

# Notes

## Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> Good written accounts of Samoa's social structure can be found in E. Schultz, *Die wichtigsten Grundsätze des samoanischen Familien und Erbrechts* (Apia 1905), and his *Samoanische Familien—Immobilien—und Erbrechts* (3rd edn, Apia, 1911); F. M. Keesing & M. M. Keesing, *Elite Communication in Samoa: A Study of Leadership* (Stanford, 1956).
- <sup>2</sup> For descriptions of Ponapean social structure see P. Hambruch, *Ponape* (Hamburg, 1932) Vols I and II; J. L. Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines* (New Haven, 1957); W. R. Bascom, *Ponape: A Pacific Economy in Transition* (Berkeley, 1965); S. Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape* (Washington, 1968).
- <sup>3</sup> A. Hahl, 'Mitteilungen über Sitten und rechtliche Verhältnisse auf Ponape', *Etmologisches Notizblatt* 2, 2 (1901).
- <sup>4</sup> See R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907); R. F. Salisbury, *Vunamami: Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society* (Berkeley, 1970); P. G. Sack, 'The Range of Traditional Tolai Remedies', in A. L. Epstein (ed.), *Contention and Dispute: Aspects of Law and Social Control in Melanesia* (Canberra, 1974).
- <sup>5</sup> *Verhandlungen des Bundesraths des deutschen Reichs*, Session 1879, Bd.2, Denkschrift xxiv-xxvi.
- <sup>6</sup> P. M. Kennedy, 'Bismarck's Imperialism: the Case of Samoa 1880-1890', *The Historical Journal*, XV, 2 (1972), pp. 269-77.
- <sup>7</sup> H. H. Kraft, *Chartergesellschaften als Mittel zur Erschliessung kolonialer Gebiete* (Hamburg, 1943), p. 157.
- <sup>8</sup> J. W. Spidle, *The German Colonial Civil Service: Organization, Selection and Training* (Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1972), pp. 45-6.
- <sup>9</sup> Spidle, pp. 222-71.
- <sup>10</sup> K. Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika* (Zurich, 1970), pp. 30, 118, 197.
- <sup>11</sup> P. Leutwein, *Dreissig Jahre deutsche Kolonialpolitik* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 39-43.
- <sup>12</sup> P. M. Kennedy, 'The Development of German Naval Operations Plans against England, 1896-1914', *The English Historical Review*, LXXXIX (January, 1974), pp. 72-3.

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- <sup>1</sup> For example, in one of the earliest encounters, eleven of La Perouse's expedition of 1787 were massacred on Tutuila by Samoans visiting from Upolu.
- <sup>2</sup> For accounts of this early period see E. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (London, 1861); R. E. Watters, 'The Transition to Christianity in Samoa', *Historical Studies*,

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- Australia and New Zealand*, VIII (1959), pp. 392-9; R. P. Gilson, *Samoa, 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community* (Melbourne, 1970).
- <sup>3</sup> Solf to Colonial Dept, 15 September 1907, RKA (Reichskolonialamt Records, Potsdam), 2953.
- <sup>4</sup> Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900*, pp. 367ff.
- <sup>5</sup> Consul Travers to Bismarck, 3 January 1887, RKA, 2546.
- <sup>6</sup> MS., 'Elf Jahre in Samoa', von Wolffersdorf in Solf Papers, File 161, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.
- <sup>7</sup> SMS *Bussard* to Admiralty, 11 September 1894; Scheder to Admiralty, 30 October 1894, BA/MA (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg), 7577.
- <sup>8</sup> Lauaki's political reputation dated back to the 1860s, to his intervention in the Laupepa-Talavou wars. His father, Namulau'ulu Atama, had been a contemporary of Malietoa Vai'inupo who accepted Christianity from John Williams. The title 'Lauaki' was presented to Atama by Taufua'ahau, later King George Tupou I of Tonga, on a trip to Samoa in 1828 or 1842. Atama's son Mamoe then inherited it. MS., 'The Mau of Pule', Tofa I'iga Pisa in Davidson Papers, Australian National University. J. W. Davidson and D. Scarr, *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra, 1970) contains the best account of the early Lauaki.
- <sup>9</sup> Sibree to Newell, 20 March 1899, LMS (London Missionary Society Papers), South Seas, Box 45/3B.
- <sup>10</sup> Petition of Malietoa Fa'alogo'i 1899 and Grunow to Chancellor, 21 December 1899, RKA, 3057.
- <sup>11</sup> Meyer-Delius to Colonial Dept, 29 January 1900, RKA, 3057.
- <sup>12</sup> Quoted in E. von Vietsch, *Wilhelm Solf: Botschafter zwischen den Zeiten* (Tubingen, 1961), p. 65. Solf was born into a comfortable business family in Berlin in 1862. Educated in Eastern Studies at various universities, he joined the German Foreign Office in 1888 and worked for two years in India, revelling in contacts with both the Indians and his British colleagues. In 1891 he began law studies and in 1898 took up an appointment as judge in Dar-es-Salaam, from where he was dispatched to Samoa.
- <sup>13</sup> von Bulow to Schanz, 14 November 1903, with Solf's minuting, in Solf to Colonial Dept, 4 December 1903, RKA, 2949.
- <sup>14</sup> Copy of Solf dispatch, 9 April 1900, Solf Papers, 20.
- <sup>15</sup> Governor's address to the Chiefs, 11 April 1900, Solf Papers, 20.
- <sup>16</sup> Hockett to Cousins, 11 June 1900, LMS, South Seas, 46/1.
- <sup>17</sup> Solf to Colonial Dept, 6 February 1901, RKA, 3060.
- <sup>18</sup> Colonial Dept to Solf, 31 May 1900, RKA, 3059.
- <sup>19</sup> Solf to Chancellor, 24 December 1899, RKA, 2550; Solf to Colonial Dept, 10 February 1901, RKA, 3060; *Annual Reports (Jahresberichte über die Entwicklung der Deutschen Schutzgebiete . . .)*, 1900-01, p. 101.
- <sup>20</sup> Schnee to Colonial Dept, 15 April 1901, RKA, 2767; Schlettwein to Colonial Office, 6 February 1913, RKA, 2768.
- <sup>21</sup> Solf Memo, 7 March 1904, German Administration Papers, Series 17b, Folder 3, Vol. 3, No. 39, National Archives, Wellington.
- <sup>22</sup> I am indebted to a series of lectures by R. P. Gilson (Gilson Papers, Australian National University) for the elucidation of these Samoan objections.
- <sup>23</sup> Davidson and Scarr, *Pacific Islands Portraits*, pp. 267-8.
- <sup>24</sup> Charles Taylor Memo, 27 November 1903, German Administration Papers, Folder 2, Vol. 1, No. 64.

