"To Walk Under Palm Trees" The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums - Part One

An eBook by Tony Brunt



Adapted from the online photo exhibition created for Falemata'aga, the Museum of Samoa

"To Walk Under Palm Trees" The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums Part One

By

Tony Brunt

Adapted from the online photo exhibition created for Fale Mata'aga the Museum of Samoa

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This publication has been laid out in A4 page size format (landscape orientation) for convenient printing by those who want a paper copy. A wide border has been included on the left margin of all pages (except for occasional photo bleeds) to allow for ring binding.

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PREFACE

When the Museum of Samoa asked me at short notice to come up with a title for the online photo exhibition, I chose, almost at random, the phrase "To Walk Under Palm Trees." It derived from a quote by former Samoa resident, Friedrich Stünzner writing wistfully from Germany: "I long sometimes to walk under palm trees." It summed up for me the glorious but ill-fated involvement that Germany had with its "pearl of the south seas."

It obtained an even deeper resonance when I learned later that Mr Stünzner may have been paraphrasing famous words from one of Goethe's novels, *"Elective Affinities."* In this book, one of Goethe's characters writes in a diary, "No one can walk under palm trees with impunity" ("Es wandelt niemand ungestraft unter Palmen...)."

The German residents of Samoa were true to Goethe's foreboding: they paid a high price for their tropical pleasures and remarkable diligence. Through no fault of their own, and despite their steady and liberal governance and their tireless industry, they were forced from the islands after the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles, of 1919, gave the New Zealand Administration wide discretion to decide the fate of the hundreds of Germans living in Samoa or in internment in New Zealand. To the victor belong the spoils, as the saying goes, and the New Zealanders chose deportation and confiscation.

The several hundred men, women and children who were repatriated to Germany in 1919 and 1920 represented about 80% of the Germans who had been resident in pre-war Samoa, by my rough calculations. A number were allowed to stay – those who had been married to locals – as well as a handful of others who were specially favoured. Those who were forced to return to Germany almost without exception lost everything they had owned in Samoa: land, homes, bank deposits, cash in hand. They were allowed to take luggage and a few household effects. The departed returned to struggle and hardship in their former homeland. The Treaty of Versailles ruled that the returning Germans should be compensated for their losses by their own government. The evidence of many is that this did not happen.

A Romantic Remembrance

In the grim conditions that applied in Germany in the 1920's many former residents wrote to the New Zealand Government pleading for permission to return to Samoa. Archives NZ files indicate that the New Zealanders took a hard line: only two families were allowed back, and these two were so favoured because they had blood connections with



Christel Garben "...like a lost paradise."

the islands. For the rest, Samoa was destined to become a romantic remembrance whose tropical scents and breaking surf grew in allure as the years passed. Christel Garben, who had been a housemaid for Governor Solf and then a planter at Siusega, wrote in the *"Rheinsche Landeszeitung,"* in 1939, "...das lebt und weht und taucht in der Erinnerung auf wie ein verlorenes Paradies" – "it lives and wafts through my mind like a lost paradise." Her reveries were typical: the Samoan years left an indelible imprint on those who returned to Germany. The fondness of their recollections affected children, grandchildren and later descendants. For this reason the islands have been, for nearly a hundred years, a beguiling destination for many in search of their roots, or at least a place where their roots took temporary sustenance.

Many family photo albums or collections from the Samoa days found their way into German archives over the years. Few ended up in

public collections in

suggested that some

remained in Samoa after 1920 – around 60

or so – mainly men

who were married to

local women and who

were allowed to stay

subject to "good

behaviour "There

were also several

Germans had

should have. This was because a number of

the South Pacific, though the math



"...the Samoan years left an indelible imprint.." Nina and Eva Traub, who left Samoa in 1920 with their parents, performing a Siva Samoa in Heppenheim, Germany, in later years.

hundred residents of blended German-Samoan ethnicity; their right to stay had never been in question.

By rights there should have been a fair amount of personal photography from the German colonial period in archives in Samoa, New Zealand or Australia, but there was not. To address this gap in the public record, in 2012 I decided to track down collections held by German Samoan families and, with the agreement of the owners, scan appropriate images to deposit in the digital archives of the Museum of Samoa. The Museum were enthusiastic about the idea and the hobby project began. As 'proof of concept' I had already examined the collection of a distant cousin in Auckland, Agnes Sasse Heeney, daughter of turn-of-the-century Apia settler Werner Sasse and Samoaborn Louisa Hellesoe. Agnes' albums contained some real gems from the German years and gave promise that the project could be a fruitful one.

And so it proved. Gradually, collections were tracked down, initially in Auckland. Families proved to be wonderfully generous and public

spirited in sharing their precious photographic heirlooms. Almost immediately it became clear that there were some albums and collections of major archival and historical significance not just to the South Pacific but to Germany as well. For example, the Alfred Schultz album, held by the Kronfeld Parr family, contained over 100 images from the German internment camps at Motuihe Island and Narrowneck on Auckland's North Shore. This album was in superb condition and is, I believe, unmatched in breadth and quality by any internment albums that were later deposited in German archives. The collections held by the Bunge, Spemann, Gebauer, Hufnagel,



Alfred Schultz "...an album unmatched for breadth and quality."

Grapengiesser, Klinkmüller, Riethmaier, Stünzner and McKay families are all of high importance for photo researchers of the Samoan colonial period. Other smaller collections contained real seams of gold that were unique in content – images from the Sasse, Meiritz, Conradt, Reye, Berking, Schaumkel, Meyer, Pfeil, Von Reiche, Hansell, and Thompson families, for example. After a time the net spread to capture images from Australia, Samoa, America and Germany.

But scanning images was the easy part. Working out who was in the photos and where and when they were taken, often took a lot longer and a lot more work. Some albums were cooperative – they were captioned, or their owners knew identities and details. But for a large proportion of the images scanned there was no information: the memory of the 'who,' 'what,' 'when,' and 'where' had been lost years ago. That information vacuum offered a means by which we could offer something in return to the album owners: in exchange for their generosity we could research their images, using a broad range of sources – comparisons from other albums and publications, cross referencing scenes and faces, reading contemporary accounts, and interviewing old-timers from Samoa – to rediscover the lost 'back story.' This patient detective work stretched over months and even years and enabled us to fill in the gaps for a surprisingly large number of 'mystery' photographs. In this way we were able to reconnect album owners with the genealogical and historical importance of their collections

Digital Restoration

The other time-consuming aspect was the digital restoration of damaged, marked, stained or faded photographs. It became clear early on in the project that the earlier that photographs had left the islands for New Zealand the better condition they were in. The humid, cycloneprone climate of Samoa is hard on photography. Mould and rain damage are ever-present dangers. For example, the collection of glass plate negatives that Alfred Tattersall gathered in his more than 60 years of professional photography in Samoa from 1887 to 1951 was destroyed in Apia in the January 1966 cyclone while in storage at a home in Apia (see 'Chapter 12: What Became of Alfred Tattersall'). Nevertheless, despite the more benign New Zealand conditions most



Agnes

This photograph, which is featured on page 180, required 25 hours of digital restoration to remove a stain and thousands of dust spots and blemishes.

photos that were researched required some repair or optimisation.

Deposition of images from this project in the digital archives of the Museum of Samoa is made with both the original scan, for reference purposes, and a digitally restored version

if appropriate. This work is ongoing. Digital restoration was undertaken for a large proportion of the photos that have been featured in "To Walk Under Palm Trees." Without this work many of the photos would have been of less viewer interest or unusable. Most digital repair work involved the removal of spots and blemishes that the passage of time had caused. On some high-resolution photos these spots numbered in the thousands, and each had to be individually cloned out ('oneclick' dust removal filters cannot be used because they tend to degrade sharpness and clarity). Manipulation of contrast, light levels and colour curves has also been carried out to correct for fading, darkening etc.

Archivists may feel that the presentation of photographs in their current damaged or faded state is the correct archival procedure. My view is different. I feel that the photographers of yesteryear would much prefer that their images were presented in their original condition (rather than their *current* condition), or close to it, if this can be achieved without compromising the content of the original. Careful digital techniques allow this to happen; indeed, it is an amazing truism that old photographs in even excellent condition can be made sharper, more vivid and impactful with subtle digital massaging. Such is the subtlety and power of the tools that Photoshop software offers. It would be somewhat perverse to ignore their restorative capabilities.

An Online Exhibition

Not long after the scanning project began the Museum of Samoa indicated that they felt there was benefit to be had by placing the images online for the widest possible appreciation. Display space at the museum premises in Apia is limited and there was no point in having the photos sitting unseen for years on an office hard drive. Out of this discussion grew the concept of a stand-alone website for the best of the collection. To add coherence and meaning to the exhibition it was decided to group the images into chapters or themes. The result was the internet exhibition that can be accessed at this link: <u>http://germansinsamoa.net/</u>

The display of more than 250 images was uploaded in three parts over 12 months between 2013 and 2014. Since then, some updating has been carried out – fine-tuning of captions (in the light of new information) and the addition of a few new images. One satisfying outcome of the exhibition has been the discovery by Germans and German Samoan people all round the world of family images that they never thought existed. The encouraging online comments made by viewers have not only been rewarding for the exhibition creators and donors but have yielded valuable supplementary historical information as well. In this way, the idea originating from one person has grown into an increasingly collaborative exploit.

This eBook is almost the final step in the process. Recognising that the online exhibition may close at some time in the future, I undertook, beginning in mid-2015, to turn much of it into a digital publication, namely a PDF that can be downloaded and stored by people on their own computers, tablets or other digital devices. In other words, a permanent record for those who might want it. This publication is Part One of that enterprise. It includes most of the online collection, with many new photographs, much new commentary and the odd new chapter. In principle, a second eBook is planned; in practise, its completion will depend on the availability of time and resources. Part Two is intended to focus extensively on imagery and commentary relating to the German colonists' most remarkable contribution to Samoa, the extraordinary plantations that were the dominant factor in the Samoan economy for a hundred years. Part Two is also planned to showcase images taken by long time Apia resident Gustav

Klinkmüller, and to display the Samoa pages of Gregory Riethmaier's beautiful photo album assembled after his visit to Samoa in 1938 with Felix von Luckner. A chapter on Dr Bernhard Funk, one of the great characters of the Germans years who gave his name to a cocktail that is still widely drunk around the Pacific, may also be included. The second eBook lies in the future – God-willing. But for now, here is Part One. I hope readers will enjoy it.

Tony Brunt

Auckland, New Zealand. Email: <u>tony.brunt@xtra.co.nz</u> March, 2016.

DONORS OF PHOTOS

Tui Kronfeld Parr Collection, Alfred Schultz Album Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection



McKay Family Collectic

Spemann Family Collection Grapengiesser Family Collection Bunge Family Collection Klinkmüller Family Collection Stünzner Family Collection Riethmaier Family Collection McKay Family Collection Gebauer Family Collection Agnes Sasse Heeney Collection Franz Pfeil Collection Kultur und Heimatbund Harzgerode Collection (ex-Franz & Marlies Pfeil)

Kurt Hufnagel-Betham, Samoa,

through the kind agreement of his

daughter, Mrs Touzelle Edmonds, of

have been selectively scanned

Auckland

1936. His magnificent photo albums

Schaumkell Family Collection Meiritz Reid Family Collection



Conradt Family Collection Klaus Berking Collection Reye Family Collection Meyer Family Collection Von Reiche Family Collection



Mathias Freund Collection Garben Family Collection Kirsten Moana Thompson Collection

Etesa & Wilhelm 'Bill' Spemann.

Their collection, held by their descendants, contains many fine images from the German years in Samoa, including some handed down from the Warns family (Bill's forbears) and the Gebauer and Axmann families (on Etesa's side).

Hedwig & Max Grapengiesser.

Their collection came to Auckland in 1933 and has been carefully preserved by their descendants. It contains some items of real rarity, including the magnificent image of Etesa Malietoa Axmann and her family from the 1890's. Etesa was the sister of the 'King of Samoa,' Malietoa Laupepa. Traub Collection Hansell Family Collection Tony Brunt Collection Peter & Leonie Brunt Collection Dana Moller Collection Marianne Klemm Collection Kamauoha Family Collection Wollerman Family Collection Hope Furrer-Grevel Collection



The photo collection of **Werner Sasse** (shown at left) and his wife Louisa Hellesoe is held by daughter Agnes Sasse Heeney, in Auckland, and came to New Zealand in 1950. It has many beautiful images, including the stunning 'dancing in the forest' image which is featured in Chapter 9. Werner, a gifted linguist whose translating abilities were highly valued, was one of the few Germans who was allowed to stay in Samoa after 1920, despite not being married to a local (he married in June 1921).

Otto Tetens Collection © Christianne Niggemann Möding Family Collection (per Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider) J.D. Hahn-Godeffroy Family Collection Florence Rasmussen Funck Collection Manoah-Winter Collection Claude Lamesch Collection Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries West Auckland Research Centre Auckland Libraries, WWI Print Col-Collection Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. P.W.H.Kelly Collection; also Tattersall, A J, 1866-1951 Collection Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Australia Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft Bibliothek, Goethe Universität, Frankfurt Geschichtskreis Vellmar e.V. Estate of Wilhelm Solf, Federal Archives, Koblenz *"Illustrated Catalogue of Properties offered for Lease,"* Govt Printer, Wellington, 1924



The photo albums of **Karl Bunge**, formerly a DH&PG worker, in Samoa, have travelled the world—New Zealand, Indonesia, Germany (for about 20 years) and now back to New Zealand where they are held by descendants. They contain many unique photos from the Motuihe Island internment period shot by Reinhold Hofmann. We have been fortunate to scan from the albums through the kind agreement of grandson Carl Bunge.

"Eine Reise durch die Deutschen Kolonien" Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften GmbH, Berlin 1911 "Some Recollections of Early Samoa," Harry J. Moors, pub. Western Samoa Historical & Cultural Trust, Apia, 1986 "Cyclopedia of Samoa," McCarron, Stewart & Co, Sydney, 1907 "Einhundert Jahre Australienfahrt 1886-1986," Otto J. Seiler, Hapag-Lloyd "Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa : Erinnerungen eines Hamburger Kaufmanns," Otto Riedel, Deutsche Verlag, Berlin, 1938 Some of the donors listed above have donated photos for use in the

Some of the donors listed above have donated photos for use in the second eBook planned in this series.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many very generous – and patient – people helped in the research for the online exhibition and eBook, *"To Walk Under Palm Trees."* I have tried below to list them all without exception or omission.

First mention must go to my wife, Feuna'i, for her patience and support in the extended endeavour which this project became. It has taken up a few years of my spare time and she has seen it through with a level of good cheer and tolerance that has created a congenial workspace and helped lessen my guilt about the endless hours spent. I dedicate this book to her.

Families and individuals have been wonderful in meeting my troublesome requests to scan their precious photos and to record their always remarkable stories. Other people have helped pave the way for me to access difficult-to-reach collections, or to track down people with important knowledge, those who could reach way back in time and contribute to people identification, captioning and commentary. Others have shared of their own research time or their own records to make this eBook as thorough and as error-free as possible. Contributions of information, assistance or photos have come from individuals in many countries: New Zealand (predominantly), Australia, Samoa, America, Germany and Luxembourg.

My 'right hand man' on most of this journey has been Albrecht 'Albi' Stünzner, formerly of Samoa and more latterly of Auckland. Albi has worked hard on many parts of this endeavour, both photographic and caption research, and his friendship, unfailing support and wide circle of knowledgeable family members and friends who he drew into the project, have been important factors in moving it forward.

My heart-felt thanks go to the people here listed. Many of their contributions will not become apparent until the second eBook in this series is prepared, that dealing with the former German plantations of Samoa. My apologies if I have inadvertently overlooked a helper.

Albi Stünzner, Feuna'i Brunt, Joy Hughes, Agnes Sasse Heeney, Klaus Berking, the late Elfriede Meiritz Reid, Christine Liava'a, Philip Riethmaier, David Parr, Tui Kronfeld Parr, Max Grapengiesser, Rudy Spemann, Bill Spemann, Thora Taylor, Touzelle Edmonds, the late George McKay, Trude Stünzner Barford, Marina Stünzner Harbrow, Tertia Ryan, Oskar Stünzner, Klaus Stünzner, Horst Stünzner, Kurt Meyer, Kathleen Edmonds, Christine Hood, James Bade, Reinhard Wendt, Peter Schaumkell, Carl Bunge, Don Mee, Wolfgang Hermann, Eric Matthes, Ernie Gebauer, Paul Riethmaier, Mathias Freund, Leaupepe Frederick Frost, Franz Pfeil Jnr, Marlies Pfeil, Keith Giles, Aniva and John Ross, Suela Cook, Tausala Cook, Richard Cook, Norman and Johanne Wetzell, Gisela and Meinolf Gathmann, Rudolf, Benedikt and Cordula Bietzker, Lumepa Apelu, Owen Martin, Barbara Traumann, Anja Pohl, Ralf Pauls, Rebecca Neundorf, Florence Rasmussen Funck, Martin Funck, Alice Roberston, I'u Tuagalu, Moira Spemann, Elaine Spemann, Claude Lamesch, Sue Thorne, Christianne and Herwig Niggemann, Aniva and Wolfgang Lefmann, Peter Brunt, Leonie Brunt, Jackie Schaffhausen, Ulrich Mühlenbruch, Patricia O'Brien, Christel Traub Voigt, Gerhard Voigt, Gary Kamauoha, Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, Hilke Thode-Arora, Jeanette Kokott, Kim

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1

The German Commemoration Service, Mulinu'u, 3 July 1932

O Le Fa'atasiga Mulimuli

"IT WAS IN MANY WAYS THE LAST GREAT OCCASION OF THE GERMAN SETTLEMENT OF SAMOA..."

Let's start at...the end.

On Sunday 3 July, 1932, the last of the German settlers, their wives, Samoan descendants and supporters — more than 400 people — marched from town to the newly renovated German monument at Mulinu'u, in Apia, for a commemoration service and laying of wreaths. The Apia Brass Band led the way, playing an old German cavalry march, "Drei Lilien" ("Three Lilies").

It was in many ways the last great occasion of the German settlement of Samoa. Within a few years many of the 'Old Identities' of the German community had passed on. They rubbed shoulders at Mulinu'u one last time as "O le taimi o Siamani" ("the German Time") faded into memory.



Klinkmüller Family Collection



Spemann Family Collection

The blending of the German and Samoan peoples was apparent that day. By the time of the monument ceremony three generations of German Samoans had emerged in some families.



Apia architect Mr Albert Schaaffhausen (3rd from right holding wreath) had spent several months of voluntary labour renewing the foundation, fence and monument before the ceremony. He was the architect for many of Samoa's most notable colonial buildings during the German administration of 1900-1914. The accomplished builder of many of Schaaffhausen's landmarks, Mr Friedrich 'Fritz' Stünzner, is also in the picture (3rd from left with white beard). Others that can be identified (leftto-right): Boy in shorts Max Grapengiesser Jnr; 4th from left with glasses Mr Max Grapengiesser Snr, a plantation manager from Tuanaimato; Mrs Hedwig Grapengiesser (nee Gebauer) dark hat, partly obscured; Mr Arno Max Gurau; Mrs Else Klinkmüller behind; Mr Rudolf Gebauer, a planter at Aleisa; Miss Gertrude 'Trude' Stünzner behind; Mr Augustus Betham, dark jacket.



Grapengiesser Family Collection, Photographer A.J.Tattersall, restored by T.Brunt 2013

The people in this photo are (left-to-right): Mrs Mary Meiritz (at rear); Miss Elfriede Meiritz (in front); Mr Emil Meiritz (looking down), a planter and transport operator from Mulifanua; Mr Cyril 'Mac' McKay (standing behind), of the NZ Administration; Mrs Fa'auiga Meyer (?); Mrs Moe Carruthers; Mrs Else Klinkmüller (with bag); Miss 'Trude' Stünzner; Mrs Louisa Sasse (nee Hellesoe) behind; Mr 'Fritz' Stünzner; his son 'Fritz' Stünzner Jnr; Mrs Mary Ellen

Stünzner (nee Betham) with dark hat; Mr Augustus Betham (dark jacket); Mr Wilhelm Arp partly obscured; Mrs Hedwig Grapengiesser; NZ Administrator, Brigadier General Herbert Hart; Mr Max Grapengiesser Snr at rear (glasses and grey hat); Mr Arno Max Gurau at rear (grey hat); Commander Ramsbottom of the HMS Laburnum; Mr Fritz Jahnke (grey hat), a planter at Mulifanua; Mrs Theresia 'Tupou' Jahnke; and their daughters Gertrude and Marie 'Maria' Elise.



Klinküller Family Collection, Restored T. Brunt 2013

▲ Four interesting new people appear in this photo from the 1932 gathering, all on the right hand side. Apia lawyer and former German administration official, Mr Gustav Klinkmüller, who arrived in Samoa in 1906, holds his hat in his hands. He gave the main speech. On the right is Deputy NZ Administrator, Mr Alfred Turnbull, who succeeded to the top position in 1935. In the dark suit is Mr Manuel de Silva, of Portuguese-Samoan descent, who saved 16 German sailors during the hurricane of 1889 in which the German navy lost two ships and 93 men in Apia Harbour. Their deaths were some of those commemorated on the German monument. Next to him in the dark hat and tie is Pastor Raimund Reye, Superintendent of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, who gave the opening address at the ceremony. He was the Samoan-born son of Mr Ernst Friedrich Reye and Mrs Margaretta Reye (nee Betham). The 29-year-old Reye spoke in German at the German monument, in English at a second ceremony at the Anglo-American Monument, and in Samoan beside the Samoan graves nearby. His eloquence in all three languages "won golden opinions from everybody," according to a report in the "Samoa Herald."

End of chapter— to return to table of contents click this box

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▼ A handful of attendees had been in Samoa at the time of the 1889 hurricane — Hugo Gebauer, Gottlieb Partsch, Robert Easthope, Christian Hellesoe and Apia builder Peter Paul, an immigrant from Baierthal, Germany, who is shown below leaning on a black umbrella. At the conclusion of the service the German settlers sung, "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden," ("I Had a Comrade"), a traditional lament of the German armed forces.

Spemann Family Collection



Rudolf 'Pakigi' Berking

"He will always be remembered by Samoans as one of the fathers of the Samoan nation" - Pacific Islands Monthly, June, 1972.

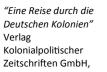
"BERKING SERVED THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF SAMOA AND THEN LIVED ON TO SEE THE ARRIVAL OF THE NATION'S SELF-GOVERNMENT IN 1962."

It was no surprise that one of the five men who organised the Mulinu'u ceremony at the German memorial was Mr Rudolf Berking. You won't find much mention of him in the history books of Samoa but he was arguably the most prominent German Samoan of the 20th century. He never held high office and his life was marked by dislocation and adversity, but Rudolf Berking was a generous and public spirited man who commanded broad community respect.

He outlived all but one of his German contemporaries, dying in Apia in 1972 at the age of 92. Berking had served in the German government of Samoa and then lived on to see the arrival of the nation's self-government in 1962. Independence for the Samoans must have seemed a distant prospect in the horse-and-buggy days at the turn of the century when Berking stepped off his ship.



Klaus Berking Collection





Rudolf Berking was born in Hanover, Germany, and arrived in Samoa in 1900 via Hawaii. After a stint in junior roles in the Customs Department he was made Collector of Customs in 1905. In this photo Mr Berking can be seen standing in white at the entrance to the Customs House, on the Apia shoreline. His assistant C. Pullack appears to be on the left. One of the other men is likely to be Captain F.Kruse, the "tide waiter." The Collector of Customs was a more important job than it sounds as in the German Administration the position was also responsible for the collection of direct taxes on business and citizenry.

In a profile of Berking in 1907, the "*Cyclopedia of Samoa*," commented on a personal quality of the man that had made him popular in his Customs role and for which he was known throughout his life: a great courtesy and thoughtfulness of manner.



Both photos Agnes Sasse Heeney Collection

These photographs were taken in about 1913-14 of a group of people partying, reportedly at the home of Mr Berking and his wife at the time, Mrs Caroline Berking (nee Netzler), at Letogo east of Apia. With a few exceptions most of the men appear to be Germans drawn from Apia's commercial community, especially the large trading and plantation company, DH & PG (Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg).

A number of people can be provisionally identified in the photo at right (identities also applicable to photo above): man at top on left (dark hair) Gerhard Ihnen; man in middle holding up a glass of beer, Mr Ludwig K.Schmidt; man second row from top on the left



leaning on handrail, Mr Werner Sasse; woman beside him in long white dress, Mrs Caroline Berking; woman on right with hand on shoulder, Miss Christine Kruse; woman on left with hand on handrail, Mrs Antonia Schmidt; man sitting on step with hand on chin, Mr

Rudolf Berking; next row down, sitting on the bottom step, left-to-right Mary Swann, Margaret (Maggie) Swann, Mr Peter Fabricius, Agnes Swann (later hotelier Aggie Grey); man far right, Dr Max Bartel. (Mr Fabricius married Margaret Swann in October 1913).



Bunge Family Collection

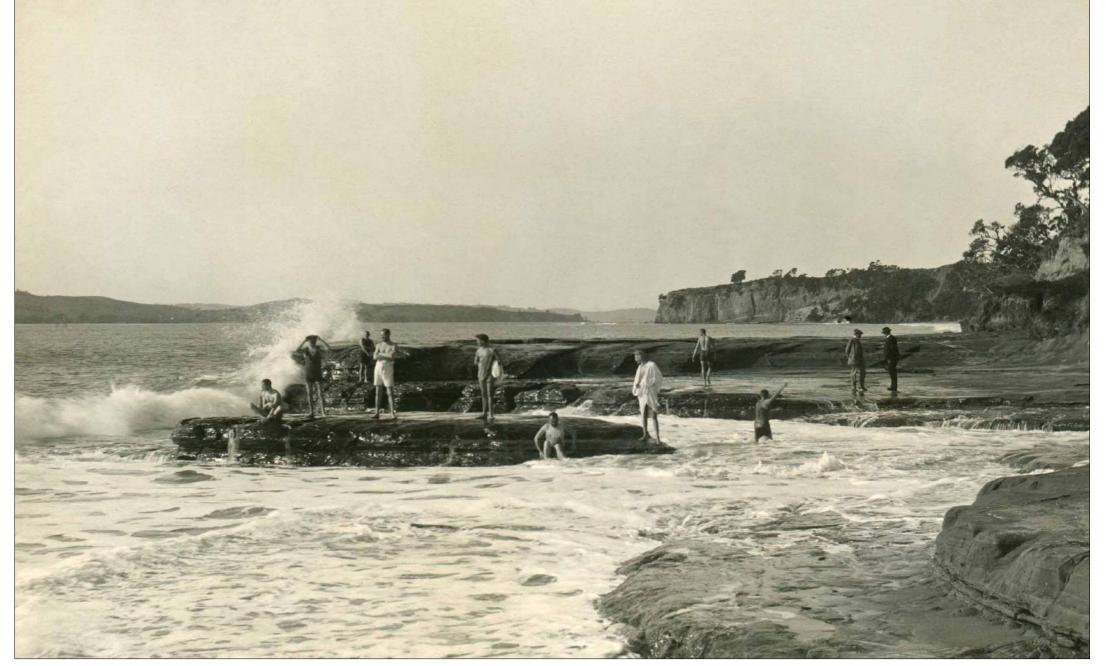
After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the end of German rule in Samoa, most German government officials, including Mr Berking, resigned rather than serve under the oath-of-loyalty terms offered by the New Zealand Administrator, Col. Robert Logan. Despite this boycott, Berking appears to have cooperated to help the kiwis on a regular basis in the Customs Department. In the chaos of a new administration "disorder reigned in all government departments," he wrote later. Working without pay, "I was at the disposal of Colonel Logan and his Customs officers at any

time of the day or the night."

Despite his cooperation with the occupying forces, Mr Berking was shipped out of Apia in May 1916 to become "Prisoner of War No. 63" in the New Zealand internment system. This photo shows him waving a finger in greeting to the photographer as his belongings and those of other new arrivals are unloaded at the wharf on Motuihe Island, in Auckland Harbour, on 22 May. Karl Bunge in the white hat also arrived that day, as did George Lober (dark hat on right).



Working in the kitchen at the camp on Motuihe Island, Auckland. People identifiable in the photo (left-to-right) appear to be: Wilhelm Osbahr, Berking, Max Bartel, Alfred Schultz, Brenner sitting, Dr Endletsberger (with pipe), Arthur Gardain, others unknown apart from far right, sitting, Wilhelm Holzeit, formerly an accountant at Krause & Preuss, Apia. Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann, restored by T.Brunt 2013



Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann

Unlike conditions in the other alien internment camp on Somes land, in Wellington, where an aggressive camp commander enforced a sometimes brutal regime (and where Berking was interned briefly), captivity on Motuihe Island was more relaxed. Prisoners were allowed to swim every day, if they wished, at the beautiful main beach and could wander at will over the island so long as they were back inside the "barbed wire" by 6 p.m.

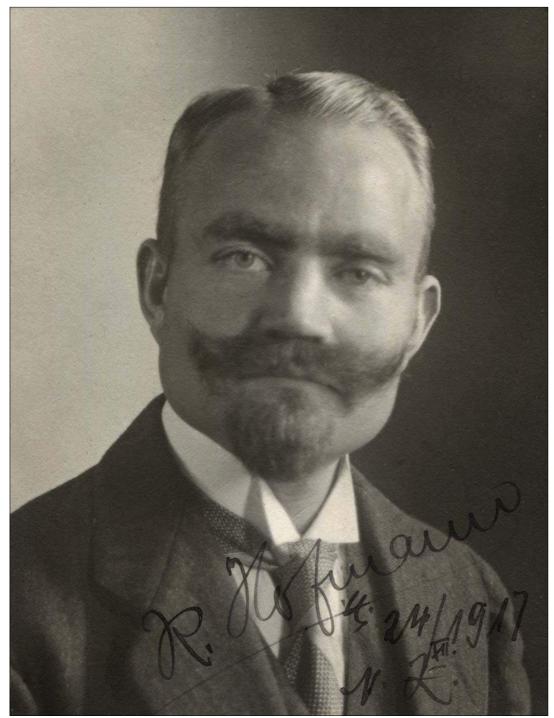


Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann

The guarded enclosure on Motuihe Island housed the dormitories, living areas and kitchen and dining facilities. The grim looking camp was deceiving – Berking later wrote that prisoners could visit Auckland on a regular basis for dental treatment, for shopping and – about once a month – to watch the silent movies, accompanied by a single guard who usually ducked off to do his own thing.



Today Motuihe Island is a public reserve and part of the Hauraki Gulf Marine Park. Few remnants remain of its days as a First World War internment camp. Photos in 2014 by T.Brunt

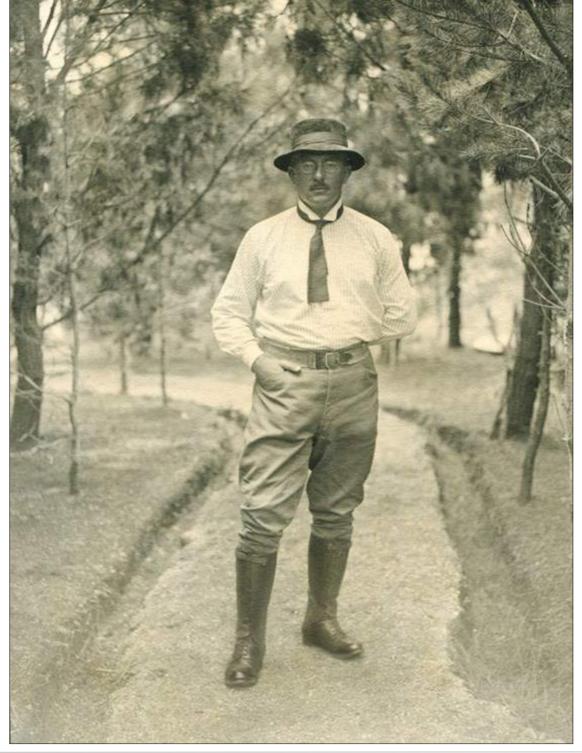


Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann

Let us credit Reinhold Hofmann, shown at left, who took most of the fine photos from Motuihe Island that are featured in this book. He was a certified male nurse with the DH & PG, in Samoa, with a special interest in the health and welfare of the company's Melanesian workers. Hofmann would have made an excellent professional photographer. The photos he took on Motuihe and at the low-security internment camp at Narrowneck, on Auckland's North Shore, after the end of the war are one of the rediscovered treasures of South Pacific photography. Their recent emergence into the public realm through the generosity of Auckland's Kronfeld-Parr family is gratefully acknowledged.

Mr Hofmann was interned for the war years along with many other DH & PG Germans. He fell foul of the New Zealand forces two weeks after the New Zealand occupation began when he and Wilhelm Hagedorn rowed out to visiting German warships at Mulifanua and spoke with Admiral Graf Spee. Despite a full report to the NZ Administrator their escapade earned banishment to New Zealand two weeks later.

Mr Hofmann used a large 'glass plate' camera for many of his photographs. More than 100 images are preserved in the Alfred Schultz Album, held by Schultz descendants, the Kronfeld-Parr family. Schultz was the DH & PG manager in Vava'u, Tonga, and was a Motuihe internee. A number of other Hofmann images from wartime internment are also held by the Stünzer and Bunge families, in Auckland, who had family members on Motuihe. They have also generously shared images for this volume and enabled a fuller picture of Hofmann's photographic endeavours. Many Hofmann images are also preserved in the album of DH & PG internee Adolf Ohle. His album is held by the Museum für Völkerkunde, in Hamburg. (A fuller portrait of Reinhold Hofmann is included in a separate chapter on pages 216-233).



Typical of Hofmann's work was this fine study of Rudolf Berking on a Motuihe path.

Despite the congenial surroundings, there was a heavy mental toll for many internees; many had dependent wives or families struggling for survival back in the islands, in New Zealand – or in Germany. Rudolf Berking had two children, a son and daughter, who were caught up in the maelstrom of war in a turbulent Europe.

Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann



Caroline Berking, shown in the middle at left, suffered from persistent ill health during her husband's absence in New Zealand. Maintaining the family's 140-acre plantation at Letogo was a struggle. Eleven Chinese workers were employed on the property but there was no money for an overseer – Caroline had to fulfill that role herself.

She was also alone with no children to lend a hand. A daughter Ernestine had died some years before. Her two surviving children, daughter Elisabeth 'Lissy' (born 1902) and son Rudolf (born 1903) were both at school in Germany, having been sent there in 1909.

This photo shows Caroline with a young man who may be her half brother Augustino, whom she adopted, and a niece.

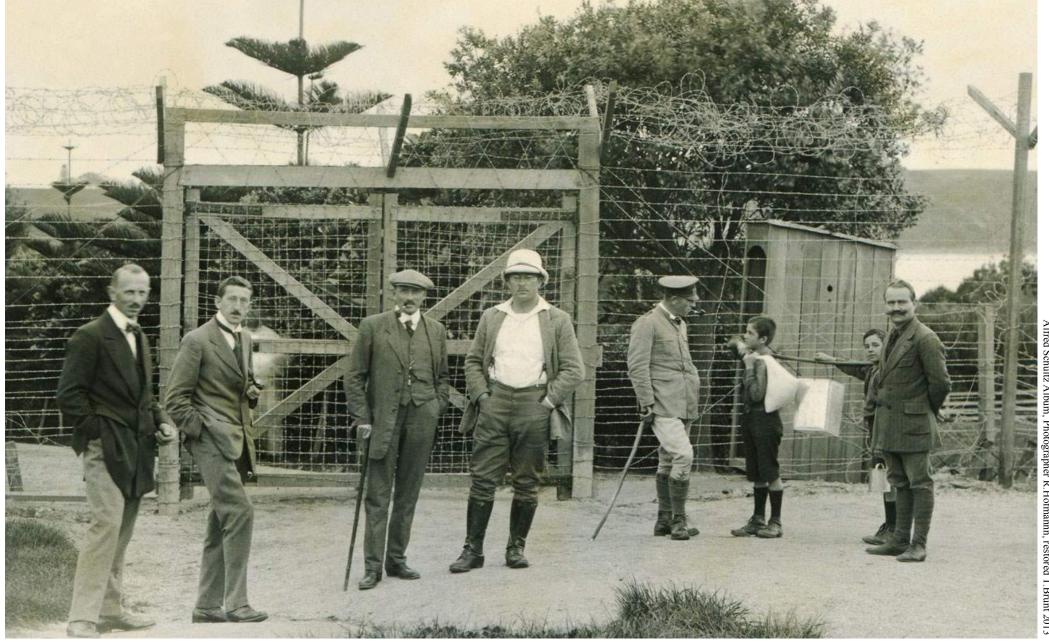
Kamauoha Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2013



A photo of the Berking children, Lissy and Rudi, (at back) taken with a relative in Germany during the war, in about 1916. Their upkeep at school was paid for out of their father's government salary which appears to have continued to be paid in Germany. Mr Berking's salary also supported his mother in Hanover.

Sending children to Germany for education and work was popular with German fathers in Samoa. Caroline and Rudolf Berking paid a terrible price for their understandable desire for a better education for their offspring in distant Europe. In September 1918, Elisabeth died of pneumonia in Hanover aged 16. Wartime internment for Rudolf meant that the parents had to cope with their grief apart. In 1926, another tragic blow – son Rudolf fell ill and died while attending veterinary school in Berlin.

Klaus Berking Collection



Rudolf Berking took a leadership role in 1919 when approval for repatriation of the POWs back to the islands was stalled. He pleaded time and again with the military authorities to allow the married men especially, to return to their families. His submissions were signed, "R.P. Berking for this camp." Finally, the Treaty of Versailles was signed and the Allies got clarity on what they could do with German POW's and their assets. Berking took passage for Samoa in February 1920. Nearly four years of captivity had come to an end. In this last photo of him from Motuihe he is standing in the middle wearing a white helmet. The others (left-toright) are: Mr A. Ohle (DH & PG, Tonga); Mr Wilhelm Holzeit; Mr Alfred Schultz; Berking; Count Felix von Luckner; young boys Kurt Stünzner and Fritz Stünzner Jnr, who lived for a time on the island with their parents in self-contained accommodation; Mr R.Hofmann.



A willingness to accept responsibility and a strong loyalty to the country of his birth saw Rudolf Berking take a leading role in maintaining German interests in Samoa and attending to the welfare of Samoa's remaining German citizens and their families. The number of Germans in Samoa had shrunk by about three-

quarters after the post-war repatriations to Germany in 1919, and the forced deportation of around 180 Germans (including children) by the NZ Administration in Samoa in June 1920.

This photo shows Berking as the leading pallbearer at a major turn-out of Germans and other citizens at Magiagi

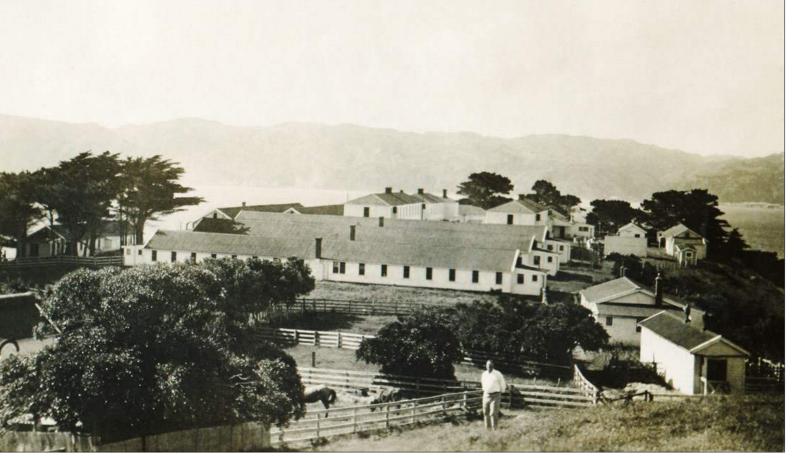
Cemetery, in Apia, in August 1933 at the burial of Mr Ernst Friedrich Reye, long-time Apia resident and former personal assistant to German Governors Solf and Schultz. Others in the photo (left-to-right) are Mr Robert Wetzell, Mr Augustus Betham (dark jacket), Mr Friedrich 'Fritz' Stünzner, Mr John Netzler and in the white suit Mr Raimund Reye.



In February 1934, Mr and Mrs Berking hosted a reception for the crew of the visiting German Navy cruiser Karlsruhe at their property at Letogo. Rudolf had remarried Anna Lefagaoali'i Coxon (nee Saffings) in 1931. She can be seen, third woman from the left. Others identifiable in this photo are (from left):

man in white suit and pith helmet Mr Alfred Matthes; Mrs Anna Matthes behind him on left; Berking in middle with Mrs Siavalua Stoeckicht beside him on right; Mr Gustav Stoeckicht directly at rear; on far right, man at rear, Mr Kurt Stünzner; young girl, full length, Miss Elfriede Meiritz; Mr Fritz Stünzner Jnr at extreme right in grey suit.

Meiritz Reid Family Collection



Rudolf Berking was a member of the German "Concordia Club," in Apia, which served as a cultural and social centre for German men. The club had started in 1893 and hung on after the First World War repatriations in much reduced form. It had a library, full time German teacher and hosted convivial meetings where drinking and singing were popular. Club members followed closely the rise of Hitler. Support for the German leader and his National Socialist Party see-sawed back and forth at club gatherings. After the declaration of war in September 1939, virtually all Concordia members were arrested by the NZ administration.

