"STORI BILONG WANPELA MAN NEM BILONG EM TOBOALILU," THE DEATH OF GODEFFROY'S KLEINSCHMIDT, AND THE PERCEPTION OF HISTORY

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Introduction

This article is a footnote to a question of prime theoretical interest, namely the process of transition from one societal form to another. It poses another question that is, however, of central importance in that context: How is history made and how is it retained in the memory of those who come after? This question cannot be answered hastily, and the present essay is to be regarded only as an illustration of a very particular case in New Guinea.

Two levels of "history" are presented that in reality represent one event; that is, one aspect of European expansion overseas in the course of which the people whom that expansion came to dominate were deprived of their own history.' What will be related here, then, are two versions of the same event, viewed through two mutually exclusive sets of interests that shaped their respective perspectives: that of the Europeans, their Pacific helpers and their allies, and that of the Utuan and Mioko peoples native to the area. Yet even within these two groups there emerge significant differences of perception and interpretation that-albeit at times overlapping-are contingent on the actors' relative position in the drama that is acted out. The one version would maintain that it is "history," objectively reporting what happened, the other that it is a "story" or "tradition," known by individuals or small groups and only to be expressed orally. Both views, however, claim validity for the

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psychological and ideological structure of the society that produced them. Indeed, both give credence to the very fabric of their respective groups; they justify and confirm them. The one version, in principle, is widely propagated, disseminated in print, and confirmed by authorities from Hamburg to Sydney, whereas the other has, so far, never left the secluded world of the islands of Utuan and Mioko. The one justifies colonial oppression and the arrival of the world market, the other dreams of emancipation from oppression.

These two interpretations present visions that are by no means limited to the past: The reality of oppression and exploitation in whose interest, directly or indirectly, the elements of the documented version were composed persists today. Yet the other version is retained as well, and more than one hundred years of concerted effort have not been able to stifle it. The reason is that-in the face of colonialism and its aftermath, which relegated the islands to marginality-the story contains the *Gegenwelt,* a utopia that represents the dream of justice and dignity, of self-determination for those who have been defeated. While accepting this defeat in the face of a superior power would be sacrifice, such stories keep the moment of defeat alive. The event at the heart of the story thus survives and to this day circumscribes the islands' reality; the moments of loss and horror live on. The story, then, becomes the linchpin of a moment that has been uninterrupted ever since 1881; the people concerned carry the past into the future in the shape of dreams that are embalmed in the story.

The images of their forebears' and their martyrs' struggles are encapsulated in the consciousness of those relegated to the periphery, and from these images they derive the courage for survival and for cultural reproduction and, consequently, for the construction of their future.

This article is presented in the form of a collage that permits not only the unfolding of the various events and levels of the drama but also reflects the process of the ethnohistorian's assembling and uncovering of its multifarious aspects from the present via the past back into the present.

From the Ethnohistorian's Notebook

From Rabaul to Mioko

June 1987. On board the violently rolling copra cutter *Marlow* from Rabaul to Ulu in the southwest of the Duke of York Islands, accompanied by the amiable and wise Reverend Eliuda Laen (born 1925) to

whom Bishop Saimon Gaius from the United Church has entrusted me for a couple of days. Eliuda comes from Nambaul in the east of the Duke of Yorks, and with his help I plan-unversed in local languages and for the first time visiting the group of islands between New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula and the south of New Ireland in St. George's Channel, Papua New Guinea-to collect stories about the history of colonization of the Bismarck Archipelago: searching for traces. Hence our first destination is Ulu, the plantation island owned by the United Church on which is also the church's George Brown College.

In the late nineteenth century the uninhabited Ulu, measuring six hundred hectares, had been bought by the German collector Kleinschmidt from the inhabitants of the neighboring island of Utuan. "He had . . . paid one chief a certain amount of trade for it. As a matter of course, the island did not belong to the chief, but to a tribe, and the tribe did not consider that they had sold it."[2] Shortly afterwards, Kleinschmidt had been killed by these people in the course of a feud he had provoked. In 1898, the mission of the time bought Ulu from the deceased's estate for £200.[3] The name of Theodor Kleinschmidt is thus known to me from the literature on the early European period in the archipelago.

The next morning a speedboat takes us from Ulu past Rakanda, then down to Utuan and Mioko: flower basket-like rock formations in opalescent waters, white beaches on tiny coral islands, coconut and coffee plantations of the United Church and the Catholic mission-Rakanda on the south of Duke of York Island, originally acquired from the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln (DHPG). Around the turn of the century, the paradisical life of the few hundred inhabitants of Mioko was praised in these terms:

> With rather little labor, the extremely fertile soil produces a rich harvest of yams, taro, and other field fruit, coconuts and bananas are plentifully available, the sea supplies fish, the virgin forest on the neighboring islands wild pigs. Apart from eating and sleeping, they have no other needs. The only work that the men-tall vigorous figures with superb limbs-are at times prepared to do, is the carving of canoes.[4]

On the small island of Mioko, some of the drama of early colonial contact had taken place. In 1878, together with Thomas Farrell, "Queen" Emma arrived as Emma Forsayth in the "magnificent harbour of Meoko," one "of the most beautiful and secure ones of the South

