

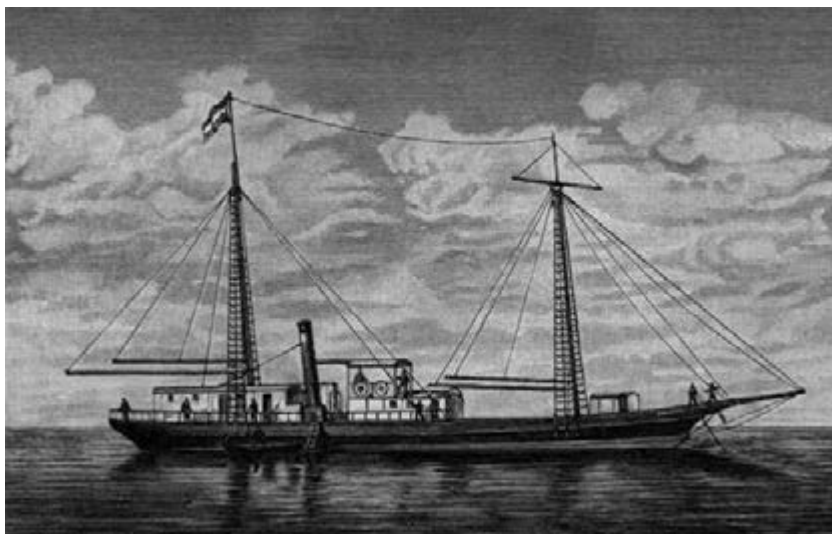
7 The New Guinea Protectorates

Detecting a new mood in Berlin the New Guinea Consortium – which had been renamed Neu-Guinea-Compagnie in May 1884 and which, setting earlier reservations aside, Robertson & Hernsheim had joined – renewed its contacts with the German government. On 27 June 1884 Hanseemann and Bleichröder informed Bismarck by letter that the preparations to establish themselves in New Guinea, which had been temporarily shelved because of the Queensland annexation of April 1883, had been resumed. Dr Otto Finsch, an explorer, zoologist and ethnographer, had been taken into the company's employ. Finsch was an old friend of the Godeffroy firm. In 1880 he had provided the proponents of a government subsidy to the company with the arguments that the Samoa business was worth its while.¹

The consortium had bought a British passenger steamship, the *Samoa*, which like many steamers in those days was also still equipped with sails, which Finsch was to board. Under the pretext of a scientific expedition, the *Samoa* had to sail along the north coast of New Guinea and into the New Britain Archipelago. In reality, Finsch, who was to lend his name to Finschhafen on the Huon Peninsula, and the captain of the *Samoa*, Eduard Dallmann, a former whaler who was to be honoured with a port and a strait named after him, had to look for suitable harbours along the coast and set up trading posts to be manned by DHPG. Another one of their tasks was to enter into friendly relations with the population and purchase as much land as possible. Together with DHPG's existing settlements and their future expansion, the acreage acquired should be large enough to create a healthy colony. The scope of the expedition was limited to the New Britain Archipelago and the north coast of New Guinea. Finsch and Dallmann were not to sail to the south coast of New Guinea, where a German presence in such close proximity could create even greater furore in Australia. In their letter the two bankers asked Bismarck to protect the undertaking. The government should provide consular officials and commanders of warships equipped with the necessary mandates and instructions to place the new territories under the protection of the Empire (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 205-8; Finsch 1888: 7).

1 Otto Finsch lived in New Guinea and the New Britain Archipelago for years and, in 1865, published *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner*. In 1888 he would report on his exploits in: *Samoa-fahrten: Reisen in Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und Englisch-Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1884 und 1885 an Bord des deutschen Dampfers 'Samoa'*. For Dallmann see Pawlik 1996.

Figure 7 The Samoa



Source: Finsch 1888

On 20 August 1884, at a moment when the matter of a German settlement in South West Africa had not yet been settled, Berlin gave the go-ahead. Bismarck wrote to the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie that its exploits would be given the same support and protection from the Empire as those in South West Africa; providing that the regions where the company wanted to establish itself were 'independent' and not claimed by others (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 212). The previous day Bismarck had informed the person who was to oversee the obligatory flag-hoisting ceremonies, Gustav von Oertzen, the German Consul General in Sydney and now also given the title of Imperial Commissioner of New Guinea and the New Britain Archipelago, about the expedition and had ordered the navy to send a squadron of no less than five warships to the region (Nuhn 2002: 59).

The hoisting of German flags

In September 1884 the *Samoa*, which turned out not to be anywhere near as fast as the previous owner had promised, left Sydney for Mioko. From there she made several trips along the north coast of New Guinea and in and around the New Britain Archipelago. First to be visited was Astrolabe Bay. There, at Konstantinhafen, Finsch bought some land, had the Papuans

build a shed where coals could be stored, and had the German merchant flag hoisted in a tall tree. It was the first German flag raised in New Guinea. Thus, Finsch (1888: 65) wrote, 'the 17th of October 1884 will for always remain a memorable day in the colonial history of Germany'. Two days later he and Dallmann discovered a more suitable location for a naval port, which they christened Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen, after the Crown Prince. The place was marked so that later a German warship could hoist the German war flag, in the words of the patriotic Finsch, 'this mighty tricolour', there (which would happen one month later) (Finsch 1888: 110). Again Finsch (1888: 92) was delighted. The omens were favourable: 19 October was the birthday of the Crown Prince and the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig of 1813. The only disadvantage was – as Finsch and his crew would personally experience – that Friedrich-Wilhelms-Hafen was malaria-infested. Finsch (1888: 117) named a nearby mountain range, 'the highest along the whole northeast coast', after Bismarck, 'our great Chancellor'.

In Hihiaura Bay on the north coast of the East Cape, Finsch established a trading post, Blumenthal, named after Dallmann's place of residence. Blumenthal was manned by Karl Hunstein, who had sailed along especially for this purpose. Cows, which by their sheer size frightened the Papuans, and sheep were disembarked. Finsch, though not an expert himself, lectured the village chief, who did not understand much of what was said, about cattle breeding. Again he wrote that it was a first, this time the introduction of useful animals (*Nutztiere*) in that part of New Guinea (Finsch 1888: 254).