A total of 42 men were interned under guard at the Taumeasina Centre, east of Apia. Security at the centre was relaxed and relatives were able to come and go with fresh laundry for the men, including the odd bottle of beer hidden among clothes. After three months captivity, 15 inmates, including Berking, were sent to New Zealand for internment and the rest were released on parole. The photo above shows Mr Berking standing on a hill above the Somes Island internment camp, in Wellington, where he would spend 4³/₄ years. Apart from the initial 15 men, a total of 20 other German Samoans were brought to Somes Island during the course of the war.



Both photos Riethmaier Family Collection



Lifelong friendships were forged in the 'lost years' of internment. Berking became camp leader again and made representations to the NZ authorities on a number of issues, signing his letters, "On behalf of the German internees."

Identities (left-to-right): (at rear) Mr Max Grapengiesser (in glasses); Mr Kurt Schmidt (with pipe), Mr Albert Wetzell (towel over shoulder); Mr Paul Hessman, the German teacher at the Apia German School, based in the Concordia Club building; Mr Fritz Stünzner; two men in white shirts, unknown; (at front, standing) Mr Robert Wetzell; Mr Berking; Mr Arthur Leuschke; Mr Fritz Jahnke; (kneeling) Mr Werner Jahnke; unknown; Mr Gregory Riethmaier.



Both photos Riethmaier Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2013

These images show the start and end of a fishing expedition on Somes Island. Identities above (left-to-right): Unknown camp guard; Mr Werner Jahnke, Mr Gregory Riethmaier, Mr Albert Wetzell.

Photo right: Mr Fritz Stünzner (bending down); Mr Berking, unknown; Mr Riethmaier; Mr Jahnke; Mr Wetzell; Mr Herman Retzlaff; Mr Gustav Belin.



Conditions on Somes Island were comfortable, but the cold, windy Wellington weather and smaller land area meant that Somes couldn't compare with the Motuihe Island environment of the First World War. New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Peter Fraser, visited Somes in January 1940 to inspect the facilities. He was concerned for prisoner welfare as he had spent some of the First World War in Wellington Jail as an anti-war protestor. In a personal

meeting with Berking he worried about German Samoans undermining the war-time situation in Samoa. "There is not one of us here who would do a thing like that," replied Berking. Nevertheless, despite Mr Berking's assurances the New Zealanders exercised caution. Over the following four years to 1944, only three or four internees from Samoa were allowed to live off the island on community parole.



Riethmaier Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2013

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Rudolf Berking returned to Samoa in October 1944.

Fifteen months later, in a gesture typical of his generosity, Berking invited new acquaintance and solo parent Robert Dean Frisbie to leave temporary visitor accommodation in Apia and bring his four young children to stay for an extended period at the Berking plantation. Daughter Johnny Frisbie has left us with some memories of the family's 65-year-old host: "He was a large, redfaced man, who owned a big and beautiful ranch...He fed us fried cow brains, bloody roast beef, and raw ground-beef sandwiches with thick slices of onions. And the raw food seemed necessary to feed his quick temper and fuel his great frame. He had the loudest voice I have ever heard...and his face turned tomato red when he bellowed... He and papa disagreed about almost everything, except the movies we saw on Saturday nights at the Tivoli Theatre. They both raved in admiration over Gung Ho and Goodbye, Mr Chips and both abhorred Westerns, which they nonetheless saw faithfully." (The Frisbies lived with the Berking family for 12 months),

In addition to running his Letogo plantation, which serviced the local market, Mr Berking ran a butchery and ice-making operation at Matafele, in Apia. He married Helen Therese Bartley in 1951.

Berking descendants from his two latter marriages are found in many countries, including Samoa, New Zealand and Australia. (Rudolf is shown below in the early 1950s with sons Ronnie and Peter). When he died in 1972, Rudolf Berking was referred to by the *"Pacific Islands Monthly"* as a "legendary figure in Samoan history."



Klaus Berking Collection

"Your kind and prudent eyes are since long time ago the disturbers of my peace." -Emst Reye

Margaretta Betham

Ernst Reye

Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. 31-58136.



◄ Previous page: Margaretta Betham photo, George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. 31-57542; Ernst Reye photo, Reye Family Collection

Reye Family Collection

The four Betham daughters, Katherina, Margaretta, Mary and Mathilda were prominent young women in Apia colonial society around the turn of the century. It was therefore no surprise that they were all snapped up by single German men – Kurt Hufnagel, Ernst Reye, Fritz Stünzner, and Ernst von Heydebrand. The four daughters (and six

sons) were the children of Englishman, Captain Montgomery Betham, and Portuguese-Samoan beauty, Miss Anna Betham, nee de Silva (photo left) The photo above shows two of the Betham girls in their married years, Margaretta, at back on right, and Katherina Hufnagel, at front left, with their aunty Louisa Kronfeld (nee de Silva) and their cousin Jennifer Kronfeld.

German males in the late 19th century had to serve a minimum 12 months military service and could not obtain a passport without having done so. Ernst Friedrich Reve, born in Hamburg in 1874, joined the cavalry in 1894, serving in the 3rd Squadron of Westfalia, Hussar Regiment No. 11, in Dusseldorf.

He arrived in Samoa from Venezuela in 1901, having been brought in by the DH&PG to do pioneering work on cocoa production that he had studied in South America. Mr Reye formed a close friendship with married man Fritz Stünzner and his wife Mary Ellen. During a severe illness Reye was taken in by the Stünzners and nursed by Mary Ellen's sister, Margaretta Betham. He fell in love with his carer and penned Miss Betham a letter in struggling English.



"IT WAS ONE OF MANY MARRIAGES BETWEEN GERMAN SETTLERS AND SAMOAN WOMEN DURING THE COLONIAL ERA."

The text of Ernst Reye's love letter to Margaretta Betham has been handed down by Reye family members - see document at right. Mr Reye's proposal had the desired effect and he and Margaretta married in Apia on 29 September 1902.

TYPED COPY OF LETTER

Tanunamanono, ? 22th of ? 1902

Dear Miss Betham,

Your kind and prudent looking eyes are since long time ago the disturbers of my peace. I hardly venture to believe, that I should have the unmerited superb luck to may close you in arms, if! Then it would always be my highest heartfelt wish, to make you glad and happy, and only the fulfil of this promise could make me merry too.

With some more practise I would learn soon to express myself better in English. The beginning is difficult, but if you were right hearty to me, it would be easier.

I offer you , all what I have, a true heart that beats in love for you and only the thought the life that I can offer would not do you, brings me hesitation.

Truly yours

E. F. Reye

In 1908, Wilhelm Solf, the German Governor, appointed Mr Reye as a secretary to the Governor. At the time of the New Zealand occupation in 1914 he was serving as principal treasury secretary. Prior to government service Reye had been a planter and, for several years, joint manager of the DSG trading company.

Ernst Reye's commercially prudent activities enabled him to finance the construction of a superb home at Moto'otua, in Apia, shown at right.

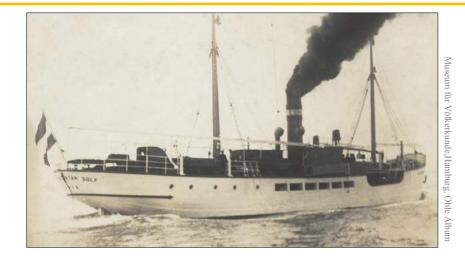


Reye Family Collection



The Reyes visited Germany in 1911 on a 10-month furlough, spending Christmas in Leipzig with Margaretta's aunt Mary Kopsch (nee de Silva), who had emigrated from Samoa with her husband Otto Kopsch. (Kopsch reportedly fought and died in the First World War; a son, Emil, also fought but survived). This photo of the family was taken in Leipzig and shows the children (left-to-right) Volrad (born 1905), cousin Ottilie Kopsch; Ernst Alfred (b.1908); Raimund (b.1904). Two more children were born to the union, 4th son, Egbert (b.1913), and daughter Alvine (b.1914).

► The New Zealand armed forces landed in Apia to annex Samoa on 29 August, 1914. Two weeks later, Ernst Reye formally handed over the keys to the German Government cashboxes and safes as well as pass on the remaining cash. The receipt from A.Loibl, shown in the image, bears Reye's signature as consignor. Reflecting the strict hierarchy of the German civil service, Mr Reye signed himself as "Reye. Assistent I Klasse" – "Assistant 1st Class". NZ Administrator, Col. Robert Logan, was rightly suspicious of the absence of any gold coins in the German reserves, a mistrust which was heightened when he learned in October of a money transfer ruse the Germans had carried out before the New Zealanders arrived (see below).



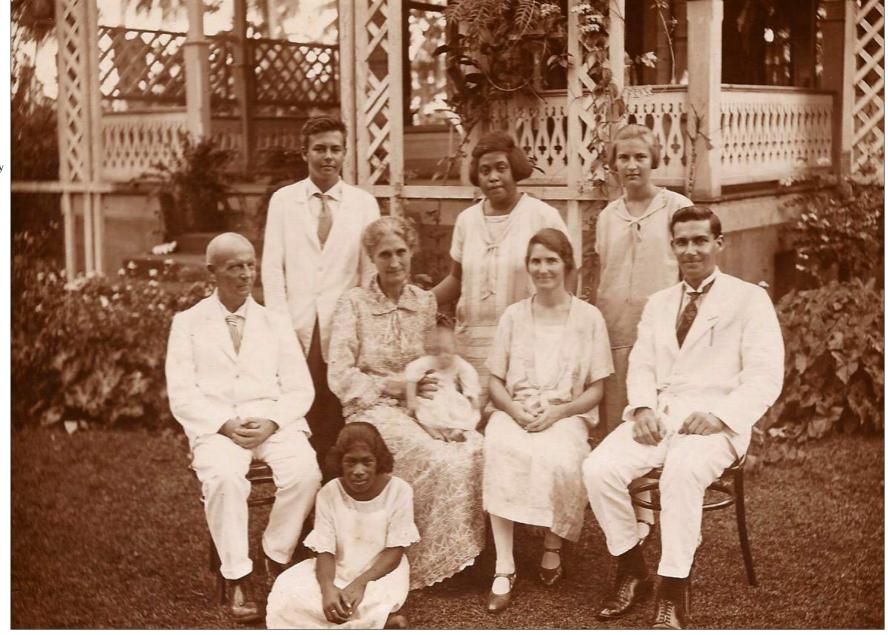
Unbeknown to the arriving New Zealanders, Governor Erich Schultz shipped out 100,000 German Marks to the DH&PG office, in Pago Pago, on board the DH&PG yacht, "Staatssekretar Solf" - see image above - on war's outbreak on 5 August, 1914. This horde was despatched for safekeeping in a neutral territory (American Samoa). The stock of paper money held by the government at the time was large and Schultz prepaid all his officials a year's salary in banknotes as well, which appear to have been deposited by most officials in personal accounts at the DH&PG Apia (Logan later confiscated these funds). The New Zealanders did not learn about the Pago Pago shipment until October but by then the money was out of reach. Reve had been present at the meeting of German officials which discussed what to do with the brimming administration cash. He told a friend later that the deputy governor, Hans Teklenburg, had suggested holding on to the money in case the administration was levied a war tax but Schultz had overruled him. Reve's part in this understandable wartime precaution hardly detracts from the integrity he was known for. Karl Hanssen, head of the DH&PG, described him in 1914 as "such a decent and civil person" (translated).

Volony of Damoa.

I hereby certify that I have this day handed over to Mr A. Loit for the Military Occupying Gorces the following Notes via

(Jotal amount) 100 Marks 1000 Marks 14. 700. 00 20 6060.00 Marks 5 Marks M Mutilated Notes Tarious M 340 . 00 ash m Gold Silver Nickel . Copper 219013 09 Dated at afria Samoa this of September 1914 al Nom stent I. Masse I hereby certify that I have this day received from her. E. F. Reye the above mentioned Notes , bash. Dated at apia Samoa, this 12th Day of September 1914 at noon

a hoile



Reye Family Collection

> This Reye family photo taken outside their Moto'otua home in 1927 shows (left-to-right): at back Egbert, unknown girl, Alvine; at front Ernst & Margaretta, granddaughter baby Elma, Raimund's Australian wife Ruby (nee Thompson), Raimund & unknown girl . The other sons, Ernst Jnr and Volrad, were in Australia at the time of the photograph. They were training for the ministry at the Avondale Seventh Day

Adventist College, Cooranbong. Ernst Reye had become an Adventist as the result of visits from Edith and Pastor H.T.Howse in 1919. Daughter Alvine became a nurse but all four sons entered the ministry. Raimund Reye was appointed Superintendent of the Samoa SDA Mission in 1925, serving until 1947 (with a break for war-time internment and community parole in New Zealand between 1942-45).



Students from the SDA training school at Vailoa marching on the road beside Magiagi Cemetery, in Apia, to attend the burial of Mr Reye.

Both photos Reye Family Collection

► On 7 August 1933 at the age of 59, Ernst Reye died in Apia while undergoing surgery for complications arising from his diabetes. Two years before, he and Margaretta had visited the Sydney Adventist Hospital for treatment. The people who can be identified in this grave-side photo taken at Magiagi Cemetery are (left-toright): the Rev. Perkins; Mr Fritz Stünzner; Mr Augustus Betham; Mr Irwin Carruthers in grey jacket and lavalava; Mr A.M.Gurau; Mr Max Grapengiesser; Mr Alfred Matthes; Mr Emil Meiritz; a man holding the Concordia Club flag; Mr Wilhelm Arp.



To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums | Tony Brunt



Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. 31-67541

The photos on this page and on page 41 were taken by Auckland photographer Herman J. Schmidt at his studio on Queen St. Schmidt's excellent portraiture, practised for more than 35 years until the 1940's, earned him a wide reputation, including among Samoa's settler community. It is clear from numerous photographs of Samoan settlers and their family members held in the Schmidt files at the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, that an appointment with Schmidt was a priority for many of those visiting Auckland from Apia. Ernst Friedrich Reye had achieved his written wish. He had "the unmerited superb luck" to marry Margaretta Betham, of Apia, "the disturber of my peace." It was one of many marriages between German settlers and Samoan women during the colonial era.

Margaretta died in Apia on 6 August 1938. She is buried with Ernst at Magiagi.

Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. 31-57543. (Cropped)





The name Reye has long since disappeared from the islands, apart from Ernst and Margaretta's gravestone at Magiagi (shown at right).

Most Reye descendants now live in Australia. They clean and repaint the grave of their forbears whenever they visit Samoa. It lies in the south-west corner of the cemetery.

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Fatu Frost

An Extraordinary Story

The Germans occasionally banished 'troublesome' Samoan matai to islands in the western Pacific. These men were often accompanied by family and supporters who served their leaders and endured years of enforced captivity. John Fatu Aiono Frost, of Fasito'outa, set the Germans a different example of self-sacrifice and service when he volunteered to accompany one of their own number into a long period of imprisonment on the outbreak of the First World War.



Previous page: Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer Reinhold Hofmann Dr Erich Bernhard Theodor Schultz, the German Governor of Samoa and a former Chief Judge, (shown at left in about 1918) had come to know the Frost family when Fatu was just a child. He apparently developed a strong friendship with Fatu's father, a high ranking *matai* (titled man) of Fasito'otai, named Aiono Aipovi, who had married Ana Frost. It is possible the friendship with Apovi developed when Dr Schultz was researching his books on Samoan proverbs and customary law. Schultz took a a great liking to Fatu and sought out his company. The latter had been born in 1892 and was educated by the Marist Brothers, in Apia. He took his mother's surname.

Dr Schultz was a single man at the time of his posting to Samoa (though he later married and had a family in Berlin). His fondness for Fatu evolved over time into an unofficial adoption and the young Samoan became his close personal assistant.



The identities of some of the men in this rare photo are outlined on the next page. This image is held by Conradt family descendants in Australia and may be the only one surviving of this group shot of the Concordia Club anniversary gathering. Press reports indicated that there were 90 guests in attendance but only about half are shown here. Franz *Conradt was the chairman* of the Concordia in 1913 and appears to be the man sitting to the right of the man in the dark jacket (with legs crossed). The men wearing small fabric *medallions were founding* members in 1893.

Conradt Family Collection, Restored T Brunt 2014

The governor and his young friend and assistant were often to be seen together. For example, on 8 June 1913 the Concordia Club, in Apia, celebrated its 20th anniversary with a day of festivities (see photo above). Governor Schultz, just back from a trip to Germany, presented a new club flag and congratulated members on their contribution to the

community since the club's founding in 1893 (the Concordia was a community service organisation as well as a social and cultural centre). Dr Schultz is the short man standing about 6th from the left. Directly behind him on the left (top of head only) is Fatu Frost.



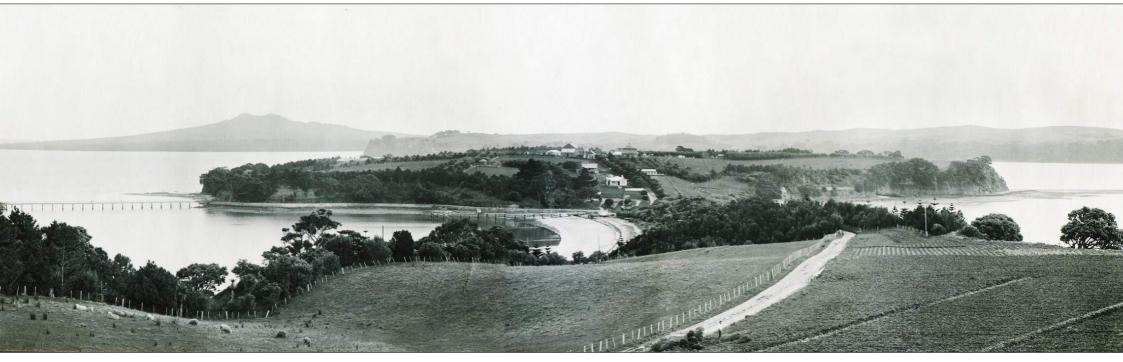
Conradt Family Collection, Restored T Brunt 2014

Identities in this photo appear to be as follows: 1. Emil Leubke; man behind 4, half face showing, Ta'isi O.F.Nelson; 6. Alfred Matthes; 7. Governor Erich Schultz; 8. Fatu Frost; 9. Hans Traub; 11. Dr Max Bartel; 13. Adolf

Mohr; 15. Josef Schon; 18. Charles Netzler; 20. Erich Langen (?); 21. possibly Gerd Suhren; 23. possibly Franz Conradt; 24. Adolf Haidlen; 27. J.Ravizza; 28. Paul Hoeflich; 30. Gustav Stoeckicht; 31. Peter Paul; 32. possibly Anton Gosche; 34. Wilhelm Schwalger.

"SCHULTZ STOOD SILENTLY WHILE FATU ARGUED HIS CASE WITH THE NEW ZEALANDERS.... ERICH WANTED HIM TO COME."

Bunge Family Collection (two-photo panorama); photographer R.Hofmann; restored T.Brunt 2013



On the outbreak of war and the capture of Samoa by NZ forces, Dr Schultz was informed that he was being shipped out to internment immediately. Fatu Frost, who was about 16 or 17 at the time, told his adoptive father that he would come with him. Schultz discouraged him. However, in final discussions between New Zealand officials and Schultz, Fatu spoke up that he was accompanying the Governor. Schultz stood silently while Fatu argued his case with the New Zealanders. Frost told his children years later that he could tell that Erich wanted him to come.

This photo shows a view towards the populated end of the internment camp on Motuihe Island. The main prison buildings can be seen on top of the far hill. Governor Schultz and Fatu were allowed to live outside the security fence in the white house that can be seen down near the beach.



A close-up view of the Governor's house, which was superior accommodation to that of the camp commandant whose house was smaller and stood behind on the left. Dr Schultz' house had six bedrooms and had previously been occupied by the Motuihe Island farm manager.

Most POW's knew that Fatu was Erich's adopted son but the general misimpression among the New Zealand authorities was that he was Dr Schultz' valet. On his arrival in Auckland on board the Navua in September 1914 amongst

the German party, Fatu's exotic presence had tantalised the spectators and press. One newspaper correspondent commented on the surprising presence of a "darkskinned gentleman who bore himself with consummate ease, and smiled a wide expansive smile that only momentarily disappeared to return to still more opulent happiness. He wore knee-breeches, a dent hat and earrings, and turned out to be the personal servant of Dr Schultz. His nationality is still a source of wonder to the crowd."

Bunge Family Collection

> Copyright: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (Adolf Ohle Album)

▲ Governor Schultz and Fatu would live for about four years in this house from 1915 to 1918.

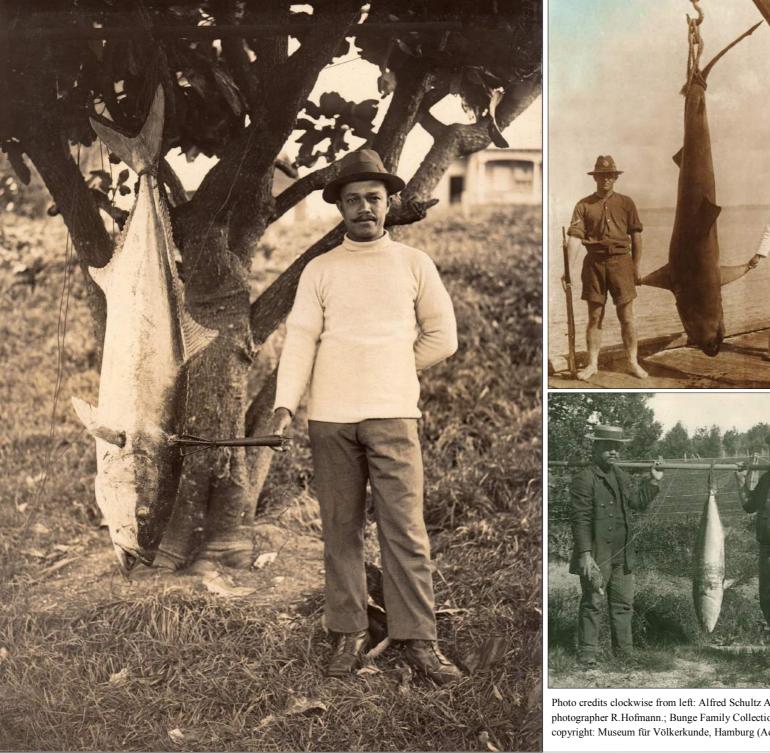
The Motuihe Camp was closed down at the end of 1918 after the war ended. Internees were transferred to the Narrowneck Camp, at Devonport on Auckland's North Shore, where most foreigners were kept a further 6-12 months, being shipped out progressively between May 1919 and early 1920. Fatu appears to have accompanied Dr Schultz back to Germany on the steamship Willochra in May 1919.

"Gambling room, Governor's house where I went twice a week." So wrote Motuihe internee Adolf Ohle in a caption to this photo in his album which is held by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg. It is known that Erich Schultz spent much time in internment penning letters of complaint to the NZ authorities. Ohle's statement suggests that card games also helped relieve the boredom of captivity. A gramophone on the table is doubtless the one that Schultz had had specially retrieved from his quarters at Vailima two months after internment began and shipped from Apia to Motuihe.





2014 comparison photos by T.Brunt



Fatu Frost clearly spent a lot of time fishing. Sharks and kingfish are shown in these photos of him and his catches.

One day he speared a large kingfish while fishing from rocks (see photo far left). The head of the gaffe was left in the fish and it was hung from a branch of a tree that stood just up from the south beach and below his house.

Photo credits clockwise from left: Alfred Schultz Album, photographer R.Hofmann.; Bunge Family Collection; lower, copyright: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (Adolf Ohle Album)



Everyone wanted to be photographed with Fatu's spectacular catch. This is one of the few photographs from Motuihe which shows Dr Schultz. He was sensitive to the fact that Samoa had been lost during his governorship. His absence from photographs may have been a deliberate move to avoid photography which could have been exploited by NZ and British wartime propagandists. Another rare photo of Schultz on Motuihe is shown on the next page.

Identities are: (Left to right) at back Alfred Schultz (DH & PG, Tonga); Karl Rudolph; Adolf Ohle (DH & PG, Tonga); Count Felix von Luckner (arms folded); Mathilde Stünzner; Albrecht von Egidy; Fatu Frost; Erich Schultz; children in front Kurt Stunzner; Fritz Stünzner Jnr; Albrecht Stünzner and Gertrude 'Trude' Stunzner.

Both photos Alfred Schultz Album, photographer R.Hofmann

▼ The guards got in on the act as well. Photographer Hofmann is second from the left. Wilhelm Holzeit (ex-Samoa) is behind the kingfish on the left.







Dr Schultz (second from left) with Von Luckner, Alfred Schultz (on right) and Friedrich Stünzner on left.



On Sundays some internees would head out to hunt for rabbits. Fatu watches while a group try to dig some rabbits out of a burrow. Fatu was a fluent speaker of

German, as well as Samoan and English, and was something of a comic. He could draw a laugh easily from with beret unknown; Arthur Gardain with spade; a group. People (left-to-right): Fatu; Holzeit; man

standing unknown; H.Cassebaum looking back; man Karl Bunge (ex DH & PG, Apia).



Another stunning Hofmann photo of the rabbiters at lunch.

Bunge Family Collection, Photographer R.Hofmann



Bunge Family Collection, Photographer R.Hofmann

The rabbiting group has a rest. Bunge and Cassebaum can be seen sitting with ferret boxes. Tame ferrets were sent down the holes to frighten the rabbits out. Cassebaum is holding a ferret. Fatu has a sack at his feet which appears to have dead rabbits in it.



This is where the rabbits were eaten. Fatu can be seen acting as a waiter or 'maitre d' in what was probably the first class dining room on Motuihe. The table is set for dinner. The German internees were divided into first class and second class prisoners by the NZ government. Second class prisoners sometimes protested that they should be upgraded because their payscale in the German Administration in Samoa justified it.





Fatu spent approximately two years in Berlin living with Dr Schultz. He would have been present at Erich's wedding in August 1920 to Miss Charlotte Schultz. Fatu asked his adoptive father if he could return to Samoa to build his birth father, Aiono Aipovi, a house and develop their family land. This was in about 1921. According to Frost descendants, Dr Schultz agreed but extracted a promise from Fatu that he would return and confirm titles for his children so that they would have a

permanent link with the country that he had developed a great love for.

According to information pieced together from both Frost and Schultz descendants, Fatu returned to Berlin in 1924 with a party of 20 people, including 10 matai from Fasito'o, and held what may have been the only saofai (title-giving ceremony) ever held in Germany. Three children had been born to Dr and Mrs Schultz by this time, Aiono Karl Henning (b.

12/06/1921), daughter Fuatino Maria Christiane (b. 2/8/1922) and Tuala Joachim Eckart (b. 1/1/1924). The titles inherent in these birth names were apparently confirmed by the visiting matai. Dr Schultz, by then Dr Schultz-Ewerth, appears to have been given the title Aiono. Fatu then returned to Samoa to live out the rest of his life. This photo shows Fatu's interesting two-storey fale at Fasito'o in 1938 with beds arrayed down one side of the upper floor. Fatu is on the left with grey hair.

Von Luckner, his old friend from Motuihe days, visited Fatu and his wife, Ida (nee Burgess), in 1938 on a world-wide cruise aboard his personal yacht "Seeteufel." This photograph shows von Luckner, his wife, Lady Ingeborg, and Mrs Ida Frost, who is on the right beside von Luckner.

The Frosts had many children, including a son who Fatu named Schultz.

The taupou pictured was Fuatino Koke Aiono, of Fasito'o, who later in life was a prominent teacher of Samoan culture in the education system. Behind von Luckner appears to be Mrs Mary Wetzell (nee Mann) with son Fred on the left.



Riethmaier Family Collection

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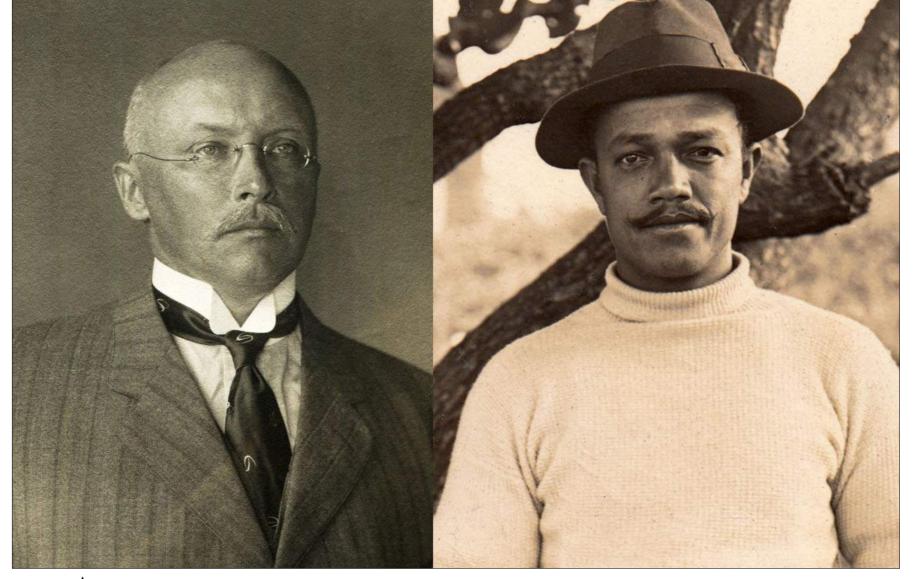
In this photo a grey-haired Fatu Frost can be seen standing behind von Luckner and the taupou Fuatino. Son Frederick Frost stands on the right. Fatu had a plantation, farm and shop in the village. He was given the *tulafale* title Leofo in the 1940s.

Riethmaier Family Collection



Leofo Fatu Frost (right of middle, head only) and other onlookers laugh in delight as conjurer Felix von Luckner produces a coin out of nowhere in his right hand after apparently having flipped it on to the roof of the adjoining fale. Mary and Robert Wetzell are at top right.

Stünzner Family Collection



After his return from Germany with the matai group in 1924, Fatu Frost corresponded with Aiono Dr Erich Schultz until the latter's death on 24 June, 1935. Contact between the Schultz and Frost families ended when Fatu died in January 1956. (For more biographical information and photography of Dr Schultz see pages 194-196).

After more than half a century, descendants of both families met again in Samoa in 2012. Mrs Aniva Gesine Lefmann, Dr Schultz' granddaughter, met Fatu's son, Leaupepe Frederick Frost. Mrs Lefmann confirmed during her visit that the *laulau fesilafaiga* (ava bowl), *fue* (orator's whisk) and *to'oto'o lauga* (orator's stick) used in the Berlin *saofai* were still in the Schultz family's possession. As a further strengthening of family bonds, Mr and Mrs Lefmann and Leaupepe met again in Germany in 2015.

GERMAN OFFICIALS AND THE PE'A



That Erich Schultz received a *pe'a* was first asserted by N.A.Rowe in his 1930 book, "Samoa Under the Sailing Gods." The governor's tattoo has subsequently been confirmed by Schultz descendants. Where and when it was applied is unknown.





The traditional Samoan body tattoo for men, the pe'a, stretches from the waist to the knees. The tattooing process in colonial and pre-colonial times used handmade tools of bone, tusks, turtle shell and wood. The application then and now, even with modern tools, is extremely painful. A pe'a, which can take weeks to apply, used to be a necessary prerequisite for a matai title but this is no longer the case.

At least three German Administration officials were sufficiently impressed with Samoan culture and the manly symbolism of the *pe'a* to request and receive the tattoo from a *tufuga ta tatau*. These man were Governor Erich Schultz, Rudolf Berking and Wilhelm Osbahr.

H.F. Wilhelm Osbahr (on left) was the German district administrator for South Upolu in 1914. For many years before that he had been a teacher at the government school in Apia. Mr Osbahr had a pe'a mutu-an unfinished one, which covered one leg. Despite not completing the job, Osbahr's nod to Samoan culture reportedly helped solidify the respect in which he was held by the locals at his base at Poutasi.

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Rudolf Berking received his pe'a at the village of Luatuanu'u, east of Apia, and not far distant from the plantation he had at Letogo. The photo above from the period of internment at Narrowneck. Auckland, in 1919, indicates that he received his *pe'a* prior to the First World War. The bottom of the tattoo can be seen on his left. knee, which is enlarged in the inset photo.

Photo credits: (Clockwise from top left) Shultz per Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection (cropped); tatooists per estate of Wilhelm Solf, Federal Archives, Koblenz; Berking and Osbahr photos per Bunge Family Collection (cropped).

Click here to go to chapter references

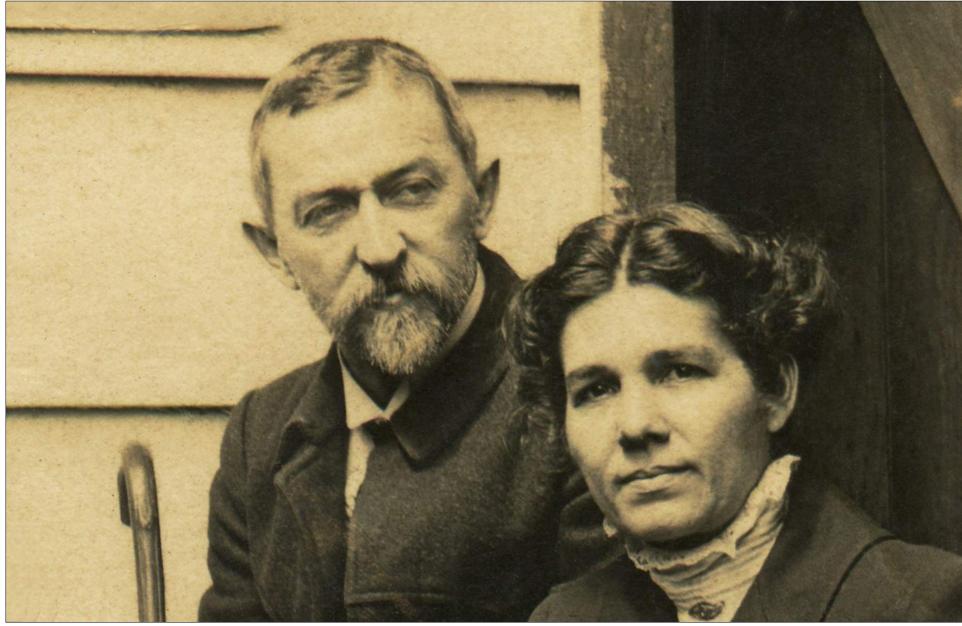
The Saga of the Stünzners

"I long sometimes to walk under palm trees."

Alfred Schultz Album, Photographer R.Hofmann

The history books are full of people who left their mark on the political life of nations but Friedrich 'Fritz' Stünzner left a less risky legacy – fine buildings that were widely admired.



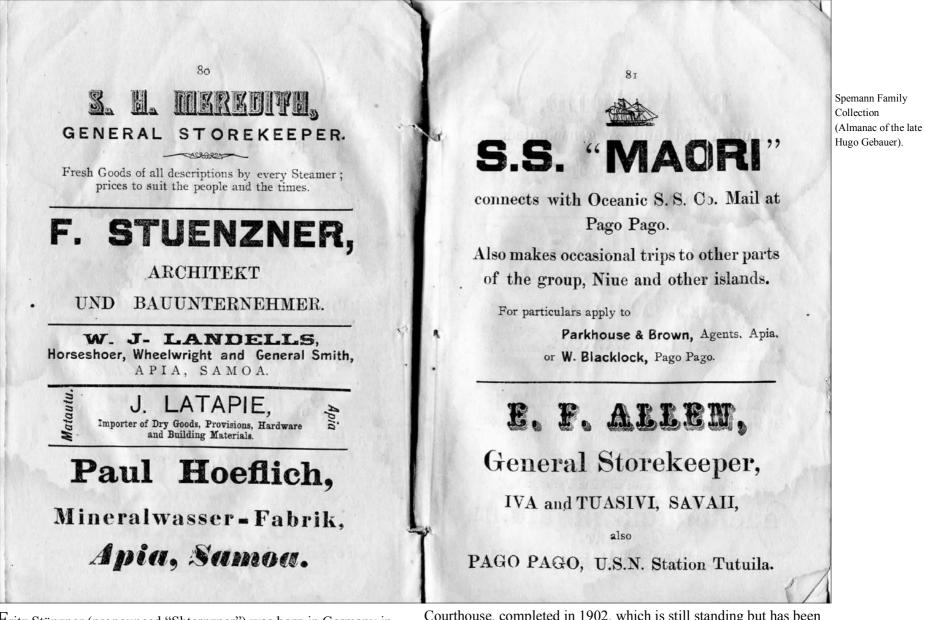


Fritz Stünzner was a builder and architect whose brilliant construction career in Samoa was cut tragically short by war and a forced return to Germany in 1919.

Fritz, his Samoan-born wife, Mary Ellen (nee Betham), and four of their

children returned to their beloved Samoa in 1925. This time he chose a different occupation, a planter – but the grim 20th century was not yet done with him or his family.

This photo shows Fritz and Mary in about 1917.



Fritz Stünzner (pronounced "Shternzner") was born in Germany in 1873 and studied structural engineering. He arrived in Samoa in 1897 at the invitation of his uncle Kurt Hufnagel, manager of the Vailele Plantation, and spent some years on plantation projects. From 1902 he built up a sizable construction company, helped along by valuable contracts obtained from the German Administration.

Stünzner reportedly built (and may have designed) the original Apia

Courthouse, completed in 1902, which is still standing but has been extensively modified and extended. Albert Schaaffhausen is credited with having designed the extensions which were carried out between 1908-1912.

The photo shows a Stünzner ("Stuenzner") advertisement in the official German Administration Almanac for Samoa, of 1905. It describes him as an architect and builder.

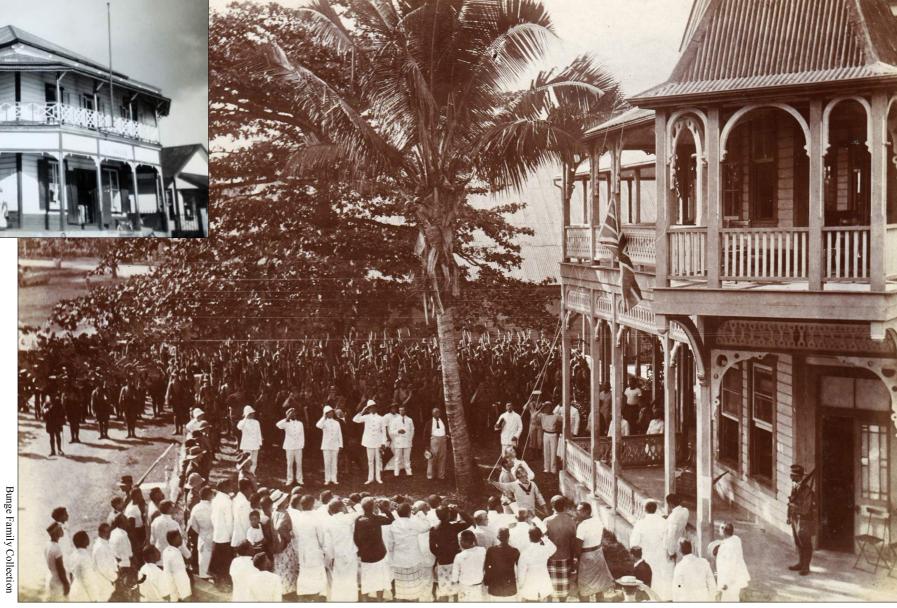


The building commissions Stünzner completed, as recorded by his family, include the Apia Courthouse, the Apia Hospital, the Apia Observatory (destroyed by fire), the Casino Hotel, DH & PG buildings at Sogi (later

Westec), the Lands & Survey building (originally Sabiel Chemist), the O.F.Nelson store (destroyed by fire in 1946), homes for the Stünzner, Thieme, Hanneman and Haaben families, and the Tuaefu, Solosolo and Fugalei bridges. This photo shows the original Courthouse building.



Agnes Sasse Heeney Collection



One of the famous 'flag raising' photos of the invading New Zealanders in 1914 shows a close-up view of some of the Courthouse woodwork.

This photo, from the Bunge Family Collection, was taken from the balcony of the Hellesoe store and home on the opposite corner (see photo top left). It was one of two or three images of the flag raising taken by professional Apia photographer Alfred Tattersall. He would have been standing on the left of the Hellesoe balcony. (Harry J. Moors is the man in the middle of the flag photo in grey trousers standing by the palm tree. Beside him on the left is Apia resident Robert Croudace).

A second Apia photographer Thomas Andrew was beside Tattersall on the balcony that morning and took at least three photos as well. These are held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.



Another view of the courthouse during the early years of the NZ Administration giving a good view of the eastern wing.

There is a zealous British fervour around this celebration, perhaps the 10th anniversary of the accession to the throne of King George V in May 1920 or a display to impress a vice-regal visitor from New Zealand. The GRI sign stands for "Georgius Rex Imperator", Latin for George King Emperor. In addition to being king of the British colonies George fulfilled the role of Emperor of India.



Copyright: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (Adolf Ohle Album), photographer A.J.Tattersall, 9 July 1912

The main Apia hospital, reportedly built by Mr Stünzner, (and shown above), was officially opened on 9 December 1903. It was a gift of wealthy merchant, Mr Gustav Kunst, who arrived in Samoa in 1901. He had made his considerable fortune as a trader in Vladivostok and spent part of each year in Samoa, Hawaii and other locations. Kunst bought 11,000 acres around Apia, including the Vailima Estate which he purchased from the heirs of Robert Louis Stevenson. Vailima was reportedly in run down condition and he had it refurbished. Mr Kunst died in Hamburg in 1905. Vailima was then purchased by the German Government for the use of the Governor.

