

*Action Taken. Mr Richardson
has been & taken tapes of all
he wanted. 15-6-95*

3 Darling Street
Chatswood
NSW 2067

May 31, 1993

Professor H.E. Maude
11 Namatjira Drive
Weston
ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude,

Thank you very much for your willingness to meet with me and to be interviewed on your work in the Western Pacific and in South Pacific affairs. I greatly appreciate it.

Firstly, I must offer my sincere apologies for the delay in writing back with a list of proposed topics. The demands of the research task I'd just begun when your wife rang me proved even more onerous than I'd anticipated, and all other tasks, including this letter, simply had to be deferred until it was finished. Thankfully, that project (on news dissemination in the South Pacific) is now virtually complete and I can now give proper attention to this interview.

I should explain my background and the reasons I would like to conduct this interview. I worked on Abaiang as an Australian Volunteer Abroad teacher in 1982-83 and have maintained my links with Kiribati in the ensuing years. When I returned to Australia I got involved with the I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan community in Melbourne, setting up a resource collection of books, music and videos for the children of the community, producing an ABC radio special on the music of Kiribati and Tuvalu and working as publicity officer for the Kirivalu Association.

Since 1986 I've had less direct contact with Kiribati and Tuvalu but have developed a broader academic interest in South Pacific affairs. In 1992 I completed coursework for a B.Litt. in International Relations, focussing on Australia's relations with the region, and have recently done work experience on the Pacific desk of Radio Australia.

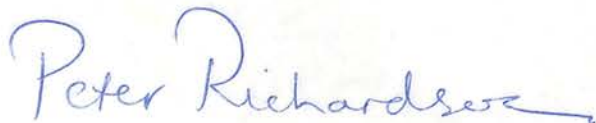
As I explained to your wife on the phone, I'm planning to produce a radio piece on contemporary migration in the Pacific, and would like to include a section on the Phoenix Islands resettlement scheme. It is my intention to use this section as historical perspective on the current Kiribati resettlement scheme in the northern Line Islands and I would of course clear any extracts used with you before the program went to air.

In doing some preliminary research for this interview I was forcefully reminded of the many other dimensions of your work in the Gilbert Islands and subsequent career in the South Pacific Commission and at A.N.U. I wonder if you would consider the possibility of a more extensive interview covering your time in the Gilbert Islands, with the option of a further interview on your subsequent career at your discretion. I took the liberty of contacting the Oral History Unit of the National Library to propose the idea, on the clear understanding that I had not yet mentioned it to you and the proposal was at this stage only an inquiry to gauge their interest, and they were most enthusiastic.

Mark Cranfield, the Chief Oral History Officer at the National Library (02-262 1636) assured me that as interviewee you would hold the copyright to the interviews and the right to specify conditions of access to them. Personally, I would be quite happy to forego my original more limited intention for the opportunity of conducting such an interview, and would be grateful if you could give the proposal your consideration.

At this stage the only immutable commitment I have in the next two months is the period June 27 to July 6; apart from that time I can travel to Canberra at your convenience, and very much look forward to meeting with you. Please contact me at the above address or by phone on (02) 415 3586 at any time.

Yours sincerely,



Peter Richardson

42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston ACT 2611
3 September 1993

MR W.E. Stober,
22 Seymour Close,
Selly Wick Road,
Selly Park,
Birmingham B29 7JD,
England

Dear Mr Stober,

I am sorry that I never answered your letter detailing your project for recording the recollections of District Agents in pre-independence Vanuatu. My excuse is that I was in the middle of preparing an 'Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition' and at my age, on the eve of 90, once I stop work on a major piece of work the chances are that I'll never start again.

Even so I was perforce hospitalised and my wife Honor had to learn the techniques of our Olivetti word-processor and take over as Senior Editor: in this era of computer reproduction I look back with nostalgia to the old days of typesetting or photocopying.

Your project is an excellent one and exactly what is needed since virtually the whole of the Colonial Administrative Service officers in Fiji and the WPHC territories departed for England by the first plane after Independence, since when they have become 'mute inglorious Miltons' apart from a few mainly self-justificatory effusions, e.g. Ronald Garvey.

Your essay on 'The District Agent in pre-Independent Vanuatu' and especially Appendix 1 on the District Officer in the British Colonial Empire was superb. I can honestly say that I was entranced by the latter symposium and learnt more about the African Service and servants than I ever knew

existed, though I had been an African D.O. myself (much against my will and better judgement).

My own service in the GEIC was the antithesis of the African D.O.'s life; and I fancy that while the life of the D.O. or D.A. in Melanesia is not dissimilar to that of his African counterpart, that of an Administrative Officer in Micronesia and Polynesia was very different and rather more like that of the holder of a position in the West Indies.

Anyway I wrote 'Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony only' on my application form for appointment to the Colonial Service and turned down offers of positions in Kenya and Nigeria. I never regreted my decision for a minute but continued to turn down offers of promotion and transfer until finally the South Pacific Commission position could not be refused because it gave me an opportunity to gain a good knowledge of the whole Pacific Islands area and thus qualify for a University research and writing job, which had been my lifelong dream.

Now I have retired I can concentrate on giving back to the islanders what Grimble and I were given by them over half a century ago. I attach a list of the series as it has shaped out: all are done or nearly done except the last. The idea is to provide them with some secular literature, to balance the religious material provided by the mission, on subjects of vital interest to them but largely forgotten by this generation. No.1 was reprinted by the outgoing Colonial government at the request of the newly elected government and sold on Independence Day, and each book has sold several thousand copies.

I wish your very worthwhile project every success - my only doubt being whether your ex-District Agents possess the writing ability to produce the standard you seem to expect. If not Keith Woodward and yourself are in for a powerful dose of re-writing. June Knox-Mawer's Tales from Paradise is the nearest symposium I can think of to your proposal but it is really only a collection of anecdotes without any connecting theme or purpose. Yours is a much more serious project.

Many thanks for a copy of your erudite review of Isles of

Illusion which I have always regarded as the leading 'classic' of Melanesia and have read twice with sustained interest. I have never been able to get his other book on Polynesia which is much rarer. The motif of Melanesia is essentially masculine, and that of Polynesia undeniably feminine, and I wonder if he brought that out since so few writers have written on both areas.

Thanks also for the cutting on the Earhart nonsense. As you would expect I got properly caught up in Gillespie's rather ridiculous 'proofs' that she died on Nikumaroro, but I suppose the poor man's livelihood depends on producing what the public wants.

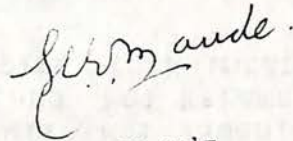
I keep out of the fray as far as possible, though I have two fat files full of data on the controversy, but our American friends Fred Goerner and Carol Osborne, the Aviation Historian, who is a bosom friend of Muriel, Amelia's sister, keep on fighting. Muriel is too old now to protect Amelia from Gillespie's brainwaves so Carol acts for her.

I have a copy of the original run off of Reid Cowell's Pandemonia effort and hope you can get it published for it is very good indeed. You ask the price of Tungaru Traditions but alas I don't know - somewhere about \$US 37 I believe. But the Melbourne University Press edition is by far the best because it has a fine cover based on a Pandanus sleeping mat which Honor had copied. I keep a supply of this edition which I sell to enquirers for \$28 Australian currency which is the wholesale price so you can tell anyone wanting one to write to me for this or any other of my books.

The best book I ever wrote was Slavers in Paradise and this is now in its fourth reprint and approaching 5000 copies in sales which is I believe a record for a scholarly work on the islands. It was published by three University Presses: ANU for Australasia, USP for the Pacific and Stanford for America. Alas that there is so little serious interest in the Pacific Islands in Great Britain these days that publishers say it is not worth publishing there. I tried to persuade the University Press of Hawaii to sell Tungaru Traditions in England, because Grimble was so well known there but they found no interest.

You mention that Keith Woodward is nearly blind; so am I,
but I find that with a bright screen I can type on a word
processor without undue strain. With best wishes to you
both and may your book be a real success.

Yours sincerely



H.E. Maude

22 Seymour Close,
Selly Wick Road,
Selly Park,
BIRMINGHAM B29 7JD,
UK

12 July 1992

Dear Dr. Mande,

It has occurred to me that you might be interested to know of a project initiated last year by Keith Woodward and myself. Our aim is to collect the memories of those who served as District Agents in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, and recollections of them and their activities, ^{retained} by others who were on the islands, both official and non-official. This is explained in the enclosed copy of the circular letter we sent out to selected addressees.

You may have met Keith Woodward, who is now virtually blind. He was at the British Residency in the New Hebrides from 1953 to 1978, and thus served under the late Reid Cowell for a time. Mr. Cowell, before his death, authorized me to make use of his comic opera, "Pandemonia or A Franco-British Fantasy" (1956). I borrowed a copy from Mike Townsend, whose wife Nan had evidently

/PVB

typed it. I sent Margaret Cowell a copy of the Oceania review of Tungaru Traditions and understood that she passed it on to you. I shall be sending a note round to ex New Hebrides colleagues who also served in the GEIC on various matters, and would be glad to draw attention to Tungaru Traditions. It would be helpful if you could let me know the cost of purchase. The enclosed copy of our circular letter of 31 May 1991 shows, I hope, that Keith and I have done our best to encourage former colleagues to write about the GEIC and/or the Solomons as well as the New Hebrides. Incidentally the enclosed copy of a letter from Nigel Pusinelli may be of interest. George Bristow alerted me to the Earhart story, which I found reported in The Times.

I have interested myself in R. J. Fletcher* (cf Isles of Illusion) and Edward Jacomb (cf France and England in the New Hebrides): I have just completed the first draft of an edition of the previously unpublished Fletcher/Jacomb correspondence, and am also editing Jacomb's similarly unpublished New Hebrides diary. I was in the British Administration in the New Hebrides from 1972 to 1976 and returned after independence (1980/81) as Adviser to the Minister of Lands.

* I enclose my reviews of the 1986 edition of Isles of Illusion.

(2)

I was glad to note (Books
from the Pacific Islands, 1941/2, PS, USP)
that your Of Islands and Men
is available and am ordering a
copy.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Stober
(Mr. W. E. STOBER)

Isles of illusion: A gentleman's rude awakening

"Asterisk": Isles of Illusion: Letters from the South Seas: edited by Bohun Lynch with a new introduction by Gavin Young. 334 pp, Century Hutchinson, 1986. £5.95. 0 7126 9468 4.

The Santo rebellion of 1980 attracted world-wide media coverage, bringing Vanuatu to the attention of countless people who had never heard of that archipelago, or, in the words of the rebellion's historian, John Besant, * of the "Siamese-twin" system of colonial government which the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides conferred on the indigenous Melanesians in 1906.

Of islands which attracted successively whalers, sandalwooders, "blackbirders" and finally traders and settler-planters, two Englishmen familiar with conditions in the early days of the Condominium have left lively records.

Edward Jacomb's "France and England in the New Hebrides" (1914) and his play "The Joy Court" (1929) have never been reprinted but the republication of the letters of his friend, R. J. Fletcher, provides a welcome opportunity to recapture the atmosphere of those early days.

The travel writer James Norman Hall predicted in 1929 that "Isles of Illusion", an "extraordinarily human" book sucked under and lost in the ever-increasing stream of books, would reappear further down the stream.

The first reissue in English for nearly sixty years of the 1920s



A skirmish between seamen and marines of HMSS Curacao and the villagers at Port Resolution, August 12, 1865 — from a sketch by Midshipman W. V. Bailey

best seller rewardingly fulfills Hall's prophecy. When these very readable letters were originally published by Constable in 1923, Lynch's South Seas correspondent, a friend from Oxford days, was identified merely as "Asterisk".

"Asterisk" was later revealed to be R. J. Fletcher (1877-1965), a paternal uncle of the novelist Penelope Mortimer whose autobiography "About Time" (1979) offers a shrewd, sympathetic pen-portrait of her eccentric relative.

Fletcher started adult life as a schoolmaster but soon sought

to escape civilisation and convention in exotic places. Fired with enthusiasm by the writings of R. L. Stevenson, he sailed in due course from South America to the "land of the lotus" in the South Seas.

He spent seven years in the New Hebrides, working variously as court interpreter, land surveyor and, principally, as coconut plantation manager. Most of the letters selected for publication by Lynch, himself a prolific author, were written to him in England from that archipelago. Fletcher finally ex- tricated himself from the New

Hebrides in 1919 to spend happier days in the French Tuamotu islands near Tahiti.

The leitmotiv of "Isles of Illusion" is, as the title suggests, disillusionment: "No one could have been more sentimental than I in my quest of lovely tropical nature" . . . "three weeks sufficed to show me what a fool I was" . . . "keep your distance and you will keep your enchantment" . . . "I have paid in hardish coin for dallying with the lotus plant . . ."

Fletcher, while examining acerbically external realities, chronicles the interior self and the principal value of "Isles of Illusion" arguably lies in its self-portrait of a highly complex and articulate middle-class Englishman in tropical exile.

The letters are, to quote their author, "the confidential whimpering of a loquacious man condemned to months of intolerable silence", trapped in an unhealthy environment in which Fletcher, sensitive and cultured, lacked congenial companionship and sought solace in a native woman by whom he had a son (the liaison provides the theme for his autobiographical novel "Gone Native", 1924) occasionally in whisky and always in writing letters, his "safety valve".

He memorably conjures the physical lure and rigours of the islands. His observations on the human fauna of the New Hebrides — officials, traders, planters, missionaries, the indigenous Melanesians — are as caustic as his examination of himself is frank.

A man of his time, he profes-

Besant

ses no love for the Christianised, as opposed to heathen, "Kanakas". Yet he doctors his Melanesian charges as conscientiously as any of the Presbyterian missionaries who, with Australian settlers and Condominium officials, are among the prime targets of his mordant wit.

Edward Jacomb's brother Charles, the author of "God's Own Country: An Appreciation of Australia" (1914) and as sharp a critic of Australia and Australians as Fletcher himself, described him as a "brilliantly clever fellow."

A former pupil has recalled him as a "mysterious personality" ... "almost frightening to us school-boys, but patient, unbiased and kind." A fellow schoolmaster remembers him as a "brilliant individualist" but was never able to penetrate beyond Fletcher's "rotund facade."

Penelope Mortimer says he was cynical, sharp and clever with a waspish wit and a disdain for women. But she liked him.

These first-hand observations, which supplement Lynch's comments in the original introduction, are suggestive of the complexities and paradoxes of Fletcher's highly elusive character. He appears, very humanly, full of contradictions — amusing and fond of provoking laughter in others but often sad and consistently mysterious, hard to get to know. Sensitive to beauty in poetry and landscape, even tender, but capable of brutality. Conventional by upbringing but usually unconventional and often eccentric in thought and action. *Extreme*

A misfit, Fletcher fails to reach his goals or to achieve equanimity. He eventually returned to a bachelor schoolmaster's life in England, where John Murray published three of his "Gilbert Davison" thrillers at the beginning of the 1930s.

Fletcher then lapsed into obscurity. From teaching in Cornwall, he retired to live with a sister in Kent, where he described himself, in a letter to Penelope Mortimer in 1957, as "intangibly alone mentally."

Gavin Young chanced upon "Isles of Illusion" in Hong Kong

and took the volume with him when he sailed a few years ago from China to the South Seas: it inspired the title of Part Two of his "Slow Boats Home".

In his very personal introduction to the reissue, Young establishes a link with "Asterisk" via Bude, where Fletcher taught and the youthful Young spent his summer holidays.

It is to be hoped that a future edition of "Isles of Illusion" will include Fletcher's as yet unpublished contemporary letters to Edward Jacomb, who appears

as "Mowbray" in the book.

Fletcher's letters to Lynch are better known in France, where a new French translation of them appeared in 1979 under the impulsion of the celebrated autobiographer Michel Leiris whose intimate diary of an ethnographic expedition through Africa ("L'Afrique Fantome", 1934) was influenced by the original 1926 translation.

Leiris was himself introduced to "Isles of Illusion" by his surrealist companion, Jacques Prevert, and in turn, decades

later, inspired the fine preface to the 1979 translation contributed by his young friend at the Musee de l'Homme, Jean Jamin. A German translation of the new French edition appeared in 1981.

Fletcher was an interesting man and his letters, his best writing, deserve to be read again. — W. E. Stober.

★ "The Santo Rebellion: An Imperial Reckoning" published by the University of Hawaii Press and Heinemann (Australia), 1984.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT,

30.1.87

not particularly challenging, remains an entertaining book.

Travel *TLS* 30.1.87

ASTERISK. *Isles of Illusion: Letters from the South Seas*, edited by Bohun Lynch with a new introduction by Gavin Young. 334pp. Century Hutchinson. £5.95. 0 7126 9468 4. □ First published in 1923 and reviewed in the *TLS* of June 28 of that year, these letters were written to Bohun Lynch by an Englishman who worked in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) from 1912 to 1919 as court interpreter, land surveyor and coconut plantation manager, and later as secretary/meteorologist with a French phosphate company of an island near Tahiti. "Asterisk" was the pen name of R. J. Fletcher, Penelope Mortimer's favourite uncle. The leit-motiv of the letters is disillusionment. In the New Hebrides, Asterisk, sensitive and cultured, was condemned to months of intolerable silence in an unhealthy environment in which he lacked congenial companionship. He sought solace in a native woman — by whom he had a son — occasionally in whisky and always in writing letters, his "safety valve". Asterisk memorably conjures up the physical lure and rigours of the islands. His observations on his human surroundings are as caustic as his self-scrutiny is frank. While professing no love for the Christianized Kanakas, he doctors his (heathen) Melanesian charges as conscientiously as any of the Presbyterian missionaries who, with settlers and officials, are among the prime targets of his mordant wit.

