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Dr Bernhard Funk of Samoa
1844-1911

Leilani Burgoyne

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In 1879, Dr Bernhard Funk of Germany stepped on board a Godeffroy trading ship, bound for his new home – Samoa, the 'Pearl of the South Seas'. In doing so, Funk was to join a host of other Europeans who were choosing in ever-increasing numbers to relocate their lives to the Pacific. Throughout the steady course of this nineteenth-century European diaspora to the Pacific, a number of burgeoning colonial port-side settlements developed, creating contestable sites of power and access throughout the region. Of particular note were the transient colonial communities that arose at Honolulu, Papeete, Levuka, Kororareka and Apia. These settlements were generally characterised by their quirky and often contradictory nature, and to a large extent they epitomised the antithesis of the 'romantic' Pacific ideal. At any one of these ports, the realities of daily life provided a backdrop against which churches existed alongside brothels, and the 'stark, starving, raving, chattering mad' had as much claim to the 'beach' as the traders and the missionaries.¹ Apia, the port-side capital of Samoa, was arguably one of the more peculiar of these juxtaposed societies, having the reputation of being at one and the same time the 'hell of the Pacific' and the 'Pearl of the South Seas'.² By examining the life of the 'Apia Doctor',³ Dr Bernhard Funk, who practised in Samoa in the period 1880-1911, this paper will attempt to unravel some of the nuances and complexities that lay at the heart of this turn-of-the-century port-side settlement.

Bernhard Funk was born on 8 August 1844 in the town of Neubrandenburg, which was located in the north European duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.⁴ The period in which Funk was born was both a momentous and progressive time in the history of European expansion. Slowly but surely, just as the imperial nations of Britain and France had turned their attention towards the vast Pacific, the fragmented Prussian

¹ Llewella Pierce Churchill, *Samoa 'Uma: Where Life is Different*, London/New York, Sampson Low & Co./Forest & Stream Publishing Co., 1902, p. 15.

² R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, Melbourne, London, Wellington & New York, Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 179; Emma Schober, *South Seas Reminiscences: Mrs Emma Schober in the Kingdom of Tonga 1902-1921*, Nuku'alofa, Kurt Düring, 1997, p. 6; Churchill, *Samoa 'Uma*, p. 290.

³ Funk was commonly referred to as 'the doctor' or the 'Apia doctor', and was the first formally trained doctor to settle permanently in Samoa. It would appear that prior to Funk's arrival, the only European settlers in Samoa with any Western medical knowledge were the missionaries George Turner, Thomas Bullen, Macdonald, and George Pratt. See Cluny & La'avasa Macpherson, *Samoa Medical Belief and Practice*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1990, p. 60.

⁴ Anon., 'Dr. Bernhard Funk', *The Cyclopaedia of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands*, Sydney, McCarron, Stewart & Co., 1907 [reprint: Papakura, R. McMillan, 1983], p. 96. Funk was the first of seven children; his father, Dr Hans Ludwig Wilhelm Bernhard Funk (1815-1894), was also a medical practitioner, and his mother was Auguste Friederike Adolfine, née Brückner (1821-1857). In 1871 Mecklenburg-Strelitz became part of the newly unified Germany. For further biographical information, see Peter Maubach, 'Dr. Bernhard Funk (1844-1911): Ein Neubrandenburger in der Südsee', *Neubrandenburger Mosaik*, 19 (1995), pp. 87-93.

states, later to be united under Bismarck, were likewise becoming aware of the strategic and economic advantages of the South Seas.

On 30 September 1865, young Bernhard graduated from the local grammar school in Neubrandenburg, enrolling shortly afterwards at the University of Berlin and later at the University of Tübingen, where he completed his medical studies.⁵ Following this, he joined the Prussian army as a surgeon, his first job being to treat the wounded in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871.⁶ Years later, one of Funk's contemporaries, George Westbrook, recalled the numerous scars on the old doctor's face and head, and remembered the way in which the latter had scolded him for using a retoucher to disguise them in a photograph. According to Westbrook, the old doctor took great exception to the 'beautification' of his face:

'Who is this?' he said, 'it is certainly not me, where are the scars on my face and head? Do you know that I have been an army officer and gone through a German University? What does the photographer think of when he tries to make me look like a pretty Jane?'

From this anecdote, Funk's volatile and tenacious character is brought to light, not to mention the pride that the old doctor must have taken in his battle scars. For Funk and numerous other young men, the Prussian victory did not lead to glory or prestige, but ensured instead that the newly unified Germany was crippled by unemployment. Opportunities for work and security were limited during this period, and in the ten years following the war some 800,000 people left their central European homeland in search of opportunity abroad.⁸ Some of them left for the Pacific. This emigration to the South Seas was largely encouraged by the burgeoning German economic interests in the region that were spearheaded by the Hamburg-based shipping firm, Godeffroy & Sohn.

By 1850, Godeffroys had established an extensive network of international trading stations, a number of which stretched along the South American coast. The possibility of a growing Pacific trade in coconut oil proved irresistible to a firm that had already established itself as a monopolist in the world export market. For this reason, Godeffroy's delegate, August Unshelm, travelled to the Pacific in 1855 with the sole task of securing an accessible port and centralised location for a headquarters for the firm in the region.⁹ Judiciously, Unshelm chose the port of Apia, and thus it was here

⁵ Information kindly supplied by His Excellency Mr Erich Riedler, formerly Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Wellington. At this point, I would like to thank Mr Riedler and the following people for their assistance with the preparation of this paper: Sven Mönter, for translating a number of German-language texts; Ulrike Hertel (Museum of Samoa, Apia), for providing access to Funk's personnel file and further assistance with translations; and Dr Rolf Voss (Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg), who kindly supplied copies of some of the illustrations used in this paper.

⁶ Anon., 'Dr. Bernhard Funk', p. 96; see also Maubach, 'Dr. Bernhard Funk', p. 89.

⁷ See the character sketch as contained in 'Samoan Personalities', which can be found among the papers of G. E. L. Westbrook held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (MS-papers-5498-1).

⁸ Robin Bromby, *German Raiders of the South Seas*, Sydney & Auckland, Doubleday, 1985, p. 33.

⁹ Peter Hempenstall, 'Survey of German Commercial Activities in the South Pacific from 1880-1914 with special reference to Samoa and New Guinea', BA Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1969, p. 2; Florence Spoehr-Mann, *White Falcon: The House of Godeffroy and its Commercial and Scientific Role in the Pacific*, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1963.

that opportunists and entrepreneurs flocked to and subsequently established a town of a 'most mixed character' along the shoreline.¹⁰

Through Godeffroys' selection of Samoa as its Pacific headquarters, an inextricable link was forged between this small island nation and the powerful North German city-state of Hamburg. In fact, as early as 1860, more Hamburg vessels were entering Apia Harbour than either American or British ones.¹¹ By 1880, Hamburg's pre-eminent reputation as both a powerful centre of European trade and as central Europe's primary port of entry and departure was acknowledged internationally. One of the chief union lines that ran directly from this city to San Francisco – the 'golden gateway to the Pacific' – was the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, and it was for this firm that Funk worked initially as a medical officer.¹² After two years of service with the company, Funk was given the opportunity of working for Godeffroys as a medical officer on the firm's Samoan plantations. He accepted, and in February 1880, Dr Bernhard Funk of Mecklenburg duly stepped ashore at Apia Harbour, thus beginning a career in the South Seas that was to ensure his reputation as both a 'landmark and a fixture' and as a 'peculiar' figure whom one heard mentioned all throughout the Pacific.¹³

Upon his arrival in Apia, Funk quickly filled the much-needed demand for a permanent 'Apia doctor' and established a private practice with a small hospital at Sogi.¹⁴ By the 1880s, Apia was a bustling port-side town, characterised by the transient nature of its settlers and well-known for its hotels, dance houses, brothels and nightlife.¹⁵ In one account, old-time resident H. J. Moors recalled that

Often as many as a dozen vessels were in the harbour at the same time, and perhaps a warship or two; the streets were thronged at night, and the noise of the six hurdy-gurdys or accordions playing in the different drinking establishments could be heard from the Mulivai to Sogi.¹⁶

Because Apia was the 'the nexus that joined Samoa to a foreign world', the small port-side community was also a cesspool of introduced disease.¹⁷ Throughout the duration of Funk's career in Samoa, Apia, which ran along the beach, was plagued by regular

¹⁰ Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900*, p. 179.

¹¹ Hempenstall, 'Survey of German Commercial Activities', p. 4.

¹² After the completion of the trans-continental railway in 1869, San Francisco became a key point of departure for travellers venturing into the Pacific. See for example Bartlett Tripp, *My Trip to Samoa*, Cedar Rapids, Torch Press, 1911, p. 18; and Frederick O'Brien, *Mystic Isles of the South Seas*, New York, Century, 1921, pp. 13-15.

¹³ Anon., 'Dr. Bernhard Funk', p. 96; Thomson Murray MacCallum, *Adrift in the South Seas*, Los Angeles, Wetzell, 1934, p. 174.

¹⁴ Bradford A. Booth & Ernest Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight: January 1893 – December 1894*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 123. Funk's house at Sogi was described some years later in his personnel file as 'one of the oldest houses in Apia'; see 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (Imperial German Government Files: Samoa, 1900-1914, I/6/IG-6, Nelson Memorial Library Archives, Apia).

