

GERMAN NEW GUINEA: A DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SURVEY

[By PETER OVERLACK]

(Read at a meeting of the Society on 26 July 1973)

Before beginning this paper I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. John Moses, of the History Department of the University of Queensland, and to Mrs. Ingrid Moses for the assistance they have given me, especially in making available material, and for their advice, without which my task would have been much more difficult.

I

THE FOUNDING OF THE PROTECTORATE

Fear of foreign settlement either on the Australian continent or close to it has been a consistent factor in the development of Australian attitudes to Pacific affairs. It was largely the fear of foreign settlement that led to the scattering of British outposts around our coasts in the 1820s and 1830s; it was the aim to anticipate France that led to the annexation of New Zealand in 1840; and it was fear of German settlement and claims in New Guinea that stimulated the Queensland Government in 1883 to annex Papua, thus compelling Germany to follow suit in the areas settled by her nationals.

It was accepted by most British diplomats that the German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, had no ambitions to make Germany a colonial power, and while it was recognised that there was strong agitation for the establishment of a colonial empire, it was thought that Bismarck would keep this under control. Nevertheless, in the period of the 'scramble for colonies' in the 1880s the demand that Germany assume a role in colonial activities which was equal to her power in Europe became more vociferous. These men were historians and political scientists, and the explorers, traders, and missionaries who were spreading German enterprise through Africa and the islands of the Pacific. As this demand grew, though Bismarck believed Germany's prime interests lay in Europe and not in empire-building, he



JOHANN CESAR GODEFFROY

assumed a more accommodating attitude toward it. It still took some time before this was revealed in any clear-cut fashion, and for some years German colonial activity was dependent on traders and merchants who developed unoccupied areas in Africa and the Pacific.

The oldest and leading firm in the Pacific was that of 'Johann Cesar Godeffroy & Sohn' based in Hamburg, which began operations at Apia in Samoa in 1857.¹ It suffered losses after the British annexation of Fiji in 1874, and it was not long after this that the German Government made moves to support German interests in the Pacific by negotiating trade treaties with independent islands such as Tonga (1876)² and Samoa (1879)³ by which Germans obtained equal trading rights with other nations. It also secured a string of naval coaling stations from the Gilbert

1. A. Hahl, "Deutsch-Neuguinea", (Berlin: Reimer, 1942), p. 13, also E. Schultze-Ewerth, "Deutschlands Weg zur Kolonialmacht", (Berlin: Scherl, 1934), p. 74.

2. "Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages. I Session, 1877, Bd. 3, (Berlin: Sittenselt, 1877) Microfilm 1064, "Societe Commerciale de l'Océanie": Records, University of Queensland Library.

3. "Drucksachen zu den Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reiches", Jahrgang 1879, Bd. 2, Nr. 96, (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei), *ibid.*



ADOLPH von HANSEMANN

and Marshall island groups to New Britain. In 1883 the firm of Godeffroy faced bankruptcy, and was absorbed by the 'Deutsche Handels -und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln' — hereafter referred to as DHPG — (German South Sea Islands Trading and Plantation Society), also based in Hamburg.⁴ This firm had three main trading spheres:

- (1) The Gilbert, Ellice, Tongan and Samoan islands,
- (2) The Marshall and Caroline islands,
- (3) The islands of Melanesia off the coast of New Guinea as far as the Solomon Islands. It had plantations only in Samoa and Tonga.⁵

Coming more specifically to the islands of New Guinea,

4. Hahl, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

5. "Das Staatsarchiv. Sammlung der officiellen Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Gegenwart", Hrsg. Hans Delbruck, (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1885), Bd. 43, Nr. 8338, p. 321, Microfilm *op. cit.*

the first settlement was made in 1874 by the firm of Godeffroy on the island of Mioko in the Duke of York Group (Neu Lauenburggruppe).⁶ It was followed by two other Hamburg houses, 'Robertson und Hernsheim' (later 'Hernsheim und Co.'), and the DHPG.⁷ The firm of Hernsheim, founded by the brothers Eduard and Franz and which began operations in 1874 at Palau in the Carolines, in 1875 established a trading post on Makada, the northernmost island of the Duke of York Group. It then extended to the island of Matupi in Blanche Bay on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain (Neu Pommern); then followed a string of posts on New Britain, the Duke of York islands, and New Ireland (Neu Mecklenburg). In 1874 the DHPG also established a post on Mioko, and sent out a string of stations in the same area. The main item of trade was copra, with trepang and mother-of-pearl.⁸ For the DHPG, trade at first barely covered the cost of upkeep of the stations, and one of its main aims was to recruit labour for its extensive plantations in Samoa.⁹

The latecomer was the 'New Guinea Company' ('Neu-Guinea Kompagnie' — NGK) which was founded 26 May 1884 in Berlin by prominent merchants and bankers¹⁰ including Bismarck's banker, Bleichroder. Leading lights were (Herrn Geheimrat) Adolph von Hanseemann as managing director, (Generalkonsul) E. Russel, and (Staatssekretar) C. Herzog.¹¹ It was to play a leading role in the administration and development of the Protectorate, as will be seen later.

All these companies secured favourable financial terms at home; their copra was readily saleable in Europe; their working expenses were low and labour cheap; and the steamers of the Norddeutscher-Lloyd carried their produce to Hamburg at an economic rate. Under such conditions the companies became established on a solid commercial basis, and though the output of New Guinea alone was relatively insignificant, the late 1870s were extremely profitable for German commerce as a whole in the Pacific.

With their extensive interests and various projects for

6. H. Blum, "Neu-Guinea und der Bismarck-Archipel. Eine wirtschaftliche Studie", (Berlin: Schoenfeldt, 1900), p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

9. S. G. Firth, "German Imperialism in the Pacific Islands: the Economic Aspect", in J. A. Moses and P.M. Kennedy, (eds.), "Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870-1914", soon to be published by the Irish Universities Press.

10. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

future development, German traders viewed with some concern the growth of Australian demands for far-reaching annexations in the same areas. Annexationist fears formed a vicious circle, for the Australian colonies were just as apprehensive about German claims.