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- <sup>25</sup> S. G. Firth, *German Recruitment and Employment of Labourers in the Western Pacific before the First World War*, (D. Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1973), p. 246.
- <sup>26</sup> R. Deeken, *Manuia Samoa: Samoanische Skizzen und Beobachtungen* (Oldenburg, 1901).
- <sup>27</sup> *Samoanische Zeitung*, 16 May, 5 September, 12 September, 3 October 1903; G. R. Lewthwaite in J. W. Fox and K. Cumberland (eds), *Western Samoa* (Christchurch, 1962), p. 151.
- <sup>28</sup> *Kölnische Zeitung*, 7 May 1903; *Der Tag*, 20 April 1904; O. Riedel, *Der Kampf um Deutsch Samoa* (Berlin, 1938) p. 190.
- <sup>29</sup> *Taimua* and *Faipule* to Solf, 25 June 1903, RKA, 3063.
- <sup>30</sup> Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 314.
- <sup>31</sup> *Samoanische Zeitung*, 18 June 1904; Trood to Solf, 8 June 1904 and Heimrod to Solf, 8 June 1904, Solf Papers, 25.
- <sup>32</sup> Deeken to Solf, 31 May 1904, enclosed in Solf to Colonial Dept, 11 June 1904, RKA, 2950.
- <sup>33</sup> *Tumua* and *Pule* to Solf, 8 June 1904, RKA, 2950.
- <sup>34</sup> Militarpolitische Bericht SMS *Condor*, 23 September 1904, DR ('A Documentary Record and History of the Lauati Rebellion in Western Samoa—1909') I: 33, National Archives, Wellington.
- <sup>35</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1902-03, p. 122; 1903-04, p. 113.
- <sup>36</sup> Nothing is known of Pullack except that he was the son of a former German Customs Officer and had received an elementary education in San Francisco. According to the *Samoanische Zeitung* (3 December 1904), the Samoans anticipated raising 12 000 marks for the project. Pullack claimed to be able to offer 16 Pf. a pound (US4c) for copra.
- <sup>37</sup> In a private letter Solf stated that European merchants not only asked exorbitant prices for trade goods, they also used false weights to measure copra. Solf to von Koenig, 30 April 1904, Solf Papers, 25. Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 245 mentions that Samoans were often cheated by 30 to 50 lbs. in every 100 lbs. of copra they traded.
- <sup>38</sup> Solf to Lauaki, 25 December 1904, DR, I: 49, 46.
- <sup>39</sup> Petition of Mata'afa Josefo and *Malo*, 9 January 1905, RKA, 3063.
- <sup>40</sup> Schultz to Solf, 2 February 1905, Solf Papers, 132. In *fa'a Samoa* terms, Malaeulu had mildly insulted the Governor.
- <sup>41</sup> Mata'afa Josefo and *Malo* to Schultz, 28 January 1905, RKA, 3063.
- <sup>42</sup> To 'break into' Vaimea was not a mammoth job, since the prison consisted simply of a compound of fencing wire with a simple lock at the entrance.
- <sup>43</sup> Mata'afa Josefo to Schultz, 18 February 1905, DR, I: 73-4.
- <sup>44</sup> Militarpolitische Bericht SMS *Condor*, 23 October 1905, BA/MA, 5186.
- <sup>45</sup> Quoted in F. M. Keesing, *Modern Samoa: Its Government and Changing Life* (London, 1934), p. 89.
- <sup>46</sup> Enclosed in Solf to Colonial Dept, 4 August 1905, RKA, 3064.
- <sup>47</sup> Schultz claims that Lauaki argued in favour of negotiating for the release of the two chiefs rather than the use of force, yet the 'reliable' Chief Laua of Safotu testified that Lauaki was one of the main instigators of the break-in. Schultz Memos, 31 January and 15 February 1905, DR, I: 60-1, 63-4.
- <sup>48</sup> Solf to Williams, 15 August 1901, German Administration Papers, Folder 10, Vol. 1, No. 22. Solf used the Samoan 'tilotilomasae' to describe Lauaki.

<sup>49</sup> Schultz to Solf, 2 February 1905, Solf Papers, 132.

<sup>50</sup> Printed in *Deutsche Zeitung*, 28 March 1905.

## Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> D. H. Pitt, *Tradition and Economic Progress in Samoa. A Case Study of the Role of Traditional Social Institutions in Economic Development* (Oxford, 1970), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Schulwesen in Samoa, in Solf to Colonial Office, 15 September 1907, RKA, 2953; see also *Annual Reports* 1905-06, Anlage GIV, p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> Only three per cent of British, seven per cent of American and sixty per cent of German claims were accepted. *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 11 January 1896.

<sup>4</sup> *Samoanisches Gouvernements-Blatt*, III, No. 60, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> Riedel, *Der Kampf um Deutsch Samoa*, p. 222. It seems fair to suggest that Solf was hypersensitive to criticism at times; at one stage there were pending in the courts 64 actions for libel which he had brought against opponents.

<sup>6</sup> In RKA, 2953. See also his *Kolonialpolitik: Mein politisches Vermächtnis* (Berlin, 1919).

<sup>7</sup> W. Solf, *Eingeborene und Ansiedler auf Samoa* (1908), pp. 28-9; *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 18 July 1911.

<sup>8</sup> Lauaki to Coerper, 26 March 1909, DR, III: 360-1.

<sup>9</sup> Solf to Colonial Office, 10 May 1909, and enclosures, Solf Papers, 30. Solf's very extensive report of 10 May and his draft of an article 'Der Aufstand auf Samoa' (n.d.) form the basic sources for the sequence of events which follow.

<sup>10</sup> The phrase is Richard Williams's, district officer on Savai'i, who continued to believe Lauaki was loyal to the Germans long after the Chief had moved beyond diplomacy to action. Williams to Solf, 3 April 1909, Solf Papers, 30.

<sup>11</sup> Excerpt from speech by Taumei, 22 December 1908, DR, II: 169.

<sup>12</sup> Speech by Lauaki, 18 December 1908, DR, III: 23-4.

<sup>13</sup> Lelei to Solf, 7 December 1908, German Administration Papers, Folder 11, Vol. 3, No. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Davidson and Scarr, *Pacific Islands Portraits*, p. 296.

<sup>15</sup> Speech by Solf to Upolu chiefs, December 1908, DR, II: 132.

<sup>16</sup> Statement by Lauaki to Richard Williams, 27 February 1909, DR, II: 289.

<sup>17</sup> Solf Memo, 4 January 1909, Gilson Papers, File 202.

<sup>18</sup> Solf to Schnee, 3 June 1909, Solf Papers, 131.

<sup>19</sup> Protokoll der *fono*, 25 January 1909, in Solf to Colonial Office, 10 May 1909, Solf Papers, 30.

<sup>20</sup> Note by Solf, 3 February 1909, DR, III: 331.

