

GILBERTESE RESETTLEMENT-WAGINA

This is a first progress report of research carried on thus far (July, 1963-Jan. 15, 1964) on Wagina Island, Western District, British Solomon Islands. The format of the report will differ from those of Knudson or White. Most importantly I shall not, at this time, attempt much reconstruction of social life in either the Phoenix or the Gilberts unless it has some direct bearing on what I feel is necessary to report now. I intend, in other words, to merely summarize the resettlement proper and its immediate antecedents. The first section of the report, therefore, will be primarily a chronological description of the resettlement. A second section will be devoted to a more specific discussion of change factors on Wagina. The third section will be a specific discussion of Ken Knudson's comparison sheet "Differences in Two Schemes...".

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The Phoenix Islands of Gardner and Hull (called Nikumaroro and Orona, respectively, by the Gilbertese) along with Sydney Island (Manra) were settled by Gilbertese starting in the late '30's and early '40's. After World War II additional people came to Gardner, but Hull received few more. The reason for the displacement to the Phoenixes is both simple and officially stated.... the southern Gilberts were overcrowded. The selection of emigrants at that time was based on those who had least land in the southern Gilberts, since these were the people who were hurt most by the Gilbertese minute parcellation. Unlike Sydney Island which was possessed of a saline land locked lagoon, Gardner and Hull have excellent atoll lagoons (especially Hull). Hull had previously been planted with coconuts, but Gardner had no coconuts other than drifted ones. It is thus a repetition in part of the Phoenix Island settlement that the Gardner Population will experience in the Solomons, starting from unplanted land. For the Sydney people in Titiana and the Hull people, this is a new experience.

The Phoenix venture was evaluated three years ago by Laxton (former District Commissioner, Phoenix Islands): "the schemes have been generally very successful--that at Nikumaroro (Gardner) certainly so...Orona (Hull Island) has also done well." However, sometime around the middle of 1962 (the Gilbertese are not accustomed to reckoning time in terms of months) the Phoenix Islanders commenced to suffer a drought. By the end of 1962 the Resident Commissioner, after his tour of the Phoenix Group was sufficiently impressed by the extremity of the drought that he recommended evacuation of the islands. The Resident Commissioner, V.J. Andersen, was able to persuade both the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific and "Whitehall" of the necessity for movement. He then

However, owing to various causes, among them disease and warring raids from Santa Isabel, Kolombangara, and Roviana, the people fled to Choiseul where they now reside. It was later in 1904 that the first certificate of occupation to the lands of Wagina and the Manning Strait Plantation (see map) was granted. This area was available for plantation land under a neglected wastelands ordinance. Since that time there have been 14 additional transactions relating to all of the Manning Strait Plantation area or part of it. Most recently, in June, 1963 the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board of the Protectorate bought up all outstanding rights to the land. This actually constituted two transactions: one, buying up the small plantation islands planted in coconuts and a second purchase of Wagina Island proper, the latter having been unexploited from an economic point of view except for a small old (early 20th century) rubber plantation on the north side of the island. At the present time, however, there is a native claim to Wagina by the Volaikana Lata people. They do not wish to occupy, but rather to be reimbursed for this land they say was taken from them back in 1904. The outcome of this claim is undetermined at present, but responsible government officers here do not seem concerned by it.

Incidentally, I have been told (by Dr. Ron Crocombe of the Australian National University, whose specialties include Pacific Island land tenure) that the history of the Wagina and Manning Strait land schedule transactions is rather typical of the trend in the Pacific as a whole. That is, originally the land was occupied by natives who for one reason or another neglected to use it fully. The land, subsequently, was taken by a large company, (eg. Burns Philp or Levers) under wastelands ordinances. Over the years the transactions have been more and more in the nature of fragmenting of the original holding with final attempts by post World War II holders to make at least small areas of the original grant economical. These small-time plantation owners invested little; rather they exploited the initial plantings of the earlier, larger companies. Finally, more recently the land is bought up by the government and reverts in one form or another to "natives", in the Wagina case, to Gilbertese who will subsist on it as did the earliest inhabitants.

Prior to the present resettlement scheme, Wagina Island was virtually virgin bush. No paths to speak of, except for Lands or Forestry Department survey traces and pig paths, were to be found. Except for very isolated places there are no sand beaches on the southern coast of Wagina, rather the hardsh coral uplift. The island as a whole is Recent Pleistocene coral uplift formation (which fact will, I think, have some implications for agricultural potential of the island, eg. little soil formation). As one comes in from the coast there is a relatively flat shelf, possibly a yard to four or five yards above sealevel. Behind the coast, at distances varying from 100 yards (eg. the third village) to several hundreds of yards (eg. the first village), runs a

ridge parallel to the beach.

The area of Wagina Island itself has been estimated at 19,000 acres (the other islands in this Manning Strait's holding have been estimated at 2000 acres). Probably somewhere around 50% of the land on Wagina appears from the maps and my observation to be swamps and therefore relatively useless (at least at the present time) for resettlement locations. This factor determined the siting of the villages on the weather coast which, for the reasons of the Southeasterlies, would not have been preferred otherwise. Thus the coastal shelf along the southern coast does not comprise much of the area of Wagina, but it apparently offers the best settlement location. The only suitable anchorages are also here on the southern coast, which is an important consideration from a logistics point of view. Behind the shelf the abrupt ridge or hill that parallels the southern coast (mentioned above) is approximately 100 feet in height; its width is, at maximum, 100 yards. Behind it (that is, inland from it, generally to the north) the land is extremely rough and undulating, the lower reaches of which are inclined to be swamps, the higher areas to be abrupt and rocky with shallow soil formation on them. Here and there throughout the island large areas are encountered which are deep water swamp, some having direct outlet to the sea others being land-locked fresh water swamp.

Close to the shore the soil is very rocky. A few yards inland the big coral cobbles cease, but the soil still allows of only 2-4 inches of top soil in most places. At this time I am unaware, and the agricultural people are unable so far to inform me, of the chemical nature of the soil. From a floral point of view, however, the shore is bordered by large extremely hard, red-wood trees and, where it is swamplier, by the tangled mangrove. Inland the trees get taller on the average, but of a somewhat softer wood variety. The estimation of the forestry people appears to be that while Wagina possesses no economical stands of timber, there are a full complement of timber varieties present. This includes the mangroves, and the hardwood trees of the Solomons, Solomon ebony, rattan, beetle nut and banyan, and a few sea-wash coconuts. Among the other important trees are the types of which the Solomon Islanders make their canoes and a yellow wood (important from medical considerations) which when cut oozes a poisonous sap which can burn the skin and eyes. Of the other types of trees that might be important from a settlement perspective the sago palm (from which the sago "sak-sak" palm leaf for thatching is taken) is not found on Wagina and only infrequently on the other islands of the plantation (eg. Salikana and Tamor). Pandanus trees are quite common, their leaves on the average tending to be larger than the Phoenix Island or Gilbertese pandanus leaves. At present the forest is virtually impenetrable to the Gilbertese who, with few exceptions, have not explored much inland from the ridge that parallels the weather coast. Turning now to a faunal sketch, Wagina Island appears to possess a full

complement of Solomon Island species. This statement is a generalization, for I am not sure just what the provenience of various species is. However, there are two types of large forest iguanas (one is edible, the other is not according to the Solomon Islanders), various small gekoes, skinks, and lizards, two sorts of non-poisonous snakes, erocodiles of the Solomon Island salt water variety, wild pigs, occasional megapodes, opposum, rats, scorpions, centipedes (the latter average 8 inches in length), wild edible pigeons. There are various species of mosquitoses (including anopheles) on the island, but not in any great number thus far. A statement of the sea life will come later since most of it is relevant from a subsistence point of view.

THE NATURE OF THE "SCHEME"

This section will discuss the nature of the British colonial service administration's policy re: the necessity of removal, the several phases of the removal scheme, the attitudes of the various governmental agencies and districts, the nature of the staff itself, and the relationship between Gilbertese and scheme personnel.

Necessity of Removal:

The High Commission for the Western Pacific was convinced of the need for evacuation of the residents of Gardner and Hull. It moved to take emergency measures accomodating such removal. Fundamentally, from the High Commission's viewpoint, there are two phases to the scheme: first of all there is an initial scheme of resettlement preparations almost entirely dependent on facilities and monies (mainly Colonial Development & Welfare funds) at the call of the G.E.I.C. A second phase, after the arrival of the settlers, is to be a period of progressive integration with the B.S.I.P. authorities. A third future phase will be that of B.S.I.P.'s total responsibility for the settlement as an assimilated part of the Protectorate.

The High Commissioner for the Western Pacific wished from the start that this scheme not be a mere day-to-day emergency, low capital equipment venture, but rather a well-organized scheme. Possibly his absence on leave worked against this desire, somewhat. However, the spectre of the "Titiana failure" was in the minds of all administrators concerned with the scheme, and certainly this has proved to be a more coordinated effort than was evidenced by Titiana. Some indications of this: first, the statement of the High Commissioner; second, the choosing of a Gilbertese Resettlement Officer with experience in the Gilberts and who was an "efficient" colonial ex-patriat rather than a Gilbertese; third, the constant propagandizing of Solomon Islanders as to the necessity for and progress of the Wagina venture (eg. Solomon Islands news sheets and B.S.I.P. Radio); fourth, the rather regular review and re-evaluation of the progress of the scheme by high level government officers, including the High Commissioner, himself, (as of the end of February, 1964 there

will have been two visits by the High Commissioner to Wagina).

It does appear, however, that some departments (government) may not have been in on the consultations about the scheme from the first (eg. the Medical Department seems to feel that if it had been consulted initially it might have suggested either a delay in the move or a more effective, from its point of view, operation of the scheme). However, there has been a good deal of coordination and the resulting policy statement is as follows:

"To resettle about 1000 persons from the Phoenix Islands on individually owned land on Wagina Island, providing them with such basic necessities of life as will enable them to become economically and socially self-sufficient, to standards acceptable in the Protectorate, in the shortest possible time; while avoiding unnecessary hardship in the intervening period until self-sufficiency can be achieved."

PHASES OF THE SCHEME:

Phase I of the resettlement commenced in late May, 1963 with the arrival in the Solomons of G. Bristow and his staff. They recruited some Guadalcanal (Solomon Island) laborers and some Titiana, Gizo (Gilbertese) laborers to prepare temporary houses on Wagina for the 74 member Gilbertese advance party. Initially three long houses were built in what is now the center of the first and largest village on Wagina. By the time of the arrival of the Gilbertese on the 3rd-5th of July, the Government Station area had been fairly well cleared and the center of the first village with a road joining it to the Government Station ("kawan te tua") had been accomplished. Also a nursery garden area had been cleared (this has since been exploited by the Solomon Island trained Gilbertese agricultural assistant who accompanied the advance party in July).

The Gilbertese advance party and the Solomon Islanders and Gizo people commenced clearing the site of the first village in early July. All tree felling was done with the axe and bush knife. The work was done by eight work parties of Gilbertese and a single work party of Solomon Islanders (who acted as tutors in bush clearing). By the first week of August a second village site was started, this one being 200 yards east of the river (see map). Finally in the first week of September four parties of Gilbertese were sent three miles east down the coast to clear an area for a third village. As it was planned then, the first village site would be the largest and house some 600 Hull Island Roman Catholics. The nearby second village will be the home of Hull Island Protestants about 200 people, while the third village is the site of the Gardner Island community roughly 200 persons also.

The bush clearing itself has been slower than the Resettlement Officer expected. The quickest, though most dangerous part, is the first, that of felling the trees. After these have been on

the ground for some time (so as to dry out) they have been cut up and finally, when piles of debris have been made, burned. It is because of the extremely slow second stage of cutting-and-burning the trees that power saws were brought in by the government. Presently there are 10 saws in operation. The first three arrived in late September; the others toward the end of December, 1963.

As the first phase was intended, by January 1, 1964 all villages would have been cleared and hopefully individual family houses built for the waves (one or more) of the balance of the population from the Phoenixes. However, owing to clearing difficulties and repeated changes of the arrival date of the first wave the schedule was upset almost completely. Additional Solomon Island labor needed to be recruited; but even then, upon the arrival of the first wave of Gilbertese on the M.V. Niuvakai, the status of preparation was as follows:

1. First Village: a total of 5 "long houses" (to temporarily house the first wave), half of the village site itself was cleared sufficiently for work to commence on individual Houses two weeks after the arrival of the Gilbertese.
2. Second Village: 2 "long houses", all the land quite clean, two and ½ weeks delay in commencing individual house sites.
3. Third Village: 4 small "long houses", land very much uncleared yet, six weeks delay before any personal house building could begin and then only sufficient area for 12 houses (out of approximately 25 required to house the first wave in this village).

