

"The Wandering Life Among Unreliable Islanders": The German South Sea Expedition in Micronesia.

The German South Sea Expedition of 1903-1910 was undertaken by the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung in Micronesia in 1909 and 1910. The aim of this paper is to discuss the expedition itself: how it came about, who went on it, where they went and some of the things that happened to them.

Secondly, the results of the expedition, published under the title ERGEBNISSE DER SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION 1903-1910, will be discussed and comments made on the contents and on the picture of the Caroline and Marshall Islands that emerges from the official diary of the expedition kept by Franz Hellwig.

Thirdly, the colonial conditions surrounding the expedition will be considered in light of Hans Fischer's remarks on the subject in his book DIE HAMBURGER SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION. UEBER ETHNOGRAPHIE UND KOLONIALISMUS (Frankfurt am Main 1931). The results tell us a good deal about social conditions prevailing at the time of the expedition simply because of the great detail in which life in the islands was described by Hellwig in the official diary. This will be brought out in the course of the paper.

Lastly, the weaknesses and the strengths of the results and their legacy for historians and Micronesians will be discussed.

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THE EXPEDITION.

The origin of the South Sea Expedition lies in the Melanesian travels of Georg Thilenius, a German scientist who worked as a collector for the Berlin Museum for Ethnology in German Melanesia from May 1898 to 1899 (1). Nearly ten years later, after three years of preliminary planning that began in 1904, Thilenius persuaded the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung to fund the expedition for the sake of Hamburg and the REICH. His proposal was accepted on 20 December 1907 with the understanding that it would last two years, one year devoted to German Melanesia and one year to the Caroline and Marshall Islands (2). Thilenius's initial plan had called for a four-year expedition to cover German Melanesia and the Carolines, but not the Marshalls (3).

The central aim of the expedition was not to investigate primitive peoples living in pristine simplicity but "to observe and record the final phases of an old, indigenous culture as long as it still had vitality and still retained as many remnants as possible of the old times, which were little changed" (4). Since the expedition was funded by Hamburg traders, planters and shippers keenly interested in the Pacific colonies and since Thilenius realized the importance of the cooperation of the Governor of New Guinea, the leading official in the expedition region, Thilenius's plan for the expedition contains remarks on the benefits of this ethnographic field work for colonial merchants and colonial administrators (5). But, in light of the time required to work up the field notes for publication -- the first volume of results was not available until 1913 or three years after the expedition had ended -- these practical applications have the air of having been

included to ensure the cooperation and participation of non-scientists, rather than as a firm promise of useful advantage to be obtained from the expedition itself.

Thilenius himself could not lead the expedition, though he wanted to do so, because of the debilitating effects of a tropical disease, possibly malaria, which he had contracted in Melanesia in the 1890s (6). As a result, other leaders were chosen. For the first year in Melanesia, it was Friedrich Fuelleborn, a scientist who had served as a doctor with German SCHUTZTRUPPE in German East Africa; for the second year in Micronesia, Dr Augustin Kraemer, a doctor in the navy, was selected. Thilenius had met Kraemer while visiting Hawaii and Samoa in 1897 (7). At that time, Kraemer was in the first year of a two-year leave of absence studying Samoan "zoology and botany" and "the islanders' knowledge of science". The information Kraemer obtained on this 1897-1898 visit supplemented his research into Samoan language and culture done in 1893-1894 while he was serving a two-year tour of duty aboard SMS BUSSARD. All of this material was eventually included in his two-volume work DIE SAMOA-INSELN, which came out in 1902 (8).

A ship belonging to the Hamburg-American Line, the steamer PEIHO, was hired as the expedition vessel. She was 57m long, 8.6m wide and weighed 710 tons. Her three-cylinder engine provided 500 horsepower. She was overhauled in Hong Kong for the two-year cruise. A generator was installed, and all rooms were wired for electricity; distillation apparatus was rigged to furnish fresh water for the boiler and for consumption. Ice machines preserved the meat and cooled the beer. A

darkroom and an extensive reference library were also set up in the ship to facilitate quick printing of photographs and to aid scholarly research (9). Captain Richard Vahsel, who commanded the PEIHO for both years, and his crew were paid by the Hamburg-American Line (10).

The PEIHO was overhauled from 17 June to 3 July 1908 and began the first year of her voyage when she arrived at Rabaul on 29 July. The first year ended when she returned to Hong Kong on 30 June 1909 after having sailed off the coast of New Guinea, steamed up the Sepik and circumnavigated New Britain (11).

When she headed for the Carolines and Marshalls in July 1909, a new scientific staff was on board. Kraemer was leader of the expedition, as well as its doctor and the only ethnographer. His wife Elisabeth was the expedition artist, replacing Hans Vogel who had had the job during the first year. Paul Hambruch was staff anthropologist and one of three ethnologists; he continually ran into trouble as he tried to take body measurements with calipers everywhere he went. Ernst Sarfert and Wilhelm Mueller were the other two ethnologists; Mueller did not travel on the PEIHO but spent the entire time on Yap. Franz Hellwig served as official diarist and collector for both years (12).