¹⁵ Paul Shankman, 'Interethnic Unions and the Regulation of Sex in Colonial Samoa, 1830-1945', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110:2 (2001), p. 125.

¹⁶ H. J. Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, Apia, Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust, 1986, p. 28.

¹⁷ Damon Salesa, "'Troublesome half-castes": Tales of a Samoan Borderland', MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1997, p. 57.

outbreaks of disease that spanned the whole spectrum of introduced illnesses,¹⁸ and like most other port-side settlements, the small community also fell victim to the dreaded ‘white curse’ – venereal disease.¹⁹ The arrival of a fully qualified medical practitioner and surgeon who was prepared to live and work in Apia was therefore greeted by local residents as a long-awaited blessing. Funk soon went to work, and throughout the period from 1880 to 1900 he spent most days travelling between the huge plantation at Utumapu (which belonged to Godeffroys’ successor, the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagesgesellschaft, or D.H.P.G, otherwise known as ‘the German firm’) in the morning and patients’ homes in the afternoon.²⁰ At the same time, he also established a small private hospital at his home.²¹



Fig. 1: Dr Bernhard Funk in his later years (*Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg*)

Significantly, Funk’s activities in Apia have left historians with some important insights into nineteenth-century Western medical practice in the Pacific. To a large

¹⁸ During the late nineteenth century, Samoa suffered repeated outbreaks of typhus, influenza, tuberculosis, dysentery, whooping cough, measles and mumps; because Apia was the primary port of entry and departure for trade vessels, it was inevitably always hit the hardest. See e.g. Cluny & La’ava Macpherson, *Samoa Medical Belief and Practice*, p. 57.

¹⁹ Anon., ‘Dr. Bernhard Funk’, p. 96.

²⁰ ‘Funk vs. Hills’, 24 February 1888, Archives of the British Consulate, Apia (Samoa-BCS/9/1, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

²¹ Otto Riedel, *Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa: Erinnerungen eines Hamburger Kaufmanns*, Berlin, Deutscher Verlag, 1938, p. 81.

extent, Funk was an anomaly in that he was a non-missionary qualified doctor and was also willing to treat both settlers and the indigenous Samoans alike. Having said this, records of Funk's treatments nevertheless provide a telling glimpse into the extreme nature of some of the medical techniques that were still resorted to even in his time. To illustrate this, one can examine Funk's treatment of a prominent Apia money lender, Thomas Dickson:

He had withstood as many doses of physic and as much croton oil as the Malua Mission would supply. Dr. Funk, assisted by Dr. Ross, tried new and drastic treatments without success, and then as a final resort they poured two pounds of metallic mercury down Dickson's throat, and his friends then walked him all about his rooms, to get some action, but without result. Finally an instrument was used and Dickson's intestines were tapped as if he had dropsy, – this gave him temporary relief from pain, but he died the same night, and Funk recovered the mercury from the body.²²

As his treatment of Dickson clearly illustrates, Funk's medical technique could be both experimental and extreme: if one form of treatment did not work, another was quickly administered. While the administration of mercury for medical purposes still occurred occasionally in Funk's day,²³ it is nevertheless astonishing that two pounds were given to the patient, and one wonders whether the mercury rather than the illness itself might have led to Dickson's untimely death! Despite this, Funk's reputation as both a 'clever physician' and a man of the 'healing arts' received praise in a number of publications, and it would appear that he was well-respected throughout the Pacific as both a capable and professional doctor.²⁴

In the later part of the nineteenth century, oils such as physic and croton were extremely important in the treatment of patients, particularly for stomach ailments, and it is significant that the London Missionary Society's Malua Mission was the key supplier of Funk's croton oil, as this illustrates the extent to which the missionaries exercised control over particular resources. This situation would have changed markedly when the chemist William Swann settled at Apia in 1889,²⁵ but despite the regularity of ships docking at Apia, it is likely that up until 1900 Funk would still have been hugely under-resourced while practising in Samoa. Evidence of this can be seen in his extraction of mercury from Dickson's body as mentioned above, which points to both a shortage of supply and the likely expense of the importation of precious metals.

The lack of roads and the limited means of communication also presented obstacles which would have hindered Funk's ability to treat his patients effectively. The means by which the doctor was generally alerted to a case was often by letter or

²² Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, p. 90.

²³ On the use of mercury in medicine in general, see Leonard J. Goldwater, *Mercury: A History of Quicksilver*, Baltimore, York Press, 1972, chapters 14-18 (pp. 199-260), but especially p. 246, where Goldwater refers to a toxicology text from 1875 (i.e. A. S. Taylor's *On Poisons*), whose author claims that metallic mercury was not commonly regarded as a poison, and that it had been prescribed and taken in large doses (in some cases up to two pounds) by patients suffering from intestinal obstruction. A rather more common (and indeed more widely known) medical use for mercury, however, from the late Middle Ages until well into the twentieth century, had been to treat syphilis. See Goldwater, chap. 15, pp. 215-230.

²⁴ MacCallum, *Adrift in the South Seas*, p. 174; Churchill, *Samoa 'Uma*, p. 225.

²⁵ For an account of the Swann family history, see Nelson Eustis, *Aggie Gray of Samoa*, Adelaide, Hobby Investment Pty. Ltd., 1979.

messenger, and while these methods would have been commonplace throughout the Pacific, the reality was that they were slow and susceptible to misinterpretation. The following account, given by Funk, illustrates the ways in which these limitations impinged on his ability to treat his patients effectively:

A Samoan brought the letter. I could not understand the purpose of the letter. I asked the boy but he said he did not know anything about it. I did not know whom I was expected to visit so I told the boy to go back and tell Mr Ruge that I would be there during the afternoon. I had no idea this was a case of importance.²⁶

On this same occasion another letter was written explaining the urgency of the case, but was taken by mistake to one of the missionaries from the London Missionary Society, Hills, who was in charge of the Malua Mission. Hills, not understanding Samoan or the urgency of the case, told the messenger to return to him in the morning.²⁷ As a consequence of this, Funk was delayed from seeing the Samoan patient, and she died. He later reported that in his opinion, had he attended her a few hours earlier, he might have been able to save her life.

Significantly, Funk's practice was not discriminatory in that he treated his patients regardless of their race or nationality. Considering that political divisions between the Germans, Americans and British settlers were rife throughout Samoa in the latter part of the nineteenth century, his ability to overcome patriotic animosity illustrates the ways in which the day-to-day survival of the settlers necessarily dictated that they had to negotiate and compromise their grand political ideals and prejudices.²⁸ Funk treated Samoan and European patients alike, and while it has been argued that as a Western medical practitioner his knowledge – and practice – would have been 'largely inaccessible to the Samoans',²⁹ it would appear that Funk was called on by Samoans on a number of occasions.³⁰ What is apparent, though, is that when the two cultural paradigms of medical practice and indigenous belief did intersect, negotiations of power regulated these relationships: while Funk would be called on initially to perform an operation, post-operative care was often given preferably to a traditional Samoan healer, a *fofō*. This reality is apparent in the following case where the *aiga* (family) of the patient chose not to follow Funk's post-operative instructions.

²⁶ 'Funk vs. Hills' (note 20). The Mr Ruge whom Funk is referring to was one of the owners of the prominent German firm Ruge, Hedemann & Co. which was one of the principal trading companies in Apia; see Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900*, p. 378.

²⁷ 'Funk vs. Hills' (note 20). For information on Hills and the mission station, see also M. I. Stevenson, *Letters from Samoa 1891-1895*, London, Methuen & Co., 1906, p. 207.

²⁸ For example, Funk was called upon a number of times to treat the British Consul at Apia, Thomas Berry Cusack-Smith, and his wife Winifred at a time when national animosities were commonplace in Apia; both their diaries contain numerous references to his visits. Funk was also called upon by members of the Mormon church in Apia. See Thomas Berry Cusack-Smith, 'Diaries of Thomas Berry Cusack-Smith, 1891-1894' (MS X 2759 – MS X 2762, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington); and Henry Lawrence Bassett, *Adventures in Samoa*, Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Co., 1940, pp. 114-135.

²⁹ Cluny & La'avasa Macpherson, *Samoa Medical Belief and Practice*, p. 61.

³⁰ 'Funk vs. Hills' (note 20); Fanny & Robert Louis Stevenson, *Our Samoan Adventure*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1956, p. 52; Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight*, p. 123.