With the arrival of the first wave of Gilbertese proper and the end of the year 1963, the first phase of the scheme was to be officially terminated. Obviously, however, there is a certain overlap between the actual accomplishments of the aims of the first phase and the planned termination of it. A striking difference between the first phase and the second is that of logistics, the supply of the first stage being the relatively easy task of providing tinned food or fish, biscuit and coconuts to fewer than 100 men. Since the first wave has arrived however, a launch has been bought just to collect sufficient fish for the people (the Gilbertese on this launch are being trained by the Government Fisheries Officer in Solomon Island fishing technique). Additionally, other men have been sent to nearby Plantation islands to supply the necessary 500 coconuts a day sufficient for the first wave. (Over 1000 per day will be necessary when all the Gilbertese have arrived).

The second phase, therefore, is the actual settling of the people whereas the first phase was primarily the preparation for their arrival. And whereas the first phase rationing meant giving to each member of the Gilbertese advance party all of his necessary food plus 30 shillings (Australian) a month spending money, the initial period in the second phase (as long as the peo-

ple live in the communal long houses and until they are in their own family dwellings) there will be only the rationing of foods, but no money at all given to the Gilbertese. Only after the people are in their own family houses will the rationing of food itself cease; at that time a money stipend alone will be given to each family each month (about L 5-0-0 family, per month).

As it was initially intended by the Resettlement Officer, the second phase of the scheme would extend possibly two years and envisage the clearing of 1600 acres (eight acres per family freehold for the 200-odd families to present on the island eventually). This clearing was to be in addition to the village house sites which will be owned not by individuals but by the village or island council. As it stands now, however, the second phase will last only until the end of 1964; this might allow time for the clearing of 400 acres in the bush for individually owned coconut land (the other 1200 of uncleared bush land to be allocated will also be given to the people, but it will be up to them, after the termination of the scheme, to clear it themselves). If the scheme goes ahead in this second way, it might well thwart the initial aim of the Government, and specifically the aim of the Resettlement Officer to allow these people a coconut plantation economy rather than merely a subsistence survival.

The first wave of Gilbertese arrived on the M.V. Niuvakai on the 3rd of December, 1963. On board were 461 Gilbertese. These were in the main wives and families of the advance party workers. The second wave of Gilbertese (which will bring the rest of the Gilbertese from the Phoenix and their compatriots who are presently working at Canton Island or "visiting" in the Gilberts) is expected to arrive in the second week of February, 1964. It was earlier hoped that by the time of their arrival all the persons of the first wave would be housed in family dwellings and the long houses would be vacated for the second wave; however, it now seems that this will be achieved only in the first and second villages, while in the third only twelve families will be in their own houses (25 families arrived on the first wave for Nikumaroro). It is expected by the Resettlement Officer that the "settling-in" of the people in the second wave will take longer than those of the first wave because the source of house building material will be farther distant. I suspect that this delay will prove to be the case for certain only if Bristow details the first wave's able-bodied men to work communally for the "scheme" (eg. building roads, etc.) rather than helping their fellows on the second wave. In any event by the end of March most people should be in their houses after which time it is anticipated that a road will be cleared between the second and third village (presently all that exists is a poorly defined footpath) and other settling-in procedures such as building churches, schools, "maneabas" (communal meeting houses) will be undertaken. Just how long this settling-in will take (that

is, whether the Gilbertese are allowed to terminate it themselves and begin clearing coconut land when they desire or whether the government will terminate their settling-in at some specific date, after which they will be expected to work communally, clearing coconut land for subsequent private subdivision) is not at all clear yet.

Initially, of course, it was hoped, as I said above, that 1600 acres could be cleared during the scheme's tenure and that the plantation islands could be cleaned and otherwise renovated. However, owing to the facts that Bristow himself will probably go on leave in April, that delays tend to accumulate, and that the scheme has been cut from two years to one, it appears that at most only a small start will be made on the communal clearing of, at most, 400 acres. No work at all will be done, it seems, on the plantation islands other than the Resettlement Officer's practice of cutting down coconut trees to obtain thatch in the shortest possible time (see more detail on the implication of this practice in the section on subsistence potential of Wagina). To just what degree the people will be resettled by the end of 1964 is still obviously just a moot point. In fact the government has left itself the option to continue the scheme if their aims have not been successfully accomplished, as outlined in the policy statement above. However, this would probably entail more money and another Colonial Development & Welfare grant. Much, too, will depend upon the pressures to continue supervision by the various government agencies involved in the resettlement venture.

Government Agencies:

Several government departments or government jurisdictions are involved in the resettlement scheme. Here follows a list of their duties, activities, and/or attitudes toward this scheme as I have been able to determine them.

1. Western Pacific High Commission: (Honiara, B.S.I.P.) This region includes four sorts of colonial holdings: the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, and the Anglo-French New Hebrides Condominium, and a more insignificant fourth variety, the Anglo-American Joint Administration of Canton and Enderbury Islands. Thus, it is this High Commission that oversees the activities of both the G.E.I.C. and the B.S.I.P., the principal parties concerned with the resettlement scheme on Wagina. In fact the High Commissioner acts as senior officer for the B.S.I.P. (there being no Resident Commissioner here, rather the High Commissioner and under him his Chief Secretary, and the Secretary for Protectorate Affairs). The scheme as outlined heretofore is basically that of the High Commission and the B.S.I.P.

2. British Solomon Islands Protectorate: Although the major policy is made and directed by the Secretariat in Honiara, the Protectorate representative closest to Wagina and in whose juris-

diction Wagina lies is that of the District Commissioner for the Western District, located in Gizo. As of the second phase, the High Commissioner has direct jurisdiction over the venture whereas the first phase is ostensibly under the jurisdiction of the G.E.I.C. Resident Commissioner. In practice the District Commissioner West will be the officer in charge of Wagina Island if and when the Resettlement Officer leaves.

3. Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony: The Resident Commissioner, V.J. Andersen, formerly served as Chief Secretary in the B.S.I.P. and therefore he has had some basis for recommending the Phoenix move as well as its future location. From all I can gather, the Resident Commissioner's interest in evacuating the Phoenixes at this time is twofold: first, undeniably there has been a drought and thus humanitarian considerations would incline him toward evacuation. It is my evaluation that the drought was not sufficient in itself to necessitate removal. While I do not doubt humanitarian motivation it is my impression that this is but the ostensible reason for the removal (a reason-justification that is easy to present to home governments as well as to international bodies). In addition, however, to this first altruistic consideration a second and probably equally important reason is that of the difficulty and expense of administering the distant Phoenix Islands. The implication of these comments is that if it had been solely an emergency operation then certain options of government strategy would naturally and necessarily have been precluded (eg. delaying the start of resettlement, a more lengthy initial period of preparation for emigration, touring opportunities of available new home-sites on the part of the Gilbertese, etc.) However, if the "emergency" was partly an excuse it is clear that these options would not be necessarily disallowed to Government. As it appears then, one course of action was taken albeit others were available. This indicates that in the G.E.I.C. there has apparently been quite a change in attitudes about what is conceived as government's responsibility to islanders since the initial Phoenix resettlement scheme in the late '30's. Possibly for fiscal considerations, as well as others, the government now apparently feels that "people can't live like that in the 20th century". (i.e. can not live on isolated marginal subsistence atoll islands). This of course is in striking contrast to the attitudes of either the originator of the earlier Phoenix scheme, H.E. Maude, or those of the longtime Phoenix Island District Officer, Paul Laxton.

4. Government Departments in the B.S.I.P.:

a. Medical Department: the Medical Officers are inclined thus far, anyway, to be rather critical of the scheme, its medical and public health deficiencies. However, they are supplying anti-malaria drugs, a health inspector to supervise the digging of wells, placing of latrines, and malarial control spraying.

b. Agriculture Department: the Agricultural Department has supplied an Agricultural Assistant seconded from the G.E.I.C. government and has sent other officers on frequent visits to evaluate the possibilities for agriculture on Wagina, both in

terms of coconuts as well as gardens. Also, it will send in March, 1964 a field officer scheduled to commence a long stay on Wagina to supervise the planting of coconuts. Although there is no official agricultural evaluation of Wagina that I know of, there seems to be an informal concensus among that department's officers that Wagina's soil is very shallow and poor, some of the poorest in the Protectorate. While all of it may be at least adequate for coconuts, there intervenes an additional disturbing factor of the undulating nature of the land, which can present difficulties for clearing the island for planting. The Agricultural Assistant on loan from the Gilberts is expected not only to develop a nursery garden, but to instruct the Gilbertese in the techniques for growing Solomon foods.

c. Fisheries: This is a sub-department under Agriculture. The Fisheries Officer is personally instructing the Gilbertese in the techniques of fishing in the Solomon Islands. He has, in addition, set up a smoke house for excess fish. Among other things he is trying to encourage immediate gutting and cleaning of fish, a habit apparently alien to the Gilbertese.

Personnel:

There follow brief character sketches of the two main administrators on Wagina at this time. I include them in my report because I feel understanding the development of Wagina communities might be hindered without knowledge of the short biographies.

1. Gilbertese Resettlement Officer:

Mr. George Bristow, M.B.E. is a Cambridge educated, British Colonial servant. He attended St. Johns College where he read Geography and (for one year) Anthropology. He commenced his education at Cambridge before serving in World War II. However, after one year at Cambridge he joined the army and served in Burma as an artillery officer. In 1947 he returned to Cambridge for two final years.

In 1950 he joined the Colonial Service. His first assignment as a colonial officer was in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides. He served in various capacities there until 1957. He controls to some working degree French and New Hebridean Pidgin-English. In the New Hebrides he was administratively associated as District Officer in the Tanna area with the problems relating to the John Frum movement.

In 1957 Bristow was transferred to the G.E.I.C. where he has variously served as District Officer, District Commissioner (Phoenix, Christmas, Gilbert & Ellice Islands), and Registrar of Cooperatives. As District Commissioner Phoenix he has spent some time on Hull and Gardner.

Bristow describes himself as the "enfant terrible" of the Western Pacific. He emphasizes that he is not much of a "secretariat type"; rather he feels more at home as a field officer and, as such, he has rather definite ideas re: the proper nature of native administration. He has apparently voiced his opinions

many times in the past for which he feels he is not appreciated. He seems not to shy from an administrative fight; for example upon first arriving in the Gilberts he was almost alone in the opinion that the Colonial Administration there should be based on "the government knows best" philosophy. He disparaged the emphasis of colleague officers in the Gilberts on speaking Gilbertese (which Bristow still does not), not "insulting the natives", and letting the natives, to a degree at least, work out things themselves. Bristow is of the opinion that such an approach leads to a series of unconnected "ad hoc" emergency decisions. He would substitute a long-range policy and make the natives go along with it (trying of course to have them understand and willingly accept the government course of action, "but in any event do what they are told even if they do not understand it").

Specifically his attitude toward the Phoenix Island Gilbertese is roughly as follows: (a series of quotations from conversations with him) "The Phoenix Islanders are some of the most worthless (people) in the world." "They should be viewed as a burden to the rest of the world. They have nothing to offer the world." "I have no fondness for them; they're wasting my time." The result is that he offers the following informal policy statements for the Wagina scheme: "we (the government) should be arrogant; we know best. We've got to make them (the Gilbertese) stand on their feet. This means 'bullying them' and 'kicking them' a bit. For people (eg. the Gilbertese) can't live like that in the 20th century."

I said that Bristow considers himself a field officer; however, he makes a dichotomy between the main sorts of field officers' relations with the natives. (By making this dichotomy he implies that these are the only two possibilities, and that he is forced to take one or the other; thus any intermediate option is closed for him, he appears to think.) On the one hand there is the type of officer who intimately knows his people, speaks their language, attends their village activities, and knows them as individuals. Bristow disparages this as the ineffective and biased "Grimbésque" tradition which destroys the necessary disinterested administration that the people need. On the other hand, as he characterises the position he takes: the administrator should remove himself from active participation in the native's life or active observation of it, not concerning himself with what they think or the way they customarily behave unless it is immediately relevant to government strategy, at which time they should be made to follow government instructions regardless.

2. Assistant Administrative Officer:

Mr. George Tekinaiti Tokatake is the High Chief of Abemama, a descendant of Tem Binoka and George Murdoch (an early and influential European in the Gilberts both before and after the coming of the British flag). Te Tekinaiti is a Roman Catholic, but unlike many Gilbertese does not let this bias his official activities as far as I can see. (He was baptised by Father Sa-

batier, the "grand ole man" of the Catholic mission in the Gilberts.)

Tekinaiti in some respects is marginal to many of the day-to-day Gilbertese activities. He speaks English very well and has a local G.E.I.C. inter-island Master Mariner's ticket. He has opted for the European way of life; and he wishes his children to be well educated. Although he is well-versed in many Gilbertese activities (eg. the "boti", the "maneaba" in general, and folklore), there are wide gaps in his knowledge of Gilbertese techniques of doing things. As he says himself, "I am not a very good Gilbertese in some ways." For instance, he does not know how to cut "karewe", or weave thatch, or know the names of many of the house parts (all things which are in the normal inventory of skills for Gilbertese.)