The team arrived in Yap on 31 July, then doubled back southwest to Belau several days later on 1 August to begin research in earnest. From then on, they gradually worked their way eastwards through the Carolines and then the Marshalls, where they made a complete northeast-southwest circuit before making their way westwards on the return voyage along the same route. The expedition came to an end at 4.10 p.m. on 15 April 1910

when the ship left Belau for the last time. They had visited forty-five Micronesian island groups, and Sarfert, Hambruch and the Kraemers stayed on beyond the time of the PEIHO's visit to carry out stationary research on Kosrae, Pohnpei and Nauru, and Belau (13). A reception to honor the teams and to celebrate completion of the two-year expedition was held in Hamburg on 24 March 1911, nearly a year after the PEIHO had returned to Hong Kong and after nearly 606,000 Mark had been spent (roughly \$US 151,000 at that time) (14).

RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

The results, or ERGEBNISSE, that came out of the Micronesian year of the expedition stood in a tradition of German scholarship that went back at least to 1816. In fact, the period 1816-1915 might well be called 'the German century in Micronesian scholarship' since the work done by scholars of other nations -- France, Russia, the United States and Spain -- in the Carolines and Marshalls during or before this time cannot come close to matching the breadth or the quality of the research done by German scholars during the same period. The scholars who worked in the Carolines and Marshalls during this period fall into one of three groups: members of expeditions sponsored by other countries, namely Russia and France; individual researchers working on their own or for private museums; and people serving as colonial officials during the German colonial period from 1835 to 1914 in the Marshalls and from 1899 to 1914 in the Carolines (and northern Marianas) or colonial missionaries or researchers brought out by the colonial government (15).

The class of Germans working on the expeditions of foreign countries includes three people: Adelbert von Chamisso, Karl Mertens, and Friedrich, Freiherr von Kittlitz. Chamisso came out to the Marshalls and Marianas with Otto von Kotzebue on the RURIK in 1816 and 1817. He published his contributions to this Russian expedition under the title "Bemerkungen und Ansichten" in Kotzebue's published account of this voyage. Later on, Chamisso published his own independent account entitled "Reise um die Welt"; by the time of its publication, he had become a noted poet and novelist. Karl Mertens and von Kittlitz both accompanied Fedor Lutke on the SENYAVIN, when she called at various atolls and islands in the eastern and central islands in 1827 and 1828. Mertens was a botanist, zoologist and medical researcher, while von Kittlitz was an ornithologist and an illustrator of his own writings when they were later published in Germany.

The second class of scholars includes five private individuals: Karl Semper, Johann Kubary, Carl Meinicke, Otto Finsch and Johann Schmeltz. Semper was a zoologist who visited Belau (or Palau) in 1862 and 1863 aboard a trepang trader's boat for the sake of his health. He collected zoological specimens, in particular snails and butterflies, and he studied Belau's reefs to see if they supported Darwin's theory of reef formation. Semper concluded that those reefs were not formed according to the processes outlined by Darwin, but he accepted Darwin's theory in any case. Kubary came out to the Carolines in 1870 and remained in the Carolines for most of the next twenty-six years, until his death on Pohnpei in 1896. At the time of his arrival in 1870, he was a collector for the Godeffroy Museum, which had been established by Johann Cesar Godeffroy in the early 1860s. Kubary was basically a carpenter with a

flair for languages; among his most detailed publications are descriptions and sketches of the frameworks of buildings of various types and of canoe parts. Meinicke was an academic geographer who apparently never visited the Pacific. Nevertheless, he published a two-volume monograph on the geography of Pacific islands based on all the published sources on the subject that he could collect in Europe over a half century. DIE INSELN DES STILLEN OCEANS was published in 1875 and 1876. Finsch was an ornithologist working on a Humboldt fellowship when he did his research in the Marshalls and eastern Carolines in 1880. His field work was written up in ethnographic monographs on the Marshalls, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and Truk for the Hofmuseum in Vienna in the early 1890s. Lastly, Schmeltz was curator of the Godeffroy Museum until its dissolution in the middle 1880s due to the collapse of the firm of Godeffroy & Sohn at that time occasioned by bad investments in mining. Finsch referred to Schmeltz as the only man able to disentangle Kubary's confusing spellings of Belauan spear and spear-thrower names. Schmeltz himself never visited the islands, but his importance lies in his knowledge of the artefacts sent back from there by Godeffroy collectors, including Kubary and his predecessor Alfred Tetens, and in his edition of the catalog of Godeffroy Museum holdings published under the title of DIE ETHNOGRAPHISCHE ANTHROPOLOGISCHE ABTHEILUNG DES MUSEUM GODEFFROY in 1883; this catalog not only covers artefacts but also photographs and plaster casts of skulls collected on a number of Pacific Islands. Some of these casts were for sale.