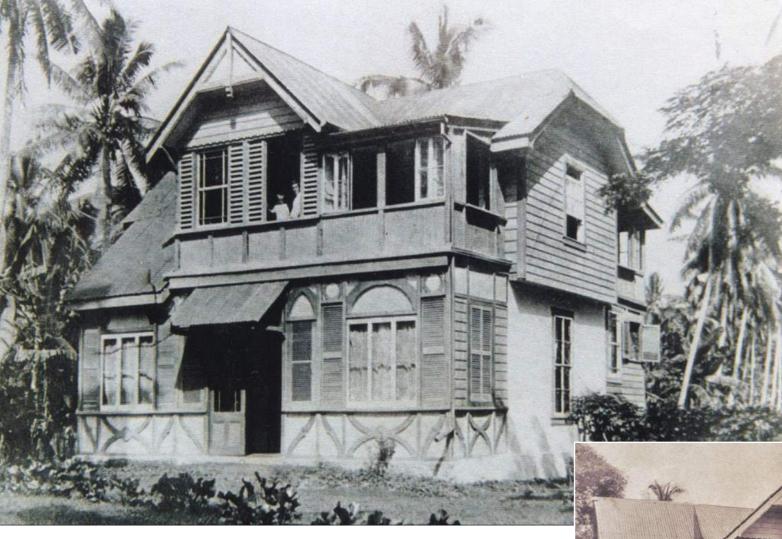
The German Government charged a low level of fees for patients admitted to the hospital above, which was reserved for Europeans. Separate facilities for Samoans and Chinese were provided in other buildings on the large site.



The Apia Observatory, at Mulinu'u (shown at left), was built by Fritz Stünzner, as a replacement for more basic accommodation which had been in existence since the founding of the observatory in 1902 by scientist Otto Tetens on behalf of the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen, in Germany. The Stünzner building stands on concrete piles about a metre high and appears to have a concrete, or concrete render, lower floor with weatherboard above.

In 1914 it was taken over by the New Zealand Government and continued to be operated by the former director under the German Administration, Dr Gustav Angenheister, until 1921. Dr Angenheister (shown below in June 1913) appears to have been the only senior German civil servant retained in employment by the occupying New Zealanders. In later years he was a professor at the Technical University of Berlin and then Director at the Institute of Geophysics at Göttingen. The Stünzner-built observatory was used for observations of terrestrial magnetism, seismology and meteorology (not astronomy). It reportedly burned down in later years.





The Stünzner family home, at Tanugamanono, Apia (shown above), which Fritz designed and built in 1906, is an interesting blend of Teutonic and tropical influences. It still sits on the western side of the main road, though heavily modified.

Displaying a stronger South Seas flavour, the Stünzner home is shown again on the right in 1928 after it had been bought by Theodore W. Brunt (on porch), and his wife Freida (nee Schwenke), who is upstairs. The Brunts bought the house in the early 1920s, possibly from the NZ Administration. They have opened up the house more to allow an airflow through a gap above the concrete foundation pad and the timber cladding above. The decorative embellishments of the lower wall have gone. Stünzer Family Collection (ex-Bietzker Family, Germany).

Tony Brunt Collection.





Klinkmüller Family Collection, photographer Gustav Klinkmüller

The home of Dr Oskar Thieme and his wife Luise (nee Gabriel), at Savalalo, that Stünzner designed and built in late 1912. The lower storey at the front of the house has been made from concrete. As with his own home, Stünzner seems to have worked to find a balance between sunshading, privacy and airflow. This photo was taken shortly after the house was completed. (In later years it was occupied by the Chinese Vice Consulate).



The Nelson store on Beach Rd, shown above left (initially "A.Nelson & Son" and then later "O.F.Nelson & Co. Ltd") followed a classic colonial villa form with upstairs verandah on three sides. Sadly, it burned down around midday on 31 May 1946 (shown at right at 1 p.m.). Owner Ta'isi O.F.Nelson was spared the sadness of this event; he died in February 1944.



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A fuller view of the Nelson store is seen in this photo of a parade of the German Concordia Club passing by in the early 1900's possibly to mark the Kaiser's birthday.

"Eine Reise durch die Deutschen Kolonien" Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften GmbH, Berlin 1911.



Copyright: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (Adolf Ohle Album), photographer A.J.Tattersall, 17 Sept. 1912

Perhaps Fritz Stünzner's greatest building was the Casino Hotel on the shoreline at Sogi, in Apia. This large wooden structure was commissioned by the DH & PG in 1911 and completed in February 1912. Its purpose was to provide housing for the company manager and unmarried staff. The hotel stood on the site now occupied by the Kitano Tusitala Hotel.

At the official opening on 2 March 1912, DH & PG Manager, Mr Karl Hanssen, referred to the plans for the hotel having been presented to the company board jointly by Fritz Stünzner and Albert Schaaffhausen. It is probable that the latter had the main design input.

This photo was taken by Alfred Tattersall 6¹/₂ months after the official opening on 17 September 1912.

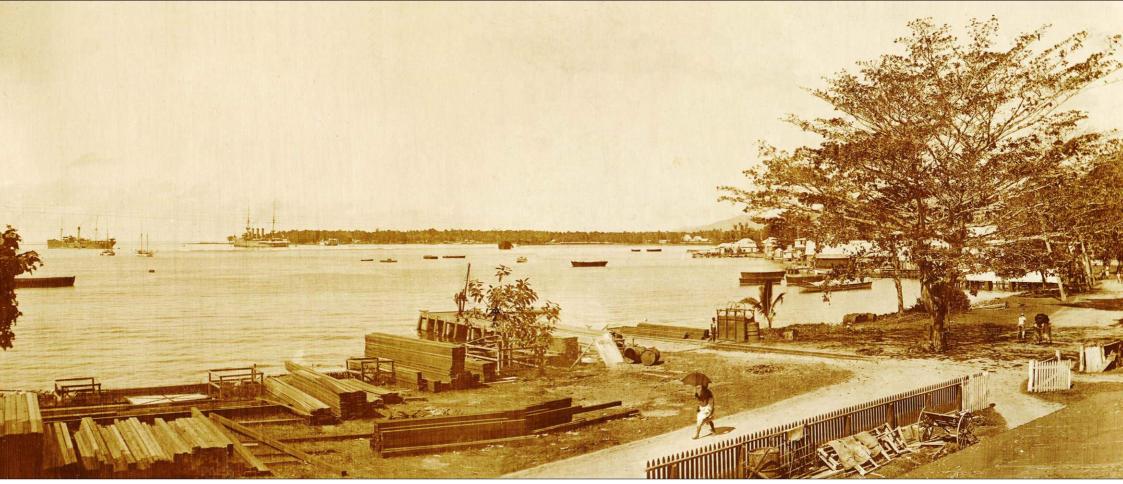
To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums | Tony Brunt



Klinkmüller Family Collection, photographer Gustav Klinkmüller

The only known photo of the Casino Hotel under construction, taken by hobby photographer Mr Gustav Klinkmüller apparently during a weekend when the site was deserted. Mr Stünzner built the hotel with imported American Pine for the sum of 20,000 Marks. The DH & PG enforced a 5-month maximum building period for the hotel, a remarkably tight timeframe which Stünzner was able to meet. A sweetener in the contract promised that the DH & PG would provide, "zehn (10) schwarze Arbeiter unentgeltlich…" – "ten (10) black workers free of charge" to hasten construction. This description for Melanesian workers brought in to Samoa as a labour source was common parlance around the turn of the century. Note the rail system installed to bring construction materials on wagons from the adjoining DH & PG office building and the company wharf at Sogi which were only metres away.

Klinkmüller Family Collection, photographer Gustav Klinkmüller (two photo panorama T.Brunt 2013



In this two-photo panorama stitched together from Klinkmüller photos taken from the second floor of the adjoining DH & PG office building, we can see construction materials piled near the DH & PG wharf. Note the rail system extending from the DH & PG wharf across the main road to the company property. A branch line must have extended to the Hotel site.

A warship from the Australian squadron HMS Challenger can be seen at anchor. It visited Apia between 21-24 July 1911, thus allowing us to pinpoint this photo and the previous one to perhaps Sunday 23 July.



Despite the building's imposing façade it was only one room wide along its central spine. After generous allowance had been made in the design for halls, dining rooms, lounges, communal bathrooms and utility rooms there were only 18 bedrooms, several of which were in the eastern wing (closest to the camera) in quarters which appear to have been earmarked for the DH & PG Manager, Mr Karl Hanssen, and his family. The kitchen was out the back in a separate building accessed by a covered pathway. Servants quarters were also at the rear, as were garages and buggy sheds. It appears electricity was not installed until the early 1920s. Copyright: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (Adolf Ohle Album), photographer A.J.Tattersall, 17 Sept. 1912



Agnes Sasse Heeney Collection, restored T.Brunt 2013

A 1924 New Zealand Government document aimed at potential leaseholders commented favourably on the design of the Casino Hotel: "A wide experience of tropical residence has gone to the construction of a building designed to give each single resident the full advantage of light and air." Continuous verandahs ran on all sides of the hotel. "...the lay of the building is such that the slightest breeze is felt from almost any direction."

▼ Per "Illustrated Catalogue of Properties offered for Lease," Govt Printer, Wellington, 1924.

▲ A group of DH & PG workers enjoy a drink outside the Casino Hotel in about 1913-14. Identities (left to right) appear to be as follows: Mr Adolf Eberhardt, Mr Eduard Dusterdieck, Mr Gerhard Ihnen, unknown (standing), unknown, possibly Mr Peter Rasmussen (standing), Mr John Helg, Mr Werner Sasse.

As can be seen behind the men, adjustable timber shutters were used for sunscreening and privacy. These could be swung out of the way and interior spaces opened up when necessary.



To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums | Tony Brunt



The Casino Hotel was eventually taken over by the NZ Administration after the outbreak of war in 1914. DH & PG assets were placed under compulsory administration on 1 October 1915 and then liquidated on 1 April 1916. The hotel was for a time renamed the Apia Hotel and opened for public custom. Then it reverted back

to its original name. Over the years the Casino was extensively modified and much of its colonial charm was lost to "modernisation."

This photo shows the hotel in about the 1940s. When it was demolished in 1972 the legacy of Fritz Stünzner lost its centrepiece.



Fritz Stünzner was taken into custody on 28 October 1915 and sent for internment as a prisoner of war ("Number 363") on Somes Island, Wellington. Because of poor health, in December he was transferred to Motuihe Island, in Auckland. Archives NZ files indicate that Mr Stünzner was arrested in Samoa because he was viewed as an assertive and outspoken character by the NZ Administration. Apia resident Frieda Zieschank also recorded that Stünzner refused to do building projects for the administration. In early 1917 Fritz was joined by his wife, Mary and his five Samoa-based children (two daughters, Hetty and Ilse, were in Germany being educated). The special dispensation to have family present on Motuihe was given because Mr Stünzner was suffering from a persistent and severe intestinal illness.

This photo shows the Stünzners in front of the small three-room cabin that Fritz was allowed to build to house his family. The children are (left-toright): Kurt, Matilde, Trude, Albrecht 'Albi' and Fritz Jnr.



Centre, WWI Print Collection

Reinhold Hofmann appears to have shot this photo through the doorway of the Stünzner family cabin.

Daughter Gertrude (shown on right) wrote a reminiscence in 1993 in which she commented on the pipe-smoking habits of frequent visitor, Count Felix von Luckner. "When his pipe was blocked, he took the

mouthpiece and blew the contents on the floor. Our mother was very annoyed, but he did not bother. Although Count Luckner constantly had his pipe in his mouth, he never had matches to relight it. He always took some of ours. So our father wrote our name on the matchboxes and fastened them on a string. Nevertheless Luckner's pockets had to be controlled before he left."



This exquisite photo of the Stünzners from Motuihe is one of Hofmann's best. The occasion was the 60th birthday of internee Gustav Kronfeld, of Auckland, (on left) who had married Mary Ellen's aunt, Louisa de Silva. Kronfeld ran a successful trading company that did business into the Pacific.

To mark his birthday his family sent bouquets of flowers to the island, some of

which were placed in metal buckets that belonged to the Stünzner children. The buckets look specially polished for the occasion. Along with cake on the table can be seen a plate of what look like mussel fritters. Other birthday tables set in white table cloths can be seen in the background at both left and right. The man at the back appears to be Mr Theodor Brenner, formerly of Apia.



People in the image (left -to-right): standing at rear Mr Karl Rudolph (in shadows); H.Cassebaum?; Hofmann; unknown; Lieutenant Carl Kircheiss (white uniform); Dr Charles Meineking; unknown; von Luckner; Mr Fritz Stünzner Snr; unknown; Bruno Borcherdt (white suit); Mr August Walter; Mr Alfred Schultz (white hat); Theodor Brenner: Mr Paul Hoeflich at back; Mr Franz Pfeil; unknown; unknown; (at front) Mr Otto Sperling; Mr Gustav Kronfeld; Albrecht Stünzner; Mrs Mary Stünzner; Fritz Stünzner Jnr; Kurt Stünzner; Gertrude Stünzner; Mathilde

Another stunning Kronfeld birthday photo that may be judged by historians as Hofmann's crowning achievement. To put the seal on its appeal this sumptuous image includes the famous German sea raider of the First World War, Count Felix von Luckner (in the middle with white suit). Hofmann doubtless composed the group and focussed the camera before getting someone else to press the shutter release, as he is in the photo (or he was able to activate a delayed or remote shutter release).



At last we get to see Hofmann's camera, which produced glass plate negatives. He set it up in front of the Stünzner children then moved sideways to shoot the children with another (probably roll film) camera. Albi is entertaining his siblings. Mary Ellen hovers in the cabin doorway. Glass plate cameras were fading out of use at this time because they were so bulky, but in the hands of an expert could produce brilliant results. Glass plates with dry gelatine emulsion were carried to site along with the camera. These plates were in light-proof sleeves. The photographer had a glass focusing plate on the back of the camera that he used to get the focus right. Then the photographic glass plate sleeve was clipped on or inserted and a dark slide removed to ready the plate for the exposure. It is probable that Hofmann developed his own plates in a darkroom on Motuihe rather than sent them away to Auckland for processing.



▲ At the start of 1919, several months after the end of the First World War, the Stünzners were repatriated to Germany. Archival documents are unclear about whether this was a forced or voluntary repatriation. Mr Stünzner was still ill and it appears that he favoured medical treatment in Germany. Most Germans who had married Samoan locals were exempt from deportation and forfeiture of assets. The Stünzner family seem to have had their assets seized. They left for Germany with minimal funds except for a horde of gold dollars that Fritz Stünzner had hidden in Mary Ellen's sewing box below a false bottom (these coins would fulfil a crucial purpose some years later—see below).

In Germany, the Stünzners were reunited with their daughters, Hedwig 'Hetty' and Ilse. The family settled in Zerbst and then moved to Dortmund where Fritz was able to find work. The photo above shows them in about 1924. People (left-to-right): at back Hetty and her husband Clemens Köster, Fritz Jnr, Mathilde, Herman Bietzker (Ilse's husband, photographic blemish on face), Ilse, Kurt, (at front) Albi, Mary Ellen, Fritz, Gertrude.

Germany was wracked by civil unrest, foreign intervention and hyperinflation in the early 1920s. Trude recalled, "One day our father said, 'Shall we go back to Samoa?' We all agreed at once." Fritz wrote to Samoa and was given approval to return. The prospect of a plantation lease was held out by the Reparation Estates (who administered confiscated German plantations). The three older girls chose to stay behind; two were married and the other had a good job. The gold coins were used to pay for the passage to Samoa and in September 1925 the Stünzners set sail for the South Seas.

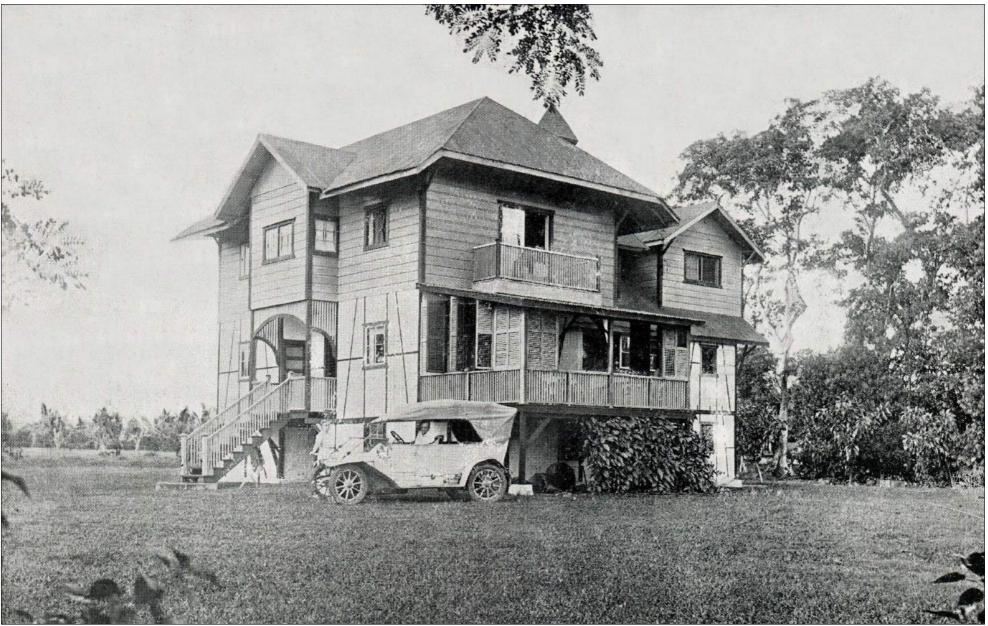


▲ Fritz Stünzner Jr (6th from the right at the back) posing with other school children in front of the Kaiser Wilhelm I memorial in Dortmund in about 1921-22. (Both photos Stünzner Family Collection).



A huge welcome awaited the Stünzners when they sailed into Apia on board the aging ferry from Pago Pago "Lady Roberts," shown above tied up to the wharf in Apia. Scores of friends and relatives met them on arrival. Within days word had spread, "The Stünzners are back." High chiefs Mata'afa and Tamasese called on them with gifts. The two Samoan dignitaries were related to Mary Ellen through her grandmother Malaisala Fiame, (married de Silva).

The return of the Stünzners was, understandably, big news in Samoa — because of its rarity value. As the 1920's unfolded, an increasing number of former German residents applied to return to the islands but in most cases their requests were declined by the NZ Administration. Archives NZ files suggest that only the Stünzner and Dusterdieck families were allowed to return to live in Samoa. In both cases the wives had been of part-Samoan descent.



The Stünzners moved into this house when they took over the lease of the Tuvao plantation, in north-west Upolu, from the Reparation Estates organisation. The Tuvao plantation had been set up by German engineer and planter Mr Erich Langen, who was known for his technical innovations during

the 14 years he spent in Samoa between 1906 and his deportation in 1920. The estate comprised 420 acres, of which just over half had been cleared and planted mainly in cocoa, though there were also significant stands of coconuts palms.

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"LIFE AT TUVAO WAS HARD AND THE HOURS WERE LONG"

Cocoa bean processing, in particular, was an arduous process that involved the opening of pods, the fermenting of the beans for three or four days, before washing and sun-drying, supplemented by kiln-drying at night fuelled by firewood. The all-night shift could last for up to three nights. In all respects, life at Tuvao was hard and the hours were long.

This excellent photo, taken by an unknown photographer, captures the flavour of a hard working family. Fritz Stünzner Snr's eyes were such a pale blue that sometimes the pupils failed to register in photos.



Stünzner Family Collection

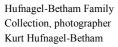


With his usual skill and industry, Fritz Stünzner soon had a rail system up and running to move the bags of cocoa pods to the drying kiln. Albi pulled the wagons with a horse, Kurt and Fritz

Jnr opened the pods, and plantation workers, mainly Chinese staff, took out the beans.



It was a sign of Fritz Stünzner's inclusiveness that he called his workers together to be included in this fine photograph, which appears to have been taken not too long after the family's arrival at Tuvao. Stünzner's main plantation supervisor, "Podsin" (Po Ching) is believed to be the man standing in the middle. He had been Fritz' right hand man during his building company days before the First World War.





In the 1930's the two older sons, Fritz Jnr and Kurt, married and headed off to run their own plantations. Fritz (shown above) took over the lease of the NZ Reparations Estate plantation at nearby Vaipapa and Kurt started his own plantation at Tapatapao on old German land leased from the Reparation Estates. Both continued to help out their parents at Tuvao where this photo was taken amongst cocoa and banana trees.



This photo, taken at the Vaipapa plantation, may mark a farewell occasion for New Zealander, Mr Lionel Götz, General Manager of the NZ Reparation Estates (1930-35), who is sitting third from the left (with black eye patch). Mr Götz had lost an arm and an eye in service during the First World War but was clearly happy to socialise with many of Samoa's remaining German notables, one of whom in the middle of the photo (Mr Robert Wetzell) had been a German machine gunner on the Western Front. The people in this photo (left to right) appear to be as follows: Mr Fritz Stünzner Jnr, Mr Rudolf Gebauer, Mr Götz, man behind unknown, Mr Fritz Stünzner, Mr Eugen Paul (at rear), Mr A.G.Smyth (in front), Mr Arno M. Gurau, Mr Kurt Meyer, Mr Wetzell, Mr Fritz Jahnke, Mr Alfred Matthes, others unknown apart from man at right (black tie, white shirt) Mr George Miedecke. In later years, Mr Götz became a Member of Parliament in New Zealand and a Minister of the Crown.



The depression of the 1930's brought a collapse in prices for the Stünzner crops. Along with most plantation owners, the Stünzners struggled to make ends meet. Not only had Kurt and Fritz Jnr married and moved on but Albi had headed to Germany for training in engineering. Then a hard emotional blow – last daughter, Trude, emigrated to Germany in 1938 to join her sisters and make her way in life. The house at Tuvao was now largely unoccupied.

By 1939, Fritz was worn out and ill. He was advised to move to a cooler climate for the sake of his health. In June 1939, as the clouds of war gathered, Fritz and Mary left Samoa for Germany.

This photo shows Mary bidding farewell to her sister Katherina Hufnagel and brother Augustus Betham.

To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums | Tony Brunt



War embroiled the whole Stünzner family from the conflict's outbreak at the start of September 1939. Kurt and Fritz Jnr, both married with children, were bundled into captivity by the NZ Administration and sent to Somes Island, in Wellington, where they were admitted on 27 November 1939. More than five years of internment would follow.

This photo shows Fritz and other internees, several from Samoa, passing round an ava cup, the traditional hollowed out coconut shell, after they

had somehow managed to obtain an ava root and make a drink. Mr Rudy Kruse on the left also holds a bucket with ava in his left hand. The people in this photo are (left-to-right): Mr Kruse (ex-Samoa), Mr Ludwig Schreiber, Mr Karl Schmidt above obscured, Fritz Stünzner Jnr, Mr Rudolf Berking, unknown, unknown, Mr Max Grapengiesser Snr (Samoa/Auckland), Mr Cristoph Alberts, Mr Robert Wetzell (Samoa), Mr Fritz Jahnke (Samoa) holding an ava root.



But life on Somes Island also required that work be done. This beautifully captured and moody photo, probably taken by Gregory Riethmaier, shows a work detail collecting and cutting up firewood. Fritz squats at the front. His combative personality meant that he sometimes ran foul of the camp

management.

Others in the photo (left-to-right) are: Christof Alberts, unknown guard, Rudolf Berking, Werner Jahnke, Max Grapengiesser, Fritz Stunzner Jnr, Albert Wetzell, Karl Schmidt, unknown guard.



Kurt (pronounced "Court") Stünzner could play the violin and was co-opted into the camp orchestra which grew to total 14 members. They rehearsed intensively and entertained with a camp concert every Sunday evening. Kurt wrote in 1944 that the lead violin player couldn't bear Stünzner missing the very high tones on the E-string: "Kurt, you are not with your pigs and cattle," he would yell, "we are making music, so stop making sounds like a piglet!"

People in the photo (left-to-right) are: sitting, Mr Gustav Guttenbeil, Mr Stünzner, Mr Otto Schaumkel, Mr Otto Heindl, at rear Mr Oscar Coberger, Mr Albert Wetzell, Mr Werner Jahnke.

Kurt Stünzner was happiest when he was managing or caring for animals. As a young man in Samoa he had kept a menagerie of pets, including pheasants, a turtle, and a young flying fox. In the 1920's he worked for a time at the Dusseldorf Zoo and even travelled to Africa to escort animals back to Dusseldorf. When Kurt returned to Samoa after internment he steered back towards agricultural and livestock work.

Kurt Stünzner's tender feeling for animals glows from this image like a soft light. It shows him with baby seagulls at Somes Island that he hand-reared to adulthood (see later photo below).



Stünzner Family Collection



Riethmaier Family Collection; restored by T.Brunt 2013

WHAT BECAME OF MEMBERS OF THE STÜNZNER FAMILY?



Mary Ellen Stünzner and Fritz Stünzner settled in Eckernforde, a coastal town in the north, after their return to Germany in 1939. Mary Ellen died after contracting influenza in November 1941. She is buried at Dortmund.

Friedrich 'Fritz' Wilhelm Oskar Heinrich Stünzner, the creator of some of Samoa's most iconic buildings, died in Eckernforde in February 1948. He is also buried at Dortmund

Fritz wrote a letter to his son Fritz Jnr and daughter-inlaw, Sylvia, in Auckland in 1947. The letter has not survived but Fritz Jnr's reply has. From this we infer that his father wrote the words: "I long sometimes to walk under palm trees." His son wrote back to him: "I too long sometimes to walk under palm trees."

Stünzner Family Collection



Stünzner Family Collection



Ilse (m. Bietzker), Hedwig 'Hetty' (m. Köster) and Mathilde (m. Fröhling/Nolten) remained in Germany when the rest of the family returned to Samoa in 1925. They married and had families. Their descendants keep in touch with Stünzner cousins in the South Pacific.

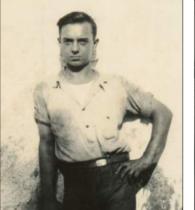
Stünzner Family Collection



Kurt returned to Samoa in 1946 to Fritz Jr was barred from wife Lily (nee Jamieson) and his five returning to Samoa at the end of children. The plantation at Tapatapao had been lost. After struggling to find work initially Kurt daughter, Marina, joined him in settled into a career in the public health and agricultural sectors.

his internment in 1945. His wife Sylvia (nee Syddall) and New Zealand where he spent the rest of his life

Spemann Family Collection



Albrecht travelled to Germany in 1930 where he studied engineering and had a successful career as an engineering company executive. He married Anneliese Müller. Albi survived service in the German Army during the war.



Alfred Schultz Album, Kronfeld Parr Collection

Trude returned to Germany in 1938 She married Mr Hans Braune in 1941 and had two sons. Hans was killed near Erfurt in April 1945 on one of the last days of the war. Trude married Hans' brother Erich. in 1956.



In 1911 an impressive farewell card did the rounds in Apia as Captain Kurt Hufnagel prepared for retirement after 30 years managing the Vailele Plantation, Samoa's second largest. His thoughtful employers, the DH & PG, went to great lengths to ensure that the memento fitted the occasion – it had a red embossed leather cover, was written in illuminated script, and bore the signatures of 126 settler notables, including that of the German Governor.

Kurt Hufnagel carved out an unparalleled role in Samoan agriculture and it is fitting that his farewell card has been preserved with pride through 100 years of Hufnagel family ownership.



Translation by Kathleen Edmonds, photographs T.Brunt,

German colonial period let us focus on the card first rather than the man. It was almost certainly made at Apia's only commercial printing company, he "Samoanische Zeitung," on Beach Rd. The initials "F.M." can be seen on the bottom right of the first page of hand-drawn artwork and inscription (photo right). This would have been F.Muller, one of the staff members of the Zeitung. The art is workmanlike, free of excessive ornamentation, and displays a competent watercolour wash on the tree and border. It was perfect for the occasion. The inscription, written in capital letters, reads as follows: "To Captain Kurt Hufnagel. We, the undersigned

Because it is a unique souvenir of the

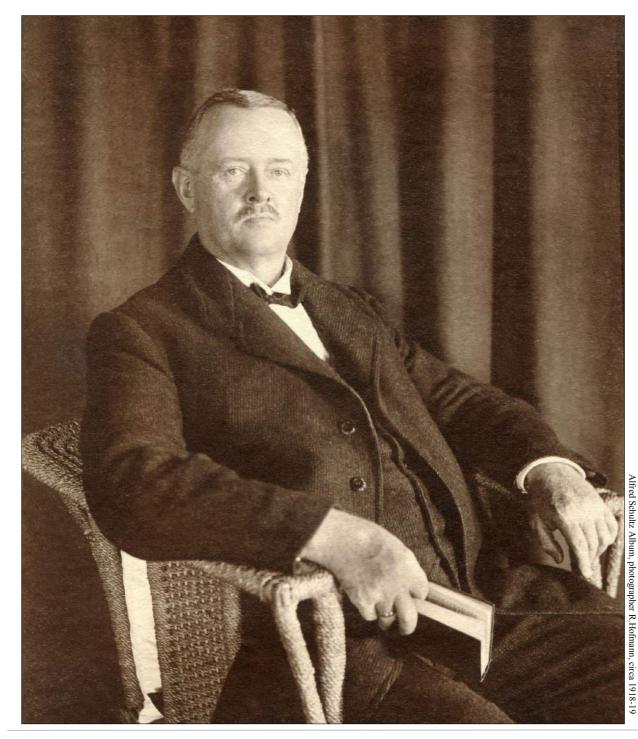
settlers of the protectorate of Samoa, take the opportunity of the occasion of your retiring from your official profession to give voice to the feeling of admiration and respect that you have earned throughout your life in our community. You have travelled on your path calmly and serenely, a great man, constantly led by the thought of serving the human interests of the community. In the thirty five years that you lived and worked in Samoa, the pressing duties called you to act as a true son of the German nation and as an active citizen of our colony. Your service to the Fatherland is rewarded by the favour of the Kaiser, and the story of our island will be made known in the future. Your sense of public spirit has been revealed in the way you have sought and found many opportunities to help and promote the good of the individual and the community as a whole. This card we have signed is evidence of our gratitude and we wish you a long life full of peace and joy."

mason Mitchell. amirican Consul. norman It Madonald Dr. Erich Stuck Emil Haabar Easar heid Paul Alich George St. C. Pais per Pr. about tillett wein. V. Glido Schuliont Poline Rica Walther Lanne all Go Hound L. S. ander Kanmena my net.) Come ox Chn annelerstein Mase Raphael tugo Matingish or Theme Sour or Charlie Reid. P. Mbarg F.g. eters. Shall Grich Senders a Preula. 9. Stoeckich X A. Dickmann. 11 Shilippo J. Jahre Riedaman J. Held has hars 4. Iwingenlerge q. Cannert alacranor Chastobarts. ghober Uiki Miller Emil Huch: F. A. Antos Summiller Gort Reydelrant dara Will conti Ernst Heider, Parton O ale p uletat Carl Esson 9.8.1. Westboon Il instruction Fran Seil. p happen gri Isre nalles Minfail C W. B. Dea orust schich W. of Dear John Bothan othan Goong Hacusel A. Libke. Samor Chipping & Trading 6 Mornes Mourn Hans Trank Kan Vollimann. Julius Hennige actual Macke Deutsche Samoa Hih onei 14 Cesellschaft Theodor Brenner R.J. 6# Shamain Went Hunder N.basthope

Governor Erich Schultz was the first to sign the card, and then followed a list of mainly German and English residents. Only one woman's signature is evident, that of Mrs Luise Thieme, wife of Dr Oskar Thieme. When opened, the card measures an impressive 660mm wide x 555mm long.

The signatures are as follows [(s) signifies signature inserted vertically]: (FIRST COLUMN) Dr Erich Schultz, Emil Haaben, Adolf Schlettwein, Guido Schubert, Walther Lausen, F.Stunzner, Hugo Dietzsch, L. Thieme, R. Toeuer (?), J.W. Brighouse, J.Johnston, J.Skelton, A.Eickmann, J.Helg, F.Kalweitt (?), A.Gaertner, (s) Manuel Betham, (s) Th. Ruland, Miki Muller, Alan R.Cobcroft, B.Peemuller, W.Osbahr, M.Christoph, F.Harman, S.W.Stopfkuchen (?), Keil, —nafs (?), Fritz Henniger, Max Grapengiesser, A.Matthes (?), P.Krutschinski, Ernst Schulz, Aug. Betham, E.Lubke, Hans Traub, Alfred Macke, Theodor Brenner, Hermann (?) Wendt, Gustav Brenner, A.Gardain, W.Klein; (SECOND COLUMN) Mason Mitchell American Consul, Norman H. Macdonald, Paul Hoflich, Hugo Gebauer, A.Gosche, Gustav Hanneman (?), (s) E.Schonwaldt, C.Winterstein, J.Haggenmiller, P.C.Ulberg, C.Scholtz, Arps, Erich Sander, Br Philipps, C.Tiedemann, Max Mars, C.Lammert, Chas Roberts, Emil Huch, Egon v Heydebrand Lasa, (s) C.Frolich, Ernst Heider – Pastor, Carl Esser, G.E.L.Westbrook, O.Schwab, (s) James Ah Sue, G.Rohlfs, (s) B.Hoernig(?), E.Dusterdieck, Richard K.Koch, Franz Pfeil, (s) P.Liebrecht, (s) Schaaffhausen, W.Lux, Walter Miebach, Chas. F.Netzler, Georg Haensell, James Stowers, K.W.Volkmann, Haidlen, Deutsche Samoa Gesellschaft – R.F.Ott, Ja F.Henniger, R.Easthope, G.Kurtz; (THIRD COLUMN) Thomas Trood –Acting British Vice Consul, Edgar Reid, George A.C.Rica per R., Robert Rica per R., L.K.Schmidt, Emil Klehn, Max Raphael, V.Heinrich, Charlie Reid, J.Peters, A.Preufs (?), G.Stoeckicht, G.Sabiel, (s) Irving C.Hetherington, (s) H.J.Moors, G.Swingenberger, K.Hanssen, G.Lober, F.A.Anton, Wilh. Arps, M.Neufeldt, P.Rasmussen, H.Mingo (?), R.Lodring, Gerhard Ihnen, P.Uchtritz, G.W.Partsch, W.Holzeit, Kionka, W.C.Dean, W.S.Dean, (s) Bernhard Witenz - Saluafata, Samoa Shipping & Trading Co. Ltd, Julius Henniger, Schoneich, Gorslein (?), A.Halson, W.Harder, E.Szubinski, Berking, Dr Meineking.

Tony Brun



Karl Hanssen, Manager of the DH & PG (1906-14), shown at left, had organised a special presentation for Captain Hufnagel a few years earlier in 1906 when Kurt had ticked off 25 years on Vailele. On that occasion Mr Hanssen had organised a reception at the company headquarters at Sogi complete with brass band to mark the occasion musically. Hanssen had pretended that the band was assembling to mark the arrival of the Union Steamship Company's first vessel to Apia but revealed the true reason at the reception.

Hanssen called Capt. Hufnagel (shown below in the 1880s) one of "the sights of Samoa" who many visitors to the islands asked to meet. Hufnagel was the first company employee to see out 25 years in the same position.

Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection





Many of these men from a DH & PG group photo would have been present at the retirement gathering for Kurt Hufnagel in 1911 when the card was presented. This image is from Motuihe Island internment camp in Auckland in about 1917. It is one of the few good quality group shots that exist of company staff.

The people are (left-to-right): George Lober (Samoa), Alfred Schultz (Tonga), Karl Bunge (Samoa), Karl Hanssen (Samoa), Adolf Eberhardt (Samoa), Emil Hellfritz (Tonga), Reinhold Hofmann (Samoa), Ernst Studt (Samoa), Paul Voget (Samoa), H.Cassebaum (Samoa), Adolf Ohle (Tonga).



Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, photographer Schmidt & Wegener, Kiel

Kurt Hufnagel was born in 1847 in Goldberg, near Posen in Silesia. He was one of four children who grew to adulthood in the Hufnagel family. One of his sisters married into the Stünzner family, a connection that would eventually see his nephew (and future brotherin-law), Fritz Stünzner, head to Samoa. Kurt chose to become a seaman. He left home at 15 and served on a number of vessels as a crewman—on brigs, schooners, fully rigged sailing ships and eventually a whaling boat which took him to the South Pacific. In 1870 Kurt knuckled down and attended a Maritime School in Elsfleth, Germany, where he passed his ocean-going shipmaster's qualification with distinction, in September 1871. After further sailing experience, Kurt is believed to have signed on in the mid-1870's with the south seas trading company J.C.Godeffroy & Sohn, of Hamburg.

It was in the service of Godeffroy's that Hufnagel rose to the rank of Captain. He plied the Pacific from about 1876 picking up cargoes. Smaller vessels fanned out from Apia where Godeffroy's had its headquarters. Captain Hufnagel became proficient in long-distance voyages as well, according to Karl Hanssen's 1906 speech. This probably meant that Kurt delivered his exotic cargoes of copra, coconut oil and cotton back to Germany.

This photo from the Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, in Auckland, appears to date from the 1870's.



"Einhundert Jahre Australienfahrt 1886-1986," Otto J. Seiler, Hapag-Lloyd

Johan Cesar VI Godeffroy (shown at left) controlled the Godeffroy Company, in Hamburg, during its years of rapid expansion as the leading trading organisation in the Pacific.

It had been established by his father (pictured below), but Johan, born in 1813, built it into a dynamic enterprise that, at its peak had 27 ships plying the Pacific and the route to Germany. Though the Pacific business was very profitable, company investments in Europe forced Godeffroy's into bankruptcy in 1879 and its Pacific operation was restructured as the DH & PG.

J.C.Godeffroy died in 1885.



"Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa : Erinnerungen eines Hamburger Kaufmanns," Otto Riedel, Deutscher Verlag, Berlin, 1938.





Möding Family Collection per Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider

August Unshelm (in photos above with wife Dorothea Gantz) was tasked with setting up a Godeffroy base for the western Pacific from his company office in Valparaiso, Chile. In 1854 and 1856 Mr Unshelm visited Apia and decided to set up his headquarters there. His arrival appears to date from about 1857.

Unshelm began the large property purchases along the Apia shoreline at Sogi and appears to have begun the process of land acquisition for plantations.

'Dora' and August Unshelm had two boys who lived with them for a time

in Apia and then they were taken back to Germany for education. Twin girls, Rosa and Amy, were born in Apia in July 1860 (shown at right) and may have been the first Germans born in Samoa.

In 1864 tragedy struck. August, then aged 39, headed off to Fiji in a company schooner. On its return journey the vessel was caught in a hurricane and disappeared. Flotsam from the boat was later found in the Fiji Group. Mrs Unshelm stayed on in Apia for another two years hoping for a miracle but it never happened. In 1866 she returned to Hamburg with the girls. These photos were kindly provided by descendants of twin Amy.

The giant of German agriculture in 19th century Samoa, Mr Theodor Weber (pictured), was the driving force behind the purchase and planting of the Vailele plantation, on Apia's eastern outskirts, from 1867. In 1907 the plantation comprised 2,312 acres. He was also the man who appointed Captain Hufnagel as manager in 1881.

Weber negotiated most of the Godeffroy's/DH & PG land purchases on Upolu and Savai'i after his arrival in the Apia office in 1861 as August Unshelm's assistant. He had trained under the personal supervision of Johann Cesar Godeffroy, in Hamburg, and was only 18 when he arrived in Samoa. Unshelm's tragic death thrust him into the top position at 20 years of age.

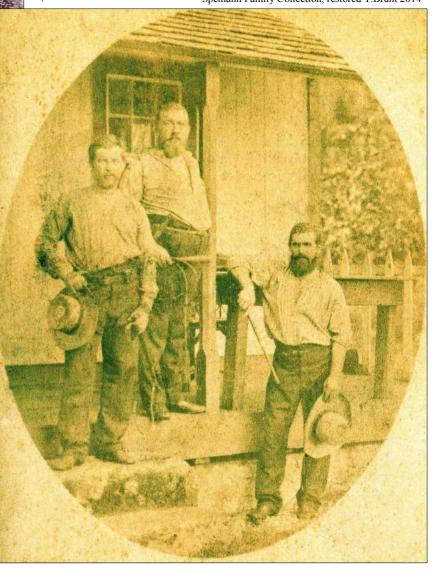
His business style was reportedly a mix of sledgehammer, velvet glove, cunning, immense tact and charm. But it got results. By the time he died on a trip back to Hamburg in 1889 at the young age of 44 the DH & PG owned massive swathes of Samoa— as much as a quarter of Upolu — much of it on the mountainous central spine which the company hoped to subdivide for settlers.





▲ This sketch from German archives is the earliest known depiction of the Vailele plantings, which were mainly in coconuts for the production of copra. This view appears to be of the flat land at the coastal fringe of Vailele which was known as Suga. Most of the plantation was on sloping contours.

► This image is the earliest known photo from the Vailele plantation and is held by the Spemann family, of Auckland. The word Vailele and the year 1881 (as well as other indecipherable German words) are included in an inscription on the back of the photo possibly made by Spemann forbear, Adolf Axmann, who worked for Godeffroys and is the man on the left of the picture. The photo is badly faded in the original and has required digital enhancement to improve its legibility. The man in the middle holds a whip which was doubtless used in the driving of bullock carts for the collection of coconuts. Spemann Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2014



To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums Tony Brunt

1886



Alfred Tattersall's well known photo, "The Road to Vailele." The plantation buildings and worker accommodation were on flat land up the hill. Workers who tended crops on the coastal reaches of the plantation told descendants later that they were faced with a long walk back to their quarters at the end of the day.