Owing to Bristow's attitude toward involvement in Gilbertese activities, Tekinaiti has accordingly been invaluable to him as a translator and a general liaison officer. Very often he brings to Bristow's attention factors that might encourage better morale on the part of the Gilbertese here, things which the Resettlement Officer is entirely ignorant of owing to his detachment.

Apparently after the war Tekinaiti had certain difficulties with the British government. So this is his first government position (other than his High Chief quasi-governmental appointment). At present however, he still does not like to think of himself as a government officer. However, as long as he stays on this government project, he is very important in helping to maintain whatever efficiency the scheme possesses.

Relationship Between Staff and Gilbertese:

As would be expected from the character sketch of the Resettlement Officer above there are certain difficulties in communication between him and the Gilbertese on Wagina. There is, of course, the additional factor of a typical response to government that has been developed by the Gilbertese over time. Briefly, it can be described in these terms. The Gilbertese in general esteem the European ("te I-Matang") for his wealth, power, and organizational skills. Owing to this respect, the Gilbertese in the face of government action which seems to them unfair tend to be very tractable. Only seldom will active obstruction result (eg. Ocean Island strikes). Rather, the tendency appears to be that when a Gilbertese is insulted or browbeaten by a European, especially an administrator, he may well be intimidated into the action desired, but he will typically tend also to disassociate himself from the European (thus, increasing the problems of communication and liaison). This habit of removal from the scene of tension (rather than a more typical European confrontation of insult) tends to result in decreased efficiency of government operation. Possibly an example would help make this clear here. Early in the scheme there were weekly committee meetings between Bristow and certain respected members of the advance party. At first the Gilbertese offered some comments and disagreements to

(or rather additions to, rephrasings of, or suggestions for) the Resettlement Officer's plans. The reception of these by him was almost invariably condescending, abrupt, sarcastic and, not infrequently, abusive. The result is that these meetings accomplish less and less. Though they are still held, their efficiency is so low now that the Resettlement Officer often delegates to his AAO the task of simply giving his instructions. Again, here it can be seen that the Resettlement Officer's attitude toward the Gilbertese did not change, but, significantly, theirs toward him did. They have never been overtly rude or belligerent, they have just ceased to have anything at all to do, other than what is absolutely necessary, with the Gilbertese Resettlement Officer. In the presence of the Resettlement Officer they remain almost ingratiatingly polite.

The Assistant Administrative Officer, interestingly enough, is pulled in two directions as a result of this disassociation. He manages, however, to be the "complete" sycophant in the Gilbertese Resettlement Officer's presence while on the other hand, in the presence of his fellow Gilbertese, is very comradish.

All this has of course another result of convincing the Gilbertese that much of the scheme is government's business and property which they do not understand and obviously have no control over. And again this attitude on their part hinders the development of what the government in Honiara might wish: self-help, responsibility, and initiative on the part of the Gilbertese in this resettlement venture.

SUBSISTENCE POTENTIAL-PRESENT & PROJECTED

The "present" referred to here is Wagina before the Gilbertese are properly resettled. That is, what the plantation offered by way of subsistence resources prior to or shortly after the plantation was bought by the government and the first Gilbertese advance wave arrived. "Projected" means the plans government has for "providing the Gilbertese with basic necessities of life as will enable them to become economically and socially self-sufficient..."

The Manning Strait Plantation was estimated by its former owner to include about 350 acres of planted coconut trees. It is believed by the Resettlement Officer that this is too generous an estimate. Whatever the case certainly, the whole area (of these plantation islands lying off Wagina, mainly to the south and southwest) has not recently been fully exploited for copra purposes. H. Wagstaff, the former owner, reckoned some 6-7 tons of copra per month were all that he took. By way of comparison E. Palmer has informed me that his former Shortlands Plantation, now housing some former Titiana Gilbertese, produced 15-17 tons in good months and possibly only 9 tons in bad months. The Gilbertese presently make only 5 tons average per month. The prob-

lem in the Shortlands appears to be that the trees suffered badly in the War and are approaching senility now. The coconuts in the Manning Strait area are also quite old, having been planted probably in the first decade of this century or shortly thereafter. An additional complicating factor is that the plantation appears not to have been recently cleaned and therefore many coconuts are being choked. The result is that the coconuts, themselves, are generally very poor; that is, small and hard to find owing to the underbrush. Again for the sake of comparison, the resulting coconuts here present a "length of shell" on the average of about 9 cm. to 10 cm. and a "width of shell" on the average of about 8 cm. to 9 cm. (This compares with Catala's 10-11 cm. and 9-10 cm. respectively for Tarawa coconuts--p. 27, Table 33, Atoll Research Bulletin No. 59, Oct. 1957). Some islands have slightly higher averages, some lower. Although Wagstaff did not make much copra, he thought the plantation was capable of producing in excess of 150 tons a year (the discrepancy between this figure and the figure, some 200 tons, one might expect from 350 acres figuring on the average 6000 coconuts to the ton--100 nuts per tree per year-- is due to two factors: one, the nature of the choked and senile coconuts and two, their being planted in too crowded a fashion. That is, instead of the optimum 55 trees per acre as recommended by Silsoe in his recent report, the Manning Strait Plantation has from 70-80 trees per acre.

In addition to coconuts, the plantation possessed some gardens. Mainly on one large island called Salikana, there were potatoes which were useful for cuttings. The animals which Wagstaff left behind included ducks, chickens, and turkeys. Thus far they have been used only to feed the Gilbertese Resettlement Officer, his personal staff, and his visitors.

Accompanying the advance party of Gilbertese was an Agricultural Assistant seconded from the G.E.I.C. He has planted one large garden with various crops on Wagina. Its status at present is one of experimentation to see which subsistence plants grow best on Wagina. Several sorts of sweet potato, pumpkins, some melons, long beans, chili pepper, papayas, bananas, sugar cane, tapioca, and cabbage (but as yet no taro) have been planted. Most of these crops thus far appear to be viable on Wagina as one might suspect; however, the soil is so poor as to allow of only onetime cropping on a particular piece of land. This is true at least of the area in front of the ridge that parallels the coast. Behind it in the bush (to be cleared for coconut trees) possibly the situation will be different as perhaps the soil is consistently richer there.

As the Resettlement Officer had planned initially, these Gilbertese would be discouraged from being merely subsistence farmers living marginally on small gardens, coconuts, and fish. As it looks now each family will probably have a small garden

on its village house site as well as be able to intersperse the coconut trees with small crops. At present, however, v-irtually no use has been made of the crops that are ripe in the field assistant's nursery. Only recently has the medical dresser here been allowed to use these for his patients. This is another example of the difficulties of communication between the Gilbertese Resettlement Officer and the Gilbertese. That is, initially Bristow declared the garden area as off-limits for Gilbertese, there being not enough food from it to supply everyone. He failed, however, to mention that it would be alright to use what fruits and vegetables there were for sick people. The Gilbertese accordingly stayed away from this "government" garden and many of the ripe vegetables and fruits rotted. Upon discovering the latter occurrence, Bristow was very upset; he said, the Gilbertese should have used their common sense about exploiting the garden produce. But the result is that the Gilbertese, even now, consider the garden project as well as much of the scheme so far to be government's property, not theirs. Accordingly, many have undertaken to get their own cuttings for their own gardens; some have brought taro and "babai" from Gizo and/or have bought various cuttings from the Solomon Islanders visiting from Choiseul (including sugar cane, taro, pineapple, tapioca). Again it seems that the government has been rather unsuccessful, thus far, in making the Gilbertese feel that many parts of the scheme is their concern and property and, therefore, responsibility.

It accordingly seems that unless the scheme is to be continued past the end of 1964 the Gilbertese will probably not be able to be anything other than subsistence horticulturalists for quite a time anyway. The plan of the B.S.I.P. to supply a field officer with the express purpose of planting coconuts might help to make the subsistence better than marginal in eight years or so. And another factor that may help to increase the coconut yield for the people is the plan to use at least some seed coconuts of a very good and large type from the Yandina (Levers) Plantation in the Russell Islands, B.S.I.P. However, unless the full eight acres to be allocated per family (or at least four of them) are cleared and planted in coconuts the nut production probably will be insufficient to allow these people to become prosperous copra farmers. Also, a further complicating factor is that, at least under the scheme as it is now planned, the Manning Strait Plantation Islands will not be weeded out or cleaned; thus, it will only provide minimal coconut production (these islands will probably be adequate only for subsistence until the Gilbertese have their own coconuts on their own land bearing in 8-10 years.)

In addition, there is no plan thusfar to replant the plantation islands when the trees are too senile. One final factor that thwarts the hope of making these people economical copra producers is that at least one island (Giri) has had most of its

coconut trees cut down with power saws in order to supply thatching leaves more quickly than climbing and cutting would have allowed. This has reduced, by some 10 or so acres (900 plus trees), the possible production of copra. Again no re-planting is planned by the Resettlement Officer. (Giri was evaluated by at least one government officer to be the most productive coconut island of the Manning Strait Plantation.) Certainly if this method of supplying leaves is continued it may have very pronounced and detrimental long range effects. These effects of course will have to be weighed against the hoped-for short range advantage of getting the people in adequate housing in the shortest possible time. For their part, the Gilbertese are very disappointed at sawing down the trees, and accordingly work slowly which of course defeats the purpose of quick supply intended by the Resettlement Officer.

Mention should be made of the reception, at this time anyway, by the Gilbertese of Solomon Island foods. Thusfar no one has taken any liking to the bush foods offered, such as bush lettuce or the bush animals that could be eaten (eg. lizard, pigeons, crocodile, opossum). The one exception here is the bush pig which is quite similar to their Phoenix Island animals. The Gilbertese do not appear, thusfar, inclined to explore the bush for food. The government has, however, hired one Solomon Islander to help them find these alternative bush resources and explain their usage to them.

Solomon Island garden crops (as distinct from the bush resources) are being tried by the Gilbertese even now. Without the help of the government they have planted sweet potatoes, tapioca, taro, pineapple, and sago (this latter probably for the thatch material rather than the food.)

The Gilbertese in the third village, Mikumaroro, have not cut down any of the coconut trees near them (wash coconuts from the ocean.) Rather they have exploited these for "karewe". In the first and second villages (which are under more direct supervision) the Resettlement Officer had instructed that all trees were to be cut down, including coconut trees, and thus the people are left without this important resource. Some of the people of these two villages have gone to non-cleared areas to find "karewe" trees (again sea wash coconuts found along the coast) however.

Fishing Resources:

Manning Strait is thought by some to be one of the best fishing areas in the Solomons. The problem, however, from the point of view of subsistence at this time is that of guaranteeing a steady supply of fish sufficient for more than 1000 persons and at the same time using as few men as possible as fish-

ermen (this because as many men as possible will be needed to continue clearing coconut land and working on other aspects of the resettlement scheme.) This means then that the government has chosen to use at least one launch, possibly later two, to catch the fish instead of relying on the Gilbertese using their own canoes. The fishing is, of course, different in many respects from fishing in the Phoenixes. At Wagina there is no lagoon nearby; this means that the women will play a significantly lesser role in supplying marine foodstuffs than they did in the Phoenix atoll environment. In addition the weather is whimsical enough in the Manning Strait area to make the use of canoes only a "sometime" possibility; for among other things, the lack of sand beaches on most of the weather coast of Wagina means that the canoes can be used only during fairly good weather (in bad weather they would very likely be pounded up on the sharp coral beach.) The exception to this is at the third village where there is a small cove and sand beach. However, that village is situated so that the southeasterly breakers are more often a factor to be considered.

The fish, if and when there is a surplus (surplus in this context means any fish over and above an average of one lb. per person per day), will be upon the suggestion of the Fisheries Officer smoked in a small house built for this purpose on the island of Undalu (three miles from Wagina to the south) which serves as the fishermen's quarters and anchorage for their launch.

There appear to be two ways to catch fish here. The Gilbertese most often use the "handline" fishing technique from a launch as it drifts (i.e. not under power) over the shoals. The Gilbertese have concentrated mainly on this method up to now because the fishing lines heretofore supplied them were such (mono-filament nylon) as to be very harsh on one's hands if one were trolling. By this method of handlining the main sorts of fish caught are shark, red bass, and rock fish. The Fisheries Officer, however, has recently supplied multi-filament, high quality braided nylon fishing line which permits less painful handling. He has outfitted the launch with trolling outriggers. The majority of fish caught by this trolling method are the swifter kingfish, tuna, bonito, and barracuda. The Fisheries Officer prefers to troll while the Gilbertese boys on the launch still primarily concentrate on handlining. As yet it is hard to evaluate which style of fishing brings in the greater number. Probably it will depend on such factors as tide, moon, current, etc.