Lastly, the third group of researchers includes those working in the

Carolines and Marshalls during the colonial period. Officials working in the western Carolines who made important contributions here are Arno Senfft, District Officer on Yap from 1899 until his death in 1909; his successor Georg Fritz, who also served as District Officer in the northern Marianas from 1899 until 1906; and Dr L. Born, the regional doctor stationed on Yap from 1899 until 1907. Missionaries who did important ethnographic work include Bishop Salvator Walleser, who is noted for his list of Belauan words, which forms the basis of the University of Hawaii Belauan-English word list published in the 1970s, as well as Fathers Paulinus, Venantius, Salesius and a number of other priests and brothers and nuns. Finally, there were a great many researchers, including Kraemer himself who came out in 1906 and 1907 while taking part in a German Imperial Navy expedition that also touched at New Ireland, then called Neu Mecklenburg. The most notable of these researchers was undoubtedly Dr Robert Koch. He was a medical researcher who visited the Carolines and Marshalls in 1900 to inspect sanitary conditions there. Five years later, in 1905, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his work on tuberculosis.

The results published by the 1909 and 1910 researchers made extensive use of this scholarly tradition. German Micronesia received most coverage when the results were published in 1913. This had been foreseen from the start. Thilenius's intended publication scheme comprised six categories. The first category was an introductory volume on the plan of the expedition by Thilenius himself, the official diary of both years by Hellwig and two additional sections covering meteorological and nautical matters and the analysis of rock samples collected during the expedition (16). This volume, entitled

ALLGEMEINES, finally appeared in 1927, as the tenth volume in the series.

The second category included monographs on various island groups in German Melanesia. Four monographs were initially planned: one on both the Admiralty and St Matthias Islands, one on New Britain or Neu Pommern as it was then known, one on the Sepik or Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss, and one on coastal New Guinea. Thilenius himself was responsible for the Admiralty and St Matthias groups, and two others were to write the other three (17). Four were published, but coastal New Guinea was omitted entirely, while the Admiralty Islands and Matthias Islands each received their own monograph, neither of which Thilenius wrote himself. The last of these four to be published was the one on New Britain; it came out in 1954, the thirtieth and final volume in the series appearing sixteen years after the twenty-ninth volume.

Thilenius had counted on a minimum of eighteen volumes on German Micronesia, excluding the Mariana Islands which were not visited but including Nauru, the Carolines, the Marshalls and two Polynesian outliers in Melanesia, Nukumanu and Ontong Java (18). From 1914 until 1938, when the last Micronesian volume appeared, twenty-five volumes were published: twenty on the Carolines, two on Nauru, two on Polynesian outliers in Melanesia [Nukunamu and Luangiua] and one on the Marshalls.

Micronesia formed the third major category of results. The final three categories were to have been one-volume monographs on comparative linguistics, anthropology and ethnology. Although Kraemer was

looking forward to seeing these in print in 1937, not one of them was ever published (19). The outbreak of World War I, the consequent interruption of the careers of the staff members and the preparation of the other monographs for publication undoubtedly made the writing of these last three volumes impossible. Three people were later hired to work through the field notes and diaries of the team members to prepare some of the monographs. They were Hans Damm, Anneliese Eilers and Hans Nevermann. But none of them ever became sufficiently familiar with the material to attempt comparisons on the scale envisaged by Thilenius, who wanted to highlight the cultural differences between Melanesia and Micronesia on the one hand and to determine the Melanesian influence in Micronesia on the other.

In the end, what was produced were monographs on specific island groups, which were former German colonies by the time the monographs were published. In 1911, the year in which Thilenius was awarded the Crown of the Red Eagle Fourth Class -- the same medal was awarded to Georg Fritz after five years of service as District Officer on Saipan -- for service to colonial government, Thilenius commented that while "the numerous charts of islands, rivers and new harbors done by the ship's officers" had already been turned over to the Imperial Naval Office, much less could be expected from the Micronesian results. "What was collected on Micronesian customs and practices, legends and historical information will only be of interest to a narrow circle of academics, and the many small islands of the Caroline and Marshall groups offer little that could arouse wider interest" (20).

The twenty volumes on the Carolines can be further broken down: five

volumes on Belau alone; three on Pohnpei and one on islands around Pohnpei; two each on Yap, Kosrae, the western Carolines and the central Carolines; one on Truk and two on islands around Truk. In the first of the five Belau volumes, which was the third volume to be published overall, is a general history of Micronesia -- the first, and best in some respects, such as the citation of early Spanish sources in the original language and the discussion of early sightings of islands with a view to determining the identities of the islands in question -- written by Kraemer. It was constantly referred to throughout the series of volumes on Micronesia which followed it. Kraemer had paid a visit to Seville, Spain, in the fall of 1913, so as to be able to use Spanish sources pertaining to the 17th and 18th centuries, and he included a brief bibliography of Spanish documents in that first volume on Belau (21).

A similar sense of thoroughness characterizes most of the volumes on the Carolines. Thilenius had advised researchers to make good critical use of "the rounded picture yielded by a presentation based on a large number of sources from different times" to offset possible biases found in the works of individual authors (22). His advice was followed here. Constant references were made to the main sources -- works of 19th century explorers and traders, as well as to previous volumes in the ERGEBNISSE series itself -- which were then compared with the field notes of the team members.