This photo of a valley on the Vaivase side of the Vailele plantation shows how the Germans laid out their trees. They were generally planted in straight lines north to south, with a separation distance of 40ft by 40ft. This was to allow adequate light between trees to sustain pasture growth for browsing cattle, which kept down weeds and were a secondary industry. Planting in rows allowed room for bullocks and carts to move through the trees when

nuts were being collected. To obtain the best seedlings the Germans exploited the most productive coconut trees. Each tree was numbered and the number of nuts that fell from each tree was counted. Records were kept in big ledger books. Seedlings from the most prolific trees were raised in a nursery and once sprouted were moved to the fields for planting.

Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection (both photos)

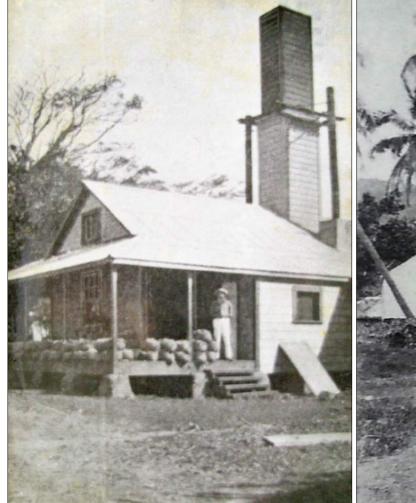
Carts pulled by bullocks were used on most large plantations for the efficient collection of nuts. Vailele maintained its own wheelwright workshop to ensure that carts could be repaired quickly.

Donkeys with baskets were often used to do the initial coconut collection. Donkeys could be trained to walk slowly in set directions while the gatherers worked at their job. After the baskets were full, nuts were then placed in piles to await the bullock and cart that would transport them back to the copra cutting area.





Captain Hufnagel experimented with cross-breeding of cattle to obtain the best hybrids for meat production. He purchased breeding bulls for other DH & PG plantations on trips to Australia and New Zealand. In 1906, 650 head of cattle were on Vailele, as well as sheep, mules and poultry. Coconut plantations had fenced or walled sections to keep cattle out during the first five years of seedling growth when the trees were vulnerable to browsing. In June 1896, Apia resident Mrs Paula David went for a visit to Vailele and noted in her diary that the plantation was "a model example." She saw cocoa and coffee which had been harvested. Mrs David noted: "Captain Hufnagel keeps, in addition to horses and bullocks, donkeys, dogs, billy goats, porcupines, guinea pigs, turkeys, guinea fowls, ducks and pigeons."





Captain Hufnagel developed sophisticated copra drying facilities, with the help of his engineer nephew, Fritz Stünzner, who arrived at Vailele in 1897. There was no sun-drying, as was the practice in much of the copra industry. The coconut flesh was cut out under cover and placed in one of three drying kilns, which were fired by coconut husks and wood. Two of the kilns had four rooms and a larger one had six rooms. The photo on left shows a copra drying kiln at Vailele, possibly the largest six-room unit. When they were all firing, the three kilns could account for 5,900kg of copra in one drying cycle, which took 30 hours. The copra was then fit for market.

It was bagged and shipped to Europe where it was pressed to extract

coconut oil. The oil had edible uses as well as industrial applications, including in soap and candle manufacture. The residual coconut cake left after pressing was found, in Germany, to be suitable for cattle feed. Pressing the copra in Samoa to obtain oil was not favoured for a number of reasons, including the difficulty in sourcing barrels for the oil. Other modes of oil extraction had been tried in Samoa and found wanting. Theodor Weber exerted considerable effort from the mid-1860's to the late 1870's to convert coconut processing from inefficient oil extraction to the large scale production and export of dried coconut flesh (copra). In the photo at right, taken at Vailele around 1898, the corpa drier is obscured by another building, perhaps the wheelwright workshop.



Tattersall, A J, 1866-1951. Copra drier, Samoa. Ref: PACOLL - 3063-06. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.



After Kapitan Hufnagel had proved the concept of, what became known in Samoa as, "hot air drying" of copra, it was picked up by most other large coconut plantations, including the two other DH & PG operations at Vaitele and Mulifanua. The latter was the company's biggest plantation at over 5,000 acres and reportedly had several hot air driers, one of which is shown at left.

Another hot air drier at Vailele is shown at lower left, or it could be a later redevelopment of the Vailele installation shown on the previous page.

The ramp below was on the coast at Suga and was used to roll Vailele's bagged copra from higher ground down to water's edge at high tide. Here it was stowed into lighters or motor boats and taken on the short journey westwards to storage or ships in Apia.

"Illustrated Catalogue of Properties Offered for Lease," NZ Government Crown Estates document, Govt Printer, Wellington, 1924 (both lower photos)



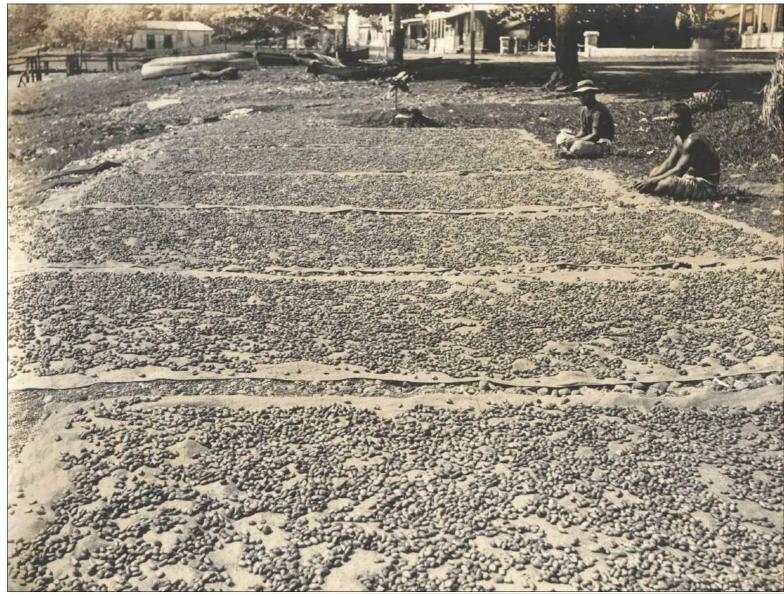


Drying copra in the sun, as is shown here, was the low-cost, low-tech option and despite the German innovation, sun-dried product still formed the bulk of Samoa's exports, which came from village copra sold by Samoans to the trading companies such as the DH & PG, Ruge & Hedemann, H.J.Moors, P.C.Fabricius and August Nelson. The disadvantage of sun drying was that it produced copra of inconsistent quality. If there was little or no sun, the copra could ferment and be downgraded. Inadequately dried copra also increased its hazardous status as a combustible shipping cargo prone to selfheating and burning spontaneously. Excessive temperatures had to be avoided. Good ventilation was also needed in the long voyages to reduce carbon dioxide build-up and the respiratory danger to crew members entering cargo holds. Hot air dried copra not only ensured consistent high quality but was lower in moisture and safer to transport.

With the purchasing and planting of large tracts of land, the Germans brought scale and hands-on control to copra production, thereby allowing the establishment of a dedicated, export-oriented industry with a predictable baseload. Export volumes and trading profit could be forecast, within the bounds of a crop that was dependent on the vagaries of nature and a fluctuating international price. Godeffroys/ DH & PG purchased copra from growers, both settler and Samoan alike, but the flow from the latter could fluctuate significantly for a number of reasons, such as dissatisfaction with low prices and civil disorder associated with leadership warfare. The Germans started their own plantations to ensure a predictable flow of product and an industry that was worth investing in.

CAPTAIN HUFNAGEL WAS CREDITED WITH A NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS IN COLONIAL ERA AGRICULTURE

Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, photographer A.J. Tattersall



With most of the DH & PG land holdings uncultivated, Vailele was one of the jewels in the crown. All the more reason to admire Kurt Hufnagel's unchallenged 30-year tenure as manager. As well as pioneering industrialscale copra drying, he was credited with two other significant innovations in colonial era agriculture in Samoa – the proving of drilling for artesian well water, and the perfecting of cocoa bean processing to obtain the highest grade cocoa.

Hufnagel rejected the conventional wisdom that Samoan soils were unsuitable for the retention of artesian well water. He imported a drill, set it to work and discovered perfect drinking water at depths below sea level. After his success, wells were drilled all over Samoa and helped relieve the dire water shortages that occurred during dry spells.

Kurt had been the first to plant cocoa in Samoa in 1884 but not much is known about his pioneering work on bean processing. It was referred to in glowing, but general, terms by Karl Hanssen in his speech for the Captain's 25-year anniversary. It may have had to do with Hufnagel's method for fermenting the beans (which is essentially a sweating process) or, more probably, with the drying, which -again- Hufnagel carried out in the hot air kilns under controlled. 'brute force' conditions. Despite this success with cocoa, by the time of his retirement in 1911 most of it had gone from Vailele (only about 8 acres left) with about 30 acres under coffee, 27 acres under rubber and the remaining 2,200 or so acres in coconuts.

The photo at left shows cocoa beans drying in the sun, the natural way, on the Apia foreshore near the courthouse, probably in the early 1900's.



Hufnagel's operation at Vailele employed 130 labourers in 1906, virtually all of them imported Melanesian workers. The Captain had a firm resistance to employing Chinese labourers, possibly because they were less pliable than the young men from the "Bismark Islands." (Chinese plantation workers began to be brought into Samoa in 1903).

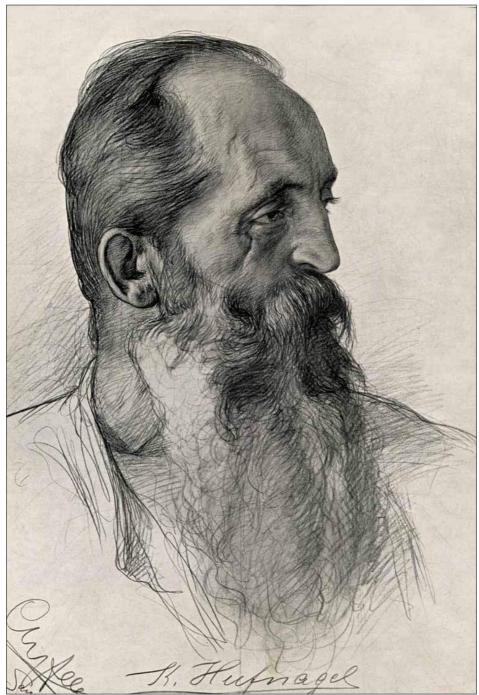
The workers were under the control of four overseers. The photo above, which was taken at Vailele in about 1900, appears to show the overseers, Hufnagel and the visiting DH & PG plantation inspector, Peter Rasmussen. Hufnagel is second from right and Rasmussen third from right.



Hufnagel's house at Vailele as it appeared around the time he married in 1889. "Kapikengi" [Kapitan], as he was known to the Samoans, can be seen on the verandah. Franz Pfeil Collection



In December 1889, Hufnagel, then aged 42, married Catherine Anna Betham, aged 18, the eldest of 10 children born in Samoa to Englishman Montgomery Betham and Portuguese-Samoan, Miss Anna de Silva. The new Mrs Hufnagel (pictured above) reportedly had maturity and poise beyond her years, as well as great beauty. She brought a warm and friendly manner to the role of mistress of Vailele, qualities well suited to the requirements of a plantation which, together with the DH & PG Vaitele property, was popular as a weekend picnic ground for Apia's settler community.



Kurt Hufnagel was caught up in two political events during his life in Samoa. The first, in December 1888, found him on the fringe of a skirmish between Samoan activists and a number of German sailors who landed at Fagali'i Beach, near Vailele. For his courage in this incident the Kaiser awarded Hufnagel the 'Kronenorden mit Schertern' (Crown Order with Swords).

In 1899, Hufnagel was accused of setting up a proposed ambush of English and American troops on the Vailele Plantation during events surrounding the second Samoan civil war. Newspapers in Germany raged at the injustice of these accusations and the cruelty at the Captain's brief internment on a British warship. For his services to Germany and Samoa, Kurt was also awarded the Order of the Red Eagle, by the Kingdom of Prussia.

This sketch of Captain Hufnagel was apparently done in 1900 by visiting German artist C.W.Allers. It captures the subject's keen-eye and vitality.

Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection



Iufnagel-Betham Family Collection

The photo above shows the Hufnagel family in about 1906. The people are (back row, left-to-right) Gottlieb (born 1891), Captain Kurt, Kurt Jr (b. 1893), (sitting) Franz (b. 1901), Catherine, Clementine (b. 1896). The Hufnagels were unusual in sending their sons to British colonies that were near at hand, Australia and New Zealand, rather than to Germany for education or vocational training. Clementine, however, was intended to be sent to Germany in her teens though this plan was overtaken by events.

Future tragedy casts a backwards shadow over the family image above: in the influenza epidemic of late 1918 that swept through Samoa the two sons on the left, Gottlieb and Franz, were struck down. They died within a week of each other, at the ages of 27 and 18 respectively.

Franz Pfeil Collection





This fine photo of a Hufnagel-Betham family group at Vailele appears to date from early 1905. It was taken by German scientist and astronomer, Mr Otto Tetens, who lived in Apia from 1902-1905 and established the Apia Observatory. While in Samoa he took a large number of high quality photographs using a glass plate camera. His images are of great historical interest and have been exhibited in Germany and Samoa. We are grateful to Tetens relatives for permission to use this photograph.

The people in the image are, left to right, (sitting) unknown; Mrs Margaretta Reye (nee Betham); Mrs Catherine Hufnagel (nee Betham) with son Franz on lap; man unknown; Mr Otto Tetens at back on right in grey jacket; Mr Gustav Kronfeld (?) with Clementine Hufnagel; (standing) unknown; unknown; Mr Augustus Betham; Mr Ernst Reye with son Raimund (born 1904); Mr Montgomery Betham Junior; Captain Hufnagel; Kurt Hufnagel Jnr; unknown; Gottlieb Hufnagel (head obscured). Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, photographer F.Engelmann, Posen.



After his retirement in 1911, Captain Hufnagel accompanied his 16year-old daughter, Clementine 'Tine', to Germany where she was to attend college. He was also delivering his two nieces Hedwig (Hettie) and Ilse Stunzner, aged 13 and 10 respectively, to Germany for education. The photo above shows Kurt with Clementine and his sister Clara in Germany.

Kurt's health had been precarious for some time and the trip exhausted him. In Breslau he fell ill with pneumonia and died on 8 August 1912.

Clementine made the following announcement (translated from German): "After thirty years working in the colony of German-Samoa, my dear father Kapitan Kurt Hufnagel passed away peacefully in his sleep here early this morning on his visit home at the age of 65. Breslau, 8 August 1912. The grieving daughter, Clementine Hufnagel, in the name of the family, presently in Breslau, 130 Stern St."

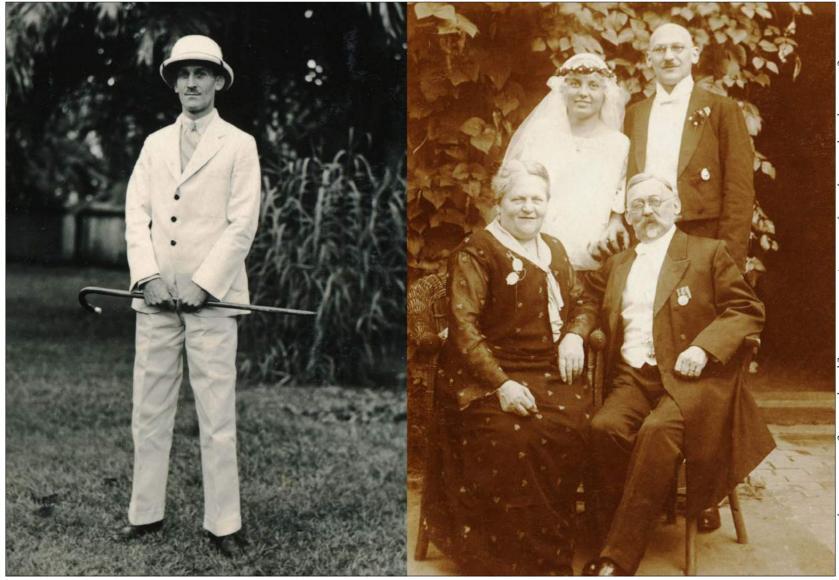
Kurt was cremated and Clementine returned to Samoa with his ashes.



After returning to Samoa with her father's ashes, Clementine remained in the islands for the next 12 years. This photo from about 1918 shows her sitting on the horse on the right. She is with members of the Haaben family. Emil Haaben, who is the man sitting on the ground, was an engineer and owner of the Apia Ice Company. He was often seen in the company of his tame white parrot. Mrs Haaben is on the other horse.

Mr Haaben returned to Germany in August 1920, probably as part of the forced repatriation process.

Franz Pfeil Collection



With the tragic deaths of sons Gottlieb and Franz in 1918, the Hufnagel lineage contracted. Remaining son, Kurt Hufnagel-Betham (left above), trained as a surveyor in Auckland, married a New Zealander, Kathleen Cooper, and returned to Samoa where he became Chief Surveyor. Kurt and Kathleen retired to New Zealand, where most of their descendants now live. They brought with them a treasure trove of photo albums and Hufnagel heirlooms, including the Captain's retirement card, of which they are deservedly proud. In the diversity and breadth of its distinguished signatories, the card is a unique historical memento from Samoa's German days.

Clementine (above right) returned to Germany in 1924 where she married Mr Franz Pfeil (also pictured), who had been a teacher in Samoa during the German years. The two had maintained a friendship by correspondence. Most of Clementine's descendants live in Germany.



Kurt and Clementine's mother, Catherine Betham Hufnagel, the Mistress of Vailele, spent her latter years in Auckland and died there in December 1948. She is shown in the photo sitting on the right on a chair. As with those of her husband, her ashes were returned to Samoa, where they are interred beneath a Hufnagel Family headstone at Magiagi Cemetery (photo below).

The German plantations have largely disappeared from Samoa, but the Hufnagel name lives on. It is present in one of the few German street names or place names.

Captain and Mrs Hufnagel bought over 300 acres of land at Lotopa in the late 1890's. There they built a family home and started a plantation, called Sugafou ('new Suga'), which was worked independently of Vailele. Hufnagel Way, an official street name in Apia, shown on the Google Earth map with a yellow pin, marks an old boundary of the Sugafou plantation.

It is fitting that the family's name has been given official recognition for it can be said that few people of the colonial era made a more positive and sustained contribution to the welfare of Samoa than Kurt Hufnagel.



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WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT THEODOR WEBER

Theodor Weber headed up the Godeffroys/DH & PG operation in Samoa and the western Pacific between 1864 and 1888. He was responsible for the steady growth of the company which dominated Samoan commerce for 40 years. His land acquisitions enabled the development of the three large company plantations at Vailele, Mulifanua and Vaitele. Weber was a pioneer of the world copra trade and this novel but simple product proved to be a key component of the Samoan economy for a hundred years from the 1870's. In the photo at right, sourced from the Godeffroy family, Mr Weber appears to be the man sitting on some cases. On his left, in grey trousers, is Mr August Godeffroy, who worked in Apia between 1879-81, thus allowing us to approximately date this photo.



Photo credits: above J.D. Hahn-Godeffroy Family Collection; below (left to right), Stevenson per internet sources; Moors per Harry Moors, 'Some Recollections of Early Samoa," 1986; Trood per "Cyclopedia of Samoa," McCarron, Stewart & Co, Sydney, 1907



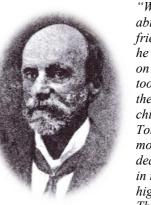
"He was an artful and commanding character; in the smallest thing or in the greatest, without fear or scruple; equally able to affect, equally able to adopt, the most engaging politeness or the most imperious airs of domination. It was he who did most damage to rival traders; it was he who most harried the Samoans; and yet I have never met anyone, white or native, who did not respect his memory... His name still lives in the songs of Samoa."

Harry J. Moors

"He was a healthy, wholesome, *jovial person, and was always* highly respected, and accessible to anyone who thought he had business with him. He had a handsome native wife or companion, for whom he built a cottage on the sea shore, near where Vaitele landing is, and by her he had two beautiful daughters, whom he sent to Germany when they were less than eight years old He was always accessible, kindly and generous, and as public spirited as the best of us...

Mrs Weber & Children:

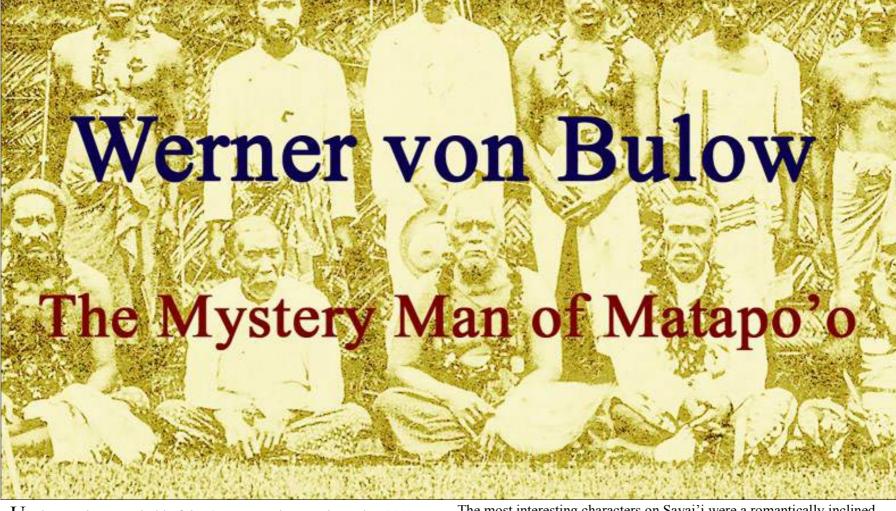
Theodor Weber's Samoan wife was reportedly of "high rank." Her name has not been passed down. The Webers had two daughters. Bertha was born at Suga on 20 August 1870 and Emma was born at Moto'otua on 27 February 1872. In about 1877 both were taken to Hamburg for education. In 1879, Theodor's brother, Johann, and his father and mother, Gottfried and Sophie Weber, were appointed the girls' guardians. There is no indication that the two ever returned to Samoa. Nor is it known if their mother ever saw them again, indeed her fate is completely unknown after Theodor returned to Hamburg and died in 1889. In that year Emma married German master builder Franz Mühlenbruch and they had three children, the only son dying in the First World War. Bertha is known to have married as well. There are doubtless numerous part-Samoan Weber descendants in Germany but it has not proven possible to locate them to assist in the research of this



Thomas Trood

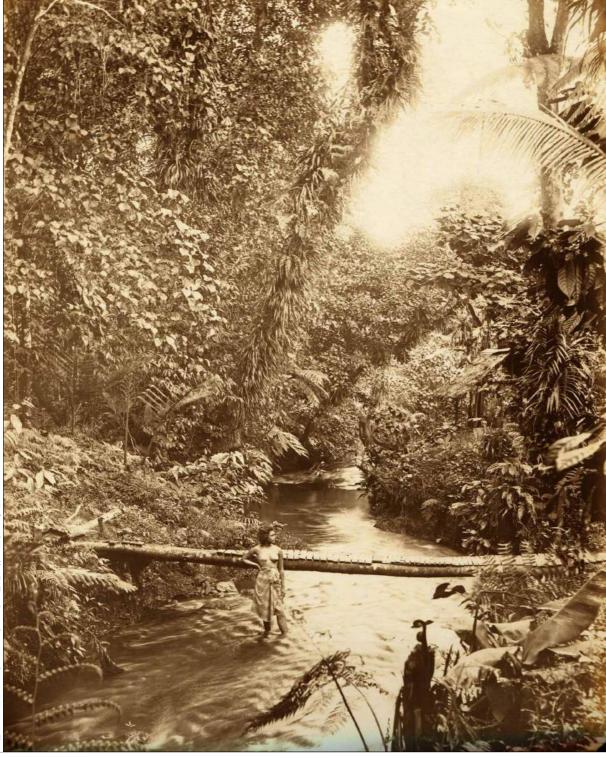
"Weber possessed extraordinary ability, never going back on his friends and supporters, even though he and they might sometimes differ on various points. His private life too was most estimable, and he took the greatest care of his two children...As he lived in my house at Tongatabu for more than twelve months I saw necessarily a good deal of him...I have but seldom met in my life a man whom I could more highly value and esteem than Theodor Weber..."

Robert Louis Stevenson



Upolu was the stronghold of the German settlers. In the early 1900's about three-quarters of the island's European population were German. The situation was different on Savai'i; the English had got there first, helped along by an advance guard of LMS missionaries. In 1905, three-quarters of the Savai'i settlers were of mainly British stock with Germans accounting for about a quarter.

The most interesting characters on Savai'i were a romantically inclined Irish bon vivant, Richard Williams, who was the District Administrator for 20 years, and a dynamic Swedish trader, August Nelson, of Safune. But not far behind was a vaguely eccentric soldier-scholar from Prussia, Lieutenant Werner Albert von Bulow, the mystery man of Matapo'o.



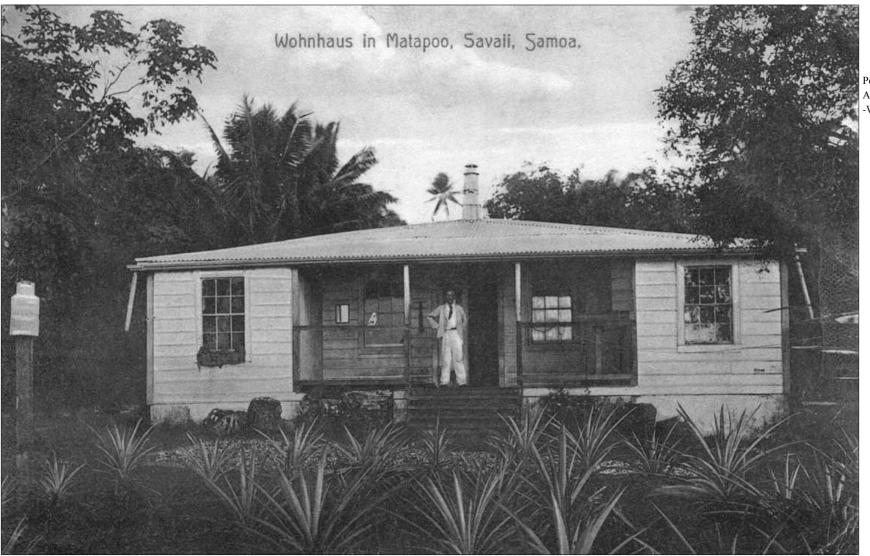
...THE MARKED ISOLATION OF 19TH CENTURY SAVAI'I

It takes a special kind of man to come from cosmopolitan Europe and settle happily into the marked isolation of 19th century Savai'i. To do so in your mid-30's, as Von Bulow did, and remain there unmarried for the rest of your life adds another level of distinction. This photo of old Samoa hints at the leafy loneliness of the tropical forest which covered parts of Savai'i in the 1800's.

Von Bulow apparently came from wealthy landed gentry in the Prussian province of Pomerania. In a distinguished six years in the Prussian Army, he rose from private to First Lieutenant and served in several campaigns, earning himself the Iron Cross and other service medals.

In 1881, at age 32, he arrived in Samoa. Two years later he bought a property at the small village of Matapo'o on the north coast of Savai'i. The *Cyclopedia of Samoa*, published in 1907, gives a pen portrait of Von Bulow but fails to mention the size of his holding. A son of the next owner remembered it as comprising 350 acres.

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Postcard probably by A.J.Tattersall, Manoah -Winter Collection

Lieutenant Von Bulow turned out to be an enthusiastic ethnographer. He clearly learned to speak and understand Samoan well, as over the next 20 years he churned out a stream of learned, though slim, monographs on a wide range of subjects – including Samoan history, mythology, reproduction, agriculture, Christianity and ethnic connections to Asia. Some of his works have been quoted by later historians and mentioned in the same breath as weightier studies by Augustin Kramer and Oskar Stuebel. The *Cyclopedia* mentions Von Bulow having published 75 books, pamphlets and articles up to 1906.

The Samoan statesman Ta'isi O.F.Nelson quoted from Von Bulow's work in

an address he gave to the Samoa Research Society in November 1923 but sadly did not include any personal reflections on Von Bulow who he surely knew. Ta'isi grew up at Safune just 6kms from Matapo'o and would have passed Von Bulow's house on horseback or cart numerous times in the years after he was born in 1883. Ta'isi began a strong interest in Samoan legends and folklore around 1900. Did he visit Von Bulow for long discussions?

This card shows Werner on the verandah of his home at Matapo'o probably some time in the early 1900's. Pineapples are growing in the front garden of the house, which stood on the seaward side of the main road.



Postal cover scans per "lyl brown," ancestry.com.

Ludwig Alberti, 275 William St. Melbourne. 15PM W. v. Bullow, Esq. Jamoa the onward trip to Savai'i could be slow. The letter to Von Bulow Von Bulow's isolation on Savai'i can be illustrated by complaints from German inventor Mr Ludwig Alberti, of Melbourne, which that a neighbour made in 1906 about slow mails to the island. bears a one penny postage stamp, was received at the CPO Things were probably worse when Von Bulow settled at Matapo'o Melbourne on 13 February. It was stamped into Auckland on 3 in the 1880's. March (see rear of envelope on the right) and then into Apia on 13 Dr Wilhelm Grevel, who lived a few kilometres away at Manase, March, a trip time of one month, and only 10 days from Auckland. complained that two or three months could pass without mail from How long it took to reach the postal agent at Fagamalo, Savai'i, (Mr Apia. The envelope reproduced above from 1907 indicates that the O.Hohenberger) before delivery to Von Bulow is unknown. postage time between Australia and Apia was not too bad, even if The visit was not just a chance to show his new wife Samoa's (Previous page) There is not much good quality photography from largest island but also to assess the restless activism of leading Savai'i from colonial times. One of the better images was taken at matai and orator, Lauati, of Safotulafai, who Solf banished to the Fagamalo and shows an official party from the German

Government, in Apia, at the residence of Savai'i

'Amtmann,' (District Administrator), Irishman Richard Williams,

in mid-December 1908. The German Governor, Wilhelm Solf, is

standing second from the right with his wife, Johanna, whom he

daughter So'oa'emalelagi 'Lagi' Solf (born Apia, 31 August, 1909).

married earlier in the year in Germany. During the 10 days on

Savai'i Mrs Solf appears to have conceived their first child,

of Native Affairs), unknown, fitafita Paulo, Dr Gustav

brought from Africa.

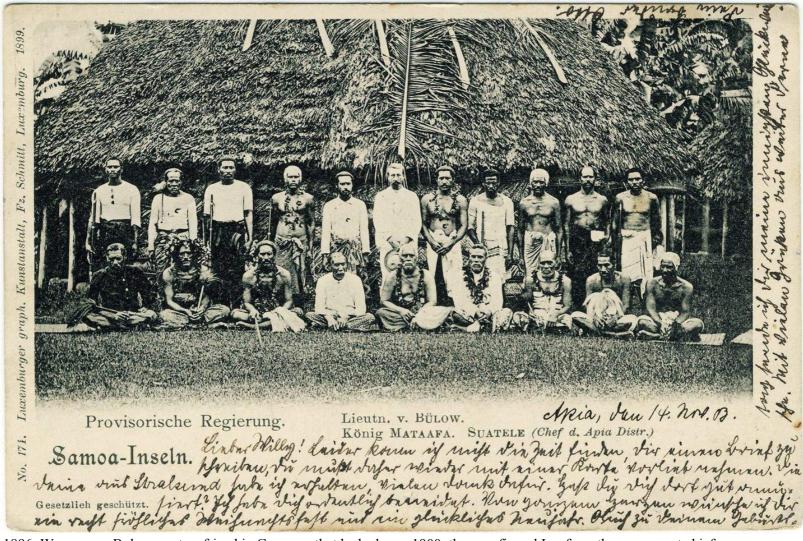
western Pacific four months later. (Von Bulow was a critic of Solf

and his administration). The people in this photo are as follows (left

to right): fitafita (soldiers) Fola and To'o, Adolf Haidlen (Secretary

Angenheister, Richard Williams, unknown sitting, Lieutenant

Hecker, the Solfs, and personal servant, Juma, who Dr Solf had



Claude Lamesch Collection, Luxembourg

In December 1896, Werner von Bulow wrote a friend in Germany that he had become something of a hermit and had not left the island of Savai'i for six years. This period of seclusion came to a dramatic end shortly thereafter.

In 1898 he contrived to get himself appointed as a key aide to Mata'afa Iosefo, one of the rivals for the Samoan kingship. In the tourist card above, Von Bulow stands in the middle, directly behind Iosefo. In December, Von Bulow represented him in a Supreme Court hearing, in Apia, where he hoped to get his friend the kingship ahead of Malietoa Tanumafili I. Von Bulow represented German interests which were aligned solidly behind Iosefo. In court he had sharp exchanges with both the judge and a British naval captain who he told to "clear out and mind his own business." After the Germans took over Samoa in 1900, they confirmed Iosefo as the paramount chief.

Overall, von Bulow's politics seemed a little contradictory: he pushed for a stronger role for village fono and a stronger German stamp on the country.

In July 1909, he stirred up a hornet's nest in Germany when an article of his was reprinted in newspapers throughout his old homeland. In this he savagely criticised the German Administration of Samoa for its even-handed and inclusive approach (with non-German Europeans) to civic and political affairs. He wrote that Governor Solf needed to harden up. There was "an absolute necessity to make the character of this colony more German than has been the case up till now."



When not involved in his cultural studies and political activity, Werner von Bulow had a large plantation to maintain. He patrolled it with a military air, sometimes falling foul of local Samoans by shooting their marauding pigs when they strayed on to his property, according to von Bulow researcher I'u Tuagalu. In 1906 the *Cyclopedia* reported that von Bulow's property was planted mainly in rubber.

It also spoke of large aviaries that had been built and von Bulow's intention to start a carrier pigeon service between Savai'i and Apia. The photo above shows one of Werner's aviaries, possibly the largest one that was capable of holding hundreds of birds, according to the *Cyclopedia*. This photo bore the label "Brieftaubenstation" on the back – "pigeon coop," in German. There is no evidence that a pigeon post to Apia was ever started.



Brunt Collection, photographer T.Brunt

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In the middle of 1913, Lieutenant Werner von Bulow became ill and was admitted to the Government Hospital in Apia. He died there some days later on 15 June, aged 64. At his hastily arranged funeral service the next day, Pastor Heider and Fritz Stünzner, head of the Militaer-Verein (Military Association), made short addresses. It seems unlikely that Apia-based Stünzner would have known von Bulow well. In fact from the absence of reminiscences about von Bulow in Samoan literature it seems that his circle of friends might have been small.

A son of the Prussian nobility had made the interesting decision to spend the second half of his life living as a bookish bachelor in the Samoan wilderness. We know of his literary works but we are left wanting to know more about the man himself, what made him tick, whether he was happy. Thirty years in one place suggests that he was.

In death, there was a hint that von Bulow had been a contented man. Theodore Brunt bought von Bulow's plantation and lived there with his family from 1914 to about 1920. His son, Bert, spent his childhood there and told of what he saw with his strong psychic faculty that the Samoans call "*vavalo*". Bert recalled that he often saw the ghost of von Bulow pottering around in the garden.

Another Brunt found the site of von Bulow's old house in 1975 when the photo above was taken. The young man shown was the LMS pastor in Matapo'o standing on the home's foundations. Von Bulow's ghost could not be seen.

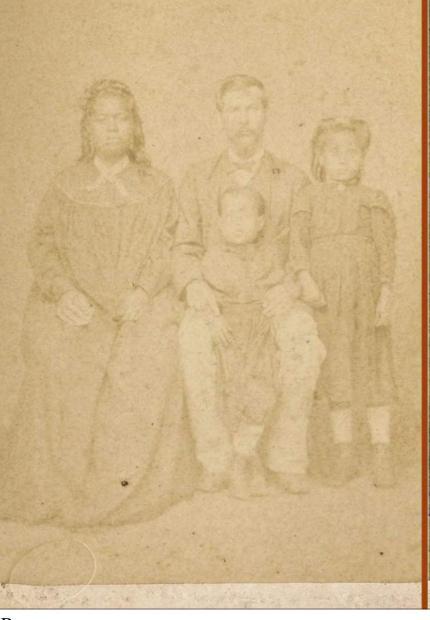


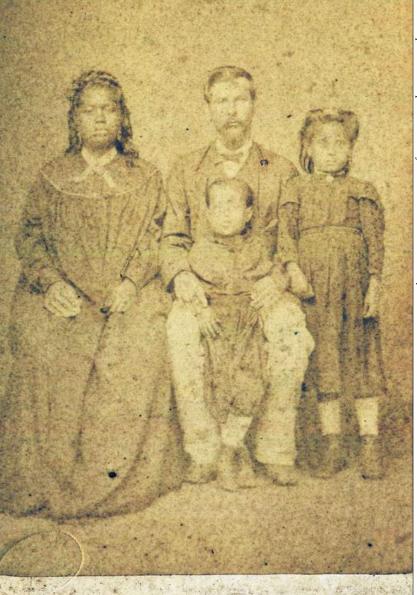
Claude Lamesch Collection, Luxembourg (cropped)

Malietoa - Axmann - Gebauer "So'o le fau ma le fau"

In the late 1840s, American Jonas Coe was probably the first European to marry into the family of a paramount chief of Samoa when he formed a union with a kinswoman of Malietoa Moli. Twenty years later a German

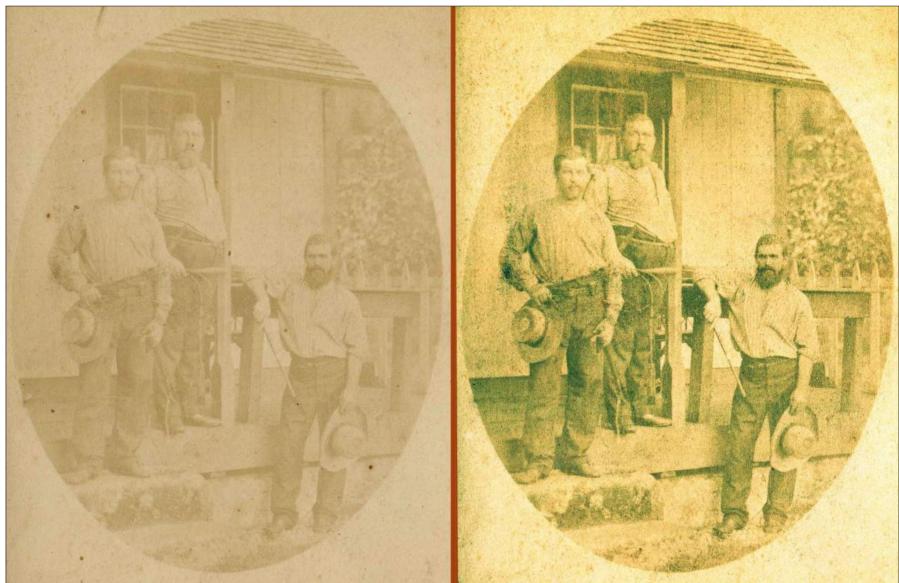
sailor from the island of Rugen, in the Baltic Sea, Feodor Axmann, went one better – he married Etesa Malietoa, sister of Malietoa Laupepa, the 'King of Samoa'.





This photo is likely to have been taken in Apia at the studio of the first professional photographer in Samoa, Mr John Davis, some time around 1876. Mr Davis arrived in Apia in 1873 and his photographic activity seems to date from the mid -1870's. He also acted for many years as Postmaster. The stamp at lower left of the photo is illegible. Mr Davis' work in the 1880's bore more deeply imprinted *identification stamps. This photo* may be the oldest surviving family study taken by Davis. The lack of any studio backdrops likely attests to its execution at an early stage of his photographic endeavours.

Records in the Bremen Registry of Sailors, in Germany, give Feodor Axmann's date of birth as 1841 in the town of Gohren. They have him shipping out of Bremen in 1855 at age 14 on board the sailing ship *George William*, bound for New York. Australian records indicate that he turned up in Sydney on board the Godeffroy two-masted sailing ship, *Helene*, in 1864. Soon after, Mr Axmann arrived in Samoa and his seafaring days came to an end. This photo (original on left and digitally modified version on right) shows him with Etesa Malietoa (born in Vaiusu), their daughter, Emma, and son, Hermann Ernest Feodor. It was taken around 1876, as Emma was born in 1868 and looks to be around eight years old. This photo came to New Zealand with Spemann descendants in 1953 and the people pictured were unrecognised until digital manipulation took place in 2013 and a comparison was made with the man in the image on the next page which also came with the Spemanns.



Mr Axmann's name was written on the back of this photo (original on left) together with the words "Vailele 1881", so the presumption is made that he is the man on the left from the previous image, and the location was the Godeffroy/DH & PG plantation. Daughter Emma was born on Funafuti atoll, Tuvalu, in 1868, at a time when Godeffroy's was expanding its operations rapidly throughout Polynesia. The Axmanns may have run a trading post for Godeffroy's on the atoll. At some point they moved back to Samoa where Mr Axmann was probably a plantation

overseer.

An interesting thing happened within a year or two of this photo being taken – Feodor Axmann headed back to Germany on a visit and all contact with him was lost. After some time, Malietoa Laupepa, who was then at the height of his power, advised his sister that she should remarry. It was speculated that Feodor had died or was not returning. This time Etesa is believed to have taken a Samoan as her husband. She had a daughter to this union whose name was reportedly Luisa.