OWEN RUTTER. *The Pagans of North Borneo*. 287pp. Oxford University Press. £6.95. 0 19 582627 2. □ Owen Rutter (1889–1944), later renowned as an expert on the Bounty Mutiny, served for five years before the First World War as a colonial official in Sabah (then British North Borneo). Part of a new generation of cadets brought in to reform Chartered Company rule in the first decades of this century. Rutter brought to his task a keen anthropological interest in the peoples entrusted to his care. First published in 1929, *Pagans of North Borneo* was Rutter's second major work on Sabah. In it he attempted a systematic description of the non-Muslim peoples of the state. Although, as Ian Black points out in his useful introduction, the work falls short of being a systematic compendium, Rutter's descriptions of "traditional" society and customs have become ever more valuable for modern anthropologists in the light of the dizzying changes which Sabah has undergone since the 1920s. The centrepiece of the book is Rutter's chapter on local customary law (*adat*), a subject on which he was a recognized expert. There are also some fine sections of popular art, storytelling and river craft, sections where the author's generally rather patronizing attitudes towards the "natives" are overshadowed by his evident passion for the subject.

Reviews by Simon Schaffer, Anthony Bryer, George Szamuely, David Helliwell, Anna Vaux, W. E. Stober, J. K. L. Walker, James Campbell and Peter Carew

THE DISTRICT AGENT IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE VANUATU

I intend* / do not intend* to write something on the lines
suggested in your circular letter of 3 / March 1991.

I hope to forward my contribution by*

*Delete as appropriate

Details of my New Hebrides/Vanuatu service/residence are as
follows:-

Appointment(s) held [please include rank, location(s) and
year(s)]

NAME:

ADDRESS:

TELEPHONE NO:

KINDLY RETURN THIS SLIP TO KEITH WOODWARD OR WILL STOBER.

JOINT CIRCULAR LETTER

3 / March 1991

From Keith Woodward and Will Stober

THE DISTRICT AGENT IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE VANUATU

1. It has occurred to us that it would be valuable, historically, if the memories of former District Agents in the New Hebrides, and recollections of them and their activities by others in that archipelago, were recorded and collected, firstly for archival purposes and, secondly, with a view to the possibility of some form of publication. We therefore invite you to respond by writing down your reminiscences and sending them to one of us. To jog your memories after so many years, and to ensure some measure of structure and form in the accounts we seek, we have drawn up guidelines and topics which you might care to cover in compiling your contribution (see paragraphs 6 - 11 below).
2. We start from the premise that it is not only in the Blue Books, White Papers and other official records that the raw material of the historian can be found. The imperial adventure gave rise to two distinctive literary genres, the colonial memoir and the colonial novel. The District Officer was a protagonist, if not hero, of much colonial fiction, of which the African novels of Joyce Cary are notable examples. Even the late Dame Margery Perham, former Reader in Colonial Administration at Oxford and the first director of its Institute of Colonial Studies, made an early excursion into colonial fiction prior to her academic studies of British colonial administration. The Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides inspired a limited but highly readable corpus of fiction: Edward Jacomb's hilariously satirical play about the Joint Court, **The Joy Court: An Anglo-French Comedy** (1929); Pierre Benoit's haunting novel **Erromango** (1929; reissued in a special edition in 1957 to commemorate the golden jubilee of the Condominium); in part James Michener's popular **Tales of the South Pacific** (1947) and **Return to Paradise** (1951); Leslie Thomas's humorous novel **The Love Beach** (1968); and Thea Astley's novel **Beachmasters** (1985). As Dr. David Walsh pointed out in his review of **Beachmasters** in "Pacific Islands Monthly" (March 1987), the novel depicts events with obvious parallels to the Santo rebellion of 1980. The

British District Agent Cordingley and his dreadful wife Belle are described in the novel as "rag dolls": Cordingley as a "melting Bunter chap in tropic whites."

3. Our concern in this letter is, however, with reminiscences rather than fiction. The colonial memoir still flourished (1) in the 1980's and beyond, the late Sir John Gutch and Sir Colin Allan being recent contributors to the genre. Perhaps more characteristic of the post-colonial era are the collections of reminiscences, a genre inaugurated by Charles Allen in 1975 and continued by others (2) including June Knox-Mawer: her **Tales from Paradise** embody contributions from several of the addressees of this letter. In his preface to **Tales From the Dark Continent**, his second compilation, Charles Allen explained that he had made no attempt to confront the political issues of colonialism but had confined himself "simply to putting on record and in their own terms something of the manner and style of those who were there [Africa], placing them and their beliefs in the context of the times in which they lived and worked." If his concentration on the life of the District Officer seemed to have been made at the expense of others (specialist officials in education, agriculture, the police etc; missionaries et al) it was because "it was the administrator in his role as government servant who first and last provided the common thread that bound so many different territories under one flag."
4. The first scholarly attempt to focus exclusively on the role of the District Officer was by Roland Hunt (who entered the I.C.S. in 1938 and was British High Commissioner in Kampala when the second signatory of this letter arrived there in 1966 as Third Secretary) and John Harrison (ex-Indian Army and Reader in Indian History at the University of London). Their book **The District Officer in India 1930-1947** (Scolar Press, 1980) presents a close-up and human study of the workings of the administrative system in India in the last seventeen years of British rule, giving a first-hand account of the district officer's life - its pleasures and pains - in all parts of the sub-continent. More recently, the Royal African Society, prompted by members who worked formerly as D.O.s in Africa, has been considering the possibility of publishing memories of such D.O.s in book form, perhaps on a single-country basis - each with joint editors (a former D.O. and an academic) - or alternatively working towards an African equivalent of **The District Officer in India**.
5. The justification for focussing on the role of the D.O./D.C. is, as the above quotation from Charles Allen suggests, that it was pivotal in the British colonial enterprise. The district was a vital area of government. There had to be a headquarters secretariat, a seat of administration, as the organising link between the Colonial Office in Downing Street and the rural districts of the territory under colonial administration. The mass of the people in such

territories, living as they did in the rural areas, were, in practice, administered by the district officer, and the nature and success, or otherwise, of administration in any district depended to a considerable extent on his character, abilities and proclivities. The Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides offers an exceptionally interesting case for study since, uniquely, each district had not one but two District Agents, one British and one French, reflecting the dual administration of the Group as a whole. There was no parallel to this state of affairs - even in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of the Sudan - and it subjected the entente cordiale to a prolonged and sometimes painful test.

6. In broad terms, we suggest that the recipients of this letter should:-

(a) **if they were District Agents**, give an account of the nature of their service, explaining how they were recruited, what were their attitudes and assumptions about their work, the New Hebrides and the dual system of administration, what their work consisted of and the conditions in which it was carried out, and dealing with any other matters which might help to provide as complete and representative a picture as possible of the British (French and Condominium) administration in the last two or three decades before independence in 1980.

(b) **if they were officials who did not serve as District Agents, or were non-official residents (temporary or otherwise) of the Group**, explain their own presence in the islands and the nature of their work, describe what kind of interaction they had with District Agents (both British and French), how they saw the Condominium system and say whether, within its constraints, District Agents were effective in administering the areas for which they were responsible.

7. Despite the geographical, racial, religious, linguistic and other diversities of the British Colonial empire, a common factor was the crucial role of the District Officer. The quotations in Appendix 1 have been selected in the belief that they suggest factors of general applicability and that they will ring bells even for those whose service was confined to small island colonies. But, in fact, many New Hebrides administrators had prior experience of colonial Africa (the "African re-treads") and East Asia, and, in formulating their contribution, some may wish to draw comparisons with their previous service in other territories, whether elsewhere in the South West Pacific or in different areas of the Empire. One of the quotations draws attention to the supportive part played by colonial wives, and we expect this aspect to attract comment.

(Contributions from the spouses of former District Agents to whom this letter is addressed would be welcomed).

8. In Appendix 2, we offer guidelines and themes in the form of a series of questions. It is hoped that these will help to revive memories which, collectively, will show what sort of men administered the New Hebrides, their background and training, the work they had to do and the way in which they set about it. It is also hoped that the questions are comprehensive enough to draw out, inter alia, the personalities of the contributors, so that vivid personal reports emerge. We hope that no-one will be deterred from contributing by the long or longish lists of questions in Appendix 2. We do not expect comprehensive and systematic responses. Even quite short contributions dealing with only a few aspects of the District Agent and his work - say a few hundred words only - could be valuable, especially in the aggregate.
9. It is suggested that each contributor should provide biographical information about themselves, concentrating on their time in the New Hebrides (postings with dates) or, in the case of non-officials, their period of residence and their activities in the islands. With regard to contributions we refrain from indicating a maximum number of words as we have no desire to cramp anyone's style by such a restriction. Illustrations (photographs etc.) would be welcomed, as would the amusing or intriguing illustrative anecdote. Contributors should not feel inhibited by fears of libel since this aspect would be looked at very carefully if the responses to this letter are sufficient in quantity and quality to suggest the possibility of their being edited and published. Whether or not anything is published, it is proposed to deposit all contributions with the Librarian at Rhodes House, Oxford (see below).
10. At Appendix 3, there is a list of all addressees of this letter. If we have omitted anyone whom we should have included, please let one of us know. The emphasis is, inevitably, upon the British District Agent, but it is hoped to elicit some French perspectives as well as recollections from those Ni-Vanuatu who served as assistants to British District Agents before independence. It would be appreciated if all recipients of this letter would be good enough to return the attached reply slip to one of us indicating whether they propose to respond. This has been designed to enable respondents to give the biographical details referred to in the preceding paragraph.
11. We would urge all recipients to reflect that unless some record of the kind proposed here is made, preferably sooner rather than later, the personal history of those who served in district administration in a unique corner of the empire will be lost, if one disregards the inevitably few cases of those who follow the example of earlier residents (3) and

more recently of Sir John Gutch and Sir Colin Allan and publish their memoirs.

12. We are copying this letter, for information, to Mr Alan Bell, the Librarian of Rhodes House, Oxford, where there is a substantial and wide ranging collection of the private papers of former Colonial Service personnel. A word of encouragement from him has strengthened our confidence that this initiative is worthwhile.

K Woodward

17 Van Diemen's
Lane,
Lansdown,

K. Woodward, O.B.E.
~~112 Marshfield Way~~
Bath BA1 6HQ
U.K.

Tel.No. 0225-311400

W.E. Stober

W.E. Stober
22 Seymour Close
Selly Wick Road
Selly Park
Birmingham B29 7JD
U.K.

Tel.No. 021-47²_h-4897

Notes:

- (1) Sir Rex Niven: **Nigerian Kaleidoscope: Memoirs of a Colonial Civil Servant.** (C. Hurst & Co, 1982).

Sylvia Leith-Ross: **Stepping Stones: Memoirs of Colonial Nigeria** (Peter Owen, 1983).

Ronnie Knox-Mawer: **Tales From a Palm Court** (Souvenir Press, 1986).

Sir John Gutch: **Colonial Servant** (privately printed, 1987).

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Some Perspectives on the District Officer
in the British Colonial Empire

1. "For all a DC's prestige and social position, and for all the paraphernalia that he dragged around in the bush, his life was harsh. As a bachelor he was apt to live in conditions resembling those of a slum, and might easily be undernourished in the bargain. Married women were important in ensuring the health and comfort of their husbands (married men seldom got blackwater fever), and thus played a modest though unrecognised part in maintaining the stability of British rule. They also helped to perpetuate those social distinctions of English life in the bush that have survived the waning of empire." (L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan: **The Rulers of British Africa 1870 - 1914**, Croom Helm 1978, in chapter on "The District Officer").

2. "In earlier days, the district officer was metaphorically the father of his people and literally the fountain head of authority; sometimes with one assistant, sometimes alone, he was responsible for keeping the peace, upholding law and order, administering justice, and taking sole responsibility for all government activities - building roads and bridges to open up the country, developing trade, healing the sick. There are still in parts of Africa a few remote districts where the administrative officer is the only British officer in the area, but those are now becoming rarer; and nowadays, in addition to the district officer, there are as a general rule a ~~director~~ ^{doctor}, agricultural officer, veterinary officer, and officer of the Public Works Department and other technical experts." (Noel Sabine: **The British Colonial Empire**, William Collins, 1943).

3. "One of the main problems of all administrations was that of stability. In colonies of widely diverse populations, where few of the African subjects initially spoke English, it was ... desirable for the administrators to learn the local language and to study the culture of "their" peoples. Yet the central secretariats of Nigeria and Kenya rarely kept a man for long in one station..... The higher the rate of transferability from post to post, the less the administration was apt to know about local institutions frequent postings did prevent that proper understanding of African social structures which was vital to a sympathetic local administration ... The administrators shared the common function of "political officer", that is, responsibility for the supervision of the maintenance of law and order in their

areas of jurisdiction, and responsibility for implementation of central government orders Ideally, British district officers were supposed to undertake regular tours, but paperwork increased so much that they became more and more deskbound.... up to the end of the 1930's communications were generally so poor that officials in out of the way stations generally experienced little interference from their superiors. They were very much their own masters. They could conveniently fail to obey an instruction by being away when it arrived, and no one would be any the wiser.....In British Africa the legal powers of administrators varied widely from territory to territory....The bush administrators formed one of the few groups of Europeans who really knew anything about Africans. Even though the bush administrator could claim to know more about his subjects than any other European except the missionary, whose understanding was nevertheless usually distorted by the special optic with which he regarded Africans, he never had that intimate knowledge which gave African chiefs such great control over their subjects. Administrators relied for their information, especially where they did not understand the local language, on interpreters, on court messengers, on sepoys.....From the imperial point of view, the bush administrators were the key officials of the colonial regime. In many cases the European district officers and their wives also served as models or as a reference group in matters of dress, etiquette and behaviour to aspiring middle-class Africans, often with sad results. ...in the final analysis these administrators, despite their intimate relationship with the Africans, left a far weaker imprint on the local population than that of the representatives of commercial companies and technical departments of government, whose demands and development schemes substantially changed African life. Nor did the white administrator exert the personal impact on the individual African equal to that of even the missionary or the teacher. The primary concern of the European chief was with the traditional African of the bush: the Africans who were to take over control of the bush from him represented the forces of westernisation and modernisation generated in the schools, the churches and the new urban agglomerations." (Michael Crowder, *Colonial West Africa*, Frank Cass, 1978, in Chapter on "The White Chiefs of Tropical Africa").

4. "The first unwritten law of the administrator [in colonial Kenya] was that an order, once given, must be obeyed. In his eyes, it was vital for the "prestige" of government that this rule must be enforced. The second golden rule, sometimes breached with disastrous results, was that an order likely to be disobeyed ought not to be given. Here again, failure to observe this law would also harm prestige.... Administration in a district tended to be a very personal thing....It is hardly surprising, therefore, that administration could become egocentric, a tendency reinforced by the principle of

"trusting the man on the spot", at least as long as he was successful.... As paperwork and the complexities of development increased, the opportunities for personal influence in a district diminished; nevertheless the administrator was always aware of its importance. The exhortation continued to be to get away from the office and out amongst the people..... he [the DO] seemed to develop a countryman's devotion to things rural and to the tribal "man in the blanket", a countryman's dislike of the urban and the detribalised "man in trousers".... few administrators came to terms fully with the new urban problem, since this was something outside the tribal context. A further consequence of the district environment was that "prestige" became a very personal thing. This had certain side-effects: an enhanced sense of self-importance.... and a prickly sense of jealousy against all rivals. The jealousy had both a positive and a negative side: a paternalistic desire to protect "his" people, or sheer negative obstruction.....One aspect of the district situation and the administrator's concern for "prestige" was the element of sheer bluff....To be fully effective in a district, an administrator had to be "en rapport" with his people....a great deal depended on individual personalities. Here there was a spectrum that ranged from the "chameleon" - the administrator who totally sided with his "tribe" - to the other extreme for government, the danger lay in either extreme....The significance of this spectrum lay in the fact that the administrator was the hinge linking policy to action.... the Administration was a small and fairly close-knit body... more was discussed.....than was ever put on paper...much of the emphasis was on instinct and pragmatic experience rather than logic....within the "Brotherhood" there was a greater variation in terms of personalities than outsiders appreciated....Individualism verging on eccentricity was not unknown....it is not always possible to discover in the written records of the administrators.....exactly what were their fundamental assumptions. In many instances these were taken for granted and so left unsaid. In other cases the district officers were unaware of them, and acted instinctively....There was....a confidence that colonialism... was "good". That change must be gradual... The district officers....had a curiously ambivalent attitude towards western values and feared competing influences. They were not wholly sure of what they wanted for "their" people, but it was not a pale imitation of the West....Administrators at the district level could and did drag their feet if orders from above seemed to be impractical or dangerous. Unrealistic policy could be defeated (or at least deferred) in the bush." (T.H.R. Cashmore: Chapter entitled "A Random Factor in British Imperialism: District Administration in Colonial Kenya" in Festschrift for Kenneth Robinson (forthcoming): Imperialism and the State in the Third World, edited by Michael Twaddle.) Gann and Duigan (see item 1) are complimentary about Dr. Cashmore's "valuable" and "fascinating picture of the civil servants who ran the British East Africa Protectorate" given

in his 1965 Cambridge doctoral dissertation, "Studies in District Administration in the East African Protectorate, 1895 - 1918." The second signatory of the covering letter served under Dick Cashmore in the African Section of the F.C.O. Research Department.