I was called by a woman who asked me to go and visit Seuanuni'i(s) house to see a woman. I went into the house and found a woman in great pain. I stacused [examined] her and found that the afterbirth had not come away [...]. I went over at 4pm, used the sponge and gave the woman a powder against the fever and I gave directions that cold bandages be applied to her lower part. I treated her regularly Monday and Tuesday in order to give her relief. I went on Wednesday morning and found that my instructions had not been carried out and my medicines and sponges had been released [...]. There was no hope when the natives refused to carry out my instructions.³¹

Similarly, on another occasion Funk treated a Samoan man, Lafaele, who was suffering from an ingrown toenail, and told him to rest for two days. Despite this, Lafaele became convinced that there was 'devil in his toe' (an *aitu*) and he sent for a traditional Samoan doctor (*fofō*), who treated him with a dressing of leaves and coconut oil, which stopped the pain.³²

These situations illustrate the complexity that exists at the intersection of indigenous knowledge and introduced practices. Samoan society is strongly founded on its traditional beliefs and customs which encompass both the spiritual and the physical environment. A prime example of this can be seen in the origin of the description of Europeans as *papālagi* which literally means 'sky-breakers', or to have burst through heaven.³³ Behind both spiritual and physical expressions of Samoan traditional practice, there is a strong belief in what Lafaele called an *aitu*, which is similar to the Western concept of the spirit or a ghost.³⁴

In a discussion of missionary medical practice in Samoa, Cluny and La'avasa Macpherson have argued that this supernatural belief system allowed for a grafting of the indigenous and introduced paradigms.³⁵ However, it can be argued that this thesis is specifically tailored for an explanation of how Samoans reacted to the 'missionary-introduced' paradigm, and does little in the way of explaining how Samoans might have reacted in their associations with Funk's medical practice, which was not overtly steeped in a spiritual belief system. From the previous two examples it would appear that one reaction was to call upon the doctor initially, but ultimately to choose the indigenous medical paradigm as the solution. What is intriguing, though, is that despite this reality, Funk chose to continue treating his Samoan patients, and, according to Llewella Pierce Churchill, the wife of the American Consul, he treated them even when he knew they 'would never pay the fee'.³⁶ This same sentiment was expressed by George Westbrook, who related that Funk would even tear up accounts, 'as he thought some of them he had been attending were in distress and not in a position to pay'.³⁷

To a large extent it would appear that Funk had to compromise and simply accept that *fa'a Samoa* would always be the preferred cultural paradigm in Samoa. It seems that he strove to understand the indigenous paradigm of medical practice through his extensive study of the Samoan language and medical terminology. In 1893 he

³¹ 'Funk vs. Hills' (note 20).

³² M. I. Stevenson, *Letters from Samoa*, p. 70.

³³ Malama Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, Suva, University of the South Pacific, 1987, p. 42.

³⁴ Cluny & La'avasa Macpherson, *Samoan Medical Belief and Practice*, p. 61.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Churchill, *Samoa 'Uma*, p. 226.

³⁷ 'Samoan Personalities' (note 7).

published the book *Kurze Anleitung zum Verständniss der Samoanischen Sprache. Grammatik und Vokabularium*, which he describes as a *Büchlein* or ‘booklet’, but in actual fact, as its title suggests, is a comprehensive short guide to Samoan grammar and vocabulary.³⁸ One whole section of this study is devoted to Samoan medical terminology, and a number of words and phrases which have subsequently fallen into disuse are recorded here.³⁹ While the book illustrates the lengths to which Funk was willing to go in order to try and access Samoan ways of understanding illness, it also provides a rare and valuable insight into the mind of this eccentric German medical practitioner. Simply by looking at the contents of the book, one is able to gauge some understanding of what Funk thought was valuable and worthy of recording. The book is written in Samoan, German and English, and is perhaps one of the first published pieces of literature detailing Samoan language and grammar. Some of the medical terms include:

‘o le fe’efe’e	the elephantiasis
‘o le sanatoto	Dysentery
māmā pala	Consumption
‘o le ma’imāliu	Epilepsy
‘o le ma’iafi	Venereal disease ⁴⁰

Funk’s acquisition of both English and Samoan also illustrates the complex and multilingual diversity of the community that lived at Apia. With traders and settlers from all over the world settling along the beach, it was vital that one language be the common vehicle for transactions, and within the local European community up until 1900, this was usually English. This was due to the fact that, outside of Samoa, the language of shipping and trade was invariably English rather than German, and this in turn was dictated by the geographical fact that the primary trade routes in the region ran from Sydney through to Europe.⁴¹ Consequently, the principal publication in Apia, *The Samoa Times*, was published in English up until German annexation in 1900, when it became the *Samoanische Zeitung*. Significantly, this shift from English to German did not go unchallenged, and a number of English-speaking settlers felt they were discriminated against after 1900.⁴²

³⁸ Bernhard Funk, *Kurze Anleitung zum Verständniss der Samoanischen Sprache. Grammatik und Vokabularium*, Berlin, Ernst Siegfried Mittler & Sohn, 1893 (= forward).

³⁹ The book also contains a map of Apia Harbour and a whole section dedicated to meteorology, which was Funk’s other area of special interest (see below).

⁴⁰ Funk, *Kurze Anleitung zum Verständniss der Samoanischen Sprache*, pp. 28-31.

⁴¹ Sydney D. Waters, *Union Line: A Short History of the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand Ltd. 1875-1951*, Wellington, Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1952, pp. 28-40; Dirk R. Spennemann, *Steam to Tonga and Samoa: The Norddeutscher Lloyd Mail Service 1886 to 1893*, Albury [NSW], Letao Publishing, 2002; and Eric Keast Burke, ‘To Samoa and San Francisco’, unpublished paper, 1896 (State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library, Sydney, microfilm FM3/515).

⁴² One such instance can be seen in the politics of the Apia *Pflanzerverein* (Planters Association) established by German nationalist Richard Deekin, who forbade the use of English during public meetings. See Anon., ‘The Germans in Samoa’, *The London Times*, 10 April 1903, p. 4; and see also Evelyn Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonisation in German Samoa*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2002, p. 70. For information about the various incarnations of the *Samoa Times*, see Dirk R. Spennemann, *Fiction Published in Nineteenth Century Samoan Newspapers 1877-1900*, Canberra, Mulini Press, 2004.

Nevertheless, up until 1900, Funk belonged to a community that was made both interesting and exciting by its multicultural diversity. This small port-side settlement was increasingly becoming a centre of commerce in the Pacific and, as was the case with the ports of Honolulu, Papeete, Kororareka and Levuka, its European settlers were engaged in a variety of trades.⁴³ Thus, when the famous Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson settled at Vailima, just outside Apia, he was readily absorbed into this quirky and colourful community.

Stevenson's primary reason for settling in the Pacific can be attributed to his belief that the South Seas climate would bring him some respite from the many illnesses that had plagued him throughout his life.⁴⁴ Despite this, illness was to remain a constant feature of every-day life at Vailima. On one occasion, the writer even noted that the household was a 'perfect picnic of the sick and maim'.⁴⁵ Because of this, Bernhard Funk was a regular visitor to this community.

Initially, Stevenson and Funk did not see eye-to-eye on account of their differing opinions about the effect the Samoan climate had on the former's health. While Stevenson vehemently argued that his health was improving because of the tropical climate, Funk argued otherwise, citing the heat and the humidity as the key causes of the writer's constant fatigue. In one instance, after being diagnosed with 'brain fag due to overwork' by Funk, Stevenson wrote:

Strange to think of even our doctor here repeating his nonsense about debilitating climate.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, this attitude appears to have subsided within a year, as not long after Stevenson was writing that

it would never do to quarrel with the doctor – and the doctor, though he tipples a little and gabbles much, is a good man whom I respect.⁴⁷

This description of Funk as a 'tippler' is supported by a subsequent remark made by a German plantation owner, Otto Riedel, who recalled that Funk was well-known in Apia for the parties he hosted in his two Samoan huts (*fale*) at the back of his house.⁴⁸ In fact, Stevenson himself would often attend the doctor's *Bierabende*, and regularly drank beer with him until late in the evening.⁴⁹

Be this as it may, there were certain moments in the Stevenson-Funk relationship in which exchanges between the two did become strained. Tensions appear to have come particularly to the fore at times when disease was running rife in the town of

⁴³ Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1977, p. 66.

⁴⁴ At various times Stevenson had suffered from influenza, tuberculosis, writer's cramp and later three haemorrhages.

⁴⁵ Bradford A. Booth & Ernest Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Seven: September 1890 – December 1892*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 407.

⁴⁶ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Seven*, p. 384.

⁴⁷ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Seven*, p. 408.

⁴⁸ Riedel, *Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa*, p. 81. See also Bassett, *Adventures in Samoa*, pp. 114 & 135.

⁴⁹ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Seven*, p. 408; Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight*, p. 339.

Apia. On these occasions, Funk's services were in high demand and, to Stevenson's frustration, the resident doctor was unable to make the long trip to Vailima. On one such instance, during the 1893 influenza epidemic, Stevenson expressed his annoyance with Funk for only visiting his sick mother once:

He also had a rather disagreeable interview with me. When I met him on horseback on the street and he casually mentioned that he was going to Utumapu to see a young man who had something the matter with him, I reminded him that there was an old lady at Vailima who had something the matter with her, and the bold medico was visibly flustered.⁵⁰

These conflicts illustrate the intense pressure under which Funk operated as the primary medical practitioner in Apia. In order to cope with these high demands, Funk would often work with visiting British, American and German naval doctors. Luckily for Funk, their services were generally readily available, as warships were frequently in the harbour, either to take on coal supplies or else visiting for political reasons. A prime example of this collaborative working relationship can be seen in one instance whereby Funk hurt his leg while on a *malaga* (journey). His work was taken over for a while during August 1894 by Dr Donald Hoskyn, surgeon on board the British warship HMS *Curaçao*.⁵¹ In addition to this, in 1882 a Dr Donald Ross, an American, also settled at Apia, and in a number of instances he likewise assisted Funk.⁵²

Another significant feature of Funk's relationship with the Stevenson family was his regular attendance at their fancy-dress balls, and it is notable that at one of these Funk became embroiled in an argument with Wilhelm Ahrens, a local German clerk. According to Stevenson:

There arose a dispute as to place in a square dance between Ahrens with Mrs Biermann on one side, and the new German Vice-Consul (name unknown) and Funk's Theresa on the other. Mrs Biermann carried on like a termagant in the middle of the hall, raging in German and stamping her foot. Funk, finding nothing better to do, came up and put his oar in by informing Ahrens that he was a d—— idiot. And the parties separated for the evening under the most murky clouds. Day brought wisdom or repentance; Funk apologised to Ahrens, Biermann I hope boxed his wife's ears, and the whole affair passed off bloodlessly! But what a pretty pair Sparrowhawk Ahrens and Beerbarrel Funk would have made on the field of blood and glory.⁵³

Indeed, it would appear that the controversial actions of 'Beerbarrel Funk', the "boisterous surgeon" with a strident voice,⁵⁴ were not limited to fancy-dress parties. In fact, Funk first achieved public notoriety soon after his arrival, with his marriage to

⁵⁰ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight*, pp. 9-10; Richard A. Bermann, *Home from the Sea: Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa*, Honolulu, Mutual Publishing, 1967, pp. 17-18.

