

ADDRESSES AND REPORTS

Personal
Typescripts of

CULTURE CHANGE AND EDUCATION IN THE GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

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by

MR. H. E. MAUDE

Before commencing with the real subject matter of this talk I feel I had better explain briefly where the Gilbert and Ellice Islands are and who inhabit them.

The Gilbert Group consists of sixteen coral atolls straddling the equator and lying just west of the 180th meridian of longitude, their northern and southern limits being latitude 4° north and 3° south, respectively. The Ellice Group comprises nine smaller but more fertile atolls lying to the south of the Gilberts, between latitudes 5° and 11° south. The Gilbert Group has an outlier in Banaba or Ocean Island, some 250 miles to the westward, which, although a high island, is inhabited by a Gilbertese speaking folk. These Groups are typical examples of the thousand and one atolls of the Pacific, consisting of long ribbons of coral sand, often enclosing lagoons, seldom more than a few hundred yards in width and nowhere more than 15 feet above sea level; fortunately they lie within the doldrums, for a good sized wave would sweep the islands bare. Not even their most ardent admirer could describe these atolls as being anything but barren, so meagre is the deposit of humus that virtually nothing can be grown except the ubiquitous coconut, the pandanus and a coarse edible root similar to inferior taro and known as "babai".

And yet, extraordinary to relate, these arid islands are among the most densely populated areas in the Pacific, on some of them the population exceeding 1,000 to the square mile. The inhabitants, furthermore, are increasing steadily and their fertility is such that, did they not themselves place limits on the number of their children, they would find themselves increasing beyond their meagre means of subsistence. That such a dense population can exist at all is due, of course, to the fact that they are not confined to the land for their food supply, but are able to utilize the resources of the ocean for many miles around each island. According to the census, there are roughly 30,000 Gilbertese and 4,000 Ellice Islanders at the present time, the increase shown between the years 1921 and 1931 being over 4,000.

Without going very deeply into the social structure of the islanders I should mention here that the Gilbertese are included under that loose term Micronesian; they appear to be a blend of three racial groups. The basic stock was apparently of Melanesian or Papuan type and inhabited the islands from time immemorial. Fused with this element we find two comparatively recent immigrant groups, the one coming from that portion of the Malay Archipelago centering round Gilolo and the other a pure Polynesian type from Samoa. By the time when they were first visited by Europeans these three racial groups had blended with each other, resulting in a homogeneous type -- the Gilbertese of today. The Ellice islanders are pure Polyheshians, the greater part having migrated from the valley of Falealili in

Samoa about the year 1525. Blended with this Samoan stock we find, particularly in the northern Ellice, a considerable infiltration of Tongan blood, due to a long succession of raids from the Tongan Archipelago. In former days the Gilbertese were divided into patrilineal, exogamous and totemic clans whose ramifications extended over all except the two northern islands and Banaba. The Government alternated between petty kingdoms and extreme democracies, according to whether there was anyone strong enough by dint of warfare or intrigue, to seize the power. There were, however, two more or less stable kingdoms, in the northern and central islands, and here were found a feudal system with all the paraphernalia of high chiefs, petty chiefs, freemen and slaves. Except in these two kingdoms there was, and still is, strict individual ownership of land and every man and woman in the islands is a landowner. As a consequence, there is no extreme poverty and no necessity for anyone to work as an employee, especially in view of the fact that native taxation is paid in copra and not in money unless he or she so desires it. Furthermore, by the system of "bubuti", a person lacking some article, such as a tub or a dress length, can obtain it by begging it off someone else. By an analogous custom of "tibusu", children can be taken in adoption by those desiring them. All that need be said of the customs of the Ellice islanders is that they were based on those existing in Samoa at the date of the emigration from Falealili.

The two groups were actually discovered, piecemeal, between 1765 and 1827, but until 1830 there was but little contact with the inhabitants. From that date, however, until about 1870 the region became a favourite whaling ground and a great number of ships visited the islands each year. The whalers were accustomed to live ashore when refitting and often while boiling down whale blubber, and, while cruising in the vicinity of the islands they filled vacancies among their crew by shipping the more adventurous natives and at the same time took on board a number of the local women. The whalers brought, too, the first beachcombers, escaped convicts and runaway sailors for the most part, who formed a most turbulent element in the population for many years. The first European to reside with the natives landed about the year 1835, in 1840 there were 7 Europeans living in the islands, while by 1860 there were actually far more Europeans in the two groups than there are to-day.

What then was the effect on the islanders of this initial contact with a foreign culture? As far as we can ascertain at the present day it was surprisingly small. The beachcombers as a whole lowered themselves to the level of the natives, marrying into their families and adopting their customs. The few who were unwilling to become, to all intents and purposes, natives, held themselves as far as possible aloof from them and made no attempt to influence their social life. They introduced, of course, new commodities and tools and thus gradually modified the arts and crafts of the natives, and this process of change was accelerated by the next group of foreigners to visit and reside in the islands, the traders.

The first trading ships visited the islands about 1850 and, within another ten years, we find a Sydney firm operating, with resident European traders established on nearly every island in the two groups. By 1870 there were at least two German firms, besides a British and an American, competing for the local trade and the remaining beachcombers

had transformed themselves into more or less respectable resident traders. As a result, the natives, while they retained their social organization still largely intact, saw the material side of their life considerably changed. New wants, for example, tobacco, liquor, firearms, were carefully fostered, new materials, such as imported timber for canoe building, and new iron and steel tools, were introduced and, in order to obtain these desiderata, a considerable part of the natives' time had to be spent in the production of coconut oil.

To a large extent contemporaneous with the early traders we have the third group to influence the culture of the central Pacific atolls. Between 1860 and 1875 "blackbirders" raided the islands and, in particular, the southern Ellice and the southern Gilberts. The earlier ships transported the people to the Guano islands in South America and as few if any ever returned to their homes. Nothing resulted from this contact except a certain measure of dislocation in the social structure of the islanders. Later vessels, however, took so-called "recruits" to Fiji, Tahiti, and Hawaii, from which places they quite commonly returned, bringing with them a widened outlook and new and foreign ideas disruptive of the indigenous social life. From this period we can date the decay of exogamy and the clan system generally, which had formerly been the all-important focal centre of the native social organization.

The various Pacific Islanders Protection Acts gradually purged the labour trade of its undesirable features, but to the present day, the natives are recruited, under proper safeguards, as indentured labour, to such places as Ocean Island, Fanning, Washington and the Phoenix Islands. Practically every man spends at least two years of his youth as an indentured labourer, and, as can be readily imagined, this period of comparative freedom, away from the social restraints of his village life, has no small effect in broadening his horizon and causing him to question the necessity and utility of the social conventions with which he is surrounded on his return to his village.

We now come to the most potent cause of culture change in the two groups, the missions. Between 1865 and 1869 Samoan missionaries were placed on all the islands of the Ellice Group and the people eagerly embraced the new faith. The suddenness and extent of the change effected in the native life by the mission in the Ellice Islands, was, indeed, astonishing. The accessories of the old religion were razed to the ground, European clothing introduced, old customs, games, amusements prohibited and abandoned, and, almost at a stroke, the native society was changed to a theocracy with the Samoan pastor at the head and with a code of social conduct taken largely from the Bible as interpreted by him. In the Gilbert Islands, although Dr. Hiram Bingham had been residing at Abaiang from as long ago as 1857, progress was far slower, and it was not until the 70's that Christianity could be said to be definitely in the ascendancy. In 1870 the London Missionary Society extended their work to the Southern Gilberts and in 1888 the Roman Catholics commenced operations. At the present day the Northern Gilberts are predominantly Roman Catholic, the Southern islands together with the Ellice Group, Protestant, while there are still several thousand so-called pagans who remain more or less aloof from either mission. In general, it may be said that the missions have not had the iconoclastic effect on the Gilbertese that they had on

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the Ellice, mission penetration has been slower, and the people have tended rather to select those aspects of the new religion which appealed to them most, possibly as being most in harmony with their old ideas, while tacitly ignoring other features.

At the same time there can be no question but that the influence of the missions has been an all-powerful one in effecting change in the indigenous culture. In many ways it has been the antithesis of the influence of the beachcomber and trader, for whereas the earlier visitors modified profoundly the material life of the natives, their arts and crafts, the missions left these practically unchanged, concentrating their activities on moulding the social structure of the native life more into conformity with the ideas and ideals of the new religion. Clan exogamy, the marriage system, the various "rites de passage" concerned with birth, marriage, and death, and in particular, those dealing with puberty and adolescence, all went, and at the same time much was discouraged that would be considered comparatively harmless to-day, such as various competitive games, the wearing of wreaths and ornaments, dancing, smoking and the like. Secular power, too, came more and more under the control of the missions, as the little village gerontocracies became accustomed to abiding by the advice of the local pastor or teacher.

Finally, in 1892, the two groups came under the protection of the British Government and European officials were sent to supervise the administration. A simple code of laws was drawn up, based on the earlier mission legislation and the various councils of Old Men were transformed into island councils to administer them. These Councils, under a Native Magistrate, have executive, judicial and a certain amount of legislative power. They work amazingly successfully and with a minimum of friction, and I believe it to be true to say that nowhere in the Pacific Islands, with the exception of the Kingdom of Tonga, is the indigenous native playing such a large and successful part in his own government. Everything from the simplest matter to a charge of murder is dealt with by the natives themselves in their own courts. There is no denying that some of the new laws must have resulted in a severe shock to the islanders, based as they were upon European rather than native ideas, but as they were administered by the people themselves, they adapted the new code to their own culture, tacitly ignoring those considered unsuitable while rigidly enforcing those they thought desirable.

And thus we come to the Gilbertese and Ellice Islander of to-day, a cultural blend in which his original Micronesian or Polynesian heritage has been influenced by western civilization through the beachcomber, trader, blackbird, missionary and Government official. I have tried, however, to show how very selective this contact has been; like so many of the scattered groups of the Pacific, the main stream of commerce has passed them by and they have had no opportunity of viewing western civilization as a whole. All they know of it is from the very specialized by-products, as it were, of civilization, who visit their islands with a particular end in view whether it happens to be their administration, conversion, exploitation, or even, in the case of the blackbirds, their abduction. The attitude of the Gilbertese towards the outside world is a sensible one, he recognizes the existence of foreigners and the fact that they differ from him in many respects, but he stoutly maintains his own group to be the best

place for the Gilbertese and, what is probably true enough, his own cultural synthesis to be the best possible for his peculiar circumstances and environment. He evinces little if any curiosity in the customs and goings-on of the outside world, which he will never see, and, as a natural consequence of his isolation, is inclined to be rather smug at times and contented with things as they are in his own little sphere. The Ellice islanders differ to a certain extent from the Gilbertese in that they have a mecca, Samoa, situated, comparatively speaking, in the maelstrom of civilized life. From Samoa come new fashions and new ideas, which profoundly affect the lives of those whom the Samoans no doubt consider their rather gauche country cousins.

At the same time, while these Central Pacific atolls lie still sheltered from the full blast of modern civilization, yet the inhabitants have every opportunity of leading a perfectly full life within the limits set by their village and island. Mention has already been made of the exceptional share taken by natives in the government of the islands, and those politically minded can always strive to become village police, village councillors, or aspire to one of the more senior positions in the local administration, eventually perhaps becoming magistrate of the island, a post which has very considerable responsibilities indeed. For those who take an especial interest in church work there are always many positions available, in a village-deacons, members of the church council and, for those willing to undergo training, village pastorates.

During recent years the more commercially gifted have formed native co-operative societies, collecting and marketing the copra of the members and retailing trade goods in exchange. These societies, though it must be confessed that they have not so far made fortunes for their members, have yet succeeded in ousting the trader or middle-man from nearly every island in the two groups, and the control of their activities offers a magnificent field for the energy of the villager who can, with comparative ease, get himself elected on one or more of the various committees connected with each society.

The above are a few ways only in which an islander can satisfy his ambitions and lead a life useful to the community. Many more could be detailed--for those wishing to earn money, which is not nearly such a common desire with the native as with us, there are opportunities as indentured labourers, for the clerical type there are positions with the local government as well as the co-operative society and, of course, there are always the innumerable activities of the village itself, fishing, canoe building, house building, cultivation, etc., etc. all of which offer unlimited scope for specialisation and the acquisition of skill.

Here then is the human setting in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands today. The islander lives sheltered largely from modern civilization and its problems, yet leading a happy and full life, busy in the first place with the primal interests of his own immediate family group, the eternal problems of birth, marriage and death, but at the same time finding a perfectly satisfying field for his energies and ambitions in the activities of his village and island. The village, with its arts, occupations and social life is the all important focal centre of the islander and, as a consequence, education there must be based on a sympathetic understanding of village problems and needs.

Island life is only an extension of village life and in no way differs from it- in fact on many islands there is only the one village. With few exceptions, the native has no interest in life or problems beyond the horizon of his island, and why should he, since he knows that he will never come face to face with them?

We now come to a consideration of the way in which education in the Colony has developed in response to the needs of the islanders. I'm afraid there is no time for a detailed historical account of the development of local education though it may be necessary to show in passing the way in which the present system has grown up. Particularly during early years native education in the two groups has been essentially connected with the missions, and has expanded side by side with the expansion of other mission activities. The Roman Catholic mission has not extended its work to the two southernmost Gilbert Islands or the Ellice Group but, apart from this, both the Protestants and Roman Catholics have a church, and attached to the church a school, in practically every village throughout the islands. In the Gilbert islands, with a population of 30,000, there are 200 of these village schools. In the Ellice Group, with 4,000 people, there are nine. By law every boy or girl between the ages of six and sixteen, has to attend one of these mission schools. The teachers in charge have at the same time spiritual duties to perform, the Protestants being invariably the pastors of the local church while the Roman Catholics have analogous functions within their own organisation.

Apart from the village schools the London Missionary Society has two central establishments at Beru and Abaiang respectively containing boarding schools for boys and girls, and a training school for pastors. They have also three intermediate schools where scholars are prepared for the central establishments. The Roman Catholics have a boarding school for married teachers at Abemama and a seminary for preparing youths for the priesthood on Abaiang. They have also several small convents for elder girls and three intermediate boarding schools for boys. In the Ellice Group there is a boarding school for boys at Vaitupu, the former girls' boarding school at Funafuti having been given up several years ago.

In 1898, only six years after the coming of the government, secular schools were started on the five central islands under the control of the local native governments. These schools were a success but were felt to duplicate the work of the mission schools then commencing in the central Gilberts and the scheme was abandoned. It was not until 1913 that the government again took a practical interest in education by voting the sum of £275 to mission schools and printing presses. This sum was made an annual payment and increased to £500 in 1917.

A government Education Department was set up in 1920 and a central school, now known as the King George V. school, was started on Tarawa island, concerned primarily with the education of boys intended for government appointments. A similar boarding establishment was formed on Vaitupu, in the Ellice Group, assisted by generous gifts from the Ellice Islanders, themselves. There is

also a government day school for boys on Ocean Island supported by local native funds. All three government schools were until recently under the control of European Headmasters, but the Ellice Islands school is now staffed entirely by natives. There are two other schools in the Colony that should be mentioned here- a Roman Catholic boarding school practically confined to half-caste children, in Butaritari in the Gilbert Group, and a small school for European children on Ocean Island.

The teaching given in the village schools is of course extremely elementary and does not pretend to go beyond the lower primary standard. The bias throughout is religious and moral, for the breakdown in the native social organisation resulted in a corresponding collapse in the traditional system of character training. Sanctions could no longer be enforced and the general tone of morality declined until an attempt was made to arrest it by missionary work. The main aim of the schools is to give a good grounding in reading and writing the vernacular, the ability to do simple sums in arithmetic and a knowledge of the fundamentals of Christianity and Christian ethics. A certain amount of geography and elementary hygiene is also taught in most schools.

It was long thought by the government that, as stated in the Annual Report of the Colony for 1912, the teaching given by the missions in village schools, "though morally unquestionable, was deficient in utility". It was felt that it was out of the question for the government to establish its own system of schools in competition with the missions, if only for financial reasons, and that the best way in which the village schools could be improved would be by improving the teachers themselves. The school teachers in the Gilbert Islands, with three exceptions, were all Gilbertese, who had been selected from the pick of the pupils at the various village schools, and taken to the resident higher training centres, where they went through a further three year teacher-training course under European guidance. The teachers in the Ellice Islands are mostly Samoans and have received their education at the Malua School in Samoa.

Some years after the formation of the government Education Department it was arranged with the missions that selected batches of teachers should be sent each year to the King George V School for further training and since 1930 ten teachers yearly have received instruction in teaching methods, class organisation and use of syllabus, together with a refresher course in general knowledge. On completion of their course, these teachers are posted to what are known as "improved village schools", which are inspected annually by the Government Education Department. The government gives grants for providing the necessary equipment for all improved village schools and for the replenishment of writing materials etc. At the same time an annual efficiency grant is made to each improved school, as a result of the annual inspection. The maximum sum which each school can obtain is £20, half of the marks being awarded on the assessed efficiency of the pupils and half on that of the teacher.

A syllabus has been drawn up by the government, with the co-operation of the missions, for a unified system of instruction for

use in these improved schools, the subjects now being taught including Language, by which is meant, in the majority of schools, the vernacular, though English is included as an optional subject to be taught where possible, Arithmetic, Religious Instruction and Character Training, physical training, hygiene, drawing and hand-work, nature study and agriculture, singing, history and civics, and geography. A special emphasis is laid on the development of basic morality and physical well-being, while every effort is made to use such indigenous material as is compatible with Christian principles. It is recognised that, since the natives' own system of moral and physical instruction has fallen to pieces through contact with our culture, we are under an obligation to replace it with one more suited to the changed circumstances of today.

In general it may be said that the government teacher training scheme has, in actual practice, proved a success. Though on financial and other grounds it has been found necessary to abandon the scheme there are at present 1,200 children, representing 25% of the school children of the Gilbert Islands, being taught in the new improved schools under the government trained teachers. According to the Superintendent of Education's reports these schools are well run and the instruction given is efficient and well suited to the needs of the future villagers. I think I should mention here that the grounds for abandoning the teacher-training scheme are not entirely financial but are partly due to the Roman Catholic mission having, for various reasons, withdrawn from the scheme. It was felt that it was useless to carry on with the project with the co-operation of the Protestant mission only. At the present time we are endeavouring to find a new scheme likely to produce at any rate as good results as the old, one which will be acceptable to both missions and at the same time lie within the bounds of financial possibility.

Before concluding I would like to touch briefly on a few special points connected with educational problems in the Gilbert and Ellice Groups, as it is possible that similar conditions and problems will be met with elsewhere in the more remote parts of the Pacific. In the first place one must, I think, be continually on guard lest the native in these isolated groups be educated beyond his needs and beyond all possibility of utilising the knowledge gained while at school. The child comes from a village environment and to that environment he must return and it is useless, even a positive source of danger to himself, to provide him with a fund of ideas and knowledge which he will have no chance to apply in his village life. The islander has, as I have endeavoured to show, only a very selective contact with modern civilization and the possibility that the islanders will ever come into direct contact with European culture is so remote as to be not worth considering. There is no native emigration to places outside the Colony and no possibility of Europeans coming to reside inside it, since no European may purchase land or even rent more than 5 acres on any one island. Since, then, there is no possibility of a native having to pit his brains in competition with members of a higher culture there is no need to train him to be able to do so. It is my experience that those natives who have been trained beyond the needs of village life are out of harmony with their environment, and discontented and unhappy when, for some reason or other, they are compelled to reside permanently in the villages from which they

originally came. The syllabus of education as taught by the missions in the improved village schools is thus suited to the needs of 99% of the Gilbert and Ellice Islanders, since throughout it has been carefully adapted to native needs, mentality and environment.

In these small atolls there is an almost absolute absence of white collar jobs or indeed of any openings for natives educated beyond the primary standard. There are, however, a few positions in the subordinate staff of the Colony government, with the various native governments, with trading firms, and to proceed, as medical students, to the Central Medical School in Fiji. To fill these vacancies the government founded, in 1922, the King George V School on Tarawa Island. This institution, consisting of from 30 to 90 boarders, is run as far as practicable on the lines of an English public school. There are four classes, the attainment of Class IV being that of fifth year groups in European schools. A very fine type of youth graduates from this school and one who, with a little additional training, is capable of holding the highest positions in the Native Government. As a rule, however, only sufficient numbers are trained to fill anticipated vacancies and keep a small reserve of educated youths for unforeseen contingencies.

The medium of instruction in all schools in the Gilbert Islands, except the senior classes of King George V School and the Roman Catholic School at Butaritari, is the vernacular, Gilbertese. In the Ellice Islands all school children are taught in Samoan, except those at the government school at Vaitupu, where the Ellice Island dialect is the medium of instruction. At a very few village schools English is taught as a special subject but the instruction is so elementary that few children acquire more than the ability to repeat a few phrases. Here, in these remote islands, the arguments in favour of the teaching of English are at their weakest. The reasons usually advanced are that a knowledge of English will facilitate intercourse with Europeans and at the same time provide a key to literature. The first argument has little validity in the Gilbert and Ellice groups where the native will seldom, if ever, see a European other than a member of the limited group who live among them more or less permanently, and among these residents, there are very few who are unable to speak the vernacular. As to the second argument, my experience is that a native with a knowledge of English seldom develops a taste for reading good European literature and that those few who do are not thereby assisted to become contented members of the native society to which they belong. There is, actually, a fairly good literature published in Gilbertese and it would appear, for the present at any rate, to be more important to increase and improve the range of vernacular literature than to extend the teaching of a new language. In the Ellice Islands there is more excuse for using Samoan as the medium of instruction, owing to the absence of a literature in the Ellice Islands dialect.

A point in which the Gilbert and Ellice Islands possibly differ from most other areas is that it is surprisingly difficult to give any really useful practical instruction to the native along the lines of manual or agricultural training. As a result of generations of struggle against a hostile and barren environment

the islander has learnt to take every possible advantage of the scanty resources at his command and there is very little that we can teach him with regard to canoe building or sailing, fishing, house building, coconut culture, etc., that will be an improvement on the technique he has evolved for himself. The arts and crafts of daily life are not taught at school but are learnt from members of the family or recognised experts living in the village and while this continues to be the case, school instruction in these subjects would largely be a duplication, and possibly an inferior one, of what the child will inevitably learn at home.

Early contact with whalers, beachcombers and traders resulted in a fair number of half-castes but, as a general rule, these have tended to marry into the native community and identify themselves with native life. At the present time there are only a few mixed bloods who aspire to European status and the vast majority of these are educated at the Catholic school on Butaritari, where the educational syllabus is specially adapted to their needs. The lot of the half-caste who divorces himself from the native community is a difficult one in these islands as, owing to the scarcity of vocations, he is hard put to maintain anything like a European standard of living.

