Eduard Hernsheim, die Südsee und viel Geld: Biographie

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describe the persons in their lives as other to themselves or as identical with themselves, and they frequently refer to specific persons either as strangers or as intimates (p. 39). As in our worlds, intimates and strangers are categories that matter in Korowai reckonings of where they stand in the social world, but Korowai specifically portray social unity or strangeness as a matter of geography. Here the book contributes to the anthropology of space, in particular in the way cultural principles of belonging and otherness are materially enacted and experienced in dispersion as a physical practice. The most prominent institution in the society is division of the landscape into territories owned by patriclans. Korowai explain landownership as designed to support egalitarian autonomy: people own separate land so they can live apart, producing food and raising families without impinging on each other (pp. 25–63).

Under the heading ‘pairing and avoidance’, chapter 2 shows that every social bond is felt with intense mutual attachment, but each bond is also known by the extent to which one breaks with it. Chapter 3 illustrates the importance of including in studies of kinship the emotional, moral and philosophical dimensions of kin relations as well as such activities as giving food, living together, visiting and feeling love, longing or desire as forms of categorisation. Chapter 4 is a gem of an essay on Korowai thinking about children and parent–child attachment. Korowai see attachment to children as temporal and not given but created in histories of caring action. Like relationships with others, bonds of attachment to children are built from conditions of otherness and coexist with the likelihood of revulsion. The spatial dimensions of Korowai science of otherness come to the fore again in chapter 5 on marriage and belonging. Marriage brings together spouses who do not belong together and upsets relations of belonging between spouses and their other relatives. It also puts each spouse into close relationship with in-laws who are not close relatives. In the subsequent chapter on mourning, we learn that their otherness-centred relational sensibility is also characteristic of their relationship with the dead. This chapter also documents the presence of death in all social relationships and the prominence of mourning as a symbol of social action in general.

In the conclusion Stasch reformulates the arguments made throughout the book in such a way that they become useful for adaptation in work elsewhere. The theme of relations as contradictory unities of close intimacy and distant otherness now appears lucidly as ‘a strong reflexive orientation to events and media of social contact as the truth of relations’. Korowai are not interested in knowing other people’s minds except through material media such as landownership. They highly value their autonomy and do not expect other others to tell them what to think as much as they are not inclined to tell people what to think. The conclusion also reminds us that this book is not a final work but merely the latest form of something that Stasch could not stop writing and rewriting. Here speaks ambition in connection with honest and unpretentious erudition, and truthfulness towards the people in Korowai land. I like that!

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Eduard Hernsheim (1847–1917) was a pioneer trader who built a network of trading stations in Palau, the eastern Carolines, the Marshalls, the Gilberts and the New Guinea islands, including the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, and who played a part in the German
acquisition of parts of the Pacific in the 1880s. Seeking to avoid the expense of running colonies, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck agreed to the establishment of two chartered companies to administer the new German territories in Melanesia and Micronesia. One was the New Guinea Company. The other, to administer the Marshall Islands and Nauru, was the Jaluit Company, formed from a merger of Hernsheim’s Micronesian businesses with his rival, the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln. Establishing a government in the Marshall Islands was made all the easier by the fact that the Marshallese chiefly class—men such as Kabua, who died at age 90 in 1911—had their islands firmly under control and at peace, at least until 1904, when a dispute broke out over land and titles in the southern Ralik chain.

The New Guinea Company was everything Hernsheim’s Pacific enterprises were not: ineffective, unprofitable, conceived in Germany rather than the Pacific, and imposed from Berlin by people who knew nothing of local conditions. Hernsheim by contrast belonged to a precolonial generation of traders who adapted to the ways Pacific Islanders did things. He set up his first trading station at Koror, Palau, in 1874 and reached New Britain the following year, centring his operations in the Duke of York group. His trading business followed the Pacific pattern of collecting copra, coconut oil, turtle-shell and other products from agents who were visited every so often by a company vessel. The agents were often desperate men, beachcombers, drunks and adventurers on the frontier of European capitalism, and their story has been told before, but here they emerge again as players in a complex and detailed story of cultural interaction told from a German perspective. Most of the foreigners on the Gazelle Peninsula in the 1870s and 1880s were not Europeans like Hernsheim but Pacific Islanders from elsewhere, such as Ratu Livai Volavola, one of the many Fijians working for the Methodist mission, or Queen Emma, the part-Samoan businesswoman who surrounded herself with a large community of Samoan relatives at her plantation at Ralum, the centre of expatriate social life in the Gazelle. At Emma’s banquets, guests were served by dozens of Manus Island girls in colourful lava-lavas and entertained by the singing of Schubert Lieder by Emma’s sister, Phoebe Parkinson. Phoebe’s husband, Richard Parkinson, was both planter and ethnologist and travelled extensively on research trips through the New Guinea islands, often free of charge, on Hernsheim vessels.