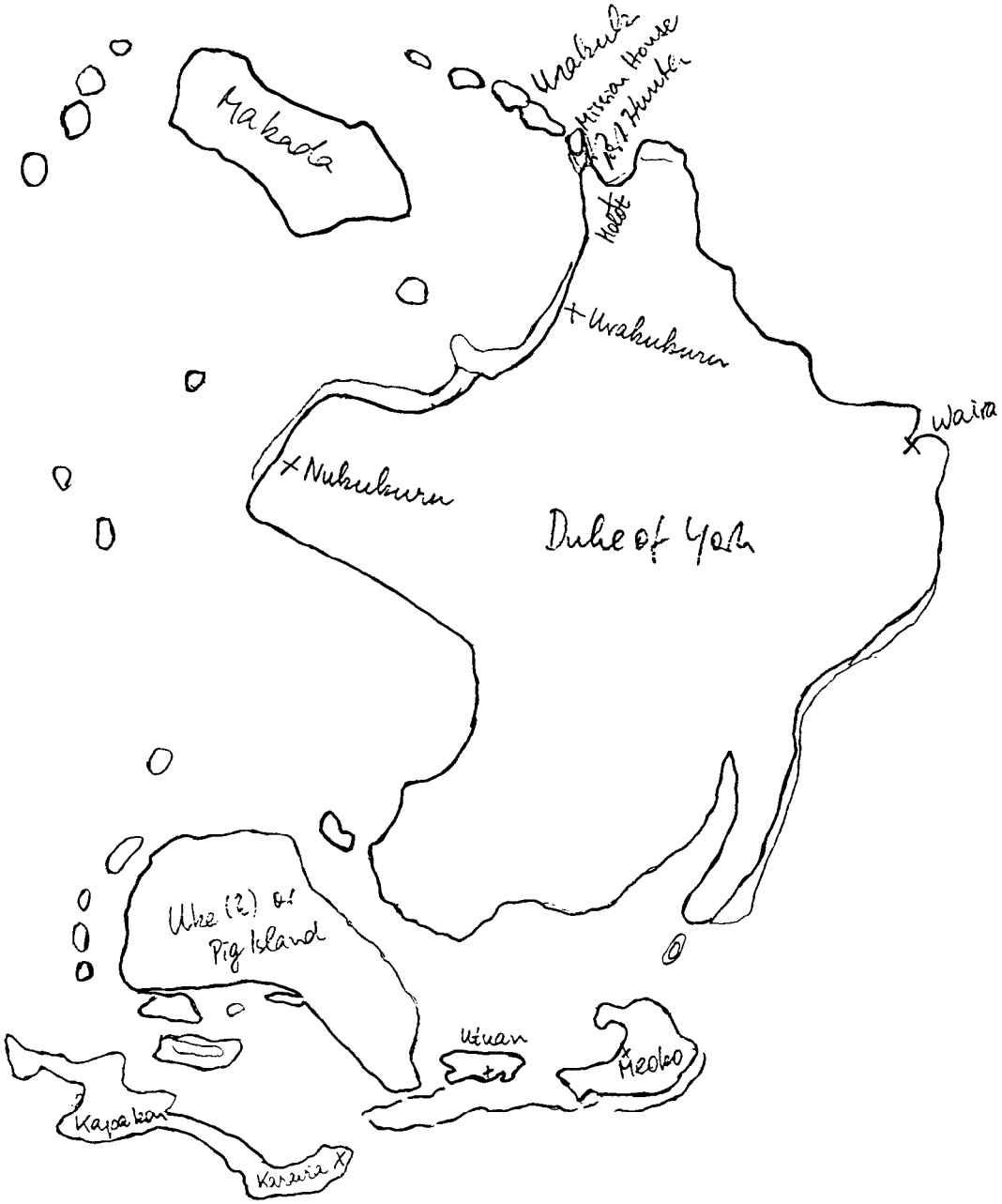

FIGURE 1. Map of the Duke of York Islands, drawn by missionary Benjamin Danks. (Source: Danks to Rev. J. Watsford, 28 August 1880, in Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Copies of Letters Written from New Britain in 1880/81," Methodist Church Papers, 617, Mitchell Library, Sydney; used by permission of the Uniting Church in Australia)

Seas," to engage in trade and to recruit laborers for the German plantations in Samoa. Her brother-in-law, the ethnologist and planter Richard Parkinson, followed her in 1882.[5] Emma obtained immense landed property from the big-men in the archipelago, whom she frequently paid "with her body."[6] Parkinson established the first plantations. Ever since 1875, the DHPG-successor to the Hamburg trading house of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Sohn in business on Samoa since 1857-had maintained a station with two or three whites on Mioko;[7] their main task was to recruit laborers for the DHPG plantations on Samoa. The Museum Godeffroy would also dispatch collectors to Mioko -first Franz Hübner who reached the island early in 1877 from Tonga and who soon died of fever,[8] and then, in March 1879, Theodor Kleinschmidt who had previously spent several years in the same function on Fiji.[9] On 4 November 1884, the German flag was hoisted on Mioko. In good colonial fashion, the voyager Wilfred Powell commented in 1878-1879, "The natives are friendly and thoroughly accustomed to white men." Of the inhabitants of Utuan, though, he thought less. "The natives of this island are troublesome and dangerous."[10]

On Mioko: Edward Tolituru's Story of Toboalilu

On Mioko, we meet Edward Tolituru, a man of about forty, whom we query about Kleinschmidt. Yes, "Kaleinsmis" is known; he was killed together with two other men. But Tolituru says the story is rather of Toboalilu, who had come across to Mioko from Utuan to meet his *dukduk* companions," with whom he was staying in the *taraiu,* the ceremonial site of the men. The Kleinschmidt people, meanwhile, together with a Methodist catechist, set fire to the *diwara* (shell money) house[12] on Toboalilu's *taraiu* at Kabaririma on Utuan. Toboalilu saw the smoke rise, raced to the extreme (western) point of Mioko, there threw himself into the water, and swam across to Utuan. He ran to his house and grabbed his club, with which he killed the three. They were not eaten, but buried on Mioko.

When the war began, one could find Toboalilu neither on Mioko nor on Utuan, yet a man called Gilimana from Mioko had seen him in a tree on the island of Karawara. This Gilimana took his gun and shot Toboalilu down. Gilimana and his people had traded with Kleinschmidt.

The Utuan people were terrified; they left their island and settled on Mioko and Karawara; only very much later did they return to their homes. The plantation on Mioko once belonged to Queen Emma; today

it is the property of the community school and of the inhabitants of Mioko.

So goes Edward Tolituru's story.

In the Cemetery: The Wicked Captain Levison

We decide to visit Kleinschmidt's tomb.[13] In the north of Mioko, a young boy takes us along the beach to a gravestone hidden in the bush. We uncover it, and with much difficulty the following epigraph is revealed:

Hier ruht in Gott
Schiffscapitain
Georg Christoph Levison
geboren in Eutin
gestorben am 6ten August 1879
in [Hunabai Eu] Mecklenburg
35 Jahre alt

Here lies in God
Ship's Captain
Georg Christoph Levison
born in Eutin
died 6th August 1879
in [Hunabai Eu] Mecklenburg
35 years of age

This is all we are able to discover in the brief available time in the churchyard of Mioko. Kleinschmidt's grave we are unable to find. The infamous Captain Levison, who worked for Godeffroy's and, according to missionary Benjamin Danks, was "a very bad man," was killed in a brawl under the influence of plenty of drink by the faster aiming John Knoles, alias Johni Meoko.[14] In a letter to the Museum Godeffroy, Kleinschmidt said about him, "He drank & had the idea of himself as a pasha with despotic power."[15]

In those days, only the Methodist-Wesleyan mission was in the archipelago; since 1875, it had stationed Tongan, Samoan and Fijian teachers under the Reverend George Brown on the islands. Missionary Benjamin Danks had arrived at the end of 1878. When Kleinschmidt died, Brown had just left the area, and Danks commuted between Port Hunter (Duke of York Island) and Kabakada (north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula). The first Catholic missionary was the Abbé René-Marie

Lanuzel who reached Likiliki Bay (Metlik) in southern New Ireland in 1880 with the fraudulent Marquis de Rays expedition (whose first endeavor at a settlement had foundered at Port Praslin). Their aim was the foundation of *Nouvelle France, Colonie libre de Port Breton* (New France, Free Colony of Port Breton).[16] Lanuzel moved to Nodup on the Gazelle Peninsula in February 1881.[17]

Leo Koi's and Enua Alipet's Versions

The Reverend Eliuda Laen is a well-known man in the Duke of York Islands; we are told the Toboalilu story in two more short versions on Mioko.

Leo Koi relates that during the visit to Mioko, Toboalilu saw the smoke rise from the *diwara* house on his *taraiu.* Instantly he plunged into the sea and only resurfaced on the other side, on Utuan. With a large stone he broke Kleinschmidt's boat, which he restrained with an axe, and then he beheaded his three captives. A Fijian had helped to set fire to the *taraiu.*

Police from Rabaul came to the whites' aid,[18] and many people from Utuan were killed. Toboalilu fled to Karawara, hiding in an *airima* tree. There he was shot dead. A number of Mioko people fought with the whites against the Utuan residents.