5. "The character of British colonial administration depended on the personalities and talents of individual administrators... The spirit of the men in charge accented noblesse oblige. For all its authoritarianism, its aim was service. Its motivation was duty to the governed.... Though standing apart from his people spiritually and socially, the average D.O. was on easy terms with them and was genuinely concerned for their welfare within their own cultural context..... For a British civil servant to "go native" was not unheard of the average British D.O. never thought of "descending" in this way. He could be charmed by native custom or become a student of some aspect of native lore. He did not expect natives to come over to his way of thinking. He held to his own personal code of conduct and did what he could to uphold law and order in the traditional British fashion. as to what the colonial power was doing in her dependencies and why ... Continental officials had clear, definite, and rational conceptions Similar discussions with British officials have yielded entirely different results. Getting a D.O. to talk philosophically about his work is.....often difficult if not impossible. If a rationalisation of colonialism is forthcoming at all, it will as likely as not be disguised as a euphemism....Most D.O.'s ... talk about their sense of obligation to the natives in inverse proportion to the depth of their feelings on the subject.....The D.O. did not try to implant his own mores in native populations ... When at last the natives ... demanded self-government, the demand appealed to his sense of justice and fair play. He may have thought it premature. But ... it struck him as reasonable.... Essentially the legacy of British colonialism is the residual impression made by a few thousand individuals in some forty territories around the world....The legacy that will endure longest is the personal one. The unbending integrity of individual administrators has been stamped on the consciousness of native leaders in countries now independent or soon to become independent ... the personal achievements and services of individual officers are remembered ... Even this sort of memory will fade ..."(Robert Heussler: **Yesterday's Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service**, Syracuse University Press, 1963). A note on the dust jacket points out [what Heussler deals with in depth] that "For over thirty years [between the wars] the man chiefly responsible for the selection of men to rule the British colonies was R.D. Furse (now Major Sir Ralph Furse, KCMG, DSO, MA, Hon. D.C.L. Oxford). The qualities needed - courage, firmness, dignity, sympathy, and physical and moral stamina - Furse found in members of the British ruling classes, prepared

by tradition and by education at Public Schools and at Oxford and Cambridge."

6."What was distinctively English about the [imperial] enterprise was not people's motives for going where they did but what they believed themselves to be doing when they got there..... Indirect Rule ... with its implicit exaltation of the man-on-the-spot over the man in the central office, set the seal of legitimacy on the centrifugal tendencies long at work in the British Colonial Service ... It became, eventually, the cult of the D.O. writ large In other places [than Nigeria] in which indirect rule was attempted, and where no large centralised states existed, such as Tanganyika, the DO enjoyed an undisputed reign."

"Furse ... identified completely with the men in the outposts, believing as they did that if all was well in the boma the empire could be left to take care of itself. The vision which entranced him was therefore that of the ideal District Officer, as conceived by the District Officer himself - permanently on tour, manfully resistant to bureaucratic influence from headquarters, and, "winning the trust and loyalty of [his] charges by [his] integrity, fairness, firmness, and likeableness." This was the type of man he was looking for and, by his own account, not infrequently found. If the empire was going to be run on character, Furse was confident he could supply it." (Kathryn Tidrick: *Empire And The English Character*, IB Tauris, 1990).

Adam Lively, reviewing this work in the *TIS* (28 September - 4 October 1990) took up the author's argument that crucial to the British imperial self-image was the belief in the power of charismatic authority exerted through personal example: "This is the cult of the District Officer, the lone, morally upstanding individual who by force of personality earns the respect, obedience and even love of thousands of natives under his care It was the emphasis on the qualities of the individual man on the spot, rather than on any particular system of administration, that was important in the imperial ethos. Hence the weight attached to recruitment (the mystique of the interview) for securing the right kind of chap, the kind of chap who would manifest in the field the correct balance of judiciousness, phlegm and ability to read the mind of the wily native. The virtues attributed to the ideal District Officer raised pragmatism to an almost mystical level."

7. "It seems odd today to recall those times when a career in the Colonial Service was a natural step for many educated young men to take. There was an Empire out there and it had to be administered.... That young men in their early twenties could quite reasonably spend a stretch of months if not years in the remoter reaches of the colonies acting as legislator, judge, jury, tax-collector, civil engineer and, if called upon, executioner now seems almost inconceivable. Yet district officers in the colonies supervised vast tracts of territory and held almost absolute sway over enormous populations. One of the added attractions of **Mister Johnson** is that it conveys the realities of this now vanished life and its many incongruities. In many ways Rudbeck, the district officer, appears as fantastic a creation as Mr Johnson or any of the other locals. Rudbeck and, I suspect, district officers throughout the Empire, looked on their job as being little different from that of head of house at a public school. Indeed, the more one contemplates the development of the public school system throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the more one sees how well suited the typical public schoolboy was for the job of district commissioner. He would emerge from school with a strong sense of loyalty to the established order and a belief in the seditiousness of individualism (individualist being a term of contempt at public school); he would be fairly fit after several years of compulsory games, self-reliant, unemotional, not very imaginative or too clever, and would have developed a capacity to go without the company of the opposite sex for long stretches at a time. Up until the 'wind of change' that swept across Africa in the 1950s, the public school system churned out its hordes of ideal colonial servants. It is a mark of Cary's imagination that he could understand just how bizarre the white man must have seemed to the races he governed. The portrait of Rudbeck and his wife, Celia, and the ups and downs of their tropical marriage, is one of the delightful bonuses of the novel and one that grows ever more piquant as times goes by. Cary doesn't refer to it a great deal - because it was unexceptional at the time he wrote the novel - but it is worth bearing in mind as one reads about the Rudbecks that they were living in an Africa without medical assistance, transport, air-conditioning, water closets, running water, electricity and so on, and this makes Celia's moods seem a little more understandable....." (from William Boyd's introduction to Joyce Cary's novel **Mister Johnson**, 1939, Penguin 1985, 1988).

NOTES AND QUERIES

The questions posed below are intended not so much as a questionnaire to be answered seriatim as a list of pointers and themes that respondents might care to take into account in formulating their contributions. It is hoped that some of the factors brought up in these guidelines will both focus and ease the effort of retrospection. Since the topic of the District Agent in the New Hebrides is being subjected to both autobiographical and other approaches, correspondingly differentiated sets of queries are offered for:-

- A. Former District Agents (D.A.s) and Assistant District Agents (A.D.A.s).
 - B. Former Resident Commissioners and Assistant Resident Commissioners/Chief Secretaries.
 - C. Former officials who served other than as D.A.s or A.D.A.s.
 - D. Former or current non-official residents of the New Hebrides/Vanuatu.
- A. Former D.A.s. and A.D.A.s.
1. What training, if any, did you receive for the tasks of district administration and what were the circumstances of your recruitment? What took you to the New Hebrides? What were your expectations in that territory? What preconceptions did you have about the nature of the Condominium system? What was it like in practice?
 2. What were your attitudes and assumptions about the role of D.A./A.D.A. in the peculiar environment of the Condominium?
 3. What general or particular instructions, guidelines or advice did you receive from the Residency at the outset?
 4. How were communications with the Residency maintained? Were they satisfactory? If not, why not? How in general did you view the Residency as headquarters of the British Administration? As remote? As supportive?
 5. Did you receive any guidance concerning liaison with your French opposite number? How did you conduct yourself towards him and what sort of relationship did you enjoy with him (or them)? In what language did you communicate?
 6. Whether or not this was explicitly urged on you, did you ever undertake joint tours with your French colleague and if

so how often and how successfully? If not, was the omission conscious or unconscious?

7. Did you ever have a French colleague who was equal or superior in rank to the French Resident Commissioner? If so, how did this impact on district administration?
8. How was the staff of the District Agency constituted? To what extent was localisation of staff officially encouraged? What progress was made in this area and what problems were encountered?
9. What sort of relations did you have with local British National Service colleagues in education, health, the Police, etc.? Were there any tensions between their responsibility to their heads of service in Vila and their relationship to you?
10. What kind of relationships did you have with local Condominium officials in public works, agriculture etc.? Was there any strain arising from their position vis a vis their heads of service on the one hand and their relations to the two D.A.s (British and French) on the other?
11. What were your personal priorities in district administration? Did these diverge from those reflected in any official instructions? If so, how did you resolve the difference?
12. How did you balance the need to tour and the imperatives of running the District Agency and of associated paperwork?
13. What kind of relationship did you aim to establish with the local New Hebridean population? How proficient did you become in Bislama? Did you have any sense that you were a pawn in a game in which Melanesians played the British D.A. off against the French D.A. and vice versa?
14. What relations did you have with other local communities - viz. the minorities of expatriate origin (French, antipodean, Gilbertese, Wallisian, Chinese etc.)? How much attention did you give to the settler community (planters, traders)? Did you cultivate francophone society?
15. What interaction did you have with missionaries? How did you see the missionary contribution, both historically and in the New Hebrides of your day?
16. What was your attitude towards Local Councils? Did it differ from British policy? Did you devote much energy to assisting Councils to develop? What co-operation did you receive from your French colleague?

17. How did you view the co-operative societies movement in the context of local development?
18. What was your experience of census-taking if any (1967, 1972, 1979)? What was your view of the official approach to the task of registering births, death and marriages?
19. How did you react to political development to the extent that it took place in your day? Were you ever involved in the organisation and conduct of any elections, whether in connection with the Advisory Council or, later (1970s), the Municipalities and the Representative Assembly? What difficulties did you experience in this area? Did political evolution reveal anything that surprised you? What was your French colleague's stance towards politics? How active was he in such matters?
20. What approach did you adopt towards the Nagriamel (or John Frum) movement to the extent that it was active in your District?
21. How did you see the problem of alienated land? What did you think of the British Land Trust Board? To what extent did land disputes, whether between New Hebrideans or between them and persons of expatriate (or part expatriate) origin, claim your attention? What support in this context did you seek and receive from the British Residency, from your French colleague and from Condominium Survey Department staff?
22. Did you enjoy your role as Magistrate and President of the Native Court and/or Court of First Instance? Did magisterial duties take up too much of your time? Did the circumstances in your view justify a magistracy separate from the Administration? Did you see any difficulty in reconciling Melanesian concepts of justice with British ones, or with the provisions of the Native Criminal Code? Did hearing Native Court cases give you an insight into local Melanesian society which you might not otherwise have gained?
23. Did you have to deal with any markedly difficult or eccentric personalities in any of the local communities? Do any particular incidents spring to mind?
24. In any case, can you recall any incidents or anecdotes, amusing or otherwise, which throw light on the characteristics of a particular area or community, or on the nature of administration in your District or in the Group as a whole?
25. What was your opinion about the rotation of senior staff in district administration? Were you aware of a definite

- policy on this in the Residency? Were you left in a district for too long, or moved on too soon?
26. If you served in more than one district, what differences particularly struck you? If you served in Central District No.1 or Northern District, did you find that urban matters took up too much of your time, to the detriment of rural administration?
 27. Did you experience transport difficulties in getting about your district? Would you have done significantly more touring but for such problems? What was your style of touring? Where did you stay overnight when away from district headquarters? Did you accept Melanesian hospitality?
 28. What was your attitude towards economic and social development, including education? Did you have funds - a goat-bag - for local expenditure at your own discretion which was unknown to the Residency and Joint Administration? What did you regard as the priorities in development? How did you see the linguistic (anglophone/francophone) divide arising from the Condominium? What role did you envisage for Bislama educationally and otherwise?
 29. What networks did you cultivate for the purposes of gathering information? Who were your informants? Would more frequent touring, had it been possible, have given you greater confidence in your grasp of what was going on in your district?
 30. If you had an A.D.A. or A.D.A.s, what tasks did you typically delegate to him/them? If you were an A.D.A., were you satisfied with the nature and extent of the tasks delegated to you, bearing in mind that you might have had to act as D.A., or been promoted as such?
 31. Did you see the spouse of the D.A./A.D.A. as having any special role in the district beyond the normal domestic and familial one?

B. Former British Resident Commissioners and Assistant Resident Commissioners/Chief Secretaries.

1. How did you see the role of D.A.s operating under your jurisdiction?
2. To what extent did you liaise with your French colleague over policy governing the activities of D.A.s? Were such questions (as joint touring) discussed with him and, if so, with what result? Was joint activity by D.A.s confined to ad hoc occasions, e.g., when both might have been instructed by you and your French colleague to investigate a land dispute?

3. Did you attach greater importance to touring by D.A.s than to their keeping up with paperwork or vice versa, or did you regard both as equally necessary?
4. Did you consider that magisterial duties were entirely compatible with the basic tasks of district administration both as regards principle and the burden on the D.A.s?
5. To what degree did you seek to relieve the town-based D.A.s (in Vila and Luganville) of duties, such as film censorship, not borne by their colleagues in Central District No.2 and Southern District?
6. Did you issue general or specific guidelines to D.A.s? For example, as to the conduct of relations with French colleagues and the various local communities, or in connection with problems of alienated land or (especially in the 1970s) as regards the political evolution of the territory?
7. Did you convene periodic meetings of D.A.s at the Residency for information or other purposes, or did face to face meetings occur on a one-to-one ad hoc basis, e.g., when you toured districts or D.A.s visited Vila? Did you and your French colleague ever convene joint meetings of British and French D.A.s?
8. Were the other normal channels of communication with D.A.s (radio-telephone conversations, telegrams, letters, tour and other reports) adequate from your point of view? Did you feel that you had your finger on the pulse of the districts? To what extent did this depend on the frequency and quality of tour and other reports from the D.A.s?
9. What was your attitude towards the rotation of D.A.s and A.D.A.s? What criteria guided your decisions in this area? To what extent did you take into account, when considering postings, the personalities and capabilities of incumbent French D.A.s? Was there contact on such matters with your French colleague?
10. What special qualities did you look for in candidates for appointments as D.A.s, bearing in mind the special character of the Condominium? How much importance did you attach to linguistic skills (competence in Bislama, French)?
11. Did you ever find it necessary to intervene with your French colleague in connection with relations between a British and a French D.A? Did your French colleague ever make representations to you?

12. How would you evaluate the contributions made by D.A.s during your period of office? In retrospect, could more have been achieved - or mistakes avoided - in all the, far from usual, circumstances?
13. Can you illustrate with anecdotes the character of district administration as you knew it and directed it with your French colleague?

C. Former officials who served other than as D.A.s or A.D.A.s

1. What was your opinion of the Condominium system?
2. How did you see the function of D.A.s in relation to your own sphere of preoccupations?
3. In what way(s) did your responsibilities and activities bring you into contact with them, and what sort of interaction did you have with them? Were they co-operative, and appreciative of your own professional concerns?
4. To what extent did the personality and interests of individual D.A.s affect progress in the area(s) you were concerned with?
5. If you were based at Vila, did you have regular access to touring and other reports from D.A.s? If so, were they helpful to you?
6. Did D.A.s visiting Vila take the trouble to consult you on matters of mutual interest? Did you take the initiative in arranging to see them?
7. If you visited a district, did you keep the British D.A. informed, whether or not you were visiting district headquarters? What impression did you gain of relations between British and French D.A.s? How did this affect you, if at all?
8. If you were based in a district, did you consciously seek to establish a good working relationship with the British D.A.? In what circumstances did you have dealings with his French colleague, and was the contact a positive one?
9. What do you particularly remember about D.A.s and district administration? Do any revealing incidents or anecdotes come to mind?

D. Former or current non-official residents of the New Hebrides

1. What was it like to live and work in the Condominium?

2. How did you view the role of the District Agent? What do you consider was his most important function? Was it, in general, properly carried out?
3. In your experience, were District Agents approachable or aloof? In what circumstances did you ever have to call on their help or intervention?
4. Did the District Agent know his district well enough? If not, what do you think might have been the reason? Did District Agents tour enough?
5. If you were based in Central District No.1 or Northern District, but not in Vila or Luganville, did you feel that District Agents were too bogged down in town affairs?
6. Did District Agents manage on the whole to preserve a proper balance in the degrees of attention they gave to the various local communities? Did they devote too much or too little time and trouble to any one of them - for instance, the European minority (planters, traders, missionaries etc.)?
7. In what ways, if at all, did the system of dual administration - and the presence in each district of both a British and French District Agent - complicate life for you? Were there advantages as well as disadvantages in the complex Condominium Government?
8. How do you think the Melanesian population perceived the District Agents? Did they see them as persons they could manipulate to their advantage, given that the Condominium provided the opportunity of playing one off against the other (i.e., the British against the French or vice versa)?
9. What kind of role, if any, did District Agents play in connection with political development, especially in the 1970s? Did you notice any differences in this respect between the British and French District Agencies?
10. How important a part did personality play in the influence exercised by individual District Agents?
11. Can you recall revealing incidents or anecdotes about District Agents, whether as administrators or magistrates?

31 May 1991

The District Agent Project

1. Although our circular letter of 31st March 1991 concerning the District Agent in pre-independence Vanuatu was deliberately focussed on what was the New Hebrides, we were conscious that not a few who served there as administrative officers were originally recruited into the service of the Western Pacific High Commission and saw service in other territories under the Commission's umbrella. Moreover, we suggested (paragraph 7 of our circular letter) that some respondents might wish to draw comparisons with their service elsewhere in the Western Pacific. For various reasons, the principal being the sui generis nature of the Condominium, we decided to restrict the scope of our enquiries to the New Hebrides.
2. While we have no intention of extending the territorial range of our project, we recognise that it might be convenient for those inclined to write also about their experiences elsewhere in the Western Pacific to use the opportunity of the present project to do so. It is clear from what we have already seen in response to our circular letter that some are well placed and perhaps keen to write about district administration in, or in a more general way, about the other territories. Such material would be historically valuable and could be deposited with the New Hebrides documentation at Rhodes House, Oxford where its receipt would we think be welcomed by the Librarian, Mr. Alan Bell. We would therefore suggest that any recipient of this letter now writing, or thinking of writing, about his experiences in the New Hebrides who also wishes to record his memories of the Solomons and/or Gilbert and Ellice Islands at similar or greater length should proceed accordingly. The non-New Hebrides material would be available in convenient form for anyone - whether historian or former administrator - to use in the compilation and editing of any separate work on the other WPHC territories. It is not impossible that one of the recipients of this letter might wish to undertake such an initiative, or might know of someone else to whom such a task might be congenial.