A further point relating to the Fisheries Officer's suggestions is that the Gilbertese have not bled and cleaned the fish immediately as he has strongly urged. The result is that the fish after up to 6 hours in an open boat under the sun are very

stiff, bloated, and bad smelling. (The smell is especially noxious from shark.) This is an interesting point in that the Fisheries Officer insists that failure to clean the fish immediately in Solomon climate can be very dangerous to health. For the Gilbertese, however, such concern over gutting and bleeding is not natural; in fact it is the "soft" fish rather than the hard and stiff one which draws their suspicions as having "turned". Unfortunately, the reason for immediate gutting has not been explained to them; they have only been told that they must do it.

Both before and after the arrival of the fishing launch some Gilbertese occasionally have used their canoes when they were able (on Saturdays or other free times). Unfortunately, they have been singularly ineffective for the most part in catching fish. The main reason may well be an ignorance of the fishing ground as yet. In addition, the days which are clear and calm enough for canoe fishing in the treacherous Panning Strait present the very conditions which drive the fish down deep (eg. direct sunlight, glassy calm water.) (Of course Saturday afternoon or Sunday (after church) fishing again means mid-day fishing; this time, so the Fisheries Officer explains, is particularly bad. (Rather, night time, early morning, or evening fishing would be preferable.) However, after an unprofitable day's fishing from canoes the Gilbertese usually bring back a good supply of giant tradacna clam and occasionally turtles.

At the present time the government is renting one launch from a Solomon Islander, has bought a second, and is expecting the arrival of a third which is being constructed for the scheme in Tarawa. The anticipation is that with the termination of government control in late 1964, or whenever, one or two of the purchased boats will be given or sold to the Gilbertese to be used--possibly through a Cooperative Society if they wish to set such up. In addition to these motor launches the Gilbertese possess at present (with the first wave only on Tarawa) upwards of 50 canoes. They range from one small Ellice type outrigger through the small Gilbertese outriggers (without sails) to the large fast racing and fishing canoes. More canoes are expected with the second wave in February, 1964.

The fish around Tarawa include a full profile of Solomon Island types. However, especially numerous are shark (mainly the small 5-7 foot sand shark), turtles, and giant clams. Before the arrival of the B.S.I.P. Fisheries Officer, the Gilbertese had used a Solomon Island dugout canoe (about 35 feet long) to supply the advance party with fish. It was to be quite an experience for the fishermen to learn how to use the outriggerless canoe. The first few days were spent in learning how to stay upright. This canoe was propelled by a small Sea Gull outboard motor. After adjusting to it, however, they were able to fairly well supply the advance party and the Solomon Island la-

borers with fish.

The Gilbertese Resettlement Officer prepared for the arrival of the first, as well as the later, wave by working out details for fishing from a small (35 foot) launch. It was initially hoped that in a normal eight hour day an average of 500 pounds of fish could be caught; however, the fishing in Manning Strait is very fickle. Sometimes, six days of fishing will provide only a few hundred pounds.

GILBERTESE ATTITUDES TOWARD EVACUATION & RESETTLEMENT

The Phoenix Islands and the '62-'63 Drought:

Hull and Gardner Islands are typical coral atolls. Formerly Hull had been planted by a coconut plantation firm and had received the name Orona at that time. This is not a Gilbertese word, I was told, rather an Ellice word given by the Ellice laborers. Gardner, on the other hand, was unplanted. The descriptions of the islands given by Maude in his official proposal of the resettlement are still accurate except for the nature of the wells and floral covering and the fact that at both of the islands, where the population centers are, passages were blasted through the reefs by the Royal Engineers two or three years ago. (This and similar work in the Gilberts proper had been undertaken to make landings at all islands in the Gilberts and Ellices more feasible at all times of the year).

To the Gilbertese the drought seemed less an emergency than it did to the Government. The Gilbertese appear to think of it as a non-fatal sort of drought. It certainly was viewed, however, by all as a crisis and they welcomed the aid given by the Government during this period. There is no evidence I have been able to find that the Gilbertese initiated the requests for aid. (I say this tentatively for I have not yet seen the Tarawa files on the matter and the files here for one reason or another are incomplete or partially unavailable to me). Rather, apparently, it was Government who decided that relief was necessary. When one initially asks the Gilbertese how bad the drought was, the answer usually is something of this sort: "oh, it was very bad, many things died; the coconut trees, the "babai", and the papaya." Later, on more intensive discussion, the evaluation of the matter by the Gilbertese is generally as follows:

1. Extent of the Drought:

People on both islands agree that it was about a year or two in length. Again it is very difficult to get an idea of what the true duration was; but, apparently, the rains had been getting progressively more infrequent until June, 1962 when they virtually ceased. For the next year possibly only 10 inches fell. People on both islands agree that the drought ("te rongu")

was terminated by June, 1963 when abundant rains again fell. It appears that those rains came again between the movement of the first half of the advance party (which went to Tarawa toward the end of April) and the other half sent just prior to boarding the U.V. Tulagi in Tarawa for its trip to the Solomons in late June.

2. Severity of the Drought:

The people on Hull were not all hit equally hard by the drought. From what I can determine from my Hull Island informants the village of Arariki (the Protestant village on Hull) suffered less than the Roman Catholic village of Kukutin. There appear to be two reasons for this: a) the wells in Arariki were better in that they did not get very brackish; some of them did not suffer much at all throughout the drought. (On the contrary, the Kukutin population at certain stages during the extremity of the drought had no fresh water at all from their wells. (I have not as yet been able to determine why it is that the wells in Arariki appear to have been better in this crisis); b) the population concentration in Kukutin is far greater than in Arariki: not only are there more people in the former, but their houses are on the average closer together. The result is that for one thing there is less room in Kukutin for "village coconuts" (see Catala, p. 53 "palms which appear to ignore droughts") which sort of coconut tree, Catala says, is among the most resistant to drought. My observations on Hull (and Gardner as well) bear this out.

In comparing the effect of the drought on Hull with that on Gardner, I found that, whereas possibly a greater proportion of the trees (coconut and other types of food plants) were killed by the drought on Gardner, it appears the island population itself suffered less than Hull. The reasons for this (again from informant's testimony) include: a) Gardner's population was smaller (200) than Hull's (300 plus) and although the latter is the larger island still the population density is greater there. In terms of the drought this meant that although more trees may have died on Gardner (mainly those which had been most recently planted on the poorest parts of the island) there still were more trees per person and more food per person which survived the drought and offered sustenance during that time; b) the adult, fully mature trees on Gardner were on the average much younger than those on Hull; thus, the mature Gardner trees, unlike the youngest trees on Gardner, appeared to have greater resistance to the drought (recall that when settlers first moved to Gardner there were virtually no trees on the island whereas Hull had previously been a plantation island); c) the marine resources on Gardner appear to have been more adequate than those on Hull.

On both islands my informants told me that the "karewe" (sweet toddy) continued to flow during most of the drought; all days possibly for a month or so at the worst period it ceased

in many places. At this latter time the "kamaimai" (boiled toddy, and therefore preservable) served to help the Phoenix Islanders over the worse.

An important food resource that certainly alleviated much of the severity of the drought was the Furlance. There are three varieties of this plant in the Phoenixes, "te boi", "te katuri", and "te mtea". They all are extremely plentiful on the islands and are considered very tasty by the Phoenix Islanders (this last information is in contrast with Luomala's observation in the southern Gilberts Island of Tabiteuea (Luomala, Stenotacty, 1953, p.96). In addition these plants are very drought resistant, and mixed with the "karewe" or "kamaimai" can supply a fairly abundant and necessary food source during the drought.

I have not yet considered the effect of the emergency food supplies from the G.E.I.C. The Gilbertese, as I mentioned earlier, did accept them willingly. However, they stored away what they did not use immediately. An interesting result of this practice has been that the Gilbertese have brought the hoarded food stuffs made with these supplies (such as "te buatoro" made with sugar, flour, and sometimes rice. Note that this differs from traditional "buatoro" of the Gilbert Islands which was made from "karewe" and "taro" or "babai") and the raw supplies themselves to Lagina where they have importantly helped alleviate some food shortages owing to logistics complications of emergency rationing or insufficient fish catches at Lagina. Certainly, however, with the aid of emergency government foods the Phoenix Islanders were much better able to survive the drought.

Another factor which may partially account for the difference in the effects of the drought on Hull as against Gardner is that the former island suffered an epidemic of "whooping cough" (or so it was diagnosed by the A.M.C.). Several children died on Hull as a result. Possibly as a result the Hull people on Lagina appear to have suffered more than the Gardner people in the Solomons to this time from respiratory problems.

3. Evaluation of the Drought:

When asked to compare this recent drought in the Phoenix Islands with those they remember in the southern Gilberts, my middle-aged or elderly informants (those people old enough to remember their earlier life in the Gilberts) reckoned that the drought was less severe in the Phoenixes than the ones back in the Gilberts.

4. Reaction to Decision to Move:

The Gilbertese did not initiate a request for resettlement. As nearly as I can reconstruct it, the sequence of events was as follows: the drought had been underway some time when, apparently, the District Commissioner for the Phoenix Islands returned from leave and toured the Phoenixes (the District Com-

missioner for the Phoenix has his headquarters at Canton Island and makes only occasional tours of the Phoenixes themselves) toward the end of 1962 and reported to Tarawa that the drought was rather serious in the Phoenixes. However, it seems that it was not until sometime later when the Resident Commissioner made his own visit to Gardner and Hull, that measures were initiated to bring emergency supplies to the islands. Somewhat later still (approximately January, 1963) the District Commissioner-Phoenix again toured and suggested the solution of evacuation of the islands. Following this the District Commissioner had discussions with at least some of the men of the islands in community meetings regarding the need to remove.

Now when the government placed the possibility of removal before the islanders there was not unanimity on the part of the Gardner and Hull communities. There was only one village that really wished to move (that is, in which any number of people wished to evacuate); this was the village of Kukutin (which I indicated elsewhere was probably the hardest hit by the drought). Even in this village, however, there was not total agreement about the move. In addition even the Kukutin people had no intention of going to the Solomons; rather, they asked to go to "Tabweran" (Fanning Island) which they asked the Government to give to them (they were not aware that the island was owned not by Government but by Burns Philp). However, the Government suggested the Solomons as a new home for them. It should be noted that not one of the Hull Islanders had seen the B.S.I.P. and only one family on Gardner Island had been to the Solomons (actually a former Sydney Island family which did not like the Solomons and "for health reasons" went back to the Phoenixes.). But Government assured the people that there was no future for them in the Phoenixes compared to the bright future they would have on Wagina Island. And so, sight unseen, the Gilbertese "agreed" to remove from Gardner and Hull. I think their reasons for "agreement" include: 1) some of the people (eg. many of the Catholic village of Kukutin and fewer individuals in the other villages) were indeed dissatisfied enough with the Phoenixes to really want to leave; 2) Government had described the Solomons in glowing terms; 3) but, probably the most important, the Phoenix Islanders sensed that this was what Government wanted to do and therefore were typically tractable.

I have described elsewhere the typical responses of the Gilbertese to Government. Another reason for my believing that this third reason was the most important was an informal statement by one senior government officer in response to my question of how was it decided upon to remove the people (in other words, how much real self-determination did the Gilbertese have): "the Gilbertese are under colonial rule and we have accepted the responsibility for doing what we know is best for them. Without

us they would have made it (through the drought); however, we couldn't let them do that" (i.e. remain in the Phoenix Islands). Note: Parenthetical comments are mine.

The Gardner Islanders, virtually all Protestants, had very few, if any, actual advocates of removal. Rather their consensus seems to be that the whole idea of removal was a Hull Island scheme. But they realized that they would probably not be allowed to go it alone in the Phoenixes and so have hopefully resigned themselves to the move. Significantly, also, the only Wagina Gilbertese who have, thusfar, asked to go back to the Gilberts are Gardner people--two men of the advance party.

Another perspective for considering the Gilbertese attitudes toward removal is the generation difference. Again from my observations while in the Phoenix Islands, as well as informants' comments, it appears that the persons who remember the first resettlement (that is, those middle-aged or older now) in general were least enthusiastic about the move. They seemed not to be too happy about losing all that they had worked for in the Phoenixes and starting over again. Also, it was in the category of the older people that I saw the only actual tears shed over removal. The younger adults were more willing, even as their parents had been before them, to start anew. For the younger children the whole thing has been more of an adventure than any serious consideration.