In March 1883, Krauel, the Consul-General in Sydney, reported in a despatch the reprinting of a German newspaper article which advocated German settlement of New Guinea. He noted that the 'Queenslander' carried a strong editorial decrying this, and that the 'Nord-Australische Zeitung' of the German settlers combated the 'Queenslander's' views.¹² On 16 April a telegram from Carl Sahl, an officer in the Consulate-General, informed Bismarck that Queensland had annexed Papua. A few days later, Consul-General Stubel in Apia reported the anxiety of the firms over the increasing danger to German trade. On 8 August he again transmitted the firms' fears. These were not without foundation: the editorial of the 'Sydney Daily Telegraph' for 2 July had stated that:

at least all islands which lie between Fiji and New Guinea should be annexed by Great Britain . . . If Great Britain does not wish to annex then the colonies must do it.¹³

There was an increasing amount of irritation in Berlin over what was considered to be Anglo-Australian indifference to German interests in the Pacific. This is exemplified by two incidents of interference. In August 1883 on the island of Yap, the DHPG trader Amery, an Englishman, was attacked and nearly killed by natives. He and other white traders then burned down a house in the guilty village as a reprisal. Amery and Shaw, the Hemsheim trader, were brought before a court on the British warship *Espiegle* and fined £20 and £10 respectively.¹⁴ The German firms were naturally upset at having to reimburse their employees as a result of British action. More importantly, an unsatisfactory correspondence was carried on between Berlin and London with regard to the depredations on German stations by labour-trade ships licensed by the Queensland Government. The worst of these occurred in mid-April 1883, when the schooner *Stanley* under Captain Davis of Maryborough was on a recruiting expedition in the Laughlan Island group. The Hemsheim agent, Karl Tetzlaff, could see three years work

12. "Das Staatsarchiv", *op. cit.*, Bd. 44, Nr. 8428, pp. 162-3.

13. *Ibid.*, Bd. 44, Nr. 8434, Anlage 3, p. 180.

14. *Ibid.*, Bd. 43, Nr. 8346, p. 358.

with the natives gone if he allowed Davis to recruit, and so forbade him to do so. A boat from the *Stanley* fired a shot into the station, but when the party landed it was found to be deserted. Davis then set fire to twenty tons of copra, which spread through the rest of the station and burned it to the ground. After strong protests from the German ambassador in London, Count Munster, the gunboat *Raven* arrested Davis and took him to Fiji, where he was tried by the High Commissioner. The Queensland Government paid £550 compensation to HERNSHEIM and Co.¹⁵

After repeated pleas the firms finally received active Government co-operation at the end of 1883 when a permanent Imperial Commissioner supported by the *Hyane* was stationed at New Britain. His duties included the enforcement of regulations concerning the recruiting of labourers, protection of German traders' rights, and the prevention or limitation of disputes between Germans and other nationals.¹⁶ As yet no official territorial claims had been made.

On 5 January 1884, Dr. Busch of the Foreign Office instructed the ambassador in London to convey the Government's irritation over continuing articles in the Australian press which denied the existence of any real German interests in New Britain and New Ireland.¹⁷ Their statements on Germany's expected annexation were seen as an excuse for Australian projects of the same nature. 1884 also saw the emergence of a more active colonial policy which had the full support of the Government behind it. This was inaugurated by the annexation of the Angra Pequena region in Southwest Africa in April.

On 19 August a telegram was sent to the Consul-General in Sydney, which ran:

Inform Imperial Commissioner von Oertzen in New Britain that it is intended to hoist the German flag in the archipelago of New Britain and along that part of the north-east coast which lies outside the sphere of influence of Holland and England, where German settlements are already existing or are in the process of formation, and that he is authorised to support purchases of land by Germans and to register the agreements made without prejudice to third parties.¹⁸

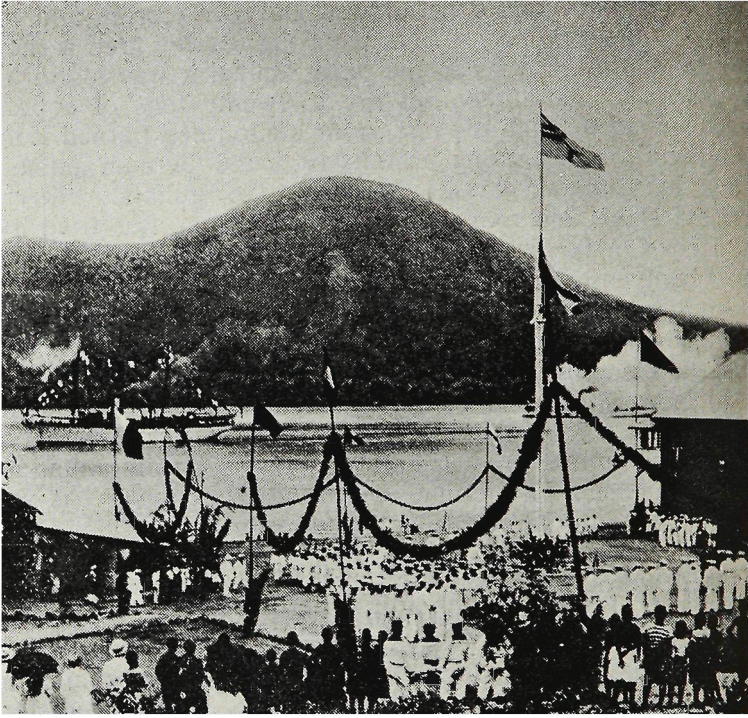
On the 14th of the previous month the explorer Dr. Otto Finsch and the sea-captain Dallmann arrived in Sydney,

15. *Ibid.*, Bd. 44, Nr. 8429, pp. 163-7, and Nr. 8439, p. 188.

16. *Ibid.*, Bd. 43, Nr. 8343, pp. 349-50.

17. *Ibid.*, Bd. 44, Nr. 8434, p. 177.

18. *Ibid.*, Bd. 44, Nr. 8446, p. 200.