3. We are copying this letter for information to Mr. Bell at Rhodes House and to Mr. Anthony Kirk-Greene at The African Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford. The latter's Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service is due out shortly.

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C.L.J. Leaney *J.R. Love*
A.G. Mitchell, CBE, DFM
G. Pitkeathly, OBE
The Right Rev. D.A. Rawcliffe, OBE
R.E.N. Smith
M.M. Townsend, OBE, MC
Rev. D.S. Walford
H.G. Wallington
J.A.S. Wilson
J.F. Yaxley, CBE

ROUTLEDGE COTTAGE
EAST STREET
WESTBOURNE
EMSWORTH, HANTS
PO10 8SE

Tel: EMSWORTH (0243) 372915

25th June 1992

Dear Mr Stober,

How nice to hear from you again. Have you heard from Michael since he and family went to New Zealand last year? He seems to have got well organised there with a firm of estate agents and has set up and now manages their hotel and leisure division. In case you have not got his address, it is - 83 Epsom Avenue, Epsom, Auckland.

I saw the news item about Amelia Earhart's disappearance and the suggestion that she landed on Nikumaroro in the Telegraph last March, and was naturally very interested. At the time when she disappeared in July 1937 Gardner Island, as it was then called, was uninhabited. In October 1937 the Phoenix Islands were reconnoitred to see if they were suitable for the settlement of Gilbertese. Eric Bevington, who had then just arrived in the G&EIC as a cadet was one of the party which went to the Phoenix Islands. He has written an account of trip to the Phoenix including a few days on Gardner Island in his book 'The Things we do for England - if only England Knew'. If George Bristow or anyone else wants a copy of his book, or to know more about the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme, he could get in touch with him at Holman's Cottage, Bisterne Close, Burley, Ringwood, Hants BH24 4AZ (Tel. 04253 3316). It is of interest that their reconnaissance was only 3 months after Amelia disappeared, but they obviously did not come across any trace of her or her plane. But from Eric's description of their time ashore, the island was bigger than they expected, and so their visit does not really prove anything either way. In 1938/39 the island, along with another Phoenix Island (Hull) was settled with Gilbertese and they gave it the name Nikumaroro. Another Cadet, Gerald Gallagher, who was then in charge of the P.I.S.S. died on Gardener Island in 1940 and was buried there. When I did a census of the Colony in 1947, there were about 50 Gilbertese living on Nikumaroro, but I believe some years later they were returned to the Gilberts as the island proved unsuitable for permanent settlement. So presumably when the TIGHAR team visited the island they found it again uninhabited.

I am sorry that I cannot help about Garvey's Gentleman Pauper, as I do not have a copy.

I hope the above about Nikumaroro is of interest. I am returning the news cuttings.

Yours sincerely
Nigel Ruswell

W. H. M.
11.2.92

PHILIP A. SNOW, O.B.E., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.
GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX BN16 4HY

England

21 Sept., 1993.

Professor H. E. Maude, O.B.E.,
47/48 Namatjira Drive,
Winton, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia.

Dear Harry,

Many thanks for your letter of 16 September. It clarifies for me what you had about cataloguing your library. Of course the only satisfactory procedure is to catalogue as one acquires. I am only sorry that I did not do so but, not having it behind me I find the task of tackling it de novo for daunting although my total holding is only about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of yours. But perhaps I cannot proceed to think of eventual sale without a catalogue - been prepared by me than almost any one else I know of round here. Your specimens are useful to have if the task is inescapable. As you say in your P.S., a listing rather than a real catalogue would suffice. My books, pamphlets, etc, are not even in alphabetical order on the shelves but, like you, I know the titles, editions, covers, inside out and have, in my 3,500, remarkably few duplicates even while carrying that number in my head. and I, too only I, know its precise if unmethodical position in whatever shelf a book best fits into..

As regards my memoirs, it is true that The Overseas Pensioner carries a number of publishers, vanity comes to a man, I believe, not used to an opus of the size of mine. They could cope with the Ronald Gardy, Eric Brimston, Kenneth Maddocks slim productions but the range of mine is intrinsically different. The prospective buying public for the first part - largely the Pacific - and for the second half - largely U.K./America - is virtually a double one; hence perhaps a question of one volume before the other, separately, rather than an obese offering bursting at the seams. Most politicians are not averse to the latter shape, echoing perhaps their self-importance. I have tried to be self-deprecating to minimise the effect of the intractable 'I'. The second half would of course attract reflected interest in C.P. Snow whose features large there in expansion of my Stranger and Brother: A Portrait of C.P. Snow (1982, it ran into 2 editions and an American one).

Not with any hope of my seeing it through, I have kept up entries for Volume 2 of my Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga and Rotuma.

Provoked by the denigrating of the first publication by Pat Croft superimposing 'Preliminary Wasteful Edition' on the Sub-title, a meaningless as well as demeaning description (which I at first thought was Davidson's act until you told me who was responsible for it), I am determined that it shall be regarded as Volume 1. There are of course as yet nothing like the 10,000 entries of Volume 1 to form Volume 2 but someone, not me, will be able to take up what I have made a note of — perhaps 1,500 entries since they closed for Press in 1966, 3 years before publication in 1969. The great thing is that the additions would be almost exclusively publications since 1966. No one, although there were invitations for omissions to be printed out, has found an omission — so much for Pat Croft's putting it down! Taylor's Bibliography was notable more for its omissions than what it included, even though his aim was wider.

This note is to thank you for your advice about the cataloguing / listing which I expect to have to dictate. I hope that it finds you both in good shape. We lament the restrictions that age brings us: there is always so much that one wants to do. When our very best wishes to you both.

Yours etc, Philip

PS Martin Clements, friend since we were both contemporaries at Christ's and here at Queensland when 50th was Anniversary, he has just most efficiently organised on the island, has become a Member of the Order of Australia. You should have honours heaped on you.

49/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia,
16 September, 1993.

Dear Philip,

I am glad that the comments in my last letter were of some use to you, though I'm afraid that you misunderstood some of them.

I never made a catalogue of my library in order to sell it, but as normal library procedure when accessioning newly obtained items.

How else could one know what one had and thus obviate the acquisition of duplicates and triplicates? I have a prodigious memory for titles and editions but cannot hope to carry over 10,000 items in my head.

My first books on the islands were bought in 1927 and for many years I made a practice of acquiring a book a day; they came of course in parcels containing many at a time, but over a year they averaged out. As they arrived or reasonably soon after, I catalogued them. In my heyday I could catalogue up to 50 in a full day of 12 hours, for I used to work at a steady 90 hours a week, and I cannot recollect cataloguing causing any trouble: it was just routine and a welcome break from research and composition.

I enclose cards from my catalogue to illustrate the main types of listing. I have separate catalogues of manuscripts and similar material, and also of photostats, photocopies, microfilms and duplicated material. and these are copied eventually on pages for binding in folders (a specimen is enclosed).

For bibliographies, footnotes and endnotes I used the Harvard-Yale system, as in Slavers in Paradise, which was much praised by reviewers; but I have now changed to the University of Chicago system, as you will see from Tungaru Traditions.

In writing your memoirs I fear that you may have forgotten

the rule that one should never begin a book until you have your prospective buying public clearly defined, quantified, and always kept in mind when writing. It is no use publishing less than 1,000 copies because it costs too much per copy. And I would expect any Literary Agent to affirm that a two volume work of the genre you describe is probably unsaleable.

But no matter for I fancy that you wrote to please yourself and not to meet any popular demand. In Canberra writing their apologia is a favourite occupation for the elderly, but I have never heard of any actually being published: they become family heirlooms. On the other hand I notice that the latest issue of The Overseas Pensioner has a number of advertisements from publishers anxious to publish this type of manuscript.

Anyway I wish you luck,

Yours ever,

Harry my uncle

P.S. I must have been half asleep when I wrote the above epistle for it has just occurred to me that you do not require a real catalogue to sell your library but merely a listing such as you get in any second-hand booksellers so-called catalogue.

So all you need is to list your library in alphabetical order giving the author (or authors), the title, publisher and date of publication. Condition is too subjective for buyers to give much credit to but missing pages should be recorded. All this should not take any considerable time and it could be dictated or run off on a typewriter without the need for preliminary drafting.

Buyers do not want more than this for it enables them to recognize the item immediately - and probably the current market value also. If they don't know the item they can look it up in Taylor's Pacific Bibliography or one of a dozen similar listings.

P.S. Adelaide University would give
you both honorary degrees.

Professor H.E. Maude, O.B.E.,
42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Worton, A.C.T., 2611.

PHILIP A. SNOW, O.B.E., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.

GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX BN16 4HY

England

1 August, 1993.

Dear Harry,

Thank you so much for your letter of
7 July. It is most comprehensive and leads me to
my questions re-answered. The article enclosed by you
from Library News of the University of Adelaide was helpful.
I am full of astonishment that Honor and yourself went
to the enormous trouble of compiling a catalogue of your
Collection. You advise me to do the same for the
tremendous task before me although I see the value of it.
Did you simply put on cards the name of the author,
the title, date of publication, publisher? Or did you
add number of pages and any comments on the condition
of the book/pamphlet? Even if my catalogue were limited
to the data as in a simple entry in my Bibliography of
Fiji, Tonga and Rotuma, the enormity of the work would,
I feel, be beyond me. And of course with her delicate
eyesight for which I forbid her doing any typing, Anne
would not be able to help. My own handwriting on
cards would mitigate against my usefulness in a catalogue.
Have you a specimen card which Honor and you wrote? What
you did was a really major work in its own right. It must
have taken you over a year and caused you to have to
put aside all other work.

Thank you too for the kind gift of Tungaree
Traditions, just arrived. I shall love forward greatly
to reading it. It is very generous of you to send it.

Inside it was the fine, very nice Regal picture of you and Hana at the 1941 Tonga Parliament opening.

The climate for publication of my memoirs, certainly all 1,500 typed pages (the typing done by a professional from tapes dictated one to by me since I am so illegible cost a small fortune) and with the desired number of 60 illustrations from a short list of about 600 could not be worse. Three top London publishers looked at it first half (1915-1951): one described it as "extremely well written", the second as "charming" and the third as "splendidly civilized". But all said their recession stood in its way.

The only types that monopolize the market are Sledge, Sex and Log Sequents (as to come with the wind and Retreat). Oh, and of course memoirs of politicians (deadly dull without exception), television and sporting "personalities". There is almost nothing else. I'm of course not aiming for sales in quantity or even recovery of typing and other expenses but simply for the recollection to me the happy of days, particularly as a record of Cambridge life in the Ministries and Colonial life before it is forgotten, with from 1951 to 1993 commentary on people met and known and places visited (this section is an expansion of my Stranger and Brother, with much that is new to scholars on

C.P. Snow → Sir Charles Snow → Lord Snow and his wife, Pamela Hansford Johnson through whom my circle of acquaintances and friends such as Sidney Nolan, to mention but one, widened. There seem to be no reliable indications about recession evaporating. So I am having to exercise enormous patience since it is not a book in content or size for which I could contemplate a private publisher, as did Ronald Carvey, Eric Briston, Kenneth Medlocks and other similar Colonial figures. Mine is really a two volume production and publishers floundering about in recession could not contemplate that, any more than I could endure a contraction into a single volume. I don't think any alternative exists but to sit, wait and watch. Yes, the 1941 Civil list was the last in full format. I'm glad you share. With very best wishes to you both. Yours etc. Philip

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
7 July, 1993.

Philip A. Snow, OBE, JP, MA, FRSA,
Gables, Station Road, ANGMERING,
Sussex, BN164HY, England.

Dear Philip,

Your letter of 7 June is to hand, and might have been answered before if we had not had an influx from Queensland - a seductive yung woman called Stacey and her numerous family. Stacey is the current specialist on the Banabans. She has just been to Rabi Island and I think is about to go to Banaba (goodness knows how unless she swims there). She also publishes The Banaban Newsletter, and I have written for her an article entitled, 'How I bought Rabi for the Banabans': the first time that the full story has ever been told. I had to do it because of the gross misrepresentations floating around.

No need to write 'big' again because your previous letter was quite readable and in any case I can blow anything up to any size required. I must have phrased my last effort badly for I only meant to send you the biographical sketch in The Changing Pacific as an enclosure, but when I came to photocopy it the book would not lie flat enough for my Cannon to copy and consequently I gave up the idea. Anyway you now find that you have the book so it is just as well. I always wait until my correspondent lets me know that he does not have a particular book and would like it, for buying and sending a book by airmail costs at least £25 and often much more.

Now, to answer your queries:

- (1) I see that you have not got Tungaru Traditions, so I am sending a copy. The photo is on p.xxxii, but you may also be interested in the account of 'A.F.Grimble as an Anthropologist'.
- (2) The photo of us in Tonga has been copied and

enlarged to quarto size.

- (3) The books you want particulars of are:
- (a) Cinderellas of the Empire: see the Bibliography in Tungaru Traditions p.369. incidentally this is the best bibliography of works on the social sciences relating to the GEIC published to date.
 - (b) Pacific Islands Yearbook, edited by Norman and Ngaire Douglas. 16th edition. Angus and Robertson in association with Nationwide News Pty. Ltd. North Ryde, N.S.W., 11989. Best obtained from Angus and Roberson's London branch, 16 Golden Square, London W1R 4BN.
- (4) Occupation of grandfather Thomas James Maude (younger son of Rear-Admiral William Maude): Civil Engineer. Please see the two enclosed pages, which I have photocopied from the following book: Maude, John, Memories of Eton and Oxford: the Mountains and the Sea. Printed for private circulation, 1936; which I think gives all the information you require.
- (5) My opinion of Vaskess. I worked for him as First Assistant Secretary WPHC, for some seven years, and found him absolutely tops: the best boss I ever served under. He ran the Western Pacific Territories with consummate skill and immense knowledge, for few High Commissioners had the knowledge or interest to do more than, in effect, take his advice. I really owe more to him than to any single person I can think of and in all those years I cannot remember our having a single difference of opinion. He left more and more to me until gradually I found myself running the Micronesian and Polynesian territories, while he concentrated on Melanesia. But when in doubt I always consulted him, for he knew so much more.
- (6) I chose the GEIC because I specialised on the Pacific Islands when at Cambridge, and found the Gilbertese were the most interesting people in the Pacific.

Head of Anthropology Dept. in
Cambridge.

- (7) Honor came to the islands with me on first appointment; there was no rule about wives not accompanying husbands in the WPHC. Tommy Hodson met her and said she could work in the Department any time she wanted to: hence her interest in anthropology which resulted in seven books on Oceanic string figures and several joint articles with me. Grimble also met and approved of her.

when we saw
him in France /

- (8) Selling your library. This is a difficult operation, particularly if you cannot deliver it on sale. In general I suggest you should catalogue the books and duplicate as many copies as needed. Advertise in the dozen or so Pacific Islands academic journals, also in PIM and 'Islands Business'. Send copies of the catalogue to the pertinent university libraries: Texas, Florida, and other known buyers. Also send to the specialist second-hand booksellers. I have an article on my library and enclose it. Incidentally the article has a third photo of me on p.26 which you can use: it is probably the best of the three.

- (9) No, Vaskess never had an affair with Mrs Carne, who ran the whole WPHC office and did the secret coding and typing. Nobody did, for she was not the type you took liberties with. Vaskess respected her very much. She is now living in Ba. Hopewell I never heard of. I knew Mrs Vaskess, who lived in Sydney, where she was a Senior Accountant with David Jones.

I must stop here as all seems answered,

With best wishes,

Yours,

Harry My wife

PS. I see that in your last letter but one you say that the 1940 Civil List was the last. I think the 1941, which I have by me at the moment, was the last.

I always wait until my correspondent lets me know that he does not have a particular book and would like it, for buying and sending a book by airmail costs at least £25 and often much more.

Now, to answer your queries:

- (1) I see that you have not got Tungaru Traditions, so I am sending a copy. The photo is on p.xxxii, but you

PHILIP A. SNOW, O.B.E., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.
GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX BN16 4HY England

7 June, 1993.

Dear Harry,
Remembering your eyesight problems I am
trying to write Trisina larger script although it is so
unfamiliar to me that I find it singularly difficult to
do - like learning to write at school again.
But first I do hope that both Honor and
yourself are in good condition. In this ^{hope} I am venturing
to ask just one or two further questions to illuminate
my memoirs which I have now completed - all quarter
million words 1915-1993 and as yet untitled.

In your very interesting letter of 9 February you
kindly inserted a note saying: - "Photos and books will
arrive in due course". I suspect that I should let you
know that they have not yet been delivered: I am losing
forward recently to them. The biographical sketch entitled

"Harry Morda: shy, provincial, dedicated Pacific historian" in Neil
Gimson's book referred to as enclosed in your letter has also
not been received. - reference (6), paragraph 4. PS. I find I have this.