⁵¹ See M. I. Stevenson, *Letters from Samoa*, p. 290.

⁵² References to Donald Ross are scarce but he is mentioned in Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, p. 90, and also examined Funk's wife when she brought charges against him. On the latter, see 'Dr Ross's testament regarding the bruises of Leonora Funk', Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Microfilm 5960, p. 143, Archives New Zealand, Wellington). According to a letter held in the Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Ross died on 23 July 1886 while on a voyage to Sydney; see 'Letter to Mrs Ross', 15 October 1886, Correspondence and Despatches of HBM Deputy Commissioner and Consul, Samoa, 1876-1900 (WPHC 1/I/5, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

⁵³ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight*, p. 112.

⁵⁴ Fanny & Robert Louis Stevenson, *Our Samoan Adventure*, p. 110.

Leonora Hayes, daughter of the infamous American pirate, Captain Bully Hayes.⁵⁵ The Captain's own notoriety had come about through his involvement in a whole range of activities that encompassed 'blackbirding (slave trading), gun and alcohol running, alleged piracy and atrocities', and while he was never actually convicted, his reputation had nevertheless earned him a near legendary status.⁵⁶ Hayes himself had died in 1877, but at the time of Funk's arrival in Samoa in 1880, his family – which consisted of his New Zealand-born wife Emily Hayes (née Butler) and their fifteen-year-old twin daughters, Leonora Harriet Mary and Laurina Helen Jessie – were still living in Apia.⁵⁷ The family had chosen to settle there, the little 'Cairo of the Pacific',⁵⁸ while Bully Hayes traded amongst the islands.

It was not long before the newly-arrived Funk made the family's acquaintance. His marriage to Leonora followed soon after – and so too did the disastrous and public end of their short-lived matrimony. By June 1881, barely a year and a half after Funk's arrival – and just six months after they were married – Leonora had left her husband and returned with their infant son to her mother, Bully Hayes' unscrupulous widow Emily. Following Leonora's departure, Funk put a notice in *The Samoa Times*, on 11 June 1881, stating:

I shall not be responsible for any debts contracted in my name without my written authority. Dr Funk.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, in January of the following year, Emily Hayes, with cunning she might well have learned from her pirate husband, made a claim against Funk through the German and American consulates for a debt of \$146 which she alleged accounted for the food and clothing that she had provided for his wife and child.⁶⁰ In response, Funk agreed to pay for any costs associated with his child but refused to pay the full amount sought, on the basis that both Mrs Hayes and Leonora were well aware of the public notice he had put in the *Samoa Times*. Eventually, despite being discouraged to do so by the German consul, Emily Hayes took the matter to an arbitration court, where it was promptly ruled that Funk was obliged to pay only for the expenses of his child.⁶¹ Interestingly, his son was formally known as Conrad Funk, but appears to have been

⁵⁵ Funk and Leonora married on 19 January 1881; 'Funk-Hayes Public Notice of Marriage' (State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library, Sydney, A2057); and personal communication from Mr Erich Riedler.

⁵⁶ T. J. Hearn, 'Hayes, William Henry 1828-1832? – 1877', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>, updated 16 December 2003; Louis Becke, *Bully Hayes: Buccaneer and other stories*, Sydney, N.S.W. Bookstall, 1913.

⁵⁷ Hayes reportedly named one of his ships after his daughter Leonora; see Warwick Hirst, 'Bully by name', *The Bulletin*, 26 December 1995 – 2 January 1995, p. 51.

⁵⁸ Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900*, p. 179.

⁵⁹ Bernhard Funk, [Public Notice], *The Samoa Times*, 11 June 1881, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Letter from Mrs Emily Hayes to J. E. V. Alvord, Acting United States Consul, Apia, 13 January 1882, Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Microfilm 5960, pp. 69-70, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

⁶¹ See Appendix A.

known in Apia as Fred Hayes instead. According to archival records held in Neubrandenburg, the old doctor was taken in by his son years later when he fell ill.⁶²

But the controversy surrounding the end of his marriage did not end there for Bernhard Funk. In September 1882, Leonora applied through the German consulate for a divorce on the basis that her husband had ‘exercised cruelty’ against her.⁶³ To support her claim, Leonora also had the statement of her friend – and an apparently very credible witness – Mrs Phoebe Parkinson (née Coe), the daughter of American Consul J. M. Coe, and sister of the famous early businesswoman of the South Pacific, ‘Queen’ Emma Coe.⁶⁴ In her account of a visit to the Funks’ house in July 1882, Phoebe gave a vivid description of the state in which she had found Leonora after her husband had allegedly beaten her.⁶⁵ From her testimony, it would appear that Funk did beat his wife, although some doubt is cast on the accusation in light of a declaration submitted by Leonora the previous year in which she had stated that

Mrs Hayes forced her (Mrs Funk) by heavy threats to leave her husband and to spread about lies about cruel and brutal treatment and want of sufficient food and clothing.⁶⁶

Taking this whole imbroglio into account, one naturally wonders if the situation might have been orchestrated – at least to some extent – by Leonora Hayes. By the time of Funk’s arrival, it was well known that Bully Hayes had been thrown overboard by his cook, and thus it is likely that the widowed Emily Hayes was in a decidedly perilous financial state. Blessed with two young, beautiful, and very marriageable daughters, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that she contrived to marry one of them off to the newly arrived (and presumably rich) German doctor – and then have her divorce and sue him for as much as she could.⁶⁷ If this was indeed Emily Hayes’ plan, then Bernhard Funk seems to have fallen into the web she had woven, and no doubt came to regret the whole sorry affair.

In spite of Funk’s initial disastrous experience of marriage, the doctor did marry again later, although this time he followed the more common practice of marrying a Samoan woman. Such inter-ethnic unions were commonplace in the Pacific, as the majority of European men were either single entrepreneurs or else had not brought

⁶² OHMS Telegram from H. Neffgen, Government Interpreter of Samoa, to Mr A. T. Saunders, 8 July 1916 (Hayes Collection, MS Papers 0859, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington). To some extent this explains why the name Funk has not been carried on in Samoa (personal communication from Mr Erich Riedler).

⁶³ Letter from Leonora Funk to the Imperial German Consul, 15 September 1882, Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Microfilm 5960, p. 100, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

⁶⁴ Thomas Trood, *Island Reminiscences: A Graphic, Detailed Romance of a Life Spent in the South Sea Islands*, Sydney, McCarron, Stewart & Co., 1912, p. 31; R. W. Robson, *Queen Emma: The Samoan-American Girl Who Founded An Empire In 19th Century New Guinea*, Sydney, Robert Brown & Associates, 1994, pp. 219-223.

⁶⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶⁶ Letter from the Imperial German Consul to the United States Consul, Apia, 14 January 1882, Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Microfilm 5960, pp. 72-74, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

⁶⁷ Emily Hayes’ reputation as an unscrupulous and manipulative financial player extended beyond Apia, and her daughter Leonora likewise carried on this tradition of legal suits; see for example Deryck Scarr, *A History of the Pacific Islands: Passages through Pacific Time*, Richmond, Curzon, 2001, p. 139.

their wives with them.⁶⁸ By 1888 there was thus a new Mrs Funk – a Samoan woman, Senitima Funk, the daughter of Chief Talea.⁶⁹ Senitima spoke both English and German and was described as ‘charming’ by Funk’s close friend and colleague, the noted German ethnographer Augustin Krämer.⁷⁰ Years later, after Funk’s death, the following description was given of her by Erich Schultz, colonial governor of Samoa (1911-1914):

All the Settlers here value her very much. She has been able to fit into the part of the wife of a very well known European Doctor. She has learnt German very quickly and is perfect at it. Even after the death of her husband she has kept up the lifestyle of a European although she has remained very reclusive.⁷¹

The high level of respect that Senitima enjoyed as a Samoan woman is further illustrated by the fact that after Funk’s death in 1911 she received two payments from the German administration – a sum of 500 marks in 1912, and one of 200 marks in 1914 – for ‘helping to spread the German language in Samoa’.⁷²



Fig. 2: Senitima Funk, Bernhard Funk’s second wife (*Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg*)

⁶⁸ Shankman, ‘Interethnic Unions’, p. 125.

⁶⁹ Personal communication from Mr Erich Riedler.