Grapengiesser Family Collection, photographer probably A.J. Tattersall



Spemann Family Collection

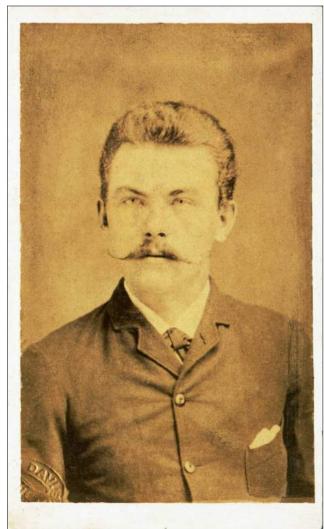
> This photo of Emma Axmann (4th from left in middle row) in a group of mainly Samoan women suggests that her upbringing was a bicultural one rather than a European-oriented one. The group pictured may have been a gathering of wives of Germans. Suggestive of this is the presence of both Emma and Mrs Senitima Funk, the wife of German doctor Bernhard Funk, one of Apia's most notable characters in the German colonial period. Mrs Funk is beside Emma, 5th from the left.

> Emma Axmann's brother, Hermann, emigrated to Sydney around the turn of the century and settled there. He married Minnie Walker in 1903 and had a family.

(Previous page) After about six years absence, according to family folklore, Mr Axmann returned to Samoa. This may have occurred around 1888-89. He prevailed upon Etesa to return to the marriage. Reportedly her agreement was obtained in a meeting that was more confrontational than amicable.

This beautifully preserved photo of the re-united Axmanns in about 1894-95 came to Auckland in 1933 with descendants, the Grapengiesser family. Its relatively early departure from the islands has saved it from the deterioration or damage that Samoa's humid, cyclone-prone climate can cause. The Axmann house stood on Beach Rd, at Sogi, in Apia. The people in this photo appear to be: (back row, left-to-right) all unknown except probably son Herman Axmann in grey jacket; sitting, Etesa and Feodor with baby Rudolph Gebauer (born December 1892) on his lap; daughter Emma (married Hugo Gebauer); on mat, (best guesses) Clara Gebauer (b. March 1891); Etesa's daughter Luisa (b. 1884-85?); and Hedwig Gebauer (b. April 1889). Missing from this photo is first-born son Robert Gebauer, aged about 7-8 at the time (b. Sept 1887), and Emma's husband Hugo. Was Robert in Germany with his father, being placed in an educational institution?

Mr Axmann sustained a chest injury while on board a boat in rough weather. He reportedly stopped an item of furniture falling on to a sailor. A slow chest hemorrhage led to his death in Apia on 1 April 1896. In reporting Feodor's passing, the *"Sydney Morning Herald"* correspondent in Samoa reported that Mr Axmann "was greatly esteemed by all classes."



Spemann Family Collection, Photographer John Davis

Hugo Gebauer arrived in Samoa in 1884 at the age of 22. He was born in Konigsberg, Prussia, and came to Samoa under contract to the DH & PG. This photo by John Davis, of Apia, looks to have been taken soon after Hugo's arrival. Hugo and Emma married in about 1886 and were reportedly given a house by Emma's parents as a wedding present.

Scan from Hugo Gebauer's Almanac, Spemann Family collection

Plaul 75 International Hotel. H. GEBAUER, DEUTSCHE SCHUTZGEBIET GENERAL STOREKEEPER APIA, SAMOA. Verkauf von Waaren aller Art. Dies Hotel liegt im Zen-trum der Stadt. Pracht-This Hotel is situated EN GROS UND EN DETAIL. in the business centre of Apia. Splendid view of the Harbour from the volle Aussicht auf den Hafen von der Veranda. Hanseatische Feuer-Verandah. Salzwasser-Bad Salt water bathing with Versicherungs-Gesellschaft, Hamburg mit Süsswasser-Douche. Billard und andere Spiele. fresh water shower. Grosser Musterraum für Cannon Table, Billiard G. W. PARTSCH. Reisende. Table and Bagatelle. Allgemeine Anskunft und Adressbuch Large Sample Room. AGENT FUER SAMOA. herausgegeben im Auftrage und n Unterstützung Eine möblierte Villa, den A splendid 5-roomed Villa (Cumberland Villa) höchsten Anforderungen Saleufi Baeckerei u. Kouditorei des Kaiserlichen Gouvernements zu Apia. entsprechend, mit 5 Zim-mern, Küche, Badehaus und has lately been built in anderen Nebengebäuden ist Motootua; fully furnished; kürzlich errichtet worden, Kitchen, Bath, all Out-Mit jedem Dampfer Dieselbe liegt an sehr guter houses etc. Splendid sit-Neue und verbesserte Auflage. Frischer Proviant jeder Art Strasse in geringer Entferuation and view; good nung vom Zentrum der Stadt. - Prachtvolle Ausroads; within 5 minutes aus Deutschland, Amerika und den Kolonien. drive of Post Office. Feste Kunden erhalten jeden Morgen frisches Brod und eventuell bestellte Waaren ins Haus geliefert. sicht, schöne Lage. Suitable for Tourist. Passend für Touristen. APIA NORMAN H. MACDONALD, R. EASTHOPE, Proprietor. VERLAG VON Landmesser und Land-Agent, C. W. PARTSCH. übernimmt die Auswahl und Berichterstattung über Ländereien zu Pflanzungs- und anderen Zwecken und Auktionator und Commissions-Agent. Collector of Debts. besorgt den kommissionsweisen Kauf und Verkauf von APIA, SAMOA. Ländereien.

The Gebauers spent some time managing a Savai'i post for the DH & PG, followed by Hugo's appointment to several positions with the company in Apia. He then went into business on his own, establishing a general store on Beach Rd, at Matafele, where the Chan Mow supermarket now stands. This image shows some pages from Hugo's copy of the German Almanac for Samoa, published in 1905. Hugo has signed the cover on the left. His advertisement on the right advises in German, "Sale of goods of all kinds, wholesale or retail."



The German School in Apia was a private school set up by Mr Gebauer and three other German settlers in the late 1880's. It received an annual subsidy from the school fund of the German Foreign Office and the German Colonial Society. It was taken over by the German Government of Samoa in 1903.

This photo shows Mr Gebauer, 3rd from left at back, with the rest of the school committee, teachers and pupils circa 1895. Beside him is teacher Miss Ludovica Schultze.

Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Australia,, PXE 708 1



This photo of pupils in the school grounds was taken on 5 July 1900, according to the date written in chalk on the blackboard held in the middle of the photo by two boys. "Deutsche Schule, Apia" are the main words on the board. Two girls are holding up a picture of

German Emperor, Wilhelm II. A plank from the wreck of the SMS Adler is displayed at lower left. The teachers in this photo appear to be Mr Otto Damm (or Wilhelm Osbahr) sitting at the table, and on the right of the table in the white dress, possibly Miss Selesa Folau, of Apia, who ran the kindergarten.



This appears to be the last photo of Etesa Malietoa Axmann (wearing polka dot dress) taken not long before her passing in 1926. Daughter Emma is sitting to the right (with boy on lap), with Hugo at the back.

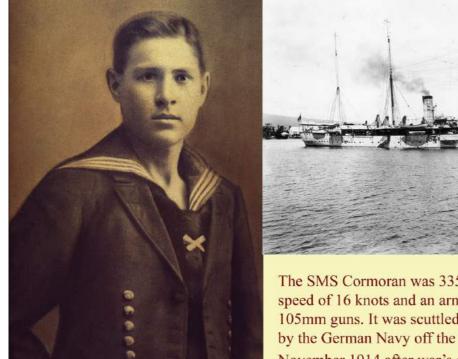
In this photo the oldest Gebauer daughter, Hedwig (on left in front row), sits below her husband, Max Grapengiesser, a German from Mecklenburg who arrived in Samoa in 1906. Others in the photo are (left to right) at back Etesa Gebauer, Hugo Gebauer Jnr, Minna Gebauer, Hugo Gebauer Snr, Richard Gebauer, Rudy Gebauer, (front row) Carl Grapengiesser, Hedwig, Richard Grapengiesser, Etesa, Emma, Max Grapengiesser Jnr, Linda Gebauer (Rudy's daughter), Rudy's wife Mrs Acey Gebauer (nee Tatnell), and son Ernst Gebauer. Emma and Hugo's oldest son Robert, who would have been in his late 30s, is absent in Germany where he spent many years (see next page).



Oldest Gebauer son, Robert, entered the German Navy in 1906-07 and, judging by the words on his sailor's cap in the photo on left, served on board the cruiser, SMS Roon (pictured at bottom). He spent nearly 20 years away from Samoa. The photo top right was taken in Altona, Hamburg, in about 1920.

In the First World War Robert was apparently captured by the Russians while serving in the German Army. After learning to speak colloquial Russian without a German accent he and another prisoner escaped from internment in Russia. The second German spoke Russian with a German accent so pretended to be a deaf mute. Robert recalled many years later that his fellow escapee nearly gave the show away when he burst into laughter after a Russian they met cracked a joke. The two eventually escaped back to Germany, perhaps East Prussia.

Naval photo on left by photographer Anna Koch, Luneburg, Germany; photo top right taken by Sonderegger, Altona, Germany, Spemann Family Collection (restored T.Brunt). SMS Roon photo in Public Domain.



The SMS Cormoran was 335ft long, had a top speed of 16 knots and an armament of eight

105mm guns. It was scuttled (deliberately sunk) by the German Navy off the Chinese coast in November 1914 after war's outbreak.

• On the Cormoran's Samoa visit in November 1911 this photo of most of the crew was given to Max Grapengiesser by crewmember R.Storch, probably an officer, apparently as a 'thank you' for hospitality offered in Apia (this information derived from an inscription in German on the back). Rudolf Gebauer cannot be identified among the crew.

Rudy left the ship a year later in Hobart, Tasmania, where he lived for several years, working as a biscuit maker. In Hobart Rudy married Miss Acey Tatnell. After the outbreak of war, he was classified as an enemy alien but released on parole. Australian Government records noted that his employer "speaks highly of his loyalty to [the] British Empire." Mr Gebauer gave an undertaking "not to act in any way prejudicial to the safety of the British Empire during the war."

> Grapengiesser Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2013.

Robert's brother, Rudolf, also joined the German Navy but served in the Pacific. He went to sea at age 17 and served on board the light cruiser SMS Cormoran from 1909 to 1912. The Cormoran, pictured, was a frequent visitor to Apia during the German Administration. This photo was taken by Alfred Tattersall apparently from Matautu, probably on the ship's visit in November 1911.

Gebauer photo, a hand retouched enlargement from an original by photographer Karl Hurtig, Wilhelmshaven, Germany, Gebauer Family Collection. Cormoran photo: "German warship in Apia Harbour." Tattersall, Alfred James, 1866-1951: Photographs of Samoa. Ref: PAColl-3062-2-04. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23180858





This superb photo from Christmas Day 1930 shows the Gebauers in quite a formal gathering at the family home in Lepea. Through marital arrangements the family has taken on a stronger German flavour. Richard on the left is accompanied by his wife, Sophia Fruean, and their two children. Sophia was a third-generation descendant of Charles Fruean and Meleane Toluma'anave, of Lefaga. Fruean was a German shipwright who called into Lefaga Bay for supplies and decided to stay. Sitting beside Richard and Sophia are Robert who has returned

from Germany with his wife Olga (nee Wolny), from Rissen, Hamburg, and son Karl. The three adult Gebauer children at the back on the left are all single but Etesa (third from the left) will soon marry into another German family, the Spemanns, a connection worth exploring in some detail in the next few pages because of the Spemanns' compelling 'back story.' Emma and Hugo are sitting in the middle, the Grapengiessers are next, and on the right are Acey and Rudolph Gebauer and their children Ernst, Emma and Linda.



Spemann Family Collection

TWO OTHER GERMAN FAMILIES -SPEMANN AND WARNS - ENTER THE GEBAUER CIRCLE

From 1933 the bloodlines of two other German families, Spemann and Warns, mingle with the Gebauers. Adolf Spemann (in photo left), hailed from Karlsruhe and was born in 1878. He appears to have arrived in Samoa in the early 1900's. Mr Spemann married Lucy Warns (pronounced 'Vance' in German), also pictured, who was from Aleipata, on the east coast of Upolu.

Lucy Warns Spemann was born in Aleipata (shown below) in 1888, the daughter of Julius Warns, from Eppendorf, near Hamburg, and Lucy Barry (or Bell-Schwenke). Julius was one of the early German pioneers in Samoa and is mentioned by Harry Moors, in his book, *"Some Recollections of Early Samoa,"* as one of the exclusive club of pre-1880 settlers. The Warns family reportedly raised seven children in Aleipata, including three boys. Despite this fair representation of males the Warns name faded out in Samoa in the 20th century through predominantly female offspring and emigration. The family's copra plantation was at Satitoa, and and is still partly in the ownership of Warns descendants. It stands directly behind the Catholic Church on the coast. The only connection with Apia in those days was by boat or track. This photo shows a large Aleipata copra plantation taken in the colonial period.





Spemann Family Collection

After Lucy Warns and Adolf Spemann married they developed a 110-acre cocoa plantation at Aleisa on the hilly country west of Apia. A typical cocoa plantation from this period is shown above.

Between 1906 and 1911 five children were born to the union. Then misfortune entered the family narrative. After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, a patriotic Adolf Spemann (pictured) reportedly decided to return to Germany to fight for his country. This is the story that has come down through his descendants. A less eyebrow-raising scenario is possible - he may have been in Germany at the time of war's outbreak placing his oldest daughter, Liesel, in education. Family tradition has Adolf trying to enlist in the army but being

rejected because he had flat feet. However, by mid-1915 Mr Spemann is fighting on the Western Front in the 7 Company, Das-Reserve-Infanterie Regiment 111, 28th Reserve Division.

His commanding sergeant, August Brysch, spoke of Spemann as "a good friend and the bravest man in my group." Brysch observed, "He was luckier than most others." But on 1 July 1916, at the Battle of Fricourt, on the Somme, in France, Adolf's luck ran out. As he was looking over the top of a trench a shell exploded in front of him and shrapnel pierced his throat. He fell back into Brysch's arms and died. Spemann's squad were soon afterwards threatened by the British and only had time to wrap his body in a tent and leave it at the mouth of a dugout before withdrawing.



Komeroden etwas tun konnte. Sehr oft soh ich ihn dasitzen und das Bila seiner lieben Pamilie in der Hand holten. Ja die "Photographie" auch mir hat er sie oft gezeigt und gesagt:" Ein Kind ist in München, die anderen vier sind bei der Frau auf Samoa". Sein geliebtes Samoanerland, von dem er uns so viel erzählte. Von seinen Anpflanzungen und der Arbeit, von den Menschen und seiner lieben Pomilie. So vertrieb er uns die Langeweile im Schützengraben mit seinen Erzählungen. Gern hätte ich die Photographie mach esinem Tode an mich genommen, um dieselbe weg zu schicken, habe sie aber leider nicht bei ihm gefunden. Er wird sie jedenfalle im Tornister gehabt haben, den wir alle im zweiten Graben gelassen haben. Schen um den 20.6. sprach er von Urlaub, Gewartet hat er darouf, das weiss ich, aber später ist nun die Offensive ausgebrochen

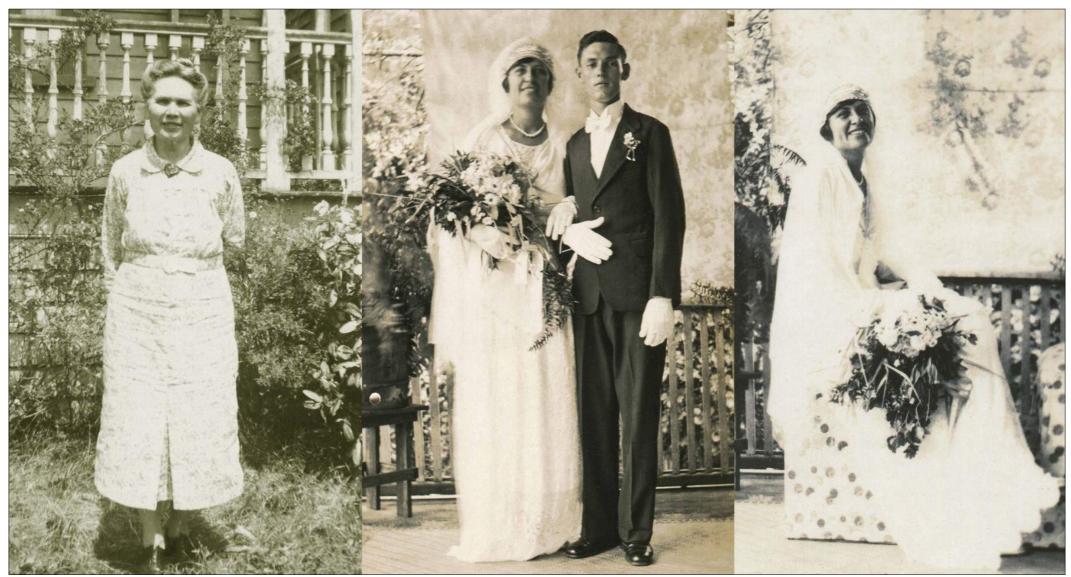


After Adolph Spemann was killed at the battle of Fricourt, 19 year-old Sgt Brysch wrote a detailed and moving letter of condolence to Spemann's mother in Germany, a note of maturity and compassion that belied his youth. The image above shows an excerpt from the letter, the part in which Brysch recalls how Adolf spoke of Samoa.

English translation of yellow marking: "Quite often I saw him sitting with a photo of his loved ones in his hand. Yes, this 'photo' he very often showed to me, too, and said, "one child is in Munich and the others are with the wife in Samoa," his beloved land of Samoa of which he told us so much about his plantations and the work, the men and his lovely family. When we were bored in the trenches he entertained us with his stories. I would have loved to take the photo after his death to forward it but I could not find it on him. He will have had it for sure in his knapsack which he left like all of us in the second trench."

(This letter is in the possession of the Spemann family and is possibly retyped from the original. The translation was prepared in 2013 by Reinhard Wendt.)

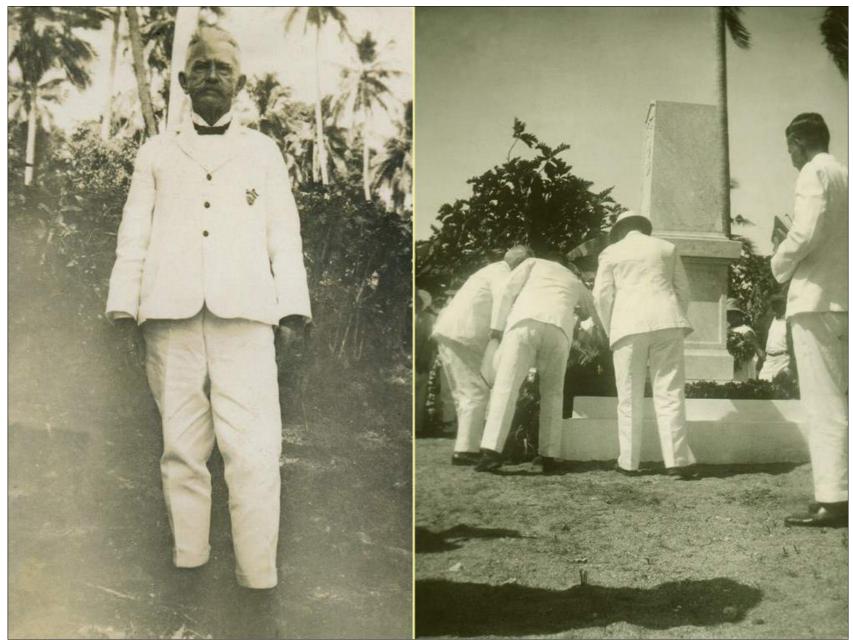
Adolf was awarded a posthumous Iron Cross (actual medal pictured).



Lucy Warns Spemann was a woman of strength, resilience and cheerfulness, according to her last surviving child, Mrs Alice Morley Robertson, who lives in Auckland. She was not one to get 'down'. Lucy, shown at left above, dug deep after Adolf Spemann's death on the battle field and despite having five children ranging in age from five to ten, was able to maintain the Aleisa plantation and keep her family intact and moving forward. She remarried in 1921 to Mr Herbert Morley, a plantation inspector with the Reparation Estates, and they continued to live on the Aleisa property until they emigrated to Auckland in the 1930s. Lucy died in 1957.

The photos on the right show her son Wilhelm 'Bill' Spemann, an accountant, and Etesa Gebauer on their wedding day in Apia in February 1933.

Composite from Spemann Family collection.



Composite from Spemann Family Collection

At the German monument service at Mulinu'u on 3 July 1932, Hugo Gebauer was chosen to lay the wreath of remembrance on behalf of Samoa's German community. He was one of three remaining German residents who had been in Samoa at the time of the 1888 Vailele incident and the 1889 hurricane which had both resulted in German Navy fatalities, which were commemorated on the memorial.

The Apia Brass Band played the moving "Prayer to Zapfenstreich," a solemn tattoo reserved for important State occasions in Germany, and then Hugo stepped forward to place the official wreath. He is on the left in the monument photo. Pastor Raimund Reye is on the right. The individual photo of Mr Gebauer taken on the day of the commemoration service may have been one of his last; he died eight months later on 28 April 1933.



With the German population of Samoa dwindling by the late 1930's and the weakening of the old ties to Europe the practice of sons being despatched to Germany for education and work had almost died out. Karl and Ernst Gebauer were two of the last to leave the islands to seek their future in Germany.

The photo on the left shows Karl and his mother, Olga (Robert's wife), on the main wharf at Matafele preparing for the launch ride out to their ship in Apia Harbour that would take them to Germany in 1936. Two other members of the German community are also heading to Germany for a visit – Mr Gustav Stoeckicht (on left) and Mr Alfred Matthes (on right).

Karl Gebauer was in Germany during the years of the Second World War (1939-45) and, in its final stages, served in the navy as a mine clearance diver.

Spemann Family Collection







http://skmponz.pl/uroczystosci-na-cmentarzu-zolnierzyniemieckich-w-nadolicach-wielkich/?lang=en

German War Graves Commission records indicate that the following German casualties of World War Two were born in Samoa: Heinrich G.G. Angenheister, born 1915; Ernst M. Arps, b. 1912; Harald Baedecker, b. 1914; Kurt Baedecker, b.1919; Wilhelm Goebel, b. 1918; Christian C.H.Osbahr, b. 1915; Paul Retzlaff b. 1924; Otto H. Sessous, b. 1913.

Karl's cousin, Ernst Gebauer, headed to Germany in 1938. This image shows a farewell group on board his ship in Apia harbour. People (left-to-right): Alfred Matthes, Kurt Stünzner at rear, sister Emma Gebauer, Uncle Robert Gebauer, Ernst, father Rudolf Gebauer, sister Linda Gebauer, mother Acey Gebauer, and brother Feodor in front.

Sadly, this would be the last time family members saw Ernst. In Germany, he was drafted into the army after the outbreak of war in 1939. He married Elisabeth during the war years and had a daughter, Linda. There is uncertainty about when he died. The German War Graves Commission has an entry for an Ernst Gebauer that seems most in accord with his details (or lack of details). This has his date of death/'date missing' occurring

nearly four weeks after the end of the war on 28 May 1945 in eastern Germany/present day Poland. Ernst may have died while in Russian custody. There is also the possibility that he was in a small group attempting to head west to British or American occupied Germany when he was killed. Commission records state that his body could not be recovered. Accordingly, his name is listed in the memorial book at the Commission cemetery at Nadolice Wielkie, in Poland, rather than on a marked grave. (Cemetery shown at right in 2012).

Descendants report that because Ernst was listed as missing, his father, Rudolph, never accepted the finality of his death. He always thought that one day he would walk through the door.



Riethmaier Family Collection

Brothers Rudy and Robert Gebauer were interned for more than five years during the Second World War. In this photo taken at the Somes Island camp, in Wellington, they are wearing white aprons, suggesting that they were on kitchen duty that day. In his photo album Gregor Riethmaier (sitting second from the left) has written a caption under this image: "Schone Hoffnungen" – (trans.) "Beautiful Dreams."

Also interned were Gebauer brothers -in-law, Max Grapengiesser (five years internment) and Wilhelm Spemann (two and a half years). The third surviving Gebauer son, Richard, based in American Samoa, was interned in Texas during the war.



Spemann Family Collection, photographer Ken Brabant

As this chapter concludes, we present one of the last photos of Emma Axmann Gebauer, daughter of Etesa Malietoa and Feodor Axmann. It shows her with some members of her family at Lotopa on the occasion of her 80th birthday in 1948.

The tide of war has washed over the group and they have come through bruised but unbowed. A new generation of German Samoans is emerging to make its way in a less turbulent world.

People (left-to-right): at rear, Linda Gebauer Wilton, Rudy Spemann, baby Jock Jessop, Etesa Gebauer Spemann, Mrs Jessop, Robert Gebauer, Olga Gebauer, Emma Gebauer Brabant, Acey Gebauer, Rudy Gebauer, May Cordtz; at front, baby Barbara Brabant, Wilhelm Spemann, Hugo Spemann, Mina Spemann, Emma Gebauer, child Margaret Brabant.

Emma Axmann Gebauer died in Apia on 24 January 1950.

Photographs by Rudy Spemann.



If you are ever walking by the graveyard at Tufuiopa, in Apia, and decide to stroll among the old headstones keep an eye out for those of Etesa Malietoa Axmann and 'the man who came back', Feodor Axmann. Etesa's memorial stands erect but Feodor's headstone has fallen down and nature is trying to reclaim it.

The graves are side by side, a reminder of the ties that bind the Samoans and the Germans.

So'o le fau ma le fau.

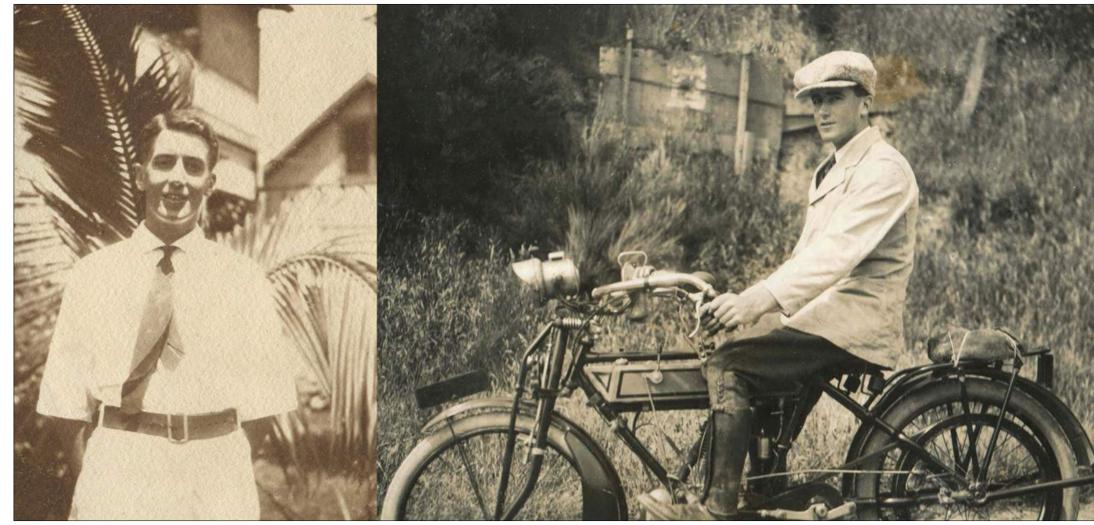
Click here to go to chapter references

Click here to return to table of contents

The Deportations of 1920 and the Journey of 'Mac' McKay

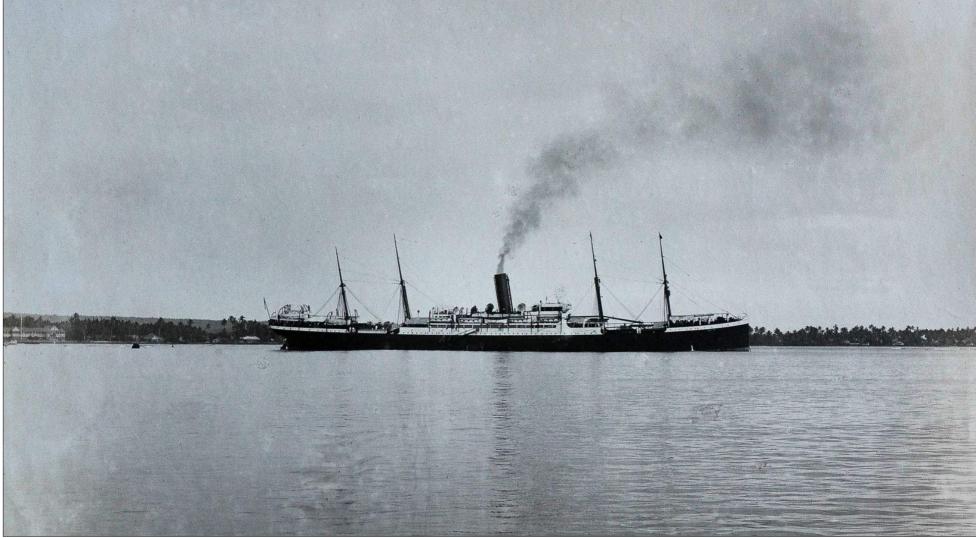
As a young man fresh to colonial service in Samoa, C.G.R. 'Mac' McKay was

drawn in to the deportation process. He found it not to his liking. A quarter of a century later he was able to make amends. In a similar post-war situation, McKay employed his sense of humanity to ease the suffering of desperate men, who had been officially classed as "enemy aliens," with an approach that was—as his government colleagues noted —"kindly and understanding."



Mac McKay – he disliked the Christian name Cyril – was born in 1900 and raised in Wellington in a sturdy Anglican family. Educated at Wellington College, McKay joined the Government Service at the age of 17. Before he was 20 he headed off to Samoa as a junior clerk in the New Zealand Administration. Thus began a love affair with the islands that lasted his whole life and saw him only return to New Zealand reluctantly in 1943.

One of Mac's unpleasant duties as a new arrival in 1920 was to participate in the processing of a large number of German citizens in Samoa who were deported from the islands in the wake of the German defeat in the First World War. This unhappy episode may have had an emotional impact on McKay and shaped his response to similar events many years later.



In June 1920, in the wake of the post-war settlements that saw NZ given control of Samoa, Administrator Robert Tate, ordered back to Germany 104 German settlers. Only 11 wished to return voluntarily; the rest were reluctant to go. Including wives and children, the number of passengers on embarkation day added up to 179, according to Mr McKay's count (190 by other counts). German settlers who had married Samoans, and a small number who were given special dispensation, were exempted from the repatriation order.

The probability of repatriation had been flagged publicly in December 1919, after which a few German men moved quickly, and successfully, to get themselves married to local girls.

On 13 June the passenger ship, the s.s.Main, (pictured), itself a prize of war that

the British had acquired from the Germans, arrived in Apia to take the people away. This photo of the ship in Apia Harbour was taken by Alfred Tattersall.*

For McKay it was an unhappy business. "I was one of two cashiers receiving from the deportees their loose money and then issuing a uniform allowance of 800 marks each for the voyage – 500 marks in rapidly depreciating paper and 300 in coin. For four days and nights we handled large trays of currency, much of it in gold – marks, dollars and sovereigns. Unhappily, the deportees included many of the most able planters..."

* Note that after the disastrous1889 hurricane all ships anchored in Apia Harbour were instructed to face out to sea to facilitate a rapid departure in case of a severe northerly gale.



Alfred Tattersall's positioning for this photograph reflects both his instincts as a news photographer and his tact. The deportation occasion was clearly an event of historical significance that he knew he must record, but to do so in full view of the unfortunate deportees and those bidding them farewell would have been insensitive and undignified. He has chosen the vantage point of a second floor balcony or window, possibly on the Concordia Club building (later Morris Hedstrom), or at Syddall's store obliquely opposite.

Kultur-und Heimatbund Harzgerode Collection ex-Franz & Marlies Pfeil, photographer Alfred Tattersall

This photo, taken by Alfred Tattersall, comes from the Franz Pfeil Collection, in Quedlinburg, Germany, and has been hand annotated with the words, "Die Ausweisung der Deutschen.

1920" (translation: "The expulsion of the Germans. 1920"). It shows a large crowd who have come to the Customs House, in Apia, to farewell those being repatriated. There is some uncertainty about whether this photo shows the "Main" deportations of 1920 or a deportation of German residents to internment in New Zealand in 1914. The same photo is in the Alexander Turnbull Collection, in Wellington, and has a hand written note on the back, "Customs— Deportation of Germans in 1914." Apia was swarming with New Zealand troops in 1914 and as none are visible in this image it seems quite possible that it shows the day of the Main departure in 1920 when Samoa was only lightly garrisoned.

Franz Pfeil, a teacher at the German School, in Apia, had been returned to Germany from internment in Auckland in 1919 and most likely received this photograph from his Apia friend (and later wife), Clementine Hufnagel. Clementine is likely to have been present at the Main departure. As this photograph was probably captioned during Franz and Clementine's lifetime the dating to 1920 carries some credibility.



This is how it would have looked on Tuesday 15 June, 1920, with German settlers and their families being loaded into a passenger lighter which was towed out to the Main. (This photo was actually taken some years later and there is a smaller ship at anchor).

A single large lighter was used on the day of the deportation into which all the passengers fitted. Sadly, there was a delay once they had taken their positions in the boat and, according to the *"Samoanische Zeitung,"* the people were "seated in the lighter for close on 2 hours in a hot sun....There were many young children and the ordeal for the mothers must have been a trying one.

"Some thoughtful spirit persuaded the manager of the Central Hotel to provide the deportees with iced limejuice, which was greatly appreciated."

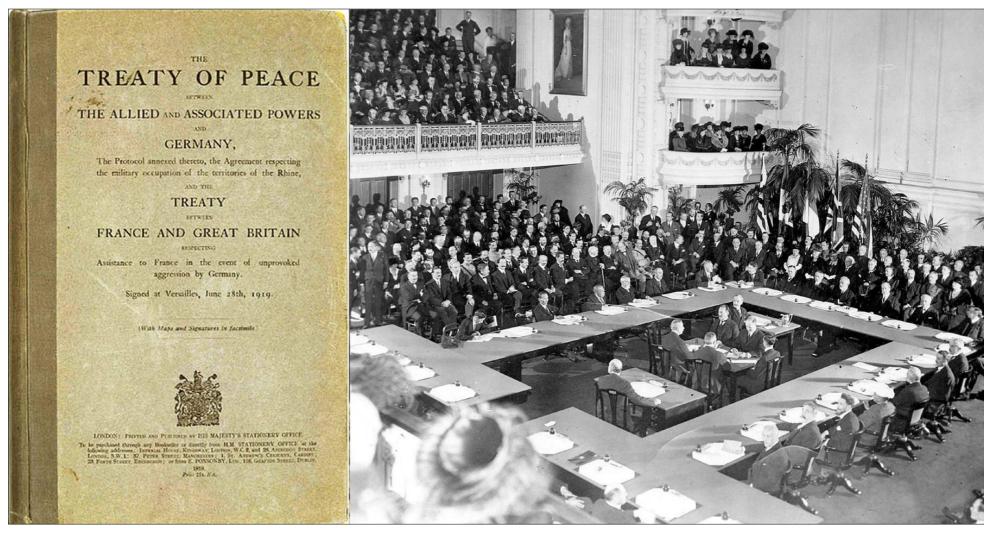
Many tears were shed by those leaving, and their friends on shore. As 4 p.m. arrived and the lighter was towed away from the wharf the passengers put on a brave face – they burst into song, with "Deutschland Uber Alles."

The people boarding the Main were not allowed to take coins or currencies of any value apart from the German money they were issued with. Customs officers found one man with English pound notes tucked in the brim of his hat; these were seized. Another man lost his watch chain of gold sovereigns and a £5 gold coin.

"THERE WERE OLD TIES FORMED–COMMON BONDS, THEY UNDERSTOOD AND KNEW EACH OTHER, HAD WORKED TOGETHER, HAD LAGERED TOGETHER..."

had lived in Samoa in the	lagered together—but in dividually whatever each Had for the other, internationality, painfully understood during	loaded lighter presented as she lay with her mass at Apia's wharf. There were not a few among their number whom Samoa is well rid of the extremist—but generally, there was a deal of sympathy for them. There were those among them who had become planters of af- fluence—others who had failed to make good, but withal they were none the less dignified as was evidenced in their orderly and commendable be- haviour. There was no sem. blance otherwise. Blood is thicker than water and no	singing of their National Anthem, although, truth to tell, very few of them desired to return to their Fatherland. Before their embarkation sad farewells and tears were free among the Samoan mothers—faa Samoa—who were seeing the last of their consorts. In this connection it may be stated that the few Germans concerned could have married these, women and applied for exemption from deportation, but elected otherwise. For several days previous the deportees were busy taking good-byes of many residents. The Germans are gone, for	look that fact.
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- An extract from the "Samoanische Zeitung," Apia, 19 June 1920 (p.6)



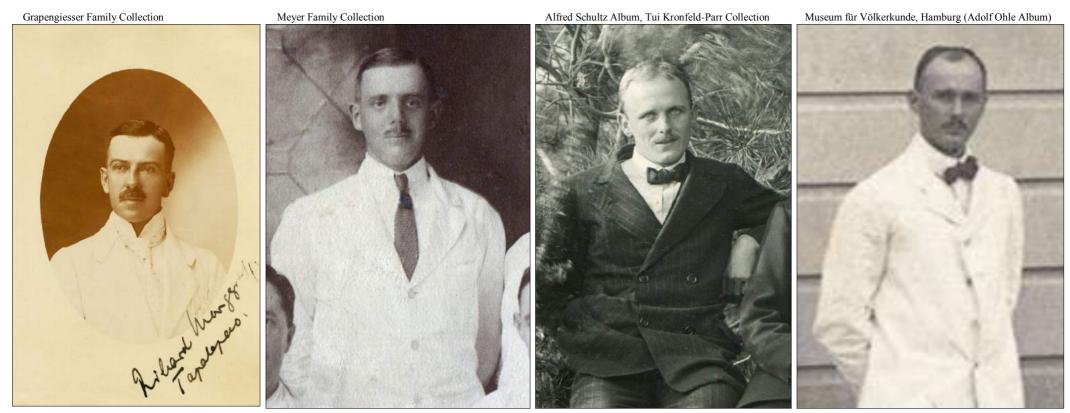
The final act of repatriation was a last minute scramble. Though prior discussion with the German residents had been undertaken by the NZ Administration, the repatriation order with the list of deportees' names was not issued by Colonel Tate until the day of deportation. Doubtless there had been many last-minute appeals for clemency which delayed the final list.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, of 1919 (pictured), New Zealand was given wide latitude to decide the fine detail of the deportation. The Treaty empowered it to "make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation...of German nationals."

The land, buildings and other personal property that the Germans left behind in Samoa was to be valued by the NZ Administration and, under the terms of

Article 297 of the Treaty, compensation was to be paid by the German Government to its own nationals.

It is not clear from this distance in time exactly how the process worked itself out for each departing family. The German currency was devaluing rapidly in the early 1920s and it seems likely that any financial resolution for the deportees was unsatisfactory. Some people from former German colonies who were politically well connected in Germany appear to have received compensation for their lost assets but most ex-Samoa deportees received nothing. They lost everything. The son of one former settler wrote in 1983 that compensation was never paid. "We were left to fend for ourselves," recalled Reinhard 'Teddy' Suhren, whose parents were planters at Tafaigata. IN THE NEXT FOUR PAGES WE DRAW ON A NUMBER OF ALBUMS TO PRESENT PHOTOS OF SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO LEFT ON THE 'MAIN' ON 15 JUNE, 1920.

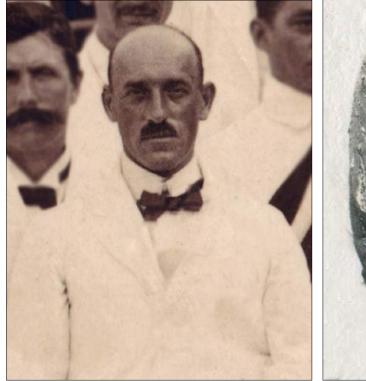


On left, Mr Richard Marggraff, a plantation manager for the DSG (Deutsche-Samoa Gesellschaft) at Tapatapao; (second man) Mr Heinrich Treviranus, manager of the Lesea cocoa plantation at Moamoa; (third man) Mr Ernst G. Studt, an employee of the DH & PG who was allowed to return to Samoa in early 1920 after internment on Motuihe Island but was then included on the repatriation list in June; (4th man) Mr Max Neufeldt who was also on the

clerical staff of the DH & PG prior to ts liquidation in 1916. He was not interned during the war.

On the passenger manifest for the Main the men's destinations in Germany were listed as Schwiebus, Rinteln, Lubeck and Kiel respectively. (Mr Marggraff eventually resettled in Indonesia where he had a coffee plantation. He revisited Samoa in 1928).

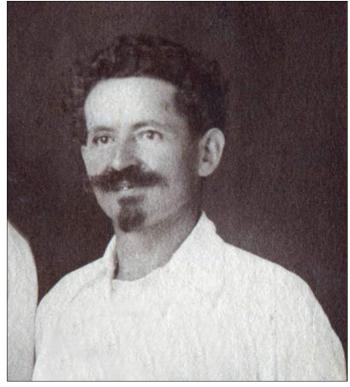
Conradt Family Collection (cropped with deletions made)





McKay Family Collection (cropped with deletions made)

Meyer Family Collection (cropped with deletions made)



On left, Mr Josef Schön, who had been a cocoa planter at Falelauniu.

