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going on at the colony and the richness of Pohnpeian soil.

Animals raised included: 36 goats, a stallion, two deer and a doe from Saipan, 11 pheasants and 21 quail from Hong Kong, Australia sheep and hogs, and Asiatic sheep. Plants grown included: Guatemalan castilloa, ilang-ilang, durians, mangoes, lemons, maize, tobacco, gutta-precha, camphor, wax, turnsol, California figs, grapes, oranges, peaches, apricots and Singapore mangosteens.¹⁵

In 1901, an attempt was made to open a steam-powered sawmill in Madolenihmw, but the proprietor, an Englishman named Bishop, died in January 1902, leaving the mill idle. Even so, the *Jaluit Gasellschaft* shipped eighteen varieties of Pohnpeians wood and six types of shrub to Hong Kong aboard the *Oceana* for testing; these were discovered to be inferior to wood from Borneo.¹⁶

In 1900, the first full year of German administration of the district, *Bizerksamptman* Albert Hahl forecast a gloomy economic picture for the region, citing the limited amount of labor, the distant markets and high shipping charges. All this would restrict the region to the role of a "trading colony." Hahl's gloomy forecast seemed to be born out by the plight of the coconut plantation owners, most of whom had to exist on the proceeds of their trades.

The typhoon of April 1907 further worsened the situation for copra producers there. Furthermore, competition picked up just a year after the typhoon. Japanese traders returned to the eastern Carolines for the first time since the expulsion of the gunrunners in 1901, when the firm of *Murayama Shokai* opened a station on Pohnpei in 1906. A schooner brought in the necessary building materials, and three employees threw up a building "in an amazingly short time."

Two years later, German companies faced and even more fierce competitor after *Murayama Shokai* merged with the *Nanyo Boeki Hiki Goshi Kaisha* (the Hiki south sea trading Company). This merger involved the Pohnpei station, as well as station on Moen, which had offices, a number of other wood and corrugated iron buildings, and a staff of six men.

The new company's name was *Nanyo Boeki Kabushiki Kaisha* (the South Sea Trading Company),

which was destined to grow larger and richer than even the *Jaluit Gasellschaft* after World War One.¹⁷

This brief review hardly does justice to the German colonial effort in the eastern Carolines. On the scale of German history, the Pacific empire in Micronesia weighs very little. But the impact on the Micronesian was substantial. The Germans introduced the people to a cash economy, and promoted the first modernization and urbanization of the island societies.

It was truly a difficult and often perplexing time for the colonists. Typhoons, plagues, pestiferous and destructive insects tested constantly the German perseverance. But, had it not been for the overwhelming events of World War, I, the Germans would have prevailed over the island environments and cultures, and the course of history would have been much different.

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arrived at Ponape in March 1909, her troops were able to walk along this road from the colony to Kiti in only six hours. Telephones were also to be installed in Kiti, where trouble began to brew between Nanpei and another chief in 1908.⁷

In addition to roads, government installation were needed or had to be kept in good condition. In 1901, new government buildings were put up and old ones repaired. Beacons, which were continually damaged and had to be replaced, were set up in Langar Harbor at the same time. The following year, a jail with three cells was built, as well as a shelter for the government pinnacle. The forge was enlarged and the wharf improved.

In 1903, the chief of police's residence was finished; a new wing was added to the hospital to provide more room for lab work and surgical operations, and a house for the government doctor was built adjoining the hospital.⁸

The next year, the jail was reroofed and repaired, and official residence were improved. The District Officer's residence at Messenieng was started outside the old walled-in colony, but kept in touch with it by means of the newly built road and a telephone.⁹

A severe typhoon of 20 April 1905 badly damaged most government installations and private dwellings, and to earn money for food, Pohnpeians volunteered to do public work.¹⁰

The *Jaluit Gasellschaft*, which was to administer the Marshalls and Nauru from 1885 through 31 March 1906 by Imperial charter, was granted a monopoly in 1901 for the "economic exploitation of the coral atolls" in the eastern Carolines. The company was to provide equipment, seedlings, and provisions and to buy copra at the rates prevailing for the Carolines and Marshalls. It also had to pay an annual tax of RM 6000 plus RM 500 for each fifty tons of copra beyond the initial six hundred tons exported from the district.

