular communications.

The warship had arrived at a most opportune moment. Captain Montgomery came into port in Langar and came ashore immediately. He told me that he would have preferred to turn back immediately on sighting the cruiser, but he urgently needed supplies of water and firewood, and proposed to obtain these in Kiti. When I informed him that he would meet with the same reception there as here, he bowed to the inevitable, took on the necessary supplies in port and put to sea again. Two more whaling-ships approached the port of Kiti from the south but were informed by the natives of the steps we had taken and forthwith took to the high seas again. From that time on Ponape was spared further visits by whalers.

As there were sufficient supplies of coal at hand, I was also able to make a voyage on board this fine cruiser to Truk atoll, the largest and most populous of the Caroline Islands. The natives there had been engaged in internecine warfare involving the use of firearms and some loss of life. The guns were said to have been supplied by Japanese traders established there. When the trading stations were searched a large quantity of firearms and ammunition was confiscated, and details of the extent of the illicit trade were obtained by questioning. I therefore closed down these trading stations and brought the traders to Ponape, from there they were later sent to Japan at the earliest opportunity. The dis-

putes among the islanders themselves were settled amicably with the valuable assistance of the leader of the Boston Mission in Truk, the Rev. Martin Luther Stimson. During the whole of their stay, over many long weeks, the officers and crew of the cruiser devoted their energies indefatigably to the needs of the colony.

By the beginning of the year 1901 my efforts to bring about a settlement of all the long-standing disputes on Ponape had also finally been successful. The mutual distrust among the natives disappeared, peaceful conditions and freedom and safety of movement became the rule. I invited all the tribal chiefs and distinguished dignitaries to the official celebrations for the Kaiser's birthday. The officers of the warship and Padre José also took part. The latter held a solemn service in the church. Thirty-five persons dined at my table. Toasts in the German and Ponape languages bore witness to the cordiality of relations. Particularly impressive was the speech made in Ponape and English by Henry Nanpei, chosen as their spokesman by all the dignitaries to express the heartfelt gratitude of the people.

In February the steamer *Oceana* brought me news of Rudolf von Bennigsen's intention to go on leave in the summer, as he no longer felt equal to the severe strain imposed by the climate. He informed me that I would presumably have to act as his deputy. This was confirmed by an order from Berlin which came to me by the next mail, and which also instructed me to proceed to Herbertshöhe via Jap the following May. I had already sent on ahead with the *Cormoran* my Melanesians, whose term of service had long since expired. Sister Auguste Hertzner and Herr Parkinson also returned to Blanche Bay by the same vessel. They had come by the last steamer, the *München*, to convalesce from severe attacks of malaria as welcome guests in my house. Herr Parkinson went for many walks with me through the various surrounding districts in order to add to his collections and to his ethnological knowledge.

Before my departure I had to make my farewells. Since hatred and discord had been laid aside, the people's love of festivities, of singing and dancing, feasting and ceremonial libations, had revived. I prefer to spare the reader details of all the feasting I was obliged to submit to on my farewell tour of the island, and will close with a few illustrations of the lighter side of the islanders' character.

An occasion for festivities could always be found. At the season of the breadfruit harvest every vassal entertained his feudal lord and the high-ranking titularies also invited each other. There were so many different harvests that there was no end to the feasting. There were also special festivals to mark the yam harvest; changes in feudal tenure, promotions in rank, joyful family events, successful fishing expeditions and so on were

all occasions for the clan or for individuals bound by allegiance to a particular titular to foregather in the meeting-house. The raised platform at the back opposite the completely open front-gable was occupied by the high dignitaries, the nobility sat along the sides and the common people disported themselves in the body of the hall and prepared the food and drink. Kava-drinking was an essential feature of every feast.

The Boston Mission had forbidden its adherents to drink either this national drink or alcohol. The Catholic Mission tolerated both and the Spanish Government permitted the sale of alcohol to the natives. Many were the sinful lapses on the south side of the island, particularly during visits to the north side, but the huge flat stones on which the raw kava root was macerated into pulp were no longer to be seen in the great halls of the south.

The sappy pulp prepared from the roots was wrapped in a bundle covered with tree fibres and squeezed dry. The juice extracted—called *jakan*—was collected in a coconut shell. The brimming shell was passed from hand to hand until it reached a vassal considered sufficiently worthy to offer it to the most exalted person present. Crouched squatting before him, he proffered the cup to this lord with his right hand, supporting his right arm with his left hand. He was not permitted to raise his eyes. The populace remained silent while the person thus honoured allowed a decorous interval to elapse before taking up the cup. He first poured out a few drops while invoking the tribal ancestors, then at long last drained the favoured potion in one long draught. The ice was now broken and the populace came into its own. Cup and pipe circulated freely.

Personally I found this drink detestable. It tasted like soap-suds. However, it had many enthusiastic devotees and there was no shortage of traditional drinking customs. They drank each other's health in kava and wherever the good old customs were still kept up, ancient songs (called *ap*) were sung while the kava went the rounds, and were sometimes accompanied by hand-drums (*eip*). I myself attended a few of these old traditional drinking feasts presided over by the *lap en Peleker* in all their ancient glory. The women and girls joined whole-heartedly in the drinking and singing. There was no drunkenness like the drunkenness after alcohol: under the influence of the kava the drinkers finally went to sleep. The after-effects were said to consist in a weakness at the knees. I was never able to find out what type of excitation, if any, kava produced.

When I boarded the *Oceana* in May, I was greatly moved at leaving Ponape. My term of more than one and a half years there had brought with it an abundance of hard work and anxiety, but had also greatly deepened my knowledge and experience.

I was glad to be returning to my old post. The journey to Jap had an

unfortunate ending: in the early dawn the *Oceana* ran on to a reef off the island. At first the ship remained stuck fast and all attempts to get her off by operating the screws proved vain. Some canoes with natives came alongside from the shore and I gave them a report of the accident, to be forwarded to District Commissioner Senfft. The ship had run aground at high tide, and with the ebb-tide it developed a bad list. A high wind and sea came up, and the hull lifted and repeatedly struck the rocks with a mighty thud. The captain had already decided to jettison the cargo, in a last attempt to get off with the rising tide, when a spiral of smoke appeared on the horizon. A steamer was coming in our direction. I boarded a boat and sailed toward the ship. It was the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamer *Nuentung*, commander Captain Minssen, with the equipment for the German South Pole expedition on board. I persuaded the captain to attempt to salvage our ship, and he actually succeeded in getting her off at the next full tide. The *Nuentung* towed our small ship clear of the reef. The *Oceana* must have been severely damaged because when the pumps were started they barely succeeded in keeping the water out of the hold.

In Jap I took up quarters with District Commissioner Senfft. I had to wait three weeks for the arrival of the steamer due from Hong Kong and I therefore had ample time to become acquainted with the natives and the work of the District Commissioner.

I particularly remember one amusing feature of local life there. The natives' 'money', which has become well-known and has been frequently described, consisted of huge stone wheels which were brought over from the Palau Group. The standing and influence of the local grandees was bound up with the possession of these stones, which were set up in front of their houses. The District Commissioner set great store by careful maintenance of existing roads, construction of new roads, keeping the villages and their surroundings clean and encouraging the cultivation of food crops. Naturally this led to differences of opinion. In cases of disobedience he had sometimes confiscated these stones and had them brought to the District Office. When the required labour had been performed, these stones then had to be returned to their owners. This was a very laborious process, but a brilliant idea saved the situation: next time there was a case of disobedience the District Commissioner set out with a Malay policeman armed with a paint-pot and brush and painted the letters K.B.A. (*Kaiserliches Bezirksamt* [Imperial District Office]) on the stones belonging to the offender, thus indicating that they had been confiscated. The letters were painted in high quality paint and were indelible. The confiscation could be revoked only by subsequently cross-

ing out the letters, and to my delight I found numerous stones bearing a number of these inscriptions.

The Spanish Capuchin Mission was active on Jap. The Prior, Padre Salesius, was a recognised authority on the local language. In general the natives of Jap made a far more negative response to the efforts of the Mission than the people of Ponape, where at least outwardly the entire population were acknowledged Christians.

I arrived at Herbertshöhe on 26 June. I took up quarters in the Governor's residence on Vunabakut Hill (seat in the clouds). This was a magnificent new building which had been erected since my last visit. I found that the little old office by the beach no longer existed. A fine spacious office block had been constructed near the recently built Hotel Fürst Bismarck established by Frau Kolbe. The Neu Guinea Compagnie had also set up another hotel, the Deutscher Hof, to provide board and lodging for guests. I would not have known the quiet little Kokopo of former days again.

Two days after the arrival of the mail steamer the Russian cruiser *Gromoboi*, commander Captain von Jessen, came into port. This was a large modern warship returning from the celebrations to mark the inauguration of the infant Commonwealth of Australia in Melbourne and bound for its Far Eastern station, via Nagasaki.

On 30 June our cruiser *Cormoran* commanded by Captain Grapow came into port, and finally the survey ship *Möwe* called to take on coal and collect its mail. The firm of HERNSHEIM & CO. in Matupi did a great trade. There was a long series of festivities: farewell parties for the Governor and welcome parties for the ships and their crews, culminating in an invitation to Matupi. I went there with Commander von Jessen in his beautifully built fast pinnacle. He was naturally anxious to obtain a clear picture of the development of the colony, in which I was happy to assist him. In conversation we also touched on his own mission on the coast of Asia. Pointing to his beautiful ship lying anchored in the distance, he said laconically: 'We shall be shot to pieces. Just mark my words as you follow the course of events in the coming struggle.'

The crew of the *Gromoboi* were given shore leave on two successive days. It had been announced that they were to remain in plantation territory and not enter the native settlements. The plantation managers had given the sailors permission to gather as many coconuts from the palms as they liked. This was doubtless a rare treat for the men and they took full advantage of it. But a few crew members deserted and did not return on board. Herr von Jessen was somewhat concerned, as he had already lost some of his men in this way in Melbourne. However, I reassured him by

pointing out that the absconders would have to give themselves up to the natives or starve in the wilderness. I sent instructions to the chiefs in the villages to report deserters immediately or to bring them in personally. Within two days they were all back. The natives had waited till the escapees lay down to sleep and then tied them up. I tried to put in a good word for them, but was told that according to law they were liable to very heavy penalties.

The ships and our guests eventually left us. The colonists accompanied the departing Governor on board. After our return ashore the serious business of the workaday world began. The gentlemen of my official staff were as yet unknown to me. Dr Schnee had been transferred to Samoa and Boluminski had taken up his post as District Officer for Northern Neu Mecklenburg in Kaewieng. There was so much work to be done that I soon made contact with the personnel.

The material resources available to the Government were unfortunately still very slender, particularly as the small steamer *Stephan* had been laid up as unseaworthy shortly before my arrival. Some of its bottom plates had rusted through so that the ship drew water. Although the leaks had been sealed with cement, the vessel was no longer considered serviceable and the crew sailed home with the Governor. As there was no shipyard in New Guinea, repairs were not possible, and so we were once again reduced to immobility by sea. We received some assistance in this respect in the beginning from Captain Grapow.

A native of the town of Hannover, Bruno Menke, had appeared in the Protectorate with his own ship to engage in research. His first objective was the St Mathias Group, with which no contact at all had been made as yet. A camp was set up there on a small spit of land on the south coast of the main island. This camp was attacked by the natives at the end of March. Menke and his secretary Cuno and some of his coloured men were killed and the stores were looted. The firm of Hensheim & Co. had established a trading post on a small off-shore island of the same group. This too was taken and robbed, and nine labourers were killed.

There had also been fresh outrages on the Admiralty Islands, although Dr Schnee had taken action there in the preceding year with the help of the Navy. A medical assistant named Wostrack had been left behind on the group with fifteen soldiers and a cutter. And peaceful conditions had in fact been established in relations among the natives themselves and between the natives and the Europeans in the area which could be patrolled by these modest forces, particularly around the northern lagoon of the island group. However, in the absence of adequate resources this flying squad could not be developed into a regular Government Station;



Plate vi Colonial Baroque. Hotel Fürst Bismarck in Herbertshöhe. In the buggy Dr. W. Wendland (1906). Reproduced from his *Im Wunderland der Papuas*, Berlin, 1939.

in fact even this small force had to be withdrawn because the men were urgently required elsewhere.

To avoid having to leave Herbertshöhe again for an extended period during my first weeks there, I sent Boluminski to restore order in the St Mathias and Admiralty Islands. He showed great ability in discharging this assignment. In St Mathias the natives attacked his small force in large numbers as soon as they landed, being obviously still quite ignorant of the power of firearms. After the first volley they disappeared as quickly as they had come. Some of the women and children fell into Boluminski's hands and were sent to me. They were given every care and attention, for they could render valuable services later by establishing peaceful relations with their fellow-tribesmen, who were still totally uncivilised.

I myself devoted my energies to my old areas of activity in Neu Lauenburg and on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula. I overhauled the vehicular roads and riding-tracks and held court sittings, in order to assess the mood of the people and what progress they had made. In the main areas of settlement everything was under control but in the areas bordering on the wilderness conflict was likely to flare up at any moment.

In Tamanairiki, Towakira had been quiet for a long time, but shortly after my arrival he attacked the neighbouring districts and brought back booty in the shape of human flesh. The natives of Nauma reported that fifteen of their number had been devoured. I decided to get to him from the south this time and if possible to surprise him. I therefore marched from the inner section of Blanche Bay over the Rakunai plateau, descended into the great depression near Mount Tomavatur and reached the hamlets of the enemy by way of Nawuneram. Without engaging in any fighting there I found the shell-money hoard of the tribe in a hut. This placed Towakira in my power. I promised him safe passage and hoped, by means of a personal exchange, to persuade him to join the new order. Towakira appeared to agree to all the proposals made to him and even exchanged gifts as tokens of his friendship towards me. However, a few days later I received word from the Mission in Vunapope that my escorts and guides had taken some shell-money. Although I took steps to see that the sum stolen was immediately returned to Towakira, our friendship was at an end.

I have already reported on Dr Schnee's intervention in Napapar. No further attacks had been attempted in this district but public peace and freedom of movement had not yet been established there. It seemed to me that it would be a mistake to renew the fighting in order to subdue this district by force. Instead I endeavoured to win these people over by an approach from the inland and to extend as far as their territory the riding-track which had been built to the Rakunai plateau.

The Catholic Mission had made contact with the Sulka, the inhabitants of the Mochlon district in the eastern part of Neu Pommern, south of Henry Reid Bay. A deputation from these natives paid a visit to the Mission in Vunapope, but ran into bad weather on the way back. One of the canoes was blown ashore at Löndip, south of Kabanga on the east coast of the Gazelle Peninsula. The inhabitants of Löndip killed and devoured the people in the canoe except for two men who escaped and reported the incident in Herbertshöhe.

This crime was committed so to speak at the very threshold of headquarters and by people who we believed had already been won over to peaceful ways. The murders were punished by sentences imposed on the chief culprits by the courts. As the natives owned an abundance of land, one section of the district was detached and allotted to the Sulka. Their visit to these parts was not simply a friendly call—they were looking for new homes, as they were being harassed by the mountain people in their own district and were not able to hold out. They were arriving in their canoes in ever increasing numbers as settlers. The Mission cared for them and established a station among them. Naturally relations between the new settlers and the people of Löndip were not particularly friendly and constant vigilance was called for here too.

In August I crossed the eastern Gazelle Peninsula, pushing on as far as the Warangoi. I followed this river inland looking for traces of the mountain people, who usually came down to the river in the dry season to fish and hunt for crabs. As the Livuan people of the great depression also came to the river for the same purpose they often came to blows and went hunting for human flesh. I was very anxious to make the acquaintance of the mountain people of this side of the peninsula, if only to establish whether they were similar to those in the west. However, my search for traces of the mountain inhabitants proved completely fruitless.

I therefore turned north again, to study the terrain with a view to establishing a riding-track as far as the Warangoi. It would have been very difficult to construct a track near the coast because of the extreme ruggedness of the country, but I found that further inland the undulating plateau of Bitapaka lent itself to the construction of a riding-track. While we were making our way on foot through the dense primeval forest, we came upon a *Terminalia* of greater height and girth than any tree I had ever seen. The *Terminalia* is a deciduous tree which might be compared with a beech, were it not for its buttress-like roots. I simply had to have a closer look at this natural marvel. I had some natives from the Ralumbang district with me as guides, and they tried to dissuade me because the tree was the home of a powerful spirit (*kaia*), who also appeared in the shape of a great snake. I pointed to my good rifle and said I was ready to take on

a fight with the snake. On examination, I found that this gigantic tree was not hollow but completely sound and growing from the roots to the very top.

We continued on our march. That night in camp I was taken with a high fever. I took quinine and eventually I fell asleep. Next morning when I awoke the fever had subsided, but my left forearm was covered with a very swollen water blister, which I had to puncture. The natives maintained that the *kaia* had bitten me. This incident gave me a striking glimpse into the natives' world of ideas, dominated by their belief in spirits.

The Imperial Navy had commenced work on its large-scale hydrographic project on the border with Dutch New Guinea. Working along the coastline, considerable progress had been made. In the meantime the growth of shipping made it an urgent necessity to chart the narrow channels between the reefs in the principal straits between the islands and the entrances to the main ports. For this purpose the scene of activities was transferred to the Gazelle Peninsula. The cruiser *Möwe* commanded by Captain Schönfelder was working along the Baining coast in the summer of 1901 and sailed from Matupi for Cape Lambert (Tongilus) at the beginning of October.

This gave me an opportunity to make a quick and comfortable trip back in the direction of the mountains and to visit Father Rascher. I was landed at Massava Harbour and made my way on foot up to St Paul. How the place had changed! There were attractive houses for the Father and the sisters along the mountain-side. Further down, on a small level site on the slope, a neatly built village had grown up, the home of the liberated slaves. A small plantation of Arabian coffee ran up the mountain slope and extensive crops bore witness to the industry of the villagers. In the valley of the Kara River, near the station, an overshot sawmill was operating—'all put together out of timber' as the Father proudly assured me '—all but the saw'. Here they were sawing planks for additional buildings, in particular for the church which had been planned.

Father Rascher had greatly extended his contacts with the inland villages and completely mastered the difficult language of the mountain people, the syntax and vocabulary of which he also set out in a small monograph. I spent a delightful rest-day with him, in the course of which we made plans to travel together on foot across the deep-cut valleys to Gavit to renew contact with mutual old friends. In the year 1898, accompanied by Bishop Couppé, we had brought liberated slaves back to those parts.

The warship had towed my sailing cutter as far as Massava. We sent the crew instructions to sail to Gavit and wait inshore for us there. On the

next day but one we were received with joy by the inhabitants of this hill district. Our investigations both there and on the way showed that the coastal people no longer conducted raids in these parts. The Baining themselves were also in a state of peace. The natives escorted us in a great procession to the sea and filled our boat with very welcome gifts of food. A favourable wind brought us rapidly to the cruiser, on which we spent some delightfully restful days.

The voyage home in the teeth of the stiff south-easter, after setting Father Rascher ashore at Massava, was very slow. I therefore went ashore at Cape Livuan and travelled on foot over the Rakunai plateau in order to extend my knowledge of this part of the country as well. I was favourably impressed, and in November I set up camp on the plateau and began to cut a track through to Weber Harbour via Napapar. The natives were quite willing to work for me as they had long since realised that it was in their own interest to eliminate the endless feuding. I returned to Herbertshöhe in time for the arrival of the mail steamer. One of the passengers was the botanist Rudolf Schlechter, who had been sent by the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee on a tour of the South Sea islands to look for lianas and trees containing guttapercha and caoutchouc. Another arrival in port was the Italian cruiser *Puglia* which was to be stationed off the Chinese coast.

Assessor Boether was District Judge and chief administrative official in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, but he was unable to withstand the long-term effects of the climate on his health and had to return home. As this important post could not be allowed to remain vacant, I sent Wilhelm Stuckhardt, the District Judge and District Commissioner of Herbertshöhe, to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. This left me in a difficult situation until he could be replaced. With the very next mail steamer there arrived a *Referendar* who had not succeeded in passing his *Assessor's* examination. He had come to New Guinea to try his luck and his funds had run out. He asked if he could be taken in and employed. He was first put on tentatively as a clerk, but was after a short time appointed to deputise for the District Judge. This scion of a good German family later became a successful planter and colonist, but all too soon he succumbed to overwork and the climate.

Although the failure of the tobacco-growing venture forced the liquidation of its subsidiary the Astrolabe Compagnie, the Neu Guinea Compagnie had, as early as 1898, eagerly set about launching a major new venture in Kaiser Wilhelmsland: using a small river steamer, the *Herzogin Elisabeth*, they proposed to explore the valley of the Ramu, the second-largest waterway (after the Kaiserin Augusta (Sepik) River) into the interior of the island. After the loss of this vessel a land route was estab-

lished for communications with the station which had been set up on the central Ramu. This station could be reached from Stephansort in nine days' march. However, gold was not discovered in the tributaries flowing from the high mountain ranges of the interior as had been anticipated, and the enterprise, on which very considerable sums had been expended, was finally abandoned in 1901.

The Company nevertheless continued with its program of exploration. In 1902 it sent out a new expedition under Hans Rodatz, who later became a District Officer, and the engineer Schlentzig. It divided into two parties, one working from the mouth of the Markham River and one from the mouth of the Waria. They had in fact selected the right locations from which to operate, but achieved no positive results. Rodatz failed as a result of a serious illness and Schlentzig did not penetrate deeply enough into the inaccessible mountains of the interior. In 1904 the work of the expedition had to be suspended.

In the meantime European economic expansion had been given new impetus. Prices for copra were rising and reached three hundred marks per tonne in 1902. The demand for plantation land grew and there was a new spirit of enterprise. The missions also began to establish plantations so as to create a local source of income to be used for their missionary work, and at the same time succeeded in training their pupils in systematic agriculture.

In the pacified areas there was an increase in the number of trading stations, which competed strongly with each other in buying local products; the higher incomes consequently earned by the natives led in turn to an increased demand for goods and for employment on their part.

The expansion of trade was also greatly assisted by the rapid pacification of northern Neu Mecklenburg by Boluminski. Only in a few rare instances was it necessary to use armed force. It may be that the way had already been well prepared for the establishment of public peace in that area, as there was scarcely a single village where the young men had not already been employed by Europeans and had not only by observation and experience become accustomed to peaceful intercourse but also actively wished for it to be introduced. But the resolute and indefatigable personal effort made by Boluminski will always redound to his credit.

In January 1902 I was able to convince myself personally of the progress made, when a steamer chartered by the firm of Hensheim & Co. gave me a chance to travel to Nusa Harbour. In Kaewieng a fine residence had been built on the steep crag dropping down to the narrow coastal plain. The land in front had been turned into gardens and contained the necessary farm buildings. Inland from the house Boluminski had cleared

the land of trees and undergrowth and commenced a coconut plantation. This was extended in the years following and then provided pasturage for the establishment of a breeding establishment for horses, cattle and Java sheep. A well-constructed road led to the east coast, along which one could already travel for forty kilometres in a southerly direction. Boluminski and his deputy August Döllinger, who was later the District Officer in the Solomon Islands, in later years extended this road as far as Fissoa, that is almost to the border of the administrative district. Trading stations and plantations were then established one after another in rapid succession along this communication route, as the introduction of motor trucks for carrying passengers and freight gradually superseded slow transportation by sailing boats. The natives called the automobiles bush steamships (*titimer na pui*). Herr Rudolf Wahlen and Bishop Couppé were the first to bring passenger motor-cars to the country.

Boluminski's success further confirmed the conviction I had arrived at from observation and experience: that over wide areas of the Protectorate, the ruinous fighting among the natives themselves and the attacks on the trading stations could be checked by establishing Government Stations as centres for the exercise of authority, plainly visible and ready to settle disputes and to take action at any time. Central Neu Mecklenburg, the Solomon Islands, and the mission fields of the Neuendettelsau Mission and the Mission of the Holy Spirit, were in my view ready for complete pacification along these lines.

However, shortage of funds compelled us to advance very slowly. Our most immediate concern was to acquire and maintain a sea-going vessel for the Government service. The increased rate of economic development had also given a new dimension to the problem of communications. What was called for was the co-ordination of the island and coastal shipping, so as to serve the existing establishments and to encourage further expansion. The maintenance of their own ships to serve their out-stations was a heavy burden on the local commercial firms. On the other hand competition between them prevented them from coming together to form a joint shipping firm.