In October the *Samoa* rendezvoused in Mioko with the gunboat *Hyäne* and the corvette *Elisabeth*, two of the five warships directed to the region by Berlin to provide military support and the necessary ceremonial backup for a German occupation of coastal areas in eastern north New Guinea and the nearby islands. The *Hyäne* had already made herself useful. After arriving in Mioko she had embarked on a punitive expedition against Islanders who had killed the crew of a German schooner. Her captain meted out punishment in a way that was customary in those days for foreign warships, hanging the culprits and burning villages and crops. In this case the perpetrators were not found. 'So, powder and lead this time were saved, matches sufficed to burn down the houses, which together with the canoes and plantations that were destroyed should serve the natives as the usual warning' (ibid.: 138). The captain of the *Elisabeth* was Rudolf Schering. He was a man of experience. In August 1884 he had supervised similar annexation ceremonies to initiate German South West Africa.

The first island in the New Britain Archipelago which gained German *Schutz* was Matupi. On 3 November Captain Schering declared it to be under

German protection. Reading out a proclamation, Schering explained that 'His Majesty the German Emperor, Wilhelm I, King of Prussia', had sent him to Matupi to hoist the flag as 'a sign that the German settlements of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft der Südsee and the land it owned were to be placed under the direct protection of the Imperial German State' (Nuhn 2002: 60). Thereupon, 'with a toast to His Majesty Emperor Wilhelm, a cannon salute, and the strains of the national anthem,² the first German war flag (the German flag with a two-headed eagle in its upper right corner) was hoisted in the South Seas' (Koschitsky 1887-88 II: 240). The next day the same honour fell to Mioko and its harbour. This was followed by similar acts at other spots in the New Britain Archipelago and along the coast of New Guinea; all being declared *Schutzgebiet*. In New Guinea, DHPG was not mentioned in the proclamations. Instead, it was spoken of in terms of Imperial protection of 'existing and future German land acquisitions and property on the north coast from the 141 eastern longitude eastwards as far as and including the Huon Gulf' (Nuhn 2002: 61).

The German flags, as Finsch (1888: 371) himself experienced when he revisited 'Flag Peninsula' (*Flaggenhalbinsel*) in Finschhafen, could easily disappear within a short span of time. In this case, the local population had taken the flag down and turned it into a sacred object. Finsch was proud of the role he played in acquiring German territory. He was pleased with what had been accomplished during the nine months of reconnoitring:

Extensive strips of fertile land were discovered, and partly obtained immediately, which in every respect were well suited for cultivation, cattle breeding and settlement, and everywhere friendly and peaceful relations were established with the natives (ibid.: 7).

Finsch proposed (1888: 115-6), and luckily the Australians were not aware of his suggestion, that part of the land could be cleared by German prisoners, who certainly would prefer working in the open air over having to do so in their cells.

The hoisting of British flags

Crucial in defining British policy was what Derby had had in mind in May 1884 when he promised to station a High Commissioner on 'the eastern

2 As the German Empire had no official national anthem it was probably *Heil dir im Siegerkranz* that was played.

coasts'. In Australia, it was understood to mean the whole non-Dutch eastern half of the island. The way London tackled this problem would infuriate Bismarck. The crux of the matter in the diplomatic negotiations in the months to come was whether Great Britain would settle for the south coast or wanted to extend its control over that part of the north that was opposite the New Britain Archipelago; the region between the Huon Gulf and the East Cape, geographically most of the eastern north coast. Politics and appeals of a humanitarian nature had resulted in a confusing state of affairs. This portion of the north coast had figured prominently in the Australian annexation plans. It was said that it was there and not in the south that Papuans needed protection.³

Germany did not contest the British the south. Leaving that part of New Guinea to the British was even an essential element in the arguments put forward by Bismarck himself or conveyed through his ambassador in London, Münster. In their correspondence and talks with representatives of the British government, they invariably posed the question why Great Britain would deny Germany the right in the north that London aimed to exercise in the south. Bismarck was even more persistent about the New Britain Archipelago, where – as Plessen had already told London in September 1883 – German trading posts had replaced those of the Australians. He regarded the New Britain Archipelago potential German territory, a position presented as non-negotiable.

London sent out conflicting signals. In early August 1884 British Foreign Secretary Granville, regretting the distrust his country encountered in Germany, assured Berlin that London was prepared to discuss the delineation of a British and a German sphere of influence in the Pacific. He also pledged that British action in New Guinea would be confined to the south of the island, the region closest to Australia. A few days later he made a statement to the same purport in the House of Commons. To the surprise and annoyance of the German government a different message reached Berlin the following month, when the British ambassador in Berlin, C. Scott, informed the German government that, after consultation with its Australasian colonies, Great Britain also intended to extend its protectorate in the most eastern part of the north coast, east of the 145th meridian east. Thus, it was explained, the British territory would include the Maclay coast where the inhabitants had asked for British protection. Berlin protested. The north of New Guinea was potentially German territory. Great Britain,

3 Carnarvon in House of Lords 23-10-1884 (hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1884/oct/23/the-queens-speech-address-in-answer-to).

needing all the support it could muster in its conflict with France over Egypt, of which the British had taken control just two years earlier, backed down. In early October Scott suggested to the German government that for the time being a British annexation would remain confined to the south coast. A special commission should try to find a solution for the north (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 211-3).

In October 1884, after Victoria and Queensland had committed the £15,000 asked for by London, the Commodore of the Australian Station, Captain James Elphinstone Erskine, was ordered to proclaim a protectorate over the southeast coast of New Guinea, from the border of the Dutch half to East Cape; a region where, apart from some missionaries and one or two traders and *bêche-de-mer* or pearl fishers, no Europeans had yet settled. London did not have an annexation in mind. The move was intended to forestall the Germans. By the end of the month, Derby explained in the House of Lords that Great Britain had been forced to act. He pointed out that there seemed to be 'a scramble going on among European Governments for Colonies in different parts of the world' and that the British government was bound to act 'in those localities in which this country is interested'. He went on to spell out that a refusal to act in the south 'would have been deeply resented by all the Australian Colonies'. In view of this, it had been 'thought better to run the risk of some jealousy on the part of Foreign Powers, than to quarrel with our Colonists in a matter in which they are so deeply interested, and on which they feel so strongly'.⁴ But there was one problem with London's resolution. It concerned the wrong coast. Or as Carnarvon, who was not against a protectorate, observed in the House of Lords, it seemed 'rather strange that when you are annexing a large territory, that you should annex that which was never asked for, and omit that which was the origin of the question of annexation'.⁵

To put the south coast under British protection, two warships, HMS *Nelson* and HMS *Espiegle*, left Sydney in the middle of October. They were bound for Port Moresby, the site of a small missionary post. On 2 November the *Nelson* and *Espiegle* arrived at their destination, where three other warships, HMS *Raven*, HMS *Swinger* and HMS *Harrier*, had already anchored.⁶ On board the *Harrier* was Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific High

4 Derby in House of Lords 23-10-1884 (hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1884/oct/23/the-queens-speech-address-in-answer-to).