Speaking generally I think I shall not be far wrong in saying that educational policy in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands has been carefully adapted to local needs with a clear recognition of the problems peculiar to the local environment. The underlying idea has been not to prevent or hinder culture change, which is recognised as inevitable, nor yet to hasten the process of transition, but rather to provide the native with an education which will enable him to make a successful adaptation to any changes that may occur in island conditions and at the same time live a useful and contented life.

Address given in Honolulu on July 31, 1936

to the Pan-Pacific Union

I am very pleased to have this opportunity of speaking to you today in the Gallatians. The difficulty is that it is only possible to mention a few of the main facts about Gallatians life, and I am not quite sure what you would like to hear about most, but I think it would be best if I endeavour to sketch an outline of ~~one of a few of~~ the main aspects of their social organisation and if afterwards there are any questions you would like to ask I will try to answer them to the best of my ability.

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which
what we do.

The Gallatians inhabit a line of 16 low coral islands straggling across the equator together with the high phosphate island of Banaba in Ocean and the island of Niue, in the middle of the Ellice group. In all these 18 islands we find roughly the same language, material culture and to a large extent, the same social organisation. In 1840 the population was estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 50,000 but, ^{being} due to a disastrous series of wars in the central islands followed by the introduction of firearms and due to the serious over-population, by 1900 it had dropped to some 25,000. ^① The 1931 census, which was the first accurate one to be taken, shows that the population during the last decade has steadily increased and now amounts to over 30,000.

Physically the Gallatians vary from ~~black~~ black bird used Melanesians to tall fair European looking types - most of them have high cheek bones and a markedly Mongolian appearance. In their legends they recall the names of several islands, Borneo, Orora, Gildoley ^{Pottery} and others which a ~~thorough~~ a large scale map will be found to be a group to the north west of New Guinea. These they ~~consider~~ ^{term} the Barge zero or line of their dead ancestors and for my reasons it is probable that they came from there. The old men of the clan Kanyoua who carefully guard the legends of the Gallatians always insist that they were ~~for~~ ancestors were fair skinned and only became the present chocolate colour through intermarriage with the negro

we have here ^{the} ~~a~~ typical lay-out of clan sitting places in the a
nacula which is recognized as being the principal one of the whole
Gilberts, since the ^{timbers} ~~timber~~ of which it is composed was brought straight
from Samoa itself. Most of the other naculas up to the island of
Kauakei are based on this one, which we can therefore regard as being ~~typical~~
of a typical Gilbertese meeting house.

All the principal clans sharing
the nacula have their privileges and duties, the clan of Kangeon, being the head
of the building, since they are the keepers of the traditional law of the people.

Kangeon or Kuan has the right of the first word in all debates
but their head man does not speak above a whisper his words being
"lifted up" by the clan of Ura-n-Tabinai. Various other clans have the
right of speaking seen, third etc and only when the principal one has spoken
may the conversation become general. Te Wain has the right of blowing the
conch to summon the meeting, Kuan is the bulwark of the edifice,
Tabukachau the divider of the food and so on.

The punishment for offences against the community was decided by the old
men in the nacula, usually being usually punished with death and lesser ones
such as theft of forfeiture of land or other appropriate penalty. The petty
kingdoms found in the Marshall, Cook and other parts of Micronesia are not much
in evidence in the Gilberts though from time to time dynasties may arise who have
obtained mastery over the one and occasionally other islands. In their death
however the king usually broke up and the island reverted to its normal state of
democracy.

When the British took over the Islands in 1892 there were however
two remarkable chiefs, ^{one} ~~one~~ in Butantari and the other in Alerana, ~~both~~ Both
these were recognized as High Chiefs by the Government and their weakening
descendants now held the title though, ~~but~~ if ~~the~~ we were not there to protect
them, they would inevitably lose their lands and power and probably be killed.
One of these old chiefs, Te Bucka by name, who was chief of Alerana, Kuan and
Aranka islands and a friend of Robert Louis Stevenson was remarkable in that,
although a ~~fine~~ fine native himself, he delightedly set out to teach us every

native custom in order to increase his power. He ordered his clan, Fannamaton, to speak first in the council instead of Tagoa, he forced his subjects to commit incest by marrying within their clan and within the prohibited degrees of relationship, he enticed them to break all the tabus of eating and drinking and in a generation succeeded in effectually altering the social structure of these islands, thus affording an interesting example of how, ^{even} in free-European times one man alone could effect a change in custom which, had they not known the facts, would have easily puzzled Anthropologists, Ethnologists and might have given rise to many ingenious but erroneous interpretations.

~~For just what he likes to say a few notes on the relationship system.~~

The Gilbertese have the so-called classificatory system of relationship. All of the same generation of the same sex and in the same clan are termed little sisters, none or twins, all of the father's generation are called twins or father. Besides being prohibited from marrying his own clan a Gilbertese may not marry anyone descended from a common ancestor up to the fourth generation back. Should a man marry an elder daughter in a family he is entitled to marry also her younger sisters and even if, with his permission, she is married to another, he ~~is~~ has the right of intercourse with her. The Gilbertese are, as we will meet later, a extremely cruel race, though their notions of morality differ from ours. No intercourse was permitted before marriage and anyone found not to be a virgin was thrown out of the house and possibly killed, in any case she could never hope to find a husband. Adultry after marriage was, as we have seen, punished with death, at any rate in theory.

On top of this however we find a host of relatives with whom an individual was not only permitted, but expected, to have intercourse - for example a man's sisters' husband, her husband's father, a her father-in-law's brother's son.

and.

SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

Address

on the

Work of the Social Development section

of the

South Pacific Commission

Given at the Seventh Science Congress of the

Royal Society of New Zealand.

19th May, 1951

Christchurch, N.Z.,
19.5.51.

H.E. Maude,

Executive Officer for Social
Development.

The
Work of the Social Development Section
of the
South Pacific Commission.

Before opening this discussion on the Social Development work of the South Pacific Commission with a brief explanatory account of our activities, past and present, I should like to express my sincere thanks to the Organizers of the Anthropological and Social Sciences sections for this opportunity of sharing with you some of our problems and obtaining your views and advice. There is a danger in all Government bodies (and particularly, I think, those of an international character) that one is apt to become immersed in correspondence, the writing of endless reports and organizational detail, and it is only on rare occasions such as this that one can knock off for a few minutes and attempt some appraisal of the work as a whole.

I should explain, at the outset, that the South Pacific Commission is a consultative and advisory body concerned with the welfare of the peoples of what is commonly known as the South Sea Islands; that is to say the 16 tropical territories lying South of the Equator, from Netherlands New Guinea in the West to Tahiti in the East. It was established as a result of the South Seas Conference, held in 1947, by the six metropolitan countries concerned with this area - Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States - with the

express aim of furthering the economic and social development of the territories and the welfare and advancement of their inhabitants.

To assist with this work, the Commission possesses two auxiliary advisory bodies: the South Pacific Conference and the Research Council. The Conference consists of representatives of the peoples of each territory, whether indigenous or immigrant, for the most part nominated by the administering authority: it meets every two or three years, discusses matters within the competence of the Commission itself and passes resolutions on which the Commission takes action, or else shows why action could not or should not be taken. The Conference is, in effect, an attempt to associate the inhabitants of the South Pacific, as apart from their Governments, in the work of the Commission, and ^{as far as possible} as such is a useful sounding board.

^{The other auxiliary body}
Of more particular interest to us to-day, however, is the Research Council, which meets once a year and in practice performs most of its work in three Committees: concerned with the fields of Health, Economic Development and Social Development respectively. Each Committee consists of five part-time members, appointed by the Commissioners, and one full-time Executive Officer. ^X The original Social Development Committee had a distinct educational flavour, since it consisted of four Directors of Education and the Principal of a Missionary Training College. The position is a little better balanced now, with a Committee comprising Messrs. Grangie, Groves and Hayden, the Directors of Education of

New Caledonia, Papua and New Guinea and Fiji respectively, plus Dr. de Bruyn, a District Officer from Netherlands New Guinea and Mr. Grattan, the Secretary for Samoan Affairs, whose support I had hoped to have here this morning. Unfortunately he was unable to attend owing to ill-health.

The effective work of the Commission may be said to have commenced in January, 1949, when the principal officers, including the full-time Deputy Chairman (or Co-ordinator) of the Research Council and the three Executive Officers, assembled in Sydney and proceeded immediately to New Zealand to attend the Seventh Pacific Science Congress, after which they toured the principal island groups, ending up at Noumea, in New Caledonia (which had been selected as Commission headquarters), in time for the first meeting of the Council in May.

I may say here that up to the time of the first meeting no one appeared to have any very clear idea as to what the Research Council was going to do or how it was to set about it. We had, however, a list of suggested projects made by the Commissioners (in which all but one relating to social development were given the lowest possible priority) and armed with this, plus my own knowledge of island needs and what I had learned from others during my tour, I prepared a preliminary work programme which, after amendment by the Committee, comprised the following ten projects:-

- (1) S.I. A survey of technical training facilities in the islands, with a view to developing centralized training institutions.

- (2) S.2. A survey of the use of visual aids in the education of islanders.
- (3) S.3. A study of the most suitable techniques for teaching literacy in the area.
- (4) S.4. The convening of a Conference of Educationists, to study education needs and problems in the various territories.
- (5) S.5. A review of research already done, and future research needs, in social anthropology.
- (6) S.6. A similar survey of linguistic research and future needs.
- (7) S.7. A study of the co-operative movement in the South Pacific, with emphasis on its development and extension.
- (8) S.8. The determination of the most suitable building types for the various climatic zones in the area.
- (9) S.9. The commencement of pilot projects in community development in Netherlands New Guinea and Fiji.
- (10) S.10. The recording and preservation of archaeological sites.

An important recommendation of the first Council, subsequently approved by the Commission, was the removal of the Social Development section to Sydney, where it could be in better touch with the documentary material and scientific contacts on which its work depended and at the same time be in constant communication with all parts of the area. I may say that whatever merits Noumea may have as the headquarters of the Commission itself - and no doubt it has many - Sydney has proved ideal as headquarters for social development work.

Once I had found a house and office, which those of you who have lived in Sydney will admit is no easy task, the work

programme was got under way. Experts were engaged for various projects, tours and field-work arranged, and the necessary documentation and secretarial assistance provided. The fruits of this will be seen in some of the reports and other literature I have brought with me to-day: Mr. A.L. Moore's report on Visual Aids; Professor Elkin's survey of anthropological research needs in Melanesia and Papua; Professor Keesing's similar survey of Polynesia and ^{Nenesia} ~~Melanesia~~; Dr. Capell's study of linguistic research and Mr. R.A. Derrick's exhaustive report on technical education in the South Pacific. These are all what I may term basic surveys and certain recommendations for future action are too detailed for mention here. I should state, however, that most of these recommendations are for further research and work on the part of territorial administrations and scientific organizations rather than the Commission itself and have accordingly been referred to the Governments and bodies concerned.

At the same time arrangements were made by which the Government of Fiji has undertaken the first pilot project on community development at Moturiki Island; all relevant literature on literacy teaching methods has been gathered from different parts of the world to form the material for Mr. Hayden's study of educational techniques in that field; the basic documentary material on the co-operative movement in the area collected; and negotiations completed for commencing the housing survey in August.

While this was going on more accurate knowledge was obtained as to what the island territories themselves expected of the Commission; firstly through the first South Pacific Conference, which held its very successful meetings in Fiji during April and May of last year, and secondly from the increasing number of requests for information and advice, documentary material and facilities received direct from the territories themselves.

As a result of this the work of the Social Development section was re-organized and expanded by the Research Council at its second meeting in August, 1950, to cover the varied work of information, advice and co-ordination - as well as that of research organization - which is stated in Article IV of the Agreement establishing the Commission to be its proper function.

A number of new activities have been approved by the Commission, and in particular the establishment of the South Pacific Literature Bureau "to stimulate the production of books and other publications for the peoples of the South Pacific"; this may well prove to be one of the most worthwhile avenues for service to the islands. To digress for a minute, I should explain that the idea of a South Pacific Literature Bureau arose out of an exhibition of about 150 books suitable for native races which we prepared for the first South Pacific Conference under the title "The Village Library". This created so much interest among the delegates that 2 resolutions were passed by the Conference "inviting the Commission to consider the mass production of reading material including text books for village schools in the

South Pacific area, with translations into local languages where necessary" and secondly stating that "in order that the peoples of the South Pacific may be kept in touch with the work of the Commission and matters relating to the Conference, the Commission is requested to consider the possibility of publishing a monthly periodical". As a result of further investigations which we made it appeared that there was a real hunger for reading matter among the literate population throughout the islands. It was found, however, that the work of book production cannot be undertaken effectively by either the territorial Governments or the commercial publishing houses acting alone, owing to the relatively small demand from any one territory, which means that editions sufficiently large to attract commercial firms can only be made by bulking the requirements of the area. As an inter-territorial body it was considered that the Bureau should concentrate on the production of literature in English and French to meet the steadily growing demand throughout the area. The Organizer would be responsible for the organization and work of the Bureau and would keep in close touch with the Central and Territorial Committees and Liaison Officers, commercial printers and publishing houses and island authors. Either the Organizer or his assistant should possess a thorough knowledge of the publishing trade.

In order to carry out its immediate programme of work and at the same time keep in constant review its ultimate objective, the Bureau is divided, for the purposes of its office routine,

into six sections:-

- (i) General literature.
- (ii) Textbooks and readers.
- (iii) Literature for mass literacy work.
- (iv) Periodicals.
- (v) Libraries.
- (vi) Publishing and Distribution.

The work of the section has been divided into various fields, under the three general heads of Education, Social Welfare, and Research Services.

To mention briefly some of the main activities assigned to the section in these fields, under community development, work is being continued on the Moturiki project, and commenced on a second project to be conducted under Commission sponsorship in Netherlands New Guinea. In addition approval has been given for a third project to be undertaken among a primitive community suffering from continued de-population, probably in the New Hebrides, while funds have been provided to enable the Commission to associate itself with all territorial community development projects considered to have regional significance. In the field of mass literacy, work is being continued on Mr. Hayden's basic study, while an adviser on literacy method is being appointed who will follow up the survey by further research, including experimental field projects in techniques suited to particular communities. The adviser will also prepare model follow-up literature for use by

individual territories engaged in mass literacy work. In visual education we have added a 16 mm. film appraisal service for films made in, or relating to, the South Pacific, and a 35 mm. filmstrip appraisal service for filmstrips considered suitable for educational or general instructional use by territorial departments. In vocational training, arrangements are being completed to follow up the main recommendation of the Derrick Report by engaging a well-known expert, Dr. Harlow, to prepare the blueprints for a prototype central technical training institution at Suva. An important new field is being explored with the New Zealand Government with a view to the establishment of a pilot community centre on Rarotonga in an attempt to study the best techniques for dealing with the growing problem of urbanization in the South Pacific.

To turn from Education to Social Welfare, in the field of anthropology the surveys by Professors Keesing and Elkin are being followed up by two projects to which they gave high priority: one a study of population variations, concerned with problems of both de-population and over-population, and the second a study of the Pacific islander in commerce and industry. In linguistics, mainly as a result of recommendations in the Capell Report, we have commenced work on the collection and preservation of manuscript material on island languages (grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, translations and the like) as well as on the preparation and publication of a series of vernacular bibliographies. Various instruments required for vocal recording and measurement are being

purchased for loan to linguistic field-workers. At the request of Unesco, the section is undertaking a study of vernacular teaching methods, including the collection of source material from the various island groups.

Under the heading of Other Activities may be mentioned the circulation of publications on topics connected with social development to territorial departments likely to be interested; this being often the only means by which they would hear of some particular serial publication, article or paper. Where publications are not available, papers are from time to time prepared and distributed by the section, these being arranged in two numbered series: Social Development Notes, intended for wide distribution within the territories, and Social Development Committee Circulars, which are restricted papers of interest only to a limited number of active workers in a particular field. Specimens of both will be found on the table.

Then there is the work of dealing with specific requests for information or advice, which takes up a good deal of time, but is eminently worthwhile. Some 70 requests have been dealt with to date on a wide variety of subjects, from the provision of a linguistic expert for Western Samoa to the organization of a scientific expedition to the Gilbert Islands.

As regards the publication of research work, apart from shorter articles, which we endeavour to get published in existing journals, the Commission have now approved a fund to enable us to

subsidize the publication of books and longer papers. If present plans materialize, the first of this series may well be .

Dr. Cyril Belshaw's "Economic Aspects of Culture Change in South-Western Melanesia". Particular difficulty is being experienced in placing ethnographic studies on the area written in French, and any advice on this matter would be appreciated.

In bibliographic work the section has prepared several topical working bibliographies on special subjects, commencing with Ida Leeson's "Bibliography of Bibliographies on the South Pacific". I would emphasize that this is only a draft, and any suggestions for correction or expansion would be most welcome, as it is hoped to produce the work in its final form before the end of the year.

The above is, of course, only a sketch of some of the principal items in the Social Development work programme and I have had to omit one or two fields in their entirety. However, anyone interested can obtain a more detailed picture from a perusal of Progress Reports Nos. 7 and 8, of which copies will be found on the table.

The present situation, therefore, is that we have been assigned a total of 21 projects of various kinds and in addition a number of other activities, including research services, which take up the bulk of one's time. Correspondence, furthermore, is necessarily heavy in an international Government body, amounting to several hundred items in or out each month. Staff, therefore, has been one of our main problems, for although I have spoken rather

grandly of the Social Development section, it has comprised up to the present only myself, assisted latterly by a locally engaged assistant and a part-time librarian. The Commission have, however, now provided an additional assistant, as well as a staff of two for the Literature Bureau, plus the Mass Literacy Adviser, and I live in hopes that with their arrival it may be possible to take things a bit easier.

In conclusion, if I may venture a few purely personal views on the trend of Commission policy towards the Social Development section, "off the record" as it were; I feel that with the completion of certain basic surveys there will be less tendency to call on the section to organize specific projects but an increasing demand for what may be termed information and clearing-house activities. For this change in emphasis there are several reasons: but in the main it is due to the fact that the Commission requires any project undertaken to be of immediate practical importance to the whole, or at least most of, the South Pacific area, and there are relatively few projects which satisfy this criterion.

Furthermore, even if a project is approved, the present tendency is to endeavour to persuade one or more existing scientific institutions to undertake it. Not only is it extremely difficult to obtain experts to undertake Commission projects on contract - we are, for example, endeavouring to discover people to tackle the de-populated area pilot project, the community centre project, and the survey of vernacular

teaching methods - but the Commission is pledged, by its Constitution, to use existing institutions wherever possible. I would venture the opinion that if it is felt, by this meeting for example, that the Commission should sponsor some particular piece of work, it would be far easier to interest the Commissioners if a detailed proposal could be made by which some University or scientific body undertook to perform the work with an adequate subsidy from Commission funds.

A final point which I should like to make is that I fear - perhaps I am wrong in doing so - that we have reached the financial limits which the Commissioners are willing to provide for the work of the Social Development section, and indeed possibly for the whole running of the Commission. The Commission budget seems to have got fixed at a figure of about £150,000 sterling but a large portion of this is required for the maintenance of a central secretariat at Noumea (a fairly large secretariat seems to be a necessary feature of most international organizations). In Social Development I think our approved budget should average about £25,000 a year, but owing to the difficulty in obtaining the services of experts we are not at present spending anything like this figure.

If further money becomes available to the Commission I think it reasonable to suppose that it will be devoted more to an expansion of the Health and Economic Development programmes, where it is easier to treat the South Pacific area as a unit and where projects are less likely to run up against the national policies

of the several metropolitan countries.

Particularly in the matter of appointments to the permanent staff I feel that we have reached the limit which is likely to be approved. This is exemplified by the attempts made by the Social Development Committee to have a Staff Anthropologist appointed.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have succeeded in conveying some idea of the work of the Social Development section of the South Pacific Commission. I shall now be glad to answer any questions to the best of my ability and subject to the limitation that I cannot myself claim to be an expert in any of the numerous fields covered by the rather vague term Social Development. In the meantime, it may be of interest if we passed around some of the papers which I have brought with me to illustrate our activities.

II

The question of a future home for the Rapa Nui people of Easter Island had long been occupying the Government of New Zealand and the British Government. The Rapa Nui people were sold to the British Government for various purposes and it was considered that they would have been able to maintain themselves on the island.

In 1911, therefore, a Provident Fund was established to provide for the Rapa Nui people with a future home and the island of Rapa, in the Fiji Group, was found to be suitable and suitable.

Shortly afterwards, the Rapa Nui people were moved to Rapa and the island was found to be suitable and suitable.

destroyed

COLONISATION EXPERIMENTS IN THE CENTRAL PACIFIC

Although the native inhabitants are increasing in most of the Pacific Islands groups, over-population and land hunger have become problems in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands earlier than elsewhere, since these small and barren atolls appear incapable of agricultural or industrial development and the population which they can carry is accordingly restricted.

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In order to relieve population pressure a colonisation experiment was commenced on Hull, Sydney and Gardner Islands, in the Phoenix Group, in 1937; the existing coconut plantations on the two former were divided up into peasant small-holdings while the latter has been cleared and planted preparatory to settlement. Between 1938 and 1940 729 colonists were taken across from the Southern Gilbert Islands and the permanent residential population in the Phoenix is now over 1,000.

The islanders now have their own villages, schools, hospitals, council houses, wireless stations and all the amenities to which they were accustomed in the Gilberts; they are administered by their own elected Native Governments and Island Councils and their economic affairs are in the hands of Government established Trade Stores, ~~now~~ about to be converted into Co-operative Societies.

After 8 years, during which few settlers have elected to return to their former home islands, it can be claimed that the scheme has proved a success, despite some problems (more particularly on Sydney) which have still to be solved.

II

The question of a future home for the Banabans population of Ocean Island had long been exercising the Government of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, since most of their land had been sold to the British Phosphate Commissioners for mining purposes and it was considered that they would have insufficient resources to maintain themselves once the industry ceased.

In 1931, therefore, a Provident Fund was created from phosphate royalties to provide them with a future home and in 1941 the island of Rambi, in the Fiji Group, was found to be suitable and purchased.

destroyed /
Shortly afterwards, Ocean was occupied by the Japanese and the Banabans removed to Kusaie and Nauru, where they remained under enemy control until 1945. On the recapture of Ocean it was discovered that their villages had been ~~deserted~~ and, as there were in any case no food supplies on the island, the Banabans agreed to go to Rambi as a community for 2 years, after which

they would be returned to Ocean at Government expense if they so desired.

Despite an unfavourable start and the fact that they were anything but pioneer stock, having lived for years on imported foods purchased with rents and annuities from the phosphate industry, the Banabans have now made remarkable progress on Rambi and appear to have settled into their new environment.

In May, 1947, a ballot showed 85% of the community as desiring to remain on Rambi and only 15% wanting to return to Ocean; and in actual fact no-one has gone back. The great commercial possibilities of Rambi appeal to the money-conscious Banaban and the island is being systematically developed by their Co-operative Society, which has stepped up copra production from nil to 600 tons in 4 years, and employs Fijian as well as Banaban and Gilbertese labour.