⁷⁰ Augustin Krämer, *The Samoa Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa: Volume I: Constitution, Pedigrees and Traditions*, transl. Theodore Verhaaren, Auckland, Polynesian Press, 1994, p. 7.

⁷¹ ‘Personnel Records: Dr Funk’ (note 14).

⁷² *Ibid.* Senitima was later buried in her home village of Iva, on the island of Savai’i. I am grateful to Senitima’s grand-niece, Nina Kirifi-Alai, for supplying me with invaluable information about her.

An event that was to cause a considerable amount of grief in Apia occurred on 3 December 1894 with the passing of Robert Louis Stevenson at Vailima. As soon as Stevenson fell ill, his stepson Lloyd Osbourne went on horse to Apia in search of Funk. Initially, he came across Dr Robert Anderson, the surgeon on board the British warship HMS *Wallaroo*, and gave him his horse so that he could race to help Stevenson. Osbourne then sped off in a buggy belonging to their neighbour, Robert Skeen, in search of Funk, and upon finding him brought him to Vailima, even though the latter's leg was still lame from a recent accident and he was unable to climb into the buggy or run up the hill.⁷³ Funk eventually made it to Vailima but sadly could do nothing for his friend, who had suffered a massive brain haemorrhage. Months later, Stevenson's mother would write about the insensitivity of Dr Anderson, who assisted Funk:

We were watching round dear Lou, Fanny and I were rubbing his arms with brandy, and his shirt-sleeves were pushed up, and showed their thinness; some one made a remark about his writing, and Dr. A—— said, 'How can anybody write books with arms like these?'

I turned round indignantly and burst out with, 'He has written *all* his books with arms like these!'.⁷⁴

The death of Stevenson marks a turning point in the history of Samoa. With the passing of the man known locally as *Tusitala*, both Vailima and Mount Vaea, where the writer is buried, would become permanent testaments to his memory and the era in which he lived. Just five years after Stevenson's death, life in Apia was to change radically for Funk also, with the signing of the Tri-Partite treaty in 1899, and the annexation of western Samoa by Germany on 1 March 1900.⁷⁵

The most influential political player in the German administration of Samoa was Wilhelm Solf, colonial governor of Samoa from 1900 to 1910. According to John A. Moses, Solf can best be described as a 'scholarly civilian'.⁷⁶ He was the son of a successful Berlin merchant and had studied Indology at the University of Halle, where he acquired invaluable skills as a linguist. Significantly, Solf's background – he came from the educated bourgeois class of Germans – was in direct contrast to that of Funk, who had grown up in an unstable and militaristic period of Germany's history. By the time of his arrival in Apia in 1899, Solf had already lived in England, India and Africa, and had also travelled across the United States.⁷⁷ Having been appointed President of the Apia Municipality in 1899, it was perhaps only to be expected that Solf, a learned and travelled man, should take up the official position of Colonial Administrator in 1900.

In setting up the German colonial administration in Samoa, one of the first instructions sent to Solf was to establish a permanent post for a government physician

⁷³ Booth & Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson: Volume Eight*, p. 402.

⁷⁴ M. I. Stevenson, *Letters from Samoa*, p. 327.

⁷⁵ John A. Moses, 'The Solf Regime in Western Samoa', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 6:1 (1972), p. 44.

⁷⁶ Peter Hempenstall & Paula Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', *Journal of Pacific History*, 33:2 (1998), p. 153.

⁷⁷ Moses, 'The Solf Regime in Western Samoa', p. 44.

⁷⁷ Hempenstall & Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', p. 154.

– and to ensure that the candidate for this position was German. While one may assume that Funk, a well-established and respected medical practitioner, would be the likely candidate for this position, his selection did not occur without controversy. In an appraisal carried out by the German Foreign Office, it was stated that

With the small size of Samoa a government doctor will be sufficient to carry out port medical policing. But it must be a scientific physician, a reliable advisor to the administration in sanitary conditions, not an *old practical man* [my emphasis] from the earlier school before the introduction of bacteriology.⁷⁸

This reference to ‘an old practical man’ was directed clearly but pointedly at Funk, and to a large extent this moment marked the beginning of a generally tense relationship between the old doctor and the new administration. Nevertheless, Funk was awarded the position as the official Harbour Doctor in 1900, though he was forced to share this official responsibility with another German, a Dr Schwesinger, as he could not supply his medical papers.⁷⁹ This shift in position and authority meant that Funk was now answerable to the German colonial administration, and therefore came under the jurisdiction of imperial governor Solf. Thus, from 1900 onwards, it was the new administration that determined whom Funk was to attend and when. Part of this new arrangement meant that the patients whom Funk was given to treat were generally Samoans of significant political influence, ranging from political prisoners to the *Ali’i Sili* (highest chief), Mata’afa Iosefo.⁸⁰

This new situation caused a considerable amount of friction between Solf and Funk, as the ‘old-time doctor’ was unwilling to do what Solf wanted when he wanted. In one instance, early in 1903, Solf sent an urgent letter to Funk demanding an explanation as to why he had not visited the *Ali’i Sili* despite his urgent request.⁸¹ In his response, Funk replied that he was unable to attend personally but had sent ‘a suitable medicine and the necessary advice’.⁸² Knowing that Mata’afa was a significant political figure whom Solf needed to appease, Funk probably chose this course of action out of sheer pigheadedness. Instances such as these would have angered Solf, whose primary goal was to bring order and control to the colony. It is likely that Funk’s difficult nature would have resulted in a continuing deterioration in his official relationship with the administration.

⁷⁸ Otto Dempwolff, ‘Gutachten über die gesundheitlichen Verhältnisse Samoas vom 29. Oktober 1900’, Bundesarchiv Potsdam, RKA 5780, cited in Wolfgang U. Eckart, *Medizin und Kolonialimperialismus: Deutschland 1884-1945*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1997, pp. 447-8. Dempwolff was the medical advisor in the German Foreign Office’s Colonial Department. These sentiments were reiterated by Solf in his personal correspondence, in which he expressed his reservations about Funk’s ability as a doctor and his ‘cheeky’ nature; see ‘Personnel Records: Dr Funk’ (note 14).

⁷⁹ Eckart, *Medizin und Kolonialimperialismus*, p. 448.

⁸⁰ Funk to Solf, 14 April 1900, ‘English Summaries of Papers Relating to the German Administration 1900-14’, Pacific Manuscript Bureau (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington), microfilm 479, p. 3. For information on Mata’afa’s life and political career, see I’uogafa Tuagalu, ‘Mata’afa Iosefo and the Idea of Kingship in Samoa’, MA Research Essay, University of Auckland, 1988.

⁸¹ Mata’afa Iosefo suffered from asthma.

⁸² Funk to Solf, 20 October 1903, ‘English Summaries of Papers Relating to the German Administration 1900-14’ (note 80), p. 6.

Another point of dissent between the two was Funk's disregard for laws which forbade the introduction of alien species into Samoa. Despite Solf's warnings, Funk went ahead and released some goldfish into the former volcanic crater now filled by Lake Lanuto'o, which was a popular picnic spot for swimming, boating and fishing.⁸³ It is unclear as to whether Solf reprimanded Funk for this action, although one can imagine the repercussions of such behaviour in light of the fact that Funk was technically a member of the administration and was therefore breaking the very laws he was expected to uphold. Indeed, Funk's ongoing interest in the crater-lake also appears to have affected his ability to perform effectively as a medical officer. Evidence of this can be seen in a letter, written in early 1903, by Erich Schultz, requesting that Funk return from the lake (where he was busy building a 'health resort') as he had been granted leave for six weeks but after this time had still not returned to work.⁸⁴ These tensions between Solf and Funk grew throughout the latter's term as Harbour Doctor, and were later exacerbated even further by Funk's association with German nationalist Richard Deekin, who essentially became Solf's arch-enemy in the colony.⁸⁵

At any rate, the ultimate clash of ideals between these two prominent and well-respected men occurred at an intersection of racial ideology and internal politics. In the diverse multicultural community of Apia, Solf found the blurring of racial distinctions and the prevalence of inter-ethnic marriage repulsive. He believed racial boundaries should be kept separate and distinct, and that it was his duty to protect the Samoan people from the morally degenerate small planters who had taken up residence in Samoa.⁸⁶ In Solf's own definition, the small planters were a prime example of white men who suffered from two forms of racial degeneration, the first being *Verkanackern*, a process whereby, through their close associations and marriage to Samoan women, the settlers were gradually 'going native'.⁸⁷ This, to Solf, was the ultimate form of racial degeneration, and as far as he was concerned, Funk had already 'blotted his copybook' by marrying Senitima.⁸⁸

⁸³ Hermann J. Hiery, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900-1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen verschiedener Kulturen*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995. See also Eustis, *Aggie Grey of Samoa*, pp. 70-71. According to George Westbrook, Funk was the first person to open up Lake Lanuto'o as a health resort and place of recreation; see 'Samoan Personalities' (note 7). According to the account of the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842), the lake was measured as being nine and a half fathoms deep, although Samoans have always held the belief that this lake is bottomless and that *aitu* live there. One Samoan saying about the lake is: *Lanuto'o e le toi e lau mea*: Lanuto'o untouched by the withered leaf. See Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, during the years 1838, 1840, 1841, 1842*, London, Wiley & Putnam, 1845, vol. II, pp. 95-96.