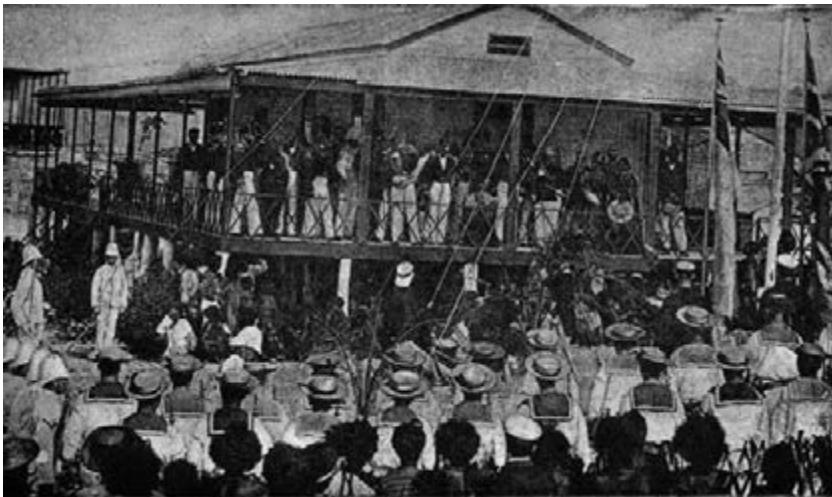
5 Carnarvon in House of Lords 23-10-1884 (hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1884/oct/23/the-queens-speech-address-in-answer-to).

6 The story of the proclamations is based on Lyne 1885: 1-28, 116-20.

Commission, Hugh Hastings Romilly, also a man of some experience. In 1880 he had addressed the chiefs of Rotuma, telling them that Queen Victoria had assented to their request for a British annexation of their island. At Port Moresby, Romilly startled the newcomers by informing them that he had already proclaimed Southeast New Guinea a British protectorate on 21 October. He had misconstrued as an order to proclaim a protectorate a telegram he had received from Derby in Cooktown informing him about the establishment of the protectorate and about a ban on the purchase of land or settling in the region. His enterprising act, complete with a *feu de joie* and the hoisting of the British flag, threatened to ruin a grand ceremony planned for 6 November.

What were the Papuans who had attended the earlier proclamation to be told? After some deliberation 'it was decided that it should be explained to the natives as only preliminary to the duly authorised and proper ceremony' (Lyne 1885: 3). This settled, with the assistance of the local missionaries as many chiefs as could be found were to be assembled. They did not seem to know or mind the fact that the authority of the latter, as the ethnographer Finsch (1888: 265, 360) tells us, was not great anywhere on the island. The warships were dispatched along the coast to collect the chiefs. On 5 November, on the *Nelson*, 'a grand assembly took place with a feast for the chiefs and an address from the commodore, a presentation of gifts attractive to

Figure 8 The proclamation of the British Protectorate of New Guinea, Port Moresby 1884



Source: Lyne 1885

Figure 9 Hoisting the British flag along the coast of New Guinea



Source: Lyne 1885

the native eye, and the firing of the ship's guns' (Lyne 1885: 5). To add to the pomp, the naval officers wore frock-coats and swords. In contrast, most of the chiefs, about fifty in total, were 'destitute of clothing', but there was one reminder of the earlier Queensland proclamation, a Papuan 'dressed in a shirt, with a handkerchief round his loins, a red felt hat on his head (the hat given to him when the British flag had been hoisted in 1883 to mark the annexation by Queensland), and some green leaves through the lobe of his left ear' (ibid.: 5-6). The guests were fed – 'boiled rice, sweetened with brown sugar' (ibid.: 6) – and presented with a printed English text of the proclamation to be read; a text in their own language, it was promised, would be distributed later.

After they had 'devoured the rice with evident satisfaction', the Commodore explained to the chiefs in English what it was all about, a translation by one of the missionaries came next (ibid.: 6). Those present were told that the protectorate meant that in future 'evil-disposed men will not be able to occupy your country, seize your lands, or take your homes. ... Your lands will be secured to you, and your wives and children will be protected' (ibid.: 9). In return for such protection, the Papuans should 'under no circumstances inflict punishment upon any white person' and had to report to the British 'bad men' who mistreated them or tried to sell them arms, ammunition or liquor so that 'such men may be punished' (ibid.: 9-10). To facilitate communication – it would be difficult to consult with all the chiefs individually – one of them was appointed head-chief. As a token of

his dignity, he received 'an ebony stick with a florin let in at the top, the Queen's head being uppermost, and encircled by a band of silver'. Rather enigmatically, it was explained that the stick 'represents the Queen's head' (ibid.: 12).

The festivities aboard the *Harrier* were only the prelude. The next day yet another impressive ceremony took place during which Southeast New Guinea was officially declared a British protectorate. Once again, it was explained that everything was being done in the interests of the population. The British, it was stressed in a language the absent Germans would have understood better than the Papuans present, had acted to protect the Papuans against brutal exploitation by white settlers:

Whereas it has become essential, for the protection of the lives and properties of the native inhabitants of New Guinea, and for the purpose of preventing the occupation of portions of that country by persons whose proceedings, unsanctioned by any lawful authority might tend to injustice, strife and bloodshed, and who, under the pretence of legitimate trade and intercourse, might endanger the liberties and possess themselves of the land of such native inhabitants, that a British Protectorate should be established over a certain portion of such country and the islands adjacent thereto (ibid.: 22).

After the Port Moresby proclamation the British warships, sometimes individually, sometimes in different combinations, sailed to eight other points along the coast to repeat the ceremony. Along with them went the missionaries stationed in Port Moresby and a number of native religious teachers and their wives. Everywhere the British flag was hoisted staffs of office were handed over to local chiefs. The ceremonies were complete with the firing of guns from the warships, which at times made the Papuans run away with fright, the singing of the national anthem, salvos of *feux de joie*, and not to forget 'the final British cheers ... for the Queen' (ibid.: 120). The naval officers – with blue jackets, epaulettes and cocked hats – and the marines – in white with straw hats – who lined up as guards of honour were impeccably dressed. The missionaries and native teachers (the latter not allowed to share a platform with the officers) and the local population in their traditional costume formed the public. On 26 November, during the final flag raising on Teste Island, Commodore Erskine had a special message. He asked those present to join him

in the fervent hope that the establishment of this Protectorate may conduce to the happiness, the peace, and the welfare of these people; that it may be a security to the Australian Colonies, and to the best interest of their people;

and that it may redound to the honour of her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, for whom I ask you now to give three hearty cheers (*ibid.*: 220).