III

In the Ellice Group more interest has been shown in the acquisition of land for development as a commercial proposition for the benefit of the homeland than in ordinary colonization. In 1942, however, the Government acquired Niulakita, the southernmost Ellice Island, which is being worked by a cooperative group until a decision has been reached regarding its settlement.

In 1945, furthermore, the people of Vaitupu purchased the island of ~~Nua~~, in the ~~Motu~~ Group, with their own funds and are now engaged in an intensive development and settlement scheme which shows every promise of success.

During the war years I was able to examine and report on all British islands in the Eastern Pacific suitable for colonization: the implementation of my recommendations is, however, held up for financial and other reasons and because the present prosperity of the Gilbertese makes migration a less attractive proposition than usual.

Nevertheless, migration is considered the only means by which the population pressure in the Central Pacific atolls can be relieved and the standard of living raised. It is believed that other island territories are, or soon will be, in the same position and a plea is made for a population survey of the whole South Seas area to be conducted by the South Pacific Commission. This would enable the various problems, whether of over or under-population,

to be dealt with on a basis of inter-territorial cooperation,
which might well result in ~~many~~ ^{many} of them cancelling each
other out.

J.R. Maude.

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words

COLONIZATION EXPERIMENTS IN THE CENTRAL PACIFIC

In the following paper it will be my endeavour to give you some account of the various colonization schemes, whether completed, in progress or still in contemplation, with which I have been associated in the Central Pacific during the past 10 years.

The fact that we can have a paper at-all on such a subject is, I suggest, a sign that the population problem of the South Seas, with which one used to be familiar through the writings of Rivers, Pitt-Rivers, Basil Thomson and others, is turning full circle. The accounts of the early voyagers to the various island groups speak of their teeming inhabitants; who decreased rapidly, however, as a result of contact with our civilization until during the last century the inevitable dying out of the island peoples was the constant theme of travellers. Few indeed would have ventured to predict that the time would come when administrations would be searching the seas for uninhabited areas suitable for settlement by natives who had grown too many for the resources of their home islands.

Yet by 1927, when Dr. Roberts' "Population Problems of the Pacific" was published, it had become clear that most of the Pacific communities had turned the corner. Of the estimated total native population of 315,105 in Polynesia and Micronesia, 300,395 were by then increasing, 9,562 stationery, 3,398 decreasing and only 1,750 regarded as hopeless.

At the present time probably every island group in this area, even those classed by Dr. Roberts as "hopeless", are on the increase, though in the case of the Marquesans and the Easter Islanders the rise may still be slow and fitful.

This resurgence of native life in the South Seas is likely to prove a problem sooner or later to all the various island administrations. As one might expect, however, its first effects were seen not in the fertile volcanic islands, with their comparatively large land areas, but in the low coral atolls of the Central Pacific; barren as sandbanks and minute in size. The first detailed census of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, taken in 1931, showed that in these groups in particular there were islands whose population had scarcely altered throughout the present century, in contrast to the rest of the Colony which had witnessed increases, in some cases of a substantial nature.

Subsequent research indicated that the optimum population density of the seven Southern Gilbert Islands had been reached about the middle of the 19th century, since when the natives had been relying on the artificial checks of infanticide, warfare, compulsory emigration and abortion to prevent their natural prolificity outrunning their strictly limited food resources. The position was, however, now becoming complicated; firstly, because the Government had successfully prohibited all the controls with the exception of abortion, which it discouraged without being able to

prevent, and secondly, since the efforts of the Medical Department in reducing the Infant Mortality Rate had resulted in a larger percentage of the population than hitherto being young people who would later be marrying. Furthermore, owing to a variety of fortunate circumstances, the shock of European contact in the Gilberts had passed off with less effect than usual.

Investigations in the villages showed a hitherto unsuspected degree of poverty among certain families, resulting in minute subdivisions of inherited land and continual litigation on land matters. So great was the land hunger that there was an estimated 76,000 pending land cases among a population of under 27,000. Matters were not improved by the fact that since the advent of the Government and Missions the native could no longer consume the whole produce of his lands: he had now to have a surplus to pay his Government tax, the various mission subscriptions, for clothing himself and his family, as well as for the numberless other necessities of modern life. With what might be described as a rising standard of living the islands could naturally support an even smaller population than before.

Here, then, was a clear call for Government action. We ourselves had largely created the problem and the native, prevented from solving it in his customary manner, looked to us for a solution. Migration seemed the obvious answer and

the Phoenix Islands the best group to commence operations on, since they were the nearest uninhabited islands to the Gilberts and had a soil and climate markedly similar.

Time prevents me from attempting any account of these interesting islands and their history. There are eight altogether in the group and they lie five days by schooner east of the northern Ellice in the very heart of the Central Pacific. All are low, flat and of coral formation; the group as a whole having an estimated area of 11 square miles. At the time of which I am speaking it was leased to Messrs. Burns, Philp and Company, whose activities were, however, confined to exploiting the existing coconut plantations on Hull and Sydney (consisting of 15,000 and 7,500 bearing trees respectively), with labour recruited from the Tokelou Islands.

It naturally took time to put across a novel scheme of this nature and it was not until September, 1937, that I was finally authorised by Sir Arthur Richards, then High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, to lead a pioneering expedition to the Phoenix Group in the Colony schooner "Nimaroa" to report on its suitability for permanent colonization.

I took with me 16 delegates from the Southern Gilbert and Northern Ellice Groups and we spent a fortnight exploring the eight islands, examining the soil, digging wells, studying

the flora, fauna and fish, navigating the lagoons and recording anchorage and landing facilities. The Union Jack was hoisted on each island and a notice board commemorating our visit nailed to the masts.

Four islands, Hull, Sydney, Gardner and Canton, were considered to be suitable for colonization and one of our first jobs was to re-christen these, since the European names were more or less unpronounceable in Gilbertese. Hull became Orona, the old Polynesian name by which it had been known to the Nine Islanders who worked there in the ~~old~~ guano-phosphate days; Sydney became Manra, the name of one of the Gilbertese ancestral homelands in the East Indies, which was said to have possessed a lake similar to Sydney's lagoon; Gardner was called Nikumaroro, after the home of a Gilbertese ancestress Nei Manganibuka which, like Gardner itself, was covered in "buka" trees; while Canton became Aba Riringa, "the land of sunshine", which I'm sure those of you who have landed there will admit to being appropriate.

Anyone interested in the practical working out of a group migration project can read the detailed "Report on the Colonization of the Phoenix Islands by the Surplus Population of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands", printed in 1937. Time will only permit me to say here that the immediate settlement of Hull and Sydney was recommended, together with the experimental planting of Gardner and Canton

with a view to future colonization. It was estimated that Hull would take an immediate population of 350 and Sydney 400, while ultimate maxima, when the islands had been planted and become fully productive, would be: Hull 1,100, Sydney 900, Gardner 1,100 and Canton 1,200. The cost of settlement and planting was estimated at £5,660 and a grant requested for that amount from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

Every care was taken to work out the details of the colonization scheme with the islanders themselves to ensure that as far as possible it was correctly orientated with their own customs and traditions regarding migration. For example, I was assured that every properly conducted migration must possess a theme song to inspire and hearten the would-be colonists: ours was based on the Maori tune "The Warrior's Departure", and with its three verses and a chorus proved a great success.

In December, 1938, I again set sail for the Phoenix in the "Nimanoa" with 61 pioneer settlers and a full cargo of rations, cooking utensils, materials for demarcating boundaries, clothing, fishing equipment, surveying instruments and the like. We were required to be in the Phoenix by a certain date so there was little time to select the colonists. I remember particularly how we landed at the first of the Southern Gilbert Islands, Nonouti, at dusk and called a

meeting in the Council House. About a thousand must have come and I stated the reason for our visit and called for volunteers for the first expedition, explaining that the islands were unknown and untested, that though the descendants of the settlers might possibly achieve prosperity, those that came with us could only expect the toil and hardship of the pioneer. I added that there could be no return and no revisiting of relatives or friends but that the settlers would be treated by native custom as if they had drifted to sea in canoes and been lost, and their lands on Nonouti would therefore be divided up amongst their next-of-kin. Although no-one on Nonouti had ever so much as seen the Phoenix Islands some five hundred stood up immediately. From these we selected two notoriously poor families and told them to ^{be} ready at the boats, with all their goods and chattels, within two hours. Before the appointed time they were all ready and waiting and, out of the ten leaving, only one young woman showed a tendency to tears. She was sternly rebuked by the ^{Native} Magistrate of the island, who observed that "This is no time for weeping. This is a time for brave thoughts and brave deeds". One wonders how many Europeans, leaving all that was near and dear for ever, at two hours notice, would have kept smiling faces?

A working party of 10 men were left on Gardner to commence clearing and planting, 4 families, totalling 10 persons, on Hull and 9 families, totalling 41, on Sydney. At each

island test lands were demarcated, to ensure that our theoretical methods could be carried out in actual practice. A reserve was marked out for the Government Station, including sites for the various Government buildings, gaols and Administrative Officer's transit quarters, and further reserves for the hospital, council house, cooperative society and recreation area. Land was also allotted for a Church, teacher's house and school for each of the two religious denominations represented. Two village sites were selected on Sydney and one each on Hull and Gardner.

The basis of land allocation agreed upon was to give two pieces of land, each containing approximately 25 bearing coconut trees, to every adult, whether male or female; one land to be near the Government station and anchorage. To each child was granted two pieces of unplanted^{bush}/land, each 25 fathoms square, on condition that the parents cleared and planted the lands within 5 years of their taking possession. The colonists were also given similar grants of unplanted land on behalf of friends and relations in the Gilberts nominated by them, on condition that they guaranteed to support these people until the lands came into bearing and the newcomers undertook to renounce all their lands in their home islands in favour of their next-of-kin. All grants were, of course, freehold as far as the Government was concerned, but ownership and inheritance was subject to the customs of their home islands.

Returning to the Gilberts, I called at all the southern islands, taking down the names of volunteer colonists and selecting those who were to go on a basis of relative poverty. The amount of sheer want this survey disclosed was disconcerting: families of from 7 to 10 children had a total apparent source of food consisting of less than 20 coconut trees, supplemented by such fish as they could catch. Altogether 4,611 applications to migrate were registered on the seven islands visited, making an estimated total of not less than 6,500 for the whole Gilbert Group.

On my next visit to the Phoenix I took 195 new settlers. Everything was progressing well, particularly on Sydney where, led by the enthusiasm of Gallagher, my assistant, the whole face of the island had changed. Where before we had to cut our way through thick bush, two prosperous villages were now situated, with neat and attractive homes facing both sides of a broad road. To the south of the village had been built a large school, where over 50 children were soon to receive instruction from a full-time master. Close to the Government station was the hospital, with a resident Dresser in charge, and the new transit quarters for visiting officers.

I must confess that I had anticipated that once the novelty of their new homes had worn off, many of the settlers would be seized with a somewhat natural nostalgia for their ancestral lands and I was, accordingly, prepared to face a number of requests for repatriation. That these have not, in

fact, eventuated (except to a small extent among some of the old people who wish to be buried alongside their families) is, I think, a vindication not only of the natives' claims to be over-crowded and poverty stricken on their former islands, but also to the effectiveness of the settlement scheme in meeting their needs.

I spent over a month in the Phoenix on this visit, much of the time being occupied in organising the Trade Stores which we established on each island. Owing to the distance of the group from the main centres of commerce and the small amount of copra available for trade it was not possible to persuade any commercial firm to include the islands within their sphere of trading activities. As a consequence, we had to establish stores for the colonists, and stock them with a full range of those articles, such as soap, kerosene, fish hooks, tobacco, etc., for which they were dependent on the outside world: if I remember rightly, there were 137 separate items in all. These stores have up to the present been managed as Government undertakings, but their profits have now enabled the Treasury to extinguish the original loans for their establishment and they are about to be handed over to the natives of each island to be run as cooperative retail societies.

I was unable to return to the Phoenix owing to ill health but Gallagher succeeded in making three further trips, with a total of 430 more settlers, before he eventually died on Gardner Island. On the 30th September, 1940, when further settlement was suspended owing to the war, a grand total of 729 colonists had been settled in the islands, of whom only 7 had to be returned. The present population of the three southern islands is just over 1,000.

By the end of 1940 both Sydney and Hull had become normal self-contained communities. The islands are administered by their own Native Governments, a system of indirect rule to which the colonists were accustomed in their former homes, supplemented by occasional routine visits of the Administrative Officer in charge of the District. On Sydney the villages have been completed, the church built, and boat sheds and a copra store erected. A Women's Committee has succeeded in reducing the Infant Mortality Rate while a Welfare Club is proving a progressive influence in local affairs. Over 1,000 lands have been demarcated and divided among the settlers. On Hull, now a populous community, a new suburb of the main village has had to be built and the colonists are reported to be a happy and industrious ^{group} community, busily engaged in planting.

Gardner, which is potentially probably the finest island in the entire Colony, had been chosen by Gallagher as the headquarters of the new Phoenix Islands District and an excellent headquarters residence built by him there from native

materials. As a result of the first year's work on ^{Gardner} the island some 8,000 trees were found to be in healthy growth: since then clearing and planting operations have steadily extended, several hundred of the early planted trees have now come into bearing and the first permanent settlers are about to be allotted their lands.

I think that it can safely be claimed that, on the whole, the colonization experiment in the Phoenix Islands has proved a distinct success. The colonists still have problems to settle, however, particularly on Sydney where fishing has proved difficult and no good areas for growing "babai" (the Polynesian "pulaka") have yet been found. Still, under commercial exploitation this remote group of islands provided, at best, a meagre and precarious livelihood for a single European and a handful of native labourers; while now it supports over a thousand peasant proprietors, leading happy and useful lives on their own lands, administered by their own Native Governments, and buying their wants from and selling their produce to their own Cooperative Societies. Their migration, furthermore, has set free much-needed land for those who have stayed behind in the Gilberts. This, surely, is sufficient justification for the venture.

Whether settlement schemes can provide a final and permanent solution to our over-population problem is another and more doubtful question. In the eight year period since

immigration into the Phoenix Group virtually ceased, the population of the three southern islands has increased from 729 to over 1,000. The moral would seem to be that the Gilbertese are a naturally virile and prolific people and that when we reduce the population ^{treasure} on their islands they will eventually, unless provided with adequate means of control, multiply until they reach the same density as before.

I now turn to a colonization experiment of a rather different character: the migration of the inhabitants of Ocean Island to Rambi. These natives, who are known as Barabans, numbered some 750 before the war: racially they are Gilbertese and intermarriage between them and their kinsmen in the Gilbert Group is frequent.

With a comparatively fertile land area of over 2 square miles, Ocean Island could probably support the Barabans were it not for the fact that it contains valuable deposits of rock phosphate, of which about 300,000 tons is exported annually by the British Phosphate Commissioners. As a result of a number of land purchase agreements made with the Commission, the Barabans have now either sold or rented most of the island. All land is to be returned to them once the phosphate has been removed from the surface but it will, of course, be useless for growing crops until, in the course of decades, a fresh layer of soil has formed on top of the limestone.

As long as the Commission continued their activities on Ocean there was no absolute necessity why the Barabans should not remain on the island, living on the interest from the purchase price paid for the surface rights on their lands and annuities paid from royalties on phosphate exported and at the same time obtaining ready employment in the industry or in some auxiliary pursuit, such as commercial fishing, dependent on it.

As long ago as 1914, however, the Government was worried about their ultimate fate when the deposits came to an end and the island was abandoned by the Commission, and in 1927 the creation of a Provident Fund was recommended, to be used for the purchase of a future home for the community. The then Resident Commissioner pointed out that if the industry were to cease operations the Barabans would be in a precarious position, without sufficient resources to maintain themselves. The Baraban Provident Fund was accordingly commenced in 1931, financed by the transfer of £20,000 from the Royalty Trust Fund and augmented by an additional 2d. a ton royalty on phosphate exports.

Little interest was taken in the project for a future home by the Barabans themselves for some years, since they feared that it might be a trick to have them removed from Ocean Island in order to facilitate the operations of the British Phosphate Commission; and it was not until 1940 that they proposed the acquisition of Wakaya Island, in the Fiji Group. In their proposal the Barabans made it clear that they were unwilling to consider Wakaya as a replacement for Ocean Island, but desired it to be regarded rather as a second home. They felt that the younger generation was growing up in too Europeanised an atmosphere and that, if they were to preserve their racial identity and culture, it was necessary to continue that culture elsewhere. At the same time they were

insistent that their rights to land on Ocean Island should continue undiminished. A survey of Wakaya was accordingly undertaken, which showed it to be unsuitable for the support of a large population owing to the shallow depth of most of the fertile soils and the poor water supply.

Investigations were therefore begun as to the suitability and availability of other islands in the Fiji Group and, as a result, an offer was made by Lever's Pacific Plantations to sell the island of Rambi, off the coast of Vanua Levu, for £A.25,000. Rambi was found to be very suitable for colonization: 27 square miles in area, it is roughly triangular in shape, with a greatest length of 9 miles and width of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. A central mountain peak, 1,550 feet high, is buttressed by ranges of hills extending to the north-east, west and south-east. The coast has several deep indentations providing good anchorages, with excellent fishing grounds in the vicinity. There are three flourishing coconut plantations at Vunisinu, Suetolu and Nuku, and the soil in most parts of the island is suitable for the growing of garden crops. On the south and east coast the conditions are damp and somewhat gloomy, but the north shore (with Nuku in the centre) enjoys a dry climate such as the Barabans are accustomed to, with broad sandy beaches along which they could build their villages.

It took some time to persuade the Barabans to agree to the purchase of Rambi rather than Wakaya, but in March, 1942, the transfer of the island was finally effected.

The object of the purchase was, as already stated, to provide a home for the community when the phosphate deposits on Ocean Island should be exhausted, although it was hoped that they would commence their settlement at a much earlier date. In the event, however, the Japanese occupied Ocean in August of the same year and the Barabans were later transported to Kusaie, in the Caroline Group, and Nauru, where they remained under enemy control until September, 1945.

Ocean Island was surrendered to Australian forces in October, 1945, when investigations showed that it would not be possible for the Barabans to occupy it for at least two years, owing to the absence of food supplies and the total destruction of all four villages. It was therefore proposed to settle the Barabans temporarily on Rambi, where food and temporary housing could be provided, a guarantee being given them that they would be returned to Ocean at the end of two years should they so desire. It was hoped that by that time they would have recognised the superior attractions of Rambi and, in their own interests, decided to remain there; if not, the period should be enough to enable the Commission to import sufficient food reserves for their support on Ocean and for the provision of temporary shelters for them while rebuilding their former homes.

They were thereupon collected at Tarawa Island and unanimously agreed to proceed to Rambi for a period of 2 years, on the understanding that after that period any or all of them who wished to return to Ocean would be brought back at Government expense. In all 703 Barabans and 300 Gilbertese friends and relatives were taken to Rambi by the Commission ship "Triora" and landed at Nuku on the 14th December, 1945.

For some time it seemed probable that the settlement would prove a failure. The Barabans were listless and apathetic, no doubt partly due to the rather demoralizing life they had hitherto led on Ocean as virtual hangers-on of the phosphate industry, living on imported food purchased from their annuities, and partly to their treatment at the hands of the Japanese. They made little effort to build houses or plant gardens, preferring to live in the Army tents provided for them on their arrival and to purchase tinned food from the arrears of royalties due to them for the war years. To add to their troubles there was an increasing incidence of sickness, and in particular pulmonary disease, diarrhoea and measles, due to the damper climate.

As they gradually became acclimatised, however, they began to appreciate the undoubted advantages of their new home and, with the advent of Major Holland as Administrative Officer, a fresh spirit of energy and enterprise became apparent. Discarding their tents, they commenced to build

attractive villages all along the north coast, surrounded by gardens of fruit and vegetables. In May, 1947, when Macdonald, representing the Colony of Fiji, and myself paid a visit to Rambi in order to discuss with the Barabans the proposals of the Government regarding their lands on Ocean Island and Rambi and their various funds and to ascertain whether they wished to take advantage of the repatriation offer, we were very pleased with the progress they had made.

The Government statement of intentions is contained in detail in my "Memorandum on the Future of the Baraban Population", published in 1946. In brief, it was proposed that their land rights on Ocean Island should remain vested in them while the ownership of Rambi should be made over by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific to their own elected Island Council, the division of lands and system of land tenure and inheritance to be left for themselves to decide. The management of their funds, which had previously been a Government responsibility, was to be vested in a Trust Board elected by the Island Council, who would draw up annual estimates of revenue and expenditure, to be subject to the covering approval of the Governor of Fiji. The community was to be free to travel at will between Rambi and Fiji.

These proposals, which represented a considerable advance towards self-government, were unanimously accepted by the community and this despite the nostalgia which many of them evidently felt for their old home. We thereupon held a secret

ballot of all Barabans to decide whether they desired to make Rambi their future homeland or not. 95% of the population over the age of 18 voted, with the following result:-

For making Rambi the Baraban homeland - 270 (or 85%)

Against making Rambi the Baraban homeland - 48 (or 15%)

Since that date the Barabans have been settling down satisfactorily in their new home. A permanent housing programme has been commenced and two specimen houses, one built of cement bricks with an asbestos roof and the other of wood with a corrugated iron roof, have been completed and the Island Council is about to select the most suitable to be the standard house for the community. The hospital has been rebuilt and a cinema, on the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer circuit, has commenced operations.

The commercial affairs of the community are in the hands of the Baraban Cooperative Society, formed on Ocean Island in 1940, which works the extensive coconut plantations on the south and east sides of the island, employing over 50 Baraban, Gilbertese or Fijean labourers. Copra production was 379 tons in 1946, 487 tons in 1947 and over 600 tons in 1948.

A large trade store, costing £2,000, has been built by the Society, together with two smaller timber and iron houses for the labour. All Baraban family groups are members of the Society, and its affairs are controlled by majority decision at general meetings of the heads, or "Elders", of each group;

the Executive Officers being elected at the annual general meeting. Profits are divided approximately 20% to reserve, 40% to development and 40% to dividends.

Despite the fact that there is no restriction on travel to Ocean Island, no-one has in fact returned, other than the paid Baraban Representative who resides there with his family to watch the community's interests vis-a-vis the Commission. I am hopeful, therefore, that the Barabans have now succeeded in overcoming the initial troubles inherent in any colonization experiment and will gradually come to look upon Rambi as their real home. The hope for the future lies largely in the younger generation who can turn the island into a prosperous homeland from which they can venture forth into the wider world of Fiji with its educational advantages and opportunities for technical training, employment and general advancement undreamt of by the pre-war community on Ocean Island.

The progress they have made to date is remarkable by any standards, but particularly so when one remembers that for two generations they had been living largely in idleness on rents and annuities and that even their food was imported for them - known throughout the Central Pacific as the "tin openers", it was said that no Baraban moved without one attached to his belt. Here we were not dealing with resourceful pioneers like the Gilbertese, skilled in fighting a sterile environment, but with a group who had largely lost the art of fending for themselves.