Meetings were held on both islands to choose members for the advance party. The techniques for selection were two: first, those individuals who wished to go to Wagina were asked to volunteer; however, this method apparently did not get enough people, so the magistrate ("tia moti") read off the name of every individual and asked him if he would go. This got the full amount of men necessary--74 from both islands (20 men from Gardner, 17 from the Hull Protestants and 37 from the Hull Catholics). Not only did the islands give different numbers of people, but the villages gave different types of men. On the one hand, Gardner sent a few old men, but the rest were predominantly young, strong, married men. Hull Protestants similarly sent a few old men to supervise, the others being mainly married men ("rorobuaka"). Hull Catholics, however, sent proportionately more old men and teenagers and very few, proportionately, able-bodied married men. In addition to the men of the advance party, the Gilbertese of both islands initiated plans to send some women along too. Five women in all were to go and, in fact, did get as far as Tarawa. There were three from Hull, all unmarried adult women ("nikiranroro"). The other two women were from Gardner; both were married (one woman the wife of the native pastor), whose husbands were in the advance party. Upon hearing of this plan to send these women, Bristow refused to let

them proceed beyond Tarawa. He felt that the presence of women, especially the "nikiranroro" would hinder speedy progress of the work on Wagina. The advance party was composed of two parts: the first 34 went sometime in April or May to Tarawa where they worked, temporarily, for Public Works Department while waiting the arrival of the other 40 men.

The effect of the departure of the advance party on those who stayed back home in the Phoenix Islands was not the same on both islands. Curiously, it appears that Gardner, in spite of its lack of enthusiasm for leaving, was the first to "give up the ghost" in the Phoenix. I come to this conclusion mainly on the basis of my observations on that island. Gardner had in the past a good reputation for tidiness and house maintenance; however, by the time I visited the island there appeared to have been no thatching or re-thatching done recently. In fact many houses had large holes. By contrast the Hull population repaired their houses at least up to the time of the first wave of women and children (December, 1963). In addition the Catholic village even built a new school house in July, 1963. Also, by contrast with Gardner the government meeting house ("maneaba") on Hull remained in good repair; the "maneaba" on Gardner was in quite progressed disrepair.

The first wave of women and children prepared for their evacuation in several ways. First of all they made up stores of food from the surplus emergency rations. Their company was made up mainly of wives and children of the advance party. They dismantled their houses, all but the smallest cook houses, in order to take the usable wood to Wagina. In the last few days before evacuation many of the people were living in the government "maneaba". Gardner people were much less organized to leave than the Hull Islanders. On the latter island all first-wave cargo was ready on the beach, whereas on Gardner much was not ready.

Once the plans had been made to remove and the evacuation itself looked imminent as well as inevitable, the Gilbertese in a way which seems to be characteristic of the Gardner and Hull people seemed "happy" about leaving. Possibly I should explain this in more detail. Happiness may not be the best word; rather, it was an optimism, an excitement and anticipation that things would be alright. All these emotions appeared to be combined with the Gilbertese tendency to be happy and pleasant at all times, if such is possible. But, however happy and optimistic they may seem, this does not rule out the critical doubts the Phoenix Islanders may have had about the resettlement initially. I hope this clears up what might appear to be a contradiction between this paragraph and an earlier one which considered the Gilbertese mainly negative attitude toward "necessity of removal".

The first wave of Gilbertese have been considerably less enthusiastic about Wagina after seeing it than they were in anticipation of the move in mid-November. With few exceptions, however, they have gone ahead with a great deal of good humor. Their evaluation of Wagina (admittedly at its worst at present) is that it is inferior to the Phoenixes in food, fish, and weather. Having given up all landrights to the latter, however, they can not hope to go back (nor were they promised repatriation to the G.E.I.C. as were the Gilbertese settlers from Sydney Island) if they do not like it here. But, typically, rather than pouting and complaining incessantly, the Gilbertese are optimistically hopeful of something better on Wagina. But much of the responsibility for such progress, they therefore feel should be borne by Government. For, the Gilbertese have not yet come to think of Wagina as their own.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN ON WAGINA

The three village sites on Wagina will not only present different configurations of settlement pattern, but in some cases striking differences in availability of natural resources. The following is a discussion of the village patterns themselves and those factors that promise to be important influences on cultural stability and change on Wagina.

Settlement Patterns: (see accompanying maps)

The sites for villages were selected by the Resettlement Officer with a view not only toward adequate space for housing, but also toward suitable boat anchorages. These weathercoast villages apparently will retain the names of Phoenix Island origin. That is, Gardner Island (Nikumaroro) will be housed in Nikumaroro Village on Wagina. The Hull Protestants will live in Arariki Village on Wagina as they did in a village of the same name on Hull. In the same way the Catholic-Hull village will be called Kukutin. The Resettlement Officer has had to concern himself with clearing enough room to house the Phoenix Islands population. He has been governed partially also by the B.S.I.P. health regulations which state that no two houses may stand closer than 10 yards to each other, that latrine facilities must be provided and wells, if used, must be kept clean.

Kukutin Village will house a population of somewhat over 600 people in approximately 100 houses, all of which will exactly fit on the cleared site. There will be three rows of houses, certainly a departure from the standard Gilbertese practice of one road with houses on both sides. Their Catholic Village in the Phoenixes was of this typical Gilbertese pattern. The Catholics here on Wagina would prefer their old two-row style, but appear to feel no strong emotion, thusfar anyway, about

the relatively cramped quarters they will be living in.

Arariki Village will house something over 200 people. Unlike Kukutin, more than enough land was cleared in this site for the village population, thus providing already cleared house plots for young men when they get married and establish their own households. There will be three rows of houses here also.

Nikumaroro Village will basically be a single line of houses. Unlike the Sydney Island population which did not at all wish to have just a single row of houses (one of their reasons for preferring Titiana, Knudson states, was the availability of sufficient village depth for two rows of houses). The Nikumaroro people, however, are very happy with this plan for a single row of houses. This village, like Kukutin, will have only enough space for the present Gardner Island households. Young men who wish to get married and set up their own houses will have to clear their own sites later.

All three village areas have been cut out of dense bush. All the trees in each village site have been completely cleared. This means that, at present, there are no shade trees in any of the villages or along the beach. The Gilbertese Resettlement Officer feels that such total clearing may not have been wisest; for it took longer to complete and additionally now allows little wind-break from the sea and no shade from the sun.

House plot size is designed with a width of 18 yards and a depth of 30 yards. Five yards from each side of the lot-line is the house itself, no larger than 8 yards long and 5 yards wide. Nikumaroro house plots will be of the standard width, but often of greater depth. Since there will be, in most cases, only one row of houses in Nikumaroro village many plots will extend from beach road to cliff--often considerably more than the standard 30 yards.

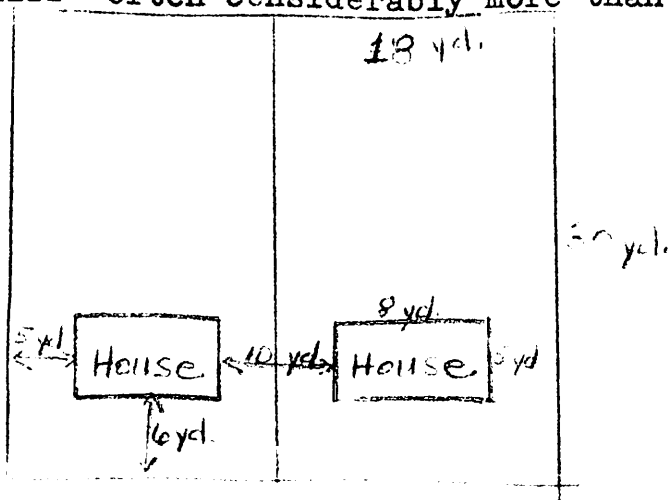


Chart 1
WAGINA HOUSE PLOT DESIGN AND DIMENSION

Building Materials

Owing to the lack of a sufficient supply of sago palm leaf near Wagina the Gilbertese will have to use coconut thatching material. (The coconut leaf is called "te banni" or "ban te ni"). This interestingly enough presents no problems to the Phoenix Islanders so far as weaving. The women are all expert in coconut weaving, and both Gardner and Hull also lacked sufficient supply of pandanus thatch ("ban te kaina")--the mainstay for house thatching in the Gilberts proper. The main difficulty with coconut thatch is that it rots extremely quickly in the Solomon climate. For that reason, it is here rather non-durable housing material (coconut thatch if sewn in close rows on the roof will, with luck, last in the Solomons possibly a year, whereas in the Phoenixes 3 to 4 years was not unusual owing to its dry climate). There is another reason for the inferiority of coconut thatch in the Solomons. It is that in the Phoenix Islands the Gilbertese used only fallen dead brown coconut fronds. These were then soaked in water (salt or fresh) to make them both rot resistant and pliable. On Wagina, however, owing to the facts that only infrequently do the dead leaves drop on the ground and that the speed with which the Gilbertese must construct their homes on Wagina does not allow them time to soak the leaves, green fronds are used rather than the dead or dried ones. It should be noted that the Gilbertese Resettlement Officer has apparently made only superficial inquiries into buying sago thatch ready-made from Solomon Islanders. Instead of following this alternative he has chosen to saw down about 3 acres of coconut trees in an attempt to quickly supply coconut leaves. The Gilbertese are shocked and disappointed at this measure, as are visiting Solomon Islanders.

So far as the different villages are concerned, some of the Nikumaroro people have deviated from using the coconut thatch. Some are trying to use the local variety of pandanus leaf which some women hold is "superior" to that found in the Gilberts. Other exceptions are individual ones spotted through the villages. Some people brought with them enough corrugated metal from Canton for roofing, and in one case, tar paper. The Nikumaroro people, by the way, appear to have a larger supply per capita of the corrugated metal. Finally, at least a few people have experimented with betel-nut palm ("ban te nini") leaf for thatch to augment their meagre supply of coconut thatch. It is less desirable than coconut frond.

The problem of which wood to use for houses has been solved in different ways and for different reasons by the Gilbertese. First of all it should be noted again that the Gilbertese are unfamiliar with almost all the woods here (exceptions are: coconut wood, pandanus, and, from their remembrances of the Gilberts proper on the wetter islands, mangrove). Many Gilbertese have

brought finished wood that they had acquired, mainly, at Canton. These include flooring wood (3/4 inch x 5 inches x 12 feet) and stronger support pieces (2 inch x 4 inch).

Of the three villages, Nikumaroro has the most limited inventory of closely available Solomon Island wood. They, therefore, are more nearly restricted to the use of mangrove and a few other hard woods that they find around. The two Hull villages, however, have nearby many sorts of wood which immediately offer themselves for trial. (The reasons for this difference in timber resources are: the narrowness of the land and the proximity of swamps at Nikumaroro.) Now some Gilbertese have gone right ahead and used any kind of wood that they either could get most easily or wished to use for ease of working, regardless of its ability to withstand rain, moist soil, and wood-eating insects. The result is that one man has built his house almost entirely of pandanus wood, highly recommended in the Phoenix and Gilbert Islands (but of questionable survival value in the Solomons). Others, however, have chosen to consider advice preferred by Solomon Islanders here who state that only some woods are good for house building. The evaluation that they give included: hardwoods: 1) mangrove: this wood they say is alright for house posts, but is best for beams which do not touch the ground; however, it is strong, fairly moisture resistant, and fairly resistant to insects; 2) another wood (I do not know the name yet) with a white bark and red wood which all Solomon Islanders have said is the best building material for house posts which must be set into moist Solomon ground; 3) a white bark, white wood which is superior for house beams because it is most resistant to insects; softwoods: 1) betel nut palm: this is the only sort of softwood commonly used for housing, but it can only be used, the Solomon boys tell me, in very restricted dry places as it is not very durable if it gets wet. It is good for flooring and lathing because it splits in straight boards and it is good also for the framework for sago thatch panels; 2) the rest of the softwoods are generally not recommended for house construction by Solomon Islanders although some of the softer dugout canoe woods could be used. It should be mentioned that all stationary house walls here have been constructed by the Gilbertese of the split betel nut palm wood, whereas in the Phoenixes only coconut frond midribs were used.

Water Resources:

All three villages use wells for their drinking water. Those for this purpose have been dug and supervised by the Government. They are in general deeper than the Phoenix Island wells and, possibly owing to the Government-Health Department supervision, are more substantially built with a view toward public hygiene. It is interesting to note, however, that al-

though the B.S.I.P. medical authorities stress the danger of children playing near the wells and have taken the precaution of building fences around the wells, this appears not to be much of a problem at all with the Gilbertese who have a typical and traditional pattern of well-hygiene. For instance, I have seldom seen a child play around a well, and when one has done so it has been the Gilbertese themselves who immediately admonish him. In addition to wells for drinking, some of the Gilbertese have dug wells on their own house sites from which they are allowed by Government to take wash water, but no drinking water.

The Hull villages (Kukutin and Arariki) on Wagina share an additional water resource, that of the nearby river which offers excellent drinking water (not exploited by the Gilbertese) and washing spots (used especially for bathing and progressively less for washing clothes). For the third village, however, there is no nearby river. The Nikumaroro people, accordingly, for bathing purposes, often swim in salt water first, after which they rinse off with fresh well water in stone bath houses (rather bath fences would be a better description since they stand only 4-5 feet tall without a roof). It appears also that in the third village well sites are not as uniformly acceptable as they are in the first two villages owing to the presence near Nikumaroro of a swamp which tends to pollute the water table.