⁸⁴ 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (note 14).

⁸⁵ Hempenstall & Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', p. 159

⁸⁶ Wilhelm Solf, 'Samoa, the People, the Missions and the Europeans' [1907] (MS-2030, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington), p. 11.

⁸⁷ Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik*, p. 76.

⁸⁸ Hempenstall & Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', p. 160.



Fig. 3: Wedding of Ida Schmutz. Group portrait including the bride, groom, and others, outside the British Consulate in Samoa. Senitima and Bernhard Funk are in the second row, far right (*Cusack Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z., ref. no.: PA1-o-545-01*)

The second symptom which Solf believed to illustrate the degeneration of the racial status of the European planters and traders was a condition known as *Tropfenkoller*, or ‘tropical madness’. According to Evelyn Wareham, *Tropfenkoller* was steeped in the belief that the heat and humidity of Samoa caused the settlers to react in ways that were psychologically incomprehensible to normal people, and that it ‘caused its sufferers to be unable to view their situation in perspective’.⁸⁹ Solf therefore discouraged permanent settlement in Samoa, believing that twenty-five years was the maximum length of time that Europeans could withstand before they fell victim to one or other of these racially degenerative conditions. By 1905, of course, Funk and a number of other ‘old-time’ settlers were fast approaching this expiry date, as it were, and one suspects that Funk would have been among Solf’s prime examples of settlers who were ‘going troppo’ in the South Pacific.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik*, pp. 77-78.

⁹⁰ Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik*, p. 65.

Funk's relationship with Governor Solf finally came to a head in 1904 when he was stripped of his position as the government doctor for Apia Harbour.⁹¹ The primary reason for Solf's 'unforgiving punishment' of Funk was the doctor's close association with the leader of the *Pflanzerverein* (Planters' Association), Richard Deekin, who was both a German nationalist and one of Solf's key opponents:⁹² as far as Solf was concerned, Deekin and all of his associates epitomised the small planters whom he so fervently believed were both racially and morally degenerate. From the personal correspondence between Funk and Solf in the records of the German administration, it is clear that the doctor's association with Deekin was a major point of disaffection. In one letter, Solf accuses Funk of 'showing off with Deekin in the street' after having him over for dinner, and in another he accuses the doctor of spreading rumours amongst the Samoans while he had been away in Auckland that he, Solf, had been killed and would not be coming back. In response, the old doctor protested his innocence, stating that he only knew Deekin in his capacity as a physician and that he was willing to swear an oath stating that he had not taken any part in the slandering of the German administration.⁹³

Funk's association with Deekin would in all likelihood have been but one of a number of motives underlying Solf's desire to relieve Funk of his position. The reality was that Solf's vision for the 'new' Samoa dictated that he needed to be in control – and Funk, the boisterous and gregarious surgeon, who had straddled two eras in Samoa, the old and the new, could not be easily controlled. From Solf's point of view, Funk was 'going troppo', and his difficult behaviour and stubborn nature easily lent themselves to the governor's well-crafted political plan. Solf needed to get rid of Funk – and the suggestion that the latter was 'going troppo' provided him with the perfect pretext to do so. Whether he actually suffered from the condition or not, the old doctor nevertheless became its victim.

However, Solf did make one concession for the ageing Dr Funk. Up until 1911 he was allowed to pursue his interest in meteorology by collecting data for both the *Seewarte* (hydrographic office) in Hamburg and the D.H.P.G.⁹⁴ This was an interest that Funk had followed throughout his time in Samoa, and in one study completed for the D.H.P.G he assembled statistics recording the rainfall every day for a period of thirteen years, from 1890 to 1903;⁹⁵ in 1910, official recognition of his meteorological work by the German administration came with him being awarded the Red Eagle

⁹¹ Hempenstall & Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', p. 160.

⁹² Hempenstall & Mochida, 'The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf', p. 161. Funk's position as Harbour Doctor officially ended on 1 July 1904, although he did intermittently practise for the administration when other doctors (such as Dr Klee) were unable to attend patients; see 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (note 14).

⁹³ 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (note 14).

⁹⁴ Funk was also involved in the establishment of the Apia Observatory at Mulinu'u, and met with the founder of the Observatory, Otto Tetens, a number of times in 1902; a photograph of Funk can be found in Christiane Niggemann, *Samoa 1904: Menschen, Landschaft und Kultur im Süd-Pazifik vor Hundert Jahren: Fotos von Otto Tetens in Samoa 1902-1905*, Göttingen, Arkana, 2004, p. 55. Cf. also personal communication from Herwig Niggemann, 28 August 2005.

⁹⁵ Reproduced in: Ferdinand Wohltmann, *Pflanzung und Siedlung auf Samoa: Erkundungsbericht*, Berlin, Kolonial-Wirtschaftliche Komitee, 1904 (see Appendix C).

Medal, 4th Class, for Weather Reporting.⁹⁶ This interest in the local weather and the landscape is significant in our understanding of Funk's time in Samoa, as it demonstrates one of the ways in which, as a medical practitioner, he was able to transcend his own scientific discipline and thereby attempt to gain a deeper understanding of his new surroundings. While the primary motivation for this would have been to contribute to the economic development of Samoa, this activity must also have been seen as part of a process whereby Funk sought to understand in order to belong.

Funk's interest in meteorology cannot therefore be dismissed off-hand. Considering that he was an established physician, had contacts with respected scientists such as the ethnographer Augustin Krämer, and had also published his own book on Samoan grammar and vocabulary, this eccentric nineteenth-century doctor exemplified in many respects the early colonial scientist. In his wide-ranging pursuit of knowledge, Funk made a significant contribution not only to the local community at Apia but also to the wider international interest in the Pacific. Perhaps his single most important contribution can be seen in his donation of an ethnographic collection containing more than 250 examples of Samoan artefacts to the local museum in his home town of Neubrandenburg, an institution now known as the Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg.

Early in 1911, Bernhard Funk left Samoa to return to Germany for medical treatment. He never returned to his adoptive island home. On 8 April of that year, he died in Berlin⁹⁷ after a long illness, and was buried four days later in the town of his birth, Neubrandenburg, his headstone reading simply: *Dr. Bernhard Funk aus Apia* (Dr Bernhard Funk of Apia).⁹⁸ Samoa, however, clearly remained very much in Funk's heart right to the end, and perhaps realising he would never return there, he therefore made provision in his final days that his ties with his beloved home in the South Seas would never entirely be severed. After his death, a block of granite inscribed with the words 'Dr Bernhard Funk' arrived in Samoa, which the old doctor had directed in his will should be placed on the shores of Lake Lanuto'o.⁹⁹ In a manner of speaking, this final gesture by Funk was also a final affirmation of just how deeply this sometimes eccentric, sometimes stubborn old South Seas doctor felt he belonged to Samoa – and less so to Germany. Little wonder, then, that the old doctor's obituary read that he died 'far away from his new *home*'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (note 14).

⁹⁷ Not in Italy, as suggested by Westbrook in his 'Samoan Personalities' (note 7). In his personnel file, it is noted that Funk died on 8 April 1911 in St Urbans Hospital, Berlin; see 'Personnel Records: Dr Funk' (note 14).

⁹⁸ Funk's headstone unfortunately no longer exists (Maubach, 'Dr. Bernhard Funk', p. 92).

⁹⁹ 'Samoan Personalities' (note 7). The stone was erected at Lake Lanuto'o in October 1913 at an official service attended by his friends. An account of the ceremony is given in Anon., 'Account of Funk's Memorial Service at Lanuto'o', *Samoanische Zeitung*, 18 October 1913, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Personal communication from Mr Erich Riedler.



Fig. 4: Headstone of Dr Bernhard Funk in the Neubrandenburg cemetery
(*Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg*)

But Bernhard Funk's connection with the South Pacific was also to be immortalised in another way – and one that endures to this day. During his stay in Papeete a century ago, the traveller Frederick O'Brien noted with interest a popular local cocktail – a 'Dr Funk', which, it was said, 'would restore self-respect and interest in one's surroundings when even Tahiti rum failed'.¹⁰¹ Originally made from varying measures of absinthe, grenadine, lime juice and siphon water,¹⁰² the cocktail has survived to the present day, albeit in a slightly modified form, with the absinthe (later prohibited in Europe) having been replaced with dark rum.¹⁰³ In its heyday, Funk's cocktail appears to have surpassed all other alcoholic drinks in its popularity, and according to Murray MacCallum, it was the source of Funk's fame 'all over the South Seas'.¹⁰⁴ As late as the 1920s, travellers passing through Tahiti were being assured that

¹⁰¹ O'Brien, *Mystic Isles of the South Seas*, p. 99.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ See www.drinks-mixer.com/drink7686.html. Absinthe, or *la fée verte* (the green fairy), was the Parisian drink of choice during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and hence was widely available in French Polynesia. From 1905 onwards, however, it suffered world-wide condemnation because of its potent alcohol content and associations with the dangerous herb wormwood. This culminated in its eventual banning in France (1915) and in the majority of the European nations. In recent years, though, absinthe has enjoyed a new-found popularity. See Jad Adams, *Hideous Absinthe: A History of the Devil in a Bottle*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, and Anon., 'Absinthe makes the heart grow fonder', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 2005.