At the time the monopoly was awarded, Berg and a representative of the company toured the islands aboard the schooner *Oceana* to mark out stations, to install agents and to make planting contracts with the islanders.

By March 1905, the company had copra plantations at several locations in the Truk Lagoon—the main

station was on Eten—as well as in Namonuitos, Puluwat, Fananu Island, Namoluk, Lukunor and Mokil.

The company eventually bought land on Pohnpei and Pakin and signed agreements with a planter on Kosrae, though all three of these islands and originally been excluded from the June 1901 monopoly.¹¹

The main *Jaluit Gasellschaft* station was on Langar Island in Pohnpei Harbor. In fiscal 1904, they built a copra warehouse, a storehouse and a trader's residence on Langar and a large company house, a store, an inn and a bakery in the colony. By March 1907, the facilities on Langar had expanded to include a cistern, a store, workers' quarters, a garden, a depot for inflammable materials and a coal shed.

Copra was moved around on small four-wheeled carts and iron tipping wagons that ran along rails running the length of the jetty.¹²

Since Truk was the biggest and most populous region in the district, the fulfillment of its economic promise was regarded as the "aim" of the *Jaluit Gasellschaft's* monopoly. Berg and a company representative went there in February 1903 to locate fallow ground and to make planting agreements with the people. Twenty-three separate agreements were made during 1903.

At the same time, and possibly to underscore the bizarre seriousness of the economic interests of the administration, destruction of young coconut palms was made a punishable offense; one man was actually sentenced for this and imprisoned on Pohnpei.

Two years later, six more planting agreements brought the company's total plantation area in Truk up to 500 hectares. The nuts grown in Truk were "famous for seeds and oil content;" at least 2000 tons of copra were expected from Truk each year.¹³

The administration set up an experimental station and a plantation on government land amounting to 120 hectares. It grew coconut palms on 26 hectares in fiscal 1902, while 2 hectares were set aside for plant experiments and fruit, and 3 hectares for cattle grazing.¹⁴ In the ensuing years, several more allotments of land were given over to coconut plantations and to vegetables, fruits, goats, sheep and Manila hemp.

A simple listing of animals and plants raised at the station will bring out the variety of agricultural work

In the following year, Berg felt that even the “more civilized Malaysians” were expendable; their Micronesian replacements had excellent physiques and were believed to be “martially inclined as a result of the continuous feuds in the past.”³

Traffic in guns and ammunition in the eastern Carolines was first secretly and then openly carried on in the middle of the nineteenth century during both the Spanish and the German administrations by traders and whalers. This proliferation of weapons created a tense situation for the Germans.

They did not want to get involved in a shooting match with the islanders or allow them to shoot each other. To this end, several German warships and escorts of Malayan and Melanesian policemen were sent around to the various groups to expel gunrunners and to purchase guns and cartridges from the islanders.

The first of these expeditions lasted from 5–10 January 1901, when Albert Hahl visited Truk aboard the *SMS Cormoran*. He stayed with the trader, Karl Giron on Moen, and during a visit to the main Japanese trading station at Iras village on that islands, he tuned up weapons, ammunition, dynamite, and alcohol—all of which were illegal.

Six Japanese traders were immediately arrested and confined aboard the *Cormoran*. Other Japanese traders were subsequently arrested for the same offense on Fefan and Toloas, and a Chinese trader was deported.