A chance incident helped to solve my dilemma. One fine morning there was a small schooner flying the Japanese flag to be seen riding at anchor in the Herbertshöhe Harbour. The skipper, Isokide Komine, told me that his water and provisions had run out on his voyage from Torres Strait, where he had been engaged in pearl-fishing. He had no money to purchase supplies and asked me to employ him. I inspected his little ship, found it suitable for my purposes, and chartered the vessel. Both parties benefited. To begin with, I was now able to repatriate the labourers and

soldiers whose contracts had expired and who had been waiting for a long time for a passage home, and to arrange for new men to be recruited. The Japanese skipper proved to be very adept at this. From one of his trips to central Neu Mecklenburg Komine brought back coal which he had found at the mouth of a small stream in the Umudu district. This coal looked quite good, but seemed to be a type of brown coal. The schooner also brought some natives who complained of heavy attacks on their villages by inland tribes, against whom they were unable to defend themselves because their own young men were away working for Europeans.

The cruiser *Cormoran* came into port on 20 January, but this time I did not make any special voyages with this ship. At the beginning of March I crossed over to Neu Mecklenburg with the schooner and first set to work to investigate the coal deposits in Umudu. A long way upstream in the mountains, after a hard journey on foot, I actually found a few pockets of brown coal. Presumably one of these deposits had at one time been washed out by a flood and carried down to the coast.

One night in camp I suffered from a severe attack of fever. Next day I sailed south with the schooner to Kabanut, planning to climb the mountain range from there. However, on the way I was laid low at an altitude of about five hundred metres, as the fever had returned with great severity in spite of massive doses of quinine. I sent the men on to reconnoitre under a coloured corporal while I myself returned towards evening to the coast with Komine. I took up quarters in the hut of a Fijian mission teacher named Rupeni in Kabanut. There were symptoms of a mild attack of black-water fever. Two days later my soldiers came back, reporting that they had made contact with the mountain tribes but had avoided all armed conflict. This left the way open for a future expedition. However, these disputes among the natives were settled peaceably not long after.

On my fourth day there the cruiser *Cormoran* made its appearance, en route for Sydney. As a strong south-easterly had in the meantime sprung up, Captain Grapow decided it might be as well to keep a look-out for me, and he now took the little schooner in tow as far as the entrance to the harbour of Mioko. Here we parted company and I went to stay at the trading station of the Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft, where I was able to recover my strength to some extent. On 17 March I crossed over to Herbertshöhe.

Assessor Wolff had arrived there by the mail steamer, to take up the post of District Judge and District Commissioner. I had to make a number of long journeys on horseback and on foot in order to initiate him into his new sphere of duty. During my recent absences a large amount of paper-

work had accumulated in my office too. I attempted to catch up with it by dint of very hard work, but fresh attacks of high fever made this impossible. At the end of March Bishop Couppé called on me in my office. He threw up his hands and cried: 'My God, you look terrible!' In fact I had to stop working and when I got home I noticed that I was suffering from a fresh attack of black-water fever. I wrote a note to Sister Auguste Hertzner, asking her to come and look after me. I went to bed, where I lost consciousness and awoke just in time to see Sister Hertzner taking leave of Dr Wendland and Dr Dempwolff. It seems that the doctors had given up all hope of my recovery, for on board the steamer waiting to set sail for Sydney, it was rumoured that I was finished. This report was brought to Sydney and transmitted home from there by cable, with the result that at breakfast one morning my dear mother read in the paper that her son had died of black-water fever. But I was still in the land of the living and under the expert care of Sister Hertzner I slowly recovered.

On the road to Vunakokor Rudolf Wolff, a former employee of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, had settled on the vacant land between the Malaguna and Paparatava districts. The natives had been quite happy to sell the unoccupied battle-ground between their villages. While I was still confined to my bed *Assessor* Wolff reported to me that a dispute had arisen between this planter and the Paparatava people, because the former proposed to incorporate in his plantations a *maravot* on the mountain-slope near the boundary on the Paparatava side. The term *maravot* means a piece of land belonging to or consecrated to the *iniet* society, closed to traffic and out of bounds except to initiates. I sent a message to the planter requesting him not to interfere with this piece of land at any costs. However, two days later he came to me and told me that, as the land had not been used for *iniet* purposes for a very long time, he had come to an amicable arrangement with the natives, offering them rich presents, and he now felt quite sure of his position.

It was not possible to establish whether the natives were serious when this bargain was struck, or whether it was just a ruse. At all events that inveterate hater Towakira believed that the hour had come for him to strike. He crossed the mountains with his men, broke into Wolff's homestead and killed his wife and child while he himself was out on the plantation with the labourers. When he saw the natives gathered in front of his house, he rode up to them and escaped death at the hands of the attackers only by riding them down and chasing them off. He himself brought the terrible news to Herbertshöhe. In a few hours the troop and all available Europeans had gathered at the homestead, which they found completely ransacked and abandoned by the natives. It took two weeks to

track down Towakira in his hide-out. He resisted arrest and was struck down, his weapons still in his hands, as a warrior representing a vanished order.

Assessor Wolff, although still new to the country, had performed his functions admirably in these difficult times. By now I had recovered sufficient strength to leave my bed and resume my office duties. Accompanied by Dr Dempwolff I set out to stay with Father Rascher at St Paul at the end of April in order to complete my convalescence there. After a stay of a fortnight I had indeed gained some strength, but after my return to Herbertshöhe I suffered a recurrence of the malarial attacks, and therefore decided to avail myself of the permission granted to me in the meantime by cable to return home and seek complete recovery.

My deputy, *Regierungsrat* Knake, was already on the way out. I handed over my responsibilities to *Assessor* Wolff and set out for Sydney, accompanied by Sister Auguste Hertzner. I arrived in Sydney on 2 June, the very day on which the first longed-for rain fell there after seven years of drought. At the end of July I finally rejoined my family.

I had made such a good recovery during the sea voyage that I was now hopeful of being able to carry on with the work I had grown to love in the beautiful Archipelago. After two months' rest I proceeded to Berlin in order to win support for a policy of expanding the administration and particularly of providing the means necessary for future development. I also had many discussions with Adolf von Hansemann, the head of the Diskonto Gesellschaft and Chairman of the Board of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, on the future management of its enterprises. I recommended the extension of its coconut plantations, as the rising prices for copra offered good prospects, but also strongly urged the introduction of other crops so that the company would not stand or fall with a single source of income on the world market. We also had detailed discussions on the internal organisation of the Company, the results of which were later put into practice.

There were three men in the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office who knew the situation in the Pacific well: *Ministerialdirektor* Dr Stübel, *Geheimrat* Rose and *Geheimrat* Schmidt-Dargitz. They knew that a good shipping service was essential there. The 1902-03 budget for the Protectorate provided funds for building a high performance sea-going steamship. The plans for building this vessel were being drawn up and had to be checked. After our experiences with the steamer *Stephan* it did not seem advisable for the Government to operate the new ship on its own account. The obvious course was to hand over both the construction and the operation of the ship to the Norddeutscher Lloyd, which operated the

steamship line to the Protectorate. This involved negotiations which took me to Bremen. Full agreement was reached with Herr Heinrich Wiegand, the General Manager, and the contract drawn up then for the operation of the ship was retained throughout. The Lloyd ran the vessel in return for an annual payment; the Government was responsible for the supply of coal, as it was naturally not possible to calculate precisely the amount required.

The cordial reception extended to me by Herr Wiegand encouraged me to lay before him my plans for the organisation of shipping services within the Protectorate. These plans envisaged the creation by the Lloyd on Simpson Harbour of a permanent base for coastal shipping, including the construction of a wharf and the necessary warehouses. A coastal steamer and tugs would regularly distribute the incoming goods and collect, store and consign the produce ready for export. Initially I did not meet with a favourable response, so that I had to return to the attack a number of times. In the end, however, I won him round and the Norddeutscher Lloyd made the decision, of vital importance for the future development of the Protectorate, to establish a commercial base and an entrepôt port on Simpson Harbour. Admittedly the execution of this project demanded a very considerable financial outlay initially. But this decision, inspired by sound business judgment, by a truly Hanseatic boldness of approach and readiness to make sacrifices for the colonial future of Germany, ultimately reaped all the success hoped for.

On 20 November I was appointed Governor of the Protectorate to succeed Herr von Bennigsen. At Christmas I became engaged to Baroness Luise von Seckendorff-Aberdar. Her mother and mine had long been friends, but I had met my future wife for the first time during this period of home leave.

On 8 January I was presented to His Majesty the Kaiser. From what he said it was immediately clear what his attitude to the development of the colonies was: Germany had embarked on the development of its overseas commerce at the eleventh hour, perhaps even too late. It was imperative to expand and achieve results quickly. I demurred saying that the development of New Guinea would be slow. My remarks apparently displeased him. He turned away, giving me the impression that our interview had ended on a discordant note. I was about to withdraw to the door when His Majesty quickly came up to me and demanded to know on what grounds I based my opinion. This was my chance to address him informally on the difficulties arising out of the topography and the dispersion of the colony over a vast area, and the primitive cultural and economic level of the natives. I obviously met with complete under-

standing on his side; however, as we parted, the Kaiser repeated his emphatic wish that the gold-bearing country near the border with Papua (the British part of New Guinea) should be quickly explored and developed.

I had intended to return to my home now to celebrate my wedding. But Dr Stübel kept me tied to the Ministry till the end of January, while the steamer was due to sail from Genoa on 4 February. It was not possible to set a date for the wedding at home, and the two mothers were in great distress. It was unthinkable for us to travel to the ends of the earth, to New Guinea, as an engaged couple. However, I found a way out: I explained my sad plight in a letter to Dr Irmer, formerly Administrator of the Marshall Islands but now transferred to Genoa as Consul-General. His reply was an invitation to celebrate our wedding in his home. After my return from Berlin I spent just one day in my parents' home. The very next day, on 30 January, I bade my family an emotional farewell and fetched my bride from the arms of her mother in the neighbouring hamlet. In Lucerne we were joined by my sister and her husband and together with Herr and Frau Irmer they accompanied us to the altar on 1 February.

My Years as Governor



My Years as Governor

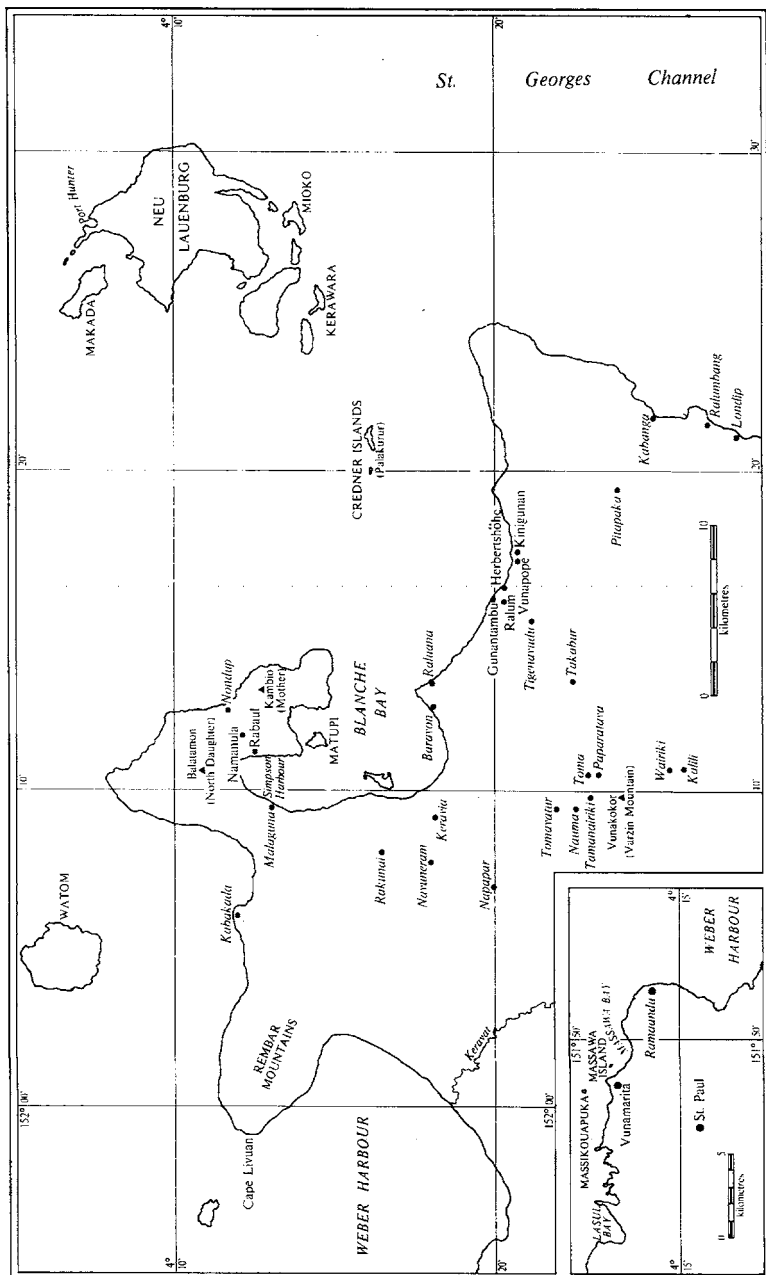
We had to wait three days in Singapore till the Dutch ship *Captain Cook* was ready to sail to Batavia. Consul-General Eschke and his charming wife made every effort to arrange a pleasant program for us in this city of extreme heat. The expeditions to the Botanical Gardens and to Johore were both entertaining and stimulating. The next stop was Batavia, because the Lloyd steamer *Stettin* would not be able to sail for New Guinea for about three weeks. I planned to use this interval to learn something about Dutch colonial administration. When I arrived, Consul-General von Sydow passed on to me a kind invitation from the Governor-General, General von Roseboom, to visit him at Buitenzorg. We spent three delightful days there in the beautifully situated Residency. Whereas I was interested in the structure of the native administration based on the experience of the Dutch, the Governor-General was concerned about the development of the Dutch section of New Guinea, where the situation was just as discouraging as in German New Guinea: the natives were resisting all white settlement and penetration. We had many an animated discussion on the sharp contrast between the culturally advanced, approachable and friendly Malayan peoples and the xenophobic and withdrawn stone age people of New Guinea, and on how closer contact might possibly be made with them nevertheless. The Governor-General was well-informed on our own modest attempts to initiate a regular system of native administration. It was with sincere gratitude that my wife and I bade farewell to Herr von Roseboom and his family. I had been well supplied with introductions for the remainder of our journey so that all doors in the land were freely opened to us. My wife

went to stay in Soekaboemi, a well-known and beautifully situated health resort in the mountains. I myself rode from there to the Government experimental guttapercha plantation in Tjipetir, which I was fortunate enough to inspect under the expert guidance of Professor Dr Treub. Experiments there had shown that the best product was obtained from *Gutta palagium oblongifolium*. Dr Schlechter had shown that a closely related tree was indigenous in the forests of New Guinea. This tree was later named *Gutta palagium supfianum* after the head of the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, Karl Supf.

On the way to the plantation I rode through long stretches of abandoned coffee crops. In some places the red berries were still hanging on the bushes and in others they had already dropped off. The price of coffee had sunk so low that they were no longer worth picking. Everywhere the plantations were being converted to tea. I visited a tea plantation and so was also able to learn something of the cultivation of this crop and of the preparation of the leaves for the market. From Bandoeng, the second capital of Java, I inspected several road-construction sites and also the magnificent State forests of cinchona trees up in the mountains.

In Garoet Assistant Resident van Kappen devoted some time to initiating me into the organisation of the native administration. We visited a number of villages and I also had the opportunity of observing native rice-farming methods. Through Herr van Kappen we also received an invitation to the hospitable home of the Regent of the Garoet district, a native prince. The Regent himself wore a European suit, but his wife preferred a very becoming native costume, in the finest of materials. I was able to communicate with the prince only in my halting Malay, but his wife spoke fluent Dutch and French, and she and my wife had an animated exchange. Our trip through Java—which had been delightful and very instructive for me—ended with a climb up the mighty volcanic peak of Papan Dajang. The arrival of the steamer had been announced, and unfortunately there was not enough time left for a visit to Djokjakarta. I would have appreciated an opportunity to make the acquaintance of this seat of a great native prince and of the local system of administration.

Our reception in Herbertshöhe in the middle of April was both solemn and cordial. Soon I was caught up once again in official business, responsibility for which was handed over to me by my deputy, *Regierungsrat* Knake. In the Gazelle Peninsula, attention remained concentrated on the area round Varzin Mountain. On the hill at Toma a Station had been built and manned by a police-sergeant and twenty-four men. I soon had convincing evidence that there was no longer any particular unrest or animosity among the natives of this rather inaccessible area. The Station pro-



vided such effective protection for travel and movement, that without any intervention on our part a well-patronised market was now held nearby every third day, providing for an exchange of goods between the inhabitants of the mountains and of the coastal districts. To promote this, a road was constructed leading along the steep precipice of the plateau of Rakunai (described above) towards the depression between the Varzin Mountain massif and the Baining Mountains. The natives rendered willing assistance, particularly with the difficult excavations on the slope of the Tomavatur knoll which commands the plateau.

Boluminski had done an excellent job in northern Neu Mecklenburg. There had been no disturbances; trade and intercourse were increasing, and the first beginnings of plantation activity by Europeans were making their appearance, in association with the trading stations established earlier.

As hitherto, the economic development of Kaiser Wilhelmsland was in the hands of the Neu Guinea Compagnie. There had been no new influx of settlers, but the Company's enterprises enjoyed new prosperity under the direction of the Area Manager, Georg Heine. He came from the small town of Schwedt in Brandenburg. I first met him at his first post in the colony, in Berlinhafen. In a short time he had rehabilitated the backward coconut plantation there and had increased its area to four hundred hectares. His skill in handling the natives stimulated trade and attracted large numbers of labourers. He was appointed in charge of the Company's activities in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. His successes there at last attracted new enterprises to this part of the country in later years. He must be reckoned among the important colonisers of Kaiser Wilhelmsland together with Senior Missionary Johann Flierl and the Apostolic Prefect Limbrock, whose work I will discuss next.

The Mission of the Holy Spirit had formerly been under the direction of Father Erdweg. The new head of the Mission was Apostolic Prefect Eberhard Limbrock. He quickly realised that he must move the site of the Mission closer to the economic centre, Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. Under his direction the new station, St Michael, was established at Alexishafen and became a centre for the spread of German culture, and of German economic activity. The Prefect showed his initiative by establishing a sawmill associated with a workshop and training centre for carpentry and metalwork, and by introducing crops other than coconuts. His experiments in rice-growing were of a high order, although the natives did not take up the cultivation of this crop because they were able to supply all their needs by cultivating root crops. In quick succession the Mission set up stations at all the more important accessible points from Monumbo

(Potsdamhafen) to Berlinhafen. In all these places missionary and agricultural work were usefully combined. German was taught in the schools so that it was later possible to communicate in our own language with the natives in the surrounding area. But this is to anticipate, in a brief account, the final result of a very gradual development. However, the personal qualities of the Apostolic Prefect and the work of his missionaries cannot be praised too lightly.

For the colony the arrival of the Government steamer *Seestern* was the great event of the year 1903. The ship was commanded by Captain Karl Moeller of the Norddeutscher Lloyd. He was not only a bold and experienced navigator but also an enthusiastic supporter of the colony. He developed a great affection for the land and its inhabitants and performed his duties faithfully to the end.

It was high time for the ship to make its appearance. Things did not look promising in the remoter areas. The natives continued to fight fiercely and interminably among themselves and against the intrusive strangers. It was imperative to check this by regular visits and better supervision.

The first voyage was made to Kaewiang. I issued a number of invitations for this, and Bishop Couppé was one of those who came on board with us. The trading stations in northern Neu Mecklenburg filled up with guests who made use of their stay there to study the complete transformation of the situation compared with earlier times, and the gratifying progress of the District.

I myself went on as far as St Matthias. This group of islands had not been visited since Boluminski's expedition. We had on board the women and children who had been captured on that occasion and brought to Herbertshöhe. The *Seestern* anchored off the small island on which had stood the HERNSHEIM & CO. station which had been destroyed. This island was uninhabited. The graves of Menke and his companions had been broken open and ransacked, the bones lay scattered around.

The women pointed to a distant, flat island as their home. The surrounding reefs made it impossible for the ship to approach any closer, so the visit was made in two rowing boats. As it was low tide, we had to get out of the boats about four hundred metres from the shore. I crossed the reef carrying two children in my arms and ahead of the women. The troops followed with their guns cocked. By now there were signs of life on the island. Two small parties advanced to the reef, obviously to out-flank us. A large body of well-armed men now appeared in the foreshore vegetation. I headed in their direction. The women began to shout and wave to them, but they did not move. In order to keep the two small

detachments on the reef at a distance I had to divide my troops. By now we were almost within reach of their spears. The children were howling with fear and excitement. The women made a halt, but their tongues kept up the good work. Then a great shout went up from the group of natives. One man rushed across the reef towards us and one of the women ran to meet him: they had recognised each other and stood locked in an embrace. I placed the children in the arms of the other women and withdrew to the boats with my companions.

Shouting for joy, the whole crowd rushed across from the beach, hailing these women and children of their tribe whom they had believed dead, and bringing them ashore. Before we got back to the *Seestern* we could already hear the drums beating out their message across the bay and the answer echoing back from the main island. Canoes full of people darted up from all sides and surrounded the ship and those who had just come home turned up to claim their possessions and to show off their riches in the shape of knives, beads, dress materials and other wonders. The ice had been broken, as we found next day when we visited several villages. Contact with these islands was maintained from that time on and was never again marred by any unfortunate incidents.

In Herbertshöhe I was greeted by the news that in the Witu Group, opposite the Willaumez Peninsula, there had been a rising of the natives directed against Peter Hansen, who was established there as a trader and planter. His manager Reinhardt, the engineer Doehl, two Chinese and ten labourers were killed and the trading station ransacked. The natives finally fled to the Willaumez Peninsula on board the small steamer *Meto*. Peter Hansen escaped in his rowing-boat and brought in the news of the attack. The District Commissioner and the troop under Police-Sergeant Adelmann were quickly despatched by the *Seestern* to Peterhafen, Hansen's headquarters. The only task remaining for them to do on the island group itself was to calm down the natives, as the culprits had already escaped. Peter Hansen succeeded in resuming his operations. No reliable explanation of the motives for this incident was ever arrived at. It was said that the natives felt that they were disadvantaged when the boundaries between their land and the plantation were drawn up, and that Peter Hansen had treated them unkindly. However, as Hansen had lived among them for ten years and as no disputes with him over land or any other claims had ever come to light during previous visits, these rumours did not appear to me to constitute sufficient grounds for a sudden flare-up of hatred so intense as to lead to the use of force. Meanwhile, the escapees were not faring well: after a number of clashes they fell into the hands of the natives of their place of refuge. In May 1904 I

had to gather up the survivors, with great difficulty, at the northern tip of the Willaumez Peninsula, and to take them back to their old home.

The first year was not easy for my wife. She suffered greatly from malaria, and my expeditions with the troop, journeys on foot and sea voyages often left her alone on the solitary heights of Vunabakut for long periods. Friendly relations with our neighbours, Frau Kolbe, the Fellmann family, Frau Parkinson and Sister Auguste Hertzner provided variety and diversion. During my more extended absences she frequently took advantage of the hospitality of the house of Hershheim & Co., that is, of the manager, Herr Thiel in Matupi. On 15 December a daughter was born to us. Frau Parkinson and Sister Auguste stood loyally by my wife and little Berta. My wife stoutly resisted my pleas that she should go to Australia to restore her health. A thorough course of treatment with quinine—to which there were now no longer any medical objections—followed by participation in a cruise on the *Seestern*, completely restored her health and strength. My wife remained free of malaria for years afterwards. For the first time she was now able to get to know and appreciate the beauty of the country and also devote herself to her social duties.

With the growth of the European population, the absence of a hospital made itself acutely felt. A sum had been set aside for this purpose in the budget for 1901, but it was used for other urgently needed buildings. As an emergency measure, I placed the fine, spacious residence up on Vunabakut at the disposal of the Medical Service, and made do myself with a modest building on the slope of Kenabot. With the addition of one bedroom, this house provided adequate accommodation, and Dr Wendland was able to commence his good work with the help of Sister Therese Wagner, who arrived soon afterwards.

The year 1904 was one of many misfortunes or rather of many clashes between Europeans and natives. Some of these events deserve mention because of their consequences for the colony and the mother-country.