<sup>21</sup> Newell to Dora (daughter), 2 April 1909, LMS, Personal, Box 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, 16 March 1909.

<sup>23</sup> Lauaki to Solf, 23 March 1909, and letters of colleagues, DR, III: 338-40. See also Solf's proclamation, 22 March 1909, DR, II: 207.

<sup>24</sup> Newell to Dora, 2 April 1909; also Newell diaries 32/1909 *passim*, LMS, Personal.

<sup>25</sup> *Pule* and A'iga to Trood, 27 March, and Trood's reply, 28 March, in Solf's report, 10 May 1909, Solf Papers, 30.

<sup>26</sup> Neil to Danks, 4 April 1909, excerpt Methodist Conference Records, Samoa, in Gilson Papers, File 26.

<sup>27</sup> MS. by Alex Hough, Samoa 1909, LMS, South Seas Odds, Box 4.

- <sup>28</sup> Solf to Schnee, 3 June 1909, Solf Papers, 131.
- <sup>29</sup> Militarpolitische Bericht SMS *Condor*, 21 June 1909, BA/MA, 5186; *Samoanische Zeitung*, 3 April 1909.
- <sup>30</sup> Newell in Solf to Colonial Office, 20 September 1909, RKA, 3070.
- <sup>31</sup> Firth, German Recruitment, pp. 265-81.
- <sup>32</sup> The Colonial Office thought this article important enough as an expression of government policy to have it republished in the official colonial gazette, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*.
- <sup>33</sup> Solf to Colonial Office, 11 April 1910, RKA, 3010.
- <sup>34</sup> Colonial Office to DSG, 9 March 1910, RKA, 3070; Dernburg to Trimborn, 31 March 1909, RKA, 3069.
- <sup>35</sup> Protokoll der *fono*, 29 January 1909, in Solf report, 10 May 1909, Solf Papers, 30; Trood to Solf, 6 February 1909, Solf Papers, 30.
- <sup>36</sup> Solf to Colonial Office, 12 December 1909, RKA, 3065; Solf to Colonial Office, 4 September 1910, German Administration Papers, Folder 2, Vol. 4, No. 18.
- <sup>37</sup> Colonial Office to Solf, 15 April 1911, German Administration Papers, Folder 2, Vol. 4, No. 58.
- <sup>38</sup> Quoted in C.G.R. McKay, *Samoana* (Wellington, 1968), p. 37.
- <sup>39</sup> Riedel, *Der Kampf um Deutsch Samoa*, p. 161.
- <sup>40</sup> Mata'afa Josefo to Kaiser, 5 January 1912, German Administration Papers, Folder 2, Vol. 4, No. 92.
- <sup>41</sup> *Samoanische Zeitung*, 10 February 1912.
- <sup>42</sup> Schultz to Colonial Office, 10 July 1913, RKA, 3067.
- <sup>43</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1909-10 to 1912-13; G. R. Lewthwaite and K. B. Cumberland in Fox, *Western Samoa*, pp. 154-60, 243-4; Firth, German Recruitment, pp. 241-83.
- <sup>44</sup> An unpublished diary of Solf as Colonial Secretary suggests colonial rule would have been left much more to the colonies themselves: P. Gifford and W. R. Louis (eds), *Britain and Germany in Africa* (New Haven, 1967) pp. 700-01.
- <sup>45</sup> Schultz to Colonial Office, 11 March 1914, RKA, 3067.
- <sup>46</sup> Schultz to Solf, 8 April 1914, Solf Papers, 132.

### Chapter 3

- <sup>1</sup> Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, p. 2.
- <sup>2</sup> D. Shineberg (ed.), *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844* (Canberra, 1971), pp. 10-15, 156-73 and chapters 9-10. See also A. Cheyne, *Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean* (London, 1852).
- <sup>3</sup> G. L. Coale, A Study of Chieftainship, Missionary Contact and Culture Change on Ponape, 1852-1900 (M. A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1951), pp. 46-83; J. L. Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, pp. 29-34.
- <sup>4</sup> Spanische Missions-Chronik, 1887 (translation), KM (Kapuziner Mission Archives, Munster), File 58; J. L. Fischer, S. H. Riesenberg and M. G. Whiting (eds) *The Book of Luellen* (Canberra, 1977), chapter 66. Much material relating to the Spanish and German periods has been taken from the above two sources, which are unusually good eye-witness accounts.
- <sup>5</sup> Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, p. 37.
- <sup>6</sup> MS., Geschichte der Spanier in Ponape, written by a Ponapean, tr. P. Hambruch, 1910, enclosed in Hambruch to Oswald, 22 December 1910, RKA, 3009.

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- <sup>7</sup> Spanische Missions-Chronik, 1890.
- <sup>8</sup> SMS *Falke* to Admiral, 15 December 1895, BA/MA, 7577; SMS *Arcona* to Kreuzergeschwader, 16 October 1898, BA/MA, 697.
- <sup>9</sup> F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), pp. 64-5.
- <sup>10</sup> Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, p. 44; see also Hahl to Colonial Dept, 23 August 1900, AA (Australian Archives, Canberra), Series CRS G1, Item 116.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Denkschrift betreffend die Inselgruppen der Karolinen, Palau und Marianen', in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, 10. Legisl. 1. Session, 1898/1900, Bd. 174, No. 394.
- <sup>12</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1900-01 to 1903-04; Bascom, *Ponape*, pp. 3-4, 33, 78. Dominic Etscheit came up from the Australian goldfields and worked first for Godeffroys on Ebon, in the Marshall Islands. He settled on Ponape about 1878 and remained until 1919, when he was forced to leave by the Japanese; his son, Carlos, still runs a trading store on the island. Dominic claimed to have bought the estate of Johann Kubary, the ethnographer who lived on Ponape, which would have given him land in excess of 1500 ha. Pers. Com. Carlos Etscheit, August 1974.
- <sup>13</sup> Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 292.
- <sup>14</sup> Hahl to Geheimrath, Colonial Dept, 23 June 1899, RKA, 2998. Born in 1868 in Lower Bavaria, Hahl was educated at Freising and the University of Würzburg, where he studied law. Hahl joined the Colonial Department from the Bavarian Civil Service in 1895 and in January 1896 he arrived in New Guinea as Imperial Magistrate. As Deputy Governor, Hahl had jurisdiction over all administrators in the island sphere but the ultimate authority lay with the Governor of German New Guinea. After 1918 Hahl became a Director of the New Guinea Company and was later prominent in the Nazi *Reichskolonialbund*, though his Nazism was only nominal. See P. Biskup, 'Dr Albert Hahl—Sketch of a German Colonial Official', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 14 (December, 1968), pp. 342-57.
- <sup>15</sup> A. Hahl, *Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea* (Berlin, 1937), p. 108.
- <sup>16</sup> Hahl to Bennigsen, 8 May 1900, RKA, 2765; Hahl to Colonial Dept, 3 December 1899, RKA, 2999.
- <sup>17</sup> Hahl to Bennigsen, 8 September 1900, AA, CRS G1, Item 8.
- <sup>18</sup> Paradoxically, present day memories of Hahl on Ponape mark him as the best-liked administrator during the German period. According to these stories he lived with a Ponapean woman, drank the native beverage, *sakau*, and on ceremonial occasions wore the Ponapean grass skirt and allowed himself to be rubbed down with coconut oil. Pers. Com. P. M. Ehrlich, August 1974.
- <sup>19</sup> Berg to Colonial Dept, 26 January 1902, AA, CRS G1, Item 209.
- <sup>20</sup> Colonial Dept to Berg, 12 February & 26 February 1902, RKA, 3001.
- <sup>21</sup> Berg to Colonial Dept, 30 April 1905, AA, CRS G1, Item 138; *Annual Reports*, 1905-06, p. 117.
- <sup>22</sup> Berg to Colonial Dept, 17 May 1906, RKA, 3004.
- <sup>23</sup> Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, p. 49.
- <sup>24</sup> Spanische Missions-Chronik.
- <sup>25</sup> Report of the ABCFM Mission, Ponape 1900-01, AA, CRS G1, Item 126.