¹⁰⁴ MacCallum, *Adrift in the South Seas*, p. 174; 'Samoan Personalities' (note 7).

the Doctor Funk cocktail was like ‘mothers milk’ and, according to Fredrick O’Brien, Funk’s reputation as a medical authority fuelled its popularity:

The doctor’s part of the drink’s name made it seem almost like a prescription and often when amateurs sought to evade a second or third, the old timers laughed at their fears of ill results and said, ‘That old Doctor Funk knew what he was about. Why he kept people alive on that mixture’.¹⁰⁵

According to O’Brien, even the artist Paul Gauguin was rumoured to have indulged in the pleasures of a Dr Funk cocktail.¹⁰⁶

And so it happened that this old-time settler, who was known throughout the South Pacific for his famous cocktail and his walks along the beach, cigar in mouth and cane in hand, became a part of the fabric that was the turn-of-the-century Pacific.¹⁰⁷ Bernhard Funk’s life was a fascinating one. A German who crossed the seas to become part of the thriving, diverse, port-side colonial settlement of Apia, he was a man who also straddled two distinct yet different eras in Samoa’s history. But while he was clearly representative of a colourful cohort of eccentric, brave and noteworthy characters who have made Pacific historiography all the richer, there is also no denying that he came to regard himself as *belonging* to Samoa. In this sense, his thirty-year residence in Samoa provides us with a compelling argument in favour of Peter Hempenstall’s thesis that ‘it is too easy in contemporary historiography for the colonisers’ community to be written off as a mere fragment of the invading culture’.¹⁰⁸ It goes without saying, of course, that the multifaceted nature of this invading culture has yet to be fully explored by Pacific historians, and that the biographical kaleidoscope through which we may view its complex nature needs to be utilised more often. For the purposes of this paper, however, the author has chosen not to consider this culture simply in terms of ‘oppression’ or ‘agency’, but has attempted instead to cast some light on the ‘grey’ area that necessarily guided day-to-day life in one small Pacific Island port-side settlement by examining the life of a quirky and somewhat unusual character – Dr Bernhard Funk of Samoa.

¹⁰⁵ O’Brien, *Mystic Isles of the South Seas*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁶ O’Brien, *Mystic Isles of the South Seas*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁷ Anon., ‘Dr. Bernhard Funk’, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ Hempenstall & Mochida, ‘The *Yin* and the *Yang* of Wilhelm Solf’, p. 154.



Fig. 5: Memorial stone commemorating Dr Bernhard Funk on Lake Lanuto'o, Samoa, c.1930 (*L. Burgoyne*)

Appendix A – Documentation relating to the legal dispute
between Emily Hayes and Bernhard Funk

Source: 'Hayes vs. Funk', Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Archives New Zealand,
Wellington, Microfilm 5960, pp. 67-86)

[0067:]

United States Consulate in Samoa, Tonga and Marshall Islands

Apia, 4 January 1882

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that Mrs E. Hayes has made application to this office
to have collected of Dr. Bernhard Funk \$146.50 ½ for things supplied to his wife and
infant, reg:

For sewing	\$22.50
For goods from Captain Brown	\$21.00
For store goods & c	\$35.00
For goods from big J. Wesley	\$29.00
For goods from O. Christianson	\$11.75
For goods from Krause	\$11.37 ½
For goods from T. Trood	\$ 9.88
For goods from S. Dean	\$ 6.00
	—————
	\$146.50 ½

The vouchers for the foregoing items are in this office. I shall be greatly obliged by
you if you will communicate the account to Dr. Funk and request the payment of the
same.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Thomas M. Dawson
United States Consul

Captain Zembsch
Imperial German Consul General

[0069:]

United States Consulate

Apia, 14 January 1882

Captain Zembsch
Imperial German Consul General

Sir,

Enclosed herewith please find [a] copy of a letter written with an a/c from Mrs E. Hayes relative to claims against Dr. Funk.

Mr Dawson mentioned the matter to me before he left and said he had spoken with you about it.

Can you give me any information in regard to the above case, if so, you will confer a favor on me.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

J.E. Varick-Alvord
Act. U.S. Vice Consul

[enclosure:]

Copy

Matafele,
13 January 1882

To J.E.V. Alvord,
Act. U.S. Consul,

Sir,

Having prepared a claim against Dr. Funk for certain goods supplied to his wife and child I now ask you to use your endeavours on my behalf to cause Dr. Funk to return [to] me the goods or the amount thereof as per bill delivered by \$146.00 -- These accounts are only for clothing as supplied to his wife and child without any charge for board or expenses of her confinement -- Now Dr. Funk has said he will pay \$20 or thereabouts for some of the child's clothing -- therefore the said Dr. Funk by offering to pay renders himself liable for the whole and if he cannot afford to pay for them, let him return them to me intact; I applied to Dr. Funk through the German Consul to

return these goods if not paid for, which the German Consul approved – I applied yesterday for the goods but was denied and Dr. Funk told my native servant “there is nothing here belonging to Mrs Hayes”.

If he carries such a high hand, I must also demand the following goods lent at the time of his marriage some of which were in use, and I measured some inconveniences from so lending -

6 lace curtains	24.00
1 electric coffee pot	83.00
½ dozen dessert spoons	7.50
½ dozen tea spoons	6.00
½ dozen silver plated forks	7.50
½ dozen small forks	6.50
1 water bottle	7.00
1 crystal glass sugar bowl	1.50
1 crystal glass salt shaker – spoons to match	4.00
1 silver mustard spoon	2.50
1 china vase	3.00
	<hr/>
	\$128.50

To a bill delivered for mats and labour and goods drawn by Mrs Funk from the store just after her marriage and never noticed: \$17.00

All the items above I demand to be returned in the same order as when lent – I am under no obligation to Dr. Funk and he cannot expect me as a widow to furnish his house as it was at first understood they were to be returned – anything but gentlemanly conduct in putting an advertisement in *The Samoa Times* – not to give trust to any one without written authority – and without mentioning his wife’s name, after causing her through his bad conduct was all mentioned in a letter to the German Acting Consul in her own hand writing,

I am Sir,
Yours Respectfully

E. Hayes

[0072-0074:]

Imperial German Consulate

Apia, January 14th 1882

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of today's date, together with the copy of a letter from Mrs Hayes to you, regarding certain claims against her son in law Dr. B. Funk.

In reply I beg to say that I have received a previous letter from Mr Dawson which I have acknowledged in a private note to him. I also received notice for [the] claims of Mrs Hayes against Dr. Funk to the amount of \$146.50 ½ cents.

I have shown to Dr. Funk the claims of Mrs Hayes, as contained in Mr Dawson's letter, and the voucher, and tried to persuade him to settle the matter amicably. After seeing and going through the vouchers Dr. Funk declared that he did not feel obliged to pay, but would voluntarily pay certain items marked in red in the vouchers amounting together to \$23.50 ½ cents.

Dr Funk refused on the following grounds: He says Mrs Funk left his house in June last year against his will, and she did not come back; although warned at the request of Dr. Funk, through the Acting German Consul Mr Von Olgen, as to the consequences of her wilfully leaving her husband.

Dr Funk then gave public notice in *The Samoa Times* that he would not be responsible for any debts contracted without his written authority. Therefore he declares Mrs Hayes has furnished her daughter with all those things she now claims payment for at her own risk and declines to pay for them.

I went to Mr Dawson and to Mrs Hayes and told them Dr Funk's answer. Mrs Hayes then said to me 'I want the whole sum of \$146.50 ½ from Dr Funk not a part payment, If he does not pay I will request him to give back all the dresses and clothing Mrs Funk and her baby received from me, used as they are now'. I approved of this way to settle the dispute but at once expressed my doubts as to whether Dr Funk would be able to return all the things as he did not receive them personally.

I then spoke with Dr Funk about it and he declared that he did not know what Mrs Funk had received from her mother and that he was not responsible for these items and that the affair was between Mrs Hayes and his wife. He further said that Mrs Funk had told him Mrs Hayes took the dresses of her daughter for her own use and gave her daughter some others in exchange.

I have tried in vain to bring the matter to a settlement and must now leave it to Mrs Hayes as to whether she will take legal steps against Dr Funk before the German Consular General or beg to settle the dispute by arbitration. If Mrs Hayes [?] Dr Funk or rather Mrs Funk, she will have to deposit \$50 for costs at the consulate. I cannot advise her to do so because from what I know of the whole case, leaving quite apart Herr. Dr Funk's refusal, it may be judged by private individuals.

I believe it most unlikely that Dr Funk could be forced by decision of the court to pay for things which he never received, but which he wife is said to have received while staying away from her husband's house against his will.

Dr Funk gives as an additional reason for not paying these expenses, that Mrs Funk wrote and signed a declaration before she returned to his house which declaration is registered at this consulate, that Mrs Hayes forced her (Mrs Funk) by heavy threats to leave her husband and to spread about lies about cruel and brutal treatment and want of sufficient food and clothing. I should think that to settle the dispute in question arbitration would be the better plan for all concerned and entail less cost and create less bitter feeling.

I enclose the vouchers sent to me by Mr Dawson and have the [indecipherable]

[0086:]

It is my opinion as Mrs Hayes was the instigator of Mrs Funk leaving her husband as shown by the letter signed by Leonora Funk registered in the Imperial German Consulate, and as Mrs Hayes was well aware of the notice which appeared in *The Samoa Times* of June 11 1881 saying that Dr Funk would not be responsible for any debts contracted in his name without his written authority, that Mrs Hayes was bound to support her daughter and that anything she bought or expended on her was at her own risk and cost.