An experienced Australian pearl-diver named Hamilton had established a pearl-fishing enterprise in the Admiralty Islands, which operated very successfully from its base on the small island of Komuli where there were no native inhabitants. In January the natives of Dover Island seized the schooner *Wild Colonial* belonging to the fishing fleet, robbed and sank it. The crew were thrown overboard and perished. The attackers' objective was to get hold of the guns on board in order to achieve superiority over the other natives in their area. My inquiries revealed that in the past four years about eighty rifles and a large quantity of ammunition had fallen into the hands of the natives of this island group. The result was endless bloody fighting. *Regierungsrat* Knake put to sea

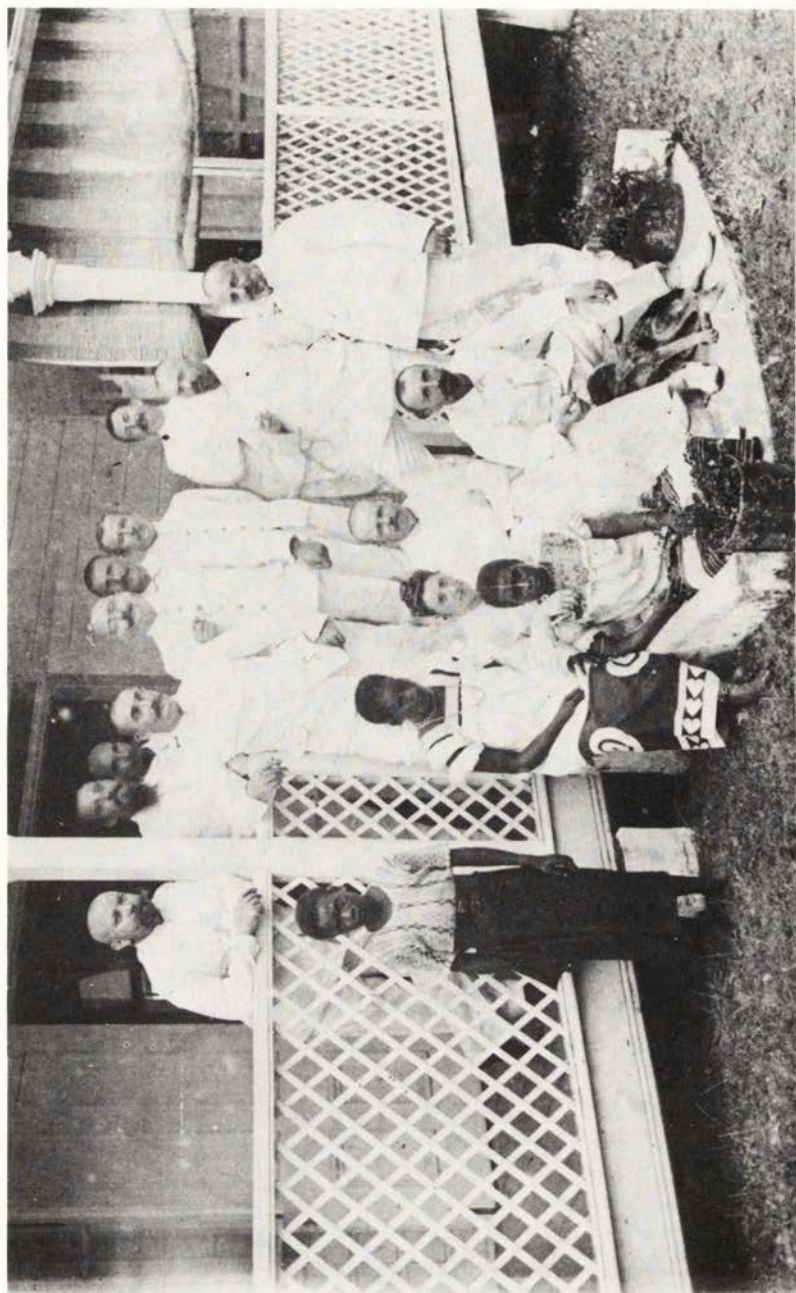


Plate vii Hahl and his wife at Herbertshöhe (about 1904). Boluminski (District Officer in Kavieng) on his right, Möller (Captain of the Government Steamer) on his left, Thiel (Hernsheim and Co.) far left. Photograph H. Fellmann, reproduced by courtesy of the Fellmann family.

immediately with the cruiser *Condor*, commander Corvette Captain Kirchhoff. The natives escaped to the main island, so that it was not possible to recapture the firearms. The pearl-fishery was able to continue but confined its operations mainly to the large lagoon north of the main island, Manus.

In 1903 Heinrich Rudolf Wahlen, originally from Hamburg, parted company with Hershheim & Co. and set up in business independently. He traded in and around the small islands north-west of the Bismarck Archipelago, that is Luf, Ninigo, Aua, and Wuwulu. His long experience, local knowledge and luck favoured the success of this enterprise. But he too suffered some reverses.

Herr F. E. Helwig, a collector and naturalist who had become well-known for his descriptions of the islands of Aua and Wuwulu, had lived there among the natives in complete security for almost two years. He had seen the establishment of the first trading stations and returned with favourable impressions of the way in which business was conducted there. In February the trading post built on Aua was attacked and robbed by natives. The trader Reimers, two Chinese assistants and a number of labourers were killed. Later inquiries showed that the trader himself had probably provoked the attack by the natives. He had had old graves opened to get hold of the ornaments made of shells they contained, which were a valuable trade article for him. The aged chief of the island was said to have ordered the murders. On the very same day this old man died. Panic then broke out among the people and they fled by sea in their frail canoes. Some of those who survived the sea-voyage got to Wuwulu, some to the isolated little island of Manu (Allison). All told I was able to bring back sixty-six people from these islands and resettle them in their own home.

From the middle of May till the end of September I was almost perpetually on the move. I inspected the situation in Peterhafen and found that peace reigned in this group of islands, even among the natives themselves.

I have particularly happy memories of a visit to the Neuendettelsau Mission at Finschhafen and to Sattelberg. I had not seen Senior Missionary Flierl since his visit to Herbertshöhe in 1898. His work had since then been greatly extended among the coastal inhabitants and the Kate people in the mountains. A second station, Wareo, had been established under Missionary Keysser on a line of hills opposite Sattelberg.

The blood feuds among the natives had stopped and this was the best evidence of the success of their patience and perseverance in educating the natives. The Mission had also made progress on the economic front:

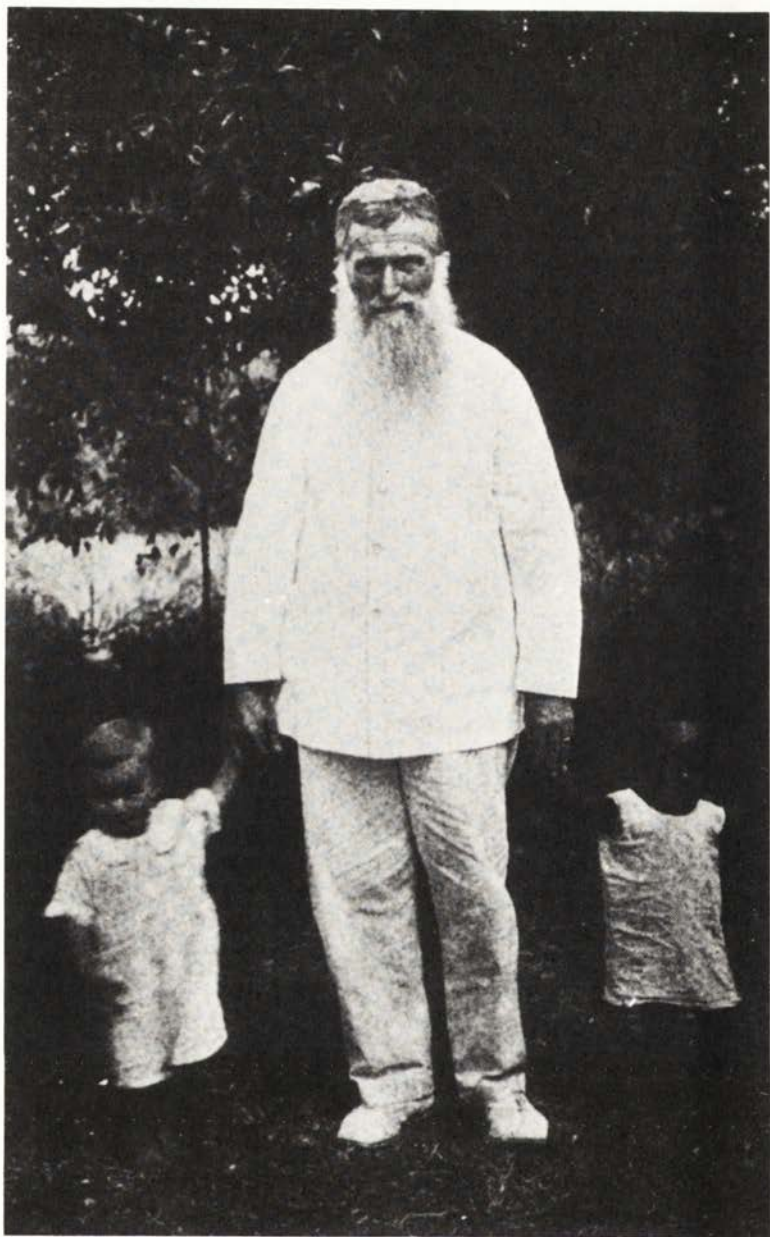


Plate viii The third generation. Senior Missionary Flierl, grandchild and friend.
Reproduced from Gesellschaft für Innere Äussere Mission, *Bericht* 1933,
Neuendeltelsau.

the Finschhafen plantation bought from the Neu Guinea Compagnie had been further extended and was beginning to show a return; the cattle-breeding venture had developed well from its modest beginnings, and a plough was now being used up on the Sattelberg. Communication between the Sattelberg and the coast was by means of ox-carts along the road constructed by the Mission.

On the return voyage I called at the north coast of Neu Pommern which was seldom visited on account of the dangerous waters off-shore. Captain Moeller found a fine spacious harbour which we later named Komet Harbour after the second Government steamer. The coast was well populated, but the natives did not resist our landing anywhere. I sailed slowly along the coast with two boats. Suddenly a group of men emerged from the thick foreshore scrub, waved to us and plunged into the water. They were taken into the boats and indicated that they wanted to be taken to the steamer. While they were on board I got them to show me the position of their village. I then went there with the trade goods, which were usually given to the relatives of recruited labourers as a pledge. The inhabitants had gathered on the beach and were in a state of some agitation. I finally gathered that the heavily-armed old men and the women were trying to stop the young men from approaching the boats. It seems that reports of employment by Europeans had come to this district from Peterhafen, and that the young men were now anxious to go on this adventure.

I did not land my gifts or give any further encouragement to the young men who wanted to set out on travels, but turned back so as not to stir up strife amongst the inhabitants of the hamlet and hatred against the European.

However, about four months later, on my way back from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, I landed without let or hindrance in the village of Wariai, deposited my gifts and let those labourers who had been recruited previously spend the night on land with their relatives. This move was enormously successful. From all sides the young men poured in to be recruited for service in the troop. Our relations with the districts on the north coast of Neu Pommern, as with those on Buka Strait, then became so good that these areas were pacified simply due to the influence exerted by the returning troopers, and never required any specific official action.

It was at that time still impossible to make contact with the natives at Hanam Harbour on the eastern side of the Willaumez Peninsula. Every time we approached, they withdrew, and were not persuaded to have dealings with the Europeans till a later date. I visited the great geyser area there, inland from the harbour—a site full of marvellous natural phen-

omena. The sight of the great volcanoes in the vicinity—Naulavun, Bamus and Zweispitzenberg, all fully active, further heightened the impression. We saw smoke and flames, ash and lava pouring out—the streams of lava reached right down to the shore. All this was obviously the work of subterranean forces and suggested that land was about to be pushed up anew from the depths of the sea.

The pacification of northern Neu Mecklenburg also produced a response in Germany: funds were provided for establishing additional Government stations. At the end of June I was able to proceed with the establishment of a station in central Neu Mecklenburg. The west coast opposite Herbertshöhe was not suitable for this purpose on account of the sheer sides of the mountains and the difficult landing conditions. I therefore selected Namatanai Bay on the east coast as the site for the new settlement. The man selected as District Officer was Wilhelm Wostrack, who had a good record of service in the Admiralty Islands.

In the spring of 1904 Senior Missionary Bergmann died in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. His passing was a very great loss for the Rhenish Mission. We were firmly convinced that the natives in the area surrounding Friedrich Wilhelmshafen were fully under the influence of the Mission. As the Neu Guinea Compagnie plantations were always located at a considerable distance from the villages and there were no other European settlements, and as finally there had never been any overt friction between Europeans and natives, we regarded the settlements round Friedrich Wilhelmshafen as the most secure in the colony. And then, at the beginning of August, the mail steamer brought reports that the natives of the islands of Siar and Rageta had planned to attack Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and murder all the Europeans. At the last moment the plans had been divulged to Dr Hoffmann the Government doctor, so that he was able to inform the District Commissioner at the last moment, just as the natives were already approaching in their canoes. The soldiers were immediately mobilised and the natives, who had landed in the meantime, did not risk an attack. Six ringleaders were captured and District Commissioner Stuckhardt was in control of the situation.

At the time I was in Ponape, which had been struck by a severe typhoon. On the way back I called at Namatanai where I heard the tragic news that Father Rascher, Father Rütten, three brothers and five sisters had been killed by the Baining natives on 13 August. This news was a very severe personal blow to me. In St Paul, Father Rascher's headquarters in the Baining Mountains, a new church had been built and was to have been dedicated on 26 August, and the staff had therefore been increased to assist with the completion of the final preparations. I had visited the mission station only a few weeks before. Some pupils had

given Father Rascher to understand that the Baining of the Kara Range had designs on his life. When I urged him to take precautions and suggested that I should send a detachment of troops he told me that these reports were nonsense; nothing would or could happen to him. In fact circumstances appeared to bear out what he said: he lived in the midst of people whose language he knew well and who had received nothing but kindness from him and his Mission.

The main culprit, Rekimek or Tomaria, had been held as a slave by the Livuan people and ransomed by the Mission. He was educated in Vunapope and then settled in St Paul. He was now conducting an illicit affair with Sawunut, the wife of another villager. In his priestly capacity, Father Rascher had intervened and sent the woman to Vunapope. Tomaria took vengeance by shooting the Father with the rifle given to him for pigeon-hunting, and then he and his relatives from the Kara Range killed the other members of the Mission. The inhabitants of the village at St Paul fled to the coast. *Regierungsrat* Knake immediately despatched all available forces into the mountains. The culprits had run away, but the troop pursued them relentlessly. Tomaria fell during the chase; some of the murderers were arrested and shot after being convicted by the appropriate court. The promising work of the Mission among the Baining was brought to a standstill until the people had calmed down and Father Bley could continue the work.

In the middle of September I eventually arrived in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. The natives had not dared to set up further resistance. Four of the ringleaders had been sentenced to death. However, the hostile attitude towards the Europeans which had manifested itself openly in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen continued to be shown right along the coast as far as the border with Dutch New Guinea. Possibly the expansion of the Steyl Mission, the establishment of plantations in previously untouched areas, particularly in Potsdamhafen and on Hansa Bay, plus the advance of bird of paradise hunters into the villages of the interior were the cause of the unrest among the people, although the Europeans concerned had long experience in handling natives and had proceeded with due circumspection.

I visited all the larger native villages and left District Officer Beyer behind at Hansa Bay with a small troop, as a labourer on a plantation there had been speared by the natives. When I visited them the inhabitants appeared shy and distrustful, and usually avoided meetings. Frequently they had already vacated their homes as we landed.

Wanimo, a sizable village on Angriffshafen, was the first place where the people came up to me openly. Here they complained to me of encroachments by Malay hunters. I therefore continued my journey as far

as Humboldthafen and called on the Dutch official there in order to come to an agreement with him on the means to be adopted to prevent bird of paradise hunters from crossing the border. In actual fact the measures agreed on were not able to achieve much as long as there was no supervision of any kind on our side.

At the end of September I arrived back in Herbertshöhe and learned that another source of trouble had arisen on the coast of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. In February 1905 I repeated the cruise on the *Condor* which I have just described. No further disturbances in relations among the natives themselves or between natives and Europeans had come to light. I therefore withdrew the troops from the advanced post which had been set up.

District Commissioner Kornmayer and *Regierungsrat* Knake had retired from the service and returned to Germany. They were replaced by District Commissioner Rudolf Karlowa and *Regierungsrat* Dr Emil Kraus. The latter had already had very considerable experience in Samoa.

In September 1905 we made an extended trip together to the Solomon Islands. The main objective was the establishment of a permanent station in this area. The selection of the site was no easy task. The natives on the island of Buka had grown quieter, due mainly to the fact that the young men of both the coastal and the mountain districts had almost without exception already been employed by Europeans. They had returned home with new and lasting impressions and ideas which had gained acceptance. In the districts round Hanahan on the east coast and on Buka Strait there lived many former soldiers who had returned to their homes. Whenever I landed there, I found the men were standing in military formation under the command of former non-commissioned officers, anxious to show that they had retained their discipline and their loyalty. There was therefore no need to establish the new station on Buka.

On the island of Bougainville, however, the feuding among the natives continued unabated, and the fierce conflicts between the mountain people and the coastal inhabitants appeared unlikely to be settled without our intervention. As it was our first task to establish public peace here and to persuade the people to engage in trade and to enter employment, it seemed obvious that the site selected should be located on this island.

Navigation is difficult on the west coast, but there are good harbours on the east coast. The bay of Kieta was finally chosen. August Doellinger was selected as District Officer—a seaman by profession and well-qualified by virtue of his long experience in the administrative service in the Kaewieng District. Other passengers on board the *Seestern* were Herr and Frau Rechinger, who had been sent out by the University of Vienna

to conduct botanical research and collect specimens. These charming guests found a wealth of material for their studies. I also found the Rechingers' company and conversation very stimulating both on board and on our walking trips—refreshing to mind and spirit. We had many fruitful exchanges on such matters as the state of research on useful tropical plants, public opinion in Germany and Austria on colonial economics, the political situation and international relations in those times of tension, and last but not least art, particularly music and the theatre in Vienna.

Trade and commerce had by now become an accepted fact in the northern Admiralty Islands and appeared to be spreading slowly to the smaller eastern islands of the group. The firm of Hensheim & Co. had established a trading post on Pak, but at the beginning of 1906 the trader Schlehan was murdered and the post was looted. There were two villages on the island. As a matter of interest, one of these took no part in the attack and killed Schlehan's murderers after the event, to deflect punishment from themselves. In the feud which then developed between the two communities, the village which was friendly towards the Europeans kept the upper hand. The guilty parties fled to the main island and were given a warm welcome, as a bold leader named Baby was at that time attempting to unite the inhabitants of the south of the main island and of the islands off the coast under his leadership in order to attack the Europeans and his own tribal enemies. In February 1906 I despatched District Commissioner Karlowa with S.M.S. *Condor* to restore order there, to support the peaceable elements in the population and to flush out Baby's hide-out on Dover Island.

In central Neu Mecklenburg the Namatanai Station had completely pacified the country between the northern boundary of its territory and Muliama Bay without the use of force. The two missions had been able to expand their activities, but south of Muliama there was as yet no change in the situation. There was unrest among the mountain people when they observed that the coastal communities were disposed to espouse the new order. They joined together under the leadership of a mighty warrior from Buntur named Gägäs and conducted a campaign of fighting and plunder against the coastal districts.

Early in 1906 they had attacked Morkon and carried away large quantities of human flesh into the mountains. Now their leader was threatening to visit vengeance and punishment on any village and any chief who joined the administrative system. The *Seestern* brought District Officer Wostrack reinforcements for his troop, and he was then able to break Gägäs' hold over the people in March 1906. Immediately after his

overthrow the mountain people inland from Muliam, relying on the protection of the Namatanai Station, settled on the coast. This marked a significant step forward in the pacification of the area, which then extended slowly southward.

One incident may be cited briefly as an instance of the change in attitude: the schooner *Kambiu* belonging to the firm of Hensheim & Co. was driven on to a reef and wrecked near Lamassong. Captain Peters succeeded in salvaging all the goods and fittings on board with the assistance of the natives, who also took in and looked after him and his crew.

After a cruise round Neu Mecklenburg in June 1906 Dr Kraus summarised his impressions to the effect that the sphere of influence of the Government was expanding steadily, and that disturbances need no longer be feared except in a few inaccessible districts in the south.

One useful development made possible by the establishment of peaceful conditions was the introduction of the head-tax. In the year 1904 a head-tax had first been collected in the Gazelle Peninsula and the Neu Lauenburg Group. No difficulty was ever experienced in connection with the imposition or payment of this tax. The natives realised that the money collected was intended primarily to defray the cost of treatment in the hospitals freely available to all. In the pacified areas this service provided by the Government was already very highly thought of. But when I announced the introduction of the tax to a meeting of chiefs in the Rossel Range, and asked the men sitting round me to express their opinion frankly, the reply was: 'We have the money ready, and will hand it over. But we have heard that the plantations anticipate that we will now have to send our young men into employment to earn money for the tax. This will not happen. The money drops down to us from the palms which we own and which we planted at your behest.'

The establishment of these outposts and the pacification of wide areas which they achieved very considerably relieved my burden. This meant that I was able to devote my energies undisturbed to the new tasks inevitably arising out of the colony's development. In December 1903 the Chancellor of the Reich had decreed that Advisory Councils should be set up as consultative bodies for the Governors of the Protectorates. In New Guinea the deliberations of the Council were not confined to its immediate functions, namely the examination of the budget estimates and of draft Ordinances, but consisted of lively two-way exchanges on all the more important matters affecting the colony, and were therefore both helpful and fruitful. Disagreements were frequent, and became particularly common in the later years, when discussing the raising of funds for expanding the activities of the Administration or the labour question.

Adolf von Hanseemann died in January 1903, and with his death the Protectorate lost an indefatigable friend and supporter. One of his last achievements after the transfer of sovereignty was the legal reorganisation of the Neu Guinea Compagnie into a German colonial company. The commercial director von Beck was joined by an expert in plantation matters, Professor Dr Paul Preuss, in whom the Company acquired a man with wideranging experience and knowledge of tropical agriculture. Every second year he came to New Guinea for a program of extensive travel and research. The introduction of the cultivation of sisal and cocoa in the colony was due to his influence and with his assistance the two Area Managers of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, Herr Hubert Geisler in the Bismarck Archipelago and Herr Georg Heine in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, were able to achieve the desired expansion of their activities. Under the management of these two experienced men, the combination of trading-stations with plantations, which had already been introduced by other companies, was profitably adopted by the Neu Guinea Compagnie in the pacified areas. For a long time the firm of Hensheim & Co. had held to its traditional policy of engaging solely in trade without establishing plantations. Finally this company also followed the new trend and from 1903 on it established a number of coconut plantations in northern Neu Mecklenburg and later in the Admiralty Islands.

Up to that time European enterprises had all been on a large scale. However, with the spread of peaceful conditions, it became possible for individuals of limited means but who had already gained experience in the country, such as former employees at trading stations, to take up land and establish their own enterprises. The profits of trade were ploughed back into the soil and assisted the development of the colony. The concentration of a large number of labourers in the Blanche Bay area led to a great increase in the demand for agricultural produce and opened the way for another avenue of economic activity.

In collaboration with Consul von Ploennies in Brisbane, I persuaded a small number of German farmers to immigrate and settle here. The Baining Mountains inland from Massava and Lasul Bay were selected as the most suitable area. By locating the holdings at an altitude of six hundred metres it was hoped that they would enjoy a healthier climate than the coastal plain. The surveyor Rudolf Schmitt, who came from Hesse and had proved his skill in many assignments, devoted himself enthusiastically to surveying twelve farms each of one hundred hectares, and to constructing connecting roads. The necessary labourers were recruited, seed was obtained and simple dwellings were built in readiness for the immigrants to appear and start work. Until the coconut palms

matured, they were to derive their income from the cultivation of field crops. Experience showed that all those who were farmers by training dealt successfully with the problems facing them. Those settlers who had previously been artisans—a smith, a carpenter and a seaman—failed. They were not equal to the task and disposed of their farms to others. But the idea worked! In a few years forty farms of this kind were established in the country between Lasul Bay and Cape Tongilus.