The photographs which I think you had sent on their
way are those referred to in your letter at (9) - you and Honor
going into Opening of Parliament, Tonga, 1941, and the one of
Honor and yourself with Grimble on the Residency steps, 1931 (at
page xxxii of Tungaru Traditions which I do not have a copy of)
~~and the one in the frontispiece of The Changing Pacific~~ [I have it] I
hope that you will inscribe them to me - both of you.

Which leads me to a question. Did Honor
accompany you when you were first appointed to the Colonial
Service and, if so, how did you circumvent the rule (at
least it was so in my time) that one could not be married before
passing the Government examinations? When and where were you married?

I suspect that the remaining questions in my
reply of 29 February were illegible in my execrable
script. (Anne can't type my larger: she has just had
another haemorrhage in the left eye, the first since the
retinal thrombosis followed by a haemorrhage in the early 1980s,
- I think I told you that she made an amazing recovery after
the retinal thrombosis despite Harley Street prognostications). These

These were the questions:-

(1) The date & place of publication of Cinderellas of the Empire by Bonnie Macdonald in the hope that I can obtain it. (mentioned in your (6), paragraph 3)

(2) The occupation of your grandfather.

(3) The date, publisher, place of publication and name of editor of the Yearbook of the Pacific Islands mentioned in (7), paragraph 3, of your letter of 9 Feb.

(4) Did you sell your library to the Ban Suiwa library? As my daughter (and co-
author of The People from the Horizon) will not be able to house my humble collection*, I am contemplating arranging for the University of Hawaii Library to have it when I think I am not able to write further on the Pacific and would have less need to refer to it for research. I wouldn't be in a position to give it or bequeath it to them but if it is not too personal a question I'd be most grateful if you can give me any tips as to how one goes about such a momentous decision as was forced upon you by your accommodation problems on retirement. I think Jane Roth gave Kingsley's papers, if not his books (a relatively small collection, I believe) to Cambridge University's library, a nice, if not remunerative repository.

(5) A final question. What prompted you to put G. and E. I. C. as your first choice on appointment to the Colonial Service? Was it A. C. Haddon who was disappointed that I did not take his advice along those lines but instead put Fiji first.

It is delightful to be still in touch with the only survivor met during your working life with the High Commission when I was in the G.H. office, acting as A.D.C. to Harry Luke. I would love to know your opinion of Vostkov whom I used to play tennis with but was otherwise - to me - a rather enigmatic figure. Didn't he leave with a Carve or Hopewell - they may have been married but this is not clear.

And as I do hope to visit Honou and yourself are for again and that you can spare a moment with these last questions. With all best wishes. Very sincerely, Philip

* about 3000 volumes, including pamphlets. Estimated by me as a bibliophile to be worth about £70,000. Prompted by Milner, Gough, Philip Hooper and myself to be the best Pacific Collection by far in this country, in private hands.

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weaton, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia,
9 February, 1993.

Philip A. Snow, OBE, JP, MA, FRSA,
Gables, Station Road, ANGMERING,
Sussex, BN164HY, England.

Dear Philip,

I have just arrived back home after a rather prolonged sojourn in hospital, where they gave me four blood transfusions to keep me going; to find, alas, that your letter of 30 November is still lying unanswered.

I feel sure that you will remember, however, that I am blind (for practical purposes), nearly a decade older than you and, what is more important, flat out in an endeavour to complete my series of books for the islanders on their own culture before I die.

It is a race against time and my correspondence, I'm sorry to say, suffers badly. Still, you are rather an exception to most of the people who write since you are the only one left alive whom I met during my working life in the High Commission, and you ask direct questions which can be fairly easily answered: most of the others are researchers and writers on Pacific studies and come from all over the world.

I am at present working on No.7 of the series listed in the enclosure, now entitled 'An Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition'. Honor has fortunately become very interested in it, and with her Finnish typist it is going forward with éclat.

But let us to our mutttons:

- (1) I followed my father, an uncle and an older brother to Highgate.
- (2) I was born in Bankipore, a suburb of the city of Patna, in Bihar, India.

(3) My father (Sir Walter Maude, KCIE, CSI) was in the Indian Civil Service and retired, I think, as President of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Bihar and Orissa. Lord Sinha was the Governor (the only Indian to be made a member of the British House of Lords). My father advised me to switch to the Colonial Service as he considered that India would cease to be a British possession long before I was due for retirement.

[Sorry about my numbering: you appear to have put more than one query under a single number and this has got me muddled. However, I'll try to follow your numbers from now on.]

(2) Yes Bronowski was his name, but how spelt I know not. I only remember him for getting a Blue for Chess.

(2b) I obtained my first Honours in Economics, which enabled me to switch to the Archaeology and Anthropology Tripos, which could only be read for by those who had already got Honours in some other Tripos (the reason being its supposed difficulty - we certainly were a select few, and lectures were more like seminars). Honor came up for part of the time and her research in the departmental library resulted eventually in the production of seven books and numerous articles on Oceanic String Figures, on which she is the world authority.

(3) I joined the SPC as Deputy Secretary-General in 1949, but found that it was really a pen-pushers job, in charge of the Secretariat. So I soon moved to the South Pacific Commission Research Council as Executive Officer for Social Development which was right in my line of country, being applied research covering the whole of the Pacific Islands area and not just the WPHC territories. After moving my headquarters from Noumea to Sydney I was able, two years later, to found the South Pacific Literature Bureau, which publishes books specifically for the Pacific Islanders. I retired from the SPC, and the Colonial Service, in 1956.

(4) I joined the ANU as Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Pacific History of the Research School of

Pacific Studies, in the Institute of Advanced Studies, on 1 January 1957. I retired from the ANU in 1970.

(4b) I was never an Emeritus Professor (i.e. a Professor for 10 years or more) but some of my doctoral scholars are now, e.g. Ron Crocombe. Apart from other considerations I was on the research, and never on the teaching, side. Apart from the ANU I was an Honorary Professor of the University of Adelaide, where the research and teaching sides are intermingled, and a Doctor (honoris causa) of the University of the South Pacific. This is the greatest honour I am ever likely to receive in my life, for no other European, other than a citizen of Fiji, has received it, and it was given for my pioneering work on the ethnohistory of the Pacific Islanders themselves.

Furthermore, my friend Ieremia Tabai, the President of the Republic of Kiribati and a Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University, was the other recipient: the only time in the history of the British Empire that, even metaphorically, the President of an independent Republic has walked hand-in-hand down the aisle with the 'lackey of imperialism', to use Mao's phrase, whom he had superseded, to be honoured for service to the same country. Malietoa, the High Chief of Samoa, did the presentation, which included a beautiful green silk gown, which quite outshines the drab ANU efforts.

(5) Cartwright (commonly known as 'Wheels') was Administrative Officer, Ocean Island, (now called Banaba). He volunteered to stay on Banaba after the evacuation of other Europeans and later died there. His death was probably accelerated by bad treatment on the part of the Japanese but he was never executed. You must be thinking of the Europeans collected from various Gilbert Islands and held in custody on Tarawa.

(6) Scores of publishers have asked me to write my autobiography and the OUP actually sent a dictaphone so that I could record it. I tried a couple of chapters only to realise that I lacked the necessary egotistical urge to write about what I did or I said, and I this and I that. So I left the source material in 15 feet of archival shelving for my future biographer to turn into a book in due course.

Particularly events such as my expulsion from the Cambridge University OTC or which led the HC to minute in my Personal File 'care should be taken to ensure that this officer never receives promotion in the Colonial Service', etc., etc. I have a horror of appearing in print looking like a plaster saint.

I should have liked to tell you about how I got permission to revise Grimble's iniquitous Island Regulations by sending two copies, through Camilla, to Colonel Wedgwood, the well-known Labour spokesman in the House of Commons; this enabled me to boast that in my service career I had abolished 130 laws and made 3 (on land matters). Or how I got back from Zanzibar where Juxon Barton thought I was nicely buried. But your queries have taken up my time and space. The first story is, however, mentioned in Barrie Macdonald's fine history, Cinderellas of the Empire.

Meanwhile I send a copy of an excellent biographical sketch by Robert Langdon called "Harry Maude: shy proconsul, dedicated Pacific historian", In Niel Gunson (ed.), The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H.E. Maude, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1978, which will tell you most of the things you want to know

Alan Maude (Senior Sub-Editor of The Times). was the son of my uncle Edmund Maude (JP for Crowborough in Sussex) who brought me up when I was sent home immediately after the war from St Paul's School in Darjeeling. Alan's son Angus is Lord Maude of Stratford-on-Avon and is a few years younger than myself. He left The Times for the Economist (the only English weekly I still subscribe to, and by airmail it costs me a fortune). I knew Angus mainly as Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, but he soon left again for England and his right-wing politics.

(6b) The reason why several Maudes went to Rugby was because my grandfather, Thomas James Maude, had eight sons and little money to educate them. So he settled at Rugby where he could send them to the school as day-boys for (I think) a tutorial fee of £10 p.a. each. But he only lived temporarily in Rugby while educating four of his sons there. John went to Eton and my father, who was the youngest, was

sent, with his elder brother Frederick, to Highgate.

Father told me it was due to the prestige of Highgate's headmaster, John Bradley Dyne, D.D., who was a great teacher and enabled him to to become an Exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford. My elder brother Walter followed him to Highgate in 1909 and I got there in January 1921.

I went to Cambridge because I was an international rifle shot and the shooting facilities there were far better. Alan, however, shot for Oxford.

(7) I could not be in the English Who's Who because I am an Australian citizen and have no connexion with Great Britain. I do not think that it includes Australians, Indians, South Africans and other riff-raff. I used to be in Who's Who in Australia but I think they cut me out when I joined the ANU: they do not include university staff members unless they are particularly associated with Australian affairs.

I am (or was before retirement) purely an authority on certain aspects of Pacific Islands studies and as such would expect to have an entry in any Who's Who on the Pacific Islands. I have a file full of requests from others but do not answer them, except for five or six Who's Who in the world of Authors.

Books on the islands, such as the magnificent new Yearbook of the Pacific Islands I am glad to write a Forword for, but not for others. The same rule applies to Societies: I gave the Opening Address at the Centenary Meeting of the Polynesian Society, but declined two others. And for Journals I subscribe to all (about a dozen) scholarly Journals on the islands, including the two latest: The Contemporary Pacific: a Journal of Islands Affairs and The Journal of Micronesian Studies.

(8) I enclose a photocopy of a Curriculum Vitae up to about 1980, when I really and truly retired in order to pursue my lifelong plan of publishing secular literature on the islanders, for the islanders, and whenever possible by the islanders.

(9) Just when we were about to give up Honor found a photo of us going into the Opening of Parliament in the Kingdom of Tonga in 1941. So it fits within your stipulated date limits and in any case it is the only one we can find as we don't normally keep photos, least of all those featuring ourselves.

If you prefer them, however, you are welcome to use the photo of me which forms the frontispiece of The Changing Pacific, or the one which we prefer showing Honor and me with Grimble sitting between us on the old Residency steps in 1931. It is on page xxxii of Tungaru Traditions and is unique in being the only photo ever taken showing the only two members of the Colony staff to be appointed Resident Commissioner. The photo was taken by Duncan Macpherson, who afterwards became Assistant Director of Medical Services in Fiji. I own the copyright of both photos.

I think I have now dealt with everything you want. Our life is quiet except for many visitors, mostly islanders. Last week we had the grand daughter of Tione Baraka, who transcribed The Story of Karongoa over half a century ago. Kambati Uriam has returned to Tarawa after staying here with his family for over a year while completing a superb post-graduate thesis entitled 'In their own words: a study of the History, Nature and Function of Oral Tradition in Gilbertese Society'. If I am spared long enough I hope to edit and publish it in my series of works for, on and by the islanders.

Roniti Teiwake has just published his definitive book on The Management of Marine Resources in Kiribati and will I hope soon get a doctorate at the University of Wales. Nei Tabaranga is here working for a Master of Business Management degree (MBA) which, as you probably know, is the hardest of all to get, but she gained a lot of practical experience when she was assistant manager of one of the big Suva Banks for a time. Another girl, Sister Alaima Talu, who is half Gilbertese and half Ellice and an old friend of ours, is doing a thesis for an M. Phil. degree.

So as far as tertiary studies are concerned the Gilbertese are doing well, with over a hundred university graduates (too many for the jobs available in the Republic (but that is the fault of the excessive funds provided by Australia, America, the EC and New Zealand, and in smaller amounts by other donors). Still the top post-graduate scholars like Kambati are well worth helping, for they can gain good positions in metropolitan universities. I used to dream of this ascendancy of the Gilbertese once given the chance to compete with us in open competition and without racial bias; but I never really believed that it would happen in my lifetime.

This letter has got delayed owing to my being laid up again in the middle, so it has taken over 10 days instead of the three I had set aside. But it is done now and that is the main thing and we wish you all the best and, as it may be the last time I shall be able to write to you, may you have a long and successful life ahead of you. I think of you as the last of the Mohicans for with Firth and Milner retired and no longer productive you are the only one left out of the many in Britain once engaged in Pacific studies.

Very sincerely,



Air mail

PHILIP A. SNOW, D.B.E., I.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.,

GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX. BN16 4HY
England.

30 Nov., 1992

Dear Harry,

As I have not heard from you since my letter of 18 Sept., 1991, I fear that my handwriting, at the best of times a trial for those on whom it is inflicted, may have been too difficult for your eyes, marvellously though they had recovered. (I mentioned in my letter that we knew something of the problem as Anne 8 years ago had a retinal thrombosis but against all Harley Street predictions recovered sight in it). Anyway, I will not add to probable difficulties but I did wish to know the answers to 2 or 3 questions in my letter so as to include them in my reminiscences which are now complete from 1915 to 1992.

I will print the questions to help in your answer:-

1. WHICH SCHOOL WERE YOU AT? WHERE WERE YOU BORN AND WHAT DID YOUR FATHER DO?
2. YOU ONCE MENTIONED THAT YOU WERE AT JESUS WITH ANOTHER CELEBRITY BESIDES ALASTAIR COOKE. WHO WAS HE? DID YOU READ HISTORY/ANTHROPOLOGY? WAS IT JACOB BRONOWSKI?
3. YOUR DATES WITH S.P.C. AND TITLE OF YOUR POST?
4. YOUR DATES AT A.N.U.? I BELIEVE THAT YOU ARE ENTITLED TO BE ADDRESSED EMERITUS PROFESSOR.
5. WAS IT C.G.F. CARTWRIGHT WHO WAS THE D.C. LITERALLY EXECUTED ON TARAWA (OR ON WHICH ISLAND) BEACH?
6. ANY INFORMATION ON YOUR BACKGROUND BEFORE 1929? FOR EXAMPLE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SIR ANGUS MAUDE AND COLONEL MAUDE AND WHY YOU DID NOT GO TO RUGBY?
7. YOU SHOULD OF COURSE BE IN WHO'S WHO. PERHAPS YOU ARE IN WHO'S WHO IN AUSTRALIA? IF SO, I WOULD APPRECIATE A PHOTOCOPY.
8. YOUR POSTS HELD FROM 1941 (THE LAST CIVIL LIST TO BE PUBLISHED IN FULL: I HAVE A COPY) TO TIME OF SECONDMENT TO S.P.C.?

I should be most grateful to know about 1-8 above for my picture of you in my reminiscences.

2.

Talking of pictures, I would enormously appreciate one of Honor and yourself in the 1940s or 1950s, inscribed please to me.

I expect you knew that both French Polynesia and New Caledonia issued stamps with a full-face portrait of our dear friend, Patrick O'Reilly whose cards and letters I miss so much. He was truly a great man and I am glad that his territories honoured him. He sent me a fine picture of himself inscribed to me whom he always addressed as the Founder of the Society of Pacific Bibliographers. Of course, no such Society existed: if it had been founded it would have borne his name as the pioneer. By the way, there is a very good Bibliography of Samoa, which area I always regretted never including with my Fiji, Tonga and Rotuma, by Professor Lowell D. Holmes of Wichita State Univ. in which he kindly refers to my (one must also say your) Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga and Rotuma and to you.

It has been hard work in my Reminiscences (as yet untitled) since working with Macmillan on my Stranger and Brother: A Portrait of Lord C.P. Snow which gained ?? reviews world wide (Scribner of New York combined forces with Macmillan). That was an easy book to do. The Reminiscences test my memory as I have diaries only for Fiji 1938-1952.

I expect that you are still very busy with your own work and helping the Gilbertese writers, a most pleasing development. By the way, I saw Tom L.I.S.V. Tremoyne in July for the first time in 50 years since he helped me as a Cadet when I was in charge of Nadi. Lucille, whom I never met, died 3 years ago.

This is the appropriate time for Anne and me to wish Honor and yourself a happy Christmas and 1993. I shall greatly look forward to hearing from you and receiving please the picture of you both for my Pacific Collection.

With our very best wishes,

Yours ever, Philip

P.S. Reg. Caten (CATEN), formerly Deputy Registrar,
Supreme Court, Fiji, died last year. Before doing so,
he asked me to write an Introduction for his
memoirs of Fiji 1924-1953. He was just able to enjoy
writing it and knowing that his family in Queensland were
publishing it privately before he died. It is in proof stage
slowly the records are filling up.

PHILIP A. SNOW, O.B.E., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.

GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX.