In the middle, Mrs Luise 'Lizzie' Thieme, nee Gabriel, was of German Samoan descent and was one of the few people on the Main who was leaving voluntarily for a sojourn in Germany. Only a handful were not being deported compulsorily. Mrs Thieme was the widow of German doctor, Oskar Thieme, who had practised in Apia, and she was fulfilling a promise to her late husband to take their three children to Germany for education. She returned to Apia permanently in the

1930's and her children followed after the Second World War. A son, Hans, who was medically qualified, served as director of the Apia Hospital for 23 years.

On the right, is Mr Josef Haggenmiller, who was a watchmaker and clock repairer in Apia before his repatriation.

The passenger manifest for the Main listed their destinations as Berlin, Erfurt and Munich respectively.

Meiritz Reid Family Collection



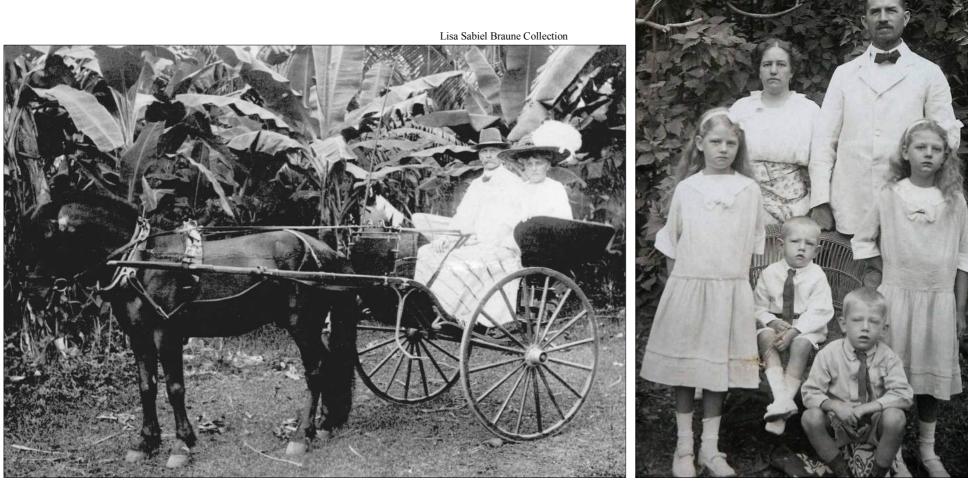
Grapengiesser Family Collection, Photographer Alfred Tattersall

On left, the Schmidt family – Mr Ludwig Karl Schmidt was the managing partner at Grevsmuhl and Co., in Apia, prior to the 1920 repatriation. He resettled with his wife, Antonie, and their children Wilhelm 'Bill' and Aniva in San Francisco where this photo was taken in the 1930s (Bill and Aniva revisited Samoa in their adult years); (middle) the Goebel children, Walter Toa and

Wilhelm, who left on the Main with their parents Carl and Hedwig Goebel (this photo was taken at the Tattersall Studio on 17 April 1919); (right) Gerda and Ilse Roserus, who left on the Main with their parents, Eugen and Dora Roserus.

Grapengiesser Family Collection, Photographer Franz Neitzel

The passenger manifest for the Main listed their destinations as Hamburg, Leipzig and Wilhelmshaven respectively.



Guido and Else Sabiel (on left) were repatriated on the Main with their three young children. They lost all of their Samoa assets, including Mr Sabiel's pharmacy and building at the eastern end of Beach Rd, in Apia (later the Lands and Survey Department building). The Sabiel's possessions on departure were touchingly meagre —their luggage and a box of crockery and tableware. Neither they nor their children returned to Samoa but grandchildren paid a visit in 2006.

The Traub family on the right were also on the Main. Mr Johannes 'Hans' Traub was the Postmaster for Samoa. He arrived in Apia in August 1901 and married into the local Dean family (to Edith Lillian Dean) and they had four children, twins Wilhelmine and Eva, and sons Erhard (at top) and Werner. Mr Traub was interned in Auckland during the First World War but returned to Apia in 1919,

where he had been appointed a trustee of the estate of his in-laws, W.C. and Elisabeth Dean, who both died during the 1918-19 influenza epidemic. Though most Germans who had married locals were exempted from deportation, Mr Traub appears to have been involuntarily deported on the Main, possibly with the loss of his assets. He later settled in Jugenheim where he died in 1958. No members of the family returned to Samoa until descendants visited in 1994. (See pages 197-198 for more information on Mr Traub and the German post office).

German Administration officials were perhaps in a better position to withstand the loss of assets upon deportation as compared with private individuals with large holdings. Years spent in the German colonial service in a foreign country reportedly counted for double time for the age of eligibility for a state pension.



Agnes Sasse Heeney Collection



Kirsten Moana Thompson Collection

Picknicking had been an important ingredient in the social life of Germans in Samoa. This photo depicts a picnicking group, complete with party hats, perhaps around 1915-16. All the men appear to be Germans. Identities appear to be as follows (left to right) Max Bartel, Christine Kruse, man obscured lying on ground possibly Ernst Studt, next man probably Walter Klose, Aggie Swann (later Aggie Grey), woman under tree Mary Swann, woman in foreground Lissy Tualaga, Henrietta Schuster, Max Neufeldt and possibly Johannes Wesche.

(Previous page) The departure of hundreds of German residents of Samoa in the repatriations of 1919-20 from New Zealand and Samoa chilled, at least for a time, the party-filled social scene that was a feature of expatriate life in Apia. Nelson Eustis, the biographer of Samoan hotelier Aggie Grey has written of the Grey sisters and their enjoyment of "the gay times, the concerts, the innumerable tea parties that had become their way of life." Tea parties was perhaps a euphemism. The Germans seemed to bring a gaiety and sophistication to social life in Samoa as well as a racial tolerance, that despite the strictures against interracial marriage that the Solf regime introduced, ensured that romance and revelry flowed across ethnic lines in a more relaxed way than was to occur under the later decades of the New Zealand Administration period. It was an historical irony: in the latter German years marriage between Europeans and Samoans was banned but there were numerous liaisons between German men and local women; in the New Zealand years intermarriage was allowed but an imported racism acted as a brake on cross-cultural relationships.

The scene depicted on the preceding page is a sumptuously detailed image, doubtless from the camera of Alfred Tattersall, which shows a celebration in a forest probably near Apia around the years of the First World War (1914-18). It captures a magical moment of concord between Samoans and Europeans. The fact that quite a few of the people are wearing *ula seasea* necklaces suggests that it might have been someone's wedding day, possibly that of the woman in the centre who is laughing and dancing, Miss Agnes Swann (later Aggie Grey).

It was snapped at exactly the right moment to capture Aggie laughing with her face in profile view. The photo may have been taken after her wedding reception at the Graf property, 'Kaiser Heights," near Vailima on the day she married Gordon Hay-Mackenzie in 1917. Other people identifiable in this photo are (right-to-left) second man Mr Peter Fabricius (in white suit), who married Aggie's sister Margaret in 1913; woman in white hat Mrs Antonie Schmidt; man on the left side in the background with his head down Mr Werner Sasse. On the seat on the right appear to be Aggie's satin cape, parasol and shoes.



McKay Family Collection

The people in this photo are (left-to-right): Back row, unknown, William Osbahr, Herbert Phineas, Sinaumea Hunter, unknown, Mac McKay, unknown, unknown, Eti Eves, unknown: next row standing, Ben Hur Yandall, Eugene Paul, William Johnston, Wilf. Fortune, Gibbens, unknown, Ali'i Groves, Taua'a; sitting, Queenie Syddall, Sose Yandall, teacher Don Crone and Mrs Crone. Mrs Joseland and Rev. F.P. Joseland, Miss Whitmore, Emmy Smyth, Pele Groves (later Lewis), Therese 'Terra' Johnston (later Tattersall); in front, Florence Yandall, Fanua Yandall, Betty Netzler, Helen Syddall, Louisa Brunt, Henrietta McCarthy

In a reminiscence written in later years, Mac McKay described the 1920 repatriations as "sordid." They appeared to leave a mark.

Mr McKay launched into a highly active life in Apia, socialising, sailing, canoeing, playing cricket – and, unusually among expatriate administrators, learning to speak Samoan with a great degree of fluency. This facility with the local language was helped by a holiday stint of 10 days at Fagamalo living in a fale and

mixing with the locals. The New Zealand official 'Resident' living nearby wrote a letter to Apia complaining how McKay let the side down by joining local boys and girls playing guitars and singing in the moonlight.

This photo shows Mac as a member of the LMS Young Folks Club in Apia in 1921. The following year he met Miss Hilda Queen, of Auckland, who came to Samoa to work as a shorthand typist. They married in 1923.



McKay Family Collection

The people in this photo are (left-toright): at back Messrs Partidge, Heal, Williams, Morgan, McCarthy, Mitchell, Luxford; (middle row), Tattersall, Andrew, Liston, Brown, Hufnagel-Betham, Small, McKay; (sitting) Carruthers, Fred Allen, Klinkmüller, Sir Stephen Allen, Miedecke, Cobcroft, Syddall, Burnett.

Mac McKay's career prospered. He could write shorthand and was often called up to Vailima to take dictation from the New Zealand Administrator. Over the years he became one of the longest serving administration staff members. Most New Zealand civil servants on secondment just signed up for the minimum three-year stint.

While still in his twenties, McKay was invited to join the Apia branch of the Masonic Lodge, the exclusive Calliope

Lodge No. 252. In the Calliope Lodge he mixed with many members of Apia's palagi elite including the New Zealand Administrator himself. This photo of Calliope Lodge members from 1930 shows McKay as probably the youngest member of the Lodge, with the New Zealand Administrator Sir Stephen Allen prominent in the front row.



In 1933 Mac McKay was appointed to the senior post of Secretary for Native Affairs (later renamed 'Samoan Affairs'), whose department looked after relations with the Samoan population, including the fonos of Faipule. In this role he became a member of the Land and Titles Commission. Mr McKay's enjoyment in mixing with Samoans was given full play in this role, and he undertook a regular malaga, touring Upolu and Savai'i to get feedback from local communities.

This image and the next few were taken during Mac's first malaga to the Fagaloa district in 1933. In this photograph he is sitting on the running

board of his car at Falefa with Le Mamea Matatumua Ata, his translator and, according to McKay's photo album, his "life-long friend." Though Mac could speak Samoan well and was schooled on the fa'alupega of the villages he visited, protocol required that he used a translator while on official business. His friend Matatumua went on in later years to become one of the framers of the Constitution of Samoa and was awarded the OBE.



Above, Falevao Village photographed while McKay was on malaga in 1933. On right, Mac McKay inspecting the Falevao – Taelefaga Track, Fagaloa. Below, view to Taelefaga, Fagaloa, 1933. All photos McKay Family Collection





The people in this photo are as follows (not known = n.k.), all left-to-right: (Front, sitting on grass) Vaea Syddall, Vincent Newton. Fred Newton, Enid Miedeke, Mr Irving Carruthers, May Newton, June Newton, Jack Miedecke Gladys Newton (nee Syddall), man squatting n.k.; (seated at front) Harold Syddall, Friedrich Stünzner, Va Syddall (nee Leniu), Friedrich Stünzner Jnr (groom), Sylvia Stünzner (nee Syddall) (bride), Mary Ellen Stünzner (nee Betham), Frederick Syddall, Elsie Syddall (nee Johnston, wife of Harold), Jessie Trimen (nee Syddall); (middle row standing) Ann Brighouse (nee Hoeflich), man behind n.k., George Miedecke, man behind in dark suit Augustus Betham, woman n.k., woman dark dress, hat, Mrs A.G.Smyth, Kurt Stünzner, Mrs Fa'auiga Meyer (nee Iosua), Hazel Betham, n.k., Hilda McKay, n.k., behind Mr Kurt Hufnagel-Betham, Mrs Kathleen Hufnagel-Betham (floral top), n.k., Mrs Else Klinkmüller (grey hat), Ilse Klinkmüller, Gertude Stünzner, Caro Syddall, Lily Stünzner (nee Jamieson) with baby Gertrude, behind Percy Syddall; (back row, including people in distance) Mr Lober (?), Emil Meiritz (?), Mac McKay, A.G.Smyth, Maude Betham, Gustav Klinkmüller, Mrs Miedecke, Kurt Meyer, Friedrich Jahnke (head only), Bill (?) Liston, n.k. behind, Alan Cobcroft, Harold Newton, Moe Carruthers, Mrs

Photo: Stünzner Family Collection

Mac McKay's many years in Samoa meant that he got to know a large proportion of the European and German residents of the islands. He was on first name terms with most. This photo of guests at the wedding of Fritz Stunzner Jnr and Sylvia Syddall on 7 October 1933 shows Mr

McKay (third from left in back row) as the only invitee from the New Zealand Administration (apart from Kurt Hufnagel-Betham who was a relative of the groom). Mrs Hilda McKay is standing behind the groom wearing a white hat.

The visit to Samoa in April and May of 1937 of Dr Walter Hellenthal, the pre-war German Consul in Wellington, brought into focus the increasingly conflicted position of local Germans and German Samoans. Distance from Europe lent a rosetinted view of Adolf Hitler and his policies. A pride in Germany's recovery from the demoralisation of the 1920's was tempered with discomfort about the Nazi Party's racial policies which put Samoa's cross-cultural marriages in a position of implied censure. Hellenthal spoke enthusiastically of the government he served.

The pictures on this page show a garden party that was held at a property in Lotopa, Apia, in honour of the consul. Hellenthal is shown in the middle of the group photo (at top) in a white suit and white shoes. Beside him on the right is NZ Administrator, Alfred Turnbull, who is also shown in the photo at right, standing on the right with his hands in his pockets. The hosts at this gathering had wisely ensured that the British flag, the Union Jack, was elevated higher than Germany's swastika flag.

Photos, top, Tony Brunt Collection; all other images per Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft Bibliothek, Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, Hellenthal Collection, Photographer Walter Hellenthal











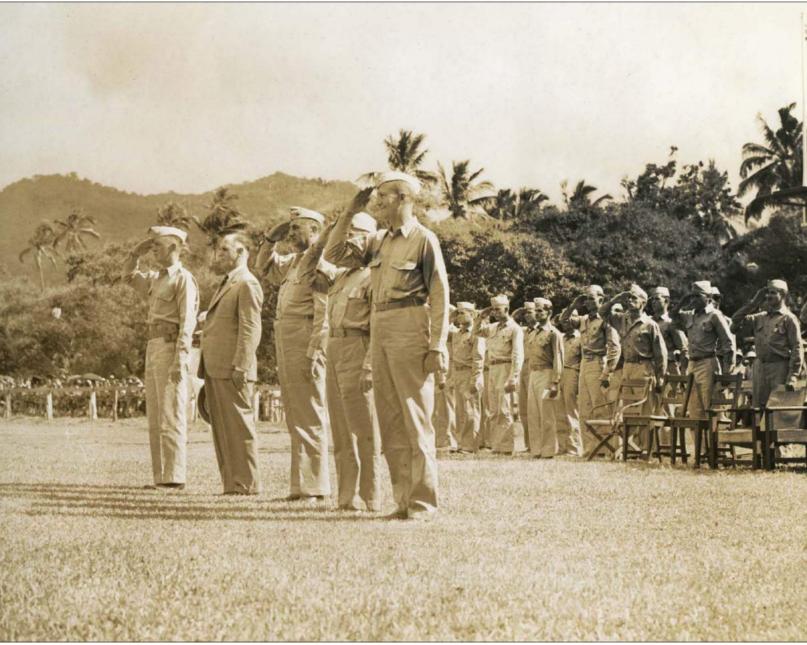
Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft Bibliothek, Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, Hellenthal Collection, Photographer Walter Hellenthal

McKay Family Collection (cropped)

On the morning that followed the declaration of war by Britain against Germany on 3 September 1939 New Zealand Administration police officers swooped on 42 German Samoans at their homes around Upolu. The men were told to pack a bag and accompany the police officers. Some protested vigorously, like 75-year-old Mr Hans Keil, of Saleimoa who put on his old German cavalry uniform, brandished his sword, and marched around his house to a phonograph record of German martial music. Most went quietly.

The administration's police chief Arthur Braisby (pictured at right) had put together a list of men to be arrested and, as the clouds of war had gathered in the weeks beforehand, had prepared internment quarters at the Taumeasina centre, on the coastline just east of Apia. These two residential buildings (shown above at a picnic gathering for Dr Hellenthal in 1937children's lolly scramble in progress) appear to have been built by the New Zealanders as holiday or convalescent accommodation for administration officials and their families. Barbed wire was strung around the buildings and guards put in place.

Over the next three months most men were paroled but eventually 15 were sent to Somes Island, in Wellington. The unlucky deportees harboured a resentment that Catholic internees had received priority for parole. Apparently, the Catholic clergy had been effective in lobbying on behalf of parishioners.



McKay Family Collection

After America entered the war in 1941 fate moved against the German Samoan parolees. Two years of freedom came to an end.

In the first half of 1942 the New Zealand Government and the administration in Samoa agreed to the stationing on Upolu of several thousand United States Marines as a defence force. Soldiers were also to be rotated into Samoa as a staging post before heading west to fight the Japanese. The Americans reportedly felt uncomfortable at the prospect of their troop dispositions taking place on an island where men of German descent were wandering free. As a result of this unease, 15 more men were taken into custody and sent to New Zealand, with most arriving at Somes Island in May, 1942, the same month that nearly 5,000 American troops stepped ashore in Samoa.

This photo, taken at Apia Park in 1943, shows a parade for Major General Charles Price (in middle of senior officers), who organised the defence of Samoa. He was visiting from his headquarters in San Francisco. Brigadier General Thomas E. Watson, who was the commander on the ground in Samoa, is obscured on the right. The man in civilian clothes was NZ Administrator, Mr Alfred Turnbull. Apart from US Military officers who took over the Casino Hotel, in Apia, most of the troops were based in a camp that spread around the coast from Faleolo (where the Americans built the airport) to Mulifanua. In the early stages of the American occupation there was also reportedly a camp on Savai'i.



In November 1943, Mac McKay left Samoa with his wife and four sons, George, Arthur, Peter and Keith, to take up a job that he was told he couldn't turn down, the newly created position of Secretary of the Department of Island Territories. He was reluctant to leave, even for this top Wellington job. For the internees on Somes Island it was a lucky break.

McKay was pulled into the extensive discussions which took place from mid-1944 in Wellington about the fate of the German Samoans in custody. With the tide of war having turned decisively against Germany and Japan the pressure now grew to have the men repatriated to Samoa – or Germany. Discussion also revolved around whether some should remain permanently in New Zealand. A key decision-making body in this process was the Aliens Appeal Tribunal, headed by a judge of the Court of Appeal. Mac McKay was coopted as a key advisor. In early June 1944, McKay appears to have helped five internees gain release back to Samoa on compassionate and age-related grounds. In August and September he worked with the Aliens Appeal Tribunal in considering the other 29 cases still unresolved.

The Tribunal noted in its report that McKay was "extremely helpful because of his personal knowledge of the individual men and their families, and of Samoan conditions generally." The report of 20 September made other references to his advice: His "judgements of all the men seemed to us kindly and understanding....In six of these 10 cases, Mr McKay was inclined to take a more lenient view [than that of the Administrator in Samoa]. He appeared to favour the immediate return of those whose names we have marked with a cross....As to all the remaining Samoans, numbering 15, the position is that Mr McKay....is in all cases, favourable to their immediate return."

The image below, taken on Somes Island, appears to be the only one in existence of the German Samoans as a group. It appears to date from late 1942. There are a couple of men missing from the picture.



Schaumkell Family Collection

McKay Family Collection (cropped)





The NZ Administrator in Samoa, Mr Alfred Turnbull (pictured left), told Wellington on 24 July 1944 that he wanted to defer the return to Samoa of the bulk of the internees. Mac McKay wrote to him putting the case for the men to return straight away. Turnbull telegraphed on 2 August, reversing his position and withdrawing his objection. McKay sweetened the pill for him by undertaking to draw up appropriate terms of parole in Samoa.

Mr McKay also dealt deftly with a problem for one internee who in 1937 had had the misfortune to be praised by Nazi supporter, Dr Walter Hellenthal, after the German Consul had returned to Wellington from his trip to Samoa. Hellenthal, shown above speaking in Apia in May of that year, wrote a report to the German Embassy in Canberra that the Allies obtained at the start of the war. In this, Hellenthal included a commentary about the political soundness of several people he had met in Samoa. One man he had praised was in New Zealand in 1944 pressing for return to Apia. Mac McKay told the tribunal that Hellenthal's report was "superficial and unreliable" and believed that the man should be returned and "could be relied upon to observe discretion and keep honourably any promises he makes." McKay's recommendation was agreed to. Stünzner Family Collection



Mac McKay's role in obtaining compassionate treatment for German Samoan internees has only recently come to light in the release of Archives NZ documents. Though he returned to Samoa a number of times after the war and was always given a warm reception by his many friends, Mr McKay never spoke of his work on behalf of the German Samoans.

He had gone from a lowly clerk emptying the pockets of deportees in 1920 to a senior civil servant a quarter of a

century later who made sure that similar unfortunates were treated with humanity.

Mr and Mrs McKay retired to Whangarei. Mac McKay was awarded the Queen's honour, the Imperial Service Order, in 1954, for his service in Samoa. He died in March 1976.

Photo: McKay Family Collection, 'Piula College – Farewell for a departing principal.' Photo shows Mac on the right with his wife Hilda and son Peter.

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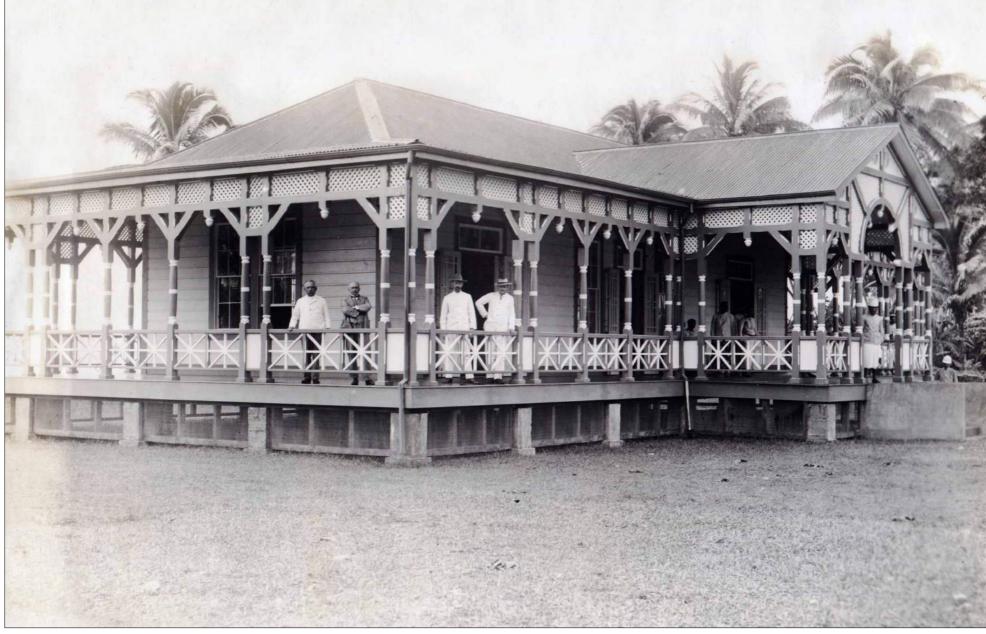
100 Years Ago - Twilight of the Germans

Some Images of the Last German Officials

The year 2014 marked the 100th anniversary of the end of the German rule of Samoa. The German flag was raised at Mulinu'u on 1 March 1900 and ushered in an era of political and social stability. The 14 years of the German Administration, which ended on the outbreak of

the First World War in August 1914, were also a period of steady economic progress for the islands.

This chapter features images of officials from the German Administration and other photographs from official occasions.

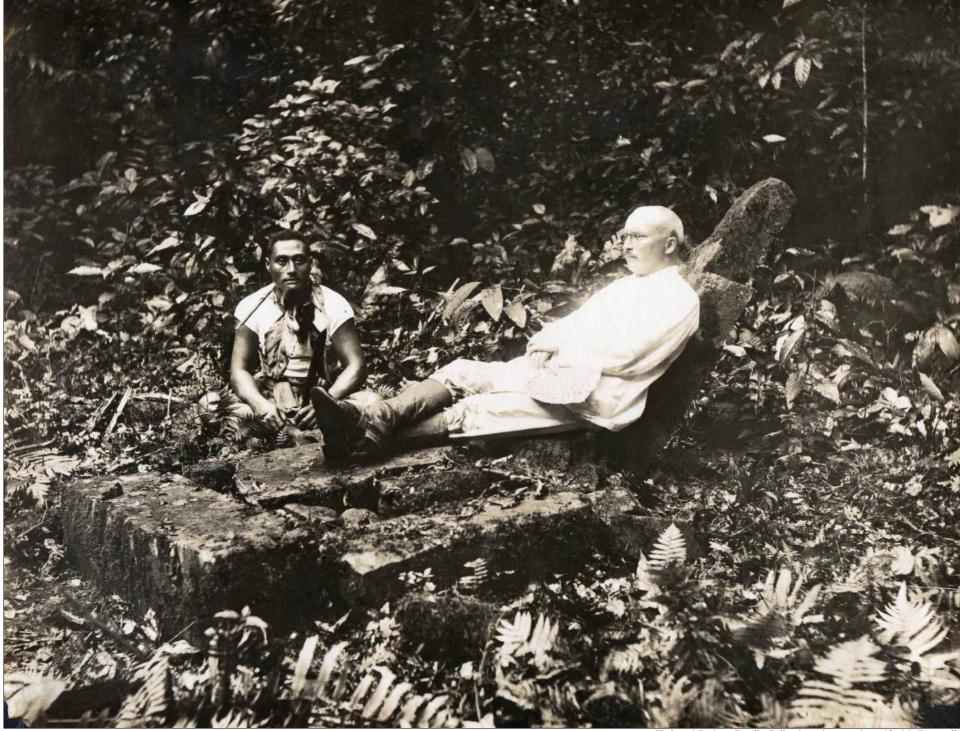


McKay Family Collection

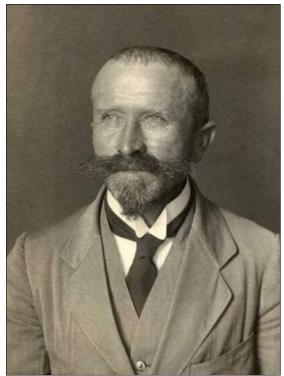
Dr Erich Schultz was Chief Justice in the German Administration from 1904 to 1910, at which time he succeeded to the position of Acting Governor (1910-1912) then Governor, in place of Dr Wilhelm Solf.

This photo shows Dr Schultz (second from left) standing on the verandah of the recently completed Samoan Council House at Mulinu'u, in 1906. The presumed architect for the building, Mr Albert Schaaffhausen, is standing

on the right. On the left beside Dr Schultz is Mr Adolf Haidlen, Secretary of Native Affairs. In recognition of the building's purpose as a support office for the Samoan advisors to the administration it was constructed at Mulinu'u rather than housed in the administration building behind the Court House. (In the New Zealand Administration this building was retained for a similar purpose, housing the Office of Samoan Affairs).



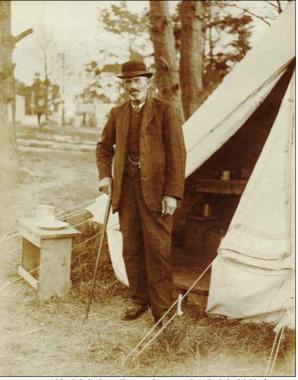
Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, photographer Alfred J. Tattersall



Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann

Chief Justice, Hans Teklenburg (at left), had the misfortune to be posted to Samoa by the German Colonial Office just a few months before the collapse of German rule in 1914. Five years of internment followed which, according to internment medical records, exerted a tremendous mental strain on Mr Teklenburg.

Prior to his appointment to Samoa, Mr Teklenburg had been a judge and Deputy Governor in South West Africa, where he had acquired a reputation as authoritarian in approach. He may have been favoured as Samoa's next German Governor. It is possible that following criticism in the German press of the mild and malleable administration in Apia, Mr Teklenburg had been selected to give local rule a more pronounced German flavour.



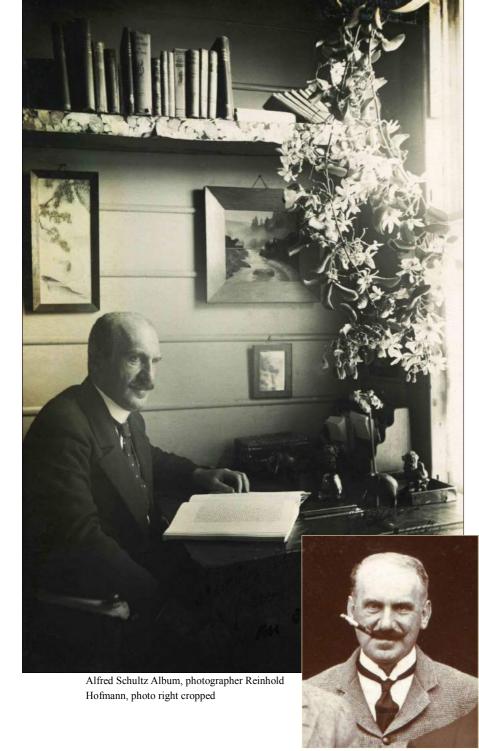
Dr Kurt Sperling, was appointed as a District Judge in Samoa, taking up his position at the start of 1913. This photo shows him outside his tent on Motuihe Island, Auckland, during the wartime internments. The internees were moved into tents during the 1918-19 influenza pandemic as a precaution to reduce the possibility of an outbreak spreading among prisoners. Dr Sperling was repatriated back to Germany in May 1919 on board the "Willochra."

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann

(**Previous page**) This fine photo of Dr Schultz leaning on a stone slab was taken at the ruins of the '*Fale o le fe'e'* (the house of the octopus), an isolated site in the hills of Vaimauga, east of Apia, which is rich in fable and folklore. The fale or house shows signs of having been partially constructed in quarried stone slabs in ancient times, and its overgrown and fallen remnants were much visited by curiosity seekers and anthropologists in the 19th and 20th centuries. Dr Schultz and photographer Alfred Tattersall made the hard 4-hour slog to the site, probably in the 1910-14 period. After 1914, the German Governor was interned in New Zealand for five years.

Dr Schultz had been a judge in German East Africa but upon appointment to Apia developed almost a mystical attachment to the islands and its people. He learned to speak Samoan fluently and was tattooed with a full *pe'a*. He immersed himself in the local culture and wrote books on both Samoan customary law and proverbs. Despite his prominence, Dr Schultz was a deeply private man who left a limited photographic footprint in Samoa and Auckland (during internment). His forced separation from Samoa at war's outbreak sent him into a depression which took some time to shake off. He was a single man until his marriage in Berlin in 1920 to Charlotte 'Lotte' Schultz, after which he had two sons and a daughter. In December 1919 he was given permission by the German Kaiser to take his mother's family name in a hyphenated surname and was thereafter known as Erich Schultz-Ewerth. For more biographical details of Dr Schultz see chapter 4 on Fatu Frost.

In this beautifully detailed image, Dr Schultz appears to be deep in thought. He is leaning on the seat that was a feature of the site and had been named, 'O le nofoa o le fe'e' (the seat of the octopus). Leather leggings or puttees are buckled under his shoes to protect his trousers from dirt or damage. Despite this precaution, Dr Schultz sits on the slab in his bright white suit. The unidentified companion, probably the site guide, holds a machete – a *sapelu* – and appears to have an *ula* of banana leaves around his neck, perhaps for cooling purposes.



Wollerman Family Collection, restored T.Brunt 2015



Mr Richard Hirsch (shown at left) was the project leader for the construction of the Government wireless station in Apia, which had just been completed several weeks before the New Zealand capture of Samoa. It linked Apia closely with the outside world for the first time. Prior to its construction it was impossible to get urgent cable messages or telegrams to Samoa. Cable messages from Europe or other countries could reach Auckland, Honolulu or Suva but for the last leg of the journey to Samoa the messages had to be carried by the postal system using visiting ships. The Apia wireless station ended this isolation, enabling these messages to be received from other transmitters in the Pacific using Morse code. Urgent messages could also be transmitted from Apia to the outside world. International news now came within hours rather than weeks.

Mr Hirsch was a technical expert who had set up radio stations for the Germans in a number of other colonies, including in Africa and the Caroline Islands. In the hours after the New Zealand invaders arrived in port, Mr Hirsch and his workers had sabotaged and booby-trapped the new radio equipment but they didn't do a very good job; the kiwis (shown above encamped at the station) soon had the transmitter up and running again. After internment and repatriation to Germany Mr Hirsch served as a radio engineer in Berlin.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann





Johannes 'Hans' Traub (above) was Postmaster for Samoa in the final German Administration. The German Imperial Post Office, in Apia (shown on next page), was a busy place – in 1902 it handled 100,935 items of inwards and outwards mail (letters, postcards, parcels and newspapers) while in 1913 this had grown to 281,679 items. Staff had to find the recipients for all this mail in a country where there were few street names and no house numbering system. (See table opposite for a detailed break down of post office traffic growth).

The Apia post office was a strategic communications asset whose efficient operation was crucial to the smooth functioning and expansion of settler commerce.

In the photo at right, Mr Traub is seated at the rear of a post office rowboat bringing a fresh bag of inwards mail from a ship in harbour.

(For more biographical information on Mr Traub see page 179).

	<u>1902</u>	<u>1913</u>
Posted letters	31,278	78,805
Received letters	58,201	166,010
Posted parcels	74	216
Received parcels	598	2,278
Posted postal money orders (value in Marks) Received postal money orders (in Marks)	264.017 256,862	848,370 749,863
Posted newspapers	155	624
Received newspapers	10,629	33,746
Phone calls handled in local network	-	121,940





Steady expansion in postal traffic led to the German Administration building a bigger post office in Apia in 1907 (shown above). The people in the doorway are Postmaster Johannes Traub in the black jacket, with assistant postmaster, Adolf Mohr, on the left in white jacket and white trousers. Two postmen in the German Imperial postal service are shown at top right.

Mr Mohr (shown at right at a Concordia Club gathering in July 1909), came to Samoa via Australia in 1899. He was initially an overseer and then a storekeeper for Mr Grevsmuhl, in Savaii, before joining the Postal Department in 1904. Mr Mohr had a crippled arm which reportedly led to some confusion on the day the New Zealanders invaded Apia in 1914. Soldiers despatched to the post office pointed their guns at the staff, requesting that they surrender and put their hands up. Mr Mohr stood to attention and held his good arm rigidly upwards. The senior New Zealand officer then commented, "Is he surrendering or does he want to go to the bathroom?"

Mr Mohr was not interned during the war and was repatriated on the Main in 1920 with his 16year-old part-Samoan son, Julius.

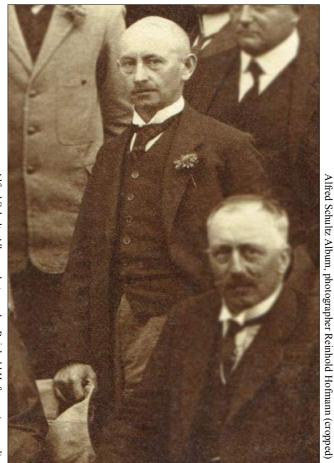


Conradt Family Collection, photographer Alfred Tattersall (cropped)



Ernst Dorn (above) was another German official who had the misfortune to be appointed to Samoa not too long before war's outbreak in 1914. He served as Chinese Commissioner, controlling all aspects of the hiring and living conditions for the Chinese plantation workers who were brought in to Samoa as a labour source after 1903.

Mr Dorn was interned in New Zealand during the war and was deported to Germany on board the "Willochra" in May 1919.

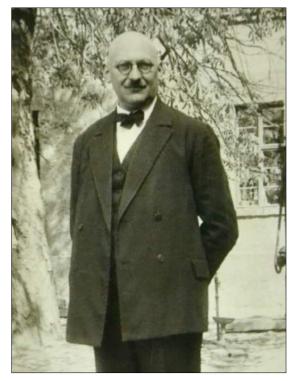


Dr George Sessous (above at top) was a distinguished botanist who was appointed to Samoa by the German Colonial Office in 1912 as an agricultural advisor. He spent the war years in internment when this photo was taken. One of his children, son Otto, was born in Samoa in 1913.

After Dr Sessous returned to Germany in 1919 he worked as a seed scientist and was later a professor at the University of Giessen, where he served as chair of the Department of Agronomy and Crop Science.

Mr Gustav Stoeckicht (above) was the Chief of Police in Samoa for much of the German Administration. He was born in 1873 and came to Samoa in 1905 when he took up his official position with a staff of one assistant and 18 Samoan constables.

Mr Stoeckicht married a local, Miss Siavalua Tiedemann, and had three children. He was interned on Motuihe during the First World War and returned to Apia where he ran a small business until his passing in 1953. The family lived on four acres at Lotopa. Two daughters later emigrated to New Zealand and a son, Peter, was sent to Germany where he settled.

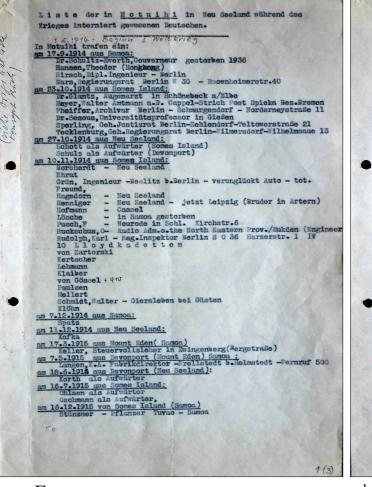


Franz Pfeil (above) was a teacher at the government school in Apia during the final years of the German Administration. He is shown in the school photo of 1914 standing on the left at the back in a black bow tie next to Miss Ludovica Schultze. This was the final school photo of the German years.

Mr Pfeil returned to Germany from wartime internment in 1919. He later married Apia-born Clementine Hufnagel in Germany in 1924 after a long courtship by correspondence. He and 'Tine' settled in Harzgerode where Franz continued teaching and became the local school principal. Acting in a role as wartime safety warden for local residents, Mr Pfeil was killed by American artillery fire in the town square along with 17 other Harzgerode residents just three weeks before the end of the Second World War.



Not only was Mr Pfeil a committed educationist but he also had a strong belief in the importance of the historical record. This archivist bent and his nostalgia for the many friends he had made during internment on Motuihe Island led him to maintain a comprehensive record of all the Motuihe internees together with their arrival dates on the island, their originating countries and, in many cases, where they settled afterwards, even their street addresses. In the late 1930's Mr Pfeil compiled a master list of Motuihe internees (first page shown at right) including noting those who had passed on. The three pages of the list are shown on the next page in larger size for the benefit of historical researchers.



Franz Pfeil's list of Motuihe internees and their post -war status, for those for whom he had knowledgeand there were remarkably many—appears to have

been written in or after 1936, with one hand annotation dated in 1940. Deceased persons have been noted with the German word 'gestorben' or with a small hand-drawn cross

Hellfritz - (Tonga) Kronfeld - Auckland - <u>gestorben</u> -Ohle - Hamburg - DH & PG - Ferdinandstr.5

am 24.12.1915 aus Devonport (Sanoa) Heider, Masionar LMS - Pfarrer in Dorlar bei Wetzlar

Gardein - Samoa - gestorben Holzeit - Auundken

am 7.6.1916 aus Somes Ialand: (Samoa) von Egidy - tot -Höflich - Samoa +

Stöckicht - Samoa Voigt - Samoa - gestorben Walter - Samoa

am 31.5.1916 aus Neu Seeland: Wohlfahrt als Aufwärter

Winterstein - Samoa

Boysen -Brenner.G

Rindt

Schmalkuche -

-

am 8.11.1916 aus Devonport: (Samoa)

Jäger - Samoa _ am 27.5.1917 aus Somes Island:Samoa

Hörning - Goldberg i.Schl. Oberau 2 Lober - Samos - gestorben Schöneich- Berlin -Tegel - Schlieperstr.46

am 1.9.1916 aus Devonport /Neu Seeland/Auckland: Dr.Endletsberger - Auckland - gestorben.

Nauer - Samoa -Osbahr - Amtmann a.D. Siems bei Lübeck

Helder, Wissionar Las - Farrer in Borlar bei Wetzlar am 1.5.1916 aus Devonport (Neu Seeland) Belin, Farmer Kamo - Neu Seeland - Bordinsel am 9.5.1916 aus Auckland/Neu Seeland Secuet, Konsul - Auckland - gestorben. am 3.4.1916 aus Auckland - gestorben. am 14.4.1916 aus Mount Eden (Samoa): Hansen, Carl - Bircktor - Hamburg 37 Isestr.143(Ferdinandstr.5) am 26.4.1916 aus Auckland/Neu Seeland: Hansen, Paul - Eonsul - Auckland+1433 Merking - Samoa Bunge - gestorben.

Dr.Meineking - Bremen - Donandtstraße 23 Moldenhauer - Vermessungsdirektor a.D. Beneckenstein /Harz

Brenner, Dorn, E. + Eberhardt, Adolf - Bremen - Nordstr.60 Hebenstreit - Fiji -Köhler, Gustaw - Recedorf b.Burg - Landwirt (Mount Michael, Lehrer - Crostau Post Schirgiswalde a/Spice.