Another economic opportunity opened up in Kaiser Wilhelmsland: Hunting for crown pigeons and birds of paradise became profitable when the ornamental feathers of these birds became highly fashionable. Care and prudence were always exercised in the control of this type of hunting: there were closed seasons and large reserves in which hunting was prohibited altogether. Hunters were required to hold a special permit. From 1908 on this permit was issued only to persons who undertook to invest the proceeds in the colony itself. There was increasing opposition in Germany to bird of paradise hunting because it was feared that these birds would be exterminated. Their most effective protection was the inaccessibility of the mountains of the interior. It was quite obvious to me that this type of hunting would stop of its own accord when fashions changed and that it was therefore important to make the best of these few short years when these feathers were stuck on hats as decorations. There was no dearth of open letters addressed to me or of press attacks of various kinds at the time. There was a total prohibition on this form of hunting from 1914 on, but the demand for the feathers was already in decline; and on the coast of Kaiser Wilhelmsland fifteen fine German plantations rose out of the wilderness from the proceeds.

This expansion of European economic activity, briefly sketched in outline here, would not have been possible without a regular system of communications. The Norddeutscher Lloyd had lost no time in translating into fact the promise given in Bremen. The first experts arrived as early as 1903; soundings and surveys were carried out in the harbour of Rabaul; the steamers brought building materials; a great wharf was completed and on it were erected warehouses and water tanks; the foreshore was cleared and houses and office buildings went up. By the end of 1904 the installations were ready and were opened for shipping. Government offices were established to handle customs and postal business. The Norddeutscher Lloyd put on the small steamer *Sumatra* for the service within the Bismarck Archipelago and to the Solomon Islands, while a tug and barges provided a cargo service round the Gazelle Peninsula and the Neu Lauenburg Group. The large steamers no longer called at the various establishments of the big firms in these regions, but continued to visit Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

Initially the big firms opposed this drastic reorganisation of the shipping service, but soon its advantages were appreciated. When an authorised representative of the Norddeutscher Lloyd arrived in 1905, a unanimous agreement was reached according to which the firms undertook to consign goods by the Norddeutscher Lloyd ships exclusively, in return for guaranteed fixed freight rates. This arrangement placed the German shipping service on a viable basis, while it dealt a severe blow to the Australian firm Burns Philp & Co.

This line served the islands of eastern Micronesia including the Marshall Group and also called at Herbertshöhe when the volume of freight increased. This business was now lost to the firm, and a further complication had also developed recently: an Ordinance issued by the Administrator of the Marshall Islands imposed a special tax on any ships trading there belonging to firms without a permanent branch in the islands. This measure was intended to offset the imposts laid on local businesses. This led to a bitter campaign against us in the Australian press, which ended only when the Marshall Islands were also placed under the rule of the Governor of New Guinea in 1906.

The Norddeutscher Lloyd had put two fine ships, the *Prinz Waldemar* and the *Prinz Sigismund* on the New Guinea run. These ships maintained a regular service between Japan and Australia via Hong Kong, Manila and the ports of the Protectorate. The line to Batavia and Singapore was also retained. By this careful dovetailing of its sailing schedules, the line secured not only the freight to and from our own islands but also a considerable volume of cargo in transit and an active passenger trade.

This time trade followed the shipping route; Rabaul grew apace. The major firms were anxious to secure suitable blocks of land in this fast-growing port. The extensive plain round the bay, picturesquely ringed by the steep peaks of the extinct volcanoes Kambiu and Balataman (Mother and North Daughter) and their connecting ridges, had to be surveyed and an appropriate town plan prepared. There was provision for a business section near the life-giving wharf; residential sections; a special quarter for the Chinese and another for the Melanesians; and as a background, enclosing and animating the scene, there were to be public parks. Surveyor Schmitt drafted the plan with meticulous care.

A large block of land in the business quarter was allocated to the Norddeutscher Lloyd. All other land was made the property of the Government and made available on long-term leases subject to certain conditions.

In order to combine beauty and utility, a plan was then conceived for replacing the proposed parks and gardens with a proper Botanical

Garden, provided the location and terrain were considered suitable for the purpose by expert opinion. Dr Preuss stepped into the breach, and pronounced in favour of the plan after a thorough investigation. This also solved a problem which had by now become urgent: ever since 1901 funds had been requisitioned in vain for the establishment of an experimental garden. Dr Schlechter had recommended that this garden should be sited near the police station at Toma. However, the topsoil in the mountains proved too poor in nutrients.

The funds for the Rabaul gardens were finally approved in the year 1905. In a few years Head Gardener Rudolf then created from the wilderness of mountain-slopes and foreshore a magnificent plantation containing every ornamental and useful plant that could be obtained from the Netherlands Indies, Indo-China and Ceylon. The ever-growing volume of seed distributed to both white and coloured persons and the careful observation of the growth of new crops previously unknown in this country, were both equally valuable.

Here we may also refer briefly to another agricultural program which, although restricted in scale by the limited funds available, nevertheless proved useful. The only domesticated animals kept by the natives, dogs and pigs, were both of a very stunted breed. Just outside the Herbertshöhe anchorage lay the two uninhabited Credner Islands (Palakurur). These islands were cleared and planted with coconut palms. A number of soldiers who had served out their time settled here with their families. I imported good breeding pigs from Queensland and left them with these people. The pigs thrived, and every time a soldier was repatriated he was given a piglet to take home. In a few years' time the number ran into hundreds. The villages boasted a fine strain of crossbred pigs. Once, when on a visit to Buka Strait, I was shown a token of appreciation: a fully-grown breeding boar was paraded in front of me and I was told that as an expression of gratitude my name had been bestowed on him.

The administration of the Island Territory was in capable hands: in the Marianas District Commissioner Fritz had done outstanding work. His greatest achievement was perhaps the establishment of the fine Government School in Saipan. The children there were educated by two teachers, with German as the language of instruction. District Commissioner Victor Berg had taken over Ponape in 1901. Unfortunately he died prematurely, succumbing in 1906 to sunstroke contracted while surveying. In 1904 the typhoon already referred to had struck some of the Marshall Islands, Kusaie and Ponape, causing severe losses. In Ponape every building collapsed and had to be rebuilt. The virgin forest covering the mountains of this island was flattened by the force of the hurricane and

the soil was exposed to severe erosion. The natives suffered severely through the destruction of their palms and breadfruit trees.

Late in 1905 I was delighted by a report from District Commissioner Senfft to the effect that he had found soil containing phosphates on the island of Angaur in the Palau Group. I forwarded the samples sent to me to an acquaintance of mine in Melbourne, a German manufacturer of artificial fertilisers. He sent back an enthusiastic report and the most favourable analyses. The manufacturer himself made haste to come up by the next steamer, and a reconnaissance followed to Angaur, via Jap, where Senfft joined the ship. Investigations on the spot confirmed the results obtained from the samples and showed that the deposit covered nearly the whole of the island.

The return journey to Jap almost ended in disaster: even during embarkation a heavy sea was running. The captain reported that the barometer was falling fast and soon told us that he was afraid of a typhoon, which duly arrived. However, we did not have to withstand its full force, as it passed south of us. But for our little ship the seas were quite high enough. At night it was impossible to lie down in the bunks—we had to stand up and cling on to some support to avoid being knocked over. Next afternoon I was up on the bridge with the captain. We had only six tons of coal left and the ash was no longer being thrown overboard, but saved and soaked with oil to make new fuel. In this way the captain hoped to be able to keep going for a few more hours. According to his calculations we were off Jap. Heavy rain was beating down, black clouds and drifts of mist reduced visibility to nil. Just as the captain decided to risk turning the little ship—a dangerous manoeuvre in the heavy seas—so as not to run on to one of the reefs off Jap in the night, the bank of clouds suddenly burst apart and the sun beamed out—and we found ourselves in front of the entrance to the island's harbour. We ran in, full steam ahead, and cast anchor. Right behind us a second steamer hove in sight making for the entrance—the Jaluit Gesellschaft mail steamer *Germania*.

In Herbertshöhe the manufacturer from Melbourne offered to form a company to mine the phosphate. I promised to support him if he succeeded in establishing a German company with preponderantly German capital. Taking with me these plans and many others for the future development of the Protectorate, I went on leave in the spring of 1906 and set off for home with my wife and child.

I was not to see my dear Mother again: she had passed away. I was to share the experience of so many Germans whose chosen paths take them overseas. To return home is to come face to face with the gaps in one's life and the first few weeks are filled with painful memories.

I was soon called to Berlin and there I found that the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office was in the process of being transformed into a Colonial Office. Prince Hermann zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg was in charge and after his retirement Secretary of State Dernburg became head of the colonial administration. I found that both gentlemen fully appreciated the need for further development of the administration in New Guinea.

The mining of the phosphate deposits on Angaur was one of the first ventures to engage the attention of the Secretary of State. The manufacturer from Melbourne had not succeeded in forming a company for the purpose. I went to Bremen and explained the position to Herr Wiegand, the General Manager of the Norddeutscher Lloyd, who took the matter up. As a result, a concession was granted in 1907 to a syndicate led by the Norddeutscher Lloyd. A steamer was sent out for the purpose of conducting an expert investigation under the direction of Herr Schönan, a mining engineer and later manager of the phosphate works on Angaur. Its findings were favourable and another deposit was also found on the island of Feis in the West Carolines. In the following year the Deutsche Südsee-Phosphat A.G. came into being, with its headquarters in Bremen, and this company in a very short time completed the installations required for mining operations. By 1913 the annual output had already exceeded ninety thousand tonnes.

In order to round off the picture and to give some idea of the important part played by our Island Territory in the supply of phosphates to the world market, we must also refer to the island of Nauru in the southern Marshall Islands, close to the equator. This small land formation, without either an anchorage or natural access by sea, surrounded by high reefs and washed by a never-ceasing, pounding surf, was estimated, after investigation, to contain about forty million tonnes of soil rich in phosphates. A concession for the exploitation of these deposits was granted in November 1905 to the Jaluit Gesellschaft which later transferred the same to the Pacific Phosphate Company. The extraction and loading facilities were designed for an annual output of two hundred and fifty thousand tonnes.

Funds were approved for setting up a Government School in Rabaul for European children and for natives, for the extension of the Botanical Gardens and of the medical service, and for a new station near the Dutch border in Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The advances made to the Baining farmers had led to expenditure exceeding the estimates by sixty-three thousand marks. The individual payments were secured by mortgages on the land. The Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee relieved me of the respon-

sibility for raising this money and thus became patron of these farmers.

Filled with zest for the tasks ahead, I arrived back in the Protectorate with my family in March 1907.

District officer Doellinger had been extremely active on the island of Bougainville. He had, by peaceful means, introduced a regular system of administration in the coastal districts north and south of Kieta over a distance of almost one hundred kilometres, and had commenced construction of a vehicular road along the coast. History now repeated itself, and he experienced the same reactions as those which took place earlier in the Gazelle Peninsula: as reports of these radical changes penetrated into the hinterland, as yet untouched by communications or European influence, they roused fear and opposition there. The inhabitants of the mountain district of Tsimo about twenty-three kilometres inland from Toberoi, killed men from several coastal villages because they had taken part in road construction work. This brought the work to a standstill, but the appearance of the troop in the mountains in September 1906 was sufficient to break this resistance.

In Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, at the end of 1906, Karlowa replaced District Commissioner Stuckhardt, who was transferred to the Marshall Islands. In the Potsdamhafen region Karlowa encountered the same phenomena as Doellinger. The inland villages, particularly in the Orokoza district, situated six days' march away from the coast, attacked the coastal people in bitter fighting. There was nothing for it but to intervene with armed force. There was a sharp clash between Karlowa and the recalcitrants in the plantations outside the main village. Under his leadership the small troop stood up bravely and well to superior numbers. After suffering some losses the Orokoza men took flight and submitted, offering to pay a fine. Peace was restored for a time in these parts even in relations between the coast and its immediate hinterland.

In my view the best site for the station which had been approved for western Kaiser Wilhelmsland was near Berlin Harbour. At all events, this part of the vast territory was at that time the most advanced, thanks to the work of the Steyl Mission and the plantations of the Neu Guinea Compagnie. The essential modest buildings were erected in the middle of 1907 on a line of hills dropping down steeply to the sea near Eitape, as the swampy coastal plain proved an unhealthy location. With the limited means at our disposal, the construction of a serviceable road to the top of the mountain was a very arduous assignment. However, the District Officer, Hans Rodatz, had already had some experience in the country and managed to solve this problem and that of providing landing facilities through the perpetual heavy surf, both very successfully.

The local inhabitants were in a state of constant violent feud. Malay bird of paradise hunters who had crossed the border illegally frequently interfered in these disputes, sometimes supporting one village against another. Rodatz was therefore forced to intervene both on the coast and in the immediate hinterland, but was soon in control of the situation.

That part of Kaiser Wilhelmsland was visited by a severe earthquake in December 1907. The coastline from the mouth of the Warapu lagoon as far as the Zisano district collapsed and was submerged under the sea. The practical assistance which the District Officer was able to arrange for the natives in distress in this devastated area proved far more effective in winning them over permanently than any display of force. A few months later I sailed over this newly-formed section of sea, and was able to see huts and trees on the sea-bed below me. I visited these parts when I travelled on foot along the coast from the border in 1908 to become better acquainted with all the individual villages, and was escorted by large throngs of natives—the old distrust had completely disappeared.

In the second half of the year 1907 there was also unrest in the eastern part of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, in the territory of the Neuendettelsau Mission. This Mission had extended its field along the coast round Cape Arkona, in the Bukaua district and as far as the Huon Gulf, and had established a station near the Markham River several kilometres inland. The coastal people had become friendly and were followers of the Mission. The Lae Womba then advanced to the coast from the upper and central Markham and captured booty in the form of goods and human flesh. On one occasion they attacked the village of Lakamo while the inhabitants were attending morning service in the church. The men were struck down and the women and children were carried off. Hasty expeditions directed against the raiders were unsuccessful; they withdrew into trackless mountain country and could never be found. Not even one police post could be established with the resources available. This unfortunate situation continued for several years, until the Mission itself succeeded in winning the battle by transforming the savage Lae [Womba] into a peaceful people.

In Herbertshöhe, August Full had succeeded Karlowa as District Commissioner. In November 1907 he inspected the St Matthias Group and the Admiralty Islands, which had not been visited since February 1906. St Matthias presented no problems and these islands could be made part of the north Neu Mecklenburg District with a view to further peaceful penetration. But in the Admiralty Islands the feuding among the natives continued undiminished. Pearl-fishing and trade had been able to survive on a small scale.

At the beginning of September 1907 we received news via Sydney that the Mortlock Islands in the Central Carolines had been laid waste by a typhoon. When the report reached us six weeks had already elapsed since the disaster. The motor schooner *Ponape*, intended for use in the Island Territory, had been wrecked. The District Commissioner feared there would be a famine among the natives of the islands which had been struck. The *Seestern* was loaded with food and hurried north. At the entrance to the lagoon two outrigger canoes came to meet the ship, manned by emaciated figures whose first words were a cry for food. The devastation had been terrible. Some of the low-lying islands had been denuded of all their top-soil by the encroaching seas, so that now only the bare coral rock showed. All vegetation had been destroyed. The surviving natives had gathered together on the main island and lived on the fish they caught; as they had lost their fishing gear, the catch was not great.

Late in the afternoon the *Seestern* cast anchor and I sent rice, meat, tea, ship's biscuits and some cooking vessels ashore. The light from the fires glowed all night on the nearby beach, where the cooking and feasting never flagged. Next morning I suggested to the people that they should abandon the atoll completely and migrate to Truk and Ponape, where they already had friends and relations. But the people refused absolutely to give up their native soil. So the strongest of the men remained behind and were supplied with provisions and tools to cultivate the soil once more. I took 627 natives on board and brought them to Truk and Ponape. According to accounts given by the natives, about three hundred people must have fallen victim to the typhoon.

From Ponape I continued my voyage to the Marshall Islands, because I felt the time had come to simplify the administration in this peaceful and well-regulated group of islands. Some time later the District Office was converted into a Station which was placed under Ponape.

Thanks to the expeditions of the early years and also to the expansion of the activities of the missions and the Administration, we had a reasonable knowledge of the native settlements, the flora and the geological structure of the country in the coastal regions. Valuable contributions had been made to linguistic and ethnographic research. In Namatanai Father Peekel's botanical work achieved lasting recognition. But there had been no recent initiatives in Germany itself for the further scientific study of the colony, with the isolated exception of Dr Thilenius who had been engaged in ethnographic research on the north-western islands of the Bismarck Archipelago in 1897. The results of the Ramu expeditions and of the examination of the Waria region conducted by the mining engineer Schlentzig had not been published.

I have particularly vivid memories of the crossing of the Gazelle Peninsula which I carried out at the end of August 1903 together with Father Rascher, Dr Danneil and Surveyor Wernicke. Father Rascher was anxious to make the acquaintance of the Baining of the interior. I too was looking for people, but also for plains and valleys at higher altitudes which might offer a healthier location for a European settlement than the malarious coastal regions, and I was also anxious to study the geological formations. The Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus had erected a large sawmill on the Toriu to supply the growing demand for building timber from local sources. This settlement on the west coast of the peninsula seemed to be the most suitable point of departure for the expedition, particularly as Father Rascher had already been told by his Baining that there was a native path leading from Weber Harbour to the Toriu. The journey was completed in ten days. The marches were somewhat arduous, but we were given friendly hospitality by the Baining, the first of whom we met on the northern face of Mt Sinewit. In the interior I succeeded in finding only tufaceous limestone and andesite, and observed many ridges with steep sides, but no plateaux or high valleys. The country we travelled through between the Toriu and Sinewit was uninhabited. Surveyor Wernicke drew a good route map so as to keep some kind of record of our geographical findings.

In the middle of the year 1905 I found time to cross the island of Neu Hannover together with Dr Kornmayer and Wernicke, setting out from the Lavangoi district in the south. The natives willingly supplied guides and carriers. The journey on foot over the mountains of the interior afforded many surprisingly beautiful views, but our hopes were disappointed: we did not meet with either the dense population which had been assumed to live there, or any indications of outcrops of older strata of rock breaking through the tertiary formations.

But these modest expeditions into the interior did not stimulate the geographers at home in Germany to take any initiatives of their own.

In 1904 and the years following, the prices for guttapercha were very high. In 1905 the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee once again sent out Dr Rudolf Schlechter to determine whether trees containing gutta occurred in New Guinea. He was provided with personnel and established his base camp in Bulu on Astrolabe Bay. Together with Dr Schlechter, Dr Scholz (at that time District Commissioner in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen) and Dommes (plantation manager in Stephansort) I advanced along the valley of the Minjem and across the Ibo Range as far as the upper Ramu. The mountain country was unpopulated, and we did not meet with large numbers of sturdy people again till we entered the

great river basin. The ridges which dropped down to the Ramu carried sparser vegetation than those running towards the sea. Trees containing gutta grew only on the latter. The geological structure in the Minjem valley was still predominantly of coral origin, while the Ibo Range contained andesite and other tertiary rock formations. The view from one of the highest peaks of the Ibo Range over the mighty river valley and across to the high mountains opposite was a panorama of sublime beauty.

Dr Schlechter continued work on his assignment in the Finisterre Range, on the Finsch Peninsula and in the Waria River basin. However, his discoveries were never put to practical use: wireless telegraphy had been discovered and submarine cables cased in gutta were no longer used.

Dr Stephan, a naval staff-surgeon on the survey ship *Möwe*, had made a close study of the natives in central Neu Mecklenburg and had published the results of his work in two attractively-written books. In the year 1906 he returned and established himself near Muliama to continue his research, but succumbed not long afterwards to a severe attack of malaria. In 1905 Dr Richard Thurnwald arrived and spent three years in New Guinea engaged in ethnographic research. His publications attracted notice in scientific circles, and stimulated interest in research in the Protectorate. We will touch briefly on the work of some of these projects.

Early in 1907 Professor Dr Karl Sapper of the University of Strassburg and Captain (ret.) Georg Friderici arrived. They worked in the islands of Neu Mecklenburg and Neu Hannover, and also in parts of Neu Pommern and Kaiser Wilhelmsland. His observations led Herr Friderici to draw significant conclusions concerning the immigration of the Melanesian elements of the population. On the basis of the cultural heritage of individual groups, he distinguished between one stream of migration from the Philippines and another emanating from India and the Netherlands East Indies. The former wave came to Neu Hannover and Neu Mecklenburg and the latter to southern Neu Pommern and Kaiser Wilhelmsland. Dr Sapper threw light on the geological structure of the island of Neu Mecklenburg, based on his examination of the terracing in the Rossel Range and the deposits in the southern alpine region, which he had crossed in an arduous journey on foot.

In April 1908 the District Officer in Kieta had to intervene repeatedly in the feuds among the natives; the coastal districts appealed for help against the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range. His success in these expeditions made us anxious to cross Bougainville Island so as to gain a clearer picture of the distribution of population and of its geological structure. Dr Sapper and I quickly agreed on a plan and set aside the second half of July for the expedition. Professor Dorsay of the Columbian

Field Museum in Chicago happened to arrive by the mail steamer which came into port just then. He had come for research in ethnography and also took part in the expedition.

The ascent was made from Arawa Bay, north of Kieta. The party included twenty native soldiers and thirty carriers. We crossed the central ridge of the Crown Prince Range by a pass at an altitude of about 1,500 metres on the second day. On the evening of the second day we camped on a spur opposite the Kelana volcano which was fully active. Huge clouds of smoke rose up incessantly into the clear evening sky and at night a column of fire glowed high above the mountains. The rock formations in the vicinity indicated tertiary origins, with a preponderance of basalt and andesite.

The descent took three and a half days; crossing the marshy plains on the western side of the island was arduous and tedious work. The steamer *Seestern* took us on board again and brought us to Buin on the south coast of the island where the Marist Mission had established itself. Nearby stood the tent belonging to Dr Thurnwald, who had come there to continue his studies of the natives of that region, who were still very unapproachable. We continued our voyage, landing at Taurawa River in the Konana district and travelling on foot from there to Kieta. Dr Sapper spent his time examining the rock formations while the District Officer showed me the progress he had made in road-building and in the pacification of the coastal districts. A road, of simple construction but of generous width, ran sixty-five kilometres north from the river to Kieta and on to Roroan.

During this journey on foot we were particularly struck with the sight of the wonderful stands of timber in the virgin forest. The predominant species was *Maniltoa grandiflora*, a tree containing good serviceable hardwood. We counted the number of mature trees per hectare of this species in a number of places, and estimating a depth of only five hundred metres inland and a distance of seventy kilometres along the coast, we arrived at a volume of 1,250,000 cubic metres of felling timber. A number of experiments carried out by the Sydney firm of Stärker & Fischer in association with the German New Guinea Government and the firm of Heinrich Rudolf Wahlen had demonstrated that the timber of the tree *Afzelia bijuga* (ironwood) could be used instead of teak for planking ships. There was no shortage of this timber in the country. In east Neu Mecklenburg, between Muliama and Cape Asu (St Maria) alone, there was an estimated volume of 50,000 cubic metres and these forests also contained a similar quantity of *Inophyllum calophyllum*.

The mighty forest belt between Alexishafen and Hatzfeldhafen contained comparable quantities of ironwood. The sawmills belonging to the

Mission on the Toriu and to the Neu Guinea Compagnie on the Warangoi on the east coast of the Gazelle Peninsula worked in the main with *Eucalyptus globuli*. The remoteness of New Guinea from the great markets and the resultant high freight rates were obstacles in the way of the development of a timber industry. There was a demand for smaller quantities of *Cordia subcordata* and *Barringtonia* for panelling and furniture manufacture. It was not until 1912 that two forestry experts, Deininger and Kempf, came to the country to undertake a survey of forest resources.

Alluvial gold-mining had long been successfully carried on in the neighbouring British territory of Papua, and a whole tribe of experienced gold-seekers was at work there. More and more reports came in saying that they were also working on our territory. In the first half of March 1908 I sailed on board the *Seestern* into the silent wilderness of the great harbour of Morobe in order to reach the Waria River by land and to follow the river valley upstream. Other members of the expedition were District Commissioner Karlowa, Surveyor Wernicke and Captain Moeller, the commander of the *Seestern*. With the ship's boats we crossed the shallow lagoon which was reached by a narrow channel from the inner harbour and which obviously owed its origin to an irruption of the sea like the one which had occurred a year earlier at Warapu. The journey on foot from our landing place over the intervening lines of hills and down to the Waria valley was very strenuous, as we did not find any previously-used tracks. It was getting dark before we reached the village of Unu on the river after twelve hours' march. We stopped here because some of the natives we had taken with us came from this village. The contact we made with the inhabitants in this way was very helpful. Next morning our baggage was loaded into the village canoes so that the rest of our journey could be completed at a better pace.

In the village of Ugo we came upon a village chief appointed by the District Commissioner in Tamata, that is by the British. A small party of gold-seekers and caoutchouc collectors advancing into the country had also set up camp in the vicinity. The caoutchouc collectors were tapping a type of paramera liana which Schlechter had also found in many places in the mountains. These people thought they were still travelling over British territory. At my request, the alluvial gold-miners set to work at a number of points in the river valley selected by me, with the result that every dish showed gold specks.