## Chapter 4

- <sup>1</sup> Hahl to Fritz, 29 May 1908, AA, CRS G2, Item W21.

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- <sup>2</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1907-08, p. 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Fritz to Colonial Office, 21 July 1909, AA, CRS G2, Item N16; *Missionsbote*, No. 1, 1909, p. 4.
- <sup>4</sup> G. Fritz, *Ad Majoram Dei Gloriam! Die Vorgeschichte des Aufstandes von 1910/11 in Ponape* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 59.
- <sup>5</sup> Fritz to Hahl, February 1908, RKA, 3005.
- <sup>6</sup> Fritz to Hahl, 25 January and 20 February 1909, RKA, 2766.
- <sup>7</sup> In sifting and analysing the Nanpei-Sou Kiti affair, the author's debt to documentary sources can hardly be separated from his debt to individuals in the field, especially P. M. Ehrlich.
- <sup>8</sup> Venantius to Kilian Muller, 20 June 1910, KM, File 70; Kilian Muller to Hahl, 21 December 1910, RKA, 2589. It is possible that the Capuchins believed Sou Kiti would be the next Nahmwarki of Kiti and would thus create an opening for the conversion of the whole district. German sources argue that Sou Kiti was definitely in order of succession to the Nahmwarki-ship, and interpret Nanpei's concern as fear that Sou Kiti would drive him from his estates once he was High Chief. But from subsequent investigations it seems that Sou Kiti's claim to succession was in German times at least, tenuous, for though in the ruling clan, he was not in the ruling sub-clan. True, it was dying out and Sou Kiti was sufficiently eminent and versatile to have seemed to the Germans a possible candidate; his section title from Enipein also stood in a special relationship to the Nahmwarki line. For the Germans to credit Sou Kiti as important it was not necessary that he be in line to succeed, but that the Germans should *believe* he was. In typical Ponapean fashion Sou Kiti would not have denied to anyone that he was a possible successor: to keep open one's options to the end is a worthy Ponapean ideal. And in actual fact Sou Kiti did become Nahmwarki after the death of Nahmwarki Paul, though this did not occur until the 1920s, during the Japanese occupation. Pers. Comm. S. Riesenberg, April 1972 and P. M. Ehrlich, August 1974.
- <sup>9</sup> Fritz to Hahl, 26 August 1908, RKA, 3005.
- <sup>10</sup> This is a title reserved to children born after their father's accession to the title of Nahmwarki or Nahnken. Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, p. 18.
- <sup>11</sup> Denkschrift, Crescentius, July 1908, KM, File 70.
- <sup>12</sup> Deutsche Missions-Chronik, 1908, KM, File 59; this whole incident can be followed in Fritz's report to Hahl, 21 July 1908, RKA, 3005.
- <sup>13</sup> For this dispute see KM, File 59; Fritz to Hahl, 26 August 1908, RKA, 3005; Fritz, *Ad Majoram Dei Gloriam*, pp. 43ff.
- <sup>14</sup> Hahl to Colonial Office, 7 July 1908, RKA, 3005.
- <sup>15</sup> Hahl to Colonial Office, 30 September 1908, RKA, 3005; Fritz to Hahl, 7 January 1909, RKA, 3006.
- <sup>16</sup> Berg to Colonial Dept, 26 January 1902, AA, CRS G1, Item 209.
- <sup>17</sup> Dernburg to Hahl and Fritz, 14 November and 9 December 1908, RKA, 3005.
- <sup>18</sup> Hambruch, *Ponape*, I, pp. 292-3.
- <sup>19</sup> MS., Die Ursachen des Aufstandes der Jokaschleute, P. Hambruch, KM, File 75.
- <sup>20</sup> Kilian Muller to Karlowa, 28 January 1911, RKA, 2589.
- <sup>21</sup> Report on discussions with Sokehs chiefs, 15 February 1910, and record of approval by Sokehs, 16 March 1910, Boeder Papers, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>22</sup> Hollborn to Boeder, 21 April 1910, Boeder Papers.
- <sup>23</sup> Boeder to Hahl, 15 April 1910, RKA, 2763.