Commemoration of the first flag raising, Matupi, 4 November 1909.

purchased, and began to refit the *Samoa*. On 1 September they left Sydney, arriving at Mioko on the 26. From 10 October 1884 to 28 May 1885 they made five voyages along the north-east coast of the mainland (Kaiser Wilhelmsland), discovering several new harbours.¹⁹ Bismarck had made known his willingness to guarantee Imperial protection to those areas Finsch claimed, and subsequent to the telegram above ordered four warships into the area: *Elisabeth*, *Hyane*, *Marie*, and *Albatros*.²⁰

The German flag was raised first on the island of Matupi, opposite the closely settled area around Blanche Bay, on 3 November, the next day on the islands of Mioko and Makada by the *Elisabeth* and *Hyane*. On the mainland it was raised at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen on 12 November, at Finsch-Hafen on the 27, and German protection was declared over the north-east part of New Guinea. It was not raised in the

19. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Solomon Islands until 28-30 October 1886 by the *Adler*.²¹ The final border between German and British territory was not decided until mid-1885; the proportions were then 48.6% Dutch, 28.3% English, and 23.1% German.²²

The Protectorate — 'Das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea' — included: Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland and associated islands); the Duke of York Group, New Hannover; the three northerly Solomon Islands — Bougainville, Choiseul, Isabel (the last two by treaty with Great Britain in 1906); and the small island groups of the Admiralty, Matty, Schachbrettinseln (Echiquiers), Eremiten, Anachoriten, Purdy, Forestier, Nissan, Carteret, Mortlock, Tasman, and Lord Howe islands; and French Island and St. Matthias Island.²³ After the loss of the Spanish-American War in 1899, Spain sold its Pacific possessions to Germany — the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall island groups which were known as the 'Island Protectorate' as opposed to the 'Old Protectorate' annexed in 1884.

II

THE NEW GUINEA COMPANY

The circumstances leading up to the establishment of the Protectorate having been treated, the internal development of New Guinea will now be considered. Reference has already been made to the 'Neu-Guinea Kompagnie', formed in 1884. The closest parallel to its position in the Protectorate, until 1899, would be that of the British East India Company, though in a much smaller way.

On 17 May 1885 the Kaiser granted a Charter (Schutzbrief) which outlined the rights and duties of the NGK, which in effect became the agent of the German Government, exercising full jurisdiction, and with the right to occupy unclaimed land in the name of the Government. It could also negotiate with the natives, but not with foreign powers. In return, the Company had to pay for and maintain governmental institutions.²⁴

From 5 November 1884 to 1 April 1899 the NGK was responsible for the administration of the Protectorate, except for a period from 1 November 1889 to 1 September 1892

21. *Ibid.*, also Hahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

22. Blum, *ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

24. For a translation of the Charter, see J. A. Moses, "The German Empire in Melanesia 1884-1914. A German Self-Analysis", in "A History of Melanesia", Second Waigani Seminar, (Canberra: ANU, Port Moresby: UTPNG, 1968), pp. 59-60.

when the Imperial Government temporarily took over. The first Administrator (Landeshauptmann) was retired Vice-Admiral Baron Georg von Schleinitz (1834-1910) who had commanded the *Gazelle* expedition in the Bismarck Archipelago in 1874-6; through his two years in office he continued to promote coastal exploration.²⁵

The first station of the NGK on the mainland was made at Finsch-Hafen in November 1885. The stations of the Company, even the largest settlements, always remained simply posts staffed by a small core of commercial and administrative personnel. The company's full Administration comprised the Administrator, two magistrates, one for the Western District (Kaiser Wilhelmsland) and one for the Eastern District (Bismarck Archipelago and Solomons), and an actuary and police officer in each local district.²⁶ The 'Old Protectorate' was divided into seven such districts (Bezirke) named after the main stations: Rabaul, Kawieng, Namatanai, Kieta, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen, Aitape and Morobe.²⁷ Each was under the jurisdiction of a District Officer (Bezirksamtmann) who maintained order with the help of native police troops.

The NGK expanded gradually, as the figures for its stations show:²⁸

Year	BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO		KAISER WILHELMSLAND	
	Main	Subsidiary	Main	Subsidiary
1884	3	30	—	—
1890	3	33	5	1
1895	4	45	2	3
1898	5	72	3	4

Things would appear to have progressed favourably, and in the Archipelago they did; but in Kaiser Wilhelmsland the reality was depressing, since several stations were abandoned because of the high mortality rate from disease, native hostility, or economic mismanagement. Thus there was not a continually widening area of contact and development, but rather a sporadic one which in some places was short lived. The following table of the final twelve mainland stations sets this out more clearly. The main stations are emphasised:²⁹

25. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

28. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Station	Founded	Abandoned	Reason
Finsch-Hafen	5/11/85	March 1891	Mortality rate
Hatzfeldt-Hfn.	21/12/85	as station '95	Native hostility
Konstantin-Hfn.	30/5/86	Autumn 1891	Economic
Butaueng	April 1887	March 1891	Mortality rate
Kelana	Jan. 1888	1890	Mortality rate
Stephansort	Aug. 1888	_____	_____
Erima	March 1890	1896	Plantation curtailed
Jomba	1891	1394	Plantation curtailed
Maraga	1891	1394	Plantation curtailed
Fried.-Wilh.-Hfn.	Autumn 1891	_____	_____
Seleo	July 1894	_____	_____
Erima-Hafen	1396	_____	_____

The two most important stations were Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen and Stephansort. The former was the sole deep water harbour east of Java, and the main port for Kaiser Wilhelmsland. In all others ships had to drop anchor outside and use lighters to ferry goods. Facilities included a landing pier 60m long, with a small railway to the store buildings. The whole harbour 'complex' was the work of the NGK, begun in 1894 and extended in 1898. The surrounding area was very fertile and within two years of foundation, crops were ready for export.³⁰ By 1901 the NGK had 15,529 coconut palms (100 yielded 1 ton of copra worth M.200), 5000 kapok trees, 1107 sisal plants, and 52 head of cattle.³¹ In 1900 there was a severe outbreak of malaria which almost every European caught. The well-known Dr. Robert Koch was sent to investigate conditions and assist; he had at his disposal a warship which he permitted to enter the harbour only during the day and ordered to leave at night as a precaution.³² The official Annual Report stated:

The health conditions . . . of both Europeans and natives in Kaiser Wilhelmsland are more favourable than in the Archipelago, probably chiefly as a result of Koch's malaria treatment having been carried out.³³

The population in 1900 was 20 Europeans, of whom 7 were NGK employees, around 20 Chinese handworkers and artisans, 30 Malay building labourers, and about 300 plantation workers consisting of Malays, local natives, and 'kanakas' from the Archipelago.³⁴

Stephansort, 23km to the south, was the biggest and one of the oldest settlements in the Protectorate, founded in

30. E. von Hesse-Wartegg, "Samoa, der Bismarck-Archipel und Neuguinea. Die drei deutsche Kolonien in der Sudsee", (Leipzig: Weber, 1902), p. 49.