Traub - Oberpostinspektor a.D. -Jugenheim in Hessen -Bergstraße Bock als Aufwärter früher Neu Seeland Thörmer als Aufwärter " " "

Thormer als Aurwarter """ Wachsmann - Rarotonga -an 20-5-1917 aus Devomport: Brenen, Theodor - Sollanfseher a.B. -Siedler boi Brandenburg Cassebaum, (Mount Edem) - Förster in Ostlutter bei Goslar Clausen, (Mount Edem) Friedlinder - Auckland - <u>gestorben</u> -Hängell -

Schults - Tonga -Studt (Mount Eden) 4-/--- / Febr 20 - / Anserty Voget - Salagitter - gestorben Mai 1931 (Mount Eden)

(Mount Eden - Devonport)

(Mount Eden)

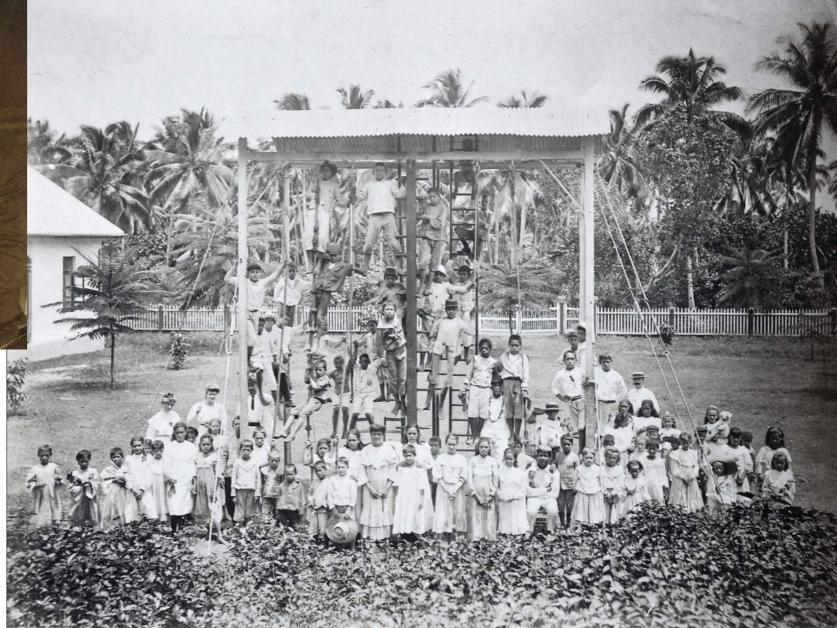
am 13.7.1917 aus Auckland: Hermann, Albert - Borlin 5 W 19 - Beuthstraße 8 am 27.7.1917 aus Somes Island: Schoch (Schweizer) am 1.8.1917 aus Rarotonga: Penthalm - Beatland: Framheim - Rarotonga am 4.10.1917 aus Neu Seeland: Sperling - Sanca am 8.10.1917 von den Fiji = Inseln über Devonport: Graf Felix von Luckner - Halle /Saale -Universitätsring 13 Kircheiss - Kapitän - Altona -Klein - Flottbek -Elechausee ee 170 am 9.10.1917 aus Somes Island: Brackebusch - Rotorua -Erdmann, Matrose der Seeadler Besatzung. Mussa bes hürfeff. am 1 3. Dezember 1917 Flucht des Grafen Luckner. am 24.2.1918 aus Neu Seeland: roglie am 20.4.1918 aus Somes Island: am ? Juni 1918 von River Island bei Lytleton-Südinsel (Mount Eden) Jraf von Lu Kircheiss am 14.7.1918 aus Somes Island: Hall (Thamme) Laue Lenas (Dalmatiner) Lasaan Meissner als Aufwärter Möller als Aufwärter Herz Thiel am 28.7.1918 aus Somes Island: Manthei Nawrath . am 13.10.1918 aus Samoa: Arp - Samoa (Febr. 20) Meyer - Samoa Bartel- Charlottenburg, Horstweg 3 Maiern -Docke - Bremen + Nickel - Samoa Graf -Südamerika Musshaer - Südamerika Kirmes Klose DING Suhren + gestorben Tschackert - Leipzig Körner+ Vesche Tröger Lausen, Flensburg-Mathildenstr. Winkelmann Massen, Meklenburg mu am 16.2.1919 aus Wellington /Neu Seeland: Joosten, Konsul Wulf 145 PW 1. - 16.Bezenber 1918 Zeltlager Motulhi 16.Bezenber 1918 - 13.Mai 1919 Lager in Marrow Neck -Devonport 14.Mai 1919 ab Wellington mit der Willochra 19.Juli 1919 Ankunft in Wegel. 11. 11. 1915 Waffenstillstandsvertrag 23. 6.1919 Friedensvertrag v. Versailles LISTE VON REKTOR FRANZ PFEIL ANFGESTELLT

Photographs per Rebecca Neundorf from the Franz Pfeil Collection



Otto Hörning (above) was also a teacher at the German school when it was taken over by the New Zealanders. He spent the second half of the war in internment on Motuihe Island before repatriation to Germany. According to Franz Pfeil's list, Mr Hörning returned to residence at Goldberg then Schloss Oberau.

The school had a climbing installation for the more adventurous. The photo at right appears to have been taken around 1911.



Franz Pfeil Collection





H.F. Wilhelm Osbahr (shown at left) was the German district administrator ('amtmann') for South Upolu in 1914, based at Poutasi. For many years before that he had been a teacher at the government school in Apia. He was interned in Auckland from late 1915 until his repatriation to Germany on board the "Willochra" in May 1919 with his wife and children. A part-Samoan son, William, remained in Apia and grew up there before emigrating to New Zealand in 1927.

The Osbahrs returned to Lübeck where Wilhelm took up supervision of a borstal and then later directed a remedial education and life-skills centre for wayward youth at an agricultural campus he set up at Heilegenstedten. This innovative institution was in the style of a benevolent boot camp that reportedly proved highly effective, and attracted many international visitors, though it apparently fell foul of the Nazi Party who deemed it too socialistic. In 1935, Gustav and Else Klinkmüller, from Samoa, visited the Osbahrs on a trip to Germany, where the photo above was taken. The people appear to be as follows (left-to-right): Daughter Ada Ingeborg 'Palolo' Osbahr, Mrs Osbhar, young man unknown, Mrs Klinkmüller, Wilhelm Osbahr, Mr Klinkmüller.



"THE BRAVE HAIDLEN"

In 30 years in colonial Samoa, Adolf Haidlen (shown at left) made his mark as both a land surveyor and an official in the German administration helping mediate relations with ethnic Samoans.

He was born in Ramstein in 1855 and came to Samoa as a trained surveyor in 1882 in the employ of the DH & PG. Mr Haidlen doubtless applied workable boundaries to Theodore Weber's large land purchases for the company that had taken place between the 1860s and 1880s. It is likely he was also involved in the subdivision and sale to later settlers of land that the DH & PG regarded as excess to its needs. In 1900 he became the official German Government surveyor and also served as Secretary of Native Affairs and Secretary of Native Land Titles.

Mr Haidlen was involved in the 1888 'Vailele incident' where he reportedly acted with courage, later being described by Robert Louis Stevenson, as "the brave Haidlen." He had children with a Samoan partner, Anna (surname unknown), in the 1890s. Mr Haidlen travelled to Germany with his son Adolf Jnr in 1914 for eye surgery but was marooned there by the outbreak of the First World War and died in July 1915. Both sons appear to have died at a relatively young age, Adolf Jnr succumbing in Germany in October 1918 from the physical after-effects of three years of war service on the Western Front. Mr Haidlen also had daughters and later descendants in Samoa but the Haidlen name appears to have died out in the islands by the 1930s.

This photo was taken in Apia on 8 June 1913 at the Concordia Club 20th anniversary celebrations.

Conradt Family Collection (cropped)



Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann

Lieutenant Albrecht von Egidy (left) was listed as a government clerk in the German Administration in Samoa and served for some time as a court official. However, it seems likely that he was also involved with naval matters. Apia had been a magnet for naval visits from powers active in the Pacific for many decades. Observation of visiting naval vessels and assistance with German ship visits was probably part of his brief. Lt von Egidy appears to have arrived in Samoa in 1904-05.

This magnificent photo by Reinhold Hofmann shows Von Egidy in uniform on Motuihe Island with other German Navy prisoners Felix von Luckner (middle) and Carl Kircheiss. Being good military men they are walking in step as they walk along the wharf road. Von Egidy returned to Germany in 1919 on the "Willochra." The image shows Hofmann's skill. The picture was probably taken with his glass plate camera on a tripod. The shutter speed was preset at quite a fast setting because the men were walking. This reduced the depth of field, with the trees and vista beyond the three going blurry, which enhances the image. The focus has been set to the point at which the men are captured. Hofmann waited until they hit their mark then 'snap.' There was only one chance to get this shot, as the process of changing glass plate negatives for another go took time.



Mr Gustav Klinkmüller (standing on right behind the women) was a secretary to the German Governor and a legal officer in the final German Administration. He was born in Detmold, in Germany, in 1880, and had spent some time in Lomé, the Capital of German Togoland, in West Africa. A trained lawyer, he arrived in Samoa in about 1906 with his wife, Else (nee Muchalski), who was Polish. She is the woman on the left (with a no-collar blouse).

Mr Klinkmüller was a genial and popular figure and was one of the few German settlers who was allowed to remain in Samoa after the deportations of 1919-20 despite not having been married to a local (only four five men were accorded this exceptional treatment). Nor was he interned during the First World War. Mr Klinkmüller was known affectionately as 'Klinky' in the expat community and is shown in this photograph with New Zealand Administration Crown Solicitor, Mr Alfred McCarthy, on left, and Mrs McCarthy on right. Gustav maintained a prominent legal practice in Apia. From 1928 it was known as 'Klinkmuller & Kronfeld' and then later 'Klinkmuller & Pleasants.' He lived at Vaimoso and died in March 1936.

After settling in Samoa during the German years, Mr and Mrs Klinkmüller knew they had definitely 'arrived' in Apia society in 1909 when the invitation below came in from German Governor Solf and Mrs Solf. This card was retained among the Klinkmüller family souvenirs.

The invitation was written in old and formal German (by today's standards) and can be translated as follows: *"Mr and Mrs Solf invite Mr and Mrs Klinkmüller to take*

Herr und Frau Solf

Bitten Juryn min Franz Hinkmiller an dem jeden letzten Sonnabend im Monat bei ignen stattfindenden

Empfang mit musikalischer Unterhaltung teilnehmen zu wollen. Der erste Empfang lindet Sonnabend den 24. Juli statt.

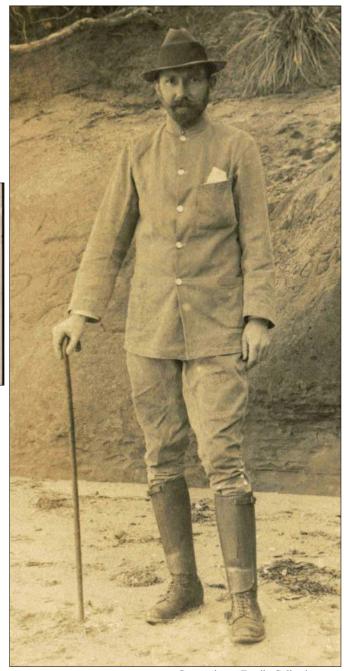
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part in musical recitals to be held on the last Saturday in every month. The first performance will be held on Saturday, July 24th. Vailima. [Attendance] please half to nine."

Both images Klinkmüller Family Collection, translation 2013 with the assistance of Klaus Berking and Reinhard Cards per Klinkmüller Family Collection

Elbrecht von Egidy ind De. Chas. Meinetting BAMOA. DR. ERICH SCHULTZ KAISERLICHER GOUVERNEUR VON SAMOA APIA

Calling cards were a common accessory among settlers in colonial era Samoa. Here are examples of two, one used by Governor Schultz and one handed out by Albrecht von Egidy. The latter has been inscribed by Apia dentist Dr Charles Meineking, who is shown at right. He was interned during the First World War and afterwards appears to have been resident in Australia and Bremen.



Grapengiesser Family Collection



Mr Rudolf Berking (man in white suit on right) arrived in Samoa in 1900 and was the Collector of Customs in the final German Administration. He returned to his Samoan family from internment in February 1920. Mr Berking spent the rest of his life in the islands (apart from a second round of wartime internment in NZ, 1940-44). He passed on in Apia in 1972 at the age of 92. (For a fuller profile, see chapter 2).

Rudolf was arguably the leading German citizen of Samoa in the half century after German rule ended. This photo shows him to the fore during a wreath-laying

ceremony by crew members of the German navy cruiser, "Karlsruhe," at the German memorial in Apia in February 1934.

Some of the people recognisable in this striking photo appear to be as follows: (left -to-right) first man in background in white suit (and glasses) Mr Leicester Cook (NZ Administration); man in white suit, full length, NZ Administrator, Brigadier General Herbert Hart; (to the right of the naval officers) short man, Mr Fritz Jahnke; (behind) Mr Fritz Stunzner Jnr; Mr Arno Gurau (white collar, bow tie); Mr Berking; Mr Albert Schaaffhausen, looking to the right.



Spemann Family Collection (restored T.Brunt 2014)



Mr Albert Schaaffhausen was Government Architect in Apia for many years of the German Administration. He arrived in the islands in 1900 and worked in a number of roles, including inspector of roads and buildings, before being appointed to his architect's role. A number of Schaaffhausen's buildings are described in other chapters of this book. He married Miss Anna (also 'Hannah') Wallwork in the early 1900s. The couple are shown in the photograph at left on their wedding day. (Miss Hedwig Gebauer is the bridesmaid behind on the left).

The Schaaffhausens began a family and lived at Magiagi, in Apia. In 1914, prior to the outbreak of war, Albert took his two oldest children overseas to place them in a better educational environment, one with relatives in America and one to Germany. A newborn son, 'Pupi,' remained behind with Mrs Schaaffhausen. The outbreak of war in Europe marooned Mr Schaaffhausen in Germany, where he was called up for military duty. A nine-year separation began which apparently lasted until 1923 when Albert returned to Samoa. He was able to reinstate his marriage.

The photo above shows Schaaffhausen (on right) with Count Felix von Luckner (centre) and C.G.R. 'Mac' McKay, Secretary of Samoan Affairs in the New Zealand Administration, on board Von Luckner's yacht, "Seeteufel" in Apia Harbour in 1938. Albert worked as an architect and then Head of Department for the Public Works Department of the NZ Administration until his retirement in 1946. Mr Schaaffhausen was interned on Somes Island in New Zealand from 1942-44. He died in 1960 aged 84. Anna Schaaffhausen passed on in 1949 at the age of 64.



Sunday afternoon coffee sessions were a fixture on Motuihe Island internment camp, where a mix of German Samoan Administration people and other internees gathered to gossip and exchange news. Maps on the wall at left and right show the European theatre of war with the trenchline of the Western Front marked in ink when this image is viewed in high resolution. A framed print of Von Luckner's wartime ship "Seeadler" hangs on the wall. Von Luckner was a regular attendee at these gatherings but in this photo only his navigator Lt Carl Kircheiss is shown (3rd from left). The people in this photo are (left-to-right): Wilhelm Hagedorn (ex-Samoa); Alfred Schultz (ex-DH & PG Tonga); Kircheiss; Wilhelm Holzeit (ex-Samoa) sitting; Wilhelm Haensell (also Hansell) ex-Samoa, standing; Otto Hörning (ex-Samoa) standing; Ernst Dorn (ex-Samoa) standing; Dr George Sessous (ex-Samoa) sitting; Emil Hellfritz (ex-DH & PG Tonga) behind; Adolf Eberhardt (ex-DH & PG Samoa); Dr Guido Schubert ex-Samoa (behind); Mr Richard Hirsch (official ex-Samoa) in front; German Consul Carl Segner sitting (ex-Auckland); Albert Hermann (ex-NZ) standing.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer R.Hofmann



We conclude this chapter of the later years and later officials of the German Administration by presenting a few images, mainly taken by Gustav Klinkmüller, of the 10-year anniversary celebrations of the German annexation of Samoa.

This first picture shows the leaders of a group walking through Sogi towards Mulinu'u to make a presentation (*ta'alolo*) to German officials to mark the anniversary. Matai and taupou from most districts of Samoa came to make their presentations. The four days of the celebration from 28 February to 3 March, 1910 passed off in a great spirit of harmony, according to newspaper reports, and with massive displays of fa'a Samoa that had rarely been seen before in Apia.

Klinkmüller Family Collection, photographer Gustav Klinkmüller



This image shows people of a *ta'alolo – aumaga* and *matai –* presenting cooked pigs at Mulinu'u'. The 10th anniversary celebrations were marred by frequent heavy rain. A dramatic rain cloud looms in the distance. Many members of the presenting group hold unopened umbrellas while numerous other ones can be seen hoisted above the spectators.

Vice Governor Schultz sits in the main row 4th from the right beside paramount chief Mata'afa Iosefo. Governor Wilhelm Solf, attending one of his last ceremonial occasions before heading back to Germany, can perhaps be seen behind Dr Schultz in the shade wearing a peaked white cap.



On 1 March, a parade of many thousands proceeded to the German flagstaff at Mulinu'u where the flag raising ceremony of 10 years before was re-enacted (see next page for a photo by A.J.Tattersall). Walking four abreast from Apia the parade stretched for one and a half miles (three kilometres) and was led by the band of the visiting German warship, "SMS Cormoran," followed by the Marine and Samoan Guard, officials, spectators and numerous Samoan brass bands. After the flag raising and speeches a large part of the crowd moved to the nearby Samoan Council House to get some shelter and shade. This was when Gustav Klinkmüller snapped this photo on his glass plate camera (see the Council House also on page 194). More speeches took place and the day was completed with Samoan village dance performances. This photo could be of a group of dancers assembling for their performance.



Alfred Tattersall took this photo of the German flag-raising re-enactment at Mulinu'u, Apia, on 1 March 1910.

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Hufnagel-Bertham Family Collection, photographer A.J. Tattersall

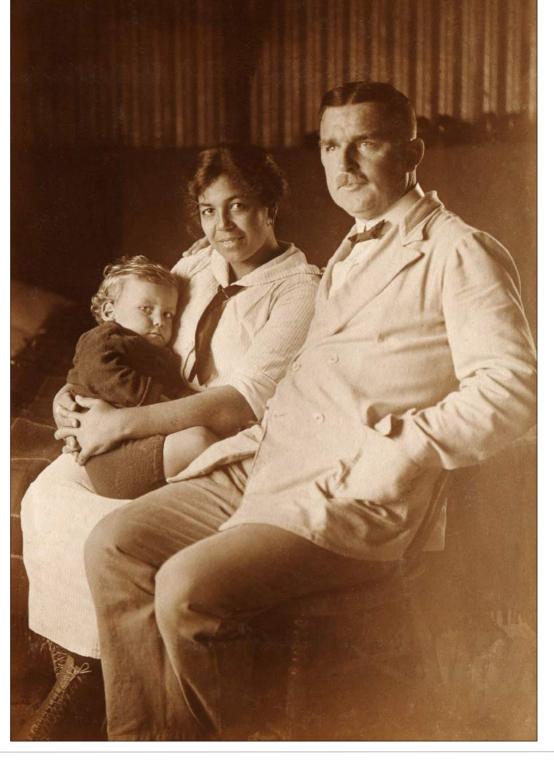
What Became of Reinhold Hofmann?

Reinhold Hofmann's dazzling few years as a wartime photographer in captivity have left us a treasure trove of historical photography of amazing archival value. Unknown to posterity until his extensive exposure in the online photo exhibition, "To Walk Under Palm Trees", Mr Hofmann (shown above at Narrowneck internment camp) is a mystery man who flashes across history's lens like a shooting star. He comes from nowhere, burns brightly and is gone. His countless beautiful images light up this eBook. We are proud to be one of the vehicles for this modest man's rediscovery. Who was Reinhold Hofmann? And what happened to him after the war? In this chapter we seek to answer these questions and present a few more photos from his extensive portfolio.

The Bartel-Kruse Photos

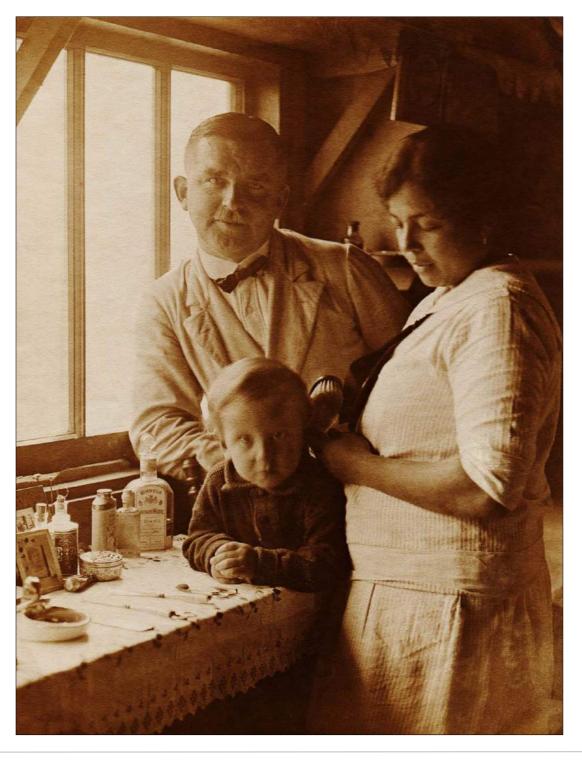
Reinhold Hofmann took three beautiful photos of Dr Max Bartel and his Samoan-born wife Christine 'Tine' Kruse and their baby son, Gunther, at Narrowneck Camp in 1919. Christine was a child of German settler, Friedrich Kruse, and his Samoan wife, Lucy Purcell. After arriving in Apia, Dr Bartel, who was medically qualified, worked for a time in the Customs Department under Rudolf Berking.

He appears to have married Christine in about 1916. In October 1918, just as the First World War was drawing to a close, Dr Bartel was sent to New Zealand for internment. At Narrowneck Camp Max was joined by his wife and son, where this study in their cabin was taken.



Bunge Family Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann

Previous page: Copyright Museum für Völkerkunde (Ohle Album), Hamburg, photographer Reinhold Hofmann (cropped) At the same sitting as the previous photo, Reinhold Hofmann got the Bartel family to stand beside a window for this second image. Unlike the previous photo, which was a glossy print in the Bunge Family album, this one was in the form of a small card, found in the Grapengiesser Family collection, in Auckland.



Grapengiesser Family Collection, photographer Reinhold Hofmann, restored T.Brunt 2014



The Bartel family working cheerfully in the outside washing area at Narrowneck Camp. (This photo and the image on page 217 were given as mementos to Christine Bartel's close friend, Mary Kramer-Walter, who became Mrs Bunge (see Mary on the next page).

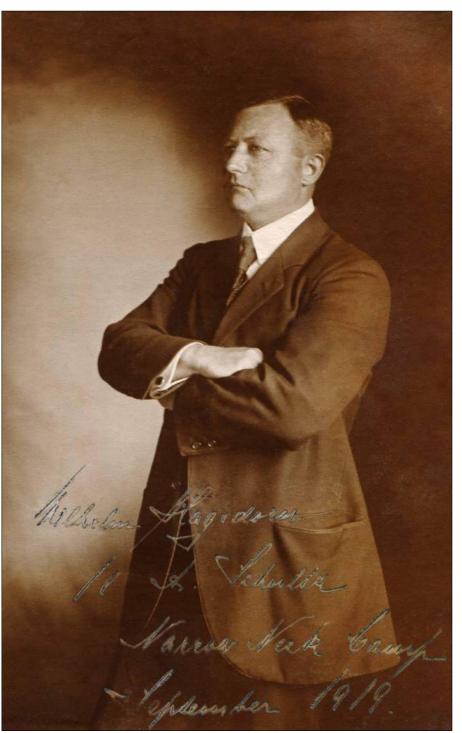
The Bartel family appears to have been repatriated to Germany on board the ship "ss Matua" in March 1920. In Germany, Max and Christine added a daughter to the family, Fuatino, a taupou name from Aleipata where Christine's mother had her roots. The children grew to adulthood in Germany and Gunther had a daughter called Juliane Bartel, who became a well known radio and television journalist (Juliane's life is commemorated in a prominent news media prize in Germany). From the 1920s onwards Christine Kruse Bartel became a leading light in the closely-knit ex-Samoa community in Germany. She paid a return visit to Apia in about 1960, where she was widely feted. Daughter, Fuatino, became an actress. This photo taken at Narrowneck (then known as 'Narrow Neck') in 1919 highlights friendships formed and friendships forming. Miss Mary Kramer-Walter (standing) and Christine Kruse Bartel (sitting left) had formed an enduring friendship when apparently at secondary school together (possibly at a Catholic boarding school in Rotorua). Mary was from Paengaroa, in the Bay of Plenty, NZ, and appears to have been living in Auckland at this time. During her visits to Narrowneck Camp to see the Bartels she met internee Karl Bunge (at back in middle) and a friendship developed which led to marriage in 1921.

Other people in this photo are: Mr Rudolf Berking (left at back), Max Bartel (right at back), Mr Gustav Kronfeld (sitting), Mrs Florrie Greig (visitor, on right).

Another internee Mr Wilhelm Hagedorn also met his future wife, Alice Borgolte, when she accompanied her parents on visits to the camp (see next page).



Bunge Family Collection, photographer Reinhold Hofmann



Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann Georg Wilhelm Hagedorn, a German plantation manager at Magia who had arrived in Samoa in 1905, got offside with the New Zealand Administration on 15 September, 1914, when he and Reinhold Hofmann achieved notoriety by rowing out to the German warships "Gneisenau" and "Scharnhorst" when they briefly visited Mulifanua. The men conversed with Admiral Graf Spee. Earlier in the day the two cruisers had stood menacingly off Apia Harbour, and the New Zealand occupying forces waited for the bombardment that thankfully never came. After Hagedorn's plucky rendezvous with the German navy he rode hotfoot back to Apia to report on the conversation to New Zealand Administrator Col. Logan and deliver a message from Spee. Logan disbelieved the story initially then thanked him and shook his hand. Two weeks later Hagedorn and Hofmann were shipped out to internment, just in case.

Wilhelm Hagedorn was the principal in the Magia Plantagen Gesellschaft which was planted mainly in cocoa. He had a partner, a Malietoa kinswoman Tunu Molio'o and had a son. At the end of his internment he appears to have been a widower. In 1920, Mr Hagedorn married Miss Alice Borgolte, of Auckland (see her next page), and later emigrated to Australia where he became a planter in New South Wales.



Visitor Sunday at Narrowneck Camp. People standing (left-to-right): unknown, Carl Kircheiss, Felix von Luckner, Richard Hirsch, George Sessous, Wilhelm Hansell, Alfred Schultz, Max Pheiffer, (sitting) Miss Alice Borgolte, Mrs Borgolte, unknown.



Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann

This group of Germans arrived at Motuihe Island from Samoa just before war's end in 1918. Reinhold Hofmann grabbed them shortly after their arrival and got them to pose on the wharf road. Unfortunately, we know only a few of their identities. Some appear to be as follows: third from left Hans Körner, ex-DH & PG; man 5th from left in dark jersey Wilhelm 'Mumu' Arp; man in middle (in front) in dark jacket and hat Karl F.W.Nickel; tall man behind him with whte hat possibly Johannes Wesche; 5th from right possibly Theodor Wulf; 4th from right at back Kurt Meyer; man second from right Wilhelm Nusshaer (also Nuzshaer); man at far right, Dr Max Bartel. Other men believed to be in this group include J. Graf, J.Kroger, R. Maiern. Docke, Suhren, Maas, Olms, Winkelmann.



Strong coffees were needed the morning after Carl Kircheiss' birthday party. Identities (left to right): Bruno Borcherdt in doorway; Kircheiss, Max Pheiffer, Wilhelm Hansell, Wilhelm Hagedorn, Albrecht von Egidy.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann



Peeling potatoes at the outdoor kitchen. This temporary tent camp was set up in November-December 1918 on Motuihe at the time of the influenza epidemic. Mr Rudolf Berking is in the dark suit.

Reinhold Hofmann Biography – 1

Reinhold Theodor Anton Hofmann was born in Kassel (then called Cassel), Germany, on 21 March 1889, according to his Prisoner of War records held by Archives New Zealand. He trained as a nurse or medical officer in Kiel, graduating in 1908. Mr Hofmann was a petty officer in the Naval Ambulance Corps when he was granted leave to take up a posting to the DH & PG Company, in Apia, in 1912. He had a senior position on two recruitment voyages to New Guinea when the DH & PG hired several hundred Melanesian boys for plantation work in Samoa. Hofmann was based at the large company plantation at Mulifanua where he acted as a medical officer.

Bunge Family Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann (composite T.Brunt 2014)



A kind guard gave internee Gustav Kronfeld a piggy-back to a waiting dinghy so that he didn't get his shoes wet.

After the New Zealand occupation of Samoa at the end of August 1914, Mr Hofmann was taken into custody and sent to Somes Island Camp, in Wellington, arriving there in October. He was an early detainee, being classified as 'Prisoner of War No. 10." Mr Hofmann's early departure for internment seems to have been provoked by his ill-advised rowboat visit to German warships moored briefly at Mulifanua on 15 September 1914 (see page 221).

Reinhold arrived at Somes Island with no money, and clothes valued at 25 Pounds. There is no mention of any cameras being in his possession. After some time he was transferred to Motuihe Island camp, in Auckland.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann



Luckily for posterity, Mr Hofmann came into the possession of both a glass plate camera and roll film camera while on Motuihe Island His photography seems to date from 1916. He had been trained on X-ray machines while in Germany and was doubtless well equipped to master the technical aspects of photography. It appears he used his newfound hobby to record scenes and people on Motuihe and sell fellow prisoners the photos he took. Examination of the Bunge Family album and the Alfred Schultz album, in Auckland, suggests that Mr Hofmann assembled albums for fellow internees, possibly on a paying basis.

Paul Hoeflich (left), pioneer soft drinks manufacturer in Samoa, with Von Luckner and Otto Sperling. Mr Hoeflich returned to Samoa after the war (reportedly via Germany) and rejoined his family.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann



In November and December 1918 Mr Hofmann pushed hard to be released to Samoa to serve as a medical assistant in the care of the Melanesian workers who had been hard hit by the influenza epidemic that swept through Samoa. Fellow prisoner DH & PG General Manager, Mr Karl Hanssen, supported Hofmann's request, stating that of the 600 or so Melanesian workers on the former DH & PG plantations 100 had died in the outbreak, including the medical assistant at the company's private hospital in Apia. Mr Hofmann's request was turned down.

The last photo of Mr Hofmann taken at Narrowneck Camp in 1919. He appears to be holding a case for a folding camera.



Reinhold Hofmann spent 5 years and 3 months in internment until he left Narrowneck Camp on parole in December 1919 to live at the home of G. Reiman, in Brixton Rd, Mt Eden. By his own account, his health was "gravely shaken" by such a long period in captivity. He wrote that internment had "got on my nerves and I still feel unable to face living in Camp again." The NZ Government granted him a per diem allowance of 2 shillings a week for living costs. The fate of Mr Hofmann's cameras and photographic plates is unknown.



Mrs Mary Stünzner on Motuihe Island with Albrecht and Trude (See Chapter 5 'The Saga of the Stünzners').

The youngest and the oldest on Motuihe – Mr Otto Sperling, who celebrated his 70th birthday in internment, and Albrecht Stünzner.

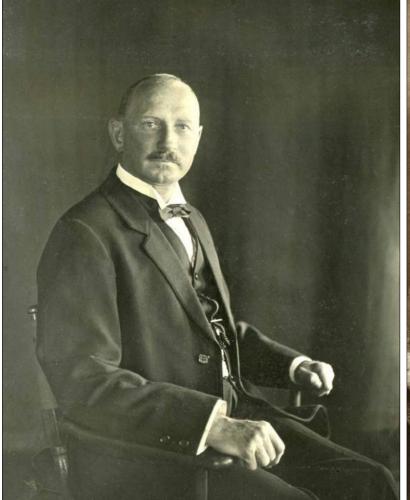
Mr Sperling, a single man, had been in New Zealand nearly 40 years when war broke out. His trading store at Kawhia on the west coast of the North Island had been boycotted by local residents due to anti-German sentiment. Financial ruin followed — then internment. He was loved by all on the island and when the time came for parole at the end of hostilities even the farm manager on Motuihe offered to employ him and provide residence. Recurring bouts of rheumatism convinced Mr Sperling that he should take up another kind offer that had been made: a German planter returning to Samoa offered employment and accommodation. The warmer climate convinced Otto that he should head for the tropics. A citizens directory for Samoa for 1923 indicates that he was resident on Vailele Plantation at that time. Then the trail goes cold. It is likely that Mr Sperling died in Samoa and is buried there, though no marked grave appears to exist in the public cemeteries. The identity of his benefactor is unknown.

Alfred Schultz Album, photographer Reinhold Hofmann



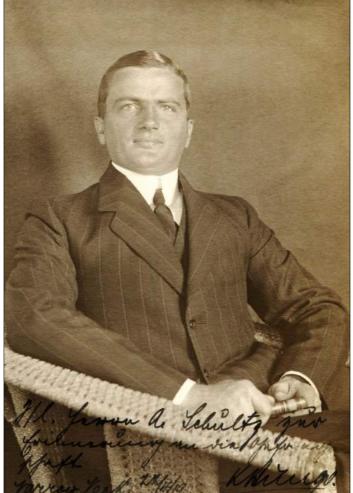
Reinhold Hofmann Biography – 6

While on parole in 1920, Mr Hofmann appeared to obtain some work but not in his chosen fields as a laboratory or X-ray technician. In early 1920, Reinhold expressed a desire to be repatriated back to Samoa but then changed his mind and said that family circumstances had convinced him that he should return to Germany. His repatriation kept being delayed and he was one of the final internees to be returned to Germany when he sailed on the "ss Wiltshire" out of Auckland on 2 November, 1920, bound for Southampton.



These are the two men whose carefully preserved photo albums have done so much to bring to light Reinhold Hofmann's wartime photographic record, Alfred Schultz (left) and Karl Bunge (right).

Both men had been with the DH & PG at the time of internment, Schultz in Tonga and Bunge in Apia. In addition to his remarkable album which has over 100 Hofmann photographs, Alfred Schultz left detailed captions. Their content has proven of immense archival value. Mr Schultz lived in several locations after internment, including American Samoa, and died in



Hamburg in 1944. His album is held by descendants, the Kronfeld-Parr family, of Auckland.

After marrying New Zealander Mary Kramer-Walter Karl Bunge spent some years in Macassar which is on the Island of Sulawesi in what is now part of Indonesia. The family returned to Auckland in 1928 due to Karl's ill health and he passed away in 1928. He is buried at Hillsborough Cemetery, in Auckland. His album is held by descendants. It contains 25 or so Hofmann duplicates from the Schultz album as well as a similar number of new Hofmann originals.

Reinhold Hofmann Biography – 7

Reinhold's Archives NZ file ends with his departure from the British port of Harwich on 22 December. 1920, bound for France and home. Thanks to research in 2014 by Professor Reinhard Wendt and Barbara Traumann, of the History Institute, at the University of Hagen, Germany, we have been able to add further to Hofmann's biography in the post-war period and also obtain additional photographs. With perfect timing, Mr Hofmann arrived at his father's home in Kassel on Christmas Eve, 1920. A separation of eight years had come to an end.

Reinhold married Gertrud Kaltenborn (bn 1887) in 1923. The Hofmanns moved to nearby Obervellmar in January 1925.

Both photos Alfred Schultz Album, Tui Kronfeld Parr Collection, photographer Reinhold Hofmann (restored T.Brunt, 2014).



In Obervellmar Mr Hofmann was the director of a sawmill and wood processing factory established by his father in 1917-18. Parts of it are shown in the photos at left. The operation ceased in 1926. Reinhold's profession after that is unclear. A town resident who knew him reported that he lived a reasonably prosperous lifestyle. He said that Hofmann showed him examples of medical and pathology photography he had taken. Mr Hofmann continued his photographic hobby and had his own darkroom for developing photos. He was under regular medication for malaria, which presumably he had contracted in the tropics.





This photo shows von Luckner visiting Mr Hofmann in Obervellmar probably not too long before Hofmann's passing in 1953. The people in the photo are (left-to-right): Mr Ludwig Kuellmer, Mayor of Obervellmar; unknown person; Dr Mann (a woman whose hand Hofmann had successfully operated on when doctors refused to do so because of the risks involved); Reinhold Hofmann (standing behind); Von Luckner; Mrs Hofmann and a young friend of the family behind.

The Hofmanns did not have any children. Sadly, it appears that all of Reinhold's photographic collection was discarded some time after his death. His remarkable photographic legacy therefore lives on only through the albums of people he knew.

Fa'a malo atu, Reinhold Hofmann!

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What Became of Alfred Tattersall?

If Reinhold Hofmann was the supreme chronicler of Germans in captivity then photographer Alfred Tattersall was history's great recorder of the happier days when the visitors ruled Samoa in liberty and the full flush of their nation building enthusiasm. He practised his craft in Apia for 64 years, both before and after the German Administration period, and his photographs populate this book—and archival collections around the world - with precious mementoes that bring the past to life. Without his body of work the colonial era in Samoa would be a dusty remnant that, to reverse the popular phrase, would require a thousand words for each foregone image. Who was Alfred Tattersall? And what happened to his collection of glass plate negatives? In this chapter we seek to answer these questions and pay tribute to one of Samoa's greatest sons. Alfred Tattersall's images, taken from 1887 through to 1951, dominate the Samoan

photographic record. His postcards and general photography included studio portraits - individual ones, family, cultural - news photography of important events and people, photographs of official and community groups, and photography of outside scenes, including villages, houses, commercial buildings, vistas of Apia, families, plantations, agricultural processing and scenic

studies.

Just about the only thing Mr Tattersall did not produce – and whose absence from the photographic record is all the more pronounced thereby – were atmospheric interiors of both settler and Samoan houses of the period, and accompanying domestic scenes. The photographic researcher hungers in vain for this missing element of Samoan history, the private rather than the public, and only a small sample of such



McKay Family Collection

images have come down to us from people like Otto Tetens and Gustav Klinkmüller. These two men (one a visiting scientist and the other a long time Apia resident) were not driven by commercial considerations and could therefore afford – unlike Tattersall – the luxury of using expensive glass plate negatives to capture interior architecture and people in the privacy of their homes.

Nevertheless, we owe a profound debt to Alfred Tattersall for bringing Samoan history to life across its multifarious aspects for six decades until his studio began to fade away when he became an octogenarian and his pace of activity understandably slackened.

Alfred was born in Auckland in 1866 and after leaving school, was employed in the photography business of George Redfern and then later Tuttle & Co. In December 1886 he travelled to Apia to take up employment with John Davis, Samoa's first professional photographer. Davis, an Englishman, had arrived in Samoa in 1872-73 and within a year or two had set up a studio bringing the new craft of photography to the islands. With a small settler community and low tourist

This photo shows Alfred Tattersall at the Apia Bowling Club in 1925 with the New Zealand Administrator General Richardson (right) and Mr Yendall (left). numbers Mr Davis had difficulty making a living from photography and took on other roles – being elected to the Municipal Board of Apia in December 1879, becoming supervisor of the board in February 1880, and Inspector of Police and Nuisances in April. Ironically, there are no known photographs of Davis (and only three or four of Tattersall).

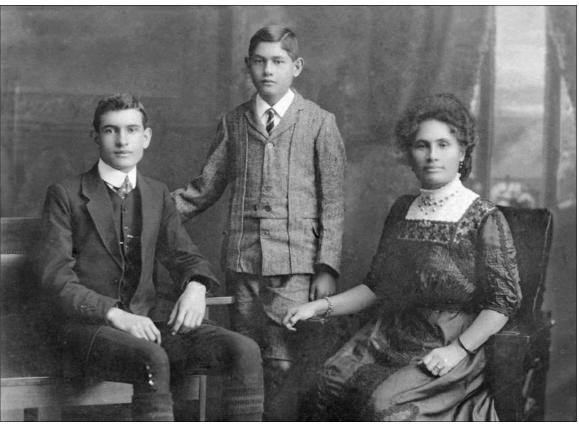
In 1885 Davis branched out into postal operations, becoming the postmaster of the Apia Municipality, and then from December 1886 Postmaster of Samoa, upon appointment by King Malietoa. The employment of Alfred Tattersall, who arrived from Auckland at the end of 1886, was no doubt made necessary by Davis' concentration thereafter on his postal work. It is probable that the greater part of the photography that issued from the Davis Studio from then until Davis' death in 1903 was taken by Tattersall.

One of the photographic trends that enabled Apia to support a fulltime photographic studio was the boom in the popularity of postcards, a postal innovation which originated in Germany in the 1890's.

The more exotic the locale the more enthusiastic were tourists to scoop up cards at ports of call and post them to friends and family at home. Not just the scenes but the rare postage stamps provided ingredients of novelty to recipients in the more westernised world.

According to philatelist Don Mee, postal auctions show evidence of cards being sent from Samoa from the mid-1890's. Printers in Luxembourg and Germany dominated the production of postcards for Samoa in the first few decades, and after 1903 these were often produced under contract for Mr Tattersall. Even when his brand was missing from Samoan postcards issued in this period more often than not it was his photographs that featured on them, even if uncredited.

Alfred purchased the business from the Davis estate at the start of 1904, changed its name, and pushed it vigorously into the booming postcard trade. He appears to have arranged for production of his cards in Dresden and Berlin, and they were often printed with German language advertisements and branding on them.



Blanche Tattersall and her sons Herbert 'Bert' Tattersall (left) and Ralph Tattersall, circa 1910.