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- <sup>24</sup> Note by Brauckmann, 31 May 1910, RKA, 3009. This whole incident can be followed in detail in Brauckmann's and Boeder's papers, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>25</sup> Boeder to Colonial Office, 10 July 1910, RKA, 3006.
- <sup>26</sup> MS., *Die Ursachen des Aufstandes der Jokaschleute, Hambruch*.
- <sup>27</sup> Girschner to Colonial Office, 20 November 1910, RKA, 3009; Boeder to Hahl, 19 September 1910, RKA, 3006.
- <sup>28</sup> Bascom, *Ponape*, p. 13; see also report by Ignatius, 27 December 1910, KM, File 76.
- <sup>29</sup> Hambruch, *Ponape*, I, p. 300.
- <sup>30</sup> MS., *Mitteilungen über den Aufstand auf Ponape 1910/11*, Father Gebhardt, 15 February 1911, KM, File 75.
- <sup>31</sup> P. Ehrlich, *The Sokehs Rebellion 1910-11* (paper presented to ASAO Symposium, March 1975), pp. 10-11.
- <sup>32</sup> Kammerich to Kersting, 15 May 1911, RKA, 3010.
- <sup>33</sup> Pers. Com. P. M. Ehrlich, August 1974. There is also an eye-witness account of the events by Father Gebhardt, one of the two priests at the Sokehs mission house: *Mitteilungen über den Aufstand auf Ponape 1910/11*, KM, File 75.
- <sup>34</sup> Girschner to Colonial Office, 20 November 1910, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>35</sup> Hahl to Colonial Department, 16 March 1904, AA, CRS G1, Item 27.
- <sup>36</sup> Ehrlich, *The Sokehs Rebellion*, p. 9.
- <sup>37</sup> Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, p. 55.
- <sup>38</sup> Quoted in 'Tagebuchblätter von P. Ignatius, Ponape', *Aus den Missionen* (1911), p. 24.
- <sup>39</sup> Girschner to Colonial Office, 20 November 1910, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>40</sup> Oswald to Colonial Office, 26 December and 29 December 1910, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>41</sup> Jahn to Kersting, 16 May 1911, RKA, 3010.
- <sup>42</sup> SMS *Emden* to Admiral's Staff Office, 31 January 1911, BA/MA, 3438.
- <sup>43</sup> Kersting to Governor, 10 June 1911, RKA, 3010.
- <sup>44</sup> SMS *Emden* to Admiral's Staff Office, 18 February 1911, BA/MA, 3438.
- <sup>45</sup> *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 1 March 1911, pp. 27-8.
- <sup>46</sup> Kersting to Governor, 10 June 1911, RKA, 3010.
- <sup>47</sup> Oswald to Colonial Office, 29 December 1910, RKA, 3009.
- <sup>48</sup> A full account of the trial is to be found in RKA, 3010: *Gerichtsprotokoll des summarischen Verfahrens gegen die Mörder von Boeder und seine Kameraden*, 23 February 1911.
- <sup>49</sup> This is the way present-day Ponapeans remember the execution and may or may not be significant. I am indebted to Nansau Ririn en Kiti, who was a lad of sixteen at the time, for a most moving account of the sequence of events. Two of the condemned rebels had already been transported to Yap with one of the early contingents of Sokehs prisoners. They were executed later.
- <sup>50</sup> Kersting to Colonial Office, 15 November 1911, RKA, 3010. The navy's point of view is to be found in, Kpt. Lt. Gartzke, 'Der Aufstand in Ponape und seine Niederwerfung durch S. M. Schiffe, *Emden, Nürnberg, Cormoran und Planet*', *Marine Rundschau* (1911), Heft 6.
- <sup>51</sup> Kersting to Hahl 13 September 1911, AA, CRS G2, Item W21. Full details of all individual land holdings in Ponape and a copy of the actual land deed issued are enclosed in this report.
- <sup>52</sup> Bascom, *Ponape*, pp. 67, 69.
- <sup>53</sup> Kersting to Hahl, 21 January 1912, RKA, 2763.



- <sup>54</sup> 'Tuen me Nanmariki pan Kapun', Ponape, 7 April 1913. Thanks are due to Ersin Santos of Ponape for allowing me to see this rare copy of the regulations, and to J. L. Fischer, whose translation (1951) was included.
- <sup>55</sup> Venantius to Provinzial, 25 March 1911, KM, File 70.
- <sup>56</sup> MS., Organization und Ziele der Verwaltung im Inselgebiete, H. Kersting, 8 May 1912, Hamburger Weltwirtschaftsarchiv.
- <sup>57</sup> Deutsche Missions-Chronik, 1913; Kersting to Hahl, 14 November 1913, RKA, 2584.
- <sup>58</sup> Pers. Com. P. M. Ehrlich, August 1974.
- <sup>59</sup> Ehrlich, The Sokehs Rebellion.

## Chapter 5

- <sup>1</sup> G. Brown, *George Brown, D.D.: Pioneer Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography* (London, 1908), pp. 112, 130, 228.
- <sup>2</sup> 'Denkschrift betreffend den Archipel von Neu Brittanien', in Stubel to Bismarck, 20 April 1884, RKA, 2791.
- <sup>3</sup> Brown, *George Brown, D.D.*, pp. 257-78.
- <sup>4</sup> H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Sudsee* (Berlin, 1904), p. 74; R. Salisbury, *Vunamami*, pp. 24, 27.
- <sup>5</sup> Robertson and Hershheim to Bismarck, 18 August 1884, RKA, 2791; Schnee, *Bilder*, p. 350.
- <sup>6</sup> T. S. Epstein, *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth* (Canberra, 1968), p. 39.
- <sup>7</sup> *Tambu* or *Diwarra*, as the Tolai currency was called, consists of small *Nassa calossa* shells strung on rattan lengths and stored by wrapping them in fathoms (equivalent to two arms' lengths) on larger bamboo coils.
- <sup>8</sup> Emma Forsayth (*nee* Coe), the daughter of an American father and a Samoan mother, came to Melanesia from Samoa with Thomas Farrell in the 1880s. A shrewd businesswoman, Emma ran the plantation under the name of E. E. Forsayth & Co. and gained the name 'Queen Emma' for the way in which she presided over the commercial and social life of the Europeans in the Gazelle Peninsula. Ralum remained the single most prosperous plantation in the entire Archipelago; it was sold to the Hamburg company, H. R. Wahlen AG, in 1909, reportedly for a sum near £1 million sterling. Emma was also sister-in-law and patron to Richard Parkinson, planter and ethnographer extraordinaire, who made the first detailed study of Tolai life and customs. See R. W. Robson, *Queen Emma* (Sydney, 1965) and a recent novel by Geoffrey Dutton, *Queen Emma of the South Seas* (Macmillan, 1976).
- <sup>9</sup> MS., Lebenserinnerungen von Eduard Hershheim, p. 80, Familienarchiv Hershheim, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
- <sup>10</sup> Copy of 'indenture' between Parkinson and the 'chiefs and rulers' of Kalil and Vairiki, 10 October 1884, RKA, 2572; Stubel to Bismarck, 6 August 1883, RKA, 2787.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Denkschrift betreffend die deutschen and fremden Interessen', RKA, 2791; P. Biskup (ed.), *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton* (Canberra, 1974) p. 24.
- <sup>12</sup> See for example, W. D. Pitcairn, *Two Years Among the Savages of New Guinea* (London, 1891), p. 176 and H. Cayley-Webster, *Through New Guinea and the Cannibal Countries* (London, 1898) p. 87.