Hahl and his prisoners left for Pohnpei directly, and after arriving there, the three Japanese were fined and the Chinese was imprisoned for three months.⁴

Two years later, when Viktor Berg was still only talking about disarming Pohnpeians, *SMS Condor* set off for Truk once again on an anti-smuggling operation that lasted from October through November 1904, and during which 436 guns and 2,531 cartridges were confiscated “thus assuring peaceful economic development for the most valuable island group in the Carolines,” according to Berg.⁵

Disarmament on Pohnpei began in earnest in 1905 following the April typhoon. After Berg’s “thorough instigation at an assembly of high chiefs early in May,” many Pohnpeians, especially those from Madolenihmw and Uh, who it was said were “always warlike in the

Spanish times,” handed in 210 guns—many of which were in excellent condition—and 1,329 cartridges in exchange for money or food such as rice, corned beef, and canned salmon.

After acquiring another 545 guns and 3,998 cartridges in 1906, Berg felt assured enough to think that the disarmament program was a success. However, in 1907 an even larger haul was taken in: 655 rifles and 4,839 cartridges. This amounted to a two-year total of 1401 guns and 10,166 cartridges, which with a population of about 3,200, came to more than one gun for every three Pohnpeians, and three cartridges per person!

Then, three years later in 1910 when the Sokehs rebellion broke out, it became abundantly clear that there were still several hundred rifles and plenty of ammunition in Pohnpeian hands.

Meanwhile in 1907, disarmament was extended to the coral atolls where the Germans collected 569 guns and 3,600 cartridges, thus ending two years of concerted effort by the district office in the “seizure of weapons.” Micronesians were allowed to keep, however, certain fowling pieces that had been stamped and properly registered.⁶

To maintain an efficient district office and to open up rapid land communication among the five districts on Pohnpei, the Germans engaged in an extensive program of public works projects there. On an island with as much rain and as much difficult terrain as Pohnpei, roads received priority attention.

In 1901, early attempts to get the islanders to assist with the building of roads failed; only three kilometers of road were cleared and repaired, and two kilometers of new road were laid out with police labor.

In the following year two new roads were completed, one to Sokehs and one along the edge of the government property. In 1904 two other roads were mapped out, one from Aireka north to the colony and one, from north to south, connecting Aireka with several southern areas.

A road 57 meters long and three to four meters wide as built in 1905 to join the colony with the new residence of the District Officers in Messenieng.

An ambitious program to connect the colony with Kiti, by means of a twenty-kilometer road began in 1908 with Melanesian labor. When the gunboat *SMS Jaquar*

the twentieth century and the modern world. There is a certain developmental debt owed to Germany by the islanders, and this debt will surely be increasingly paid as time goes on.

Throughout their thirty years pre-World I colonial career, the Germans continually stressed the economic development of the German colonies. The *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* and *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* devote a major share of their articles from this period to economic development within the colonies and the success that the German firms had there. This economic milieu extended even to the remote islands of the eastern Carolines.

At the start of the German administration there in the fall of 1899, small Japanese companies, called “mini-shosha”, were doing a brisk business. But, within two years the Germans deported virtually all the Japanese, leaving the field open for German investment.

It is worth noting here that fifteen years later when the Japanese took control of Micronesia during WWI, they, in turn, ousted all German firms.

This brief and less-than-comprehensive review of German policy and economic development in the eastern Carolines which I present here, attempts to bear some testimony to the emphasis that the German officials there gave to the economy and the overall development of the islands.

It creates also the somewhat familiar picture of the German striving after *bürgerlich* values and their application to the Carolinian societies. It shows also, a bit, of what part the policies and their influences had in the helping of touch off a major confrontation between the Germans and the Pohnpeians in 1910—known today as the Sokehs Rebellion—during which half a dozen Germans lost their lives, and some four hundred Pohnpeians were deported from their native Sokehs to Palau after it was all over.

When Germany assumed control of the Carolines Islands in July 1899 by means of a purchase agreement with Spain following the Spanish-American War, she had already ruled the Marshall Islands and Nauru for thirteen years through the offices of the *Jaluit Gesellschaft*.

When the governor of the New Guinea Protector-

ate—which included the Bismarck Archipelago, a few of the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea in the “old protectorate” in addition to German Micronesia which was frequently referred to as the *Inselgabit*—toured the Carolines in October and November 1899, he set up district offices in Pohnpei and Yap. Pohnpei was to serve as the seat of the district government for the eastern Carolines.