Dear Harry,

18 September, 1991.

I was delighted to hear from you
referring to my letter of 2 June, 1987. I knew
that you had been immersed in vernacular
Kiviat's studies — thank you so much for The Story
of Karontagora — but had no idea of the
eye afflictions. It is marvellous that you have
made such a splendid recovery. We know a little
about them. In the 1980s Anne's mild stroke, mild
coronary thrombosis and mild angina had been preceded
by the first mishap in her history. This was a
retinal thrombosis which took all the sight from one eye:
Harley Street specialists prognosticated that she would never
recover it. Everything that followed was found to
be caused by high blood pressure. When this was
attacked with tablets and regular checks, the sight
came back, a rare occurrence. But I won't let
her type my writing, for which I apologise: hence
this script which I hope is not too trying for your
incredible restoration. It is wonderful that
you have been able to resume your precious research.

My nephew, Charles, had a detached retina in the
last 18 years of his life and I know well the intense
difficulty that it gave him in his remaining work and leisure
reading.

PHILIP A. SNOW, JR., 140, WONG A. LING

2338AD
STATION BOARD
DOWNTOWN
2338AD

2

Over the last two years I have written my reminiscences. They really start with Cambridge and the first half is Pacific, with the last half based in this country ^{to 1991} with flashes back to the Pacific. It is, at 250,000 words, all too long but I have never been any good at cutting down. ^{A typist and word processor were engaged in it.}

My Stranger and Brother: A Portrait of Lord Suan (Macmillan and Scribner) was too long. It was skillfully edited from 200,000 to 100,000 words, reads crisply but is on the thin side now, and I have regretted some of its sizeable excisions. Off course, The People from the Horizon was originally overlong for Rhaidon and also had to be reduced. I expect that you know that Rhaidon had gone into liquidation. It did not altogether surprise me: their marketing was lamentable but they had some fine qualities, when after John Coleman launched out on his own — to end in his murder.

I have quite a piece on you incidentally in my reminiscences but I do lack a sort of who's who background of you. For instance, I don't know your school but I know that you were at Jesus with Historic Cooke and a third celebrity whose name escapes me.

Can you please let me have an early ^(pre-1929) curriculum vitae? I have your Government Service ¹⁹²⁹⁻¹⁹⁴¹ in the last Civil List to be published. But not your dates with S.P.C. and at A.N.U.

It is excellent that Marie and your eldest grandson have followed your own Government Service. Three generations — or perhaps it is four if your father was in it.

I was sorry to hear of Patrick O'Reilly's death but have not seen a single obituary. We regularly corresponded but he was not given to divulging much, if anything, about his life.

The production of von Hügel's Journals by Jane Ruth and Evelyn Hopper is a major feat. I had seen it in its early stages but how remarkably von Hügel ^{has} sustained his enthusiasm; sharp perception, philosophy of patience and toleration, his fine sense of humor. We have had to wait a long time for its appearance & what a tragedy it would have been if it had never emerged. I rank it, in Fiji literature, very high, probably only approached part of the way by Brewster's Hill Tribes of Fiji. Really first-class, not least the devotion to the task by the co-editors.

When Eric Berington brought out his booklet I put Anne Gittins on to the publishers for her memoirs of an Administrative Officer's wife in Fiji. It has just come out, in too thin a form but never to be out for public gaze. She had asked me to write the Introduction for it as I had encouraged her after countless

rejections. It is inordinately difficult to stir up interest in the Pacific over here among publicans with names. Any amount of ineffectual boring political stuff — politicians of minor stature, even leading ones — is churned out monotonously.

Talking of politicians, the 40 Representatives of the International Cricket Conference's annual meeting in London were invited over with us to a reception at 10 Downing Street by John Major. As the Mayor (I have represented Fiji for 26 consecutive years; the next longest serving delegate from any country has put in 11 years), I was introduced first. He is a very genial person, a little stronger, I suspect, than he looks. Physically, he lacks a skull cap lost in a car collision as a young recruit in Nigeria before going into the City and it handicaps him very little, limiting his walking and standing about to some extent only.

Ronald Barrow's criticisms in The Times and Daily Telegraph were, I think, very fair but ^{signed} ^{one} ^{by} ^{Ken} Bain in The Independent (shown to me as I do not take it) was rather questionable. George Milner and I agree that opinions should not be critical when there is no opportunity to reply and there are relatives to consider.

I hear from Charles North in N.Z. each Christmas: they are in a retirement home. He is the senior surviving Fiji Administration Officer, with myself (a decade and many names later) the next at 76!

By the way, can you please tell me if the D.C. executed (literally) in the 60s was C.G.F. Cartwright? — with about a dozen Europeans on the benches by Japanese on Tarawa, Ocean Island or where? I'd be grateful to know.

So very pleased to hear from you and thank you very much.

Yours ever
 Sir but wishes to Honor and yourself from us both. Yours ever, Philip

PHILIP A. SNOW, O.B.E., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.A.

GABLES,
STATION ROAD,
ANGMERING,
SUSSEX BN16 4HY England
29 February, 1993

Professor -
H. E. Maude, ~~Esq.~~, O.B.E., M.A.,
42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Wheaton, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia.

Dear Harry, Thank you so much for your letter of 9 February but I was extremely sorry to hear of your prolonged stay in hospital and know that you are now a good deal better. I am only sorry that I have always been unable to type despite its being part of the Colonial Service Course at Cambridge in 1937. Have used to do it for me but since her natural thrombosis I won't allow her to try and do the my Dwaragi-like script. I hope that you have someone who can translate this for you. You do not mention Horn's right: I know that it is in good order. She would be well acquainted with the world economy in economic string figures.

I appreciate your priority of completion of your series of books on the islanders' culture. And I appreciate, too, your making an exception in sparing time to write to me. It has been very kind of you to answer my questions so comprehensively. Your father was very distinguished: neither of the Indian decorations came lightly.

Your doctorate of the University of the South Pacific could not have been more fitting, matched with your beautiful gown. Your O. should be followed by a C. and indeed a K. but I suppose Australian honours, now separate, have intervened there.

I am following the order of your numbered paragraphs and so I come now to Cartwright. Yes, I must have confused him with those executed at Tarawa. His own death was, I suppose, due to malnutrition. I wonder if he was taken to Japan.

I still think that it is one of the great Pacific omissions that, as in the case of Sirkema, we do not have your autobiography. When Mara came for the day to Angmering with his family (his daughter is the Ambassador's wife: both came, together with Mara's wife, the High Chaplainess of Rewa), I put him under a lot of pressure to do his nation than only as a biographer (Sean's biography of Sirkema was lamentable: he consulted no one who knew his subject whom of course he himself never met). Mara left Angmering looking thoughtful.

But, as you say, there is 15 feet of archival material for your biography. I don't know that it was Duffin Barton who was

Gharib S. PANNU
91 Ashfurlong Crescent
SUTTON COLDFIELD
West Midlands B75 6EW
U.K.

3 November 1993

Prof. Harry E. Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston,
ACT 2611 Australia.

Dear Harry

I would very much wish to express my sincere thanks, through this short personal communication, for the valuable assistance you and/or your institution provided me in the completion of my Ph.D. thesis in Applied Linguistics at the University of Exeter, U.K. With your help and good wishes, I was awarded the degree in October 1993.

For your information, the title of my thesis is 'The development of English language teaching in Kiribati: A critical appraisal, with special reference to the primary level'.

I hope this piece of work will prove a helpful source of reference to I-Kiribati as well as other scholars in the Pacific. I understand that copies of my thesis will be available from December '93 onwards from the British Library in London.

Once again I greatly appreciate your help and contribution towards the accomplishment of my research.

Sincerely yours

Gharib

I'm ever so grateful for your guidance
and assistance.

G.P.

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia,
16 December, 1993.

Sister Alaima Talu,
OLSH Regional House,
Box 20, BAIRIKI,
Tarawa Island,
Republic of Kiribati.

Dear Sister Alaima,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th November, concerning my proposed talk at the Pacific History Association Conference next year.

I agree that the paper you suggest would be of interest, but alas I cannot prepare it for you at my age, on the eve of 90, and the degree of my blindness. I presume that the theme would attempt to portray the value of Kiribati culture as a successful adaptation to a unique and uniform ecosystem, hostile to all but a few biota. In brief it would be a study in human ecology.

This subject, or any other requiring substantial research, would necessitate the employment of a research assistant to ferret out the specialized source material and this would cost say a couple of thousand dollars; in addition to the five thousand I imagine I would need for the Tarawa trip.

I doubt if at the end of my life an expenditure of this nature to give a 40 minute talk could be morally justified, but should rather be donated to, for example, the Save the Children Fund. In any case I rather agree with the strongly expressed view of Sir Keith Hancock that no academic should be allowed to speak on a subject new to him or her after the age of 80.

Actually all I was seeking to do was to say good-bye to the grandchildren of my old friends in Kiribati and at the same time give a talk on a subject on which I had been thinking

for the past 60 years and had already substantially prepared. It would, in fact, have extended the views and suppositions of my old colleague Father Ernest Sabatier: no more and no less.

But I have far too much regard for you, and concern over the difficulties I may have caused you unwittingly, to say more than that we have already informed Howard Van Trease that I shall not be attending the P.H.A. Conference on the grounds of ill health. It was probably a silly idea in any event at my age.

I hope that you will all have a most successful and happy Conference, and feel sure that it will be a milestone in the history of Tarawa. Meanwhile I shall remember the Conference and your goodself in my prayers,

Yours sincerely,

Harry Z. Wade

OLSH Regional House
Box 20
Bairiki
Tarawa, Kiribati.

18 November, 1993.

Professor Harry Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, A.C.T. 2611
Australia.

Dear Professor Maude,

Ko na mauri! Thank you very much for the letter dated October 3, 1993.

I believe Howard Van Trease has invited you to the X PHA Conference, July, 1994, in Tarawa, the Republic of Kiribati. On behalf of the organising committee I would like to assure you that we would be delighted to have you come.

I know you wish to talk on "Early Kiribati History", the pre-Protectorate days, so as to have the advantage of being heard by many Kiribati historians and to benefit from them. Could I suggest that in the light of the rapid changes that are occurring all over the world especially in the Pacific, that you consider talking on the value of Kiribati culture or perhaps some aspects of Kiribati culture from perhaps a historical perspective?

I thank you for your critique of the dating of my paper on "The role of Women in development in Kiribati". I have not yet looked into it. I shall let you know but I'm sure you are right in what you are saying, i.e. we have no genealogies which go back as far as that 300 AD.

Yes, I shall sell those copies of "The Story of Karongoa and An Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition" during the Conference. Thank you very much for those copies of the articles you wrote on the Tabiteuea and Onotoa incidents.

We shall be looking forward to seeing you in the middle of 1994. Until then wishing you a very happy, grace-filled and peaceful Christmas and a Very Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

A. Alameia

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia.
3 October, 1993.

Sister Alaima Talu,
OLSH Regional House,
Taoraereke, Tarawa Island,
Republic of Kiribati.

Dear Sister Alaima Talu,

I am sorry not to have replied to your cordial letter long before this. My correspondence got into its usual state of chaos when I became completely immersed in the preparation of a long overdue 'Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition'; and then I was diagnosed as having Hardening of the Arteries. This got worse and worse until I had great difficulty in walking.

Then tests showed that the diagnosis was quite wrong and I was about to die from severe anaemia - I was rushed into hospital and given four sets of blood transfusions, and I was chirping like a cricket in no time. But they were never quite sure what had caused the anaemia: probably old age and over-work, but I believe God wants me to finish this work and keeps me alive to do it.

Congratulations on your appointment to run the PHA meeting on Tarawa next year. I hope you have plenty of enthusiastic helpers to take the routine work off your shoulders: most young people like helping because it gives them a chance of meeting visitors from all over the Pacific. And you have the advantage of being a Sister so everyone will be on their best behaviour with you.

As regards the Paper which you contemplate reading at the Conference I will try to find copies of the articles I wrote on the Tabiteuea and Onotoa incidents and send them to you by separate airmail. They contain all I know about the troubles except one or two notes on the Tioba cult on other islands. The best way to find out more would be to go to the two islands and question the older folk: very

likely they know details which they would not tell me but would tell you.

I had intended coming to the Conference myself to deliver a Paper on 'An Outline of Early Gilbertese History' i.e. in pre-Protectorate days, to encourage the Gilbertese historians of today to correct my errors and to fill in the details. We know far too little of the local history of islands such as Marakei, Maiana, Tabiteuea, Beru, in fact all but Butaritari, Tarawa and Abemama (where we know a few facts here and there). Alternatively I had a paper already written on 'The Evolution of Island Government in the Gilbert Islands', mainly relating to the Maneaba Governments, which have hitherto not been dealt with in any detail.

But I have come to the conclusion that as I get nearer and nearer to 90 I am too old to undertake such a long and difficult journey, which could take a week or more if one was held up on Nauru, Fiji, Funafuti or Majuro. And I fear it would be unreasonable to ask for a room to myself in the Otintai Hotel; while sharing at my age would be unbearable.

I read your excellent Paper on 'The Role of Women in the Development of Kiribati'. You and Kambati Uriam leave me content to depart in peace knowing that Gilbertese history is in good hands: it is so important to the I-Kiribati for if they are to continue to exist as a unified community in the difficult times which lie ahead it will only be through a realization of, and pride in, their common historical heritage.

In Australia the young Gilbertese consider their history to be of no importance, because their academic studies make them individualists determined to succeed in an intensely competitive European world. I wonder sometimes how happy they will be if they return home to one of the outer islands.

I was delighted to learn from your address that so many women have been able to obtain managerial and executive positions now that Kiribati is independent. In pre-European times it was only those women born to high

rank, such as Nei Rakentai and Nei Tabiria, who could rise to positions of real power, though I was surprised to find, when reading my oral traditions, how many of the captains and navigators on the large deep-sea baurua were women.

I wonder on what grounds you consider that there were inhabitants in the Gilberts as early as, or before, AD 300. You mention songs and dances but though they sometimes give one evidence on factual matters they say nothing about chronology: not even a genealogy. From a base of AD 1900 and using a 25 year genealogical span AD 300 was 64 generations ago and we have no genealogies, I think, which reach anything like that figure. However I have no criticism of your fine paper except the dating.

If we sent you say 30 copies each of The Story of Karongoa and An Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition could you sell them by putting them on a table in the foyer of the room where people come to register in and ask questions? It would add to the interest of the Conference and is quite usual at such gatherings. I could give you the price we charge in Suva and you could add a bit on to help conference expenses. I would pay the air freight.

Wishing you a very successful meeting, and especially the Gilbertese session.

Yours very sincerely,

H/arry M/ ande

OLSH Regional House
Teaoraereke
Tarawa
Kiribati

June 23, 1992.

Professor Maude
42/11 Namtjira Drive
Wenton
ACT., 2611
Australia.

Dear Professor Maude,

I hope you have been keeping well since I last wrote to you. How is Honor? I am sure she is fine. Kiribati has not changed much really, well, the urban South Tarawa is getting overcrowded, more houses and more offices and shops, otherwise it is the same place with coconut trees everywhere and a few trees here and there.

You might have heard that the theme for the next Pacific History Conference is: Conflicts and Continuities. I would like to prepare a paper for the Conference on the Religious Wars in Tabiteuea and Onotoa. Do you have any suggestions? I would be very happy to receive them if you have any.

When I went to the one held in Guam in December, 1990, I gave a paper on the Role of Women in Development in Kiribati. I have not been able to get started on my Masters yet. When I look into into this theme of Conflicts and Continuity I maybe able to develop it. I am not sure. Anyway we will see.

We shall be celebrating our independence anniversary on July 13.
The secondary schools: Moroni High School, Eita, EBS & KGV, IHC

Taborio and St Joseph, Tabwiroa, Abaiang and Morikao will be taking
will be taking part. All the primary schools on Tarawa take part
in the parade on independence anniversary celebration day.

I will stop here for now. I wish you all the best for the rest of
the year. Bye for now and God bless you.

Yours sincerely

L. Alaines Jalu

Biogeography + Geomorphology.

282 1382



Phoned - 4/4/93

The Australian National University

The Research School of Pacific Studies

GPO Box 4, Canberra ACT 2601
Telegrams & cables NATUNIV Canberra
Telex AA62694 SOPAC; FAX No. (06) 2571893
Telephone (06) 2495111

reference

18/2/93

Dear Harry,

I was talking to Peter Rimmer, who told me that you and Helen are alive and well. I thought that I must drop you a line, just to say Greetings to you both, because I am into Beachcombing, and think of your papers on this topic

My beachcombing started biogeographically when I put some empty wine bottles into Drake Passage in 1977. Fourteen have now

been recovered, (including a Grand Marnier bottle which got to Easter Island in 80 months!)

As a result of this, I have become interested in Ocean Litter, of which there is far too much, floating around, and I have been going to suitable Australian beaches with school children and others, to collect all the

litter and see what it consists of, and where it has come from. In other words, I have found an academic justification for beach-combing, and even squeezed some dollars out of the Government to advise them what to do about floating junk. An enjoyable retirement occupation, as I'm sure you will agree.

If you were brought up with Alice through the Looking Glass, you will remember that the Walrus and the Carpenter were worried about all the sand lying about on the beach. They have here been re-incarnated as a Surfie and a Greenie, worried about polluted beaches. I hope Lewis Carroll wouldn't mind. I don't think so - do you?

Best wishes from us both to you both.

Nigel + Margaret Wace

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611.
26 September, 1993.

Mr Simon Palmer,
Director, ANU Graphics,
Australian National University,
GPO Box 4,
Canberra, ACT 2611.

Dear Simon,

X Thank you for your Cost Proposal dated 3 September
relating to the publication of my manuscript on Gilbertese
Oral Tradition.