Latrines:

I noticed a lack of latrines on Gardner and Hull Islands. On the latter I saw but one at the government guest house; I saw none at Gardner. On Wagina, however, latrines have been built over the water and are used with fairly good regularity except by the children. There are separate facilities for men and women. Characteristically, the men use their latrines for defecation only.

House Building Styles:

I have mentioned elsewhere that except for the solidifying factor of common religion the village of Kukutin appears to be more heterogeneous than the other two villages. This is to quite a large degree mirrored in the houses that have been built thusfar. There appears to be a much greater degree of variety in the Kukutin designs.

The sources of house building design are several. It is apparent that some people in both Kukutin and Arariki have imitated the design of the Resettlement Officer's house which was planned by A.S.O. Tekinaiti. This has given a split-level character to many of the houses. All of the houses, it should

be said, on Wagina have raised floors owing to the wetness here. This is in marked contrast to the predominate house type on either Gardner or Hull Islands where the ground serves as the floor in a house type called "te bata". Nikumaroro village houses here are, so far, mostly built after one style. (A nearly equal degree of homogeneity of basic design can be found in Arariki village). Note: this matter of basic design is important for most Gilbertese pride themselves on building their houses at least slightly different from those of their fellows.

In the case of Nikumaroro it is interesting to note where this similarity of style seems to have originated. I requested a very competent Gilbertese carpenter to build a house for us in that village. For his help he has used men many of whom did not know how to build well and who took this opportunity to learn from an expert. Since that time all the houses in this village ($\frac{1}{4}$ of the total to be built) except for one house built by a Sydney man for a Nikumaroro family are of this one basic type. The houses, at least in the beginning, on Wagina will number two for each family: a large carefully built raised house and a smaller cook house in back at ground level. In the Phoenixes three houses were the average (one for sleeping quarters, one for eating and storing, and another for cooking). In addition many Phoenix Island houses included a canoe shed "bareaka". Thusfar no plans have been made for the placement of canoe sheds or for provision for them by the Government.

Coconut Trees:

The village of Nikumaroro has retained far more nearby coconut trees than have the other two villages. First of all, of course, there appears to have been from the outset a greater density of coconut trees near that village. However, the Nikumaroro people--advance party--did not cut down the coconut trees as was directed by the Resettlement Officer. Thus, at present, this village alone has any real supply of toddy (although not sufficient) which is a potentially important morale factor.

GILBERTESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ON WAGINA

The following paragraphs are an attempt to describe the social organization of the Gilbertese advance party and first wave on Wagina. As mentioned earlier, a later report will attempt a reconstruction of the social organization in the Phoenixes and Gilberts and more detail about Wagina; for now, however, I shall consider in a general way only the social organization I have seen in operation on Wagina to this time.

Elements of social organization which have thusfar been

obvious to me on Wagina might be thought of in terms of the following social relationships: 1) intra-familial, 2) extra-familial--intra-village, 3) inter-village: a) same religion, b) different religion.

Another perspective is that of the intervening variables of: 1) sex, 2) ranking and age factors, 3) skills. I suspect that at any one given time the particular social organization in any one of these relationships (mentioned above) is due to the interplay of the factors of social relationships and the variables mentioned here. Owing, however, to the rather loose, non-highly-structured nature of Gilbertese social organization there is a high incidence of vagueness re: behavior, such that if one is aware of only a single variable it is very difficult or impossible to predict social action. The result is that when only one variable is manifest in a "leader", there will occur a lot of discussion and argument about the decision, or in an equally typical Gilbertese fashion, the leader will find himself ignored or loudly and lengthily disagreed with.

Sex Variable:

The Gilbertese are relatively egalitarian about sex; ~~status~~; however, men do usually outweigh the women in decision-making in any but the intra-familial situation where the women make their presence felt. Traditionally, women are excluded in the main from any of the larger supra-familial decision-making situations. The members of each sex are ranked primarily on the basis of age (see next section). As might be expected in contacts between sexes there is an increasing separation with age. For instance, young children of both sexes play together, but as ~~they get older~~ and sex differentiation becomes more important, especially as regards the tasks that each is to carry on (the young girls seem to be delegated useful tasks at a relatively younger age than the boys) their associations are necessarily lessened. Despite this and injunctions by religious personnel young unmarried boys and girls do indulge in a lot of pushing, slapping, laughing and other "horseplay" on a very informal basis.

By young adulthood or late childhood (up to early 20's) it becomes obvious that for a boy and girl of equal age the boy normally will have precedence in decision-making. For example, I have seen authority exercised by the boy to send a girl, especially if she is of his own family, to get water, coconuts, or to carry fish. She will not obey him with the certainty that she would a more elderly man, but she has virtually no authority on her side to delegate tasks to him. These generalizations on my part are not particularly clear-cut. Part of the problem lies in the fact that tasks for the respective sexes are rather carefully delineated and the sexes do not usually indulge in telling each other what to do in the other's sphere.

My point is only that if any sort of crossing the sex line is indulged in regarding authority it is the male who has social power on his side (if not actual official authority).

Age Variable:

The Gilbertese males have rather clearcut named ranking categories based on age. These are, however, only clear for certain in name. Certainly everyone will be able to list them, as follows (for the men): 1) "ataei"-child, 2) "ataeinimane", "roronga"-young unmarried man, 3) "rorobuaka"-adult, usually married man and "rorobuaka matoa"-middle-aged usually married man (this category is sometimes split in two in this manner). Another single term for this is "manenuma"- adult male, married; 4) "unimane"- old man. The less frequently used categories for women are: 1) "ataei"-child, 2) "ataeinaine"- young unmarried girl, 3) "ainenuma"- married woman; "nikiranroro"-adult, unmarried woman, 4) "unaine"-old woman.

However, in practice the assigning of these status-positions to individuals is not done with any great deal of consistency. I have asked various men representative of all ages to place all of their colleagues (men) in the scheme that has just been presented. The rankings I received agree in the main, but possibly owing to the lack of any rite of passage (with the one possible exception of marriage marking the move from "ataeinimane" to "manenuma" or "rorobuaka") many individuals will be alternately put into one category and then the other. The boundaries of the categories overlap exceedingly; thus a man conceivably could be an "unimane" to some people and "rorobuaka matoa" to others. Further, the scaling procedure on the part of the Gilbertese (within the main named-ranked categories framework) is more a "ranking" than a "grouping" device. That is, within any named group the important fact is an individual's ranking. An old "unimane" is more prestigious generally than a younger "unimane". In practice the categories are important in two ways: 1) as a dyadic/casual decision-making device (by this I mean that when a decision is being made by two individuals the one who is older, that is who is of relatively higher social rank, will stand, other variables being equal, in a more powerful position). This is an everyday procedure that works in the majority of decision-making situations (dyadic or small group); 2) as a group, a decision-making body. Effectively only one category of those mentioned operates at all as a group, that of "unimane". Their decisions are important on most major issues of a supra-familial nature. A good example of the ability of the old men to make a decision "stick" has been their decision that when "karewe" (toddy) was cut on Lagina at the time of the advance party there was to be no "manging" (sour, alcoholic toddy) made, as such manufacture might prove a liability to the necessary work. A further impression of mine is that, possibly

naturally enough, the "rorobuaka" category (or categories) is the mean of social orientation. That is, this is the category in which its members are almost never spoken of as "rorobuaka" by people within or without this category, rather just as "men". However, the other categories, those of "unimane" or "ataeinimane" are used frequently in reference or in address. Thus one can deprecate another by referring to him as "ataeinimane" or on the contrary honor him by using address or referential terms of "unimane". This adds of course to the general confusion of this ranking as a factor in social organization, but very possibly also allows a flexibility in a change situation that a more formally and explicitly organized system would not (I wonder here if, had the Gilbertese social organization in this matter been more rigid, whether the Titiana loss of prestige of the old men would not have been more upsetting to the general social organization than it apparently has been.) It is apparent that on Wagina the old men (social category of "unimane") exercise the greatest amount of authority of any age or status group. This apparently is in contrast with the present situation in Titiana where the old men as a primary decision-making group on supra-familial matters has ceased to effectively operate. On Wagina itself the old men of the Hull Protestant community and Nikumaroro village appear to be a more effective body of decision-makers than in Kukutin. Reasons for this include the fact that Kukutin's great size (600 people) works against a tightknit homogeneous, one power-center community. Secondly, the factor of a religious authority and elite which is not the "old men" tends to rob the "unimane" of Kukutin of some of the authority accruing to the old men in the Protestant villages.

One additional thing should be mentioned: the relative ranks and categories of men (if known) are relatively mobile from village to village, from locality to locality. Thus an "unimane" from Nikumaroro village would still be an "unimane" in Kukutin village. However, in any decision-making situation other variables would become important, such as other skills (eg. religious authority or mechanical expertise).

Variables of Skill:

This factor of expertise in social placement is of two types: 1) traditional, 2) more recent, alien. Insofar as they both represent good Gilbertese behavior the second category may seem inappropriately named; however, I keep the word because it does imply an existant orientation toward factors external to Gilbertese culture as a whole. The skills that make for some sort of social placement which thusfar I have witnessed are curing and carpentry for the traditional type. Among the alien would be: 1) religious leadership, 2) skilled or semi-skilled training mainly acquired through wage labor, 3) medical skills.

I am not as yet able to predict any special weighting for these respective skills. It does appear, however, that if several men are otherwise equal and one possesses an aura of great achievement in one of these above skills, he will very often be able to at any particular decision make his feelings have weight. I have seen, for instance, the Catholic Catechist, a very dynamic and articulate man, win his way in a discussion that had nothing to do with religion. He is only a "rorobuaka", but in several cases he has been able to influence decisions where "unimane" have been present.

Of course in any man's specialized area he would normally be important in determining decisions made in that sphere. There are times when two of these areas come into, not exactly conflict, but certainly confrontation. An example is found in medicine; the native curing expert as against the government "dresser". The Gilbertese typically turn to the "tia riring" or "tia kuakua" for certain types of illness and to the "tia tobi" for midwifery. However, on all problems so far relating to Solomon Island diseases (eg. as malaria) they turn to the dresser.

Family:

Compared to some Pacific peoples (eg. Polynesians in the nearby Ellice Islands of the G.E.I.C.) the Gilbertese seem very atomistically organized socially. However, this tendency toward almost "amoral familism" is not manifested to an equal degree in the various villages on Wagina. "Amoral familism" has been defined as behavior which is consistent with the following rule: "maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family, assume that all others will do likewise." (E. Banfield, 1958 "The Moral Basis of a Backward Society p.85) Although with the Gilbertese the nuclear family is most important, the "amoral familism" is generally extended to the whole bilateral kindred (kindred family = "te utu"; household = "kain te kainga" or "kain te auti").

The family, thus, is the basic unit of social organization on Wagina. The main locus of this is the household or nuclear family. It would appear that the village of Kukutin is most inclined toward maximizing the family's gain at the expense of the rest of the village, except on the matters of religious piety or solidarity. The Protestant villages appear to be much more inclined toward occasional super-familial cooperation although even in these villages the work group is the family; the major contacts are family ones.

Kukutin village appears to lack the solidarity of the other two villages (again, except on the issue of religion). This has been manifested in such as the refusal of the Kukutin

people to use communal cooks during the period of life in the long houses (that is, for the families in the long houses since the arrival of the first wave). Again, in division of the thatching material many arguments arose and very little communal weaving was done in Kukutin. The guiding rule was that each family got as much thatching for its house as possible, whereas in the village of Arariki (the only other village where houses have been thatched thusfar) virtually all weaving of thatch is done together in one group; the division of the thatch was also more equal per family. Earlier, before the arrival of the families, when all the men of the advance wave from each village were living without their families at the three village sites, the only village where the "problem of drinking coconuts" arose was Kukutin. The nature of this problem was as follows: some young men were delegated by the Resettlement Officer to collect coconuts mainly "te ben" (general term for ripe coconuts); they also, however, often would cut "te moimoto", drinking coconuts. Typically, the Hull Kukutin boys tended to present these nuts only to their families in the village whereas in the other two villages the boys more often tended to share them out among the whole population, though this generosity was not invariable. These above have been examples of the strongest emphasis of familism by the Kukutin people. However, in all three villages the work unit on the houses has been the family. (The only exceptions have been due to the Resettlement Officer's directives setting up communal work parties on houses or on the scheme generally; however, in each of these communal tasks, directed by the Resettlement Officer, there is confusion, conflict, and slow-downs most often localized around Kukutin, but at other times around Nikumaroro or Arariki as well. The implication is that efficiency of the government scheme may in some cases have been hindered rather than aided by the Resettlement Officer's emphasis on communal operations.