III

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about an interesting independent venture in colonization made by the people of Vaitupu in the Ellice Group. Although the Ellice have an estimated density of 468 persons to the square mile and two of the nine islands are believed to exceed 600 the people showed no desire to migrate to the Phoenix Group, partly no doubt owing to the greater fertility of their islands, which enables them to support a larger population per square mile than the Gilberts.

Since then, however, several islands have shown considerable interest in land purchase elsewhere, to a limited extent for settlement purposes but mainly with a view to development as a commercial proposition for the benefit of the homeland.

As a first step, the Government purchased from Messrs. Burns, Philp and Company in 1942 the freehold of Niulakita, the only Ellice Island not possessing an indigenous population, in order to hand it over for settlement to the community possessing the best historical claim to its ownership. Six islands have made more or less valid claims, based on discovery or use before its acquisition by European interests, and these are at present awaiting adjudication by the Lands Commission. In the meantime the coconut plantation on Niulakita is being worked by a cooperative group of Ellice

Islanders, a proportion of the profits being set aside for extinguishing the Government loan for its purchase. The island is small, however, and would not support more than 100 permanent settlers: it cannot therefore be expected to relieve population pressure to any great extent.

A more ambitious experiment was commenced in 1945, when the people of Vaitupu purchased from their own funds the island of Kioa, lying in Butha Bay, Fiji, close to Rambi. Kioa is a larger island than Vaitupu itself, hilly, well-watered and heavily forested. The existing coconut plantation is a small one, consisting of under 1,000 trees, and there is a great deal of hard work to be done before the island, which has excellent possibilities, is properly developed. The Vaitupans, however, have formed a cooperative development group and are tackling the problem with great energy. Areas have been cleared and gardens of yams, taro and tapioca planted, and it is planned that some 250 settlers should take up residence before the end of the year. Stimulated by their example, other islands and individuals in both the Gilbert and Ellice Groups are engaged in collecting funds for the purchase of land in Fiji and elsewhere.

During the war years I was able to examine 9 of the 14 British islands in the Eastern Pacific which do not possess an indigenous population, to report on their value for colonisation by Gilbertese or Ellice Islanders. All, that is, with exception of Henderson, Oeso and Dacie which, from the year I

spent on Pitcairn, I knew would be too cold, and Malden and Starbuck, which lie in the centre of the tropical ^{dry} ~~rain~~ belt and are too arid. Of the the three in the Cook Group, the Hewey Islands, Nassau and Suwanow, were disappointments, the first because the price asked for the freehold made settlement an uneconomic proposition, Nassau because the traditional claims of the people of Pukapuka to its ownership appeared too strong to make colonization by outsiders either ethical or politic and Suwarrow because we found that most of the atoll had been washed away in a recent hurricane. The other islands were Fanning, Washington and Christmas in the Northern, and Flint, Caroline and Vostok in the Southern, Line Group and favourable reports were submitted on the colonisation possibilities of all these with the exception of Vostok, which (like Phoenix, Birnie and McKean in the Phoenix Group) was too small to develop except as a subsidiary plantation. On the suggested land grant basis of 200 bearing trees on Christmas and 100 on the remainder it was estimated that the islands would support an immediate residential population as follows: Fanning 1,400, Washington 2,000, Christmas 1,500, Flint 400 and Caroline, which is only partly planted, 30. On further investigation I am inclined to revise the Washington figure to 1,000 but, even so, the islands together would take at once a population of between four and five thousand and ultimately more than twice that figure.

The implementation of these colonization proposals has been held up since the war for financial and other reasons and in the meantime, due to the increased price of copra and the development of the cooperative movement, the natives of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands are at least twice as well off, in terms of real wealth, as they were before the war. Migration is, as a consequence, a less attractive venture than usual. Personally, however, I can see little prospect of increasing, or even maintaining, the standard of living on these coral atolls except by migration: their meagre resources would appear to be more or less fixed by nature and intensive agricultural or industrial development impracticable.

At the same time, although our population problem in the Central Pacific may have reached the stage where positive action is necessary before other island groups, nevertheless there are signs aplenty that it will not be long before even the high islands will be feeling the pressure. Some years ago I wrote letters to the administrators of several island Governments enquiring whether they would be prepared to accept settlers from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and from their replies it was evident that in every case they considered that all land in their territories would be fully required during the next 50 years to cope with their own population increase. The Kingdom of Tonga alone was willing

to take 100 Ellice Islanders but this was purely a gesture of friendly sympathy from one Polynesian community to another and, as many members of the Tongan Parliament said at the time, was not justified by the census returns.

I would suggest for consideration, therefore, that if we are to make the best possible use of the limited land areas in the Pacific Islands what is now essentially needed is a proper population survey of each group to ascertain its population capacity, rate of population increase, the numbers who can be settled from other groups without detriment to future local needs or, alternatively, the numbers who require, and desire, settlement elsewhere.

That such a survey would need to be done on a Pacific-Wide scale may be obvious, but perhaps I may take a single illustration from the part of the South Seas with which we have just been dealing. Here, for example, the best areas for settlement by Gilbertese would appear to be not in British territory but in groups under the jurisdiction of France and the United States, where the colonists would prove valuable assets in developing numbers of low atolls at present uninhabited. Inter-territorial collaboration in any survey would therefore seem essential and fortunately we now have in the South Pacific Commission an international organisation that I suggest could well undertake this work: it is my earnest hope that it may be one of the first tasks they are assigned.

THE COLONIZATION OF THE PHOENIX ISLANDS

By H.E. Maude, O.B.E.

For more than a decade it has been my good fortune to assist in pioneering various experiments in folk migration in the South Sea Islands; in regions so remote from newspapers and wireless that the civilized world knows virtually nothing of it to this day. The Government, naturally, was not anxious for publicity, which might have interfered with our work, and so it happens that I am now telling you the story of our first migration experiment, which came to be known as The Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme, for the first time.

If you were to sail due north from New Zealand until you came to the equator you would find yourself among the sixteen islands of the Gilbert Group: low and flat coral atolls; barren as sandbanks and minute in size. Here practically nothing edible will grow except the coconut, the pandanus (or screw pine) and a coarse calladium called "babai": this, with fish, constitutes the native diet from infancy to death.

And yet, surprisingly enough, these islands support one of the densest rural populations in the world; many of them containing 400 to 500 persons to the square mile.

This excessive density had been worrying the Colonial Government for a number of years, since the sterile environment precluded any significant economic development and living standards were, if anything, decreasing. Migration seemed the obvious answer, and the eight uninhabited Phoenix islands, the best group to commence operations on, since they were the nearest and had a soil and climate

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markedly similar to the Gilberts.

The Phoenix Group is situated just south of the equator in the centre of a horse-shoe shaped ring of similar coral islands which together comprise the Central Equatorial Islands of the Pacific. The eight islands fall into three clearly defined sub-groups: the comparatively fertile islands of Sydney, Hull and Gardner to the south, the three minute satellite islets of Phoenix, Birnie and McKean, which match them in the centre, and the "dry" islands of Canton and Enderbury in the north.

In 1936 the Government agreed that the possibility of colonizing the Phoenix Islands should be officially investigated and in the following year I set sail in the Colony Schooner "Nimanoa" for the southern Gilbert and northern Ellice, where we spent some time conducting a first-hand investigation into the extent of the over-population problem and collecting delegates to accompany the expedition to the Phoenix. At each island visited we called a meeting of the people at which the aim of the expedition was explained and the island invited to choose delegates to accompany it and assist in the work.

Leaving the Ellice on the 9th. October we set sail due east for Gardner, where we arrived on the 13th. and tied up to the wreck of the "Norwich City", near the main lagoon entrance. Once ashore, we proceeded on the work of the expedition: the island was thoroughly explored from end to end; holes were dug and the soil examined; wells were sunk and the water tasted; the flora, fauna and fish were studied from the point of view of future settlers; the lagoon was explored in the canoes which we had brought with us and anchorages

and landing facilities discussed and recorded.

I shall always remember that first night in the Phoenix Islands. We lay in a circle under the shade of the giant "buka" trees by the lagoon, ringed by fires as a protection against the giant robber crabs, who stalked about in the half-light or hung from the branches staring balefully at us. Birds were everywhere and for the most part quite tame, and the noise they made until well into the night were deafening. Unfortunately for them, both the crabs and birds were very good eating and we gorged ourselves on a diet of crabs, boobies and fish. Until I stopped them, the delegates would walk up to the boobies, seize them by the neck and crack them like a whip before roasting them on one of the fires. The fish were so plentiful and unaccustomed to man that they were literally scooped out of the water by hand.

One of our most important duties was that of christening the islands found suitable for colonization, since obviously the European names would not do for what were to become purely native islands: for one thing they could not even be pronounced by the Gilbertese. Fortunately the islands almost christened themselves: Hull was called "Orona", the old Polynesian name by which it was known to the Niue Islanders who worked there in the old phosphate-guano days. Sydney was called "manra", the name of one of the Gilbertese ancestral homelands in Indonesia whence they had migrated many generations previously - Manra was known to have possessed a lake similar to Sydney's lagoon; Canton was called "Aba Riringa", the land of sunshine, which all who know the island will admit to being appropriate. Gardner was even more inevitably called "Nikumaroro", after the home

island of a Gilbertese ancestress Nei Manganibuka, who swam from her land "i-an Tamoia" (under the lea of Samoa) to Nikunau in the Southern Gilberts, bearing the branch of the first "buka" tree in her mouth. Nikumaroro was known to have been covered with "buka" trees and the delegates were firmly of the opinion that it was none other than Gardner, now rediscovered by her descendants.

Before completing our work on each island we did not omit the ceremony of hoisting the flag. A wooden flagstaff was erected, a substantial cairn built round and the Union Jack nailed to the top with a notice board commemorating our visit.

We should have liked to have stayed longer in the Phoenix Group, but supplies and water were giving out so we had perforce to leave and make for my home island of Beru. As it was our diet for the last week consisted almost entirely of boiled rice and tinned pigs' trotters, of which the Captain appeared to have an unlimited supply. Our welcome from the people of Beru was enthusiastic and the meetings never seemed to tire of hearing over and over again the exploits of the expedition as given by the delegates, who were for the most part enthusiastic boosters of the new land. Though they were told that even if the colonization scheme was eventually approved, it would take months before it could be carried into effect, not a few natives immediately packed their boxes and wound up their affairs, lest they be found not ready when the eagerly awaited day arrived.

There followed two months on Ocean Island writing up the results of the pioneering expedition and working out the blue-prints for the proposed migration. The romance of these little lone islands, lying out under the equatorial sun far to the east, had quite

taken possession of me and I felt that I could not rest till I had seen them the home of a contented and prosperous community. All day long I would be busied with the multitudinous details of any colonization experiment: problems connected with the selection of settlers, the basis of land distribution, the social and political organization of the new colonies, administrative control, stages of settlement, and estimates of the costs and financial provision required; and at night I could still hear the crash of the waves on Sydney's reefs and the cried of the white terns circling over the lagoon at Gardner. "Himona", with our decks cluttered up with

Having completed this work I departed to live on the small island of Tamana, in the extreme Southern Gilberts. While my main task on Tamana was a land settlement of the island, I took advantage of the opportunity to work out the details of the proposed colonization scheme with the islanders and ensure that it was correctly orientated with their own customs and traditions regarding migration. I asked them, for example, what was the first thing to be done when making arrangements for colonizing an island. One would never guess the answer; which was, reasonably enough, the composition of a theme song. We set to work with a will and in a few days had produced a really stirring "Song of the Phoenix Islands Settlers", based on a Maori tune called, I believe, "The Warriors' Departure".

After three months on Tamana, during which I had become quite unaccustomed to speaking or hearing the English language, I was taken by schooner to Ocean Island, where I learned that the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme had been approved, the reversion of Burns, Philp and Co's lease purchased from them, and the necessary funds

for carrying on the scheme provided by a free grant from the Colonial Development Fund. The High Commissioner had appointed me Officer in Charge of the Scheme, with what he termed "carte blanche" to settle all details as to how it was to be carried out: as far as I remember, his main admonition was the welcome one that there should be the minimum of red tape and paper work !

All was now bustle in preparation for the first expedition of pioneers, who were to blaze the trail for the main parties of colonists; and on the 8th. December, 1938, we again set sail from Ocean Island in the "Nimanoa", with our decks cluttered up with materials for demarcating boundaries, clothing, cooking utensils, fishing equipment, rations, surveying instruments, tools and two locally made consensing plants for use until we could find drinkable well water. Mr. G.B. Gallagher, a young cadet from England (or rather Ireland) was to be my assistant, and proved to be exactly the right man in the right place. His industry and enthusiasm was phenomenal and infected everyone with whom he came into contact.

We were committed to be in the Phoenix by a certain date and so had to make all haste. I shall never forget how we landed at our first island, Nonouti, at dusk and immediately called a meeting in the council house. About a thousand islanders must have listened while I stated the reason for our visit and called for volunteers for the first expedition, explaining that the islands were unknown and untested, that though the descendants of the settlers might possibly achieve prosperity those that came with us could only expect the toil and hardship of the pioneer. I added that there could be no return and no revisiting of relatives or friends but that the settlers

would be treated by native custom as if they had drifted out to sea in canoes and been lost, and their lands on Nonouti would therefore be divided up amongst their next-of-kin. Although no one on Nonouti had ever so much as seen the Phoenix Islands, some five hundred stood up immediately. From these we selected two notoriously poor families and told them to be ready at the boats, with all their goods and chattels, within two hours. Before the appointed time they were all ready and waiting, and out of the ten leaving only one young woman showed a tendency to tears. She was sternly rebuked by the Native Magistrate of the island, who observed that "this is no time for weeping. This is a time for brave thoughts and brave deeds". Yet one wonders how many Europeans, leaving all that was near and dear forever - at two hours notice - would have kept smiling faces?

From various islands we picked up in all sixty-one pioneer settlers for the three islands - Hull, Sydney and Gardner: Canton was no longer available for settlement. There were twenty-three men, thirteen women, ten boys and fifteen girls; and real pioneers they were too. There must have been close on eighty persons on the little "Nimanoa" and scarcely room to move, let alone to sleep. Some slept by night and some by day, yet we never heard a grumble or complaint the whole voyage.

After five days at sea we again reached Gardner, and slept our first night under a large tarpaulin, ringed by fires as before. Those who slept at all, that is, for the majority were too excited by novel sights and sounds and spent most of the night feasting on the robber crabs and boobies.

Leaving a working party of ten men on Gardner to commence

clearing and planting, we went on to Hull and Sydney. At Hull we left four families, totalling ten persons; and at Sydney nine families, totalling forty-one. At each island test lands were demarcated, to ensure that our theoretical methods could be carried out in actual practice. Two village sites were selected on Sydney, the names chosen by the colonists being Mauta, after myself, and Ona, after my wife. I say chosen by the people, for it was certainly through no act of mine that the churches happened to be in Mauta and the gaols in Ona. The village in Hull was called Arariki, after our son Alaric, and that on Gardner Karaka, after Mr. Gallagher. I was on the work and each child was paraded and given a

I should explain here that the basis of land allocation finally agreed upon was to give two pieces of land, each containing approximately twenty-five bearing coconut trees, to every adult, whether male or female; one land to be near the Government station and anchorage. To each child was granted two pieces of unplanted bush land, each twenty-five fathoms square, on condition that the parents cleared and planted the lands within five years of their taking possession. All grants were, of course, freehold.

Leaving Gallagher to carry on with the land allotment and other work on Sydney, we set sail once more for the Gilberts, calling in at Gardner on our way. Here we found dire trouble among the ten men left there: the well water was considered undrinkable, one consensing plant had burnt out and they were afraid the other would go too. They demanded to be taken home forthwith. Argument appeared useless and we had a final and sad meeting prior to departure, in which I happened to mention how sorry I was at the

turn of events as I was returning to the Gilberts to bring their wives back with me on the next ship. The effect was instantaneous and ludicrous. "Wives, did you say?" said their spokesman, "why, the water here is not so bad, after all. We're staying on". And stay they did. Apparently all that was wrong was that the men had got so homesick for the company of their families that they could not bear the thought of further indefinite separation.

On my return to the Gilberts I collected the main party of colonists, on a basis of relative poverty. These were all brought to Beru, where my wife acted as the receiving end. She had quite an assembly line on the work and each child was paraded and given a good scrub with soap and water, before being passed on for medical inspection and finally presented with a real feast of boiled rice. It was a joy to watch the children getting steadily fatter and fitter as the days went by.

A small chartered steamer, the "Moamoa", arrived on the 22nd. April and by the following day we had embarked the 195 new settlers, with all their personal effects, canoes, etc. The voyage to the Phoenix passed off without incident, though it was full of excitement for the colonists, who were all agog to see their new homes. Stopping at each of the three islands in turn, we landed 12 settlers at Gardner (the long awaited wives and families of the pioneer party), 75 at Hull, and 108 at Sydney. Everything appeared to be progressing well and at the last island Gallagher was found busy and happy, though he had evidently had a tough time by the standards of civilization. His shoes, to give an example, had long succumbed to the sharp coral rock and his feet were bound up in layers of rags.

If I remember rightly he wore size thirteens, so the provision of shoes for him was a perpetual difficulty.

I was very pleased indeed by the way in which the little community on Sydney had developed, led by the enthusiasm of Gallagher. During the three months that had elapsed since I left the whole face of the island had changed. Where before we had to cut our way through thick bush, two prosperous villages were now situated, with neat and attractive homes fronting both sides of the broad road. To the south of the villages had been built a large school, where over fifty children received daily instruction from a full-time master: to the north lay the Island Government station, with its offices, store houses, homes for the resident officials and two small gaols: which still remained happily untenanted. Close to the Government station was the hospital with its resident Native Dresser, and the new transit quarters for the visiting European officers. All around were evidences of peaceful progress, and the impression of general contented well-being was increased by a walk through the newly opened bush lands along the "Richards' Highway" (named in honour of Sir Arthur Richards, the sponsor of the settlement scheme), where throughout the day could be heard on all sides the ring of axes and the cheerful chatter of families engaged in preparing their new lands for planting.

I spent over a month in the Phoenix on this visit, much of the time being occupied in organizing the Co-operative Societies, which we established on each island and stocked with a full range of those articles, such as soap, kerosene, fish hooks, tobacco, etc., for which they were dependent on the outside world.

Gallagher returned with me to the Gilberts in the "Nimanoa" and proceeded on to Fiji, as he had developed tropical ulcers on his legs as a result of being tipped into the surf on several occasions when trying to get ashore, while his constitution had been undermined by the hardships he had been through.

Soon after returning to my home on Beru I also became ill and was unable to return to the Phoenix. The work of managing the settlement scheme passed into the capable hands of Gallagher, and despite temporary difficulties and set-backs too numerous to mention the colonization programme proceeded surely and steadily. During 1940 Gallagher succeeded in again chartering the "Moamoa", which took 276 settlers to the islands and, in addition, made two journeys on another chartered vessel, the "John Bolton", taking a further 154. On the 30th. September, 1940, when further settlement was finally suspended owing to the war, a grand total of 729 colonists had been transported to the Phoenix, of whom only seven had had to be returned.

By the end of 1940, both Sydney and Hull Islands had become normal self-contained island communities. The islands were administered by their own Native Governments, a system to which the colonists were accustomed in their former homes, supplemented by occasional routine visits by the European Administrative Officer in charge of the District.

Gallagher himself returned to the Phoenix on several occasions, but the hardships he had been through proved too much for his indomitable spirit and he finally succumbed and was buried at Gardner on the 27th. September, 1941, aged twenty-nine. Universally beloved by the natives and characteristically cheerful to the last,

it can be truly said of him that he gave his life for his people and that in his work and the manner of his death he upheld throughout the best traditions of the British Colonial Service.

Before I conclude you would probably like to hear whether I consider that this first experiment in Government sponsored mass migration has proved to be a success or not. The answer surely is that while under commercial exploitation this group of islands provided, at best, a precarious livelihood for a single European and a handful of native labourers: now we have a thousand peasant proprietors, leading happy and contented lives on their own lands, administered by their own Island Governments, buying their wants and selling their produce in their own Co-operative Societies. This surely is sufficient justification for our efforts and for the money which the Imperial Government has so generously provided to finance the venture. Whether settlement schemes will provide a final and permanent solution to the Colony's over-population problems is, of course, another matter. In the period since immigration into the Phoenix ceased the population has increased from 724 to over one thousand; that of Hull alone from 349 to 530. The moral seems to be that the Gilbertese are a naturally virile and prolific people and that when we reduce the population pressure they will eventually, though it may take time, multiply until they reach the same density as before.

Confidential.

Report on the Development of Co-operative Societies
in the New Hebrides.

In September, 1952, a request was received from the British and French Resident Commissioners in the New Hebrides by the signatories to this report, M. J. Guiart, Ethnologist to the Institut Française d'Océanie, and Mr. H.E. Maude, Executive Officer for Social Development, South Pacific Commission, for "advice and assistance on the subject of the formation of Native Co-operative Societies".

2. The invitation pointed out that, while past attempts by natives in the Condominium to form co-operative organizations had not proved successful, there was a considerable and growing local interest in the possibilities of co-operative trading and the Government was anxious that such ventures should be commenced on sound foundations and conducted in the best manner possible. Particular reference was made to the recently-enacted New Hebrides Native Co-operative Societies or Companies Regulation (Joint Regulation No.9 of 1951) which, it had been suggested, might not be sufficiently comprehensive to ensure its objectives.

3. As a result of discussion by correspondence, it was felt that an inspection of the local situation in relation to native economic enterprises and the examination on the spot of as many so-called co-operative groups or native companies as possible was essential if any practical advice and assistance was to be given by us. The Resident Commissioners readily agreed with this view and the Condominium vessel "Don Quixote" was placed at our disposal for a comprehensive tour of inspection.

Itinerary of Tour.

4. Arriving at Vila on the 27th and 28th January respectively we were able to have useful preliminary discussions with His Honour the Resident Commissioner for the French Republic, M.P. Anthonioz; H.B.M.'s Acting Resident Commissioner, Mr. B.F. Blackwell; and

their headquarters staffs. The main islands where some form of co-operative organization was believed to be operating were thereupon visited on the following itinerary:-

(ix) Tour of the New Hebrides.