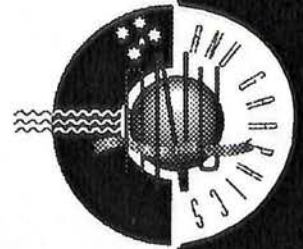
I regret that this estimate is well in excess of our
resources and I shall have to publish the work by some other
process, probably in the Pacific Islands where it is to be
sold.

o I am sorry to have caused you so much trouble over this
matter, due mainly to the enthusiasm of your predecessor,

Yours sincerely,

Honor Maude

■ COST PROPOSAL



To: Mrs Maude
U-42, 11 Namatjira Dr
Weston 2611
Phone: 288 0121

From: Simon Palmer
ANU Graphics

Date: 3rd September 1993

Job Title: Tradition Book

Description: Design and layout book from end to end. Organise conversion of disks, artwork and printing. Cover to be full colour and black only text inside. No diagrams or tables included.

Design: \$ 1250.00 - Design cover and layout text

Disk Conversion: \$ 200.00 - Disk conversion (3 Disks)

Artwork: \$ 1320.00 - camera ready artwork
\$ 501.00 - film artwork for cover
\$ 80.00 - materials

Printing: \$ 6653.00 - 288 pages

Total: \$ 10,004.00

Please note that this is an estimate only. Costs may vary if there are author's alterations or changes to the initial brief.

Feel free to call me on 249 0101 if you have any questions.

Your sincerely

Simon Palmer
ANU Graphics

ANU GRAPHICS • INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES UNIT

ADDRESS:
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0200 Australia

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**THE
AUSTRALIAN
NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY**

U 42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston, ACT, 2611
27 August 1993

Mr Andrew Gyles
493 Scoresby Road
Ferntree Gully
Victoria 3156

Dear Andrew,

I am most contrite at not having replied to your letter long before this. The reason for my delay was 'the book', now entitled 'An Anthology of Gilbertese Oral Tradition' so I had better start by explaining why it has not yet appeared.

It proved too big a task for anyone on the eve of 90 to complete and after some months of trial and error I had to modify my original conceptions. In the first place it was impossible to produce a book in both Gilbertese and English - too bulky for a single volume, too difficult to reproduce and too expensive to publish and subsidise. So we settled on reproducing the English text only, as being the most useful both to the Gilbertese, who are becoming increasingly able to read English and can also use it as a school text, and for the handful of regional specialists.

Again, it proved impossible to arrange by subject as most traditions were on a variety of subjects. So I arranged them roughly by chapters in chronological order based on the main theme of the item, with the exception of a few subject chapters where a particular subject rather than an event or events was the main theme.

My soul object was to produce a work of value and usefulness to the Gilbertese, particularly to those of future generations, but I listed the location of Gilbertese originals, so that they can be obtained by those who want them.

At this stage I developed very severe anaemia and was rushed into hospital and given two days of blood transfusions when tests indicated, as one doctor said, that I was within three days of probably departing this life. And Honor came nobly

to the rescue, taught herself the higher techniques of word processing, with the help of a typist, and took over the work of Senior Editor.

The book is now in the hands of a Literary Editor and the disks go to Sydney to have them made compatible with IBM. After that the ANU graphic design department will do a printout for us to see. When all is OK there will be a run off of 1,000 copies which go (except for a few kept by us for enquirers) to the University of the South Pacific in Fiji as publishers and distributors.

In the middle of it all the translator of the Gilbertese text, Reid Cowell, died of cancer, working on it to within a few hours of his death. He really knew and loved Gilbertese and had written two books on the language. At that time we came to realise that we too would probably not live to finish the work so stopped at 100 traditions and called it a day.

As regards your comments and queries, my feeling about Grimble is that he was primarily interested in literary composition - he was essentially the polished European scholar type, speaking equally well in German, French or English. All alone on his lands work from Makin to Tarawa his active mind concentrated on ethnographic collecting on which he did a great job, but when he came to write it up the theories he obtained from Rivers and Percy Smith were apt to conflict with the facts he had collected and, particularly later on, with his love for literary excellence.

In his earliest articles this collision of fact and fancy does not appear and 'From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands' is a good and reliable work of scholarship. This factual reliability extended to 1931 with 'Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances' (which was certainly written some time earlier) but by the time of his two literary books, his articles in The Listener and his productions for Rosemary, his development as a great writer made his desire for literary excellence outweigh his anxiety for scholarly exactness.

Hence I pay little attention to Rosemary's book as a quarry for fact, as Grimble was by then anxious to give her

material for a good coffee-table book and she had not the knowledge or training to discriminate, though she is a superb writer and illustrator. For example you mentioned a story on p.101 so I looked it up and found pencilled in the margin against the para. you quote from: 'This paragraph is not in the original text'. I have not looked up the others you quote but should not be surprised to find similar remarks against them.

Now to deal with your specific queries, the Gilbertese did not distinguish between green and blue - I often have difficulty myself. Green is mawawa, and it has to make do for blue too: Eastman in his Dictionary under blue gives 'mawawa, ai aroni karawa (mawawa, like the sky)' which conveys to the Gilbertese the shade of green that blue is. nowadays the younger generation, used to blue cloth, does not say mawawa for blue but 'beru'.

Which reminds me that what you need is the Rev. G.H. Eastman's An English-Gilbertese Vocabulary, Rongorongo, Beru, Gilbert Islands, 1948. It should still be available if you wrote to them and would not cost more than a few dollars. I would send you a copy but only have one left which is in constant use.

The typical Gilbertese hair is straight, in fact lank. But Honor remembers seeing men with hair presumably trained to stay high on the head and some of our photos seem to bear her contention out. But she does not recollect the hair being curly at the ends. I am hopeless as I never notice such things.

There is no Gilbertese word for fair-skinned or fair referring to the colour of skin or complexion. They use the word uraura (red) which Grimble sometimes translated as red and sometimes fair when referring to skin colour. Certainly the Gilbertese went to endless pains to undergo the 'ko' process in order to get their skin as white as possible. Sabitier gives ka-koa as a verb meaning to enclose or keep in to get white skin, and Nei Tituabine is to this day considered a model as far as her white skin was concerned.

Indeed all the chiefs on Matang had fairer skin than anyone today. But I never heard of blue eyes though these are recessive and may remain dormant to suddenly come out in

someone, e.g. on Easter Island I believe. Personally if I met a fair-skinned, blue eyed Gilbertese I would look for one of his or her ancestors having had intercourse with a European beachcomber or other resident or visitor.

Re your surmise on p.2 the tree is called Ikaeariki and I presume that te Kai-aeriki is a typist's error. I'd think you were right about Te Baro. I can't locate it in Roger Lawrence's excellent book on Temana but I am almost blind and any proper search takes hours - you could look it up in the library perhaps.

I don't think it is right for me to say more in detail on the several other points you make for they all seem to be based on Rosemary's book and I do not feel that it was meant to be a detailed text-book of Gilbertese ethnography. It is a work of literary genius which Rosemary inherited from her father and I love reading it for the nostalgia it evokes: for dry facts I look elsewhere.

If I've missed out anything important to you let me know, and I'll give you my views in detail. I will send you a copy of the anthology as soon as it comes out, but I wish it was not being produced by a computer - still I suppose one must move with the times. Please don't pay me for anything as I send out copies of everything to anyone interested in Gilbertese studies but have never charged anyone yet.

With best wishes,

John
Yours sincerely,

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
Australia,
23 July. 1993.

M. Dominique Pechberty,
C/o M. Lataste,
49 Rue Felix Taure,
85100 Les Sables d'Olonne,
France.

Dear M. Pechberty,

Your letter of 12 July has just arrived, having been forwarded to me by the Australian National University Mail Office, but I am sorry to say that I cannot help you in your quest for a group of researchers at the University possessing common interests with yourself.

I fancy that you thought that I was a member of the Department of Anthropology in the Research School here because I graduated in anthropology from Cambridge University in the 1920s. I am actually an ethnohistorian specializing in the use of island oral tradition to reconstruct local history before the period when there were any documentary sources or Europeans to write them.

I retired from the University about 23 years ago where I was a Professorial Fellow in the Department of Pacific History and not Anthropology. I do not even know the name of the current Professor of Anthropology, nor of anyone else in the Department.

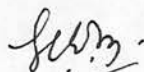
X
Universities, like other large organizations, are bureaucratic institutions and I doubt if you would find it easy to have their system of research administration altered along the lines you suggest. It might be easier to fit into the departmental organization yourself, at least in the first instance, by applying for a Visiting Fellowship, say for three or six months, which would give you time to see what you could do by working from the ^{side} inside. You could get particulars of the short-term positions normally available by writing to the Departmental Secretary.

But really the person who could give you much better advice and help concerning the Department of Anthropology at the Australian National University is Dr Michel Panoff who lives, I think, in Paris and can be contacted through the Société dea Océanistes, of which he was formerly the Secretary-General.

Dr Panoff has been a member pf the staff of the Anthropology Department here on more than one occasion and is well-known in Australian anthropological circles.

Wishing you all success in your Pacific studies,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

PECHBERTY Dominique

C/o M. LATASSE

49^{ter} Rue Félix Faure

85100 Les Sables d'Olonne

July 12th 1983

Dear Sir,

After a seven years stay in the Pacific, (French Polynesia), I have achieved a thesis on the Marquesas from the XVIII^e century, in Anthropology, under the authority of Professor Paul OTTINO, then with Professor Pierre VERIN from the INALCO (in Paris).

I wish I could join a group of researches or work under the authority of a teacher of anthropology from your university, so I'll be able to pursue researches in Anthropology or archeology on the Pacific area.

In September I'm going to work as a teacher for three or six years in Wallis Island. This stay will give me the opportunity to

pursue researches on Wallis Island or on the Pacific area.

I thank you to give my direction to a teacher or a group interested by these researches.

Yours sincerely,

Leclercq

PAR AVION



~~Facultés~~

Professor H.E. TAUDE

~~42/11 Namatjira Drive~~ ~~Australian National University~~
~~Department of Anthropology~~

WESTON

~~P.O. Box 4~~

ACT 2611

~~Canberra ACT 2600~~

AUSTRALIA.

PECHBERTY Dominique c/o M. LATASTE. ☎ 49 tel
Rue Félix Faure 85100 Les Sables. d'Olonne
FRANCE

Comments on Temaka Benaia, 'The Story of the Protestant
Church on Banaba and Rabi'. B.D.Thesis. Suva,
Pacific Theological College, 1991.

This is an excellent thesis, well-constructed and well-written. I have read, and in three instances I have been the External Examiner for, several Theological College Theses and while they do not in general reach the standard of university dissertations two of them, including this one, have approached that standard.

Of the three Parts, the first is in the main a boiling down of an article written by myself. This has already been published separately, and as part of a colleague's book.

The second Part, on the religious history of Banaba, is a most valuable work of historical reconstruction and the Banabans are fortunate indeed that the author has rescued so much oral and manuscript material from otherwise eventual oblivion.

The final Part is also important, particularly to future generations, but I am unable to comment on the polemical sections and particularly those relating to current disputes within the island church. I hope, however, that these differences will disappear when the older members of the congregations finally go.

The only statements to which I feel serious objections could be taken on factual grounds are on page ix, lines 15-17, where it is stated that the migration of the Banabans to Rabi 'was politically determined and it was carried out for the benefit of the colonial power and the other countries of the B.P.C.'. This is repeated and enlarged upon at page 51, line 16 - page 52, line 2.

The statements are no doubt due to a misunderstanding but are none the less quite untrue. I and nobody else was responsible for the purchase of Rabi for the Banabans and when reports by government personnel indicated after the war that Banaba was temporarily uninhabitable by the Banabans I and nobody else called a meeting of the Banabans, who were

all gathered at Bairiki on Tarawa, and suggested to them that under the circumstances they might care to live on their other island of Rabi temporarily, and that after two years we would return them to Banaba at government expense or, if they so wished, agree to their remaining on Rabi which would then be handed over to them as their own property for ever. If they did not want to go to Rabi on this temporary arrangement I would make other arrangements for them to live with Gilbertese families on Tarawa and, if necessary, on other islands as well, until Banaba could be made ready for their reception.

They elected to reside temporarily on Rabi of their own free will; and before the two years was up I went with P.D.Macdonald, who represented the Fiji Government, and after some days of discussion they held a secret ballot to record their wishes. The ballot result was almost unanimous to stay on Rabi but there were a few votes (I have not got the actual numbers here but it was, I think, about 30) so I stayed on Rabi for two further days so that they could give me their names to enable me to take them back to Banaba. No one came.

At no time did I speak to any member of the B.P.C. on the Banaban migration - it was none of their business - but we did have to charter a ship from them to transport the Banabans because no other suitable vessel was available. The B.P.C. sent the Triona, which had already rescued them from the Japanese islands. Of course the High Commissioner Grantham and myself, and I imagine everyone else who had the Banaban interests at heart, hoped that they would like, and some of them decide to stay on, Rabi: for they then would own two islands and could live on one or the other, or on both, just as they pleased

All this is set out in greater detail in my memorandum on The Future of the Banaban Population ..., which is available to the general public, and all of it is well known on Rabi and was gone into during the Banaban judicial proceedings held in London. The Rev. Benaia himself, states on page ix that 'the people are now very fortunate to own and live in Rabi', and my wife and I were given a formal dinner by the Rabi Island Council to thank me for having bought the island for them.

P.6,1.10-14. There were only Toka on Banaba, and no Uea.

P.7. The information on Uman Anti is valuable.

P.7. If the information on Boti is right the hamlets would appear to be the equivalent of the Gilbertese Kainga, which is indeed probable.

P.8. The stingray was also one of the totems of Nei Tituabine in the Gilberts, together with the various species of tropic-bird.

P.11. The original source, in Of Islands and Men, should have been quoted and this would have shown that some of the remarks made in the text are incorrect.

P.15. This statement (lines 1-5) is probably wrong in attributing pressure on the British Government to Sir Albert Ellis, who was only a subordinate official at the time. Probably the pressure was by John T. Arundel, acting through Lord Stanmore. See The Phosphateers for details.

P.16, 1,20. E.C.Eliot was Qualyle Dickson's successor. I have never heard of anyone called Edward Carlyon in the Colonial Service.

P.18. This gives a very fair summary of the benefits of being kain Rabi.

P.19, final sentence. Complete independence for Banaba is unfortunately precluded by the enormous cost of maintaining an independent state. Therefore the only hope is, as I see it, for the Rabi islanders to petition the Fiji Government to negotiate with the Kiribati Government to transfer Banaba to Fiji. Kiribati would obviously require a substantial quid pro quo, which Fiji would presumably expect the Rabi islanders to provide.

P.45. Mercer was not a Roman Catholic priest but a B.P.C. employee. Possibly the writer is thinking of Father Pujebet, who succeeded Father Berclaz on Banaba in 1911. Father Pujebet was almost certainly killed by the Japanese.

P.54, 1.6-9. This is a totally wrong assumption. We arranged for tents to be obtained and erected when the

Banabans said that they would like to go to Rabi temporarily. Clearly it had to be done in advance because the Banabans could not very well land until they had some shelter. The telegraphic corespondence is all available for examination. It was unfortunate that those putting up the tents could not finish their work in time but at least it shows that the contract was not given before we knew that the Banabans would be wanting them.

Carberra, 20.6.93

Leizaola

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T.2611,
4 April, 1991.

Rev. Tenaka Benaia,
Pacific Theological College,
P.O. Box 388,
SUVA, Republic of Fiji.

Dear Mr Benaia,

Your letter of 22 March arrived yesterday and I have read through it carefully several times.

I do not know why Dr Garrett recommended me as an authority on the history of the ABCFM, with special relation to Banaba, because I am not and never have been a researcher or writer on missionary, religious or theological subjects.

I have spent several hours searching through the indexes and files in my study without finding a single item on the history of the Protestant Church on Banaba or Rabi, which satisfies me that there is, in fact, nothing in my possession.

The best that I can do, therefore, is to state what I should do if I had to provide the answers you require to your nine questions.-

1. The ideal preparation would be to work through the correspondence and reports of the ABCFM, which are available on microfilm from the PMB in Canberra or may be consulted in several libraries in Australia, New Zealand, or Hawaii. The USP should have a set, as should the Barker Library and your own Theological College. This will give you a good background for your work on the Boston Mission and everything you require to answer your Question 1.

2. You might find sufficient for your purpose on the Kusaie School in T.C. Bliss, Micronesia: The American Board in the Island World (Boston, ABCFM, 1906). I know of no other published material so if you cannot find enough for your needs in Bliss or the ABCFM microfilms I can only suggest that you write to the Librarian of the ABCFM in Boston for help. There is also probably detailed material on the Kusaie School in the ABCM-HEA Papers in the Hawaiian Mission Children's Library in Honolulu, but you might have to search it out yourself or pay for a professional searcher, as they do not have a large staff.

3. The material to answer this question is again probably in the ABCFM microfilms or the ABCM-HEA Papers, but you could also enquire if there is anything pertinent in the ABCFM Library at Boston. There is also some incidental information, at least on Walkup, in Sandra Rennie's ANU Ph.D. thesis In Search of Souls: the cultural interaction between Hiram Bingham Jr., the Hawaiians and the Gilbertese through mission contact, 1857-1903 (Canberra, ANU,

1985). There should certainly be a copy of this valuable handwritten thesis in your College Library.

4. I feel that any documentation on this question would be in Rongorongo, the Tangintebu Theological College, the headquarters archives of the Gilbertese Protestant Church, or perhaps in the Eastman Papers in your own Library. You had better ask the Gilbertese in Suva to advise you where it would most likely be.