31. "Annual Report on the Development of the German Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas for the Year 1900-1901", "Stations of the New Guinea Company", (tr.) H. A. Thomson.

32. Hesse-Wartegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

33. "Annual Report", "Climate and Conditions of Health", *op. cit.*

34. Hesse-Wartegg, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

1888. The 10km distance between its harbour, Erima-Hafen, and the settlement was covered by a small railway powered by two oxen. The harbour itself consisted of one pier, several warehouses and the quarters of the sole European official of the NGK. The settlement was broadly planned with wide grass streets flanked by houses. Although it was the most advanced settlement on the mainland, it had no cobbler, blacksmith, baker or butcher, and for their clothes its inhabitants had to send to Singapore. In 1900 the plantation workers comprised 100 Malays, 300 Tamul natives, and 190 Chinese.³⁵ In 1901 the NGK had 50,000 coconut palms (the following year the *Stettin* brought 10,000 seedlings for extensions), 18,672 rubber trees of various species, 30,000 coffee trees, 10,534 kapok trees, 1,600 sisal plants and 159 head of cattle.³⁶

Along with these holdings went considerable problems for the NGK. The 'Kaiser Wilhelmsland Plantagen Gesellschaft', a subsidiary formed in November 1890, failed the next year.³⁷ Established at Gorima on Astrolabe Bay to grow tobacco, from the start it had difficulties in securing seedlings, and there were dissensions between the Directors and local managers over labour discipline. It was taken over by the 'Astrolabe Kompagnie', formed in October 1891 with a capital of M.2,400,000.³⁸ However, this also ceased operations after five years. Overall, the cultivation of tobacco was very much an on-off affair. Curt von Hagen was regarded as the father of this industry; during the four years in which he was first general manager of the Astrolabe Kompagnie, then as Director-General of the united Astrolabe-NGK, and finally as Administrator of the Protectorate, he:

devoted unparalleled energy and dedication to the agricultural development of the country.³⁹

With twelve years experience in Sumatra he was a valuable man in the fledgling colony. In 1895, after a severe drought, he succeeded in bringing the remaining tobacco crop to market in a condition better than expected. However, with the continual accumulation of ground water, and the cost of recruiting Chinese, the best workers, being so high, no real financial result was obtained from the venture. Also, market prices were low in the early 1890s, and the

35. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

36. "Annual Report", *op. cit.*

37. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

industry had to draw labourers from other more profitable cultivation.⁴⁰

A state of chronic inefficiency existed in the workings of the NGK's commercial sector. The main reason was that none of the Directors had ever set foot in the Protectorate, let alone had a working knowledge of the area. One writer, undoubtedly a former employee of the Company, stated:

All the dealings between Berlin and the Protectorate appeared to be a continuous, entangled line of order-counter order-disorder, and the leading officials were limited in all freedom of action by the economic and geographic ignorance of the directions from Berlin.⁴¹

Between 1892 and 1895 over 600 employees came and went.⁴² The whole situation was due to a gamble which did not pay off. One of the NGK's founding aims was to sell land to the expected flood of settlers, many from Australia, but when this did not eventuate the Company had to fall back on plantation agriculture. Some of the worst areas chosen were on the little-known and often hostile coast of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. Establishment was an extremely costly affair, with more than M.3 million spent in the first two and a half years of settlement, of which 45% was taken up by the costs of running the Company shipping line.⁴³ The disasters which overtook many of the settlements have already been mentioned.

In 1889, at the request of the Company, the Imperial Government temporarily resumed responsibility for the general administration of the Protectorate, the Company agreeing to meet the expenses. An Imperial Commissioner was appointed to take over from the Administrator, and the NGK's own affairs were entrusted to a Director-General. This arrangement could be terminated by the Company after two years, and by the Government at any time. Apparently the Imperial officials were not paid regularly, and in 1892 they were withdrawn, and the NGK resumed its administrative functions.⁴⁴

The Directors recognised this burden to be one of the main causes of their difficulties, and late in 1895 negotiations began to transfer the administrative responsibility to the

40. "Annual Report", *op. cit.*

41. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

43. "Reich Kolonial-Amt 2939", "Anträge an die ausserordentliche, am 30. April 1889 abzuhaltende General-Versammlung der Mitglieder der Neu-Guinea Kompagnie", in S. G. Firth, *op. cit.*

44. P. Biskup, "Hahl at Herbertshöhe, 1896-1898: the Genesis of German Native Administration in New Guinea", in "History of Melanesia", *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Government once again, this time permanently. The company did quite well out of the transfer. In return for giving up its sovereignty and transferring many of its buildings, wharves, and ships to the Government it received an outright grant of 50,000ha of land with the right to a further 50,000 ha within three years, a monopoly in the acquisition and disposal of ownerless and native land, and could claim Government support in recruiting labour. It also received the sole right to develop guano deposits, special rights to mineral deposits in the Ramu Valley, and timber rights on all non-private land in the whole of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, New Britain except the Gazelle Peninsula, and on all islands west of 149° E Longitude.⁴⁵

The old Charter was revoked, and the NGK became a purely private enterprise whose main aim was:

the colonisation of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago, and in particular the pursuit of agricultural and plantation, trade and commercial enterprises.⁴⁶

What caused the NGK to have such a bad record? At the grass-roots level it was inexperience, wrong decisions, and often just bad luck; but it also strangled in its own red tape. Dr. Heinrich Schnee, at one time Imperial Judge in the Protectorate and in 1914 Governor of East Africa, said of the NGK's managing director Adolph von Hansemann, that he:

tried to run New Guinea from his office desk in Berlin as if it were a feudal estate in Brandenburg.⁴⁷

As has already been mentioned, personnel movements were extremely frequent; in 1896, 77% of the company's employees resigned before the expiration of their contracts.⁴⁸ They were recruited for a period of three years, which meant the Protectorate was just another stage of their careers — and an unpleasant one — which would certainly influence their outlook. In addition most were completely inexperienced in colonial administration and plantation work. The NGK itself might even have been dissolved but for the agreement to transfer its administrative authority to the Government. Though it was relieved of this burden in 1899, it was not until the financial year 1912-1913 that the company paid its first dividend, twenty-eight years after its foundation.⁴⁹

45. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

46. "Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon", vol. II, p. 630, in Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

47. H. Schnee, "Als letzte Gouverneur in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Erinnerungen", (Heidelberg, 1964) p. 26 in Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

48. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

49. Firth, *op. cit.*

III

REORGANISATION

From 1 April 1899 New Guinea was operated as a directly governed Protectorate of the German Empire. Herbertshohe on the Gazelle Peninsula was chosen as the centre for both the Administration and the NGK, as it was the most closely settled area in the Protectorate. The Governor was assisted by a council to which he submitted yearly estimates, and drafts of ordinances which he proposed to make himself, or recommend to the Chancellor. He was not bound by the decisions of the council, but minutes of proceedings were sent to the Imperial Government.⁵⁰ The government offices were in a single wooden house which served the Governor, his secretary, who at this early stage was also treasurer, tax collector, deputy judge, court recorder, director of public works, receiver of customs and harbourmaster. There was also a postal official and a police sergeant, who commanded 60-70 natives from New Britain and New Ireland.⁵¹ Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen was made the chief district office for Kaiser Wilhelmsland, and all administrative and judicial officials were centred there.

In January 1910 the 'capital' was transferred from Herbertshohe to Rabaul in the northern corner of Blanche Bay, only a matter of a few miles. Herbertshohe had been considered too small for some time, and expansion could only have been possible at a disproportionately large expenditure. The district office had been transferred to Rabaul in 1900, the chief Pay Office in 1908, and the Government school and printery had been there since their establishment. Rabaul had originally been named Simpson-Hafen, but the former, a native name, was used at the request of the settlers, the latter being retained for the harbour. The Rabaul settlement had been founded in 1905.⁵²

To this point attention has been focused chiefly on the foundation years to 1899. Space limitations prevent consideration of the later years in any detail, so I shall survey the key aspects of development after the Government assumed full control. These are native policy, the law, labour policy, and land policy.

50. "Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea", (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1937), p. 36.

51. Hesse-Wartegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-94.

52. "Annual Report, 1909-1910", "Administration".

NATIVE POLICY

A proper treatment of this topic is impossible without a consideration of Dr. Albert Hahl (1868-1945), who was responsible for it. Born in Gern in Bavaria, after studying law at the University of Wurzburg he decided to enter the public service. In 1894 he joined the Bavarian ministry of the interior; in 1895 he transferred to the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin. He hoped to be sent to East Africa, but instead was posted to New Guinea. He landed at Herbertshohe on 14 January 1896, aged 28, with no previous colonial experience, and with just six months theoretical preparation. He remained at Herbertshohe for three years as Imperial Judge. After a brief spell back in the Foreign Office, he was appointed Deputy-Governor with his seat at Ponape in the Eastern Carolines, holding this position from July 1899 to June 1901, when he became Acting-Governor, relieving the ill Rudolf von Bennigsen. By this time he was something of an expert on the Pacific, and his appointment as Governor in 1902 was not unexpected.⁵³

Hahl knew how to handle both his own countrymen (though his forward-looking policies were disliked by many) and the native peoples. He could speak Tolai, Pidgin, and Ponape (also Malay and Swahili), and had been initiated into the Tolai 'tabuan' rituals. He saw the need to give equal weight to native interests, and hoped that the establishment of a plantation economy would also benefit the native societies.⁵⁴

He is primarily remembered as the author of the first concrete 'native policy'. The NGK never formulated one, since its prime concern was to exploit the country. There had always existed certain protective measures concerning labour recruitment and land acquisitions, but these were defective before 1899 in that the body responsible, in effect, for their operation was most likely the offender — the NGK. The administrative arm, for which it was responsible, had to prosecute the breaches of its economic arm, a situation the untenability of which is obvious. Within six months of his arrival Hahl had outlined a positive policy: the establishment of luluais ('chiefs') through which he worked; measures to draw the natives into the commercial economy; and the protection of native lands.⁵⁵ These will now be considered individually.

53. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Probably the most important result of his administration was that in the maintenance of order, he was not primarily concerned with securing it by punishment; rather he tried to amend traditional law. From this developed the use of luluais for the settling of disputes to the value of M.25 or ten fathoms of shell money⁵⁶ The first luluai was appointed in 1896 at Ralum on the Gazelle Peninsula.

The purpose was in the nature of an experiment to co-ordinate the low-statused natives within a specified district to undertake obligations and to co-operate for the benefit of their racial kindred.⁵⁷

Most important were the luluais' magisterial functions; land disputes were heard by Hahl himself. However, the system was not always successful, as the luluais sometimes used their positions for personal gain, an idea which was quite in keeping with their conception of the 'big man'. Later extensions of the system were not wholly successful because of the neglect of factors which Hahl considered essential: election by their own people, not imposition from above, and the use of dialect rather than Pidgin.⁵⁸

When Hahl arrived in 1896, the Tolais of the Gazelle Peninsula had already planted palms intended for the market economy, but it was not until now that the first wholly 'native plantations' as distinct from Government ones worked by native levies came into existence.⁵⁹ They retained the crop, and the proceeds from the sale of nuts paid the head tax, as was intended. This tax was payable by all adult males fit to work, its main purpose being to force the natives out to work for cash payments. On the other hand, the Germans did not stimulate increased food production in the villages, which would have helped the labourers and cut costs, because of the possible detrimental effect it would have on labour supplies: if more natives worked and earned money for taxes in their village, they would be less willing to go out to work.

One of the basic misunderstandings on the part of the natives with regard to land acquisitions, was that they thought they were only parting with certain rights of usage rather than ownership of the land, and village sites.⁶⁰ Hahl wanted to limit plantation expansion and proclaim certain

56. "Handbook", *op. cit.*, p. 36.

57. "Annual Report, 1912-1913", "Administration".

58. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

areas of ownerless and European-held land as 'protected native lands'. He failed because:

in 1896 it was unrealistic to expect the directors of the company to take an interest in native administration. Their dilatory tactics stifled all progress.⁶¹

However, his efforts were not a complete failure, and in 1898 von Hansemann, in a despatch to the Administrator, Skopnik, authorised the inclusion of a clause guaranteeing usage rights to the owners for a specified period in future contracts with natives.⁶²

THE LAW

The Imperial Ordinance of 5 June 1886 first established a system of law; however native populations outside the immediate sphere of influence were not subject to jurisdiction unless this was specifically directed.⁶³ The Imperial Judge at the time, Schmieles, did not neglect breaches of the law in this outside sphere, but was restricted by the fact that he had no police force and had to rely on the Navy, which often refused his requests for help.⁶⁴

The colonists' attitudes to crime were dominated by fears of native revolts, and their main aim was to make the natives accept the fact that the Germans were there to stay, rather than a strictly impartial 'punishment for crime' ethos. The NGK was convinced that most problems could be overcome if settlement went hand in hand with the statute book. When it became apparent that this inflexible attitude was superficial, the company abandoned the idea and left New Guinea with an incomplete facade of colonial law which had little real significance. This situation changed with Hahl's arrival and his belief that a purely judicial approach to the law should only be introduced gradually, and commensurate with the advancement of native education. But he still had to compete with the entrenched attitude:

The blacks are easily inclined to take goodness and mildness as weakness, whereas strictness within the limits of justice impresses them. Everything in its place and in its time, carrot or stick, gospel or law.⁶⁵

61. Hahl to Foreign Office, 17th November 1901, Central German Archives, Micro. 2276, Commonwealth Archives, quoted *ibid.*, p. 90.

62. Hansemann to Skopnik, 4th May 1898, *ibid.*, quoted in Biskup, *ibid.*

63. Hahl, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

64. P. Sack, "Law, Politics and Native 'Crimes' in German New Guinea", in "Germany in the Pacific", *op. cit.*

65. K. Vetter, "Die Schule in Simbang" in "Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und über Nordamerika, Australien und Neuguinea", vol. 22, 1890, Nr. 13, pp. 6-7, quoted in I. Moses, "German Assessment and Treatment of the North-East New Guineans and their Reaction to it as reflected in German contemporary Literature", ANZAAS Congress, 1970, p. 17.

One of the major problems was to find a suitable system of penalties, and for this purpose Administrator von Schleinitz appointed a commission headed by Judge Schmiele. The penalties had to take into account the natives' level of advancement, and had to avoid the setting up of an expensive prison system, yet not be cruel.⁶⁶ In this line, the cases punishable by fines were enlarged, prison terms reduced, and corporal punishment made more frequent. With regard to workers' discipline, punishment for neglect of duty, laziness, refractory conduct and going a.w.o.l. was flogging or birching to a maximum of ten strokes, confinement for a maximum of three days, or fines to a maximum of M.30.⁶⁷

Order in the Protectorate was maintained by a native police force which in 1914 numbered around 1,000, most of whom were distributed in detachments at the stations. In charge of each was a German police official (Polizeiwachtmeister) and in command of the whole force was an Inspector with the rank of captain in the regular army. The total included the Expedition Troop based at Rabaul. This was formed in June 1911, and was commanded by a lieutenant of the regular army. It was trained for bush warfare and to open up paths into the interior.⁶⁸ However, it and the local detachments always had far more punitive work than they could cope with. These expeditions were held to be a necessary part of the procedure for gaining control of an area and establishing order:

Development was therefore advanced more rapidly than would have been possible with other methods.⁶⁹

The Germans were always extremely frank about what they did in their colonies, especially with regard to punitive expeditions, which provided the victors in 1919 with a ready-made justification for depriving them of their colonies.

LABOUR POLICY

The Germans found it very difficult to make satisfactory plantation workers out of the natives, due to the nature of their own shifting agriculture. That the Germans interpreted this as a sign of laziness is shown in this statement by the NGK medical officer, Dr. Otto Dempwolff:

The Papuan . . . works only for himself, obeying only necessity . . . Neither will he do anything for the European for the purpose of assisting in his agricultural

⁶⁶ Sack, "Law, Politics and Native 'Crimes'," *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ C. D. Rowley, "The Australians in German New Guinea", (Melbourne: University Press, 1958) p. 136.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁶⁹ "Annual Report, 1912-1913".

labour, nor from rationalised idealistic or materialistic motives, but only from need, from habit, or from compulsion.⁷⁰

It was a common assumption, and this attitude was not unique to the Germans, that the welfare of the native could best be promoted by employing him in European managed enterprises. This claim was put forward as a partial justification for the crude conditions of recruitment and employment practised by the NGK. An emphasis on labour as the means of 'salvation' expressed the determined paternalism of Europeans revolted by the barbarism of native societies. It was argued that work must take the place of warfare. Another common assumption had its origin in Social-Darwinism: only the fittest survived, and since the native had been deprived of the warfare which kept him fit, the European must provide a substitute in physical labour. In 1900 the Administration forbade the sale of whole nuts by the natives, since this was considered likely to encourage the villagers in their 'natural tendency to do nothing' by removing the task of preparing copra, and was aimed at preventing an 'improper avoidance of work'.⁷¹

The NGK workers were recruited for a three-year period and paid monthly in tobacco, loin cloths, and knick-knacks to the value of M.5-8 for a local native.⁷² The wage scale for other races is given below.⁷³

MONTHLY WAGE SCALE IN 1889

Chinese overseer	—	M.30-40
Chinese field labourer	—	15
Javanese artisan	—	30-40
Javanese field labourer	—	27
Melanesian	—	6-10

The Germans found the best and most willing workers to be Chinese, but these eventually proved too expensive. They were recruited in China itself, Singapore, and Batavia. The dealers in the latter port were naturally pro-Dutch, and there were complaints that they sent the Germans 'weaklings and opium smokers'.⁷⁴ Many were claimed by malaria, dysentery, and lung complaints. They cost twice as much as a native worker in upkeep, but were the best workers with tobacco.

70. O. Dempwolf, "Die Erziehung der Papuas zu Arbeitern", "Koloniales Jahrbuch", vol. xi, 1898, p. 6, in J. A. Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

71. Governor's Ordinance of 18th October 1900, in "Annual Report, 1900-1901".

72. Hesse-Wartegg, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

73. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

LAND POLICY

The 'Principles for the Transfer of Land' which the NGK issued in anticipation of a large influx of settlers was never changed, and land problems were dealt with on an individual basis until the arrival of Hahl in 1896, who then implemented the land policy, which he continued as Governor from 1902. The NGK's Charter stated that land acquisitions made by Europeans before the establishment of the Protectorate were to be respected. In 1887 an Imperial Ordinance took effect which required the individuals concerned in such acquisitions to apply for registration of the title, or the claim would become invalid. The NGK could object if it considered its monopoly infringed in any instance. However, the progress of registration was so slow that the last claims were still unprocessed in 1914.⁷⁵