(x)	Vila	-	Jan. 28-29	(not ascertained).
	Santo: Luganville	-	" 30	
(xi)	Tangoa	-	" 31	South-west Bay.*
	Vao	-	Feb. 1	
(xii)	Atchin	-	" "	
	Wala	-	" "	
(xiii)	Malekula: Aulua	-	" 2	
	" : Tisman Bay	-	" "	
(xiv)	Ambrym: Olal	-	" "	
	Pentecost: Melsisi	-	" 3	
(xv)	" : Bulhak	-	" "	(not ascertained)
	Aoba: Lolowai	-	" "	
(xvi)	" : Longana	-	" 4	(not ascertained)
	Santo: Hog Harbour	-	" "	
(xvii)	" : Luganville	-	" 5	
	Malekula: Matanvat	-	" 6	
(xviii)	Aoba: Nduindui	-	" 7	
	Malekula: South-west Bay	-	" 8	
(xix)	Ahamb	-	" 9	Tanna Native Co-operative Society, Lenakel.
	Nguna	-	" "	
	Vila	-	" 10 and 11	

Native Societies examined

5. During the course of our visit we investigated, either by personal inspection or examination of information on file at Vila, no less than 19 native trading organizations, as shown below:-

Native Trading Companies in the New Hebrides

- (i) Santo: Hog Harbour Native Company.
- (ii) Tangoa: Church Co-operative Store.
- (iii) Aoba: Aoba Church Company, Nduindui.
- (iv) " : Lomataiwai Harbour Company, Longana.
- (v) Pentecost: Pentecost Native Company, Bulhak.

3.

- (vi) Vao: Vao Trading Store.*
- (vii) Wala: Wala Trading Store.*
- (viii) " : Wala Native Company.
- (ix) Malekula: Tontar Trading Store, Matanvat.*
- (x) " : Pinalum Company (name not ascertained).
- (xi) Malekula: Lawn Trading Store, South-west Bay.*
- (xii) Toman: Toman Native Company.
- (xiii) Ahamb: Ahamb Native Company.
- (xiv) Ambrym: Olal Trading Store, Olal.*
- (xv) Tongoa: Native Company (name not ascertained)
- (xvi) Emae: Native Company (name not ascertained)
- (xvii) Nguna: Nguna Native Company.
- (xviii) Fila: Fila Island Native Company.
- (xix) Tanna: Tanna Native Co-operative Society, Lenakel.

The companies marked * are branches of the Malekula Native Company or Malnatco (see Appendix B), the remainder being linked with church organizations or independent. It should be stressed that not all the above companies were functioning at the time of our visit while, on the other hand, it was obvious that a number of others were in existence in localities off our route or had been in existence in the past. A map showing the distribution of the companies is attached (Annex A).

Extent and Character of the Co-operative Movement.

6. It will be seen from the above that the extent of native economic enterprise of a co-operative, or pseudo co-operative, character in the Condominium is quite considerable; and indeed our conversations with individual natives and village gatherings left us in no doubt that interest in this subject was widespread in all islands of the group. News of co-operative developments in other parts of the South Pacific, though in a

garbled and inaccurate form, is more commonly possessed than one would expect; while the repeated efforts made to form societies, with or without the encouragement of individual missionaries, Government officers or European residents, keep the topic ever fresh.

7. Most of the societies, or companies, inspected by us were found to be multi-purpose in character: in other words they attempted to combine the functions of marketing the members' produce, for the most part copra, and retailing consumer goods. Among the remainder, however, we found single-purpose marketing or consumer societies, an agricultural producers society and the simplest form of buying club, where a number of villagers join together to purchase a supply of goods at wholesale (or better than retail) rates and disband again after distribution.

Lack of success.

8. Defining co-operation as "a form of organization wherein persons voluntarily associate together as human beings on a basis of equality for the promotion of the economic interests of themselves" the societies seen may be termed co-operatives. Unfortunately, there is little doubt that in every case they are, under present conditions, doomed to inevitable failure, with the loss of the members' funds and the disappointment of their hopes; and this not through fault of the management or membership but solely through ignorance of the practical rules which must govern the work of all co-operative organizations.

9. It is true that some of these rules are being commonly observed, e.g. the entrance fee or subscription of share capital, and the purchase of goods at wholesale rates and re-sale at local traders retail prices; but there is no real perception of the meaning of co-operation, of the objectives of the society or the business principles on which it must essentially be operated. As a result the societies were in almost every case moribund, their capital dissipated and their stores bare of produce or goods.

10. In our opinion three main factors may be singled out as responsible for the almost total failure to date of the native co-operative movement in the New Hebrides:-

- (i) the absence of suitable bye-laws to govern the working of each society;
- (ii) lack of knowledge of how to keep the society's books; and
- (iii) the giving of credit.

Many other contributory circumstances could be mentioned but these appear to us to be of relatively minor importance: if the societies are to be placed on a sound footing the attack must be made on the main weaknesses mentioned above, while at the same time the members must be made to realize that societies have got to be run on business lines and that this requires self-discipline and working together to achieve their common objectives.

Dangers in the present situation.

11. We consider that the present situation in the Condominium is potentially a dangerous one. Organizations of a co-operative character are being formed throughout the territory to further the economic interests of the islanders, and there is every reason to predict that this tendency will increase. But the administering authority has done nothing officially to guide or assist these efforts, other than to enact a Joint Regulation of a predominately restrictive character, and the only help the native has so far received has thus been from a few District Agents or missionaries, who lack the necessary technical knowledge, or from European traders, whose motives have not always been above suspicion.

12. We would reiterate that the result of this policy can only be the ultimate failure of every attempt made by the native to better himself economically through self-help. The frustrations which such repeated disappointments must engender have led elsewhere to feelings of resentment and bitterness against Europeans in general and the Government in particular; to the growth of cargo cults; and ultimately, when an opportunity occurs, to the spread of subversive movements. There is still time to arrest this sequence of events in the Condominium; but not unlimited time.

Rec.I : Positive steps necessary to assist the societies.Accords with British and French policies

Recommendation
I: Government
to guide and
assist co-opera-
tive movement.

13. Our first recommendation, therefore, is that the Government of the New Hebrides should take immediate positive steps to guide, control and assist the existing co-operative societies in the Condominium, and those which may be established in future. We would point out here that the encouragement of the local co-operative movement in their dependent territories is the declared official policy of both the French and British metropolitan Governments. In Non-Metropolitan France, as in the British Colonial Empire, there are to be found every form of co-operative organization, including credit, production, processing, marketing or consumer societies, and these enjoy the active encouragement of Government and the advice and assistance of its technical officers. In the case of the Condominium, however, there is, as we have seen, the added consideration that the native population have forced the hand of the administration by forming their own organizations which, unless guided and assisted, will prove an increasing source of embarrassment and trouble.

Growth of co-operation in the South Pacific.

14. There is no need to go further than the South Pacific to appreciate the rapid growth of co-operation during recent years. Though the first society in the area was only established in 1926, on Nauru, and the second in 1929, in the Ellice Islands, there are by now many hundred active producer, marketing, consumer or multi-purpose societies, with specially prepared guiding legislation enacted by eight territories and at least twenty-five European officers engaged in full-time co-operative development work. According to the latest figures available the number of native societies in the islands is now 230, with a total membership of 55,000 and an annual turnover of £A685,000.

Prohibition v. Assistance.

15. It may be as well to deal here with the argument sometimes encountered that, as the co-operative movement in Europe was essentially a spontaneous growth and derived its strength largely from this fact, the

island Government in the Pacific should confine their functions to the registration, audit and winding up of societies. However specious, this reasoning is none the less false: the islander, unlike even the Rochdale Pioneers, knows little or nothing of western money economy, commercial organization, commodity markets or price fixing and so in the early stages he must perforce rely on the Government for guidance and assistance. There are in reality only two alternative courses open to the administration: total prohibition of native co-operative organizations, which is contrary to international agreements to which both the administering powers are signatories and is in any case unenforceable, or a policy of laissez-faire, which as we have shown will have the gravest economic and political consequences. From every point of view, legal, moral, political, social and economic the Government, in our opinion, has no option but to take speedy and effective steps to rehabilitate the co-operative movement in the Condominium.

Capacity of local population.

16. A further argument advanced both by Government officers and European residents was to the effect that at the present stage of their development the natives of the New Hebrides are incapable of organizing and running successful co-operatives. We found no evidence whatsoever to support this view. In natural ability and industry they appear superior to races among whom the co-operative movement has been flourishing for years, and though their general level of education is low it is no lower than, for example, in Papua and New Guinea where successfully run village societies are commonplace.

17. While total illiteracy is not necessarily a bar to the operation of a village co-operative, for areas exist where transactions are memorized for later record by itinerant literate secretaries, this condition happily does not obtain in the Condominium, where there are few villages without at least one inhabitant able to read and write in pidgin or a vernacular. In examining the books of existing societies we were struck by the neat and punctilious manner in which most of them were being kept and, though unfortunately the absence of any training in simple book-keeping made them largely unintelligible both to the writers and ourselves, this could be corrected by a minimum of rule-of-thumb instruction.

Rec.II: Appointment of a Registrar.

District Agents no substitute.

Recommendation
I: appoint-
ment of a
Registrar

18. On the assumption, therefore, that our first recommendation is acceptable it remains to consider the necessary means by which this guidance, control and assistance can be provided. Of these we place first the appointment of a full-time permanent officer, with the requisite technical qualifications and experience, as Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Under Joint Regulation No.9 of 1951 the control of societies is placed in the hands of the District Agents, who are enjoined to report annually on "the situation, moral and financial" of each society in their District. Experience in other countries has shown, however, that this procedure is unsound and foredoomed to failure. However interested one or two individual District Agents may be in the organization and guidance of native co-operative efforts, few if any are trained co-operators; they have many other duties of greater priority and so can work only intermittently and in their spare time. Above all they are subject to frequent transfer, with no guarantee that successors will share their interests, while the "Mana" which surrounds them is a handicap to the development of democratic native control of the societies. And finally there is always the danger that societies organized by the District Agents will be regarded as Government institutions; while recent events on Tanna demonstrate how easy it is for a District Agent's well-meant attempts at assisting co-operatives to lead to strained relations with the local commercial community.

Functions of Registrar.

19. It must be emphasized that the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in a territory such as the New Hebrides has functions very different from, and more extensive than, a Registrar in France or the United Kingdom. In Colonial Territories he must essentially be the guide, counsellor and friend to the societies in their early stages, training the membership in business principles and leading them to the stage when his assistance is no longer required. Among other duties, the Registrar should be prepared to:-

- (i) assist newly-formed societies with his advice as to suitable rules and teach their officers the conduct of co-operative business, book-keeping, preparing balance sheets, profit and loss accounts, etc.;
- (ii) register them under the local legislation when he is satisfied that they are being run on sound, business-like lines; and
- (iii) advise them, audit their books and generally watch over their interests once they have become registered societies.

If desired, it could be laid down that the Registrar is not to engage in the actual creation of local societies but only to assist those which may be formed by the natives themselves.

A Condominium Head of Department.

20. We consider that the Registrar of Co-operative Societies should be a Condominium officer and in charge of a separate Department of Co-operation. While attempts have been made in various territories to place co-operative officers in other Departments, notably the Agricultural Department or the Central Secretariat, these have not as a rule proved a success and there seems everything to be gained and nothing to lose by treating the Registrar as a separate Departmental Head with power to deal direct with the Resident Commissioners. This is strongly urged by co-operative experts with experience in Africa, Asia and America. Irrespective of his rank and title, however, he should essentially be regarded as a technical officer, like his colleagues in the Medical or Agricultural Departments, and as such he would be guided on policy matters by his administrative superiors. When travelling on duty he would have to consult, and work in close co-operation with, the local District Agents.

Selection of officer.

21. With the rapid development of co-operation in other areas, the selection of a really good officer may not prove an easy task, but it is understood that the South Pacific Commission has already had some success

in locating suitable specialist personnel for other territories and would be willing to assist on request. Two main possibilities exist:-

- (i) the transfer or secondment of an officer from the Co-operative Department of some other tropical territory where conditions are not too dissimilar; or
- (ii) the appointment of a trained officer from one of the metropolitan countries, which may be considered the better alternative.

In the latter case, however, it would, we submit, be essential that he should undergo a period of say six months' training attached to the Co-operative Department of one of the other South Pacific dependencies. The financial implications of our recommendation are attached, in the form of draft departmental estimates, as Annex C.

Rec. III: Enactment of adequate legislation.

Further legislation a necessity.

Recommendation
III: Enactment
of proper
legislation.

22. Next in importance to the appointment of a Registrar we would place the enactment of suitable legislation, without which the Government can have little control over the functioning and running of the societies while the societies themselves are denied the assistance of guiding rules based on generations of co-operative experience.

Defects of present enactment.

23. We have examined the New Hebrides Native Co-operative Societies or Companies Regulation (Joint Regulation No.9 of 1951), a copy of which is annexed for ease of reference (Annex D), but do not regard it as adequate for its purpose. A general criticism is that it provides only for control and not for guidance and assistance and must therefore have the effect, if enforced, of stifling rather than developing the co-operative movement. Its enforcement, furthermore, is left to the District Agents, a procedure which, as we have pointed out above, has had to be abandoned as impracticable in other areas. Other points which we would mention are:-

- (i) Section 1. While we cordially agree that the expert advice and assistance of the Co-operative Department should not be confined to co-operative societies but available to all forms of native economic enterprise it would seem important that companies, whether of limited or unlimited liability, should be governed by separate legislation.
- (ii) Section 2. This is not sufficient. Those matters which are considered essential for the operation of all societies should be specified in rules made by the Resident Commissioners under the Joint Regulation and published for general information as an annex to the main enactment. Those points relating to objects, qualifications for membership, nature of liability, manner of raising funds, and the like, which differ with each society should be incorporated in bye-laws to be approved by the Registrar as a pre-requisite for registration: but even here it will be found necessary for the societies to be provided with model bye-laws by the Registrar, adapted to suit their particular requirements.
- (iii) Section 4. The necessity for training natives in co-operative book-keeping is dealt with below. Under existing conditions the provision is quite unenforceable.
- (iv) Section 12. Even with the appointment of a Registrar it will take years rather than months before even the existing societies can be provided with suitable rules or bye-laws and generally put on a working footing.

Advantages of "Model Ordinance".

24. Assuming that it is agreed that the present legislation should be superseded by one more calculated to assist, as well as control, the efforts being made by the natives to better themselves, we would urge the desirability of drafting a special enactment to suit

the peculiar needs of the New Hebrides. Most Co-operative legislation, including all ordinances designed for metropolitan countries, is quite unsuited for use at the primitive stage of native development reached in the Condominium; and we know of none which would not require substantial modification before it could be applied locally. We should be glad to submit a draft Joint Regulation if desired, based on our observations of territorial requirements, or alternatively we suggest that it might be prepared by the newly appointed Co-operatives Officer on the staff of the South Pacific Commission.

Rules and Bye-laws to await consideration by Registrar.

25. We consider that the Rules made under the Joint Regulation (which, from the point of view of the societies, are the main operating part of the legislation), like the bye-laws of the societies themselves, will need the most careful drafting to suit local political and administrative peculiarities, the simple economic pattern and the low standard of native education. After careful consideration of the pros and cons we are of the opinion that this can best be done by the Registrar himself, after he has had an opportunity of inspecting the existing societies: the delay may not be of major consequence, since it will in any case take him several months before he can bring the first society to a standard enabling registration, and it may obviate the necessity of further amending legislation at a later date.

Rec. IV: Co-operative Training Courses.

Purpose and scope of the Courses.

26. As the fourth and final corner-stone of a successful co-operative structure in the Condominium we would urge the need for holding Co-operative Training Courses, as one of the regular duties of the Registrar, in order to impart the essential rudiments of co-operative principles and procedures, arithmetic and book-keeping to the officials of the local societies and, if desired, prospective societies. Nothing elaborate is required at this stage; merely sufficient instruction to ensure that one or more

Recommendation
IV:Co-operative
Training
Courses.

officers in each society will have enough technical knowledge to ensure its successful operation with periodical help from the Registrar himself. A three months course should suffice initially, but after a few years there will be a need for refresher courses and more advanced instruction.

27. It should be possible for the Registrar to conduct at least one such elementary course each year, lasting for about three months, even though most of his time would be occupied in field inspections of the societies. Such a procedure would have the advantage that the course would be based on local legislation, including the actual rules and bye-laws governing the particular societies' operations, and on local social and economic conditions. In addition, the Registrar's teaching notes could be utilized in the preparation of a handbook for the officers and committee members of local societies.

Miscellaneous observations.

Danger of sponsored societies.

28. As Annex B we include a series of notes on some co-operative trends in the New Hebrides at the time of our visit. It seems to us that the position depicted, unless it has altered in the interim, at least suggests the expediency of considering whether or not a judicial enquiry should be held into the activities of the Malnatco organization. Any enquiry should, of course, be conducted in such a way that the natives do not obtain an impression that it is directed against their co-operative efforts. Furthermore, the appointment of the Registrar would seem a necessary pre-requisite, since he can best arrange for the obtaining of technical evidence and look after native interests. Apart from any enquiry, however, we consider that no countenance should be given by the Administration to the efforts being made by private commercial interests to establish societies or companies tied to a particular firm. Healthy co-operatives cannot be forced; they must essentially develop from a felt want, have a definite objective and be under the democratic control of the membership. In any future legislation care should be taken to prevent the misuse of the word "co-operative".

Single v. Multi purpose societies.

29. To deal in greater detail with a few of the other matters which, based on observations during our tour, we feel to be of importance we would stress the desirability of encouraging natives to commence their co-operative ventures with single purpose Marketing Societies or, on the consumer side, with simple terminable Buying Clubs. As in the rest of the Pacific area the almost universal desire is to form a multi-purpose society combining the sale of trade goods with the purchase of local produce (principally copra), but this type is the hardest to operate successfully since it demands a higher degree of skill, particularly in book-keeping, than any other.

30. Not content with essaying the difficult feat of combining buying and selling operations in one organization we found a tendency for societies to launch out simultaneously into other ventures, in particular the management of launch and truck hire services. These were being purchased from the societies' funds (and often on credit) and employed partly in the societies' work and partly on hire to members and others, maintenance and running costs being entered in the one cash book with sales of goods, purchases of produce, hire of labour and other items. Needless to say no one had any idea whether the ventures were being run at a profit or loss, but it was obvious to us that heavy losses were in fact being incurred but disguised in the intricate and often meaningless book-keeping systems.

31. It would be more satisfactory, in our view, if in the early stages of co-operative education in the Condominium separate societies were formed for each of these separate functions: we see no reason why a single village should not possess a produce marketing society, a consumers store and a transport society, with membership almost identical. Where it is considered essential that a society should subserve more than one function separate books should be kept covering each; this is the only way by which uneconomic ventures can be readily detected and wound up.

Small societies preferable.

32. In any case the societies should not be encouraged for the time being to get too large, either

in membership or in the scope or scale of their operations, and no society should be founded unless it clearly has some economic function. The all essential spirit of loyalty and sense of common purpose can easily be lost in a large organization, while it will be some time before the natives acquire sufficient technical knowledge and experience to run other than small societies with limited objectives.

Raising of capital.

33. We noticed that the raising of share capital did not appear to offer any difficulty and judge that this advantageous situation will continue as long as the price of island produce remains at present levels. It is suggested that, as in the case of Australian Papua and New Guinea, no interest need be paid on this capital until a demand arises. It is desirable, however, that for obvious reasons the units of share capital, say from £1 to £5, should be equal.

Observance of co-operative principles.

34. The importance of all trading by societies being on a strictly cash basis has already been stressed. With the present unhealthy development of credit transactions throughout the Condominium this rule will be, we recognize, hard to observe; but it is nonetheless essential to the successful operation of every society, without exception. To relax this rule is to ensure ultimate failure. Other normal principles governing co-operative organizations which will have to be observed are the annual patronage dividend (which can, of course, be devoted to some communal purpose if desired by members) and the accumulation of adequate reserves. There appeared to be little appreciation at present of the meaning of these; still less of how they could be carried into effect.

No necessity for a wholesale organization.

35. It appeared to be sometimes assumed by Europeans that no co-operative development could take place in the New Hebrides unless some sort of importing and exporting wholesale society was established, presumably by the administration, to handle the societies' business.

We could see no necessity for any such action for many years to come and then only as a spontaneous development of the local village organizations. Under existing conditions of free competition between wholesale importing and exporting firms the societies appeared, with one or two exceptions, to be experiencing no difficulty in obtaining favourable wholesale rates; indeed we found the European companies on the whole well disposed towards the co-operatives, a position which we consider unlikely to change provided the societies themselves refrain from limiting their commercial transactions to one company only. Even if the main firms were to combine in discriminating action against the societies any united front would be most unlikely to last: either one of them would break away to secure the extra profits or an agency in Sydney or Noumea would be found willing to enter the field. The native societies themselves must learn to walk before running and build themselves up on a solid foundation of small and easily managed village groups.

Summary.

36. To summarize the main burden of this report, we found throughout the New Hebrides a marked reaction on the part of the indigenous population to the hitherto accepted territorial economy, based on European owned plantations and European or Asian retail trading, in which their only function was to provide unskilled or semi-skilled labour. It is fortunate that much of the energy released by this awakening of native interest has been absorbed in building up a number of village co-operative organizations, for the most part engaged in marketing the produce of native smallholdings and selling trade goods. This rapidly growing co-operative movement could be a force of great benefit to the Condominium by increasing production, raising native living standards and providing them with an unrivalled training in the democratic management of their own affairs: by teaching people to do things for themselves rather than to wait for the Government to do it for them co-operation is in the truest sense a form of community development.

37. Unfortunately, however, in every case examined we found that the native societies had failed, or were clearly about to fail, owing to the lack of technical guidance on co-operative management, and in particular book-keeping methods. In our opinion this position is a most serious one: the native has already lost large sums of money, in some cases under circumstances which suggest deliberate fraud, and will undoubtedly lose more. This, however, is of secondary importance to the bitter feeling of resentment and frustration which is the inevitable sequel to each failure. If the native is not to be given the minimum technical knowledge to enable him to better his economic position, can it be wondered if he turns to cargo cults?

38. Quite apart from any question of the relative merits of co-operation as against private enterprise or any other economic system we consider that in the New Hebrides the Government is compelled to take immediate steps either to prohibit the native co-operative movement by force (which we regard as out of the question) or to provide the minimum guidance and control to the societies necessary to enable their survival. In this they will merely be following the lead given by other island territories, in some of which co-operation has been developing for more than a quarter of a century.