Enua Alipet[19] mentions that every night Kleinschmidt would hear the *kundu* (hand drums) from Toboalilu's *taraiu* and thus could not get to sleep in his house on Mioko. So he resolved to have the house on the *taraiu* destroyed by his workers. The police from Mioko (among them Tekumaino, Maliwai, and Kalule) fought together with the German police against Utuan.[20]

Enua Alipet's house is next to the site of Emma Forsayth's first house here on Mioko. The five or six wide cement steps are still there, as are the cement pillars, on some of which now rests a small house made from local materials. From this protected spot one has an unrestricted view of the empty harbor bay. South Sea images.

We leave Mioko in a tiny outrigger carved from a tree trunk, paddling across the crystal clear water to Utuan.

Kleinschmidt in the Bismarck Archipelago

From the Letters of Theodor Kleinschmidt

Kleinschmidt, who, as the South Sea trader Eduard Hernsheim wrote in his biographical sketch, "was supposed to be working for the Museum

Godeffroy in Mioko [had], just as Farrell, made considerable land acquisitions in the Duke of York group and on New Britain."[21] Following are some excerpts from Kleinschmidt's letters to the custodian of the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg.

Meoko, March 27, l880
Museum Godeffroy 2 1/2 hrs. in the morning

Dear Herr Custos,

In great haste only a few lines, . . . Had much illness . . . ; Mr. Danks & wife were ill & at Brown's the 2nd child died within 5 months. Blohm, helmsman Ned, Mrs. Lund (trader's wife), 2 of my men & I were ill, & one of my men died; one man still ill & as Mioko men, of whom chief Marrowit died, want to work only very little or not at all, am very, very *crippled regarding boats' crew* whenever want to go somewhere,-which will remain so until have a chance to get Salomon men.[22]

* * * * *

Museum Godeffroy, Meoko, May 29, 1880
Hamburg.

. . . Being on one's own here is a bad thing, i.e., if one person is to do & keep everything in order. --Finaki[23] has run away & now works on the station of Mr. Farrell, which suits him better since I couldn't approve of his slovenliness & deceit. -Blohm & his "fellows," who spoilt Finaki & who thought they'd have him for their (his) station, are finally fooled because-all of a sudden he had signed on with Farrell and-I'm having the last laugh!

But so as to show you how a man here can innocently get into trouble and can even get himself and others killed, [I] must relate to you what recently happened to me.

When I was about to go to New Britain & unable to get people for the boat on Meoko, I went to Karawar to get them. Only after burning down the best house on the island, 4 men went, later still another one. . . .

Alas, alas, the entire Samoa company trader-bunch [Godeffroy Co.] in this place & whatever, besides Blohm, is still left of

it, was the meanest of all the mean gangs here, with only one or two exceptions. Murder & killings, thieving & swindling, lying & vile talk was more or less characteristic to all of them, to tell the truth. . . . And among them a man with better intentions has to live-he is & will remain a thorn in the flesh to such a mob! . . .

I beg you, do send per return mail, in your own interest and most urgently, authority to buy a suitable vessel of about 20 or 25 tons at least in Sydney & you shall never regret it. Without a vessel I'm a lame duck, as everyone without exception admits. Just look, for example, at Brown. With the steam launch he & his man Kaplen, an excellent hunter, can go . . . now to far-off parts of New Britain, then again . . . to far-off parts of New Ireland. . . . Meanwhile I hobble about with my boat, exposed to all weathers, in the closest surroundings of 25-40 miles. . . . Thus I should at least have a vessel with which can be on the move for weeks and months. And for boating trips of 75 & 100 miles distance . . . you won't get people.

* * * * *

Rakabai, July 15, 1880
(Blanche Bay, New Britain)

Museum Godeffroy,
Hamburg.

Dear Herr Schmeltz,

Enclosed some notes for Herr Dr. Hartlaub concerning some birds, please send them to him by earliest mail.-While Brown who has plenty of people, teachers & black boys, has the opportunity to have the area thoroughly searched (which no white man is able to do like blacks), I now don't have any more foreign laborers but I have to leave one of my white men on Meoko to guard the site (house &c &c), the 2nd accompanies the boat, which frequently has to be underway, & only one young fellow is with me & this one is too lazy to pull his own weight.-In two months' time, however, when their contract time has expired, they are likely to leave because in making copra they can earn much more money & more easily at that since the Levison days of deceiving the traders, of brawling & murder & so forth are gone, this is what Blohm thinks as well.

From the Diary of Missionary Benjamin Danks

January 3rd, 1880

I have just returned from Meoko and Karawara. . . . Our special object in going was to see Mr Klinesmith who has just returned from Hongkong. . . . We went on from Mr K's to Soseteni & from there passed on to Setereki's place situated on the Island of Outuan. Here I heard of some misconduct of our teacher Aperoso who is stationed on Karawara. . . . The charge against Aperoso was-burning native houses. . . .

Guided by Setereki I . . . counted no less than five blackened sites where once native houses had stood but had been burnt down by A. & his wife. . . . Another house at Kapakon was also reported to have been burnt down by A. and yet another in another part of Karawara making in all seven houses burnt to the ground. . . . This gave me much pain of mind. I was indeed thankful that he had not been killed and eaten by the people. . . . The following is A's account of the whole offence.

1. One morning my wife was out attending to the fishing net when a native woman saw her and without any provocation used bad language to her. A. and his wife went to the village to get Diwara from the woman but found she had run away. Karolaini [Aperoso's wife] then set fire to two houses, A. standing by & not attempting to stop. The chief was very angry and went to see A. High words followed & A. at once started off & burnt down some more houses. These houses were all situated on Karawara.

2. A man from Kapakon had said to Aperoso. Why do you plant on this ground? It is not yours. You are stealing from us. A. was angry with the man & siezed *[sic]* a stick & beat him over the back & then burnt his house. This house was situated on the Island of Kapakon. . . .

I consulted with Aminio, Setereki & Sositeni . . . , they all gave it as their decided opinion that A. ought to be removed from the Island & deposed from office for a time. . . . The natives looked upon him as their enemy & not their friend & all declared that he was no Missionary. . . . I also left him enough barter to pay the Natives for the injury done to their property

insisting upon their being paid for their houses had been burnt down most wantonly. [24]

Under the date of 6 January 1880, Danks copied a letter he had received from Kleinschmidt.

My dear Mr. Danks,

Teacher Abroso of Karawara comes to me this morning and begs me to write to you and state in case of a boat being sent for him (to remove him and his family to Port Hunter) he will not go, but will stay in his place at Karawara. . . .

Allow me now, dear sir, to say a few words to you on this and other matters.

Mission affairs are not at all my business except when they begin to touch me, & further, being a sincere friend of the Fijian people in general and of Abroso here particularly I beg to state to you that my observations, made so far, lead me to believe, that the Samoans are on all occasions considered much more than the Fijians by this Mission. . . .

The natives of Karawara came on their own free will and accord to my place to sell to me the Island of Kambe Kounae (Kapakon). Coming one evening from board the Brig "Adolph" [Captain Levison] I found them sitting round the fence-gate waiting for me. There were perhaps some 25 or 30 people. Abroso had come over to act as interpreter only. . . . He knows therefore the Island is and was then sold to me and paid for fairly and even more than fairly.