For the time being, the newly acquired territory was placed under the authority of the High Commission for the Western Pacific. The jurisdiction of the Special Commissioner for New Guinea appointed to administer the area only extended to British citizens, and not to those with another nationality. The British government might have, perhaps deliberately, overlooked this initially. On 24 October the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Evelyn Ashley, explained in the House of Commons that the British would 'have jurisdiction over the subjects of Foreign Powers as well as over Natives'.⁷ For a moment the protectorate was even closed to foreigners. A request from DHPG to be allowed to trade was refused (Legge 1956: 33).

In November 1884 General Peter Henry Scratchley was appointed Special Commissioner of the newly proclaimed protectorate, with powers extending outside it. (He would arrive in Port Moresby in August 1885, only to die within four months.) How far inland, and how far along the coast, the protectorate stretched was not clear. The British government had no answer to the question. Ashley pointed out that the interior was still 'unexplored and unknown', but that the protectorate would extend 'as far as local circumstances may demand'.⁸ Scratchley's successor John Douglas, constrained by the money at his disposal, but not by a lack of optimism, thought that with 'a force of twelve men, Europeans, six on the shore and six afloat, the Administrator should be able to guarantee perfect order and inter-tribal peace for thirty miles inland and for fifty miles east and west of Port Moresby' (Legge 1956: 36). Douglas' assessment was highly unrealistic. As it turned out, the Special Commissioner would hardly have any staff and would lack sufficient funds, to exercise much power; he and his office becoming 'little more than symbols of a British authority not yet fully established' (*ibid.*: 37).

One of the few things they actually could do was to make the threat that titles of land bought from the local population might not be recognised after a formal annexation (*ibid.*: 38). Fiji and Samoa had shown just what a thorny matter land titles were. As Ashley remarked on 24 October, touching upon a familiar theme, 'there would be collisions and outrages if land were taken over from the Natives of New Guinea without the control of a British

7 Ashley in House of Commons 24-10-1884 (hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1884/oct/24/western-islands-of-the-pacific-new).

8 *Ibid.*

Officer'.⁹ The protectorate had only one boat, and before the end of Douglas' term in office people began to worry about hostile natives and violence among the Papuans near Port Moresby. Warships were sent on punitive expeditions (Legge 1956: 42).

Australian astonishment and indignation

Most Australians, including its politicians, only learned of the German annexation through the press. The news was broken by *The Age* on 19 and 20 December 1884. The reaction, the Dutch Consul General reported to The Hague, was one of astonishment and indignation.¹⁰ In particular, the fact that the Germans had claimed land as far south as East Cape came as a shock. The Prime Minister of Victoria, James Service, in a memorandum to the British Governor of the colony, used words like consternation, indignation and disappointment, and expressed his 'strong protest, on behalf of the Colony of Victoria, against the [British] inaction which gives an open invitation to Foreign Powers to come and take possession of lands in which no Power can be so much interested as the neighbouring and important communities of Australasia'.¹¹ New Zealand had its own agenda. It could live with a German New Guinea, but only when Samoa and Tonga became British (Ward 1976: 305).

In the Australian press disappointment found its expression in attacks on the spinelessness of the home government, which had been bullied by Germany. In Australian eyes, Bismarck's resolve compared favourably to the policy of restraint exercised by London and the humanitarian stand it took by giving priority to the protection of the Islanders:

We have Prince Bismarck honouring and petting the adventurous Teuton, and insisting that if he establishes a plantation, no Western Pacific Commission shall eject him from his land; and, on the other hand, we have the British or Australian colonist warned that, whether he pays a fair price for the land or not, no claim on his part will ever be recognised (*The Argus* 11-10-1884).

Finsch experienced some of the anger himself when the *Samoa* called in at Cooktown in Queensland in January 1885. In protest to the German protectorate an 'Indignation-Meeting' was held in the town hall, where the

9 Ibid.

10 Dutch Consul General in Australia to De Willebois 24-12-1884 (ARA FO A-dos. 110 box 218).

11 Service to Lord Loch 20-12-1884 (home.vicnet.net.au/~centfed/defence/def_e3.htm).

imperial government's dawdling was also deplored. People became hostile and one local newspaper suggested to blow Finsch, 'the fellow who stol [sic] us New Guinea', and the *Samoa* to smithereens. Finsch wrote that he had not been afraid, counting on the 'mighty protection of the German flag and the respect for our great Chancellor' (Finsch 1888: 286-7).

In London, in coping with the new German initiative, the British government was caught between keeping good relations with Berlin and satisfying demands from Australia, where also outside Queensland the April proclamation had been welcomed with much acclaim. By the end of 1883, on McIlwraith's initiative an Intercolonial Convention had been held in Sydney to discuss the annexation of 'neighbouring islands' and closer cooperation between the Australian colonies. Attended by representatives of the six Australian colonies, New Zealand and Fiji, the meeting served its aims. Any non-British control over hitherto unoccupied quarters of the South Pacific was strongly denounced. A 'further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the Equator, by any Foreign Power, would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia' (*The Times* 6-12-1883). Touching upon the moral obligation to protect Papuans against ruthless Europeans, the convention called for an immediate annexation of the non-Dutch portion of New Guinea and adjacent islands; vowing that the Australian administrations were willing to share in the costs. Only the state should acquire land, and then only for missionary and trading purposes.¹² The decisions of the Intercolonial Convention disquieted Bismarck, who could not believe that London had no hand in drafting them. London had to reassure Berlin that it had no colonial ambitions in the Pacific (Ward 1976: 318).

British statesmen were also not yet accustomed to having Germany as a new and, as it turned out, determined colonial rival. Earlier, German South West Africa had taken the British government by surprise. It had not realised that Germany was aspiring to colonial possessions (Massie 1993: 86). A similar situation arose in relation to German ambitions with regard to New Guinea. The establishment of a German protectorate had come 'to the great surprise of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office' (Legge 1956: 28). London believed that it had gained a commitment from Berlin to refrain from any action and had left it at that. In January 1885 the British government protested, explaining that the move had come as a surprise; bearing in mind that in earlier consultations between London and Berlin it was agreed to maintain a status quo in the Pacific until a

12 Ashley in House of Commons 24-10-1884 ([hansard.millbanksystems.com./commons,1884/oct/24/western-islands-of-the-pacific-new](http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1884/oct/24/western-islands-of-the-pacific-new)).

special commission had begun discussing the urgent problems of those days between the two countries in the South Pacific, Fiji and Samoa. From his side, Bismarck put forward that had London been more attentive the British government would certainly have been aware of the German intent to claim part of New Guinea (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 183).