Jakob Anderhandt has scoured every conceivable source of information in compiling this book, from Hernsheim’s diary and reminiscences to colonial records in Hamburg, Berlin, Freiburg, Canberra and Suva; the letter books of the Methodist missionary George Brown in the Mitchell Library, Sydney; and much else. His account is especially interesting on the negotiations in Germany over Germany’s colonial expansion into the Pacific and on the day-to-day operations and complications of Hernsheim’s trading business. And his achievement is all the more impressive because, as he says, in Hernsheim’s reminiscences and even in his diary the Pacific Islanders emerge as little more than a background to what really mattered to him: competing firms and traders, the New Guinea Company, government officials and others hindering his success. Hernsheim had no time for the low life of the Pacific trading fraternity, the men who thought the Islanders needed to be taught a lesson. He had the pragmatism of a trader but also the cultural tolerance that accompanied it, seeking merely to make a living by trading with people for whom the products of industrial civilisation were new and highly desirable. Sober calculation and hard bargaining went together with social and cultural engagement with Pacific Islanders, something Hernsheim took for granted, and in this respect Anderhandt sees him as belonging to a proud tradition of seagoing Hamburg merchants since the 16th century.

This biography comes in two volumes, more than 1,000 pages of text supported by 3,000 references, a guide to sources and literature, a detailed list of trading stations and traders, and separate indexes of persons, places and ships. Even the index offers extra information before directing readers to the relevant pages: ‘Forsayth, James, photographer, seaman and Pacific trader, first husband of “Queen” Emma (Emma Forsayth)’; ‘Locak,
high chief in the Marshalls group; ‘Toberinge, influential chief on the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula (New Britain); business partner of Thomas Farrell’.

Sometimes Pacific historiography is graced by the appearance of books of which it can truly be said, ‘No one will ever do this again’. So comprehensive is the research and so exhaustive the findings that the work can be called definitive. Such is the case with this book.

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The grand multivolume monograph of ambitious scope has somewhat fallen out of favour in recent years. Hermann Mückler’s Kolonialismus in Ozeanien, the third volume in his Cultural History of Oceania series, bucks this general trend. Though not without its limitations, it is both more extensive and more satisfactory than its predecessor, Mission in Ozeanien, reviewed by Stewart Firth in JPH, 46:2 (2011), 270–71.

Kolonialismus in Ozeanien is divided into four main sections, plus a smaller fifth section and a series of appendices. In the first section, ‘General reflections on colonialism’, Mückler approaches the colonial phenomenon from various angles. He considers it as a relationship of dominance, drawing on Weber and Foucault to tease out the ways in which colonial powers exercised and legitimised their dominance over their subjects. He discusses it as an experience of otherness, following particularly the multidimensional typology proposed in Tzvetan Todorov’s Conquest of America. And he addresses it as a relationship of economic dependency, noting the combined impacts of factors such as changes to land use, urbanisation and the introduction of taxation and imported labour.

He also runs through the bewildering variety of colonial territories, including British protectorates; German Schutzgebiete; French départements, régions, collectivités and territoires; mandates, trust territories and dominions.

Section 2, ‘The colonial epoch – parameters and reflections’, is concerned with how the Pacific was perceived in Europe. Mückler’s discussion, though necessarily concise, successfully introduces the reader to key aspects of the European gaze: discourses of the ‘noble’ and the ‘ignoble savage’; stadal theories locating ‘primitive’ Pacific societies at the bottom of a single upward trajectory of human social development; staged public performances by non-European travellers (Völkerschauen); artists, writers, eccentrics and visionaries, whose romanticised depictions of Pacific life were eagerly consumed by audiences in Europe’s metropoles. Short portraits of representative authors of English-, French- and German-language texts illustrate how broad a spectrum such depictions could cover, ranging from overt criticism of European influence on Pacific societies (Robert Louis Stevenson, Hermann Melville, George Louis Becke, Victor Segalen) to equally overt solicitations for expanding European settlement (Pierre Loti, Richard Deeken, Siegfried Genthe).

Section 3, ‘Colonial activities in Oceania’, offers a systematic overview of the regional activities of the major colonial powers – Spain, Britain, France, Germany, the United States – and some of the minor ones. Japan, the Netherlands and Chile are discussed separately; Australia receives a few desultory mentions in the subsection on British colonial activities; New Zealand, for reasons unexplained, is not discussed at all. Despite these omissions, section 3 is more than twice as long as any of the others and threatens at times to spill over into a mind-numbing recital of dates,