Inter-Village Cooperation:

Inter-village cooperation on Nagina is of two types: first, between villages of the same religion; secondly, between villages of different religion. Because of this factor of religion, Arariki (Hull-Protestants) should be expected to get along much better (than the Kukutin-Catholic people do) with Nikumaroro. And this is true; however, the obverse of this, that Nikumaroro-Protestants and Hull-Protestants would similarly relate to Hull-Catholics is not. For, it is clear, the Hull-Protestants have social ties into both other communities. On the one hand because they have recently shared a common island with Kukutin in the Phoenixes, they are tied to the Catholic village. On the other hand, Nikumaroro people, except for a few family ties in Kukutin, share no general social link with Kukutin Catholics. In this consideration of island solidarity and religious affiliation, it might be said that island differ-

ences can be a passive obstacle (i.e. distance) to island cooperation whereas religious differences are present as a positive active agent thwarting inter-village cooperation.

Religion thus is the major element of factionalism as it exists on Wagina. The Hull-Catholicism is different from that which Knudson found among the displaced Sydney people. In the latter case the people were rather recent converts and, according to the Catholic priest at Loga (Gizo) are distinctly less pious (that is, at least according to the criteria of observances and other elements of outward show) than the Kukutin people. The Hull Catholics have been Catholics lifelong. They came from the Gilberts as Catholics. In the Phoenixes they were under a very energetic and militant priest, Father A. Naye (who was on Beru the same time as Mr. H.E. Maude). In addition, there is a Butaritari man, now settled with the Kukutin people, who possesses a fair command of English and is, I am told, more typically northern Gilbertese in his authoritarian tendencies. He is their resident religious leader on Wagina. The Hull Catholics came to Wagina with a set of distinct interpretations of Gilbertese customs and evaluations of it which, importantly, set them off from the Hull Protestants. Among these behaviors are the ones revolving around recreation; for example, these Kukutin Catholics are not allowed to use talcum powder sprinkled on each other during or before the dance as is the custom with the Protestants. Nor are they allowed to use boxes or tins for drums in certain of the dances because it provides an opportunity, so the Catholics say, for girls and boys to touch hands (although whenever I have seen the Hull Protestants or the Hikumaroro people using the boxes, the men alone or the women alone use them). Again the Catholics are very strict in keeping the men and women on all recreation and religious occasions separate usually with a definite aisle between the two groups. Also, the "batere", an Ellice derived, but now typically Gilbertese dance, is not allowed to the Hull Catholics for the reason that it involves the use of hip movement. Only the "taubati" is allowed as it does not require this hip moving extravagance associated with it in the minds of the Hull Catholics. At least part of the rationalization for these attitudes has been explained to me by the Catechist (the Butaritari man) who says that most of these behaviors which they proscribe are in one way or another associated with the past sorcery and other evil customs before Christianity.

The Hull and Gardner Protestants are also very strict in their own faith. No work on Sunday, no eating of food caught on Sunday, and no play on Sunday are allowed. There are a lot of tauntings between the Catholics and Protestants over these differences mentioned above. In addition, some of the Catholics deride the Protestants for their shifting from L.M. to Methodist (as a result of their move to the colonies where there is no

London Missionary Society station).

The Protestants, on their part, articulate very well their religious authority pattern with their esteem for the old men; the old men being the religious leaders on Wagina as well as the decision-makers in secular matters. In the case of Kukutin the old men, "unimane", decision-makers have to contend with the separate religious elite. A good example of the distinctiveness of the villages especially on the religious issue is highlighted, I think, by what one informant from the Protestant Arariki Village told me. She professed to have seldom if ever heard the Catholic priest on Hull Island speak. Additional examples of this separation include the time when I was on Hull. Catholic men from Kukutin including the priest himself were often unable to tell me names of house owners in the Protestant village; likewise the Protestant fellows could not invariably name Catholic house holders. So far, primarily, it has been the younger people who go back and forth between villages on Wagina. In fact there are some people from Hull who arrived on Wagina in December who have not seen in any great detail the "Hull" village of the other religion on Wagina. In the case of the Nikumaroro Village some people from Kukutin Village have never seen it; or in the case of the Nikumaroro people many have not yet looked at Kukutin.

However, the social barriers I have concentrated on in the paragraphs above are not absolute. For various reasons people find all sorts of justifications for being in another village. This became particularly apparent to me before the arrival of the main population first wave in December. Before this time men from various villages were working communally in one village site or the other. However, the way they used the long houses and changed residences made clear some of the reasons they have for associating with the people they do. There are, for instance, the factors mentioned above of island and village solidarity and religious affiliation which, as pointed out, do not necessarily coincide. There are also the factors: a) of friendship ties from working elsewhere; b) island of origin in the Gilberts; c) and a very important reason is that of some sort of marriage or family ties, cross-village, cross-island. For instance the mixed religion marriages mean that many people will in fact cooperate. Owing, however, to the isolation of Gardner from Hull, very few of these marriages were contracted between the two islands and those that were, were usually between members of the same religion. Thus, for this reason there are fewer marriages between Nikumaroro and Kukutin than there are between Arariki and Nikumaroro. The result is that Nikumaroro finds itself, on Wagina, continuing to possess an isolation in social as well as geographic space, as it did in the Phoenixes.

SOLOMON ISLANDER-PHOENIX ISLANDER CONTACTS

The contacts of the Gilbertese on Nagina with Solomon Islanders are of two types: first, temporary, intimate association with Solomon Island laborers, and second, probably permanent, casual association with Solomon Islanders from nearby islands. Thusfar, the contacts of the former type have been more important from our point of view. And it appears that much of the Gilbertese evaluation of Solomon Islanders is based upon these early intimate contacts. The first Solomon Island laborers on Nagina preceded the advance party of Gilbertese by several weeks and prepared the residences for the initial 74 Phoenix Islanders. These 15 Solomon Island men were all from Guadalcanal (the fact that these as well as most of the other laborers have been "easterners" highlights the lack of labor force in the western Solomons). These first men were excellent bush-men (more so than some of the later comers). They were extremely easy for the Gilbertese to get along with and had none of the petulant qualities that the Gilbertese expected in their stereotype of Solomon Islanders ("the cannibals of Palaita"). Their associations were primarily of a laboring variety. That is, their closest contacts came during the working day and it was during this time that the Solomon Islanders earned the respect of the Gilbertese for their knowledge of tree-felling. Also, importantly, they were the agents of instruction in the techniques of Solomon Island bush clearing (as one might expect, the Gilbertese as a whole knew nothing of how to properly use an axe, nor had they, before, seen trees such as those on Nagina).

It was during this initial contact with Solomon Islanders that one or more of the Solomon Islanders was in close enough contact with the Gilbertese to pass on his, or their, "ringworm" skin disease. The Gilbertese and Solomon Islanders both share a willingness to touch each other, hold hands, put arms around each other, etc. As an expression of friendship this is fine, but, as implied, it may prove expensive from a health point of view. This particular group of Solomon Islanders was entirely Roman Catholic and very devoutly so. They occasionally attended Gilbertese Roman Catholic observances and always, each evening, had their own services. This initial fact, that the Solomon Islanders were not pagans, again impressed the Gilbertese and caused them to alter somewhat their views of the former.

These first Solomon Islanders left Nagina at the end of October. Shortly prior to and after their departure, substitute and additional laborers were recruited. These also came from the east, but were of a more heterogeneous background. Some were Seventh Day Adventists, some were Methodist, or Church of England, others were Roman Catholic. Some were from Palaita, others from Guadalcanal, Rennell and Bellona, or Santa Cruz. This group's contacts with the Gilbertese have been more inti-

mate on a recreational plane. During working hours they have been in their own ganga doing their own tasks rather than instructing the already tutored Gilbertese. But after hours they have very closely associated with the Gilbertese, singing together, learning each other's songs, and going to their respective church services, if present. Also, since the first wave of families has arrived, the Solomon Islanders have been extremely interested in the Gilbertese girls and this interest has in general been reciprocated. Likewise the children have entered into games such as volleyball, highjump, swimming, hula hoop, and jump rope with the Solomon Islanders. The latter, for instance have introduced the hula hoop to the Gilbertese children and fashioned hoops for them out of rattan.

The Gilbertese appear fascinated and a little shocked at the number of languages in the Solomons. Initially they thought that Pidgin-English was the counterpart of Gilbertese (i.e. an indigenous, bonafide language), but a humorous counterpart to it, because Pidgin's redundancies sounded odd to them. Interestingly, almost all the language learning has been on the side of the Solomon Islanders who have quickly picked up common phrases, greetings, etc. of the Gilbertese. The only general exception to this is that the Gilbertese have readily learned Pidgin English songs of the Solomon Islanders. Individual exceptions include a few Gilbertese boys who are more facile with English; they are trying now to learn Pidgin-English. Two members of Bristow's staff who are from the Gilberts proper speak fluent English as well as Pidgin-English. They, however, are not settlers. An interesting example of the direction of language learning is found in the Gilbertese attitude toward the store on Tagina. This is a branch of a Honiara firm and is rather inefficiently run by a Guadalcanal boy. The Gilbertese all along have spoken Gilbertese to him rather than used the little English they know and have singularly not used Pidgin. Instead, the storeman has picked up Gilbertese sufficient for his purposes.

An additional aspect of the relationship with the Solomon Islanders is that the Gilbertese have been very generous with them, giving them mats, hats, and fans and only on occasion selling or bartering them when they need money or its equivalent. Other Solomon Island laborers are the "black people" ("I-bata-ba a") from Vela Lavella who have been the crews on the two launches that have been chartered by the scheme thusfar. These men are less in touch with the Gilbertese and their Seventh Day Adventist religion tends to disallow another possible similarity, that of religion (i.e. no Seventh Day Adventist Gilbertese here).

By way of summarizing this first type of Solomon Islander-Gilbertese contact, it might be said that they have been temporary, intimate, and positive. Their effect has been, therefore,

to incline the Gilbertese favorably toward the Solomon Islanders.

The second type of Solomon Islander-Phoenix Islander contact is with the nearby islanders. Although in the past Santa Isabel people fished in this area, they have not put in an appearance while the Gilbertese have been here. Rather all the contact has been from Choiseul Island. Two villages have been represented, one on the southeast coast and one on the northeast coast of Choiseul. Both are Seventh Day Adventist communities. They have come here for three purposes: 1) to "walkabout" and look around; 2) to crocodile hunt; 3) to sell various fresh foods. Considering the first of these motives: the Choiseul Islanders, naturally enough, are interested in these new residents of their civil district (Magina will probably come under the jurisdiction of the Choiseul Island council in the future). However, it was not until the Gilbertese first wave (that of 3rd December that included women and children) arrived that women from Choiseul put in an appearance. Thusfar, other than the women that the members of the advance party saw in Gizo, these have been the first Solomon Island women the Gilbertese have seen. The Gilbertese women for their part rather overwhelmed the Solomon Island women (who by comparison seem very shy and retiring) taking them to the village long houses and giving them gifts. Thusfar the interest in the Solomon Islanders as neighbors is a "novelty interest". Certainly the associations thusfar have done nothing to encourage animosity, rather the contrary.

The second reason which brings the Choiseul people here is that of crocodile hunting. I have been informed by a crocodile skin buyer (Hurt Thundt of Rabaul, representing a Swiss company) that Solomon Island crocodiles will prove an economical venture for not too much longer. The Choiseul people, however, seem to be doing rather well, in the Magina area at least; and in the period under discussion (June-December, 1963) they have taken somewhat over a score of skins, one of which was two feet long, off the island. This skill on the part of the Solomon Islanders (for catching an animal that is widely misunderstood and, possibly therefore, greatly feared by the Gilbertese) again encourages admiration for the Solomon Islanders on the part of the Gilbertese. (It is interesting to note that, whereas the Solomon Islanders appear to fear the shark more than the crocodile, apparently because they understand more fully the nature of the latter to the former, for the Gilbertese the situation is naturally reversed and they greatly fear the crocodile which they do not know). The Gilbertese, for instance, seem not very inclined to hunt the crocodile themselves albeit the standard rate for "c.l." skin is BA 1-0-0 "per inch". Probably, for this reason they do not at present at all resent the Choiseul people for "exploiting" their crocodile resource, but rather (according to my informants) welcome this liquidation of something they

fear. The visits of the crocodile hunters have numbered between 15 and 20 (owing to my leave in the Phoenix Islands I cannot account for that period). Again the associations of this second sort have been interested and amiable.