The researchers reported on the total society, or as much of it as was accessible during their visits and from the available literature. In

all cases, material culture was described in great detail. For the six months of the Micronesian expedition up to late February 1910, Hellwig and the others had collected 6000 artefacts, shot 1500 photographic plates, drawn 50 aquacolors and 300 sketches, and made 100 phonograph recordings (23). Most of this is now in the attic of the Hamburg Museum for Ethnology, lying unused and unseen in boxes; several hundred items were sold along the way and in Hong Kong in April 1910 to defray expedition expenses (24).

To show the relative success of the collecting done in Micronesia, it could be compared with the team's collecting in Melanesia in the previous year and also that done by a researcher who visited the region in the 1880s, Otto Finsch. By comparison, many more artefacts were acquired in Melanesia. One Dr. Dorsey from Chicago was able to purchase about 10,000 artefacts from the expedition while they were in Melanesia (25). Finsch sent back 1665 artefacts to Berlin from his 1879-1882 tour through the Marshalls, eastern Carolines and Melanesia and another 2128 artefacts from his 1884-1885 trip, when he was instrumental in acquiring New Guinea for Germany (26).

All twenty volumes on the Carolines also contain an impressive amount of linguistic information, ranging from lists of words for flora and fauna to extensive collections of vernacular songs and legends. Eaurepik, an atoll in the western Carolines, was visited for only three days, yet hundreds of words were assembled. For Yap, Mueller, who was a Sanskrit scholar and linguist by training, transcribed over 400 pages of songs and legends in Yapese; these form volume two of his monograph on Yap.

It is no surprise that linguistic results should rate so highly in these publications. Germans had led the field in philology for some time. In the 1770s, one journal reported that of all European peoples the Germans were the most eager to study foreign languages and to read translations of foreign works (27). Hamburg in particular, the city that sponsored the expedition, had an association with foreign-language study going back at least to 1510, the year of the founding of a GYMNASIUM where 'Oriental' (Near Eastern) languages were part of the curriculum (28).

Besides data on linguistics and material culture, there is much about religion, society, folk lore, traditional learning, and local history for the volcanic islands of Belau, Yap, Truk, Pohnpei and Kosrae. But generalizations about the lives of islanders are often based on little evidence and given an ahistorical cast, especially in the hands of the three editors, not one of whom went on the expedition themselves. This practice differed sharply from Thilenius's own views. He himself was well aware of the transitory nature of social conditions and by 1920 was writing, "Even today it is certain that the expedition was able to gather a variety of sources that will not be available at all, or not to the same extent, in the near future: storms have destroyed valuable house carvings, depopulation and foreign influences have led to the gradual abandoning of earlier materials, finally, death has summoned more than one elder since the expedition returned; what had existed cannot be resurrected and culture change advances" (29).

What picture of the Carolines and Marshalls emerges from Hellwig's official diary of the expedition? The researchers were there for 259

days or almost nine months, going virtually everywhere. As a result, the diary offers a good overview of the social life prevailing among these island peoples.

German officials seem not to have bothered too much about the expedition in general. District Officer Georg Fritz, who was in charge of the District Office on Yap after the death of his predecessor Arno Senfft earlier in 1909 and who was an excellent amateur ethnographer himself, having written many articles on Micronesian culture and compiled a Carolinian-German word list, was never on Yap when the PEIHO called. The research staff did mingle with officials at least once, however. They attended a birthday celebration for Wilhelm II on Pohnpei on 27 January 1910. After a mass in the Catholic church the staff and the crew of the PEIHO joined all government officials, Jaluit Company employees, several missionaries both Catholic and Protestant, several Pohnpeian chiefs and their followers, and an English-speaking Japanese trading captain in a tent set up for the occasion. Gustav Boeder, the District Officer on Pohnpei whose wife bore him a child there and who was killed in a Sokehs revolt nine months later, delivered a speech and Micronesian dancers entertained the audience; the Pingelapese dancers were rated best. Despite careful observation, about one hundred bottles of beer were stolen by islanders during the evening celebrations (30).

The diary also reveals a concern with German-language teaching in the protectorate. Only ten days before going to Pohnpei for Wilhelm's birthday party, the researchers stopped at Losap atoll south of the route between Truk and Pohnpei. There, they met a Protestant missionary who divided his time between the islands of Losap and Pis in the atoll,

spending every other month on each one. He "had to teach in German" even though he "possessed no knowledge of the language" despite having five primers to learn from (31). Each of the District Officers in Micronesia was given so much money each year to teach the German language in island schools. This concern with the German language in Micronesia is only a small indication of the strong forces promoting the same ends in Germany. Kraemer himself felt strongly about the rightness of this cause. In the foreword to his book HAWAII, OSTMIKRONESIEN UND SAMOA (Stuttgart 1906), he urged Germans living in non-German speaking areas abroad to retain their language proficiency. Kraemer recommended the example of Baron von Mueller, a German scientist who had lived in Melbourne for fifty years but who still "spoke pure German free of foreign flavoring" (32). In the course of the expedition, Kraemer upbraided the administration for their failure in this and other respects. Late in December 1909, Kraemer had treated some people from Nomwin Atoll north of Truk for sores and illnesses, but he had received no thanks or hospitality in return. He felt he ought to have been shown more kindness. He blamed the government, not only for failing to improve the islanders' social and economic development, but also for encouraging them to keep to their old beliefs (33). This seems an odd view coming from an ethnographer, but it reveals the man in the scientist.