Next day's march brought us to Komene, opposite the island of Jatuna in the river. Here too we came upon a village chief from Papua who had been appointed by the British. A short way upstream from the island, the river gushes out of a narrow gorge between the steep mountain-sides and then moves at a steadier pace along the wide flat river valley. Here for the

first time since I had come to the country I found more ancient rock formations. The samples which we took here and from small tributaries further upstream were identified in Germany as granite and syenite. It was impossible to make our way along the river-bed itself as the rushing waters reached right up to the vertical rock walls. We followed a well-worn track over the mountain slopes. Near Gobi we descended to the Waria again, where we met another large group of alluvial gold-miners at work. I decided not to push on any further. From Ugo onwards we had halted every day at twelve o'clock to take observations with the theodolite. According to our calculations, which were admittedly not entirely reliable, the river flowed through German territory at this point but appeared to enter British territory above Gobi. Surveyor Wernicke made a good route map showing the observations he had made on the way and this map has also been included in the cartographic volume on the Protectorate.

The great waterway into the interior of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the Kaiserin Augusta (Sepik) River, was sighted by Captain Dallmann on board the steamer *Samoa* in April 1886. At the end of June 1886 Administrator von Schleinitz sailed a short distance upstream on the steamer *Ottilie*. In the second half of the year 1887 the Neu Guinea Compagnie Scientific Expedition under Dr Schrader, Hollrung, Schneider and Hunstein travelled up the river, recording and charting its course. Observations made then indicated that economic development near the lower and middle reaches of the river was ruled out by the recurring extensive floods and the resultant swampy terrain. Sea-going ships with a draught up to six metres can sail upstream at any time of year as far as the first narrows where the river is hemmed in by the ridges of the Hunstein Range. This means that this section of the river can be navigated regularly to a distance equal roughly to the distance from the mouth of the Rhine as far as Cologne.

Another twenty years passed before this river was touched on again. In August 1908 Area Manager Heine on board the Neu Guinea Compagnie steamer *Siar* visited the main villages along the river for about one hundred kilometres upstream, for the purpose of recruiting plantation labour among the local population. He was followed in November of the same year by District Commissioner Full on board the small Lloyd tug *Roland*. The aim of the District Commissioner's journey was to enter into relations with the natives, with whom no previous contact had ever been made. He was surprisingly successful in this and it seemed to me that it would be a pity to wait too long before reviving the relations which he had established.

And so, in the middle of 1909, I travelled up this mighty stream as far as the Hunstein Range on board the cruiser *Cormoran* commanded by Corvette Captain Siemens. The observations made by the officers of this ship indicated that the chart made in 1887 was completely accurate. With few exceptions the natives showed neither shyness or distrust. Two tributaries were also navigated for short distances with the pinnace. Of those townships which we visited—and we may surely use this term to describe these large, well-built settlements—Kambringi boasted the most impressive houses and inhabitants. On the lower and middle reaches of the river Papuan languages predominate, but there is an admixture of Melanesian words everywhere. The local technology, architecture and culture point to Malay influences. Tobacco was grown everywhere and the dried leaf was smoked without previous fermentation. It was easy to see that the different villages were in a state of feud with each other. The skulls found displayed in the meeting-houses suggested that head-hunting was very common.

As the growing demand for plantation labour ruled out the possibility of abandoning the recruiting route up the river which had already been opened up, we were faced with the new and important task of winning over these magnificent stone age people as well as the vast river valley and its tributaries, working our way forward steadily without bloodshed. However, there were initially no resources available for expansion in this direction. Here again the indefatigable Apostolic Prefect Father Limbrock was a pioneer. About fifty kilometres upstream from the mouth, the first low ridge of hills comes down to the river's edge. In 1911 a mission station, Marienhöhe, was built on this ridge and Father Kirschbaum was put in charge. This persevering and energetic Westphalian held out at his post for more than twenty years and by his patient endeavours he won over the inhabitants of the river valley to peaceful and civilised ways. It was not until 1932 that he was able to go on leave and revisit his homeland.

Regierungsrat Kraus did not return to the Protectorate but entered the service of the Ministry. It was of great importance to the colony that an official with an up-to-date knowledge of colonial conditions was now permanently on the spot in Berlin. The recent local initiatives in exploration, in administration and by the missions outlined above, particularly those in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, prompted the German authorities to decide on measures to clarify the geography of the border area adjoining British Papua which was of vital importance to the gold-mining industry.

An agreement was reached with Britain to send a joint expedition for the purpose of defining the border. Previously, in accordance with the

agreements concluded in the year 1886, the line marking 8°S Lat. had constituted the border. It was now proposed not only to define the border by astronomical observations and position-finding, and to mark it with stones, but also, should the former arbitrary line be found to follow an unsuitable course, to endeavour to re-route the boundary line in such a way as to meet the practical needs of both parties. The man appointed to lead the German section of the expedition was Captain Förster, who had previously worked in Cameroon on the demarcation of the boundary with the neighbouring French possessions. *Bergrat* Stollé was appointed to conduct the geological reconnaissance work of the expedition.

The expedition began its work after landing at the mouth of the Waria at the end of 1908. When we arrived we found the British already at work on the spot. The two parties at first advanced together, but later separated so as to speed up the work. Captain Förster followed the Waria upstream and penetrated into its upper basin between the Albert Edward Range and the innermost chain of the coastal range, advancing as far as the Unu tributary. Communications to the rear were maintained by one depot in Jatuna and one in Gobi. At the beginning of May I received word from the Australian Government that according to reports received in Melbourne via Papua, Captain Förster found himself in a difficult situation and had to engage in heavy fighting with the natives.

At that juncture I had virtually no forces at my disposal. The *Seestern* had left for Sydney to enter dry dock. Captain Moeller was away on home leave and the First Officer had taken over command of the ship; the pick of the troops had been assigned to Förster; as renewed attacks on the Europeans there had made intervention absolutely essential, District Commissioner Klug had had to be sent to the Admiralty Islands with the rest of the trained men. There remained only two dozen trained men and a platoon of recruits. I rounded up seventeen men, arranged for carriers and adequate equipment and sailed with the small tug *Roland* to the mouth of the Waria where I found the steamer of the Governor of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray. We exchanged calls but the Governor was unable to give me any fresh news of Förster. The British party had not so far been molested as it advanced. On the beach I found the provisions stacked under an open protective roof without a guard. The returned soldiers in the village of Unu paid occasional visits to see that they were not broached by undesirable strangers. In Jatuna I found the police post in exemplary order, the detachments of carriers passed through regularly without armed escort. The commander of the post in Gobi had in fact heard of fighting near the Unu, but no reports of a difficult situation had come through to him. He too was sending regular parties of carriers upstream without providing soldiers as escorts. I was greatly relieved.

I continued the difficult journey and crossed the intervening mountain chains with all possible speed, reaching the camp after another three days' hard marching. Everything was in first-class order there except for Captain Förster himself, who had suffered a relapse of the sleeping sickness which he had contracted in Cameroon. He was at the end of his strength and it was essential to bring him down to the coast immediately. This meant that the expedition would have to be disbanded, as there was no-one available to take over the Captain's work. Stollé had made good progress in working in his own field. He reported that the river sands of the upper Waria and its tributaries, particularly the Unu, contained gold and platinum, and that there were also deposits of these metals in the river plains. These findings pointed the way for further expert investigations.

I spent two days resting in the camp in the high valley, which extends over an approximate width of from six to ten kilometres from the village of Aru. The Waria here is a wild mountain torrent flowing in a deep-cut bed at the southern edge of the valley. Beyond the river rise the steep faces of the Albert Edward Range. The northern limit of the valley, in the direction of the sea, consists of the ridges of the coastal range, which rise up more than two thousand metres. The valley itself was not forested; it was covered with tall *alang-alang* grass and unpopulated. The natives lived in the side valleys of the high mountain range, which afforded them hiding-places which were patently inaccessible. The landscape was of a magnitude which was overpowering, and particularly beautiful in the morning, before the enormous mountain chains and ridges had disappeared behind veils of cloud. Stollé and I agreed on the additional steps to be taken for winding up the expedition and I hurried back to the coast. I did not wish to keep the steamer *Seestern* waiting, which I had instructed by a letter sent to Sydney to come to the mouth of the Waria by the beginning of June. I waited for two days at the river mouth. The time spent on the coast was sheer torment on account of the terrible plague of mosquitoes which harried us day and night.

The ship did not appear, so I moved back upstream as far as Jatuna. From there I sought out a small creek which flowed into the river, which the alluvial miners had told me contained good sand, and there I started to wash for gold. But I soon realised that this trade has to be mastered like another; my takings were nil. Finally I injured my left foot on a sharp stone and had to take to my bed in Jatuna. After another two weeks the natives from Unu at last reported the arrival of a steamer. We made good time downstream in the canoes, which had long been kept in readiness.

On the way I came upon District Commissioner Stübel, who had recently arrived in the country and whom I had not yet met. He had been

sent from Herbertshöhe to look for me because it was believed that the *Seestern* had been waiting in vain for me at the mouth of the river, and that I must therefore be in need of help in the interior. He had found an opportunity to make the voyage on board the steam schooner *Delphin* attached to the Island Territory, which had come from Ponape on its way to the dry dock in Sydney. It was now plain that the *Seestern* was long overdue. After waiting anxiously for some weeks we were forced to regard it as lost. Presumably it went down in a severe hurricane on the voyage from Brisbane to New Guinea.

The loss of this vessel put a sudden end to the Administration's activities directed towards the remoter areas. These developments were so far advanced and were so absolutely dependent on regular communications by sea that it was unthinkable that we should lapse back into our earlier state, when we were without the means of travel by sea. The insurance money, plus the funds set aside for operating costs, provided a sum sufficient to order a new ship to be built. A start was made on this immediately, under the expert supervision of Captain Moeller, who was in Germany at the time. The Imperial Navy generously stepped into the breach in the meantime. The new steamer, the *Komet*, finally arrived under Captain Moeller's command in the middle of 1911.

In the year 1909 a Government Station was erected under the direction of Hans Klink on the harbour at Morobe, for the purpose of pacifying the natives, for establishing a safe route to the valley of the upper Waria and to exercise supervision over alluvial gold-mining activities. Klink had been a gold-miner in Australia for many years and had performed sterling service for the Government as a surveyor and in the construction of roads.

Consul Heinrich Rudolf Wahlen, with the assistance of some Australian gold-miners, conducted a detailed investigation of the gold-mining potential of the lower Waria valley. An Alsatian named Kempf examined the deposits on the Unu. After completion of all the necessary preliminaries, mining concessions were granted but it was no longer possible to exercise them. While we were seeking a route to the gold country from the Waria valley, a man with long experience in the country called Dammköhler together with his companion Oldörp attempted in early 1909 to discover the existence of gold deposits from the Ramu valley. He advanced from Astrolabe Bay to the upper Ramu. Dissatisfied with his findings, he crossed the watershed between this river and the Markham River and made his way into the Herzog Range which towers up south of the river. He and his small number of native companions were killed on the Watut River in an attack by natives, while Oldörp succeeded in escaping and was taken in by the Mission in the Markham valley.

According to his account, these two brave men had found promising deposits. Oldörp equipped a new expedition and boarded a sailing schooner in Rabaul together with his men and equipment, but the ship foundered with the cargo and all hands in a heavy storm in the Huon Gulf.

Occasional Australian gold-seekers continued to attempt the ascent from the Markham River, without reaching their objective. After the war the Australians continued to follow Dammköhler's tracks, with increasing success. It was finally the advances in aviation which made it possible to reach the top of the mountains with aeroplanes. Today gold-mining by means of large dredges is successfully carried out in the region of the Bulolo and Watut Rivers, the upper reaches of which lie within the mighty high-altitude valley which separates the coastal range and the high mountain ranges. The aeroplanes used for transporting heavy loads of more than three tons are supplied by the Junkers works in Dessau.

About the middle of the year 1909 *Regierungsrat* Dr Oswald arrived in Herbertshöhe as special adviser, senior Judge and Deputy-Governor to replace Dr Kraus. He had commenced his colonial career in South-west Africa and in the four years he spent in New Guinea he worked indefatigably giving loyal assistance, advice and leadership to me and to the country as a whole. He was killed at the end of September 1914 near St Mihiel. At the same time as Oswald, the Hamburger Wissenschaftliche Südsee-Expedition arrived on board its own large steamer, the *Peiho*. The leader of the expedition was Professor Dr Fülleborn, who was accompanied by a team of scientific specialists. This comprehensive German scientific enterprise owed its inception to suggestions made by Professor Thilenius and Professor Mühlens of the Hamburger Kolonialinstitut. The necessary funds were readily subscribed by the citizens of Hamburg, at that time a wealthy city. The main fields of study were to be the eastern and southern sections of Neu Pommern, the Sepik and later on the Carolines. In its second year, Professor Dr Krämer took over as leader of the expedition, the results of which were published in several well-written and beautifully produced volumes.

The autumn of 1909 passed without any disturbing reports from the remoter areas. Oswald and I were able to devote ourselves to the urgent tasks before us, especially the transfer of the seat of Government from Herbertshöhe to Rabaul. This port had long since outstripped in importance the town of Herbertshöhe, which had become a sleepy hollow. In order to keep pace with the steady increase in trade and communications, I was forced to transfer some Government offices and to increase the staff. The District Office, the District Court and the Stores Administration were therefore moved to Rabaul. I remained in lonely splendour

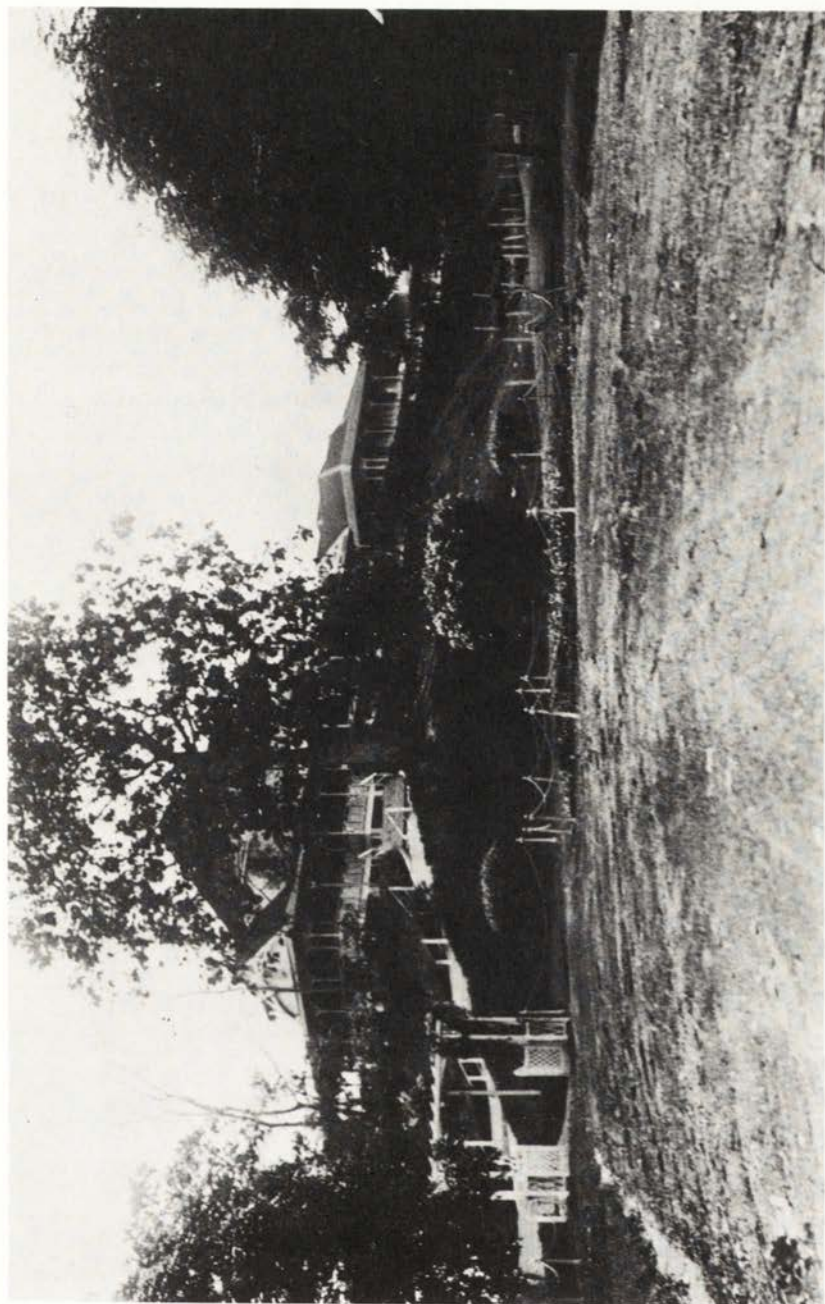


Plate ix Government House in Namanula. Reproduced by courtesy of the Australian War Memorial.

in Herbertshöhe, along with one police-sergeant, the Cash Office, the survey section and one doctor. The main obstacle in the way of an immediate and total transfer of the Government to Rabaul was financial or rather due to the detailed provisions of the budget as approved for each year. I used the funds approved for necessary extensions or additions to the buildings in Herbertshöhe to develop Rabaul, and my reports on this expenditure naturally met with disapproval, for the proposal to select Rabaul as the seat of Government had not yet been agreed to. To my mind, however, there could be no justification for investing large sums in Herbertshöhe in view of the inevitability of the future transfer.

Yet another great campaign of checking and calculating was ordered, but no irregularities were discovered. The authorities in Germany gave way to our combined onslaught, and when the move to Rabaul was approved, the necessary buildings were ready and waiting there. The transfer was completed early in 1910. One District Officer, a doctor and hospital and the survey section remained in Herbertshöhe.

In Rabaul a broad highway had been built in the years 1905 and 1906, from the foreshore along the Namanula ridge running between the Mother and the North Daughter, and the hospital for Europeans, a doctor's residence, some of the officials' houses and the Governor's residence were then placed on these airy and salubrious heights. The schools for European children and for natives had already been built there. As the number of coloured pupils grew after the establishment of trade schools, it was in fact later found advisable to move the coloured section to the coastal plain. These apt pupils and their teacher Paul Barschdorff had quickly won a well-deserved reputation: from 1909 on, the *Amtsblatt* [Government Gazette] for the Protectorate, a new publication, was set up, printed and distributed by them.

The growth of the European population in the port brought social advantages: the Rabaul Club was established and an ever-increasing number of players and spectators disported themselves on its tennis courts after the day's work; lectures and musical evenings were held under its hospitable roof; and early in 1910 in the great courtyard of the firm of HERNSHEIM & CO., in Matupi, there was a solemn commemoration, in which the Imperial Navy took part, of the silver jubilee of the hoisting of the flag.

The time was once again drawing near for my family and me to go on home leave. In the middle of April I handed over my official duties to Dr Oswald and we sailed north on board the steamer *Prinz Sigismund*. The ship stayed long enough in the port of Hong Kong for us to make a trip to Canton. In Japan we spent our time in Nara and Kyoto, as these beautiful

centres of ancient Japanese art and religion held far more appeal for us than the hurry and bustle in the ports. The journey across Siberia from Vladivostock to Moscow took ten days but our stay in the ancient city of the Czars amply compensated for all the inconveniences of the long rail journey.

Early in June we arrived in Berlin. Secretary of State Dernburg resigned his post about this time, and I found his successor, Secretary of State von Lindequist, an understanding supporter of the Protectorate in its time of need. I found three old New Guinea friends working in the Colonial Office—Dr Schnee, Dr Kraus and Herr Full. The events of the past few years and the development of the colony came under scrutiny. In the areas under the administrative control of the Government Stations, public peace and freedom of movement had been achieved, increased numbers of labourers had been recruited and native agriculture had expanded. The Admiralty Islands and central Kaiser Wilhelmsland were still trouble-spots, but there had been some improvement in the former, where District Commissioner Full and Berghausen had in recent years taken back twenty rifles from the natives—some of them by confiscation and some surrendered voluntarily.

In their fights among themselves the natives were now asking for protection by the Administration. Josef Pominis, the chief of the Papitalei district, had been educated at Vunapope. In a letter addressed to me he declared that the order to keep the public peace would be both understood and obeyed. But his wicked neighbours, the Loniu people, ignored the order and continued the fighting, and he therefore requested the troop to intervene. In the light of experience it was to be expected that once a Station had been established the area would be pacified without serious resistance.

The total external trade for the year 1909 exceeded 14.5 million marks in value, and exports of copra, the colony's staple commodity, exceeded 13,000 tonnes in volume. The area planted in plantations conducted by Europeans was 23,000 hectares, although only a quarter of this area was productive. The white population numbered 1,075. The expenditure for the financial year 1909/10 was 2,183,000 marks, as against a local revenue of 1,379,000 marks. We could therefore point to certain successes and growing assets in our negotiations, which were aimed not only at closing the ring of defence power round the peripheral coastal areas by increasing the number of Stations, but also at instituting a program of useful economic and cultural activities such as the appointment of experts in agriculture, forestry and cattle-breeding, increasing the number of medical and technical personnel and continuing scientific

exploration. As a supplementary program, the resources at the disposal of the Administration in the remoter areas were to be improved by the provision of small sea-going vessels and by relieving the burden on the police forces in the pacified areas by establishing a field company under the command of regular officers.

The Hamburgische Südsee A.G. had been established in Hamburg, and had acquired all the property of Frau Kolbe. The management of this business was entrusted to Herr Heinrich Rudolf Wahlen who was now head of two major enterprises. This meant that Hamburg was now closely associated with the economic life of the colony. I found my efforts to create a new basis for economic expansion in the colony strongly supported in Hanseatic circles. I attended the annual meeting in Elberfeld of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, presided over by Duke Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg. Since it had been working in closer collaboration with Dr Karl Supf and the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft had also shown more interest in New Guinea, and this was also given forceful expression at that annual meeting. A sea-going launch was presented as a gift, intended initially as an ancillary boat for the major Sepik expedition which was being planned, and later for service in the Friedrich Wilhelmshafen District.

Renewed attention had been attracted to this mighty stream by the progress of the joint German-Dutch Border Expedition, which had been agreed on with Holland more or less as a counterpart to the German-British Border Expedition of the preceding year. The leader appointed in charge of the German party was Professor Dr Leonhard Schultze of the University of Jena. First Lieutenant Findeis was responsible for recording topographical data and the other members were *Bergrat* Stollé and Dr Kopp, who remained in the country as a Government doctor after the conclusion of the expedition. The staff of the Dutch party under Naval First Lieutenant J. L. Luymes consisted of carefully selected personnel trained for work in the sciences including zoology and botany.

They first set out on 12 June 1910 along the boundary line, following in the main the course of the Tami River. After covering a distance of about one hundred and ten kilometres the leaders decided that it was pointless to continue to push on, as they had met with no sizable native settlements and found nothing of economic significance. In addition, extensive marshes blocked their route. At the beginning of August they reached the coast again on Humboldt Bay and decided to make their next advance along the Sepik. It was assumed that this river would enter Dutch territory in its upper reaches. The two contingents had collaborated harmoniously from the beginning, but the good relations between them

were now cemented even more firmly: as there was no German Government vessel available, the Dutch party, which had at its disposal three naval ships, undertook to provide transportation and supplies on the Sepik for the whole expedition. The course of the river was charted for a distance of nine hundred and sixty kilometres, thus laying a sound foundation for any future detailed reconnaissance. The official objective of the expedition, namely the exploration of the boundary-line, could not be achieved because the river scarcely touched Dutch territory. However, the speedy completion of the venture had an invigorating effect in German colonial circles.

The degree of agreement reached in Berlin on the future objectives of the Administration of the Protectorate was based on the hope and anticipation of steady progress in the years to come. However, these hopes were dealt a severe blow just before Christmas, when we received news that *Regierungsrat* Senfft had died in autumn 1908. He was succeeded by Karlowa and *Regierungsrat* Fritz took over the eastern section of the Island Territory. A separate Government Station had been established on Truk atoll in the Central Carolines as early as 1906. When Karlowa returned home *Regierungsrat* Fritz once more became responsible for the western Island Territory. District Commissioner Boeder, who had previously worked in Dar-es-salaam in East Africa, was placed in charge of the eastern section with headquarters in Ponape.