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- <sup>13</sup> Epstein, *Capitalism Primitive and Modern*, p. 37.
- <sup>14</sup> *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelmsland und den Bismarck Archipel*, 1891, p. 14.
- <sup>15</sup> Rickard to Schmiele, 29 March 1890, and Protocol 4 April 1890, AA, Series AA63/83, Box 39, File 6.
- <sup>16</sup> MS., Tagebuch, R. Parkinson, Museum für Volkerkunde Hamburg; Schmiele, 8 April 1890, RKA, 2979.
- <sup>17</sup> *Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 24; 1894, pp. 16, 20-1.
- <sup>18</sup> MS., Tagebuch, Vol. 1, J. Weber, MSCM (Mission du Sacre Coeur Archives, Munster).
- <sup>19</sup> P. Biskup (ed.), *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton* (Canberra, 1974), p. 114.
- <sup>20</sup> Salisbury, *Vunamami*, p. 80.
- <sup>21</sup> SMS *Sperber* to Admiral, 26 January 1894, copy in RKA, 2983.
- <sup>22</sup> Coupe to New Guinea Company, 5 August 1894, RKA, 2571; *Nachrichten*, 1897, pp. 24, 45.
- <sup>23</sup> For many of the details about To Bobo I am indebted to Salisbury's study of Vunamami.
- <sup>24</sup> A. Hahl, *Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 20-1.
- <sup>25</sup> Hahl to Company Governor, 22 July 1896 and 22 March 1897, RKA, 2276.
- <sup>26</sup> Salisbury, *Vunamami*, p. 115.
- <sup>27</sup> Epstein, *Capitalism Primitive and Modern*, p. 38: Table 1 and notes.
- <sup>28</sup> *Nachrichten*, 1896, pp. 33-4; 1897, pp. 49-50.
- <sup>29</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1899-1900, p. 185.
- <sup>30</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1898-99, p. 168.
- <sup>31</sup> Salisbury, *Vunamami*, p. 30.
- <sup>32</sup> Coupe to New Guinea Company, 5 August 1894, RKA, 2571; Coupe to Hahl 12 March 1897, RKA, 2574.
- <sup>33</sup> *Nachrichten*, 1897, pp. 66-8.
- <sup>34</sup> New Guinea Company to Colonial Dept, 23 August 1890, RKA, 2979.
- <sup>35</sup> Schnee to Colonial Dept, 8 April 1899, RKA, 2987.
- <sup>36</sup> Rose to Bismarck, 29 May 1890, RKA, 2979; see also Oertzen to SMS *Albatross*, 13 February 1886, RKA, 2976.

## Chapter 6

- <sup>1</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1898-99, pp. 161-5; *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 1899, pp. 89, 405-6; *Koloniale Monatsblätter*, I/1899, pp. 44-6.
- <sup>2</sup> MS., Peter the Island King, Papers of W. C. Groves, 1825, in possession of Mrs D. K. Groves, Hawthorne, Victoria.
- <sup>3</sup> Peter G. Sack, *Land between two Laws: Early European Land Acquisitions in New Guinea* (Canberra, 1973), pp. 112-13.
- <sup>4</sup> The only extant copy of this regulation is to be found in the Parliamentary Papers of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea*, September 1914 to 30 June 1921, Appendix B, p. 40.
- <sup>5</sup> Hahl to Colonial Dept, 30 May 1906, RKA, 2763. There were some 400 Tolai engaged on road-building projects for the administration in 1906.

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- <sup>6</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1909-10, pp. 170-3; Epstein, *Capitalism Primitive and Modern*, pp. 39, 41, 44; Salisbury, *Vunamami*, pp. 118, 242-3.
- <sup>7</sup> Firth, German Recruitment, p. 175. The figure of ten per cent is the same as the percentage of all contacted villagers in German New Guinea estimated to have worked for Europeans by 1913, which is a high overall figure (see p. 155). But considering the continuous and close contact the Tolai had always had with the European economy, their percentage contribution to the work force in 1910 was decidedly low.
- <sup>8</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1902-03, Anlage E IV.
- <sup>9</sup> Hahl to Colonial Dept, 23 January 1901, RKA, 2575; Salisbury, *Vunamami*, p. 82.
- <sup>10</sup> P. G. Irwin, 'Land Use and Tenure in the Blanche Bay District of New Britain', *The Australian Geographer*, X, 2 (1966), p. 99; R. G. Crocombe (ed.), *Land Tenure in the Pacific* (Melbourne, 1971), pp. 311, 313.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Bericht betreffend die Unruhen am Varzin . . .', Assessor Wolff, 5 August 1902, RKA, 2989.
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Wolff to Colonial Dept, 20 May 1902, RKA, 2989.
- <sup>14</sup> Colonial Department Denkschrift, 27 February 1904, RKA, 2990.
- <sup>15</sup> 'Bericht betreffend die Unruhen am Varzin . . .', RKA, 2989.
- <sup>16</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1902-03, pp. 94-7 and 1903-04, p. 90.
- <sup>17</sup> Report of Br L. Dorfler, 25 April 1926, Braam Collection, MSCM. These papers contain a preliminary investigation of the Bainings incident to decide whether a case existed for the canonisation of Rascher.
- <sup>18</sup> Hahl to Colonial Dept, 6 November 1904, RKA, 2577.
- <sup>19</sup> Quoted in Militarpolitische Bericht, SMS *Moewe*, 28 August 1904, BA/MA, 5186.
- <sup>20</sup> Hahl to Colonial Dept, 6 November 1904, RKA, 2577.
- <sup>21</sup> MS., Tagebuch Weber, Vol. 1, MSCM.
- <sup>22</sup> Collectanea Rascher I, Braam Collection.
- <sup>23</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1912-13, pp. 172-3.
- <sup>24</sup> Stubel to Governor, 12 April 1914, RKA, 2313.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; *Annual Reports*, 1902-03, Anlage E IV.
- <sup>26</sup> Militarpolitische Bericht, SMS *Cormoran*, 23 July 1911, BA/MA, 5187; Militarpolitische Bericht, SMS *Condor*, 2 February 1910, BA/MA, 5186.
- <sup>27</sup> H. Nevermann, *Die Admiralitäts Inseln. Ergebnisse der Sudsee Expedition 1908-1910* (Hamburg, 1934), pp. 18-27, 48-60.
- <sup>28</sup> Von Bennigsen to Colonial Dept, 26 February 1900, RKA, 2987.
- <sup>29</sup> Von Bennigsen to Colonial Dept, 24 August 1900, RKA, 2988.
- <sup>30</sup> *Die Katholischen Mission*, 1907-08, No. 3, p. 69.
- <sup>31</sup> 'Bericht des Bezirksrichters Knabe . . .' in Hahl to Colonial Dept, June 1904, RKA, 2990.
- <sup>32</sup> Hahl to Colonial Office, 21 April 1908, RKA, 2993.
- <sup>33</sup> Colonial Office to Hahl, 5 October 1908, RKA, 2993.
- <sup>34</sup> 'Bericht des Bezirksamtman Herbortshohe . . .' 25 December 1907, RKA, 2992.
- <sup>35</sup> 'Application for Restoration of Title', Roman Catholic Mission Kavieng, 10 September 1962, Land Restoration Files, TPNG Dept of District Administration.
- <sup>36</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Firth, German Recruitment, p. 172; Militarpolitische Bericht, SMS *Cormoran*, 31 August 1911, BA/MA, 5187.