Hellwig's diary is full of references to typhoons and droughts that were afflicting the islands when they visited them or had done so in the recent past. Typhoons were mentioned as having damaged the twelve island groups of Merir, Pulo Anna, Eaurepik, Woleai, Ifaluk, Elato,

Olol, the Mortlocks, Mokil, Pingelap, Mili and Lae (34). Drought was prevailing in the northern Marshalls (35).

These frequent storms shaped official policy to the extent that peoples living in crowded conditions on atolls were often asked to move to volcanic islands, most often to Belau or to Saipan in the Marianas, for their own welfare. When the team visited Tobi southwest of Belau in late August 1909 to do research, they were also on a mission for the Yap District Office to persuade the Tobians to move up to Belau before another typhoon struck and for better food and medical care. People from nearby Merir Island were already living on Belau at that time after a typhoon had wrecked their island. The Tobians heard the request, but all refused, saying "they wanted to die where they were born" (36).

Another form of activity that affected the islanders to a great extent was phosphate mining, which began in Belau in 1909 while the expedition was still in Melanesia. The search for workers for the mine was manifest at several points during the expedition by the absence of young and middle-aged men. Suliveng, a much-travelled widow who had worked for a European family in Samoa when young and had also visited Sydney with the family, told Hellwig that one of the main causes of depopulation on Ulithi was the failure of the men to return after their mining contracts were up (37). The phosphate recruiting ship, the NATUNA, had once beaten the expedition to the artefacts they wanted to purchase on Fais in the western Carolines. The NATUNA had left Fais with the coveted objects only hours before the PEIHO had anchored there, and her smoke could still be seen over the horizon. Whatever good

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There was a reliable shipping service through the islands because of the phosphate company ships and the ships of the Jaluit Company. The GERMANIA, a Jaluit Company ship, made regular east-west connections with stops at Yap, Woleai, Lamotrek, Truk, Pohnpei and Kosrae in the Carolines, several other stops in the Marshalls and Saipan in the Marianas. This service easily surpassed the one introduced by the American civil administration of the islands after World War II and surpasses the ones presently available. The researchers came upon the GERMANIA at several points in their voyage through Micronesia (39).

The results of the expedition, then, provide us with a great deal of linguistic data, much information on material cultures of the pre-World War I era and somewhat less information on non-material culture but still a significant amount. This is contained in the monographs published from 1914 to 1938. The official diary of the expedition reveals a Micronesian population beset by diseases and by typhoons and droughts. Mining had begun to call on the labor resources of the island groups. Officials were busy inspecting the various groups without much interference to traditional ways of life and without much time for the South Sea Expedition, either. Despite the relative remoteness of the islands, they still exhibited that concern for German language study, as one aspect of DEUTSCHTUM, which was of great concern in Germany. The diary does not mention many German settlers although German emigration to colonies was also of great concern at home. Micronesia attracted few of them.

COLONIALISM.

Hans Fischer, in his DIE HAMBURGER SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION, looks at the South Sea Expedition itself in five chapters, at colonialism with reference to the expedition in three other chapters and at some of the ethnographic background in a single chapter. Fischer points out that Thilenius's concern with culture change, as Thilenius mentioned in an earlier quotation, as well as with culture contact and with discrete features of a culture, were part and parcel of German diffusionism, an offshoot of evolution studies in Germany (40). Thilenius himself was the first professor of ethnology at any university, assuming the post of professor of ethnology and anthropology at Breslau in 1900 (41). Academic positions in ethnology were themselves a culmination of a process lasting over half a century that had begun with the formation of scientific societies [in London 1838 and Berlin 1869], followed by the creation of princely rare collections, or RARITÄTENKABINETTE, and private collections, such as the Godeffroy Museum which was already in existence by 1865 (42).

Thilenius did not want simply to collect objects, although a great many were collected, especially in Melanesia; he preferred to study people at home, their 'race' -- and he placed emphasis on the biological approach to ethnology -- and all aspects of indigenous societies (43).

Fischer asks to what extent the research done by the expedition was compromised by the need of having to adjust research aims to attract financial support and by the colonial conditions under which the expedition was mounted in the first place. It is apparent that funding limits imposed by the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung cut the

length of the research time in half, as was pointed out earlier. Beyond that, the Stiftung does not seem to have required any commitment from the research team, even though Hamburg was a city with strong interests in colonial shipping, in Melanesian and Micronesian copra plantations, and in the newly opened phosphate mines. Adolf Woermann, a shipping magnate, was a member of the Stiftung board (44).

Perhaps more important in the course of the expedition was the way in which the members conducted themselves with regard to the Pacific peoples. This, in turn, involves the colonial mentality and its influences on the conduct and results of the expedition.