There had been a succession of crises in Ponape in recent years. We had adopted a policy of requiring the natives to work on the construction of a modest system of roads. The common people offered no resistance to this whatever, but the chiefs regarded it as a curtailment of their powers, or perhaps rather of their income, since they claimed the unlimited right to have disposal over the labour of the feudal tenants. Perhaps Boeder did not know the character of the Ponape people sufficiently well; at all events he considered himself personally fully capable of dealing with the recalcitrant chiefs. When he heard that the Jakoi people had stopped work, he travelled to the spot in a rowing boat accompanied by the Secretary. On landing both of them were struck down with knives, as well as the five natives who made up the crew. This took place on 18 October 1910. When the terrible news reached the nearby station, Dr Girschner gathered together the small number of troops available and, with the support of the other tribes who remained loyal, kept good watch so that the rebels did not risk an attack.

It took weeks for the news to reach Dr Oswald, who finally reached Ponape with picked men from the small troop on 5 December. The Imperial Navy put in an appearance with four cruisers. The natives

decided to fight it out and on 13 January the island of Jakoiij was taken. The surviving natives fled to the main island and did not give in until they had lost heavily in a second engagement. The losses on our side were: Naval Lieutenant Ehrhardt and three sailors killed, and two killed and nine wounded among the coloured troop. After punishment of the chief culprits, the rebels were transferred to Jap and later to the Palau Islands, where they were re-settled.

It was in a less than cheerful mood that I began the voyage out in early January 1911. I took over my official duties in Rabaul on 3 March. At the end of the month I summoned the Advisory Council to discuss the budget estimates for the year 1912. There was an enthusiastic response to the willingness of the home Government to make funds available for the further development of the Protectorate. But fears were expressed that the increase in expenditure might also mean that the colony itself would be expected to make additional financial sacrifices. During the consideration of the items of expenditure there were urgent requests that the colony be connected by wireless telegraphy via Jap to the international cable network, and the importance of an accelerated development of Kaiser Wilhelmsland was emphasised. I was able to introduce to the assembled Council the recently arrived veterinary expert Dr Braun. Having previously served in the *Schutztruppe* in East Africa and gained sound colonial experience, he went on to make a valuable contribution to the economy of the colony by raising the standard of animal husbandry.

On 3 April I set out on a voyage to the Island Territory on board the Jaluitgesellschaft mail steamer *Germania*, first calling at the phosphate island of Nauru and the Marshall Islands. No changes were introduced into the existing system of native administration in these islands as it had functioned satisfactorily for years. I merely converted the previous payments in kind—copra—on Nauru into a head-tax, as the natives were now able to earn a good income in connection with the phosphate works. In the Marshall Islands the payment in kind was retained and somewhat increased in quantity. In Ponape I was greeted by the Government doctor Dr Kersting, who had a distinguished record for his many years of work in Togo. He had been transferred to the West Carolines in the middle of 1910 after *Regierungsrat* Fritz left on home leave, and then to Ponape after the outbreak of the disturbances there.

On Ponape the system of government through the exercise of power by the chiefs, carefully cultivated by us in the past, had broken down when contributions were required of the people in keeping with the progress and development of the island. We then appealed to the common people, to the bondsmen; we abolished the privileges of the feudal lords

and to protect the land-holdings we introduced absolute ownership by the occupants, but without curtailing the estates worked by the ruling families themselves. The payment of tribute to the feudal lords was replaced by universal payment of taxes in cash to the Government. The highest dignitaries were entrusted with the collection of the taxes and received a small fixed proportion of the sums collected. There was no actual enthusiasm for these radical changes in the assemblies and discussions in which they were announced, but the common people were satisfied. Kersting, a master of the art of dealing with natives, then pioneered this new system and put it into effect without friction.

These multifarious negotiations had scarcely been concluded when a severe typhoon struck this sorely-tried island. The fury of the storm was such that I saw with my own eyes a sheet of corrugated iron torn off a roof sailing through the air like a paper kite; I saw sturdy mango trees and coconut palms not only blown over but turned upside-down with their roots sticking up into the sky. The southern part of the island was hardest hit and all plant-life there was once again destroyed.

The steam schooner *Delphin* lay at anchor in the harbour and had weathered the storm. I sailed west on board this ship and found everything in good order on Truk atoll under Scharlauck, a former ship's engineer. Trade and native plantations had both made progress. Five hundred tonnes of copra had been produced in the year 1910 compared with three hundred in previous years. In the light of the area under cultivation, Jansen, the manager of the Jaluitgesellschaft station and later managing director in Jaluit, expected production to increase to eight hundred tonnes in a few years. In 1910 the head-tax yielded almost twenty thousand marks from a population of approximately fifteen thousand persons. A growing number of young men allowed themselves to be recruited for employment by Europeans and supplied the labour for the phosphate works in Angaur.

In the course of this voyage I called at the Marianas for the first time. After spending a short time in Saipan I called at the more important islands, escorted by District Officer von Heynitz, and went as far as Pagan and Agrigan in the northern part of the group. Everywhere I met with evidence of the careful work and the improvements effected by *Regierungsrat* Fritz. Fine roads had been built, and flourishing palm groves belonging to both natives and the Government were growing well. The Government schools were well attended and the young people had a complete command of our language. The only depressing aspect was the low population figure—about three thousand persons in all—and the low rate of increase. Syphilitic infections, eye disease and worm infestation

were the main health problems. Dr Prowaczek and Dr Leber had been sent as specialists to the islands to combat these diseases. I met them in Saipan and took them on board to continue their journey to Jap.

As the ship's coal stocks were running low, we called in at Guam, where the Governor, Captain Salisbury, arranged for us to be given an excellent reception. The two doctors took the opportunity to inspect the medical facilities on the island, particularly the leprosarium.

In Jap the Government doctor, Dr Buse, was in charge of the administration. This island had acquired importance since three German cables converged here—from Shanghai, Menado and Guam. Work on the extension of the cable to Rabaul had been suspended because of the discovery of wireless telegraphy. The Deutsche Südsee Phosphat Gesellschaft had already installed a wireless station for its own purposes on Angaur. Major stations were erected on Jap and Nauru in 1911 and 1912, but it was not until 1913 that construction was commenced on the Bitapaka plateau in the Gazelle Peninsula.

I carried a favourable impression with me as I left the Island Territory. From a cultural and economic standpoint, everything depended on an improvement in the health of the people and on land which was still lying idle being put to full use as the population increased. I boarded the mail steamer in Jap and reached Rabaul on 4 July. I found my wife in deep mourning; the last mail had brought news of the death of her mother.

In the middle of 1911 we were able to set in train the establishment of the field company under the command of First Lieutenant Prey. To keep the company away from the distractions of the port, it was accommodated at Herbertshöhe. In August 1911 a station was finally established in the Admiralty Islands. It was sited and named Manus on the north coast of the main island on Seeadler Harbour and was placed under Georg Zwanzger, who had formerly been an agricultural assistant and had acquired his experience of administration during six years' service under Boluminski. From that time on, peace reigned in this little archipelago, formerly such an active battleground.

The central coastal region of Kaiser Wilhelmsland continued to be affected by disturbances. In May 1910 there were fresh outbreaks among the natives between Hatzfeldhafen and Hansa Bay. The reasons for the unrest were, as far as we could observe, exactly the same as in previous years: the conflict between the old traditional order and the introduction of new customs and expectations due to the activity of the missions, growing anxiety concerning their own property as a result of the expansion of the plantations, and the advance of labour recruitment into the hinterland. The earlier phenomena were simply occurring in a more

marked form due to the activities of new ventures which were seeking to bring the fertile plains of the coastal region under regular cultivation in plantations. Inland from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen the Meiro Plain had been divided up between four different enterprises. The Bremische Südsee Gesellschaft had established itself in the port itself and taken up plantation land near Cape Croisilles, and other ventures had followed in its wake. Dr Oswald and I were in complete agreement that use of force should be avoided as long as open violence did not take place. We considered it better to pursue a conciliatory and pacific policy of constant visits and supervision. The small troop in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and its commanders were therefore placed in a difficult position. To ensure that this policy was followed, the area near Friedrich Wilhelmshafen between Cape Croisilles and Hatzfeldhafen also had to be pacified. But here once again there was a repetition of earlier experiences: scarcely had the coastal population been brought to a state of relative calm when the numerous native population of the immediate hinterland were in a state of ferment because they considered themselves threatened, so that they too had to be convinced of the necessity to accept the new order peacefully.

The inhabitants of the coast to the north-west of Finschhafen, including the large villages of Sialum, Quambu and Sikaba (Dorfinse), had gradually come under the influence of the Neuendettelsau Mission. Several really capable men had also served their time in the troop and after their return they influenced their fellow-tribesmen in our favour. Brief visits from time to time were sufficient to confirm the natives in their newly-adopted ways.

The position was different on the Rai Coast, where the population suffered severely from constant fighting with the mountain people. Their numbers dwindled till there were in all barely one thousand persons in 1910, and they remained unapproachable and inaccessible to all outside influences as a result of their constant state of war. However, their distressed state finally compelled them to seek help.

In October and November 1910 Dr Scholz attempted to persuade the mountain people to make peace, but they rejected all approaches with a show of arms, which led to an engagement near the village of Kuarong in which they sustained heavy losses. A strong police post was then set up and this resulted in the gradual pacification of the area. S.M.S. *Planet*, commanded by Captain Reichardt, readily undertook to step into the breach and provide the communications by sea for this assignment. In May 1911 the whole area was patrolled once again, responsible chiefs were appointed in the mountain villages of Mot and Kuarong and it became possible to withdraw the police post.

Once the tension had been eased Berghausen, who had taken over the District Office again, was free to extend his activities. In June he sailed with two pinnaces one hundred and thirty nautical miles up the Ramu to become better acquainted with the inhabitants along the lower reaches of the river. In particular, it was important to find out whether there was any reason to fear a threat to the pacified coastal tribes from the river districts. However, the stretch of river along which he travelled was only sparsely populated, so that there was as yet no occasion to include this area in the program of progressive pacification.

In February 1911 an old bushman named Richards, popular among both whites and blacks, had found his way with nine carriers from the Markham Valley into the Herzog Range, where he and his men were killed by the Wamba people. He had spent the preceding few months in the Buang district near the path leading up to the range and believed that he was safe as long as he was accompanied by members of this tribe. As these tribesmen had also been killed and a vendetta ensued, Berghausen advanced into the mountains with a strong contingent. More than four hundred men from Buang armed with spears joined the party. There was a sharp engagement with the Wamba, who then withdrew deep into the mountains. Punishment was duly meted out. There was no point in continuing the fighting—the authorities had to content themselves with keeping the warring factions apart.

Berghausen's westward expansion had been halted on Hansa Bay. In the middle of 1912 the inhabitants of the neighbouring district of Kagam had killed and eaten ten labourers employed by a planter on Hansa Bay. It was therefore necessary not only to punish the Kagam people but to impose and guarantee lasting peace in the still unoccupied sections of the coast of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. By now the field company was sufficiently advanced in training to be sent into action. It was despatched to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen by the mail steamer at the beginning of August, and transported from there by S.M.S. *Cormoran* commanded by Captain Ebert. First Lieutenant Prey succeeded in fulfilling his assignment after five months of unrelenting labour.

Since the conclusion of the two Border Expeditions the western and eastern marginal regions of Kaiser Wilhelmsland had enjoyed comparative peace and quiet. To ensure security on the track up to the gold-bearing valleys of the highlands, District Officer Klink succeeded, without any clashes, in extending the systematic organisation of the native population as far as Aru and Wakaia and even into some of the side valleys of the high mountain ranges. Towards the end of 1912 a track was cut from Morobe and the lower Waria valley as far as Piowaria, by-

passing those points where the river cut through the ridges of the coastal range.

In 1912 a comprehensive program of study of the Sepik region was initiated under the direction of *Bergrat* Stollé. Dr Behrmann, who is today a professor at the University of Frankfurt am Main, was in charge of geographical exploration. In 1913 the ethnographic research program was taken over by Dr Thurnwald, who continued his work even after the outbreak of war until he was taken prisoner in 1915. When the work of this expedition was completed, the whole of this mighty waterway and its navigable tributaries lay revealed in detail before us, making it possible to initiate a policy of economic and cultural penetration. In connection with the launching of this expedition and the preliminaries for the establishment of a Station I sailed up the river a number of times. The Government post was finally set up in 1913 opposite the village of Angorum, on a small ridge running down to the river and about twenty kilometres upstream from Marienhöhe. At that spot a native track came down to the river from the Toricelli Range, which was of particular interest to us on account of its dense population.

Social life had retained its pleasant character both in Rabaul and in the remoter areas. Hospitality was given and received on a generous scale. The old German customs were kept up on social occasions and when festivals were celebrated. On Christmas Eve a tree decked with candles stood on a gift-laden table in every home. A casuarina did duty for a fir-tree. In early December 1911 a second daughter was born to us and named Carola Namanula. The coming of this baby at Christmas time was the occasion of particularly joyous Christmas Eve celebrations in our home.

The growth of the European population also meant an improvement in community amenities. The three branches of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft grew in membership and effectiveness. The women's section of this association flourished and made welcome contributions to the funds of the women's hospital on the heights of Namanula. The School Association contributed funds towards extensions to the native school and endowed free places at the school for European children. A German Protestant congregation was formed, with links with Germany and under the pastoral care of Missionary Fellmann and Missionary Wentzel.

The economy also continued buoyant. Hopes of future prosperity were further encouraged in the middle of 1913 when it was reported from Eitapé that mineral oil had been found. A Malay bird-catcher had observed oleaginous exudations from rock in a narrow valley near the coast and reported the matter to the Station. I visited the site where the

discovery was made and found a spring containing water with a strong admixture of thick dark oil. Excavations in the basalt rock in the vicinity gave rise to a flow of a liquid which smelt strongly of mineral oil. Samples sent to Berlin were examined and found to consist of mineral oil with a low benzine content. The site was declared a prohibited area pending publication of the results of investigations by experts, but the outbreak of war prevented this work from being carried out.

In the Island Territory phosphate mining and trade were the main economic activities, while European and native agriculture were the mainstay in New Guinea. There were more than two hundred and thirty thousand hectares under cultivation under European management. Dr Preuss estimated the number of coconut palms owned by the natives at three millions. External trade exceeded twenty million marks in value. A planters' association had been formed and was always ready to defend vigorously the interests of its members. Its slogans were: no imposts or taxes, and plentiful supplies of labour. The labour question inevitably led to conflict because official encouragement of native agriculture led to the men being retained in the villages. In addition, the prohibition on recruiting in certain areas where the population had been seriously denuded and on the recruitment of women and other issues of the day gave rise to stormy meetings.

Good plantation land could be bought for five marks per hectare, to which had to be added the survey and registration costs, so that the average price per hectare was twelve marks. The demand for land grew. Applicants were told that they could not rely on obtaining an adequate supply of labour, but this made no difference. In order to prevent an acute labour shortage, the price of plantation land was raised to twenty marks per hectare. But this did not stop the flood of applications—the prospects of plantation agriculture were at the time so favourable that the price was paid. The demand for labour could be satisfied only by progressive and accelerated opening-up of areas that had not previously been tapped, but there were certain limitations. The mountain people came mainly from districts which were free of malaria, while the plantations lay in low country near the coast, that is, in the malaria belt. In the interests of community health unlimited recruiting could not therefore be permitted in the highlands. In the early years mortality among the labourers, as well as among the Europeans, had been high. Thanks to the tireless efforts of the doctors the mortality figures had dropped steadily and amounted to about 1.5 per cent on the average over the last few years.

According to all the population counts and estimates, the accessible population of the Protectorate numbered about six hundred thousand natives, of which about fifty thousand were in the Island Territory. The

Melanesian sections of the population were not all equally available for recruitment. If the population were to remain stable, not more than 10 per cent could be taken for employment by Europeans. In some areas such as Neu Mecklenburg, Neu Hannover and the smaller islands this proportion had long since been exceeded. In the final stages there were about twenty-four thousand natives in employment. If the conditions regarding cultivation were to be met on the land taken up in the past few years, the number of labourers required would have to rise to fifty thousand persons. On the other hand, opening-up of new areas, although urgent, could be achieved only at a relatively slow pace. Experience had shown that to push on without giving the natives time to adapt themselves led only to conflict and interfered with or stopped the recruitment of labour, which was based on confidence.

Anxieties concerning the future of the natives therefore cast a menacing shadow over all efforts to promote the development of the Protectorate. With somewhat more than thirty thousand people and a population density of sixty-seven persons per square kilometre, the Gazelle Peninsula was the most densely populated part of the country to which we had access. According to all the various population counts, the numbers had increased here. The climate was favourable, the ruinous fighting and head-hunting had ended long since, and the education of the people had made great advances. The medical service, working from Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, had succeeded in bringing the blessings of improved health to the people.

But this area was an exception. One fifth of the expenditure of the Protectorate was directed to health care. The larger commercial enterprises maintained their own medical staff at their own expense and the missions were devoting more and more of their energies to the medical care of the natives. The Government doctors were well acquainted with the way of life of the natives and investigations by Drs Wick, Kersten, Hoffmann, Buse, and Kopp had collected important data on the most ravaging diseases: malaria, worm infestation, dysentery and syphilis. But notwithstanding all efforts there was no noticeable increase in the population.

The attempts made after the establishment of the Eitapé Station to persuade Malays from the districts near the Dutch border to settle in German territory met with failure. Although they came willingly and very successfully followed their occupations as hunters or traders, they immediately turned for home once they had saved a few hundred marks. They could not be persuaded to settle down to cultivate the land.

For years the Chinese had proved their worth in the better jobs as artisans, cooks, overseers, ships' engineers and traders, and had become

quite indispensable. In the early days they had to be brought via Singapore through commercial channels at considerable expense. After the establishment of a shipping service between Hong Kong and the Protectorate they became easier to obtain. Those who did well in their employment brought their relations out after them, so that towards the end Chinese were immigrating in increasing numbers at their own expense and looking for work opportunities in the country. It seemed to me essential to keep them in the country as permanent residents in order to make immigration more attractive to others. The great developments in mining and plantation agriculture in Indo-China are based on Chinese and Indian immigration.

I proceeded to grant land on long lease at cheap rates to Chinese with experience in the country, and Chinese farms sprang up on the thinly populated west coast of southern Neu Mecklenburg. My policy was in most cases disapproved. No-one wished to or was able to do without the Chinese, but no-one wanted to have them in the country. The ban imposed by our near neighbour Australia on Asiatic immigration influenced public opinion. It was a long time before it was realised that New Guinea, sparsely populated and with a declining native population, could not in the long run do without permanent immigration by people who were suited to the tropics and anxious to work, no matter where they came from. By the end of 1913 the number of Chinese in the country had grown to 1,150 persons, including 498 artisans, 189 labourers and 42 farmers. This constituted a modest but promising basis for future immigration.

The increase in the European population, which according to the last count numbered more than 1,600 persons including 1,005 Germans, was based on immigration. Women had also been coming in in steadily increasing numbers and there were in the country 135 existing marriages between European partners, but the number of European children was small. The women were more severely affected by the climate than the men. The possibility of extensive development of small-scale farms in the malaria-infested low-lying country had to be ruled out, and there were no roads to facilitate colonisation in the mountains; nor were there extensive high plains with suitable soils such as are available for European settlement in say central America and Africa.

In August 1913 the East Asian squadron under Admiral Count von Spee arrived in Rabaul. They were joined by the survey ship *Planet* and the two cruisers of the Australian station. A beautiful and heart-warming scene. People, both white and coloured, flocked from far and near. There was a great march-past by the crews, an open-air religious service in the

Botanical Gardens, and gay parties filled in the time until the ships sailed north again.

Near the end of 1913 I called the Commissioners and District Officers together in Rabaul. At the time it appeared as if the long years of struggle to persuade the coastal and island people to adapt to the new order which had overwhelmed their world had achieved their objective: blood feuds



Plate x Hahl towards the end of his time in New Guinea (about 1913), with his wife and daughters Berta and Carola. Reproduced by courtesy of the Hahl family.

and head-hunting had been stopped. The villages and clans deferred to the authorities appointed from among their own number and had learned to put to economic use their hereditary lands, now guaranteed to them in perpetuity.

Naturally we had to anticipate occasional reverses for a considerable time in the future, and to be armed to deal with them. But firm foundations had been laid for raising the standard of living and fighting disease. However, our sphere of influence was still inadequate. New urgent tasks arising from economic trends and the population problem were facing us. This meeting of the seasoned responsible leaders in the remoter districts had been called to discuss these.

In all, 3,833,000 marks were available for the year 1914. Of this sum, approximately 2,100,000 were derived from the Protectorate's own revenues. The contribution made by the home Government had been considerably increased. At the beginning of 1914 the Advisory Council met to draft a comprehensive program of action. For a total outlay of seven million marks spread over a considerable period, I hoped to be able to pacify the interior of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and, by establishing bases on the upper Waria, the central Sepik, the Ramu and the Markham, to incorporate this region in the regular system of administration and colonial economy. This campaign had been launched from three separate points: from the Morobe Station into the upper Waria valley, by the Neuendettelsau Mission in the Markham valley and from the Angorum Station on the lower Sepik. Approximately one quarter of the total annual expenditure was to be used to improve the medical service. The maintenance and increase of the native population were to remain the prime consideration in every new initiative.

The elaboration and discussion of all these plans lasted into the spring of 1914. For me and my family the time was now approaching for us to return home again, and this time it was to be for good. From now on I proposed to devote myself to working—from Germany—for the future of the country which in eighteen working years I had come to hold dear. Dr Oswald had joined the staff of the Colonial Office. He was replaced by Dr Schlettwein and my deputy was *Geheimrat* Dr Haber, to whom I handed over my official business in the middle of April; we bade a moving farewell to our friends and acquaintances, both white and coloured.

The *Komet* escorted our mail steamer for a short distance. The tall mountains of the peninsula of craters held our gaze until they sank into the darkness of approaching night. My wife and I could not know that we would never see that scene of joyful labour again.

List of Hahl's Publications

- 1893 *Zur Geschichte der volkswirtschaftlichen Ideen in England gegen Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Doctoral Thesis). Jena.
- 1896 Reise längs der Westküste der Gazellehalbinsel. *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 46–50.
- 1897 Beobachtungen anlässlich Expeditionen der Polizeitruppe. *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 55–8.
Über die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingeborenen eines Theiles der Blanchebucht und des Innern der Gazelle Halbinsel. *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 68–85.
- 1898 Über die Bevölkerung des Bismarck-Archipels. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 464. [Also published in: *Globus*, 52 and *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. Berlin, Verhandlungen*, 334–5.]
- 1899 Über die Entwicklung des Bismarck-Archipels in dem Jahre 1897/98. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 405–8.
Der Bismarck-Archipel und die Salomons-Inseln. *Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten*, 107–18.
- 1900 Besuch der Ngatik Inseln. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 505–6.
Allgemeiner Bericht über Ponape. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 544–6.
- 1901 Mitteilungen über Sitte und rechtliche Verhältnisse auf Ponape. *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, 1–13.
Über eine Expedition nach den Rukinseln. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 318, 321–2.
Über die Entwicklung der Ostkarolinen, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 241–2.

- 1902 Über die Lage in Neu-Mecklenburg und Neu-Hannover. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 180.
Feste und Tänze der Eingeborenen von Ponape. *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, 95–102.
- 1904 Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Umgangssprache von Ponape. *Seminar für orientalische Sprachen, Mitteilungen*, 1–30.
Bericht über eine Reise nach den Salomons-Inseln. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 61–4. [Also published in: *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 28; *Globus*, 147.]
Reise mit dem Dampfer 'Seestern'. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 615–17.
Die Unruhen in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 641.
Bericht über den Überfall der Missionsstationen in den Bainingbergen. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 667–8.
- 1905 Zur Geographie des Schutzgebietes von Deutsch-Neu-Guinea. *Württembergischer Verein für Handelsgeographie, Jahresberichte*, 1901/4, 56–75.
- 1906 Reise nach dem südlichen Teile der Insel Bougainville. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 43, 45–6.
- 1907 Das mittlere Neumecklenburg. *Globus*, 310–16.
- 1908 Über die erste Durchquerung der Insel Bougainville. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1056–7.
- 1909 Von den Admiralitäts-Inseln. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1104.
- 1910 Wirtschaftliche und technische Fragen in Neu-Guinea. *Kolonial-wirtschaftliches Komitee, Verhandlungen des Vorstandes*, 6–17.
- 1912 Über die Entwicklung von Neuguinea. *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien*, 160–80.
- 1918 Der deutsche Besitz in der Südsee. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 178–9.
- 1920 Das deutsche Volk und die Kolonialfrage. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 86–7.
Achtzehn Jahre in Deutsch-Neuguinea. *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin, Zeitschrift*, 12–24.
Die Ansiedlung von Europäern in den Tropen. *Koloniale Rundschau*, 168–76.
- 1921 Nachrichten aus den deutschen Südsee-Kolonien. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 19–20.
- 1924 *Zur Geschichte der kolonialen Betätigung der europäischen Völker* (Koloniale Volksschriften, Heft 3), Berlin.
- 1930 Die kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Auswirkung des Missionswerkes in Neu-Guinea. *Koloniale Rundschau*, 77–84.
- 1931 In der Südsee. In: H. Draeger (ed.): *Gouverneur Schnee*, 20–32, Berlin.