New negotiations and hoisting of flags

By the end of 1884 the British Assistant Under-Secretary for the Colonies, R.H. Meade, who was in Berlin to attend the Congo-conference, had discussed the dividing up of New Guinea and adjacent islands with German officials and with Bismarck. The deal he proposed greatly irritated Bismarck: in return for British recognition of Germany's right to New Britain, New Ireland and the Duke of York Island, Germany should leave the whole non-Dutch half of New Guinea and the Louisiade Islands to Great Britain. At home Meade's diplomacy also raised some eyebrows, as somehow he gave the impression that he had suggested a dividing up of the South Pacific between Great Britain, Germany and France, also bringing up the New Hebrides case.

The proposal was unacceptable to Bismarck. He took the position that earlier communications by British government officials had given the impression that Great Britain only aspired to the south coast of New Guinea. According to him, Germany had as much right to annex regions in the north as the British had in the south. As Meade would report back to London, Bismarck called it unworthy of Great Britain, 'which had such extensive still uncolonised possessions in that region' to begrudge Germany a part of the north of New Guinea, where it had few interests (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 179). Bismarck also pointed out – and according to the report Bismarck sent to his ambassador in London, Meade had had to agree with this observation – that the British did not have settlements of any significance in New Guinea or the New Britain Archipelago. Their plans for a protectorate had only come up after Germany had shown an interest in the region. Particularly with respect to the New Britain Archipelago Bismarck stood his grounds. Only Germans had commercial interests in these islands and he had no intention of relinquishing German claims. Bismarck also saw no reason why Germany should make concessions elsewhere for a British recognition of a German protectorate of the New Britain Archipelago and abandon its claim to the north coast (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 177).

After Bismarck had rejected Meade's plan Great Britain wanted to make sure that there would be no further territorial expansion of Germany in New

Guinea. In January 1885, when the British government formally protested the establishment of the German protectorate, Berlin was informed that the British navy in Australia had been instructed to occupy the north coast of New Guinea, east of the Huon Gulf, and including the islands adjacent to it (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 182; II: 222). London disregarded Bismarck's request to cancel the annexation order. The British flag was hoisted in the Louisiade and Woodlark Islands, east of New Guinea in the Solomon Sea. Rook Island and Long Island in the New Britain Archipelago were also declared British.

Germany and Great Britain seemed to be on a collision course. Both were aiming to establish a protectorate in a region where their immediate interests were small, and which, at least on the part of the British government, had not so long before been dismissed as not worth the costs of an occupation. Neither country could boast that it acted in the direct interests of its citizens. Hardly any Germans or British had settled in New Guinea. In January 1885 Granville could point out to the German ambassador in London that there was not yet a single German settlement along the north coast. A few days later Bismarck riposted that this might be the case but that the same was true of any British presence (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 182-4). Germans could also ridicule the activities of the British High Commissioner in New Guinea. Referring to a report by Romilly about his first dealings in November 1884 with tribes in the south, they could point out that in the region concerned there were hardly any British citizens to protect. Living in the south were four *bêche-de-mer* fishermen, two missionaries and one land speculator, who claimed to have bought 7,000 acres of land for one penny (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 214).

For Bismarck, the British efforts to establish itself along the north coast of New Guinea were a clear violation of earlier promises. On 20 January he sent a telegram to his ambassador Münster. Münster was to warn the British government that if the British plans were carried through, a collision of German and British interests lay in store. At home people were being prepared for what might come. To mobilise public opinion and to show how foully the British government had acted in Africa and the Pacific, Bismarck had a White Book published about the Anglo-German negotiations.

In response to the German remonstrations, London persisted in its claim that it had been unaware of any German plans to proclaim a protectorate along the north coast. The only reason why it had acted had been the desire to prevent adventurers from taking advantage of the situation and settling in regions not yet under British, German or Dutch jurisdiction (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 222-3). The reply infuriated Bismarck even more. He vented his anger in a letter to Münster:

When it had not been known to the Government of Great Britain that Germany wanted to carry out further annexations also east of the Huon Gulf, then that can only be imputed to that fact that our communications about these matters have not received the level of attention from the side of the Government of Great Britain which we expected in view of the friendly relations between the two countries (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 223).

Münster should remind the British government that less than two weeks earlier, the note presented by British ambassador Malet protesting the German annexation and announcing the British intention with regard to New Guinea, had referred to mutual consultation before claiming new territory. It would have been in accordance with this position, Bismarck stressed, for the British government to consult Germany first, before sending out instructions to Australia. Finally, Münster had to convey Bismarck's hope that 'now that the supposed uncertainty about the intentions of Germany has been cleared', London would refrain from a follow-up and would not carry its intention through (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 223). In a note that accompanied Bismarck's telegram to Münster, London was accused of trying to prevent a further German overseas expansion. Referring to what had happened in Africa, it was said that Great Britain and its colonies only came into action and claimed new territories after they had learned of new German overseas possessions. To prevent this from happening again in the New Britain Archipelago and, Bismarck indicated, more or less expecting that any day news could reach Berlin that the British flag had been hoisted there, Germany had placed the islands under its protection (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 185-6).

A different style of diplomacy

What added to Bismarck's annoyance was the difference in political style between him and the British policymakers. He might well have considered the latter inefficient. Sometimes, also for reasons of tactics, a response from the London government was slow and evasive, as had been the case in the Fiji dispute over land titles and the German incursion in South West Africa. At other instances the British response had been inconsistent. Bismarck attributed the different views expressed by London with respect to New Guinea to differences of opinion between the Colonial Secretary, Derby, and the Foreign Secretary, Granville; suspecting the first of being more uncompromising than the latter (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 178).

But there was more. As the Dutch Minister in London also observed a number of times in his correspondence with the Dutch Foreign Office, the British government attached great value to the written word. Bismarck, as he explained in early March 1885 in the Reichstag, preferred verbal diplomacy. Direct talks between policymakers or between policymakers and ambassadors or special envoys were much more practical. The British preference for written communication annoyed him:

I may suppose it is known that the diplomatic traffic from the English side of late is conducted mainly or exclusively in the form of written notes, that is in the shape of notes, which are drafted in London, of which the text is sent over here, signed by the English ambassador here, and ... depending on the content of the note is read out, handed over to me, or left in transcription (*ibid.*: 208).