The third sort of contact the Gilbertese have had with their Choiseul neighbors has been a more recent fruit-and-vegetable sale. Bristow mentioned the possibility (when initially the Choiseul Islanders only brought present to the "Commissioner") to them that he might wish to purchase for the scheme cuttings of various fruits and vegetables as well as the ripe fruits and vegetables. Since the arrival of the first wave, this sort of contact has greatly increased and presently one or two canoes or boats from Choiseul may pull in each week, primarily to sell. Although Bristow or other Europeans here have not bought much, the Gilbertese have. Owing to the larger size of the first two villages as well as to the nearby location of Bristow's fuel supply (by the river between the two villages), the Choiseul people more frequently visit the first two villages rather than the more distant, more isolated, and smallest village of Nikumaroro. Additionally the Choiseul people have come to find in Bristow a source of fuel "loans" on their trips in this area. The loans are made for Bristow wishes to encourage amicable relations in the area. The Gilbertese on their part are glad to have the opportunity to buy these various cuttings and fruits.

In conclusion it may be said that all three types of contacts between the Choiseul people and Gilbertese are presently of the "feeling out" sort, but in general are positive.

APPENDIX

GIZO-WAGINA COMPARISON

The following is a revision on my part of the comparison that K.E. Knudson made between Titiana and Wagina using H.G. Barnett's categories of influences. I shall leave Ken's statement of the Titiana factors as they are, expanding or changing the Wagina side where I feel it might be best.

A. External Influences

1. Nature of Compulsion to Relocate

Titiana- at request of Sydney Islanders in view of longrange possibilities.

Wagina - The immediate threat of a fatal drought is the ostensible reason for the removal given and publicized by Government. From what I am able to gather three things are important here: 1) the drought on the islands could not be called fatal, rather a medium to serious one; 2) G.E.I.C. Government did not want to continue the responsibility for administering the distant Phoenix. The drought provided a respectable way out of this responsibility; 3) the Gilbertese were not unanimous about moving or about where to move.

2. Physical Environments of New Locations

essentially identical, but:

Titiana- insufficient room for a single large village.

Wagina - The physical environment of Wagina is considerably more bushy and, owing to its isolation from government's capital equipment, probably a much more difficult consideration to the Gilbertese. Furthermore, the relatively short time for the evacuation (compared with the 2-3 year stretch for the Sydney removal) means that gardens have not been set up effectively yet. Theoretically anyway, there is unlimited room on Wagina it is true; however, again the crisis nature of the evacuation means that only certain size sites had been cleared communally and thus only certain people are getting house sites in the already cleared area (whereas, I would suspect in Titiana anyone who was a householder in Sydney also was a householder in Titiana. Such is not quite true on Wagina). Furthermore, the Gilbertese on Wagina had no choice whatsoever re: selection of Wagina as their homesite.

3. Social Environments of New Locations

- a. Titiana - close (walking distance) to administrative & business center.
- Wagina - "Distant from all centers of population and trade". Of course for both Titiana and Wagina the administrative and trade centers are closer than they were in the Phoenix. For this reason and that of the rather frequent touring of government officers (2 High Commissioner visits in 6 months) the Gilbertese here do not feel isolated administratively, though in comparison with Titiana this is so. Re: the trade isolation: the presence of a rather high-priced, inefficient, under-stocked store on Wagina may possibly serve to encourage the establishment of a consumer cooperative here: unlike the Titiana community.
- b. Titiana - close to a settlement of Solomon Islanders (walking distance).
- Wagina - "Distant from any permanent settlement of Solomon Islanders". The association of the Solomon Islanders with Gilbertese have thusfar been of 2 types and are positive. The sort relevant here (permanent casual association with distant villages) has been of a non-suspicious, non-hostile nature and fairly frequent, albeit the contact has all been in one direction: that is, visits from Choiseul.
- c. Titiana - established under direct control of a native Gilbertese leader.
- Wagina - "established under direct control of a European administrator" but importantly with the invaluable assistance of a Gilbertese A.A.C. Thus, possibly combining the advantages of both systems.
- d. Titiana - established with no firm concepts on the part of B.S.I.P. administrators with regard to land tenure, political organization, economics, either of Gilbertese in homeland or for future in the resettled community; however, establishment of gardens was strongly encouraged.
- Wagina - At any one point in time the administrator here has "firm concepts". I think that his knowledge is not of Gilbertese ethnology (which indicates some comparative analytical interest) rather that of the little ethnography he has picked up in 3 years in the Gilberts. His firm policies, however, firstly, have been overruled on occasion by the H.C. and secondly, his firmness is confined mainly to repudiating others' ideas rather than meaning that he has one firm scheme. He has earned a name here among the Gilbertese for firmly stating one thing at one time and firmly stating another contrary one

at a different time. This of course is possibly a generalization for all administrators, not just the one here. A further comment: while he did not at first seem to wish a garden subsistence base; at this time I think his scheme is tending in that direction. Again, as Ken and I have discussed, Bristow's policies have within them mutually exclusive and contradictory propositions.

4. Contacts with Congeners

a. Titiana- those remaining at home:

the inclusion of some settlers direct from the southern Gilberts was considered important by the government, and was followed through with.

Wagina - those remaining at home:

Officially, as of now, there are no plans for other settlers here on Wagina. However, unofficially and rather frequently stated are Bristow's and B.S.I.P official's interests in settling cleared land to aliens, (i.e. non-Phoenix Gilbertese). Conceivably on this land or adjacent Rob Roy further communities may be formed "from the bush" to help relieve the southern Gilberts' overpopulation and land fragmentation.

b. Other relocated groups:

Titiana-at establishment there were no other Gilbertese communities in the Solomons.

Wagina -There appear to have been for many years some contacts with Gilbertese in the Honiara area by Gilbertese from the Phoenix and Gilberts. Now, of course, with the Titiana and Shortlands communities there are additional ties. Bristow thusfar has been rather strict in not allowing casual visiting either to or from Wagina while the emergency of evacuation remains. Some few Wagina Gilbertese have gone to Gizo hospital.

5. Alien Diseases

a. Titiana-Malaria is present in Titiana, and Titiana seems to be subject to various unidentifiable respiratory and digestive tract diseases that seem to be traceable only to the overseas cargo ships which the men load and unload.

b. Wagina -Malaria is absent on Wagina at this time. The one possible exception among the Gilbertese is a family who came back to the Phoenix from Titiana a few years ago. However, all residents are ^{receiving} prophylaxis for malaria and the health department seems adamant in its desire to take all available steps to exclude malaria's introduction. The anopheles and other malarial mosquitoes are found (as yet non-

virulently) on Wagina. I believe an interesting contrast with the Titiana case is the Gardner and Hull people's great and conscious fear of malaria and their dedication, thusfar anyway, to taking the prophylaxis as prevention, not only as cures. (I would be interested to know whether the Titiana people initially had this fear and only subsequently lost it. I would suspect the presence of the Titiana people writing letters back to the Phoenix and Gilberts served to pre-impress the Gardner and Hull people with the danger of malaria, a factor which probably was lacking for the Titiana people). Regarding respiratory diseases, the Gardner and Hull people also arrived with respiratory problems which became significantly worse. My evaluation at this time is that for some reason they pick up these diseases back in the G.E.I.C. but they generally remain rather dormant owing to the climate. Once here, however, the humidity and occasional drops in temperature serve to aggravate the visible disease. Re: the digestive problems some of these Gilbertese also have such problems. It is a non-amoebic dysentary and diarrhea possibly traceable to the Gilbertese customary use of wells and cleaning of utensils and waste disposal, which while adequate in the Phoenixes are less adapted to the Solomons. At the present time one of the most obviously different diseases confronted by the Gilbertese is that of "bakua"-ringworm. While apparently some of this exists in the Gilberts it is not serious there and the people here seem very concerned over its presence among them now. They who are so sensitive of their skins, applying salves, lotions, and powders repeatedly, seem to have no efficacious treatment for this, nor, importantly, do the health people.

6. Government and Mission Welfare Efforts

- Titiana-government: economic, educational, medical aid.
missions: educational and "spiritual guidance" in Titiana proper and related communities near Gizo; in Shortlands the Roman Catholic mission provides medical aid as well.
- Wagina -government: economic, and medical aid; educational facilities will depend mostly on missions.
missions: educational and "spiritual guidance". Certainly both of these by the Catholics and probably also by the Protestants, i.e. Methodists. Wagina, although distant from any mission station, is not far from the standard touring routes of the Methodists and Catholics. Thusfar, the Catholics have taken a real interest in Wagina, the Protestants almost none, though this may change.

7. Government and Mission Advice and Supervision

Titiana- not closely supervised by Europeans on day to day basis, but policy set and important decisions taken by European administrators.

Wagina - Government action is supervised by a European on the spot while religious supervision will be noticeably less and the indications are that the lay leaders on the Catholic part and ministers and "unimane" for the Protestants will be in effective control of most situations. Later there will be a European Roman Catholic priest and some sisters stationed here.

8. Selection of Emigrants

Titiana- some voluntary emigration from Gilberts proper.

Wagina - No voluntary emigration from Gilberts proper, as yet. (see 4.a. above) although Bristow thinks it would improve the quality of the present group.

B. Internal Influences

1. Heterogeneity of Community

Titiana- planned as single community to include Catholics and Protestants, Sydney Islanders and non-Sydney Islanders.

Wagina - The villages will primarily be either Catholic or Protestant; however, only one village will be totally so, Nikumaroro, all Protestant. There may be a few Catholics in Hull-Protestant village and there will be a few Protestants in Hull-Catholic village. However, in most of these cases and probably all (this conclusion must await the coming of the second final wave) any mixing of religion in the villages will be owing to mixed marriages. However, it does appear that all 3 villages will be more purely parochial than they were in the Phoenixes.

2. Degree of Acculturation at Time of Removal

Wagina - "According to Bristow, the Hull & Gardner peoples benefited greatly from close European supervision of their joint (?) cooperative after the Sydney Islanders had left the Phoenix". Apparently, the cooperative movement in the G.E.I.C. as a whole needed revision in the mid-'50's to bring it up to European standards of efficiency (for instance, wide spread credit was allowed by many of the coop stores and the buying of second grade copra for first grade prices so that the copra producer could get more money). Bristow's comment therefore referred, I think, to the cooperative movement as

a whole in the Gilberts where he was, for a time, Registrar of Cooperatives. But the cooperatives in the Phoenixes appear to have been run by Phoenix Islanders albeit with stricter Mother Cooperative supervision. Another factor in this cooperative was that once the Sydney people had evacuated their island the Gardner and Hull people worked Sydney jointly. However, owing to the proximity of Hull to Sydney this former island apparently got most of the benefits of the evacuation. More recently in drought times of course Sydney was not worked. The Phoenix Islands Cooperatives have assets of about LA 3500.

3. Familiarity with New Homeland

Titiana-A group of Sydney Islanders toured Gizo and the western Solomons and reported back to their people before this decision was made to move.

Wagina -One family (most recently of Gardner, although Roman Catholic) had experience in the Solomons as Sydney people. However, they had returned in 1960 or so. I have as yet been unable to determine how widespread their influence was. However, they themselves are not very impressed with the Solomons.

4. Factionalism

Titiana-The Gilberte Islander-Sydney Islander distinction is a point of tension in Titiana; this will be absent in Wagina.

Wagina -There are two factional strains on Wagina: one, that of religion; 2, that of island. On this scale it would appear that the factions are most distinct between Gardner Protestants and Hull Catholics. Whereas the Hull Protestants have variables to tie into either of the other communities.

5. Addition and Loss of Members

Titiana-There was for a while the possibility that some might return to the Gilberts, but few did. New settlers continued to arrive in small groups, the latest in June, 1963; after September, 1958 all the latter were from the southern Gilberts proper.

Wagina -"Policy seems not to be determined as yet regarding possible future additions to the population". However, I predict that if the political situation (i.e. public opinion from Solomon Islanders) allows, there will be further additions to either this population or on nearby available islands. Certainly this is the unofficial view of the government at this time. Although it has been officially stated

that the government does not wish total evacuation of the Gilberts, at least one officer of the government speaks in these terms. Finally, the islands offshore from Wagina, part of the former Manning Strait Plantation, will not be given to the Phoenix Islanders, but rather will probably be used as headquarter "capital equipment" islands (i.e. coconut & fishing stations as well as gardens) for future resettlements from the Gilberts proper.

C. Ideological Factors

1. Necessity of Removal

Titiana-Not everyone felt that it was necessary to leave Sydney Island, while those who came direct from the southern Gilberts came to Gizo with the idea of improving their lot in life and not out of dire necessity.

Wagina -The severe drought in the Phoenixes does effect the Gardner and Hull people's ideas of the need to relocate. However, for the reasons stated elsewhere, it appears that to the Gardner and Hull people, also, it was not as much a necessary move as an improving one. Certainly the crisis did provide whatever degree of unanimity does exist. Some people wished to stick it out in the Phoenixes. Others who wanted to move did not want to go to the unknown Solomons, but rather to Fanning Island.

Submitted by:

William Taft Stuart
Adjunct Research Assistant
University of Oregon

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