- 1932 Deutschland und die Inseln des Südlichen Grossen Ozeans. *Deutsche Presse-Korrespondenz*, No. 66, 1–3.
- 1934 Deutsch-Neu-Guinea und die ersten Jahre seiner Verwaltung. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 262–4.
- 1935 Der Aufbau der Station Morobe auf Kaiser-Wilhelm-Land. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 237.
- 1936 *Deutsch-Neuguinea*, Berlin. [Second, revised edition 1942.]
- 1937 *Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea*. Berlin.
Deutschlands Schutzgebiete in der Südsee. In: Vahl, D. J. (ed.): *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien*, 186–217, Leipzig.
- 1938 Verwaltung, Wirtschaft und Kultur. In: E. G. Jacob (ed.): *Deutsche Kolonialpolitik in Dokumenten*, 398–408, Leipzig.
Deutsche Kolonien in der Südsee. Hamburg.
Kolonien als Rohstoffquellen. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 26–8.
- 1939 Die australische Mandatsverwaltung in Neuguinea und die Mandatskommission des Völkerbundes. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 10–32.
Deutsch-Neuguinea und seine Mandatsverwaltung. *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung*, 74–6, 92.
- 1940 Die Eingeborenen Deutsch-Neuguineas unter den Mandatsverwaltungen. *Koloniale Rundschau*, 45–50.

Index

As the discussion of various topics in Hahl's reminiscences is understandably diffuse and fragmented, the text does not lend itself to satisfactory treatment in a subject index. This index is therefore basically a proper name index, but a number of subject sub-entries have been included under proper names, where this appeared useful. In particular, categories applying generally to the whole Protectorate and its administration have been entered under 'German New Guinea, Protectorate of'.

- Aa, Father H. van der, 28
- Abraham To Bobo, 37
- Adelmann, Police-Sergeant, 102
- Admiralty Islands, 2 (map), 40, 50, 57, 103-5, 108, 111, 113, 120, 128, 134; attack on trading post, 111; punitive expedition, 84-6; station established in, 139
- Advisory Council, 112, 137, 147
- Africa, xviii, 145; *see also* Southwest Africa (German); East Africa (German); Cameroon; Togo
- Afzelia bijuga*, 124
- Agrigan, 138
- Aitape *see* Eitape
- alang* grass, 9, 44, 129
- Albatross Channel, 36
- Albert Edward Range, 128, 129
- Alexishafen, 4 (map), 100, 124
- Allison *see* Manu
- Alsace, 130
- Aly, 30, 35
- America: Central, 145; United States of, 55; *see also* South America
- American: nationals, 9, 58; party on Ponape, 63, 65, 67
- Amtsblatt*, xvii, 133
- Anachorete Islands *see* Kaniet
- Angaur, 117, 118, 138, 139
- Angorum, 142, 147
- Angriffshafen, 109
- Angriffsinsel, xx, 18, 36
- Anspach-Hahl, Berta, xivn.
- Arab revolt, 50
- Arabian coffee, 88
- Arawa Bay, 124
- Argentina, 56
- Arkona, Cape, 120
- Aru, 61 (map), 78, 129, 141
- Asia, 83
- Asiatic immigration, 145
- Astrolabe Bay, 3, 4 (map), 35, 122, 130
- Astrolabe Compagnie, 3, 58, 89

- Asu, Cape, 124
Atap, 49, 50
 Attack Island *see* Angriffsinsel
 Aua, 105
 Auak, 61 (map), 62, 65, 67, 71
 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Society *see* Methodist Mission
 Australia, 7, 103, 130; Government, 128; inauguration of Commonwealth, 83; migrants from, 53; shipping service to, 115; White Australia policy, 145
 Australian: Aborigines, 10; colonialism, x, xviii; firms, 115; gold-miners, 130, 131; press, 115
 Austria, xv, 111

 'Baby', 111
 Baden, 5
 Bagail, 36
 Baining, 26, 27, 88-9, 108-9, 122; farmers, 113-14, 118; feuds, 26-7, 30; mountains, 25-8, 45, 100, 108, 113
 Balataman (North Daughter), 99 (map), 115, 133
 Bamus, 108
 Bandoeng, 98
 Baravon, 13, 26, 48, 50, 99 (map)
Barringtonia, 125
 Barschdorff, Paul, 133
 Batavia, 1, 14, 54, 97; shipping service to, 115
 Bavaria, xiv, xv, xvi, xviii, 1
 Bayreuth, 1
 Bebel, -, 56
 Beck, Carl von, 113
 Becker, Consul, 57
 Behrmann, Dr W., 142
 Belgians, 7
 Bennigsen, Rudolph von, 56, 59, 77-8, 80, 83, 84, 95
 Berg, Victor, 116
 Berghausen, G., 141
 Bergmann, Senior Missionary, 3, 108
 Berlin, xvi, xviii, 1, 51, 53, 55, 58, 75, 77, 80, 94-6, 118-19, 127, 134, 136, 143
Berliner Tageblatt, xviin.
 Berlinhafen, 100, 101, 119
 Beyer, District Officer, 109
 Bilibili, 4 (map), 34
 Biskup, Peter, xivn.
 Bismarck Archipelago, 1, 2 (map), 3, 5, 7, 8, 51, 94, 105, 113, 114, 121; annexation of, 6; attacks on early trading stations, 8; disease introduced into, 24; shell-money, 16, 38, 39-41, 86
 Bitakaur, 44-5
 Bitapaka, 87, 99 (map), 139
 Black-water fever, xiii, 92-3
 Blanche Bay, 5, 8, 9, 10, 42, 47-8, 80, 86, 99 (map), 113; dialect, 10, 57
 Bley, Father Bernhard, 38, 109
 Blue Funnel Line, 57
 Blum, Hans, 34
 Boeder, Carl, 136
 Boether, *Assessor*, 89
 Bogadjim, 4 (map), 5
 Bogor, *see* Buitenzorg
 Boluminski, Franz, 34, 57, 58, 84, 86, 90-1, 100, 101, 139
 Bom, 45
 Boston Mission, 59, 63, 64, 68, 80, 81
 Botanical Gardens, 115-16, 118, 146
 Bougainville, 2 (map), 22, 30, 110-11, 119, 123-4
 Brandeis, Eugen and Antonie, 58
 Brandenburg, 100
 Braun, Dr M., 137
 Braun, Police-Sergeant, 57, 74
 Bremen, 6, 95, 114, 118
 Bremische Südsee Gesellschaft, xx, 140
 Brisbane, 130
 Britain *see* Great Britain
 British: colonialism, x; nationals, 9
 British New Guinea *see* Papua
 British-German border expedition *see* German-British border expedition
 Brown, George, 7
 Buang, 141
 Buchka, - von, 55
 Budapest Academy, 3
 Buin, 124
 Buitenzorg, 97

- Buka Island, 21, 22, 29, 110
 Buka Strait, 21, 22, 107, 110, 116
 Bukaua, 120
 Bulolo River, 131
 Bülow, Secretary of State von, 56
 Bulu, 122
 Buntur, 111
 Burns Philp & Co, 115
 Buse, Dr, 139, 144
Bussard, 15, 50
- California, 65
 Cameroon, 128, 129
 Canton, 133
Captain Cook, 97
 Capuchin Mission, 59, 60, 63, 65, 68, 81, 83
 Caroline Islands, 2 (map), 6, 55, 79, 118, 121, 131, 137; East Carolines, 58; West Carolines, 56, 57, 118
 Catholic (Spanish) party on Ponape, 65, 67
 Catholics, xv; *see also* Missions
 Caucasian race, xii
 Celebes, 57
 Ceylon, 116
 Chambers, J. W., 8, 28
 Chancellor of Germany *see* Germany, Chancellor of the Reich
 Chard Peninsula, 12
 Chicago, 124
 China coast, 89
 Chinese: artisans, 145; cooks, 76, 144; farmers, 145; fishermen, 34; immigration, 144-5; labourers, 4, 145; quarter in Rabaul, 115; ships' engineers, 144; traders, 17, 21, 105, 144
 Christianity and Christians *see* Missions
 Cologne, 126
 Colombo, 54
 Colonial Office, German (*Kolonialamt*), xiii, xvi, xviii, 118, 127, 134
 Colonial Reich League, xix
 Colonial Section of German Foreign Office *see* Germany: Foreign Office (Colonial Section)
- Colonialism *see* Australian colonialism; British colonialism; French colonialism; German colonialism; Spanish colonialism
 'Colony', The (Ponape), 59, 65-6, 68, 69-70
 Columbian Field Museum, 123-4
Condor, 105, 110, 111-12
 Constantinhafen, 7
Cordia subcordata, 125
Cormoran, 79-80, 83, 92, 127, 141
 Couppé, Bishop Louis, 8, 13, 14, 18, 26, 27, 28, 47, 88, 91, 93, 101
 Credner Islands, 99 (map), 116
 Crocodile Cave (*matana marau*), 31
 Croisilles, Cape, 140
 Crown Prince Range, 123-4
 Crump, Missionary John, 26, 28, 47
 Cuno, -, 84
 Czars, 134
- Dallmann, Captain E., 6, 126
 Dammköhler, W., 130-1
 Danneil, Dr Kurt, 3, 5, 11, 14, 29, 122
 Dar-es-salaam, 136
 Dempwolff, Dr Otto, 3, 93, 94
 Deininger, -, 125
Delphin, 130, 138
 Dernburg, Secretary of State, 118, 134
 Dessau, 131
 Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südseeinseln, xx, 5, 8, 17, 92
 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, xix, xx, 135, 142
 Deutsche Südsee Phosphat Gesellschaft, xx, 118, 139
 Deutscher Hof hotel, xx, 83
 Dicks, Father Johannes, 8
 Disconto Gesellschaft, 6, 94
 Divine Word Mission (Steyl Mission, Mission of the Holy Spirit), 35, 91, 100-1, 119, 127
Diwara, 40
 Djaul, 20, 33, 36
 Djokjakarta, 98
 Doehl, -, 102

- Döllinger, August, 91, 110, 119
 Dommes, -, 122
 Dorfinsel, xx, 140
 Dorsay, Professor, 123-4
 'Dotal' *see* Hahl, Dr Albert
 Dover Island, 103, 111
Dukduk, 38
 Duke of York Islands *see* Neu
 Lauenburg
 Dutch: language, 98; *see also* Nether-
 lands
 Dutch-German border expedition *see*
 German-Dutch border expedition
 Dysentery, 50, 144

 East Africa, German, xviin., 1, 50, 56,
 136, 137
 East Carolines, *see* Caroline Islands
 Eggenfelden, xiv
 Ebert, Captain, 141
 Ehlers, O., 32; expedition, 32-4
 Ehrhardt, Naval Lieutenant, 137
 Eitape, 2 (map), 119, 142, 144
 Elberfeld, 135
Elisabeth, 6
 Emin Pasha, 50
 England, xv; *see also* Great Britain
 English Language, 62, 65, 80
 Erdweg, Father, 100
 Erima, 3, 4 (map)
 Erimahafen, 4 (map)
 Eschke, Consul-General, 97
Eucalyptus globuli, 125

 Faisi, 29
Falke, 28-9, 34, 44, 45
 'Father' volcano *see* Naulavun
 Fedarb Group, 50-1
 Feis, 118
 Fellmann, Heinrich and family, 37,
 47, 103, 142
 Field Company, 135, 139, 141
 Fijians, 92
 Findeis, First Lieutenant, 135
 Finisterre Range, 123
 Finsch, Dr Otto, 5, 6
 Finsch Peninsula, 123
 Finschhafen, 5, 7, 50, 53, 105, 106,
 140

 Firth, Stewart, ix, xivn., xvin.
 Fischer Islands *see* Vischer Islands
 Fissoa, 91
 Flierl, Johann, 50, 100, 105
 Foreign Office (German) *see*
 Germany: Foreign Office
 Forsayth, E. E. & Company, 8, 9, 12,
 15, 18, 20, 21, 30
 Forsayth, Emma *see* Kolbe, Emma
 Eliza
 Forsayth, James, 9
 Förster, Captain, 128-9
 France, xix, 6
 Franco-Prussian War, xv
 Frankfurt am Main, University, 142
 Franziska River, 33
 Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz, xx,
 50
 Freising, xv
 French: colonialism and colonies, 6,
 128; language, 60, 98; nationals, 7,
 8
 Friderici, Captain Georg, 123
 Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, xx, 1, 2
 (map), 3, 4 (map), 33, 34, 48, 89,
 100, 107, 108, 109, 119, 122, 140,
 141; District, 135
 Fritz, Georg, 56, 116, 136, 137, 138
 Full, August, 120, 126, 134
 Fülleborn, Dr F., 131
 Fürst Bismarck *see* Hotel Fürst
 Bismarck

 Gägäs, 111-12
 Gamelle, 18, 19
 Gardener Islands, 30
 Garoet, 98
 Gavit, 26, 88
Gazelle, 6
 Gazelle Peninsula, x, 5, 7, 8, 13, 23,
 25-8, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 48-50,
 53-4, 86-8, 98-100, 112, 114, 119;
 blood feuds, 12, 15-16; cannibal-
 ism on, 26, 31, 86, 87; exploration,
 122; *Luhai*, 18; native law, 48;
 native organisation, 18; popula-
 tion, 144; punitive expeditions,
 15-17, 27-8, 30; roads and tracks,

- 13, 31, 38, 44, 48-9, 54, 87, 100; sawmills, 125; shell-money, 16, 38, 39-41, 86; slaves, 26-7, 28
- Geisler, Hubert, 7, 9, 12, 29, 49, 113
- Genoa, 5, 57, 96
- German Colonial Society *see* Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft
- German: cables, 138; children, 145; colonialism and colonies, ix-xi, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii-xix, xxii, 6, 55-6, 95, 111, 117, 136; expeditions, 131, (South Pole Expedition) 82; farmers, 113, 145; firms, xviii, 6, 8, 55, 91, 117; immigrant family, 74; language, 9, 60, 80; language instruction, 48, 101, 116, 138; merchants and traders, 8, 9; missionaries, 8, 47; nationals, numbers of, 145; navy, 65, 84, 130, 133, 136-7, (Australian station) 145, (Far Eastern Squadron) 83, 145, (hydrographic project) 88; planters, 9; Protestant congregation, 142; troops, 60, 65; women, 145; *see also* Southwest Africa (German); East Africa (German); Cameroon; Togo
- German Colonial Office *see* Colonial Office, German
- German New Guinea, Protectorate of, 1, 6, 54; Administrators, 5, 6, 7, 32, 33, 34, 53; annexation, 6, 7, 12, 59-60; Advisory Council *see* Advisory Council; budget, 57, 94, 112, 133, 147; courts, 5, 18, 27, 38, 42, 86, 87, 109, 131; District Commissioners, 59, 82, 89, 92, 102, 108, 110, 116, 117; District Officers, 58, 84, 90, 91, 104, 110, 119, 123, 133, 141, 146; District Offices, 56, 82, 121, 131; expenditure on medical service, 144, 147; forestry, 124-5; Governors, ix, 56, 57, 58, 65, 77, 78, 95, 112, 115, 131; head-tax, 112, 137, 138; hospitals, 66, 78, 103, 112, 133; Island Territory *see* Island Territory; justice, administration of, 2, 10, 11, 18, 34, 38-9, 74; labour (question) xix, 13, 90, 112, (recruitment) 12, 18, 21, 22, 24, 30, 36, 45, 57, 107, 110, 112, 113, 126, 127, 134, 138, 139, 143-4, (repatriation) 91-2, 116, (requisitioned) 13, 25; land, 90, (ownership and disputes) 6, 12, 24, 40, 42-3, 62, 70, 78, 87, 102, (in Rabaul) 115, (policy) 53, 56, 143; mining, xvii, 125-6, 130-1, (gold) xvii, 29, 90, 96, 125-6, 129, 130-1, 141; native currencies, 16, 38, 39-41, 86; native organisation, 10, 18, 24-5, 31, 53, 54, 57, 90-1, 119, 146; population, 143-5; ships and shipping services, 11-12, 58, 78, 84, 91-2, 94-5, 134; Stations, Government, 84, 91, 108, 121, 130, 134, 142; statistics for 1909, 134; Vice-Governors, ix, 56
- German-British Border Expedition, 127-8, 135, 141
- German-Dutch Border Expedition, 135-6
- Germania*, 117, 137
- Germany, xi, xiv, xv, xix, 26, 57, 95, 108, 110, 126, 130, 147; Chancellor of the Reich, 1, 3, 53, 112; Colonial Office *see* Colonial Office, German; Foreign Office (Colonial Section), xvi, 1, 26, 55, 94; Imperial Government (Reich), 137, (financial contribution by) 147, (sovereignty over German New Guinea) 53, 55-6; mails to and from, 1, 5, 74, 77, 78-9, 83, 89, 93; Parliament (Reichstag), xix, 56; Supreme Court, 55
- Gern, xiv, xix, 54-5
- Girschner, Dr, 66, 70, 78, 136
- Gobi, 126, 128
- Godeffroy, Johann Cesar, 6
- Gogol River, 4 (map), 7
- Governors, Colonial, ix, xi, xiv, xvii, 7, 33, 56, 59-60, 97, 128; *see also* German New Guinea, Governors, Vice-Governors
- Grapow, Captain, 79, 83, 84, 92
- Great Britain 6, 127

- Great Britain: colonialism *see* British: colonialism
- Griffin, James, ix
- Gromoboi*, 83
- Grösser, -, 58
- Guam, 2 (map), 55, 139
- Gunantambu, 9, 47-8, 99 (map)
- Gunantuna, 25
- Guttapercha, 122-3; *Palagium oblongifolium*, 98; *Palagium supfianum*, 98
- Haber, Eduard, xvii, xviii.
- Hagen, Kurt von, 7, 32, 34, 53
- Hahl, Dr Albert: biography, xiv-xix; appointments (Imperial Judge) 1, (Acting Administrator of German New Guinea) 53, (Vice-Governor of the Island Territory) 56-81, (Deputy Governor of German New Guinea) 80-95, (Governor of German New Guinea) 95-147, (Director of Neu Guinea Compagnie) xviii; illnesses, 15, 92-4; marriage, 96; remembered as 'Dotal', x; residences, 10-11, 29, 83, 132, 133; list of publications, 148-50
- Hahl, Berta, 103; *see also* Hübschmann, Berta
- Hahl, Carola Namanula, 142
- Hahl, Jakob, xv
- Hahl, Luise, xix, 95-8, 103; *see also* Anspach-Hahl, Berta
- Hambruch, P., 64
- Hamburg, 6, 105, 131, 135
- Hamburger Kolonialinstitut, xx, 131
- Hamburger Wissenschaftliche Südsee-Expedition, 131
- Hamburgische Südsee A. G., xx, 135
- Hamilton, -, 103
- Hanahan, 21, 22, 110
- Hanam Harbour, 107
- Hannover, 84
- Hansa Bay, 109, 139, 141
- Hansemann, Adolf von, 6, 94, 113
- Hansen, Dr, 64, 69
- Hansen, Peter, 102
- Hatzfeldhafen, 7, 124, 139, 140
- Heine, Georg, 100, 113, 126
- Helwig, F. E., 105
- Henry Reid Bay, 87
- Herbertshöhe, xiv, xx, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10-11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 38, 41, 42, 56, 57, 58, 77, 78, 80, 83, 85, 87, 89, 92-3, 94, 99 (map), 101, 102, 105, 110, 117, 120, 130, 131; Field Company established at, 139; harbour, 91, 115, 116; medical service, 133, 144; transfer of Government to Rabaul, 131-3
- Hermit Islands *see* Luf
- Hernsheim & Co., 5, 8, 9, 19, 29, 30, 33, 36, 78, 83, 84, 90, 101, 103, 105, 111, 112, 113, 133
- Hernsheim, Eduard, 8, 54
- Hertzer, Sister Auguste, 3, 50, 80, 93, 94
- Herzog Range, 130, 141
- Herzogin Elisabeth*, 89
- Hesse, 113
- Heynitz, District Officer von, 138
- Hickson Bay, 14
- Hiltrup, 7
- Hoffmann, Dr, 108, 144
- Hoffmann, Missionary A., 5
- Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Prince Hermann zu, 118
- Holland *see* Netherlands
- Hollrung, U. M., 6, 126
- Holy Spirit, Mission of the *see* Divine Word Mission
- Hong Kong, 2 (map), 74, 79, 82, 133; shipping service to, 115, 144
- Hotel Fürst Bismarck, 83, 85
- Hübschmann (later Hahl), Berta, xv, 95, 117
- Humboldthafen (Humboldt Bay), 110, 135
- Hunstein, Carl, 6, 126
- Hunstein Range, 126, 127
- Huon Gulf, 120, 131
- Hyäne*, 6
- Ibo Range, 122-3
- Ijo Kalakal, 62, 72
- Imperial Charters *see* Neu Guinea Compagnie

- Imperial Commissioners, 7, 56
 Imperial Government (Reich) *see*
 Germany: Imperial Government
 (Reich)
 Imperial Judge *see* Judges: Imperial
 India and Indians, 123, 145
 Indo-China, 116, 145
Iniet, 38, 49, 93
Inophyllum calophyllum, 124
 Irmer, Dr, 56, 96
 Island Territory, xviii., 2 (map),
 55-81, 116, 118, 121, 130, 136,
 137-9, 143
 Italian navy, 89

Jaguar, 59
 Jakarta *see* Batavia
 Jakoiij, 61 (map), 66, 72, 73; uprising,
 136-7
 Jaluit, 2 (map), 56, 58, 59, 79, 138
 Jaluit Gesellschaft, 55, 58, 59, 60, 74,
 75, 77, 78, 118, 138; mail steamers,
 117, 137
 Jansen, -, 138
 Jap, 2 (map), 56, 79, 80, 81-3, 117,
 137, 139; language, 83; stone
 'money', 82-3
 Japan, 79, 133; shipping service to,
 115
 Japanese: culture, 133; empire, 55;
 ship, 91-2; traders, 36, 79
 Jatuna, 125, 128, 129
 Jaulik, 65, 67, 71
 Java, 97-8; sheep, 91
 Jena, University, 135
 Jessen, Captain von, 83
 Jogjakarta *see* Djokjakarta
 Johore, 97
 Jokoiij Island, 61 (map)
 Jomba Plain, 3, 4 (map)
 Jomba River, 3, 4 (map)
 José, Padre *see* Tirapu, Padre José de
 Judges: District, 89, 92; Imperial,
 xviii., 1, 3, 11, 52, 131;
 Stephansort, 34
 Jultupan, 21
 Junkers Works, 131
 Justice, Administration of *see* German
 New Guinea: Justice
 Kabakada, 26, 47, 99 (map)
 Kabanga, 15-16, 87, 99 (map)
 Kabanut, 92
 Kabien, 20, 36
 Kableman, 36
 Kaboteron, 20
 Kaewieng, 2 (map), 58, 84, 90-1, 101,
 104; District, 110
 Kagam, 141
 Kaiser (German), 6; birthday celebra-
 tions, 80; views on colonies, 95-6
 Kaiser Wilhelmsland, xx, 2 (map), 5,
 6, 7, 14, 29, 40, 42, 53, 89, 100,
 113, 114, 118, 119-20, 134, 137;
 bird-of-paradise hunting, 109-10,
 114, 120; exploration, 122-3,
 126-7; feuds, 120; pacification,
 147; punitive expeditions, 30,
 34-8; roads, 107, 119; uprisings,
 108-10, 139-41
 Kaiserin Augusta River *see* Sepik
 Kalabua, 12, 17, 45
 Kalili, 43, 99 (map)
 Kambio (Mother) (Kambiu), 99
 (map), 115, 133
Kambiu, 112
 Kambringi, 127
 Kaniet, 51
 Kappen, Assistant Resident van, 98
 Kapsu, 19
 Kara: River, 88; Range, 109
 Karola Harbour, 21
 Karlowa, Rudolf, 110, 111, 119, 120,
 124-5, 136
 Kate, 105
Kava, 73, 81
 Kavieng *see* Kaewieng
 Kayser, Dr, 55
 Kelana volcano, 124
 Kempf, -, 125, 130
 Kenabot, 103
 Keravia, 99 (map)
 Kerawat River, 25
 Kerawara, 8, 99 (map)
 Kersten, Dr, 144
 Kersting, Dr, 137, 138
 Keysser, C., 105
 Kiel, 58
 Kieta, 2 (map), 110, 119, 123-4