After the Government assumed direct control in 1899, there was an increase in the number of plantations begun by individuals, many of whom had been employed as managers and overseers by the big companies. The exceptions were the Queensland Germans in the Baining Mountains area and the Chinese around Namatanai. Mostly they had only a very small capital made up of savings from their salaries. So it was natural that they would apply to their former employers for financial assistance. This was to the advantage of the companies, as the borrower quite often agreed to obtain all his supplies from the financing company, and to sell his produce through it as well. If he had a registered title to his land, he took a mortgage on it with the company to secure repayment of the loan; if he did not, he signed an agreement to institute a mortgage as soon as he acquired a title. Under German law this was an effective form of security. The yearly rate of interest was 8%.⁷⁶

In 1900 there were changes to the land laws, the most important of which was that land required to provide the natives with a living was excluded from any acquisitions, and where this had been acquired, it could be expropriated. This land was that on which natives lived and gardened, and used for making and storing boats and fishing gear.⁷⁷ Europeans applying for freehold were required to prove that they had sufficient capital to ensure its development. Waste land under bush could only be obtained from the Government, and was sold at from M.5 per hectare; the buyer also had to

75. P. G. Sack, "Land Law and Land Policy in German New Guinea", "History of Melanesia", *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

76. "Handbook", *op. cit.*, p. 58.

77. Sack, "Land Law and Land Policy", *op. cit.*, p. 109.

pay for any cost of acquisition from the natives, survey, and registration. Cultivation had to be commenced within one year, and within 15 years three-quarters had to be under cultivation. At this time, any uncultivated land outside the quota had to be transferred back to the Government without compensation.⁷⁸ Land was sold only after a detailed investigation had been made regarding native ownership, public interest, etc. and an examination was usually carried out on the spot by Government officials.

According to Australian estimates in 1922, the German Government had sold or leased 702,000 acres up to September 1914. Of this, 369,000 acres were held by the NGK; other companies held 73,000 acres, the missions 80,000 acres, and individual planters 178,000 acres.⁷⁹ The obvious weakness of the land economy was an almost complete dependence on the price of copra, though persistent attempts were made to break away from this dependence, with such crops as tobacco, coffee, cocoa, rubber, and rice.

IV

THE AUSTRALIAN OCCUPATION

In 1914 the Protectorate was incapable of defending itself as it had only native police troops, and only token resistance was considered. On 6 August, Lord Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, requested the Australian Government to seize the wireless stations in New Guinea, on Yap in the Marshalls, and on Nauru. News of the outbreak of war came to the Germans on the previous day. At the time, the Acting-Governor, Dr. E. Haber, was on an inspection visit to Morobe.⁸⁰

On the 6 August all persons liable for military service were mobilised, and the capital transferred to Toma in the mountains 20 miles from Rabaul. The Australian Naval Squadron entered Blanche Bay on the 12th; British residents were arrested, valuables buried, and trenches were dug and the road to the Bita Paka wireless station mined and manned. An effective defence was impossible as there were only 60 whites, food was short, and the only artillery was two guns used for salutes and which lacked effective ammunition. The Australian Expedition Force numbered 1500, under the command of Colonel (later Maj.-General) William Holmes.⁸¹ It was not until 11 September that Australian

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

79. "Report on New Guinea 1921-1922", p. 95, in Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

80. "Handbook", *op. cit.*, p. 60.

81. *Ibid.*

warships moved on the Gazelle Peninsula; HMAS *Sydney* landed 25 naval troops and occupied Herbertshohe without bloodshed. On the 13 September the capital, Rabaul, surrendered, and the Union Jack was raised.⁸²

Finally, 'Australia came into what she had always believed to be her own'.⁸³ The capitulation agreement was signed on 17 September in Herbertshohe, effective from the 21st. The safety of the lives and property of German settlers was assured.⁸⁴ Officers of the regular army were to become prisoners-of-war, but

those whose usual occupation is civilian, on taking an oath of neutrality for the duration of the present war, will be released and permitted to return to their homes and ordinary avocations, except where such avocations are Official.⁸⁵

Some key officials who took the oath were retained on their former salaries. However, wartime feelings in Australia made it difficult for Holmes to make use of their experience, and in any case all the Germans resigned in December in protest against the flogging of a German settler who assaulted a British missionary.⁸⁶

The Military Administration lasted until 9 May 1921 when civilian government under the Mandate began. A Royal Commission had previously been set up to study conditions, to work out the setting up of an administration, and to plan the expropriation of German property. It consisted of three members, led by the Administrator of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray, who was against the expropriation and repatriation of German settlers. He was supported by the then Military Administrator and commander of the occupation troops, General Johnston:

In the majority of cases these planters are . . . a good type of settler . . . I would recommend that all such private owners be permitted to continue in undisturbed occupancy of their present interests.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the Australian Government decided to expropriate all German goods, rights, and interests. As of 1 September 1920 this became law. A Public Trustee was appointed to oversee the operation. The repatriates had to

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-66.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

84. Hahl, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

85. "Terms of Capitulation (5)", in Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

87. "Interim and Final Reports of the Royal Commission on late German New Guinea", (Victorian Government Printer, No. 29/1920) in Hahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

pay their own travel expenses out of the £50 they were allowed to take with them.⁸⁸ The expropriations to June 1922 were 294,730 acres, of which 119,386 acres were planted with 5 million palms.⁸⁹ This land was resold to restricted applicants: Australian soldiers or British subjects by birth, and companies with two-thirds capital in the hands of those born British subjects.⁹⁰

Dr. Heinrich Schnee, at one time Imperial Judge in the Protectorate, and the last Governor of East Africa, wrote:

From the time the colony was occupied . . . until two years after the Armistice, the German planters and merchants were allowed, and even encouraged, to carry on their plantations and commercial enterprises as usual. Then just before Christmas, 1920, three vessels laden with young returned soldiers were landed on the island, and without notice or respite of any kind the Germans were ejected from their properties and turned out of their homes, and the totally inexperienced newcomers were put in charge as factors. Most of the evicted Germans were deported . . . even though this was covered in the case of employees by appropriating their hard-won savings.⁹¹

It was not only the Germans who objected. The Melbourne correspondent of the 'Manchester Guardian', speaking of the Australian Government, wrote on 2 August 1921:

. . . in its eagerness to obtain valuable plantations for nothing . . . it has driven forth the men who not only made them valuable, but could maintain their productivity . . . a policy which must soon ruin the entire colony.⁹²