It matters not whether the natives consider or wanted to say now that I only bought the ground and not also the bush, forest &c &c on it.. . . Who would buy an Island without the right to fauna & flora on it? What good would the ground be unless one can realise that which it produces? Did Hernsheim, Blohm, Levison & Farrell pay twice for land they bought? What a pity and nonsense if the Mission allows the Natives to impose upon the White man thus? . . . The Mission, come here to teach the natives a good many affairs in life, as they appear proper and more decent to the white man, should certainly also make the natives understand the nonsense of the notion & tell them, that land bought and sold according to rules all over the world else-

where, means the ground & trees, fruit &c on the land, . . . At the time of purchase there were no people living on Kambe Kambae-Kapakon-and no house on the Island. I had an only house built on it. Natives have since the sale no right to build houses or huts on it, even if, I will for instance say, only the ground was mine, neither have they a right to steal day for day all and everything that suits their fancy or purposes from the Island. I have requested Abroso to see, once in a while, to the Island. He was perfectly right to tell the natives to leave off building huts on the Island after selling it to me; & he was further perfectly right to burn these houses down as they had no right what so ever to the Ground. Why dont the Mission allow the Natives to build houses at random on Mission Ground? The houses on my ground no matter who built them without my permission were mine or became mine. No native has any right to payment for their being burnt, & *I hope you will not do me the injury to pay for these houses, for an injury, to me, such payment would be in many respects*!! I know the natives know they were wrong in building there, they feel sorry since my return. After being absent for more than 5 months, they did not expect me to return. But have come to me now and acknowledged twice before witnesses that all is mine. . . . So I sincerely hope you will not pay for those houses, as my houses were burnt only. . . .

When the natives would not listen to Abroso, and notwithstanding his good advice, went on the way they did, it was necessary to prove to them that they were wrong and so he went and burnt the houses. . . . Had Abroso not burned those houses, the Karawara Natives might soon have built a whole village on the Island to establish a new right to it!! . . . What wrong is there in burning houses on ground they have sold and for which they receive the full value asked & even more? . . .

Since coming here I have been told affairs, but will not talk about them.

Now, Mr. Danks, I have spoken openly & freely, as I felt over this Abroso & other matters, since I found out the real trouble after I had the pleasure of your company the other night. . . .

With best respects
Your true friend
T. Klinesmith[25]

On 12 February 1880, Danks turned twenty-seven.

Kleinschmidt's Death

Dunks on the Murder of Kleinschmidt, Becker, and Schultz

Kleinschmidt and his two helpers, the Swiss Becker and the Alsatian Schultz,[26] were killed on 12 April 1881 on the island of Utuan. Missionary Danks wrote an account of the circumstances to the secretary of his mission in Sydney.

Port Hunter, April 16th, 1881

Rev. and Dear Sir,

This evening brings to a close a week of horror, to which, unfortunately, we are very often introduced now-a-days. Three men of our colour have been murdered, and the lives of more threatened, and that, too, in a place where the whites have always deemed themselves safe, viz., Mioko Harbour. . . . One only I knew, and great will be the excitement in more places than one when it is known that Mr. T. Klinesmith, naturalist, is no more. . . . He leaves a wife, but no children. . . .

The story reached me about dinner time last Monday. . . . On Good Friday morning, at four o'clock, we cleared Port Hunter, and got into Mioko passage, soon after sunrise. Here we found Mr. Klinesmith's boat stranded on some boulders. It had drifted away from the scene of the murder, and found a resting place here. We went to it. All the stern of the boat was burnt; she was hacked about very much, as though she, too, had done them (the natives) some wrong. Planks were smashed and she was pierced in several places. . . .

The scene of the murder is the other side of the harbour from Mr. Klinesmith's house-yet within sight-on an island named Outuan. This island was bought some time ago by Mr. K. and it is said that the natives then promised him that they would go in his boat whenever he desired them. He wished them to go on Sunday last to a place called Birara but they would not and it is said that they were very impudent. Mr. K. became angry and went to Outuan accompanied by the two Frenchmen. Mrs. Klinesmith did not seem to know exactly what followed upon their landing except that some native houses were burnt and all the whites killed. Mr. K. was the only one shot, the ball entering the abdomen passed right through the body. All the bodies

were mutilated most fearfully. All the bodies were recovered by our teachers and taken back to Mioko where they were buried. [27]

In a second, unofficial letter of the same day, marked "Private," Danks gave his superior an account of what had happened.

Port Hunter, April 16th, 1881

Private
Rev. and dear Sir,

Out of respect for Mrs. Klinesmith whose deep sorrow I have so recently witnessed, I could not relate to you, in a letter you may wish to publish, the whole of the circumstances connected with the death of Mr Klinesmith and his associates. I have simply told you Mrs K.s story which is but partial and in some particulars very vague. The following is the story as related by the teachers of Mioko. Some Outuan men were in Mioko on Sunday last and Mr. K. wished them to go with him to Birara N. B. One man (native) said to them don't go you will be away [over two mon]ths. There upon they one and all refused to go. Mr. K. . . . became angry & fired some s[hots] at [one] man two of which entered the shoulder. This angered them all and they went away. Mr. K. said you go first I follow, they answered, very good you follow. He & his two men went in his boat to Outuan and meeting no one fired five native houses. Not satisfied with that he must be so foolish as to go to the place where the people were sitting together and talk to them. Again he got angry &-I am not quite clear here but I think I am right in saying-some more small shot was fired by someone of the party but no one struck. The natives then rushed them; they made for the boat and while in the act of pushing off they were killed.

If Mr. K. bought the land he has no claim on the bodies and the time of the people. But he seemed to think he had and looked upon them as his servants. This of course they resented. This is not the first time he has burned the people's houses for refusing to do what he wished them to do. From his own lips I heard that he forced these people into the boat to go a long journey by the same kind of bounce. I do not wish to appear

> against Mr K's doings if I can help it for he and I were not friends previous to his death . . . but if it is necessary in the interests of these people for me to speak out I must do so for no doubt by his violence Mr K. provoked the people to the deed for which they may be made to suffer.[28]

Two months later in a further letter, Danks specified that Klein-Schmidt, "failing to prevail upon them to go, . . . burnt down two houses, one of them being a *'tabu'* house, also broke three canoes. Immediately after this he was killed with his two companions."[29]

The Version of Count Joachim Pfeil

A few years later, Count Pfeil-then an employee of the Deutsch Neu Guinea Kompagnie and later to become a well-known figure in German colonial politics-noted down, briefly and to the point, the following version of the events.

> Again the kanakas showed their brutal feature, imagining that the killing of some individuals would bring about the withdrawal of the others. An entirely innocent German naturalist named Kleinschmidt who travelled the then accessible areas, was the victim. Without any provocation whatever on his part towards the kanakas, he was in 1881 slain on the small island of Utuan in the Lauenburg group. This time the settlers got together without the Mission, most vigorously punishing the inhabitants of Utuan who put up a fierce resistance.[30]

The Mioko Massacre

Conspiracy against the Whites?