From 1900 to 1910, German policy for the eastern Carolines was made by people who cared about the economy above all else, and who were convinced that they knew what best for Micronesia, even to the point of presuming to remove people from their ancestral lands for their own supposed good. This seems pathetic now, but then was regarded with a typically grim Germanic determination, spiced with good will and more than a little naivete. All in all, too much faith was placed in the willingness of Micronesia to adapt, and too little was known about their societies.

Considered as a whole, policy statements found in the annual reports of the district officers on Pohnpei from 1904 to 1909, reveal a growing peace, as well as by a lessening of the power of the chiefs of tenants over their land and crops. As *Stationleiter* Viktor Berg put it in an article published in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* in 1902, it seemed that no Pohnpeian chief would “discard his white starched suit and his yellow leather shoes to enter on the uncomfortable warpath.”¹

Because of the 1898 unrest which the Spanish had experienced on Pohnpei, around one hundred Malayan soldiers were stationed there at the beginning of the administration. As time went on, the district officers felt they could reduce the number of these men and replace them with Micronesians. Berg first mentioned this in his 1906 report.

Only the best Malayans were to be kept on, and those who were let go were replaced by Micronesians from small islands, and especially from among the siblings of the chief. Berg said that “this will not reduce the costs, but will lead to the training of interpreters and suitable successors or assistants of the head chiefs for all islands. This, people will become available who will be able to inform their fellow islanders about the aims of the government and legal provisions.”²

THE GERMANS IN MICRONESIA: USHERING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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The Germans came late to the Pacific and initially, without any territorial ambitions. The worldwide trading firm of J.C. Godeffroy and Sohn was the first to establish a regular German presence in Oceania, to carry emigrants to the Australian gold fields, and to trade around the rim of the Pacific with agencies in Chile, North America, Cochin China, and Australia.

That was in the 1850s and Godeffroy came flying the flag, not of Imperial Germany—for a German nation—state did not exist until 1870—but of the rich and ancient Hansa city of Hamburg. In 1857 Godeffroys established an agency in Upolu in the Samoan group in order to capture a share of the coconut oil trade. German penetration of the Pacific grew out of this small beginning.

From Samoa the Godeffroys expanded in all directions: south to Tonga, north to the Marshalls and Carolines in Micronesia, and finally in 1874 to New Britain in the New Guinea islands. Other companies, like that of Eduard Hernalshausen based in Micronesia, joined Godeffroys so that by 1879, according to a government memorandum, German firms were exporting from the Pacific some RM6,000,000 in copra, cotton, and shells.

North of New Guinea, the far-flung islands of Micronesia with the exception of the Marshalls which were annexed in 1885, did not join the German empire until 1899, though German traders had been active there since the 1860s.

The Germans, in fact, dominated the copra trade in the area by the mid 1880s, but when Bismarck tried to annex the Carolines and Palau groups in 1885 Spain claimed the islands and the Marianas as part of her old sea-borne empire. (Firth, 1974)

The Spanish interlude did not destroy Germany's trade dominance; and when the Micronesian islands were sold to Germany in the wake of the Spanish-American War, this tiny island sphere was in quite a prosperous position. It continued to float along in a reasonably productive appendage of German New Guinea to which it was linked administratively, occasionally devastated by typhoons or disrupted by strikes in the Marshalls or by the major revolt in Pohnpei in 1910 which was only put down by the application of overwhelming German might and severity.

Nearly eighty years have now passed since the German flag flew over the tiny and beautiful islands of Micronesia. Only a handful of islanders are still alive who remember the German colonists, and with each day that passes their memories further fade. Germany has truly become a part of history in Micronesia.

Because the German colonial presence was so short—a mere fifteen years—it tends today to be treated too lightly, even romantically, by those few teachers at the secondary and higher levels who consider it in their classes. But it is important that the past German presence not be neglected or obscured; after all, it was Germany who brought the islands and their people into