Some ill-effect was inevitable, and cultivation fell drastically due to inexperience and inefficiency. To June 1922, there were 633 expropriations, consisting of 48 trading firms, 255 individuals resident in the Mandate, 282 individuals who were expatriates and 48 properties of deceased persons.⁹³

CONCLUSION

German colonisation in the Pacific differed from that of other nations in that it was born as a purely economic

88. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

89. "Report of the League of Nations, 1921-1922", p. 124, in Hahl, *ibid.*, p. 36.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

91. H. Schnee. "German Colonization Past and Future: the Truth about the German Colonies", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1926), p. 158.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

93. "Report of the League of Nations, 1921-1922", p. 123, in Hahl, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

venture, and the requirements of economics always dominated its development. Yet German possessions were to fulfil the same purpose in the sphere of world politics as did those of Great Britain. The protectorate was seen as:

. . . a point of support of German world-policy in the far south-east of the earth, and a part of the chain which by the end of next century should encompass the globe in the black-white-red colours.⁹⁴

The Germans took seriously their responsibility to improve the status of the native peoples, in accordance with their task as a civilising agency.

For years to come the conditions described in the sphere of native politics must decide our methods; in the Old Protectorate, pacifications, and in the island sphere, social reconstruction . . . and general far-reaching sanitary care and training, to ensure the attainment of the final objective — a well-regulated cultural and economic elevation.⁹⁵

94. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

95. "Annual Report 1912-1913", "Administration".

APPENDIX A

Administrators under the sovereignty of the New Guinea Company.

- (1) June 1886-March 1888: Vice-Admiral Baron Georg von Schleinitz had supreme authority in administrative, judicial and economic affairs. Seat in Finsch-Hafen.
 - (2) March 1888-November 1889: (Oberpostrat) Kratke held the same office, but from
 - (3) 1st November 1889 there was a separation of NGK affairs and purely administrative ones, when the Imperial Government temporarily resumed authority, appointing Rose, the former Consul-General in Apia, to the post of Commissioner. NGK affairs were controlled by a Herr Arnold with the title "Generaldirektor". After Arnold's death in February 1890, Rose assumed his office until July 1890, when Eduard Wissman took over. When he also died, Rose again assumed his office. The seat was moved to Stephansort.
 - (4) September 1892-February 1895: authority returned to the NGK. (Gerichtsassessor) G. Schmiele Administrator with seat in Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen.
 - (5) October 1896-August 1897: Curt von Hagen, with seat in Stephansort. Died in office.
 - (6) September 1897-April 1899: Skopnik, a solicitor.
- (Source: H. Blum, "Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel. Eine wirtschaftliche Studie", (Berlin: Schoenfeldt, 1900), pp. 43-44.

APPENDIX B

Governors appointed by the Imperial Government.

- (1) Rudolf von Bennigsen (1859-1911), in office April 1899 to November 1902. Son of the National Liberal Party leader of the same name. In 1888 he was *Landrat* in Peine. From 1894 to 1899 he served in Daressalaam in East Africa, 1894-6 as *Kommissarischer Intendant*, 1896-8 as *Abteilungschef der Finanzverwaltung*.
- (2) Dr. Albert Hahl (1868-1945). 1895 appointed *Assessor* in Colonial Department

- of the Foreign Office. 1897-98 Judge in Bismarck Archipelago. 1899-1902 Deputy-Governor. November 1902-August 1914 Governor. 1916-18 *Vortragender Rat* in Civil Administration of the Colonial Office; in same period Advisor to Turkish Ministry of Trade and Agriculture.
- (3) Dr. E. Haber. Acting-Governor August and September 1914. 1903-07 *Erste Referent* in Central Administration in Daressalaam.
- (Source: "Der grosse Brockhaus", 1929/"Deutsches Zeitgenossen-Lexikon", 1905/"Handbuch für das Deutsche Reich", 1888-1918. Courtesy of Dr. Buttner, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.)

APPENDIX C

Economic Tables

- (1) Trade comparisons with British and Dutch New Guinea. Figures in Marks.

YEAR	GERMAN NG	BRITISH NG	DUTCH NG
1889-90	1,119,311	727,800	?
1894-95	2,163,240	891,640	766,457
1897-98	1,965,400	1,936,420	931,352 (1896-97)

(Source: H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 159.)

- (2) Financial table. Figures in £-sterling.

YEAR	REVENUE	EXPENDITURE	GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY
1904	10,550	74,100	53,800
1906	23,600	106,550	83,350
1908	53,400	130,050	76,200
1910	77,750	119,850	46,150
1912	77,800	138,200	60,400
1914	104,800	191,700	85,850

(Source: "Statistics relating to commerce, etc. in connexion with the late German New Guinea Possessions. Compiled from German official publications", (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1916, p. 28).)

- (3) Import-Export Table, in Marks to the nearest 1000.

YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
1900	1,666,000	1,009,000
1903	2,914,000	1,206,000
1906	3,307,000	1,562,000
1909	2,666,000	2,459,000
1912	5,872,000	5,041,000
1913	8,500,000	8,010,000

(Source: A. Hahl, "Deutsch-Neuguinea", (Berlin: Reimer, 1942) pp. 88-9.)

- (4) Copra Exports.

	1906	1910	1913
TONS	8,292	14,267	14,266
£	112,845	215,627	30,864

(Source: "Statistics", *op. cit.*, p. 29.)

- (5) Trade with Australia.

The greatest imports into the Protectorate were always steam coal, grain, metal and metal goods, petroleum and mineral oils, meat and stock, textiles, cement and building timber. Australia was the cheapest source of coal, petroleum, meat, livestock and sugar. In the financial year 1900-1901, imports from Australia were worth M.811,351 and exports to Australia were worth M.526,203, an increase and decrease respectively. The connection was well enough established for Australian firms to give credit to German planters. The "Annual Report" for 1907-1908 noted with regret the increase in this relationship. Though German attempts to exclude Australian business had some results, overall, in 1912-1913 imports from Australia increased by M.1million to M.3,380,000. This made Australia third on the list of supplying countries, after Germany and the U.S.A.

(Sources: "Annual Report on the Development of the German Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas", (tr. H. A. Thomson), 1900-1901/1907-1908/1912-1913, and C. D. Rowley, "The Australians in German New Guinea", (Melbourne: University Press, 1958).)