- Kinderling, Corvette Captain, 59
 Kinigunan, 8, 99 (map)
 Kirchhoff, Corvette Captain, 105
 Kirschbaum, Father, 127
 Kiti, 61 (map), 62, 63, 65, 66, 72, 75-6, 79
 Klink, Hans, 130, 141
 Klug, District Commissioner, 128
 Knake, *Regierungsrat*, 94, 98, 103-5, 109, 110
 Knoth, Captain, 58
 Koch, Dr Robert, 78
 Kokop *see* Herbertshöhe
 Kolbe, Emma Eliza, xii, 9, 12, 47-8, 83, 103, 135
 Kolbe, Paul, 9
 Kolonialamt *see* Colonial Office, German
 Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, xx, 89, 118-19, 122, 135
 Komene, 125
 Komet, 130
 Komet Harbour, 107
 Komine, Isokide, 91-2
 Komuli, 103
 Konana, 124
 Kopp, Dr K., 135, 144
 Kornmayer, Dr, 110, 122
 Korsör, 58
 Krämer, Dr A., 131
 Krätke, *Geheimer Oberpostrat*, 7
 Kraus, Dr Emil, 110, 112, 127, 131, 134
 Krebs, Captain, 78
 Kreig, Corvette Captain, 29
 Kronprinz Range *see* Crown Prince Range
 Kuaron, 140
 Kudat, 57, 58, 59
 Kung, 30, 36
 Kunai, 48
 Kuras, 17, 18
 Kusaie, 2 (map), 58, 74, 77, 116
 Kyoto, 133
 Lae Womba, 120
 Lajos, Biro, 3, 5
 Lakamo, 120
 Lamassong, 112
 Lambert, Cape (Tongilus), 88, 114
 Lamusmus, 18
 Langar Island, 59, 61 (map), 74, 78, 79
 Lap, 72-3, 81
 Lasul Bay, 99 (map), 113-14
 Latin language, 60, 68, 76
 Lauterbach, Dr Karl, 7
 Lavangoi, 122
 Leber, Dr A., 139
 Leineru, 19, 30
 Lele, 58, 77
 Leo XIII, Pope, 6
 Leprosy, 70, 139
 Lett, Lewis, ix
 Limbrock, Father Eberhard, 100-1, 127
 Linberger, Wilhelm, 11, 14
 Lindequist, Secretary of State von, 134
 Livuan: Cape, 10, 30, 48, 89, 99 (map); language, 27; people, 25, 26, 87, 109
 Löndip, 87
 Loniu, 134
 Lot, 79
 Lucerne, 96
 Luf, 51, 105
 Luluai (native chiefs), 18, 38-9, 42, 43, 48-9, 105, 134, 140, 147
 Luymes, J. L., 135
 Macassar, 54, 57
 Macassarrese, 57
 Madang *see* Friedrich Wilhelmshafen
 Madine, 18, 19, 21, 30
 Makada Island, 8, 99 (map)
 Malunga, 93, 99 (map)
 Malaria, 5, 15, 50, 70, 78, 80, 92, 94, 103, 122, 123, 143, 144
 Malay: features, 33; hunters, 109, 120, 142, 144; influences, 127; traders, 144
 Malays, 4, 34, 57, 60, 74, 82, 97, 144
 Mand, Corvette Captain, 50
 Manila, 55, 59; shipping services to, 115
 'Manila Gate', 61
Maniltoa grandiflora, 124

- Mankai, 15, 17
 Manu (Allison) Island, 105
 Manus, 105, 139
 Mapia Islands, 57
Maria Molina, 70
 Mariana Islands, 2 (map), 55, 56, 57, 116, 138
 Marienhöhe, 127, 142
 Marist Mission, 124
 Markham: River, 90, 120, 130, 131, (Station on) 147; Valley, 141, 147
 Marshall Islands, 2 (map), 6, 55, 58, 59, 95, 115, 116-17, 118, 119, 121, 137
 Massawa Bay (Massava), 25, 26, 27, 28, 88, 99 (map), 113
 Massawa Island, 25, 26, 89, 99 (map)
 Massikonapuka Island, 25, 27, 99 (map)
Matana marau *see* Crocodile Cave
 Matty *see* Wuwulu
 Matupi, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 29, 47, 54, 83, 88, 99 (map), 103, 133
 Mausoleum Island *see* Selapiu
 Measles, 63
 Mecklenburg, Duke Johann Albrecht zu, 135
 Meriro Plain, 140
 Mejenjeng, 59-60, 61 (map), 64, 67-70, 72, 73
 Melander, Victor, 58, 74-75, 77, 78
 Melanesia, 6, 7; early contacts with whalers and recruiters, 24; disease introduced by whalers, 24, 51-2
 Melanesian: labourers, 4; languages, 9, 24, 25, 27, 127; residential district in Rabaul, 115; social organisation, 39; troopers, 61, 74, 75-6, 80
 Melanesians, 5, 24, 51, 60, 61, 68, 123, 144
 Melbourne, 83, 117, 118, 128
 Menado, 139
 Mende, -, 5, 10, 29
 Menke, Bruno, 84, 101
 Metalanim, 61 (map), 62, 65, 66-7, 72
 Metelik, 7
 Methodist Mission, 7, 8-9, 14, 17, 18, 26, 30, 41, 45, 47, 111
Meto, 102
 Micronesia, 55, 59, 76-7, 115
 Minssen, Captain, 82
 Minjem Valley, 4 (map), 122-3
 Mioko, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 92, 99 (map)
 Missions, 7, 8, 9, 10, 23, 26, 41, 54, 63, 73, 81, 83, 90, 92, 111, 121, 127; medical services, 144; *see also* Boston Mission; Capuchin Mission; Divine Word Mission; Marist Mission; Methodist Mission; Neuendettelsau Mission; Rhenish Mission; Sacred Heart Mission
 Mitre Rock, 29
 Mochlon, 87
 Moeller *see* Möller
 Mohrmann & Co, 57
 Möller, Captain Karl, 101, 107, 124-5, 128, 130
 Montgomery, Captain, 75-6, 79
 Monumbo, 100, 109, 119
 Morkon, 111
 Morobe, 2 (map), 125, 141; Station, 130, 147
 Mortlock Islands, 121
 Moscow, 134
 Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Missionary Society *see* Sacred Heart Mission
 Mot, 140
 'Mother' *see* Kambio
 Mouton, J.M., 7
 Mouton, Octave, 7
Möwe, 30, 32, 83, 88-9, 123
 Mühlens, Professor, 131
 Muliama Bay, 111-12, 123, 124
München, 78-9, 80
 Münchingen, xv
 Murray, Sir Hubert, ix, x, 128

 Nagasaki, 83
 Nakanai, 40
 Namanula, 99 (map), 132, 133, 142
 Namatanai, 46, 108, 111-12, 121
Nanekin, 63, 66
Nanmarki, 63, 65, 66, 67, 71
 Nanmatal, 61 (map), 72, 77

- Nanpei, Henry, 65, 66, 68, 72, 73, 80
 Napapar, 28, 86, 89, 99 (map)
 Nara, 133
 Naulavun (Father) volcano, 12, 108
 Nauma, 86, 99 (map)
 Nauru, 2 (map), 118, 137, 139
 Navy, Imperial German *see* German Navy
 Navuneram, 86, 99 (map)
 Netherlands, 6, 57, 135; colonial administration, 97-8
 Netherlands Indies, 77, 97-8, 116, 123
 Netherlands New Guinea, 88, 97, 109-10, 118; border with German New Guinea, 135-6, 144
 Neu Guinea Compagnie, xvi, xviii, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16, 29, 57, 93, 106; chairman of board, 94; charters, 6, 56; Herbertshöhe headquarters, 11; Hotel Deutscher Hof, xx, 83; ideology, x; land, 6, 53, 56; plantations, 11, 12, 100, 108, 119; re-organisation, 113; sawmill, 125; scientific expeditions, 6-7, 89-90, 126; ships and boats, 12, 89, 126; sovereignty, 6, 53, 55-6
 Neu Hannover, xx, 2 (map), 20, 21, 36, 122, 123; cannibalism on, 30; labour recruitment, 144
 Neu Lauenburg, 5, 7, 8, 9, 18, 23, 25, 39, 40, 44, 53, 86, 99 (map), 112, 114; shell-money, 39-41
 Neu Mecklenburg, xxi, 2 (map), 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 33, 34, 36, 39, 44, 57, 58, 84, 92, 100, 101, 113, 120; attacks on trading posts, 14-15, 16-17, 18; cannibalism in, 17, 19, 20, 45, 111; Chinese farmers in, 145; exploration, 123; feuds, 18-19, 45-7, 111-12; labour recruitment, 144; motor transport, 91; pacification, 90, 108, 111-12, 124; punitive expeditions, 17, 18-20, 111-12; roads, 91; shell-money, 40
 Neu Pommern, xxi, 2 (map), 5, 6, 14, 40, 87, 106; exploration, 123, 131
 Neuendettelsau, 106
 Neuendettelsau Mission, 5, 29, 50, 91, 105-6, 120, 130, 140, 147
 New Britain *see* Neu Pommern
 New Hannover *see* Neu Hannover
 New Ireland *see* Neu Mecklenburg
 New Guinea *see* German New Guinea, Protectorate of; Papua; Papua New Guinea
 New Zealand, 47
 Ngatik Atoll, 77
 Ninigo, 105
 Nissan Atoll, 21, 30
 Nondup, 7, 17, 41, 99 (map)
 Norddeutscher Lloyd, 1, 47, 54, 57, 78-9, 82, 89, 94-5, 97, 101, 114-15, 118, 126
 'North Daughter' *see* Balatamon
 Not, 61 (map), 62, 66
Nuentung, 82
 Nürnberg, 74
 Nusa, 6, 15, 19, 36, 58, 78, 90-1

Oceana, 79, 80, 81-2
 Old Protectorate, 2 (map)
 Oldörp, -, 130-1
 Ophthalmia, 138
 Ordinances, 112
 Orokoza, 119
 Oswald, Dr, 131, 133, 136, 140
Ottile, 126

 Pacific, Islands and Ocean, 24, 55, 56, 89, 94
 Pacific Phosphate Company, 118
 Pagan, 138
 Pak, 50, 111
 Palakurur *see* Credner Islands
 Palau Islands, 2 (map), 55, 56, 82, 117, 137
 Paleava, 14, 23
 Papan, Dajang, 98
 Paparatava, 31, 43, 44, 93, 99 (map)
 Papitalei, 134
 Papua (British New Guinea), ix, x, 29, 33, 95, 125-6, 128; border with German New Guinea, 96, 127-8
 Papua New Guinea, ix, x
 Papuan languages, 127
 Parkinson, Phoebe, 9, 31, 103

- Parkinson, Richard, 9, 14, 21, 22, 47, 80
- Peekel, Father, 121
- Peiho*, 131
- Pele, 40
- Peleker, 61 (map), 62, 72-3, 77, 81
- Perleberg, xii, 11
- Pero To Kinkin, 37
- Peterhafen, 102, 105, 107
- Peters, Captain, 112
- Philippines, 66, 123
- Pidgin English, 10
- Piering, Police-Sergeant, 33
- Piowaria, 141
- Piper methysticum* *see* *Kava*
- Pitapaka, *see* Bitapaka
- Planet*, 140, 145
- Planters' Association, 143
- Ploennies, Consul von, 113
- Police: troop and troppers, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21-2, 28, 31, 33, 34, 42, 45, 51, 52, 58, 60, 80, 84-6, 92, 93-4, 102, 108-9, 110, 111-12, 119, 124, 128-9, 134, 136, 140-1; posts and stations, 98, 120, 128, 140; recruitment, 16, 92, 107; repatriation, 91-2, 116
- Pominis, Josef, 134
- Ponape, 2 (map), 61 (map), 56, 58, 59-81, 83, 108, 116, 121, 130, 136, 137-8; animistic religion, 63, 73; ceremonial feasts, 80-1; chiefs, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 70-2; feuds, 65; history and social structure, 62-5, 70-1, 73, 75-6; hoisting of German flag, 59-60; land 63; language, 62, 66, 70, 73, 77, 80; topography, 68, 73; whalers, 63, 75-6, 79; *see also* 'Colony', The
- Ponape*, 121
- Port and Customs Authorities, 11
- Port Breton, 7
- Port Hunter, 7, 99 (map)
- Port Moresby, 29
- Post Office, 11
- Potsdam, xivn.
- Potsdamhafen *see* Monumbo
- Preuss, Dr Paul, 113, 116, 143
- Prey, First Lieutenant, 139, 141
- 'Prince Leopold' Regiment, xviin.
- Prinz Sigismund*, 115, 133
- Prinz Waldemar*, 115
- Protectorate of German New Guinea
see German New Guinea, Protectorate of
- Protestants, xv; *see also* Missions
- Prowaczek, Dr S. von, 139
- Prussia, xv
- Puglia*, 89
- Quambu, 140
- Quarantine Police, 11
- 'Queen Emma' *see* Kolbe, Emma Eliza
- Queensland, 24, 116
- Rabaul, 2 (map), 44, 99 (map), 137, 139; becomes seat of government, 131-3; Chinese quarter, 115; medical service, 144; Melanesian quarter, 115; port, 114, 115, 131, 145, 146; roads, 133; social life, 142
- Rabaul Club, 133
- Rageta, 4 (map), 108
- Rai Coast, 140
- Rakunai, 48, 86, 89, 99 (map), 100
- Raluana, 8-9, 43, 47, 99 (map)
- Ralum, 8, 13, 16, 47-8, 99 (map)
- Ralumbang, 87, 99 (map)
- Ramandu, 27-8, 99 (map)
- Ramu River: exploration, 89-90, 121, 122-3, 141; Station on, 147; Valley, 130
- Ranga, 32, 34
- Rascher, Father Matthäus, 14, 26, 27, 28, 88-9, 94, 108-9, 122
- Raule, 13, 47
- Rays, Marquis de, xiii, 7
- Rechinger, Herr and Frau, 110-11
- Red Cross, 50
- Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 11
- Reich *see* Germany, Imperial Government
- Reich Association of Colonial Germans, xix
- Reichardt, Captain, 140

- Reichstag, *see* Germany: Parliament
 Reimers, -, 105
 Reinhardt, -, 102
 Rekimek *see* Tomaria
 Rembar Mountains, 30-1, 99 (map)
 Rhenish Mission, 3, 5, 108
 Rhine Palatinate, 5
 Rhine River, 126
 Richards, -, 141
 Richter, -, 56
 Robertson & Hemsheim *see*
 Hemsheim & Co.
 Rodatz, Hans, 90, 119-20
 Roland, 126, 128
 Roman law, xvn.
 Roroan, 124
 Rose, Fritz, 7, 94
 Rossel Range, 45, 112, 123
 Roy, 65
 Rüdiger, Corvette Captain, 3
 Rudolf, -, 116
 Rupeni, 92
 Russian Navy, 83
 Rütten, Father, 108
- Sacred Heart Mission, 7, 8, 13, 17, 26,
 27, 28, 31, 38, 47, 86, 87, 88,
 108-9, 122; sawmill, 125
 St George, Cape, 22
 St George's Channel, 22, 25, 44, 99
 (map)
 St Joseph Station, 31
 St Maria *see* Asu, Cape
 St Mathias (Matthias) Group, 84-5,
 101-2, 120
 St Michael (Alexishafen), 4 (map),
 100
 St Mihiel, 131
 St Paul Mission Station, 28, 88, 94, 99
 (map), 108-9
 Saipan, 2 (map), 56, 78, 116, 138-9
 Salesius, Padre, 83
 Salisbury, Captain, 139
 Samoa, xviin., 8, 45, 84, 110
Samoa, 6, 126
Samoa-Fahrten, 6
 Samoans, 9
 San Francisco, 75
 Sapper, Dr Karl, 123-4
- Sattelberg, 5, 105-6
 Sawunut, 109
 Schack, Corvette Captain, 77
 Scharlauck, -, 79, 138
 Schlechter, Dr Rudolf, 89, 116,
 122-3, 125
 Schlehan, -, 111
 Schleinitz, Admiral Baron G. von, 6,
 126
 Schlentzig, -, 90, 121
 Schmidt-Dargitz, *Geheimrat*, 94
 Schmiele, G., 7
 Schmitt, Rudolf, 113, 115
 Schnee, Dr Heinrich, xviin., xix, 52,
 54, 57, 84, 86, 134
 Schneider, C., 6, 126
 Scholz, Dr, 122, 140
 Schönfelder, Captain, 88
 Schöonian, -, 118
 School Association, 142
 Schools, Government, 116, 118, 133,
 138
 Schrader, Dr C., 6, 126
 Schultze, Dr Leonhard, 135
 Schulze, Adolf, 9
Schutztruppe, 137
 Schwedt, -, 100
 Seamen's Registration Office, 10
 Seckendorff-Aberdar, Baroness Luise
 von *see* Hahl, Luise
Seedler, 77, 78
 Seedler Harbour, 139
Seestern, 101, 102, 103, 104, 110-11,
 121, 124, 125, 128, 129, 130
 Selapiu (Mausoleum Island), 19, 20,
 21, 36
 Senfft, Arno, 56, 59, 82, 117, 136
Senta, 12, 18, 20, 27, 30
 Sepik River, 89, 126-7, 131, 147;
 expeditions, 135, 142; feuds, 127;
 head-hunting, 127; mission on,
 135, 142; Station on, 142, 147
 Shanghai, 139
 Shortland Group, 28
 Sialum, 140
Siar, 126
 Siar Island, 3, 4 (map), 108
 Siberia, 134
 Siemens, Corvette Captain, 127

- Sikaba *see* Dorfininsel
 Simbang, 5, 29
 Simpson Harbour, 95, 99 (map)
 Sinewit Mountain, 25, 122
 Singapore, 1, 2 (map), 5, 11, 54, 57,
 60, 97, 144; shipping service to,
 115
 Skopnik, H., 53
 Sleeping-sickness, 129
 Smallpox, 14
 Soekaboemi, 98
 Sohun, 45
 Soldiers *see* Police
 Solf, Wilhelm, xviin.
 Solomon Islanders, 33, 50; cannibal-
 ism among, 33
 Solomon Islands (German), 2 (map),
 3, 6, 8, 21, 29, 91, 110, 114
 Sonserol Islands, 57
 South America, xviii, 24
 South Australia, 50
 South Seas *see* Pacific
 Southwest Africa (German), x, 131
 Spain, 6, 55, 57
 Spaniards, in Ponape, 59-60, 62-5, 67
 Spanish: colonialism, 55, 57-60, 62-5;
 language, 57, 60; party *see* Catholic
 party; ships, 59, 60, 67, 70
 Spee, Admiral Count von, 145
 Spidle, Jake Wilson jr, xviin.
 Stanford University, xviin.
 Stärker & Fischer, 124
 Stephan, Dr E., 123
Stephan, 58, 78, 84, 94
 Stephansort, 3, 4 (map), 5, 29, 34, 50,
 53, 58, 90, 122
Stettin, 1, 5, 22, 54, 97, 98
 Steusloff, -, xii, 11
 Steyl Mission *see* Divine Word
 Mission
 Stimson, Rev. Martin Luther, 80
 Stollé, A., 128, 129, 135, 142
 Stone Age, 23, 43, 54, 97, 127
 Strassburg, University, 123
 Stübel, District Commissioner, 129
 Stübel, Dr O., 94, 96
 Stuckhardt, Wilhelm, 89, 108, 119
 Sulka, 87
 'Sultan of Matupi' *see* Thiel, Max
Sumatra, 114
Sunga, 36
 Supf, Dr Karl, 98, 135
 Swabia, xv
 Swedes, 58
 Sydney, 2 (map), 45, 47, 50, 78, 79,
 92, 93, 94, 121, 124, 128, 129
 Sydow, Consul-General von, 97
 Syphilis, 53, 138, 144
 Tagals, 65, 70
 Takabur, 13, 31, 99 (map)
 Tamanairiki, 28, 31, 44, 86, 99 (map)
 Tamata, 125
Tambu see Diwara
 Tami River, 135
 Taukatau *see* Tokota
 Taulil, 25
 Taurawa River, 124
Terminalia, 87
 Thiel, Max, 9, 13, 31, 47, 78, 103
 Thilenius, Dr G. C., 121, 131
Three Cheers, 21, 22, 30
 Thurnwald, Dr Richard, 123, 124,
 142
 Tigenawadu (Tigenavudu), 13, 99
 (map)
 Tinputz, 30
 Tirapu, Padre José de, 59, 66, 68, 73,
 76, 80
 Tjipetir, 98
 To Kalangar *see* Tobirau
 Toberoi, 119
 Tobirau, 49
 Togo, 137
 Tonkinkin, 43
 Tokitang, 31
 Tokota, 63
 Tom, 33, 34
 Toma, 44, 98, 99 (map), 116
 Tomaria, 109
 Tomavatur, 86, 99 (map), 100
 Tongilus *see* Lambert, Cape
 Toricelli Range, 142
 Toriu River, 122, 125
 Torondiat, 8
 Towakira, 28, 31, 86, 93-4
 Torres Strait, 91
 Treub, Dr, 98

- Truk, 2 (map), 78, 79-80, 121, 138
 Tsimo, 119
 Tumleo, 35
 Turkey, xviii

 U, 61 (map), 62, 65, 67, 71-2
Uajai, 63, 67, 71, 78
 Ugo, 125, 126
 Umudu, 92
 Unu, 125, 128, 129, 130
 Upia, 32, 33, 34

 Vahlkampf, Albert, 77
 van der Aa *see* Aa, van der
 van Kappen *see* Kappen
 Varzin Mountain *see* Vunakokor
 Vice-Governors *see* German New
 Guinea
 Vienna, University, 111
 Vischer Islands, 30
 Vladivostock, 134
 Völkermuseum, Berlin, 51
 von Jessen *see* Jessen
 von Schleinitz *see* Schleinitz
 von Seckendorff-Aberdar *see* Secken-
 dorff-Aberdar
 von Sydow *see* Sydow
 Vunabakut, 83, 103
 Vunakokor, 15, 25, 26, 28, 31, 40, 44,
 93, 98-100, 99 (map)
 Vunamarita, 26, 99 (map)
 Vunapope, 8, 86, 87, 99 (map), 109,
 134
 Vunatali, 9, 29, 49
 Vuneram, 28

 Wagner, Sister Therese, 103
 Wahlen Heinrich Rudolf, 91, 124,
 130, 135
 Wairiki, 31, 99 (map)
 Wakaia, 141
 Waldow, Anna, xii, 48
 Wallmann, Corvette Captain, 34, 35,
 36
 Wamba, 141
 Wanimo, 109

 Warangoi River, 25, 54, 87, 125
 Warapu, 120, 125
 Wareo, 105
 Waria River, 29, 90, 123, 124-6, 130,
 141; region, 121, 128-9; Station
 on, 147
 Wariai, 107
 Watom Island, 26, 27, 99 (map)
 Watut River, 130, 131
 Weber Harbour, 25, 26, 28, 45, 48,
 57, 89, 99 (map), 122
 Wegener, G., 69
 Wendland, Dr W., 32, 85, 93, 103
 Wentzel, Missionary, 142
 Wernicke, W., 122, 124-5
 West, Francis, ix
 West Carolines *see* Caroline Islands
 Westphalia, 127
 Wick, Dr W., 144
 Wiegand, Heinrich, 95, 118
Wild Colonial, 103
 Wilhelmina, Queen, 57
 Willaumez Peninsula, 14, 102-3
 Winkler, Corvette Captain, 15
 Witu group, 102
 Wolff, *Assessor* E., 92, 93, 94
 Wolff, Hedwig, xiii, 93; Rudolf, 93
 Wolfhagen, -, 58
 World Wars: I, xvi, xvii, xix; II, xix
 Worm infestation, 138, 144
 Wostrack, Wilhelm, 84, 108, 111
 Wunsiedel, 57
 Würzburg, xv
 Wuwulu (Matty), 33, 35-6, 105

 Yap *see* Jap

 Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Potsdam,
 xivn.
Zerelde, 14, 17, 18, 26
 Zisano, 120
 Zolos, 21
 Zoppot, xii, 48
 Zwanzger, Georg, 139
 Zweispitzenberg, 108