These effects were most notable in Melanesia during the first year of the expedition. Albert Hahl, the Governor of New Guinea, was on good terms with Thilenius, and Hahl's advice was incorporated by Thilenius into the plan of the expedition. At the end of the 19th, and the start of the 20th, century belief in the depopulation of Pacific Islands and the likelihood of the imminent extinction of islanders was a commonplace (45). Under the Germans, New Guineans were widely regarded as prospective laborers for German plantations, especially those in Samoa. As early as 1904, Thilenius wrote that Pacific peoples were essentially workers for whites. Hahl had written Thilenius on 6 December 1904 to say that the expedition would do more for the colonies by helping to increase the population there than if it "had discovered limitless goldfields" since "a tropical land can only develop as a colony when a supply of cheap, capable people of dark descent are always at the ready to serve the master, the European" (46). Thilenius wrote a proposal in

the same year in which he said the expedition should help to secure European possessions by studying tropical peoples and thwarting their extinction by applying the results of ethnographic fieldwork (47).

If this concern with labor was uppermost for Melanesian colonies, it does not seem to have had much impact in Micronesia before mining began since there were, comparatively speaking, few plantations and little land to develop for plantations. The concern for European aims over and above a concern for Pacific societies being studied undoubtedly vitiates the spirit of ethnology. Another matter that promotes similar consequences is the conversion of sections of societies into NATUR SCHUTZPARKE, or nature reserves, where the peoples would live, but would, at the same time, be on display for those who wanted to visit them and to admire their quaint ways of life. Kraemer had proposed turning part of Belau, a section of northern of Babeldaob Island where there were magnificent stone paths, into one just before World War I (48). In the course of the expedition, Sarfert recommended doing the same to Lele Island in Kosrae, where there were huge megalithic house remains (49).

The actual conduct of the members often left much to be desired and clearly showed that the men elevated their own research aims above common humanity (50). In Melanesia, a common method of acquiring artefacts was nicknamed "anonymous purchase" by Hans Vogel, the painter on the first year of the expedition. Whenever the members entered a village that was deserted because its residents had run away from the research team, they took whatever they wanted, leaving behind what they considered a fair substitute; in one case, twenty sticks of tobacco were

left for three pieces of dancing gear (51). Mueller, who took part in both years, deplored these tactics because no data about the items, which included hundreds of masks and dozens of carvings from villages around Finschhafen, could be obtained in this way (52).

Micronesians, on the other hand, had had more involvement with whites and did not run off, but their feelings were occasionally disregarded and their welfare ignored. When a chief priest on Tobi threatened to cause trouble in August 1909, Paul Hambruch brought two carbines ashore to impress the Tobian chiefs that such disturbances would not be tolerated while they were there (53). On Woleai in November 1909, Hellwig pushed an elderly woman out of his way because she was blocking the entrance to her own hut, where she was weaving (Later, Hellwig gave her some presents to atone for his rudeness.) (54). At the very start of the Micronesian tour, Hambruch was working with some Ulithians who had been castaway on Belau while sailing to Yap from Ulithi. He was, however, unable to get any information on voyaging magic. Perhaps they did not cooperate with Hambruch since their sailing tackle had been forcibly taken away to prevent their departure for home. On 25 August 1909, while steaming to Tobi, the PEIHO rescued a second canoe, which had left Ulithi with the one that was already in Belau. The captain of this second canoe, a man named Poll, provided this information on voyaging magic out of gratitude for having been rescued after nearly a month at sea (55). Finally, Kraemer and Sarfert often stayed ashore when ill, sometimes infecting the islanders (56).

Such ill-treatment was given the research members themselves by colonial

officials on several occasions. During the first year, Mueller wrote in his diary, on 27 November 1908, that Hahl was hampering their research. Mueller accused Hahl of using the expedition for his own ends, of charging them unnecessary duties, of outfitting the PEIHO to serve as a sort of gunboat for the government, and of keeping them out of undeveloped areas (57).

In Micronesia, the expedition plans suffered at the start because of some opposition put up by Arno Senfft, the Yap District Officer, who had alienated Kraemer during Kraemer's 1907 or 1909 visit to Yap; but Senfft died only months before the expedition came to Micronesia, so had no effect on their actual work. No one greeted the PEIHO when she called at Jaluit on 25 February 1910, which led Kraemer, who had "a strongly developed sense of himself", to express surprise that neither the colonial administration nor the Hamburg office of the Jaluit Company had informed the people there of their coming (58). District Officer Fritz, Senfft's successor, charged customs duties to the expedition's account, "to their sorrow," for the foodstuffs and drinks they imported into the protectorate (59).

The worst experience they had was at Truk, which had a government station run by Supervisor Max Scharlauck. Sixteen chests of artefacts were left at Truk in the middle of January 1910 to be sent back to Germany aboard the GERMANIA when she next called. When the team returned over two months later on 29 March, they were astonished to find the chests still there. Scharlauck had kept the chests ashore because the proper customs forms had not been filled out. After the expedition returned to Truk, Scharlauck even posted Melanesian policemen by the

chests so they could not be brought back aboard the PEIHO. Hellwig remarked, "Despite this loss of time -- and time was money as far as we were concerned -- we were pleased with this official's commitment to duty, even if he richly deserved to be called St Bureaucrates". It is no surprise to find that the many other officials who had helped without quibbling were preferred to Scharlauck (60). One of these officials was August Winkler, who was Station Supervisor in Belau (1905-1914). He loaned his official canoe to members so they could travel inside the lagoon in Belau, helped in a variety of other ways, and was regarded as most pleasant and helpful right up to the end of the expedition (61).