To Bismarck such a way of communication was inflexible. Letters and notes were definite and neither their content nor the impression they made could be changed. The ambassador only acted as an intermediary and such letters could well be sent by mail. It required no expensive diplomatic corps. It was also very time consuming, and Bismarck complained – he had them counted, he explained, because it had struck him that there were so many, and he had to answer all of them himself – that since the previous summer he had received 820 written notes from London, together some 700 to 800 pages. He had never before received so much correspondence in all the 23 years he had held public office, not even from all foreign governments together (*ibid.*: 209).

In the course of the conflict Bismarck took a more belligerent, nationalist tone. In June 1884 he left no doubt in the Reichstag that he did not fear a naval confrontation with another power resulting from the German effort to gain overseas possessions. It was an appropriate moment in view of the bitter conflict in those days about the treatment of Germans on the Fiji Islands and the looming confrontation over New Guinea. The debate not only gave him the platform to publicly call for fair dealings, it also offered him the opportunity to refute the fear that establishing German colonies could lead to conflicts in faraway regions with nations with a stronger fleet; conflicts that Germany could not win. Bismarck hinted that he was prepared to fight out the conflicts arising over a colonial expansion not in Africa or the Pacific, but in Europe; the arena where, according to him, they were to be decided ‘in a diplomatic or another way’ (*ibid.*: 285).

Bismarck said this after members of the Reichstag had pointed out, and not for the first time, that Germany's colonial adventure might push the nation in a naval entanglement along the coast of Africa or in the Pacific that it was bound to lose. Reacting to the possibility of such a *Nasenstüber*, such a punch on the nose, as the main critic of his colonial policy, Bamberger, phrased it, Bismarck replied that the German Empire would certainly be able to defend its overseas settlements. A colonial conflict with France, for instance, would be fought out before the gates of Metz where the French themselves would promptly suffer a *Nasenstüber*. Against Great Britain it might be more difficult to retaliate on land, but that country too, he promised, would feel the consequences if it tried to interfere with Germany's colonial plans. There were enough political means to make London understand that it should leave new German settlements untouched. Great Britain had to respect Germany. If not, London would feel the consequences. Such bellicose remarks were interchanged with assurances that the differences between the two countries were not yet serious enough to threaten peace. Bismarck hastened to assure the Reichstag that the relations with France and Great Britain were still good; putting much of the blame on the Australians and New Zealanders. Great Britain had not tried to obstruct German trade. As Fiji had shown, it was its Pacific British colonies, acting on their own, that did (*ibid.*: 159-60).

For a brief moment, and notwithstanding Bismarck's reference to the gates of Metz, the deepening of the rift between London and Berlin made a rapprochement between Germany and France one of the options. In the autumn of 1883 Bismarck had already approached Paris to come to closer cooperation. One of the cards he could play was support for the French in their conflict with Great Britain over the occupation of Egypt, where some German property had also been damaged during the British bombardment of Alexandria. A few months later – and at that time an Anglo-French confrontation in continental Southeast Asia was not precluded – Bismarck went as far as proposing a Franco-German naval coalition against Great Britain (Taylor 1971: 296).

London was officially notified about such feelers in January 1885 when Bismarck communicated to Malet the content of a message sent to Münster in May 1884. Malet reported to London that it was a highly peculiar document. In it Bismarck offered Great Britain political support if London would assist Germany in realising its colonial aspirations. Bismarck hinted that he much preferred cooperation with London, but that as a last resort he might be forced to come to a reconciliation with France (Koschitzky 1887-88 I: 186). In London the prospect of a German-Franco alliance was viewed with

some alarm. It came at a time when there was a growing awareness that the British Empire was far from invincible when it had to take on more than one enemy at a time. Towards the close of 1884 Great Britain experienced one of its naval scares after the *Pall Mall Gazette* had reported how vulnerable the British fleet was in such an instance (Kennedy 1985: 93). Talk about changing the relations between the homeland and the colonies, and the demands by the home government that the Australian colonies participated in the costs of the annexation of New Guinea, also made outsiders aware that, as Van Bijlandt reported to The Hague, Great Britain no longer felt strong enough to defend its overseas possessions and colonies on its own at times of war, without the latter sharing in the burden, financially and otherwise.¹³ The prospect of an anti-British pact between Berlin and Paris also came at a very inconvenient moment. Not only because of the conflict with France over Egypt, and the use Bismarck could make of this, and worries about a French naval presence in Southeast Asia, but also because of the fear that Russia might move against Afghanistan, reviving anxieties about India's safety and an Anglo-Russian confrontation.

The Anglo-German colonial honeymoon

Confronted with a gloomy national and international situation, Granville tried to appease Bismarck in early February 1885. He informed Berlin that he would regret a deterioration of Anglo-German relations because of New Guinea, when the reason for this was a misinterpretation of British intentions. As he had done before, Granville denied that Great Britain begrudged Germany its colonial ambitions. Stressing that the changing attitude of Germany to Great Britain was not the fault of the British government he admitted that there had been misunderstandings on the British side. But these, he explained, had been caused by the abrupt way London had learned of the change in Germany's traditional attitude towards the acquisition of overseas possessions (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 225).

Nothing came of the German diplomatic offensive against Great Britain. In the course of 1885, instead of a further drifting apart, Great Britain and Germany succeeded in solving the disputes that had arisen over the demarcation of their spheres of influence in the Pacific. In early March, and in accordance with the verbal style of diplomacy he preferred, Bismarck sent his son Herbert to London as a special envoy. Herbert von

13 Van Bijlandt to De Willebois 29-11-1884 (ARA FO A-dos. 110 box 218).

Figure 10 German and British New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago



Source: Finsch 1888

Bismarck and ambassador Münster had to pressure the British into accepting Germany's role as a colonial empire. If Germany gave in, Bismarck wrote to Münster, the consequences might be that the country ran the risk of 'falling into a position inferior to England's and strengthening the unbounded arrogance shown by England and its colonies in opposition to us' (Massie 1993: 87).

In spite of the aggressive tone of the letter, the outcome of the talks was more to the advantage of Great Britain than Germany; though from a wider perspective it may have been Germany who was the winner, with people talking and writing about the prestige Great Britain had 'lost owing to the German policy of annexation in the Pacific'. This was an observation that would become more frequent in the 1890s (Inagaki 1890: 60). Germany accepted a British protectorate over the eastern part of the north coast. On 25 April, in a note to Münster, Granville suggested an equal division of the non-Dutch part of the island, giving Germany an area of about 67,000 square miles and Great Britain one of some 63,000 square miles. Great Britain had to give up Rook and Long Island and recognise Germany's right to the Huon Gulf, but would retain the protectorate over the eastern part of the north

coast.¹⁴ Granville did so, Ward (1976: 321) asserts 'for the sake of German goodwill in Egypt'. Before the end of the month Berlin agreed to the deal.