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- <sup>38</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1912-13, pp. 185-6; Firth, *German Recruitment*, pp. 325-6; Sack, *Land Between Two Laws*, pp. 98, 175.
- <sup>39</sup> 'Denkschrift betreffend die hauptsachlichsten Forderungen fur die weitere Entwicklung des Schutzgebiets in den drei Rechnungsjahren 1915, 1916, 1917', AA, AA63/83, Box 138, File 2.
- <sup>40</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1902-03, p. 95.
- <sup>41</sup> See lists of poll tax returns in AA, AA63/83, Box 135, Files 1 and 14; 138, File 2.
- <sup>42</sup> Hahl to Colonial Office, 24 May 1913, RKA, 3108.
- <sup>43</sup> Stubel to Governor, 12 April 1914, RKA, 2313; Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 163.
- <sup>44</sup> Draft Ordinance on Restriction of Recruiting, Hahl, 30 April 1909, RKA, 2311.
- <sup>45</sup> DHPG Branch Mioko to Headquarters, Apia, 7 March 1914, German Collection, Government of Western Samoa.
- <sup>46</sup> *Amtsblatt fur das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 15 April 1914.

## Chapter 7

- <sup>1</sup> See Mikloucho-Maclay, *New Guinea Diaries 1871-1883*, tr. C. L. Sentinella, (Madang, 1975); F. Greenop, *Who Travels Alone* (Sydney, 1944); P. Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo* (Manchester, 1964).
- <sup>2</sup> Oertzen to Bismarck, 3 December 1884, RKA, 2797; O. Finsch, *Samoafahrten. Reisen in Kaiser Wilhelmsland und Englisch Neu Guinea* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 28-69.
- <sup>3</sup> *Nachrichten*, 1885, II, p. 9.
- <sup>4</sup> *Geschäftsbericht der Direktion der Neu Guinea Compagnie*, 1888, 9:2; Neu Guinea Compagnie, *Instruktion fur Landeshauptmann*, 1885, copy in RKA, 2408.
- <sup>5</sup> Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 88.
- <sup>6</sup> Von Schleinitz to New Guinea Company, 27 August 1887, in RKA, 4781.
- <sup>7</sup> *Nachrichten*, 1888, pp. 233-4.
- <sup>8</sup> Judgment delivered by J. Phillips at Madang, 25 May 1932 . . ., Central Court of the Territory of New Guinea Records. I am indebted to Dr P. G. Sack, A.N.U., for access to this document.
- <sup>9</sup> Quoted in Sack, *Land Between Two Laws*, p. 140.
- <sup>10</sup> E. F. Hannemann, 'Village Life and Social Change in Madang Society', mimeographed (n.d.).
- <sup>11</sup> E. Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen* (Barmen, 1927) p. 64; *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 1893, pp. 341-3.
- <sup>12</sup> Firth, *German Recruitment*, p. 108.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Instruktion fur das Verhalten der Kommandanten der Kaiserlichen Kriegsschiffe . . .', enclosed in Foreign Office to New Guinea Company, 6 June 1887, RKA, 2657.
- <sup>14</sup> Heusner to Admiralty, 19 December 1887, BA/MA, 7577.
- <sup>15</sup> Twenty-six New Irelanders were killed and several marines wounded during a series of punitive raids in 1886 by SMS *Albatross*; Admiralty to Bismarck, 11 April 1886, RKA, 2976.
- <sup>16</sup> Quoted in Rose to Bismarck, 29 May 1890, RKA, 2979.
- <sup>17</sup> Rose to Caprivi, 9 September 1891, RKA, 2980.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Instruktion fur wissenschaftliche Expeditionen', 1885, in RKA, 2408.
- <sup>19</sup> 'Verlauf der Expedition', Rudiger, 13 April 1896, and Hahl to Chancellor, 1 September 1897, RKA, 2363.
- <sup>20</sup> Lauterbach to Colonial Dept, 23 October 1896 and 12 December 1896, RKA, 2369.

- <sup>21</sup> S. G. Firth, 'The New Guinea Company 1885-1899: a Case of Unprofitable Imperialism', *Historical Studies* (October 1972), p. 376.
- <sup>22</sup> Schnee Papers, 22:8, Staatsarchiv Berlin-Dahlem.
- <sup>23</sup> Firth, German Recruitment, pp. 120, 125.
- <sup>24</sup> G. Pilhofer, *Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission in Neuguinea* (Neuendettelsau, 1961) Bd.I, p. 71.
- <sup>25</sup> Flierl to Deinzer, 23 July 1891, NH (Neuendettelsau Hauptarchiv), Flierl Letters; Rose to Caprivi, 5 October 1890, RKA, 2409.
- <sup>26</sup> Flierl to Deinzer, 9 October 1894, Flierl Letters.
- <sup>27</sup> Flierl to Deinzer, 3 May 1893, Flierl Letters. See also *Nachrichten*, 1896, p. 65: as 'peace people', the missionaries were exempted by local people from any blame for a smallpox epidemic which raged through the area in 1895.
- <sup>28</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1898-99, pp. 174-6; Pilhofer, *Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission*, I, p. 107.
- <sup>29</sup> Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen*, p. 35.
- <sup>30</sup> Jahresbericht Ragetta 1899, RMG (Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft Archives), Stationen.
- <sup>31</sup> Flierl to Deinzer, 23 July 1891, Flierl Letters.
- <sup>32</sup> Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo*, p. 53.
- <sup>33</sup> Konferenz January 1899, RMG, Konferenzprotokolle II.
- <sup>34</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1899-1900, pp. 202-3; *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, June 1900, p. 406.
- <sup>35</sup> Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen*, p. 64.
- <sup>36</sup> SMS Falke to Admiral, 12 January 1896, BA/MA, 666; Firth, German Recruitment, p. 121.
- <sup>37</sup> H. Chewings, *Amongst Tropical Seas* (Adelaide, 1900) p. 14.
- <sup>38</sup> Jahresberichte Siar 1900 and 1903, RMG, Stationen.
- <sup>39</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1903-04, Anlage EIII, p. 341.
- <sup>40</sup> Vorstand to Deputation, 29 August 1904, RMG, Konferenzprotokolle II.
- <sup>41</sup> The following account of the Madang revolt is based on an analysis of a range of European observations, including Station and Annual Reports of the Rhenish Mission; Administration Reports (Hahl and Stuckhardt, RKA, 2990 and 2992); Papers of H. E. Woodman (Notes of evidence by natives in the Jomba Plains land case), Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Reel 602; E. F. Hannemann, 'Village Life and Social Change in Madang Society', (n.d.); Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen*; and Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo*.
- <sup>42</sup> Stuckhardt to Hahl, 23 October 1906, RKA, 2992.
- <sup>43</sup> Vorstandssitzung, 27 August 1904, and Vorstand to Deputation, 29 August 1904, RMG. Konferenzprotokolle II.
- <sup>44</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1907-08, p. 7; Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo*, p. 43.
- <sup>45</sup> *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 15 April 1914, p. 133.
- <sup>46</sup> Judgment delivered by J. Phillips, 25 May 1932.
- <sup>47</sup> Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo*, pp. 69-72 explains the substance and significance of this belief which he obtained from fieldwork in the southern Madang district, 1953 to 1958.
- <sup>48</sup> Jahresberichte Ragetta 1905 and Bongu 1905, RMG, Stationen. The use of confessional rivalry in this version is an interesting extension of the villagers' feelings of oppression.
- <sup>49</sup> *Annual Reports*, 1907-08, p. 7, and 1910-11, p. 155.