Florence Rasmussen Funck Collection, Photographer Alfred Tattersall Tattersall's postcard business was massively impacted by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. It cut him off from his European suppliers, and ironically, led to a boom in sales to the hundreds of New Zealand troops who occupied and garrisoned Samoa. His stock of printed cards was quickly depleted by the many soldiers using them to write home. Alfred then moved into local card production using a supply of sensitised photographic print paper of postcard size that he



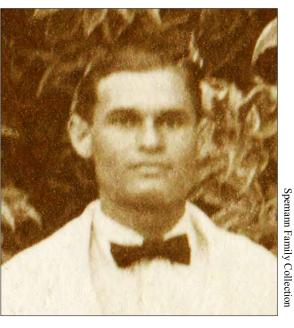
McKay Family Collection

Blanche Tattersall with Lady Richardson, wife of the NZ Administrator, Apia Bowling Club, 1925.

was able to buy from a source in the South Pacific, possibly in Australia or New Zealand. Then later he issued his 'Real Photo' cards, each printed from a negative on to standard photographic print paper cut to size. These cards were often studio photographs of the sitter with a rubber handstamped 'Samoa Post Card' inscription on the back.

In August 1891 Tattersall married Blanche 'Saina' Yandall Fa'ata'alili, a local woman of English and Samoan descent. Reportedly, her mother was Tualagi Yandall and her father Fata Fa'ata'alili, of Afega. The Tattersalls lived on an expansive property at Moto'otua, in Apia, and raised three children, Herbert 'Bert', Winifred and Ralph. Ralph (full name Alfred Berry Lionel Ralph) worked in the Tattersall Studio as a photographer and retoucher for a number of years before moving on to employment in the Samoa Court System, where he rose to become Commissioner of the High Court. He and Bert married local women (Dora Siemsen and Therese 'Terra' Johnston respectively) but Winifred died as a teenager. Herbert Tattersall also appears to have worked as a photographer in the family studio, especially after his return from service in England and France in the First World War.

A number of others worked for Tattersalls over the years, including Sylvia Syddall (m. Stünzner) who worked as an assistant and photo retoucher in the early 1930's, and Violet Elkins (m. Keil) who assisted Alfred in studio work in the final years before his death in 1951 at the age of 86. William Keil also worked there part-time, probably in a book-keeping role. Mrs Blanche Tattersall, who is remembered in Apia as a warm and generous hostess, had died in 1937 and her husband rattled round in their large home, gradually becoming an historic figure in his own right, perhaps the last surviving witness of the famous 1889 hurricane which littered the Apia foreshore with wrecked naval vessels.



Ralph Tattersall (above) worked for a time in his father's studio as a photographer and photo retoucher.

New Zealand school teacher, George Irwin, befriended Tattersall in the 1940's and wrote fondly of the man. These years may have had a melancholy aspect for Alfred—not only had Blanche gone but he had been pre-deceased by two

McKay Family Collection, bottom photo Bunge Family Collection

of his three children: Winifred in 1908 and Herbert in Brisbane in 1941 at the young age of 46. "Old Tat' we called him," wrote Irwin. "He was in his eighties, tall, immaculate, and endearingly oldfashioned." He and Blanche "built themselves a shuttered house, planted mango trees around it, and beyond made wide lawns, gardens and a grass tennis court," Irwin wrote. "For over sixty years Tattersall lived the tropical island life people dream about, and then his wife died. When I met Old Tat he was living alone among family portraits in a house darkened by overgrowing mango trees."

Tattersall reminisced to Irwin over Robert Louis Stevenson, ("always obliging and good humoured, even when he was sick") who had often summoned the young photographer to Vailima to record special occasions. "But what Old Tat liked remembering most was the hurricane of 1889 – the 'Calliope Hurricane' he called it. He had crouched all that dark March day among rocks on the beach and watched five warships wrecked - the sixth, the German *Eber* with eighty men had disappeared under the foreshore reef before dawn."

An examination of Tattersall photography shows indisputably that he was a skilled location photographer whose images were well composed and crisply detailed. Some of his exteriors, especially of family and community groups, were stunning, not only in focus and clarity but in the



Above: A Mau demonstration on Beach Rd, Apia, outside the courthouse circa 1928-29 is watched by Alfred and Blanche Tattersall standing in the middle on the upstairs verandah of the Hellesoe Sasse store on the opposite corner (Alfred has his hands on the handrail). Mr Tattersall took arguably his most famous series of photos from near that spot in 1914 when he snapped images of the British flag being raised by the New Zealand occupiers (see photo right).

In the photo above the high chief Tuimaleali'ifano Si'u stands in front. The tallest man behind is Faumuina Fiame I.



To Walk Under Palm Trees - The Germans in Samoa: Snapshots from Albums Tony Brunt

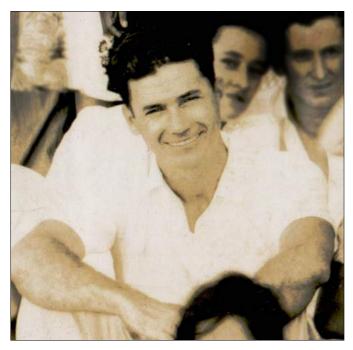
quality of printing and mounting that followed. The photograph of the Axmann family group from 1894-95, which we attribute to Tattersall and is held by the Grapengiesser family, in Auckland, displays extraordinary clarity and tonality for a print that is 120 years old (see it on page 149). The quality of its mounting on card has been a factor in its survival as well as good storage since its arrival in Auckland in 1933.

The photo of a large picnicking group, apparently at Papaloloa near Apia in 1907, shown at right, is an ample demonstration of both Alfred Tattersall's skill as a location photographer, and the incomparable nature of his legacy. Superb and previously unknown Tattersall images have been found in family collections during research for this eBook. This image, received in February 2016 from the Traub family, in Jugenheim, Germany, is a typical example (Johannes Traub was the



Traub Collection

Postmaster in Samoa for most of the German Administration period). Mr Tattersall has chosen to place his posers on a slope opposite his own elevated camera position and then captured them and their environment with sharp detail and



Peter Rasmussen, who stored the Tattersall glass plates before they were irreparably damaged in a cyclone in 1966.

Spemann Family Collection (copped)

wonderful portrayal of texture. It is surely one of the most charming group photos to come out of the Samoan colonial period. (A number of people are readily identifiable in the image which shows an eclectic mix of people of Samoan, German and English descent).

Mr Tattersall's studio studies were, perhaps, less striking. The lighting was often rather flat and the clarity wanting, perhaps because of inferior lenses. For this reason, many Apia settlers preferred to visit Auckland photographer Herman J. Schmidt, whose moody, evocative and sharply detailed studies showed a shrewd understanding of side illumination and oblique poses. The Schmidt collection, at Auckland Libraries, has numerous images of Samoan settler families who made appointments during visits to Auckland.

Older residents of Samoa still remember Mr Tattersall working industriously into his old age with his head, shoulders and camera-back shrouded under a dark blanket as his subjects took up their pose in the studio and he studied the focussing plate on the back of his large format camera (darkness was required to block out surrounding light for a clear view). It is not clear that Mr Tattersall ever worked much with film. He may have continued to use glass plate negatives until the end of his career.

Alfred Tattersall was the man on the spot and Samoa was fortunate to have him. His huge and versatile body of work lives on to bring our understanding of the Samoan colonial period vividly to life. The wide distribution of his images and the advent of high-resolution scanning means that much of his wonderful legacy has been secured for future generations. Digitisation has come to the rescue and filled the gap left by the accidental destruction of the Tattersall glass plate negatives in the tropical cyclone which struck Samoa in January 1966.



Bert Tattersall and his wife Therese (at front) photographed in a group in Apia in the mid-late 1920's. Bert served in the Coldstream Guards in the First World War and was badly wounded. Spemann Family Collection (cropped)

The facts surrounding this incident have been pieced together from a number of informants – John Dearing, Florence Rasmussen Funck and Hans Joachim 'Joe' Keil. When the Retzlaff family bought Tattersall's old studio on Beach Rd in 1952 there was still a large collection of glass plate negatives in storage there. Whether they represented the full Tattersall and Davis collections of many decades is unclear. William Keil, the manager of Retzlaffs, knew that his friend Apia Coroner, Peter Rasmussen, was a photography enthusiast and the latter agreed to take the collection into storage. Florence Funck, Peter's daughter, recalls a single large box, perhaps a half a metre in dimension, which contained hundreds of glass plates stacked vertically against each other in layers without protective interleaving. Their condition "was not the best anymore," Florence recalls. This is understandable given the rigours of Samoa's climate. In addition, she recalls that on a couple of occasions some men from a government department visited and extracted some plates that they said were relevant to research they were doing. "I don't know what happened to those 'borrowed' plates," recalls Florence. New Zealander John Dearing, who worked in Apia for a year or two for the Retzlaff family, quizzed Peter Rasmussen about the fate of the Tattersall plates. "In 1979, I asked Peter what had become of them and he took me out to his back garden/plantation in Moto'otua, near the hospital. He pointed put where he had stored them

in his old copra shed, and then said that they were mostly destroyed in the 1966 hurricane. The shed had been demolished by that storm and, though there might have still been a few boxes of plates under his house, we were in no position to check on that occasion."

As with so many settler families who were household names in the islands in colonial days, the Tattersalls have disappeared from Samoa. Herbert Tattersall emigrated to Australia, while Ralph came to New Zealand. Regardless of this, the Tattersall name is indelibly etched in the photographic history of Samoa.

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Chapter 1

The German Commemoration Service, Mulinu'u, 3 July 1932

Ceremony details obtained primarily from newspaper article, "Germans Settlers Hold an Impressive Ceremony," *Samoa Herald*, Apia, Samoa, Friday 8 July, 1932.

Identities of people listed in captions, as with identifications made throughout this publication, are derived from research and cross referencing across many collections, family albums and family sources, combined with guidance from knowledgeable descendants and old-timers from Samoa (see Acknowledgements, pp.11-12).

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Chapter 2

Rudolf 'Pakigi' Berking

Sources of information for this chapter included:

- i) *"Cyclopedia of Samoa,"* McCarron, Stewart & Co, Sydney, 1907.
- ii) Information supplied by Mr Klaus Berking and descendants of Rudolf Berking.
- iii) Interviews in 2013-2014 with Mrs Trude Barford (nee Stünzner), Mr David Barford and Mr Albi Stünzner who provided personal recollections of Rudolf Berking.
- iv) Interviews in 2013 with Mrs Agnes Sasse Heeney.
- v) Lagi Braune, *"Samoa: My Second Life,"* selfpublished, Apia, 2007. Especially for

material relating to Caroline Berking (nee Netzler).

- vi) *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June, 1972, Obituary Rudolf Berking, p. 129.
- vii) Archives New Zealand, Wellington, personal file and other files related to R.P.Berking, from First World War, inter-war period, and Second World War, from Department of Defence, Department of External Affairs, and Department of Justice.
- viii) Archives New Zealand, Wellington, files related to Reinhold Hofmann, 1914-1920 from Department of Defence and Department of External Affairs.
- ix) A key document that unlocked many identities, especially in photos from Motuihe Island internment camp taken by Mr Hofmann, was a typed list of captions prepared by POW Mr Alfred Schultz as a companion to his photo album from First World War internment, held by Schultz descendants the Kronfeld Parr family, of Auckland. The captions include supplementary information and are of high historical interest.
- x) Emily Parr *"Veins: A Kronfeld History,"* Auckland, 2012, privately published.
- xi) Information on Concordia Club meetings and Apia internment of Germans on the outbreak of the Second World War (and on many other historical aspects of German settlement) derived in part from interviews with the late Mrs Elfriede Reid (nee Meiritz), formerly of Samoa then Auckland, on 21/3/2013, 28/3/2013, 28/05/2013, 16/9/2013, 25/10/2013, 10/12/2013 and 3/3/2014.

Though Concordia Club regular gatherings were men-only affairs in the 1930s, Elfriede attended meetings with her mother, club caterer Mrs Mary Meiritz (nee Smith).

- xii) Berking meeting with NZ Prime Minister Fraser on Somes Island on 20 January 1940 outlined in a 30-page Department of Justice verbatim account of Fraser's interviews with a number of POW's, hand dated at 23 February 1940, ex-Archives NZ.
- xiii) Johnny Frisbie, "The Frisbies of the South Seas," Robert Hale Ltd, London, 1959, pp. 153-157.

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Chapter 3

Margaretta Betham & Ernst Reye

Sources of information for this chapter included:

- Extensive biographical information on Ernst Reye and Margaretta Betham supplied by Reye descendant, Mrs Joy Hughes, of Australia, in 2012 & 2013. This includes Mr Reye's love letter to Margaretta and Reye's receipt to the New Zealanders in 1914 for the German Administration cash.
- Biographical information on Reye from "Cyclopedia of Samoa," McCarron, Stewart & Co, Sydney, 1907 p. 91, and Reye obituary in "Pacific Islands Monthly," 20 Sept. 20, 1933, p.33.
- German Administration movements of cash after the outbreak of war and retaliatory actions by NZ Administrator Logan covered in James N.Bade (ed.), *'Karl Hanssen's War*

Diaries, August 1914-May 1915, "Peter Lang Publishing, Germanica Pacifica Vol. 8, 2011.

- Milton Hook, "Lotu Aso Fitu: Early Adventism in Samoa," Seventh-day Adventist Heritage Series, Booklet 22, Adventist Education, Wahroonga, NSW.
- v) Auckland photographer Hermann J. Schmidt details derived from an examination of his photography of Samoan settlers and their families held by the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. Schmidt biographical details obtained from Auckland Libraries website.

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Chapter 4

Fatu Frost & Gov. Erich Schultz: An Extraordinary Story

Sources for this chapter:

- i) Information on Governor Schultz' family and the 1924 visit to Berlin of matai from Fasito'o were provided by Schultz granddaughter, Mrs Aniva Lefmann, of Berlin, on 21 Jan. 2014.
- ii) Concordia Club gathering of 8 June 1913 covered in detail in the "Samoanische Zeitung," Apia, vol. 13, Issue 24, 14 June 1913, p. 1, "Lokal Nachrichten." Kindly translated by Aniva Lefmann.
- iii) Information on Fatu Frost discussion with NZ authorities prior to his despatch with Schultz to internment in New Zealand, per interview with Frost's son, Leaupepe Frederick Frost,

in Auckland on 26 August 2013. From memories of his father's reminiscences.

- iv) Identification of Governor Schultz' house on Motuihe Island assisted by captioning in the Bunge Family albums, in Auckland, hand written by Motuihe internee, Karl Bunge.
- v) Newspaper correspondent commenting on Fatu's exotic presence on board the Navua on arrival at Auckland in September 1914, per *"Auckland Star,"* vol. XLV, issue 222, 17 September, 1914, p.4.
- vi) Schultz writing many letters of complaint to NZ authorities, per Leilani Tamu, *"Restricted: Motuihe Island Internment Camp 1914-1918,"* self-published, Auckland 2015, p. 22.
- vii) Schultz' gramophone shipped to Motuihe, per op. cit. James Bade (ed.), pp. 60, 134; Fatu fluent German speaker and comic, per Leaupepe Frederick Frost interview 26 Aug. 2013. Also op. cit. Elfriede Reid interviews.
- viii) Information on Fatu's time in Berlin in postwar period, motivations to return home, etc, per Leaupepe Frederick Frost interview. Also information from Aniva Lefmann.
- ix) Information on *taupou* Fuatino Koke Aiono per Albert Refiti, Auckland, 12 Sept. 2013.

German Officials and the Pe'a

Some sources for this page:

 Schultz reportedly receiving a *pe'a* tattoo mentioned by Newton Rowe, *"Samoa Under the Sailing Gods,"* Putnam, London, 1930, p. 85. Also confirmed by a Schultz descendant.

- Details of Wilhelm Osbahr's *pe'a* per Julius Gebhard, "Das Landeserziehungsheim Schloss Heiligenstedten," pub. Hansischer Gildenverl., 1948, p.6. Also further details provided by Osbahr descendant, Manfred Koessl, of Germany, per email, 3 Sept. 2015.
- Details of Rudolf Berking's *pe'a* provided by his son, Heinrich George Berking, in interview in Auckland, in Sept 2015.

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Chapter 5

The Saga of the Stünzners

Sources for this chapter:

- i) Interviews with Stünzner family members 2013-2015, including Albrecht 'Albi' Stünzner, Trude Stünzner Barford, Horst Stünzner and Marina Stünzner Harbrow.
- ii) Internal Stünzner family histories: Gisela & Meinolf Gathmann (ed.) "The Life of a Family of Samoa: A record of life in letters, pictures and personal memories of the Stünzner family," self-published, Bad Laasphe, Germany 1999; Gertrude Stünzner Braune, "Shall We Go Back to Samoa?" published by Gisela & Meinolf Gathmann, Bad Laasphe, Germany, 1993.
- iii) Lagi Braune, op. cit.,
- iv) Kunst material in part from information online through the 'Papers Past' website, <u>http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/</u> <u>paperspast</u>, especially issues of the *"Samoanische Zeitung."*

- v) Archives New Zealand, Wellington, personal file of F. Stünzner from First World War and inter-war period, Department of External Affairs.
- vi) Sources for some of the information on the Casino Hotel per papers of P.W.H.Kelly, Alexander Turnbull Library, including construction contract and opening speech; also *"Illustrated Catalogue of Properties offered for Lease,"* Govt Printer, Wellington, 1924. The latter was also useful for background information on the Tuvao plantation started by Erich Langen and later leased by the Stünzners.

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Chapter 6

Captain Hufnagel's Card

Sources for this chapter:

- i) Translation of the Hufnagel card inscription is by his great granddaughter Kathleen Edmonds, of Auckland.
- Text of Karl Hanssen's 1906 speech on behalf of Captain Hufnagel is held by Touzelle Edmonds, of Auckland, the captain's granddaughter. It has been translated by Kathleen Edmonds.
- iii) Much biographical information on Captain Hufnagel has been provided by Touzelle Edmonds in interviews in October & November 2013, July 2014 and March 2015. Highly informative historical summaries on Captain Hufnagel and his family members

have also been very useful. These were researched and written by his great granddaughter, Christine Hood, of Auckland. Additional information on Hufnagel's seafaring days has been obtained from a charming (and apparently unfinished) reminiscence he wrote for his children some years before he died. This is titled "My Dear Children." The original is held by his grandson Mr Franz Pfeil Jr, of Quedlinburg, Germany. Mrs Marlies Pfeil transcribed it on 11 Oct. 1995, and it was translated by F.Prolingheuer on 5 May 2014.

- Material on Captain Hufnagel's agricultural iv) endeavours at Vailele has been derived from a number of sources, including op. cit. "Cyclopedia of Samoa", pp. 82-83; J.W.Fox & K.B.Cumberland (ed.), "Western Samoa: Land, Life and Agriculture in Tropical Polynesia," pub. Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1962; and Franz Reinecke, "A Silesian Colonial Pioneer," an obituary/ eulogy on Hufnagel apparently published in the Berlin-based newspaper for which Reinecke worked in 1912. Reinecke, a botanist, was apparently based in Breslau. He appears to have spent much time with Hufnagel in his three-year visit to Samoa (1893-95) on anthropological and botanical research. A copy of this eulogy has been translated by Kathleen Edmonds.
- v) German plantation layout information obtained from Oskar & Klaus Stünzner per Albrecht Stünzner and Tertia Stünzner Ryan, 2013. Advice on plantation ledger book recording of coconut tree yields provided by Ulli Weissbach, of Auckland.

- vi) Paula David comment on the Vailele plantation per, 'Zehn Jahre auf den Inseln der Südsee 1887-1897," ed. Schlossmuseum Sonderhausen sowie & James Bade, assisted by James Braund, Univ. of Auckland, pub. Sandstein Verlag, Dresden, 2011, p. 35.
- vii) Information on the long walk back from Suga to the workers' quarters at Vailele at the end of a work day was passed on from a descendant of one of the workers, Tracey Paki, in December 2014.
- Information on the Godeffroys/DH&PG viii) company and the early copra trade was obtained from a number of sources including Sylvia Masterman, "The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, 1845-1884," pub. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1934; O.Riedel, 'Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa. Erinnerungen eines Hamburger Kaufmanns," pub. Berlin Deutscher Verlag, (1938); "Einhundert Jahre Australienfahrt 1886-1986, "Otto J. Seiler, Hapag-Lloyd, 1986; Birgit Scheps, 'Das verkaufte Museum: Die Südsee-Unternehmungen des Handelshauses Joh. Ces. Godeffroy & Sohn, Hamburg, und die Sammlungen 'Museum Godeffroy, '", pub. Goecke & Evers, Hamburg, 2005.
- ix) Dr Birgit Scheps-Bretschneider, of the Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, kindly provided information on the family background of August and Dorothea Unshelm. She has a family connection with Unshelm descendants. Birgit, Dr Hilke Thode -Arora and Dr Reinhard Wendt also furnished many details about the family background of Theodor Weber and his daughters. Very

useful supplementary information relating to the Godeffroys and the Webers was also advised by Florence Funck, Dr Johann Dietrich Hahn-Godeffroy and Ulrich Mühlenbruch.

- x) The assertion that Theodor Weber was trained under the personal supervision of J.C.Godeffroy was made by Weber himself to Thomas Trood, later British vice Consul in Apia, see Trood, 'Island Reminiscences: A graphic detailed Romance of a Life spent in the South Sea Islands," McCarron, Stewart & Co., Sydney, 1912, p. 52.
- xi) Photo of Clementine with Haaben family another image of Emil Haaben with his white parrot is viewable online in the German collection of AKG Images.

What They Said About Theodor Weber

Sources for this page:

- i) Weber background, and that for his partner and daughters, see Chapter 6 references, especially viii) & ix.
- ii) Robert Louis Stevenson quoted from Stevenson, "A Footnote to History "Cassell, 1892, p. 89.
- iii) Harry J. Moors quoted from Moors, "Some Recollections of Early Samoa," pub. Western Samoa Historical & Cultural Trust, Apia, 1986, pp. 46-47.
- iv) Trood quote, see op. cit. Trood, pp. 51-52.

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Chapter 7

Werner von Bulow: The Mystery Man of Matapo'o

Sources for this chapter include:

- i) Op. cit. *"Cyclopedia of Samoa,"* profile of von Bulow pp. ; also Grevel comments on postal service p.
- ii) Interviews with Herbert 'Bert' Brunt, of Paeroa, 1972-74. Bert (and his parents and siblings) lived at Matapo'o on the former von Bulow property from about 1914-20.
- Ta'isi O.F.Nelson's address to the Samoa Research Society, of 1923, referencing von Bulow was published in the *"Journal of the Polynesian Society,"* Vol. 34, No. 2(134) (June, 1925), pp. 124-145.
- iv) Fagamalo photograph of German officials party – identifications obtained from a near identical photograph featured in Hermann Hiery, "Bilder A us Der Deutschen Südsee," Fotografien 1884-1914, Mit einem Bertrag von Antje Kelm, pub. Ferdinand Schöningh, München, 2005.
- v) Advice from von Bulow researcher, I'u Tuagalu, of Auckland, especially on von Bulow's conflict with local Samoans and the circumstances of his death and burial.
- vi) There is much material on von Bulow that can be obtained online through the 'Papers Past' website, <u>http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgibin/paperspast</u>, especially in issues of the "Samoanische Zeitung." For the Zeitung he needs to be searched with the spelling "von Buelow".

vii) The author was also able to find the site of von Bulow's old residence with the guidance of local matai and the Matapo'o LMS pastor in 1975. It was marked by old bricks beneath the undergrowth. A subsequent search in 2002 was unsuccessful. The site appeared to have been taken up by village housing.

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Chapter 8

Malietoa-Axmann-Gebauer: So'o le fau ma le fau."

Sources for this chapter include:

- Jonas Coe marriage to a kinswoman of Malietoa Moli per Malama Meleisea, "The Making of Modern Samoa," 1987, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, p.144.
- Feodor Axmann birth and ship service details supplied by Pacifica genealogist Christine Liava'a in Sept. 2013.
- Much genealogical and background information on members of the Spemann, Gebauer and Warns families, including the Samoa years of Adolf Spemann, was supplied by descendant, Rudolf 'Rudy' Spemann, of Orere Point, in both documentary form and verbally in an interview on 28 June 2013; also supplemented in follow-up emails (especially of 30 August) and telephone conversations in 2013.
- iv) Some information on Hermann Axmann's life in Australia supplied by Christine Liava'a in

Sept. 2013.

- v) Some biographical information on Hugo Gebauer per op. cit. "Cyclopedia of Samoa", p. 100.
- vi) Excerpted pages included from *'Deutsche Schutzgebiet, Samoa, ''* Verlag von E.Leubke, Apia 1905, cover and pp. 74-75, from personal copy of the late H.Gebauer.
- vii) Some information on the origins of the German school in Apia per internet article at: <u>http://www.neueste.uni-bayreuth.de/</u> <u>SuedseeSchuleAusbIX.htm</u>
- viii) Information on the genealogical background of Sophia Fruean Gebauer supplied on 1 October 2013 by Fruean historian Frances Fruean-Moore, of Auckland.
- ix) Some information on Olga Wolny Gebauer supplied by her great granddaughter, Dana Moller, of Wacken, in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, in 2014.
- x) Additional information on the Warns family, of Aleipata, derived from Information from Warns descendant Alice Morley Robertson, of Mt Wellington, Auckland, in telephone interviews on 26 & 30 Sept. 2013; also from Harry J. Moors, op. cit., p. 40; also a Warns family birth certificate for Elisabeth Warns, obtained from the Samoa Births & Deaths Registry, Apia, dated 1891 and translated and reissued on 21 July 1955, supplied by Christine Liava'a; also information from Warns descendants Father William 'Vilo' Hansell and Grant Henderson, of Auckland.
- xi) August Brysch letter advising of Adolf Spemann's death during First World War is in the possession of William 'Bill' Spemann, of

Auckland. It is almost certainly retyped from the original. The translation was prepared in 2013 by Reinhard Wendt and was facilitated by Christine Liava'a.

- xii) Some details of the German Memorial service of 3 July 1932 derived from op.cit. "Samoa Herald," Apia, Samoa, Friday 8 July, 1932.
- xiii) Details on the German years of Karl Gebauer supplied by Dana Moller (see ix.).
- xiv) Information on the German years and wartime death of Ernst Gebauer derived in part from Gebauer descendants, Ernest Gebauer and Rudy Spemann, of Auckland. His death details are more definitively derived from the records of the German War Graves Commission and their entries for wartime casualties named Ernst Gebauer, of which there were a number. One Gebauer family report has Ernst missing believed killed in the Western Desert but Commission records are much more suggestive of Ernst being killed on 28 May, 1945, in eastern Germany/present day Poland, as described.

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Chapter 9

The Deportations of 1920 and the Journey of 'Mac' McKay

Sources for this chapter include:

i) Interviews with the late George A. McKay, of Auckland, son of C.G.R 'Mac' McKay, on 30/08/2013, 9/09/2013, 30/09/2013 and 9/10/2013.

- Caption material written by C.G.McKay below the photos in his beautifully arranged and preserved albums held (at that time) by George McKay. Identities of people, especially in group photos in this chapter, are derived mainly from Mr McKay's detailed captions.
- Some biographical information and incidents recounted in this chapter were also obtained from C.G.R. McKay, 'Samoana: Personal Story of the Samoan Islands,' A.H. & A.W.Reed, Wellington, 1968.
- iv) McKay's involvement with the German deportees in 1920 per his book op. cit. *Samoana*, p. 44.
- v) All ships facing out to sea when berthed in Apia Harbour after 1889 hurricane, per Ronald Rose, 'South Seas Magic,' Robert Hale Ltd, London, 1959, p. 17.
- vi) *'Samoanische Zeitung'* report of deportees travail on the day of departure on the ss Main per issue of 19 June 1920 (p.6) accessible through 'Papers Past' website.
- vii) Reinhard 'Teddy' Suhren quote re lack of financial compensation for confiscated Samoan land, per Teddy Suhren & Fritz Brustadt-Naval, '*Teddy Suhren: A ce of A ces,* ' Frontline Books, London, 2011, Chapter 2.
- viii) Brief portraits of the German deportees on the ss Main derived from many sources, including, for **Richard Marggraff**, information from Samoan Marggraff descendants or in-laws including Michael Margraff, of the USA, and Louni Hanipale Mose, of Auckland; also mentions of Mr Marggraff in P.J.S.Cramer, '*A Review of Literature of Coffee Research in*

Indonesia, 'Inter American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Dec. 1957 (searchable online); shipping manifest details on Mr Marggraff's location and occupation at the time of his return visit to Samoa in 1928 per Christine Liava'a, July 2014. For Heinrich Treviranus, information from Treviranus descendants Christine Dannenbaum, of Germany, and Samoan Treviranus descendant, Heinz Treviranus, of Wellington. For Ernst Studt & Max Neufeldt basic details on their occupations (as with Marggraff and Treviranus) can be found in 'O Le Kalena Samoa 1915, 'LMS Press, Malua, Samoa, 1915, and earlier German directories for European citizenry in Samoa. Copies of the ss Main detailed passenger manifest pages with ages, birth locations and destinations for all passengers, including children, were kindly supplied by Wolfgang Hermann, of Germany. Mr Josef Schon details obtained from Schon images viewable online in the German collection of AKG Images. Luise Thieme details mainly derived from Thieme chapter in Lagi Braune op. cit. Josef Haggenmiller details from 'Kalena Samoa' op. cit. Schmidt Family details per several sources including 'Kalena Samoa' op. cit., a detailed private reminiscence on his life by Schmidt family friend and former Samoan resident (the late) Christian Philipp, of Auckland, and information from Schmidt family friend Elfriede Meiritz Reid (see Chapter 2 xi. references). Goebel and Roserus children details obtained from hand-written notes on the rear side of the photographs featured as well as from the detailed Main passenger manifest.

(Wilhelm Goebel died during the Second World War). **Guido and Else Sabiel** details per Sabiel descendant Mathias Freund, including a PDF, 'On the Other Side of the World: The Garben and Sabiel Family in Samoa .' Also supplementary information supplied by Mathias on 29 June, 2014. **Traub Family** details supplied mainly by Traub descendant Christel Traub Voigt, of Jugenheim, Germany, in email communications in February 2016. Christel indicated the 'double time' calculation for German officials in the colonial service living overseas for state pension purposes. This had allowed Mr Traub to retire at age 50.

- ix) Nelson Eustis quote on the Grey sisters per Eustis, '*Aggie Grey of Samoa*,' Hobby Investments Pty Ltd, Adelaide, 1979, p. 48.
- Stünzner wedding group photo identifications mainly derived from a detailed notation by Marina Stünzner Harbrow, of Auckland, in 2013, and supplied by Albi Stünzner.
- xi) Hellenthal garden party details obtained from a number of sources. The location at Lotopa is derived from a caption on the back of the group photo which was penned by a participant at the gathering and which is held by his descendants in Australia.
- xii) Information on the internment of Germans on the outbreak of the Second World War obtained from a number of sources, including the reminiscences of Elfriede Meiritz Reid whose father Emil Meiritz was interned. Arthur Braisby's efficiency in monitoring local Germans prior to the outbreak of war is covered by Michael J. Field, 'Mau: Samoa's

Struggle Against New Zealand Oppression, ' A.H. & A.W.Reed, Wellington, 1984, pp. 218-219. The alleged favouritism towards Catholic internees held at the Taumeasina Centre in 1939 is outlined in complaints made by Somes Island internees in a meeting with NZ Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, on the island on 20 January 1940 outlined in a 30-page Department of Justice verbatim account of the interviews, hand dated at 23 February 1940, ex -Archives NZ files.

- xiii) Alien Appeals Tribunal deliberations and McKay's involvement determined primarily from a Tribunal report issued on 20 September 1944, 'Review of Internees Generally and Report on Samoan Internees,' Department of Justice files, ex-Archives NZ.
- xiv) Alfred Turnbull-C.G.McKay communications in 1944 relating to German Samoan internees was derived largely from the Alien Appeals Tribunal report above.

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Chapter 10

100 Years Ago—Twilight of the Germans

Sources for this chapter include:

i) For **Dr Schultz** op. cit. "*Cyclopedia of* Samoa," p. 60; also for 'Fale o le Fe'e' photo The Journal of the Polynesian Society," 'O Le Fale o Le Fe'e, ' by J.D.Freeman, pp. 121-144 viewable here: <u>http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/</u> <u>document?</u>

wid=2331&page=0&action=searchresult&targ

<u>et</u> .

- ii) For Hans Teklenburg, George Steinmetz, 'The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa and Southwest Africa, "University of Chicago Press, 2008, Chapters 3-5; also Archives NZ files on R.P.Berking which contained references to Mr Teklenburg's health during First World War internment.
- iii) For **Kurt Sperling**, comments by Alfred Schultz for his internment photograph album in typewritten captions document, "A.Schultz, Prisoner of War 1916-1920."
- iv) For **Richard Hirsch** background also A,Schultz captions.
- For Johannes Traub, 'The German Postmasters v) at Apia, by Wolfgang Hermann, in "The Samoa Express," Journal of the Fellowship of Samoa Specialists," Christchurch, vol. 28 no. 2, June 2012; also biographical sketch of Traub in a Department of Defence document undated 1919 ex-Archives NZ. Adolf Mohr material per "Adolf Mohr, Assistant Postmaster at Apia," by Don Mee in op. cit "The Samoa Express, "vol. 23 no. 3, Sept. 2007; Mohr surrender incident is an anecdote passed on to Don Mee by the late German philatelist Wolfgang Belau; also information per passenger manifest for ss. Main. Post office comparative traffic statistics for 1902/1913 obtained from Beschichte der Deutschen Post in den Kolonien und im Ausland, W.Schmidt & H. Werner, pub. Konkordia-Verlag Reinhold

Rudolph, Leipzig, 1939, in a chapter on the South Sea German possessions by J.Traub, p. 340.

- vi) Ernst Dorn information derived in part from "Deutsch Kolonialblatt," Gazette for the Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas," [translated] XXVIII 1917 viewable here: <u>http://</u> <u>freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/</u> ~sooty/1916samoaninternees.html.
- vii) George Sessous material in part from his biography on Wikipedia.
- viii) Gustav Stoeckicht per op. cit. "Cyclopedia of Samoa;" also biographical sketch in a Department of Defence document undated 1919 ex-Archives NZ; personal family information also derived from a number of sources including Stoeckicht descendant Charmaine Peterson Ealam, of Australia, in June 2014.
- ix) **Franz Pfeil** material per Touzelle Edmonds interviews (see previous citations, chapter 6) and Franz Pfeil Jnr documents, Quedlinburg, kindly copied by Anja Pohl and Rebecca Neundorf in August 2015.
- x) **Otto Hörning** details per op. cit. "Deutsch Kolonialblatt."
- xi) Wilhelm Osbahr details in part per obituary for Osbahr in Zeit Online from Zeit files of 6 May 1948 at <u>http://www.zeit.de/1948/19/ein-</u> menschenfreund; also some details per Osbahr

descendant Manfred Koessl in email on 3 Sept. 2015.

- Adolf Haidlen per Apia farewell for Mr xii) Haidlen in "Samoanische Zeitung," in Feb. 1914, vol. 14, issue 6, 7 Feb., p.9 here: http:// paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast? a=d&cl=search&d=SAMZ19140207.2.24&srp os=3&e=-----0Haidlen+Apia--; also obituary for Mr Haidlen in "Samoanische Zeitung," 4 Sept 1915, vol., 15, issue 36, p. 9 at link: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/ paperspast? a=d&cl=search&d=SAMZ19150904.2.19&srp os=23&e=-----0Haidlen+Apia--; Mr Haidlen's wife and children details derived from 'Samoa1904' online exhibition of Otto Tetens photography at www.samoa1904.de showing Haiden with two sons; also "Australasian Record," Warburton, Victoria, May 5, 1947 (Adventist Archives), obituary on Anna Haidlen and existence at that time of only two daughters, link here: http:// documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/ AAR/AAR19470505-V51-18.pdf; death of son Adolf Jnr outlined in "Samoanische Zeitung," 25 Oct., 1919, vol. 19, issue 43, p. 8, link here: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/ paperspast?a=d&d=SAMZ19191025.2.25.
- xiii) **Von Egidy** arrival date in Samoa derived from Archives NZ Personnel file date indication through Archway internet portal.
- xiv) **Gustav Klinkmüller** details mainly obtained from his granddaughter Thora Taylor, of Auckland, in August and Sept. 2013, through both interviews and document examination.

- xv) Charles Meineking post-war locations derived from many internet indications of his marriage to Australian Beatrice Wilkie in 1911 and Franz Pfeil indication of Meineking's later residence in Bremen.
- xvi) **Rudolph Berking**, see Chapter 2 references.
- xvii) Albert Schaaffhausen details derived in part from information supplied by his granddaughter, Jackie Schaffhausen, of Samoa, in Jan. 2014.
- xviii) **Tenth anniversary** celebrations derived mainly from *'Sydney Morning Herald,* "NSW, 24 March, 1910, at link: <u>http://</u> trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/15140239

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Chapter 11

What Became of Reinhold Hofmann?

Sources for this chapter include:

- i) Bartel-Kruse & Kramer Walter photos information from Michael Kruse, of Pago Pago, Carl Bunge (descendant of Karl Bunge and Mary Kramer Walter) and Florence Rasmussen Funck, of Germany.
- Alice Borgolte marriage information per A.Schultz captions and Christine Liava'a. Hagedorn information re rendezvous with "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" from James N.Bade (ed), *"Karl Hanssen's Samoan War* Diaries, August 1914-May 1915: A German

Perspective on New Zealand's Military Occupation of German Samoa, "Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 2011, p. 60; some biographical information from Hagedorn descendant Loretta Schmidt (per Albrecht Stünzner).

- iii) For Reinhold Hofmann, biographical information derived from his files 1914-1920 held by the Department of Defence and Department of External Affairs at Archives NZ; also post-1920 biographical data supplied by Reinhard Wendt and Barabara Traumann, of the History Institute at the University of Hagen, in April 2014.
 -) Otto Sperling information per Department of External Affairs file on Mr Sperling held at Archives NZ; also Sperling presence on the NZ Crown Estate plantation at Vailele in 1923 derived from *Stewarts Handbook of the Pacific Islands – Western Samoa,* "Percy S.Allen, McCarron, Stewart & Co. Ltd, 1923, though Mr Sperling appears to be incorrectly listed as "Sperling, A."
- v) Alfred Schultz biographical information also obtained, in part, from Reinhard Wendt and David Parr; also from a censorship note on R.P.Berking, NZ Police Department files, apparently circa 21/9/1944, ex-Archives NZ, referring to Mr Schultz. Karl Bunge information obtained from his grandson Carl Bunge, of Auckland.

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Chapter 12

What Became of Alfred Tattersall?

Sources for this chapter include:

- "The Samoa Express: Journal of the Fellowship of Samoa Specialists," Christchurch, articles as follows: 'Three Photographers' Studios in Apia from 1873 to 1919,' Wolfgang Hermann, June 2011, vol. 27, no. 2; 'Tattersall and his Studio,' D.A.T.Mee, March 2015, vol. 31, no. 1; "Real Photo" Postcards by A.J.Tattersall,' D.A.T. Mee, June 2009, vol. 25, no. 2; 'History on a Samoa Picture Postcard,' D.A.T. Mee, June 2010, vol. 26, no 2; 'Visit of John Davis to New Zealand in 1900,' D.A.T.Mee, Sept. 2010, vol. 26, no. 3; "Telephoni" and the Retzlaff Family, John Dearing, June 2003, vol. 19, no. 2; 'Mr John Davis and the Post Office – the early period,' J.Berg, December 2000, vol. 16, no. 4.
- ii) *"The Cyclopedia of Samoa,"* op. cit., pp. 103-104.
- iii) *"Samoa: A Teacher's Tale,* 'George Irwin, Cassell & Co (pub), London, 1965, pp. 39-40.
- iv) *"Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875-1925,"* Southeast Museum of Photography, Florida, 1995, ed. Casey Blanton.
- v) Internet article on Alfred Tattersall: <u>http://</u> <u>canterburyphotography.blogspot.co.nz/2015/11</u> /<u>tattersall.html</u>
- vi) The tentative identification of location and date of the Traub family photo showing the group of picnickers at Papaloloa in 1907 is inferred from several clues, including an article in the *Samoanische Zeitung*, of 1 June 1907, which describes a large club picnic and the fact that the attendees were photographed on-site by Alfred Tattersall, link here:

i)

http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/ paperspast? a=d&cl=search&d=SAMZ19070601.2.27&srpos=10& e=-----10-SAMZ-1----0club+picnic--

- vii) Discussions with Albrecht 'Albi' Stünzner and Momoe Malietoa von Reiche, in 2014, both of whom have recollections of the Tattersall plates in storage on the Rasmussen property and who alerted me to their temporary presence there years ago.
- viii) Discussions and/or email correspondence with Florence Rasmussen Funck, of Germany, H.J.
 'Joe' Keil, of Apia, Don Mee, of Christchurch, and Marina Stünzner Harbrow, all in November, 2015. Florence, in particular, was able to offer valuable genealogical background on the Tattersall family.
- ix) The late George McKay reminisced fondly to the author about Blanche Tattersall, who he remembered as a warm and generous provider of baked cakes to groups of children – in which he was included – visiting the Tattersall home on social occasions in the 1930's.

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Tony Brunt is an Auckland-based writer and researcher. He is son of the late Jack Brunt, of Apia and Auckland, and the late Joyce Davie Brunt, of Auckland. On his father's side he is of Samoan, English and German descent and on his mother's side English and Scottish. Tony's German ancestry is via the Schwenke family, of Samoa. He is married to Feuna'i 'Fi' Leiloa, formerly of Malaemalu, Falealili District, Samoa.

Readers are invited to communicate any new and relevant historical information (and corrections) relating to the material or themes in this eBook to Tony at the following email address: tony.brunt@xtra.co.nz