This overview of the relation between the expedition and colonial concerns brings out the practical nature of colonial influences on the research. They received some cooperation from Hahl, but Hahl seemed to draw them and their ship into the orbit of colonial government during their Melanesian tour. Customs duties were required of them in both Micronesia and Melanesia. Officials in Micronesia were generally uninterested in their work, which is somewhat surprising since some of them, especially Fritz, had done a great deal of ethnographic work themselves. Perhaps they felt these were intruders into their own territory, a form of professional jealousy rather than official indifference.

One of Fischer's chapters is entitled "Colonialism: the Exercise of Power", and Fischer lists this as one sure sign of the colonial mentality. Force was to be used against the Pacific peoples if it suited the purpose of either officials or researchers. Apart from the

incident of the carbines on Tobi, little force was used in Micronesia. No soldiers accompanied the PEIHO there as they had in Melanesia. Some team members were guilty of personal abuses related to their work, but these do not fit into any general scheme based on force. The association of power and colonialism does not, therefore, hold up for Micronesia during this period of its history under the Germans.

The most that can be said here is that the research was conducted in Micronesia and Melanesia in the first place because they were colonies. Melanesia was being exploited for its labor and Micronesia for its copra and phosphate [in Angaur and Nauru], and only just beginning to be exploited for labor.

THE LEGACY OF THE EXPEDITION.

The published results of the expedition are a storehouse of information on early twentieth-century Micronesian societies. There are four important faults but these are outweighed by ten strengths.

The four faults are:

1. generalizing on the basis of too few observations. This has been mentioned previously; an example is the psychological profiles for several atolls in the western Carolines in volume two of ZENTRAALKAROLINEN, which are based on only a week's acquaintance.

2. failing to consider influences between the various island groups in a thorough-going way. Kubary was able to recognize Pohnpeian

architectural influences on Yap, for example; none of the team members or the editors ever acquired this degree of expertise.

3. presenting the results in a rigid categorization and often putting historical information in non-historical sections.

4. failing to systematize references to people in the various volumes. In ZENTRAKAROLINEN, Vol 1, for example, a Yapese chief with a degree of authority on Woleai is mistakenly identified as Woleaian.

These faults are more than compensated for by ten strengths:

1. detailed censuses for some atolls, such as Lamotrek, Puluwat, Ifaluk, Woleai and Satawal.

2. detailed chiefly genealogies, such as those for Belau and Pohnpei.

3. detailed geographical information, which often surpasses that found in A GUIDE TO PLACE NAMES OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, the standard reference work on the subject.

4. detailed accounts of material culture and artefacts; perhaps the bulk of each volume is given to this aspect.

5. numerous legends collected.

6. abundant linguistic information on each group.

7. generally reliable historical information.

8. critical use of earlier sources, most of them in the German scholarly tradition discussed earlier.

9. the official diary by Hellwig that provides a detailed look at social conditions prevailing from July 1909 to April 1910.

10. the picture of life in the Carolines and Marshalls that emerges from reading the various volumes; three of these general features are a decline in traditional voyaging and interatoll trading, the frequency of natural disasters, droughts and typhoons, during the German period, and the effects of phosphate mining done at Angaur on the various groups.

While admitting that the expedition was conducted among colonized peoples, it still remains true that the results garnered there are indispensable for historians of this period, for demographers and for the colonized themselves.

With reference to Micronesia, the photographs, the phonograph recordings, the sketches and water colors were the first multimedia collection of information on the region done on a large scale. For this reason alone, it deserves a high place in the area of Micronesian studies.

The Micronesians themselves benefit from this information. While in Belau, I translated some information concerning the passing of a title from one of Kraemer's volumes on Belau for the benefit of a court case