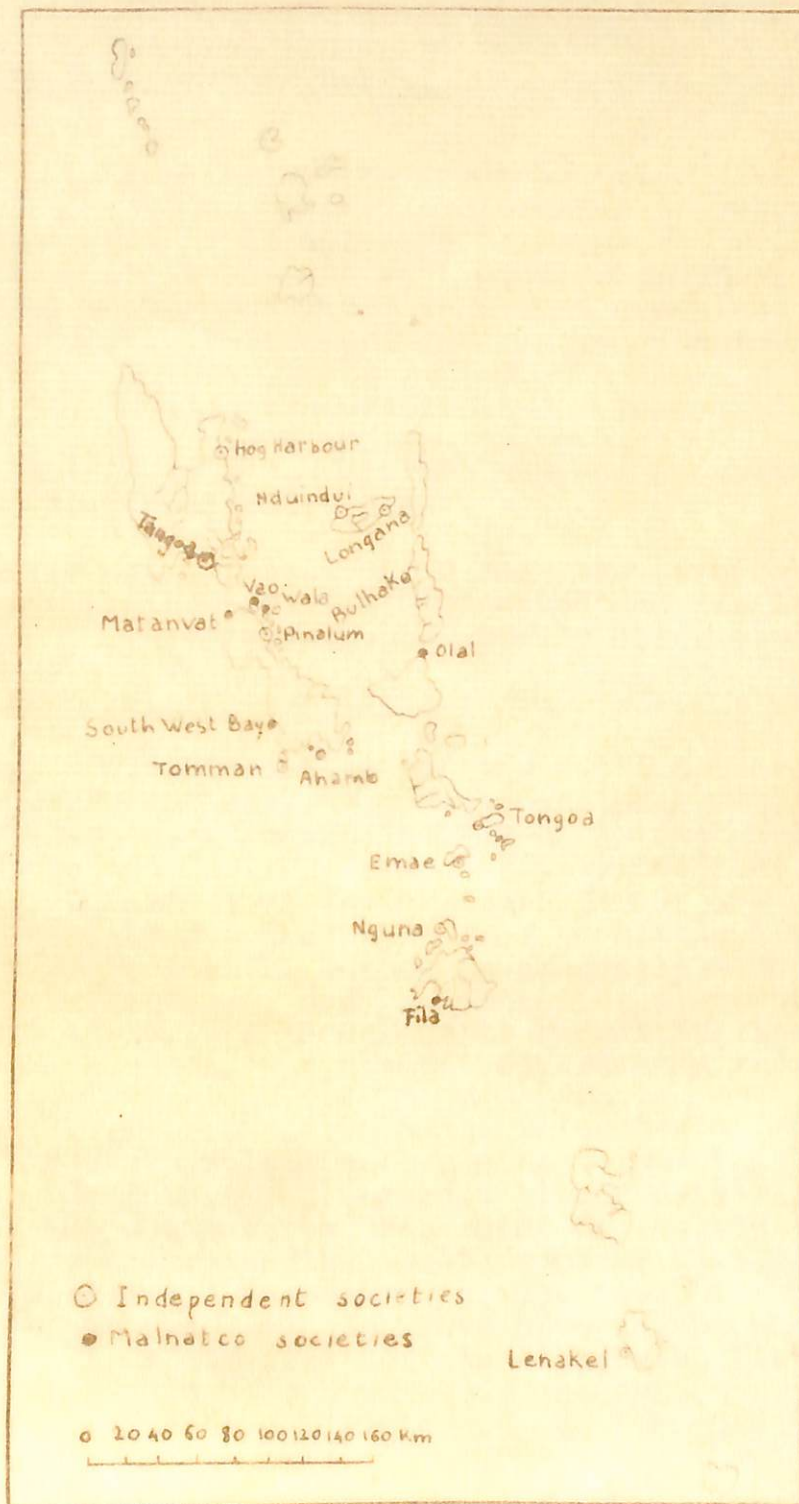
39. Our specific recommendations are few and easily met:-

- (i) the immediate appointment of a Registrar of Co-operative Societies as Head of a separate Condominium Department;
- (ii) the enactment of more detailed co-operative legislation; and
- (iii) the institution of co-operative training courses as part of the duties of the registrar.

The most urgent and important step is the first mentioned and in this connexion we have suggested that the services of the South Pacific Commission might be enlisted towards obtaining a suitable officer.

Noumea, New Caledonia.
29th December, 1953.

J. GUIART
H.E. MAUDE



Native Co-operative Societies
in the New Hebrides

The Co-operative Movement in the New Hebrides.

The following report is intended to give a brief conspectus of the co-operative movement in the New Hebrides as it appeared to us at the time of our visit. In the nature of a local supplement to the general survey and recommendations contained in the main report, it includes information obtained:-

- (i) during the course of our tour;
- (ii) during M. Guiart's stay of 5½ months on Tanna; and
- (iii) as a result of M. Guiart's personal knowledge of the "Malnatco" and its leaders over a period of nearly three years.

The "Malekula Native Company"

In the absence of the British Delegate on Santo, who was on leave, we contacted M. Tailleur, Administrator-Delegate for the districts of the Northern and Central Islands (District No.2). He is of the opinion that the "Malnatco"* has now changed and is no longer dangerous from a political viewpoint. His view is that D. Gubbay is gradually withdrawing from the business, and in particular from the commercial aspect of it. Although still recruiting labour for unloading ships, his activities are on a reduced scale.

In the course of an interview, D. Gubbay confirmed his relative lack of interest in the business now. He complained (without giving details) of false accusations about the "Malnatco" and quoted favourably the more understanding attitude of M. Tailleur. He stated that the boats are incontestably the property of the natives, although they have not been completely paid for; it is felt that in all probability the position would be the same for the "Manahine", which is still operating for him and is also used by his assistant George Wing.

* Guiart, J. "En marge du "Cargo Cult" aux Nouvelles Hébrides, le mouvement coopératif dit "Malekula Native Company", Journal de la Société des Océanistes, Vol.VII, No.7, pp.242-247, Paris 1951; or the same author's "The co-operative called 'the Malekula Native Company'. A border line type of Cargo Cult", South Pacific, Vol.6, No.6, pp.429-432, Sydney, September, 1952.

George Wing, seen a few days later, insinuated that D. Gubbay, by his rashness, had placed him in a very difficult situation. He personally would continue to deal with the commercial side, partly to serve the natives, partly to recover a proportion, at least, of his own initial outlay (personal). He complained of the shortage of copra after the cyclone in December, 1952, which he said meant that the customers of the "Malnatco" were nearly all insolvent.

At the request of Mr. Freegard, British Delegate at Santo, D. Gubbay had, at least in theory, decentralised his organization into three different groups: Malnatco (Malekula), Ambnatko (Ambrym), Pennatco (Pentecôte). However, from the invoices examined it would appear that each local group was considered to be an independent unit, composed of a store and a Company, which necessitates a double series of invoices made out in the name of each of these. The relationship between the local groups and with the headquarters in Santo seemed theoretically the responsibility of two Societies; "Traders Union" for the commercial side, and "Transpordon" which deals with the transport of goods and copra. These two names presumably cover the D. Gubbay-G. Wing association. In actual fact, however, we found the name "Transpordon" only occasionally, "Traders Union" (or Traders Limited) apparently dealing with everything, including repairs to the motorboat "Venudel", the hull of which was bought from Mr. Klein several years ago. As an example of this accountancy system we would cite Vao, where sales of copra to "Traders Union" are credited both to the store and the Company. The fact that the balance is always a debit one is explained by the cost of repairs to the "Venudel" and the natives' present shortage of money. The "Venudel" again under repair*, worked in 1952 for the people of Vao; it is now going to be taken over again by their colleagues of Matanvat, who reproached them with working at a loss for the whole of the past year. The "Manahine" is still sailing for G. Wing and D. Gubbay. The small motorboat "Lano" is used for collecting copra from the neighbourhood of Matanvat and for short trips between Tontar (Matanvat) and the Second Canal.

* For painting and replacement of some sections of the wood.

Vao.

As far as we could ascertain, the store, almost empty, which is situated in a well-equipped Nissen hut, is not seriously indebted to "Traders Limited" (£A162.17.4d.), but the local "Company" appears to owe £A478.16.11d. for repairs to the "Venudel", after taking into account two deliveries of copra and one payment in cash. Two further payments in cash and one delivery of copra are understood to be credited to the store and added to the proceeds of commercial sales, i.e. the money in hand, which is collected by G. Wing. The situation of the Vao Co-operative at the end of 1952 is believed to have been as follows:-

<u>Debit</u>		<u>Credit</u>	
Debit Balance		Proceeds of	
1951	£A330. 0. 5	Sales,	£A184.17.10
Repairs to the			
"Venudel"	461. 2. 5	Copra Delivery	82.18. 9
Purchase of spare		Payment in cash	124.13. 0
parts			
Supply of goods	245. 7. 9		
Total debit	1,036.10. 7	Total credit	£A392. 9. 7
Debit balance	£A644. 1. 0		

Were this scheme to continue without hindrance, it would seem probable that the local co-operative would remain indefinitely in the debt of "Traders Limited" through debits for repairs to boats and the gradual taking over of its available cash.

Wala.

According to the big boss of the Malnatco, Ati de Wala, the workers recruited by D. Gubbay are paid £A7.10.0d, almost a normal figure at the time. Copra is bought from them at the prevailing rate and with the cash from the store, unless they are in debt to "Traders Union"; this was the case at the time, as they still owed £A800.0.0d. for the supply of goods at Christmas, 1952. The shop was very well patronised, whereas the one at Vao was empty. It is situated in a native hut, but was to be moved to a Nissen hut which is being built next door and is almost finished.

Matanvat.

The idea of building a main road to serve Island of Pentecôte, the beginning of which had prompted the intervention of the Guineans in 1947.

At the beginning of 1953 this store, situated at Tontar, was but little patronised; it had a debit balance of £A723.2.7 with the "Traders Union", whereas the Matanvat Company had a credit balance of £A101.8.2d. The motorboat "Lano" was grounded, as an economy, as there was no copra to load from the small anchorages on the coast. The accounts showed no trace of members' debts to the store. Kaku and Joe (the storekeeper) seemed to run the business in their own way, without informing their fellows. South of Matanvat, at Tenmian and Espiegle Bay, the influence of the Company seems to have been almost eliminated.

South West Bay.

Here there is a Nissen hut set up as a store and a motorboat, at the moment out of order, at Lawa. We were unable to land because of bad weather. While we could obtain little accurate information, the local community appeared to be determined to remain within Malnatco, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Whyte, the newly-arrived Presbyterian missionary, who would like to organize a local movement over which he would have some control. At the moment, however, nothing had been done in this respect.

Olal.

Here there is a store (a Nissen hut), but it was not visited.

Bulhak.

According to G. Wing, the Pentecôte people have stopped working with him. Indeed, he collected the money from the store for the last time in October, 1952, and paid the wages of the storekeeper (£A2.0.0d. per month). The store seems a viable affair; in January, 1951, a dozen singlets which were invoiced by G. Wing at £A3.10.0d. were sold at £A5.2.0d. Similarly the cost of a mat rose from 13/- to 15/-. Of the goods delivered in the middle of 1952 - in exchange for eight tons of copra - they took £A150.0.0d. in cash, plus a balance of £A80.0.0d. for articles not yet paid for by the purchasers. They received, in October, 1951, for a consignment of two tons of copra, a total of £A41.13.4d. which would appear to have been at least 100% less than the then current price.

The idea of building a main road to serve the whole island of Pentecôte, the beginning of which had prompted the intervention of M. Guesdes in 1947, has been abandoned. A less ambitious plan for a carriage road connecting the villages of Bulhak and Leratowo is to be completed, but there is no money to bring the car which they had been promised. In August, 1951, they contributed 180 sacks of copra (about eight tons) to provide a motorboat, but it had not yet materialized. The cautious attitude shown by the local leaders, Daniel (Leratowo) and Siméon (Bulhak), both Catholics, towards the Reverend Fathers of the Melsisi Mission, is noteworthy.

Longana.

This point of Aoba is the fief of Paul Tamlumlum, one of the founders of the Malnatco at Matanvat, and is his father's home country*. He returned to settle here after his recent spell in prison. He began to work with G. Wing but, since the month of June, 1952, had changed over to Roy Gubbay; his Company, the "Lomaitai Harbour Company", delivers to the latter the copra,** which is sold to Burns Philp. In theory, the receipts from the transactions are paid into a special account with this trading firm.

* P. Tamlumlum is opposed to the local chief, who is also a trader, and to the European trader, Mr. Bosch (ex-missionary of the Church of Christ). I have seen a letter from Nduindui, asking Paul to abandon his activities at Longana and return to Nduindui, his mother's, and therefore his, home (Aoba has a matrilinear tradition). It would seem probable that this letter was more or less inspired by Ruben of Nduindui, the manager of the "Church Company", who aims at extending his own activities to the whole of Aoba and, in Paul, sees a rival.

** There is a record of a consignment of 178 sacks (11 T 602) for which £A412.10.6d. was paid at the end of 1952.

The idea is to leave there 40% of the sums received and to recover the rest of the money, to be distributed among the members of the Company, except for 20% which is to be paid into the store's operating cash fund. The blocked money in the account is eventually to pay for a motorboat and a jeep which they have received, but the price of which they did not yet know. The store, carefully constructed of native materials, was well patronised at Christmas; it still had a stock of children's sandals and small size black patent shoes. We found no record of any accounts.

The timetable drawn up by P. Tamlumlum for the working week of his co-operative members was as follows: Monday, personal work; Tuesday, copra; Wednesday, work in the houses; Thursday, copra; Friday, work on the roads; Saturday, meeting of co-operative members.

According to Paul Tamlumlum's statements (which confirmed the information provided by Oscar Newman), Roy Gubbay intended to help a native friend of the family and at the same time, probably make a little profit. He had offered to sell his boat, the "Bateman's Bay", to the natives, in return for 200 labourers whom he would place with employers***. Their wages from January to November would pay for the boat, over which he would still have control for a time while training the natives to use it. The "Bateman's Bay" would thus be sold to a group of native purchasers dispersed over the archipelago, as he made this proposal to natives in Aoba, Pentecôte and even South West Bay. Paul Tamlumlum was to set off on a recruiting tour for this scheme, and use his personal influence in the various Malnatco centres to put it into effect.

Independent Co-operative Groups.

These have much more varied aspects. One might include under this heading the Longana group, which we dealt with under "Malnatco" in view of Paul Tamlumlum's personal links with this organization in 1950.

*** We were informed that he had offered some to the planter Jean Ratard, at a wage of £A10.0.0d. per month for men and £A6.0.0d. for women.

Wala.

This is the site of an independent Company, the establishment of which had been assisted at the time by M. Chadeau, Administrator-Delegate for the district. It was still in existence, after nearly three years; its copra being taken to Wala by boats of the firm of Ballande (C.F.N.H.), that is without middlemen. Their goods were bought in fairly large quantities (orders of 20,000 to 30,000 Frs.) from this same firm. They now owed nothing to the C.F.N.H. Their liabilities consisted of a debt of £A281.0.0d. to John Smith, a European trader on the neighbouring isle of Atchin; and their assets of a motorboat, bought for £A400 from Father Shier of Pentecôte, and the store, built of native material. They still owed an unknown sum to the trader Lo-Po of Santo, whose invoices are made out in Chinese characters. The Company's stagnation seemed due as much to the store's wide internal fan of credit as to the scarcity of copra. It should be noted that Chief Tobi seems to have been expelled from the group and has taken over the management of a European shop purchased by M. Leroux from the Hébrida firm.

Hog Harbour.

A co-operative was being formed among the natives of the Presbyterian Mission of Hog Harbour. The main difficulties holding it up seemed to be a lack of clarity in the Condominium legislation and the fact that the bye-laws submitted by the Rev. Mr. Prenter had not yet been approved by the Government. Mr. Prenter was anxious to incorporate in any such bye-laws some provision by which he would be responsible for the financial guidance of the society. In anticipation of its establishment, the local Presbyterian community had obtained a motorboat and a new Bedford truck.

Nduindui.

The European store in this place was run by the old trader Purdy, a former Church of Christ missionary, who had just retired. The Church of Christ missionary, Mr. Finger, planned to channel the enthusiasm for co-operation among his adherents and to form with them a large consumers' co-operative to buy Mr. Purdy's business (for £A22,000) and, with this as a basis, to organize a network of branches in the various villages on the island. The Missionary Society was prepared to

support the movement by giving a certain financial guarantee to cover its activities, which were to be under the control of Mr. Finger. The natives seem to have refused outright to accept this organization; our informants explained this by saying that they did not want to see missionaries leave the work of God to become tradesmen. A co-operative was, nevertheless, organized by members of the "Church of Christ" Christian group, but without the permission of the missionary and, to a certain extent, in opposition to him. The leader, Ruben Mara*, has for the time being, organized the society as a producers' co-operative only. The company (Church Company) buys the copra at the local, or slightly lower, rate, and tries to sell it at the Santo rate. Any profit goes into Church funds or is used for any other purpose considered valid by the Company's Council (which seemed to be composed of Church Elders). The working capital was formed in the beginning by each of the participants contributing £A20.0.0d. The society's operations may ultimately be extended to running a retail store.

We were informed by Ruben Mara and others that the Church Company had tried to deal with the planter Graziani of Santo, but that the business resulted in a loss for them of £A500; they had paid £A50.0.0d. a ton for the copra which Graziani bought from them at £A40.0.0d., promising them the "consignment"*** profit, which had never arrived. Since then Ruben and his people had decided to work with the planter Naturel (and, after his death, with his son), who paid the Santo rate and loaded on to his own boat: he recently chartered the "Phoque", at a cost to the Company of 800 CFP Frs. per ton of freight, for a load of 42 tons. He also promised them the "consignment" profit, but this promise had not yet materialized. If he keeps it, it is difficult to see what gain could result for Naturel, unless he managed to make a profit on the dessication,

* As far as that goes, Ruben is also in opposition to the teachers of his own Church, because of their claim to settle civil matters without consulting him.

** Difference between the price paid at Port Vila or Santo and the price where the copra is treated on the Marseilles market, minus the freight charges and dessication cost.

which he alone can control. In any case, this arrangement has lasted for over a year and the Church Company has already loaded five consignments for Naturel*.

Tomman.

As a result of an agreement between the people of the island of Tomman and those in the village of Milip on the mainland opposite, a Company was formed three years ago to buy a boat belonging to Dr. Brossier, of Epi. The boat was to be paid for with copra and the production of a certain tonnage on Dr. Brossier's plantation, the labourers receiving their food only. The disappearance of the boat during a cyclone effectively prevented the execution of the contract when the boat was almost paid for. The matter is still under dispute and was to be taken to Court.

Akamb.

A small Company was formed in 1950 on this island, embracing the whole population (at that time 175 people), but activity was reduced to nil after the cyclone of December, 1951. The store's supplies could not be renewed because they had been sold on credit and there was no money left to buy more. The people contemplate starting work again to purchase a motor-boat for community use.

Tongoa, Emae.

Here there are two co-operatives, the first under the direct control of the mission, the second independent; but, as we did not visit them, we were not able to get any information.

Nguna.

A co-operative group did exist there a few months ago; but the excessive granting of credit and

* A small Company, which was not visited, has been organized near Nduindui by the Apostolic Church people, whose missionary, Mr. Grant, also complains that the people do not desire his advice.

quarrels arising from this practice reduced it to a state of suspended animation. Supported by the Presbyterian missionary, Mr. Crump, who had had an engine for their boat sent from New Zealand and himself installed it, they were trading directly with Port Vila, delivering their copra and buying goods, and the affair was being run on a very healthy basis. By abolishing credit to members, this co-operative could probably be put into operation again immediately and run with very little supervision.

Tanna.

On Tanna, as in the rest of the Group, co-operation is quite an old idea. Before the war the people of White Sands had a fairly big sailing ship with which they traded directly with Port Vila. Since 1945 there have been several attempts at creating a large movement which would permit the short-circuiting of the European traders settled on the island. An attempt was made on a large scale in 1947 by means of an agreement between the assessors Nagat, Joe Nalpin, James Yehnayeü, and M. Pouillet of Vila, who had just settled at Tanna, and undertook to act as co-operative agent. This agreement, made at the time under the aegis of the two Condominium Delegates, Mr. Colley and M. Jocteur, aroused violent reactions on the part of the traders who were already installed. Finally, M. Pouillet set up in business for himself and was successful, the difference between the average copra rates in the archipelago and the normal rates paid on Tanna easily enabling him to offer a better price than his rivals.

When the great idea of a co-operative was dropped, the main protagonists went their different ways. Today, Nagat is in prison for having failed, as assessor, to prevent or denounce the recent variant of the "John Frum" movement. James Yehnayeü set up as a trader and is apparently doing very well. Joe Nalpin is feeling his way on the fringe of the Company which some men in his district organized in December, 1950, as the Native Co-operative Society (N.C.S.). Its founders were Johnson Lahwa and Charley Nakohma of Yakutêles, and Frank Nēmwanyan and Tom Walake of Sydney (Lenakel); another founder, who has since left, was a man from Aoba called Selwyn Garae.

The initial capital consisted of £A150 contributed by the founders. Recruitment has continued since, new members paying an entrance fee of £A10 to £A20, credited in each case to the current account of the N.C.S. with Burns Philp in Vila. Today the N.C.S. has members around Lenakel, in Lopëhna, Laruanu and even as far as Lënomowet. The N.C.S. aims to be a consumers' and producers' co-operative. It buys copra and runs a well-patronised shop, which is also a bakery; but the results obtained do not quite meet expectations. It operates without assistance, as far as internal affairs are concerned. At the beginning of 1952 the Presbyterian missionary, Dr. Armstrong, explained to Johnson Lahwä the method of calculating his prices, but he takes great care not to interfere; similarly, the British Delegate is informed of what is going on, so that he may know of any disagreements which might require the intervention of the authorities, but he goes no further than this. This absence of assistance gives the members of the group the impression that it is their own business. But, although their account with Burns Philp is scrupulously paid up to date to avoid running into debt, there are no reserve funds. According to Johnson Lahwä, who gave M. Guiart this information at his request, after difficult calculations, the financial year 1951 had yielded no profit; but in 1952, the profit was £A141 at the store and about £A100 on copra sales for November and December alone. It was impossible to find out the turnover from the somewhat primitive accounts kept by Johnson Lahwä. As available cash is used for purchasing supplies for the shop, the N.C.S. in practice has not the funds necessary for the copra purchases which it makes. The money is advanced by Bob Paul, a local trader, who works in liaison with Burns Philp. Bob Paul also transports the copra, against payment, to the N.C.S. dock, and finally, on the day the boat comes, he buys this copra and loads it on his own account. As the land opposite the anchorage belongs to the Presbyterian Mission and Dr. Armstrong refuses to let any of it to Bob Paul for setting up a dock, the agreement with the N.C.S. enables the latter to get around the difficulty to a certain extent. It would seem that, as long as the co-operative does not have a working capital which is adequate for the payment of its copra purchases, its leaders will be obliged to put up with this triangular system of N.C.S., Bob Paul, and Burns Philp. The complete stoppage of the internal credit system, which is already practised to a lesser

degree than elsewhere, and strict accountancy, would certainly enable it to find sufficient resources to deal directly with a Port Vila firm.

At the beginning of 1952, the assessor Nagat and his people tried, with the assistance of the British Delegate, Mr. Bristow, to set up a co-operative on a larger scale. A sum of £A1,000 was collected and deposited at the British Delegation; while Nagat, Joe Nalpin and James Yehnayeü accompanied Mr. Bristow to Port Vila to organize the business. The apparent indifference of the Condominium administration to this bold initiative, the political troubles which occurred at the same time in the same area, and the administrative measures which resulted, caused the venture to be terminated, and the £A1,000 has since been returned to those who had originally contributed it.