As the Hernsheim trader, Schulle, sailed along the Utuan coast towards Mioko to attend the burial of Kleinschmidt and his companions, his boat was shot at. Nobody was hurt. A few days after this incident, Utuan men robbed a Godeffroy boat of weapons and ammunition. The "Mioko natives . . . scarcely moved from their houses without being fully armed with spear, tomahawk, sling and as many as had muskets, carried them also."[31] Revolt, insubordination, and aggression were thick in the air.

On 12 April Danks was warned by the mission teacher Aminio Bale and soon afterwards by the big-man Waruwarum-highly influential ally and business partner of missionaries and traders on Duke of York[32] -that Mioko men intended to kill Blohm, the Godeffroy trader,[33] and plunder his station. Torumu and Bulila from Utuan informed Blohm about the murderous and thievish designs of certain groups from Mioko, Utuan, and Karawara. In the course of the subsequent investigation, the Mioko big-man Liblil (Liblib)[34] was variously cited as leader of the revolt; one of the witnesses, a certain Camda, mentioned "Tabualilu an Hutuan Chief ."[35] According to the testimony of the mission teacher Sitione, the "Meoko people were jealous of the benefit the Pal Pal people received ."[36] Trader Thomas Farrell was informed in Nodup on the Gazelle Peninsula by Alit-"a native who speaks good English" and who worked on one of his and Emma's ships-that the Utuan men meant "to kill my people & myself so that they should get my property, and goods in the store, that they had now plenty of firearms."[37] The whites, including the missionary, were convinced through sundry rumors that a general rebellion against them was being plotted and that the conspirators only awaited the departure of the trade cutters currently lying in Mioko's harbor before attacking. Trader Blohm stated the following in evidence: "The Hutuan natives were distributing 'Kewarra' native money, to take the stations & they were to get their share of the goods."[38] Through the distribution of shell money to potential allies, the latter were bound into military mutuality.

Farrell quickly came to an understanding with the traders around him, and in Nodup he engaged "about fifty natives of that place to assist him in defending his station"[39] under the big-man Tolituru from Nodup.[40] Back on Mioko, they were joined by the crews of the schooners *Sea Rip* and *Niufu* and the cutter *Loelia.* On Danks's inquiry, the mission teacher Soseteni from Mioko confirmed the conspiracy: "They think the whites weak and they themselves strong enough to take all he [Farrell] possesses from him hence their desire to kill and plunder him." Danks concluded, "they had no other motive . . . than that of plunder to urge them to the bloody atrocity which they contemplated."[41] For Farrell and Danks, a military alliance consisting of a number of groups of the Duke of York Islands against the European traders clearly appeared to be in the making. Hernsheim on Matupit in Blanche Bay, however, "had good reason to assume that we were perfectly safe and that we had to fear less from the savages than from filibustering whites in this land without government and 1aws."[42]

The Campaign of the Whites

Towards four o'clock in the morning of 13 May, a Friday, the traders' unit invested the island of Utuan with seven "boats," including the *Génil.* The unit had been reinforced by the brutal captain of the *Génil,* Rabardy, from the ill-fated Marquis de Rays expedition, "whose ship was equipped for war and counted thirty crew members,"[43] as well as by Tolituru's warriors-supplied with guns by Rabardy[44]-and by contingents of "friendly natives" from the southern Duke of Yorks. The enemy, however, had already withdrawn to neighboring Ulu during the night. The investigation conducted by Deputy Commissioner Romilly in the second half of May stated that the aim of the campaign was "to try and arrest the ringleaders whom it appears were also the murderers of Kleinschmidt."[45] On several occasions, messages were transmitted to the conspirators requesting them to hand over the murderers of Kleinschmidt and his two assistants and by this act terminate the hostilities. These attempts were to no avail.

An attempt to land on Ulu was repulsed by heavy gunfire.[46] The expedition unit finally succeeded in landing in a different spot, searched the bush for the enemy, and ventured an attack that had virtually no impact because the enemy would cunningly retreat instead of facing their pursuers head-on.[47]

On the following day, Saturday, the campaign against Ulu was resumed in three groups; Farrell's contingent took four prisoners and killed three opponents. Two big-men, Lulei (Tulei) and Tuke,[48] "and all his people and most of his women and children" surrendered and were interned on Farrell's Mioko station.[49] The unit under the captain of the cutter *Loelia* "came upon the natives camp who immediately opened fire when the natives again decamped leaving one dead the one who shot Mr. Kleinschmidt ."[50]

Sunday, 15 May, was a rest day for the white warriors. Not so for Tolituru and his men: They took thirteen prisoners who, for the time being, were detained on the Sea Rip. When the operation against Ulu was resumed on Monday, it became apparent that the enemy had withdrawn to Karawara. There victory over the insubordinate locals was soon won; with the energetic support of Karawara residents, the ringleaders were discovered and captured. A "participant in the campaign," quoted by Richard Parkinson, declared that the ringleaders had "been found on Karravarra . . . hiding in the tops of trees thickly covered with foliage which they had climbed as their last refuge. Three of them

-the main instigators of the conspiracy and participants in the assassination of Kleinschmidt and his company-were shot dead, the other nine apprehended."[51] Another statement during the investigation insisted that "Taluturo [had] agreed to fight on our side on condition that the prisoners should be given up to him. All the prisoners numbering over fifteen were given up to Taletua & his people."[52] Trader Blohm, cross-examined by the commissioner, testified: "The Natives seldom make [sic] prisoners in fight[,] if they do it is to eat them."[53]

The repeatedly quoted investigation-inasmuch as the relevant material has been made available to me-mentions Rabardy and his Génil only as transporting the Nodup allies. According to the doctor of Likiliki Bay, Baudouin, who, however, only arrived in the archipelago in February 1882, Rabardy's contribution was as follows:

> Apart from his sailors, he armed the forty kanakas of his ally King Talitoro with guns, placed them on the broadside of the "Génil" and cast anchor across the passage which cuts off the island [of Utuan], where the insurgents of the big neighboring island were assembled; then he ordered Farrell's flotilla to move along the coast on the Meoko side and to lay down fire on the enemy villages. What he had foreseen did not fail to come true.
>
> The insurgents, terrified by the fusillade and the fires, fled to the opposite shore to board their canoes and cross over to the neighboring island. Warriors, women, and children threw themselves in a great hurry into their little boats; and as soon as they had reached the middle of the channel, the "Génil" directed a terrible fire on the unfortunate flotilla. Instantaneously, the waters were covered with debris, corpses, and the injured.
>
> Ever since, Rabardy pretended to have killed only fifty; but Talitoro, who did not have the same reasons to alter the figures, opened his ten fingers at least a dozen times when asked the number of the dead of the Meoko massacre.[54]

On Utuan: Pastor Marget's Story

Let us return to the scene of action, to my notebook, and to my sojourn in the Bismarck Archipelago in 1987. Pastor Marget is a friend of the Reverend Eliuda Laen; his father was Alapi, a preacher, who belonged to Toboalilu's *vunatarai* (clan). Over rice and tinned sardines-we have

arrived unannounced-he recounts the Toboalilu story, which he later transmits to me through Eliuda in writing (in Pidgin) .[55]

Stori Bilong Wanpela Man Nem Bilong em Toboalilu
The Story of a Man Called Toboalilu

I, Pastor Marget, will relate the story.