Dr Funk feeling that he had the moral obligation to pay for anything expended for his child had already made this offer to Mrs Hayes who refused to accept of it. Now it is my opinion to award to Mrs Hayes the sum of Fifty dollars for such expenditure.

The coffee and teapot I consider as belonging to the wedding presents made by Mrs Hayes to her daughter Leonora even before the wedding; the lace curtains, Mrs Funk declares were given to her by Mrs Hayes on moving into the house now occupied by Dr Funk therefore Mrs Hayes cannot claim them.

Matafele, 11 February 1882,

A.D. Volkmann
Arbitrator

Appendix B – Documentation relating to the legal dispute between Leonora Funk and Bernhard Funk

Source: 'Funk vs. Funk', Archives of the German Consulate, Apia (Archives New Zealand, Wellington, Microfilm 5960, pp. 95-100)

[0095:]

Apia, 5th September 1882

Mrs Parkinson, nee Phoebe Coe, appeared before me, the undersigned Official and gave the following evidence:

On Thursday the 27th of July last I went to the house of Dr Funk (the Hospital) and knocked three times at the door, about 2'o clock in the afternoon. Then Dr Funk came out of the bedroom and led me into the parlour and put me down on the chair. I asked him, where his wife was. He said she is in the bedroom she is very bad, very sick. So I did not ask any further, thinking it very strange, that he did not ask me to go in the bedroom as he used to do formerly. Then two Samoan women came in with the baby and one of them, Meavao, winked at me so as to make me come to the bedroom. I winked back so as to say I am afraid of the Doctor.

Then he went in the bedroom but came soon out again and we talked a little more. While we were sitting there I heard her, Leonora Funk, crying out very loud, when he went and stopped her.

He came out again and shut the door. Then he said he was going to Woods the barber next door to get some eggs for the baby. After he left, the two Samoan women showed me a whip which was hidden under the bookcase and told me this is the whip by which the Doctor just whipped his wife. I asked them the reason for which he did that and they said they did not know exactly what for, they only saw the Doctor and his wife playing with the monkey that tore up her dress. The Doctor then took her at the back of her neck and dragged her inside in the bedroom and shoved her under the bed. Then he got the whip and whipped her while the women watched.

I went in the bedroom to Leonora, who was asleep on the bed. Her dress was entirely torn up. A bucket near the bed was full of heaving up. I then awoke her, she seemed to be too weak to talk to me, she was only moaning. Her face was so red that it looked as if blood was coming out. Her two eyes were blue and swelled up. I kissed her and said, 'I can't stay, I must run out before your husband comes back'. She only opened her eyes once and seeing that it was me she began crying but never said a word. So I went back to the parlour, then the Doctor came and then I went away.

Leonora told me repeatedly that her husband whipped her very often, before this. Once she told me that in consequence of a slap one of her eyes got so bad that it took a long time to cure it. She told me this when I came back from Savai'i where I had heard of it.

Leonora also had told me several times that whenever the Doctor bed her, he said to her to go home to her mother, he did not want her anymore, but would keep the child. She said if it was not for the child which was very weak and sickly she would have gone home. I believe the child was so sick in consequence of the ill treatment of the mother turning her milk sour.

Leonora also told me that the Doctor sometimes coming home took hold of the baby and threw him so violently on the bed, floor, or anywhere else that she thought the little fellow must break something.

I am ready to swear to my statements and herewith sign my name to it as follows.

Phoebe Parkinson

[0099:]

Apia, 7 September 1882

Mrs Dr Funk present,

Madame,

Hearing that you intend to go to Savai'i with your child I beg to inform you that you are not allowed to take the child away from Apia till it will be decided by the Consular Court, who shall have the child for good, and as long as the same requires the medical attendance. Otherwise the child must be given back to Dr Funk.

I am your most Obedient Servant,

A.B.C.

[0100:]

Matafele, 15th September 1882

To Captain Zembsch,
I.G. [Imperial German] Consul Apia,

Sir,

I wish to apply to you for a divorce from my present husband Doctor Bernhard Funk and I ground my application on cruelty exercised towards me.

After a temporary separation from him and returning to him he treated me kindly while Mr G. von Orben was living in the house.

A short time after that gentleman left he cruelly beat me with his fists and for some weeks after I thought I should have lost the sight of one of my eyes from a blow I received from him.

On the 27th July he has beaten and bruised me with his fists and with the handle of a whip (a horse whip) causing me to have two black eyes. Doctor Ross can certify to the bruises on my body, for some days I was in great pain.

I feel sure that if I had remained living with him my child would not now be living on account of his brutal treatment to me while the child was suckling.

Under these circumstances I ask for a divorce in your Court and also to allow me for the necessary expenses and allowance which you may consider due to me more especially while the child requires a mothers care.

I am Sir,
Yours Respectfully,

Leonora Funk

Apia, 18th September 1882

Mrs Leonora Dr. Funk present

Madame,

In reference to your application of the 15th for a divorce of your husband Dr B. Funk I beg to inform you that the Trial of reconciliation as provided in the German law will be held on Monday 25th instant at 2pm. You are requested to appear then personally at this office.

Appendix C – Dr Funk’s Table of Rainfall Details for Apia 1890-1903

Source: Ferdinand Wohltmann, *Pflanzung und Siedlung auf Samoa: Erkundungsbericht*, Berlin, Kolonial-Wirtschaftliche Komitee, 1904, p. 10.

Regentabelle für Apia (Samoa), nach Dr. Funk.
(Regenmenge in Millimetern und Regentage.)

M o n a t	1890		1891		1892		1893		1894		1895		1896		1897		1898		1899		1900		1901		1902		13 Jähr. Mittel		1903	
	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage	Regenmenge	Regentage
Januar	335,0	24	321,0	28	599,5	28	421,6	27	411,1	24	466,9	29	513,0	28	325,7	19	331,2	28	738,0	28	292,2	20	579,6	23	579,0	31	478,4	26	326,8	23
Februar	712,3	22	753,8	23	162,8	14	514,4	27	204,5	20	457,8	23	352,5	25	149,7	12	560,0	21	327,0	24	297,0	20	491,1	22	557,9	23	434,4	21	490,0	20
März	235,7	24	293,1	20	304,2	27	223,6	23	379,2	29	516,3	27	630,2	18	206,2	15	457,0	26	141,0	25	373,1	20	680,2	25	212,7	21	391,6	24	177,2	14
April	438,3	23	167,9	20	298,6	20	*40,4	14	138,9	27	370,3	16	157,5	19	418,9	22	390,3	29	441,7	24	134,8	15	160,2	14	235,4	21	251,9	20	394,7	21
Mai	91,2	16	75,5	18	430,7	21	*51,0	15	38,4	11	111,6	22	*84,8	13	226,1	13	82,9	14	179,0	18	*46,8	9	217,4	21	78,8	14	127,9	16	135,1	15
Juni	94,3	19	105,1	10	245,2	24	*103,9	19	150,8	17	112,1	12	*19,9	8	328,6	21	115,4	15	*30,6	11	*38,0	1	*37,7	7	233,1	12	120,9	14	283,0	18
Juli	33,9	8	59,8	8	180,5	15	*68,9	15	132,8	16	107,3	14	*3,9	5	98,6	11	111,9	20	*54,4	19	*18,4	6	*8,6	10	*25,0	5	67,3	12	78,7	12
August	118,8	16	25,7	7	400,7	24	*56,3	23	80,0	12	97,7	13	*1,6	1	60,9	6	183,4	18	*67,1	12	*9,8	8	*48,5	12	*9,6	8	89,2	12	114,3	17
September	172,0	22	123,9	19	401,9	16	138,3	16	46,9	13	130,5	19	*51,1	11	37,1	9	233,0	20	130,6	24	*21,8	12	220,7	21	*27,3	4	137,3	16	158,7	19
Oktober	179,3	19	144,6	17	197,2	20	187,4	15	136,4	22	339,3	14	148,1	16	183,2	18	170,0	21	112,6	16	204,1	17	130,9	19	*63,2	12	170,3	17	—	—
November	339,1	25	328,0	24	243,7	19	267,1	23	315,4	20	163,4	13	99,4	11	475,6	24	244,7	17	170,9	22	250,5	18	221,4	24	340,9	18	263,9	20	—	—
Dezember	331,3	21	550,0	25	709,8	30	261,4	22	336,8	22	509,0	25	234,0	19	264,8	23	409,7	18	643,5	24	273,3	19	138,6	22	119,1	15	375,4	22	—	—
J a h r	3301,4	259	3953,4	214	4135,8	258	2479,3	258	2412,2	235	3290,3	232	3430,7	174	2785,6	199	3430,0	246	3226,4	242	2259,6	175	2923,5	230	2463,0	185	2626,7	220	—	—
	gut	gut	reichlich	wenig	schwan- kend	gut	sehr trocken	gut	reichlich	schwan- kend	schwan- kend	schwan- kend bis auf die 3 letzten Monate	schwan- kend	trocken	trocken	das Mittel ist gut														

Maximum = 4135,8 mm. — Minimum = 239,6 mm. — Die mit * bezeichneten Monate gaben eine lange oder intensive Trockenzeit an.

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