B. Other Charges

5. Purchase of technical books	150
6. Stationery and office requisites	100
7. Travelling on inspection	350
8. Co-operative Training Courses ³	1,300

Noumea, New Caledonia.

Total

.....

27th March, 1953.

Notes:

1. In £ sterling.
2. Rates not known.
3. Includes maintenance allowances to students.

Draft Estimates.Co-operative Societies Department.A. Personal EmolumentsEstimate - full year¹

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1. | Registrar of Co-operative Societies
(£1,350 x £50 - £1,450) | £1,350 |
| 2. | Native Clerk
(£170 x £5 - £220 x £10 - £270) | 170 |
| 3. | Lodging Allowances ² | ? |
| 4. | Child Allowances ² | ? |

B. Other Charges

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 5. | Purchase of technical books | 150 |
| 6. | Stationery and office requisites | 100 |
| 7. | Travelling on inspection | 350 |
| 8. | Co-operative Training Courses ³ | 1,300 |

Total

Notes;

1. In £ sterling.
2. Rates not known.
3. Includes maintenance allowances to students.

The above estimates do not include initial capital expenditure; e.g.:— of 1951.

- To provide
- (i) Accommodation for Registrar and Clerk.
 - (ii) Accommodation and class room for students.
 - (iii) Typewriter for Registrar.
 - (iv) Travelling expenses of Registrar on first appointment.

1. Every Co-operative Society or Company formed by New Hebrides natives for land development or trade in local produce and imported goods shall, before its constitution, submit its Rules for the approval of the Resident Commissioners.

Rules.

2. The Rules shall indicate:

- (i) The exact objects of the Co-operative Society or Company;
- (ii) Its head office;
- (iii) its organisation, particularly as regards its principal officers and its governing body; and
- (iv) the nature, origin and employment of its capital.

3. Any amendment of the Rules shall be submitted for the prior approval of the Resident Commissioners.

Accounting.

4. The accounts of a Native Co-operative Society or Company shall be kept as far as possible in accordance with commercial practice.

Control by District Agents.

5. The British and French District Agents shall jointly be responsible for the annual examination of the accounts of Native Co-operative Societies or Companies in their district. For this purpose, in each year, before a date to be specified by the District Agents, the Secretary of each Co-operative Society shall send to them an annual report and abstract of accounts.

New Hebrides Condominium.

A Joint Regulation No.9 of 1951.

To provide for the control of Native Co-operative Societies and Companies.

Made by the Resident Commissioners under the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 8 of the Anglo-French Protocol of 6th August, 1914.

Resident Commissioners to approve formation.

1. Every Co-operative Society or Company formed by New Hebrides natives for land development or trade in local produce and imported goods shall, before its constitution, submit its Rules for the approval of the Resident Commissioners.

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5. The British and French District Agents shall jointly be responsible for the annual examination of the accounts of Native Co-operative Societies or Companies in their District. For this purpose, in each year, before a date to be specified by the District Agents, the Secretary of each Co-operative Society shall send to them an annual report and abstract of accounts.

6. In every year the District Agents shall carry out a tour with the object of inspecting the premises and operations of each Native Co-operative Society or Company in the District.

They may at the same time demand that books registers reports and accounting documents of all kinds be produced for examination.

7. In January of each year the District Agents shall send to the Resident Commissioners a report showing the situation, moral and financial, of the said Co-operative Societies or Companies.

Dissolution

8. The dissolution of any native Co-operative Society or Company shall be declared by the Resident Commissioners at a request by the majority of its members, or if the Rules of the said Co-operative Society or Company have not been submitted to the Resident Commissioners or if its activities become of a nature prejudicial to the public peace.

Liquidation.

9. Liquidation shall be carried out under the supervision of the District Agents concerned, who shall submit a detailed report to the Resident Commissioners.

Litigation.

10. The Courts shall hear such disputes as may arise within the limits of their jurisdiction as defined by the Protocol of 6th August, 1914.

11. After meeting liabilities contracted by the Co-operative Society or Company, any remaining assets shall be employed to repay to members the amount of their respective contributions if these have been made or to compensate them for services.

Existing Co-operative Societies or Companies.

12. This regulation shall apply to Native Co-operative Societies or Companies already in existence which shall have a delay of two months from the date of

3.

publication of this regulation to forward their Rules for the approval of the Resident Commissioners.

Short title and date of coming into force.

13. This regulation may be cited for all purposes as the New Hebrides Native Co-operative Societies or **Companies** Regulation No.9 of 1951, and shall come into force on the day of the date hereof.

Dated at Vila
this twentyseventh day of August, 1951.

P. ANTHONIOZ
The Resident Commissioner
for the French Republic

H.J.M. FLAXMAN
His Britannic Majesty's
Resident Commissioner.

Taken from New Hebrides Condominium Gazette, No.176.
August 1951 - February 1952.

MISSIONS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

By

H.E. MAUDE.

In the third chapter of the First Epistle of John, and at the 23rd. verse, we read:-

"And this is His commandment, that we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as He gave us commandment."

Now this well-known passage from the Scriptures has no doubt been quoted on many memorable occasions, but never, I feel, on one more epoch-making than the Sunday morning just 160 years ago - "pleasant and with gentle breeze", runs the old narrative - when it formed the text of a shipboard sermon delivered by the Rev. James Fleet Cover, of the London Missionary Society.

For the ship was none other than the "Duff" and the day that on which the pioneer band of missionaries, ^{ministers,} tradesmen and artisans - arrived off the coast of Tahiti, their destination; that ^{fairest} ~~finest~~ isle in all the Southern Seas.

"During sermon and prayer," we are told, "the natives stood quiet and thoughtful"; and well might they, for this day, though they knew it not, they were witnessing the commencement of a campaign that was destined to move ever onwards, with restless and increasing momentum, until it became a major influence in transforming not only their lives, but the lives of virtually every inhabitant of every island in the Pacific Ocean.

The choice of the South Pacific for the activities of one of the first foreign mission societies to result from the English Evangelical Revival of the 18th century is not really surprising, when one considers that for over a quarter of a century Englishmen had been reading the ^{romantic} ~~erratic~~ accounts of the island world given in the journals of Wallis, Cook and other early navigators. Although at first the work of evangelization progressed but slowly, and with many disappointments, the L.M.S. were not long to stand alone as witnesses for Christ in the South Seas. In 1820, while they were still engaged in consolidating their first gains and extending their field of operation, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, fired by ^{their} ~~the~~ example, commenced work in Hawaii.

Another two years saw the Wesleyans in Tonga; and in 1834 the Roman Catholics, by now recovered from the setbacks received as a result of the French Revolution, were established on Mangareva, in the extreme ^east of Polynesia, and three years later in Wallis Island, in the extreme ^West.

These four Missionary bodies shared, and in one instance competed, in the evangelization of the whole of Polynesia and Melanesia, though they were later joined by the Latter Day Saints, who commenced work in the *Tuamotus* in 1852, and the Seventh-^day Adventists who began their operations in 1886 by ^{converting} ~~converting~~ the Anglican population of Pitcairn Island. In 1863, furthermore, the L.M.S. felt compelled to withdraw from Tahiti in favour of the Paris Missionary Society, owing to differences with the French Government.

In the Pacific the main direction of ^mMission expansion has always been from East to West and in any case there are, as we shall see, valid reasons why the work in Melanesia should await the digestion, as it were, of Polynesia. Apart, therefore, from Fiji, where the Wesleyans commenced as long ago as 1835, and one or two abortive attempts elsewhere, the beginnings of ^mMissionary activity in Melanesia date from the second half of last century with the Presbyterians in the New Hebrides (1848 to be exact), the Anglicans in the Solomons, the London Missionary Society in Papua, the Lutherans in Australian New Guinea and the Dutch Protestants in Netherlands New Guinea.

By 1886 there were twelve Christian sects working in the South Seas, some of them, of course, like the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Methodists, maintaining several different missions each working in a separate field and supported by a ^{separate} ~~different~~ section of the home church.

From 1886 to the close of World War I the work of these existing missions was steadily expanded, often by opening up new fields. With the exception of the Roman Catholics, Seventh-^day Adventists and Latter Day Saints, however, missions have been careful to avoid encroaching on areas where others were already working. At times, for example, in the case of the Wesleyans in Samoa, a mission has even withdrawn its workers rather than compete with ^{another} ~~other~~ Christian ^{body} ~~bodies~~. Governments have usually encouraged, and even promoted, such "gentlemen's agreements", notably Sir William MacGregor in Papua; though it is almost impossible, at least in these days, to exclude a missionary body from any area it wishes to work in, even though

it be already well served by ^{some} ~~many~~ other mission^s and the native population specifically requests that competing organizations should not be permitted to operate. I speak, in this regard, with some personal experience. ~~for every 1,680 natives.~~

Since the end of World War I¹/₂, we have witnessed a further wave of missionary expansion, particularly in New Guinea, and the entry into the Pacific area of at least 10 new organizations: the Kwato Mission, an offshot^o of the L.M.S., the Unevangelized Fields Mission, the ^mBaku River Mission, the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Dutch Territory, the Baptists and the New Tribes Mission, the Churches of Christ and the Apostolic Church in the New Hebrides, the Assemblies of God Mission and the Nazarene Foreign Mission Society. ~~work has progressed in part~~

There are, then, at the present time some 22 separate missionary organizations working in the South Sea Islands, not counting the various separate orders within the Roman Catholic Church, ^{or} ~~and~~ the separate missions within many of the Protestant bodies. ~~the missionary expansion area - expansion in New Guinea~~

I have spent some time checking through the latest denominational statistics in the 1956 Pacific Islands Year Book and elsewhere and estimate the number of expatriate (that is, for all intents and purposes, European) mission workers in the field to be not less than 2,000. Actually my count came to 1,910, but on the one hand the figures given for several missions were incomplete, and for no less than 9 territories no figures at all were given for Roman Catholic Sisters, while on the other, a few native mission personnel of ordained status have, I suspect, crept in.

Taking, therefore, the conservative figure of 2,000 and dividing it into the regional population figure, which is estimated to be 3,361,000, we get a ratio for the South Pacific of one European mission worker for every 1,680 natives. I should emphasize that I am not including here the many thousands of paid native mission workers, but only the Europeans.

I have not been able to get corresponding figures for other mission fields, but I should be very surprised if there is another in the world able to boast a ratio anything like this. Please do not misunderstand me; I am not trying to suggest that the Pacific has reached saturation point as far as the need for missionaries is concerned, for, as we shall see, this is not the case, but to show how far the work has progressed in just 160 years - not much more than the span of two lifetimes - from one missionary society with 36 workers, to 22 societies with over 2,000.

For there are special reasons why the Pacific has always been an abnormally expensive area - expensive in men and expensive in money - a fact which is obvious in the field but often difficult to instil into the minds of hard-headed Board members at home.

The distances between islands in Polynesia and Melanesia and the topographical, cultural and linguistic barriers, often between villages, in Melanesia and Papua are partly responsible, and then there is the fact that much, perhaps most, educational work, and some medical work, is still a missionary responsibility.

Undoubtedly there is still a need in many island groups for more European workers, not only for replacements but also for further expansion. In general, however, I feel that the growing needs of the island churches for ^{ordained} ~~individual~~ missionaries and trained specialists will be increasingly met in the future by the natives themselves, trained where necessary in Australia and New Zealand. The call to the home front will still remain for a long time yet but it will be for higher quality rather than for greater quantity.

For the situation in the mission field has greatly changed since the days of the early pioneers, who were many of them great men in every sense. Faced, as they were, with the as yet unbroken ranks of Polynesian heathendom, they had perforce to work out for themselves their techniques for evangelization. The ability to preach the Gospel to the people was obviously the first requisite, but this entailed the learning of a completely foreign language, no small task in the absence of grammars² and dictionaries or even modern linguistic methods. Furthermore, the Protestant faith was, and is, based on the belief that every native should be able to read the Bible in his or her own tongue, which entailed the immense task of reducing each of the vernaculars to written form, constructing a practical *orthography*, translating the Scriptures one by one and printing editions often on primitive presses, while at the same time teaching the converts the unfamiliar arts of reading and writing. It was fortunate indeed that in Polynesia a knowledge of Tahitian enabled the relatively easy acquisition of other Polynesian languages, whose literary forms were, in fact, to a great extent modelled on it.

After initial set-backs the conversion of Polynesia was in places almost spectacular in its speed and apparent completeness. The missionaries were aided in this by the obvious superiority to the native of ^{their} ~~the~~ God, as shown by the quality and quantity of ^{their} ~~the~~ material possessions, ^{their} ~~the~~ technical knowledge and ^{their} ~~the~~ immunity from the effects of breaking native religious "tabu^s."

"It is my wish," says a Samoan chief addressing his people, as quoted by John Williams, "that the Christian religion should become universal amongst us. I look at the wisdom of these worshippers of Jehovah, and see how superior they are in every respect. Their ships can traverse the tempest driven ocean for months with perfect safety. Their axes are so hard and sharp. Now I conclude that the God who has given to his white worshippers these valuable things, must be wiser than our Gods, for they have not given the like to us. We want all these articles; and my proposition is, that the God who gave them should be our God."

What I may term the ^{empirical} ~~important~~ approach was not confined to Samoa.

So few in numbers for the task ahead, the missionaries early recognized the importance of gaining the support of the chiefs, who were not only politically important, but closely connected with the heathen religious^u organizations. Once they were converted the people came too and could be encouraged to move into the newly-established mission stations, where their instruction and spiritual and moral supervision could be facilitated.

European evangelistic efforts were materially supplemented by the work of converts, and later of trained native preachers and teachers. Without their help the history of Christendom in the South Seas would indeed be a vastly different story:

← "It is not too much to say", states Dr. Burton, "that so far as the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Churches are concerned, the great burden of that great and perilous task (of evangelization) was borne, not by the white missionaries, but by their brown brothers from Tahiti, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Samoa, Fiji and Rotuⁿna." Even as early as 1853 more than 50 Polynesian pastor-teachers had lost their lives in Melanesia alone, and the conversion of that region had hardly then begun.

There has been no lack of criticism of the ^{work}~~work~~ of the 19th century missionaries in the literature on the Islands, but if you analyse it I think you will find that it proves little more than that the missionaries were human beings and the product of their own time and environment. To modern eyes ~~then~~ their main fault was that they had little knowledge of, or interest in, the indigenous social structure, but sought to remodel native life on the religious and moral principles laid down in the Bible, supplemented by the social and political ^{norms}~~norms~~ familiar to them from their home environment. This is not to say that some of the most valuable of the early accounts of native life and custom were not written by missionaries - by Ellis, Gill and Ormond, for example - but they were written to record, and not to perpetuate, the old order.

The missionary cannot, I suggest, be fairly censured for having been drawn into political activities, usually at the earnest request of harassed chiefs unable to cope with the problems brought about by culture contact; for if they had not, the resultant chaos could not have failed to hamper the propagation of the Gospel, which was after all, the reason for their being in the region.

And so, with the missionary perforce turned advisor on politics, legislation and administrative affairs, there arose the autonomous native *theocracies* of the mid-19th century: Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, Samoa and Fiji, and their Catholic counterparts in Mangareva and Uvea. What may be termed a Polynesian "pax ^{cc} ecclesiastica" preceded the European political annexation of the region.

But annexation had to come, for the ever-increasing forces of European commercial penetration created frictions which the missionary advisors were powerless to deal with, and the metropolitan powers were obliged to intervene to protect their interests, real or imaginary. France led the way in the early 1840's, largely in support of Roman Catholic ^m Missionary activities, and Great Britain, whose reluctant moves were forced by her predominant commercial interests throughout the area and the vigorous proddings of the often-exasperated colonists in Australia and New Zealand, ended up with acquiring the lion's share for the Commonwealth.

The missionaries, who had for the most part opposed European political annexation, in the interests of their native charges, came to recognize its inevitability and in many cases, for example, in Fiji and Papua, actively assisted to bring it about. "Annex New Guinea, and save it from another power, who might harass our Australian colonies", urges Chalmers, while John G. Paton spent much of his active life endeavouring to persuade Great Britain to take over the New Hebrides.

With annexation, missionary activity in the Pacific entered a new phase. No longer was the missionary the sole disinterested source to which the native could turn for advice and assistance; no longer the sole protagonist of native rights and interests. Another power had entered on the scene who also claimed to have the islanders' welfare at heart, and even though the one body laid their main emphasis on the spiritual side of life and the other on the material, there was inevitably a certain element of friction, and even mutual distrust, while their respective spheres of action came to be delimited.

To me it has often seemed remarkable that there was not, in fact, more friction in the early days of Governmental activity. I think the reason was that the territorial administrators, ^{con}unlike those of today, confined their activities to little more than the maintenance of law and order and the collection of sufficient taxes to enable this to be done. Government did not touch the lives of the people at every turn as it does today, ^{and} the broad field of social welfare, including education, was still left in the hands of the missions.

Furthermore, many of the leading missionaries and heads of Governments were men of exceptional breadth of vision - George Brown, ^{Lorimer} ~~James~~ Fison, Chalmers, Lawes, ~~Macgregor~~, ^{Macgregor}, Thurston, ^{Gordon} ~~Gordon~~ - how fortunate we are today that men such as these, full of generosity, sympathy and high purpose, were at the helm, whether of mission or Government, during these early formative years. These and others of similar character and stature, knew each other and appreciated the sincerity of each others views even where they disagreed. ↗

"The London Mission as the pioneer", acknowledges Sir William Macgregor, when Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, "was exposed to special danger and hardship in obtaining a footing in different parts of the country..... It was more through it than by any other means that the way was prepared for the founding of the colony. The lapse of time has steadily strengthened the conviction that mission labour ^{is} of immense value and importance in the Possession."

And Sir Arthur Gordon admitted that it was ~~Lorimer~~ Fison's lecture before the Fijian Lands Commission that changed the Government view on native customary tenure and secured the Fijian in possession of his tribal lands.

From about 1850 onwards the missions extended their work of evangelization, using the cream of their personnel, from Polynesia to Melanesia and the ⁶ island of New Guinea. Here there were hardships, perils and disappointments that demanded the best that men could give. No longer the friendly, happy people of the Eastern Pacific, but savages whose ^{normal} ~~moral~~ pursuit was war with their neighbours and whose attitude towards the

missionaries was in general one of hostility and suspicion, coloured as it often was by bitter experience of the depredations of blackbirders for the Queensland and Fiji plantations. The climate, in addition, was unhealthy and ^mMalaria rife.

In Melanesia, again in ~~an~~ antithesis to Polynesia, there is extreme cultural and linguistic diversity, a language being often confined to a single village group. The chiefly system is weak and few political groupings embrace more than a handful of neighbouring villages. Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that mission^{work} was, and is, slow and difficult and the missionary's diary ~~are~~ ^{chronicle} of hard effort and small gains, without as a rule the stimulus of spectacular conversion.

The position in ^{micronesia}~~Micronesia~~, whether geographic, climatic or cultural, is about midway between that obtaining in Polynesia and in Melanesia. Missionary progress has been steady and the main handicap the number of times the islands have changed hands; from Spanish to German, Japanese and now American administration. The unfortunate effect on continuity of educational, even more than missionary, policies can be readily appreciated.

If the year 1850 can be taken as a convenient date for marking a transition period in Pacific ^mMission ^hHistory, how much more can we say this of World War II? Generally speaking, the change from one era to another is in fact so gradual, that, while historians may record it in years to come, it passes unnoticed by those who live through it.

But in the early 1940's, those of us who were working in the South Pacific could not fail to note, as it were, the drop of a curtain and its rising on a new scene; a scene in which the parts for all of us, native and European, would be far more difficult to play, but at the same time, one which, I firmly believe, exhibits great^{er} potentialities for the cultural and economic betterment of the whole region.

It is up to us to ensure, as far as we can,^{that} the new opportunities offered to the island peoples - rising living standards, and all that goes with it - are not to result in sterile materialistic lives but to spiritual and cultural expansion.

For the second World War gave the death-blow to the age of paternal colonialism. This fact may not be so marked here in the Pacific as in the other areas but, believe me, the metropolitan powers are on the defensive in the islands no less than elsewhere. No longer can we point to conquest, cession, or even strategic necessity, to give us an inalienable right to the overlordship of a native people: to excuse ourselves from an act which is intrinsically culpable we must be in a position to prove, and not by ~~specious~~ ^{specious} ~~spurious~~ means either, that the people are unable as yet to stand on their own feet in this modern world, and to point to our positive efforts to raise their material condition, to impart all necessary^{technical} competence and, not least, to educate them to stand without us. And we have to prove this not only to the United Nations, under the critical eye of countries only recently emerged from Colonial status, but to the people of the

South Pacific themselves, who are taking an increasingly intelligent interest in their own destinies. It used to be said that you could never drive a native - only lead him; you can still lead him, but he will no longer follow blindly; you may find yourself having to explain where you are going and why he should come too.

In general the six metropolitan countries responsible for the destinies of the 19 non-self-governing territories in the Pacific Ocean have responded well to the new conditions of trusteeship. We may not yet be officially classed as a "tension" area, and thus eligible to receive the lavish grants made, too often too late, to countries considered to be more exposed to communist indoctrination; but in recent visits to Pacific territories, I have been impressed with the material progress made since the end of the war and with the capital available, from Government and other sources, for further economic development.

I will not weary you with a detailed survey of ~~political~~^{political} territorial progress since the war. Suffice it to say that we have in the Pacific the whole range from Tonga, to all intents and purposes fully independent, and Western Samoa, now teetering rather apprehensively on the brink of self-government down to Netherlands New Guinea, still due for a long period of tutelage, whether it be under Holland or Indonesia.

Even France, with her traditional policy of assimilation, has been compelled by the march of events to grant a very considerable degree of local autonomy to her two Pacific dependencies - New Caledonia and Tahiti - to the advantage of the native political parties in both cases. Only in the unfortunate case of the British Western Pacific High Commission territories can we sense a lack of funds and general air of frustration. This is particularly evident in the Anglo-French *Condominium* of the New Hebrides, where the unfortunate natives must surely rank among the great under-privileged of this world.

Yet the Solomon Islands, are, I suggest, not so much a reproach to Great Britain as to Australia, at whose behest they were originally annexed. The plain fact is that the Mother Country is over-committed, often in areas where her interests are being assailed, and can spare neither money nor men for the development of a far-off, largely uninhabited and undeveloped group of islands in which she has no economic or other interest. Is it too much to hope that Australia, whose interests in the Solomons have long been dominant and who has the resources to assist the territory, should take the burden off Great Britain's shoulders?