Toboalilu lived already before the Lotu [Christianity] era; the Lotu only arrived in 1875. When the Lotu arrived he was there. In 1876 the house *lotu* [the church] in Molot was built.

Toboalilu was a big man, he was seven feet, and he came from Utuan, a United Church village. He owned the *dukduk* whose house was on the beach of Kabaririma, and the name of the *dukduk* was Ia Tuparava. He was rich in *diwarra* and a great warrior. I think it was the year 1900 when Toboalilu killed two white men and a white women, three people in all, all of them Germans.

One day Toboalilu went to an island called Virian [the eastern part of Mioko]. Kalatimet [Kleinschmidt] and the other German and the white woman took a small boat and paddled to Utuan. With their boat they went right to the shore, and there they saw the house with Toboalilu's *dukduk* and all the *dukduk's* shell money in it, and the three of them set fire to the house and it was ablaze.

From Virian, Toboalilu saw the smoke rise; he immediately knew that the fire came from his house on the *taraiu*. Fuming with rage, he ran across to Palpal at Mioko cape. He swam through the salt water across to Utuan. As fast as he could, he ran to his house. There he saw Kalatimet and his companions watching the fire. When they saw Toboalilu arrive - *bigpela, bigpela* man-, they pushed their boat into the water and quickly jumped into it, to return to Mioko. Toboalilu, however, took an enormous stone into his right hand, three feet by three feet, and in his left he held his tomahawk. He raced towards the boat, struck the tomahawk onto the bow of the boat, and with all his force pulled it back although the three passengers tried with all their might to paddle away. Then he hurled the stone with his right hand into the boat, dashing it to pieces. The three whites were floating in the water, and one of those present killed them. [56]

Certain people sent a report on what had happened to the

government at Kokopo. The government summoned the police and sent them to Utuan where they set about to kill everybody. [57]

Toboalilu meanwhile had fled to the island of Karawara. He was perched high upon a big *divai* tree, which they call *airima.* His friends finally found him there and they said to him: "Many have already been killed by the Mioko people and by the police, and among the dead are several of your relatives. Come down, too many have already died." He climbed down because otherwise those terrible policemen would undoubtedly have killed all the men, women, and children of Utuan. With his companions he returned to Utuan to the very point opposite Mioko. They came to the *lotu* site, which they call Naun, close to the big *divai* tree "Kalapulin," where the policemen shot at him with their muskets. Yet he did not die. The cartridges from the guns bounced off his skin as if they were water because he was protected by a powerful Iniet magic. So then the government police threatened to shoot dead all the inhabitants of Utuan. His friends talked to him about what had happened, and they implored him : "We feel sorry for our people; the men, women, and children of Utuan must pity you. If you are not prepared to die, they will slaughter all of us." They calmed him down so that the magic went away; he stood still, surrendered to the police, the bullets penetrated his body, and he died. His relatives left his body to decay, since he was a big-man.

Later on, the Kokopo government sent a man-of-war with policemen to kill the Utuan people. A German named Mister Crump, the number one man from Ulu, saw the warship arrive; he took a small boat and quickly rowed to the ship to stop the fight. [58] Then it returned to Kokopo and no more Utuan people were killed. *Inap nau* (Enough now; it was enough).

We thank God, who showed compassion for the people of Utuan so that the government did not kill all of them.

I, Pastor Marget,
from Utuan Village United Church,
Duke of York Community Government

After telling us the story of Toboalilu, the "*longpela, longpela* man and very strong," Pastor Marget accompanies us right through the compact, extended village. (In the time of Toboalilu, there were hardly any nuclear villages but rather scattered hamlets, farmsteads, each sur-

rounded by a close fence.) Then we walk through plantations and the bush, back to the sea opposite Ulu. Our dinghy is waiting for us.

The Perception of History

What has been narrated here is not a mirror image of so-called historical reality but rather an element in the process of handling a painful event. The loss of land was a terrible humiliation, a material defeat followed by a struggle involving much loss of life and, ultimately, a sacrifice. It has to do with the failed attempt to throw off encumbrances. This story from the history of the Duke of York Islands thus has an emancipatory intent; a story from the past has its object in the present. "One keeps the memory not due to nostalgia but due to one's determination to maintain one's rights intact, thus one's future."[59] The fact of the matter is acknowledged, yet the way in which it is remembered and narrated is steeped in the sadness of loss and with the hope to recover what has been lost. Here is melancholy of the active kind, which hopes and strives;[60] and in this melancholy, narrator and listener meet. Hand in hand with this goes the knowledge of the not-yet-attained that appears only in dreams. While awake, what has been dreamed can be expressed in narration so as to gain clarity about the dream and at the same time to share it with others. We have before us the story of a defeat, recounted in the style of someone who knows he is in the right. In Pastor Marget's version, Toboalilu sacrifices himself, subdued and faced with the superior strength of the opponent, so as to terminate the killing, and thus through his death delivers his people. Such an act-thoroughly biblical-demands the acceptance of his moral superiority.

The various versions of the story indicate the interests and social context of each of those concerned. Versions from Mioko mirror the cooperation of the Palpal-Miokese with Kleinschmidt and the traders; these alliances find confirmation in Pastor Marget's narration. His own account is the one of the immediately concerned; orally transmitted traditions are always of locally very limited validity.

Distinctly different positions of interest are also expressed in the attitudes and declarations of the Europeans. Missionary Danks does not see things the way the traders do, and the trader Farrell from Mioko judges the probability of a revolt differently from his colleague Hernsheim from Matupit. In spite of all differences regarding their respective judgments of the situation, however, traders and missionaries are of one mind on the necessity to punish the perpetrators in order to intimidate others who may oppose the advance of progress. To them, the matter

appears as a "normal" occurrence in their troubled yet unavoidable exchanges with the unreasonably impudent natives, inevitable in the interest of the civilizing process and the success of the world market, of the natural superiority of the white man: the white man's burden. "I think the lesson will act as a warning to other parts of the group which have shown an almost alarming restlessness during the past few months and white life and property will be more respected," writes missionary Danks.[61]

Pastor Marget's representation combines the factual-loss of land-with the grief over it and the hope for deliverance from the yoke, bridging past, present, and future. This is done in a style that alienates the listener from what has been taken for granted, catapulting him to a level of comprehension where he suddenly grasps the absurdity of colonial reality-this is what happened to me. Pastor Marget's interpretation of events is, consequently, a form of active resistance against colonial expectations. Here the work of mourning and of mastering the past is being performed; this task needs to come to grips with the presumed reality of the present and its future transformation. Relating a story means piecing together fragments of and pointing to cracks in a damaged past in order to comprehend the present and to shape the future; it is work for change. "Re-membering the past brings with it the naming of the present. Re-membering the past is also a way of transcending the present. Becoming conscious of what was, means to sense a potential, or to articulate a desire for what could be," writes Klaus Neumann in his at once timely and pioneering doctoral dissertation.[62] A story from the past is a parable of the present with a view to shaping the not-yet.