5. I presume that you will have to go to Rabi and obtain what you want from direct questioning of the older people who remember the period of resettlement. You had better also check through Maetin Silverman's Disconcerting Issue (Chicago, 1971). I doubt if the Reports of the Banaban Advisory Officer in the Western Pacific High Commission archives would be worthwhile obtaining from London as it would take time and cost money, but there should be copies in the Fiji archives and you could examine them there. There might even be copies in the Tarawa archives, as I seem to remember that they were sent to me when I was Resident Commissioner.

6. Surely only the leaders of the Banaban Church on Rabi can help you here, though there may be some documentary material in the archives at the headquarters of the Fiji Methodist Church.

7. Only the church and community leaders can help you, and it is possible that they might even have some documentation to aid their memories.

8. Here you will have to search through Maslyn Williams and Barrie Macdonald, The Phosphateers (Melbourne, 1985) in the USP or Barker Libraries. Also look at Albert Ellis' book Ocean Island and Nauru, and perhaps his other two books.

9. I have already dealt with this at para. 1 above.

I expect that you will already have consulted Bingham's Story of the Morning Stars (Boston, ABCFM, 1903) and Te Baba n Amerika i Kiribati. If not you had better do so to get background material. Remember too that the best Bibliography of publications in any of the social sciences relating to the Gilbertese people is in Grimble, Tungaru Traditions (Honolulu and Melbourne, 1989): one or two of the items would, I think, be of help to you.

Before concluding I should perhaps add that it seems that you may not have allowed yourself, or been allotted, sufficient time for researching your chosen subject, for the general rule is that twice as much time should be allowed for researching a thesis as for writing it up.

This rule, however, applies specifically to theses which require the utilization of primary source material and represent original contributions to knowledge, i.e. all doctoral theses and many at the M.A. or equivalent level.

A so-called thesis at the B.A. or equivalent level is not really a thesis but an essay and does not, except occasionally and incidentally, require the use of primary sources. It is

usually, therefore, written from secondary source material contained in published works.

Your letter indicates that you have not been trained in searching for and utilizing primary sources, whether documentary (usually manuscript) or oral, and I suspect that you have not been allotted the time and financial resources required for this specialized work.

It would therefore seem that it might be advisable for you to change your essay to a topic which can be written up from printed sources available in a local library.

If, however, you prefer to continue with your present subject you may have to content yourself with in effect an outline, omitting whatever you are unable to find time or finance to research from written or oral primary sources.

Sorry that I can think of nothing more that might be of use to you. Wishing you all good fortune with your essay,

Yours sincerely,

Herzfeld

Pacific Theological College,
Box 388,
Suva.
Fiji

22nd March, 1991.

Dr. Harry Maude,
42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston A.C.T. 2611,
A U S T R A L I A.

Dear Sir,

Greeting in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

John Garrett advised me to write this letter to you for your assistance concerning the History of Banaba.

Perhaps it would be proper for me to introduce myself as a starting point in getting to know each other and hopefully that this will continue in the future.

My name is Reverend Temaka Benaia and my deceased fathers name is Benaia Teirei from Tearinibei Village, Tarawa. My mother who has also passed away is Nei Esitabeta (Beta), the daughter of deceased Pastor Rotan Tito. Her mother is from Arorae and Rotan is from Banaba as you may have already know. I was born on Rabi and I have been working in mission circuits as a Fiji Methodist Church Minister for more than ten years. So I am like my grandfather Rotan and uncle Reverend Tebuke who had been church ministers, but not statesman.

At present I am doing my Bachelor of Divinity at the Pacific Theological College and this is my last year. During their final year, B.D. students are requested to write a thesis of 80 - 100 pages. Initially, I thought of basing my thesis on the Biblical Studies especially on the Greek New Testament. However, I changed my mind for on attending history classes I had the urge to take up History as my major because I was interested in the past events of the church. This has led to my interest in writing about the history of my own people.

Another reason is that no one has ever written a thesis on the Banabans. The paper that I am working on is " THE PROTESTANT CHURCH HISTORY OF BANABA AND RABI ".

Attached to this letter is the outline of my thesis. I am humbly requesting your assistance, advices, and comments on it. So far I have finished the introduction and the first chapter. Now I am working on the third chapter which having the second chapter because these is not enough sources to refer to. I based my first chapter on your work of the Banaban Myth and Social Organisation but I will very much appreciate if you could send me new information on these two topics.

Could you please help on the following information? :

1. The arrival of the first missionaries
 - a. The establishemnt of the A.B.C.F.M. }
 - b. The progress of the church A.B.C.F.M. }
- 1885 - 1900

2. Who were the Banabans attending the mission school in Kusaci?
 - a. Were there any Banabans returning from Kusaci to help the church in Banaba.
 - b. Who was the first Banaban to be a Pastor or Minister
 - c. The story of the mission school from the time it was at Kusaci till it shifted to Banaba.
3. The life and story of Walkup and Channon and their report of the mission on Banaba.
 - a. Who were the local ministers or decons during the time of A.B.C.F.M after Walkup and Channon had left?
4. The L.M.S. continued after teh A.B.C.F.M.
 - a. Who was running the church at Banaba
 - b. Who were the foreign ministers
 - c. Who were the I - Kiribati Pastors from 1900 - 1942?
 - d. The life of the church in Banaba.
5. Information about the resettlement of Banaban on Rabi.
6. Anything on the transfer of the church from the L.M.S. to Fiji Methodist.
7. Any references or recollections concerning the role of Protestant church and community leaders in the move from Banaba to Rabi?
8. Any recollections of the Gage family and Albert Ellis and family as Phosphate people and church and L.M.S. people.
9. P.M.B. 738 - 767 A

Pacific Manuscript (Microfilms)

Once again I humbly request you if you could send me these information and my additional ones if you may have by the end of April but earlier I receive them the better it is so that I may be able to proceed further with my thesis.

I sincerely hope that you will kindly consider my request. I am also anxious to hear from you.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



 Temaka Benaia (Rev)

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH HISTORY OF BANABA AND RABI

AIM : This paper is an attempt to make possible written record (history) of the Banaban Church. It will cover how social, economic and political developments influence the Church and also include : the problems faced by the Church its future prospects and possible improvements.

INTRODUCTION : Highlighting the background context to the origin of the Church.

1. Geographical descriptions of Banaba.
2. Geographical descriptions of Rabi.
3. Relationship of Banaba and Rabi distance include the two Governments (a. Two islands).

CHAPTER ONE : THE ISLAND OF BANABA

1. Banaban myth (a. Na Areau. b. Auriaria c. Tituabene)
2. Social Organisation (a. Household b. Hamlet c. Village)
3. The coming of the European (a. Whalers b. Blackbirders c. Beachcombers d. Colonisers)

CHAPTER TWO : THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1. The arrival of the first missionaries.
2. The establishment of the A.B.C.F.M.
3. L.M.S. continues from A.B.C.F.M.
4. The life of the Church in Banaba.

CHAPTER THREE : THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH

1. Phosphate mining and the Church (a. Social Life is changed)
2. Rabi island settlement and the L.M.S. Church.
3. L.M.S. in Rabi became part of the Methodist Church.
4. Rabi Methodist Church present role within social, economic and political life of the people (a. Problems etc)

CONCLUSION :

1. Brief summary.
2. Focus on future prospects of the Church.
3. Recommendations.

Unit 42, Mirinjani Village,
Weston, 2611.

23 May, 1993.

Mr Dean Davies,
Administrator,
Mirinjani Retirement Village,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611.

Dear Dean,

We have now been resident in the Mirinjani Retirement Village for eight years and throughout this period we have been delighted to observe the mutual feeling of respect, tolerance and forbearance which are such a marked characteristic of the behaviour of residents in the self-service units, and their common anxiety to help each other during periods of illness or bereavement.

In such close propinquity to each other such a spirit can only exist when each community member refrains from engaging in any conduct which may be reasonably regarded as detrimental to the health of his or her neighbours or which constitute a nuisance or annoyance to them in the peaceful conduct of their own lawful affairs.

The main cause of annoyance is, of course, at night when noise may penetrate into other units and prevent sound sleep; our own experience has been that everyone is most careful to prevent any occurrence of this nature even, in our own block at least, refraining from flushing toilets between 10 p.m. and about 7 a.m.

As you are no doubt aware a nuisance of this character, inimical to sound sleep and therefore deleterious to the health of at least one person, and possibly two, in a neighbouring unit, is being perpetrated at the present time by the Licensee of a self-service unit, despite being made aware of the effect on others

Such conduct would appear to constitute a direct infringement of the provisions of Clause 6 (a) of the Licence Agreement between Licensees and the Trust under which we hold our Units. It may well be, however, that this

particular Licensee may, like some others, be ignorant of the existence of this Clause and that you may consider it desirable to remind all Unit holders, by circular, of its existence and purport. This would avoid giving any offence and at the same time remind us all to be thoughtful of our neighbours.

Should you consider such a circular opportune may we, with all deference, suggest that for practical purposes the hours between which quiet should be required might be defined as 10 p.m. to 7 a.m.

Yours sincerely,

S.L.M.

S.L.M.

**THE
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
CANBERRA**



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I trust you will have an enjoyable year travelling with ACTION.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mike Wadsworth".

M J (Mike) Wadsworth
Chief Executive
ACTION
19 November 1993



PO Box 235
Civic Square ACT 2608
Telephone:
Facsimile:

Professor Maude
42/11 Namatjira Drive
WESTON ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude

Thank you for your letter of 19 December 1992 commending ACTION's drivers.

I am pleased that you find ACTION's drivers so friendly and helpful, and I trust that you will continue to travel on ACTION's buses for many years to come.

Thank you for writing this very positive letter.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Mike Castle". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

M J (Mike) Castle
Acting General Manager
ACTION
4 January 1993

42/11 Namatjira Drive,
Weston, A.C.T. 2611,
19 December, 1992.

Mr M.J. Wadsworth,
General Manager, Action,
P.O. Box 235,
Civic Square, 2608.

Dear Mr Wadsworth,

I should like to add a few words to my application for the renewal of my Concession Card to say how much I appreciate the kindness of Action in granting me the facility to travel without charge on your services.

It has, in fact, made the one major difference to my health and enjoyment of life in my old age (I am 86).

My doctor had recommended long walks as the best means of maintaining my health and optimism despite the rather sudden onset of blindness affecting both eyes.

Thanks to Action I have been able to go for walks in all the neighbouring parks, as well as on Mount Arawang, Cooleman Ridge, Mount Narrabundah, the Pine Forests and Oakey Hill, in most cases without having to cross a single road.

Fortunately I can still see sufficiently well to avoid dangers and although I get lost at times kind people are always ready to put me on the right path for my home in the Mirinjani Retirement Village.

The prize for courtesy and consideration must, however, be given to your Action drivers. I have travelled on countless buses all over the world but never received more friendly and helpful service than from Action.

With many thanks,

Yours sincerely.

J.L.M.



PO Box 235
Civic Square ACT 2608
Telephone:
Facsimile:

Dear Sir/Madam

According to ACTION's records you are the holder of an ACTION concession card for free travel for 1992.

ACTION is currently issuing free travel concession cards for 1993, valid from 1 January 1993. Please note your current card will remain valid until 31 January 1993 or until you are issued with a new 1993 card, whichever is the sooner.

To ensure that your ACTION concession card for free travel is not lost during the issue we would appreciate your assistance by completing the Application Form below. Please detach and return the Application Form in the reply paid envelope provided as soon as possible. We will then send you a new 1993 card.

If you have any queries regarding the issue of your ACTION concession card please call at the ACTION Counter, Department of Urban Services Shopfront, East Row, Civic or telephone the ACTION Shopfront - Phone 207 5147.

Our best wishes for good health, happiness and enjoyable travelling with ACTION in 1992.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M J Wadsworth". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

M J (Mike) Wadsworth
General Manager
ACTION
16 November 1992



PO Box 235
Civic Square ACT 2608
Telephone:
Facsimile:

Dear Sir/Madam

Enclosed is your ACTION concession card for 1993. This card entitles you to travel for free at any time on the ACTION network.

Your card is **non transferable**. You are the only person entitled to use it. If your card is stamped with *Attendant* then a companion may accompany you for free. Your attendant is only entitled to travel for free when they are travelling with you.

If you should lose your card, please inform the staff at the ACTION Counter, ACT Government Shopfront, Saraton Building, East Row, Civic or telephone the ACTION Shopfront on 207 5147, as soon as possible. You will be required to produce identification before being issued with a new card.

I trust you will have an enjoyable year travelling with ACTION.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mike Wadsworth".

M J (Mike) Wadsworth
General Manager
ACTION
10 December 1992

FROM THE MASTER
LORD RENFREW OF KAIMSTHORN, F.B.A.

THE MASTER'S LODGE
JESUS COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE CB5 8BL

TELEPHONE (0223) 323934

Prof H E Maude OBE
42/11 Namatjira Drive
Weston
ACT 2611

Dear Professor Maude,

During September, my wife and I had the great pleasure of visiting Australia for the first time and of attending a series of Old Jesuan functions in Sydney, Adelaide, Canberra, Melbourne and Brisbane. It was a great pleasure to meet so many Old Jesuans, although naturally we regret missing a number who, like yourself, were not able to make it on the date fixed. We find to our satisfaction that the new intake of graduate students includes seven Australians and two from New Zealand.

As you ~~may~~ know, one aim of our visit was to launch the Australian phase of the College's Quincentenary Appeal. I am happy to say that we now have an Australian Appeal Committee, with Bill Hayward in Sydney and David Hayne in Melbourne as Co-ordinator and Secretary, and with John Ballard as representative for ACT.

The year 1996 will, I hope, be a landmark in the history of the College, and we plan that for it we shall have the new College library in operation and, I hope, another building in the new court underway. In recognition of the College's Australian connection, I hope to propose to Council that we may call the court which will be created between the New Library and the Chapel, Fairbairn Court (Steve Fairbairn's ashes and those of his wife, Nellie, are buried there).

The aims of the Appeal - restoration of the historic fabric, support for student hardship and the new buildings - were outlined in the brochure which you should already have received.

Regrettably, the Australian tax authorities do not grant tax relief on contributions as the Americans and Canadians do, so that we shall not have State money to add to whatever you may feel able to give, but I am sure that the Australian contribution will be very important to us. I very much hope that you will feel able to give generously to the Appeal, either by direct donation, by a series of annual donations, or by a bequest. Planning permission has now been finally granted for the new Library and we are very much looking forward to pressing ahead.

With good wishes, - *I enjoyed our telephone conversation.*

Yours sincerely

Colin Renfrew

Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn

JESUS COLLEGE QUINCENTENARY APPEAL

Dear Jesuan,

All whose existence and whereabouts in Australia was known at the time, should have received a copy of the Appeal brochure when invitations went out to the various functions organized for the Master and his wife last year.

As the enclosed letter from the Master indicated, the Appeal is now getting under way in Australia on a State basis with the following Jesuans having agreed to raise funds in their own States.

A.C.T. John (J.O.) Ballard, 12 Booroondara St., Reid, 2601
(06) 248 9863
N.S.W. Bill (W.) Hayward, 26 Rivers Street, Bellevue Hill 2023
(02) 327 2437
Q'LAND. Nick (N.) Horner, 9 Daly Street, Camp Hill 4152
(07) 398 1601
S.A. Geoff (G.B.) Bean, 30 Wyfield Street, Wattle Park 5066
(08) 333 0753
VIC. David (D.J.) Hayne, 24 Winter Street, Malvern 3144
(03) 509 8540
W.A. Brian (B.J.) Leach, 39 Florence Road, Nedlands 6009
(09) 386 6471

The days of the Australian undergraduate in Cambridge have all but disappeared. However, a steady stream of Australians do their second degree and post-graduate work at the College. The College has actively encouraged this, helped by some Bi-Centenary funds which it secured. It plans to do all it can to keep its Australian connection very much alive in this way.

Attached is a return slip which should find its way to your State Representative. He will forward your donation either to Bill Hayward (for A.C.T., N.S.W. and Queensland) or David Hayne (for S.A., Victoria and W.A.) for banking and transfer to the College which will send an acknowledgement and receipt.

We hope all Jesuans will be as generous as they feel they can be. The College tells us that contributions in U.K. (in many cases spread over a number of years) average about 1000 Pounds and in U.S. about \$1000 per head.

Our aim from the 114 known Jesuans in Australia is to equal those figures: our hope is to exceed them.

Dig deep.

Good Wishes

W. Hayward
Bill Hayward

David Hayne
David Hayne

JESUS COLLEGE QUINCENTENARY APPEAL

CONTRIBUTION INTENTION FORM
(To be forwarded to State Representative)

FULL NAME AND ANY TITLE: (DR., REV., SIR etc)

HOME ADDRESS

TELEPHONE NO. _____ FAX _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS

TELEPHONE NO. _____ FAX _____

MATRICULATION YEAR 19 _____

I wish to give a single donation of \$ _____
My cheque is enclosed.

I wish to make an annual donation of \$ _____ for _____ years
at this date each year _____ day _____ month.
My first cheque is enclosed.

Cheques in Australian Dollars to be made out to Jesus College Cambridge
Quincentenary Appeal.

* If you wish to make a bequest to the College of any size or kind
whatever, you or your legal adviser should contact the Senior Bursar.

YES NO

* If you retain a general fund of taxed income in U.K. and wish to execute
a Deed of Covenant, please write to the Appeal Director, Jesus College,
Cambridge, CB5 8BL

YES NO

* More information on both these ways of giving is contained on Pages 10
and 11 of the brochure.

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____