As for the New Hebrides, the administrative paralysis engendered by the friction between two apparently incompatible colonial philosophies must cause the Presbyterian Mission pioneers to turn in their graves. I say without ex^gaggeration that the Missions, and in particular those of the Presbyterian Church, are virtually the sole agencies which have ever lifted a hand to assist the unfortunate natives of one of the worst-

governed areas on earth. Would that the Presbyterian Church would once again rouse itself to battle over the New Hebrides, as it did with such effect in the 1880's, and force the conscience of men, in the name of humanity, to have the group placed under United Nation Trusteeship. No other solution seems to me to be both realistic and in harmony with the best interests of the inhabitants.

The spirit of idealism and hope which followed from the devastation of World War II, is shown clearly in the writings of anthropologists such as Professor Elkin and missionaries such as Dr. Burten, whose viewpoints on matters connected with the welfare of native races are not so very dissimilar. The influence of men such as these, has led to a new deal in the relationship between Australia and her subject peoples, and in particular to the formation of the South Pacific Commission, with its auxiliary bodies the South Pacific Conference and the Research Council. This inter-governmental advisory body has as its express aim the promotion of the well-being of the people of the territories and, handicapped though it is by its top-heavy administrative structure and the isolation of its headquarters establishment, it has, ~~never~~ none- the-less proved a valuable stimulus to governmental action by acting as a clearing-house for research. Furthermore, the Conference which meets once every three years provides the first forum the islanders have had for the discussion of the¹² common problems. Delegates to the first three Conferences have been very patient, feeling their way in an unfamiliar situation,

but I predict that this state of affairs will not persist much longer and that we can look to future conferences for valuable criticism and constructive suggestions for further advance in the economic, social and health fields. ~~who intend to work~~

I feel myself that an unfortunate feature of the work of the Commission is the marked emphasis which it places on economic development, ^{but} ~~and~~ here it must be admitted it only reflects the viewpoint of its member Governments. The yardstick by which I found almost every project was apt to be judged was whether it would increase productivity, and in all my years in the Commission the only subjects in the social sphere in which I found any real interest were co-operatives (for obvious reasons), education (but only technical education), literature provision and visual aids (both as media of instruction). "Man cannot live by bread alone", and it seems to me that we are running into a very real danger of producing a race of technically competent robots, culturally uneducated and incapable of development in any but a material sense. People such as these are notoriously easy prey for communist propaganda, and one can but hope that the vacuum in their hedonistic existence will be filled by the missions rather than by the purveyors of some purely materialistic ideology. ~~you have the fact that~~

Make no mistake, there is still a great task ahead of the mission movement in the South Pacific, and a task which will remain even if, as seems possible, some of the Pacific territories cease to be under European governmental tutelage: indeed,

under such circumstances it may well increase. During the perhaps even married to Europeans, at the other. For our remaining time left to me I should like to discuss, on a present purposes, however, we can regard Polynesia and more personal level, a few points which may be of interest, Micronesia ^{maybe} together with Melanesian New Caledonia and or even ~~I hope~~ of help, to those of you who intend to work part-Melanesian Fiji, as having reached a more advanced in the islands: these I shall illustrate, whenever possible, stage politically, economically and culturally, than Papua from my own experience. I do hope, however, that you will and the remainder of Melanesia. It is probably also true realize the difficulty of generalizing about a region which, to say that the Papuan-Melanesian region is now going through, at any rate culturally, is far from homogeneous. After all, and with increasing tempo, very much the same developmental the Pacific Ocean area covers nearly a third of the earth's stages experienced in Polynesia and Micronesia. Lessons surface and is a good deal larger than the whole of the land learnt in the east may thus be of value in the west at some surfaces of the world added together: it contains the world's future date, even if not immediately apposite. greatest depth, the Mindanao Trench, and in Mauna Kea, on Hawaii, the world's highest mountain, if measured from its is, I suggest, that we need to pay more attention than was base on the ocean floor.

Once thought necessary to the customs, ideas and values of Over this vast area are scattered more than a thousand the indigenous population among whom we are working. As inhabited islands, one of them the largest in the world; can Keessing says, "much of traditional custom was banned unnecessarily, and much of Western custom was forced upon converts you wonder that among its several different races, isolated from each other for centuries by sea barriers, there exist such with little justification. Christian principles were a bewildering array of customary behaviour and cultural and presented to native peoples encased in a matrix of unessential economic development as to make it the anthropologist's Euro-American usages, instead of being fused into the body of paradise. familiar native practice and tenet. The dangerous and

Added to this original complexity you have the fact that disorganizing step was taken of making people ashamed of contact with our civilization has come at varying times and practically everything of value importance in their traditional in varying degrees, so that at the moment you get practising heritages. cannibals living in blissful ignorance of the existence of Fortunately, what may be termed "the anthropological approach" Europeans at one end of the region and university graduates, is now far more common among both missionaries and government

officials, and an elementary knowledge of anthropology can perhaps even married to Europeans, at the other. For our present purposes, however, we can regard Polynesia and Micronesia, together with Melanesian New Caledonia and part-Melanesian Fiji, as having reached a more advanced stage politically, economically and culturally, than Papua and the remainder of Melanesia. It is probably also true to say that the Papuan-Melanesian region is now going through, and with increasing tempo, very much the same developmental stages experienced in Polynesia and Micronesia. Lessons learnt in the east may thus be of value in the west at some future date, even if not immediately apposite.

And the first lesson for both missions and Governments is, I suggest, that we need to pay more attention than was once thought necessary to the customs, ideas and values of the indigenous population among whom we are working. As Keesing says, "much of traditional custom was banned unnecessarily, and much of Western custom was forced upon converts with little justification. Christian principles were presented to native peoples encased in a matrix of unessential Euro-American usages, instead of being fused into the body of familiar native practice and tenet. The dangerous and disorganizing step was taken of making people ashamed of practically everything of ~~value~~ importance in their traditional heritages."

Fortunately, what may be termed "the anthropological approach" is now far more common among both missionaries and Government

officials, and an elementary knowledge of anthropology can be of the utmost assistance to those working in the field, if only by making us more tolerant of the rich diversity of human cultures and more humble in our approach to so-called primitive peoples.

It is not suggested that we ought all to become anthropologists: most missionaries, particularly in these days, are too busy in their proper sphere of spreading the Gospel to have much time left for anthropological field-work. But I do suggest that before we discourage any native custom we ought to consider honestly whether it is really incompatible with Christ's teaching or merely at variance with our own Western usages and fashions. And even when we decide that some indigenous cultural element must go, it is still wise to proceed cautiously and slowly with the change, whenever possible making a planned substitution for what is being lost. For the various ~~cultural~~ elements are closely inter-twined in any community and by destroying one feature of native life you may end by destroying far more than you intended: even the will to live of the people themselves.

One could quote many examples of the important point I am trying to make but I must content myself with just one or two: for instance the almost universal native custom of tattooing. Those of you who have read Tyerman and Bennet's missionary journals may recollect the construction on Raiatea of two pits, each 15 feet deep, into which those found guilty of tattooing

were incarcerated until repentant. Even today tattooing is, I believe, widely prohibited: yet is it really contrary to God's word even when, as it can be, it is purely decorative and divorced from pagan ceremony?

Or take dancing; I once lived in a group of islands where no Christian was permitted to dance and, indeed, at mission insistence the Government prohibited dancing by non-Christians also until it was found that the ban on the natives' greatest recreative outlet was leading to evils hitherto unheard of. Now everyone dances, but I have not heard that they are any the less devout Christians.

"Why do you stop all the Samoan amusements?", says Dr George Brown, one of the greatest missionaries of all time, to his colleagues, "Why put heavy feet upon native customs and throw dark shadows into lives intended for the sunshine? You prevent the Samoans from catching and exercising their pigeons, and you insist upon their refusing to take fish on Sunday put practically into their hands, but you do not give any real substitute for the bodily exercise and mental pleasure you shorten or subtract. It is all wrong."

Furthermore, it seems sensible and courteous, before one goes to live in an island group, to read up all one can find on its people. It begets sympathy and often enables one to avoid those gross errors of etiquette and good taste which the native comes almost to expect from the white man, but appreciates all the more when one does not offend.

When I was a District Officer I had to pass an examination in local native custom and I should like to quote the dozen or so "Dont's" with which our instruction commenced:-

"(1) Don't expect to know the native until you have learned his home life. Don't expect to learn his home life except by constant house-to-house visitation. Don't expect to have any influence with the native until he knows that you know him.

(2) Don't attempt to drive a native: lead him. Don't attempt to frighten him: he cannot be frightened physically.

(3) Don't say anything that sounds like boasting or self-aggrandisement. There is a native proverb: "He owns no land, so his words are big".

(4) Don't speak loud. There is another proverb: "A chief whispered: I swooned. A slave shouted: I awoke to laugh".

(5) Don't reproach a native for bad manners until you are sure that you yourself are good-mannered according to his code.

(6) Don't threaten or even speak of a native's head: it is sacred.

(7) Don't point with extended finger: bend the finger and point with the knuckle.

(8) Don't walk upright between two natives engaged in conversation. Bow the head, so as to clear their line

of vision.

(9) Don't forget to answer "Te raoi" (peace) if a native says "Ko raba" (thank you).

(10) Don't walk through a seated crowd without the preliminary courtesy: "E matauninga te aba?" (Are the people offended?). Say this and await the answer: "E aki matauninga, na rikai" (They are not offended, pass this way). Then only proceed.

Simple, are not they, but oh how effective in oiling the wheels of inter-racial intercourse. Even now I automatically bend my head when passing between two people talking: I just can't help it. There must be similar rules of behaviour in every part of the Pacific: you will find it pays to learn them.

Fortunately the grossest form of racial priggishness has been driven from most of the Pacific and is now at bay even in its final retreat in New Guinea. I refer to that loathsome disease: colour prejudice. Perhaps it is only just that in parts of Polynesia the pendulum appears to be swinging the other way and some Samoans, for example, affect an insular arrogance towards Europeans which is at times hard to take; but it is at least preferable to what I may term the crass presumptuousness of an alien pygmentocracy, such as we find in some other parts of the world.

In passing, I may perhaps mention that you will still find

the grass I know is for a deepening of the spiritual life, some prejudice, though not much nowadays, against actual marriage with natives in Polynesia, but a great deal in Melanesia and Papua. In point of fact racial inter-marriage is biologically desirable, but on the other hand it may be socially exceptionable unless we can ensure for the children the same cultural, including educational, advantages as the children of parents belonging to the favoured ethnic group. Such conditions obtain, by and large, in the eastern Pacific, where many of my European friends are happily married to native men or women, but not yet in the west.

While on the broad theme of native relations, I would introduce a cautionary note. In pre-Christian times the islander was governed in his social conduct, from birth to death, by a whole multitude of "tabus", or prohibitions: this being so, he took readily on conversion to the new set of prohibitions enjoined by the Christian church. Too readily, in fact, for you will often find yourself having to advise moderation to Church Councils whose zeal outruns their charity: at least that is my admittedly limited experience. Among many examples which come to mind I picture a missionary friend pleading unsuccessfully with an Island ^{Church} Council for an excommunicated woman whose offence was that she had carried a present of fish to her sick son in another village on a Sunday. The fact that the fish had been caught and cooked on the previous day made no difference. The great need, in

the areas I know, is for a deepening of the spiritual life, and perhaps a less rigid observance of its outward forms.

Remember also that the average native, even if only from sheer politeness, is essentially anxious to please. Unless you are eternally on the alert, therefore, you are going to hear what you want to hear, particularly if you are in the habit of asking leading questions. A missionary once asked me to prohibit dancing on an island on the grounds that it was resulting in indecent exposure, in support of which he stated that one of his pastors had witnessed a woman ~~swinging~~ swaying in a dance rhythm until the grass skirt she was wearing rose almost to the level of her shoulder. True enough it had, as my subsequent enquiry confirmed, but the pastor had only told the missionary, who was a known opponent of dancing, what he felt he would like to hear; what he quite omitted to mention was that underneath the short fringe of grass (which she in any case cast off after the dance was over) the woman was wearing a cloth skirt, which reached to her ankles and did not move during the dance, and underneath her skirt a further customary article of feminine attire.

The moral of all this is: check and re-check any statement pleasing to yourself or your cause - it may stem from mere good manners and be widely at variance from the truth. And this applies as much to stories brought to Government officials as to missionaries: and the things they tell the poor innocent anthropologists!

But enough of your relations with the islanders, for living on some isolated island in the close propinquity of a mission station you may at times find these easier to deal with than your relations with some colleague whose background, opinions, interests and temperament may differ widely from your own. In civilization we can usually choose our own friends, sharing common tastes and hobbies; not so among Europeans in the islands, where you may have to live for years with fellow workers shall we say not specially selected for their ability to get on well with you. Under such conditions molehills are very apt to become mountains and brushes of temperament turn into major issues.

Yet you must at all costs avoid internecine frictions, however difficult, for you can rest assured that they will soon become well known to the islanders. I will not take an illustration from the Pacific here, though I could give you several, but I am reminded of Leslie Wetherhead's story of the African who said to a woman missionary; "We can't make out why you came out here to tell us how to solve our problems, when you can't even solve your own". Somewhat aghast, when she thought of all she had given up for the sake of the Gospel, the missionary asked what she meant. "Well", was the reply, "you three missionary women can't get on together in the Mission House without quarrelling, in spite of a Christian upbringing since childhood. How do you expect us to believe that your religion will help Africans to live together?".

One thing I will freely admit - that with God's grace mission workers get along a lot better on isolated stations than Government officials and their wives: and this brings me to my final point, that of mission-Government relations. I should like to have had more time to deal with this for it is important: and yet perhaps not so important as in the past, for relations are improved all along the line, and in a host of social fields where our activities and interests overlap there is often close mutual collaboration, as there should be ^{since} ~~as~~ it is clearly to the benefit of both organizations, and still more so to the benefit of the native. The inter-missionary Conferences with the Department of Education in Papua are a clear case in point.

For this happier state of affairs I think that most credit should be given to the missions; for on the whole it is they who have had to give way to the ever-increasing encroachments of the modern welfare state. It cannot have been easy in the first place for those accustomed to the theocratic island states of the last century to take kindly to ~~the~~ European-run administrations directed by the major metropolitan powers: and since then there has gradually come about the transfer of a succession of functions from mission to Government hands. Legislation and law enforcement, industry and commerce, medical work and now, to a great extent, education. The trend is I feel inevitable and I know that many missionaries agree with me that it is on the whole a good one, for it releases inadequate

staff and funds for the paramount aim of all mission work: to bring men and women into fellowship with God. In education the change is still in progress, working as usual from east to west across the Pacific; in some territories education is now entirely in Government hands, in others the missions have still a great part to play, but unless world trends change I believe another decade will see virtually all education in most of the territories, whether primary or secondary, academic or vocational, centered in Government-run schools.

How then does one picture the Christian Churches of tommorrow in the Pacific? In the first place, the main work of converting the heathen - that is the indigenous heathen - will be over in 16 out of the 19 island territories: in fact one can say that it is over today; only in New Guinea, the Solomons and the New Hebrides are there any significant numbers of non-Christians left. The work of the future lies, as I have indicated, in deepening the spiritual life of communities already nominally Christian, in completing the conversion of Melanesia and Papua, in making a major assault on the non-Christian immigrant groups (particularly the Indians in Fiji, the Eastern Asiatics in New Caledonia and the Chinese in French Oceania and, one might almost be tempted to say sometimes, the Europeans), and above all fighting the growing menace of materialism, of non-Christian ideologies and even perhaps later of non-Christian missionary religions.

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For the islands are a marginal area: a buffer between the Asiatic millions in the Far East and Malaya and the European Pacific outposts. With increasing self-Government, therefore, and the weakening of European domination, we must expect ideas and ideologies to enter more freely from the East, as in the more primitive areas we must anticipate the growth from time to time of partly religious, partly nationalistic, movements of the cargo cult or messianic type - John Frum, Marching Rule, and the like - which have already hampered missionary work in several island groups. As for non-Christian missionary work, this may sound fanciful, but don't dismiss it altogether too lightly, for Mohammedanism is spreading in Netherlands New Guinea, and will spread still more should that territory come under Indonesia, while I have seen Bahai missionaries working quietly and unobtrusively in several island groups.

But I am quite confident that the island churches will prove equal to the tasks before them; for in most parts of the Pacific they have long since ceased to be regarded as alien institutions ^{and} ~~but~~ are truly now an integral part of the native culture. In becoming assimilated, there has been some modification, if only a change in emphasis, and one may look for further experimentation and adaptation as church self-government develops: but this need not necessarily be deprecated - it has happened in other non-European countries.

The Churches will, as Dr Burton says, become increasingly self-governing (some are already), self-supporting (as are many

today) and self-propagating. Not only will they largely supply their own staff, with help in training, but a surplus ready, as in the past, to go forth on Christ's work wherever they may be called.

Yet as far as one can see at present into the future there will always be the call for the European mission worker. But today more than ever he must be well equipped, not only spiritually but by general education supplemented by special training; and he must be prepared to work not only in the big mission house up on the hill but also down among the people in the villages below.

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SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

THIRD SOUTH PACIFIC CONFERENCE

STATEMENT BY MR. H. E. MAUDE,
EXECUTIVE OFFICER FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

As it is now some time since I have been connected with the activities of the Commission, I find myself addressing you at this Third South Pacific Conference with even more diffidence than I felt at the First and Second.

In place, therefore, of speaking to you as formerly about Commission programmes and policies, concerning which I must necessarily lack detailed knowledge, I propose to devote this opportunity to making a few more general remarks on some of the trends in social development which I suggest have become evident since the war, and more particularly during the Commission's seven years of active operation.

In the first place, I think you will all agree that there has been a remarkable extension of governmental activity in the social and welfare sphere generally. This, it would seem, is in the main a reflection of a trend which, to varying degrees, is a feature in the post-war political development of most of the metropolitan countries possessing interests in this area.

When I was a young man, working in one of the more isolated groups of the Pacific, I recollect a colleague refusing to assist a village to develop a co-operative society because, as he said, his job was to administer justice and keep order and anything else was an unjustifiable extension of governmental functions. That attitude was not unusual in those days but I doubt if you would hear it expressed to-day; certainly not by those in charge of an administration.

Indeed, you will pardon me for wondering if in some parts of the South Seas there is not now a tendency for the pendulum to swing too far the other way: for the people to sit back and leave it all for the Government to do - or it won't be done at all. How often when travelling around the islands in recent years have I heard the phrase, "Why doesn't the Government do something about it?"; when in point of fact the true remedy lay in the hands of the people themselves, through some form of community effort.

At first thought this state of affairs seems curious when one recollects the strength of kinship, village and tribal ties, and the extent of communal activities, in the traditional social and economic organization throughout the islands. True enough, but it is the very decay of these traditional

forces, with their reciprocal responsibilities and obligations, coupled with the fact that even where they remain fully functioning they are not always suited for coping with modern community needs and problems, that has left as it were an organizational vacuum which the Government is too often expected to fill.

But too much reliance on government agencies can be unwise and do more harm to a community than good; and, at the very least, if you wait for the Government to provide something you want badly yourself you may have to wait a long time. In your deliberations at this Conference, and in the resolutions which may arise from it, you may often find yourselves rightly calling on the Commission to take action which would result in further work for your territorial administrations. At the same time, however, I hope that you will pay particular regard to the immense resources of manpower, local materials and inherited or acquired skills that lie in the hands of your own communities; and to the creation and development of self-help organizations, based on traditional forms but geared to modern needs, which can utilize these resources for the benefit of the community as a whole.

Some of you will say that this is community development, dressed up new, and that community development schemes have not in general proved a success when tried in the Pacific. I agree, but there is no cause for a defeatist attitude; let us rather learn from our mistakes. Community development projects have, I submit, nearly all failed because they were imposed by authority from above and did not grow up from the grass-roots response to deeply felt community needs. If a village needs something - it may be a school, improved water facilities, a dispensary, co-operative society, or community centre, or in urban areas often better housing - and wants it badly enough to organize labour and materials, they will usually find government agencies ready enough to provide any necessary technical skill and often any materials that must be imported from abroad. And the very effort made is a stimulus to further progress.

My experience in the Pacific leads me to believe that in community self-help programmes, whether based on the village, district or island, lies the main hope for future progress in the immediate future, and that this holds good in the economic and health fields as well as the social. I should like to see it the basis of the Commission's work and an integral part of the programme of every territorial administration. But I shall labour this point no further, as there are one or two others which I should like to mention for your consideration before closing.

In the field of social welfare and development by far the greatest progress has been made in education. Many of the older delegates to this Conference will be able to compare present-day expenditure on education with what it was when they were at school. Even I can remember the day when many territories had no Education Department at all, when primary schooling was entirely

in the hands of missionaries whose devotion to their work was unfortunately matched by a chronic shortness of cash to carry it on, and when there were practically no facilities for study beyond the primary stage. You will agree that things have improved: and during recent years the development of secondary school and technical training facilities has been quite remarkable. Let us hope the day is not too far distant when every boy and girl who is capable of benefiting will be able to obtain a secondary, and for the really first-class, a university education. By and large all territories now recognize their responsibilities in the main field of education and it is in the marginal areas that there is still much leeway to make up; and here perhaps you will feel that the Commission has a contribution to make, indeed, in some instances it is already making it.

When we consider the amounts spent each year on the schooling of children it is, to me at least, remarkable how little can be found for what I may term educational extension work: for such services as adult education, for literature provision and the establishment of village libraries. With so little of interest to read is it surprising that the functional illiteracy rate is high?

During this Conference you will have an opportunity of seeing some of the work of the South Pacific Literature Bureau in the field of literature provision and of speaking with the technical officer in charge of it. You will, I think, find that it has done a good job but that its work is hampered by the fact that so few of the Pacific territories have formed local literature bureaux or literature committees to assist it, particularly on the distribution side. Nor have the manuscripts of island stories, articles, histories, legends and the like been coming forward to the extent we hoped. These are important matters which you may be able to consider and to help solve when you return to your homes. There is probably no region more full of natural story-tellers than the Pacific Islands, and I am quite sure that many hundreds of these tales would be suitable for publication: please let the Bureau have a few.

To turn now to co-operative development, you will find here also that progress has been considerable since the war, and I am looking forward with interest to your deliberations on this subject in a few days' time. Unlike previous Conferences, we are fortunate in having present a Commission technical adviser on co-operation; and we shall also be able to see co-operative societies in active operation here in Fiji as well as to attend an actual meeting of a credit union group from one of the neighbouring villages.

I should like to go on to speak of some of the other social developments in the Pacific during recent years: of the growth of voluntary organizations such as the Boy Scouts, of the progress made in women's societies, the work being done in the preservation of local traditional material and the establishment of local museums (of which you will see a notable example in Suva), but the object of this Conference is not for you to listen to the Commission

staff but for the Commission to listen, and learn, from your own much greater knowledge and experience of island needs and problems, and so I will conclude by wishing you every success in your work here and in the future and, as this is the last time I shall be speaking from a Commission platform, may I also take this opportunity of saying farewell. It has been a happy task, as well as a great privilege, working for the South Pacific Commission and one of its pleasantest features has been this opportunity, every three years, of meeting old friends at the South Pacific Conference.