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- <sup>50</sup> Firth, German Recruitment, p. 156.
- <sup>51</sup> RKA Denkschrift, 'Stand der Missionen in Deutsch Neu Guinea', 10 November 1908, RKA, 2565; *Annual Reports*, 1910-11, p. 161, and 1911-12, p. 158.
- <sup>52</sup> The sources referring to this movement are fragmentary. Compare: Protokoll, 17 March 1907 and Deputation to Konferenz, 12 August 1907, RMG, Konferenzprotokolle II; *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 1907, pp. 54, 90.
- <sup>53</sup> *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 1910, p. 100; Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen*, p. 126.
- <sup>54</sup> Protocol Scholz, 18 September 1908, AA, AA63/83, Box 225.
- <sup>55</sup> 'Stand der Missionen', 10 November 1908, RKA, 2565; R. M. Wiltgen, 'Catholic Mission Plantations in mainland New Guinea', *The History of Melanesia* (ed.) K. Inglis (Canberra, 1971) pp. 350-1.
- <sup>56</sup> Judgment delivered by J. Phillips, 25 May 1932.
- <sup>57</sup> *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 15 November 1911, p. 242; Scholz to Colonial Office, 3 September 1912, RKA, 2995.
- <sup>58</sup> Quoted in Judgment delivered by J. Phillips, 25 May 1932.
- <sup>59</sup> Testimony of *tutul* Tagari, enclosed in Scholz to Colonial Office, 3 September 1912, RKA, 2995.
- <sup>60</sup> Militarpolitische Bericht, SMS *Condor*, 28 September 1912, copy in RKA, 2995.
- <sup>61</sup> J. Flierl, *Forty Years in New Guinea* (Wartburg, 1927) p. 93; Sack, *Land Between two Laws*, pp. 172-5; 'Stand der Missionen', 10 November 1908, RKA, 2565.
- <sup>62</sup> MS., Die Seele der Papua Christen in der ersten Generation, C. Keysser, NH, Christian Keysser Papers.
- <sup>63</sup> Pilhofer, *Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission*, I, pp. 126, 131-9.
- <sup>64</sup> I. Willis, *Lae, Village and City* (Melbourne, 1974) pp. 2-5; P. G. Sack, *The Bloodthirsty Laewomba?* (Canberra, 1976).
- <sup>65</sup> K. Holzknacht, 'The Exploration of the Markham Valley', *Journal of the Morobe District Historical Society* (December 1973), pp. 44-5; H. Bottger, *Friede auf Erden* (Neuendettelsau, 1912) pp. 5-8.
- <sup>66</sup> MS., Die Seele der Papua Christen, Part I, Ch. 2, Keysser Papers.
- <sup>67</sup> Willis, *Lae*, p. 41.
- <sup>68</sup> Kriele, *Das Kreuz unter den Palmen*, pp. 140, 147-8. For recruiting statistics see Firth, German Recruitment, p. 170.
- <sup>69</sup> See Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo*.
- <sup>70</sup> See for example, R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu Guinea* (Berlin, 1911) Vol. I; O. Manganau, 'My Grandfather's Experience with the Germans', *Oral History*, No. 6, 1973.
- <sup>71</sup> Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Australia in New Guinea* (Melbourne, 1970) p. 34.

## Chapter 8

- <sup>1</sup> See for example, W. H. Pearson, 'The Reception of European Voyagers on Polynesian Islands 1568-1797', *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes*, 26 (1970), pp. 123-50.
- <sup>2</sup> Braisby note, DR, I, p. 37.
- <sup>3</sup> T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7: A Study in African Resistance* (London, 1967) p. 353.

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- <sup>4</sup> B. Barber, 'Acculturation and Messianic Movements', *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), p. 664.
- <sup>5</sup> See p. 60.
- <sup>6</sup> Karlowa to Hahl, 10 March 1906, RKA, 2992.
- <sup>7</sup> Flierl to Deinzer, 8 April 1893, Flierl Letters.
- <sup>8</sup> See for example, statement by Lauaki, 27 February 1909, and speech at Safotulafai, 18 December 1908, DR, II: 275-323.
- <sup>9</sup> Williams to Solf, 3 April 1909, Solf Papers, 30.
- <sup>10</sup> Knake to Colonial Dept, 27 August 1904, RKA, 2991.
- <sup>11</sup> See p. 189.
- <sup>12</sup> Quoted in Kersting to Hahl, 28 February 1911, RKA, 2584.

### Chapter 9

- <sup>1</sup> See pp. 165-6.
- <sup>2</sup> According to H. C. Brookfield and D. Hart, *Melanesia: A Geographical Interpretation of an Island World* (London, 1971), p. 264, casual wage labour was still the norm throughout Melanesia in the late 1960s and long-term contract labour was declining.
- <sup>3</sup> See p. 63.
- <sup>4</sup> P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (London, 1970), pp. 285-96. See also B. McLaughlin (ed.), *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspective* (New York, 1969) and C. J. Friedrich, 'Political Leadership and the Problem of the Charismatic Power', *Journal of Politics*, 23 (1961).
- <sup>5</sup> See pp. 158-9.
- <sup>6</sup> Compare D. H. Pitt, *Tradition and Economic Progress in Samoa*, pp. 114-15.
- <sup>7</sup> F. M. Keesing, *Modern Samoa* (London, 1934), p. 81.
- <sup>8</sup> Compare E. Stokes, 'Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism: The Context of the 1857 Mutiny Rebellion in India', *Past and Present*, No. 48, 1970.
- <sup>9</sup> See, for example, J. Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912* (Cambridge, 1969); T. O. Ranger, 'Connections between Primary Resistance Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa', *Journal of African History*, No. 12, 1968. The classical expression of the early 'resister-collaborator' idea is to be found in R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1961).
- <sup>10</sup> See p. 103.
- <sup>11</sup> See p. 107.
- <sup>12</sup> Hahl, to Colonial Office, 19 December 1912, RKA, 2584.
- <sup>13</sup> J. F. Ade Ajayi in *Emerging Themes of African History*, ed. T. O. Ranger (Dar-es-Salaam, 1965), pp. 189-200.

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