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FOOTNOTES. -----

The abbreviation ESE represents G Thilenius (ed), ERGEBNISSE DER
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2. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 25-26.
3. Fischer, SUEDESSEE-EXPEDITION, 34.
4. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 12.
5. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 6-7, 10.
6. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 33;
 Fischer, SUEDESSEE-EXPEDITION, 27.
7. Fischer, SUEDESSEE-EXPEDITION, 26.
8. A Kraemer, HAWAII, OSTMIKRONESIEN UND SAMOA (Stuttgart 1906), xi-xii.
9. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 35.
10. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 34.
11. Fischer, SUEDESSEE-EXPEDITION, 50-51.
12. Fischer, SUEDESSEE-EXPEDITION, 50.
13. F Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition" in ALLGEMEINES (HAMBURG 1927),
 353.
14. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 38.
15. For the information presented here on the German scholarly
 tradition in Micronesia, see von Liliencron and Wegele (eds),
 ALLGEMEINE DEUTSCHE BIOGRAPHIE, 56 vols (Leipzig 1875-1912).
16. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 38.
17. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 38-39.
18. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 39.
19. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 39.
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21. A Kraemer, PALAU in Thilenius (ed), ESE, II, 3, 3, 1 (Hamburg 1917), ix, 175-76.
22. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 9.
23. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 314.
24. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 3554.
25. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 117.
26. Franz Heger, "Vorwort" in O Finsch, ETHNOGRAPHISCHE ERFAHRUNGEN UND BELEGSTUECKE AUS DER SUEDSEE (Vienna 1893), 3/85 n. 1.
27. H Butterfield, MAN ON HIS PAST (Cambridge 1955), 38.
28. E Klessmann, GESCHICHTE DER STADT HAMBURG (Hamburg 1981), 199.
29. Thilenius, "Plan der Expedition", 39-40.
30. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 301.
31. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 292.
32. Kraemer, HAWAII, xiii.
33. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 281.
34. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 196-97, 245, 249-50, 254, 260, 263, 273, 293, 304-05, 306, 317, 328.
35. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 321-23.
36. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 202.
37. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 236.
38. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 240.
39. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 242, 272, 314, 328-29, 350.
40. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 12.
41. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 26.
42. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 10-11;
A Tetens, VOM SCHIFFSJUNGEN ZUM WASSERSCHOUT, ed S Steinberg (Hamburg 1889), 199, 201-02.
43. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 28.
44. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 31, 49.
45. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 9.
46. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 38, 41.
47. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 38.
48. A Kraemer, "Palau als Naturschutzpark", DEUTSCHE KOLONIALZEITUNG

Vol 31 (1914), 159-61.

49. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 314.
50. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 137.
51. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 122.
52. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 122-23.
53. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 203 (entry for 28 August 1909).
54. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 251 (entry for 6 November 1909).
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56. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 206-07, 259, 291, 293, 295, 298,
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57. Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 44.
58. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 316;
Fischer, SUEDSEE-EXPEDITION, 46.
59. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 351.
60. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 344.
61. Hellwig, "Tagebuch der Expedition", 221, 353.

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List of Micronesian Islands Visited 1909-1910.

The following list gives the names of the Micronesian island groups visited by the expedition vessel PEIHO, as well as the dates of her visits. The Caroline Islands are given first from west to east as they are situated with respect to each other and not in the order of visit. The Marshall Islands are given in the order in which they were visited.

<u>ISLAND GROUP</u>	<u>DATES OF VISIT OF 'PEIHO'</u>
<u>CAROLINE ISLANDS</u>	
Tobi.	27-29 Aug and 2-4 Sept 1909.
Helen's Reef.	29 Aug - 1 Sept 1909.
Pulo Anna.	26 Aug 1909.
Herir.	25 Aug 1909.
Sonsoroi.	26 Aug and 5 Sept 1909.
Belau.	3-24 Aug and 6-26 Sept 1909; 13-15 April 1910.
Ngulu.	27-28 Sept 1909.
Yap.	31 July - 1 Aug and 28 Sept - 1 Oct and 29-29 Oct 1909; 9-12 April 1910.
Ulithi.	2-3 Oct and 5-17 Oct 1909.
Fais.	3 and 18 Oct 1909.
Sorol.	4 and 19 Oct 1909.
Eaurepik.	31 Oct - 2 Nov 1909.
Boleai.	2-3 Nov and 5-17 Nov 1909; 7 April 1910.
Parauled.	4 and 18 Nov 1909.
Ifaluk.	5 and 17 Nov 1909.
Elato.	19-20 Nov 1909.
Lamotrek.	21-27 Nov 1909; 6 April 1910.
Satawal.	26 and 27 Nov 1909.
Puluwat.	29 Nov and 16 Dec 1909.
Pulusuk.	20-21 Dec 1909.
Pulap.	17-19 and 22 Dec 1909.

Utoi.	30 Nov and 15 Dec 1909.
Truk.	1-14 Dec 1909; 28 Dec - 14 Jan 1910; 29 Mar - 4 April 1910.
Uonwin.	23-24 Dec 1909.
Uape.	28 Mar 1910.
Uosap.	28 Mar 1910.
Uamolu.	15 Jan 1910.
Satoan.	16 Jan and 25-27 Mar 1910.
Kapingamarangi.	18-23 Jan 1910.
Bukuoro.	24-25 Jan 1910.
Ngatik.	23 Mar 1910.
Fohnpei.	26 Jan - 2 Feb and 19-22 Mar 1910.
Koril.	3 Feb 1910.
Pingelap.	4 Feb and 18 Mar 1910.
Kosrae.	5-22 Feb and 14-17 Mar 1910.

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Marorik.	24 Feb 1910.
Jaluit.	25-28 Feb 1910.
Fili.	1-2 Mar 1910.
Majuro.	3-5 Mar 1910.
Baloelab.	6-7 Mar 1910.
Kongerik.	9 Mar 1910.
Bongelab.	9-11 Mar 1910.
Lae.	12 Mar 1910.

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AUTHOR

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