The accord, which indirectly also whetted colonial appetite in France, ushered in what Herbert von Bismarck dubbed the 'colonial honeymoon' between Germany and Great Britain (Townsend 1930: 112).¹⁵ In May a joint Anglo-German commission succeeded in hammering out the other disputes regarding the respective spheres of influence in the South Pacific. A line was drawn delineating a German and a British zone. Samoa and Tonga, both located in the British zone, would have a neutral status. According to the Demarcation Agreement, signed in Berlin the following year on 6 April 1886 by Herbert von Bismarck and Malet, the Caroline, Palau, Marshall and northern Solomon Islands fell within the German sphere of influence; the Gilbert (Kiribati), Ellice (Tuvalu) and Fiji Islands (and the New Hebrides) in that of Great Britain. The agreement meant that Finsch had to sail to the Hihiaura Bay to dismantle the Blumenthal trading post. Hunstein had withstood the Papuans who had wanted to lay their hands on the goods in his station, but the cows had gone wild and the sheep had died, probably, Finsch ventured, having eaten poisonous plants. In spite of having to give up Blumenthal, Finsch (1888: 5) was impressed by what Germany had achieved: 'Due to the excellent position of power it could lay its hand on certain regions where German trade had long since gained a firm foothold and had obtained an in part domineering position'.

Having reached an agreement, Emperor Wilhelm I could formally put the German territories in New Guinea, which had already been christened Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land in March, and the New Britain Archipelago under protection of the Empire. In his *Schutzbrief* of 17 May 1885 – in which he also stressed the task of civilising the local population – sovereignty over the region was delegated to the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie (Knoll and Hiery 2010: 70-1). It had to bear the cost of the administration. In return, the company was given the exclusive right to conclude contracts with the population

14 Arrangement between Great Britain and Germany relative to their respective spheres of action in portions of New Guinea presented to the House of Parliament in June 1885 (ARA CO V 30-6-1885-40).

15 The colonial honeymoon was not perfect, also not in the Pacific. On 24 December 1885 Herbert von Bismarck and the French ambassador in Berlin, Baron Alphonse Chodron de Courcel, signed a protocol on the boundaries between French and German territory on the west coast of Africa. In one of its clauses Germany recognised the French position in the Leeward Islands (Îles sous le Vent) of Tahiti (disputed by the British) and pledged not to protest France taking possession of the New Hebrides. In return, France promised not to obstruct German recruitment of labour when the latter became a reality. In the British view the clause displayed an 'apparent unfriendly attitude of Germany' (Thurston to Stanhope 8-10-1886, PRO FO 534 35).

to buy up land in the new protectorate. At the same time, measures were taken to protect the right of the Papuans to their land and prevent New Guinea from becoming the plaything of white settlers; resulting in a policy that contrasted with the more violent exploitation of Germany's African colonies. On the suggestion of Oertzen, the New Britain Archipelago was renamed the Bismarck Archipelago. At the end of November New Ireland became Neu-Mecklenburg, New Britain Neu-Pommern and the Duke of York Islands the Neu-Lauenburg group. These names were selected, the Dutch ambassador in Berlin informed his government, because most of the crew of the ships that had sailed to these islands originated from these regions.¹⁶

The German administration over Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land and the Bismarck Archipelago did not have a fortunate start. The first ship the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie had commissioned to build, the *Papua*, was wrecked in the Torres Strait on her maiden trip from Hamburg to the Pacific (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 230). Moreover, Oertzen, now the German Imperial Commissioner for the Pacific, under whose jurisdiction the new possessions came, was almost immediately confronted with problems with the local population. He had to cope without the support of any warship. The German navy had overstretched itself. Its warships had sustained damage or were directed to Samoa, where new violence had erupted, and to other island groups in the South Pacific where the German flag had to be raised. Oertzen could do nothing when an American adventurer with his ship, the *Golden Gate*, called at one of the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago and, by force, took over the trading station of the Robertson & Hensheim firm and chased away its German staff (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 242).

The Germans hardly knew what they had acquired. The Neu-Guinea-Compagnie had to kit out expeditions to explore the newly gained colony. One of these early expeditions headed by Richard Mentzler and the explorer Fritz Grabowsky, first went to the Netherlands Indies. The visit served two purposes. It was hoped that on Java or elsewhere in the Archipelago bearers could be recruited for a scientific expedition into the interior and labourers to build an administrative station; bearers that they were not so sure they could find in New Guinea itself. And, not realising that the natural habitat of New Guinea was not like that of Java, the leaders of the expedition expected that studying agriculture in Java might provide them with ideas on how to proceed in Guinea.¹⁷

16 Graichen and Gründer 2005: 171, Dutch ambassador in Berlin to Van Karnebeek 5-12-1885 (ARA CO V 16-12-1885).

17 Sprenger van Eyck to Van Rees 29-6-1885 (ARA CO V 29-6-1885).

The wider South Pacific

To cash in on its agreement with Great Britain, Germany turned its attention to the Caroline and Marshall Islands. Declaring the Marshall Islands a German protectorate went smoothly. On 13 October 1885 the local German consul invited King Kabau of Jaluit and his chiefs on board the gunboat *Nautilus*, where they were honoured with twenty-one salutes. Without much ado they agreed to a German protectorate. Two days later Lieutenant-Captain Fritz Rötger of the *Nautilus* and a small naval detachment went ashore. With the usual music by the navy band, salutes and toasts to the Emperor the German war flag was hoisted in front of the German consulate (Koschitzky 1887-88 II: 319-20).