This kind of narration reconstructs the past over and over again in the face of individual forgetfulness and homogenized history-book knowledge. The latter's validity is limited to the past-deposited as something gone forever-through the writing of scientifically controlled history that is meant to eliminate, from the losers' heads, the knowledge of collective struggles against the rulers, presenting us with the officially integrative and ossified version of state, commercial, and church interests. Interrogating, scrutinizing, and admonishing, Pastor Marget's kind of narration confronts the present and reveals itself to be a continuous rescue operation. He himself did not live through the events contained in his story. Beyond generations and in active recollection, he puts the structure of the past together with the help of the building stones of stories. There is no repression and, ultimately, forgetting. Rather, by accepting and getting through a catastrophic experience, remembering

and relating and thus learning from it, the past joins with elements of the possible, with the hidden interests of the present, engaging in experiments to construct a future. One has an inkling of how both the present and the future should not be. "Through secondary experiences with the unfamiliar, through alienations, history can help to generate an awareness of the possible, in the light of which given reality comes under pressure for legitimation and loses its pretended self-evidence."[63] The past, taken to pieces and remembered in the present, becomes raw material for the future. Narration is social action; history is critique.

What kind of past are we dealing with in this case? The story retold here reflects the arrival of the world market in a kin-based society, the invasion of capitalist social relations-and consequently of extraneously controlled forces-into the processes of economic and societal reproduction. What is at issue is a contest between two sets of societal patterns. Kleinschmidt's dispute with the Melanesians about the consequences of his land acquisitions (about ownership of rather than use rights to land and what is on that land-trees, fruit, houses, the people) dramatically illustrates the conflict between capitalist and kin-based relations.[64] Kleinschmidt is here representative of Europe, and in spite of his rude procedure, which was not accepted by all, he conducted the struggle for the acceptance of new forms equally for traders and for missionaries. It must not be forgotten that the latter conducted this battle also, albeit with different means. For Kleinschmidt, the islands he "bought" were commodities on the market, and a commodity, naturally, is unencumbered by sentiment and personal relations that may have existed between the land and the people who owned it. "The commodity assumes an autonomy apart from human social activities, and in transcending that activity the relations between commodities subjugate persons, who become dominated by a world of things-things that they themselves created."[65] In the tribal mode of production, clan and land are indissolubly coupled with each other. Men control their land, their labor, their time, and thus their subsistence, and labor cannot be forced. Under the dictate of colonialism, the evolution towards the systemic opposite commences; control of economy and society are being wrenched from men and they are forced to perform dependent labor to survive. We, posthumous contemporaries of this evolution, do not any longer have the choice.

Here an attempt has been made to describe the circumstances of the times (which are not the way one would like them to be)-faced with arrogance, cynicism, and rationality-through stories and traditions about the losers. In such stories, the catastrophic past flashes as shield

and protector against loss and oppression. The past, in this sense, is a continuum of constructions composed of injuries through which concrete events are reflected upon from a present-day perspective. As a consequence, interests come in and even align the delineation of the past. One may well say that this is a question of ideology, ideology as an irrevocable necessity of cultural survival and, therefore, of human creation. Yet this is a form of idea-constructions that does not mystically embellish given situations but rather allows us to comprehend them through sudden recognitions in their very reality. They are the fruit of a rebellious discourse with what occurred; they imply hope. Change is not so easily attained; however, the narrator and the writing historian meet in this melancholic and sometimes angry enterprise.[66] Walter Benjamin notes, "Flaubert's 'few people will ever divine how much one had to be sad in order to undertake the resuscitation of Carthage' renders the connection of study and melancolia transparent ."[67]

Pastor Marget's version-just as the oral tradition about ToRigaragunan, the Tolai hero[68]-may well be a phantasy as far as "hard facts" are concerned, yet it is a phantasy of self-assertion in the face of colonialism, denying colonialism's superior power. "A mythic vision of the past lives on to contest the present, denying the latter's assertions of normality and claims to perpetuity."[69] This is why stories are preconditions for the possible; they always are constructions and quest. They are the connecting link in the triple step of past, present, and future. They are concerned with possible realities, which in this way, contrastingly, they help to create. History is the most human(e) thing.

NOTES

An earlier and shorter version of this article was presented in German at the Internationales Kolonialgeschichtliches Symposium '89 at Schwäbisch Gmünd, 18-21 June 1989. Translations from the German, Pidgin, and French by the author. Variant and inconsistent spellings, emphases, and idiosyncratic syntax reflect the original documents.

1. See Eric Wolf, Europe and the People without History (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982).

2. Hugh H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland,* 1878-1891 (London, 1893), 160.

3. Neville Threlfall, *One Hundred Years in the Islands,* (Rabaul, 1975), 71; George C. Carter, *Misikaram,* Wesley Historical Society, Auckland (July 1975), 26.

4. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Samoa, Bismarckarchipel und Neuguinea* (Leipzig, 1902), 184.

5. Richard Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel* (Leipzig, 1887), 14-17.

6. Enua Alipet, interview with author on Mioko, 11 June 1987.

7. Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton, *The New Guinea Memoirs,* ed. Peter Biskup (Canberra, 1974), 21; see also Eduard Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," typescript, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, p. 51.

8. "I don't think much of the prattle that the natives of D. of York Island want to murder myself and the agent here," Hübner wrote on 4 March 1877 to Schmeltz. Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde (hereafter cited as HMV), A 98.

9. Kleinschmidt to Museum Godeffroy, 18 and 19 April 1879, HMV, A 98.

10. Wilfred Powell, Wanderings in a Wild Country (London, 1883), 51, 47. G. Schmiele, "Die Bewohner der Insel Mioko," *Deutsche Koloniabeitung* (1888), 131, estimated the inhabitants at about six to eight hundred.

11. On *dukduk* and *tubuan,* the outward manifestations of male secret societies controlled by big-men, see Heinz Schütte, "Topulu and His Brothers," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 88-89, nos. 1 & 2 (1989): 61-62.

12. On *diwar(r)a* or *ta(m)bu* (shell money), see ibid.

13. Von Hesse-Wartegg, Samoa, 182-183, mentions that he had seen Kleinschmidt's "grave . . . together with many others in the cemetery of Mioko idyllically situated by the seashore."

14. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Daily Journal, 1878-82," written in New Britain, Methodist Church Papers, 616, Mitchell Library, Sydney (hereafter cited as ML 616), 13 and 21 August 1879.

15. Kleinschmidt, December 1879, HMV, A 98.

16. For a brief outline of the Port Breton venture, see the introduction by Peter Biskup in Mouton, New Guinea Memoirs.

17. Ibid., 51.

18. Actually, Rabaul-subsequently the German seat of government-did not yet exist at the time of the incident.

19. Son of Alipet Kabien, who had died shortly before my visit; see Frederick Karl Errington, *Karavar* (Ithaca and London, n.d.).

20. In 1881 there was no police force, let alone a German police.

21. Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," 95.

22. This and the following two letters are all quoted from HMV, A 98.

23. A Tongan, previously working for Hübner.

24. Danks, "Journal," ML 616.

25. Ibid.

26. Parkinson, *Bismarck-Archipel,* 19. Two survivors of the fraudulent Marquis de Rays settlement venture, Schulz and Tetzlaff, had gone to work for Kleinschmidt; a "Becker" is

equally listed in an index of names in George Brown, Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography (London, 1908), 358.

27. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Letter Book 1881-1884," Methodist Church Papers, Overseas Mission, 41, Mitchell Library, Sydney (hereafter cited as ML 41).

28. Ibid. The letter is in a bad state and parts are hardly legible, even impossible to decipher.

29. Danks to Chapman, 15 June 1881, ML 41.

30. Joachim Graf Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee* (Braunschweig, 1899), 14.

31. Danks to Chapman, 15 June 1881, ML 41.

32. Schütte, "Topulu," 57.

33. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Copies of Letters Written from New Britain in 1880/81," Danks to Blohm, 12 April 1881, Methodist Church Papers, 617, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Royal Navy Australian Section, Pacific Islands, 1879-1881, vol. 3, reel 14, FM 4/1556 and 1658, "Kleinschmidt Murder" (hereafter cited as RNAS 15 and 16), record no. 136, Evidence Benjamin Danks, RNAS 16; this material, made available to me in photocopied form by Klaus Neumann, is in parts hardly or not at all decipherable.

34. Not to be confused with Liblib from Waira, a friend and partner of mission and trade.

35. Evidence Camda, RNAS 16.

36. Evidence Sitione Okamviaon (?), RNAS 16. Pal Pal (and variants) is a district in the south of Mioko Island; Mioko in this quote refers to a district in the northwest of the island.

37. Statement Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16. Danks reports that the conspirators called upon the natives living in the vicinity of Farrell's residence "to join in the execution of the diabolical plan . . . but on hearing Mrs. Forsayth's name mentioned among the intended victims said, 'No. You wish to kill Emma . . . very well, but first you must kill us, she will be the last to die of all the people in Palpal.' Thus her constant kindness to the people brought its reward." Danks's informant concluded, " 'That and that alone saved the white people of Mioko from death the same day Mr Klinesmith was killed.' " Danks to Chapman, 16 June 1881, ML 41. It should be pointed out that it is quite unlikely that the Europeans were spared due to the "uniform kindness of both Mrs. Forsayth and Mr. Farrell," but rather because they had enterprising and actively interested business partners among the big-men.

38. Evidence John Blohm, RNAS 16.

39. Maturin to Wilson, 24 May 1881, RNAS 15.

40. "The name of the chief of Nodup is Torrortooroo, and a very fine man he is. At one time he was a bitter enemy to the white man; but being gifted with common sense above that of his countrymen, he found it was the best policy to be friendly with them, and if possible to help the whites in any quarrel with the natives of his districts or with other tribes.-Thus he has become a very powerful chief, and is a firm supporter of the white men." Powell, Wanderings, 40-41. Torrortooroo or, as in most documents, Tolituru, was

indeed a clever politician. He acted as interpreter for the Methodist missionary Brown (see Rev. G. Brown, "Letter Book," 13 October 1875, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, A 1686-2, Mitchell Library, Sydney) who referred to him as one of "our chiefs" (Brown to Chapman, 26 June 1878, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, 102, Mitchell Library, Sydney). And in the first Catholic register of baptisms of the New Britain Mission from 1881, there appears-under no. 17-a child to be baptized from Birryné (Beridni, Nodup) whose "kanaka name" is Eyty and who is baptized René Marie; his parents are "Tallytoro (Roi) et Yaka (Reine)." From the Archibishop's archives at Rabaul.

41. Danks to Watsford, 26 May 1881, ML 41.

42. Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," 95.

43. A. Baudouin, *L'Aventure de Port Breton et la Colonie Libre dite Nouvelle-France* (Paris, n.d. [1883]), 274; see also Mouton, Memoirs, introduction by Biskup. In addition, Otto Finsch, in a report from New Britain on the *Colonie libre* had already mentioned in February 1881 that the *"Génil* with his *mitrailleuses* and cannons and a crew of about 80 men . . . was to serve as man-of-war and as protection for the *Colonie."* Dr. 0. Finsch, "Aus dem Pacific," *Hamburger Nachrichten,* 30 June 1881.

44. Baudouin, *L'Aventure,* 275.

45. Maturin to Wilson, RNAS 15.

46. Heinz Schütte, *Koloniale Kontrolle und christliche Mission* (Wien, 1986), 96-105. John Wilson, physician on the whaler *Gipsy,* 1839-1843, met New Irelanders who not only spoke broken English but also owned muskets. A copy of his diary was made available to me for consultation by Honore Forster, Australian National University, Canberra.

47. Maturin to Wilson, RNAS 15; Statement Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16.

48. "Chief of Utuan," who had served Brown as interpreter. See Rev. George Brown, "Journal, 1876," entry under 18 January 1876, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, A 1686-12, Mitchell Library, Sydney; and Brown, *Pioneer-Missionary,* 143, 147, 160, 291.

49. Evidence Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16.

50. Evidence Mr. Boor [Brom?] Frederick, master of the cutter *Loelia,* RNAS 16.

51. Parkinson, *Bismarck-Archipel,* 21.

52. RNAS 16; it is not clear whose evidence this is.

53. Ibid.

54. Baudouin, *L'Aventure,* 275.

55. The following is a freely translated adaptation of the two (oral and written) versions.

56. In his verbal account during my visit, Pastor Marget insisted that Kleinschmidt and his companions had swum back to Mioko after Toboalilu had smashed their boat.

57. In 1881 there was neither a government nor police.

58. Crump only arrived from New Zealand in 1894 (see Carter, *Misikaram,* 12); Danks mentions that he himself prevented a man-of-war from punitive action.

59. Jean Chesneaux, *Transpacifiques* (Paris, 1987), 166.

60. Julius Meier-Graefe, Vincent van Gogh (Frankfurt, 1959), 27; Michael T. Taussig, The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America (Chapel Hill, 1980), 123.

61. Danks to Watsford, 26 May 1881, ML 41.

62. Klaus Neumann, "Not the Way It Really Was: Constructing the Tolai Past" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1988), 233.

63. Jürgen Kocka, "Wider die historische Erinnerung, die Geborgenheit vorspiegelt," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, no. 2 (4 January 1988): 10.

64. In a letter dated 27 July 1989, Professor Helmuth Stoecker has rightly pointed out to me that "it is not just a matter of 'the invasion of capitalist social relations' but-much more radically-the imposition of a colonially deformed capitalism which was distinctly different from the capitalism of the colonial metropoles (foreign domination as a result of military superiority, lack of rights of the oppressed etc.)." This is surely the form of capitalism that, in the world system of unequal development, parasitically installed itself on the Duke of Yorks.

65. Taussig, *Commodity Fetishism*, 28.

66. Neumann, "Not the Way," 39.

67. Walter Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk* (Frankfurt, 1982), 2:969 and 1:603. "The narrator derives what he relates either from his own or reported experience. And in the process of narration he makes it the experience of those who listen to his story." Walter Benjamin, "Der Erzähler," *Illuminationen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1961), 413.

68. Heinz Schütte, "The Six Day War of 1878 in the Bismarck Archipelago," *Journal of Pacific History* 24, no. 1 (1989): 41-42.

69. Taussig, *Commodity Fetishism*, 153.