Acquiring the Caroline Islands, where the German firm Robertson & Hernsheim dominated trade, was less easy (Graichen and Gründer 2005: 172). Spain also laid claim to the island group, though neither Germany nor Great Britain recognised any such rights. In January 1885 Robertson & Hernsheim asked Berlin to place the island groups under protection (Gründer 1999: 97). Having first gained assurance from London that Britain would not object, Berlin proceeded to put ideas into action stating the reason that the German traders who had settled there – diligent men who had made considerable financial sacrifices and whose work was not devoid of danger, Madrid was told – had repeatedly petitioned for German protection.¹⁸ In early August 1885 Berlin informed Madrid of its intention. For a brief moment one of its islands, Yap, took centre stage in world affairs. Yap, as *The New York Times* (6-9-1885) noted, was only 'ten miles long', while its economic prospects could hardly 'appear very attractive to the most ardent advocate of German colonization'. Its asset was that it had an 'excellent harbor'. Spain directed two of its warships, the *San Quintin* and *Manila*, to Yap. At the end of the month the two Spanish ships landed a Spanish governor, soldiers and priests on Yap to formally take possession of the island. Waiting for an altar to be shipped from the Philippines to allow a Roman Catholic service, the hoisting of a Spanish flag was delayed. Four days later the German gunboat *Ittis* arrived on the scene. Without losing any time its commander, Lieutenant-Captain Paul Hofmeyer, went straight to the trading station of the Robertson & Hernsheim firm, raised the German war banner and declared a German protection over Yap and the other Caroline islands.

The captains of the *San Quintin* and *Manila* were informed that they were now guests in a German port (Nuhn 2002: 64). In response, the commander

18 Bismarck to German ambassador in Spain 31-8-1885 (Gründer 1999: 116-8).

of the Spanish ships raised the Spanish flag on the island. His gesture was futile. German marines forced him to lower it again. For a brief moment a fight threatened. The Spanish governor instructed the captain of the *San Quintin* to open fire on the *Illtis*. The latter refused. His orders had been to avoid an armed confrontation. Instead, the *San Quintin* sailed to Manila to ask for further instructions. The *Illtis* also left. In September and October she sailed to adjacent islands and occupied them in the name of the German Empire. On board, serving as an interpreter, was a German ethnographer, Johann Stanislaus Kubary, who in the past had been in the employ of Godeffroy to collect ethnographica for the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, and who later on would become station master of the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie in Konstantinshafen.¹⁹

For Spain the dispute over the Caroline Islands was one of the last convulsions of its colonial empire. Emotions ran high. Hearing about Yap an angry mob attacked the German embassy in Madrid and, shouting 'Down with Germany! War with Germany', they burnt the German coat-of-arms. The Spanish government acted with more caution. Its strategy to forestall the German intention without becoming involved in a war with Germany was successful. Bismarck, not prepared to sacrifice the much more important economic relations with Spain, agreed to mediation by the Pope (Gründer 1999: 97). Nevertheless, Bismarck did not fail to inform the Spanish government that Germany acted rightfully and that the Spanish claim to the Carolines was not justified, especially not when the principle of effective occupation agreed upon at the Berlin Congo Conference a few months earlier, was taken into account.²⁰ The *Illtis* and another German warship, the *Nautilus*, were ordered to the Caroline Islands to lower the German flags hoisted there. In December Germany and Spain agreed to the suggestion by the Pope to accept Spanish sovereignty over the Caroline and Palau Islands in return for full freedom of trade, shipping and fishery for other nations.

To round off its acquisitions in the South Pacific, Germany put the Brown, Providence and northern Solomon Islands (with Bougainville, Buka, Choiseul and Santa Isabella as its main islands) under German protection in 1885 and 1886.²¹ On one of the islands at least – Shortland Island in the Solomons – the Germans erected a proclamation in German in front of the

19 De.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Stanislaus_Kubary. In the same year Kubary published *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Karolinischen Inselgruppe und Nachbarschaft* in Berlin.

20 Bismarck to German Ambassador in Spain 31-8-1885 (In: Gründer 1999: 116-8).

21 In 1899 Germany handed over two of the Solomon islands, Santa Isabel and Choiseul, to Great Britain.

house of the local chief – the king, as such dignitaries were often called. The proclamation was painted on tin and adorned with the Imperial Crown as a memento (Knoll and Hiery 2010: 51). In January 1888 the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that is Herbert von Bismarck, entered into an agreement with the Jaluit-Gesellschaft which had been established in Hamburg the previous month. In the spirit of Bismarck's views of colonialism, the firm was to perform the same function in the Brown, Providence and Marshall Islands as had been assigned to the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. In return for bearing the cost of the administration of the islands the Jaluit Company was given the right to their economic exploitation.

By that time, Bismarck had lost any interest in a colonial venture, giving priority again to power relations and conflicts in Europe (Mommensen 1995: 80; Knopp 2011: 21). He may have wanted to get rid of what had turned out to be costly possessions, offering them to Hamburg (Knopp 2011: 21), but the impression left in Germany with Tirpitz and others was that Great Britain still reigned supreme and decided where Germany could hoist its flag and where not (Berghahn 1993: 49). Just how difficult life was on the spot for the new German administrators, the traders and estate managers who settled there, may be surmised from the fact that the German expansion in the Pacific and in Africa enriched the German language (and Dutch) with a new word, *Tropenkoller*, tropical madness, after the novel *Tropenkoller: Episode aus dem deutschen Kolonialleben* by Frieda Baroness von Bülow, published in 1896.

Germany taking control of the islands was much to the dismay of people in New Zealand and Australia.²² London, entangled in negotiations with its colonies on how to proceed, waited somewhat longer before taking its final steps. After London and the governments of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria had reached agreement on the sharing of the costs of the administration of British New Guinea, the territory was formally put under British rule on 4 September 1888. The three Australian colonies would jointly furnish £15,000 annually to pay for the administration; London would provide the New Guinea administration with a steamer (worth at least £18,000) and pay for its maintenance. Buying up land from the local population by individuals and companies was forbidden. Recruitment for the Queensland estates had already been declared illegal when the British protectorate had been established. Subsequently, annexation rules were

22 German ambassador to Van Karnebeek 7-12-1886, 18-12-1886, Thurston to Stanhope 8-10-1886 (ARA FO A-dos. 110 box 218, PRO FO 534 35).

tightened. Papuans were not allowed to enter European employ when they had to leave their district (Legge 1956: 75-7). The British Empire now had a new colony, but nobody seemed happy. British colonists saw New Guinea as their resort, resenting any large-scale British investments on the island (ibid.: 95-6). In 1901 the Colonial Office in London complained that each year it was 'becoming more difficult ... to induce the House of Commons to vote money for the administration of a Possession in which the taxpayer of the United Kingdom has so little direct commercial interest' (ibid.: 103). In 1906 Australia took full control, renaming the island Papua.

Gradually, the British also established themselves elsewhere in the region assigned to them by the agreement with Germany. In 1892 the Gilbert Islands and Ellice Islands were placed under British rule. In 1893 part of the Southern Solomon Islands (New Georgia, Guadalcanal, Malaita and San Cristobal) followed.

